To my parents

COMMON GROUND AND POSITIONING IN EFL CLASSROOMS: A

COMPARISON OF NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE ENGLISH-SPEAKING

TEACHERS

The Graduate School of Education

of

İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

Seçil Kuka

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in

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İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BILKENT UNIVERSITY
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Thesis Title: Common Ground and Positioning in EFL Classrooms: A Comparison of

Native and Non-native English-speaking Teachers

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Oral Defence: May 2017

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope
and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English as a
Foreign Language.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Deniz Ortaçtepe (Supervisor)

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and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English as a
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ABSTRACT

COMMON GROUND AND POSITIONING IN EFL CLASSROOMS: A COMPARISON OF NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE ENGLISH-SPEAKING TEACHERS

Seçil Kuka

M.A., Program of Teaching English as a Foreign Language
Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Deniz Ortaçtepe

May 2017

This study aimed to investigate how native (NEST) and non-native English-speaking (NNEST) teachers find common ground with their students and the ways they position themselves while establishing common ground in their social interactions. The purpose of the study was to investigate NESTs' and NNESTs' ways of establishing common ground with their students and positioning through common ground in their social interactions in tertiary level language classrooms in an English as a Foreign Language setting. The researcher collected data through classroom observations. Three NEST and three NNEST teaching partners who teach the same classes in turn were observed and audio recorded during the first and fifth weeks of a new course. Data were transcribed and then analyzed using an analytical framework adapted from Kecskés and Zhang's (2009) socio-cognitive perspective on common ground and Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory through discourse analysis.

The findings revealed several differences in terms of the ways NESTs and

NNESTs established common ground and positioned themselves in their social interactions. More specifically, NESTs' lack of shared background with their students led to more establishment of core common ground (i.e., building new common knowledge between themselves and their students), which also positioned them as outsiders in a foreign country while NNESTs maintained the already existing core common ground with their students (i.e., activating the common knowledge they shared with their students) by positioning themselves as insiders. Moreover, the real life purpose of NESTs' common ground building acts through L2 made their teacher-student interactions good opportunities for the use of target language to the leaners' benefit. NNESTs' conversations involving the activation of their shared linguistic and cultural background, however, aimed to facilitate classroom instruction.

These findings helped draw the conclusion that NESTs and NNESTs differed in relation to their social interactions involving common ground and positioning. NESTs created meaningful contexts that enabled opportunities for language socialization through which students not only practiced language but also negotiated meaning. On the other hand, NNESTs activated the common knowledge they shared with their students to facilitate classroom instruction. Considering the results above, this study contributed to the literature by providing insights into the differences and similarities NESTs and NNESTs have in terms of their language socialization.

ÖZET

YABANCI DİL OLARAK İNGİLİZCE SINIFLARINDA ORTAK ZEMİN
OLUŞTURMA VE KONUMLANDIRMA: ANA DİLİ İNGİLİZCE OLAN
ÖĞRETMENLERLE ANA DİLİ İNGİLİZCE OLMAYAN ÖĞRETMENLERİN
KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

Seçil Kuka

Yüksek Lisans, Yabancı Dil Olarak İngilizce Öğretimi
Tez Yöneticisi: Asst. Prof. Dr. Deniz Ortaçtepe

Mayıs 2017

Bu çalışma, ana dili İngilizce olan İngilizce öğretmenleriyle ana dili İngilizce
olmayan İngilizce öğretmenlerinin dil sosyalleşmesi sırasında öğrencileriyle nasıl
ortak zemin oluşturduklarını ve bu sayede kendilerini konuşmada nasıl
konumlandırdıklarını araştırmayı amaçlamıştır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, İngilizce'nin
yabancı dil olarak konuşulduğu bir ortamda üniversite seviyesindeki yabancı dil
sınıflarında ana dili İngilizce olan ve ana dili İngilizce olmayan öğretmenlerin ortak
zemin oluşturma yöntemlerini incelemektir. Araştırmacı sınıf gözlemleri yaparak
veri toplamıştır. Sırayla aynı sınıfı paylaşan, ana dili İngilizce olan üç İngilizce
öğretmeni ve ana dili İngilizce olmayan üç İngilizce öğretmeni, yeni başlayan bir
İngilizce kursunun ilk ve beşinci haftalarında gözlenmiş ve ses kaydı yapılmıştır.
Toplanan veri deşifre edilmiş ve konuşma analizi yöntemiyle analiz edilmiştir.
Yapılan analizler sırasında Kecskés ve Zhang'in (2009) sosyal-bilişsel ortak zemin

oluşturma yaklaşımı ile Davies ve Harré'nin (1990) konumlandırma teorisini temel alan analitik çerçeve kullanılmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın bulguları ana dili İngilizce olan ve ana dili İngilizce olmayan öğretmenlerin dil sosyalleşmesi açısından bir kaç farklılık ortaya koymaktadır. Daha detaylı olarak, ana dili İngilizce olan öğretmenler, öğrencileriyle aralarındaki bilgi eksikliklerini gidermek amacıyla yeni ortak zemin oluştururken, ana dili İngilizce olmayan öğretmenler dil öğretmek amacıyla öğrencileriyle hali hazırda paylaştıkları ortak bilgileri etkinleştirdiler. Konumlandırma ile ilgili olarak, ana dili İngilizce olan öğretmenler ortak zemin oluşturarak kendilerini yabancı, kültür aracısı ve kültürün içerisine girmeye çalışan bir yapancı olarak konumlandırdılar. Aksi şekilde, ana dili İngilizce olmayan öğretmenler kendilerini aynı kültürün üyesi ve bilgi kaynağı olarak konumlandırdılar.

Bu bulgular göstermiştir ki, dil sosyalleşmesi açısından ana dili İngilizce olan ve olmayan öğretmenler arasında farklılıklar mevcuttur. Ana dili İngilizce olan öğretmenler, dil sosyalleşmesi sayesinde öğrencilerinin sadece dillerini geliştirebilecekleri değil, aynı zamanda kültürel bilgiler de paylaşabilecekleri fırsatlar sağlayan anlamlı bağlamlar oluşturmuşlardır. Diğer taraftan, ana dili İngilizce olmayan öğretmenler sınıf içi eğitimi kolaylaştırmak amacıyla öğrencileriyle aralarındaki ortak bilgi birikimini harekete geçirmişlerdir. Yukarıda sözü edilen bulgular dikkate alındığında bu çalışma, dil sosyalleşmesi açısından ana dili İngilizce olan ve ana dili İngilizce olmayan öğretmenler arasındaki farklılık ve benzerliklerin üzerine ışık tutarak literatüre katkıda bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dil sosyalleşmesi, ortak zemin, konumlandırma, ana dili İngilizce olan İngilizce öğretmenleri, ana dili ingilizce olmayan İngilizce öğretmenleri

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

In the field of language teaching, ever since the native speaker-non-native speaker dichotomy was challenged by scholars, there have been many studies investigating the issue of native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) and non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) from many perspectives such as teachers' and learners' perceptions on NESTs' and NNESTs' characteristics, professional and cultural identities, teacher education, and so on. Although there are some studies comparing NESTs and NNESTs in terms of the interactional patterns they use in class, no research has focused on the establishment of common ground and positioning in teacher-student interaction to examine how these two processes facilitate second language socialization in EFL classrooms.

According to the framework of language socialization, novices can acquire the linguistic and cultural norms through their interactions with experts in a speech community (Ochs, 1986). Drawing on this framework, this study aims to investigate the social interactions between teachers and students as the conversations between students and their NESTs and NNESTs also display features of novice-expert relationship. More specifically, this study explores the ways NESTs and NNESTs establish common ground and position themselves in their social interactions with students. Common ground, which is the participants' shared knowledge, beliefs and suppositions during communication, facilitates easier and smoother interactions between the teacher and students. The discursive practices that are employed to establish common ground enables real life language use, which is an

important aspect of second language socialization especially for language learners in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts; therefore, the ways teachers establish common ground with their students prove to be a significant aspect of language socialization. However, how NESTs and NNESTs share common ground with their students may differ due to the diverse nature of intercultural and intracultural communication. In the former, participants are assumed to share a vast amount of core common ground, while the latter has a lack of mutual background which may lead to misunderstandings. The discursive ways common ground is built can also affect how teachers position themselves in their interactions with students, which may shape the nature of their teacher-student relationships and eventually the classroom environment. There is no research in the literature exploring the establishment of common ground in the interactions between language learners and their teachers; therefore, this study aims to investigate the ways NESTs and NNESTs establish common ground with their students during teacher-student interactions in foreign language classrooms.

Background of the Study

The theory of language socialization asserts that participation in language-mediated interactions facilitates children's or other novices' acquisition of principles of social order and belief systems as linguistic and cultural knowledge construct each other (Ochs, 1986). Improving effective communication enables children and other novices to become skilled members of communities (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). The application of language socialization framework into second language acquisition would therefore transform language classrooms to make the students' learning more relevant to their actual experience (Watson-Gegeo, 2004). Although interactional routines that are followed during communication might overlap across cultures, the

differences in such routines in cross-cultural communication might lead to problems for second language learners in a new speech community (Ochs, 2002). The differences in the participants' notions of interactional routines that might exist in intercultural communication give social interactions between teachers and students through L2 great importance especially in EFL contexts, where there is often a lack of opportunities for real life language use.

A significant aspect of language socialization in language classrooms is the interaction between teachers and students, where they establish common ground. Common ground refers to the participants' shared knowledge, beliefs or suppositions in their social interactions and it must be established in conversations so that one person can understand the other (Clark, 1996). Establishing common ground is essential for language socialization since it is considered as a requirement for successful communication (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). Sharing more common ground with another person can reduce the effort and time needed to convey and interpret information (Kecskés, 2014). The *pragmatic view* of common ground emphasizes the aspect of cooperation in the communication process and regards common ground as pre-existing knowledge to the actual communication (Clark, 1996; Clark & Brennan, 1991; Stalnaker, 1978). The *cognitive view* of common ground holds a more dynamic approach that asserts that communication is co-constructed by the participants (Barr, 2004; Barr & Keysar, 2005). Kecskés and Zhang (2009) propose an integrated concept of *assumed common ground*, which is a dialectical view that combines the pragmatic and cognitive views of common ground. The socio-cognitive approach to common ground identifies two components: *core common ground*, consisting of common sense, cultural sense, and formal sense, deriving from the interlocutors' prior experience, and *emergent common ground,* composed of shared sense and

current sense, coming from the interlocutors' prior knowledge of the current situation.

In addition to the 'mutual management of referential information', establishing common ground in communicative practices is also a resource for social affiliation in human relations (Enfield, 2008). Participants in a social interaction negotiate identities by positioning themselves or being positioned by the other participants while communicating information (Wortham, 2000). Davies and Harré (1990) 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). Positioning may occur *interactively,* when a participant positions the other, or *reflexively,* when he/she is positioned by him/herself intentionally or unintentionally.

The more common ground is shared between the participants in a conversation, the higher chances there are for smooth communication (Gumperz & Tannen, 1979). It is argued that the reverse is also true because misunderstandings are likely to occur during intercultural communication, where the interlocutors might have cultural or linguistic differences. Therefore, in conversations between native and non-native speakers of English, participants are claimed to be 'multiply handicapped' due to their lack of shared knowledge (Varonis & Gass, 1985). Kecskés (2014) rejects this 'problem approach' to intercultural communication and claims that interlocutors in intercultural communication are normal communicators with their successes and failures like any human beings who interact with others. Compared to intracultural communication, participants in native speaker-non-native speaker interaction cannot consider or assume core common ground, so more common ground needs to be sought and created. Therefore, common ground emerges

mainly in the process of creating intercultures, which is the result of emergent common ground.

The ways common ground is established between native and non-native speakers of English in intercultural communication have been studied by several researchers. It was found that shared knowledge about the situations surrounding communication plays a significant role in achieving successful communication despite the cultural differences between participants and the non-native speakers' linguistic deficiencies (Kidwell, 2000). Similarly, it was argued that non-native speakers of English could adopt discursive processes to engage in common ground building acts in their social interactions with native speakers through language socialization, in addition to positioning themselves appropriately in their attempts to build common ground (Ortaçtepe, 2014). As these studies reveal, engaging in common ground building acts in language socialization enables second language learners/users to participate in real life language use. It can also be argued that second language learners/users can use these discursive acts that establish common ground to position themselves or their native speaker interlocutors in the speech context.

Common ground in language socialization facilitates language learning in several ways. Firstly, it is claimed that common ground plays a significant role in achieving successful communication with a language learner and negotiating common ground is an essential part of language learning (Smith & Jucker, 1996). It is also argued that language learning can be accomplished through classroom interaction, where interactions between teachers and learners build a common body of knowledge (Hall & Walsh, 2002). As these studies suggest, teacher-student interaction where common ground is established enables second language acquisition

since language socialization provides opportunities for real language use. Moreover, it is claimed that the efforts made to establish and maintain common ground in a conversation have significant consequences for the interactional future of the participants, by shaping their future relationships (Enfield, 2008); therefore, the type of relationship between teachers and students is directly affected by their interaction in the classroom. It is important for teachers to build rapport with their students through establishing common ground to better cater for their students' affective needs and to create a positive learning environment.

Effective classroom discourse requires some shared assumptions between teachers and learners and successful learning can arise provided that the teacher and students share a large common ground of the object of learning (Tsui, 2004). However, the way language socialization is accomplished might differ depending on how NESTs and NNESTs interact with their students in language classrooms. The amount of mutual knowledge shared between students and their native or non-native English teachers might affect how common ground is established in their interactions and the ways NESTs and NNESTs build common ground with their students may also determine how these teachers position themselves in class. Although there have been many studies investigating NESTs and NNESTs in terms of their advantages and disadvantages in language classrooms using reflections, narratives, surveys, interviews, and classroom observations (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Canagarajah, 1999; A. Matsuda & Matsuda, 2001; P. K. Matsuda, 1997; Maum, 2003; McNeill, 2005; Medgyes, 1992, 1994; Nemtchinova, 2005; Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Sheorey, 1986), there hasn't been any research that explores the ways common ground is established between students and NESTs or NNESTs. As Moussu and Llurda (2008) state, more research based on classroom observations

needs to be conducted and new methods and topics should be explored to better investigate the NEST-NNEST dichotomy.

Statement of the Problem

A considerable amount of research has been done to investigate the linguistic and pedagogical differences that may exist between NESTs and NNESTs in language classrooms with regard to their linguistic knowledge, cultural awareness, rapport building with students, approaches to error correction, teaching competencies, and so on (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Maum, 2003; McNeill, 2005; Nemtchinova, 2005; Reves & Medgyes, 1994). However, NESTs and NNESTs have not been compared in terms of their social interactions in class (i.e. common ground and positioning) which are important aspects of language socialization that takes place in language classrooms. Some research has been conducted with the aim of exploring how common ground is established between native and non-native speakers of English in English as a Second Language (ESL) contexts (Kidwell, 2000; H. Lee, 2015; Ortaçtepe, 2014; Varonis & Gass, 1985); however, none of them focused on language classrooms in an EFL setting. Therefore, research is needed to investigate the ways NESTs and NNESTs establish common ground with their students in foreign language classrooms.

It has been reported that pairing NESTs and NNESTs in the same classroom serves as a way of complementing their strengths (de Oliveira & Richardson, 2001; Medgyes, 1994). To this end, at the preparatory year English program of a private university in Turkey, classes are often taught in turn by NESTs and NNESTs who are teaching partners. Since the medium of instruction is English, students participate in second language socialization to a great extent both with their local instructors and international teachers from various nationalities. Considering the intensive nature of

the English program, teachers might need to build rapport with their students by establishing common ground with them. Building common ground is crucial in these classes as second language socialization is accomplished through the process of negotiating mutual knowledge. However, the ways NESTs and NNESTs find common ground with their students might differ depending on their existing shared knowledge or the lack of mutual background. Instructors at this institution also assume many roles such as knowledge provider, cultural mediator, academic counsellor, and so on. For this reason, they position themselves in many ways during their interactions with their students in class to cater for their students' academic and affective needs. Therefore, there is a clear need to investigate how they establish common ground with their students in social interactions so as to understand the nature of teacher-student interaction to a better extent and facilitate learning in a positive classroom environment.

Significance of the Study

This study can contribute to the literature in several ways. Firstly, it can add to the research on common ground in language socialization from a pedagogical aspect by investigating language classrooms. Secondly, it can shed light on the differences and similarities between NESTs and NNESTs in terms of their common ground building acts and positioning, where there is a lack of research in the literature. Moreover, the data gathered through classroom observations in this study can benefit NEST/NNEST research methodology that has been mostly based on reflections, narratives, surveys, and interviews (Moussu & Llurda, 2008). Conducting classroom observations may help to establish connections between the perceptions of teachers and students that are learned through the aforementioned instruments and the actual classroom practices of NESTs and NNESTs.

Language learners can achieve linguistic and social development through language socialization, which can be accomplished through the establishment of common ground. Sharing common ground enables easier and smoother communication and it is especially significant in teacher-student interactions since second language socialization relies on the interaction between the teacher and students. How common ground is established during social interactions between students and their NESTs and NNESTs may differ due to the diverse nature of intercultural and intracultural communication, so this study may shed light on the ways NESTs and NNESTs find common ground with their students. At the local level, this study may provide insights into the nature of the interactions between students and their local or international teachers and might improve their understanding of classroom discourse from a different perspective. As common ground may serve as a way of building close relationships through positioning, how it is established in the language classes at the preparatory year English program may help teachers improve their understanding of teacher-student interactions and create a positive learning atmosphere.

Research Question

This study aims to investigate the similarities and differences between NESTs and NNESTs with regard to language socialization, which is operationalized as practices to build common ground and positioning during teacher-student interactions in tertiary level language classrooms in an EFL context. In this respect, the following research questions are addressed:

How do NESTs and NNESTs differ in terms of the second language socialization processes in EFL classrooms?

i. In what ways do they establish common ground with students in their social interactions?

ii. In what ways do they position themselves while establishing common ground?

Conclusion

In this chapter, a general overview of the literature regarding common ground and positioning has been provided. Background of the study was followed by the statement of the problem and significance of the study in relation to the research questions. In the next chapter, a detailed review of literature with regard to the history of NEST vs. NNEST research, common ground and positioning will be presented.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the literature with regard to the research into native and non-native English-speaking teachers and second language socialization practices that are employed by NESTs and NNESTs. To this end, a brief review of studies regarding NEST vs. NNEST dichotomy will be made along with the comparison of NESTs' and NNESTs' unique advantages in ESL and EFL contexts. This section will be followed by the definition of the theory of language socialization as well as the definitions and research into two language socialization practices, namely common ground and positioning. The chapter will be concluded with the application of second language socialization practices in language pedagogy.

History of NEST vs. NNEST Research

Despite the overwhelming majority of non-native teachers in English language classrooms (Canagarajah, 2005), research in language pedagogy has focused on native speaker versus non-native speaker dichotomy only for the last couple of decades (Braine, 2005). In the field of English language teaching, native speaker fallacy, the notion that the ideal language teacher is a native speaker of the language, was first challenged in 1990s by Phillipson (1992) and Medgyes (1994), who brought the non-native English-speaking teachers to light. Since then, a growing number of studies have focused on the issue of native versus non-native speaker teachers from various perspectives, such as investigating teachers' and learners' perceptions on NEST and NNESTs' language identities (Inbar-Lourie, 2005),

teaching abilities (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Canagarajah, 1999), cultural and lexical knowledge (McNeill, 2005), teacher education (Llurda, 2005), accentedness (Kim, 2007), and so on. Research into the similarities and differences between NESTs and NNESTs has indicated that both groups have unique advantages of their own and pairing NESTs and NNESTs as teaching partners has been claimed to be a good way of complementing their strengths in language classrooms (de Oliveira & Richardson, 2001; Medgyes, 1994).

Relative Advantages of NESTs/NNESTs in ESL and EFL Contexts

Studies investigating the similarities and differences that may exist between NESTs and NNESTs have found certain characteristics attached to NESTs. The major strength associated with native-speaking teachers is the language proficiency, authenticity, and fluency as well as having better pronunciation than non-native teachers (Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Butler, 2007; Cheung, 2002). Research based on student perceptions revealed that learners preferred ESL teachers with a less foreign accent (Kim, 2007). NESTs were also found better in terms of teaching speaking and listening skills and praised for their oral skills and large vocabulary (Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Mahboob, 2003; Tang, 1997). Native speakers were also favored in terms of their cultural knowledge (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Cheung, 2002; Mahboob, 2003; Medgyes, 1994).

Research into non-native teachers of English indicates several strengths that are unique to NNESTs. First, NNESTs are greatly admired by their students and often seen as role models and sources of motivation because of their backgrounds as successful language learners (e.g. Bayyurt, 2006; Cook, 2005; Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002; Lee, 2000; Medgyes, 1994). Having experienced similar

processes while learning the language themselves, NNESTs tend to empathize with their students as they are able to understand their difficulties and needs very well (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002; Medgyes, 1994). In ESL settings, NNESTs are found to be more effective in catering for their students' affective needs by empathizing with their students who are experiencing homesickness and culture shock due to their similar backgrounds (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Cheung, 2002; Nemtchinova, 2005).

Some studies have found that another advantage of NNESTs over NESTs is that they are very skilled at anticipating language difficulties and predicting vocabulary that might be challenging for their learners (McNeill, 2005; Medgyes, 1994). It is also argued that NNESTs are good at teaching language strategies and providing more information about the language to their students compared to NESTs (Medgyes, 1994). Similarly, students may favor NNESTs rather than NESTs in terms of grammar teaching because of their own experiences of language learning and knowledge of students' native language (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Mahboob, 2003). However, NNESTs often perceive themselves as underqualified and undervalued regardless of their professional degrees and teaching experiences, especially in ESL settings where their linguistic or professional abilities tend to be more questioned (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999). In contrast, NNESTs feel themselves as respected professionals in their local EFL settings, where they are better able to understand issues related to their contexts (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Dogancay-Aktuna, 2008). In addition, it is stated that NNESTs can use the students' native language to their advantage in EFL contexts (Medgyes, 1994). The

advantages and disadvantages of NESTs and NNESTs are described in the table

below (collated from Moussu & Llurda, 2008)

Table 1

Advantages and Disadvantages of NESTs and NNESTs in the ESL/EFL Classroom

	NESTs	NNESTs
Advantages	**Affective abilities** • Perceived as more likeable, educated and experienced **Language skills** • Confident in their language skills • Perceived as having language proficiency and fluency **Teaching abilities** • Providing real language models • Having cultural knowledge • Good at teaching speaking/listening skills **ESL contexts** • Preferred by students in ESL contexts	**Affective abilities** • Providing a good language learner model • Understanding the difficulties and needs of the students • Having good rapport with students **Teaching abilities** • Understanding and predicting language difficulties • Teaching language strategies effectively • Providing more information about the language • Good at teaching grammar **EFL contexts** • Making use of students' L1 in EFL settings **ESL contexts** • Can empathize with homesick students • Have experience with culture shock
Disadvantages	• Discouraging for students because of their lack of knowledge of students' L1 • Unable to empathize with students' learning process	• Less tolerant of student errors • Critical of their abilities • Lacking self-confidence • Poor oral skills • Lack of cultural knowledge

As language classrooms are social environments where teachers and students

are in constant communication with each other, NESTs' and NNESTs' interactions

with their students can be regarded as mediums of second language socialization for

both the teachers and students.

Language Socialization

Social interactions are considered as sociocultural environments (Wentworth,

1980), in which language in use is a powerful medium of socialization. *Language*

socialization refers to the language-mediated interactions where it is possible for children or other novices to acquire principles of social order and belief systems in a particular speech community (Ochs, 1986). As linguistic and cultural knowledge are interconnected (Watson-Gegeo, 2004), learners can adopt linguistic and behavioral practices through which they can communicate in language socialization practices (Schieffelin, 1990). The scope of language socialization research is to encompass various interactions where novices, as newcomers into a speech community, engage in communication with experts, experienced members of the speech community, in socioculturally appropriate contexts (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). *Second language (L2) socialization* refers to socialization beyond the participants' native or dominant language and it is often associated with L2 acquisition and education. L2 socialization tends to be mediated by *experts*, those who are more proficient in the language such as teachers, for *novices*, those who are entering a new speech community such as language learners (Duff, 2011). Through L2 socialization, language learners can acquire the discursive ways to effectively communicate in the target speech community; therefore, it is claimed that language learning is a process of socialization (Goffman, 1981; Kanagy, 1999; Leung, 2001; Ortaçtepe, 2012, 2014; Ros i Solé, 2007).

In contrast with language acquisition, language socialization gives importance to learners' ability to appropriately communicate in the target language by adopting the target speech community's ways of behavior rather than the production of target-like forms of the language (Kramsch, 2002). Language socialization, however, does not consist of a set of behaviors that are specifically intended to enhance a novice's knowledge of these target norms in the new speech community. The L2 socialization process is based on the availability of conditions such as the organization of

communicative environments, the variety of communicative activities, the positioning of novices in participant roles during interactions, and so on (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). For language learners, L2 socialization is a crucial process in which they learn how to socialize in a way that is suitable to the target speech community (Vickers, 2007). In social interactions within a speech community, certain discursive strategies are adopted and they serve two functions; to convey denotational meaning and interactional messages, and also to reveal various social identities of the participants in communication (Wortham, 2003). It is argued that establishing common ground in language socialization is a requirement for interlocutors to convey denotational meaning as well as position themselves and other interlocutors appropriately in the speech context (Colston, 2008; Ortaçtepe, 2014). In this respect, the present study operationalizes second language socialization practices as the establishment of common ground and positioning of the interlocutors through sharing common ground during social interactions.

Approaches to Common Ground

Early conceptualizations of common ground include *common knowledge* (Lewis, 1969), *mutual knowledge* or *belief* (Schiffer, 1972), and *joint knowledge* (McCarthy, 1990), which provided the basis of Stalnaker's (1978) introduction of the notion of common ground. Clark (1996) defines *common ground* of two people as the accumulation of their shared knowledge, beliefs and suppositions surrounding their communication. Presently, three main approaches to common ground, *pragmatic*, *cognitive*, and *socio-cognitive*, are described in the literature.

Pragmatic theories consider communication as an intention oriented process in which speakers and hearers make joint effort to recognize and accomplish each other's intentions and goals (Clark, 1996). Therefore, it is claimed that successful

communication entails cooperation and common ground, which is regarded as the pre-existing mental representations in the mind prior to the actual communication that are later formulated in language (Clark, 1996; Clark & Brennan, 1991; Stalnaker, 1978). The pragmatic view of common ground holds a communication-as-transfer-between-minds approach to language and regards common ground as the basis to accomplish successful communication (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). While pragmatic researchers conceive communication as a joint action, the aspect of cooperation has been questioned by the proponents of the Relevance Theory, who claim that interlocutors may be unwilling to cooperate due to their individual preferences or certain motives (Wilson & Sperber, 2004).

Recent research in cognitive psychology, linguistic pragmatics, and intercultural communication, however, has challenged the pragmatic theories of common ground by investigating mental processes during communication. The resulting cognitive theories claim that pre-existing common knowledge in the speakers' minds does not significantly affect the communication process as it was claimed by pragmatic researchers. In contrast, cognitive researchers have proposed a more dynamic approach to common ground, conceptualizing it as part of ordinary memory processes (Barr, 2004; Barr & Keysar, 2005; Colston, 2008). It is also claimed that the nature of real life communication is not static and intention-driven as pragmatic theories suggest, rather it is an emergent trial-and-error process constructed by both participants (Arundale, 1999; Heritage, 1984b). This dynamic view of common ground also opposes the involvement of cooperation in the communication process and emphasizes the egocentric behaviors often adopted by interlocutors. In fact, it is claimed that participants in communication tend to rely on their own knowledge rather than the mutual knowledge between them especially at

the initial stages of the interaction (Barr & Keysar, 2005; Giora, 2003; Keysar & Bly, 1995).

In order to resolve the conflict between the pragmatic and dynamic cognitive views of common ground, Kecskés and Zhang (2009) propose an integrated concept of *assumed common ground,* a dialectical socio-cognitive approach that connects the current views. According to Kecskés and Zhang (2009), the socio-cognitive approach to common ground considers communication as the result of the interaction between *intention* and *attention*. As an integration of pragmatic and cognitive views, assumed common ground claims that cooperation, an intention-driven practice, and egocentrism, an attention-based trait, are at play in all stages of communication. It is also argued that the process of communication is accomplished through a socio-cultural background that systematically interacts with intention and attention. In Kecskés and Zhang's (2009) socio-cognitive view of common ground, intention and attention are identified as two measurable factors that systematically affect the process of communication.

In this approach, intention is seen as a dynamic force that is both central to communication and an emergent effect of the conversation. It is argued that intention is the main reason to initiate a conversation, as there is always a goal behind social interaction. In addition to this pre-planned nature of intention (Searle, 1983), there is also an emergent side that is co-constructed by interlocutors in the natural flow of communication. Three types of intentions, *informative, performative,* and *emotive* are proposed and they are claimed to be expressed in an utterance at primary or secondary levels (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). Informative intentions such as story telling indicate the speaker's aim to convey a new piece of information to the hearer. Performative intentions are exemplified as a friend's dinner invitation and they refer

to cases in which the speaker's intention is to perform an action that produces a change of state or a reaction from the hearer. Finally, emotive intentions like showing gratitude displays the speaker's intention to share his/her feelings or evaluations about a certain topic. It is argued that these various forms of intentions may be expressed at the primary (functional) level, guiding the conversation in its context, or at the secondary (constructional) level, which represents the semantically encoded and context-free interpretation of the utterance. Regardless of the kind of intentions or the levels they are expressed, intention is claimed to be formed, expressed and interpreted in the process of communication. Therefore, cooperation is seen as an effort consistently made to build up relevance to intentions by the participants of communication (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009).

Attention, on the other hand, refers to the interlocutors' existing cognitive resources that turn communication into a conscious action, and it is classified according to the different strengths it contributes to the process of communication. The *mindful* state of attention occurs when there are a lot of focused attentional resources available, *mindless* state is apparent in situations when automatic actions take place, and finally *mind-paralyzed* state is the case for scenarios in which the range of attentional resources are impaired by unusual conditions that negatively affect the interlocutors' effort of attentional processing (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). In the socio-cognitive approach to common ground, attention is measured by salience, which is affected by three factors; 1) prior information or experience included in the interlocutors' knowledge base, 2) relevance to the current context, and 3) availability of necessary attentional resources. As observed in the egocentric behavior of interlocutors in cognitive studies, speakers and hearers activate the most salient information to their attention in the construction and comprehension of

communication (Barr & Keysar, 2005; Giora, 2003; Keysar & Bly, 1995). In contrast with cognitive research focusing only on the salience of the hearer (Giora, 2003), the socio-cognitive theory emphasizes the presence of salience in both the speaker's production and the hearer's comprehension in communication (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009).

Assumed Common Ground

The socio-cognitive view of common ground proposes the concept of *assumed common ground,* based on the framework of the dynamic model of meaning (DMM), in which meaning is constructed by the message and the situational context on equal terms (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). The model rests on the assertion that language is always dependent on context, and that the meaning construction and prompting systems are culture-specific (Kecskés, 2008). Therefore, meaning is constructed through the interaction between prior and current experience, which brings about a multidimensional approach to context. According to Kecskés and Zhang (2009), context is formed at different stages of the communication process, by a range of agents from individual interlocutors to public communities, and in various forms such as linguistic and situational. This view of context is demonstrated in the following figure.
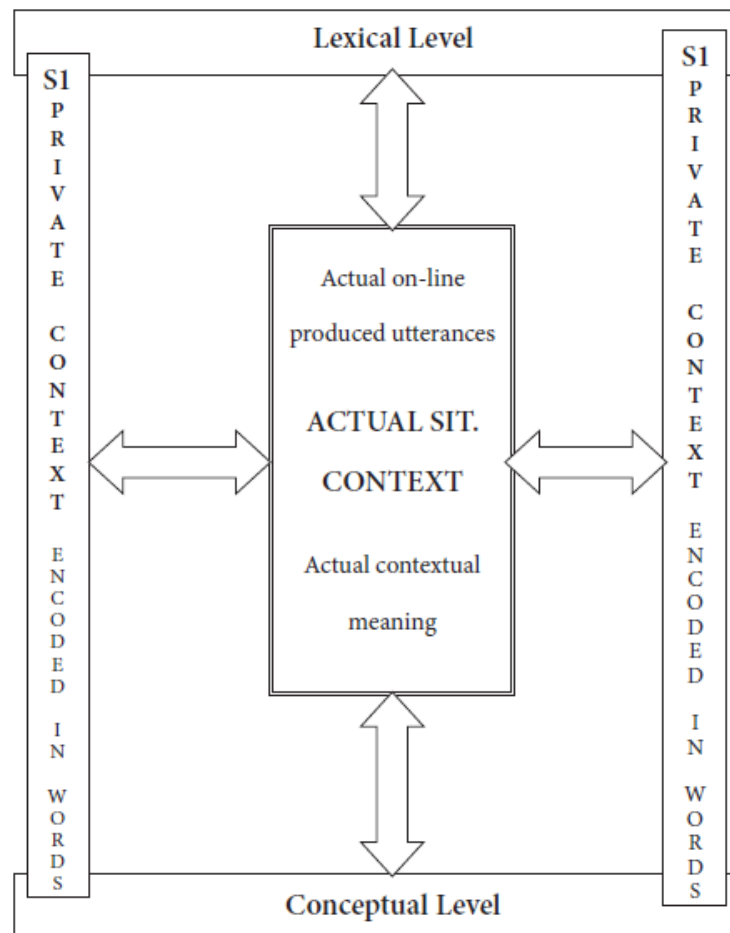
Figure 1. Socio-cognitive approach to context (Taken from Kecskés, 2008, p. 389)

In line with DMM, Kecskés and Zhang (2009) conceptualize common ground as "a cooperatively constructed mental abstraction" (p. 346) that is assumed by interlocutors; therefore, speakers and hearers in communication cannot be certain that common ground exists. According to DMM, common ground is constructed in two dimensions; 1) from the dimension of *time*, deriving from the interlocutors' prior and current communicative experience or knowledge, and 2) from the dimension of *range*, deriving from the interlocutors' shared knowledge of a community, relating to their individual experiences. It is argued that common ground is an essential part of communication as the amount of mutual knowledge shared between interlocutors enhances the efficiency of communication significantly (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009).

However, participants in communication need to establish common ground each and every time they are engaged in interaction because common ground does not simply exist, waiting to be exploited (Clark, 1996; Stalnaker, 2002). Although this dynamic view of common ground is shared by both pragmatic and socio-cognitive approaches, the establishment of common ground in communication is seen from different perspectives. Clark (1996) claims that interlocutors constantly build up common ground through an idealized contribution by contribution process, whereas the DMM states that speakers are both egocentric and cooperative in their search for common ground, emphasizing the chaotic nature of communication (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009).

Having incorporated the pragmatic and cognitive views of common ground as well as various other sources, Kecskés and Zhang (2009) identify two components of assumed common ground: *core common ground,* deriving from the speaker and hearer's shared knowledge of previous experience, and *emergent common ground,* arising from the interlocutors' individual knowledge of previous or current experience depending on the context. Core common ground consists of three subcategories: common sense, culture sense, and formal sense. *Common sense* refers to the general world knowledge that is based on our understanding and cognitive reasoning of the objective world. *Culture sense* includes general knowledge of culture-specific norms, beliefs, and values of a speech community, which is formed by observing certain norms such as moral values of a country in social life. *Formal sense* entails the general knowledge of the language system that is used in communication. Kecskés and Zhang (2009) emphasize that core common ground is an assumption made by participants in conversation rather than a fact, for two reasons. First, due to changes in people's social lives, shared knowledge of some

core common ground is subject to change over a period time. Therefore, interlocutors

may or may not share a mutual understanding of certain components of common

ground although core common ground is a relatively static form of shared knowledge

among people. Such changes in the linguistic core common ground may be

exemplified as the meaning changes of some lexical items for example, in words or

phrases like "gay, piece of cake, awesome, and patronize" (p. 348). Second, certain

aspects of core common ground may differ among individuals in a community

depending on factors such as geography, education, finance, and so on. For this

reason, interlocutors may or may not have common knowledge of certain norms,

values or behaviors, even with similar cultural backgrounds.

Compared to core common ground, which is mainly composed of

interlocutors' prior knowledge or experience, emergent common ground is claimed

to be more private and dependent on the situational context. Kecskés and Zhang

(2009) categorize emergent common ground into two; *shared sense* and *current*

sense. Shared sense includes the interlocutors' shared knowledge of their personal

experiences and it varies, depending on the relationship between interlocutors. For

instance, the shared sense that exists during a conversation between spouses may be

different from the one between colleagues; moreover, the shared experience of the

same memory may vary among people who are involved in the same past event.

Therefore, shared sense is a "dynamic assumptive feature" that requires joint effort

from interlocutors (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009, p. 349). Similarly, current sense needs

to be jointly established by the interlocutors as their perception of the current

situation may often be different due to their varying perspectives, attentional

resources, and so on. For example, participants in a conversation may react to each

other differently depending on their awareness of the situation surrounding

communication. Considering the dynamic aspects of core and emergent common

ground, it is argued that common ground between interlocutors is built based on the

assumptions that they have during communication (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009).

According to the socio-cognitive approach to common ground, common

ground involves assumptions made by the interlocutors in the course of

communication (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). Kecskés (2014) describes a 'dialectical

relationship' between core and emergent common ground, which are different

components of assumed common ground with constant internal connections, for

three reasons. First, the core part comes from "macro socio-cultural information" that

belongs to a speech community, while the "micro socio-cultural information"

specific to the individual is the root of the emergent part (p. 164). Second, the core

part changes over a long period of time, but the actual part changes at the same time

the conversation takes place. Third, the core and emergent parts may affect the

formation of each other by either restricting or expanding it. In the socio-cognitive

view, it is claimed that the core and emergent components of common ground form

the assumed common ground, which is the background that facilitates the interplay

of intention and attention (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). In the process of

communication, intention and attention contribute to common ground in three ways;

1) the activation of previously existing shared knowledge between the interlocutors,

2) seeking information that enables easier communication as mutual knowledge, and

3) addition of personal knowledge to make it part of shared common ground. Based

on these views, Kecskés and Zhang (2009) conclude that assumed common ground is

an essential part of the communication from the socio-cognitive perspective. Thus, in

this study, second language socialization practices are operationalized as common

ground with a socio-cognitive approach, and positioning, which will be discussed in the following section.

Positioning Theory

As discussed earlier, mutual knowledge shared between participants in conversation facilitates easier and smoother communication. In addition to its interactional efficacy, it is argued that the manipulation of common ground serves social affiliation (Enfield, 2008). It is proposed that while establishing common ground in communication, interlocutors also position themselves and each other with respect to the speech context (Colston, 2008; Ortaçtepe, 2014). Positioning was first conceptualized by Goffman (1979) as *alignment,* referring to the positions that are adopted by interlocutors in social situations. As it is pointed out by Tannen (1999), alignment is a form of framing that is directly linked to Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory. Davies and Harré (1990) 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). According to Davies and Harré (1990), positioning may occur *interactively*, as what an interlocutor says positions the other, or *reflexively*, when an interlocutor positions oneself. To exemplify, a participant may position oneself or be positioned by the others in a conversation as 'powerful or powerless, confident or apologetic, dominant or submissive, definitive or tentative, authorized or unauthorized' (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 17). According to positioning theory, speakers and hearers, e.g. the narrator and the audience, can negotiate identities while positioning themselves interactionally (Wortham, 2000). In line with Kecskés and Zhang's (2009) socio-cognitive view of common ground, positioning theory emphasizes the dynamic aspect of communication and argues that a conversation is a joint discursive

action. Through this process of social interaction, an individual appears as an identity that is 'constituted and reconstituted' by the various discursive practices they take part in, rather than a 'fixed end product' (Davies & Harré, 1990). In other words, the act of positioning refers to the assignment of 'fluid' roles to speakers participating in discursive acts (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). Enfield (2008) argues that in addition to the negotiation of identities in the immediate speech context, common ground building acts that enable positioning of the interlocutors yield consequences related to their interactional feature. He claims that the efforts made by the participants in conversation to establish and maintain common ground determine the type of relationship they have at a personal level.

Common Ground and Positioning in Classroom Discourse

Interaction has long been considered a significant aspect of second language acquisition. For this reason, the role of the oral interaction between teachers and students is crucial in that it affects the creation of learning environments, which eventually has impacts on the learners' development (Hall & Verplaetse, 2000). In language classrooms, classroom interaction is both the medium and the object of learning, and a common body of knowledge is constructed through the interaction between the teacher and the students (Hall & Walsh, 2002). Tsui (2004) claim that the teacher and students need to share a large common ground related to the object of learning to accomplish learning, so common ground in classroom discourse plays a significant role. Tsui (2004) define this as the "space of learning", which is "a shared space in the sense that the interaction between the teacher and the learners is felicitous only when both parties share some common ground on which further interaction can be based" (p. 185). In this respect, classroom discourse is viewed as a process in which the teacher and the students negotiate and disambiguate meanings,

as well as establishing and broadening the common ground among them (Tsui, 2004). They emphasize that the teacher and the students share certain assumptions between them and the large amount of this shared common ground facilitates the learners' meaningful contribution to classroom interaction. This is in fact in line with Kecskés and Zhang's (2009) theory of assumed common ground, which states that the participants in conversation have assumptions of how much and what kind of mutual knowledge is shared between them.

As discussed earlier, the more common ground is shared between participants in conversation, the less effort and time is needed to convey and interpret information (Kecskés, 2014). However, the amount of common ground shared in intercultural communication is believed to be smaller than intracultural encounters due to the lack of mutual background (Gumperz, 1982; Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Tannen, 2005). Thus, the interactions where students establish or maintain common ground with their NESTs might be different from the ones with NNESTs due to the amount of mutual knowledge shared among them. Considering the differences between intercultural and intracultural communication, the ways NESTs and NNESTs share common ground with their students may differ significantly. NNESTs who share similar backgrounds with their students may easily make use of their mutual knowledge, while NESTs coming from different backgrounds might encounter hardships in their interactions. Due to certain cultural differences that result in a lack of shared knowledge, establishing common ground may be more challenging, and also more important for NESTs. For this reason, some aspects of intercultural communication must be taken into consideration while discussing the establishment of common ground in the classroom. Varonis and Gass (1985) describe a 'problem approach' to intercultural communication since they claim that

because of this lack of common ground between the participants, misunderstandings are likely to occur and thus native speakers and non-native speakers are 'multiply handicapped' in their conversations when they interact with each other. Gumperz and Tannen (1979) explain this with a hypothesis that people interpret any utterance based on identifiable and familiar activity types coming from their previous experiences. Kecskés (2014) rejects this 'problem approach' to intercultural communication and claims that it is a process of both failures and successes as in any other intracultural conversation and that the participants in intercultural communication are normal communicators with their own problems and failures. He states that interlocutors in intercultural communication should seek and create common ground rather than the activation of previously existing mutual knowledge as they cannot be sure what they can consider as core common ground.

Compared to the earlier perspectives, current research into intercultural communication has adopted a 'success approach'. Kidwell (2000) investigated common ground in cross-cultural communication by focusing on the interactions between the native English-speaking receptionists and international English learners in front desk service encounters at an English language program. Through the analysis of videotaped interactions between the receptionists and the students, it was found that learners were able to formulate their requests and get assistance despite cultural differences and their linguistic deficiencies. In other words, participants in these conversations established common ground through their shared knowledge of front desk encounters that equipped them with activity types such as need/want statements, questions, reports, and so on. Koole and ten Thije (2001) proposed a 'normal communication approach' in their study investigating the construction of the word meaning during business meetings of native Dutch and Surinamese-Dutch

educational specialists in the Netherlands. They argued that intercultural communication should be considered as ordinary communication that is not characterized by misunderstandings. Ortaçtepe (2014) explored the L2 socialization of Turkish non-native speakers of English through the discursive processes and the skills they adopted in their interactions with American native English-speaking partners at a social event in the U.S. The analysis of the native and non-native speakers' social interactions in terms of their features of common ground and cooperation, as well as positioning of the interlocutors vis-à-vis each other indicated that the Turkish students adopted similar discursive processes not only to establish common ground as American speakers', but also to position themselves appropriately in the speech context. Turkish students engaged in common ground building acts and assessed, accepted, and added the emergent common ground into the immediate discourse. Kecskés (2014) promotes a 'not sure approach' to intercultural communication in which interactants don't have clear expectations from their counterparts despite having certain predispositions towards them. He further explains that the nature of these presuppositions may differ in native speakers and non-native speakers. While non-native speakers tend to anticipate problems due to their lack of core common ground or previous experiences of misunderstandings, native speakers view this 'not sure' approach as a general phenomenon related to language proficiency issues. As a result, non-native speakers often monitor their production, pay constant attention to cooperation, give unnecessarily detailed information, and so on. For native speakers, on the other hand, this approach can be evidenced by the use of excessive gestures, repetitions, supplying background information, and so on.

It is clear that common ground building acts are significant for intercultural as well as intracultural communication. The establishment of common ground in

language classrooms serves another purpose due to its social affiliational features. In their interaction with students, teachers are claimed to take on many roles such as controller, prompter, participant, resource, tutor, and so on (Harmer, 2007). Considering the dynamic aspect of identity negotiation in Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory, it might be argued that teachers tend to position themselves in their interaction with the students rather than having fixed roles assigned to them. As in any other conversation, teachers and students assign themselves and each other fluid roles by participating in discursive acts such as establishing common ground (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). Depending on the activity type or the situational context, teachers may act as an information source, cultural mediator, academic counsellor, and so on. As the establishment of common ground is also a resource for social affiliation (Enfield, 2008), the teacher's and the students' common ground building acts in conversation may position themselves and each other. This may also have consequences in shaping the future of their relationship since the ways common ground is established in conversation are claimed to influence the interactional future of the participants (Enfield, 2008). As a consequence, the establishment of common ground that enables the positioning of both the teacher and students in conversation may act as rapport building behavior since it shapes the relationship between them. As positive rapport between the teacher and students is key to develop a good learning environment (Harmer, 2007), teacher-student interaction where common ground is established and maintained plays a significant role in classroom discourse.

Conclusion

This chapter provided a review of literature regarding the history of NEST and NNEST research, and presented the strengths and weaknesses of each group from previous studies. Next, the theory of language socialization and its

operationalization as common ground and positioning were discussed. The chapter was concluded with the integration of language socialization practices into language classrooms.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study investigates the similarities and differences between NESTs and NNESTs in regard to their social interactions in EFL classrooms. More specifically, this study examines their practices of building common ground and positioning during teacher-student interactions in tertiary level language classrooms in an EFL context. In this respect, the following research questions are addressed:

How do NESTs and NNESTs differ in terms of the second language socialization processes in EFL classrooms?

i. In what ways do they establish common ground with students in their social interactions?

ii. In what ways do they position themselves while establishing common ground?

This chapter consists of five main sections. In the first section, the research setting and the participants are introduced. In the second section, data collection tools, namely classroom observations, field notes, and researcher journal are explained in detail. In the third section, research design is described. In the fourth section, data analysis procedures are given. In the final section, procedures of data collection and analysis are provided.

Setting and Participants

This study was conducted at the preparatory year English language program of Bilkent University, a tertiary level institution in Ankara, Turkey. At this

university, English-medium instruction is provided in all departments; therefore, students are required to pass a proficiency exam at B2 level with a minimum of 60% success. If students cannot get a score higher than 60%, they are required to attend an intensive language program. At the preparatory English program, classes are taught by both local instructors who usually share the same L1 with the students, and international instructors coming from a variety of countries such as the U.S., the U.K., Ireland, South Africa, and so on. Lessons are taught in English by both NESTs and NNESTs, and there is no distinction among NESTs or NNESTs with regard to the skills they teach since an integrated syllabus is followed. It is also common practice to have NEST and NNEST partners who teach the same class in turns, so students have access to both local and international instructors. At this school, there is a modular system consisting of beginner, elementary, pre-intermediate, intermediate, upper-intermediate, and pre-faculty modules. Students study each module for two months and they are assigned to different classes and instructors randomly at the beginning of each module. In this study, classes were observed during the first week of a new module in the 2016-2017 spring semester, when instructors and students often get to know each other and establish rapport. For this study, instructors who had not previously taught the same students were selected as participants.

Participants of this study were three NESTs and three NNESTs who were instructors at the preparatory year English program. Three classes taught by NEST and NNEST teaching partners were selected for data collection based on the instructors' time schedule and voluntariness. Participants were asked to sign a consent form prior to the observations. Detailed information about the participants and the classes they teach is provided below.

Table 2

Demographic Information of the Participants

Class #	Name*	Teaching experience	Nationality	L1
1	Paul	2 years	American	English
	Buket	13 years	Turkish	Turkish
2	Ursula	4 years	American	English
	Ayfer	6 years	Turkish	Turkish
3	Joanne	3 years	South African	English
	Mine	5 years	Turkish	Turkish

*All pseudonyms

The students in these classes were at pre-intermediate and intermediate levels and each class consisted of 12-17 students aged between 18 and 21. They were also asked to sign consent forms prior to the observations.

Research Design

In this study, qualitative research strategies were used to analyze NESTs' and NNESTs' establishment of common ground and positioning in their teacher-student interactions. Research instruments included classroom observations, field notes and a researcher journal. Details of the data collection and analysis are described in the following sections.

Data Collection

The data for this study were collected through three instruments: classroom observations, field notes taken during observations, and a researcher journal including the researcher's reflections following the observations.

Classroom Observations

Classroom observations were selected as the main data collection tool as they provide direct information rather than self-report accounts regarding a phenomenon (Dörnyei, 2007). The observations were conducted at the aforementioned tertiary level preparatory year English program since classes are often taught by NEST and

NNEST partners. NESTs and NNESTs teaching the same class were observed to make a more reliable comparison between these two groups of instructors. It is argued that covert observations are more suitable to capture the reality as people tend to behave differently when they are aware that they are being observed (Patton, 2002). Thus, the participants were informed that the aim of the study was to explore the interaction between the teacher and the students, but they were not informed about the specific focus of the study. In order to observe as much teacher-student interaction as possible, speaking and pre-teaching stages of lessons were observed. Observations were conducted in the first week of a new module, when students meet their new instructors, as common ground with students is often established at the beginning of a new module. The same classes were observed for the second time during the fifth week of the same course to explore the NESTs' and NNESTs' social interactions after a month of teaching and getting to know the students. The researcher joined lessons as a nonparticipant observer and made unstructured observations to watch what is taking place before deciding on its significance (Dörnyei, 2007). The observed lessons were audio recorded and a total of 640 minutes of data were collected from the observations. In the data, 48 instances where common ground was shared were identified. The details of the recorded data are presented in the table below.

Table 3

Detailed Record of the Data

Participant	Recording time (min)		Number of instances		Duration of instances (min)	
	Week 1	Week 5	Week 1	Week 5	Week 1	Week 5
Ursula	50	70	6	3	10	9.5
Paul	50	50	4	2	6.5	2
Joanne	50	50	3	2	5	4
NESTs total	150	170	13	7	21.5	15.5
Ayfer	50	70	7	2	11.5	4

Table 3

Detailed Record of the Data (cont'd)

Buket	50	50	4	4	5	5
Mine	50	50	6	5	10.5	10
NNESTs total	150	170	17	11	27	19
Total	300	340	30	18	48.5	34.5

As seen in Table 3, the data included a total of 300 minutes of audio recorded in

Week 1. In the first week of the observations, 13 instances of common ground

establishment by NESTs were recorded. The duration of these instances were 21,5

minutes in total. As for NNESTs, 17 instances with a duration of 27 minutes were

recorded. In Week 5, the total duration of recordings were 340 minutes. There were 7

instances of common ground with a total duration of 15,5 minutes by NESTs. The

total number of instances for NNESTs was 11 and the duration of the recorded

instances was 19 minutes in total. The criteria for the selection of conversations

involving common ground will be given in the next section.

Field Notes and Research Journal

As secondary instruments, the researcher took field notes in the form of a

running commentary while observing the lessons to record details about the

indicators of rapport between teacher and the students, and general impressions about

the classroom atmosphere that might help data analysis. After each observation, the

researcher wrote her reflections on the lesson in a researcher journal, considering the

incidents where common ground was built and the positioning of the instructor

during them to achieve an overall understanding of the social interactions between

the teachers and their students. During data analysis, the researcher's field notes and

reflections provided some context for these instances that might have been forgotten

after completing all the observations. Using these instruments, the ways NESTs and

NNESTs establish common ground and their effect on the teachers' positioning through language socialization were discussed and arising patterns were described in comparison with each other.

Data Analysis

The collected data were analyzed in several steps. First, the audio-recordings went through a process of tape analysis with the help of the field notes taken during the observations and the researcher journal with the purpose of identifying incidents related to the establishment of common ground. At first, the researcher went through the recordings with an unmotivated look, and then created some criteria in light of the literature to identify conversations involving common ground.

Table 4

Criteria for Identifying Instances of Common Ground in Conversations between Teachers and Students

Core common ground	
Common sense	• There is a misunderstanding about an aspect of daily life.
	• A reference is made to an aspect of daily life.
Culture sense	• A cultural difference between the teacher and the students is highlighted.
	• A cultural similarity between the teacher and the students is highlighted.
	• There is a misunderstanding between the teacher and the students due to a lack of shared knowledge.
	• A reference is made to the knowledge of cultural norms, beliefs, and values of the local community.

Table 4

Criteria for Identifying Instances of Common Ground in Conversations between

Teachers and Students (cont'd)

Formal sense	• The teacher and the students communicate in English.
	• The teacher and the students communicate in Turkish.
	• There is a misunderstanding/communication breakdown due to the teacher's lack of knowledge in Turkish.
	• There is a misunderstanding/communication breakdown due to the students' lack of knowledge in English.
Emergent common ground	
Shared sense	• The teacher and/or the students learn something new about each other.
	• The teacher and/or the students refer to something they already know about each other.
	• The teacher and/or the students refer to their shared previous personal experiences.
Current sense	• The teacher and/or the students' perception of the current situation is expressed by themselves.

As seen in Table 4, observable behaviors that might indicate the establishment of

common ground were listed to enable the researcher to make a selection of excerpts

from the data base. A total of 48 conversations involving common ground were

selected using the abovementioned criteria.

Second, the selected parts of the recordings were transcribed using Jefferson's

transcript notations (Atkinson & Heritage, 2006). Nonverbal behaviors such as

gestures and laughs that might contribute to the interaction were also included in the

transcriptions. The transcription of the recorded observations resulted in a total of

1055-line database out of 48 excerpts of common ground establishment in the NESTs' and NNESTs' conversations with the students. Third, transcriptions were analyzed using an analytical framework (see Appendix A) adapted from Kecskés and Zhang's (2009) socio-cognitive perspective on common ground and Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory through discourse analysis. As discourse analysis enables the investigation of how language is used to make sense of the situation and how situational context is used to understand aspects of the language (Gee, 2005), it is selected as the method of analysis for this study.

While analyzing conversations involving common ground, some patterns were noticed in relation to core and emergent common ground. In relation to *culture sense*, i.e. the generalized knowledge of cultural norms, beliefs, and values of the community (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009), core common ground was either 'established' to overcome a lack of shared knowledge, or 'maintained' to activate the already existing background knowledge between the teacher and the students. Similarly, in relation to *shared sense,* emergent common ground was either 'established' by referring to the teacher and the students' previous experiences, or 'maintained' by activating what they already share in their common knowledge. This enabled the researcher to develop two codes for the analytical framework: 1) *establishment of common ground*, meaning the creation of new common ground, 2) *maintenance of common ground*, involving the activation of already existing common ground. As for *formal sense,* i.e. the generalized knowledge of the language system used in social interaction (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009), the conversations between the teachers and the students were found to be either monolingual or bilingual. More specifically, teacher-student interactions involving common ground were in English, or in two languages, namely Turkish and English.

After analyzing the establishment and maintenance of common ground using the analytical framework, a list of descriptors to identify the teachers' positioning was created through emergent coding. Observable behaviors that might indicate the teachers' positioning in their conversations were listed to enable the researcher to analyze NESTs' and NNESTs' positioning.

Table 5

Criteria for Identifying the Teachers' Positioning through Common Ground

Interactive positioning	• What the teacher and/or the students say positions the other
Reflexive positioning	• What the teacher says positions him/herself
Outsider	• The teacher detaches him/herself from the local community.
	• The teacher talks about his/her experiences as a foreigner in the local community.
Outsider who is trying to become an insider	• The teacher shows his/her awareness and/or knowledge of the local culture.
	• The teacher seems interested in learning about the local culture.
	• The teacher talks about his/her experiences as someone who knows about the local culture.
Insider	• The teacher emphasizes the similarities between him/herself and the students.
	• The teacher expresses his/her inside knowledge about cultural norms, beliefs or values.
Cultural mediator	• The teacher creates a platform for learning about different cultures.
Source of information	• The teacher provides information about language or world knowledge.

An 'ad hoc' approach was adopted while analyzing the classroom discourse since it enables observers to focus on specific features of the interaction that can be

described and interpreted later on (Walsh, 2011). Adopting such an approach allowed the researcher to design and later adapt the analytical framework and the criteria for identifying instances of common ground and positioning mentioned above to promote the understanding of language socialization practices that are explored in this study. Finally, to ensure the reliability of the analysis, ten percent of the transcriptions were given to an expert in the field and asked to analyze them using the same analytical framework. She used the same codes and criteria described above and made comments on the analytical framework for each excerpt. Then, her analysis and the researcher's was compared to identify any differences of interpretation. The comparison between the two analyses provided similar results. In the few cases where there were differences, those specific points were considered for further analysis. Excerpts that were found significant during both analyses were selected for the discussion of findings.

Procedure

Having gained the permissions from the Ethics Committee of Bilkent University and Bilkent University School of English Language, the local institution where the data were collected, the researcher announced the call for participants through an email and approached some native and non-native colleagues who were assigned as teaching partners personally. A total of six instructors, three NESTs and three NNESTs, were selected based on the instructors' time schedule and voluntariness. Once the teaching timetables for the new module were ready, a timetable for the observations was drawn and arrangements were made with the participants. Both the instructors and the students were informed that the lessons were to be audio recorded and they were asked to sign consent forms before the observations. Classroom observations were conducted at the beginning of the 2016-

2017 academic year spring semester. Another group of observations were conducted with the same participants during the fifth week of the semester. The recordings were transcribed and later analyzed in the following weeks by the researcher.

Researcher's Role

As the researcher in this study, I joined classes as a nonparticipant observer, so I did not take part in the observed lessons as a teacher or a student. However, my experiences as an instructor at this preparatory program helped me provide insights into the teaching practices and the participants' interactions with their students. The fact that I am also a non-native English speaker sharing the same L1 and the cultural background with the students, like the NNEST participants of the study, enabled me to interpret the data more effectively and make comparisons between NESTs and NNESTs to a larger extent. Being an insider at the local institution, I had an emic perspective since I was in a position to make meaningful distinctions as a person within the target culture (Patton, 2002).

Conclusion

In this chapter of the study, detailed information concerning the setting, participants, and the data collection was provided. Research design, data analysis and procedures were also described. In the next chapter, in-depth analysis of the data regarding the establishment of common ground and the positioning of NESTs and NNESTs will be given.

CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

In this chapter, data coming from classroom observations are analyzed using the analytical framework adapted from Kecskés and Zhang's (2009) socio-cognitive approach to common ground through discourse analysis (see Appendix A for analytical framework). The analysis of the data will be presented in relation to the two research questions addressed in this study.

Research Question 1: In what ways do NESTs and NNESTs establish common ground with their students in their social interactions?

In this section, findings regarding the above mentioned research question are discussed in relation to how core and emergent common ground were shared by NEST and NNESTs. Below, findings related to core and emergent common ground are discussed respectively.

Establishing and maintaining core common ground

Core common ground, which refers to the interlocutors' shared knowledge of previous experience, consists of *common sense, culture sense,* and *formal sense. Common sense* relates to the general world knowledge of the speaker and the hearer, while *culture sense* includes the general knowledge of culture-specific norms of a community, and *formal sense* entails the knowledge of the language that is used in conversation (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). In this section, frequencies in regards to core common ground will be presented. Then, excerpts from the data will be provided to illustrate the results, and findings will be discussed in relation to the results.

Table 6

Frequencies for NESTs' and NNESTs' Establishment and Maintenance of Core

Common Ground

	NESTs			NNESTs		
	Week 1 (Total 13)	Week 5 (Total 7)	Total (Total 20)	Week 1 (Total 17)	Week 5 (Total 11)	Total (Total 28)
<u>Common sense</u>						
CG established	1	1	2	1	0	1
CG maintained	0	0	0	3	0	3
<u>Culture sense</u>						
CG established	8	3	11	1	0	1
CG maintained	6	1	7	15	6	21
<u>Formal sense</u>						
English	12	6	18	5	4	9
English & Turkish	1	1	2	12	7	19

In Table 6, two codes developed in the data analysis process were used to describe

core common ground. The first one, the *establishment of common ground* is recorded

as "CG established" and it refers to the creation of new common ground between

teachers and students by negotiating information relating to *common sense* and

culture sense. Some descriptors for the establishment of core common ground

include teaching or learning information relating to generalized knowledge of the

world or cultural norms, beliefs or values of the local community (see Table 4 for the

list of descriptors to identify core common ground). The second code, the

maintenance of common ground is recorded as "CG maintained" and it refers to the

activation of previously existing shared knowledge between teachers and students

relating to *common sense* and *culture sense*. Some descriptors for the maintenance of

core common ground involve the activation of schemata relating to generalized

knowledge of the world or cultural norms, beliefs or values of the local community.

As for *formal sense*, frequencies are reported for the use of English and Turkish in

the conversations between teachers and students.

As seen in Table 6, in terms of *common sense*, i.e. the shared knowledge of natural science available to us in our daily life (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009), the number of instances where common sense is shared is quite low for both groups. More specifically, there are only two instances of common ground establishment by the NESTs, while common sense is established once and maintained three times by the NNESTs.

As for *culture sense*, i.e. the generalized knowledge of cultural norms, beliefs, and values of the community (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009), the data includes 11 instances of common ground establishment and seven instances of maintaining common ground out of 20 excerpts in total by NESTs. NNESTs, on the other hand, establish common ground within *culture sense* only once and maintain common ground in 21 instances out of 28 excerpts in total. These results indicate a difference between NESTs and NNESTs regarding the ways common ground is shared within *culture sense*. NESTs seem to build new common ground rather than maintain old ones to overcome the lack of shared knowledge with their students while NNESTs activate the existing shared knowledge deriving from their speech community more than they share new information with their students.

With respect to *formal sense,* i.e. the generalized knowledge of the language system used in social interaction (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009), out of 20 conversations with NESTs, 18 are in English, and in two conversations, Turkish is also used by the students. This shows that NESTs use English in their social interactions with their students involving common ground despite some linguistic problems resulting either from the students' language deficiencies or the NESTs' lack of Turkish knowledge. In the instances where there is a lack of linguistic knowledge, NESTs and the

students often try to find common ground to achieve communication. Out of 28 excerpts with NNESTs, nine conversations are only in English while 19 of them include both English and Turkish. Although the majority of the conversations between NNESTs and students include both L1 and L2, it is often the students who resort to their L1 to ask questions or give explanations. At the moments when the students speak in Turkish, NNESTs either respond to them in English or warn them to repeat what they are saying in English. Regardless of their reaction to the students' Turkish utterances, it is clear that NNESTs make use of the students' L1 to share common ground. Since they share the same L1 with their students, NNESTs are able to understand whether they can activate their mutual knowledge or there is a need to seek and find common ground. In this sense, the use of L1 in NNESTs' interactions with their students facilitates the establishment and maintenance of common ground.

Finally, a comparison between the number of instances recorded in the first and fifth weeks of the course indicates a decrease in the core common ground establishment and maintenance both by NESTs and NNESTs. NESTs establish about 19% less and maintain 32% less in *culture sense.* Similarly, NNESTs maintain about 34% less common ground in *culture sense.*

Based on these results regarding core common ground in relation to *common sense*, *culture sense*, and *formal sense*, two findings can be reported in regards to the ways NESTs and NNESTs establish core common ground with their students in their social interactions. First, NESTs and NNESTs differ in the ways they share core common ground in relation to *culture sense* during their interactions with their students. Second, there is a difference between NESTs and NNESTs regarding the core common ground shared in relation to *formal sense.* Below, excerpts will be

provided to illustrate the abovementioned results. Then, findings based on these results will be discussed in detail.

Excerpt 1. NESTs often establish core common ground in relation to culture sense to overcome the lack of shared knowledge between themselves and their students. In Excerpt 1, Ursula, an NEST, builds common ground about a cultural difference between Turkey and her home country, America. The following conversation takes place in a speaking lesson on polite and rude behaviors when Ursula asks the students whether asking someone about their grades is rude or not.

	T:	Number four,
	S1:	[It's terrible]
	T:	[asking someone about their grade. So for example, you take, you have a quiz, in class, and you say, oh, um, Ahmet, what did you get? On the quiz? What is
25		your grade on the quiz?
	S2:	=Ok.
	T:	Ok?
	S3:	Teacher, it's a change. My exam is bad, it's VERY RUDE, but,
	T:	[but, when you ask, you don't <u>kno:w</u>.
30	S1:	=It's Ok.
	T:	What do you guys have?
	S4:	Ok.
	S2:	Ok.
	T:	Ok, Ok, Ok, Ok?
35	S3:	In America?
	T:	Sorry, not listening. Number four?

S3:   Ursula, America? In America?

T: For me personally, I think America also two or three. I say this is rude. <u>I</u> never

        ask. I don't ask my sister, I don't ask my brother. But, when I came to Turkey, I

40   came to Turkey, I was very surprised. <u>Every</u> quiz, <u>every</u> CAT I say ∘this is your

        score, ∘this is your quiz, and then immediately, WHAT'D YOU GET?

        WHAT'D YOU GET? WHAT'S YOUR SCORE? WHAT'S YOUR SCORE?

        ∘no, no don't say it, it's secret. Because,

S2:   [Ama doğru ya, it's not kind. {You're right,}

45   T: [I don't want them to feel bad. But you think everyone OK?

S4:   =Ok.

T: Alright, interesting. Difference.

In this conversation, a cultural difference between Turkey and America regarding the rules of politeness is highlighted. In lines 26, 30, 32, and 33, several students state that it is appropriate to ask someone about their exam scores, so it might be argued that this is not a rude behavior in the local culture. In line 29, Ursula signals the difference in her opinion, and in line 38, she clearly expresses that it is not an acceptable behavior in America, following a question directed by a student (lines 35 and 37). Here, there seems to be a lack of core common ground regarding *culture sense* between the teacher and the students in terms of politeness. Through lines 39 to 43, Ursula emphasizes this cultural difference by giving personal examples and telling a narrative of her previous experiences in Turkey. Following this, common ground is established in lines 44 and 46, when a student agrees with the teacher and the teacher comments on this cultural difference as interesting.

Excerpt 2. In contrast to NESTs, NNESTs tend to activate the already existing shared knowledge between themselves and their students to maintain common ground in relation to *culture sense.* In Excerpt 2, Ayfer, an NNEST, refers to a local institution to teach language. During the pre-teaching stage of the lesson, Ayfer revises vocabulary related to the topic of the lesson. She gives an example about the Turkish unemployment agency "İşkur" to exemplify the collocation "work with unemployed people".

460	T:	When we are talking about places, I told you, we use in. You can work in Ulus, you can work in an office. You can work in a factory bla bla. When you are talking about the company, the owner, who pays you your money, for. With?
	S1:	Somebody.
	T:	People. I work with, who are you?
	S1:	Classmates.
465	T:	Classmates? Students. I work with students or I work with young people. Ok? I work with teenagers. We work together. Alright? So, look at the box here, part 1. Look at the box, and can you please put these under the suitable part? Which preposition? Let's do one of them together. Unemployed people?
	S2:	With.
470	T:	Unemployed?
	S1:	İşsiz. {Unemployed}
	S2:	İşsiz kişi demek. {It means unemployed people}
	T:	Ok. Somebody who doesn't have a job.
	S2:	=No job.
475	T:	Alright, what can we say? Work with unemployed people. Who works with unemployed people? Who?

S1:	Türkçe'sini biliyor muyum? {Do I know the Turkish for it?}
S2:	Kim çalışır ki? {Who works with them anyway?}
S3:	İşsizler kimle mi çalışır? {Who works with unemployed people?}

480   T: No. Work with unemployed people. Somebody works with unemployed people.

                Who is that?

       S2:   Who is somebody?

       T: (0.3) İşkur.

       S2:   Haa.

485   T: Türkiye İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu. They work with unemployed people. They

                need to find jobs for these people. Yeah?

In this conversation, Ayfer makes a reference to the local context that is part of *culture sense* to teach vocabulary, and this enables her to maintain core common ground. After checking the meaning of the word in lines 470 to 474, she tries to elicit an example from the students in line 480. At first, the students cannot come up with the answer and one of the students asks "Who is somebody?" in line 482. Following this, Ayfer gives away the answer "İşkur" in line 483. The student's expression showing his understanding in line 484 indicates the shared knowledge related to the local community. Here, it is clear that both the teacher and the students share "İşkur" as their core common ground, which the teacher uses to consolidate the students' vocabulary learning.

In Excerpts 1 and 2, the difference between NESTs and NNESTs in regards to core common ground is clearly indicated. There is a lack of common knowledge about a polite behavior between the NEST and the students in Excerpt 1, so common ground is built by raising awareness of this cultural difference. In Excerpt 2,

however, the NNEST refers to a local institution that is part of their core common

ground to give an example of the target vocabulary. Here, common ground relating

to the local culture is activated in the conversation between the NNEST and the

students.

Finding 1. NESTs and NNESTs differ in the ways they share core common

ground in their interactions with their students in relation to *culture sense*, i.e. the

generalized knowledge of cultural norms, beliefs, and values of the community

(Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). More specifically, NESTs establish core common ground

to overcome a lack of knowledge about cultural norms, beliefs or values. In the

conversations between NESTs and students, there is often a lack of shared

knowledge in terms of local traditions, rules of politeness, or aspects of popular

culture. Therefore, NESTs often build new common ground with their students to

overcome misunderstandings or fix communication breakdowns. Since the

pedagogical focus of the conversations between NESTs and their students is on

meaning and fluency, their aim in establishing common ground is to maximize the

opportunities for classroom interaction (Seedhouse, 2004). NNESTs, on the other

hand, maintain their existing common knowledge about the local culture rather than

making new connections. They often refer to their shared background in terms of

local places, common practices, social behavior, and so on to activate students'

schemata. Most of the time, NNESTs' conversations involving the activation of core

common ground have a teaching purpose. NNESTs tend to activate the mutual

knowledge they share with their students to exemplify a teaching point, to check the

students' understanding of the subject matter or consolidate the students' learning.

Therefore, NNESTs tend to have an instructional purpose in their agenda while they

maintain common ground to facilitate classroom instruction.

As seen in Table 6, NESTs' conversations with their students take place in English to a large extent while NNESTs' conversations involve both English and Turkish. This difference in relation to *formal sense* is illustrated in the following excerpts.

Excerpt 3. In Excerpt 3, the conversation between Ursula, an NEST, and her students continue in English despite their lack of shared knowledge. In a discussion about the similarities and differences in politeness between Turkish and American culture, Ursula asks students whether kissing in the corridor at school is rude or not.

	T:	Number ten, kissing your boyfriend or girlfriend in the corridor.
90	S1:	= Yeah, very very okay.
	S2:	= <u>OK</u> ya ↑
	T:	It's <u>very</u> okay?
	S1:	Teacher, my hometown, in my hometown, it's very (0.2) rude, but, mm in Bilkent, it's normal.
95	T:	Aha? What do <u>you</u> think?
	S3:	Ama, not French kiss yani, {But, not French kiss I mean}
	S2:	Maybe, maybe İzmir, it's okay.
	S1:	(laughs)
	T:	(laughs) Depends on your hometown? What do you guys say?
100	S3:	Two
	T:	Two?
	S1:	Teacher!
	T:	One?
	S1:	Not a problem for me.

105 T: Not a problem for you?

S1:   Teacher! You?

T: I would say, in like an American high school or university, one. Okay. It's <u>very</u>, <u>very</u> common. More common than here. So, I'm used to it. <u>I</u> don't think it's rude. I think maybe Turkish teachers think it's rude? ↑ (asking for the approval

110   of the researcher) but I don't. I don't know, I've walked with Turkish teachers and say "Students!" (with a disapproving tone) I'm like "What?" "Kissing in the hall!" I'm like aha, oh? Yeah? ↑ Bad!

In this conversation, there is a lack of core common ground in relation to *culture sense* about politeness rules. In Turkey, kissing in public may be offensive in some parts, but in America, it is a common behavior. Through lines 106 to 112, the teacher establishes common ground by raising awareness of the difference between the local culture and her own background through the use of a narrative about her experiences in Turkey. With regard to *formal sense,* the whole conversation takes place in English. The establishment of common ground in English provides an opportunity for the students to engage in second language socialization. In doing so, they focus on negotiation of meaning, rather than linguistic accuracy. As the students are motivated to share information about the topic of the conversation, they take part in a conversation that enables real life language use.

Excerpt 4. NNESTs' conversations with their students are dominated by English, but Turkish is also present in almost all of the instances of common ground establishment. Although the teachers choose to respond in English, students often form sentences in Turkish, which NNESTs use to assume the amount of common ground they have. This is also the case in Excerpt 4, where Ayfer, an NNEST, builds common ground with the help of students' responses in L1. The following

conversation takes place during the pre-teaching stage of a reading lesson, where Ayfer elicits the meaning of the word "commute" from the students to introduce the topic of the text.

	T:	Yasin, where do you live?
345	S1:	Dormitory.
	T:	Where do you live?
	S2:	Home. In home.
	T:	Where in exactly?
	S2:	Bağlıca.
350	T:	Bağlıca. (writes on the board) Where are we?
	S1:	School, Bilkent.
	S3:	Mesafe mi? {Is it the distance?}
	T:	What? Verb.
	S3:	Ulaşma mı? {Is it transportation?}

355 T: Yeah, yeah, you're on the right track. Work on it, but it's a verb. Tahsin lives in Bağlıca and you need to come to Bilkent every day. For school. I am also in Bilkent, but this is my job. I come here for work. And I live in 100. Yıl. Do you know the place? 100. Yıl?

S1: =Yes.

T: Close. So every day, from Bağlıca or 100. Yıl, we need to come to this place.

360 For school, or for my work. For my job. This is commuting. Ok? Travelling. Travel. Every day.

S3: Same thing travel?

T: No. There is a purpose here. For school or for your work. Ok? To travel,

S2:   [Zorunluluk? {Obligation?}

365	T:	=No, no. To travel every day for work or for school. [This is the meaning
	S2:	[Türkçe karşılığı var mı hocam? {Does it have a Turkish equivalent?}
	T:	What do you think?
	S3:	Yani, {I mean,}
	S2:	Gidip gelen kişi değil mi? {Isn't it the person who travels?}
370	S3:	Düzenli olarak yapılan bir travel mı? {Is it a regular travel?}
	T:	(laughs) Yes. Do you understand the verb?
	S2:	Yes.
	T:	Ok, that's it. You don't need to find a Turkish word. Ok? Travel for school or work <u>every</u> day. Ok? I don't think you will find a Turkish word. How many
375		minutes does it take from Bağlıca to Bilkent?
	S2:	15 minutes.
	T:	<u>15</u>? ↑ (surprised) Like one five?
	S2:	15. On beş. {Fifteen}
	T:	(laughs) Really? Bağlıca, Bilkent?
380	S3:	Uçakla geliyo herhalde. (everybody laughs) {I guess he's coming by plane}
	S2:	Trafik olmayınca o kadar sürüyor. {It takes that long without traffic.}
	T:	Allah Allah! (surprised) It takes 20 minutes for me.
	S3:	Hocam ben Ümitköy'de oturuyorum, buraya bir buçuk saatte geliyorum. (everybody laughs) {I live in Ümitköy, and it takes me an hour and a half}
385	T:	(laughs) Are you sure, Tahsin? Do you have a car?
	S2:	Yes.
	T:	That's why. Ok.

Having set the context of travelling between home and school/work, Ayfer asks the

student how long his commute takes in line 376, which indicates a lack of core

common ground about the commuting time. Although the teacher and the students share common ground about these locations in Ankara (lines 349, 351, 358, and 359), they lack common ground about the distance between them which is part of *culture sense*. This lack of core common ground is evidenced by the teacher's surprise in line 378 and 383, and another student's joke in line 381. Then, the teacher establishes common ground by asking about the student's means of travel in line 387. In terms of *formal sense*, both English and Turkish are used to communicate. The students speak in their L1, Turkish, throughout the conversation, but the teacher maintains the medium of instruction in English, although Turkish is her native language as well. The students' L1 utterances in lines 352, 354, 364, 369, and 370 help the teacher gain an idea about the students' understanding of the target vocabulary, and this makes it easier for her to establish common ground related to commuting. In lines 372 to 374, she establishes common ground which is relevant to *formal sense* by providing information about Turkish. Here, the teacher uses her knowledge of L1 to establish common ground about target language.

As illustrated in Excerpts 3 and 4, NESTs' and NNESTs' conversations where they share core common ground with their students differ to a large extent in relation to *formal sense.* In Excerpt 3, the interaction between Ursula and her students continue in English despite the gap in their shared knowledge. They eventually establish common ground by learning about each other's cultural norms, so they negotiate information through social interaction. Similarly, there is a lack of shared knowledge in relation to Ayfer and her students' core common ground in Excerpt 4, but the way Ayfer overcomes this lack of knowledge is different from Ursula in relation to *formal sense.* While Ursula and her students learn from each other through their social interaction, Ayfer and her students' conversation makes

use of an additional factor: their common L1. The students' Turkish utterances in Extract 4 help Ayfer to decide on the amount of common ground already shared, or recently established, so she uses L1 to her advantage to achieve communication.

Finding 2. NESTs and NNESTs differ in their conversations with the students while establishing common ground in relation to *formal sense,* i.e. the generalized knowledge of the language system used in social interaction (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). NESTs share common ground with their students in English in almost all their conversations with the students. NNESTs, however, use both English and Turkish to interact with their students. NNESTs almost always continue speaking in English and sometimes warn the students to switch to English, but students often use Turkish, their L1, to make comments or ask questions. Since the NNESTs share the same L1 with the students, the students' utterances in Turkish make it easier for NNESTs to check if they are on the same page, and therefore, establish common ground effectively.

Establishing and maintaining emergent common ground

Emergent common ground is dependent on the interlocutors' shared knowledge of the current context and involves two components: *shared sense* and *current sense*. *Shared sense* derives from the interlocutors' personal experiences and is based on their personal relationships, while *current sense* refers to how the interlocutors perceive the current situation (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). In this section, the frequencies related to emergent common ground will be given. Next, excerpts regarding emergent common ground will be discussed to illustrate the results and findings based on these results will be presented.

Table 7

Frequencies for NESTs' and NNESTs' Establishment and Maintenance of Emergent Common Ground

	NESTs			NNESTs		
	Week 1 (Total 13)	Week 5 (Total 7)	Total (Total 20)	Week 1 (Total 17)	Week 5 (Total 11)	Total (Total 28)
Shared sense						
CG established	2	4	6	8	4	12
CG maintained	6	2	8	6	2	8
Current sense						
CG established	1	0	1	0	0	0
CG maintained	0	0	0	0	0	0

In Table 7, two codes developed in the data analysis process were used to describe emergent common ground. The first one, the *establishment of common ground* is recorded as "CG established" and it refers to the creation of new common ground between teachers and students by negotiating information relating to *shared sense* and *current sense*. Some descriptors for the establishment of emergent common ground include teaching or learning information relating to particularized knowledge about shared personal experiences and their perception of the current situation between teachers and students (see Table 4 for the list of descriptors to identify emergent common ground). The second code, the *maintenance of common ground* is recorded as "CG maintained" and it refers to the activation of previously existing shared knowledge between teachers and students relating to *shared sense* and *current sense*. Some descriptors for the maintenance of emergent common ground involve the activation of schemata relating to particularized knowledge about shared personal experiences and their perception of the current situation between teachers and students.

As seen in Table 7, there is not much of a difference between the amount of new common ground and activation of the already existing ones by NESTs and NNESTs. Emergent common ground is established and maintained by NESTs and NNESTs within *shared sense,* i.e. the particularized knowledge of the interlocutors' shared personal experiences (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009), to a large extent. Out of 20 conversations, *shared sense* is established in six instances of common ground and maintained in eight instances by NESTs. On the contrary, NNESTs establish more common ground in *shared sense* with 12 instances, and maintain common ground in eight instances out of 28 conversations in total. It can be said that NESTs maintain common ground slightly more than they establish and the opposite is true for NNESTs as they find more common ground and activate less. A comparison of week 1 and week 5 records indicate an increase of about 42% in establishing common ground within *shared sense* by NESTs while there is a decrease of about 11% by NNESTs. As for maintaining *shared sense*, there is a slight decrease of about 4% by NESTs and a 22% increase by NNESTs.

Based on these results regarding emergent common ground, a finding can be reported with respect to the ways NESTs and NNESTs establish emergent common ground with their students in their social interactions. The excerpts below are given to illustrate NESTs' and NNESTs' common ground building acts.

Excerpt 5. As part of their language socialization, NESTs both establish and maintain emergent common ground in relation to *shared sense.* In Excerpt 5, Paul, an NEST, builds new common ground with his students while talking about free time activities. The following conversation takes place after a student comments about his experiences with judo in the past.

260	T:	What else? Think about some of the other free time activities on the table. (0.4)
		So we ha:ve (0.3) judo. I <u>never</u> do judo.
	S1:	=I, win, competition judo, in, 2008.
	T:	So Sinan, you <u>won</u>?
	S1:	=a competition.
265	T:	a competition. Win judo. In 2008?
	S1:	Eight yes.
	T:	Yeah. (0.3) How often do you do judo now?
	S1:	Aaa, four days a week.
	T:	So four times, four days a week? You do judo?
270	S1:	Pratik.
	T:	You <u>practice</u>, practice judo four times a week.
	S1:	But I not doing judo.
	T:	So now, never.
	S1:	Yes.
275	T:	But in the past, you did judo four times a week.
	S1:	Yes.
	T:	So you practiced a lot, and then you became good at it, you won a competition.
		So I wanna go back to (0.2) this list (0.5) and I want you to think of, and I want
		you to ask each other questions using these sentence structures. So, I could ask
280		Sinan now, do you still practice judo?
	S1:	Eee, sorry?
	T:	Do you still do judo?
	S1:	Aaa, yes.
	T:	How often?

285   S1:   I don't know (0.7)

       T: Sometimes?

       S1:   Now or past?

       T: Now? Never?

       S1:   Now, never.

290   T: But in the past four times a week. Correct? So, think of another question that
              looks like this that you can ask me.

       S2:   Do you ever go to art galleries?

       T: Ever go where? (0.4) Ever go where?

       S2:   Art galleries?

295   T: Art galleries? Yes, I could say, I usually go to an art gallery, once a month.

       S2:   In Turkey?

       T: In Turkey? Yeah, they have umm some near Tunalı. Yeah. There are galleries
              there, I go there maybe once a month, maybe once every two months.

In this conversation, Paul and Student 1 contribute to their shared knowledge through
shared sense, which is part of emergent common ground. In line 262, the student
provides information about himself and the teacher responds to this by asking
follow-up questions in lines 262, 265, and 267. From these questions, it is clear that
the teacher did not know about the student's prior experience, so common ground is
established as a result of this exchange. Here, common ground on judo refers to the
interlocutors' knowledge of personal experiences rather than the community;
therefore, *shared sense* is constructed through their joint effort to communicate. The
establishment of common ground that emerges from this conversation can be seen
clearly in lines 288 and 290, when the teacher repeats the student's utterance.

Excerpt 6. In their language socialization, NESTs also maintain the previously established common ground with their students. In Excerpt 6, Joanne, an NEST, activates the already existing shared knowledge between their students about a tradition. During the pre-teaching stage of a lesson about culture, Joanne gives a presentation about some customs and traditions of her own country, South Africa. Then, she asks the students to make comparisons between South Africa, Turkey, and another country of their choice in terms of their culture. The following conversation takes place when she asks the students to present their comparisons to the whole class.

	T:	Last pair?
	S:	India.
515	T:	Different? Similar?
	S:	Similar, same time different, because again about wedding. In Indian, girl's family pay the bride prize to the boy's family. But in Turkey, opposite.
	T:	Yes, ok.
	S:	South Africa, pay?
520	T:	It's the same as Turkey. The man pays for the woman.
	S:	Yes, but not money.
	T:	Yes. Cows.
	S:	Cows, yes.
	T:	And it's an old tradition. It's now money as well. Or a car, or a house or
525		something.

In this conversation, common ground arises from Joanne and the students' previously shared experiences related to wedding traditions. In line 521, the student refers to the beginning of the lesson, where the teacher presented some South African customs. In

line 522, Joanne maintains the common ground by confirming what the student has said and she adds to it in line 524 by giving further details. Although the common ground in this excerpt is related to cultural norms of a community, it does not come from the interlocutors' observations of the society. It is rather built on the teacher and the student's previous exchanges about the issue; therefore, this common ground is maintained as part of *shared sense,* which is included in the interlocutors' emergent common ground.

        Excerpt 7. Similarly, NNESTs build new common ground and activate old ones in their social interactions with their students. In Excerpt 7, Buket, an NNEST, establishes emergent common ground in a conversation about the city they live in. In a speaking lesson during the first week of the course, Buket writes some sentences on the board about her life as a get-to-know activity. She tells the students that some of them are true, but some are false. She asks the students to guess which ones are true or false. The following conversation takes place after the teacher asks if she loves living in Ankara.

180   T: I love living in Ankara. So do you think this is true or false?

       S1:   False.

       S2:   True.

       S3:   True.

       T: You know nothing about me Mehmet. I'm sorry but, (laughs) yes?

185   S3:   Sizin adınıza konuşuyorum? {I'm speaking for you?}

       T: [Yes,

       S3:   [Tamam, false. {Ok, false.}

       T: Okay, what do you think?

S3: Kendi adıma cevapladım ya. {I answered for myself.}

190 T: No, I'm talking about me. So do you think I <u>love</u> living in Ankara?

S3: True.

S1: False.

T: It's false. Because, <u>I</u>'m from İzmir, okay? So, as you can understand, I don't like living in Ankara. Okay, I love <u>Bilkent</u>, I love being <u>in</u> Bilkent because

195 Bilkent is not Ankara. Okay? So Bilkent is a different world,

S1: [part of Ankara

T: [It's a part of Ankara, but not Ankara (laughs) so because I'm from İzmir, I don't <u>like</u> living in Ankara. So is there anyone who is from İzmir here?

200 S1: Sinan vardı da, {Sinan, but,}

T: Ha I know Sinan, Sinan was my student. He is from İzmir. So where are you from in general?

S2: Niğde, but I come Ordu.

T: From Ordu. So do you live in a dormitory?

205 S2: Yes, yok no. I live in home, my family.

T: Your family? Ok, so you're happy in Ankara?

S2: Yes, very happy.

T: Ok, Adnan? Where are you from?

S1: İstanbul.

210 T: So, are you happy in Ankara?

S1: No.

T: Do you <u>like</u> Ankara? Ok, what about you?

S4: Elazığ.

	T:	Elazığ. Do you like Ankara?
215	S4:	Yes, so so.
	T:	Ankara or Bilkent? Which one do you like most?
	S4:	Bilkent.
	T:	Bilkent, ok.
	S5:	Mersin.
220	T:	And, do you like Ankara?
	S5:	Yes.
	T:	Good, good for you. Where are you from?
	S6:	Antalya.
	T:	Antalya, and do you like Ankara?
225	S6:	No.
	T:	No, of course. Ok, generally people who come from seaside, we don't like Ankara, a lot, let's say. But you are from Mersin, and you like Ankara. What about you?
	S7:	Ankara.
230	T:	You are from Ankara. Do you like?
	S:	Yes (laughs)
	T7:	(laughs) always Ankara.

In this part of the get-to-know activity, Buket establishes common ground about Ankara. Through lines 183 to 192, the students' replies show that there is a lack of common ground between the teacher and the students although one of the students (Student 3) knows the teacher from the previous module. The teacher shares some personal information about her life in lines 193 to 199 and establishes common ground about living in Ankara. This common ground is based on the interlocutors'

knowledge of shared personal experiences; therefore, it relates to *shared sense* part of emergent common ground. Through the rest of this excerpt, the teacher maintains this newly established common ground, specifically in lines 226 and 227.

Excerpt 8. NNESTs activate the already existing common ground with their students as well establishing new ones as in Excerpt 8. In a speaking lesson during the fifth week of the course, Mine, an NNEST, distributes questions to each student and asks them one by one to respond to their questions as a whole class activity. Then, she asks follow-up questions and directs the question to the other students in the class. The following conversation takes place after a student answers the question "What would you do if you won the lottery?".

	S1:	When she will go Africa?
965	S2:	When she will go? I don't know. I just want so much. And I believe, one day (0.2) I want to (0.2) going kurum? {organization}
	T:	What kurum? {What organization?}
	S2:	Hocam, organizasyon. {Teacher, organization.}
	T:	Voluntary organization.
970	S2:	For example, I write a book and I want to buy and this money,
	T:	=With this money you'll go abroad, you will go to Africa.
	S2:	Yes.
	T:	So what will be the content of the book? What are you going to write about?
	S2:	My talent is,
975	T:	Being a student, how to be a BUSEL student.
	S2:	(laughs) yes.
	T:	The difficulties of being a BUSEL student.

S2:   Bahar Candan.

T: Yes, Bahar (laughs) I will <u>always</u> remember you with Bahar, Aysel.

980   S2:   (laughs) Thank you.

In this conversation, Mine and the students' mutual knowledge based on their personal experiences which were shared during the previous weeks of the course is activated. In lines 975 to 979, emergent common ground related to *shared sense* is maintained with the teacher and the student's references to their previous shared experiences.

In Excerpts 5, 6, 7, and 8, the ways NESTs and NNESTs share emergent common ground with their students are exemplified. As it is seen from these samples, emergent common ground is both established and maintained by NESTs and NNESTs in their social interactions. Since emergent common ground is based on interlocutors' personal experiences, the ways NESTs and NNESTs find emergent common ground may be shaped according to their personal relationships with their students, rather than their cultural backgrounds.

Finding 3. There is not much of a difference between NESTs and NNESTs with regard to the amount of emergent common ground that is established and maintained within the aspect of *shared sense,* i.e. the particularized knowledge of the interlocutors' shared personal experiences (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). There is a slight difference in that NESTs do more activation of already existing common ground while NNESTs build new common ground in relation to shared sense. Since *shared sense* derives from the interlocutors' shared previous experiences, it varies depending on the relationship of the participants in conversation (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). Therefore, the amount of emergent common ground between the students or

their NESTs and NNESTs might be due to their personal relationships, not the unique characteristics of intercultural or intracultural communication.

Research Question 2: In what ways do NESTs and NNESTs position themselves while establishing common ground?

In this section, findings regarding the above mentioned research question are discussed in relation to how NESTs and NNESTs position themselves through common ground.

Positioning through common ground

Positioning, the process in which interlocutors locate themselves in conversations, may take place *interactively,* when interlocutors position each other in conversation, or *reflexively,* when interlocutors position themselves (Davies & Harré, 1990). The thematic analysis of the data indicates several patterns in the ways NESTs and NNESTs position themselves in their conversations. The most frequently used positions include insider, outsider, cultural mediator, outsider who is trying to become an insider, and source of information. In this section, frequencies in regards to the positioning of NESTs and NNESTs will be presented. Then, excerpts from the data will be provided to illustrate the results, and findings will be discussed in relation to the results.

Table 8

Frequencies for NESTs' and NNESTs' Positioning through Common Ground

	NESTs			NNESTs		
	Week 1 (Total 13)	Week 5 (Total 7)	Total (Total 20)	Week 1 (Total 17)	Week 5 (Total 11)	Total (Total 28)
<u>Interactive</u>						
Insider	0	0	0	0	0	0
Outsider	3	0	3	0	0	0

Table 8

Frequencies for NESTs' and NNESTs' Positioning through Common Ground

(cont'd)

Reflexive						
Insider	0	0	0	13	7	20
Outsider	7	2	9	2	1	3
Cultural mediator	6	0	6	2	0	2
Outsider to insider	4	2	6	0	0	0
Source of information	0	2	2	9	5	14
Other	0	0	0	2	2	4

In Table 8, frequencies of the positionings adopted by NESTs and NNESTs were reported. The positions "insider, outsider, cultural mediator, etc." were determined using the descriptors that emerged during data analysis such as the teacher's awareness and/or knowledge of the local culture, interest in learning about the local culture, or acts of bringing information about language and so on (see Table 5 for the list of descriptors for identifying positioning).

As seen in Table 8, the ways core and emergent common ground are shared by NESTs and NNESTs influence the roles they take in their conversations with the students. In the data, there are rare instances where *interactive* positioning occurs. NESTs are positioned as outsiders in three instances by the students, and there are no instances where NNESTs are positioned interactively. In the vast majority of the instances where common ground is shared, NESTs and NNESTs position themselves *reflexively* in their conversations with the students. The most frequent position adopted by NESTs is "outsider," with nine instances out of 20 conversations in total. The second most common positions are "cultural mediator" and "outsider who is trying to become an insider" with six instances each. As for NNESTs, the data include two most common positions, the first of which is "insider," with 20 instances

out of 28 conversations involving common ground. The second most common position is "source of information," which is seen in 14 excerpts. Based on these results regarding NESTs' and NNESTs' positioning through common ground, it can be said that there is a clear distinction between NESTs and NNESTs with regard to positioning. In the following section, excerpts from the data will be given to illustrate the results, and findings regarding NESTs' and NNESTs' positioning through instances of common ground will be discussed.

Excerpt 9. As seen in Table 8, the most commonly adopted positioning for NESTs is "outsider", which can be seen in Excerpt 9. In this conversation between Paul, an NEST, and his students about free time activities, he positions himself as an outsider in a foreign country. In the following conversation, Paul elicits some free time activities that people do in Turkey from the students.

	T:	We were talking about how people in Turkey spend their time. Go to cinemas,
300	S1:	=Watching TV
	T:	=Go to cinema, watch TV, what else?
	S2:	Watch TV
	T:	A lot of watching TV. What else?
	S3:	Smoke
	T:	Arda said smoking. Yeah, it's kinda like a free time activity. What other free
305		time activities are there in Turkey?
	S2:	Connecting to social media.
	T:	Looking at social media? Yeah, what else is there?
	S1:	Neydi, go to fasıl. Do you know fasıl? Nasıl denir ki? Do you know rakı? Rakı?

310	T:	Drinking? Yeah, that happens everywhere. What are some free time activities in Turkey? What are some other ones?
	S1:	Saying,
	T:	Same? Same in every country?
	S1:	People, Turkish people says, aaa, siyaset yapmak, politic, and,
315	T:	Talking about politics?
	S1:	Yes.
	T:	That's every, most countries.
	S2:	But Turkish people more, more than,
	T:	=Turkish people are talking about politics more than people in other countries? Maybe, I don't know.

In this conversation about Turkish leisure activities, there is an evident lack of core common ground between the students and Paul, which is related to *culture sense*. In lines 301, 303, 305, 308, and 311 Paul asks questions to activate students' schemata related to Turkish free time activities. He acknowledges the students' responses by repeating them in lines 301, 305, and 308, so he establishes common ground about the local leisure activities. In line 309, the students try to ask if their foreign teacher know about "fasıl", which is a local night out in Turkey. Paul also confirms this piece of information about Turkey in line 310 by saying "Drinking?" in response to students' question "Do you know rakı?". However, he does not elaborate on this specific aspect of culture which might be unfamiliar to him. Similarly, in lines 317 and 320, the teacher prefers not to elaborate on the topic of talking about politics and says "I don't know." As a result of these exchanges in which the teacher detaches himself from the local practices, the teacher *reflexively* positions himself as an outsider in a foreign country.

Excerpt 10. The second most frequent positioning adopted by NESTs, "cultural mediator," is exemplified in Excerpt 10. Ursula, an NEST, positions herself as a cultural mediator in a speaking activity where she provides students with a list of behaviors that might be polite or rude in different cultures. She tells them 1 means OK, 2 means rude and 3 means very rude, and asks them to match each behavior with a number. In the following excerpt, the teacher elicits the students' ideas of blowing your nose in public.

1	T:	OK. Should we go over it? Tell me one, two, or three. Hmmm. Blowing your nose? (0.3) In class? Yes?
	S1:	[Two]
	S2:	[Two]
5	S3:	[Rude]
	S4:	[Three]
	T:	Three?↑ <u>Very</u> rude?
	S5:	Two.
	T:	Two?
10	S2:	Because if you're sick, (inaudible)
	T:	There might be, umm, a cultural difference here. In Saudi Arabia?
	S1:	Two
	T:	In America?
	S3:	Two?
15	T:	One.
	S3:	Oh, ok.
	T:	It's ok. Yeah. I didn't, I didn't kno:w last year, Last year students say, teacher, teacher, can I go to the bathroom? <u>Ok</u>? ↑ In my mind, just blow here. It's fine.

20   Just do it here. Because in America, in class, if you're sick, (0.3) blowing your
      nose is not rude. It's like (coughs) the same.

In this excerpt, Ursula establishes core common ground within *culture sense* since there is a lack of mutual understanding about politeness in Turkish and American culture. In line one, Ursula asks the students for their opinions about whether blowing your nose in class is considered rude or not. In lines three, four, and five, some students state that it is rude, and then in line six, one of the students says it is very rude. In the following line, the teacher expresses her surprise by repeating the students utterance "Three" with a rising intonation and emphasizes "very" when she asks "Very rude?". This signals that the teacher's opinion of the issue may be different from the students. In line 11, Ursula asks the Saudi student in class whether it is rude in her country as well, to which the student responds "Two." In line 13, the teacher asks the students to guess if it is rude in her home country, America. One of the students makes a prediction by saying "Two?" with a rising intonation, and Ursula gives away the answer in line 15. In line 16, one of the students respond "Oh, ok", which indicates a difference in his opinion. The use of a change of state token (Heritage, 1984a) shows that common ground is established in the conversation. While blowing your nose in public is considered to be rude in Turkey and Saudi Arabia, it is acceptable in America, and the teacher raises the students' awareness of such a difference in these countries by talking about her past experiences in Turkey in lines 17 to 20. In this conversation about the differences of politeness in Turkish, Arabic, and American cultures, Ursula *reflexively* positions herself as a cultural mediator because she provides an opportunity for the comparison of these cultures.

Excerpt 11. In addition to "cultural mediator," NESTs position themselves as "outsider who is trying to become an insider" by learning about aspects of local culture from their students through core common ground establishment. In Excerpt 11, for instance, Ursula positions herself as an outsider trying to become an insider by taking on the role of cultural learner. In the same speaking lesson about politeness rules in different cultures, students ask Ursula whether crossing your legs while sitting is considered rude or not. The following conversation takes place after a student asks the question using her body language because she lacks the vocabulary needed.

S1:   Ursula, in America, rude? (crossing legs)

T: [Yes? Wait, crossing (0.2) wait (bringing a chair and sitting to cross her

50   legs) This?

S1:   Yes.

T: No? ↑ Is it rude here?

S2:   Yep.

S3:   Yeah.

55 T: Is it?

S1:   Turkish people,

T: <u>You</u>'re doing it!

S1:   Yeah, family, I mean (0.2) traditional behavior rude

T: Traditionally it's rude? You're doing it, you're doing it, you're doing it

60   (pointing to students)

S2:   But we don't agree.

T: Oh, really? Why?

S2:   In family yani, together,

	S3:	My father and I are sitting, no problem. But some families, traditional, when his
65		father came to living room and he up
	T:	=Stands up?
	S3:	Yeah.
	T:	Wo:w. In your family?
	S2:	No.
70	T:	Anyone's family? ↑
	S3:	Yeah.
	T:	Really? Your father comes in and you say hello father (standing up)
	S3:	[Yeah
	T:	Really? ↑ I'm surprised!
75	S3:	It's a traditional rule.
	T:	Aha. It shows respect. Maybe when I come into the classroom, all the students
		stand up, (inaudible)
	S3:	Tomorrow? (laughing)
	T:	Tomorrow? I like this. (laughing) Everyone can stand, "hi Ursula", honestly, I
80		feel like this is, (sitting and crossing her legs) in America, this is slightly more
		polite (sitting legs wide open) than this, definitely than this (sitting laid back).
		For women, this (crossing legs) is more polite.
	S3:	I do this, in my old class, in high school, my teacher tell me, it's not a coffee.
	T:	(laughs) Really?
85	S3:	Yeah, really.
	T:	Ok, well then, this is not a café. Same rules, same rules here. OK, I should be
		careful. If I go to a Turkish house, I don't know them, I won't do it. Thank you,
		for teaching me that.

From Ursula's reactions in lines 52, 55, 57, 59, and 62, it is apparent that there is a lack of core common ground within *culture sense* as she seems surprised about this cultural norm. In lines 58, 64, and 65, students explain the teacher that traditionally it is rude to sit with your legs crossed in the presence of an elder. In line 76, Ursula's expression "Aha" and her comment "It shows respect" indicates that she has acknowledged this cultural norm and common ground is established. In this excerpt, the establishment of core common ground enables the teacher and the students to *interactively* position the NEST as an outsider who is trying to become an insider as she takes on the role of learner, which can be evidenced in lines 87 and 88. In fact, she embraces the newly established common ground when she jokingly tells the students that they should stand up when she comes into class in lines 76 and 79. Moreover, in lines 86 to 88, she shares her willingness to obey this cultural norm and thanks the students for teaching her, which shows that she wants to locate herself more than just an outsider, but an outsider who is trying to fit in the local community.

In Excerpts 9, 10, and 11, conversations where NESTs position themselves as "outsider," "cultural mediator," and "outsider trying to become an insider" are exemplified. As it is seen from these excerpts, NESTs often encounter a lack of core common ground in relation to *culture sense*, and they establish common ground to overcome this lack of shared knowledge between themselves and their students. In doing so, they emphasize their differences regarding cultural norms, rules of politeness, or certain aspects of daily life.

Finding 4. In their conversations involving the establishment of common ground, the most frequent positions adopted by NESTs is "outsider," "cultural mediator," and "outsider who is trying to become an insider" in descending order. By

positioning themselves as "outsiders," NESTs emphasize the differences between themselves and the students, especially while they are building new core common ground. In other instances they establish common ground, they often try to teach or learn about cultural norms through the position "cultural mediator," where they make comparisons between the local culture and their own, and sometimes other foreign cultures. They also position themselves as "outsider trying to fit in a foreign culture" when they learn something relating to the local community from the students. By taking on the role of learner, they show that they are not only aware of the differences between the local culture and their own, they also show that they are willing to learn and respect the local norms.

As seen in Table 8, NNESTs position themselves most frequently as "insider" and "source of information." In this section, excerpts will be given to illustrate the previously mentioned results, and findings will be discussed in relation to the results.

Excerpt 12. The most common positioning adopted by NNESTs, "insider," can be seen in Excerpt 12, where Buket, an NNEST, uses the mutual knowledge she shares with her students for teaching purposes. In the pre-listening stage of the lesson, Buket elicits the meanings of some vocabulary items. The following conversation takes place about the word 'karaoke'.

T: Can you explain karaoke? What is karaoke?

S1:   You can see on the screen, ee, layrics,

815   T: Lyrics

S1:   Lyrics, and this song's melody is hearing, and

T: And?

S1:   Uuh the same time.

T: You try to sing at the same time. Yes. Ok. So is it popular in Turkey?

820   S1:   No.

T: Not that much I think. Is there any karaoke bar in Turkey? Or in Ankara?

S2:   If (the name of a local club)

T: Is there a karaoke thing?

S2:   Organize ediyor. {They organize it there.}

825   T: Hmm ok. Any other? Or have you ever been to a karaoke night for example?

S1:   Hocam şeydeydi. In Fethiye, English and Irish people bar. {It was in Fethiye}

T: Yes, it is very popular for English and Irish people.

S1:   They are, says old rock musics.

T: Rock music I know. Have you ever been to Didim? Didim? So in Didim, it's

830   very popular because lots of English people live in Didim. And there are lots of

karaoke bars for example. At night they go and they sing. They shout. Ok?

In this conversation, Buket maintains core common ground within *culture sense* by commenting on the popularity of karaoke in Turkey in lines 819 to 821. She also shares core common ground related to summer resorts such as Fethiye and Didim, and karaoke bars in those places through lines 826 to 831. In these instances, the teacher *reflexively* positions herself as an insider by sharing her knowledge related to the social activities and norms in Turkey. She also *reflexively* positions herself as source of information because she uses these opportunities of maintaining common ground for teaching target vocabulary.

Excerpt 13. The second most common positioning by NNESTs, "source of information," is exemplified in Excerpt 13, where Ayfer, an NNEST, establishes common ground to teach vocabulary. During the vocabulary teaching stage of the

lesson, Ayfer gives an example about the Turkish law "657" to teach the collocation "work for the government" in the following conversation.

T: Who gives me my money?

S1:   Your, Bilkent.

T: Ok, Bilkent University. Ok? When we are talking about your boss, you need to use this preposition. I work in Bilkent, it's ok, and I work in a school, in a university. But my boss, my big boss, Bilkent University. They give me my money. Alright? When you want to talk about, the boss, owner, or manager, we use 'for'. Work for blab la.

435

S1:   Birisi için çalışmak. {To work with someone}

T: Sorry?

440 S1: Orası için çalışmak. {To work for that place}

T: Yes, like your boss. Who gives you your money. You can work for a small company, or big company, or, 657? What is it? 657'ye tabi. {Be subject to 657}

S2:   657'ye tabi ne ya? {What does being subject to 657 mean?}

T: Tabi? Hiç mi duymadınız hayatınızda ya? {Have you never heard about it?}

445 S2: (inaudible) mi yok anlamında yani? {Does it mean no (inaudible)?}

T: A aa. 657'ye tabi olmak. {To be subject to 657.}

S3:   Bağlı mı? {Dependent on?}

S4:   Kamu işte. {It means public services.}

T: Ok, kanun 657. No? {Ok, Law 657. No?}

450 S2: No.

T: Memur, memur. You take the exam, KPSS, ok, you pass it, and you start,

S1:   657?

	T:	Yes. The law is called 657. That's the number of the law. And this is not a
455		company. You work for the government. Ok? The government?
	S2:	Hükümet için. Hükümet değil mi? {For the government, right?}
	T:	Yes. So, you don't get money from a company, the government pays you money. Ok? Teachers, teachers in state schools, not at Bilkent, teachers in normal schools, ok? Or doctors, doctors at Atatürk Hastanesi. They work for the government. Ok?

In this conversation, Ayfer provides the context in lines 431 to 437 by maintaining emergent common ground within *shared sense* about her work conditions. Then in line 442, she tries to elicit the collocation "work for the government" by giving an example through core common ground, a Turkish law numbered 657. However, she fails to share common ground because the students lack the necessary information which is seen in lines 443, 445, and 447, except Student 4 in line 448. Then, she establishes common ground in lines 451 to 459 by giving an explanation and through this, she *reflexively* positions herself as source of information.

As seen in Excerpts 12 and 13, NNESTs establish and maintain common ground to facilitate classroom instruction. Through these conversations, they position themselves as "insiders" by pointing to the similarities in their backgrounds with the students. They also position themselves as "source of information" as they use their shared backgrounds with the students to teach language.

Finding 5. NNESTs point to the similarities in their shared backgrounds with the students while maintaining core and emergent common ground. In their conversations involving common ground, they most frequently position themselves as "insiders". Moreover, NNESTs tend to activate the existing shared knowledge

between themselves and their students for instructional purposes. Since they often use their shared knowledge to teach language, the second most common positioning they adopt is "source of information."

In conclusion, it can be argued that teachers' language socialization practices, which are operationalized as common ground and positioning in this study, play a role in the interactions between teachers and students. NESTs and NNESTs differ in the ways they use core common ground while they adopt similar practices in sharing emergent common ground. In their acts of common ground establishing and maintaining, they position themselves quite differently in their conversations with students, which may eventually have effects on the classroom discourse.

Conclusion

In this chapter, data coming from classroom observations were discussed. Instances where core and emergent common ground were established and maintained by NESTs and NNESTs were described with reference to the analytical framework adapted from Kecskés and Zhang (2009). The next chapter will focus on the conclusions that are drawn from the findings discussed earlier.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

Introduction

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the similarities and differences between NESTs and NNESTs with regard to their social interactions with students. More specifically, it aimed to investigate the ways NESTs and NNESTs establish common ground and position themselves through common ground during their teacher-student interactions in tertiary level language classrooms in an EFL context. In this respect, the following research questions were addressed:

How do NESTs and NNESTs differ in terms of the second language socialization processes in EFL classrooms?

   i.   In what ways do they establish common ground with students in their social interactions?

   ii. In what ways do they position themselves while establishing common ground?

In order to answer these questions, data were collected through three different instruments: classroom observations, field notes taken during observations, and a researcher journal including the researcher's reflections following the observations. Classroom observations were selected as the main data collection tool. Three classes that are taught by NEST and NNEST teaching partners were observed during the first and fifth week of a new course at the aforementioned tertiary level preparatory year English program. Classroom observations were audio recorded and instances of common ground were transcribed by the researcher. The transcribed data were

analyzed through discourse analysis using the analytical framework adapted from Kecskés and Zhang (2009) and Davies and Harré (1990). Ten percent of the transcriptions were analyzed by an expert in the field using the same analytical framework to ensure the reliability of the analysis.

This chapter contains four main sections. First, findings of the study in relation to the literature will be discussed. Second, pedagogical implications of the study will be presented. Third, limitations of the study will be described. Finally, suggestions for further research will be made.

Findings and Discussion

In this section, first, the findings of the study will be presented in relation to literature. Then, a summary of the main conclusions will be discussed to address the overarching research question: *How do NESTs and NNESTs differ in terms of the second language socialization processes in EFL classrooms?*

Summary of the findings

The analysis of the data revealed five main findings in relation to how NESTs and NNESTs differ in terms of their language socialization practices in EFL classrooms.

Finding 1. In regard to core common ground, the results indicate a difference in the ways NESTs and NNESTs share common ground regarding *culture sense*, i.e. the generalized knowledge of cultural norms, beliefs, and values of the community (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). NESTs seem to build new common ground due to a lack of shared knowledge of cultural norms, beliefs, and values of the local community. This finding supports the literature regarding intercultural communication, as it is believed that interlocutors in intercultural encounters share a smaller amount of core

common ground due to their lack of shared background, as opposed to participants in intracultural communication (Gumperz, 1982; Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Tannen, 2005). NESTs establish common ground by either raising awareness of a cultural difference, giving information about their own country, or learning something relating to the local culture. As Kecskés (2014) states, interlocutors in intercultural communication should seek and create common ground rather than activating previously existing mutual knowledge since there is doubt as to what they can consider as core common ground. In NESTs' conversations with the students involving the establishment of common ground, the teacher and the students co-construct meaning to overcome a lack of shared understanding. In this sense, this finding is in line with the dynamic view of common ground in that common ground needs to be sought and established in the natural flow of each interaction (Clark, 1996; Stalnaker, 2002). While NESTs do more establishment of core common ground, NNESTs maintain common ground in *culture sense* by activating the shared knowledge of cultural norms, beliefs and values rather than establishing new common ground. In their conversations with students, they make references to aspects of daily life related to the country and the city they live in, or the university they are in. NNESTs use the shared knowledge with their students to their advantage as the more common ground is shared between participants in conversation, the easier they can achieve communication (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). NNESTs often use their existing core common ground for teaching purposes by either checking the students' understanding of the subject matter, providing further examples, or consolidating the students' learning. As classroom interaction is considered one of the main means of accomplishing learning (Hall & Walsh, 2002), it can be said that

NNESTs' discursive acts of maintaining common ground facilitates classroom instruction.

Finding 2. In relation to *formal sense,* i.e. the generalized knowledge of the language system used in social interaction (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009)*,* NESTs and NNESTs differ in terms of the language system used in their interactions with the students. English is the means of communication in almost all of NESTs' conversations involving common ground, which makes these interactions good opportunities for second language socialization for the students. Despite the students' language deficiencies, NESTs' lack of Turkish, or the students' and the NESTs' lack of shared background, the intercultural encounters between NESTs and the students are not failures, but rather normal conversations between interlocutors (Kecskés, 2014). This finding supports the 'success approach' adopted by Kidwell (2000) and Ortaçtepe (2014) in that the interactions between language learners and native speakers of English are ordinary conversations where common ground is sought, activated and established. This is also the case for NNESTs since they maintain English as the medium of instruction and almost always respond to students in English. However, students often resort to their L1, Turkish, in their interactions with NNESTs. Although the teachers tend to continue to speak in English, they use Turkish in their social interactions. The fact that they share the same native language with their students allows them to make comparisons between Turkish and English for teaching English. This finding is in accordance with the literature as it is stated that NNESTs' familiarity with the students' L1 and their own language learning experiences allow them to predict language difficulties and use their knowledge of students' native language to their advantage (McNeill, 2005; Medgyes, 1994).

Finding 3. In regard to emergent common ground, NESTs and NNESTs both establish new common ground and maintain already existing common ground in *shared sense*, which relates to their shared personal experiences. In their conversations with students, NESTs and NNESTs share personal information about themselves or learn something about the students to build common ground and they refer to their previous encounters with the students to activate common ground. The only difference between NESTs and NNESTs in terms of *shared sense* is that NESTs maintain slightly more common ground (i.e. activate the previously established common ground) than establish it (i.e. build new common ground), as opposed to NNESTs, who build common ground more and establish less. However, this difference does not yield meaningful results as it is claimed that emergent common ground is more private and dependent on the situational context (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). As for *current sense,* the analysis of the data does not yield any results as this part of emergent common ground is not quite observable in its nature. *Current sense* derives from the interlocutors' perception and evaluation of the current situation and participants in the same conversation may perceive it differently (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009); therefore, the teachers' and the students' perceptions of this part of common ground are not to be observed.

Finding 4. NESTs and NNESTs position themselves quite differently through their common ground establishment in their teacher-student interactions. In NESTs' conversations with their students, there are often instances involving a lack of shared knowledge between them as mentioned earlier. These gaps regarding cultural differences usually lead to the establishment of core common ground by the NESTs. In doing so, NESTs tend to *reflexively* position themselves as "outsiders" since they focus on the differences between themselves and their students, detaching themselves

from the local community. Other common roles that NESTs take on during their interactions with the students include "cultural mediator" and "outsider who is trying to become an insider." NESTs adopt these positions when they try to overcome a lack of mutual background by raising awareness of cultural differences between countries or learning about some aspects of the local culture from their students. This finding is in accordance with the literature since having cultural knowledge is stated as an advantage of NESTs over NNESTs (Moussu & Llurda, 2008). Through their interactions, NESTs and their students create a common body of knowledge (Hall & Walsh, 2002). This finding also supports the view that classroom discourse is a process where the teacher and the students not only negotiate and disambiguate meanings, but also establish and broaden the common ground among them (Tsui, 1994).

Finding 5. As part of their language socialization practices, NNESTs position themselves differently from NESTs while establishing common ground. NESTs tend to focus on their shared backgrounds with the students and often maintain core common ground regarding the local culture. In these instances of maintaining common ground, they position themselves as an "insider" who has a similar background. Moreover, they use this insider position for teaching purposes and give information about the language, so they often position themselves as a "source of information." Since they take on the role of knowledge provider, NNESTs' conversations with their students are usually aimed to facilitate learning, rather than socialization in the classroom. These positions adopted by NNESTs are meaningful in that they are claimed to be better at understanding the learners' difficulties and needs, and having good rapport with the students thanks to their similar backgrounds (Moussu & Llurda, 2008).

Discussion of the main conclusions

Based on the findings summarized above, two main conclusions can be made regarding NESTs' and NNESTs' social interactions with their students in EFL classrooms. More specifically, NESTs and NNESTs differ in the ways they share common ground in their teacher-student interactions, which results in differences in how they locate themselves in conversation. In this section, NESTs' and NNESTs' common ground building acts and their positioning through common ground will be discussed respectively.

It is believed that the amount of common ground shared between participants in intercultural communication is smaller than intracultural encounters due to the lack of mutual background between people coming from different cultures (Gumperz, 1982; Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Tannen, 2005). Because of this limited core common ground, the interlocutors in intercultural communication need to find and build new common ground rather than activating previously existing shared knowledge (Kecskés, 2014). This is reflected in the conversations between NESTs and their students; therefore, as stated in Finding 1, the discursive acts through which NESTs share common ground are shaped by the lack of mutual knowledge between them and their students. More specifically, NESTs engage in common ground building acts to overcome the lack of knowledge regarding cultural norms, beliefs and values. Rather than maintaining already existing common ground, they establish core common ground in relation to *culture sense.* Since this part of core common ground derives from people's observations of certain norms in social life (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009), NESTs coming from a different country of origin do not share much in common with their students. Therefore, they often encounter gaps in their knowledge or face misunderstandings. To overcome such problems, NESTs find

common ground with their students by raising awareness of cultural differences, teaching them about their own culture, or learning about the local culture from their students. In doing so, they often position themselves as outsiders in a foreign country as they emphasize the differences between themselves and their students in terms of their backgrounds, as discussed in Finding 4. However, this is not the only position they adopt in their teacher-student interactions. NESTs also take on the roles of a cultural mediator and an outsider who is trying to become an insider when they negotiate information on different aspects of cultural norms. The variety of roles adopted by NESTs support the dynamic aspect of identity negotiation as they assign themselves fluid roles rather than having fixed identities (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). NESTs' positionings differ from NNESTs in that they detach themselves from the local community by pointing to their differences rather than similarities. NESTs' language socialization practices where they share core common ground are also different from NNESTs in relation to *formal sense*, which is reported in Finding 2. NESTs and their students maintain their conversations in English to a great extent despite the lack of knowledge between each other, or the students' linguistic problems in English. Moreover, NESTs and their students are motivated to establish common ground to overcome the lack of knowledge between them and achieve communication. For this reason, they engage in conversations with a focus on meaning and fluency (Seedhouse, 2004) where there is a real life purpose to communicate. In short, NESTs' overall approach to the establishment of common ground is based on cultural differences; therefore, they most frequently position themselves as outsiders, cultural mediators, and outsiders trying to become insiders. It can be concluded that this difference-driven approach to common ground enables NESTs to create meaningful contexts for language

socialization through which students not only learn the language but also the cultural aspects that go with it since linguistic and cultural knowledge are interconnected (Watson-Gegeo, 2004). As language socialization is a process in which novices can acquire linguistic and cultural aspects of a speech community (Ochs, 1986), students can greatly benefit from their conversations with their NESTs through the establishment of common ground.

It is claimed that common ground is a significant part of communication as having a large amount of shared knowledge between interlocutors makes it easier for them to communicate effectively (Kecskés & Zhang, 2009). Based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that the amount of shared knowledge between NNESTs and their students shape the nature of their interactions. More specifically, the ways NNESTs share common ground with their students differ from NESTs since they have a large amount of mutual knowledge shared between them. In contrast to intercultural communication, where interlocutors may not share much in their common ground (Gumperz, 1982; Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Tannen, 2005), the conversations between NNESTs and their students can be considered intracultural encounters between people with similar backgrounds. It can be seen in Finding 1 that NNESTs who teach in their home country to students with the same L1, which is the case for the participants in this study, have a larger amount of mutual knowledge with their students. Therefore, they often activate the existing knowledge shared between them rather than establishing new common ground. In contrast to NESTs, NNESTs maintain core common ground in relation to *culture sense* by referring to certain aspects of the local culture. In addition to their shared cultural background, NNESTs make use of their common native language with the students in their conversations. As stated in Finding 2, NNESTs' conversations with their students are

different from NESTs' in relation to the *formal sense* part of core common ground since both Turkish and English are used. Although NNESTs usually avoid speaking in Turkish and maintain their conversations in English, they use the students' L1 utterances to their advantage (Medgyes, 1994) while sharing common ground with them as their shared L1 gives NNESTs the advantage of estimating the amount of common ground they have with their students. In their teacher-student interactions, NNESTs position themselves as insiders, as indicated in Finding 5, by maintaining core common ground regarding cultural norms of their community and making use of their shared native language. Through their positioning as an insider in the local community, they emphasize the similarities in their cultural background, which is claimed to be one of the advantages of NNESTs (Moussu & Llurda, 2008). Through common ground, NNESTs also position themselves as a source of information as the main purpose in sharing common ground for them is language teaching. In their social interactions with students, NNESTs usually maintain core common ground by giving examples from the local culture to teach an aspect of grammar or teach target vocabulary. Therefore, their conversations involving common ground are often aimed at facilitating classroom instruction rather than focusing on meaning and fluency. All in all, it can be concluded that NNESTs' common ground building acts are dependent on similarities in terms of both language and culture. This similarity-driven approach to common ground shapes NNESTs' teacher-student interactions in that they are aimed at instruction, not socialization. This is valuable for classroom instruction since a large amount of common ground needs to be shared between the teacher and the students related to the object of learning to accomplish classroom instruction (Tsui, 2004). In terms of positioning, the roles that NNESTs take on as insiders in the local community may affect their rapport building positively and help

them establish close connections with their students due to the social affiliational features of common ground. The ways common ground is established in conversation are claimed to influence the future relationships of the participants (Enfield, 2008); therefore, NNESTs' positionings as insiders through common ground building acts may shape the classroom environment positively.

Pedagogical Implications of the Study

The findings of the present study provide several pedagogical implications by giving insights into teachers' language socialization with students. To begin with, teachers can benefit from the findings of this study by reflecting on their social interactions as NESTs and NNESTs. They can raise their awareness of different ways to interact with their students through the establishment of common ground. More specifically, NESTs can try to add more instructional purposes to their teacher-student interactions, and NNESTs can focus on meaning and fluency rather than classroom instruction in their interactions with their students in order to have variety and benefit from both socialization and instructional aspects of classroom discourse. In terms of positioning, both NESTs and NNESTs can be informed of how their positionings can influence their interactions with their students. If they realize the effect of the roles they take in class, they can adjust their behavior to build rapport with their students and create a positive classroom atmosphere that would facilitate learning. Teacher educators may also benefit from the findings of the study in that they can integrate activities to raise awareness about the language socialization practices teachers adopt in class. They can focus the ways NESTs and NNESTs establish common ground and position themselves in their teacher-student interactions by watching videos to analyze classroom discourse. Finally, the findings of this study may have implications on an administrative level. Language classrooms

can benefit from the cooperation of NESTs and NNESTs as they can complement each other's strengths (de Oliveira & Richardson, 2001; Medgyes, 1994). Program administrators can pair NESTs and NNESTs as teaching partners in the same classroom to provide different opportunities for social interaction for the students since it is clear that both groups have advantages unique to themselves.

Limitations of the Study

This study aimed to investigate the differences between NESTs and NNESTs in relation to their language socialization practices, namely common ground building acts and positioning in a tertiary level institution in an EFL setting through the observation of six NEST and NNEST participants. The findings of this study should be considered in relation to the basic limitations to it. First, the results of this qualitative study cannot be generalizable due to the small number of participants. Although generalizability was not a primary aim for the study, a higher number of participants could have provided more results. Second, the NEST and NNEST participants of the study were selected based on their voluntariness and their schedule. More variety in terms of the backgrounds of the NESTs and NNESTs could have provided more insights into their language socialization practices. Third, this study was based mainly on classroom observations. Although the field notes and the researcher journal provided additional data, findings were not supported by other instruments such as interviews. Having interviews with the teachers and students after conducting observations would give data regarding their perceptions of what was observed in the classroom. Finally, the participants were observed twice in the first and fifth weeks of their course due to time constraints. An ethnographic study with more time allotted for observations could have provided more data for analysis.

Suggestions for Further Research

On the basis of the results and limitations of the current study, a number of suggestions may be provided for further studies. First of all, the qualitative findings of the present study based on discourse analysis can be supplemented by different research instruments such as interviews. Classroom observations can be video recorded and these videos can be shown to the teachers and the students following the observations in stimulated recall interviews. The teachers' and students' reflections on conversations involving common ground establishment may provide more insights into the findings. Secondly, the present study was conducted at a tertiary level English language program in an EFL setting. Future research can focus on ESL contexts where there is more variety in terms of cultural backgrounds and native languages. English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) settings can also be explored in terms of the teachers' and students' language socialization practices. The lack of L1 and shared backgrounds make ELF contexts more challenging, so investigating the language socialization practices may provide valuable data for the literature. Finally, this study focused on the language socialization practices adopted by teachers, rather than what students' abilities to build common ground and position themselves in the conversation. Future research can also explore language socialization in classrooms from the students' perspectives.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the present study aimed at exploring the language socialization practices adopted by NESTs and NNESTs, which are operationalized as common ground and positioning, and the findings of the study indicate a difference in the ways NESTs and NNESTs share common ground with their students and how they position themselves through their acts of common ground building. NESTs' lack of

shared background with their students leads to more establishment of core common ground, which also positions them as outsiders in a foreign country while NNESTs maintain the already existing core common ground with their students by positioning themselves as insiders. NNESTs also position themselves as sources of information by using their insider knowledge to teach different aspects of language. Moreover, NESTs' conversations involving common ground focus on meaning and fluency while NNESTs' conversations aim to facilitate classroom instruction with the help of their shared linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

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APPENDIX A

Analytical Framework Adapted from Kecskés and Zhang (2009) and Davies and Harré (1990)

Core CG	Common sense	Culture sense	Formal sense

Emergent CG	Shared sense		Current sense	

Positioning	Interactive		Reflexive	

Comments:				

APPENDIX B

Sample Analysis for Excerpt 1

Core CG	Common sense	Culture sense	Formal sense
		CG established (In Turkey, it is OK to ask someone about their exam scores, but in America, it is not an appropriate behavior.)	English
Emergent CG	**Shared sense**		**Current sense**
	CG maintained (Sts are aware that the T is coming from another country, so they ask whether this tradition is the same in America.)		
Positioning	**Interactive**		**Reflexive**
	Outsider		**Outsider**
			Cultural mediator
Comments: Use of **narrative** **Authentic**			