A LANGUAGE ECOLOGY PERSPECTIVE ON SECOND LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION OF UNDERGRADUATE TURKISH INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN TERMS OF THEIR LINGUISTIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

by

Hatice Altun

March 16, 2017

A dissertation submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of
the University at Buffalo, State University of New York
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Learning and Instruction

DEDICATION

In memory of my father, who helped me see the power of storytelling that punched holes in my mental wall and through those holes, I was able to get a glimpse of the Others.

I love you more every day, Father, and I carry you in my heart all the time!

ACKNOWLEDGEMET

I have many people to thank for their support towards this project. First, I wish to extend my greatest gratitude to my advisor, teacher, mentor and counselor Professor Janina Brutt-Griffler, who has always been a beacon to me in the fuzzy and hazy atmosphere of the academic world. I have always admired her unique talent and diligent work ethic and took her as an example. I deeply appreciate her wisdom, guidance throughout my program ever since I came to the US. Her tenured perspective and thought-provoking instruction allowed me to have a broader vantage point in shaping my studies. Without her guidance would I not ever have reached this eventual point.

I am also incredibly grateful to Professor Keith Griffler, who spared his precious time to guide me (and many of my friends) when I thought that I was lost in the midst and fuzziness of the writing process. He was not even paid for those seminar classes but he dedicatedly taught us for a semester every week even though he was not from our department. I owe him a lot of hearty thanks. Had he not intervened in those hard times, I would not have been able to go through that process smoothly.

I would also like to thank my committee members Dr. Malave and Dr. Kearney. I have always felt Dr. Malave's kindness, affection and unquestioning support. Dr. Kearney's refreshing points and guidance also helped me to develop a broad scholarly perspective.

My private gratitude goes to the amazing group of friends who have become my family in the US over the past four years. It would not have been possible to complete this dissertation without their endless support and brainstorming sessions. I need to thank my "fully-bright" Fulbright scholar friend, Naila Sahar, one of my greatest supports. She has helped me throughout this program in many ways that I could not even think of, both academically and socially. She is so special to me. In addition, Asri Sarasawati, another

“fully-bright” Fulbright scholar friend, has also provided immense support in many ways. Her scholarly perspective can be found in many parts of this dissertation. I am looking forward to an everlasting friendship with both of them as long as we live.

I would also like to thank my brilliant friend Diane Halm, who has become a mentor for me while writing this dissertation and I benefitted a lot from her wisdom. She helped me to go through endless 'outsidedness' issues and all the challenges of daily life in the U.S., and she was always present for me.

My special thanks goes to my beloved friends Erica Secor, Aimee Levesque, Molly Barger, and our secretary Monica Washington for their constant and unconditional support throughout this project.

I am so honored to have received *Taher & Myra Razik International Fellowship*, which is an award given to help raise awareness about the global community. I would like to extend my gratitude to Mrs. Myra Razik for recognizing my humble accomplishments and funding my doctoral studies at UB. Mrs. Razik has been a mother to me in Buffalo and offered me the comfort of her family. I am so pleased to have this privilege.

My heartfelt thanks go to Fulbright family both in Turkey and in the US, who provided me with the opportunity to study in the US. They have helped me in the long and rocky way throughout the program and made it possible for me to get out of my vicious circle and become a global citizen.

I am beyond grateful for what my late father Sururi Altun did for me: He helped me to become what I am and complete this project. I lost him in the middle of the program and now I cannot let him know that I have completed it. I hope he knows this already! I would also like to thank my dear mother, Gülizar Altun and my sisters Müberra and Mübeccel for their tremendous support throughout this program. My experience has become their experience. I cannot even express my gratitude for their constant and unconditional love and support.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines second language identity formations among international undergraduate Turkish students who come to the US biennially to pursue an engineering degree on a joint UB-ITU Program. The students' language advancements and identity formation is examined through the lenses of language ecology and language socialization frameworks. The purpose of this mixed method longitudinal study is to examine the linguistic and social development of the participants; to this end, the qualitative data were gathered through interviews, personal narratives, diaries and field observations over two years and the quantitative data were collected over a year through discourse completion tests, collocation tests, and authentic voice recordings of the participants. The qualitative data were used as evidence for contestation and negotiation of many facets of the participants' identity such as social, linguistic, historical, gender and social class and otherwise and the intersubjective nature of their identity negotiations were located discursively with its symbolical and historical dimensions. The quantitative data were used to observe the linguistic advancement of the participants in terms of their formulaic language use. The findings of the qualitative data revealed that while some participants developed an 'intercultural competence' by taking up as many affordances as possible to engage in meaningful conversations with their social networks and positioned themselves in a 'third space,' some were at odds with the idea of world citizenship and their resistance to identity slippage has strongly shaped their identities. Of particular interest, elite social class positioning of these students was one major factor that also shaped their narratives. The quantitative data revealed that all the participants improved their use of formulaic expressions even though the pre and post-test results did not yield statistically significant results. Symbolic nature of formulaic expressions helped the participants to gain legitimacy in alternative speech communities and claim ownership of English. The findings of the study provided implications for teaching practices that would

improve language teaching in Turkey and the role of international student and scholar offices in the United States to improve the socialization of international students.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Prologue

When we are not sure, we are alive.

— Graham Greene

I used to believe that Facebook is a complete waste of time, and a totally useless pastime apt for teenage 'wretches.' However, after I came to the States for my doctoral study, I soon came to be an ardent user of Facebook - shame on the holier-than-thou, in which case, myself. In such fashion as to confirm what Lin (2008) anticipated by saying that "global capitalism has made electronic mass media a powerful tool of shaping people's imagination of possible lives and possible identities" (p. 201), most probably, I subconsciously realized the multiple uses of social networking, such as performing linguistic and semiotic practices to enact an identity of mine on a virtual plane and thus fashioning myself beyond the national context. I was again facebooking during the long Buffalo winter break when I noticed a post about a conference to be held by the Comparative Literature Department at UB. The title of the conference was sparkling: "Everything is Not Going to be Okay: Optimism in the Age of Catastrophe." Although the title mainly seemed to offer a sense of dubiousness, i.e., pessimism versus optimism, my mind was attracted by the mere enunciation of the 21st century as *the Age of Catastrophe*. And I felt forced to come up with some other delineative expressions for the century we live in, which helped in some sense shape the writing of this text.

It is common knowledge that 19th century is described as, among other things like the birth of the nation-states and the demise of the empires, that of the glorious continuation of *the Enlightenment*, and of *the age of reason*, in which various scholars like Marx, Nietzsche

and Freud laid the foundations of and constructed the essential ideologies that formed the basis of many theories of the modern era. Or the 20th century is of *the age of conventional global warfare,* during which the rise of the American power, origins of the postmodern age, thus the seeds of the ensuing globalization processes, and the like, took root in the common use along with unprecedented, extensive scientific and technological progress, such as the theory of relativity and quantum physics, all of which made us realize that the universe is much more complex than previously thought. And now the epithets that seem to designate the 21st century are *topsyturvy, chaos* and *catastrophe*.

The immense accumulation of knowledge in science and technology which we have taken over from the 20th century is marked by the global economy, elevation of private enterprise and the third world consumerism, and digital revolution, all of which is still in unison changing our sense of speed in almost every field. Bruno Latour (1999), in this sense, emphasizes that a change in the speed, scope, and volume of communication is not just a change in degree, but a change in kind. These changes have accordingly shaken the well-established definitions in every area and caused them to be perceived as fluid, chaotic and excessively complex. On the social plane, global concern over terrorism particularly after 9/11 in the U.S., 7/7 bombings in London in 2005, and the most recent Charlie Hebdo shootings in Paris (January 7, 2015), and many other terrorist attacks, has made us earthlings the world over adjust themselves in time to the notion that living in catastrophes or apocalyptic ambience is something of a prosaic, or properly so-called ordinary, nature, as is put by Lauren Berlant (2011) in her book *Cruel Optimism* as follows: “[Crisis ordinariness now] is not exceptional to history or consciousness but a process embedded in the ordinary” (p.10).

One cannot expect second language acquisition (SLA) not to be affected by this general chaotic, convoluted and thus exceedingly ambiguous atmosphere of the 21st century and with regard to its interpretation of language learning. Block (2012) contends that SLA is fascinated with the notions of "diaspora, interstices, heterogeneity, translation, flexibility, intertextuality, hybridity, fluidity, fragmentation, instability, liquidity, turbulence and so on" (p. 61). This contention, combined with the general character of SLA, as is expressed succinctly by Seidlhofer (2009), who mentions that "In many speech events, boundaries between languages… seemed to be perceived as fluent or irrelevant" (p.12), it is most natural to assume that the seemingly invariant categorizations and definitions in language teaching have been altered drastically, i.e., success in language learning, motivation constructs, fixed categories of identity, autonomous individual, language learning context, and the (in)arguably supposed 'natural' theories of nationalism - ownership of language and competence (Block et al., 2012; Bonfiglio, 2013; Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Joseph, 2004b; Kramsch, 2013, 2014; Lo Bianco, 2014; Norton, 2013).

All these language dynamics in today's world, the resonances of which are still on the go, can be safely said to have been caused as side effects of the stance of nation-state or central government in the 20th century and its interconnected consequences; i.e., the spread of colonization, nationalism, trade or religion (Ostler, 2010). Cameron (2006) posits that large scale migrations occurred as a result of deregulations in the international markets due to economic and cultural globalization processes. Language boundaries were formerly considered to coalign with ethnic boundaries; however, due to the global mobility of national communities, they became more heterogeneous and multicultural (Block, 2014a; Cameron, 2013; Joseph, 2004b; Pennycook, 2007). In addition to this transnational upheaval that accelerated the global capitalism, with the (in)direct repercussions attached, the international use of English as a lingua franca has also contributed to the drastic changes in the nations'

sense of community which became more 'imagined' than ever (Kramsch, 2013, 2014). Thus, the identity enactments of native and non-native speakers, immigrants, sojourners, gendered persons, observant people and the like have become more important (Norton, 2013). Thus, in the face of globalization and growing multilingualism, it is a well-accepted fact that static categorizations of identity need to be called into question (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007; Norton, 2013).

Kramsch (2014) highlights that all these changes "call for a more reflective, interpretive, historically grounded, and politically engaged pedagogy than was called for by the communicative language teaching of the eighties." Taking our cue from her, we would like to explore how this kind of pedagogy should be conceived by the global era language teachers. More specifically, the current study will explore the second language socialization of undergraduate Turkish international students in a multilingual speech community in the U.S.

Introduction

The social and cultural meanings adopted by a speech community can generate a new sense of self for speakers who do not belong to that community. The new-comers experience the use of another symbolic system as a semiotic, historically and culturally grounded personal experience (Kramsch, 2009). The subjective responses of the second language learners have been explored in our times of increased migrations and displacements, when globalization enhances "global university contact zones" (Singh & Doherty, 2004) in the U.S. and other English-dominant nations. Yet, despite a plethora of research concerning identity reconstruction or negotiations of international students in these zones, there is limited research on the experiences of undergraduate Turkish nonnative speakers of English as international students in the global university contact zones. To this end, this study will attempt to examine

the interactional and educational experiences of ten Turkish undergraduate students with regard to their second language socialization processes upon their arrival and their identity (re)construction in this process.

It is a longitudinal, mixed-method study that relies on the assumption that international students as newcomers to the American culture experience social and cognitive socialization, which enables them to gain competency in the local speech community through exposure to the language and culture of that community. Data were collected qualitatively (through interviews and field observations and personal diaries) over two years and quantitatively (via a discourse completion test, a vocabulary test and authentic speech data) over a year.

The data on participating Turkish students that were gathered through interviews, personal narratives, diaries and field observations were used as evidence for the multi-faceted nature of identity (re)construction which requires a closer look at not only the participants' symbolic capital, historicity and engagement, but also the role of external resources such as social networks, empowering relationships and the socio-physical structure of the new country (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010).

Second aim of the study is to explore the formulaic language use of the students as a tool for the enactment of their linguistic identity and ownership of English (Wray, 2002)through a quantitative study that provided evidence via a discourse completion test, vocabulary test and authentic spoken data. The acquisition of formulaic language is assumed to follow a non-linear process that relies on trial-and-error and objected to L1 transfer and overgeneralization (Wray, 2008). The study aims to draw implications for the sociolinguistics of English language learning, foreign and second language acquisition and teaching in Turkey, and additionally for the international student services at the US higher education institutions.

Background of the Study

After a long period of primarily psycholinguistic focus, second language acquisition (SLA), now, is engaged in not only the linguistic and the cognitive but also the affective and the cultural dimensions of language learning (Kramsch, 2013, 2014). Until the late 1970s SLA engaged in '*learner-as-computer*' metaphor (Ellis, 1997; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Kramsch, 2002; Lantolf, 2000; Rampton, 1997), in which learner was often viewed as a software that processes information received from teachers and peers and produces a meaningful, measurable output (Kramsch, 2002), in accordance with which static units of languages were supposedly learned and thus taught in an orderly, linear way by underestimating or disregarding the chaotic, complex and nonlinear language nature of acquisition (Larsen-Freeman, 1997). With that new emphasis that came out of the research in language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), the metaphor for learner became '*learner-as-apprentice,*' in which children as novice learners are assumed to become "socialized through language" and " use language meaningfully, appropriately and effectively" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) in a community of practice (Kramsch, 2002). However, these two research areas stood as two different units mainly due to their different research traditions and definitions of success (Kramsch, 2002; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). Success, for SLA, is, in this understanding, developing full command on the linguistic and communicative aspects of language, whereas, for language socialization, it is acculturation and blending into the speech community (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008; Watson-Gegeo, 2004).

Although both research areas have their own agendas and research traditions, it is not possible to draw a parting line between acquisition and socialization (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007), because acquisition is ultimately expressed in terms of social and cultural performance, and so is socialization; that is to say, the extent of socialization depends upon grammatical

and lexical abilities (Leather & one Dam, 2003). This realization has led some researchers to attempt to find another framework that would help us understand the symbiotic relationship between the two areas, and they have come around the metaphor of language 'ecology' (Kramsch, 2002; Larsen-Freeman, 1997, 2004; Leather & one Dam, 2003; van Lier, 1996, 2000), which evokes organic unity, as is explained in biology. The metaphor 'ecology' is used to describe the framework that brings various disciplines together to illuminate the complex interactions among organisms and their environment (Leather & one Dam, 2003; van Lier, 2000); hence in our case, the complex and dynamic interaction between a language with its learning/learners and the environment (Kramsch, 2002; Larsen-Freeman, 2007).

Ecological Approach draws insight from chaos, complexity theory (C/CT) and Dynamic Systems Theory (DST). Larsen-Freeman (1997) offered Chaos, Complexity theory and along with her, DeBot, Lowie and Verspoor pioneered Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) (De Bot, 2008) as a broader perspective to study language development which is by its very nature “dynamic, complex, nonlinear, unpredictable, sensitive to initial conditions, sometimes chaotic, open, self-organizing, feedback sensitive, adaptive, and has strange attractors that are fractal in shape” (Larsen-Freeman, 2007, p. 35).

The need to understand this ecological relationship has also been triggered by worldwide developments, globalization and its two sine-qua-non aids: digital revolution and English as a global language. Lin (2008) argues that the two most diacritic features of globalization are migration and the now-ever sophisticated technological developments that govern our daily lives; that is, the scale of human communication is ever being altered drastically because of global technologies, and we are travelling and moving as is never seen before. Global economic shifts have resulted in the need for a multicultural education which deals with cultural traditions, abilities and differences, and it is no longer enough to study the

individual differences with the "universal learner" in mind (Block et al., 2012). Kramsch (1998) suggests that in our days of frequent border crossings, it is more appropriate to re-describe the language learner in the multilingual, multicultural foreign/second language classrooms. Language learners have accordingly been given new names such as ‘intercultural speakers,’ ‘cultural mediators,’ bordercrossers,’ and ‘negotiators of meaning' (Byram & Feng, 2004).

Another issue that has resulted from global shifts is the language-learning context. Although context was in the core of communicative language teaching, in the 1970s, its importance was minimized to one-to-one verbal interactions (Ellis, 1997). However, in 1990s context regained its prominence with a need to rethink its relation to language on a much larger cultural scale (Ellis, 1997). Ethnic, social and cultural diversity of industrialized societies due to global economic moves has made the language learning context ever more multifarious and complex (Kramsch, 1994, 2002). Norton (2000) also contends that in order to acquire good language learning, researchers should focus on the social contexts in and through which a second language is learned.

English as a global language as another essential tool for globalization along with digital revolution has also contributed to the drastic changes in the language learning context across all three concentric Kachruvian circles (the Inner, Outer and Expanding) (Jenkins, 2013). Previously, it was incorrectly deemed that language teaching contexts were monolingual, monocultural, and homogenous within the static and bounded geographical contexts of nation-states (Ostler, 2010). However, now, Canagarajah (2013), for instance, depicts the language learning contexts as “overlapping, porous, and even conflictual” (p.153), and calls for a need for change in the orientation to context of more complex and dynamic dimensions because “English flows across layered and changing contexts, traversing

competing norms and values, to take on new grammars and meanings" (p. 153). Kramsch (2014) argues that language teaching pedagogies used to rely on the hierarchy of native speaker vs. non-native speaker although these notions were critiqued severely by many scholars in the recent years (Bonfiglio, 2010, 2013; Davies, 2004, 2009), and further argues aforementioned hierarchy is still alive in the language classrooms, particularly in the Expanding Circle contexts (Kramsch, 2014).

Along with the native-nonnative speaker dichotomy, ownership of English is another keen topic of debate in applied linguistics in relation to the unprecedented spread of English (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Norton, 1997b; Widdowson, 1994). A learner's *legitimacy* as a speaker of English (Bourdieu, 1991) depends on factors such as nationality, race, gender, accent, social class, and the like (Brutt-Griffler, 2005, 2008; Brutt-Griffler & Davies, 2006; Widdowson, 1994). Although speakers from the Outer Circle have made their claims on their own variety of English (Canagarajah, 2006; Kachru, 2008), Expanding Circle users of English are still experiencing a linguistic insecurity, particularly in terms of their accents (Jenkins, 2007) . Mufwene (2012) contends that although the Outer Circle speakers are anxious about the local norms of their English, "… speakers of the Expanding Circle worry instead about being understood by the outsiders with whom they communicate, especially those who speak it natively or are expected to speak it fluently" (p. 368). "By extension, there is an important relationship among language, identity, and the ownership of English" (Norton, 2000, p. 422).

Social-cultural anthropologist Appadurai (2001) proposes that "globalization is not simply the name for a new epoch in the history of capital or in the biography of the nation state. It is marked by a new role for the imagination in social life" (p.14). And Lin (2008) argues that global capitalism has entangled and diversified people's imagination of possible lives and identities. Anderson (1991), in this vein, coined the term *imagined communities*

while he was discussing the concept of nation. He argues that what we consider as nations are simply our imagined communities because even though we will never know, meet or hear our fellow- citizens, we imagine ourselves linked with them across time and space, thereby building a sense of community. Applying Anderson's imagined communities to language learning, Norton (2000, 2013) explains that language learners' affiliation with their imagined communities, such as nationhood and transnational communities, as in the U.S.A., might have a deep impact on their language investments. That is, an imagined community assumes an imagined identity, and a learner's investment in the second language can be understood within this context. Now, the question of who a person is as a citizen, a woman, a minority, a sojourner, an immigrant, a gendered person, an observant person, a native speaker, a nonnative speaker, and the like, has become much more complex a question than ever because of multiple permeable layers of identity constructs in today's world (Norton, 2013). Kramsch (2013) further elaborates that "questions of social and national identity have become more important in the last 15 years, especially since 9/11/2001" (p. 194). Having emphasized that identity issues in relation to language learning and teaching have been studied extensively (De Costa, 2007; Jenkins, 2007; Kinginger, 2004; Miller, 2004; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2007; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000), Norton (2013) highlights that the future goal of identity research should be "to contribute to efforts to promote language learning and teaching in ways that can enhance human agency in more equitable worlds" (p. 22).

Statement of the Problem

Gass (1998) puts the central questions to SLA as "How do people learn an L2? - The question is not: How people use an L2, unless the latter is a means of getting at the former" (p.85). However, this mainstream SLA was criticized as putting its main effort on how language skills are acquired rather than attempting to elucidate how these skills are used in

social planes (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Lantolf, 2000; Rampton, 1997). These criticisms, however, have been deemed by many scholars to make salient the discoursal nature of the interaction, with the dividing line between language learning and use not easily drawn (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Larsen-Freeman, 2004), and thus, the focus of SLA has shifted so as to perceive L2 learning as a social practice by relating L2 learner to the target language's social context (Kramsch, 1998, 2000b; Larsen-Freeman, 1997; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; van Lier, 2000; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). This study, consistent with the theoretical underpinnings of poststructuralist and feminist theories, attempts to contribute to this shift by relating L2 learning to social context and seeking to put an effort to bridge the gap between the cognitive (linguistic) and the social aspects of language acquisition, which are dichotomized in the literature as psycholinguistic vs. sociolinguistic perspectives (Kramsch, 2000b, 2002). Watson-Gegeo (2004) argues that this historical dichotomy blurs the connection between the learners' knowledge construction and the medium language acquisition takes place in. Social interaction is the locus where cognition is formed. So it follows that the construction in question is thus a process both cognitive and social in kind (Watson-Gegeo, 2004; Watson-Gegeo & Nelson, 2003).

Larsen-Freeman (2004) contends that acquisition vs. use/participation split is problematic because it is not obvious how to resolve this ontological difference, and maintains that the reductionist view of SLA studying language learning processes in a piecemeal fashion is troublesome; therefore, we need a larger lens to examine this issue (Larsen-Freeman, 2007). Taking its cue from C/CT, language ecology proposes to explore language within its individual societal, cultural and historical frameworks (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007). Accordingly, language learning and use are nonlinear and co-constructed between individuals and their environment, which is a site of social power and cultural memory (Kramsch, 2002; van Lier, 2004).

This study uses a second language socialization approach and integrates key concepts from language ecological perspective; thus, it attempts to combine the dynamic, social and individualistic aspects of language development within their social context. According to language socialization approach, linguistic knowledge and cultural knowledge are interwoven and co-construct each other (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). With a larger perspective, language ecology approach offers a hybrid social semiotics and ecosystem dynamics which include not only people, but artifacts, architectures, landscapes, food, and the like (Lemke, 2004). It consists of social processes and semiotic practices by which individuals interact with other actants in a continuous, nonlinear and fractal way (Lemke, 2004). In this process, language learners actively engage in acquiring a language in order to be part of a society that they live in (Ochs, 2001), as is very well explicated in the traditional saying 'becoming a village,' "because it takes a village to raise a child" (Lemke, 2002). More specifically, language socialization is based on the premise that language is the main source of gaining knowledge about culture, beliefs, values and practices while adapting social roles and identities (Cook, 2003), and our identities are "modes of responses to the diversity of our villages" (Lemke, 2004, p. 74). On each of the scales of space and time, individuals develop more localized and globally relevant identities (Lemke, 2002).

In a similar vein, when SLA is taken into consideration, second language socialization engages in the process of "assimilation into the linguistic conventions and cultural practices of the L2 discourse communities," particularly if L2 learning occurs in a language context "where the L2 is the language of power in society"(Lam, 2004, p. 44). The main focus of this study is, in this sense, the second language learners who study abroad as undergraduate international exchange students. Based on the assumption that living in a multilingual second language speech community affects second language development, the unit of analysis has been chosen as undergraduate international exchange students who "have both physically and

symbolically crossed the border" (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2001, p. 74). International students are original second language learners and their social and linguistic experience can best be studied with a second language socialization approach. Taking their cue from the language socialization approach, which studies the processes of becoming an individual in a social group starting from the childhood (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986), second language socialization researchers (Pavlenko&Lantolf, 2001, Matsumura, 2001; Kanagy, 1999), in a similar vein, have investigated second language learners' social and linguistic experiences and developments in a target language culture. However, because of an inherent challenge to describe the ever more diverse language context and language learning due to globalization, a broader lens is needed to interpret the social and linguistic experiences of second language learners. Therefore, an ecological perspective (van Lier, 2004) on the second language socialization suits best for the study of this endeavor of international students while becoming a member of the second language community.

Language socialization employs negotiation of social and cultural identity (Ochs, 2001). Thus, language users need to mediate their historical and social realities with the newly acquired ones, from body hexis to every cultural habitus (Bourdieu, 1991). In this process, language learners need to negotiate their identities to legitimize their right to speak in a speech community, and language plays an agentive role in this and provides creative resources while learners construct and reconstruct new and revised identities on a moment to moment, event to event, person to person basis on many timescales (Block, 2007; Bucholtz, 1999; Johnstone, 2010; Joseph, 2004a; Lemke, 2004; Ros i Sole, 2007). In order to gain right to speak in a speech community, one needs to adopt customary idiomatic turns of phrases and collocations (Wray, 2008), and "formulaic language is a linguistic solution to a non-linguistic problem - namely our need to promote and project ourselves in relation to others" (p. 4). In this respect, formulaic language use can be seen as a linguistic tool for the identity enactments

of language learners in a speech community. Hence, this study, in line with this approach, has two bases: the social base, to focus on the identity enactment of international exchange students through language socialization, and the linguistic base, to focus on their acquisition of formulaic language through the same socialization process, as a linguistic manifestation of identity enactment. Bucholtz and Hall's (2010) identity framework will be employed to explore social and linguistic identity constructions as sub study concepts within the language ecology perspective.

In spite of Gass's (1998) skepticism on the relationship between identity and L2 learning, Norton (2000) legitimized the relevance of identity to the acquisition of language by her pioneering research, and her call for new research regarding the various aspects of identity on language learning has been responded by many scholars (Block, 2007; De Costa, 2010; Kramsch, 2011; Miller, 2010; Miller, 2004; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). However, the relationship between social class and second language socialization has been under-researched (Block, 2014b; Norton, 2013). In this vein, this study aims to examine the interrelationship between social class and L1, and English bi/multilingualism, which has been of great significance because when the notion of identity is reconceived by those who have the economic, cultural, and symbolic capital in structuralist terms, it might become a birth and social class privilege once again (Kramsch, 2013).

With the unprecedented rise of English as the *de facto lingua franca* in the world, a new bi/multilingualism has arrived, one in which English is the key language, added onto one or more languages acquired (Block, 2014a). Therefore, irrespective of their linguistic and socio-cultural and historical backgrounds, a third of the world's population speaks English (Crystal, 2008). This widespread use of English language has raised questions about its ownership, which has been studied widely (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Canagarajah, 1999; Norton,

1997a; Pennycook, 1994; Widdowson, 1994). Although the Outer Circle has claimed its ownership by creating their own local varieties (Canagarajah, 2013; Kachru, 1997), the Expanding Circle still takes the native speaker norms as the main reference point (Jenkins, 2009; Kramsch, 2014). Given that language plays an agentive role in the process of acquiring new participations and identities in a new community of practice, ownership of English as a key language is a very important tool to enact identities in a local context, in our case Turkey, an Expanding Circle country. Therefore, knowing that the participants of this study are from Turkey as an Expanding Circle country, there is an essential need to understand the spread of English in Turkey in order to inform the language backgrounds of the participants recruited in this study and thus their sense of ownership of English on their second language identity constructions.

Aim of the Study

This study aims to combine the social and linguistic nature of second language development of undergraduate international exchange students in order to explore their social, cultural and linguistic identity enactments in a speech community with a language ecology perspective. It is a mixed method study that investigates social (qualitative) and linguistic (quantitative) second language identity (re)constructions of Turkish undergraduate international exchange students. In this sense, the overarching research question is:

What is the effect of second language socialization on the social, cultural and linguistic identity enactments of Turkish undergraduate international exchange students in a multilingual environment, i.e., the USA?

The study is twofold; therefore, the research questions will be focusing on these two categories. The first category explores the social manifestations of identity enactments of

Turkish undergraduate exchange students studying in a global contact zone. And the second category will center around their formulaic language use as part of their linguistic identity. The research questions address the social and linguistic aspects of identity as follows:

1. Why do participants prefer to study in the U.S. and what is their understanding of the symbolic capital they will gain through studying in the U.S.?
2. Do participants undergo a social identity reconstruction either in their first language or second language?
    a. If there is a reconstruction of social identity, how do the participants reveal this change in the interviews, in their daily transactions, and their life stories as a result of social experiences in the U.S. culture?
3. What affected the Turkish students' ownership of English and to what extent, if at all, are the Turkish students aware of this effect in their conceptions?
4. To what extent do the Turkish international students use formulaic expressions as a representation of their legitimate ownership of English?
5. How are identity enactments of Turkish international students reflected in the use of formulaic expressions?
6. How does their social class affect their social identity reconstruction in the U.S. and how it is reflected in their life stories as a result of their social experience in the U.S. culture?

Significance of the Study

With an increase in the number of speakers and learners of English as a second or foreign language in the Outer and Expanding Circle countries, and some migrating to the Inner Circle countries, there is an essential need to gain insight into the interactional and educational experiences of English language speakers from diverse backgrounds. According

to the Open Doors Report 2014, total international student enrollment in the U.S., one of the Inner Circle countries, increased 8% in 2013/14 academic year, and the U.S., now, hosts 4.5 million globally mobile college and university students. However, there is limited research on the experiences of Turkish nonnative speakers of English from the Expanding Circle who have travelled to the Inner Circle countries as study-abroad students. To this end, this study will attempt to examine the interactional and educational experiences of ten Turkish undergraduate students with regard to their second language socialization processes upon their arrival and their identity (re)construction in either languages (L1/L2) in this process.

The transformation of English as a global language has given the issues related to identity a vital importance because it enforces the existential questions about how the use of English language itself constructs a world view that is different from the one already constructed in one's mother tongue, and whether one wants to belong to that world (Kramsch, 2013). In the atmosphere of 9/11 and the ensuing war on terrorism, English have particularly intrigued the multiple identities promised by the global use of the language (Kramsch, 2013). In this vein, Turkish students' sojourn experiences in the U.S. and their identity transformations will be explored to reflect upon the policies and practices of English language teaching (ELT) in Turkey.

Of particular interest is the ownership of English, in light of the "native speaker fallacy", "ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) communication." Turkish students are taught in an ELT tradition which mainly follows the teaching practices in accordance with the native speaker linguistic model that gives credit to the native speaker forms, which potentially diminish students' sense of ownership in English.

To this end this study aims to contribute to efforts to promote language learning and teaching in Turkey and to improve human agency in a more efficient way.

CHAPTER TWO: THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

There are four components in the review of literature: a) theoretical framework of the study which foregrounds language ecology perspective over language socialization, b) Identity, c) ownership of English and Turkish context, and d) formulaic language and its reflections on language socialization. Social, cultural and linguistic identities are elaborated on with respect to language socialization.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Language socialization

While culture is considered important to fathom, it is obscure and difficult to analyze. You can't see it; you can't count it in any obvious way. Culture, like God, seems unknowable.

— Elior Ochs, *Becoming a speaker of culture*, 2002

Language socialization has an interdisciplinary relationship with anthropology, sociolinguistics, developmental psychology, and sociology (Duff, 2010; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Shi, 2006; Watson-Gegeo, 2004; Watson-Gegeo & Nelson, 2003). It encompasses a lifelong process in which individuals, children, novices or newcomers, acquire membership and legitimacy in a community (Duff, 2007) and they acquire “specific domains of knowledge, beliefs, affect, roles, identities, and social representations, which they access and construct through language practices and social interaction ...” (Duff, 2010, p. 427). Individuals learn what the norms of speech community are on the basis of observations and interactions with more experienced members of the community (Duff, 2011). This study employs the framework of language socialization with an

ecological perspective attached, which brings further understanding to the study of language socialization in a second language. Language ecology is described as the study of any language and its environments (Haugen, 2001); thus it proposes an approach which combines linguistic data with a concept of total language context which encompasses the speakers' situational positioning, and speech communities' sociocultural and socioeconomic features (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008). After exploring language socialization, language ecology perspective will be dealt with in the literature review.

The term *socialization* is grounded in the enculturation process of children in their L1 society, which is called *primary socialization* (Leung, 2001; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). On the other hand, *secondary socialization* is a process which is distinguished as an interdisciplinary approach exploring the process of acquiring linguistic and social primary socialization and it is a repetitive process that takes place each time the adults enter a new social community and take on new roles (Leung, 2001). Therefore, language socialization assumes that language learning and enculturation establishes parts of the same process of acquiring a language (Watson-Gegeo, 2004). More specifically, it is a process which is governed by language and the main aim is to develop command over linguistic conventions, pragmatics, and also to develop appropriate stances, identities, ideologies, or normative practices associated with the speech community in target (Hornberger & Duff, 2008).

However, Schieffelin and Ochs' (1986, 2008) language socialization as a conceptual framework involves children's integration into their community with the help of their L1 (primary socialization), yet language socialization is not limited to this integration process. In Schieffelin and Ochs' understanding, language socialization is a lifelong process that involves several social contexts such as school, neighbors, work and many other living environments, i.e., secondary socialization (Ochs, 2001). Due to this reason, we are, constantly, not only

socializing but also being socialized by individuals that we have contact with (Ochs, 1988, 2008). In this ongoing evolutionary process, “linguistic and cultural knowledge are constructed through each other” (Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen, 2004, p. 165), and these “two processes are intertwined from the moment a human being enters a society” (Ochs, 1996, p. 407). It is called a new 'paradigm' by its proponents (Hornberger & Duff, 2008; Watson-Gegeo & Nelson, 2003), which is the representation of linguistic, social and cultural knowledge and of how they are acquired in various language learning situations at various ages. In tandem with this understanding, since “all language learning is culture learning” (Heath, 1983, p. 5), second language learning brings about second language socialization processes, especially if it is situated in the target language culture.

Bourdieu's notion of habitus is an explicative tool for the assumption that language and cultural meaning are acquired in social interaction. 'Habitus,' is “a set of dispositions acquired through (formative) early experiences, which incline individual actors to behave in certain ways” (Bourdieu, 1991, pp. 12–13). Language socialization explores how habitus is constructed and reconstructed and how it is negotiated and transformed during the socialization processes (Ochs, Solomon, & Sterponi, 2005). It is through habitus that individuals adopt cultural values which are largely connected to social class, and also through habitus that adjustment to social change can be examined, because through habitus people interpret the world, define their perceptions and attitudes and make decisions (Lamarre, 2004).

Language socialization research mainly focuses on two processes. The first is socialization through the use of language, and the second is socialization to use the language, (i.e., language education and language in education) (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). However, education here does not always refer to formal education. The first process, socialization

through the use of language, addresses the process of gaining knowledge and it requires "tacit knowledge of principles relating linguistic forms not only to each other but also to referential and non-referential meaning and functions" (Ochs, 1988, p. 14). For instance, caregivers direct children to use appropriate greetings, requests and turn-taking behaviors by guiding, giving admonitions and reminders to the children through interactional sequences (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008), which can be seen as an example of how language socialization promotes linguistic development (Poole, 1994).

The second process, socialization to use the language, refers to "the use of language to encode and create cultural meaning" (Poole, 1994, p. 594). Ochs (2008) describes this process as "understandings of the social organization of everyday life, cultural ideologies, moral values, and beliefs; and structures of knowledge and interpretation are to a large extent acquired through the medium of language" (p. 14). Therefore, although the second process focuses on the linguistic development of the language learner, the first process is more invested in the social development of the language learner in the target language speech community. And also, linguistic competence and social competence are two interconnected processes which comprise the process of language socialization (Matsumura, 2001b; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). However, according to Ochs (2008), this model does not give the necessary importance to the role of human activity in constructing knowledge. To this end, Ochs (2008) proposes a modified model which reveals the role of human activity in connecting linguistic and cultural knowledge. According to this model, participants' in-verbal activities/practices rely on linguistic and sociocultural knowledge to construct and describe what takes place. These verbal activities/practices provide the tools through which aspects of linguistic and social knowledge are developed (Ochs, 2008). This model of language socialization, in which activity and knowledge construction are interconnected, is based upon several approaches, including Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory as well as Lave and

Wagner's (1991) legitimate peripheral learning, and Communicative Language Teaching, which mainly pertains to L2 contexts (Hymes, 1974).

Lantolf (2006) explains that sociocultural theory (SCT) has added an impact on language socialization research because it reverses the conventional SLA understanding that language acquisition as a cognitive process takes place in the mind, and language use solely applies this acquired information to the social world. SCT argues that first cognition takes place on the social plane and later it is internalized as inner speech while communicating with more capable interlocutors (Lantolf, 2006). For Vygotsky, socialization predates acquisition (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001). SCT sees human learning "as a dynamic social activity that is situated in physical and social contexts" (Prior, 2008, p. 55). That is to say, the development of higher order thinking skills are impacted by various social and cultural activities that take place at specific historical moments and demand different cognitive skills (Ochs, 1988, p. 15). Therefore, the traditional understanding of language socialization research with regard to how novices acquire linguistic and social knowledge through engaging in joint activities with experts (e.g., scaffolding) is in tune with SCT (Ochs, 1988; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008).

Another related approach focusing on the role of activity in learning is Lave and Wenger's (1991) work on communities of practice (CoP) and legitimate peripheral participation, which is based upon the idea that learning is a situated activity where learners are apprenticed through exposure to new norms of community and cognition emerges from experience through social interaction in communities of practice. It is a process that must take into consideration the newcomers' entering and admission to new communities as full members. While children acquire various communicative and social statuses in these 'temporarily and spatially situated activities/practices', at the same time, they develop grammatical, discursive, and sociocultural structures of knowledge (Ochs, 1988). Although

social participation is important, there are rules of entry into a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). Participation, which begins peripherally, should be exposed to mutual engagement and interaction with the members of the community until the newcomer gains enough legitimacy to become a full member (Wenger, 1998). According to this view, learning is an "evolving form of membership" in the speech community that is targeted (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 53). In this vein, it is one of the main focuses of language socialization research to study how language learners, sojourners, immigrants, and minorities starting from a beginner role acquire full participant roles by gaining access through social interaction to target community (Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen, 2004).

Lastly, language socialization research has common understandings with the communicative language teaching (Hymes, 1974). Both approaches see language as a socially constructed activity (Leung, 2001). The premise ''that language, culture, and cognition are interconnected. As such, learning a language goes hand in hand with learning to operate within a particular society''(Vickers, 2007, p. 622) is also at the center of Hymes' notion of communicative competence: "knowing the linguistic and sociolinguistic rules for communication and having the cultural knowledge that underlies the context and content of communicative events and processes" (Leung, 2001, p. 2). Language socialization drew from the notion of 'speech community' (Gumperz, 1968) as a unit analysis, and Hymes' 'communicative competence' (1972), which encompasses the realm of sociocultural knowledge necessary for members of a speech community to use language in socially appropriate ways in a speech event (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008, p. 4). That is, participants reveal relevant communicative acts in relation to "cultural values and beliefs, social institutions and forms, roles and personalities, history and ecology of a community" (Hymes, 1974, p. 4) in a specific situational setting (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008).

Language socialization in a second language

The notion of language socialization as "the process whereby children and other novices are socialized through language, part of such socialization being a socialization to use language meaningfully, appropriately, and effectively"(Ochs, 1996, p. 408) has been applied to SLA, which deems L2 learners as novices who need to be socialized to an L2 language and its culture (Duff, 2011; Kasper & Rose, 2002; Li, 2000; Matsumura, 2001a; Poole, 1994; Ros i Sole, 2007; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). Thus, language socialization in a second language dwells upon the process by which individuals learn the social order and systems of belief in a speech community (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1996, p. 406) by means of exposure and participation in L2 interactions (Matsumura, 2001, p. 636). According to the perspective of second language socialization, second language learners are "novices being socialized into not only a "target language but also a target culture" (Leung, 2001, p. 1). In this vein, the process of language learning helps the learner not only to acquire new linguistic skills but also provides opportunities to use that language to establish relationships within the community (Ros i Sole, 2007).

Second language socialization has common grounds with first language socialization; however, the process in L2 socialization is more complicated than L1 socialization (Duff, 2007) because individuals who are going to socialize in L2 have already undergone L1 socialization and thus have a linguistic and discursive repertoire and also cultural traditions and community affiliations (Duff, 2007, p. 321). Therefore, with the added complexity of L1 socialization, second language socialization deals with learners who undergo L2 socialization in the contexts of home, school, workplace, university, peer group contexts and their interactions with the speech community. Second language participants may not experience the same degree of acceptance or access in the new speech communities as their L1counterparts do and they may face resistance from the speech community or they may not develop

investment in socializing into the community because their future aspirations and goals may not overlap with the communities' because they remain anchored into their previous primary speech communities for practical or ideological reasons (Hornberger & Duff, 2008; Watson-Gegeo, 2004).

The key tenets of second language socialization (Hornberger & Duff, 2008) can be summarized as follows:

a) Since language socialization is a lifelong process, as we enter a new community of practice we acquire new codes, registers, ways of acting and even thinking gain importance over the prior literacies adopted in the previous communities.
b) In order to develop communicative competence in an L2 and values, practices and identities of a target community, social interaction needs to be contextualized within routine activities.
c) Language socialization is bi- or multi-directional. More proficient members of a community are essential to guide and teach novices explicitly or implicitly the appropriate ways of acting in accordance with the ideologies, traditions and values of the discourse community. At the same time novices can also teach their communicative needs to their more proficient addressees.
d) Particularly language and other semiotic systems ease language and culture learning, and also mediate communication between the parties.
e) Second language socialization does not necessarily lead to generating L2 practices and discursive patterns. Yet still, it can lead to hybrid practices, identities, values and ideologies, or partial adoption of target norms and practices of L2 community. However, unlike L1 socialization, L2 socialization may result in resistance or marginalization of the learner.

Research in second language socialization reveals that language socialization may, on the one hand, result in novices' negotiation of practices, values and culture of the speech community by creating new, and/or hybrid identities (Duff, 1995; Norton, 1997b). On the other hand, it is also possible that novices reject to comply with the norms and practices of the L2 community and consciously do not enculturate into language (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Pavlenko, 2007). Talmy (2008) demonstrates that teenage immigrant students resisted the ideal of 'ESL students' who are hardworking, diligent and a 'model minority' at an American school, and preferred a more apathetic, disdainful stance and identity at school and enacted a transgressive identity by revealing hostility and boredom. Thus, research has shown learner agency and investment are essential in socialization and enculturation or rejection of the way community members act, think or speak.

Although the central tenet of socialization is not only socialization/learning to use language but also socialization/learning through language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, 2008), and thus the premise is that acquisition and socialization are interrelated and integrated processes, most early studies have disregarded to demonstrate the interactional nature of socialization in the studies explicitly but they have merely implied language socialization in the analysis of the studies. One line of studies focuses on classroom settings and analyze teachers' talk and input as part of pragmatic norms of L2 and culture (Poole, 1992; He, 1997; Lim, 1996). Others have examined L2-learners' production, and they have explored whether L2 learners socialized to use some specific linguistic features of L2 interaction and developed pragmatic competence (Kanagy, 1999; Li, 2000; Matsumura, 2001a). Hence, although these early studies have adopted the language socialization framework, they have focused only on the linguistic aspects of second language socialization and argued that language socialization eased developing pragmatic competence in L2. They have inferred the cultural awareness of L2 learners from the researchers' perspective only, and failed to capture language

socialization in naturalistic settings. For this reason, this study attempts to examine second language socialization as an interactive process by studying the pragmatic developments of L2 learners and their sociocultural experiences in an L2 speech community.

Second language socialization research has also focused on other contexts apart from language classes such as immigrants in L2 communities or international English language learners or students learning languages other than English at universities (Kinginger, 2008; Lam, 2000; Shi, 2011; Vickers, 2007). Related studies attempt to understand how those languages affect pragmatics, and cultural and grammatical meaning differently than L1 socialization of the participants of new communities. Study abroad contexts are assumed to be ideal ones to have more contact with the L2 speech community because learners are supposed to benefit from such an environment and become more sociolinguistically competent participants in these local communities (Duff, 2010); however, research notes contradictory results due to the fact that setting is not the only factor that makes difference in linguistic and social gains of learners (Wang, 2010). These inconsistent results can be caused by innumerous variables such as type and quality of the interactions, the degree of exposure to and immersion in L2, specific personality traits and previous histories of language and practices of learners.

Earlier studies of language socialization studied the learner identities and agencies based on the assumption that the ultimate goal of language learning is to attain 'native speaker' production and native speaker like thinking/acting and identities. In this vein, second language socialization can be assumed to impose the imitation of the “native speaker” model to acquire linguistic and social competence. Yet Byram (2003) contradicts this assumed imposition in two ways: First, the imitation of the native speaker is an unattainable goal since it implies giving up one's social identity in order to be able to acquire another one. Moreover, Paulston (1992) makes an analogy of ethnic identities for the native speaker limitation. She

elaborates on the connection by suggesting that ethnic identities are considered mutually exclusive, so one cannot be expected to choose one of the two citizenships. The second argument posed by Byram (2003) is that the native speaker authority should be questioned because “they [the native speakers] do not ‘know’ their culture any more than they can be said to ‘know’ their language” (p. 61). He explains that the native speakers do not have competence to externalize their language and culture and they need help to that end. So, in line with the argumentation of Byram (2003), in this study, the native speaker authority upon language and culture is going to be taken as a term that describes a local and intercultural language environment with native and nonnative speaker agents. Accordingly, the second language socialization in the target language and culture in this study refers to more local rules and symbols related to social identification and thus an intercultural environment.

Having noted that early studies have failed to capture the aspect of socialization through language use in natural contexts other than classrooms (Kanagy, 1999; Li, 2000; Matsumura, 2001a) and some other studies in study abroad contexts have yielded contradictory results, we might feel the need to explore the missing components in order to develop a study to meet these pieces. The main reason could be that they have not taken into consideration innumerous variables such as type and quality of the interactions, the degree of exposure to and immersion in L2, specific personality traits and previous histories of language and practices of learners (Kinginger, 2008; Lam, 2000; Shi, 2011; Vickers, 2007). Also most socialization research has failed to capture the new dimensions language socialization has gained in the 21st century due to mobility and mobile resources. The monolithic, stable boundaries, categories and labels such as 'non/native speaker' and 'target language community' and the social contexts where language learning takes place should therefore be called into question. This study, thus, employs a more holistic approach on second language socialization, i.e., the ecology perspective. Language ecology approach brings a holistic

perspective to study second language socialization. Kramsch and Stefsen (2008) describe the ecology perspective as studying language from a holistic approach, in which "language is not studied as an isolated, self-contained system, but rather in its natural surroundings, i.e. in relation to the personal, situational, cultural, and societal factors that collectively shape the production and evolution of language, ontogenetically as well as phylogenetically" (p. 18). In this vein, language ecology responds to the criticism that SLA research receives, i.e., in terms of language usage vs. language use dichotomy. In a more simplistic way, Kramsch (2007) describes language ecology as "the critical study of the interrelationship between the L2 and the natural environment of its users (p. 910). For this reason, in order to address various aspects of second language socialization, i.e., cognitive, social, individual, historical and semiotic components, language ecology perspective as a world view to interpret second language socialization is employed as a conceptual framework in this study. What follows are the principles of language ecology and its main contributions to second language socialization.

Language Ecology

The earth has a skin and that skin has diseases; one of its diseases is called man.

— Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900)

Ecology in its Greek roots means '*home*,' and in that sense, it implies unity and wholeness, stresses the 'big picture,' and avoids 'isolationism' (Edwards, 2009). As a scientific discipline which originally studies environment, it was established in the mid-19th century; and the concept was coined by the German biologist Ernst Haeckel, who refers to it as the totality of relationships of an organism with other surrounding organisms and its environment (Arndt & Janney, 1983). Ecology is used to designate a world view which is different from what Descartes and his contemporaries' line of thinking suggests: They see human beings as

the true controller of the earth and having every right to exploit its animate and inanimate resources; hence the *anthropocentric* world view. The ecological world view, *ecocentric* world view, however, assumes that human beings are only part of the greater natural system, Gaia (the living earth) (van Lier, 2000, 2004).

Echoing Haeckel, Norwegian linguist Einar Haugen defines language ecology as “the study of interactions between any given language and its environment” (Haugen, 2001, p. 57). Today, language ecology is used in a broad spectrum of linguistic disciplines, particularly the ones focusing on multilingual language realities, and thus it has become a widespread approach in SLA as well in the 1990s after M.A.K. Halliday's initiation, specifically with regard to bi- and multi-lingualism, language planning, diversity death and revitalization (Edwards, 2009). The ecological sentiment thus implies “multilingualism and diversity, communicative equality, economic democratization, and resource distribution” (Edwards, 2009, p. 244).

As in the other life sciences, ecology in language also adopts a holistic approach, which offers some methodological frameworks. First, holistic approach guides language ecology to explore the contextual - which refers to personal, situational and sociocultural phenomena - properties of the communication (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008). In this vein, language ecology analysis combines the linguistic data with a concept of total context which encompasses the speakers' situational positioning, and speech communities' sociocultural and socioeconomic features.

Another methodical consideration that holistic approach offers to language ecology is the ecocentric worldview in which everything is part of an indivisible whole because the salient feature of ecology is the 'big picture' (Edwards, 2009, van Lier, 2004). Hence, it avoids reductionist attempts to explain complex language phenomena, which are by their very nature,

interconnected, interdependent and interactional (Steffensen, 2007). Steffensen (2007) explains these three tenets of language ecology as follows: *Interconnectedness* means that each component of the whole is tied to any other part and to the whole. *Interdependence* means if one linguistic phenomenon stops being exist or changes, other linguistic phenomena change, too. *Interaction* implies never mono-directionality but mutuality, in which each component cannot affect other components without affecting itself.

Third, holism implies diversity, and thus language ecology, by nature, ought to be multifaceted, inclusive and above all aware of all nuanced perspectives (Edwards, 2009). Therefore, unlike Chomsky's Universal Grammar, Grice's Universal Maxims or Habermas' Universal Pragmatics, language ecology does not seek for universals or general maxims of language (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2008; Leather & one Dam, 2003; van Lier, 2004). On the contrary, it employs a descriptive framework which emphasizes the specific over general.

Fourth, holism has guided many scholars who engage in language ecology to develop general system theories (van Lier, 2004, Leather and van Dam, 2003), dynamic systems theories ((De Bot, 2008) and chaos complexity theory (Freeman & Cameron, 2008; Larsen-Freeman, 1997). All of these theories see language as a mediator between cultural and natural ecosystems and they describe personal, situational and cultural reality changes, and that's why they are also called dynamic systems ((Kramsch & Steffensen, 2008).

After SLA has taken a poststructuralist turn and attempted to dissociate itself from the structuralist dichotomies (cognitive vs. social) with the help of sociocultural framework, some SLA researchers have taken a more obvious stance of the ecological view of language acquisition and socialization (Kramsch, 2002). Larsen-Freeman (1997) draws on chaos/complexity theory (C/CT) to SLA as a milestone, in which she compares acquisition to complex, nonlinear processes of dynamic systems (Freeman & Cameron, 2008). C/CT suggests that the important thing is to find out interconnections between the planes (scales in ecological terminology), i.e., the interplay

between the individual in the micro level and the society in the macro level, between the performances of now and past, between organic learning processes and inorganic tools of learning, e.g., computers, classroom artifacts, and the like, between local acts and global trends, such as classrooms and their related components as part of a lower level phenomena and globalization as a higher level phenomena. C/CT avoids Cartesian dualisms and suggests a broader scope to observe the language development as a component of various semiotic systems in our lives (Freeman & Cameron, 2008).

In addition to sociocultural theory (SCT), C/CT and language ecology perspective hail from Bakhtin's dialogism. Dialogism is the essential principle of Bakhtin's existentialist philosophy of the relativity of self and the other, and of time. In his book of essays, *The Dialogic Imagination*, Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) mainly argues that language is dialogical and it only exists when shared; thus in this sense, always, a word is "half someone else's"(p. 345). Bakhtin (1981) notes that there is an essential tension in language between the centrifugal (moving outwards) and centripetal (moving inwards) forces, and he suggests that language "gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralization, which develop in vital connection with the process of sociopolitical and cultural centralization" (p. 271). That is, language is the combination of a person's verbal and ideological realms and thus lets the speaker become part of many sociocultural processes. Centrifugal forces represent creativity and diversification and centripetal forces express homogeneity and centralized control over the forms. Bakhtin adds, we all have "languages of social groups, 'professional' and 'genetic' languages, languages of generations and so forth," (p. 272) that "may all be taken as particular points of view on the world" (p. 293). In other words, we all want to sound new and unique in order to signal group and personal identity, yet the institutions or political agencies desire to establish homogenous forms to create 'correct and standard' language.

Bakhtin (1981) further explains that intrinsically self and the other are pluralistic and usually they are at odds with each other. Hall (2005) explains that Bakthin argues "to be in a dialogue with the Other would mean to the individual consciousness getting out of itself and in the space of “outsidedness,” meeting another consciousness. The space between self and the other becomes a space of in-between-ness produced by the very act of inner distancing and pushing one's consciousness to the limit of Otherness in order to meet the external, alien Other" (p. 194). Hall further elaborates that there can be two possible extreme outcomes of this encounter: either the self denies the existence of the other with equal rights and responsibilities (monologism) (Bakhtin, 1981) and tries to impose its cultural space onto the other, or the self comes to the verge of self-negation because it becomes so much bestowed by the Other. However, Bakthin rejects these extremes and offers dialogic polyphonic voices on the border between the self and the other (Hall, 2005, p. 194). Consequently, "the border between the self and the other becomes a Thirdspace: a third category for understanding cultural dynamics as a process of creative hybridization" (Hall, 2005, p. 195). And according to Bakhtin, this state of being outside of one's self is a lifelong dialogical event (Hall, 2005, p. 195). In other words, since 'I' is multiple, yet not unitary, it involves 'the other' as well; 'I' can observe itself from the eyes of 'the other' objectively and from inside subjectively. Thus, parody, double-voicing or stylization in discourse are very much expected and observed (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2008). The researcher then becomes part of this objective/ subjective observation, and the participant's relative observations and interpretations are also relative to the perspective of the researcher.

Drawing on Bakhtinian concepts, Kramsch formulated (1993, 2010) a third place perspective to explore the cultural contrasts, which is described as a vantage point for language learners to understand the language attitudes and perspectives from their home culture with the eyes of the language they are studying. Third space can be an effective tool to

investigate whether and to what degree language learners attempt to inhabit a third place when they confront with various ideologies and viewpoints as a result of study abroad and expatriate living (Kramsch 1993, 2010). To illustrate simply, keeping one's office door closed when she is in the office is a culturally specific preference that might be considered “odd” by some cultures (e.g., North Americans); however, it is perfectly normal and ubiquitous behavior to some other cultures (e.g., Germans) (Kramsch 1993, p. 209). Kramsch (2010) argues that dialogues about such practices can be unearthed to develop a perspective to understand others' viewpoints, and thus lead to a third place point of view.

Language Ecology and Language Socialization

We fill pre-existing forms and when we fill them we change them and are changed.

— Frank Bidart, “Borges and I”

(from *The Pale King* by David Foster Wallace)

Drawing on C/CT and dynamic systems theories, Kramsch (2002), Leather and van Dam (2003) and van Lier (2004) have proposed ecological approaches of language acquisition and socialization. All of these pioneering scholars deem SLA as an ***'emergent'*** phenomenon. Language as an emergent system is rather in flux than fixed or static; and “like culture, it is contested and open to the processes of inclusion and exclusion, prescribed and proscribed patterns of use, permeated by value judgments, markers of identity, and signs of success” (van Lier, 2004, p.85). Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) explain that no use of language comes from grammar structures in our cognitive system but from new adaptations that appear from the dynamic of timescales. For example, language structures are not stable, such as grammar and vocabulary; they are constantly changing, and due to these changes, the whole language system is affected. It was possible to be 'gay' in the sense of being happy and in good mood but it is no longer the case. Or 'terrorism' is achieving new meanings almost

every day. Or 'unfriend' has become a verb coined by Facebook. Or the difference between present perfect and present simple or past perfect and past simple have almost collapsed in a host of contexts. In this sense, for example, grammar is not a precondition of interaction, but it is a byproduct of interaction and it is acquired as a result of social and cognitive activity using language in meaningful contexts (Leather & one Dam, 2003; van Lier, 2000).

Drawing on SCT, one of the most important insights that ecological perspectives offer is '***mediation***.' SCT postulates that human mind is mediated and therefore learning is a mediated activity which emanates from the interlocution with its social dimension attached that occurs in a zone of proximal development (Lantolf, 2000). In Vygotsky's view, people resort to symbolic tools and signs in mediating and regulating their relationships with both others and themselves, thereby causing a change in the character of these relationships (Lantolf, 2000). In the same vein, language ecology posits that meaning emerges from semiotic activity, which is the relationship between artifacts, people and events (Kramsch, 2002; Lantolf, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978). Semiotics is usually defined as sign making and sign using practices, which include a broad spectrum of signs from bulletin boards, neon signs, sun light, gestures, clothes and the like. Anything can be a sign as Bourdieu notes (Bourdieu, 1991), and thus language occurs interacting with various sign systems inherent in the social and practical world ((Van Lier, 2002). According to ecological perspective, language teaching is not considered as “transmission and reception of a closed system of knowledge,” yet as an open process mediated by a lot of semiotic tools in a number of social activities (Kramsch, 2002, p. 21), and communication is constructed through engagement with culturally mediated artifacts and social relationships in the community (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001).

Another prominent terminology coined by the ecology scholars is '***affordances***'. They all consider that SLA as an emergent phenomenon is triggered by the availability of

'*affordances*' in the language environment. Affordance is an alternative word for 'input' proposed by van Lier (2000) because 'input' is the representation of structuralist language view seeing the learner as a computer to be 'inputted.' van Lier defines affordances as "properties of the environment relevant to active, perceiving organisms" (p. 252), and their relevance is negotiated by the learners. The following diagram expresses what van Lier (2004) means by affordances:

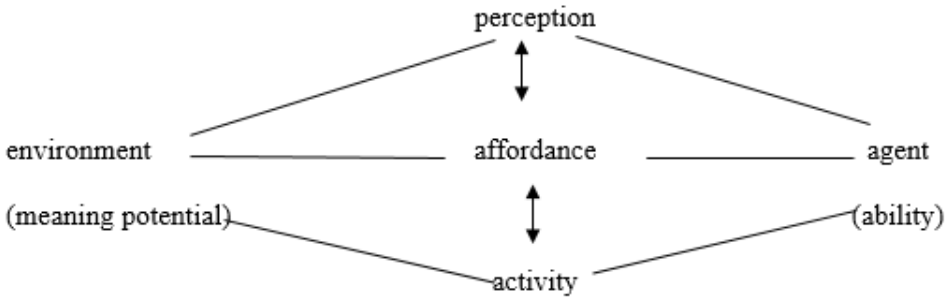

Figure 1: Affordance in context (van Lier, 2004, p. 252)

The language environment is full of rich semiotic potentials. The agent (learner) has certain abilities or aptitudes. Affordances are the connections between the environment (whether it is a book, desk or an utterance) and the learner. As a result of the interplay between perception/activity (by means of affordances) and agent/environment interactions, relevance occurs as a third dimension, and the final outcome is semiosis (meaning making).

Another key concept in language ecology is ***'timescales'***. Language expresses meanings that operate on multiple timescales (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008); that is, utterances do not only circumscribe the moment of speech but encompass past memories and future aspirations as well. Language ecology adopts neither the conventional linear model of time nor the neat tiered timescales model; instead it captures the notion of time that is fluid,

chaotic, interpenetrating and the time in which narratives or memories do not refer to historical and social occurrences in a linear way (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2008). In the multiple timescales interlocutors participate in a conversation which is evoked by 'the cultural inertia' (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2008). As Lemke (2002) argues, language ecology does not limit the learner to her own skin but allows her to include her previous learnings, projections of future aspirations, subjective judgments, connections with remembered, relived, and potential future selves in a non-linear way. Meaning out of a conversation may result in "unpredictable, often unintended, outcomes and multiple levels of truth and fantasy, reality and fiction" (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008, p. 659) because our memories do not belong to past but they keep on living as we experience the present realities, so they also represent and reshape the present (Hofstadter, 2007). Blommaert (2005) calls this 'layered simultaneity,' which refers to the occurrence of a synchronic event yet "it is simultaneously encapsulated in several layers of historicity, some of which are within the grasp of the participants while others remain invisible but are nevertheless present" (p. 130). This simultaneity may cause incongruence because the interlocutors may speak referencing various scales of historicity and thus it leads to tensions in communication (Blommaert, 2005). Lemke (2002), therefore, suggests that teachers need to teach according to multiple timescales taking into consideration the learners' past experiences inside and outside of the classroom, and also their future potential in conjunction with their present state.

Language ecology is also interested in ***fractals***, the patterns of activities and events which are similar and responsive, and interactive at various levels of scales, i.e., fractal mosaics for larger or smaller patterns. Identities, for example, are fractal (Lemke, 2002). We develop unique identities each time and on different timescales for every other person we meet, for every other activity we are interested in; and we have more localized or more globally relevant identities, yet each of these identities emerges from "our previous pattern of

interaction with others as well as uniqueness of the moment" (p. 74). That is, we need to be able to shift our pattern of identity enactment in response to the person and activity by "mirroring" ourselves, not replicating, though, but by responsiveness in the diverse and complex social contexts (Lemke, 2002).

Like chaos, complexity theory, language ecology does not aim for finalizability or dialectical unity of discrete events but values open-endedness and unfinalizability (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008). In this sense, bounded speech communities can be problematized and language socialization can focus on more open-ended and 'deterritorialized' (Rampton, 1998) communicative practices instead of focusing on the 'territorial boundedness' fostered by the assumption of 'one language - one culture' (Blommaert, 2005, p.216).

As noted earlier, language ecology is not a single contextual method or a theory of research and practice but one that offers a world view in educational settings (van Lier, 2004). Given this, the current study employs a second language socialization approach with a world view of language ecology attached on it. According to Kramsch & Steffensen (2008), language ecology approach, as a world view, from a theoretical perspective, presents four following challenges to second language socialization:

a) Historical challenge: Second language learners have already socialized into one language and culture in their natural environment (family, school, workplaces); therefore, the memory of these previous (primary or secondary) socialization(s) interferes with the verbal and nonverbal behaviors of a new speech community when they attempt to socialize into this new discourse. Therefore, second language socialization should consider all these previous language socialization processes of a learner.

b) Cognitive challenge: Linguistic relativity principle suggests that we need to take into account as discourse how language shapes our perceptions and thinking; therefore, it is expected that nonnative speakers might still keep their discourse categorizations and mental patterning for meaning making even though they are socialized into the language and pragmatic codes of an L2 speech community. Having said this, we need to be aware that nonnative speakers or bi- or multi-lingual people may say one thing but mean another.

c) Methodological challenge: Researchers should be aware that they need to conduct longitudinal and qualitative studies to document the challenging historical and cognitive relativities of the L2 learners that stem from several language histories and speech communities. Thus, the researcher should be conscious of revealing her subjective positioning. An ecological research framework presents more internal validity yet less external validity due to its nature that does not allow generalizability or causality relationships for the full account of linguistic and social phenomena.

d) Ethical challenge: The application of language socialization framework to the individuals who have already socialized into their first language raises ethical concerns. It has been already well documented in the literature that the idealized use of native speaker model of socialization needs to be questioned. Thus, socialization researchers have problematized this issue and offered a 'third place' between socialization processes (Kramsch, 1994, 2011).

To sum up, language ecology provides us with a broad holistic perspective to study second language socialization and acquisition. It emphasizes the emergent nature of language, its operating on multiple timescales, and the important roles of affordances and mediation in various language contexts. It allows us to look into the linguistic phenomena which are inherently conflictual from a historic and educational perspective. An ecological approach

seeks for dialogicality, which implies expression of shared experiences, and it does not make generalizations but maintains the idea that the expression of local and particular language experiences may lead to global changes.

When one considers the multilingual and multicultural global world of 21st century, where English is spoken as a lingua franca, it is essential to bear in mind that English being the target language, socialization research agenda and contexts have thus gained new dimensions. For example, universities in English-dominant nations, such as U.S., U.K., are now being considered as “global university contact zones,” where teachers feel the need to navigate a number of different cultural orientations to Western education and sometimes develop hybrid teaching practices instead of imposing a Western way of learning (Singh & Doherty, 2004). This expansion of the scope of language socialization and the linguistic ecology of the speech communities brings out the critical importance of understanding the L2 learners', in our case Turkish international students' prior language socialization experiences and how those cumulative socialization experiences impact their present and future language experiences, trajectories and naturally their identity formations in multiple communities and timescales (Kramsch, 2002). As is noted earlier, Schieffelin and Ochs (1996) offer two ways to observe language socialization in the related context: first, the role of language in the socialization process and second acquiring appropriate and natural uses of language in order to gain social competence. Following their suggestion, in order to explore social competence of the Turkish international students, the current research focuses on social and cultural identity negotiations of the participants in a 'global university contact zone,' and as the other scope of socialization, their specific appropriate language acquisitions, i.e., formulaic expressions, which also contribute the social identity formations of these subjects.

Hence, in the following section, language ecology and identity will be discussed and a framework by Bucholtz and Hall (2010) will be studied in order to explore social and linguistic identity construction in a global university contact zone in the 21st century.

Identity

Life changes in the instant. The ordinary instant.

— Joan Didion, *The Year of Magical Thinking*

Thanks to the pioneering efforts of Bourdieu (1977, 1982), Weedon (1987), Gal (1989), Heller (1992, 1995), and Woolard (1985), SLA has taken a poststructuralist turn because it no longer sees the social categories as given, stable ones but discursive ones (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Unlike the structuralists, who conceive language as a sign system that guarantees the meaning (e.g., word and its meaning) in a reductionist approach, the poststructuralists assert that social meanings should be attributable to signs in a language. For example, by dictionary “bread” in English may refer to the same physical object with “pain” in French, or “ekmek” in Turkish; however, the cultural load would be different in each language. In Turkish, for instance, “ekmek” is more than a food item, one does not simply throw old bread away, it is considered as a holy item and before throwing away it is wrapped and paid respect in a sense. In the poststructuralist contention, thus, language is conceived with reference to its social meaning and described as 'discourse.' This conception of language as discourse can help us understand the power relationship between language and identity in these heterogeneous and conflicting language environments of the highly globalized 21st century.

Like Bakhtin, Bourdieu (1977) argues that speech cannot be understood without the person who speaks, and this person cannot be understood without reference to the larger

social network that she lives in. That is, whenever we speak we negotiate and renegotiate our sense of self in connection to our larger social environment and we rearrange and redesign our relationship with everybody we are in touch with across multiple timescales and spaces (Lemke, 2004; Norton, 2010). Bucholtz and Hall (2010), in the same way, describe identity as "the social positioning of self and the other" (p. 18). In this poststructuralist contention, language as a discursive act represents the coming together of a speaker's verbal and ideological worlds, and thereby represents her as part of many sociocultural processes. At any moment of speaking, an individual's words are symbolic representations of who she is, where she is from, what she has gone through and what she would like to be in the future. The discourses that we assume emanate from a variety of worldviews that are developed as we go through different social conditions and occurrences. This notion of discourse as a symbolic expression of identity will be used to explore the narratives of Turkish international students.

Gee (2011) refers to this same interplay between language and social groups when he wrote, "A Discourse with a capital 'D'…is composed of distinctive ways of speaking/listening and often, too, distinctive ways of writing/reading. These distinctive ways of speaking/listening and/or reading/writing are *coupled* with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, and believing" (p. 177). Gee's all-encompassing definition of *D*iscourse pays attention to all the features of communicative interactions and ways of acting that individuals demonstrate as a result of their social existence. Discourses are "specific socially recognizable identities" (p. 177) that are shown in how a person speaks and acts. Throughout the remainder of this article, the word *discourse* will imply this broader version as described by Gee to observe how international students (re)construct their social identities in many different discourses they are involved in.

Language ecology approach also contributes to the poststructuralist understanding of identity. Instead of considering “one’s multiple social identities as given by one’s position in the social world,” as the structuralists do, for example, being a Japanese, Turkish or American, Kramsch and Steffensen (2008) argue that “an ecological paradigm would see them as so many subject positions emerging in the interplay between the social world and the discursive situation at hand” (p. 26). Structuralist and essentialist methods see identities as enacted on a single time scale, i.e., the unfolding interaction (Uryu, Steffensen, & Kramsch, 2013). However, enactment of identity is more intricate and due to that reason language ecology views identity on multiple timescales as exemplified by Lemke's (2002) rhetorical question:

> What else is an identity but the performance, verbally and nonverbally, of a possible constellation of attitudes, beliefs, and values that has a recognizable coherence by the criteria of some community? Of course, identity is complex; we define it on many timescales of behavioral coherence (p. 72).

In order to capture the intercultural interaction and the complexity of identity in these interactions, we need to define identity on many timescales of behavioral coherence because of this reason we cannot promote one timescale as the identity enacting one (Uryu et al., 2013). That is why identities are fractal but not repetitive in ecological understanding (Lemke, 2002).

Given that identity is a discursive construct that unfolds in interaction on multiple timescales depending on the social environment, ecological approach takes this understanding one step further and argues that identity is neither stable nor constructed yet it is emergent. Uryu et al. explain identity as an emergent notion as follows: interaction is an open system and the participants depend on the dialogical system's environment. The identity of the

participants is not determined by the environment, which yet provides certain affordances that make some particular identities available as opposed to others (Uryu et al., 2013). What is implicated by this is that identity is not stable or constructed, yet emergent, and what determines its emergence is identity attractors on many timescales. The identity attractors in question are made of local, interactional dynamics which come into being through the interaction process itself, and therefore, the identities we come to have in our dialogues appear as we coalign miscellaneous and at times conflictual thoughts within and between ourselves and our interlocutors with whom we enter dialogues (Uryu et al., 2013).

Although it is acknowledged that Norton's (2000) pioneering identity work has been inspired by the ecological view of identity, i.e., multiple, changing and in site of conflict, she has been criticized for still adopting a too structuralist perspective of identity (Kramsch & Steffensen, 2008; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007). Ecological approach does not see one's multiple identities as given constructs by one's social position, but it views them as various subject positions emerging in the interaction between the social world and the discursive situation in context. On the grounds of this criticism, I have considered referring to a more encompassing identity conceptualization in accordance with the ecological paradigm and hence the current research will employ the framework suggested by Bucholtz and Hall (2010).

Bucholtz and Hall (2010) propose a framework to study and analyze identity as an intersubjective accomplishment. There are five principles in the framework. First two principles are related to the ontological status of identity and the rest of the principles are concerned with the mechanisms identity is constituted of. For the analysis of the identity developments of Turkish international students, this framework will be mainly applied to their storylines as they encounter life as international students in a globalized context. What follow are the basic tenets of the framework:

1) The emergence principle

   "Identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the preexisting source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon" (p. 19).

This principle challenges the static view of identity, which posits that identity is in an individual's mind and the only possible relationship between identity and language is reflected by the individual's social behavior. This conception discounts the effect of social environment on which the identity is constructed, negotiated and altered. Thus, Bucholtz and Hall (2010) argue that identity emerges from the specific conditions of linguistic interaction along with other resources developed in earlier interactions such as ideology, the linguistic system or the interplay between the two. They further explain that emergent nature of identity can be observed best and easily in the occurrences in which the individual's language use does not comply with the normative roles ascribed to her, for example, in the cases of transgender identity or ethnic, racial or national border crossings (Rampton, 1995). Identities as social processes are discursively produced "in the most mundane and unremarkable situations" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 20).

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) see the same discursive relationship between language and identity as a mutually constitutive one in two ways. First, languages and particular discourses provide us with the certain terms and phrases in which identities emerge. Second, language ideologies and identity guide ways in which linguistic resources are used to index individuals' identities and their use of linguistic resources by other individuals. They argue that the discursive nature of identities does not make identities as they are not real in the material world; on the contrary, it is the power of identities that unite and separate people, communities and societies.

2) The positionality principle

> "Identities encompass (a) macrolevel demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporally and interactionally specific stances and participant roles" (p. 21).

This second principle also challenges the essentialist view of identity which sees identity as a broad collection of social categories such as age, gender and social class. Bucholtz and Hall (2005), however, argue that although such categorizations of identities can be valuable in large scale sociolinguistic trends, they do not capture the nuanced and flexible kinds of identities that arise in local contexts because identities emerge in discourse through temporary roles assigned and assumed by individuals such as joke teller, engaged listener or interpreter. All these three positions can occur simultaneously in a single interaction. Therefore, the researcher should be aware of this multi 'layered simultaneity' (Blommaert, 2005), and choose one timescale over the other one, then encompass all the multiple timescales in order to achieve a more complete identity understanding. In similar fashion, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) refers to this positionality principle as multiplicity. They also posit that identities are best understood when they are approached in their entirety instead of through evaluation of a single aspect or subject position.

3) The indexicality principle

In order to gain an understanding about this principle we need to inform ourselves with the *indexical order* model proposed by Michael Silverstein (2003), who was inspired by *the semiotic theory* of Charles Sanders Peirce, for whom the chief property of linguistic and other signs is indexicality, which means that indices refer to associations that do not have to be in the same existential plane (Joseph, 2010). For example, lightning can be the sign of rain, and in a similar way, as Johnstone (2010) puts, people pronouncing /æ/ as [a] in the U.S.

sound upper class, or '*wicked'* as an adverbial intensifier in phrases like '*wicked good'* is associated with New Englanders. Pronunciation and any other linguistic form (e.g., words, phrases, grammatical patterns, patterns of discourse and linguistic (in)consistency) can index identities (Johnstone, 2009). Ochs (1992) argues that indexical relationship between linguistic form and social meaning can emerge at various levels of abstraction and they are not overt always. Few linguistic forms, if there is any, exclusively index one particular social identity. Rather, linguistic forms which index identity are associated with interactional stances like uncertainty or forcefulness which then can be linked to social categories such as gender (Ochs, 1992). For example, with regard to gendered identities, "many of the linguistic features that in the literature are associated primarily with either men or women have as their core social meaning a particular effective stance like toughness or softness" (Ochs, 1992, p. 341).

Silverstein (2003) explains that these indices follow an ordered path of development. They begin as value free 'first order' markers such as geographical identity, for example southern America, then goes to 'second order' indices relatively ideologically loaded information, like the ignorant, poor, uneducated and racist southerners (these stereotypes are described in the eye of an outsider in the BBC documentary: *Stephen Fry in America*) (Fry, 2012). This ordering can reach an unlimited number of layers; however, the essential thing is the relationship between a particular level in the order (n) and the one just above it (n+1) because identity is revealed dialectically by the interaction between these two layers (Silverstein, 2003). Although Blommaert (2007) considers Silverstein's indexical order has a positive force to produce "social categories, recognisable semiotic emblems for groups and individuals, a more or less coherent semiotic habitat" (p. 117), he has redesigned indexical order by the virtue of its missing an important element: how it becomes apparent and how the speakers develop awareness about it and play with it. Blommaert (2007) bases his argument in the social theory of Foucault and studies the institutional context where the "orders of

indexicality" (what he calls this model) (p. 117) operate and how individuals benefit from affordances they enable them to achieve individual's own agentive goals.

After this insight on indices, we can look at the third principle which describes the mechanism whereby identity is formed. Indexicality is contingent upon mostly ideological structures which are rooted in cultural beliefs and values (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). This third principle observes the indexical processes whereby identity is discursively produced.

> "Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups" (p. 21).

Bucholtz and Hall (2010) explain that the most direct way of constituting identity in talk is the explicit introduction of referential identity categories into discourse. The explicit or implicit use of such categories in discourse along with other linguistic categories provides information about identity construction. Less explicit ways of locating identities involve pragmatic processes like implicatures or presuppositions because both of these require extra inferential interpretations. Stance - "the display of evaluative, affective and epistemic orientation in discourse" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163) - and related concepts are effective in studying identities because they reveal how speakers even in a short interactional move position themselves and others as particular people, and John De Bois characterizes stance as follows: "I evaluate something and thereby position myself, and align with you" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163). Styles, as another term which is described as a repertoire of linguistic forms associated with identities, can provide further insight for the conceptualization of indexical associations

(Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Stance in an indexical process are tied to styles and thus to identity through habitual practice (Bourdieu, 1977, in Bucholtz and Hall, 2010).

According to Bucholtz and Hall (2010) indexical associations can be a set of interactional norms for a particular social group, and also they can be imposed as a top down input by some cultural authorities like media or intellectuals. Such a top down imposition may create ideological expectations and related linguistic practices. In this same sense, large scale social processes such as globalization also shape identities (Besnier, 2004; Blommaert, 2007). In sum, indexical processes such as labeling, implicature, stance taking, style making, and code choice along with larger scale social processes like globalization, impact identity construction at both micro and macro levels. Therefore, a researcher should be aware of multiple indexical levels and processes to assemble a richer composition of subjectivity and intersubjectivity as the identities are constructed in discourse.

4) The relationality principle

   "Identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, contemporary relations, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy" (p. 23).

Bucholtz and Hall (2010) explain that identity is a relational phenomenon which encompasses two aims: first, identities are never independent or autonomous but always in relation to other identities, and second, identities are not repetitive and do not revolve around a single axis of sameness or difference. Bucholtz and Hall (2010) describe these relations as complementary processes in three groups: adequation and distinction, authentication and denaturalization, and finally, authorization and illegitimation.

a) Adequation and distinction

The term '*adequation'* emphasizes that the groups should be sufficiently similar but not exactly identical in order to be grouped together for their interactional aims. Therefore, differences that hinder the efforts to adequate groups will be minimized and portrayed as unimportant, and similarities will be considered as salient to support the identity construction. The counterpart of *adequation* is '*distinction'* which highlights the identity relation of differentiation. The same process of adequation is valid here, too. Distinction relies on the suppression of similarities that hinder the construction of difference in identity work (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010).

In a similar vein, Lemke (2002) argues that our identities are our responses to the diversity of the communities we live in. In order to live successfully in a community one needs to learn how to interact with diversity of a community and have to be able to shift our patterns of behavior responsively because like all other ecosystems, communities are defined based on not only what their participants have in common but also how they articulate different viewpoints, beliefs and practices in an interdependent way on one another.

b) Authentication and denaturalization

This pair of relations, '*authentication'* and *'denaturalization,'* represents the processes through which speakers make claims of genuineness and artifice, respectively (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010).The first emphasizes the verification and consistency of identity, and the latter focuses on the violations of ideological identity expectations. Authentication claims seamlessness of identity; denaturalization, on the other hand, calls attention to the fragmented and problematic identity enactments. Such aspects of identity often reveal themselves in parodic performances and hybrid identity displays.

Lemke's (2002) contention can further illuminate us about this pair of relation. According to him, “we are what we eat, how we dress, where we walk, what we read and write, hear and say, to this other and to that, in this repeated activity type and that” (p. 74). In this vein, identity is a repetitive act; but at the same time, it is a process of responsiveness to the diversity around us. That is why, we are not so bound to the habitus of our class, gender, sexuality or culture and we do not lead our lives within the borders of a single culture or social class. Even if we do so, the forces of social control weaken as we are offered more alternatives by larger society (Lemke, 2002).

c) Authorization and illegitimation

The last pair of intersubjective relations describes the structural and institutional aspects of identity construction (Bucholtz and Hall, 2010). '*Authorization'* is the granting of an identity by the local or translocal structures of power and ideology which are institutionalized in the society. '*Illegitimation*,' as the counterpart of authorization considers rejection, dismissal or censorings of identities by the same institutionalized power structures.

As the core of Bucholtz and Hall's (2010) identity framework, this fourth principle highlights the intersubjective basis of identity and gives hints about the diverse ways this relationality works by means of discourse. Relationality operates at many levels in a social community based on power relations. In brief, “identities emerge only in relation to other identities within the contingent framework of interaction (Bucholtz and Hall, 2010, p. 25).

5) The partialness principle

> “Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material

> structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts" (p.25).

Bucholtz and Hall (2010) draw on feminist theory for the fifth principle in their framework. Feminist theory challenges the analytic drive that assumes all social forms of life are coherent and consistent, and realizes that all representations of culture are, in any case, situated and partial (Behar & Gordon, 1995; Visweswaran, 1994). The fifth principle tries to encompass this dynamic and also the idea that identity exceeds the individual self, and reality as an intersubjective notion is constructed through self and the other in any encounter. As Bucholtz and Hall explain, the main aim of the principle is to help to solve the inherent question of identity research: To what extent identity should be understood as a notion relying on agency? The role of agency becomes problematic when it is conceptualized that identity is located in an individual who consciously crafts her identity without any institutional and intersubjective feedback. According to Bucholtz and Hall socio-cultural linguistics defines the role of agency as the accomplishment of social action and this perspective on agency is efficient to grasp the whole complexity of social subjects and the power structures that limit them. Therefore, agency may be contingent upon individual act but at the same time it may be distributed among several other social actors and thus intersubjective. In the light of this explanation, identity can be considered as the social act that agency can accomplish, and the workings of identity should be observed considering how all the aspects of identity, structure and agency as intertwined components, potentially work with and against each other in discourse (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010).

Bucholtz and Hall's (2010) conception five principles, emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness, is employed in this research to explore the identity negotiations of Turkish international students in interaction, and their identity enactments as

intersubjectively achieved social and cultural phenomena in a 'global contact zone.' This discursive approach on identity allows me as a researcher to locate identity in both broader sociological categories and more local positionings.

Negotiation of identities and 21st century

In addition to their focus on discursive construction on identities, poststructuralists emphasize the effect of discursive categories ingrained in the local and global power relations. Bucholtz and Hall's (2010) fourth principle, relationality, particularly stresses these relationships. In particular, Bourdieu's model of symbolic domination helps us to gain more insight about another profound characteristic of identity: identity is bidirectional. That is, identity is conditioned by social interaction and social structures; however, it conditions social interaction and social structures at the same time (Bucholtz, 1999; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Block (2007) also argues, “Although identity is conditioned by social interaction and social structures, it conditions social interaction and social structures at the same time” (p. 866). Accordingly, it can be argued that there is a power relationship between identity and society. Bourdieu's (1991, 1997) capital metaphors can shed light on this interaction. The first capital is the economic capital, which represents the command of financial wealth of an individual; second, there is the cultural capital, which possesses the cultural resources that are embedded in accents and attitudes as an association with particular educational credentials (Bourdieu, 1997). Next is the social capital, which involves the relationship with acquaintance and networks (Bourdieu, 1991). Finally, there is the symbolic capital, which refers to being recognized as legitimate speaker of the target language, and “commonly called prestige, reputation, fame, etc., [and] . . . is the form assumed by [the] . . . different kinds of capital when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 230). According to Bourdieu (1991, 1997), language has the symbolic power as it “can be converted into

economic and social capital by enabling access to more prestigious forms of education, desired positions in the workforce or social mobility ladder (cited in Shi 2006, p. 123). People are considered embedded in multiple social milieus, or fields, where they encounter unequal power relationships everlastingly in relation to their access to and their legitimate control over and use of the four capitals (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu (1991) also suggests that we need to observe power in places where it is least visible because symbolic power "is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it" (p. 163). This said, certain identities need to be negotiated where there are overt or invisible power relationships.

In order to make the process of identity negotiation more visible, we can inform ourselves with the three types of identities: *imposed identities, assumed identities, and negotiable identities*, offered by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004). All three categories acquire a particular status in particular sociohistorical conditions. The first, imposed identities, which are in no way at all negotiable in any time and place, cannot be resisted; for example, in Nazi Germany, no matter how much individuals disagreed with the identity of Jewishness, they were exterminated regardless of their opinion. Or, in the process of establishing union states in the 20th century, many state authorities made the immigrants in their local territories change their names compulsorily and although the immigrants resented it, they were not able to refuse the name changes. Today, we can see still see the same attitude in the state practices of Germany and England, which require individuals who wish to apply for their citizenship must know enough English or German to fulfill their duties as citizens. Again, these individuals may see the language test irrelevant but they have no power to contest to it.

Assumed identities are non-negotiated identities. They are usually the identity types adopted by individuals who are quite comfortable with their identities and do not feel the need

to contest their identities because usually these identities are legitimized by salient discourses of identity, such as heterosexual white middle-class males who are usually monolingual speakers of the majority language (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 21). Often times these individuals not question the links between the stated categories as in the example above and thus they see their identity unproblematic.

The third category, negotiable identities, refer to all identity types that are "contested and resisted by particular individuals and groups" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 21). Identities are usually negotiated in the areas related to ethnicity and nationality, race, class and social status, sexuality, religious affiliations and linguistic competence and ability to claim 'voice' in a second language. These identities are negotiated in various settings such as family, peer group interactions, workplace, and schools or universities. Pavlenko (2004) emphasizes that the notion of negotiation of identities should be evaluated from a sociohistorical perspective because the identities which are non-negotiable in the past are considered unquestionably negotiable today. She analyzes the immigrant memoirs at the turn of the century and demonstrates that large numbers of Asian immigrants had no access to the negotiation process and were not considered as legitimate Americans. However, now their ethnic, racial, national, and cultural identities are negotiable by the contemporary contention.

Following Pavlenko's (2004) sociohistorical perspective, it is possible to see the fact that learning a second language in the globalized 21st century enables language learners to develop and negotiate new identities which are not necessarily tied to conventional national or cultural identities any longer. New discourses of gender, class, sexuality and ethnicity may create new *hybrid* identities and multilingual linguistic repertoires (Higgins, 2012). Theories of globalization place hybridity and *super-diversity* in the center of discourse in the contexts

of cultural mélange (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009) and accelerated flow of people, ideas, and technology (Blommaert, 2007).

Pavlenko (2004) posits that in multilingual contexts identity alone is not always a relevant concept to explore the intrinsic link between language and identity. Thus, sociopolitical and economic terms had better be more explicative for the linguistic practices in these contexts. Therefore, to enlarge our perspective in relation to language and identity in the setting of the current study, which we have already defined as a 'global university contact zone' (Singh and Doherty, 2004), we can gain insight in globalization as a process involving the increasingly interconnectedness of political, economic, social and cultural phenomena.

Arguing that the world is no longer a 'global village' as metaphorized by Marshall McLuhan (1962), Blommaert (2007) describes the new millennium globalization as *super-diversity* (Rampton, Blommaert, Arnaut, & Spotti, 2015) and interconnectedness. He explains the phenomena with a new metaphor of village "a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways" (p. 1), and argues that this new kind of complexity needs to be examined and comprehended.

In the midst of discussions about various directions and flows pertaining to globalization, another question arises about whether or to what extent globalization leads to homogenization of the world or leads to greater diversity and heterogenization in terms of economic, political, social and cultural phenomena (Block, 2012). In relation to these discussions, there has been a great interest in the notion of hybridity as another byproduct of globalization. Nederveen Pieterse (2009), a globalization theorist, places hybridity as a central feature of the new millennium globalization, and explains that hybridity as a post-colonial notion (Bhabba, 1994) means the mixing of two sources, and he sees hybridity as an antidote

to essentialism particularly pertaining to nationalism and ethnicity. He explains that " if modernity stands for an ethos of order and neat separation by tight boundaries, hybridisation reflects a postmodern sensibility of cut'n'mix, transgression, and subversion" (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009, p. 55). He further suggests that in the contemporary world, hybridity appears in various areas of life such as pastime activities (e.g., music, cinema, food, literature), social institutions (e.g., religious fusions or new academic disciplines), business life (e.g., shared corporate, mixed management styles), government institutions (e.g., conventional governments collaborating with ONGs -Optical Networking Groups- and lobbies), and of course human contact in the sense of inter-ethnic/racial/national contacts. Hence Block (2012) contends that hybridity is the 'master construct' to interpret the social and cultural activity in today's world.

Arjun Appadurai(1996, 2001) terms his notion of '*scapes'* to describe the same overlapping complex interrelatedness and flow whereby it is possible to form hybrid and alternative identities. Interconnected scapes are put into five categories: 1) ethnoscapes or flows of people (e.g., migrants, refugees, exiles, exchange visitors, and tourists); 2) technoscapes or flows of technology (e.g., technical knowledge, hardware components and the quick flow of technology beyond boundaries); 3) finanscapes or flows of money (e.g., international stock exchanges and commodity flows); 4) mediascapes or flows of knowledge and information (e.g., all kinds of media, newspaper, websites, satellite channels); and 5) ideoscapes or flows of ideas (e.g., environmentalism, action against terrorism, LGBT rights, which are ideas that have largely emerged from the West, which typically represents an enlightenment world perspective).

The scapes create new hybrid and transcultural identity options; however, that does not necessarily mean that they will altogether replace the traditional identities. On the

contrary, when these scapes overlap with local languages and cultural practices, several hybrid identity options are made available, including identity types which function at tension between the traditional and postmodern cultural combinations (Higgins, 2012). Thus, the clash between the flows of people, images and discourses may create another 'conflict site' where a new negotiation of hybrid identities may emerge.

Although none of these scapes should be viewed in separation from the others and they should be considered to occur in simultaneity as overlapping processes, globalization theorists sometimes feel the need to foreground one scape over the others (Appandurai, 2001). The effect of ethnoscape on L2 learning, for example, is emphasized in the studies that explore the experiences of people who are “tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving groups of individuals” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33). In these studies we can observe how the movement or *transnationalism* creates new social networks of people and social spaces, which turns into an opportunity to form and negotiate new identities and language learning chances (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Lam, 2000, 2004; Whiteside, 2006). Ethnoscapes are prioritized by the migration scholars along with other scapes, particularly financescapes and ideoscapes. Language learners' reaction to the ideoscapes, which are linked to ideologies and state politics, shapes their cultural association with the new communities that they get into contact with. In the postmodern era, idioscapes are often reflect a west-based world view, because of the dominance of the West and Nordic nations in determining the global flows which promulgate concepts like 'freedom,' 'human rights,' 'democracy,' 'war with terrorism ' (particularly the label 'war with fundamental Islamist terrorism,' which is now keenly questioned after President Obama's February 17 speech) (Appadurai, 2001). These notions usually create national and regional narratives whereby members of societies try to make sense of their lives at the ideological level, and sojourners or international students may cross borders into contexts in which their ideological views on the above contexts are

compatible and hence making it easy to identify with those members of the communities who also share the same ideological stance (Higgins, 2012). Or on the other hand, resistant or alternative ideoscapes can also emerge to carry sojourners' own counter narratives (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). For example, although Iranian immigrants reveal a great deal of linguistic assimilation, with their high command of language, they display low degrees of identification with the US society and its world view because they see language not as part of being an American but a lingua franca through which they perform their daily and professional duties (Hoffman, 1989).

In this vein, the current research aims to explore whether and to what extent language learners, in our case Turkish international students, happen to inhabit a third place (Kramsch 1993) when they face with differing ideologies and world views in the communities of practices where they socialize. Ethnoscapes, ideoscapes and financescapes are prioritized, considering these scapes are particularly essential in the molding of the language learners' identity narratives in a transnational experience. Furthermore, they are important flows to determine how the sense of membership and legitimacy in new language contexts connects to opportunities to use the L2 in meaningful ways.

Apart from the other two scapes, financescapes are also very important to analyze the international students in the current study because they are a group of students which are termed as *students of the new global elite* (SONGEs, for convenience purposes) by Vandrick (2011). According to Vandrick (2011) American universities are increasingly accepting an elite group of international students who can both pay the high tuitions and fees, and are personally well-equipped with many other countries' culture and languages. These students, as being members of a new global economic and cultural elite, have lived, studied, and had vacations in several countries; and their families have homes and businesses around the world

and usually speak several languages and have been educated in western high schools or colleges. In brief, they have always been affluent and well-travelled international students studying in usually English dominant countries (Vandrick, 2011). Thus the distinctive aspect of these students' identity is their social class privileges.

Identity and social class in the 21st Century

Class matters.

— hooks, *Where We Stand*

Block (2007, 2012, 2014b) criticizes that social class is understudied in applied linguistics and even pushed to the sidelines in comparison to the other identity categories of gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, migration, language and sexuality. He further argues that even if it is dealt with in research, the focus is usually on less privileged classes such as immigrants or refugees (Castles & Miller, 2009; Norton, 1997b; Norton & Darvin, 2014). One of the very few publications that center the students from a privileged social class (SONGEs) is Vandrick (1995, 2011) and her publications are not research studies but TESOL Forum articles. According to Block (2012), the main reason for the marginalization of social class as an identity inscription is partly the fair generalization of Marxism as a framework that prioritizes the material over the cultural and the collectivism over the individualism, whereby it adopts an economic view of human activity and enhancement. This is the common conception of Marxism, and it is not refuted enthusiastically by the scholars who study Marxism (Antonio, 2000; Eagleton, 2011). Vandrick (1995) argues that in the U.S., there is a tendency of not talking about class, with an underlying emphasis that American society is a classless one, in which everybody has equal opportunity to be successful. Mantsios & Lisle (1992) observe that the labor class tends to identify with their ethnicity, race, geographic location and professional group but not with their social class; the upper class, too, do not

prefer to use the term class or upper class. This avoidance stems from the association of class with the discussion of Marxism and communism, which is regarded very unfortunate due to its tragic history in the U.S., with Joseph McCarthy and his anti-communist activities (Ehrenreich, 1989). In the same vein, Halliday (1990) also criticizes the ignorance of class in postmodern societies:

> "It is acceptable to show up sexism - as it is to show up racism - because to eliminate sexual and racial bias would pose no threat to the existing social order: capitalist society could thrive perfectly well without sexual discrimination and without racial discrimination. But it is not acceptable to show up classism, [...] because capitalist society could not exist without discrimination between classes. Such work could, ultimately, threaten the order of society" (p.17).

Pakulski and Waters (1996), in their book, *The Death of Class*, confirm that as of 1990s, class as a construct had become inappropriate to explain how industrialized societies has been organized, in which individualism is strongly undergirded. They argue that class can be a strong construct in 'less or under developed countries,' though. They explain that developed countries have moved from 'economic class society,' where disagreement occurs between economically determined groups such as property owners and laborers, to 'organized class society,' where there is a political power struggle, and to 'status-conventional society,' where consumerism, identity politics and individualistic lifestyles are the main drives of the society in which occupational stratification has become much more complex than ever as the nation state is weakened. Rampton (2006), in the same line, argues that individualism and consumerism are elevated by the decline of collectivism and the emergence of gender, race and ethnicity as more salient social constructs.

However, Skeggs (2004) argues that class has never gone away from applied linguistics research as an important identity marker and it still matters. In her elaborated discussion of class, Skeggs (2004) draws on Bourdieu's sequence of capital metaphors to study class in the postmodern world. As is also discussed earlier in the identity and power relations section, Bourdieu's four capitals and his notion of habitus offer us a framework to understand class as an emergent practice in a variety of settings (Skeggs, 2004). In the constitution of class, habitus and field are symbolic capitals for they are socioculturally shaped, value-laden products of habitus-mediated activities in social fields; and therefore, class is relational and emergent (Bourdieu, 1986).The economic capital directly relates to a traditional disposition of class, e.g. personal wealth; the cultural capital refers to possession of the right cultural resources to create particular class effects as an association to certain institutions, settings and artifacts, e.g., right or wrong accent, taste or attitude in a particular setting such as music, books and art, or connection with certain professional associations; and the social capital refers to these institutional contacts and relationship with more powerful others, and there is a parallel relationship with the cultural capital of these others and the social capital; the stronger the cultural capital of others, and the stronger the social capital accrued by being in connection with those others (Bourdieu, 1986).

Social class is thus not just about income and education, or income or job; it is a multidimensional construct, which includes wealth (disposable money), occupation (manual labor, unskilled service jobs, low-level information based jobs and so on), place of residence (a working-class neighborhood, or a middle-class neighborhood), education (educational level attained by one in the early phases of life), social networking (middle-class people tend to identify with middle-class people, and upper-class people with upper-class), consumption patterns (buying organic food vs. low-cost food), and symbolic behavior (clothes, how a person holds her body, how one eats, pastimes, vacations, and the like) (Block, 2012; Kelly,

2012). Social class in this study is going to be understood in the light of these capitals, and thus a synthesis of wealth, occupation, education and symbolic attitude is useful to develop a comprehensive understanding of class and identity. Hence the participants of this study are identified as the members of upper class not only on the grounds of their family income but also their sociocultural and historical class positioning based on their symbolic, cultural and social capital (Crompton, 2008).

Bourdieu (1986) and Bernstein (2000) observe that middle class or upper class children benefit more from education systems in capitalist economies while their working class counterparts do not as well as them. Heller (2006) also found in her study of a French immersion school in Toronto that social class differences emerge at several levels and results were supportive of what Bourdieu and Berstein argued. In the same vein, Vandrick (2011) observes that although working class children and economically disadvantaged ESL students who are minorities and immigrants are oppressed and marginalized sometimes because of their language status and social class, and need extra empowerment, students of the new global elite are quite comfortable with their privileges and already know that they are going to step into positions of wealth, power and influence when they return to their countries. These students make up the large proportion of ESL students at many American universities. For they take their privileges for granted. However, those students may also suffer from some marginalization as foreigners who cannot use English fluently and rarely as people of minorities. Thus, even these students sometimes experience discrimination or the burdens of being an outsider at an American college. Vandrick (1995) adds that usually these problems are balanced by the students' privileged status. Even so, there is an essential need to develop an understanding about how those students' identity is affected by this clash: the oppressed outsider and the privileged insider, or both at once. Therefore, to occupy the stated niche about the interplay between social class and identity constructs pertaining to privileged

international students, the current study explores the effects of social class on Turkish international students' language socialization.

Narrative construction of identity

No matter how different theoretical approaches and methodological orientations they employ including Narrative Analysis, Conversation Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics and Critical Discourse analysis, many scholars in applied linguistics and also the ones who study language ecology interpret identities as socially constructed ongoing narratives that usually evolve around several spatio-temporal scales, ranging from the micro, local and immediate, to the macro, global and long-term (De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006; Lemke, 2008). Therefore, the focus of identity research has moved beyond language, to a multimodal approach which explores indexical or semiotic resources, including body movements, gaze, clothing and space (Block, 2010b; Blommaert, 2005). To this end many researchers follow Clandinin's (2007) narrative turn whereby individuals present their life stories when communicating with others.

Expressing one's identity via narratives is inevitable (Norton, 1997), and in Norton's contention identity is the ways "people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (p. 417). Taking their cue from this understanding, many language socialization studies are built by adapting a narrative approach to study "narrative construction of reality" (Bruner, 1991, 2004; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Mishler, 2006). Schiffrin (1996, 2006), for instance, discusses that, as we construct our own experiences, we position ourselves according to social and cultural expectations; thus, narrative construction of identities is the intentional construction of identities. That is, when we tell our stories, we actually reveal our 'self' positioned in cultural meanings, beliefs and practices (Schiffrin,

1996). In tandem with Schiffrin, Riessman (2008b) argues that “individuals and groups construct identities through story telling”, and develops the point by stating that the personal narratives encourage others to act and sympathize for progressive social change.

Riessman (2008) offers four ways to deal with narratives: thematic analysis, structural analysis, dialogic/performative analysis, and visual analysis. *Thematic analysis* deals with the content of what is said without giving further attention to other aspects like how narrative is produced. Although this approach has been criticized by many scholars as they see it over simplistic, Riessman (2008) cautions that one need to be rigorous to deal with this kind of analysis and should definitely have a solid background in other social sciences such as history, sociology, and anthropology in order to connect narrative to a broader construct.

Structural analysis focuses on how narratives are produced. This approach primarily deals with micro-level linguistic phenomena, such as lexis, accent, pronouns and grammar. Furthermore, on a broader sense, it examines how different clauses are assembled to produce a storyline and what kinds of strategies are adopted by the story teller as the story unfolds. The third approach dialogic/performative analysis draws on the previous two approaches and thus creates a distinct way that reaches beyond those two. Riessman (2008) describes the connection among the three as follows: “if thematic and structural approaches interrogate 'what' is spoken and 'how,' the dialogic/performative approach asks 'who' an utterance maybe directed to,and 'when,' and 'why,' that is, for what purposes?” (p. 105). Thus, an analyst starts working from the immediate context, in relation to small details of interaction, discourse patterns, the background of interviewees, the general sociohistorical background, then eventually working on broader social categories in relation to institutions and cultures and the identity constructs such as social class, gender and the like.

Pavlenko (2007) also considers L2 learning stories as “unique and rich sources of information” which give insight into the interplay of language and identity in L2 learning and socialization (p. 167). Therefore, the study of language learners’ stories is essential in understanding their language learning process and how they have come to negotiate their social identities through narratives since the narratives are the only temporal forms to construct and to reflect “lived time” (Bruner, 1991, p. 4).

Research on Identity and L2 Learning

Related research which adopts a narrative approach to study identity reconstruction is documented in Block’s (2007a) review of empirical studies, which relates identity to L2 learning under three headings: naturalistic, foreign language and study abroad. From among the studies discussed, I picked up Kinginger’s (2004) longitudinal study, which explores the issue of identity in a study abroad setting. Kinginger (2004) conducted a longitudinal study that took place in four years (1997-2000). It attempted to shed light on the language learners’ experiences of language learning at home and abroad. The only participant of the study was Alice, a French-major American student who aspired competence in the target language both as a “dream” and a “mission” since she wanted to be a language teacher. The data for the longitudinal study comes from interviews before and after Alice’s two-year stay in Quebec and France, e-mails and letters that she had written since 1998 and journal entries about her language learning experience abroad. Kinginger (2004) dwelt upon the process of language learning, Alice’s identity negotiations and her role within the French community and the symbolic capital she would gain through this endeavor. In conclusion, Kinginger (2004) successfully studied Alice’s language learning history, her imagined communities of French speakers, the way she described her access to L2 social networks (at home and abroad) and how she perceived language learning as an investment to a better life. However, Kinginger's

participant did not reveal a very diverse background in terms of her target language culture and her home language culture. Both languages are Latin originated and mainly European based. Therefore, there is a need to understand the second language identity construction of the people coming from diverse backgrounds in a quite different culture and community. This study, in this sense, includes students from a distinctive linguistic and cultural group, all of whom were educated in Turkey.

In a different, ESL context, Bosher (1997) conducted a study based on research with 100 Hmong students in the U.S. postsecondary institutions. Bosher (1997) found that newcomers were able to develop "bicultural" identities by adapting to the host culture without giving up their native culture or ethnic affiliation. She concluded that her study demonstrated support for multicultural/bilingual educational and social policies and her participants negotiated their second language identities (1997). Yet she did not explain how these educational and social policy changes should take place.

Another study that explores identity reconstruction abroad and ownership of language is Park's (2012) longitudinal study. In her qualitative study, Park explores the experiences of five East Asian women before and during their TESOL program educations. The article presents one thread of a larger study and reports on the snapshots of only one student, Xia, among the other five on the grounds that she demonstrates more disconnectedness between her experience in China, her native context, and her TESOL program and her mentored teaching experience. Park collected data using three qualitative techniques: e-auto narratives, e-journal of educational incidents and individual interviews. She made a discourse analysis referring to conceptual inferences about the social processes Xia went through in relation to her English learning experience in two different contexts, her home country, China and the U.S. Park (2012) then discusses the effect of negative previous language learning experience

in Xia's hometown in China, on her desire to become part of the English speaking academic community. There are two snapshots here, the first one about the assessment system, and the other about the enrichment schools, which provide an explanation for Xia's lower proficiency. Park elaborates on the linguistic ownership of Xia in the U.S. in a TESOL program, and sketches Xia's marginalized experience about the feeling of linguistic powerlessness. However, Park (2012) gives the readers a feeling of incompleteness and sometimes vagueness in terms of her unexplained and unelaborated methodology on her data collection and data analysis along with her unarticulated research questions and theoretical framework, which would have, otherwise, better solidified the validity of her discussions and findings.

As is seen in the studies of Kinginger (2004), Bosher (1997), and Park (2012), second language socialization research mostly focuses on how language learners develop second language identities, with the emphasis on the negotiation, adaptation and acquisition of the second language. Therefore, the present study adopts a similar approach to explore L2 language socialization and it attempts to relate Turkish language learners' development in the L2 to their socio-cultural experiences in the L2 language community. The authentic data emerges from the observations that took place at various settings in which a lot of daily transactions are held by the participants, and also from the autobiographies and interviews.

In order to inform ourselves about the inhabitation of third space and developing hybrid ideologies to make sense of the multiple worlds, we can discuss the other three studies by Jackson (2012), Kinginger (2012) and Giroir (2014). Jackson (2012), drawing on a qualitative data and narrative analysis, explores the five-week sojourn experience of a Hong Kong university student, Elsa, in England. Elsa's imagined community of England as a place where things are "more meaningful and colorful" and her future aspirations to improve her cultural capital to be able to gain a higher status made her participate in a study abroad

program. However, during her stay in an unfamiliar sociocultural environment she had to negotiate her identity on multiple levels such as ethnic, social, linguistic and gender. Upon analyzing Elsa's written narratives, Jakson (2012) demonstrates how Elsa adjusted her aspirations and goals for her study and developed an intercultural perspective in order to get rid of her insecurities and communicate with her hosts in her home stay in England. She tried to adopt as many affordances as possible to undertake meaningful conversations with her host family and their social network. As a result, she took up more colloquial expressions and developed closer relationship across cultures in comparison to her peers most of whom could not overcome their culture shock. Jackson (2012) emphasizes the influence of access, power and agency of L2 sojourners on the intercultural adjustments and language learning in the contexts which are not necessarily hospitable to them. Although Elsa's intercultural encounter is a success story, it suggests that many other learners may need extra coping strategies and preparation for the cultural differences.

Kinginger (2012) also explores how sojourn experience may provide learners with the opportunity to detach themselves from their home cultures and develop a more intercultural perspective. In the case study of four American learners of French, Kinginger (2012) describes the sociopolitical tensions ("axis of weasel[1]") between the US and Europe that stems from invasion of Iraq in 2003. The analysis of interviews and journal entries of the students reveals that three of the four participants were not able to understand the viewpoints of the French interlocutors. Therefore, they developed a highly defensive stance towards local events pertaining to the issue of Franco-American relationships, and they chose to recoil into the U.S. national superiority. The ideoscape and nationalist narratives prevented these three participants to develop an intercultural perspective and hindered their language learning

[1] The phrase "axis of weasels" is a derogatory term for certain European states that did not support the United States, the United Kingdom and their allies in the 2003 invasion of Iraq, particularly France, Germany and Belgium.

experiences. One participant only, Jada, was able to detach her American social and cultural perspective, managed to set up good relationships with her French friends, and shared her view on the U.S. involvement in Iraq. As a result, Jada, despite her discomfort, developed more intercultural awareness than the other three participants did. Kinginger (2012) suggests that American students abroad, particularly after 9/11, need more direct guidance in the matters of intercultural encounters. As Byram (1997) suggests, learners should be trained how to interpret their own culture as outsiders and to appreciate other cultures and viewpoints.

In another recent study, Giroir (2014) explores the identity negotiations of two Saudi Arabian language learners of English in the US in a six month period in an ESL course via interviews, classroom observation and student-designed L2 photo narratives. She describes the different discursive practices that these two participants engaged in to achieve fuller participation in the communities of practice which have become important to them. Giroir (2014) discusses how these two politicized and radicalized cultural group (Arab and Muslim descent) members managed to negotiate their peripherality with their constant interactions as "novices" in "expert" L2 communities (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Although her two participants, Musa and Alim, differ in critical ways, Giroir's (2014) study demonstrates how 9/11 discourses serve as a marginalizing tool but at the same time how her participants were able to use that discourse in their favor. Musa's, aged 18, novice identity was shaped by his age and first time abroad experience and he found his experience transforming in every sense. According to Giroir his uncritical acceptance of his outsiderness reveals the persuasive power of discourse about citizenship and national identity. Alim, aged 26, on the other hand, expressed that he had experienced racism in the US and asked to answer 9/11 discourses that put him in a negative position. The 9/11 discourse has become a cultural resource he chose to draw upon in negotiating his identity in the L2 community and made use of this 9/11 narrative to make sense of his outsiderness and his religious identity. Alim refused to align with neither

anti-American nor anti-Islamic discourses and he described his identity as a good person, which he believes that it was enough to achieve legitimate membership of an L2 community.

The studies of Kinginger (2012), Jackson (2012), and Giroir (2014), explore how language learners try to inhabit a third place where they develop compromising ethnoscapes when they come across with differing ideologies and counter narratives as a result of their study abroad. These ethnoscapes enable people to develop new cultural identifications by negotiating their identities within a counter narrative by virtue of interacting with others who have different cultural, linguistic and ideological practices. In the same vein, Turkish international students' responses to the ideoscapes that are linked to the valid ideologies and narratives of the community they live in, which in turn shape their cultural and social identification with the community will be disused in this study.

Language learning improvement of the learners, to a large extent, has been reported be positively correlated with their inhabiting third space in the above mentioned studies. All participants who were successful to improve their language skills were the ones who were able to develop ownership of the target language. Similarly, Norton (1997) also contends that ownership of English, language and identity are strongly related. Therefore, another aspect of identity reconstruction in a new community of practice is the concept of ownership of language, in our case, English, for it is the contact language of the participants in this study. The following section will focus on the ownership of English in the Turkish community to provide us about the background information about the development of the international Turkish students.

Ownership of English

Always look on the bright side of life.

— Monty Python, *Life of Brian*

After WWII, the international expansion of the economic and cultural sphere led to industrial nations to a multinational middle class that threatened the power of the nation-state establishment (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). Therefore, teaching of foreign languages, particularly, English has become an issue of business, industry and science for it meets the needs of employment on international plane. The number of people learning English as an international language is rapidly growing throughout the world, and nonnative speakers have now outnumbered the native speakers of English. Considering this unprecedented spread of English, almost two decades ago, Salman Rushdie (1983) asserted that "The English language ceased to be the sole possession of the English some time ago" (p. 83), and Crystal (1997) commented that "It is plain that no one can now claim sole ownership" (p.141). In the meantime, varieties of English have developed in different places, particularly in the Outer Circle (Kachru, 1986; Kirkpatrick, 2008). Due to the growing number of nonnative speakers of English, the role of the nonnative speaker in relation with language use and dissemination have been questioned a lot in this process (Widdowson, 1997).

Based on the dramatic growth of bilingual speakers, some scholars assert that the definition and identity of native speakers should be revised (Graddol, 1997; McKay, 2002; Jenkins, 2000). They contend that traditional native speakers no longer have the right to possess the language. They further argue that, today, the center of gravity has been gradually shifting from speakers of English as a first language to those of English as a second/foreign language (Crystal, 2003). Widdowson (1994) insists that nonnative speakers should struggle for their own rights as they are entitled to share the "possession" of English. Thus, in addition

to trying to legitimize their indigenous language, nonnative speakers of English should also strive to keep their local identities (Widdowson, 1994). Therefore, it may be well said that both native and nonnative speakers should have a right to be considered as the future's legitimate owners of English in the 21st century (Widdowson, 1994).

In tandem with Widdowson, Bourdieu's (1977) concept of symbolic capital, 'legitimation as a speaker of the target language,' suggests that if learners of English cannot claim ownership of that language, they might not consider themselves legitimate speakers of the language. Bourdieu (1977) strongly argues that an expanded definition of competence should include the "right to speak" or "the power to impose reception" (p. 75). In the light of the above stated perspectives, this study tries to discover to what extent the international Turkish students see themselves as the legitimate speakers and owners of English.

Turkish Context

Gott weiß ich will kein Engel sein.

(God knows I don't want to be an angel.)

— Rammstein, '*Engel*'

In Turkey, English is the main foreign language taught and language-teaching practices are still based on the native speaker norms (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998b; Doğançay-Aktuna & Kızıltepe, 2005b). This is because, as is well explained by Jenkins, in spite of the growing awareness that the majority of English use occurs in contexts where English functions as an international language (Turkey being one of these contexts), the daily teaching practices of teachers of English do not appear to be affected by this development (Jenkins, 2000). One reason is that pedagogical materials are available in Standard English varieties. Above all, in most cases, the Inner Circle models are associated with power and prestige,

which make them preferable as pedagogical models. Not surprisingly, teachers feel forced to teach a standard variety of English to satisfy the curricular and examination requirements within an educational bureaucracy. In doing so, however, they may not be preparing students for the varieties of English use they will certainly encounter outside the classroom. Teachers in Turkey, like many other teachers from different nonnative language teaching contexts, therefore, may need to make students aware that, although they are learning a 'standard' variety of English, they will inevitably meet many other varieties (as their own English is contended as a variety as well) in the outside world.

English language policy has been on the agenda of Turkey, since its introduction into the Turkish educational system in the early 1930s (Kirkgoz, 2007). In the new era, as the English language has kept on spreading around the globe as an international language, in order to respond to the challenge posed by this new perception of English, English language teaching has undergone several phases of change (Kirkgöz, 2009).

Foreign language courses, syllabuses of which are prescribed by the Ministry of National Education (MNE), are compulsory from primary to tertiary education in Turkey (Kirkgoz, 2007). The foreign language education starts in the fourth grade because it is against national-language-in-education policy to give instruction in a language other than Turkish before that grade (age 10) (Doğançay-Aktuna & Kızıltepe, 2005a). In the public primary education, 2 hours a week in the 4th and 5th grades, and 4 hours a week in the 6th, 7th and 8th grades are allocated to foreign language teaching. In order to increase the exposure to the foreign language, English started to be studied at the fourth and fifth grades (MNE, 2001).

In the secondary education, however, different programs are implemented in foreign language education depending on the school type. For instance, there are standard public high

schools teaching English 3 hours a week, and Anatolian high schools 6 hours a week. In some private primary and secondary schools, the hours devoted to English courses vary according to schools' curriculum (Sert, 2008). In the early 1980s and 1990s the intensity of foreign language education was placed in the secondary schools (Kirkgoz, 2007). That is, students were exposed to the language intensively and expected to gain basic communicative language skills. There was a compulsory foreign language preparation class year during which pupils were provided with 24 hours of English classes to develop the basic skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking in English. In the late 1990s, the time allotted for the compulsory primary education has been increased to 8 years (Kirkgoz, 2007). Therefore, the preparatory language classes were moved to secondary education, which meant that the emphasis of foreign language education was moved to secondary schools because the hours allocated to language classes were automatically reduced in secondary schools (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998a).

In 2007, a new policy for higher education in Turkey stated that compulsory foreign language preparation classes would be integrated into all Turkish-medium university programs instead of high schools (Kirkgöz, 2009). Accordingly, all the university programs (English-medium universities and private universities had already been offering foreign language preparation classes) began to implement compulsory courses of reading and speaking in the foreign language, which was then to be followed by English for specific purposes courses. With this shift, again, the concentration of language education was changed and moved to tertiary education because it was projected by the MNE (MNE, 2007) that students would have sufficient amount of time (approximately 1000 hrs) studying English by the tertiary level and they would be prepared for the intensive English language training at the B2 level according to the reference of CERF (The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) (Kirkgöz, 2009). The main incentive behind this innovation was to

expose students to English longer than before so that they could acquire it more successfully at the B2 level (MNE, 2001).

In March 2012, MNE introduced another educational reform: 12 year compulsory education (4+4+4) along with the FATİH Project, which was and still is expected to reform the teaching and learning of foreign languages, particularly English in the public school system (MNE, 2012). According to this reform, English instruction starts in the 2nd grade. The early introduction of English is expected to have a strong multiplier effect on all subsequent learning right up to and including tertiary level education (MNE, 2012). However, the new education reform is severely criticized by the researchers on the grounds that stability with respect to language courses has yet to be established and the need for more English teachers has increased (Bedir, 2014). Therefore, the insufficient support mechanisms such as teacher and classroom shortage hinder the efficiency of the educational reform (Bedir, 2014). A recent survey titled "Monitoring of the Stratification Process in Basic Education" has been released by the Education Reform Initiative (ERI) and the Educational Volunteers of Turkey (TEGV) that conducted an extensive research with nearly 2,000 students in 33 provinces throughout Turkey. The researchers who compared the fifth-graders' overall GPA's and exam scores in Turkish language, English, math and science courses noticed a severe decrease in the scores of fifth graders during 2012-2013 academic year. It is reported that students' academic success decreased up to 20% between the 2011-2012 academic year and the 2012-2013 academic year when the 4+4+4 educational reform was first introduced (Bedir, 2014).

As a final note, I feel the need to give an overall view of English language teaching and learning practices in Turkey based on my own experience. After teaching English for seven years at several public high schools, I noticed and strongly felt, as many other teachers also did, that, despite the efforts of teachers and students, English proficiency levels of

students are not sufficient for proper production in L2. Considering my own experience, apart from the intense grammar-based and inauthentic teaching materials, I believe that one of the possible reasons for this inefficiency, particularly in Turkish educational system, derives from the few hours allocated for English classes per week. Although students study English for almost 15 years, they are not exposed to L2 intensively enough. In other words, few hours of English classes during those years do not provide students with enough opportunities to promote competence in English. Due to this fact, in order to compensate for the lack of needed classroom practice and teacher guidance, learners are forced to keep on learning English themselves even when they are not in a formal classroom setting. However, many students do not have such opportunities because of the scarce use of English in daily life in the foreign language context.

A recent joint report from the British Council and the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV) (Boyacioglu, 03/21/2014) has confirmed what many English teachers, like myself, seem to assume about the level of English language proficiency of the students in Turkey. The British Council and TEPAV administered a survey at 48 schools, and 1,394 parents and 19,380 students from several cities participated in the study. The study is also based on extensive classroom observations and interviews with the teachers and other stakeholders. The report titled “National Requirement Analyses for English Training at State Schools” has revealed that more than 90 percent of students in Turkey are at the most basic level and cannot improve their English skills even after 1,000 hours of training. It is stated that although 74 percent of students consider English as necessary at school, more than 95 percent of those students in state schools cannot respond to spoken questions in English, in spite of having at least 920 hours of classes over the course of seven years to 10th grade. It was concluded in the report that Turkey is ranked 41 out of 60 countries in English Proficiency Index (*English Proficiency Index (EPI)*, 2013), which is prepared by Education

First (EF) - an international education institution that specializes in language training - and, in 2012, Turkish students' average TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) score was75 out of 120 (ETS, 2013). The main reason for this failure is described as the poor English language teaching methods at the state schools and the decreasing motivation of the students over the years.

Thus, only the students who can afford to study at private high schools or abroad have more chance to acquire competence in the second language.

Linguistic (Cognitive) Side of Language Socialization: Formulaic Sequences

Ready-made phrases…will construct your sentences for you-even think your thoughts for you …and at need they will perform the important service of partially concealing your meaning even from yourself.

— George Orwell, *Politics and the English Language*

The human mind is far less remarkable for its creativity than for the fact that it remembers everything.

— Bolinger (1976)

The convention in the L1 language socialization studies is to emphasize the acquisition of the interactional routines by children or novices through engaging in contextually meaningful activities which are scaffolded by their caregivers or experts (Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2011; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). As Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) state such routines involve either "a member (e.g., caregiver) modeling something to be said and directing the child to repeat it" or " repeated performances of an action or sequence of actions" (p. 172). These interactional routines and units, in other words formulaic phrases, collocations, or multi-word chunks, are deemed to play an important role in daily

conversation based on the contention that many languages including English have a phraseology; that is, meaningful units are broadly phrasal, and users of that language choose several expressions simultaneously, generally relying on entrenched prefabricated or formulaic phrases, instead of generating phrases from a stock of vocabulary of grammatical patterns (Coulmas, 1981; Sinclair, 1987, 1991). Formulaic language can be considered as an essential means of language socialization in two ways (Duranti et al., 2011). First, it is something novices need to learn in order to use it grammatically, pragmatically, and in relevant sequences while engaging in everyday communication. Moreover, formulaic language is a resource for transmitting the norms, values, identities, and stances of individuals of the speech community.

According to first language acquisition theory, at the early stages of learning children are introduced to institutionalized utterances, which are generally prefabricated expressions and collocations that include the most basic words and structures available for use in frequent situations letting learners to deal with them effortlessly and fluently, without any grammatical analysis (Bannard, 2012; Peters, 1983). Learners are first expected to use unanalyzed, holistically processed prefabricated phrases and then later begin to divide these chunks into patterns and morphology, or grammar. Rather than being the product of the conscious learning of sounds and structures or rules, languages, usually, are acquired holistically and then segmented into shorter chunks so that they become available for the potential use in new combinations (Gass, 2013; Peters, 1983).

Following the first language acquisition model and the fact revealed by the corpus research that English has essentially a phraseological nature, ELT profession started to stress the importance of using these prefabricated chunks in second language learning. Michael Lewis (1993; 1997) designed a whole new theory of foreign language teaching, "the lexical

approach." The approach is based on the notion that essential units of a language are 'lexical phrases,' as coined by Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992), rather than separate words or grammatical structures. Lewis (1997) further argues that rather than lexicalized grammar, language is comprised of grammaticalized lexis and this grammar becomes the lexis as the occurrence becomes more probable. The acquisition of grammaticalized lexis suggests that everyday language users encounter everyday interactions which involve routines and predictable language use (Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992). Thus it is suggested that language learners need to be introduced to this grammaticalized lexis without any grammatical analysis; therefore, they should be encouraged to pay attention to co-text or surrounding vocabulary and should be shown how the chunk language or lexical phrases rather than individual lexical items help process meaning (Ellis, 2001).

Although the underlying logic is understandable because the approach constructs itself based on the first language acquisition model, this contention is criticized due to the fact that there is a lot of evidence that suggests SLA does not work the same way (Gass, 2013). The fundamental difference is that many people try to learn (rather than naturally acquire) a second language after having literacy in their first language and they tend to use this as a main aid while acquiring an L2 (Gass, 2013). By the virtue of this fact, formulaic language is not expected to play the same role as it did in L1 (Wray, 2002). As Wray describes it, adult L2 learners are more inclined to focus on grammatical form, analyze and justify patterns, and divide the sequences into smaller segments, and they do not retain probabilistic and collocational information. Usually, the focus on teaching with written materials instead of listening materials in the language classrooms seems to reinforce this breaking down approach because writing allows learners to focus on individual words (Wray, 2002). Thus "the result is that the classroom learner homes in on individual words, and throws away all the really important information, namely, what they occurred with" (p. 206).

Indeed, making utterances based on grammatical rules enables a more manageable outcome and a stronger sense of command over the language than using memorized chunks of formulaic speech without having no idea how they break down, and analyzing formulaic sequences often result in misremembering and misusing them (Mackenzie, 2014). The following are some examples: *being taking care of, make a great job, on the meantime, put more attention to, take advantages of, funny enough, with my own experience, in the weekend, on my personal opinion, those mention above* [from Prodromou's (2008) corpus of SUEs (Successful Users of English) (p.221-222) quoted in McKenzie, 2014, p. 96]. Wray (2008) discusses the advantages of using these prefabricated forms, such as maintaining fluency, accuracy, gaining idiomaticity; she also discusses the costs, like intensive efforts spent in memorization, usually with unsuccessful outcomes and the loss of ownership of one's own utterances, and she laments that adult L2 learners usually fail to acquire stable collocations.

Wray (2002) argues that when NSs encounter a formulaic string in a context, they do not analyze the string by default because they will know that this is the idiomatic way to use the utterance so they will not memorize the individual words. However, the adult learners would break the string down into word meaning and store the words separately. Thus, adult learners may have a large lexicon of individual words which may lead to use language imaginatively. However, the deficient store of formulaic utterances will always cause a problematic language production (Wray, 2002). The conventional solution to this problem, as suggested by Wray (2002), is “residing and fully interacting for some time in the L2 environment” (p. 210). Roever (2012)'s study proves what Wray argues: Although some formulaic language can be learned in the classroom environment, the same process is much quicker in a second language environment because learners are not only exposed to rich input but also have more meaningful and natural interactions in a variety of daily life contexts. In

tandem with Wray and Roever, Kramsch (2000a) argues that linguistic knowledge studied and learned in the language classrooms does not necessarily lead to social competence if the functional properties of those structures are not acquired in a naturalistic social context. Language learners easily acquire the necessary skills to engage in everyday interaction with the members of the speech community; in this way, they at the same time learn the values and norms of the speech community.

However, this is not the solution for the context where there are no native speakers, or ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) contexts, as is also the case for our context, a global contact zone, and Wray (2008) admits that even though an adult L2 learner usually conveys messages in a meaningful but nonnative like way, " Such formulations may serve the individual fairly well - indeed they may be preferred in lingua franca situations (Seidlhofer, 2004; Wray and Grace, 2007) where there are no native speakers to impose the peculiarities of their variety" (p. 20).

Although Wray (2008) rues that L2 learners usually fail to acquire stable formulaic expressions or unnaturally speak in memorized chunks, Mauranen (2012) argues that L2 speakers process language not only in single words but in chunks. The evidence for this comes from the rephrasings when the chunks go wrong. For example, they rephrase single words "the increase in the population size doesn't *seem* look very strong," or the whole chunk even if one word is needed to be replaced; e.g.: "the point I said earlier that I *made* earlier;" or "it's not the *case* it's not the factor" (p. 108, ELFA Corpus). According to Mauranen (2012), these rephrasings obviously suggest that the processing units for these L2 learners are chunks rather than a single word. Additionally, echoing -when speakers use the exact same phrases that their interlocutor use- is another evidence for the multi-word processing. In sum,

Mauranen (2012) counter-argues that Wray's classroom learner account does not apply for the ELF L2 users because ELF users process language in chunks and use some fixed expressions.

Wray (2008) argues that apart from their well-known advantages -using them provides the speaker with the time that is required to plan the next part of an utterance and at the same time eases the hearer's comprehension- formulaic expressions have an overriding purpose: "Formulaic language is a linguistic solution to a non-linguistic problem - namely our need to promote and project ourselves in relation to others" (p.10). We usually use the language as a means to make the hearer to do something, feel something or think something, for the sake of our physical, emotional or cognitive needs, in a nut shell to manipulate the hearer:

> Requests, demands, warnings, orders, and so on, are intended to get someone else to behave in a particular way, often acting as an agent in achieving something that we want for ourselves but cannot do personally. We are profoundly motivated actively to seek our own physical and emotional comfort (Maslow, 1968), and from the earliest age are programmed to enlist the help of other in attaining it (Wray, 2002, p. 88).

According to Wray (2002), such needs involve getting information when required, uttering information fluently, attaining attention when speaking and being taken seriously, and being considered as a full member of the group we want to socialize with. All of these needs are met if the speaker speaks the language that will be recognized instantly by the hearer. Formulaic language minimizes undesired interpretations of the utterance. Thus, Wray (2002) argues that we express our individual identity by using purposefully memorized strings and stylistic markers, and our group identity by taking up collocations and conventional idiomatic turns of phrases. The wish to sound like others in a speech community generates a virtuous circle of cause and effect, and thus formulaic language becomes an important factor for the maintenance of the identity of the community. Coulmas (1981) and Edmondson and House (1991) also highlight the social contract into which members of a speech community take part, and Terkourafi (2002) demonstrates formulas are used to reveal membership. Wray

(2002) discusses all this considering the native speaker communities interacting with other native speaker communities, and according to her L2 speakers who are in need of manipulating hearers and controlling their environment are expected to adopt the idiomatic expressions of the host speech community in order to enhance their interactional purposes (Mackenzie, 2014).

However, disagreeing with Wray, Seidlhofer (2011) maintains that formulaic expressions are not to be memorized or imitated by non-natives as it might seem to be encroaching on others' dominion or declaring counterfeit enrollment in the speech community involved. Seidlhofer (2011) notes that "ENL is full of conventions and markers of ingroup membership such as characteristic pronunciations, specialized vocabulary, idiomatic phraseology, and references and allusions to shared experience and the cultural background of particular native-speaker communities, none of which is a propos in any given ELF interaction" (p.16). That is if an L2 speaker tries to abide by "irrelevant" ENL forms such as idiomatic phraseology and cultural allusions, s/he can be regarded "as a failure to adopt the ELF situation" (p.18). However, Seidlhofer's attitude is criticized by Mackenzie on the grounds that she takes it for granted that ENL and ELF have different sociocultural and communicative purposes (Mackenzie, 2014). Mackenzie argues that except for the NS's possible desire to express their identity within a mythical monolingual community, the communicative purposes of ENL and ELF are quite similar. He contends that what Seidlhofer (2011) proposes by stating that "the situations and purposes in and for which ELF speakers typically use the language vary greatly from ENL ones" (p.131) is simply wrong because VOICE (Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English- spoken ELF corpus) also consists of the same situations that also take place in ENL contexts such as meeting panels, service encounters, seminar discussions, and the like. He further argues that ELF necessarily contains a great many patterns that are also common in ENL because many L2 users have learnt most

of their English from ENL based materials at schools and ENL media and publications. Mackenzie (2014) criticizes that Seidlhofer (2011) neglects this fact and takes it for granted by arguing that "There is no reason why ELF users should be familiar with recurrent idiomatic features of ENL usage" because "we are dealing not with a clearly established community of users" (p. 131). In line with Mackenzie, Mauranen (2012) observes that "The basic building blocks in ELF are the same as in ENL, and their distribution is also very similar" (p.82).

For this study, I have adopted an ELF perspective because of the fact that there are no longer homogeneous and monolingual native speaker communities sharing the same language, phraseology, references and allusions in today's interconnected and ever more diverse multicultural societies. In this sense, it seems not possible to mention L2 speaker's territorial encroachment because the territory now is global. And as Mauranen (2012) observes, "The wide variety of purposes that English is put to in the academic world, for instance in international student and staff mobility, research groups, and research centers, is in effect ELF" (p. 235). In line with what she suggests for the model in academic world, I also adopt her stance and argue that it should be the "educated speaker of English" without attaching any strings to nativeness (p. 238). However, although I accept several arguments of the ELF scholars, I took a pragmatic stance, parting from them in the point that ENL and ELF are necessarily different because, in tandem with Mackenzie (2014), I believe English is English, and ELF and ENL are not two completely different languages. Additionally, if we accept that, considering the phraseological nature of English, the most efficient way to communicate (in the sense of processing effort and intended effect) is to use shared collocations and formulaic sequences, both ELF speakers and ENL speakers seem most likely to share established expressions. So if we neglect the preconception of territorial encroachment, we need to ask which aspects of formulaic language and idiomaticity can be

exploited for language socialization. To this end, I will try to explore to what extent Turkish students use formulaic expressions as a representation of their legitimate ownership of English and what the possible reflections of these expressions on their linguistic identity enactments are.

Research on Formulaic Language

Formulaic language has been a keen topic of research recently, in both theoretical and empirical literature. Within this domain, one line of research has examined the nature of L2 learners' knowledge and means through which the formulaic language is processed. For example, Siyanova-Chanturia & Schmitt (2008) compared the performances of native and non-native speakers on two types of collocational knowledge: perceived fluency and processing. Although both groups of learners produced a lot of collocations, NSs were more adept in both categories. Similarly, in another study conducted using eye-tracking, it is concluded that L2 learners read idioms and figurative language more slowly than their completely literal equivalents, yet there was no difference between L1 learners and L2 learners in terms of recognition of the phrases (Siyanova-Chanturia, Conklin, & Schmitt, 2011).

Conklin and Schmitt (2008, 2012) also found a similar result which strengthens the contention that the formulaic sequences are read more quickly than the nonformulaic phrases by both L1 learners and L2 learners. The authors assert that the formulaic language has a processing advantage over creatively generated language. The results also indicated that L2 learners enjoy the same type of processing advantage, as well. In another study, Durrant and Schmitt (2009) revealed that adult L2 learners are sensitive to collocations and they also learn lexical input formulaically more easily than a series of discrete lexical items or individual words. Taken together, all these studies advocate the assertion that, though processing more

slowly than NSs, NNSs as well are quite aware of the formulaic language and process those expressions faster than the creative combination of words.

Bardovi-Harlig (2009) explores the reasons of L2 learners' low use of formulaic phrases by investigating the relationship between recognition and production of these phrases in L2 pragmatics. To this end, production and recognition tasks were applied to L2 learners and it was concluded that lower use of formulaic expressions might be due to several reasons such as lack of familiarity with the expressions, overuse of familiar expressions that cause to diminish the acquisition of target-like expressions, level of language development, and also sociopragmatic knowledge. In another study, Bardovi-Harlig and Bastos (2011) investigated the factors that lead to recognition and use of formulaic expressions in L2 pragmatics by '*host-environment learners'* of English. Aural recognition and production tasks revealed that language proficiency level and intensity of interaction have a significant impact on the production and recognition of formulaic expressions; however, length of stay has significant effects on neither production nor recognition.

In the same vein, Kecskes (2007) suggested, based on data collected from international students living in the States, that they know the formulaic expressions, but they avoid using them. According to his study, they usually fear that they will not be understood by their interlocutors. Kecskes suggests that international students try their best to approach as close to the compositional meaning of expressions as possible “because they think that if there is no figurative and/or metaphorical meaning involved, their interlocutors will process the English words and expressions the way they meant them” (p. 200). Kecskes (2007) also suggests that because they lack mutual knowledge, international students “use the linguistic code itself as a common ground” rather than socio-cultural background knowledge because it varies a lot for every participant (p. 204). Such focus on the linguistic code “results in the priority of literal

meaning over non-literal, figurative language and formulaic language" (p. 204). Yet, like Seidlhofer (2011), Kecskes (2007) also suggests that lingua franca speakers usually coin or create their own non-standard variety in order to express themselves efficiently and effectively.

Apart from the pragmatic and psycholinguistic approaches to formulaic language, another research area focuses on the process of language socialization through the use of formulaic language and on using the formulaic language in L2 speech community. It is important to state that the concept of formulaic language is not explicitly discussed within the language socialization literature. The research studies thus discuss formulaic language tangentially. Burdelski and Cook (2012) discuss the socialization aspect of formulaic language in their review article and argue that formulaic expressions are "powerful means and end of socialization" (p.174). In their literature review, they stated that this line of research usually focuses on L1 socialization but there are a few studies which explore young learners' L2 socialization. Such studies examine how young learners actually use formulaic language in normative and novel ways to take part in social interactions with both novices and experts in social dimensions such as politeness, hierarchy, and social identities including social roles and statuses, and relationships.

Since the scope of this study is limited to the social and cultural identity aspects of language socialization, I paid particular interest in 2 studies which are reported in the literature review about how formulaic language plays a role in socializing children to certain aspects of identity like ethnicity, religion and gender. Fader (2012), in her study of a Hasidic Jewish community in New York City, prompted young children a formulaic prayer word (burikh "blessed") using an English command "say." Fader (2012) suggests that Hasidic Yiddish functions as an index of religious, ethnic, and morally based aspects of identity, and

by prompting young children to say a prayer, Hasidic Jewish caregiver leads to socialize children to use formulaic language that affects identity. In the other study, Burdelski and Mitsuhashi (2010) suggest that formulaic language has an impact on socializing L2 preschool children to gender identity. In their study, they demonstrated that teachers in a Japanese preschool often times address girls with the adjective "*kawaii"* (cute, loveable, and adorable). However, this is not the case for boys, and they are never addressed as *kawaii*. Both L1 and L2 children, elaborated on the word *kawaii* in interaction with girls. In this way, Burdelski and Mitsuhashi's (2010) study suggests that Japanese female L1 and L2 children take the formulaic word "*kawaii*" in Japanese together with other language resources as a specific social action to index gender.

The research on formulaic language and language socialization is quite scarce and the two studies which I was able to find in the literature are the rare examples of language socialization and formulaicity. However, these solely focus on the religion and gender aspects of language socialization in children. To this end, therefore, this study employs an explorative approach to find out the extent to which Turkish international students use formulaic language as a sign of their second language socialization and what the possible reflections of these expressions on their linguistic identity enactments and ownership of the language are.

Operationalization of Formulaic Language

Interchangeable terms are used for the formulaic language in the literature, such as formulas, pre-fabricated speech, conversational routine, situation-based utterance or conventional expressions. I adopt Wray's (2002) term 'formulaic sequence' as a cover term, which she defines as follows:

> a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the

> time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar (Wray, 2002, p. 9).

Wray (2002) argues that both parties of the interaction, the hearer and the listener, have to find ways to minimize their processing efforts because the grammar of language is too complex to cope with all the time (p. 15). Therefore, she approaches Sinclair's (1991) suggestion of formulaic option, which he refers to as "idiom principle," which is the default processing strategy. The counterpart of formulaic processing, i.e., analytic processing, according to Sinclair, is the "open choice principle" and only is referred when the idiom principle fails.

Although there is consensus in the literature that formulaic sequences represent ways of saying things in an agreed-upon way by a speech community, it has been proven that procedurally it is very challenging to isolate these sequences in speech and text with a satisfactory degree of reliability (Bardovi-Harlig, 2012; Wray, 2002; Wray & Namba, 2003). In order to identify formulaic sequences, a wide range of empirical approaches have been applied from native speaker intuition, through corpus analysis, to pronunciation analysis (See Wray, 2002, Chapter 2 for detailed information). Wray (2002) suggests two basic ways to collect formulaic sequences: the first is to conduct an experiment, questionnaire, discourse completion task or other empirical method to observe the production of formulaic sequences as data. The second one is to collect general or particular linguistic data and study on the strings based on some criteria. I shall focus on the first approach since I am looking for how much formulaic language is used to reflect language socialization rather than specific formulaic sequences.

Although it is possible to collect data, there is yet no consistent and reliable way to isolate formulaic sequences. Pawley (2007) accentuates that there is confusion related to the identification of these formulaic sequences, in his review of formulaic language for the period

since 1970. He argues that even though there has been agreement on situation bound utterances, verb + partial and nominal compounds and idioms, there is still confusion between strong and weak collocations, and multi-word strings and how we define them as formulaic. The main reason for this difficulty is that larger parts of formulaic sequences are indistinguishable from the novel strings for they are grammatically unexceptional and their meanings are always predictable (Wray, 2002). In an attempt to come up with a practical and efficient method to distinguish formulaic sequences in a real text, Wray and Namba (2003) described eleven criteria to apply to find out whether a string is formulaic or not. Drawing on data from a Japanese-English bilingual child, they introduced how these criteria can be used to capture and demarcate a formulaic sequence. However, Wray and Namba (2003) cautions us that although the proposed check list for detecting formulaic sequences is a starting point to analyze the data, they emphasize that judgments based on the criteria are still personal and the researcher still needs to make her decision to limit formulaic sequences to deal with.

Along with what Wray and Namba (2003) and Wray (2008) offer as eleven criteria to diagnose formulaic sequences, some continuum models are also proposed to describe the differences between the types of the formulaic expressions in terms of their conventionalized use in predictable situations. Among various continuum models, I decided to adopt the models Howarth (1998) and Kecskes (2007) propose to base the research instrument, a discourse completion task and the collocation test. Howarth's collocational continuum goes “from the most free combinations to the most fixed idioms, rather than discrete classes” (p.35). The split between grammatical and lexical composites applies to idiomatic and non-idiomatic combinations, yet this sub-categorization is a continuum originated from the application of the criteria of restricted collocability, idiomaticity, and semantic specialization, each of which can be graded (Howarth, 1998). Free combinations in the continuum below (See Table 1) are freely substitutable, restricted collocations, though they have one component that is used

figuratively. Figurative idioms have metaphorical meaning and have a literal interpretation. Pure idioms, on the very end of the spectrum, are the most fixed and opaque category the meaning of which cannot be derived from the components.

Table 1 Howarth's collocational continuum (1998, p.28)

	Free combinations	*Restricted collocations*	*Figurative idioms*	*Pure idioms*
Lexical composites Verb + noun	*blow a trumpet*	*blow a fuse*	*blow your own trumpet*	*blow the gaff*
Grammatical composites Preposition + noun	*under the table*	*under attack*	*under the microscope*	*under the weather*

Collocations are words which occur together in a text more often than their individual frequencies or than expected by chance (Hoey, 1991; Jones & Sinclair, 1974). Collocating words predict each other, i.e., when one part of a collocating pair is found, the chances of finding the other increase (Hoey, 1991; Jones & Sinclair, 1974). Language users need to develop collocational links for an efficient lexical network. However, Altenberg and Granger (2001) and Nesselhauf (2003) argue that even students learning English at advanced levels have problems with collocations. Gui and Yang (2002) also, in their study conducted with Chinese EFL students, discovered that collocational mistakes were the most dominant ones students make. English collocational incompetency was also observed to be one of the main problems for native Turkish speaking students (Koç, 2006). One of the possible explanations for this problem is that students have difficulty with automating the use of collocations due to their arbitrary nature.

Prodromou (2003) contends that collocations, either fixed or more flexible, are formed after many years of habitual use by the native speakers of a language. Collocations offer

'chunks' of English that are part of formulaic language and ready to be used; therefore, the automation of collocations enables native speakers to express themselves fluently. Second language learners, however, lacks this automation and thus, are more prone to use unnatural phrases. In order to achieve automaticity in collocational use, second language learners should be aware that they need to develop an ability to comprehend and produce collocations as unanalyzed chunks (Prodromou, 2003).

Although Kecskes (2007) does not include some collocations in his continuum, he has suggested a more recent formulaic continuum model (See Table 2) that goes from the grammatical units on the left to more pragmatic expressions on the right. He contends that "the more we move to the right on the functional continuum the wider the gap seems to become between compositional meaning and actual situational meaning" (Kecskes, 2007, p.193). According to Kecskes (2007), language improvement usually brings about a change of function, that is, the movement of a linguistic unit from right to left or left to right. Given that, lexical items such as *'have to*' can be grammaticalized, or lexical phrases can lose their compositionality and develop an "institutionalized" function, e.g., "I'll *talk to you later, How do you like it*?"

Table 2 Formulaic continuum (Kecskes, 2007, p. 193)

Grammar Units	*Semantic Units*	*Phrasal Verbs*	*Speech Formulas*	*Situation-bound Utterances*	*Idioms*
be going to	*as a matter of fact*	*put up with*	*going shopping*	*welcome abroad*	*kick the bucket*
have to	*suffice it to say*	*get along with*	*not bad*	*help yourself*	*spill the beans*

Speech formulas like *"you know, right?, that's bad!* " are quite similar to situation bound utterances (SBUs). The difference between these two categories is that SBUs are related to

specific speech occasions; however, speech formulas can be uttered anywhere appropriate in the speech process. For example, *help yourself, welcome aboard* are SBUs because they can only be uttered in specific situations unlike speech formulas like, *let me tell you the truth, or to tell the truth,* which can be uttered in any situation with the same function (Kecskes, 2012). Idioms, on the right hand side, are defined as non-compositional constituents, i.e., they are frozen syntax and their meaning cannot be derived from the individual words in the constituent, as is also described in Howarth's continuum.

Kecskes (2007) suggests that acquisition of SBUs are highly related to L2 speakers' participation in conversations in various contexts since they are culture-bound and based on conventional implicatures. "SBUs are prefabricated units whose occurrences are very strongly tied to conventional and frequently repeated situations. We cannot help thinking of a particular situation even if we hear the following expressions without their routine context: *'Welcome aboard'; 'Please help yourself, etc*." (Kecskes, 2012, p. 7) In this vein, the knowledge of sociocultural background of the speech community's language plays a great role in simplifying the effective interaction because they act as a password to access to a speech community. The more the L2 learners are familiar with SBUs, the less lexical and pragmatic failures occur (Kecskes, 2007)[2]. Thus, Kecskes's formulaic continuum and Howarth's collocational continuum are employed in this study in order to observe the extent to which Turkish students are socialized to be able to follow or adopt the preferred ways of saying things in a speech community at a global contact zone where local and international students use English as a lingua franca. Accordingly, formulaic language is the main emphasis of the cognitive side of the language socialization since it reflects the second language socialization during students' trajectories in the United States.

[2] See Kecskes (2012) for more information on SBUs.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Creswell (2007) suggests that the theoretical approach adopted in a study informs the researcher in every step of the decision making about participants, research site, data collection and also analysis. In this vein, this chapter describes the method that is followed in this study, research design, procedures, data collection and analysis, which are shaped in the light of the same theoretical approach: Ochs and Schelin's (1988) notions on the second language socialization process in the light of language ecology approach. The design adopted for this study is both qualitative and quantitative.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the process of second language socialization and its social and linguistic reflections on international students in a multilingual speech community in the U.S. The research questions are as follows:

What is the effect of second language socialization on the social and linguistic identity enactments of Turkish undergraduate international exchange students in a multilingual environment, i.e., the USA?

The study is twofold; therefore, the research questions will be focusing on these two categories. The first category explores the social manifestations of identity enactments of Turkish undergraduate exchange students studying in a global contact zone. And the second category will center around their formulaic language use as part of their linguistic identity. The research questions address the social and linguistic aspects of identity as follows:

1. Why do participants prefer to study in the U.S. and what is their understanding of the symbolic capital they will gain through studying in the U.S.?
2. Do participants undergo a social identity reconstruction either in their first language or second language?
    a. If there is a reconstruction of social identity, how do the participants reveal this change in the interviews, in their daily transactions, and their life stories as a result of social experiences in the U.S. culture?
3. What affected the Turkish students' ownership of English and to what extent, if at all, are the Turkish students aware of this effect in their conceptions?
4. To what extent do the Turkish international students use formulaic expressions as a representation of their legitimate ownership of English?
5. How are identity enactments of Turkish international students reflected in the use of formulaic expressions?
6. How does their social class affect their social identity reconstruction in the U.S. and how it is reflected in their life stories as a result of their social experience in the U.S. culture?

Research Design

For this study, I have decided to adopt a longitudinal mixed method research design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2006) in order to explore and merge the two main processes involved in language socialization: socialization *through* the language, and socialization *to* use the language (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008) under the umbrella of language ecology. While the first process focuses on cognitive and linguistic aspects of socialization, the latter highlights the social and cultural aspects of language socialization. As noted in the literature review, language ecology is not a single contextual method or a theory of research and

practice but one that offers a world view in educational settings (van Lier, 2004). Given this, the current study employs a second language socialization approach with the contribution of a world view of language ecology.

Language ecology provides us with a broad holistic perspective to study second language socialization and acquisition. It emphasizes the emergent nature of language, its operating on multiple timescales, and the important roles of affordances and mediation in various language contexts. It allows us to look into the linguistic phenomena which are inherently conflictual from a historic and educational perspective. An ecological approach seeks for dialogicality, which implies expression of shared experiences, and it does not make generalizations but maintains the idea that the expression of local and particular language experiences may lead to global changes.

According to Kramsch & Steffensen (2008), language ecology approach, as a world view, from a theoretical perspective, presents the following challenges to second language socialization:

a) Historical challenge: Second language learners have already socialized into one language and culture in their natural environment (family, school, workplaces); therefore, the memory of these previous (primary or secondary) socialization(s) interferes with the verbal and nonverbal behaviors of a new speech community when they attempt to socialize into this new discourse. Therefore, second language socialization should consider all these previous language socialization processes of a learner.
b) Cognitive challenge: Linguistic relativity principle suggests that we need to take into account as discourse how language shapes our perceptions and thinking; therefore, it is expected that nonnative speakers might still keep their discourse categorizations and

mental patterning for meaning making even though they are socialized into the language and pragmatic codes of an L2 speech community. Having said this, we need to be aware that nonnative speakers or bi- or multi-lingual people may say one thing but mean another.

c) Methodological challenge: Researchers should be aware that they need to conduct longitudinal and qualitative studies to document the challenging historical and cognitive relativities of the L2 learners that stem from several language histories and speech communities. Thus, the researcher should be conscious of revealing her subjective positioning. An ecological research framework presents more internal validity yet less external validity due to its nature that does not allow generalizability or causality relationships for the full account of linguistic and social phenomena.

d) Ethical challenge: The application of language socialization framework to the individuals who have already socialized into their first language raises ethical concerns. It has been already well documented in the literature that the idealized use of native speaker model of socialization needs to be questioned. Thus, socialization researchers have problematized this issue and offered a 'third place' between socialization processes (Kramsch, 1994, 2011).

In the light of the above stated challenges, this study is designed to fulfill the possible gap in second language socialization research. It is twofold: qualitative (social and cultural) and quantitative (linguistic) parts, which plan to gather data accordingly to gauge international students' social and linguistic involvement during their stay in the U.S. Additionally, as is explained in the methodological challenge, language socialization studies should be longitudinal to be able to document the challenging historical and cognitive relativities of the L2 learners that stem from several language histories and speech communities. Therefore, this study employs a longitudinal research design in which I started to observe the students as

soon as they arrived in the USA. What follows is the qualitative and quantitative research designs of the study in detail.

Qualitative Research Tradition

Seidman (2006a) explains the goals of qualitative research as an understanding of another's experience within a specific system or group, and this understanding comes from listening to their stories. In this vein, I will exploit the stories of the participants for a process of narrative analysis (Pavlenko, 2007; Riessman, 2008b), which forms the main basis for the methodology of this study. Creswell (2007) defines the procedures for implementing the narrative as a qualitative research design as follows: " It consists of focusing on studying one or more individuals, gathering data through the collection of their stories, reporting individual experiences, and chronologically ordering (or using life course stages) the meaning of those experiences" (p. 54). In this study, the international students' lived experiences of second language socialization will form the narratives. Another research design that will help me to analyze the data emerging from my study is phenomenology because I want to focus on "what all participants have in common as they experience a phenomenon" (Creswell, 2007, p. 58). In this study the common phenomenon is the second language socialization narratives for, as Pinnegar and Daynes (2006, as cited in Creswell, 2007) suggest, "Narrative can be both a method and the phenomenon of the study" (p. 54). Therefore, the phenomenological approach will enable me to focus on the core meaning that the international students make of their lived experiences of second language socialization (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2006).

Researcher's Subjectivity

Peskin (1988) argues that subjectivity is actually a virtue, as it drives researchers to study and interpret from a unique perspective. Glesne (2011) also notes that expression of a

researcher's subjectivity gives her potentially mixed roles and enables her to become a performer rather than just a researcher. In tandem with what Peskin (1998) and also Glesne (2011) suggest, I sought out my subjectivity during this research and I tried to rationalize my emotional attachment to my participants, 10 Turkish undergraduate students. I saw my positionality as juxtaposed to that of those Turkish students because I am also a Turkish student with the same first language as well as the same sociocultural background, which not only enabled me to establish rapport with the participants but also facilitated the data analysis of the study since we shared the same sociocultural and linguistic background. Being one of those students and an earlier comer, I had had to deal with many of the same issues with which they dealt on a personal and academic level. Therefore, I felt forced to explore how the second language socialization process intersected with nationality and social class in my own trajectory and the lived experiences of the students via the stories they shared with me. The very selection of this topic reflected a subjectivity and bias in that I could not divorce myself from the experiences of these Turkish students. Thus, this study is a reflection of my personal and, to some degree, academic experiences as well.

Participants

The target population this study addresses is international students who arrived in the U.S. to pursue an under-graduate degree. The participants of this study are ten (eight males and three females) 20-24year-old Turkish undergraduate students whose majors are engineering. These students are the exchange students who originally studies at ITU (Istanbul Technical University). Based on an exchange agreement between ITU and UB, they study their freshman at ITU, sophomore at UB and junior years at ITU and finally senior at UB. Four of my participants who were the subjects of my pilot study were juniors in 2013-2014. And in their senior year, 2015-2016 academic year (fall and spring semesters), I kept on

studying with them in order to gain deeper insight about their identity and socialization in the US. All the other participants were in their senior years at UB in 2015-2016 academic year. Table 3 summarizes the demographics of the subjects.

All of my participants live in different houses with different roommates from different countries. Their courses are quite similar. Their English proficiencies are usually similar, considering their TOEFL scores. Although they are mainly from Istanbul, a metropolis in Turkey, some are from different parts of Turkey. Participants were selected by convenience and snowball sampling. I employed a "friend-of-a- friend" approach to access four Turkish students. I met first three of the participants who then introduced me to their other friends. And I recruited the rest of the participants, i.e., six, through a closed Facebook group that is formed to communicate with Turkish undergraduate exchange students at UB. All participants were given English pseudonyms. The informed consent, which was prepared according to the guidelines of IRB, was presented to the participants and their consent was taken for the study.

I have decided to study with the Turkish students because of two reasons. The first one is that despite the fact that all international students have some common features, such as problems related to their linguistic, social, and academic adjustment, I believe Turkish students are one of the most diverse groups due to their ethnicity, and religious and linguistic backgrounds. The second reason, as I stated above, is that I am a Turkish student also and have the same native language and the same sociocultural background, which not only helped me to establish rapport with the participants but also facilitated the data analysis of the study.

Table 3: Demographics of the Subjects

	Age	Gender	Socioeconomics	Heritage Languages	Years recruited for the study
Brian	24	M	Upper middle class		Junior 2013-2014 Senior 2015-2016
Ashley	23	F	Upper middle class		Junior 2013-2014 Senior 2015-2016
David	22	M		Bosnian	Junior 2013-2014 Senior 2015-2016
Michael	24	M	Upper Class		Junior 2013-2014 Senior 2015-2016
Jerome	23	M	Upper Class		Senior 2015-2016
Kiel	25	M	Upper Class	Laz language	Senior 2015-2016
Joe	23	M	Upper Class	Romanic	Senior 2015-2016
Samuel	23	M	Upper Class	Kurdish	Senior 2015-2016
Rachael	24	F	Upper Class	Arabic	Senior 2015-2016
Zoe	23	F	Upper Class		Senior 2015-2016

(Socioeconomics is based on subjects' own evaluation about their social class standing.)

Research Site

Since I was drawing on language ecology perspective, the important roles of affordances and mediations in various language contexts was important for the study. It provided me with the opportunity to look into the socialization process from a more historical and educational perspective. The spatial dimension is also part of dialogical relationship, which is emphasized by language ecology. Thus, to understand how the participants were affected by the context of the study during their socialization process, I paid close attention to the context particularly in field notes and observations.

I conducted my study at a student-housing complex that Turkish undergraduates often prefer for their accommodation. This was also the place I lived nearby and thus data collection was convenient for me because I took part in some of their socialization

interactions with their friends and other people with whom they were to speak in order to accomplish some daily tasks. Therefore, this site provided me with unique opportunities to observe the daily routines of my participants.

Another important research site was the campus of UB because my participants spent most of their time on campus with their friends. Therefore, I had the opportunity to observe them in their daily interactions with their classmates and instructors. I had the opportunity to spend some time outside of campus, in restaurants and shopping malls, with my participants as well. These off campus gatherings provided me with the opportunity to have a glimpse of my participants' socialization process while they were engaging in small service encounters.

Data Collection Method

I employed two separate stages of data collection and analysis to respond to six research questions. Although I exploited both data sources to answer all six research questions, in order to compile data in a more organized way, I tried to categorize research questions according to the main source of data I used to answer them. A qualitative research method was used to for the analysis of language socializations and identity enactments of the participants which is affiliated with research questions one to four. For the quantitative research method provided data for the linguistic identity manifestations of the participants which was inquired through questions five and six.

For this mixed method longitudinal study, I collected data almost every month during the 2015- 2016 academic year. I have also used the data collected during 2013-2014 for my pilot study. Figure 3 below summarizes the timetable of data collection with reference to the research questions, associated methodologies and the tasks.

Theoretical framework			Second Language socialization through the perspective of language ecology			Time schedule
Overarching Research Questions		*What is the effect of second language socialization on the social and linguistic identity manifestations of Turkish undergraduate international exchange students in a multilingual environment?*		*To what extent are Turkish students using formulaic expressions as part of their language socialization?*		2013-2014 Academic year for pilot study 2015- 2016 academic year (September-May)
Data Collection	Research questions	Qualitative Design	Triangulation	Quantitative Design	Triangulation	
Step 1		Demographic questionnaire	Autobiographic narratives followed up with interviews Field notes	DCT	collocation test open role play	September, 2015 (first three weeks, 1-19)
Step 2		Journals followed up with interviews	Field notes	Authentic speech samples		Once in a month
Step 3		Interviews based on narratives and journal logs	Field notes	DCT	collocation test open role play	April and May, 2016 (Last two weeks, 17-30)

Figure 2. Mixed research design of the study

Qualitative Data Collection

Qualitative data collection was mainly based on the narratives of the students through the journal entries, interviews, and my field observation notes. During the data collection period, I utilized (semi-structured) individual interviews and field observations as main data sources in understanding those students' experiences before and during their education in the U.S. I piloted the interview questions during my pilot study in 2012. I collected data over six months through personal narratives about participants' unique experiences about the U.S. culture and language. Out of the ten participants four were the ones I recruited for my pilot study that was carried out during 2013-2014 academic year. So for these four students, I exploited a longer time frame, which could be considered as two academic years. I met all my participants on a monthly basis and interviewed about their specific experiences. All the meetings lasted around an hour at a place where they felt comfortable and I took field notes (20 notes) during these meetings.

Field observations and field notes

I conducted observations and took field notes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011) in different sites, e.g., in class, in a shopping center, at home with other Turkish students and on campus, particularly, at Starbucks and the Student Union with other international students. I chose these sites because I had already observed that the Turkish students were involved in three different communities of practice: American friends and people, Turkish friends, and other international students. Therefore, I decided to observe the Turkish students' interactions in these three speech communities.

It took me a while to learn to take field notes so my first attempts were not very successful. It was rather challenging to take field notes outside of the classroom settings such

as malls and home as a participant observer without harming the authenticity of the process so sometimes instead of taking actual notes, I have recorded my observation and then transcribed it. In the following process, I was able to benefit from my field notes a lot. I had 26 notes in total that helped me to visualize my participants' socialization process.

Autobiographical narratives

I also employed narratives and journal logs as other sources of data. Narratives are seen central to the understanding of the language socialization studies (Pavlenko, 2008). There are two mainly used narrative types in the field of language socialization: fictional and personal (Pavlenko, 2008). Personal narratives will be the main type of narratives for this study. When experiences of learners are examined through narratives, it is considered as a demonstration of how they reflect their self in their experiences, thus they are constructivist in nature (Bruner, 2004; Olson, 1995). That is the main reason why the story of language learning is considered as subjective, biased and ungeneralizable to form an ideal language learner, which would standardize the language learning. However, the unique nature of an individual does not allow such standardization (Bruner, 2004). For this reason, the autobiographical narratives of the students is vital in understanding their language learning and socialization experiences (Polkinghorne, 1991).

Journals

I asked the participants to keep journal logs monthly about their language development and social experiences. I intended to see how they reflect on their experiences and how they construct their selves in a multilingual second language environment. The journal entries also enabled me to witness their life stories and their new roles that they acquired in the new socio-

cultural environment. I was able to obtain 6 journal entries from each of my participants. In total I collected 60 journal entries.

Interviews

I conducted three main interviews with every participant as suggested in Seidman's three-part interview design: past-present-future (Seidman, 2006). Furthermore, I had six more interviews with the participants as a follow up after our monthly gatherings. The first interview (past) focused on the personal information and autobiographies of the participants and language learners' narratives of their own experiences when learning a new language or when living in a local speech community. The second one (present) dwelled upon the present situations of the participants: what their aim is in the U.S., who they contact with, and the like. The third one focused on the future aspirations of the participants, what they want to achieve, how they have accomplished themselves so far in the U.S., and the like. The individual interviews allowed me to set up more intimate interactions with each participant in probing follow-up questions and clarification. The process of interviewing also provided participants with opportunities to select, reconstruct, clarify and reflect upon the questions they were responding to.

According to the ten students' requests, these interviews were conducted at a location convenient to each of them in the most appropriate language, either in Turkish or in English. Language choice gave them opportunities to use the language they feel relaxed to share their experiences in. The interviews were translated and transcribed verbatim after each interview. I conducted 54 interviews in total (See Appendix E for the durations and schedules of the interviews).

Qualitative Data Analysis

I began analyzing the data before the end of data collection, which is suggested for the process of conducting qualitative research (Glesne, 2011; Saldana, 2009; Wollcot, 1994). In general, my analysis consisted in immersing myself in the data through reading and rereading, then descriptive coding and thematic analysis exploiting a continuous comparative method and finally I narrated the life stories of my participants.

I analyzed the data which consisted 54 interviews in total, 20 field observation notes and 60 journal entries. First, I translated the main interviews (18 of them conducted in English and 12 in Turkish) and then transcribed them. Then I translated and transcribed the follow up interviews which were 24 in number (16 in English and 8 in Turkish) using basic transcription conventions adapted from Richards (2003).

For the journal entries and field observation notes, I prepared hard copies of data and merged these entries with the interviews and conducted the initial data analysis on paper. I read the data several times and performed line-by-line data analysis throughout and after data collection was completed. At that point, I waited for the data to speak to me.

First cycle of analysis: descriptive coding**.** With data accumulated over the course of six months, I needed a system for organizing my data in a manner that would allow me to search and navigate through them. I found that the best way to manage this is by using descriptive coding. As Saldana (2013) noted, descriptive coding is essentially the basic topic of a passage in qualitative data, I managed to summarize the topics of the passages. The result was a comprehensive list of codes that described simply what was present in the data. After preparing my field notes, journal entries and interview transcriptions, I descriptively coded the texts on hard copies. Since I took notes while conducting interviews and field

observations, I did have an idea about what to see in the data, yet I wanted to see the clear set of initial codes. In this process, I marked passages up to a paragraph in length and set a code that described the situation and allowed me to look back later, and develop an understanding about precisely what was included in the notes, or interview data. For example, whenever my notes described a situation that emphasized the economic power standing of my participants, I coded the passage as "SOCIOECONOMICS" or a statement that indicate how the participant position her identity in relation to society or individuals, I coded that part as "RELATIONALITY PRINCIPLE" and added every code "to a categorized inventory" (Saldana, 2013, p. 78) of codes that I compiled as I kept on to be able to maintain vocabulary for what I was coding. Thanks to this initial coding process, I was able to eliminate unnecessary notes, then as stated by (Seidman, 2006b), I "label[led] each passage with a notation system that would designate its original place in the transcript" (Seidman, 2006b). After first cycle coding, there were 54 different codes (see Appendix F for the emerging codes) From there, I was able to begin to form rough themes for my second cycle coding procedure.

Second cycle of analysis: pattern coding. At the end of this process, I began my second cycle of coding, i.e., Pattern coding. Saldaña (2013) recommends that after finishing descriptive coding, a researcher should categorize similarly coded excerpts and "assess their commonality and assign them various Pattern Codes" (p. 210). In a similar fashion, Miles and Huberman (1994), explain that pattern coding allows a researcher to "pull together a lot of material into a more meaningful and parsimonious unit of analysis" (p. 60).

As is suggested by Saldana (2013), I grouped my data according to the descriptive codes I developed during first cycle coding. This way, I started to establish a statement describing a major theme, a specific pattern and a network of interrelationships (Saldana,

2013). Based on categories emerged from descriptive coding, I tried to develop basic headings and themes which were emerged from my personal visceral choices. Thus they represented “a progressive process of sorting and defining and defining and sorting scraps of collected data” (Glesne, 2011, p. 193). As a result, categories grew more and more precise until it was obvious that all patterns are becoming saturated with examples. I was able to create a text of important categories and themes, such as strong home culture affiliation, linguistic powerlessness, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, and economic power standing (themes that emerged in the pilot study). Then I compared these themes across the ten participants. After looking for overlaps, I tried to settle on a hierarchical coding scheme. Then I was able to categorize all the instances in my data in which the codes occurred. I organized them in higher level categories which are thematic and grouped the lower level codes as specific examples of these themes. Appendix F describes the number of instances (which I found through word count function of Microsoft Office Word) the codes occurred in the final coding design. As a final step, I "re-storied" (Creswell, 2007) the narratives of my participants by synthesizing these major themes.

For the analysis of the interviews and journal entries and observations, I used narrative analysis, which refers to a method for interpreting texts that have in common a storied form (Creswell, 2007). Creswell (2007) offers two models for narrative analysis: the five elements of plot structure and the three-dimensional space approach. I selected the second approach because it focuses on interaction (personal and social) continuity (past, present, future) and situation (physical places), which are the crucial elements of this study. Thus, accordingly, I focused on the participants’ past (Experiences in Turkey), present (Reflecting on their education in the US), and future (Thinking Forward) life history trajectories (Creswell, 2007; Pavlenko, 2007; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Riessman, 2008a; Saldana, 2009).

Being aware of the fact that I would be interrogating cases (rather than population based samples), I tried to make conceptual inferences about a social process, i.e., the construction of an identity from close observation of individuals. Riessman (2008a, p. 8) argues that "individuals and groups construct identities through story telling" and develop the point by stating that the personal narratives are dual and fluid because they always produce themselves "through the combined processes of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong. This duality is often reflected in narratives of identity" (Robichaux and Clark, 2006 p.8). Given that, I picked up Wolcot's (1994) further analysis technique and I tried to form descriptions from the data, as well as relating the description to the literature; that is, I analyzed each participant's narrative by finding themes connecting their English language ownership, second language identity and other social categories (social class, gender and ethnicity).

Step three: revisit theory then return to categories. After sorting data into more concrete themes and time periods, I tried to view them through the lenses of language ecology and analyze the second language socialization process in order to create a more detailed and clearer structure for data analysis. This allowed me to recognize the distinct discourses taken up by my participants.

Language ecology provided a unique perspective about the second language socialization process of my participants on the macro plane to merge the qualitative and quantitative data. On the micro plane, to inform qualitative data analysis the framework offered by Bucholtz and Hall (2010) was consulted to study second language social identity as an intersubjective accomplishment. As is also elaborated in the literature review, there are five principles in the framework. First two principles are related to the ontological status of identity and the rest of the principles are concerned with the mechanisms identity is

constituted. For the analysis of the social identity developments of Turkish international students, this framework was mainly applied to their storylines as they encounter life as international students in a globalized context. The emergent nature of identity can be observed best and easily in the occurrences in which the individual's language use does not comply with the normative roles ascribed to her, for example, in the cases of transgender identity or ethnic, racial or national border crossings (Rampton, 1995). Identities as social processes are discursively produced "in the most mundane and unremarkable situations" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 20). In several excerpts that were presented in the following chapters, these linguistic instantiations of how the participants perceived, positioned and composed in relation to others, institutions and the ecology of the context.

Quantitative Research Design

A quantitative approach is also needed for this study to measure the participants' language developments and their reflections on their language socialization. In this vein, the quantitative approach addresses the following research question:

How does the Turkish students' formulaic language use reflect their language socialization?

As an attempt to respond to this question, I will employ descriptive statistics (e.g., percentages) to make within and cross comparisons among participants.

Quantitative (Linguistic) Data Collection

Quantitative data will be collected with the help of four different instruments: a) discourse completion tasks b) multiple choice collocational lexical items test c) elicited conversations d) daily spontaneous interaction recordings (authentic spoken corpus).

Discourse Completion Tasks

The design of the discourse completion tasks (DCTs) used in this study is established upon the discourse completion tasks developed in the field of cross-cultural pragmatic studies (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; House & Kasper, 1987). A great many studies have gathered data using DCTs, and Blum-Kulka (1982) was one of the earliest users and advocates of the task. Originally, she developed the instrument for studying indirect speech act realization in Hebrew and American English in a cross-cultural study. Her instrument offers a written interaction between the participant and a hypothetical character in the second person. DCTs have evolved into various versions over the last decades, with some using a third person perspective, some requiring a single oral response, and more recently, an extended oral interview interaction (see Cohen & Olshtain, 1991). DCTs now are described as procedures that elicit responses to problematic, contextually-specific prompts (Zuskin, 1993) or as "short written role plays based on everyday situations which are designed to elicit a specific speech act by requiring informants to complete a turn of a dialogue for each item" (Barron, 2003, p. 83). Kasper (2000) argues that DCTs are effective data collection instruments particularly if the aim of the exploration is "to inform the speakers' pragmalinguistic knowledge of the strategic and linguistic forms by which communicative acts can be implemented, and about their sociopragmatic knowledge of the context factors under which particular strategies and linguistic choices are appropriate" (p. 329).

There are six types of DCTs: written DCT, multiple choice DCT, oral DCT, role play DCT, self-assessment DCT, role play self-assessment DCT (Brown, 2001). All these adaptations of DCTs have a common characteristic: they all are based on a textual description of a particular situation which requires participants to act as if by showing their skills of empathetic role play acting. The written DCTs and roleplay DCTs will be the focus of this

study. The written DCTs ask students to read a written description of a situation and then require them to produce an appropriate answer in this situation and write what they might say. DCT Role-Play tasks also provide a description of a situation and require students to act out a particular role with another person in the same situation.

Kasper and Dahl (1991) reviewed 39 studies in intercultural pragmatics and examined those studies according to their data collection techniques. Consequently, they have categorized the data collection methods with regard to two parameters: the degree to which the data are predisposed by the data collection instrument, and the modality of language use participants engage in (p. 219) (See Figure 3).

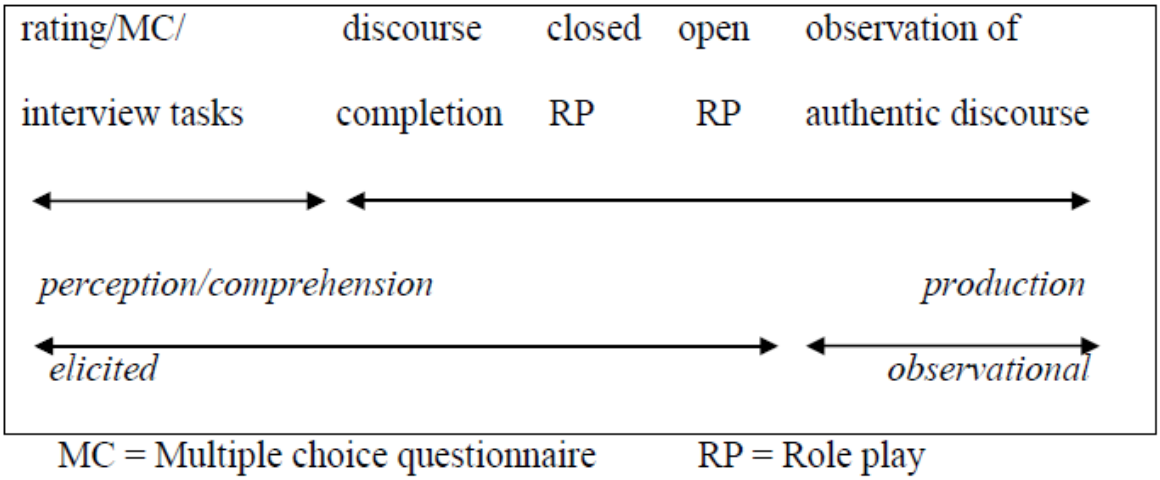

Figure 3: Data collection methods related to modality of language use and degree control (Kasper & Dahl, 1991, p. 217).

The data collection techniques on the left-hand side of the continuum inform us about the subject's perception of the unit of analysis; however, the data collection procedures on the right-hand side show more variability from rigidly constrained DCTs to authentic discourse (Kasper & Dahl, 1991). Accordingly, it can be seen that DCTs are less constrained than MCs when the two data collection procedures are compared to each other in terms of their validity

(Hinkel, 2008). DCTs, being also a highly constrained data collection technique, provide production data which could actually give some hints about how participants reveal competence in real life social contexts (Hinkel, 2008).

In this vein, this study has employed DCTs as one of the data collection instruments for the quantitative part of the study for the following reasons. First of all, the aim of the study is to explore to what extent L2 learners socialize into the local speech communities' culture and to what extent this involvement is reflected in their language production. In this sense, DCTs prove an effective instrument to collect controlled data to find out subjects' language use in several contexts. Therefore, in order to assess participants' language use of for example SBUs (Situational Bound Utterances) and collocations, a DCT has been designed because the written DCTs require constrained language production and thus they are convenient tools to assess and compare participants' knowledge and production of STB and collocations. Another reason for the use of DCT as the data collection instrument is the SBUs' being context or situation dependent. Thus, providing a situation and requiring the participants to come up with an appropriate SBU by means of DCTs would be an efficient way to evaluate my participants' language production in terms of SBUs.

DCTs are quite popular in interlanguage pragmatics due to the fact that they help researchers control the context of scenarios, are inexpensive and easy to administer, and make it possible to collect a large amount of data as quickly as possible (Brown, 2001; Kasper, 2000; Kasper & Rose, 2002). However, they also have many limitations. An important one of them is to do with the relevance of the situations in the scenarios to the specific participant groups, for example, asking students to consider themselves as a businessperson asking for a promotion (Bardovi-Harlig, 2009). Since the students have no experience of a working life they might not be comfortable with producing responses in such a situation. If, however, they

are written well enough to reflect the appropriate and actual discourse, they can provide the desired language production (Cohen, 2005). Additionally, DCTs can be problematic with respect to gathering authentic language in natural settings (Schauer, 2009). Since DCTs are the reflections of what people might say in a hypothetical situation rather than what they actually say in a particular context, they elicit less authentic data (Schauer, 2009). Some researchers have explored whether written DCTs are similar to spoken data collected via roleplays or observations of natural talk and the like (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993; Beebe & Cummings, 1996). The results demonstrated that participants' written responses were shorter than the oral ones, and they were also less elaborate. Due to this limitation, researchers suggest multiple source data collection in order to elicit a clearer picture of the linguistic data under focus (Cohen & Olshtain, 1991; Schauer, 2009). The methods for the triangulation should come from various sources to elicit responses from questionnaires, or authentic conversation data (Cohen, 2006); therefore, in this case, a less authentic written DCT instrument will be used to evaluate SBUs along with more authentic data collection techniques (See Appendix B).

Multiple Choice Collocational Lexical Items Test

Howarth (1998) argues that linguists and language teachers traditionally have focused too much on the extreme ends of the continuum free combinations and idioms. The large and complex middle section of restricted collocations is not paid enough attention. Kecskes (2007) focused on the different kinds of idioms: SBUs, speech formulas or semantic units with arbitrary boundaries. However, as is also demonstrated in the literature, second language learners' main challenges lie in differentiating between combinations that are free and the ones that are restricted (Howarth, 1998). In this respect, I needed an additional means to measure the participants' phraseological competence of collocations, which are also an

essential part of formulaic language. Unlike the production DCTs, multiple choice questionnaires elicit far more restricted responses. Since a DCT task would yield some arbitrary responses that are coherent with the context specified in the stimulus item about formulaic language use, in order to gather more solid impression of the learners' lexical knowledge of collocations, I needed a more fixed means of data collection. Therefore, I developed a multiple choice vocabulary test that aims to measure the proficiency level of students in terms of their collocational competence upon their arrival in the U.S. and after their almost one year stay.

An open-ended DCT task provides the learners with free-recalls; however, closed format of the multiple choice requires recognition (Schwartz and Hippler, 1991). Multiple choice questionnaires require participants to evaluate a very small number of presented alternatives against their memory structures of compatible situations (Kasper, 2000). In designing multiple-choice tasks, it is essential to rely on previous research and valid sources in order to make principled selections of distractors and response alternatives (Rose and Ono, 1995). To this end, I have developed a multiple choice collocation lexical item test comprised of 16 items, 8 restricted and 8 open collocations (See Appendix C). The participants will be asked to take the test twice as pre- and post-tests as a reflection of their improvement in formulaic language use.

Observation of Authentic Discourse

Since the data collection technique is adopted from the continuum of Kasper and Dahl (1991), for the previous two steps I have employed a highly constrained DCT task and a semi controlled role enactment task, and finally I needed authentic spoken discourse data to complete the continuum. Thus, I have adopted an approach to analyze speech events occurring in natural settings.

Usually the studies that focus on naturally occurring data rely on researchers' observation of their learners' language production performance, which can be recorded with videos or audios, or/and field notes, as in the studies of Achiba (2003); Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990, 1993); Ellis (1992); Schmidt (1983). The undeniable advantage of employing a naturally occurring spoken data collection technique is that participants' ability to communicate in natural everyday environment can be examined appropriately. It would definitely be the ideal data collection technique; however, in their review of data collection methods in pragmatics, Kasper & Dahl (1991) noted that only two studies have employed this method. In a more recent study Shively (2011) has employed this method while studying Spanish service encounters.

There are a number of reasons why researchers are not adopting the method of collecting naturally occurring discourse (Schauer, 2009). One of the most important ones is Labov's (1972) observer's paradox. Labov (1972) investigated whether it is really possible to observe authentic communication because the presence of the researcher or the recording equipment might always affect the participants' way of communication. What is more, even if the data are collected, they will be unsystematic and hard to analyze (Beebe & Cummings, 1996) because of contextual variables such as turn takings and differing degrees of imposition. And if the researcher relies on field notes, they might not be enough to describe the discourse present (Kasper & Dahl, 1991).

Taking all these limitations into consideration, I have decided to collect naturally occurring spoken data due to two reasons. First of all, although the authentic data are unsystematic and difficult to collect, they will yield the true language production of the participants; therefore, I will be able to assess their real performance. Additionally, since this is not the primary data collection method, I do not totally rely on these data; however, I will

try to gather as many recordings as possible for they will reflect the real output of the students. Therefore, as part of the data triangulation, this method of collecting naturally occurring data has been employed for this study.

As part of the process, ten students were asked to record every month at least two naturally occurring conversations that reflect their everyday interactions, such as service encounters, small talks, chats, and the like. The choice of the conversation type is offered to students' own preference. To make the recordings, students were asked to use their mobile phones and record the conversation from beginning to the end with the phone hidden. For each encounter, participants were asked to write down appropriate information on a form provided by the researcher, including the type of conversation, the reason for the encounter, and the demographic characteristics of the interlocutor. Students also briefly reported how they have felt the interaction has gone and why.

Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative data analysis consists of the coding of the data from the DCTs and naturally occurring discourse and the evaluation of the scores from the vocabulary test in order to answer the question of

> To what extent are Turkish students using formulaic expressions as part of their language socialization?

In order to answer this question, the responses that I obtained from the DCTs were coded and grouped according to the formulaic continuum by Kecskes (2007) (See table 2) and the collocational continuum by Howarth (1998) (See table 1). While designing the DCT for the category of phrasal verbs, I have had difficulty particularly in differentiating the phrasal verbs and *verb + particle* and *verb + prepositions*. Although these combinations are not considered

phrasal verbs by the grammarians, they can sometimes be confused by the learners. Therefore, to get a clearer distinction, I followed prominent grammarians' (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999; Cowie & Mackin, 2001; Liu, 2003) distinctions to decide whether a *verb + particle* is a phrasal verb or a *verb + preposition* structure by applying the criteria offered:

1) Can an adverb be replaced between the verb and the particle?
2) Can the particle be forefronted in a sentence?
3) Is the meaning totally literal?

For the design of the collocational lexical items, although I have adopted Howarth's continuum, throughout the vocabulary selection and multiple choice test development processes a multi-faceted procedure was followed. Howarth's collocational continuum and Kecskes's formulaic continuum overlap in the categories of idioms, so I have decided to employ the two categories of collocations in Howart's continuum: free and restricted, or in other words, weak and strong collocations. The collocations were selected from among those identified as important by the CANCODE (Corpus of spoken English, developed by University of Nothingham) and COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English). Particularly selected were collocations that might be of help to the participants in their written and spoken English outputs in daily transactions. Additionally, I have focused on collocations which are not immediately obvious considering that those collocations need the insider knowledge of the speech community.

The selected collocations were divided into two categories. First category is defined as strong collocations, in which the words are very closely associated e.g., *mitigating circumstances* or *factors*. The second one is weak collocations in which words collocate with a range of other words. For example, *broad* collocates with a broad range of different nouns, e.g., *broad avenue, accent, view*. As is suggested by Howarth (1998), it is also considered that the weak and strong collocations form a continuum, with stronger ones at one end and weaker

ones at the other. Most collocations lie somewhere between the two. Therefore, in order to make sure about the strength of collocations, frequency counts were checked using COCA and BNC (British National Corpus). In total 16 collocations were identified: 8 strong and 8 weak ones (See Appendix C). Participants' responses were graded according to the answer key prepared by consulting *Oxford Phrasal Verbs Dictionary for Learners of English* (2001), *Oxford Online Collocation Dictionary*, *Cambridge International Dictionary of Collocations* (2010), and *Macmillan Collocations Dictionary* (2010).

The authentic discourse was also coded and grouped according to Kecskes's (2007) formulaic continuum. The results were analyzed considering the percentages of the units.

Reliability and Validity of the Instruments

Reliability and validity of the measures is important in order to elicit consistent and robust results from the study. Reliability requires the instrument to produce the same results anytime it is used, thus it refers to the consistency of the measure of the instrument. In order to guarantee inter-scorer reliability of the collocation test, I asked 5 *native speakers of English* (who are not participants of this study) to take the test in order to examine the consistency between their responses. At this point, it is important to note that the notion of *native speaker* here refers to people who have an "insider knowledge about [their] language" (Davies, 2004, p. 431). 'The insider knowledge' refers to the formulaic language use in this study; therefore, this study does not tout for the *native speaker fallacy* as is usually depicted, as the imitation of the native speakers to the extent of abandoning one's social and cultural identity (Byram, 2003), but it adopts the native speakers' preferred ways of expressing things and preferred ways of organizing thoughts (Mackenzie, 2014). Cronbach alpha for the internal consistency of 5 raters was .937 for the collocation test, which indicated a high internal consistency within

the scores of 5 raters. These 5 native speakers will also be asked to be interrater of the DCT pre- and post-tests coding after collecting data from the ten participants.

Although, we need a reliability measure for the collocational test, reliability is not applicable to this study because the 20 DCT items present a situation for which the participants are asked to produce the most appropriate answers according to them. In this respect, the results are expected to be various and to be affected by their language socialization in the U.S. Therefore, the chance in the students' productions is going to be main focus of this study rather than the consistency between their responses given in the pre- and post-tests. The overarching aim is to explore the ways in which participants' pragmatic preferences have shifted over time and to contend the role of language socialization in that development.

Validity, which refers to the extent to which an instrument accurately measures what it purports to measure, is an important test quality for the current study. From among the data collection instruments for this study, only DCT and collocation tests are prepared by the researcher; therefore, it is highly important to make sure that these instruments are measuring what they aim to measure. To this end, after reviewing the previous research of pragmatics, particularly after focusing on DCTs developed by Kecskes (2000, 2007) on SBUs, and on DCTs developed by Bardovi-Harlig (2009, 2011), I have developed 20 DCT items, and then I piloted these items with the 5 native speakers who already piloted the collocation test. At the pilot test, 89 % percent of the responses were SBUs. Hence, it can be argued that the DCT instrument which will be employed in this study has content validity and measures what it aims to measure.

Conclusion

The current study has a longitudinal mixed method design. I draw upon language ecology and second language socialization through the lenses of language ecology perspective in order to better inform social and linguistic identity construction processes of my 10 participants during a ten months' period. Although I studied four of my participants on a longer timeframe (almost two years including my pilot study), I focus on the last ten-mount cross-section of the study particularly for the quantitative study. Mainly I collected data 3 times during the 2015-2016 academic year. This methodology allowed me to gather data to observe my participants during their language socialization process and enabled me to observe how they (re)constructed their local and global social and linguistic identities.

CHAPTER FOUR: QUALITATIVE FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

FINDINGS

Introduction

The qualitative section of this study will attempt to answer the overarching question: *What is the effect of second language socialization on the social and linguistic identity manifestations of Turkish undergraduate international exchange students in a multilingual environment?* Each of the ten cases will be presented in terms of the themes that emerged from the Discourses used by the participants. There are two main sections: 1) the qualitative findings that describe undergraduate Turkish students' second language socialization and identity manifestations, and 2) the discussions part that focuses on the themes that emerged in the stories and language use of ten Turkish students in relation to the research questions. Hence, the presentation of their stories will be based on those themes that displayed commonalities among the participants.

Being aware of the fact that identity in its own complexity, contradiction and dynamism can never be contained in a single analysis, I have attempted to analyze the identities of my subjects by grouping their narratives based on the relationality principle in Bucholtz and Hall's framework. Although I have referred to the first three principles and the last one in the framework that focus on the emergent, positional, indexical and partialness aspects of identity while analyzing the narratives of my subjects, I have mainly relied on the relationality principle for two reasons. First, as Bucholtz and Hall (2010) explain, identities are never independent or autonomous but always in relation to other available social actors and identities, and second, identities are not repetitive and do not revolve around a single axis

of sameness or difference. Considering the ecology of the context where my subjects live, I assumed that this would be the best strategy to use.

Bucholtz and Hall (2010) describe these relations as complementary processes in three groups: *adequation and distinction, authentication and denaturalization*, and finally, *authorization and illegitimation*. It is also noteworthy that although arranged in polarized terms, none of these pairs is categorical and mutually exclusive. That is to say, a language user can switch tactics and locate herself anywhere on the relational continuum and can also exploit overlapping tactics which are on the opposite poles simultaneously. However, since I am only able to capture frozen moments of speech, I have decided to study one tactic at a time yet with limitations in mind. Taking this as my cue, I decided to analyze my 10 participants' social identities in 3 groups based on their similar discursive acts.

There are three groups of shared Discourses: the first group, Bryan, Ashley and David's trajectories of language socialization were similar, highlighting the role of communities of practices in newcomer international students' language socialization. Adequation and distinction process in Bucholtz and Hall's identity theory has been explanatory for their identity emergence. The second group, Jerome, Kiel, Joe, and Michael have semi different trajectories in terms of their socialization processes. Authentication and denaturalization tactic has been exploited to study their hybrid identity emergence. And the last group, Rachael, Samuel, Zoe and Michael had quite distinct stories than the other two groups. Although I mainly discuss Michael in the first group, I also include him in the third group because he provided more distinctive features than the other group members did. Authorization and illegitimation process of identity emergence has helped me to observe this group's identity and language socialization processes.

In the following section, I will first present a brief background of the participants in each group before discussing the main themes that emerged throughout their Discourses. And the following table shows the themes that developed from the language used by the participants.

Table 4: Themes from three groups

Themes	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
	Bryan, Ashley, David and Michael	*Jerome, Kiel, Joe, and Michael*	*Samuel, Rachael, Zoe and Michael*
1	Strong home culture attachment and temporality in social relationships	Ethnic "unbelonging" and evolving transnational identities	Dubious Battle in "Otherness": Pride or Shame
2	Lost in translation	Linguistic belonging and claims of ownership	Multiple venues of English
3	Proxy power attained through wealth	Cosmopolitan identities	"Because I was a girl, I was told …"

The first Group: Bryan, Ashley, David and Michael

Bryan

Bryan was born in Istanbul and is 24 years old. He studied at a public high school in a very wealthy neighborhood. He stated that since he did not study at an Anatolian or private English medium high school, his English was poor. After graduating from high school, he took the university entrance exam, in which he could not meet the required score to study at a regular bachelor's engineering degree program, so he decided to attend to a dual diploma program (spending first and third years in Turkey and second and forth years in the United States) at ITU (Istanbul Technical University), which accepted a lower score, but more tuition fees (four times as much as the regular engineering program at the same university). Based on his own explanations about his family's social status and my observations, I can safely assume

that he came from an affluent family. Therefore, as he remarked, it was not difficult for him to afford the tuition fees.

Bryan described the way he socialized his life around the Turkish community as follows. Before he came to the US, he contacted his Turkish friends and the Turkish Student network set up in ITU. These previously made contacts enabled him to arrange his residency and even his courses before he came to the States. He felt lucky in that sense because he said that it felt like a homelike environment. He had various kinds of support from the Turkish dual diploma society in Istanbul and the US.

At the time of my study, it was his second year in the US. Even though he was entitled to graduate from the environmental engineering program the previous year, he preferred not to and decided to study mechanical engineering as well as environmental engineering for the reason that he wanted to procrastinate his decision about his future profession. Hence, in the spring of 2016, he was going to complete his degree in mechanical engineering. He did not describe himself as a hardworking student and he barely got the required scores from the exams.

Bryan made his feelings of linguistic powerlessness evident during one of our initial encounters in the late December 2012 and I became interested in Bryan and wanted to know more about his views and what made him feel so powerless. In February 2013, after I began the data collection, he reiterated his feelings of weakness, which he attributed to his lack of English proficiency. He mainly linked his feelings to his status as a temporary resident in the United States.

Ashley

Bryan introduced me to Ashley as a close friend who has characteristics in common with him. Ashley, 23 years old, was born in Istanbul. She graduated from a private English medium high school, and unlike Bryan she believed that her English is quite advanced and she found herself fluent in English. She chose the dual diploma program in ITU because "[she] wanted both to improve [her] English and to study a double-major program" and she happened to be Bryan's classmate in Istanbul. They acted together while coming to the US and they lived in the same house. Ashley, like Bryan, is also studying at her second major, mechanical engineering, having completed her degree at environmental engineering. She explained her goal in studying in this new major as follows: to become more qualified in the field. She described herself as a dedicated and successful student. She also revolved around the same Turkish environment but she stated that she had a lot of American friends, too. However, during my observations I have not seen her interacting with American or other international students other than her Turkish friends. Bryan and Ashley and two other friends went to school together, studied together and spent time together outside, as far as I observed. Similar to Bryan, Ashley was also a member of a wealthy family (I want to remark that when I make judgments of social class I take my cues from the declarations of my participants and also from the observations I conducted).

David

David was also another friend of Bryan and I had contact with him particularly because he also expressed that he suffered from linguistic incompetence like Bryan. They were also close friends who acted together. He is 22 years old and from Istanbul. He studied at a public Anatolian high school. He also came from an economically affluent background. Unlike Bryan and Ashley, he was not studying at mechanical engineering but was trying to

graduate from his regular environmental engineering major, yet since he did not display enough efforts to complete his degree in time, he extended the school period. He planned to earn his bachelor's degree in fall 2017. He did not describe himself as a hardworking student. He was also a member of the above stated Turkish society.

Michael

Michael had the most distinct story among all the participants in this group. He was from a small city, in the north of Turkey. He studied at a Science High School, which is considered one of the most prestigious high school types in Turkey due to their selectiveness of their students and their teachers. Both teachers and students are accepted via exams to these high schools. Although he was a very dedicated student, in his last year at high school, he changed his mind and gave up studying for his school courses, a process which he explained as follows: "My focus in life changed after I accepted that I am gay and I no longer thought that the school courses were meaningful so I did not put a lot of efforts into them." And he did not get a good score to study at a regular engineering program in Turkey. His father helped him to register the dual diploma program at ITU. During his first year he did not go to school and gave himself a year off and spent his time exploring Istanbul. In the US, he stated, he was not a good student at his environmental engineering major, and his classmates and professors considered him a lazy student. He seemed well aware of this but he complained that the classes were too boring and challenging. This is also his second year in the US.

Unlike the other participants, he explained that he was always good at English and he was "far beyond the class and even teachers" and he stated that he was always outcast at school because of the advanced level of his English. I must acknowledge that he was the only participant who accepted interviewing with me in English in this group. He liked learning English or other languages (He is also studying Italian and Spanish), and reading English

novels and watching films in English “without subtitles”; he considered himself very fluent, “even native-like”, in English and he believes that being in the US did not contribute to his English. He argued that he never had any difficulty in conversations with native speakers and did not miss any detail in their speech. As an English teacher who studied English for many years, I sometimes feel that I cannot understand the native speaker talk; therefore, Michael’s feeling of satisfaction with his English amazed me a lot. Like the other 3 participants, Michael also came from a wealthy family and on several occasions he stated that he enjoyed being wealthy.

In what follows, I weave my interpretations throughout my participants’ narrative snapshots, illustrating their lived moments within the Turkish and the U.S. educational contexts and highlighting the emerging themes in relation to my research questions.

Theme 1: Strong home culture attachment and temporality in social relationships

The first processes Bucholtz and Hall (2010) highlighted pertaining to the relationality principle of their identity framework is *adequation and distinction*. The term '*adequation'* emphasizes that the groups should be sufficiently similar but not exactly identical in order to be grouped together for their interactional aims. Therefore, differences that hinder the efforts to adequate groups will be minimized and portrayed as unimportant, and similarities will be considered as salient to support the identity construction. The counterpart of *adequation* is '*distinction,*' which highlights the identity relation of differentiation. The same process of adequation is valid here, too. Distinction relies on the suppression of similarities that hinder the construction of difference in identity work (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010). In relation to one participant’s, Michael’s, identity emergence, we can refer to distinction because he revealed discrepancies from the other three group members.

In this sense, my participants revealed sufficiently similar intersubjective interactional patterns so that we can safely assume that they developed a group identity that revolves around resistance to adaptation to the host culture. Therefore, it can be argued that this discussion should focus on the role of Turkish community in my participants' language socialization besides their identity investments and imagined communities. This first group of my participants comprises the ones I spent almost two years and developed a rapport with due to this long lasting familiarity. Our conversations have expanded over time and included more personal, emotionally-charged and sensitive material. Previously told stories were retold and expanded, and thus I had more opportunities to observe how they positioned and repositioned themselves in their stories. Different from the other 6 participants, I have more confidence to make claims based on ample data I gathered from them.

The first salient similarity that emerged from the first group of my participants' discourse was "native-culture anchoring" (Wilkinson, 1998). All three participants' stories (Bryan, Ashley and David's) shared similar features in that they revolved around the Turkish community, using English in formal CoP (communities of practice, such as academic settings) and within limited social contexts like small talks in service encounters and limited interactions with classmates. They spent most of their time with their Turkish friends and they established intense and complex social networks within their closed group. Therefore, they purposefully limited their chances of social integration with the host culture and due to their limited interaction their English improvement is relatively lower than the other two groups'.

One of the reasons for all 3 participants' "native-culture anchoring" is their identity positioning, which caused them to place themselves as peripheral and non-participant members (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and to imagine themselves positioned as outsiders by others in regard to their legitimacy. All of my participants stated that they were not planning

to stay and work in the US and thus as a future investment they did not feel the need to set up social networks in the host culture. For example, Ashley stated the following:

> I found things, even the smell of buildings inside, very strange, but I am a person of harmony, so I got used to things here easily and I'm not disturbed by such differences. Yet when I finish my major here, I am planning to live in Istanbul. Let me also put it this way: Although I like it here, I am still a Turkish girl living in the US for educational purposes and missing her country a lot. (Interview 3, October 25, 2014)

Although she states that she positions herself as part of the ecology at the University at Buffalo and got used to things in the U.S., she still longs for her own habitus ("*even the smell of the buildings were strange"*). Full membership in a CoP not only requires the investment and motivation of the new comers, but also the willingness on the part of the host community to share their resources and accept those new comers as legitimate members (Bourdieu, 1991). In this sense, the group members did not feel they were welcomed and felt alienated in the host community. Michael wrote in a diary entry in 2012 that

> American students in our classes are so private and they don't want to involve others in a group study or sit down together and collaborate and do something with the international students. Today, for example, we were asked to study in groups for a group project for this semester but there was a clear division in the class. All the Indians formed one group, all the Americans formed another and all the Asian people formed a group with an only American exception with them. (He was the boyfriend of one of the girls.) And then what was remaining was us. I felt like we were left overs and so we had to stay as Turkish people in one group. (Diary entry 4, November 17, 2014)

He suffered from the host communities' being non-inclusive and assuming that they position themselves as illegitimate participants. Although he was not accepted by other international groups either, he considered the Americans as the core members of the host community and felt a special resentment against them. Even though there is an agency on the part of himself as a peripheral participant to become involved in the CoP, he argued that he was not offered enough affordances and mutuality. Due to lack of mutuality and support in engagement, his willingness to communicate with the host community in the host language decreased.

Similarly, Bryan, for example, attributes his lack of belonging and rejection by others in his class to his status as being an international student rather than his individual actions or inactions: “When everyone knows where you are from, they draw away from you, coz you are not from here.” (Interview 2, October 18, 2014).

This resonates with the language ecology approach, which posits that SLA as an emergent phenomenon is triggered by the availability of '*affordances*' in the language environment. Affordance is an alternative word for 'input' proposed by van Lier (2000). Because 'input' is the representation of structuralist language view seeing the learner as a computer to be 'inputted,’ van Lier defines affordances as “properties of the environment relevant to active, perceiving organisms” (p. 252); and their relevance is negotiated by the learners. The language environment is full of rich semiotic potentials and the agent (learner) has certain abilities or aptitudes. In that sense, affordances are the connections between the environment (whether it is a book, mode of communication, attitude or an utterance) and the learner. As a result of the interplay between perception/activity (by means of affordances) and agent/environment interactions, relevance occurs as a third dimension, and the final outcome is semiosis (meaning making) (van Lier, 2000). In the case of Michael and the other 3 group members, lack of mutuality and affordances caused them to never fully engage in the CoP and thus the communication never reached the expected outcome as semiosis. Therefore, the group members felt alienated to the extent that their identities are threatened, which diminished their willingness to participate.

Both David and Bryan expressed that in fact they wished to socialize with particularly the American people but they felt that they were too late to set up such relationships with their classmates, particularly because they acted in such an alienated way at the beginning that their American classmates no longer expected them to be friendly. They stated that they were only

able to speak in superficial small talks so their lack of long lasting, insightful and meaningful communication hindered their socialization with their American friends. They could not obtain access to the language and to their imagined communities. Therefore, similar to the participants of Kinginger (2004), they were baffled with not only the language problem but also with the ways they needed to develop for the participation into bettering the host culture and social network. Pavlenko (2000) and Norton (2000) might provide insight into my participants' confusion in this respect. As Pavlenko (2000) highlights, “Learners’ dispositions toward language learning are indeed highly variable” (p. 221), and it depends on their imagined communities of practice (Norton, 2000). However, interestingly enough, although they were aware that they could not improve their participation in the host culture by just interacting with their Turkish friends, they seemed helpless about their present situation. They avoided almost any kind of language production in their daily tasks, making Michael do all the phone calls with the customer services, paraphrase their assignments (they used one assignment as a template and rephrase the assignment for each member of the group), negotiate with their roommates and even order meals for themselves (including Ashley), and the like. In this sense, Michael stood as their ideal self who could communicate as they wished.

Wenger (1998, p.101) posits that participation must always begin peripherally and if the participant is not considered legitimate, or chooses not to participate as a reflective form of resistance, it may not start at all. Therefore, in order to participate in certain CoPs, the individual must be equipped with the necessary cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984), that is, sufficient resources and assets such as certain behavioral patterns and attitudes, associations with particular artifacts like books and qualifications, and also connections to certain institutions like universities or professional associations. Pertaining to this group of participants, they revealed that they were not well equipped with these capitals, and thus, in

return, were not offered membership in the CoP. It had become a vicious circle. The participants rejected subconsciously to become legitimate members, as they were not offered participation. This lack of belonging and legitimacy in the host speech community caused my participants to find an alternative way for belonging as a result of their socialization. Since their L1 English social networks was limited, they preferred to affiliate with their Turkish network.

In the literature, there are studies that demonstrate L2 speakers to affiliate with alternative and transnational CoPs. For example, Duff (2007) explains how Korean undergraduate students in Canada preferred to affiliate with their Korean networks in British Columbia instead of socializing with the host speech community. Korean undergraduates considered that identifying with their Korean networks was more significant because their connections with these networks would influence their future careers in Korea. Although their intention was to set up friendships with the Anglo-Canadians during their college education, the undergraduates ended up involving with Koreans because they provided a more comfortable and secure transcultural experience for the Korean undergraduates in Canada. Duff's (2007) study demonstrates how L2 learners' experiences in border crossing may not follow a linear way of socialization, that is, from the first culture to the second culture, and many L2 learners find new ways of socialization between cultures and languages. In a similar fashion, my participants, Bryan, Ashley and David, preferred to socialize in their own Turkish networks rather than increasing participation in the existing dominant forms of culture in the host community.

"The Stranger Theory" by De Ley (1975) offers insight into the role of the Turkish community in my participants' lives in the US. De Ley (1975) argues that the behavior of sticking tightly to the home culture is the most natural result of being surrounded and

bombarded by an unknown host culture. In this vein, my participants' having Turkish breakfast and tea with their group friends and making Turkish coffee and buying Turkish white cheese and other Turkish brand food from an international market called ‘Super Bazaar,’ which sells Turkish products, or their watching Turkish soap operas constantly are the examples of how they preferred to lead a similar life in the US to the one that they had in Turkey. However, their attachment to each other was sometimes very disturbing. I observed them usually hanging out as a big group of 10-15 men. They sat at the Starbucks or Tim Horton’s on campus as a big circle, oftentimes breaking the general seat alignment and laughing and talking out loud in Turkish. As far as I observed, they kept sitting at Starbucks 3 or 4 times a week. I wrote one striking anecdote in my field observation log to visualize how they socialize in their own circles on campus.

> Another barista warned them about their sitting in big circle and closing the passage. What disturbed me most was the way they spoke about the female barista. They swore at her in Turkish and laughed at her. When my participant warned them that I am also Turkish sitting close by, they reluctantly stopped.” (field note October 19, 2015, 3pm, at Starbucks on campus).

They created a safe bubble for themselves taking the advantage of their L1 and they bullied other people to feel powerful in their bubble. Their first language served as a tool to empower themselves in their own CoP. I also saw them bullying other international students using derogatory terms to humiliate them. When I asked about their typical bullying actions, Bryan explained this as follows:

> B: They would never do such things in Turkey.
>
> H: Like swearing at people and ridiculing them in Turkish?
>
> B: Yes, because they know that it is too shameful but here something got in them, and when they come together, they start belittling people, particularly girls. It is like wearing an invisible coat and doing whatever you like to do. But I am sure when they

are alone, they don't do such things. It is, I believe, a kind of group solidarity thing. They even compete to use worse words.

H: Have you ever sworn at girls?

B: No, I don't do such things.

H: Have you ever tried to stop your friends?

B: No [laughs], because they will push me away [keeps laughing]

(Interview 3, November 22, 2014)

Although he excluded himself from the group by his pronoun choice, explaining that "they" were doing things, he spent most of his time hanging out with these people. As is explained in the intersubjectivity principle, the counterpart of *adequation* is '*distinction'* which relies on the suppression of similarities that hinder the construction of difference in identity. Thus in this sense, Bryan dissociated himself from the group's salient second language identity feature and explained that he makes a pragmatic choice to be able to stay connected with the group. Although he does not approve of their behaviors, he remained silent. According to Goffman (1959), self is enacted through both language and non-verbal behavioral signs at the time of interaction. So by just watching the others without giving any critical remarks, he conveyed the message that he was not disturbed by what happened. The distribution of power in discourse impacts identity formation as some speakers have more discursive power than others (Bourdieu, 1977). Bryan gave in the powerful discourse in the group but in a way resisted to it by remaining silent and not adopting the same discourse and attitude.

Sexual harassment and gender is quite a salient category in relation to identity in the study abroad literature. For example, Polanyi (1995) studied the journals of American students studying Russian in Russia and found that men were usually at a very advantageous position in comparison to women. They recounted several romantic adventures and developed

their language skills; however, women generally found themselves at uncomfortable positions while fending off unwanted humiliating sexual advances. Additionally, some other researchers also studied the perception of sexual harassment in France (Kinginger, 2008), in Spain (Talburt, 1999), and in Argentina (Isabelli-García, 2006). However, these studies did not explore the local meanings of the harassment practices criticized in the studies to a large extent.

According to Bucholtz (1999), participants who embrace the identity of a speech community will demonstrate positive behavioral practices, while others who resist to identify with that community distance themselves from it. In this sense, my participants' preference for misbehaving can be considered as a form of resistance but since they proved that their higher order thinking skills had not developed enough, they chose a rather disturbing way of expression for their resistance. My participants' and their Turkish friends' humiliating language can also be attributed to their gender and social class along with their group solidarity idea and resistance. I will further discuss this issue in the following sections of this project.

One of the reasons for my participants' strong attachment to home culture was their somewhat negative attitude and imagination towards American culture. Bryan expressed his alienation as follows: "I don't want to live here because the way of life here, the mentality is completely opposite to mine. The easiness, or freedom, for example in romantic relationships… I don't approve of them, or let me put it this way, cannot deem such a thing for myself as normal" (Interview 1, October 20, 2014). And similarly, David stated his attachment to Turkish culture and his negative attitude towards the host culture: "I could say the most important influence from Turkish culture on my personality is the concept of monogamy, good manners and being a respectful person. I am not raised as white trash and

many people from American culture are like that!" [laughs] (Interview 3, February 22, 2014)

Michael also expressed his alienation as follows:

> American people are fake. They are always politically correct. You can never trust their always smiling faces. They always avoid confrontations and speaking honestly but they backstab you when the time comes. They consider themselves as intellectuals by reading *Fifthy Shades of Grey* or watching Miley Cyrus's *Wrecking Ball.* This is really annoying. I really don't care about them. Or they attribute strange meanings to strange things. For example, they love waiting in the lines and they strictly abide by the rules. We also obey the rules in Turkey, complaining, though. But in the States they are really happy about it" [laughs] (Interview 1, October 24, 2014).

Michael was quite opinionated about the American culture due to his preconceptions and prejudices about Americans, which in return seemed to threaten his identity. The adjectives as the indexical elements that he used to describe Americans ("*fake, politically correct, annoying, strange, white trash*") revealed, in fact, his own vulnerability in the face of this community. In order to protect his sense of meaning making as a peripheral member, he implies that he is the center of power even though he is a peripheral member. So he redefines the power relationship which was supposed to be stronger in the center but weaker in the peripheries, centering himself as powerful in the periphery and seeing the Americans as weak others in the center. Yet in fact, this re-centering of power reveals his struggle to find a sense of belonging in another culture; therefore, he chooses an aggressive register of conduct. Spolsky (2009) posits that language is a tool for us not only to present our own understanding of "who we are" but it is also a way for others to reveal their own assumptions of the way "we must be". In this vein, Michael's cynical and aggressive *interactional positioning* (Wortham, 2001), whereby speakers position themselves not only in relation to their interlocutors but also their particular versions of social worlds, reveals his thinking about how he should not be and puts alternative ways of combatting against the mainstream thinking in his mind against this community by empowering himself as a more sophisticated and better other.

Another reason for my participants' strong home culture attachment is that they avoided loneliness and liked sharing similar experiences abroad. Except Michael, all three participants expressed that they felt lonely and homesick. (Although Michael did not accept it, I could argue based on my observations that his longing for his hometown and his feeling of "desertedness" were quite obvious). During my observations, I noticed that they also liked talking about Turkey and their own experiences in Turkey. Missing Turkey and the feeling of isolation formed common ground for their gathering. In this respect, my participants' anchoring to their home native culture also aligns with the study of Wilkinson (1998), on the examination of the trajectories of four American summer study-abroad students in France. The study offers insight on the strong home culture attachments of the four participants. In the light of his work, I think native-culture anchoring might have significant implications as regards my participants' strong attachment to their home culture. Wilkinson (1998) argued that "The spontaneous formation of home culture 'islands' may actually have been the most efficient way for the students to keep from drowning in the French 'Ocean' while they began to process the barrage of cultural differences and linguistic challenges faced on a daily basis" (p. 32). Thus, the common home language and shared experiences united my participants, thus letting them have a smoother transition from their lives in Turkey to that in the US with less culture shock (Papatsiba, 2006). In the same vein, Bryan expressed his feelings as follows: "I never felt like I was in a different country thanks to my social practices with my Turkish friends. I have never felt deserted thanks to them and we helped each other in our adaptation to the US" (Interview 6, May 6, 2015). Papatsiba (2006), who explored the study abroad experiences of French Erasmus students, had similar findings and posited that leaning on each other may prevent compatriots feeling left out at the instances of cultural fatigue which is unavoidable during the immersion in a different culture.

Additionally, I observed a feeling of solidarity in this sense in their interactions with the old-timers (the students who came earlier) and with the newcomers. My participants endorsed the newcomers with the information and expertise about difficulties faced they gained as old timers. They helped the newcomers to "survive" in the new socio-cultural environment. However, this idea of solidarity had conflicted with academic integrity. In the name of solidarity, they collected the old-timers' assignments and even exam questions and shared them as a data bank with the newcomers. Although they were aware of the fact that they were deceiving themselves (hence others), they justified it as a necessary survival skill in an alien community. David acknowledged that "Americans graduate as real engineers but we just save the day and survive. We have no option but to finish our school and go back to Turkey. But Americans, on the other hand, have to graduate well-qualified because they have to fight against the violent competition in the US" (Interview 5, April 3, 2015). Again the feeling of being transitory and non-participant, and their imagined communities made them justify their academic dishonesty.

Theme 2: Lost in Translation

Another salient similarity in their identity enactment was their feeling of powerless in English. All three participants in the first group expressed that they were not happy about their linguistic performances in English, which fed their linguistic inferiority mindset. Only Michael, as I stated earlier, was assertive enough to claim that he had a good command over English. Michael was very much content with his English and he even argued that his English "was like this (he refers to his production in one of our interviews) before coming to the US and coming here did not contribute to my English." I had the chance to observe Michael in many occasions of interaction with the native speakers and I must agree that he was quite articulate and fluent in his production. However, I could not help thinking that he over-

exaggerated his proficiency. I posited that he was making a relative comparison with his Turkish friends' insufficiency in English. Ashley, also, believed that her English was quite advanced. However, again based on my observations and teaching experience, I think that she was not as proficient as she claimed. Therefore, I would like to evaluate her in Bryan and David's group. Bryan and David carried quite negative attitudes towards their command of English. They thought they could not express themselves as much as they wished in English and they wished that they were as fluent as they were in Turkish.

As far as Bryan and David's (also Ashley's hidden) attitude toward English and speaking English in daily interactions are concerned, they were not able to develop proficiency in English due to several reasons. First of all, their negative attitude towards their English is one of the most important reasons. When I asked them about why they felt so frustrated about their English, they told me that they wanted to speak like native speakers or at least like Michael. What they meant by a native speaker was not only speaking fluently but also knowing some cultural and idiomatic phrases, and also formulaic language, which reveals the fact that traditional "native speaker authority" is still very much alive as Jenkins (2006) puts: "The belief in native speaker ownership persists among both native and nonnative speakers" (p. 171).

> To be honest, many times… the first year here was a lost one for me, because when I did not understand something, I pulled myself away from the situation. In time I came to understand what to do, i.e., face the problem. Even though I myself realize that I am making mistakes in my talk, I try not to care about it because I believe that is not really important. Very simple: You learn through mistakes. But I can't help. I feel powerless because when I compared myself with the native speakers, I feel so bad. When there was little conversation and therefore communication, I thought they didn't understand me well and felt estranged (Bryan) (Interview 7, February 26, 2016).

> If you can't speak like Michael, I think you shouldn't try to speak out loud. He knows about the cultural things here. For example, when I didn't understand a word or a thing, I got a feeling of frustration on such occasions, but later on I got used to it in two ways. I could understand most of the things, and that is the case at the moment. Or rarely, I understand the subject but cannot join the conversation because I know little

> about it. But in such cases I just don't pay attention (David) (Interview 7, February 18, 2016).

Although, as of today, they are still unhappy about their linguistic competence, they are, indeed, aware that they made a progress and developed strategies and techniques to deal with the ambiguity and challenges (for example: "You learn through mistakes"; "But in such cases [when he does not understand an ambiguous expression] I just don't pay attention"). When we first started speaking with them in 2013-2014 academic year, their narrative was based on how incompetent they were in a new challenging language environment but then in two years' time, I was able to observe the change in their meta-narrative sequencing which turned from powerless, agentless self to empowered self who is struggling-against-the second language speakers' obstacles as aware language learners. Based on my observations, I can safely argue that they had already added several literacies to their linguistic repertoire, which, thus, was undergoing a transformation to develop a competency to adjust themselves to the social life at UB and the local environment through their second language. For example, they have already learned how to fill in tax forms, use GPS devises, park in the right parking lot without getting a ticket. So they have already benefitted from their multimodal literacies which have already led a transformation in their *linguistic habitus* (De Costa, 2012). Bryan exemplified it in his meta-analysis:

> In the first year, whenever I speak, people look anxious and then I myself get anxious and even like in McDonalds or in Wegmans "Plastic bag?" "What, what?" "Plastic bag?" It's partly, it's language, but it's partly, it's culture. I do not know what they're asking, they're asking me if it's okay they use plastic bag instead of paper bag because there is paper bag option. But because I do not know that, it's double obstacles! You know like it's culturally I do not know what kind of option are there, right? "Here to go?" What does that mean "Here to go?" It means like they are asking "Do you want to eat here or do you want to get out" and then. But I noticed all of these so much later. It is that important but then because it damage my confidence so much. It didn't help me at all even though I was exposed to many different circumstances that I can improve in non-English. I withdrawn like I initially in the first year instead of try to increase my opportunity to learn language and to communicate more I withdraw more. Like I refuse to speak to people and then whenever I saw my classmates in elevators, I remember the feeling that I always want to run away. I do not want to even say that

> "how are you, how is things going" and all those words like almost I felt like it's beating me very much. But in time you get used to it, so now I feel ok, I mean I still struggle a lot but now, at least, I know how to ask for clarification or express myself in one way or another. (Interview 8, March 6, 2016).

In his evaluation, Bryan initially portrays himself as powerless due to his internal deliberations (e.g., "people look anxious"; "damage my confidence so much"; "those words beating me very much") and also his external actions (e.g., "I withdrawn"; "I refuse to speak"; "I want to run away"). Intensifiers such as *so, very, always* serve heighten the emotionality of his claims for the listener and seeks for the interlocutor's emotional assessments creating inter-subjectivity by providing the listener with his interpretive framing for his account (i.e., "to treat the speaker as someone who deserves empathy"). Bryan positioned himself as someone linguistically helpless and this identity is not only locally constructed in interactional present but he created consistency throughout all his previous narrations about how powerless he felt in relation to his linguistic competence. Later, in the extract, he positioned himself as a relatively agentive (e.g., "at least") and empowered individual who developed strategies to deal with the language obstacles he encountered (e.g., "got used to it"; "I know how to express myself in one way or another"). One self-empowerment strategy he was using, for example, was that he animated the voice of the agents in the service encounters through reported speech in order to give his personal account of being alienated or somewhat othered. Performing these questions in an angry and teasing tone, he makes hearable the ambivalence he felt at the time of the incidents. Thus the interviewer [me] becomes not only the hearer but also the participant. Through double voicing (Bakhtin, 1984), he critiques how he was not recognized by the others. This is a self-empowerment technique through which he used to create some space for himself to legitimize his identity. Yet still we can understand his dissatisfaction with himself because he sets the 'native speaker with cultural knowledge' as an unachievable ultimate goal for himself. Like the other participants, he related language to

culture, in other words, language to cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977), because they all noticed that language can enable them to have access to cultural goods and services.

Michael has constructed his group and particularly linguistic identity in relation to his distinction from the other three participants, so he was very self-conscious and sometimes arrogant. When I asked Michael about whether he is aware of his friends' treasuring his English a lot, he said that he knows that and understands their adherence to him because he speaks "good English." When I further pressed as to what constitutes "good English" this was his reply:

> R: What is "good English" and who decides that? I mean who has the authority to say that "this is good English"?
>
> M: Good English means that it is grammatical and without accent and who decides?
>
> R: Yes, who?
>
> M: A person himself or herself.
>
> R: What does that mean?
>
> M: Many people may like your English, your way of speaking, but it depends on you. I mean what counts whether you believe that it is good or not.
>
> (Interview 4, October 18, 2015)

On the surface, Michael's second language ideology mirrors other participants' attitudes about standard language and other varieties of English. However, when we look closely, we can understand that Michael believes that the speaker has the authority to decide the answer to "what is good English?" Thus, from this excerpt, we can surmise Michael's ownership and his discursive construction of English (Kubota & McKay, 2009) as he enacts his attitude in talk-in interaction.

Ashley, on the other hand, honestly admitted that her second language experience has changed her first language identity while she was speaking with her Spanish international friend.

> I guess in my Turkish language, I am more social, more, a more extrovert, or I could just say maybe more argumentative. If I believe something is wrong. I just, like, fight until I prove it but in my second language sometimes I'd, I don't know how to give, like, a right reaction in situations even though, like, I did, I, like, in a real long time. I did, I, like, I just, like, avoid any argumentative occasions. So since I don't know how to tell or just how to react to that occasion, I just, like, prevent myself, pulled that get into that incidence. Even though, like, I have many things to say, since it takes a long time for me to establish my English word, actually, the topic was gone [laughs] so I prefer being silence instead of, like, speak. When I went to home this summer, my mom was like, "You have changed. You are no longer assertive. What happened to you? In the past, you would never say OK so easily." So I think in my Turkish language, now, like, I am not as I was. I am more, more, what? Hmm… submissive! (Authentic data, audio recording 2, task 2, March 24, 2016).

Although she refused to speak with me in English for all the interviews we conducted together, she recorded this dialogue with an international friend as part of her authentic speech sample task for formulaic expressions. Then I decided to use this extract in this section as well due to the self-explicative nature of the narrative. Her evaluation about her second language performance was informative in the sense that she already accepted that she cannot reflect who she truly was and in return her performance changed her personality and her first language identity. However, her word choice like *establish, submissive, argumentative, assertive* proves her required command over her second language because all these words are in the Coxhead's Academic Word List[3]. Like Bryan and David, she aims for a native speaker

[3] This list contains the head words of the families in the Academic Word List. The numbers indicate the sublist of the Academic Word List. For example, *abandon* and its family members are in *Sublist 8* of the Academic Word List. Sublist 1 contains the most common words in the AWL. Sublist 2 contains the next most common words, and so on. There are 60 families in each sublist, except for sublist 10, which has 30. Retrieved from: http://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/resources/academicwordlist/awl-headwords#a

performance; therefore, she does not feel happy about her second language performance. And she developed a conscious avoidance strategy for conflicting situations, which also reveals that she has autonomous language learner strategies and has an agentive role over her learning. Also her use of “like” as a slot filler during the conversation tells us that she has some knowledge about the spoken grammar and its colloquial use.

Both David and Bryan expressed that in fact they wished to socialize with particularly the American people but they felt that they were too late to set up such relationships with their classmates, particularly because they acted in such an alienated way at the beginning that their American classmates no longer expected them to be friendly. They stated that they were only able to speak in superficial small talks so their lack of long lasting, insightful and meaningful communication hindered their socialization with their American friends. They could not obtain access to the language and to their imagined communities. Therefore, similar to the participants of Kinginger (2004), they were baffled with not only the language problem but also the participation into bettering the host culture and social network. Pavlenko (2000) and Norton (2000) might provide insight into my participants' confusion in this respect. As Pavlenko (2000) highlights, “Learners’ dispositions toward language learning are indeed highly variable” (p. 221), and it depends on their imagined communities of practice (Norton, 2000). However, interestingly enough, although they were aware that they could not improve their participation in the host culture by just interacting with their Turkish friends, they seemed helpless about their present situation. They avoided almost any kind of language production in their daily tasks, making Michael do all the phone calls with the customer services, paraphrase their assignments (they used one assignment as a template and rephrase the assignment for each member of the group), negotiate with their roommates and even order meals for themselves (including Ashley), and the like. In this sense, Michael stood as their ideal self who could communicate as they wish.

Another possible reason for their feeling of linguistic powerlessness was their negative past language learning experiences in Turkey. All the participants stated that they had English classes focused on grammar and reading but not authentic language production. Bryan underlined the incompatibility between the contexts as follows:

> If we think that I am now for some time in the States…, [in Turkey] I can say that I had mostly grammar classes and things that did not correspond to the real life experiences. For instance, we learnt how to write e-mails in English… We also did some other things with four skills but I can't say they were fruitful efforts, at least for me (Interview 4, December 10, 2015).

Therefore, the reality they faced in the US in regard to English learning and production was utterly different from what they had experienced in Turkey. Kramsch (2009) explains that since these learners learn the foreign language in isolation from the real world, they reflect their dissatisfactions with it and dream a better world where the actual language is spoken. Block (2007) further explains that "in the FL setting, there is far too much first-language mediated baggage and interference for profound changes to occur in the individual's conceptual system and his/her sense of self in the TL" (p. 144). My participants' linguistic identities, however, were transformed as soon as they came to the US because of their established ideas about the ideologies that shaped who is seen as the legitimate owner and user of English (Canagarajah, 1999; Widdowson, 1994). The participants' language identity involved determining how they positioned themselves and how American, international and Turkish societies positioned them with regard to English. My participants perceived themselves having a lower status in their language production and they did not regard themselves as the legitimate owners of English. Their contention is in line with what Seidlhofer (2005) argued about how the native speakers are still regarded as authorities and native speaker models are associated with power and prestige and how nonnative speakers regard themselves. Michael, who found himself very proficient in English, claimed ownership

of English. For him, “being proficient in English means possessing power,” thus he perceived himself as a legitimate owner and as Bourdieu's (1991) symbolic capital suggests, Michael, unlike others, claimed the “right to speak or the power to impose reception” (p. 75).

Unlike the general belief suggesting that nonnative speakers feel more comfortable with other nonnative speakers while communicating in English than native speakers, this attitude seemed not to have been adopted by my participants because all of them argued that they could understand and negotiate with native speakers more easily. David described the nonnative speakers’ speech as “not sophisticated enough and ugly” and Michael argued that international students' English proficiency was very low; therefore, it was so frustrating to try to communicate with them and he found their speech “irritating.” In that sense, mutual negotiation and cooperation in English as a lingua franca (ELF) communication seem not to have played a role in Turkish students’ interactions with other international students. The participants seemed to value native speaker models as more accurate and prestigious.

Theme Three: Proxy power attained through wealth

Another common theme that adequately shaped the groups’ identity construction was their wealth. All four of them were raised in affluent environments and their privileged background has always provided them with opportunities. In this regard, another theme was these students’ firm sense of privileged identity that helps them deflect or euphemize negative experiences they have gone through in the US, particularly in relation to their language barrier and insufficient school performance. Bryan, for example, recounted that when he was sitting with his friends at Starbucks in Boston, an old man asked where he was from and while he was introducing himself, he said that he lived in Buffalo but he was not able to pronounce “live” correctly and the word sounded like “leave.” Upon hearing this, the old man got angry with him and discriminated him by saying that “All the immigrants, who cannot even

pronounce “leave” and “live” correctly, came to our most beautiful cities and they have the privilege to enjoy themselves here with us, at the same Starbucks where I have spent my last 10 years.” Although Bryan mentioned this, he did not feel disturbed by it because the other nice memories overweighed the few negative ones in Boston. Or when Michael was harshly criticized by his professor about his inefficiency in his class, which he wrongly believed that it might be caused by his computer’s keyboard (which was a Turkish keyboard), he did not spend time worrying about the racist remarks of the professor because both of them, or all four of my participants, were quite secure in their own sense of being privileged and did not feel pressure on themselves by the others’ comments or thoughts otherwise. Their strong sense of privilege and entitlement have also enabled them to develop a self-assured, comfortable and sometimes disdainful demeanor. Although they were always appreciative of their families who supported them financially, they had a clear sense of entitlement and it can be easily observed that they feel it is quite natural and a given that they should be among the wealthy people. They did not question why they were wealthy or why others did not deserve to be wealthy, as if it was the natural order of the universe. I was surprised by Bryan’s acknowledgement that he was rich so he could do anything he likes to do in Turkey, because “in Turkey when you have money, people think you are always right.” Likewise, Michael believed that it is quite difficult to be elite if you are not born into an elite family in Turkey.

Interestingly, my participants appreciated the notion of social class flexibility in the U.S. They observed that there is absolutely a divide between the classes in Turkey and those in the US. According to their understanding, social class boundaries are more permeable in the U.S. They observed that there is a more stable middle class in the US, and the majority of the people fall into this category. And they believed that their living standards are far above the level of an average middle class person’s in the US. Ashley compared the night clubs and restaurants in Turkey and the US and said that

> There is a nightclub in New York, for example, Bossa Nova, where there is a fixed entrance ticket. It does not matter whether you are rich or poor but in Turkey when you go to Reina [a popular nightclub in Istanbul], everybody pays different prices based on the judgment of clothing, car or other signs of your social class. For example, my boyfriend has an Audi A7. When we go to a restaurant, the valet parks our car right in front of the restaurant and asks for an obscene amount of money for parking. However, no such thing has ever happened here. There is always an equal treatment to everyone. In Turkey, we live in a much more forced luxury than the people here (Interview 4, April 27, 2014).

Although she seemed cognizant about the economical discriminations and appreciate that there is an equal treatment to everyone in the US, she and all the others revealed a strong sense of entitlement that shaped their identity.

They had high accessibility to many kinds of resources. Firstly, they were able to enroll in a prestigious university in Turkey thanks to their economic power. Michael explained that they needed to be within the range of first 2000 students in the university entrance exam if they were to enroll in the regular engineering program, but they were within the range of 20 000 students. While the regular students paid $200 dollars, they were expected to pay $10 000 per year. Thus they paid a lot more money to gain access to a prestigious program. However, they still felt the need to rationalize their paying more tuition to get into the program by underlining that “Our instructors are more qualified than the regular ITU classes, and all of them are professors, because they receive more money for their teaching from the department” (Bryan) (Interview 4, December 10, 2015).

They also had the privilege to study at a university in the US, again thanks to their wealth. They are not only able to pay the high tuition and other daily expenses, but also have traveled to the other countries and are familiar with the culture and life style in those countries. Apart from the other Turkish international students studying in the US based universities, who usually come from either Turkish-American families or study here as a graduate student on some kind of scholarship due to their successful educational background,

my participants (based on their own acknowledgement) have never been academically outstanding students but always had the best opportunities thanks to their families' wealth. In that sense, University at Buffalo (UB) is another privileged university environment where successful students from all over the world study. UB is a high ranking university particularly in engineering departments, which makes the university an even better place to study. UB's engineering school's ranking in the 2016 edition of *Best Colleges is National Universities*, is 51 (Report, 2016).

They all took for granted the naturalness of their being affluent and had a strong sense of entitlement. However, what they encountered at UB was somewhat heartbreaking for them because although they were in a privileged environment, as they were used to, they could not enjoy this privilege due to their incompatibility with the schooling system at UB and their lack of enough command over English. They were used to earning a passing grade in Istanbul without much effort, yet at UB they suffered from being ordinary students although they had enough money "to manipulate and deceive the professors." In one of our interviews, Bryan once told me that when he was not able to do an assignment, he asked a smart and hardworking engineering student whom he found on Craig's list to complete his assignment. When the assignment was successfully completed by that student, Bryan was prepared to pay a lot of money. But when the student asked for a little amount, he was surprised and gave more money to the student. He said:

> Odevdeki sorularla oyle bizim ugrastigimiz kadar cok ugrasmadi. Odevi bitirince 20 dolar istedi ezile buzule. Heralde cok istedim diye dusundu ama ben zaten 200 dolar bile coktan hazirdim. Iyilik olsun diye hadi dedim 50 dolar vereyim. Cocuk 50 dolari gorunce delirdi ve durmadan "are you sure? Are you sure?" diye sordu [gulerek]. Burdaki cocuklar genelde fakirler ve genelde cok ezikler (Interview 7, February 26, 2016).
>
> *He did not struggle with the questions in the assignment as much as we did. And when he was done, he asked for 20 dollars blushingly, probably he thought he asked for too much, but I was even ready to give 200 dollars. So as a favor, I gave 50 bucks to him.*

> *When he saw that amount, he got freaked out and kept asking me "Are you sure, Are you sure?" [Echoes the boy and laughs.] The students here are usually poor kids and they are usually losers [laughs]*.

In his original wording in Turkish, Bryan was really withering the efforts of the engineering student and he mocked the student by mimicking his surprise when he gave more money than he expected. He used a Turkish slang "ezik" (loser) to describe the student's so-called misery. Very annoyingly, once more he took his entitlement for granted for the solutions of the problems he encountered. His bitter remarks revealed that he was in fact seeking refuge in his economic capital. Even though he was the one who needed help for his assignment, he pretended as if the student who helped him was in need of his help due to lack of economic capital. However, I must acknowledge that I never saw him speaking so recklessly outside with other people. Probably due to the rapport I developed with him during these two years, he was this much careless and senseless yet speaking his true mind without wearing a mask to pretend to be somebody else.

In a similar fashion, David admitted that "Americans graduate as real engineers but we just save the day and survive. We have no option but to finish our school and go back to Turkey. But Americans, on the other hand, have to graduate well-qualified because they have to fight against the violent competition in the US." Although he is disturbed by the fact that they do not have engineering skills as developed as the American students do, he still seeks refuge in his wealth by arguing that the American students have no options but to be successful in order to get a job in the job market in the US. However, they have no problem of recruitment because many of them are going to take over the family businesses so they have the convenience of not being very hardworking. However, by the end of the spring semester of 2016, both David and Michael were dismissed from UB and went back to Turkey and they are still trying to enroll at a regular engineering program in Istanbul Technical University.

While my participants were conversing with each other, they often reflected their mindset by patronizing others or each other. There was an obvious hierarchy among them based on their families' wealth. So they respected the wealthiest (Bryan) and he was more than welcome in his comments while speaking denigratingly about others or even other group members. He was extremely assertive and confidant in his demeanor. Ashley, for instance, criticized him but never confronted him for the belittling remarks he made about other people. Again, during one of our personal exchanges, Bryan told me that his friends abstain from getting into conflicts with him and they somehow respect him. His confidence was again based on his symbolic capital which was converted from his economic capital.

Michael also had the same privileged mindset and narrated a story about a local's surprise when she noticed that he was all alone in Chicago as a young adult from Turkey. He recounted it as follows:

> I met a girl in Chicago when we went to a Thanksgiving vacation. I was waiting for my friends and she started chatting with me and after learning that I was alone in the US studying for my engineering degree, she got amazed and admitted that she never travelled out of her city in the US, let alone the cities in the world. She was particularly impressed when she heard that I am from Turkey because she probably thought Turkey as a third world country (Interview 5, February 6, 2016).

His remarks had two edges: one is that he empowered himself by acknowledging the fact that he travelled more than a local even though he was coming from a less developed country. The other is about the woman's attitude about his country of origin. He might be exaggerating the situation but he somehow confronted the implied comment by the local that he was coming from a less developed country yet still he travels a lot. Thurlow (2018) reminds us that class privilege is a historical phenomenon and "it is deeply ingrained – marked on our bodies and rooted in our minds" (p. 8). In the same vein, no matter what others consider, Michael feels entitled to be privileged.

However, these students could gain access to many other social communities and linguistic resources they preferred to spend their money on travelling throughout the country, having some fun through touristic activities, expensive striptease clubs, fine dining and buying expensive electronic equipment. For Bourdieu (1991) command on the economic capital leads one of the strongest power relations; simply the financial wealth and income of an individual, as well as his or her acquired property and assets, has an influence on the individual while she or he acts on their environments, continuously changing and recreating them as well as their identity. In Bourdieu's perspective, although identity is conditioned by social interaction and social structures, it conditions, in return, social interaction and social structures at the same time by personal resources, simply based on wealth. In tandem with what Bourdieu argues, thanks to their economic power, these students preferred not to interact with other people in order to obtain facilities or utilities they had been using. They had the power to buy or gain access to most of the things that many people need to negotiate. In that sense, money provided a refuge for them to accomplish their desires without struggle.

The second group: Jerome, Kiel, Joe, Michael,

Jerome

Jerome is the only academically successful student among my other participants. He is 23 years old and also comes from a wealthy family who runs a big farm in Tekirdag, a small commercial city to the west of Istanbul. Although he likes farming and spending time in vast fields, he does not want to take over his family business and wants to do his engineering job, which causes family disputes. He thinks he is an introvert person and he does not contact people unless he is forced to. He speaks English fluently and he achieved a rather good score from TOEFL, 108. Yet he thinks his English is not good enough because he cannot find a local (American) girlfriend. “Although girls like me physically, say at a bar, they put a huge

distance between us as soon as I open my mouth." He wants to pursue a graduate degree on civil engineering and he was accepted to the master's program in June. He feels quite lonely in Buffalo but he tries to engage himself with recreational activities and plays basketball. He plays the guitar and likes dancing. He usually hangs out with his two Turkish friends and avoids the rest of the Turkish people. He thinks Americans are very lonely people and he described it in Turkish "Yalnizliktan geberiyolar, bi televizyonlari var, bi de kopekleri. Onlar da bizim kadar yalniz aslinda." (*Americans are dying of loneliness, so much so that it's just a dog and a TV set they have, that's all. They are as lonely as us in Buffalo*). He has some international and some American classmates but he does not hang out with them very often.

Kiel,

Kiel, 25, an only child of a wealthy family, is from Istanbul. He studied at English medium private schools throughout his life. He is quite fluent and proficient in English. His TOEFL grade is much higher than others, 100. He describes himself as a grumpy person and he alienates himself from "the crowds" (in his wording). Therefore, he does not have many friends, neither Turkish nor the others in the US. He considers that Turkish people in Buffalo are "varoş" (ghetto people), meaning they are not "elite" enough – one recent use of the word in Turkey among youths to express dislike for others. Actually, he finds no one elite enough except for his friends in New York, San Francisco, London, Paris and some other big cities in the world. He meets them frequently in one of the big cities chosen as a gathering destination. He likes going upscale restaurants and hotels when he meets his friends. He does not like the place where he stays in Buffalo because it is not luxurious enough although he pays a huge amount of money to the apartment complex he is staying in. He does not like the US, either, because he thinks the US is so scattered and except for the big cities like New York and San Francisco, the whole US is leading a conservative rustic life. He thinks that the very first adjective that describes him is "clever" and says he is going to take over his father's

engineering company when he completes his civil engineering degree. He was still a sophomore when I conducted the interviews this year. He completed his freshman year in 4 years and failed twice in the last two years in his sophomore year. At the end of the summer 2016 semester, he quitted school because he was very unhappy in Buffalo and now he is trying to start a bikini company in Istanbul.

Joe

Joe is friends with Kiel and a senior in civil engineering. He is 23 and from Istanbul. His parents are higher ranking officers in the Turkish parliament. He is also an only child of an affluent family. He studied at English medium private schools throughout his education. He is proficient in English according to his TOEFL score, 103. He likes watching movies and engaging in fraternity activities. He thinks he is successful enough to earn his degree from UB. Joe's close friend circle consists of both American and international people. He says that he particularly avoids Turkish people because he sees them as a hindrance to his language improvement in the US. He plays the guitar at a student band at UB and is trying to get his salsa dance certificate from a private dance company. He describes himself as "… very self-sufficient and a perfectionist. Usually, my friends think that I am very boring although I am not like that. It's maybe because of my seriousness. I think I look very serious."

Theme one: Ethnic "unbelonging" and evolving transnational identities

In Bucholtz and Hall's framework, another pair of intersubjective identity relations is '*authentication'* and *'denaturalization,'* which represents the processes through which speakers make claims of genuineness and artifice, respectively (Bucholtz&Hall, 2010). I have decided to evaluate these three participants and Michael in relation to this pair of intersubjective identity theory due to their claims of genuineness and artifice, respectively. They all

emphasized consistent enactments of identity but at the same time there were a lot of violations of their ideological identity expectations. These problematic and fragmented identity enactments made me consider grouping these participants together. I have decided to add Michael to this group as well although I mainly discussed his narrative in the first group because his discourse revealed many resemblances with this second group, which I presume, might shed more light on his identity construction.

All four participants rejected to be associated with a Turkish identity. When I asked them about a definition of Turkish identity, they came up with the common theme of "authentic mode of being Turk" (Jerome's wording), which involves two main components: religion and cultural identity. They all said that they were nonbelievers and never see religion as the source of their morality. They also rejected to be associated with Turkish cultural identity since they believe that Turkishness is not something to be proud of. Joe said "I did not choose to be a Turk. It is something imposed upon us like many other things." So they consider this ethnic identity as a given construct rather than something to be built on.

> Religion functions as a tool to preserve the original Turkish identity. Some friends are still trying to practice their religious rituals here, too. For example, they don't eat pork but it is in everything. They just deceive themselves. I don't believe such things. They make fake arguments like pork is dangerous to health and this annoys me. Many people in the world eat pork but they don't die of sickness [mocking] (Jerome) (Interview 3, November 20, 2015).

> Turkish people are hypocrites. They custom their religion according to their wish. They drink alcohol but they go to the mosque every Friday and they lie. But when you ask them, they are conservative and patriotic people (Kiel) (Interview 2, October 12, 2015).

> All Turkish people here support Democrats, they are all Obama fans, but in Turkey they vote for a religious and a conservative party. They are Republicans in Turkey [laughs] (Joe) (Interview 3, November 18, 2015).

In these extracts, the participants gave their personal accounts of their unbelonging and somehow reflected upon the reasons for their inability to unbelong. Uttering these sentences in a mocking and angry mode, they made hearable the negative evaluations about their ethnicity and by doing so they positioned themselves somewhere out of Turkishness or on a kind of hybrid or thirdspace (Bhabha, 1994) of unbelonging. They associated their negative evaluations ("*fake arguments, hypocrites, Republicans"*) with their ethnic group. The pronoun "they" used by all the participants made this "othering" themselves very clear.

Since they had alienated themselves from the Turkish community, it was necessary for my participants to find strategies to facilitate their participation in their classes, social situations and also at service encounters. Jerome made issues of power and agency specifically relevant in his talk of his expertise in his school subjects during his classroom encounters with his classmates. The following extracts, for example, reveal how Jerome constructs himself, though not in a linear way, moving from being less powerless to more empowered, and also as an agentive self in his classrooms.

In the diary entries and the interviews at the beginning of the fall 2015 semester, Jerome presented himself as "shy," "introvert," "naïve" and "unable to talk back" to the professors and some abusive classmates. In the following extract, he mentions his feelings of intimidation and his efforts to communicate with his classmates and professors.

> When I first came here, I noticed that there was a common perception about the Turkish students who came from ITU, as unsuccessful, constantly cheating, plagiarizing, poor English speakers and not decent and not disciplined students. I know this perception was developed by previous Turkish students, who are really annoying and lazy. And since I am a shy person, and since I felt intimidated with native speaker professors at the beginning of the semester, I couldn't speak and I was paralyzed often times. I am usually very polite and gentle. I wished I could get over my shyness and correct the misrepresentation of Turkish people. I wanted to prove that I am different and hardworking (Diary entry 2, October 14, 2015).

Jerome's initial interactional positioning portrayed that the internal dispositions of himself ("*shy, intimidated, polite and gentle"*) have constructed some external actions ("*couldn't speak", "paralyzed"*). Along with this struggle, he had to overcome the bias and prejudices caused by the previous Turkish students. In our early interviews in October, 2015, he presented himself as a transnational person and he said that he did not identify with being Turkish and he said: "I don't believe in nationality. It doesn't make any sense to me. I am not a typical Turkish person but I am not an American either" (Interview 1, October 10, 2015). However, in this narrative, he wanted to rectify the image of Turkish people whom he believes were mispresented by those previous Turkish students. Even though he contradicts himself, he revealed that he is somehow connected to his Turkish identity. In this narrative, he positions himself as the victim of unfair situations caused by other Turkish students ("*annoying and lazy"*). As a strategy to overcome this, he offers his other personal traits such as 'gentle' and 'polite,' and also he achieved to create an appeal by his diligent work, and he finally accomplished to gain access to start some interactions thanks to his efforts to present himself as hardworking and gentle.

> But then, before the second midterms, I solved a problem in our Dynamics course, and the professor was amazed with my quickness and correctness because he showed a very longer way to solve the problem and when he recalculated it, he noticed that he was wrong and I was correct. Since we [Turkish students] were very much trained for the short cuts for the questions in the tests, thanks to tough university entrance exam, I already knew the answer and showed it in the classroom and after that course I became a poster child of that professor and I had made some American and international friends. I kept studying because I want to be a very qualified civil engineer and I will build bridges. We don't hang out but I feel I am respected. Now my friends usually consult me with the assignments and projects. This makes me really happy (Diary entry 4, March 12, 2016).

Jerome's later narrative constructs a self that is quite agentive through his experiences in the classroom with his classmates and professors. Strong emotional expressions ("*amazed,*

quickness and correctness, correct, poster child, respected, really happy, very qualified") reveal his construction of empowered and agentive self. His narrative exemplified Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) claim that speakers "resist, negotiate, change and transform themselves and others" (p. 20). This construction of agentive self might have taken place in the narrative only but I observed him outside in his social interactions with his small service encounters and with his Turkish friends. Although he argued that he was an introvert and not confident enough in social interactions, he was very able and strong, and aware of his knowledge and skills as a multilingual person.

In a similar vein, Kiel has the same conflict about his ethnicity. Although he argues that he does not feel Turkish, he could not help separating himself from his Turkish background. He said, "I never feel like I am a Turkish person. I never adapt to traditional celebrations, I so quitted them. I just see my grandparents during those unnecessary festivals. I consider them as vacation times; I mean my family thinks that way" (Interview 1, September 25, 2015). Although he criticizes ("*quitted them"*) the "unnecessary" traditional festivals, he aligned himself with his Turkish identity when he compared the Americans with Turkish people:

> I like Turkish people's warmness because I (..) see, for (..) feel the US people trying to be warm and friendly but I think it's pretentious, and I don't feel like they're acting like they wanted to act because they know that they have to act that way. But, we, Turkish people are friendlier (Interview 5, April 19, 2016).

He chose to identify with Turkish people by the pronoun "we," and estranged himself from the American people by the pronoun 'they.' Yet again, in another extract he sympathizes with the American people and says:

> I got used to drinking coffee, when I first came here, when I saw everyone, all the shuttle drivers and everyone was drinking coffee and walking or driving with a coffee cup in their hands [laughing], at first, I found this hilarious because they were acting like they have to drink something all the time. But now I am also like them, walking

> around with a coffee cup because I feel dehydrated [laughs] (Interview 6, May 24, 2016).

He justifies his mimicking American people's coffee drinking habit which he found ridiculous previously. His use of deontic modal verb phrase "like they have to" indicating an unreal (like) pressure from outside reveals his sarcasm. This has become a salient fluctuation in his narrative throughout our conversations. Not only does he criticize his own ethnic identity, but also he alienates himself from the American people. Yet, at the same time, he adopts both identities about the issues he criticizes. The following extract shows how Kiel forefronts his ethnic unbelonging and how he dissociates himself from his descendants:

> When I went to the summer school inEngland once I saw a boy and he told me that he was from France and I was like "hi, I'm Kiel and I'm Turkish" and he was like "Don't think, ummh, I am French, I am Armenian, uhmm, and I don't like you" [laughs sarcastically] and I was like "OK, I don't care." Those historical hostilities are not important for me. I was being polite but he was being hostile, so I don't care (Interview 4, February 7, 2016).

He animates the voice of the French-Armenian boy through reported speech in order to give his personalized account of being humiliated and othered by the boy. He performs these sentences in an angry, mocking and sarcastic tone. This way, he made his resentment hearable by the listener. By positioning himself out of his ethnic identity, he tries to empower himself with his uncaring attitude to confront the unexpected hostility. In our other exchanges, he made it clear that he was very unhappy about such "historical crimes committed by the previous Turkish or Ottoman ancestors" and he repeatedly noted that "people cannot choose where they were born" and unlike many other Turkish people he had no patriotic feelings. He positioned himself in between and at a non-committal zone. The following extract reveals his definition of self:

> Kiel: I don't feel like I'm trying to adapt because I feel like I am rejecting the adaption here [the US]. I'm trying to preserve my own being.
>
> Researcher: What is it? Your Turkish being?

> Kiel: Turkish being! uhmm I don't feel like a Turkish person and I don't think, I don't wanna, that I don't like putting everyone in, on the wrong word, but I am preserving my own self and I don't want to act like anyone else, I never try to act like American people. (Interview 3, November 22, 2015)

From his earlier telling of his stories revealed that Kiel's, like other participants', self-construction process is not linear and he keeps on negotiating his self, place and feeling of belonging as an ongoing process. He confesses that he neither feels Turkish nor American but he describes the place where he stands as "preserving my own self," yet that self is not clear. He even considers calling people 'Turkish' is profiling them: "I don't like putting everyone in, on the wrong word." His image of 'Turkishnes' is so distorted that he does not want to use it for an identity construct either for himself or for others. But at the same time, neither does he feel American. His journey of in-betweenness and the related "tensions, contradictions, conflicts, and predicaments" (Brockmeier & Harré, 2001, p. 20) along with "talking, forgetting, and coming to terms with such experiences" (Prior, 2012, p. 43) were all revealed in his narratives throughout this year. And he and the other participants showed recognition that I, as their audience, made it possible to make their story to be heard by others. Such awareness also made their own stories tangible to them, which they appreciated a lot.

Joe, the other participant who demonstrated similar pattern of fragmentation in his narrative construction of his ethnic identity, had the same resentment towards his country of origin. He finds people from Turkey as uncivilized and unsophisticated. That is why, for example, as a whole family they travel with Delta Airlines instead of Turkish Airlines because the people who are travelling with Turkish Airlines are so "rude" that they cannot put up with their inappropriateness. He tries to alienate himself from the other Turkish students who came in the same cohort. Just to limit his contact with them, he chose to stay on campus houses. However, he ended up hanging out with them due to his course work and assignments, which still bothers him.

He experienced not much difficulty adapting to "American life" because he believes mainly thanks to his western look [he is blonde and has colored eyes] he was not recognized as a foreigner by the locals and is respected by them. He finds himself blessed because "if I had a distinct look like Turkish people, I would be recognized as an Arab immediately by the foreigners." So he is very pleased when "foreigners" do not hesitate to speak to him as if he was an American. Although he was very enthusiastic about blending into the "civilized" culture, it was interesting to note that he refers to locals as "foreigners." His overgeneralized use of the word 'foreigner' for both locals and other international students might occur due to 'intercultural frictions' (Ting-Toomey, 1999) and his broad categorization of people.

He reveals the hierarchy in his mind about the international students as well. He considers being an Arab is worse than being a Turkish student and since some Turkish people are mistaken for Arabs, he finds this very offending. Burck (2005) notes that experiences of individuals as the speaker of language were influenced by "their racialization and the ways in which they and their languages were positioned. The racial stereotyping in his mind is in this sense very strong and it has revealed itself in some other conversations throughout the semester. According to him, there is a prestige hierarchy among international students. He describes UB as the "University of Bombay or Beijing" due to the majority of Indian or Chinese students. He thinks UB should get more students from Europe. His construction of the language speaking and racialization were highlighted:

> Chinese students cannot speak English and they are hard to contact. I don't know why but they are usually rude. And they eat cockroaches [laughs]. Indians are smelly and Turks are uncivilized. US needs to save herself from these third world countries and should accept more European students. I am aware that these are stereotypes but it goes back to how I grew up in Turkish culture. We make a lot of stereotypes [laughs]. But there is something cynical going on here, Americans see the international students as the money machines although they know that they cause more trouble because of their language barriers and also cultural barriers (Interview 4, February 26, 2016).

It was very interesting to listen to his awkward comments and stereotypes about the international students. Although he was one of those students, he alienates himself from those students and pretends as if he was one of the locals. This way of thinking made it easy for him to adapt to the local people's lives and but at the same time made it problematic for him to connect across cultures. He explained that "communication is not about speaking the same language but it is mostly about speaking the same culture." As a consequence, much to his surprise, he developed a strong sense of belonging to his imagined identity of Americanness. He kept watching TV, particularly Geico commercials, or American football, and also rented a house from a relatively wealthy neighborhood just to be able to find some common grounds with "decent" local classmates. However, he still clung on to his Turkish identity when he felt threatened or disrespected. For example, when his local friends joked, "Do you eat turkey in Turkey?" he felt offended and developed a defensive stance: "I don't like people who make jokes lack of wit about the thing [nationality] I didn't choose." He does not see the double standard he was conducting. Burck (2004) explains his contradictory way of thinking and recognizes the distinct "individual identity" given by each language an individual speaks and notes that "languages have embed cultures with very different construction of self… bilinguals may hold considerable contradictions in their experiences" (p. 74).

We can also refer to transnationalism as a conceptual approach to look closely to the case of Joe. Transnationalism can yield positive effects. It is considered to increase tolerance between cultures and global citizens. However, it is argued that it could increase the negative stereotypes and prejudices, and it produces more stereotypes against "mistrusted" others. Transnationalism, thus, can increase hospitality to the others, as well as aggravate xenophobia and stigmatization to others (Blommaert, 2011). It can safely be assumed that Joe has developed a transnational identity by trying to integrate and highly identifying himself with the American society. The previous group did not need to integrate with the local community

and avoided being Americanized by creating a stereotype of out of favor “American;” however, this group and particularly Joe evaluates himself as a local with some undesired Turkish roots, morality and culture but he never acknowledges other international students’ groups as some other important cultural elements of the university contact zone he lives in.

Michael, who I already discussed in the previous group, has a very obvious hostile attitude towards his Turkish identity. As for the social interactions, although Michael argued that he did not have any language difficulty, he did not have international or native speaker friends, either, interestingly, and nor did he have many Turkish friends other than the small group he interacted with because he did not enjoy the company of many other Turkish classmates. He did not feel himself as a Turkish person, and as he explained, he did not have traditional stereotypical Turkish attitudes and tastes: “I like gathering together with my people at traditional and religious ceremonies but I don't like the purpose of these gatherings, I am not a traditional religious person at all.” We can see the similar dubiousness in his narrative like the other three participants in this group. Even though he does not identify with Turkish people, he takes refuge in his close Turkish friends. We can observe their reconstruction process and negotiation through their contradictory narratives. They keep negotiating and redoing their identity in each instance or encounter. According to Ochs and Capps (1996), narratives are of nature liable to be challenged from without (i.e., others) and from within (i.e., multiple, incompatible selves); hence the worlds ensued by them are never thoroughly consistent because ever in the making. Where we can discern this is Ochs and Capps' observation that 'whenever narrators launch a story, they open themselves to reconstrual' (p.37). Their paradoxical telling in the same vein reveals their meaning makings within their imagined community of practices.

Theme 2: Linguistic belonging and claims of ownership

Unlike the first group's members, those in this group claim ownership of English. This was typified by the description of each member in their sense of themselves in the new language overtime. Joe constructed himself as a new person and the new language allowed him to change: "Speaking a different language makes you a different person" (Interview 5, March 16, 2016). Jerome, too, constructed his new language as a chance to take a different position: "I know that I am, uhmm, a different person, different from what I used to be. I could never speak in Turkish but I think, me as a person who can speak English, I can express myself particularly about intimate things" (Interview 5, March 28, 2016). He found a voice in English. Similarly, Kiel noticed that English allowed him to express himself differently releasing him from constrains which affected him in Turkish. "Uhmm, I believe, I think it is easier for me to speak in English, you know, when I speak in English I can easily swear [laughs]. I can say really terrible things which I never dare say in Turkish. Since English is more, uhmm, like artificial, it is not as disclosing as in Turkish" (Interview 5, April 19, 2016). Michael, in a similar way, noticed that he feels more at ease with English when he is drunk. "I can speak only in English when I am drunk because it is emotionally more expressive for me" (Interview 3, February 18, 2014). English, as the new language, has enabled them to create more intimacy than they found themselves able to do in Turkish. However, this kind of intimacy leads to an interesting paradox. Although Kiel, for example, experiences intimacy easily in English because the language gives him the required distance, this situation itself creates a more intimate relationship with the language.

As was the case in the previous group, this group's members' being rendered inarticulate in English had profound impacts on their sense of selves as English speakers.

Jerome argued that acquiring fluency and native-like performance is crucial to challenge racism and stereotyping:

> When I went to the field work in Lockport for internship, since those Americans in the field have never seen international people, they were making fun of my lack of daily language and accent. But I noticed that self-confidence is the most important thing. After a few defeats, I started to talk back, and once, I was so pissed off by the way one of the bullies in the field talk to me and treated me, I asked him explicitly why he harassed me constantly and I said "At least, I can speak two languages. You claim that you speak English only, and I suspect how much of the language you know properly." You can understand how ignorant he is from the remarks he made about police shootings in Ferguson. He was like "If police shoot one of those niggers, all of'em will buzz off, fuckers!" (Interview 4, October 18, 2015).

In some other instances as well, Jerome revealed a series of angry expressions and confrontation narratives that exemplified his resentment that his anger is linked to the "unacceptable belittling" of others about his language performance. When citing such incidents of mistreatment, he made it clear that he is very willing to talk back and he believes that he could only do this by becoming more and more articulate in English. He revealed how much he owns the language over a local person. Also striking is his use of direct reported speech, particularly performing several scenarios for his listener. He used all these series of mistreatments and bullying as a reason for his anger and agentive actions. Although he was a silent and shy person at the beginning of the academic year, he turned into an angry, assertive and tenacious person. We can assume that the change in his narrative tellings might also be related to his comfort with the interviewer that fluctuated from interviewer-interviewee to friends, familiarity with the local setting, and the use of English as a neutral "third space."

Kiel, too, reported several instances of owning the language, yet still illustrated a more legitimate positioning of the "native speakers" in his mind. During the language courses he took at English Language Institute at UB, he had some conflicts with two of his instructors several times. One of the instructors was a nonnative speaker and he had several complaints about him usually about his mispronunciation of the words. According to Kiel, every student

in the class was aware of his pronunciation issues; however, they were not brave enough to confront the instructor. He told one of the conflicts he had with his writing instructor like this:

> I had a really clear example of one problem that I had with my Chinese or Japanese, I don't know, writing teacher. I had to write about someone I don't know. So I didn't know if they were she or he, so I just used "them" to address them because I didn't know if they were she or he, so I just said "them" and then he told me that I shouldn't use that word because it's not acceptable but I already knew that it's acceptable because they told me that it's acceptable and I, like I told you, I've heard it in movies. But when I told him this, just because he didn't know that the thing existed he just said that I can't use and he didn't like hearing that from me. But I am not the kind of student that says "OK, you are right!" and I went on and keep arguing with him. I found some references from books and showed it to him and he wanted to explain further. Then it meant anything to any of us, so I just let it go (Interview 6, May 24, 2016),

The writing instructor was not credible enough according to him mainly due to his lack of proper American accent and also his being a nonnative speaker made Kiel think that he was not knowledgeable enough to teach him as an authority. The movies and the other written sources are more credible according to him. And he criticizes the submissive student type and justifies his resistance which stems from his personality. He empowers himself through his command over language and questions the authority of the nonnative English teacher. He said that:

> I learned English from English, American or Canadian teachers in Turkey and in England, so I know the importance of native speakers teaching their own language, so, actually, I don't wanna learn something from someone that sometimes I know that I knew better than him. So, actually, I sometimes feel like, uhmm, a bigger person than my teacher, so that's why I never want to get a class from a nonnative speaker, not in the US exactly, maybe in Turkey it could be acceptable but not here because we pay a lot of tuition to get higher education. So I don't wanna get the same education that I can get in Turkey (Interview 6, May 24, 2016).

The interesting thing, however, was his attitude towards his nonnative instructors at the engineering department. According to him, those instructors were authorities even though they had a nonnative speaker accent because he appreciates their command over their area of

expertise in engineering. Kiel also appreciates that they were “like native speakers” which legitimizes their authority in his mind as instructors.

Joe had performance anxiety. When he first arrived in the US, he was shocked to realize how many cultural things he missed in comparison to the locals because he did not grow up in the US. He was unhappy about his lack of knowledge about the local background information and related language because he could not comment on the things which those who had learned their languages as children could comment on easily. Having realized that he lost many taken for granted information in one’s own language made him contemplate on the process of constructing himself in the new linguistic context, which was previously invisible and naturalized in one’s first language (Burck, 2005). He described this as a process of researching:

> Although, I believe, my accent was good enough, I noticed that I didn’t know the very basic stuff that every American child knows, such as "Eeny, meeny, miny, moe." [laughs], or the exclamations like “meh!” so I think I started searching for such details and I think I developed same sort of hand gestures and exclamations, and I am an American person now [laughs] I am very good at it. I developed it by mainly monitoring and imitating people (Interview 6, May 28, 2016).

His explanation somehow tallies with the socialization process through which young learners acquire the first language by observing, mimicking and monitoring with the caregivers (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Joe acknowledged that he pretended to be an American speaker and all this pretention included not only searching for cultural background knowledge but also imitation of a physical style of speaking. As Bakhtin (1981) explained, this process is trying out words that “existed in other people’s mouths” (p.294), thereby embodying them. This entails an agentic construction of one’s identity. Joe, in this way, tries to perform himself in English and he is learning to perform an American identity.

On the other hand, Joe criticized Jerome for being pretentious for his British accent trials. Jerome was trying to perform his British accent based on what he watched on TV shows but Joe mocked him repeating the utterance he used when ordering at a restaurant (Field note 5, February27, 2016). “Can I get an appetizing appetizer?” [In a forced and distinct British accent]. Even though he was quite aware of the process of remaking his identity in English and within the local culture, seeing the others’ similar efforts makes him feel insecure because he tries to hide his own efforts by teasing Jerome and other friends’ similar efforts during several interactional positionings of himself.

Jerome described a similar imitation process, learning through trying to be like others who speak the language articulately, particularly like actors and professional presenters. As a matter of fact, every member of this second group pointed that they watched TV or read in English in order to improve their language faculty. And at the same time, they developed a sense of what might be culturally significant. According to them, their English is much better than many other Turkish people because they immersed themselves with the multimedia. However, as a side effect they had several stereotypes about the American culture. In this sense, Jerome reported in his journal that he suspected that he was constructing himself through other stereotypical ideas and prejudices of “Americanness or Englishness”:

> Nowadays, I am watching *Coupling*, a British sitcom and I really enjoy the humor and sarcasm in that show. I think, I happen to notice that I am liking the British accent more than American accent and I suddenly started sounding like British people, and Americans particularly like my new accent and they say it is “dreamy” and I really enjoy being recognized with this accent. And also I am more polite, royal polite and careful in doing things. I suspect I am trying to be the English (Diary entry 5, April 17, 2016).

In his previous remarks, Jerome criticized American people harshly for being “insincere and fake,” and as a way of resistance to enculturate and to question Americans as the authorities of language, he worked on his British accent. He was aware of his prejudices

about the American people. But he seems to prefer British over American culture and he is more at ease with British culture. Like him, all other three participants, reported that they imitated some clichés and stereotypes. Bakhtin explains that individuals try to position themselves in the new language by speaking in clichés, and also using the 'social' of the language, and interpreting the language as 'monologic' rather than 'heteroglosic' (Bakhtin, 1981). All the participants in this group were somehow aware of the fact that they were consulting to these formulaic expressions and their performance is like a parody, and in fact such stereotyping was not useful.

In Bucholtz and Hall's (2010) framework, *authentication* is very important in intersubjective relationships. These research participants' feeling that they perform themselves in another language created a dilemma in the sense that although they claim genuineness, they perform based on imitations of others, which leads to the loss of authenticity. *Deneutralization* in their discourse revealed that their assumptions about the seamlessness of their identity were disrupted once again. Such practices were displayed explicitly upon entering a new language where individuals are acutely aware that they borrow others' words (Burck, 2005).

Theme Three: Cosmopolitan identities

As is stated earlier, among the three pairs of intersubjective identity tactics, authentication and denaturalization foregrounds genuineness and artifice emphasis to the identity construction, respectively (Buckholtz and Hall, 2010). The subjects in this group revealed a more genuine and credible identity formation process with regard to discursive enactments of their social class privilege in comparison to the previous group. Although I have not used a concrete social class measurement, and taken my subjects' claims about their social class for granted, it is still possible to see the subjects' social class positioning has

varied between upper middle class and upper class. In line with de Botton (2004), who argues that with regard to the class status, there is always someone better or more affluent, or there is always another layer of luxury or privilege to be attained, based on my field work observations and the style adopted as the discursive enactment of elite identity of the subjects in this group, I can safely argue that the subjects in this group are coming from a more affluent background and thus they have a more genuine and credible cosmopolitan identity in comparison to two other subject groups.

As Bucholtz and Hall advise in the indexicality principle in their framework, I take stylization as the strategic representation and exposition of particular state of being including language, image, material culture and social discursive and symbolic practices. I observed that these identificational meanings and visual manifestations of elitist stance have lasted through repetition and routinization in my subjects' daily practices, so I may argue that they became quite habituated into a more extensive narrative of self and life style, which in turn have shaped my subjects' habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). In our deterritorialized global contact zone the habitus becomes *transnationalized* (Darvin & Norton, 2014): "Bearing the imprint of both countries of origin and countries of settlement, this *transnationalized habitus* allows migrants to discern and act based on the interplay of dispositions by these distinct spaces" (p. 113).

All of the subjects in this group manifested an exclusivity, superiority and distinction as acts of identity and processes of self. Their elitist stance taking was particularly revealed in the *structures of feeling* as described by Williams (1997) as: "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" (p.132). Such structures are useful tools because they are analytically accessible through discourse when members of a community of practice try to articulate or express their experiences as they are changing over a year during their stay in a global contact

zone. Therefore, structures of feelings provide the discourse whereby an elite status/identity is enacted.

Kiel, like the other members of this group, characterized elite consumption patterns: he travelled for leisure (e.g.: backpacking through Tibet, touring Italy with his buddies, getting a culinary class in Umbria, partying on Costa del Sol, weekend runaways in Vegas), he shopped for promoting symbolic and material markers of privilege and status (e.g.: He gave Hermes scarves and purses to his friends as a gift. While watching the movie "Blue Jasmine," he commented on Kate Blanchet's Channel jacket as "These jackets are produced in one pattern only so that they could be very distinctive"), he constantly positioned himself as an arbiter of good taste through his various evaluative remarks: "I appreciate good food, good music, and luxury things." Or the extract below exemplifies his way of thinking more clearly:

> Kiel: I had a list of the restaurants that I wanted to go in New York City when I first came to the US. And I think that I went to most of them. I feel accomplished. There were like Jean George, Le Bernardine, and Pastis. And I am really happy that I went to Pastis because they closed it now.
>
> Hatice: What is so special about that restaurant?
>
> Kiel: It is a French restaurant and they say that it has a special meat and a special sauce on it. But I love the Crème Brule that I had there, I had the best Crème Brule in my life, and I really like that place, the aura and the interior design. It was old and a bit dark and mystic (Interview 2 October 12, 2015).

The feeling adjectives and the direct opinion markers he used (accomplished, really happy, special, the best, really like) augmented his positive self as a superior, privileged person. His stance taking is based on the assumption that there is a shared attitude or values between the listener (positioning the hearer also as 'elite') and himself, thus creating a sense of in-group membership.

It was also quite salient to observe the simple binary distinction of “good” (elite) and “bad” (nonelite) in his narrative throughout the year.

> When I go to New York, to Meatpacking district, I see people wearing good clothes. They're taking care of themselves and I like the people who make their hair, wear makeup because I want to take care of myself, but you know, if I do that in Buffalo, it would be hilarious, so I got used to the fact that I can just wear my bad pajamas and go to school, at some point. But when I go to the Meatpacking district I felt like myself again because it feels like I am in Istanbul (Interview 2 October 12, 2015).

In this extract, we note his implied insinuation of Buffalo as down-market and the metaphoric privileging of the district is very self-identifying for him. Again, the feeling adjectives associated with both ends (‘elite’ and ‘noelite’) are self-explanatory.

In the same fashion, Michael has also adopted a “good” (elite) and “bad” (nonelite) narrative. “I like New York; I like the western side more because the eastern side is a bit boring. I like Las Vegas although it might be a bit overrated for some but I like it.” His direct opinion markers made it clear that he positions himself as powerful positive elite and the others as not qualified nonelites. When he travelled to Cancun during the spring break, he claimed for himself the cultural capital of ‘cosmopolitan’ identity. He wrote in his journal like this:

> Cancun was a nice break from Buffalo’s cold weather. I enjoyed the place except for the horrible crowd of cheap vacationers. We had to stay at a hotel that was OK because of a friend who wasn’t able to afford the comfortable one we planned to book. Wherever we went, I tried to mix with locals and I wore traditional clothes (they were usually short for me because the locals are quite short) and tried local dishes, so I tried to assimilate myself. But it backfired at some point, we were stopped by the local police and we weren’t able to find the documents of the rental car. The vulgar and ignorant police asked for a bribe and we gave some 20 dollars (500 something in Mexican Pesos), it wasn’t much but it was annoying. The joy of the greedy policemen was worth seeing, though, when they received the money. Later, we learned that bribery was very common in Mexico! (Diary entry 6, April 14, 216).

‘Cosmopolitanism’ is defined by Hannerz (1996) as:

> … an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It entails and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrast rather than uniformity. To become acquainted with more cultures is to turn into an *aficionado*, to view them as art works. At the same time, however, cosmopolitanism can be a matter of competence, and competence of both a generalized and a more specialized kind. There is the aspect of the state of readiness, a personal ability to make one's own way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting, and reflecting. And there is cultural competence in the stricter sense of the term, a built up skill in maneuvering more or less expertly with a particular system of meanings (p. 103).

Michael in fact reveals an *orientation* to engage with local people and also their culture. However, his journal entry also displays his lack of *willingness* and *competence* in achieving this when circumstances gotten worse with the police. We can see that in his description of the local police officer (*vulgar, ignorant and greedy*) as a local person. We can assume that he uses those adjectives due to their unlawful actions but in the previous parenthetical insinuation of the locals being short and Mexican money equivalence of dollars may convince us that he has racist remarks and he has no sympathy for the local people in understanding how global inequalities may affect those people's life styles. Bourdieu (1991) explains that this kind of linguistic maneuver can be seen as a form of condescension: a higher-class person tries to show herself in the social practices of a lower class group. Yet, such condescension only rivets hierarchical relations of inequality. He also built his elitist stance on the contrast with underlying social judgement of mass tourists and exotic locals, despite the negative evaluation of the locals disguised in the parenthesis. Thus, his claim of cosmopolitanism was severed from its realness by this masked rhetoric.

Traditional notion of class and elite status is based on heritage and breeding (Thurlow & Jarowski, 2009, p. 203). All of the subjects in this group are coming from an affluent family background. During my field observations, I noticed that they enjoyed sharing this in-group characteristic and positive affinity about the valued objects that display elite stance, which are exploited for their existing cultural capital. In this regard, I want to explore a voice

recording made by Michael to be used as part of the quantitative data analysis because it speaks volumes about the contemporary class status of my subjects.

> Michael: This time when I was coming from Turkey, although I had a lot of miles in my Miles&Similes card I had to fly at the premium seats because there were no seats available in the business class. It was so discomforting. The seat seemed to shrink around me the entire journey and it was so unbearable and suffocating when we arrived New York. I called Miles&Similes and they apologized a thousand times and offered another discount for my next trip.
>
> Kiel: Once I had to travel in the economy and I almost cried because the seats were so narrow and annoying. I couldn't sleep all night long and I called my father as soon as the plane landed and yelled at him because it was his poor planning that I had to buy that ticket. His secretary didn't pay for the Shop&Miles card and I ended up in the economy seats. Can you imagine? Me! Sitting at the economy class!
>
> Michael: The light was disturbing and I missed the soothing purple light trying to read during the flight. But at least before the flight, they let me use the business lounge.
>
> Bryan: Yes, that business lounge is always lifesaving. When we were going to Turkey for winter break, I took Ashley with me to the lounge since she was flying in the premium economy, they normally don't allow her but as my guest, they allowed me to take her with me (Authentic data recording 2, February 11, 2016).

This extract is a neat reminder that class privilege is always historical because it is deeply rooted in our minds and ingrained on our bodies and postures. When I first listened to this extract, it occurred to me that these subjects and I - I consider myself middle class as I am neither poor nor rich, but I might be falling in the lower end of the middle class when my ways of being are taken into consideration - do not have much in common when it comes to our privileges. They have always felt to be the righteous owner of the 'privilege.' So they were quite surprised when they were treated as 'nonelites' and thought their well-deserved right was taken away from them, which made them frustrated. Disapproval of my subjects was clearly seen through the lens of negative feeling structures ("*discomforting, unbearable, suffocating, made me cry, narrow, annoying"*) about the economy class. Their shared sentiment can be read as a form of condescension, too. Their appeal for exclusivity expressed through negatively evaluated economy class section in an airplane and the invidious comparison of the business class to the premium strike us as highly unrealistic or just very

invalid, but their privileged class mindset is justified by an underlying "because I'm am worth it," "I owe it to myself," or "I deserve it" presumption of privilege, as is seen in Kiel's exaggerated tone of resentment ("*Can you imagine? Me! Sitting at the economy class!"*). Not surprisingly, the elitist mindset entails the positive evaluation of excess and self-indulgence. Thus, the inconspicuous boundary drawn between haves and have-nots by my subjects seems like a key to maintain their elite status in their daily lives.

Their claim of superiority is encoded in an indirect lexicon as well, as Bourdieu (1990) notes that dominant cultural capital is not overt but generally invisible and insidious. The names of the credit cards can also be indexed as another kind of shared cultural capital since they are not explained in the conversation but used with their functions as free mile providers for flights. In order to perpetuate the meaning of elite status they rely on a range of semiotic modes, images or objects that are bestowed with more symbolic than monetary values like membership cards or credit cards with certain functions, or membership of business lounges. By the same token, Giddens (1991) argue that identity is indexed more by consumption-driven life styles. Jerome, for example, insisted that he cannot wear any watches but the Rolex, Bryan is obsessed with the Lois Vuitton shoes, or Joe tells stories of how he dated with famous top models and chatted with a lot of celebrities. Kiel recommended me to go to an upscale restaurant for once in my life and observe those super rich people's culture and enjoy the luxurious way of eating as a unique experience.

Such confrontations with my subjects about their discursively enacted elite identity made me contemplate on the status of teachers who are instructing cosmopolitan elites in the classrooms. They questioned the authority of the instructors who were oftentimes coming from a lower social class. López-Gopar and Sughrua (2014), who taught in a teacher education program in Mexico the student-teachers who are already lower middle class and

earn meager salaries while teaching English to privileged kids in private schools, wonder if they or other English teachers like themselves are perpetuating social inequality by teaching English to the rich children. The student teachers act through their own agencies and they are unavoidably affected from the forces of the social structures. Thus, when my subjects, assuming that I am coming from a lower class status, recommended me to eat at upscale restaurants in order to gain perspective about the lives of affluent people or comparing my Esprit watch to their Rolex in terms of properness, they exemplified the unavoidable perpetuation of global social inequalities.

In sum, the feeling adjectives have given a way to grasp a glimpse of my subjects' discursive acts whereby elite identities are performed or semiotically achieved. As part of a social process, they claimed exclusivity or superiority. This is what Rampton (2003) describes as the performance of class identity, which he calls the "process of symbolic differentiation" (p.68).

Third group: Rachael, Samuel, Zoe and Michael,

Rachael

Rachael was born in Istanbul and she is 24 years old. She studied at a religion based Anatolian high school (Anadolu Imam Hatip Lisesi- similar to Catholic schools). She studied Arabic during high school for 7 years, but she uses it for her prayers and worships now. She could not earn the required scores to study at a regular engineering department at a public university so she decided to pursue an engineering degree at ITU Dual Diploma Program. She describes herself as a very hardworking student and she is planning to pursue a master's degree at UB. She considers herself as a proficient English speaker and she says that she has acquired the language thanks to her own efforts and the schools she studied at did not contribute to her language development.

Unlike the other subjects in this study, she is an observant person and she identifies herself as a Muslim feminist. She wears a headscarf and explains that "This is my way of presenting myself in the world." She says that she was verbally harassed several times because of her Muslim identity particularly after the suicide bombings going on all over the world and in the US over the last year. She is usually considered to be from Iran due to her scarf, which sometimes bothers her.

She is one of the few girls in her cohort coming from Turkey. She thinks her engineering degree is going to empower her as a woman, and scarcity of women in STEM in Turkey bothers her a lot. That is why she is trying to start a club named "Women Engineers of Turkey in the US."

Samuel

Samuel, 23, is also from Istanbul and he studied at a public high school. He took a year off after high school and came to the US to study at a language school. When he first arrived in Boston, where he went to a language school as a study abroad student, he had a lot of troubles due to his lack of language skills. But this process made him gain resilience towards the unexpected challenges. He describes himself as "a very successful and hardworking Turkish nationalist person."

He is coming from an affluent family like the other subjects in this study. His father is a Kurdish businessman in Istanbul and his mother has Arab roots. He speaks neither Kurdish nor Arabic. He can only understand some Arabic. He does not find Kurdish prestigious so he is not enthusiastic about speaking Kurdish.

He does not think that he is a hardworking person. Yet he still wants to complete his degree in the US and go back to Turkey to take over his father's company.

Zoe

Zoe, 23, is from Gaziantep, a city in the south East of Turkey but her family has been living in Istanbul for a very long time. Like Samuel, she came to the US for a year to study English as a study abroad student after high school. She was graduated from an Anatolian high school. Like Samuel, she self-taught English. She thinks she is fluent enough to communicate effectively. When she first came to study in the US, she faced too many problems due to the language barrier.

She is close friends with Rachael and she helps her to start the club for women engineers of Turkey in the U.S. She does not identify with Muslims but she thinks Muslim women particularly face discrimination and stereotyping. Although she comes from a "bourgeois family" with a lot of diplomats and influential family members, she is aware of the "inequalities and challenges going on in the world." Her way of thinking was quite different from the other subjects' life aspirations. She told me that she embraces the colorfulness and diversity in the US and she wishes that Turkey had a similar way of accepting diversities.

Like her fiend Rachael, she thinks women in the STEM area are quite scarce and they should be encouraged to study in this area by fighting against the stereotyping about their faculties.

Theme 1: Dubious Battle in "Otherness": Pride or Shame

Authorization and illegitimation are the final tactics of Bucholtz and Hall's identity framework. They foreground the structural and institutional aspects of identity enactment. Authorization involves the legitimation of certain identities through structures of institutionalized power and ideologies, either local or translocal. Authorization invokes language in ways recognized by the authorities. Legitimation, on the other hand, invokes the

processes in which some identities are dismissed or ignored by the structures of power. It can also be considered as a form of resistance against the same power structures.

All three participants and Michael from the first group were sidelined in various ways and they have empowered themselves through English and science. They sometimes even seek refuge in religion too. They have been trying to legitimize their identities by gaining some extra qualifications. For example, Rachael, an observant person, faced too many challenges in Turkey while she was studying at high school and college. That is why she developed a resistant way of enacting herself through her religion and English.

> Due to the interpretation of secularism in Turkey, I wasn't allowed to wear headscarf[4] or how can I say adopt a Muslim identity and some of my instructors were even quite brutal against me because they thought modernity cannot be connected to or part of Muslims. It was very funny because Turkey is a Muslim majority country. That's why I have decided to study abroad; I mean study college, particularly in America because it is not illegal to be a Muslim here. And when you speak English, the people in Turkey think you are a respectable person (Interview 1, September 19, 2015).

One's recognition of a lack of one's acceptance in the official institutions may aggravate one's willingness to consciously challenge this institutional lack of acceptance, at the same time building a reinforced stronger sense of Muslim identity. Thus, I assume Rachael tried to challenge her allegedly illegitimate identity by embracing a strong Islamic identity that transcends the national boundaries to authorize her identity.

Khan (2002) argues that Muslim women in diasporic communities have contradictory identity enactments mainly due to the clash between the home and diasporic communities. She states that being a Muslim woman in places where the majority is Muslim is somehow connected to social, economic, and political conditions along with a macro national politic narrative. On the other hand, being a Muslim woman in the First World diasporic

[4] Over the last few years, headscarf ban has been abolished in official institutions.

communities is significantly different from and even more fragile than the home countries because she has to invent a new identity that must work hand in hand with race, ethnicity, fluidity of gender and the like (Khan, 2002).

Rachael, however, reversed this controversy and stated that she is at more ease with her Muslim woman identity in the US. It might be due to the unique position that Turkey is in as "an example of Islam as a liberal model" (Silverstein., 2011), quite unusual in the Muslim world. Although the majority of Turkey is considered Islamic, it can also be argued that due to the Westernization efforts that took place over the 20th century in areas such as law, health and educational systems, Turkish people may not publicize their Muslim identity as much as other Muslim countries' people and usually identify with Europe and being European and being a Muslim is a private endeavor in Turkey (PBS, 2001; Silverstein., 2011). By the end of last decade, Islam in Turkey was centered on something called "private belief and personal choice" (Silverstein., 2011); however, with the transformation of politics and society in Turkey in the recent years, the conceptualization of Islamic traditions in relation to West, social-scientific and political cultures has been under-construction and the temporal heterogeneity of discourses, deliberations and practices suggest that there has been an ongoing ambivalence as of today. The initial interpretation, however, usually determines the immigrant and sojourn experience of the Turkish people in the United States and renders this experience more compatible with American identity as different from immigrants with 'encoded' backgrounds (Hall., 1980).

Zoe, for instance, did not feel comfortable with being a Muslim in the US. She narrated an encounter with a new friend during one of our early interviews and described her discomfort as follows:

> I met a guy at a bar when I first came here and he asked a very simple question, "Oh you are from Turkey, are you a Muslim?" I was shocked by the question and I mumbled and after lot s of hmmms and uhhggs I said "I am here as a Turkish person looking for some entertainment. But do you ask about my religion?" I was very very uneasy about that question and almost felt offended because I didn't want to say that "Yes, I am a Turkish Muslim (Interview 3, November 23, 2015).

She was in good terms with her ethnicity but not with her religion. She comes from the tradition that religion is a very private thing and should not be made public. She thought that this was a straight discrimination against herself and an attack on her privacy.

Samuel also encountered discriminating discourses because of his religious affiliation and ethnicity when he was in Boston as a study abroad student. He tried to develop counter arguments for those discourses but he was not able to achieve it due to his language barrier, which led him to embrace and demonstrate an avowedly public Islamic identity although he was not that much in need for a religious affiliation when he was in Turkey previously. Unlike Rachael, what he experienced was in line with Khan's (2002) argument about the diasporic communities.

> I was staying at a kind of dorm when I was attending a language school in Boston. It was after the Boston marathon bombing and the landlady and one of my friends who is staying next door to me, uhmm, were talking about the bombing and the landlady was like "all these terrorist Muslims sneaking into the country and kill us. Samuel is also a Muslim and I don't like hosting a Muslim in my dorm. I will talk to the language school and tell them that I don't want any Muslim in my apartment anymore." And my friend was kind of supporting what she was saying. It was very heartbreaking for me because we were good friends with her, she was coming to eat my meals and enjoying my company. So my heart was broken because of her attitude. I got out of my room and tried to say that not all the Muslims terrorists and Islam is a religion of peace. But I was so excited and I wasn't able to speak properly because of my broken English back then. That day I decided to speak good English because it means that you are powerful to explain your religion (Interview 2, October 20, 2015).

During this study, I had the chance to observe him to mold more and more Turkic and Islamic identity day by day. Symbolically, he even grew a moustache typical of Turkic and Islamic men by the end of the year. And unlike other Turkish subjects, he affiliated more with the Muslim student association at UB and even Turkish Muslim groups in Rochester. Mandeville

(2002) explains that encountering opposition and lack of integration leads to grow identities at two opposite ends of the spectrum for some Muslim youths. They either reject Islam as a vestige of the home culture or embrace it as a reaffirmation of identity and culture and sometimes ethnicity. The latter group aims to challenge prevailing views and thoughts publicly among non-Muslims in the new speech community. Their overt vocalism of their opposition represents a forcing function, i.e., developing a forced acceptance, dignity and tolerance in the speech community. At the same time, it serves as a catalyst for the legitimation process because by building a stronger Muslim identity they make themselves forcefully more visible. Samuel's frustration, in this sense, at his friend's perceived injustice and at the institution that did not meet his needs as a sojourn student created an outcry in his identity enactment.

Similarly, Rachael wrote in her diary about the Friday Salah in a masjid in Buffalo and she found a support group in the multinational, multiethnic Muslim group.

> Last Friday, for the first time in Buffalo, I went to Cuma prayer and I was amazed by the diversity of Muslim people. I made new friends there and some of them were from UB. I felt so at ease with them because we have such a unifying denominator. I feel as if I know them for a long time. It was so surprising for me to notice that being from multiple countries does not hinder communication because we speak Islam as language. But there was a sad thing, Imam gave a sermon about the St Bernardino shootings and shared his condolences for the victims' families. It was strange because although many people in the US believe that Muslims are terrorists. I wish they could have listened to what he said for those victims (Diary entry 3, December 5, 2015).

Just like Samuel, Rachael used a similar discourse emphasizing her amazement about the diasporic Muslim community and their resentment about lack of acceptance. We can also find some further explanation on Samuel and Rachael's legitimation efforts of their identity in some other studies. Haller (2003) contends that within the context of Europe and the Arab-Islamic world there are two "master emotions" in relation to identity: pride and shame. Muslim diaspora in the US might have considered experiencing similar paradoxical feelings.

White (1997) described the experience of Turkish street gangs in Germany. Some Germans used the derogatory label *Barbaren* to denote foreigners who were usually Turks back then. However, the very exclusionary term turned into a source of power when it was adopted as a name by a street gang of Turkish youths. With this twist, *Barbaren* shifted from a label of shame to a label of pride and also a connotation to resist a hosting speech community which was not welcoming. Then *Barbaren* connoted power and inclusiveness or even a feeling of gallantry and rectitude. This shift in this supposedly derogatory label from a description of shame to a source of pride is similar to other groups' adoption of derogatory terms and symbols in the social movements such as LGBTE people's owning of the Nazi era pink triangle. Haller (2003) suggests that in Christian institutions dominant societies that view Islamic people as foreign others may contribute to pan-ethnic Muslim identity as a source of pride, solidarity, and even survival. That is, such alienation of Muslims may lead them to adopt more intense identification with Islamic identities as in the case of Samuel and Rachael.

Theme two: Multiple Venues of English

English as the international language and lingua franca in many areas has contributed to the intersubjective identity negotiations of my subjects. All of my subjects in this group tried to legitimize their ignored identities by the power structures both in their own countries and in the US via English. The language served as a tool to empower themselves in relation to ethnicity, sexuality and gender equality.

Samuel was offended when his landlady and roommate identified him with the Boston marathon bombers. His resentment to her friend has motivated him to empower himself through English. Although he "did not get a proper language education in Turkey," his personal efforts made him gain proficiency in English or learn "good English." When I asked him to clarify what he means by "good English" he said

> Good English burgerini istedigin gibi siparis verebilmektir, oda arkadasina kafan atinca tam da dozunda bagirip cagirabilmektir, ya da taksiciye yolu tariff edebilmektir. Senin good English konustugunun kararini da garson ve taksiciler verir. Seni ilk seferde anlayip salak salak yuzune bakmiyorsa sen iyisindir (laughs). Hele ki gece kulubunde icki siparis edebiliyorsan tek soylemeyle perfect olmussundur. Aslinda bu isin otoritesi kisinin kendinin sectigi kisilerdir. Yani bi evsiz de olabilir Obama da (Interview 3, November 14, 2015).
>
> *Good English is to be able to order your burger just as you like it to be, to be able to bark duly at your roommate while head-butting him, or to be able to give proper directions to a cab driver. And it's wait staff and cab drivers to approve that you are speaking good English. If they, having understood your purpose, are not staring at your face in a cockeyed manner, that means you are good (laughs). Most particularly, if you can order your drink in a lump, you have reached the perfection level. The authority in this sense to confirm your competence are those one has come to choose oneself. That is to say, it can be a homeless soul or Obama himself. I mean only the person themselves can be the one to vouch for one's command of English, whether one's English is good or not.*

In the first group, Michael made a similar comment on "good English." Like Michael, Samuel also believes that the speaker has the authority to decide the answer to "what is good English?" Thus, we can also assume that Samuel claims ownership and he constructs English discursively (Kubota & McKay, 2009) as he explains he needs English as a tool to claim power in his daily interactions.

Like Samuel, Zoe mentioned her feeling incapable and helpless due to a traumatizing experience when she first arrived in the US for her language school. She thought she was illegitimated by the customs officials because of her national identity and thus she believed that gaining a good command over English could be the only tool to overcome this obvious alienation.

> When I first came to the US, I was going to Boston but there was no direct flight from Istanbul to Boston, so I had to go to Chicago first and I had to take another bus, uhmm, flight, to Boston. But since my Istanbul flight was delayed, I missed my connecting Boston flight. And it wasn't the only problem. The security detected something strange in my carry on. And they took me into a special room and some surly police searched my luggage and me. They were asking about the unusual item, which I couldn't understand what was it. It is still a mystery for me [laughs ironically]. One of the women was yelling at me showing my passport. They were very angry and brutal. I felt as if I am a criminal. After searching thoroughly all my belongings and

> my body, they made me take off everything I was wearing, they still couldn't find anything and they released me. But then I was totally lost. And all I remember was that I couldn't even say "I missed my flight. So what should I do?" So it took me, like, four or five hours to figure out what I should do and to go to the hotel that was, in fact, 20 minutes away from the airport. It was the most desperate and hopeless moment of my life. That day I wowed to speak English fluently. And after that incident, I thought a lot about those horror movie characters, the policewomen, they treated me so [emphasized] badly because I was coming from a third world country. I wasn't valuable as a human being (Interview 4, February 12, 2016).

Her *referencing* and *predication* (Wortham, 2001) of the policewomen placed herself in a particular universe with respect to the ventriloquized voices of those policewomen. Referencing is picking out things in the world via speech, and predication is the characterization of the objects or people picked out. When a narrator picks out a character in a narrative, she often identifies that character socially, through which the character fits identifiable social types (Wortham, 2001). She took a highly negative evaluative stance against the policewomen and identified them socially with a group of xenophobic and racist people who have certain ways of acting. And she positioned herself with respect to those policewomen as a victim. This whole narrative became a crucial point in her life and she decided to gain authorization of the legal authorities via English to be able to survive in a 'xenophobic and racist' world.

Rachael, on the other hand, noted that she had some other motives to make herself more fluent in English. As a Muslim woman, sometimes feeling alone at UB, she looked for some people like herself. Being an observant person, she wanted to be more in contact with the other Muslims "because you practice Islam in a community, it is not an exclusionist religion." And she noticed that she could do this only through English. So she got in touch with the Muslim diasporic community at UB and that is how she felt "the importance of English as an umbrella language to overcome the barriers caused by ethnicity, race and religious sects." She was convinced that English rather than Arabic as the language of Islam plays a contributory role in uniting Muslim people particularly in the US.

> In my first year, during Ramadan, I went to the Noor Masjid for the evening prayers and I was amazed by the unitary role of English during those prayers. To my surprise, everybody was very fluent in English and their comfort with the language made me feel the need to be more capable with my language. The imam was preaching in English and after the prayers all the women were speaking in English and it is extremely easy to be friends with those people if you speak good English because along with religion English played a very unifying role (Interview 3, December 5, 2015).

As in the case of Africa, where there are 11 languages spoken, or as in the Balkans, where ethnic conflicts causes turmoil and war, English plays a unifying and indispensable historic role to understand and share a common cultural past and increasingly estranged present and future (Akbarov, 2016; Brutt-Griffler, 2002). Also, in the Gulf region, English is situated uniquely to function as "a link Language" within the language ecology of the Islamic context (Charise, 2007). Rachael's evaluative indexicals reveal her appreciation and amazement by the unifying role of English in the diasporic context. She wanted to gain voice within the community of practice she wanted to identify with, so she considered that she should develop her language skills. In that sense, her sidelined identity due to her Muslim and Middle Eastern identity would be appreciated in that community of practice. However, she was not unaware of the language politics and power relations attributed to English because she said:

> But it was so strange to see that there were no signs of English or no word of English in Mecca. We went there 2 years ago with my family. I saw no official person, no imam or no police speaking in English in Mecca. There were 3 million people from all over the world come for pilgrimage and I am sure most of them don't speak Arabic. I know a little Arabic but even I had hard times there when we lost because everything was in Arabic. And another strangeness is we were not considered as enough Muslim there. Everyone was like "You shouldn't say your prayers like this, you shouldn't read Quran like that, you should wear your hijab like that, you must do this, don't do that, etc." Even I saw a woman who dared to say "Turkish people practice Islam as bid'ahs." But here, in the US no one measures your Muslimness. They try to embrace you (Interview 3, December 5, 2015).

Rachael's way of analysis surprised me because unlike her friends, she was very much interested in what is going on in the global plane and she was also aware of her national and religious identity. Her use of metapragmatic descriptors, through which instances of language

use are described (Silverstein, 2003), (e.g., "*shouldn't say your prayers like this, shouldn't read she even dared to"*), let her ventriloquize the characters she was alienated by. She thought that her social identity was illegitimized by the Saudi authorities due to her lack of language abilities in Arabic and also her different interpretation of the religion. Yet instead of seeking for opportunities to be authorized by the Saudis, she sought asylum in the community of practice in the U.S. diaspora.

Another interesting thing that came out of her narrative was the discussion over English and Islam, and the language policy in the Islamic countries. She noticed that although English is an alternative communication language in several contexts, it is preferred not to be used in Mecca, the holy city of Islam. She highlighted a language policy issue from her perspective. English helped her gain authorization in diaspora context, yet caused her to develop an illegitimate identity in another context where Islam is the main unifier. This clash she has gone through has been documented in the literature. Although this topic is beyond the scope of this paper, I would like to refer to some of the related literature as it could provide us a better lens to understand Rachael's identity negotiations.

With respect to a parallel issue, Karmani and Pennycook (2005) published their email exchanges under the title of '*Islam, English, and 9/11,*' in which they dwell upon the question of why English is considered as a threat to Islam in some contexts where the majority of population is Muslim. According to Pennycook, this could simply stem from two things. First, there is a special bound between Islam and Arabic of the Quran and this link can be severed by the spread of English, which indeed has no such connection with Christianity. Second, English as an embedded system of culture, ideologies, politics and economic relations can be seen as a threat to Islamic values. On the other hand, Karmani argues that English has been promoted as a US language policy to "modernize" the education system in the region, yet the

function of language has been expanded to root out the "Islamic terrorist activity" raised at madrasahs and curb the influence of Islamic schools elsewhere. He ironically suggests that even the international terrorists need an international medium to communicate and he anticipates that if the 9/11 hijackers had not spoken English fluently, the attacks would not have been possible (a fact that appeared through 9/11 Commission Hearings, as he indicated). He describes the complex relationship between the "dark side of English" as a language of an alliance of powerful first world countries and Islam, "as a source of terrorist acts in the world," created several identity problems on a social and individualistic level. In this sense, Rachael's fluctuations because of English can be seen as an incident both at a global and local level from this point of view. The complexity of the issue increases when we consider the Turkish context as a Muslim secular country where the religious interpretations are quite different from the mainstream Muslim culture[5].

Another complexity pertaining to the use of English as an authorization tactic rose in Michael's narrative. Like Rachael, he legitimized his contested bisexual identity. Based on his narrative and autobiography, I assume that his sexual orientation has also helped him to improve his English proficiency. His sexual identity is illegitimated in Turkey, which hindered his ability to socialize there. But the United States gave him a chance to become a more visible character in the social plane. In a manner contradictory to his previous criticisms about the American culture, he seemed to appreciate it because of the feeling of freedom in the US; for example, "in romantic relationships… I do approve of them, or let me say; in Turkey having a gay relationship is not a thing people find normal. But in the States it is a human and thus right thing." In order to be part of this gay community, he tried to improve his English language skills by immersing himself into daily language use. Since he had the

[5] See *Islam and Modernity in Turkey* by Silverstein (2012) for further information.

linguistic power endowment, he had a lot of opportunities to get involved in many different social groups in the States, some of which are the Bible reading groups, which he attended on a weekly basis. He mentioned that those groups helped him gain access to many other fraternities and local communities of practices. Additionally, he also developed good partnership with the gay members of those local groups. However, he described those gay people as being restless outcasts and more inclined to American fakeness [in his wording].

Mazrui's (2006) historical perspective on ethnicity and English in the Black experience can play an illuminative role in explaining Michael's linguistic efforts and his legitimation process. Mazrui (2006) discusses how English can be an exit from oppressive identities in the African American community. Standard English has a powerful societal role for class, nationality, ethnicity and the like. However, in the case of Black Americans, in order to own English, they have rebranded the language by making certain changes in terms of lexicon, phonological system and name it “Ebonics.” Embracing their own English, Afrocentric thinkers have challenged their oppressors who speak in American English. English kept serving them as a medium of an Afrocentric counter-discourse. That way, by indigenizing English, they have preserved their ethnic identity even though the language has a hegemonic power. Additionally, women or other marginalized groups such as gays in the African context are more motivated to learn English because it helps them to escape from their ethnically ascribed roles. Therefore, I assume that English can be a tool for renegotiating their marginalized status in their communities for social acceptance, as is also described by Brutt-Griffler (2005), who explores the case of Pamela in the South African context and explains how Standard English variety serves as a sign of elitism, high socioeconomic class and an aspiration towards social mobility. English becomes a tool of agency for the disadvantaged Pamela, who does not have access for socioeconomic reasons. The language helps the censored identities to be legitimated by the institutionalized power and ideologies.

In Rachael's narrative as well, sexuality attracts attention in relation to English proficiency and identity legitimation process. Rachael had a boyfriend from Honduras and they are planning to get married when she graduates. Since they do not speak each other's native languages, they speak in English for the time being, which helps her to hone her English proficiency. However, the boyfriend is not a Muslim and "a Muslim woman cannot marry a non-Muslim man according to Islam." Due to this, her boyfriend decided to convert to Islam and in this process; he wanted to inform himself about the religion and asked for her help. However, Rachael noticed that she did not know Islam well enough to tell it to some other people, so together they started a reading group, like the Bible reading groups, with many other fiends coming from different countries and languages. They read English translation of Quran and interpretations of it. This reading group has changed her own way of understanding herself.

> My boyfriend is a very recent convert and he is very curious and tries to understand and make meaning about what the book says. And this means a lot of questioning for me, as well. I want to know what the book says, if I'm following something, I want to know why I am following something. It is my quest. It is more of my journey. I am learning my faith rather than dictating my own culture, so I am unlearning my culture. Every Thursday we come together to read and discuss and it made me realize that I am free to do that, I am free to question things. Back home, if I would question why we are doing this, people would shush me. But here I am going on asking questions and people would still feel at ease. And of course everything is taking place in English and English is very crucial here for us to understand this faith, the common faith we share. So it is English that serves a purpose in there for me to do everything. In fact, we deal with multiple languages here in our reading circle. But English is kind of a bridge that links the West and East (Interview 4, March 5, 2016).

Rachael's narrative revealed several purposes through which English put in use: romantic relationship, missionary purposes and clash of identity and cultures. Her relationship with her boyfriend from a different religion and nationality caused a lot of opposition from her family and friends and so she had to confront the ideology that their relationship is problematic. To gain authorization in her circles she asked her boyfriend to convert, and in order to inform themselves about the religious issues, as a couple, they started a missionary

reading group in English. Stoltzfus (1996), as a historian, set some examples about how intermarriages can provide ample data for exploration of wider linguistic and social issues. He demonstrated how religious intermarriages can be an exploration for the possibility of resistance in Nazi Germany. Similarly, Rachael has been exploring how her relationship can help her reconstruct her contested identity in her home speech community by the virtue of English and the discussion group. Throughout the year she used a similar narrative that revealed how much she volarized her exposition to multilingualism and multiculturalism, through which she became part of the bigger Muslim world.

Piller (2002) studied German and British intermarriage couples and demonstrated that language choice can guide the identity construction because language desire is associated with the erotic desire. She contends that even though in the contemporary literature language desire is highly related to economic causes, i.e., "investment" (Norton, 2000), "sex appeal" of some languages has been overlooked. Her findings revealed that language desire in relation to sexual appeal determines the ways language learners approach their bilingualism. In a similar fashion, Rachael developed a meta-critique on her multilingual and bilingual language learning experience but at the same time she has been "doing her identity" (Cameron, 2001) in her second language.

Theme three: "Because I was a girl, I was told …"

As is noted earlier in the methodology section, there are only three female students in this study due to the low number of female Turkish students in the engineering department. All three subjects Ashley, Rachael and Zoe chose STEM field and noted that they suffered from the scarcity of women in their majors. During the whole year, I noticed that all three of them negotiated their female identities in relation to the institution they study at and their

male friends. They tried to legitimize their identities through their department's policies, or tried to withhold such structural power to empower themselves.

All subjects I recruited for this study were aware that females are somehow sidelined in STEM area both in Turkey and in the US. However, this has bothered my female subjects more. Male participants seem to be more uninfluenced by the gender imbalance, even a bit gender biased. That is why Rachael, decided to start the student club "Women Engineers of Turkey in America;" however, she could not get enough support from her colleagues in the US. "Zoe helped me to start this club because we were always disturbed by our fewness. And we thought, if we try to encourage female students we can help some other girls to pick up STEM as a major." Ashley was not in the same cohort with Rachael and Zoe and said that she has no time to attend to the activities of the club they started although being one of the few girls in her major is not comforting for her.

Almost all of the participants of the study agreed that there are gendered expectations in STEM fields. They all highlighted that gendered expectations for STEM students start at a very early age and all these expectations have a very stereotypical way of thinking such as "The ideal scientist is a man." (Bryan), "Men scientists have more authority than women." (Ashley), "Women must work harder to gain recognition." (Michael), "Women engineers should get the lower status roles in the institutions that they work for like emotional support, event planning, or abstract desk jobs." (Rachael). Although they all ridiculed those stereotypical utterances, they were quite aware that many of those ideas are still very much alive not only in Turkey but also in the US. Existing literature also supports the gendered expectations in the STEM fields. For instance, Erickson (2012) looked at the expectations about the division of labor among men and women in engineering and found that women engineers are expected to accept lower status jobs with more of a social kind such as social

occasion planning, or jobs in nurturing and care giving, and the like. Hill, Holmes, and McQuillan (2014) revealed some common expectations such as women are pushed to embody the ideal worker by working much longer hours than men yet still balancing the social life, being available to travel without any restrictions, or being the abstract worker.

Zoe argued that although gender neutrality seemed to be promoted by the institutions or by the faculty as a policy, the practice remains unchanged and favors hegemonic masculinity in the field. In their case study in a college in Sweden, Määttä and Dahlborg Lyckhage (2011) found that academia is perceived as a gender neural institution; however, it is organized based on the male standards and norms. They concluded that this is quite problematic because the gender-neutral politically correct discourse of the institutions does not allow any challenges to the existing power structures. Several times, in this vein, Rachael mentioned that during her first year in Istanbul and in Buffalo she was underestimated by her professors and male friends because of the unwelcoming male dominated culture in her major.

> I believe that this culture in our field of engineering is a years and years of sedimentation. It is a process where over decades even centuries of masculine culture deposits and it became a male field. So it is hard to accept women in this field for males. For example, one of our well known professors at ITU, once said that, the best job for women is to take good care of her home and children and in this way only, women serve society in a much better way instead of torturing themselves in the men's world. I know this is a single event but there were some unuttered words, looks and negative implications that women are not welcomed in engineering (Interview 5, March 8, 2016).

Although she ascribed greater epistemic access to one character (her professor) and less to the other characters she narrated (her unknown male friends), she seemed to articulate boldly about all of the members of the community of practice and the whole discipline. She claimed to have a God's-eye-view over the issue by using the epistemic modalities to evaluate ("*I believe, it is a process, it is hard to accept, I know"*) the engineering discipline from a historic perspective. Yet her assumptions are backed up in the literature. Becher and Trowler (2012)

studied the culture of the disciplines in STEM field and noted that disciplinary cultures, through which traditions, knowledge, morals and beliefs are transmitted to new comers, usually to undergraduate students, are done through the socialization process that takes place within the discipline. And like any other speech communities, the history and mannerism of the discipline transmitted through stories, myths, and legends. Students and also the junior faculty construct their identities based on what they learned and saw while interacting with their colleagues and class mates. However, because of the different socialization they receive, identity construction experiences of men and women are quite different from each other, so gender is a "complicating factor" in a disciplinary culture (Becher & Trowler, 2012). Therefore, women in male dominated fields may usually seem to develop "dual identities," such as that of a woman and an engineer instead of only engineer or a woman scientist instead of simply a scientist (Becher & Trowler, 2012). As a result women came to negotiate that they may serve in lower status roles which are usually described as more feminine tasks while men are considered to be more suitable for leadership positions or more challenging (more masculine) tasks. What Ashley described is quite in line with Becher and Trowler's findings. She said that

> As a female civil engineer, I don't want to bother myself in the field dealing with men and all the construction workers. What they are doing is, how can I say, kaba saba (*rough and tough*). I don't want to mess my clothes with the dirt so I prefer to work in the office, because it is more civil and more suitable for females (Interview 8, March 17, 2016).

Instead, she adopted a more conventional female identity in relation to her discipline. Unlike her conformist viewpoint, Zoe took a rebellious stance throughout the year and described her experience within the filed in the following extract:

> It is very annoying even in the year 2000 something, women are still considered as second class citizens in our departments. It is shameful. When I first decided to study engineering, everybody was like, you should study medicine or teaching because they are the best jobs for women. They were like the epitome of success for a girl. So for

> me, to study engineering was a rebellious thing. I earned enough points to study medicine, well like some of the medicine departments I mean, but I didn't want to study medicine just because I was told to do so, just because I am a girl. I wanted to say "I can do as good as boys can do!" and I wanted to say "Don't underestimate me!" (Interview 6, May 20, 2016).

Zoe's outcry for gender neutrality was quite the representative of her general way of being throughout the year. Her evaluative indexicals (*women are still considered as second class citizens in our departments, shameful, rebellious*) aligned herself with a strong feminist stance. She saw engineering as a tool to carve her female identity, to claim agency and voice. Her ventriloquization of her own thoughts e.g.: *I didn't want to study it just because I was told to do so, just because I am a girl. I wanted to say "I can do as good as boys can do!" and I wanted to say "Do not underestimate me!* revealed her struggle against a conventional gender biased discourse and her need to challenge the existing power dynamics. She does not seek for legitimacy in the conventional speech community but she wants to be a legitimate member of the discipline. When particular attention has been given to the STEM disciplines over the two decades, it has been found that physics and engineering are the most unwelcoming fields for women (Cech, 2015). There are sub fields within these disciplines which are even more unwelcoming for women such as mechanical engineering, civil engineering, biophysics or astrophysics (Cech, 2015). In that sense, Zoe's comment is verified by the findings in the literature.

Ashley, on the other hand, demonstrated a more submissive attitude while positioning herself in the civil engineering field. She complained that expected "not normal" successful women role in engineering is difficult to imitate.

> If you want to be successful in our field, you must be not normal, unnormal girl [laughs] you must be wearing like men, acting, swearing like men. Otherwise, you can't be successful engineer. But it is difficult for me to act like a man. I am a girl and I like being a girl. But of course, you can always find some other ways to accomplish but, you know, but I have never been very ambitious (Interview 8, March 17, 2016).

Although she gives females the chance for success through authentic gender performance and also through seeking refuge in the gender neutral academic discipline culture of engineering, she positions herself as a more female like identity because she seems to notice "Othering" of femininity within the field. She found it conflicting to imitate a male identity (*must be wearing like men, acting, swearing like men*) to be considered as a valuable asset within the discipline. Gonsalves (2014) studied doing gender in STEM and found that female students were constrained to enact a heteronormative identity although males are allowed to express their masculinity in several other ways. According to the study, female students were expected to position themselves as non-feminine identities in order to be able to be considered as legitimate colleagues in the discipline.

Rachael negotiates being a "not-normal" female rather differently. She is proud of her transgressing the gender boundaries as an unconventional female in her community of practice.

> I like being an unusual girl because I think girls are too girly. I am more than that. I mean I am more than wearing make-up, fancy dresses and being kind and art lover. I never liked being dolled up. And in engineering, if you want to be a girly girl, no one will take you seriously. But among your friends, I mean friends not from your department, you are considered as a misfit but I prefer being a misfit among my friends rather than in my department (Interview 5, April 25, 2016).

Rachael prefers being "Othered" among her friends rather than within her major. She tries to legitimize her gender identity in relation to her major because she finds it more valuable than being favorable with her "girly girl" identity among her social friends. She also probably implies that "girly girls" are less intelligent than she is because in a very simplified manner she equates being a female to "*wearing make-up, fancy dresses and being kind and art lover.*" Danielsson et al. (2012) found that female STEM students' role was usually equated to less efficient, slower and more passive "Other" in relation to their achievements; therefore,

females feel the need to be different from their usual feminine roles. Women reject social norm following in order to participate in the masculinist discipline cultures of STEM.

Joan Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organizations can explain why my subjects are on the grip of a dual identity crisis. She argues that the systematic processes that reproduce gender roles and gender divisions in any analytic unit or organization are kept alive. According to the definition of gendered organizations, "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (p.146). Acker's theory challenges the idea of gender neutral and asserts that gender is always the unavoidable part of the processes through which the organizations operate. Men's opportunities in organizations rest upon the women's barriers, thus gendered processes are particularly maintained and reproduced. Yet at the same time the standpoint which describes the organization's policy is always framed as gender-neutral. All three of my subjects, in this sense, negotiated their gendered identities with regard to the organizational culture they study both in Turkey and the United States. Ashley wanted to legitimize her identity within the field by drawing a low profile and fulfilling the expectations in terms of female roles in the discipline; however, Rachael and Zoe carved more authentic identities by enforcing an assertive male-like identity pertaining to the field.

DISCUSSION OF THE QUALITATIVE RESULTS

Introduction

In analyzing the subjects' trajectories, several themes emerged. Although each subject has a distinct narrative, there were also some salient similarities among their identity negotiations. While discussing the emerging themes, it is important to recall the research

questions. The following research questions were posed to frame the discussion of the common themes:

1. Why do participants prefer to study in the U.S. and what is their understanding of the symbolic capital they will gain through studying in the U.S.?
2. Do participants undergo a social identity reconstruction either in their first language or second language?
    a. If there is a reconstruction of social identity, how do the participants reveal this change in the interviews, in their daily transactions, and their life stories as a result of social experiences in the U.S. culture?
3. What affected the Turkish students' ownership of English and to what extent, if at all, are the Turkish students aware of this effect in their conceptions?
4. How does their social class affect their social identity reconstruction in the U.S. and how it is reflected in their life stories as a result of their social experience in the U.S. culture?

Research Question One: Why do participants prefer to study in the U.S. and what is their understanding of the symbolic capital they will gain through studying in the U.S.?

One of the main assumptions of this study is that language as a symbolic system shapes and changes who we are as language learners or subjects who are exposed to a language. In this sense, as is stated earlier throughout the study, I prefer to call my participants as 'subjects,' considering that they have undergone transformations in the process of acquiring English in the U.S. My participants are 'multilingual subjects' (Kramsch, 2009) because they use and are exposed to more than one language in their daily lives. Considering this, my subjects become the symbol of global situation itself because they are exposed to

several languages which are different than the ones they acquired as a child. Focusing on this symbolic nature of the multilingual subjects, I dwell on the possibility that sees language learning as a tool for construction of imagined identities that are also imposed by societies where different languages are practiced.

Yet with the new phase of globalization, bounded speech communities are problematized because globalization today is characterized by increasing movement of images and symbols across the nations and the hallmark of globalization is the exchange of symbolic cultural forms, language being a strong one. Knowing that English is at the disposal of the globalized economy that commodifies the language as a tool to sell dreams and identities, one can argue that globalization encaptures an individual entirely through thoughts and emotions in order to manipulate the symbols of power and perceptions of empowerment. Block (2010a) cautioned that commodification of a language, particularly, English, has moved "from the valuing of a particular language for its basic communicative function and more emotive associations– national identity, cultural identity, the authentic spirit of a people and so on – to valuing it for what it means in the globalized, deregulated, hyper-competitive, post-industrial 'new work order' in which we now live …"(p. 294). In this sense, the attempts of my subjects to acquire the language have enabled them to gain the symbolic capital as an essential source of power on 'hyper-global' plane and in their localities. And based on the results of the study, I have come to notice that they were quite aware of their symbolic gains and capital.

It is possible to refine the reasons why my subjects wanted to study in the U.S. into four major categories. First of all, they all wanted to come to the U.S. to pursue an engineering degree because the U.S. is the global hub now for technology and information, and it is a brand name in the world now. Jerome said that "US is the end of the world and

Europe does not match U.S. in this sense." Michael was also very assertive about the program he attended at U.B. and he said UB has a higher ranking in engineering field within the U.S. and the world. Rachael appreciated the quality and diversity of U.S. institutions. Kiel acknowledged that the strong reputation of U.S. institutions would give them opportunities to improve their chances to get a better education and a very good career in return. My subjects' line of thinking is no different from the rest of the world that finds studying in the U.S. trendy. According to the Open Doors Report 2016, total international student enrollment in the U.S. has surpassed one million during the academic year of 2015-16 and increased 7% more from the previous year. More than a third of these international students study in the STEM field. Thus, increasingly students are crossing borders and coming particularly to the US to gain practical and also international experience to apply in their careers within their local environment or in the global society. In this vein, my subjects have also adopted the widespread perception that one of the best ways for one to prepare oneself to enter and reach success in today's interconnected and globalized workforce is studying in the US.

Second, my subjects see English as a great asset in the pursuit of economic power and social empowerment. Therefore, all my subjects primarily wished to improve their English language skills when they decided to pursue an engineering degree during their biennial stay in the U.S. Although some of them did not spend any effort to improve their language skills within their closed groups (group 1), they still longed for competency in English. Kiel longed for studying in a natural environment where he could pick up English because he thought that it would be very different from most of his learning environments. Jerome was convinced that in order to get a chance in the global job market one needs to speak 'good English' and also it is very much required to be part of the culture where the language is spoken. Although he had a good command over the language, he wanted to come to the US to acquire some idiomatic expressions by immersing himself in the culture. This way he was going to make friends

across the globe and improve his network. And in return, he would get a good job in the global market. Zoe emphasized that studying in the STEM field in the U.S. and improving language skills in English would empower women more in the job market particularly in her local environment.

My subjects' contention of how English as an asset along with their engineering degree can be commodified in the global job market brings us to the timely discussion of *commodification of language* in sociolinguistics. Block (2017) argues that commodification has entered the sociolinguistics lexicon in the recent years and language commodification is of particular interest (Block, 2012; Heller, 2003; Heller & Duchêne, 2013; Heller, Jaworski, & Thurlow, 2014; Holborow, 2015). In loose terms, commodification describes "a process by and through which objects that were previously unsellable becoming sellable" and in the same vein, language, English in particular, is framed

> as a means of communication in an ever-increasing number of political, economic, social, cultural and geographical spaces in a constant state of evolution and change, and as an objective skill, acquired and possessed, that affords status, recognition legitimacy, and ultimately material remuneration, to those who possess it. It can be traded in social spaces as well as employment markets, where it is required for an increasing number of jobs (Block, 2017, p. 6).

However, Block (2017) and Holborow (2015) criticize this loose definition of language commodification on the grounds that in the process of commodification in the capitalist 21st century, language is only one set of skills that make an individual valuable in the job market and the way the matter is handled by the researchers in this area is not consistent with Marx's notion of commodified labor. Along with language many other bundles of skills such as IT, multilingualism, and the like are required to increase one's market value today. In the same line of thinking, Urciuoli (2008) makes a strong argument about how commodity-based in the

material moved to commodity-based in the abstract, language being under the abstract. She makes a convincing account of the move in job market from “hard skills” to “soft skills,” the former being the technical skills required for the job, and the latter “the cluster of personality traits, social graces, facility with language, personal habits, friendliness, and optimism that mark each of us to varying degrees” (p. 215). According to her, facility with language can be put into component parts such as knowing how to communicate in another language, and then measured.

In the light of these discussions, I could argue that my participants came to the US and tried to augment their own value as commodities in the job market by equipping themselves with the necessary sets of skills: not only in terms of soft skills, one being language, but also in terms of hard skills, their engineering faculties. Although all of them were coming from affluent backgrounds, they were still very much involved in improving their values in the job market because they wanted to retain the wealth of their families in the contemporary world. So they simply foresaw that in order to keep their family businesses alive in the market, they needed to feed the companies with fresh and enriched blood. However, the outcomes of their endeavor are questionable. Although they came to the US with the right intention and enthusiasm, some have lost it on the half way and come to a conclusion that they do not actually need the skill sets that they were supposed to get from their US experience. Bryan, for example, said “American students graduate as engineers from our program but they have no other options. They have to be successful to get a job in the competitive job market in the US. But we just need to graduate.” Kiel and Michael were both dismissed from UB, another example. So it can be argued that even though they knew the symbolic capital they were going to gain from their experience, some of my subjects seemed to lose the spirit due to some other reasons I already stated in the results section.

If we go back to the main argument about why my subjects wanted to study in the US, we can dwell upon the third reason. It is essential to consider the historical, political, ideological and sociocultural factors that affect my subjects' aspirations and willingness to study in the U.S. All of my subjects have attributed power to the western culture in the classic pattern of 'Third world vs. First World.' They saw the West, particularly the U.S., as the cradle of civilization and wanted to experience the US from the first hand. Although Turkey has never been colonized in the 17th or 18th centuries, global cultural flows impacted her deeply and it is ingrained in the collective memory of the people living in Turkey that the West is the source of information and civilization (e.g., environmentalism, freedom of speech, action against terrorism, LGBTQ rights, which are ideas and areas that have largely emerged from the West, which typically represents an enlightenment world perspective). And as Bakhtin (1981) put nicely, macro level ideologies impact micro level conversations. In the same vein, my subjects, although some had strong patriotic national identity discourse, still appreciated their stay in the U.S.

Appadurai (2001) stated that globalization forged new kinds of communities because of the intersecting scapes of social life. Ideoscapes, for example, challenge one to one correspondence between speech communities and linguacultures. Some of my subjects were the police of the boundaries of their ideoscapes and strongly adhered to Turkish nationalist discourses even after crossing their national borders with the underlying purpose of cultural exchange and language learning. They limited their ability to develop intercultural awareness (Byram, 1997, 2008) and invest on the third space (Bhabba, 1994; Kramsch, 1993). However, their showing willingness to come to study in the US has already challenged their ideoscapes, and thus their motivation is not that much different from the other subjects who invested on the global citizenship and third space. By crossing boundaries, David, for example, expected to be more aware of "the differences between the Eastern and the Western world" Rachael

wanted to see the extent to which women are more empowered in the U.S. because she already believed women were more capable and more expressive in the US and she wanted to see it first-hand. Kiel thought the individuality concept is established in the US and he clinched his individuality by living in the US for a considerable time. Samuel as a "diehard patriot" wanted to equip himself with the necessary qualifications in the U.S. and contribute to his country's improvement with his newly acquired skills.

Finally, all of my participants were convinced that learning other cultures and languages broaden one's horizon and it is a way to enrich oneself. Thanks to their high-income social class identities, they had spent some time out of their countries, usually for touristic purposes. As a result of their earlier transnational ethnoscapes as tourists and sojourners, they developed a desire for cultural affiliations that enrich oneself. However, since those stays abroad were shorter periods of times, my subjects did not usually see them as a threat to their identities. During their stay in the US, however, some of them developed a strong home culture affiliation (group 1). Bakthin (1986) warns us that "A dialogic encounter of two cultures does not result in merging and mixing. Each retains his own unity and open totality, but they are mutually enriched" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.7). Dialogue, he explained, "transcends the enclosed and one-sided nature of the cultures' respective meanings" (1986, p.508).

All of my subjects thought that studying in the US is a way to acquire cultural, linguistic and individual enhancement. Kiel wrote in his journal: "I already knew how interesting and invigorating it is to get along with people from other cultures, speaking another language. So I would very much wanted to look into the lives of American people and how the American society runs every day. I think it will help me to look at myself from another culture's perspective." Similarly, Rachael expected that her US experience would

widen her horizons and transform her in some ways. Zoe also wished to observe some significant changes in developing her individuality. My subjects' willingness to know more of others so that they can learn themselves better is explained by Bakhtin (1981).

According to Bakhtin (1981) "to be in a dialogue with the Other would mean to the individual consciousness getting out of itself and in the space of "outsidedness," meeting another consciousness. The space between self and the other becomes a space of in-between-ness produced by the very act of inner distancing and pushing one's consciousness to the limit of Otherness in order to meet the external, alien Other" (Hall, 2005, p. 194). The outcome of this encounter could be at the two extremes: either the self denies the existence of the other, or negates itself to the expense of the other because it is fascinated by the other. However, Bakhtin (1981) refuses these two extremes and offers a thirdspace where creative hybridization occurs. Drawing on Bakhtin, Kramsch (1993, 2010) formulated a third space to be used as a vantage point for language learners to understand the language attitudes and perspectives from their home culture with the eyes of users of the language that they are studying. Although I will discuss the extent to which my subjects attempted to inhabit a third place when they confront with various ideologies and viewpoints as a result of their stay in the US in the following section in relation the second research question, it is better to note at this point that all of them had the expected motive and intention prior to their arrival in the US. They all wished to learn more about their own culture and themselves from the Western other's perspective.

For Bourdieu (1991), symbolic capital appears in the forms of prestige, honor, the right to be taken into consideration or to be listened to, and fame or reputation. It is a vital source of power for an individual in a speech community. My participants were very much aware of the symbolic power they would gain when they study in the US because their study

abroad experience and their improved language abilities in a foreign language would provide them with the prestige and reputation they were looking for particularly in the Turkish society they mainly interact with.

Research Question Two: Do participants undergo a social identity reconstruction?

a. If there is a reconstruction of social and linguistic identity, how do the participants reveal this change in the interviews, in their daily transactions, and their life stories as a result of social experiences in the U.S. culture?

Recently, there has been a keen interest in the need to reconsider the ever evolving connection between language and identification due to the multidirectional symbolic aspects of globalization in relation to language learning and use in the new millennium. According to the post-structuralist perspective, it is no longer possible to conceptualize "one nation, one language" homogenous communities, so it is rather limiting to refer to and think L2 users as "new comers" who came to learn a second language to speak with its native speakers for some instrumental and/or integrative purposes. And we need to take into consideration other additional purposes of language learning and use, which in return offer multiple resources and subject positions to users for reconstructing their identities as a response to new global impacts. Additionally, the theoretical framework of this study, language ecology, also sees identities as "so many subject positions emerging in the interplay between the social world and the discursive situation at hand" (van Lier, 2000, p, 17).

Out of the many themes that were discussed in the results section in relation to globalization and L2 identities, three recurring themes have emerged. These themes are not concrete identity categorizations yet they refer to complex, fluid and overlapping identity

positions within and across the scapes Appadurai (1996) described. What is more, language ecology sees identities as fractals. That is to say, we develop unique identities on different timescales for every other person we meet, and we have more localized and globalized identities; however, all of these identities emerge from our previous patterns of interaction (Lemke, 2002). So in the light of these poststructuralist perspectives, I have decided to group my subjects' identity positioning into three groups. What follows is the discussion of these salient themes.

Transnationalism is at the core of all emerging themes pertaining to identity reconstructions of my subjects because they all experienced some degree of transnationalisation (Soysal, 1994), which encompasses identity construction that refers to their Turkish origin and their current location in the US. Transnationalisation urges people who are mobile and relocated due to global flows to negotiate their identities by taking a three-way connection into consideration between their home state and their host state and their circle of fellow transnationals (Soysal, 1994). The first group of identity positioning of my subjects is the identity formation within (trans)national ethnoscapes.

21st century's ever-changing ethnoscape reveals how unprecedented mobilization creates new social networks of people and social spaces, which turn into an opportunity to form and negotiate new identities and language learning chances (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Lam, 2000, 2004; Whiteside, 2006). As agents of this mobile mosaic, my subjects travelled a lot for touristic purposes, and they came to the US for some symbolic gains. While they were relocating themselves as exchange students in the host country, they were somehow under the pressure to adopt to the new cultural and linguistic norms of the local multilingual environment. They had difficulty to identify equally with local and international others but with others who share similar affiliations of their home countries, and their ties to their home

country were still very much alive. I observed that Bryan, Ashley, David and Samuel developed similar patterns of identifications through which they hold on to their home culture and language. Their social interactions were primarily located within their transnational Turkish speaking networks. They continued to speak in Turkish in many of their meaningful practices, while their engagement with English remained relatively peripheral to their identity construction. They almost developed a patriotic resistant language learners' profile. Their lack of mutuality with the local community of practice and limited affordances offered to them caused them to never fully engage in the community of practices and they felt alienated to the extent that their identities are threatened. They often times misbehaved and harassed people around as a tactic of empowerment. According to Bucholtz (1999), participants who embrace the identity of a speech community will demonstrate positive behavioral practices, while others who resist to identify with that community distance themselves from it. In this sense, my subjects' preference for misbehaving can be considered as a form of resistance.

Bryan, Ashley, David and Samuel's cases show us how our behavior is strongly governed by the way we have been socialized in our home language and culture. Bourdieu (1997) explains that during upbringing, schooling, or any other forms of socialization people go through the processes of 'symbolic power' or 'symbolic violence' through which people are indoctrinated in a form of being and behaving, which he already calls 'habitus.' And language socialization explores how habitus is produced and reproduced and how it is negotiated and transformed with socialization (Ochs, Solomon, & Sterponi, 2005). However, Bourdieu and Passeron (1997) offer the idea of multiple habituses and they differentiate between primary habitus that is acquired during 'primary socialization process' (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) at home, and secondary habitus that is acquired during 'secondary socialization process' (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) at school or at other educational contexts. Although the latter is supposed to be more durable, it is noticed that it is more prone to change because it is

multiple. My participants experienced an almost painful degree of distance between the secondary habitus they were supposed to adopt in the US and their primary habitus developed through their Turkish upbringing.

Kramsch (2009) can explain why the primary habitus is more durable for my subjects. It is because it is the outcome of historical sedimentation of a set of behaviors, ideologies and beliefs that have been inculcated into them in more permanent ways of being. During primary socialization, an individual's biographical history is molded in line with the history of the speech community through nurturing by the extended family, schooling, and social and professional processes. However, in secondary socialization and particularly in cross-cultural encounters, subjects' histories might collide with each other "because these different histories operate on different timescales - the lived timescale of personal memory versus the historical timescale of the whole society" (p.113). Thus, my participants struggle to decide what course of action to take in relation to their encounters on campus, at the dormitories or at other social contexts with both local and international people and their being unfriendly can be considered as a clash between two timescales as Kramsch suggests. According to my subjects, in their daily social encounters, the barriers include not only the linguistic incompetency but also the clash of two or three social positions, symbolic capitals as well as several personal histories.

Another salient topic that emerged in relation to transnational ethnoscapes was 'symbolic violence.' As transnationals, my subjects intermingled with locals who live more fixed lives in comparison to their fluid lives. So they had to navigate the tension between the fixed national and linguistic rhetoric and obvious expressions of ethnolinguistic identity. Bryan, Ashley, David and Samuel and in some other examples, I came to understand that all of my other subjects became the victim of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1991) at varying degrees. When symbolic capital (e.g., the right to be listened to, reputation, fame, and the

like) is used as a force to control people in subordinate positions, it is called an act of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991). In their discursive positionings, several times my subjects revealed that the extent to which they were exposed to this symbolic violence stemmed particularly from their limited language abilities. But they responded to this violence with their elite social class standing and also avoidance (by just keeping silent) (e.g., Samuel's encounter with the nationalist dormitory owner after Boston marathon bombings, David's elevator encounter, and Ashley's submissive tone in her second language encounters). Yet moreover, some of my subjects have noticed that their first language identity was changed due to the avoidance they developed in their second language. Ashley, for example, was a socially extroverted and assertive person but after positioning herself as a victim of her language barrier in the second language, she developed a similar submissive stance in her first language.

There were hardly any proofs that these subjects, Ashley, David, Bryan and Samuel developed deep connections with members of either the local community or the international community. Instead, their discursive positioning shows they found alternative zones for identity construction within their closely tied community of practice who share similar experiences.

The second salient theme emerged in relation to transnational identity formations within ideoscapes. The subjects I grouped with regard to transnational ethnoscapes were more aligned towards the preservation of their home culture and language as a response to the urging flow of globalization in the host state. Accordingly, the second theme focuses on the transnationalism within ideoscapes, which are master narratives, political in nature, and they are usually about state politics. According to poststructuralists, ideology negotiates identity

and identity mediates language use, so in that sense border crossers' linguistic responses to these ideologies shape their social identification.

In this new millennium, master narratives usually promulgate a Western ideology because Western and Nordic nations are more powerful (Appadurai, 1996; Higgins, 2012). Due to their power, they are more deterministic in shaping the global flows which popularize dominant world views such as 'LGBTQ rights,' 'gender equality,' 'freedom of speech' and the like (Appadurai, 1996). These master narratives produce local, regional or national minor narratives that shapes individuals' ideological perspectives. When sojourners encounter ideologies in relation to these concepts in the contexts where they relocate, they might find the mainstream ideology compatible with their own or they might develop counter or resisting ideologies (Blommaert, 2011).

The first group were not in great harmony with the mainstream ideology in the host community. Yet the second group identified more with the ideoscapes of the community of practice, so they embraced it and built an intercultural way of understanding the world. They adopted a *translocal* ("being identified with more than one location") (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009, p. 85) perspective of culture and language. Jerome, Kiel, Rachael and Michael envision that their culture emanates from their international experiences, either touristic or educational, rather than from their home country's culture or language. They demonstrated a meta-analysis of their identity formation in their second language positioning themselves away from their home language and culture and opted for hybrid identity formations. They analyzed and criticized their own value system, beliefs and attitudes from outsiders' perspectives. Kiel, Michael and Jerome detached themselves not only from their home culture but also from the local community's culture (e.g.: Kiel disowned his Turkish and Ottoman background at his encounter with the Armenian boy in France; Jerome emphasized that he found himself neither

Turk nor American; Michael developed a satirical tone toward American society while he was harshly criticizing the Turkish people), and several cases in their narratives illustrated examples of their inhabiting *a third place* located neither in their home culture nor in the host society (e.g.: Kiel: I don't feel like a Turkish person … but I am preserving my own self and I don't want to act like anyone else I never try to act like American people. (Interview 3, November 22, 2015). Theirs were a global citizenship identity to the extent that they were marginalized in their communities of practice. Rachael, for example, discovered her Self and Other involved in the contestation and negotiation of her Muslim, gendered and ethnic identity during her intercultural exchanges in the Qur'anic reading circles. Michael, another example, explored his bisexual identity formation in the LGBTQ community in the US and he came to examine how this ideoscape and its accompanying exclusionary narrative limited his gender identity in his country. So he noticed that since he did not have access to the possible gay identity circles because of the ideoscape that curses LGBTQ community in Turkey, he could not imagine developing a sophisticated gay identity he aspired to. International romantic involvements that Rachael and Michael developed also helped them to adopt a more global citizenship perspective, yet, in deed, both Rachael and Michael were illegitimated by the institutions with regard to their gendered identities in their own countries but they gained authority through the emancipatory ideology of the institutions in the US.

Kiel, Jerome, Michael and Rachael's journey of in-betweenness and the fragmentations in their identity formations marked their narratives throughout the year. Although they were sometimes at odds with what they argued for their authentic identity enactment, they did not give up developing a cosmopolitan perspective by accepting to interact with the new cultures and experiences. They have constructed agentive selves who are also quite aware of their knowledge and skills. Unlike the first group's members, their

language fluency facilitated their involvement in the host community of practice and their identification with the ideoscapes in the host institutions.

Zoe and Joe also developed an in-between identity; however, theirs were more toward the other end of the spectrum. They enculturated into the host community and they so much wished to be legitimate members of the speech community that they were almost willing to be assimilated as much as possible. They took up as many affordances as possible to expose themselves to the language and to be able to engage in meaningful conversations within their community of practice. They picked up more colloquial expressions and had relatively closer relationships with the local people. Unlike many other subjects in this study, they were studious and they wished to pursue a graduate degree. They were more inclined to replace their own culture with the host culture, yet Bakhtin (1981), in this sense, warns against the outcomes of this kind of replacement. While he was convinced that learning another culture is an enriching endeavor for an individual, he cautions that simply replacing one's culture or language would be reducing one's self. Zoe and Joe were not aware of this kind of reduction in their identities yet it was easy to see their negotiation with their two selves in their paradoxical discourses, sometimes appreciative of their own culture but often times aligning with the host community's transnational culture. Therefore, they adopted more of the ideology in the mainstream culture even if sometimes they were alienated due to the nativist ideoscapes in the host community. Fragmentation of their identity was also revealed while they were trying to gain access to the host community as legitimate members, and they discriminated against the other international students. They somehow reflected the symbolic violence that they were exposed to by the nativist ideologies to more subordinate others. Bourdieu (1991) cautions that symbolic violence can be experienced as a legitimate power and system of meaning making. The act of perceiving symbolic violence causes the agent to be an accomplice in her subordination. In this vein, particularly Joe, although he seemed

willing to develop an intercultural perspective, could not help discriminating against the other international students.

Another hybrid identity was the empowered translocal women identity. All three female subjects, Ashley, Zoe and Rachel, enacted an agentive empowered women identity with regard to their discipline. Because of the scarcity of women in engineering departments in Turkey and in the US, they felt to carve an assertive and non-submissive women identity in the STEM field. Although Ashley was a bit more pragmatist in her choices, the other two made bold decisions and moves to empower women in the STEM area. Most of the identity construction is done linguistically as the language is the most powerful symbolic resource. Yet other symbolic systems are also used such as dress, demeanor, music, pictures, dance and the like, as is explained by the post structuralists thinking. So Rachael and Zoe particularly used these other resources to perform the empowered woman identity in their communities of practice, particularly, in relation to club events (women engineers of Turkey in the US).

All the hybrid identities constructed within the translocal ideoscapes emerged in a third place where territorial notions of culture did not build my subjects' understanding of the world. Yet they identified with translocal perspectives about culture and language. Although they developed fragmented, unconventional and marginal positionalities, they were intentionally able to develop an international stance in which they could engage in diverse cultures with an open mind.

The third theme that emerged from the results in relation to identity formation of my subjects was the impact of media and technology-mediated literacies. Significant use of the Internet, global access to music, films and TV have offered images and symbols to identify with. Appadurai (1990) suggested, mediascapes provides the people throughout the world with "large and complex repertoires of images, narratives and ethnoscapes" to experience

translocal mobility without being restricted on account of physical location. My subjects were also under the influence of these mediascapes. For example, most of my subjects' initial image of the USA was based on the blockbuster movies and some US centered TV shows that presented the country as a place full of people who are wealthy, clever, fun, colorful and tolerant for diversity. Also the news in Turkey was quite focused on the US so they already knew quite a lot about the popular culture. While they were coming to the US, my subjects brought all these images and narratives of the US together with them, upon arrival, they expected to see those perfect wealthy clever fun people around in accord with what their mediascapes had already provided for them. Yet they came to realize that the narrative faced in practice was quite different from the narrative they acquired from their mediascapes. So they had to struggle to make meaningful connections with the local American people. David, Brian, Samuel and Ashley were particularly depressed because of this discrepancy. But Jerome, Joe, Zoe and Rachael were quick to realize the same discrepancy and they strategized to meet local American people.

The Internet also provided Michael and Rachael with the new identity options in their virtual circles where they built romantic relationships. It was a common experience for all my subjects to construct their identities on Facebook, Twitter or some other social media but particularly Michael and Rachael used this Internet mediated space to form textual presentations of their selves. Michael maintained his bi-sexual identity on the match making sites and Rachael formed a Facebook page to promote women empowerment in STEM field and also she tried to maintain her observant, sophisticated textual identity in her interactions with her boyfriend from Honduras on Facebook. Although I did not have access to this correspondence due to their highly private nature, my subjects exploited a lot of semiotic resources such as emoticons, chatroom registers, multiple abbreviated forms and code mixing. Also the indexical linkages to the macro level ideoscapes such as nationalism and

Islamophobia were evident on Rachael's Facebook page. If we recognize that such ways of communication are indispensable for many in the world, it is quite ordinary that my subjects also exploited these resources to build their textual identities. As new communicative forms, these practices on the Internet make up another alternative way to enact identities free from bounded perceptions of identity.

Knowing that my subjects were all surrounded by multiple narratives, I also recognized Bakhtin's understanding of multiple array of voices that are alive in bilingual discourses which draw on different and contradictory identity positions and ideologies in my subjects' own narratives. They all performed instantaneous, multiple, hybrid, relational and often times contradictory local and also global second language identities. Their first language identities were also influenced from this reconstruction in their L2 in this context of cultural mélange.

Research question Three: What affected the Turkish students' ownership of English and to what extent, if at all, are the Turkish students aware of this effect in their conceptions?

The question of how individuals adopt a new language to construct themselves when they have crossed the border is one of the main focuses of this study. Ben Rampton, one of the prominent scholars of the field, noted that "crossing's defining interest [is] in the use of a language that doesn't obviously belong to the speaker" (Rampton, 2001, p. 50). And Bakhtin (1981) emphasizes that the troublesome process of owning a language entails the ability to claim "I am me" in someone else's language and "I am other" in one's own language (p.314-315). Therefore, to take a reflective stance towards one's languages is significant to answer the contested question of whether one can come to own a language in which one is positioned as other. A language learner's legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1991) as a speaker of English depends

on various factors such as race, nationality, accent and even gender (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999). As an attempt to unpack this complexity, I tried to compile evidence about the extent to which Turkish international students as people to whom the English language 'does not obviously belong' can become legitimate speakers in their discursive stances.

This research question has two aspects: one is the objective proficiency or my subjects' performances on actual written tests, which I designed for the quantitative section of this study and on the authentic recordings they compiled in their daily transactions. Such assessments are not very definitive in the measurement of success or proficiency because these concepts are assessed differently by different people. Therefore, along with these 'objective' measurements, I needed my subjects' own assessments about their performances based on what it is that they need to be able to do with their second language. The second aspect, then, focuses on how my subjects construct their proficiencies and the multiple ways in which they affiliate with particular linguistic practices and claim ownership of English in their narratives. Interviews, proficiency tests and the authentic recordings (which I will analyze in the quantitative section of the study) revealed that all of my subjects demonstrated agency in terms of being legitimate owners of the language at varying degrees; and their evaluations on their beliefs about native speaker status, language learning and success and language ownership found some solid expressions in their discourses.

When an individual enters a new language zone, she starts getting out of that of comfort, in which one does not recognize how she speaks her first language, or she speaks language unselfconsciously, and enters a discomfort zone of noticing the language along with its awards and limitations (Kramsch, 2009). This subtle awareness of what one can and cannot do with a new language and also the plurality of identity options offered by the new language hinders the assumption of sharedness and predictability, which we often times take for

granted while communicating with others (Burck, 2005). Thus, doing something new in a new language challenges individuals' sense of what is important to them. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) explain that individuals combine authenticity with what is already usual. This way, what they do becomes inauthentic because individuals' learning a new language is forced by the necessity to communicate. They stay in their 'performance' even though it may disrupt their sense of authenticity. These reiterative performances construct who they are in the new language as those different from the first language speaker (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). While discussing gender identities, Butler (1990) argues that this awareness of 'performance' allows subverting of gender identities. Frosh, Phonix, and Pattman (2002) hold that in a new language individuals swing along between the authenticity and performance in everyday practices, and these discourses are drawn on claims and counter-claims of ownership involving 'affect and desire for language' (Horton-Salway, 2001). By this token, what I tried to explore was what effect the explicitness of performing in English during their biennial stay in a multilingual language ecology had on my subjects. This sense of performing themselves in English has led to a growing awareness of the contingency of their selves on English, which then turned into either 'doing a linguistic identity' or a natural performance.

I have grouped my subjects according to their sense of being performers and their shift in fluency and subjectivity. This was a recursively linked process through which they tried to have their internal conversations in English, tried to speak without translation, or explored and found different positioning in English. In this process, some retained a sense of themselves as 'doing a linguistic identity,' while some experienced their performances as more natural as a "mask merging with [their] skin" as is nicely described by Sante (1998) in his autobiography while describing his immigrant experience from Belgium to America.

For the first group, Bryan, Ashley and David, the process of owning English involved more struggles than the other two groups for some obvious reasons such as their lack of proficiency, their previous language learning trajectories and their emotional detachment from English. Initially, they did not seem to think English as a new language is enveloped by diverse discursive practices and heterogeneous cultures. Then their awareness turned into a very disturbing reality for some of my subjects. They felt alienation and discomfort in every phase of their communication in the second language.

Bryan, Ashley and David passed value of judgements about their insecurity as regards their proficiency and lack of ownership of English. They were very much affected by the ideology of symbolic ownership of language in Turkish language education system. That ideology still posits the notion that a typical speaker of an L1 must be a native of an Inner Circle country and should have a very high level of proficiency. Particularly, grammar and writing abilities are the focal points for a sense of ownership of English. Institutional failures in terms of language learning in Turkey contributed a lot to the feeling of inadequacy for my subjects. Therefore, during their biennial stay in the US they were stuck with this idea of 'unattainable native speaker,' and for them, it was very hard to establish a sense of legitimate ownership of the language. Also the choice of nonstandard Englishes was not a legitimate option for them and thus they did not respect the other international people who speak indigenous varieties of English such as Indians or Singaporeans.

Along with the influences of language learning trajectories and institutional ideologies in Turkey, they developed a strong sense of alienation due to their translocal experiences. Language ecology posits that what is at play in terms of individuals taking up language is not only having language proficiency, but also experiencing timescales with which language learning is associated, dislocations of places related to the former languages, loss of

relationship networks in the first language, or affectional relationship with languages (Ushioda, 2009). For example, Ashley's account on her experience in her first year in the US exemplifies this disconnectedness.

> When people speak in English around me, I feel as if I were swimming in a pool. Since I am under the water while swimming, I feel I could hear people speaking, but it is more like a distant humming sound rather than a clear, distinct language. It is like a buzzing sound to me. So I feel as if I and the other people were living in different realms. I can hear them but it doesn't make any sense so I feel that helpless (Interview 2, 2014, Ashley).

Her sense of harmony was violated due to the discrepancy between the 'realms,' so she felt disconnected and did not even try to get in touch with her environs. What she nicely described was shared by the others in this group, and they all felt a similar alienation and during their stay although they struggled to overcome this isolation, yet they were not able to achieve the 'native speaker' goals they set for themselves.

Although Samuel, Zoe, and Rachael also mentioned their performance and insecurity about their proficiency, they attempted to legitimate their ownership of English. Unlike David, Bryan and Ashley, for them, ownership of English was not connected to native or nonnative speakership yet to receiving formal training in the language. They complained about the insufficient language teaching in the institutions in Turkey, an issue addressed often times in literature related to language teaching in Turkey (Bayyurt & Akcan, 2015). That's why they all spent some time in the US language schools as study abroad students. According to them, success is particularly shown in the written outputs of the learner. Their contention was in line with the research in bilingual contexts. It is suggested in the literature that literacy education in L2 augments overall linguistic skills and performances both in the L1 and L2 (Hamers & Blank, 2000).

Different from the previous group, Rachael, Samuel and Zoe adopted a more tolerant attitude to other international speakers. They were more aware and cognizant about the

existence of other varieties of English in the multilingual UB community. Bryan, Ashley, and David noted that the accent or the vocabulary choice of the other international students hindered communication so they always found it easier to communicate with the 'native speakers.' Although Rachael, Samuel and Zoe suffered from the same intelligibility problem with others who speak indigenous varieties or different accents, they were more tolerant to diverse accents, probably because they spent more time in the diverse language environments and their proficiency was better than the previous group.

When we consider my research participants' attitude, the rise of English as a lingua franca communication (ELF) and as a "real world need" (Canagarajah, 2005) once more raise concerns about language education in Turkey, which still relies on 'native speaker fallacy.' Since Turkish students are trained according to 'native speaker' norms and Standard English, they were hardly aware of the role of the multilingual context and multilingual speakers. Yet this has arguably become a pressing need for most in the recent years due to the wars going on in the Middle East. Refugees coming from Syria, Iran and other Middle Eastern countries, all of which increased the need for ELF communication in Turkey, which was previously heavily emphasizing 'one nation, one language' policy. Samuel observed that "even the vendors in the open public fairs try to speak in English because they have to, because there are a lot of Syrian and Iranian people in the streets." And Rachael has sharpened her listening skills in her Quranic reading circle where there are several multiple speakers with differing accents and language backgrounds, so she adopted a more embracing attitude towards other varieties.

For Rachael, Samuel and Zoe, another strategy to legitimize the language was their code-mixing practices, where they added a lot of English words to their Turkish discourse. Although these practices were considered as a "show off" by their peers and were criticized

by some of their Turkish friends, they found it more efficient in the conversation because sometimes they were stuck with the words in Turkish and code mixing allowed them to express themselves more easily. Their frequent code-mixing practices also revealed their emotional allegiance to the mixed variety of their hybrid L1 and L2s. Yet, for Zoe, code-mixing had an extended purpose, she admitted that she used it at some social contexts to present herself as a "sophisticated' person because she was quite aware of the linguistic capital that code mixing provided for her in front of her interlocutors. Edwards (1994) explained that "the strong varieties for given varieties [languages and dialects], which have always existed, based upon sociopolitical considerations; central here are the dominance and prestige of speakers' (p. 206). In other words, Zoe and others' peppering their Turkish with English might be also linked to their in-group, bilingual, sophisticated identity construction.

Jerome, Michael, Joe and Kiel were the most proficient users of English in my participant cohort if we were to make a comparison based on standardized test measures. Therefore, their attitude toward language was more secure than the other subjects in this study. Like the members of the second group, they attributed ownership to language training rather than native speakerism. According to them ownership is revealed in the daily language encounters rather than written outputs unlike the previous group who suggested writing was the prominent way of revealing one's ownership. In those daily encounters (some of which I exemplified in the results section) they demonstrated agency while positioning themselves as the assessor of their own performances, and their reiterative performances in positioning themselves in the language as agents helped them to own it discursively.

It was amazing to notice how Kiel, Joe, Michael and Jerome regard themselves as highly successful and proficient users of language. Although they learned English, in the foreign language contexts like those, the other two subject groups, they developed a better

sense of proficiency and they thought rather highly of themselves in terms of their language production. In their narratives, they referred to some proficiency areas as more valuable, and these include fluency and appropriateness and accent. It was interesting to notice that in all three groups, accent was regarded as the most important criterion of proficiency. It was not in accord with the assumptions and widely held beliefs in applied linguistics and second/foreign language teaching profession, so there might be a need to further investigate how such clashes about language learning beliefs and actual language learning interact.

A focal point for the strong sense of language ownership was their belief in their high proficiency and their desire for language. They confidently assessed others' English, as the perceived owners of a language would do. And unlike the first group, they were enthusiastic about learning more in English. They easily passed judgement about their good use and they were allowed to make such judgements by others on others' language production. They chose themselves as the authority of the language proficiency and they keenly engaged in significant face-work. While they spoke about their success, they tried not to sound indecent or immodest yet again assertive, and when they needed to mention their limited success, they tried to avoid presenting themselves as failures. This face-work was achieved interactively in their daily conversations that I tried to exemplify in the results section.

They adopted some learner strategies to be able to maintain their feeling of successful communication. The first strategy they adopted was rehearsing their utterances before speaking them. Kiel said "I pre-plan my speech before making phone calls or meeting with my professor, otherwise I am sometimes confused about what to say automatically." Phone calls were referred by everyone in this study as a site for approving adequacy in English. Michael was very much respected by David, Bryan and Ashley for his fluency on the phone. All of them gained competency on the phone after their biennial stay in the US. The second

strategy was to evaluate their utterances after the conversation took place. They reconsidered what they said so that they could repair the problematic parts in their speech. Joe observed that “Sometimes you can speak English really well and sometimes you are just stuck. If I am stuck or make silly mistakes, I keep repeating them in order not to do them again.” The strategies they used are among the ones that are usually picked by second language learners in study abroad contexts (Hassall, 2006).

Another strategy they applied was to mimic the movie or TV starts for their accents and for their formulaic use of language. Michael tried to adopt British accent through TV shows and they believed that he was perceived as a “native speaker” and adored by Americans for his “dreamy British accent.” Or Kiel was praised for his articulate speech and nice American accent. Or Joe was happy because he was considered to be an American because of his fair skin, blonde hair and pleasant accent. They all claimed to carve authentic linguistic identities; however, their speaking in clichés and formulaic language disrupted their claim of genuineness in English and could not prevent them from interpreting the language as monologic rather than heteroglosic. This is a fundamental paradox because on the one hand, they experienced the pain of using and imitating a symbolic system that belongs to others; on the other hand, they lived a pure bliss because by gaining access to this symbolic system they became subjects who could reproduce the system. Bakhtin (1981) explains this challenge as follows:

> The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent [...] adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language [...], but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions; it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own [...] [But] expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process. (p 293-4).

Thus in order to perform themselves in their second language, my subjects draw on some stereotypical and formulaic expressions until they find a genuine way of their own to own the language. The necessity to communicate left my subjects, like all of the second language users, with no option but to use the language with the knowledge that it is others' and it will never suffice. In his wise poem: *The Forgotten Dialect of the Heart*, Jake Gilbert (1994) wrote: "How astonishing it is that language can almost mean, and frightening that it does not quite." Knowing that language, even one's own language, can never express all that its users wish to explain, but at the same time it expresses much more than they ever intended to say. My subjects as social actors attempted to own their second language and reinvented it by molding it every day.

Research Question Four: How does their social class affect their social identity reconstruction in the U.S. and how it is reflected in their life stories as a result of their social experience in the U.S. culture?

Social class is one of the many constructs that shape identity such as ethnicity, gender, race, sexuality, migration, nationality, language, religion and the like. For Bourdieu (1986) in the constitution of class, habitus and field are symbolic capitals for they are socio-culturally shaped, value-laden products of habitus-mediated activities in social fields; and therefore, class is relational and emergent. Drawing on what Bourdieu argues, I attempted to explore relational and emergent class positionings of my subjects in various contexts. Social class is a multidimensional construct which includes wealth (disposable money), occupation (manual labor, unskilled service jobs, low-level information based jobs and so on), place of residence (a working-class neighborhood, or a middle-class neighborhood), education (educational level attained by one in the early phases of life), social networking (middle-class people tend to identify with middle-class people, and upper-class people with upper-class), consumption

patterns (buying organic food vs. low-cost food), and symbolic behavior (clothes, how a person holds her body, how one eats, pastimes, vacations, and the like) (Block, 2012; Kelly, 2012). Social class, in this study, was understood in the light of Bourdieu's capitals and the notion of habitus, and thus a synthesis of wealth, occupation, education and symbolic attitude was useful to develop a comprehensive understanding of class and identity. Therefore, the participants of this study were identified as the members of upper class not only on the grounds of their family income but also their sociocultural and historical class positioning based on their symbolic, cultural and social capitals.

Based on my participants' discursive enactment of upper and elite social class standing, it can be argued that their social class has impacted their identity reconstruction in two ways. First, they had to negotiate between the two opposite positionings: the oppressed outsider and the privileged insider. As outsiders, they were marginalized because of their lack of enough language competency and sometimes due to their national identity and different culture (e.g.: Bryan's Starbucks encounter in Boston and Turkish keyboard of Michael's computer and his argument with his professor). Yet, as insiders in their own Turkish community of practice, they had a strong sense of privilege and entitlement which enabled them to develop a self-assured, comfortable and sometimes disdainful demeanor. Their ever privileged status in Turkey, where class is still a very strong construct as she is an 'economic class society' unlike the 'status-conventional' industrialized countries, created an expectation on their part that they should be granted with the same privilege in the US, too, because their being affluent was a natural given for them. Theirs was a clash of two historical class positionings, in other words, two habituses. Turkey, a less developed country, operates as an economic class society, where disagreement occurs between economically determined groups such as property owners and laborers, whereas the US, an advanced nation-state, is a status conventional society, where identity politics has constituted the main focus. So they had to

balance this clash during their socialization in the US, yet oftentimes they avoided such confrontations and took their wealth as a refuge for their second language identity.

Block (2014) argues that engagement with social class in ever increasingly complex 21st century societies should be articulated in relation to intersectional thinking. "Intersectionality" (Crenshaw, 1991) is how to interpret the ways that different types of discrimination and inequality overlap and/or inextricably linked due to various class recognitions in various societies. Thus it is not possible to understand some of my subjects' being somehow marginalized without taking the multiple overlapping and interlinked social dimensions into account. These dimensions include 1) the way my participants are positioned in the Turkish society as affluent upper class people 2) their social and institutional positionings in the local community as ESL learners on alien visas 3) their status as people who are culturally different as coming from the relatively Eastern culture 4) their immersion in gender politics both in Turkey and the US (as empowered liberated women or submissive dependent women) 5) their ethnic positionings as Turkish people. These various marginalization dimensions did not work with the same force on my subjects, and neither are they all equally oppressive. My participants' powerful class positioning and their subjective awareness of their class helped them to disregard the other dimensions of their marginalization.

Their firm sense of privileged identity helped them deflect or euphemize negative experiences they had gone through in the US, particularly in relation to their language barrier and insufficient school performance. They all took for granted the naturalness of their being affluent and developed a strong sense of entitlement. Bourdieu can be safely said to have shed light on their identity negotiations. He explained that command on the economic capital leads one of the strongest power relations; simply the financial wealth and income of an individual,

as well as his or her acquired property and assets, has an influence on the individual while she acts on her environments, continuously changing and recreating them as well as their identity (Bourdieu, 1986). Since these students make up the large proportion of ESL students at many American universities, my participants thus also contributed to the idea that students of the new global elite are quite comfortable with their privileges and already know that they are going to step into positions of wealth, power and influence when they return to their countries.

Their influence on their environment created a power struggle on the part of the instructors who taught them. Coming from the lower strata of the economic ladder, instructors of these elite students might have felt threatened due to these students' having many more resources and being more capable for gaining cosmopolitan experience. We could see that power struggle in Kiel's writing class instructor who had a heavy Japanese accent or Jerome's instructor who tried to group the students as a sole authority in the class. They questioned the legitimacy of their instructors overtly on the grounds that they were less knowledgeable than themselves. Both, Kiel and Jerome, thought they deserved better training because they always obtained good quality education at private schools until then. Their sense of entitlement for privilege again empowered them at the classes they took as well. Yet, as Bourdieu suggested, while shaping their identity, they changed their environs and on the part of their teachers, they might have created a sense of being unqualified to teach those rich kids. López-Gopar and Sughrua (2014) found out that teachers in their study who taught rich kids wondered to what extent they were able to teach those kids efficiently. And they also questioned the extent to which they contributed to perpetuating social inequality by teaching those kids. Like those research participants in López-Gopar and Sughrua (2014) study, my participants' teachers might have been assumed to suffer from a similar unpleasant experience. Teachers' aspects were beyond the scope of this study but as they are the main interlocutors of these elite people in the classes, it might be essential to gain information about their attitudes and feelings

toward these people as their students for it might be a real challenge for these teachers to teach elite young adults.

The other influence of social class on the subjects of this study is that their elite status contributed a lot to construct a more cosmopolitan identity. Particularly, Kiel, Jerome, Michael and Bryan, being more affluent participants of this study, carved more cosmopolitan identities. They performed elite identities as part of their socialization processes and they reinforced their claim of exclusivity or superiority. This is what Rampton (2003) describes as the performance of class identity, which he calls the "process of symbolic differentiation" (p.68), whereby class identities are semiotically achieved.

Their mobility was one of the most important characteristic of their cosmopolitan identities. Urry (2007) argued that mobility is the most central concept of culture and identity in late modern societies. Parallel with Bourdieu's capitals, he offers 'network capital,' which highlights the extent to which an individual or a group's access to economic resources is related to the degree of mobility. Urry (2007) criticizes that "historically much literature on social inequality ignored the complex ways in which 'space' makes significant differences to understanding economic, political and cultural processes that produce and reinforce social inequality" (p.185). However, in the financescapes (Appadurai,1996), flows of money at the levels of multinational organizations and individual levels, of this age, there is now a pressing need to move beyond the local to the transnational (Grieco & Urry, 2012). According to Urry (2007), transnationalism causes changes in affiliations, particularly nation-state affiliations, and he makes reference to individuals who are highly mobile and detached from national class definitions and through their 'mobile habitus' they develop a global solidarity and cohesion (p.186). These people thus obtain status not only in their local contexts but also in the global contexts (Crompton, 2008). Although they are the citizens of nation states, they literally and

psychologically detach themselves from their local contexts and contribute to the gap between the haves and have-nots in the global world (Urry, 2007). Hence, Urry (2007) places mobility at the center of class discussions of today's increasingly unequal societies and the amount and the nature of network capital is the prime indicator of class.

Thus my subjects' identity alignment can be viewed from Urry's perspective, and their fragmented cosmopolitan identity enactments can be seen the embodiment of their symbolic class behaviors. We need to go back to Bourdieu's notion of habitus and body hexis to explain my subjects' symbolic class behavior, considering the former as "embodied, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking and thereby of feeling and thinking (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 69-70) (e.g.: how one carries one's body around, the way one speaks, wears, watches, listens to and the like), and the latter as a sense of acceptability and legitimacy in different social contexts. In essence, the subjects of this study have revealed visual and behavioral manifestations of cosmopolitan stance which lasted through repetition and routinization in their daily practices. So I may argue that they became quite habituated into a more extensive narrative of self and life style, which in turn shaped my subjects' transnational habitus.

Conclusion

This qualitative section of this study focused on the socialization processes of Turkish undergraduate students who came to the US biennially to pursue an engineering degree. Language ecology approach shed light on the socialization processes of the 10 students during their senior year in the US. Appadurai's intersecting scapes, Bourdieu's capitals and notions of habitus, field and hexis, Bakhtin's heteroglossic language and 'Other' concepts were among the synthesizing tools to weave the participants' narratives. Multiple issues were addressed in relation to the role of external resources offered to them or obtained by them,

their empowering relationships, class positionings, language investments and marginalization in some contexts. Their identity reconstruction was shaped not only by the socio-physical structure of the host country but also by the multiple alternative identity positioning offered by globalization and technology in the new era.

The data gathered through interviews, personal narratives, diaries and field observations were used as evidence for contestation and negotiation of many facets of the participants' identity (social, linguistic, historical, gender and social-class and otherwise) in a global university contact zone. The intersubjective nature of their identity negotiations (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010) were located discursively with its symbolical and historical dimensions. While some participants developed an 'intercultural competence' by taking up as many affordances as possible to engage in meaningful conversations with their social networks and positioned themselves in a 'third space,' some were at odds with the idea of world citizenship and their resistance to identity slippage has strongly shaped their identities. Of particular interest, elite social-class positioning of these students was one major factor that also shaped their narratives.

CHAPTER FIVE: QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

FINDINGS

Introduction

As a reflection of my participants' identity enactments, it can be safely said that their construction of the new language (English in our case) played a pivotal role. As is seen in the qualitative section of the study, my research participants performed themselves as doing a linguistic identity in several occasions. For some, their performance became natural and for the others it was troublesome. This process of constructing a language is a shift in fluency and subjectivity; it is an experience of speaking without the need for translating and finding new positioning within the new language. Bakhtin (1981) explained this switch like this:

> The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent […] adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language […], but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions; it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own […] [But] expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process (p. 293-294).

Thus the process of making a language one's own entails struggle. In relation to my participants' challenging process of making the language their own, formulaic language served as a tool to enact their identities along with other multiple linguistic resources. Wray (2002) argues that "Formulaic language is a linguistic solution to a non-linguistic problem - namely our need to promote and project ourselves in relation to others" (p.10). Therefore, my participants' use of formulaic language was explored as a concrete means to observe their owning the language in their daily interactions as part of their identity performance and positioning themselves in the new language as a consequence of their socialization processes.

Since this study is based on this premise that although both research areas have their own agendas and research traditions, it is not possible to draw a parting line between acquisition and socialization. Language ecology as a framework brings socialization and acquisition together to develop an understanding about the symbiotic relationship between the two research areas. The quantitative approach of the study will, in this sense, provide a thorough discussion in conclusion chapter by connecting the social and acquisitional performances of each participant.

In this vein, the quantitative approach addresses the following research question:

1. To what extent do the Turkish international students use formulaic expressions as a representation of their legitimate ownership of English?
2. How are identity enactments of Turkish international students reflected in the use of formulaic expressions?

Quantitative data was collected with the help of three different instruments: a) discourse completion tasks b) multiple choice collocational lexical items test c) daily spontaneous interaction recordings (authentic spoken corpus). As an attempt to respond to this question, I employed descriptive statistics (e.g., percentages) to make within-and cross-comparisons among participants.

In the following section, I will first present the descriptive statistics for each instrument in this section in the pre- and post-test design, and then discuss the outcomes in relation to the research questions.

Analysis of Discourse Completion Test (DCT)

Discourse completion tests (pre and post) were analyzed according the codes formed in tandem with Kecskes's (2007) (table 2) formulaic continuum. The findings presented according to the frequency variation in the production of the participants, yet the idiomaticity (nativelikeness) of the expressions were not evaluated because I was basically interested in the overall formulaic language use rather than how correct the expressions are.

The pre- and post-test results revealed the differences between the means of the formulaic language used in DCT.

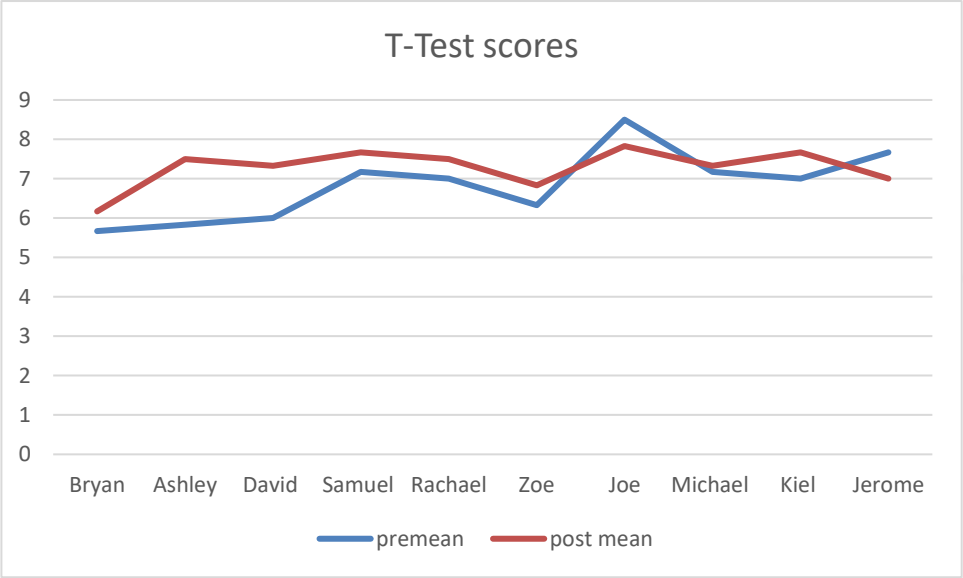

Figure 4. The use of formulaic language

T-tests did not reveal a significant difference between the pre- and post-test mean scores of the participants throughout the ten-month period during which the quantitative data were collected (p=.086). However, it can be observed in figure 3 that there has been an increase in the use of formulaic language of some participants: Bryan, Ashley, David, Samuel and Rachael. On the other hand, it can still be seen that other participants' mean scores have dropped slightly in the post-test. Michael, Joe, Jerome and Kiel used more formulaic language

than the others did in the pre-test, yet their performance slightly dropped in the post-test. Figure 4 and 5 present more detailed representations of the formulaic use in pre- and post-DCTs.

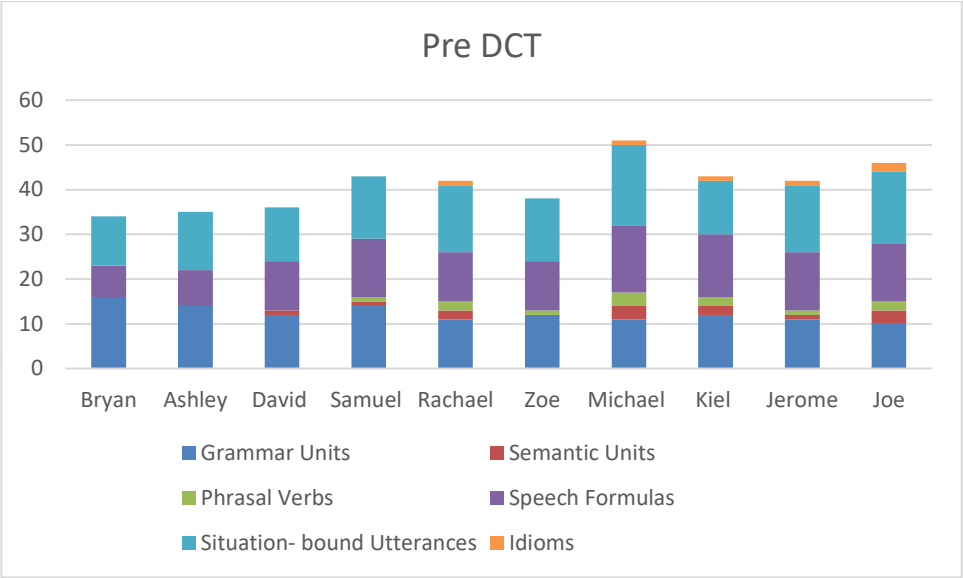

Figure 5 Pre DCT formulaic use

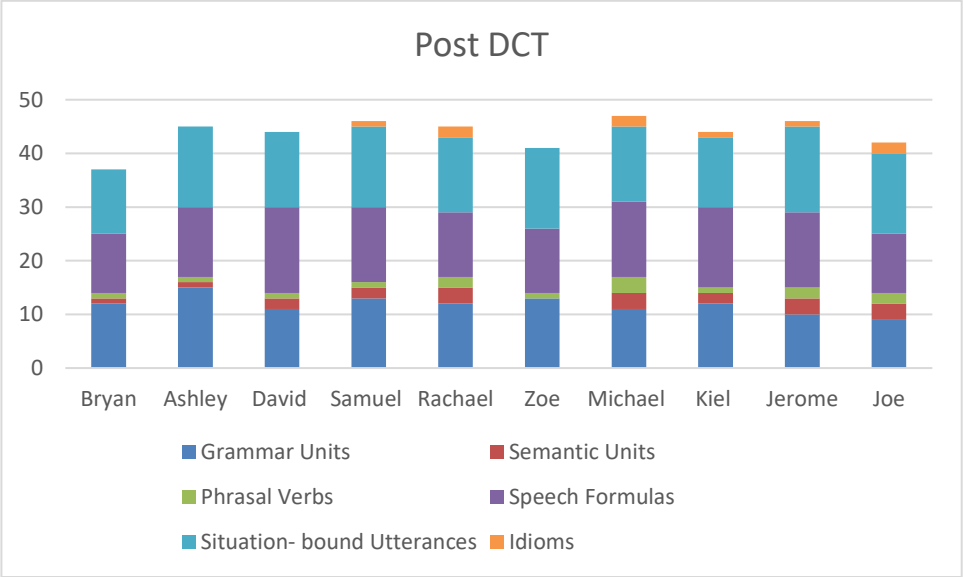

Figure 6 Post DCT Formulaic Use

It is revealed that there are three overall achievement groups among the participants. The first group, Ashley, David, and Bryan were less proficient, and Zoe, Samuel, and Rachael

were somewhat similar in their production with a slightly better performance than the first group, and the last group, Kiel, Jerome, Michael and Joe were more proficient than the other two groups. As illustrated in figure 4 and 5, Ashley, David and Bryan were more verbose than the other two groups because they used more freely generated expressions in both pre and post-DCTs. while the other two group participants provided shorter and more formulaic expressions. Although the first groups' post-test findings revealed a decrease in their use of freely generated utterances, they still relied very much on these expressions than the other two groups. Table 5 below demonstrates the overall use of formulaic language by all of the participants.

Table 5: The use of formulaic language in DCTs

The use of formulaic language by each participant in DCT

		Freely generated	Semantic units	Phrasal verbs	Speech formulas	SBU	Idioms	Total
Bryan	Pre	16	0	0	7	11	0	34
	Post	12	1	1	11	12	0	37
Ashley	Pre	14	0	0	8	13	0	35
	Post	15	1	1	13	15	0	45
David	Pre	12	1	0	11	12	0	36
	Post	11	2	1	16	14	0	44
Samuel	Pre	14	1	1	13	14	0	43
	Post	13	2	1	14	15	1	46
Rachael	Pre	11	2	2	11	15	1	42
	Post	15	3	2	12	14	2	48
Zoe	Pre	12	0	1	11	14	0	38
	Post	13	0	1	12	15	0	41
Michael	Pre	11	3	3	15	18	1	51
	Post	11	3	3	14	14	3	48
Kiel	Pre	12	2	2	14	12	1	43
	Post	12	2	1	15	13	1	44
Jerome	Pre	11	1	1	13	15	1	42
	Post	10	3	2	14	16	1	46
Joe	Pre	10	3	2	13	16	2	46
	Post	9	3	2	11	15	2	42
TOTAL		244	33	27	248	283	16	851

As is presented in the table 5, the first group, David, Ashley and Bryan used more freely generated utterances in the pre-test than the other two groups; however, their reliance

on these expressions decreased while their use of SBUs increased in the post-test. Since they were less proficient than the other two groups, their expressions were not as idiomatic as the other two groups'. In the second group, except for Samuel, Rachael and Zoe increased their use of freely generated expressions. They did not tend to use freely generated expressions as the first group members did, probably because they felt more at ease with the formulaic use of language. In the last group, interestingly, Michael and Kiel used the same number of free expressions in pre and post-tests although the expressions they use in both tests were different. Jerome and Joe slightly decreased their use of freely generated utterances, which did not hinder their use of formulaic utterances in the post-test, though.

Bryan used the highest number of free generated expressions (16). Even though he decreased the number of these expressions in the post-test, he still increased the number of speech formulas and SBUs he used in the post-test. The number of speech formulas used by David was the highest in the post-test and he increased it 5 units. He also increased the number of SBUs in the post-test. Ashley increased her use of speech formulas 5 units like David.

Rachael, Zoe and Samuel demonstrated a slight increase in their post-test productions. Zoe and Samuel's use of speech formulas and SBUs increased while Rachael's score decreased only one point in the post-test. Although there is a tendency to drop the use of freely generated utterances among the participants, Rachael increased hers in the post-test. When we look closely to her use of freely generated utterances, we can see that she wanted to be elaborate and more explicative in her post-test.

For example, Rachael responded briefly for the 1st and 3rd items in the pre DCT as following, yet she elaborated her response more in the post DCT.

1st Situation: You've made an appointment with one of your professors. However, you are late for 25 minutes for the meeting.
Professor: Hello, come on in, but you've been somewhat late and I'm about to leave. I have a class in 5 minutes.

Rachael's response in pre DCT: *Sorry about that! Can we reschedule?*
_____

Rachael's response in post DCT: *I apologize Professor, I got held up by my friend, she is having some serious roommate issues. When will be a convenient time for you to meet again?* _____

3rd Situation: You have had your hair cut in a different style than you usually do. You encounter a friend.
Friend: Wow, you look great!
Rachael's response in pre DCT: *Thanks!*
_____

Rachael's response in post DCT: *Thank you! I was going to change it a long time ago but I didn't have time to do it until now. I feel great!*

Michael was a distinctive case, too, because he used the highest number of SBUs (18) in the pre-test and he reduced it (14) in the post-test. When I checked his responses, I noticed that he was more verbose in the pre-test and he overused SBU 'come on' a lot, yet in the post-test, he expressed himself succinctly and still idiomatically. DCT number 20 might be a good example to look at his case closely:

20th Situation: You asked for help from a friend of yours with a difficult project.
You: Can you help me with this essay!
Your friend: Oh honey, I am not gonna touch it. That's a hot potato.

Michael's pre-test: *Come on, it's not so difficult, I just don't understand some parts of this project.*
_____
Michael's post-test: *Come off it, I know you did yours ages ago!*

He overused SBU 'come on' in 5 more items in the pre-test almost as a slot filler, yet in the post-test he tried to use more succinct and to the point idiomatic expressions and colloquial utterances like "come off it." He also used the highest number of phrasal verbs and idioms

among all others. The phrasal verbs he used were also different in each test so in total he used 6 different phrasal verbs, which is one of the least used units among other participants. In total, 9 phrasal verbs were used. Table 6 displays the details of the use of phrasal verbs.

Table 6: The Phrasal Verbs Used

Phrasal Verb	Name	DCT pre Situation no	Name	DCT post Situation no
Keep my heart rate up	Michael	10		
Look for something	Rachael Joe Kiel	7 7	Ashley David Brian Rachael	9 7 7
Cutting in line	Samuel Michael	14	Samuel	14
Going on	Rachael	16	Michael	16
Get in	Joe	14	Zoe Jerome	14
Look for someone	Zoe	6	Michael	3
Calm down	Jerome	14	Kiel Jerome Joe Michael	14
Meet up	Michael	9		
Make sure of	Kiel	5	Rachael	16

Rachael and Joe used 2 phrasal verbs in both tests, which is the second highest number after Michael. All other participants increased their use of phrasal verbs in the post-test, which might be considered as an improvement for all the participants. Phrasal verb ‘look for’ and ‘calm down’ were overused in both tests and in the post-test. Probably, they served as prefabricated responses to the participants at many occasions. Michael and Jerome used a more natural expression “look around” instead of “look for” for DCT 7. On the other hand, Ashley, for example, seemed to understand the question asked by the assistant “Can I help you with anything, today?” Yet she was not able to come up with a natural expression and she said, “*I am trying to find a t-shirt*.”

And for the DCT 14, all proficient users Kiel, Michael, Jerome and Joe preferred to use “calm down” in the pot test.

> 14th Situation: You are waiting in a shuttle queue but you are cold and you want to get on as quick as possible. When the shuttle arrives, you move towards the shuttle hastily. The person in front of you, seemingly a member of the staff, seems angry because he thinks you are trying to get his turn. And you respond noticing his irritation.
> You: I am sorry I am cold that’s why I am hurrying!
> Teacher: Hold your horses, big boy. You’ll get your turn.
>
> Michael: *Calm down! Im not cutting in line, I just need you to move quickly please.*
>
> Joe: *Jesus! Calm down! Just get in!*
>
> Kiel: *Calm down! Move, only!*
>
> Jerome: *Calm down! Not funny bro!*

Their attitude was rather assertive in comparison to the other participants, who were all apologetic in their responses. It was in line with their elite identity carving they enacted throughout the year. Yet, it was obvious that they understood the idiom ‘hold your horses’ better than the others who asked me what that expression means while they were taking the test.

As far as the speech formulas, SBUs and idioms are concerned, it is possible to observe an overall increase in the use of these units. Although most of the participants demonstrated an increase in their use of these formulaic units, Michael and Joe demonstrated a very slight decrease in their use of speech formulas and SBUs. I discussed Michael’s case above in relation to overall use of speech formulas and SBUs. Although he used the highest number of SBUs in the pre-test, he decreased this number and a close look at his usage revealed that he overused ‘come on.’ Then he came up with some other expressions in the post-test. Joe, also, decreased his use of speech formulas (pre 13, post 11) and SBU (pre 16, post 15) in the post-test. When we look at his answers closely, it is possible to see that he had

a tendency to give shorter answers in the post-test although he provided relevant responses in both pre and post-tests. Additionally, he omitted the overused ‘OK, well!’ in the post-test and he used a more appropriate expression.

> 17th Situation: You are on campus. A stranger asks you where the Capen Hall is.
> Speaker: Excuse me, do you know where the Capen Hall is?
> You: Go straight ahead and take a left at the park.
> Speaker: Thank you.
> Joe’s response in the pretest: *it's the big brick building, you can't miss it! I am sure you’ll be OK!*
> ---
> Joe’s response in the post-test*: No problem.*

> **18th Situation:** You and your friend are chatting at Starbucks on campus.
> You: I gotta go now. See you around.
> Your friend: OK, I’ll talk to you later.
> Joe’s response in the pre-test: *Don’t forget to text me after your date tonight, OK ?*
> ---
> Joe’s response in the post-test*: yup*

All the other participants showed an increase in their use of speech formulas (pre-test total: 116, post-test total: 132, p=.061) and SBUs (pre-test total: 140, post-test total: 153, p=.216), despite the fact that it did not yield a statistically significant output. Participants demonstrated a better and higher use of speech formulas in the post-test in comparison to SBUs. Table 7 represents the overall use of speech formulas and SBUs.

Table 7 The use of speech formulas and SBUs

	Speech formulas		SBUs	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Bryan	7	11	11	12
Ashley	8	13	13	15
David	11	16	12	14
Samuel	13	14	14	15
Rachael	11	12	15	14
Zoe	11	12	14	15
Michael	15	14	18	14
Kiel	14	15	12	13
Jerome	13	14	15	16
Joe	13	11	16	15
TOTAL	116	132	140	153

Developmentally, participants improved their understanding of figurative meanings asked in the DCT and were able to come up with socially and culturally appropriate responses. For example, Ashley did not understand the figurative meaning of 'get out of here' in DCT 12 in the pre-test, and she responded with a joke that presumably hides her lack of understanding, but in the post-DCT, we can see that she developed an understanding of the utterance and came up with a culturally appropriate response.

> 12th Situation: Your friend who knows that you smoke asks for a cigarette.
> You: I don't have any. I quit.
> Jason: Oh, get out of here.
> Ashley's response for the pre-test: *No! you get out of here (laughing)*
> ---
> Ashley's response for the post-test: *No, seriously! I have decided to think about my health! And I have big red chewing gum. You want one?*

Alternatively, David, for example, did not understand the idiom in DCT 15 and gave an inappropriate response but in the post-test, he gave an appropriate response to the same item showing that he fully grasped the figurative meaning.

> 15th Situation: You are waiting in the classroom to take an exam. One of your friends comes over and tells you that the exam's been cancelled because the teacher is sick.
> You: Are you serious?
> Your classmate: No! [laughing] I was just pulling your leg.
> David's pre-test response: *I wanna kiss you!*
> David's post-test response: *You can't be serious! You are a jerk!*

Additionally, all the participants, particularly the lower achievement group (Brian, Ashley, David) decreased their use of non-words like 'OK, well, all right, good 'or expressions like 'thank you and sorry' and replaced them with more explicative expressions. Brian's response to DCT 20 can be a sound example of this decrease:

> **20th Situation:** You asked for help from a friend of yours with a difficult project.
> You: Can you help me with this essay!
> Your friend: Oh honey, I am not gonna touch it. That's a hot potato.

Brian's response in pre-DCT: *OK!*
Brian's response in post-DCT: *come on just for 5 mins, I know that you did it!*

Additionally, we can observe that Brian developed a more demanding tone in the post-test, which reveals his gaining confidence in his social interactions as well.

Another interesting point was about the exclamation marks particularly used by Joe. He preferred to use the exclamations culturally appropriate particularly in the post-test, and he was the only participant who used so many exclamation marks.

15th Situation: You are waiting in the classroom to take an exam. One of your friends comes over and tells you that the exam's been cancelled because the teacher is sick.
You: Are you serious?
Your classmate: No! [laughing] I was just pulling your leg.
Joe: *hmmmmmmmm.*

7th Situation: You go to a clothing store and you are trying to find a new t-shirt. A salesperson approaches you.
Assistant: Can I help you with anything?
Joe: *nah just looking for some tshirts*.

6th Situation: You went to Wegmans. Before starting to calculate your purchase, the cashier greets you.
Cashier: Hi, did you find everything OK, today?
Joe: *yup*

3rd Situation: You have had your hair cut in a different style than you usually do. You encounter a friend.
Friend: Wow, you look great!
Joe: *Ha thanks!*

His use of exclamation marks is in accordance with the social identity that he tried to enact throughout our interviews. He wanted to blend in the culture very much and his preference of exclamations in the culture is an obvious representation of his desire to develop an American identity. The other participants kept on using Turkish exclamations even though the other party did sometimes not understand them.

The last unit in the continuum is the idioms. The lower achievement group did not use any idioms in either tests; however, the other participants revealed a tendency to increase their use of idioms, although no statistically significant output was obtained (p=.104).

Table 8: The use of idioms

	idioms pre-test	idioms post-test
Bryan	0	0
Ashley	0	0
David	0	0
Samuel	0	1
Rachael	1	2
Zoe	0	0
Michael	1	3
Kiel	1	1
Jerome	1	1
Joe	2	2
TOTAL	6	10

This finding is not unexpected. Because of the highly figurative nature of the idioms, it is hard to grasp the meaning and to use idioms appropriately for the less proficient foreign language learners. That is why, Bryan, Ashley, David and Zoe used no idioms at all in both tests. However, when we look at the results of the other participants who revealed better performance results, we can see that except for Michael and Rachael, they used the same idioms in both tests. Thus, we can assume that Michael and Rachael were the only two who really improved themselves in the post-test. Table 9 demonstrates the use of idioms.

Table 9: Idioms used by the participants

	DCT item	Pre	DCT item	Post
Samuel			4	Bon appeteit *
Rachael	20	It’s a piece of cake for you	20	It’s a piece of cake for you.
			11	I missed the boat now
Michael	18	Give me a call tonight	18	Give me a call
			15	Get out of here
			20	I know you did yours ages ago!
Kiel	9	I can’t believe my eyes	9	I can’t believe my eyes
Jerome	12	I’m just pulling your leg	12	I’m just pulling your leg
Joe	12	Here you go	12	Here you go
	16	Make sense of it	16	Make sense of it
TOTAL		6		10

*Samuel made a negative transfer while using this French expression. In Turkish, there is an idiom ‘afiyet olsun’ which means ‘enjoy your meal.’ However, Samuel probably knew this similar French expression “bon appétit’ and wanted to replace it with the Turkish equivalent, yet he misspelled it.

Although some of the participants did not produce any idioms, we can still see their progress through some DCT items where the idioms were used (11, 12, 13, 14, and 15). Some of the participants did not understand the idioms used in the DCT items so they responded inappropriately in the pre-test. However, they proved that they developed a correct understanding of the expression in the post DCT. Ashley and David’s cases are described above.

The overall DCT scores revealed a positive change in the Turkish students’ use of formulaic expressions, which indicated a tendency to adopt a socially appropriate colloquial language usage. It can be concluded that in addition to grammatical usage, concise and culturally accepted idiomatic responses helped the participants to gain acceptance in the host culture.

Analysis of the collocation test

The formulaic continuum by Kecskes (2007) focuses on the different kinds of idioms: SBUs, speech formulas or semantic units with arbitrary boundaries. However, as is also demonstrated in the literature, second language learners’ main challenges lie in differentiating between combinations that are free and the ones that are restricted (Howarth, 1998). In this respect, I needed an additional means to measure the participants’ phraseological competence of collocations, which are also an essential part of formulaic language. Unlike the production of DCTs, multiple-choice questionnaires elicit far more restricted responses. Since a DCT

task would yield some arbitrary responses that are coherent with the context specified in the stimulus item about formulaic language use, in order to gather more solid impression of the learners' lexical knowledge of collocations, I needed a more fixed means of data collection. Therefore, I developed a multiple choice vocabulary test that aims to measure the proficiency level of students in terms of their collocational competence upon their arrival in the U.S. and after their almost one year stay.

During the analysis of DCTs, it is revealed that there were two proficiency groups: lower proficiency group (Ashley, David, Bryan, Zoe, Samuel) and higher proficiency group (David, Michael, Jerome, Joe and Rachael). Since it would be unfair to compare the within group scores of participants in the lower proficiency group with a highly proficient participant, I decided to run the test using these proficiency groups. This way, it would be easier and fair to compare the change in their performance within their achievement group. Thus, I decided to use these two proficiency groups to compare the participants' mean scores on the strong and weak collocations in the pre and post-tests.

The most convenient statistical method chosen was repeated measures ANOVA analysis since the same participants were measured twice by pre and post-test. The test type and the collocation types were taken as within measures of the study. In addition, the statistical assumptions of the repeated measures ANOVA were checked before initiating the final analysis process and assured to pursue the analysis.

Table 10 below presents the results of descriptive statistics of the pre, post-test results of the collocation test. The participant groups are named as G1 (Higher proficiency group) and G2 (Lower proficiency group). According to the means of the pre-test results, both groups performed at a slightly different rate (G1 M = 4.97 / G2 M= 3. 91). These results revealed that there was a discrepancy between the groups pre-experimentally in terms of pre-learning

backgrounds. However, the means of the post-test results showed a positive variance in favor of G1, which benefitted more from their stay in the US (G1 = 67. 2475/ G2 = 64. 8154). The obtained descriptive statistical findings are illustrated in Table 10.

Table 10: Descriptive statistics from RM ANOVA for pre and post-test of collocation test, M (means) – SD (Standard Deviation).

Group		**Pre test**	**Post test**
G1 (5)	**M**	32,74%	67,24%
	SD	7,269	7,269
G2 (5)	**M**	35,17%	64,81%
	SD	8,923	8,924

A repeated measures analysis was conducted to determine whether the observed variance in the means of the post-test results was statistically significant. The results, as seen in table 11, revealed that a variance was observed in favor of the higher proficiency group (G1), yet the means of post-test results was not significant ($F_{1, 8} = .955$, p = .334, partial eta squared = .022, power =.159).

Even though the proficiency rates were different, the groups performed in a parallel manner on both collocation tests. Although the increase rate (of means) in both groups was quite large (nearly 30 points), there was not a significant difference between the groups. However, it can still be commented that regardless of the collocation type, the groups' learning performance during their stay in the US in one academic year period in the context of collocations was positive.

Table 11: Test of within subjects effects from RM ANOVA for test results

Source		Type II Sum of Squares	df	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power[a]
time	Huynh-Feldt	22313,204	1,000	165,243	,000	,797	1,000
time * GROUP		128,989	1,000	,955	,334	,022	,159
Error		5671,370	8	135,033			

Descriptive statistics of the pre and post-test results in terms of collocation type are presented in Table 12. When pre-test results of both strong and weak collocations were examined, it was found that the means of both groups were somewhat comparable (G1 strong collocation (sc) = 47.68/ weak collocation (wc): 52.37), (G2 sc = 49.62 / wc =50.41). G1 showed better performance in weak collocation items but G2 revealed equally better performance in strong collocation items in the pre-test. Unexpectedly and interestingly, the means of post-test results of both groups as compared to those of pre-test results indicated a decline in terms of strong collocation items. Despite this stated decline, it is revealed that the decline in the higher proficiency group (G1) was less than the lower proficiency group (G2) (G1sc =47.68 / 45.91, G2 sc = 49.62 / 44.06). Both groups, on the other hand, revealed a better performance in the weak collocation items in the post-test in comparison to the pre-test results but the results this time showed a positive variance in terms of G2 (G1wc =54.08, G2 wc = 57.18).

Table 12: Descriptive statistics from RM ANOVA for pre and post-test with regard to strong and weak collocations, M (means) - SD (Standard Deviation).

Group		Pre test Strong C	Pre test Weak C	Post test Strong C	Post test Weak C
G1 (5)	**M**	47.68%	52.37%	45.91%	54.08%
	SD	20.82	20.86	14.96	14.96

G2 (5)	**M**	49,62%	50.41%	44.06%	57.18%
	SD	17,58	17.54	12.96	12.54

The repeated measures ANOVA analysis was run to determine whether the variance in the means of post-test on strong collocation items was statistically significant, and the results (see table 13) obtained from the test revealed that the difference in the strong collocation items observed in favor of higher proficiency group (G1) was not statistically significant ($F_{1, 8}$ = .421, p = >.05). Judging by the decreased rates of means in both groups in the post-test, it can be assumed that the vocabulary acquisition process was not extremely influential on learners' receptive knowledge during their stay.

Table 13: Test of within subjects effects from RM ANOVA for strong collocations

Source		**Type II Sum of Squares**	**df**	**F**	**Sig.**	**Partial Eta Squared**	**Observed Power[a]**
Collocation type	Huynh-Feldt	323,789	1.000	1,733	.195	.040	.251
Collocation type (SC)*GROUP		78,660	1. 000	.421	.520	.010	.097
Error		7848,761	8				

The test results of the repeated measures analysis conducted for weak collocation items within the tests revealed that the difference in the weak collocation items observed in favor of G2 was not statistically significant ($F_{1, 8}$ = .361, p = >.05), either, (see table 14).

Table 14: Test of within subjects effects from RM ANOVA for weak collocations

Source		**Type II Sum of Squares**	**df**	**F**	**Sig.**	**Partial Eta Squared**	**Observed Power[a]**
Collocation type	Huynh-Feldt	440.116	1.000	2.701	.108	.060	.362

Collocation type (WC)*GROUP	139.426	1. 000	. 856	.360	.020	.148
Error	6843. 968	8				

Types of collocations was also an important part of this collocation test. As is discussed in the literature review, the reception level of strong and weak collocations differs depending on several issues such as the level of proficiency or duration of stay. I tried to investigate the effect of duration of staying abroad and proficiency levels of groups on the retention of strong and weak collocations. From the analysis, it can be concluded that we cannot reject the null hypothesis, which claims that there was no significant difference between groups in terms of their competence with regard to collocation types at the end of the time spent in the US. However, the more proficient group had a slightly better performance rate on the reception of strong collocations, as evidenced by the groups' mean scores (G1sc =45.91, G2 sc = 44.06). However, the acquisition of weak collocations was better for the lower proficiency group (G1wc =54.08, G2 wc = 57.18).

When I interviewed them about their performance on the collocation test, the lower proficiency group told me that they found the strong collocation items quite hard to remember and since they do not read "that kind of difficult material", in general they were not able to remember them in the post-test. The higher achievement group, on the other hand, thought that the items were easy but the distractors were so close; therefore, they were not able to pick up the right option. Yet, as we look at the results from a holistic perspective, we can see that even though the results were not significant, all the participants made an improvement about the collocational formations as part of the important elements of formulaic language. However, it should be noted that I am fully aware of the fact that a deeper and more detailed analysis would be necessary regarding the linguistic and psycholinguistic factors that affect

the intrinsic difficulty of collocations. Therefore, the results should be regarded with caution. It is necessary to conduct a more longitudinal study to explore the collocational competence of advanced students. More research also needs to be done to determine the reasons for the decreased performance in the strong collocations.

Observation of Authentic Discourse

The last data collection tool was the authentic discourse collected by the participants once in a month from October until April 2016 (except for January), for 5 months. So in total 55 audio recording were collected. However, since the choice of the conversation type was left to students' own preferences, the majority of the recordings was service encounters; namely, 32 service encounters, 11 small talks, and 12 intense long conversations about various topics. Therefore, I decided to eliminate small talks and intense conversations for the sake of providing a proper analysis yet I still provided a table (Appendix G Formulaic expressions from the authentic conversations) that presents the formulaic expressions used in these conversations.[6] For, otherwise, it would be too challenging to systematize and organize the data. In total, 32 service encounter conversations were used. Participants opted to make recordings at various locations such as a grocery store, Macy's, the post office, reception desk, Starbucks, a bank, a hookah bar, or at&t cell phone store. The majority of the recordings lasted 5 to 10 minutes, yet there were shorter and longer recordings as well. I transcribed and categorized them according to formulaic language routines for service encounters. Then I calculated the percentages based on the word counts.

Service encounters tend to show a routine structural organization through which specific elements of the routine emerge at a certain order, i.e., opening remarks, request for

[6] I could not provide a comparative analysis of the small talks and lengthy conversations because not every participant recorded these kind of conversations but I provided a table that presents the formulaic language used in the small talks and lengthy conversations in the appendix G.

product, optional negotiations, provision of the service or product, payment and closing remarks (Fried, 2010). Therefore, the participants in this study oriented to do the tasks in this expected order of service encounters. Although they did not seem to change their interactions of service encounters with regard to this structural organization, longitudinal analysis, at the end of a 10-month period, revealed that they changed certain aspect of their pragmatic behaviors particularly in the opening, closing and request phases of their service encounters.

I divided the recordings into two sections as pre and post. All the recordings from the fall semester of 2015 are considered as the pre-tests, and the rest, which were collected in the spring semester, are post-tests. Table 15 presents a detailed information about the audios.

Table 15: Time and locations of the recordings

	Pre		Post	
	Time	Place	Time	Place
Bryan	October	-Bank	February	-Bar
	November	-Convenience	March	-Cafe
Ashley	November	- Reception desk	March	-Hair salon
	December	- Grocery store	April	-Clothing store
David	October	-Pharmacy	March	-Souvenir shop
	December	-Restaurant		
Samuel	November	-Post office	March	-Bakery
			April	-Coffee shop
Rachael	November	-Library reception desk	March	-Shoe store
	December	-Grocery store		

Zoe	December	-Cafe	May	-Clothing store
			May	- Cell phone shop
Michael	October	-Cell phone shop	February	-Pharmacy
			April	-Tobacco shop
Kiel	October	-Grocery store	March	-Bar
			April	-Cell phone shop
Jerome	December	-Bakery	February	-Restaurant
			March	-Library desk
Joe	October	-Grocery store	May	-Bank
	November	-Convenience store		
TOTAL		15		17

As stated earlier, there is a strict routine of service encounters; that is, opening remarks, request for product or service, optional negotiations, provision of the service or product, and payment and closing remarks. I analyzed the data according this sequence and I identified participants' responses based on these criteria.

In the opening remarks, three main sequences of interactions were identified, i.e., a summons-response, greeting exchanges, and third, offer of product and response. These sequences occurred in strict pairs and in various combinations. For example:

1-Summons-answer sequences:

a. Server: Can I help you, sir?
   Joe: Can I have some pepper turkey?

b. Server: Good evening, sir! How are you doing?
   Kiel: Good evening!
   Server: How can I help you today?
   Kiel: I'd like to have some margarita, please.

c. Ashley: Some golden apples please.
Server: Sure, ma'am.

The summons-answer sequence establishes a common ground for the sales transaction and expectations about the interactional roles of customer and server, and their assumptions about the service settings. In this sense, such encounters served as a means of socialization for the participants of this study. I focused on the participants' speech in these interactions rather than the servers' since the focus of this study is not the service encounters but the use of formulaic sequences in service encounters. Table 16 presents the distribution of opening devices in the recordings.

Table 16: Distribution of opening devices

Opening Device	Pre-test	Post-test
Customer initiates transaction with greeting	6.66% (1/15)	11.76 (2/17)
Server initiates transaction with greeting	13.3% (2/15)	23.52% (4/17)
Reciprocal greeting	33.3% (5/15)	35.29% (6/17)
Customer initiates transaction with no greeting	40% (6/15)	29.41 % (5/17)
Server initiates transaction with no greeting	6.6% (1/15)	0
TOTAL	100% (15)	100% (17)

As is seen in Table 16, there was a slight increase (6.66% -11.76) in the greetings initiated by the participants (Joe in the pre-test and Michael and Jerome in the post-test.) There was an increase in the reciprocal greetings as well (33.3%-35.29). Another interesting thing was the decrease in the initiation of transaction with no greetings on the part of the participants (40%-29.41%). The most common greeting form by the service providers was recorded as 'hi,' 'hello,' and 'how are you doing.' However, the participants as customers preferred to say 'good morning,' 'good evening,' 'have a good day.' In relation to this preference of my participants, cross-cultural variation should be consulted in the opening

sequences of service encounters because in Turkish that way of opening is more common than ‘hello,’ or ‘how are you doing?’

In the next phase of service encounters is the request for service or product. I have identified several pragmalinguistic resources to generate a request for service in the data. Figure 7 demonstrates the overall linguistic formulas used for requests for service by the participants.

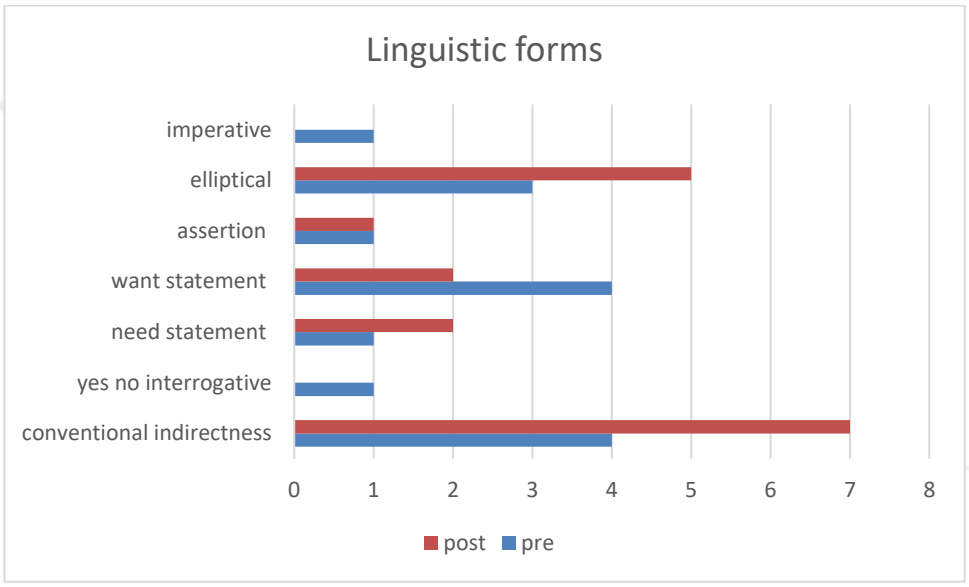

Figure 7: Formulaic units for requests for service

Although my data on service encounters were not large enough to make bold claims about the preferences of my participants, they can still give some hints based on their use of language at hand. When we look at Figure 7 closely, we can see that there is a small difference between the use of formulas for the service encounters in the fall semester (pre) and the spring semester (post). There has been an increase in the conventional indirectness (e.g., ‘Can/could I buy/take/get a sandwich?’). There were four conventionally indirect expressions in the pre data, and it increased to 7 in the post data. There might be two reasons for this increase. The higher proficiency students did not make recordings of service encounters in the fall semester, but in the spring semester, their recordings included service

encounters, and since they speak English more idiomatically than the lower proficiency group, there has been an increase in the post data. Having checked the transcripts, it can be seen that 4 conventional expressions were from Joe, Jerome, Kiel and Michael, and the other 3 were from Rachael, Samuel and Bryan. However, in the pre data, Bryan, David and Zoe used conventional indirectness expressions. Table 17 demonstrates the details of their use of the conventionally indirect requests.

Table 17: The use of conventional indirectness

	Pre	Post
Bryan	Can I speak with a customer client representative? (at a bank)	Can I get egg sandwich? (at a café)
David	Can I get antiviral cold sore cream? (at a pharmacy)	
Zoe	Could I have a caramel macchiato? (at a café)	
Rachael		Can I get a bigger size of these sneakers, please? (at a shoe store)
Samuel		Can I get a bread, thin sliced? (at a bakery)
Michael		Can I get a non-fat latte with an extra shot at 130 degrees and no foam, please? (at a café)
Jerome		Can you tell me where is the printer, I want to print my project but these printers are not working? (at a library reception desk)
Kiel		Could you please help me to find a spare battery for my Samsung note 7? (at a cell phone shop)
Joe		Can I ask a question? May I connect my saving and checking accounts, or can I get a new account if you can't merge those accounts? (at a bank)

Although some of the participants made grammatical, lexical and pronunciation mistakes, they were able to convey their messages. There was no communication breakdown. Such a case was experienced by David, when he asked for an antiviral cold sore cream, and the service provider did not understand his Turkish way of pronouncing the word as 'antiviral' ([antıvıral] in phonetic alphabet) and made him repeat the word three times, finally correcting him by giving the correct pronunciation. In a similar instance, at Walmart, David asked the sales assistant where he could find the aluminum foils, but since he made a negative transfer from Turkish, he said, "Where is the [aminyum folyo] ?" instead of "Where are the aluminum foils?" Due to this error, the service provider was not able to understand the request, so David needed to check the pronunciation from his dictionary and showed the word to the service provider. Yet, in many other interactions, grammar and pronunciation did not get in the way of lower proficiency participants' making themselves understood. Higher proficiency participants' expressions were quite to the point idiomatically and reflected their fluency. For example, Michael's coffee order ("Can I get a non-fat latte with an extra shot at 130 degrees and no foam, please?") is a reflection of his fluency and his assertive personality.

Another notable difference in the table is the decrease in the elliptical (verbless) requests (e.g., 'thin-sliced Italian bread') in the post data. There were 5 elliptical instances in the pre data and this number decreased to 3, which could be considered as a sign of adopting more natural and kinder ways of requesting service. Alternatively, the reason could be the time constraint or reluctance to socialize and being friendly because in 2 instances in the pre data, it was quite obvious that the participants (Ashley and Bryan) were quite abrupt: they requested what they needed and left without any exchanges of goodbye.

Want and need statements were the third preferred way of formulaic request expressions. There were four want statements in the pre data by Joe, Samuel, Michael and

Kiel. In addition, in the post data, Bryan and Ashley were the only participants to use want statements. Examples:

- Umm, I'd like a pound of gold turkey breast, please! (Kiel, at a grocery store)
- I want to send a big package to Turkey, how much is it going to be? (Samuel, at a post office)
- I want a bottle of American Amber Ale (Joe, at a convenience store)
- I'd like to upgrade my plan and increase my data. (Michael, at a cell phone store)
- I'd like to have English style bitter, please! (Bryan, at a bar)
- I want to have a shorter hair. (Ashley, at a hair salon)

Similarly, the need statements were also referred as a frequent way of requesting by the participants. There were 2 need statements in the post data and 1 in the pre data.

- I need a single room. (Ashley, at a reception desk)
- We, uhmm, I need a milk. (Bryan, at a convenience store)
- I need a present for my brother. (David, at a souvenir shop)

Assertions, yes/no interrogatives and imperatives were the least used units in the data. There was one example of assertion in the pre and post data; David said, "I will take soup first." at a restaurant, and Ashley said, "I'll try a bigger size of this skirt." When the contexts are considered, it can be seen that they were appropriate request forms. One yes/no question was used by David ("Do you have a veggie soup?"), and this question needed a pragmatic interpretation on the part of the service provider and it was understood as a request for a service rather than as a request for information. Rachael used one imperative in the pre data: "Give me a kilo of tomatoes" and no imperatives were used in the post data. Imperatives are

usually the frequently used forms in Turkish service encounters, so probably she might have made a negative transfer from Turkish.

The next phase of the service encounters is the negotiation of the request, which comprises various joint actions that are exploited to negotiate the interactions, such as clarification requests, optional requests, personal preferences, and the delivery of the product and purchase (Shively, 2011). The placement of the service was in the second turn in almost all service encounters in the data. Bailey (1997) identifies two types of service encounters a) socially minimal ones that include openings, negotiations of the exchange and closing, b) socially expanded ones, which include additional discussions on interpersonal topics. Socially minimal service encounters comprise the majority of interactions in these data. Only Michael and Rachael had some extension in one of their encounters. The others were all transaction oriented and short. Rachael's example below will illustrate a generic request and a subsequent construction of small talk to accomplish a successful service encounter.

01 Service provider: How can I help you today, miss?

02 Rachael: Can I get a bigger size of this sneakers, please?

03 S: Is it going to be 8 or ……?

04 R: Yes, eight and if you can't find it in 8, I can also try 8 and a half.

05 S: Sure! [leaves and comes back a few minutes later]

06 S: There you go! One pair of eight and one pair of eight and a half for you.

07 Let me know which one is better.

08 R: Oh, thank you. (Tries the shoes on).

09 S: I like the color of your sweater. It looks so good on you.

10 R: Oh thank you. You are so kind. I bought it last year during the winter

11 sales.

12 S: I know, right? I always try to do shopping during those sales.

13 R: Isn't it great to get some nice things at a cheaper prize?

14 S: Well [laughs] who doesn't love cheap and nice stuff?

15 R: Do you have any discount on the shoes, here?

16 S: Unfortunately, these aren't discounted but the ones with the red tag on, in

17 that section have discounts.

18 R: That section?

19 S: Let me show you. [walking]

20 S: This aisle and this aisle are 40% off the prize and if you buy one pair

21 from this section, you can receive another 20% off.

22 R: Oh, thank you! [Probably checking on other pairs of shoes] Can I try

23 these Steve Maddens on?

24 S: Sure, go ahead.

25 R: Hmm, I don't know.

26 S: Or you might wanna try these Adidas shoes.

27 R: OK. Let me see. [tries them on]

28 R: These are 65, right?

29 S: Let me see! Yes, the discounted prize is 65.

30 R: Oh, OK. These are OK. They are 8! I won't buy the other ones. Thank

31 you.

32 S: No problem. Is there any other thing I could help you with today?

33 R: No, thank you. That's all.

34 S: Well then, have a good one!

35 R: Thank you, you too.

Rachael's encounter above includes all the required components of a complete request, e.g., the amount (lines 28-29), the product type (line 02), and the brand (lines 23, 26). Also, a small talk on a personal item (lines 9-14) was added along with the queries for additional information (lines 15-21) and some clarification requests (lines 22, 28). The negotiation of the request included additional social actions on both parties. The service provider issued an offer to try a different brand (line 26). The pre closing phase begins in lines 32 to 33, followed by the terminal exchange (lines 34-35).

In Michael's recording, the relational topic was a comparison between the US and Turkey on cell phone operating systems. The other participants' transactional talks occurred almost sequentially. The following excerpt can be an example of such brief encounters.

01 Service provider: Can I help you?

02 Samuel: yeah, can I gave some, uhmm, one Italian bread?

03 Serv: How do you like it sliced, thin or regular?

04 Sam: Thin.

05 Serv: OK

06 Serv: there you go- anything else?

07 (delivers the product)

08 Sam: no

09 Serv: alright

10 Sam: Thank you

The majority of the recordings were similar explicit requests that included the three required components of a service encounter: the amount (line 02), the product type (line 02), and the thickness (lines 3-4) (or some other context appropriate features such as slice, box, pound and the like). Unlike Rachael's or Michael's recordings, there were no additional personal or

related topic discussions. It was probably due to the lack of required proficiency level of the lower proficiency participants or the reluctance of the participants to socialize with the service providers.

The final structural element in the service encounters is the closings. Both parties, service providers and the participants, often times by the service providers initiated the closings. The most frequent way of closing was with the word “thank you” or other expressions of gratitude. The end of the transaction was marked by the server’s question about the need for additional service (e.g. “Can I help you with anything else?”) and the participant’s response in the form of a pre-closing device that signals the end of the transaction (e.g. “No, that’s it.”) If the participant has another thing to request, the transaction continues, otherwise it is closed with reciprocal ‘thank you,’ or a ‘thank you’ on the part of the service provider or the participant. Examples of terminal exchanges from the data are presented below:

Excerpt 1:

Service provider: Here you go, miss!

(delivers the product)

Zoe: thank you

S: Is that it?

Z: yeap!

Excerpt 2:

Service provider: Anything else I can do for you?

Kiel: No, thank you!

Excerpt 3:

Service provider: Anything else?

Joe: that's it. Thank you!

S: Thank you. Happy Easter!

J: You too! Thank you!

Table 18: Distribution of closing devices

Closing device	Pre	Post
No closing found	1	0
Participant closes with thanks	4	5
Server closes with thanks	2	3
Reciprocal thank you sequence	6	8
Closing only – no thank you forms	2	1
Total	15	17

As is seen in the Table 18, most of the interactions in both data were closed with a reciprocal thank you (6 in the pre data, 8 in the post data), and the other pre dominant norm was the participants' closing the interaction with a thank you (4 pre, 5 post). There were very few transactions with no closing remarks. The slight increases in the post data may be a sign of participants' getting used to the closing norms of the speech community, although we may not be able to make a bold claim without collecting further data with more participants.

DISCUSSION OF THE QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Introduction

In the previous section, my participants' use of formulaic language was explored as a concrete means to observe their ownership of the language in their daily interactions as part of their identity performance and positioning themselves in the new language as a consequence of their socialization processes. Thus, the quantitative findings exhibited some perspectives regarding the influence of language socialization on the acquisition of formulaic expressions. The discussion will be presented in reference to the following research questions:

1. To what extent do the Turkish international students use formulaic expressions as a representation of their legitimate ownership of English?
2. How are identity enactments of Turkish international students reflected in the use of formulaic expressions?

Data coming from four different instruments: a) discourse completion tasks b) multiple choice collocational lexical items test c) daily spontaneous interaction recordings (authentic spoken corpus) focused on three different types of formulaic expressions, i.e., speech formulas and SBUs, collocations and service encounter routines. What follows is the discussion of the results with regard to the two research questions.

Research Question One: To what extent do the Turkish international students use the formulaic expressions as a reflection of their ownership of English?

One of the main conclusions drawn out of data was that even if it was not statistically significant, The Turkish international students' socialization process in the US increased their use of formulaic expressions, as is evidenced in the literature (Kecskes, 2000; Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992; Ortaçtepe, 2013; Wray, 2002). Based on the test results, the students were placed into two proficiency groups: lower proficiency (Bryan, Ashley, David, Samuel and Zoe) and higher achievement group (Michael, Kiel, Jerome, Joe and Rachael). The results revealed that the lower proficiency group increased their use of formulaic language better than the higher achievement group. Howarth (1998) stated that less proficient learners overuse the formulaic language as they grasp formulaic expressions during their acquisition process, while more advanced users attempt to generate their own creative version of sentences instead of sticking to the pre- fabricated chunks. In line with what Howarth (1998) argued, lower proficiency group overused specific formulaic expressions, so their overall use of formulaic language was more than the higher proficiency group. Figure 3 demonstrates the linear

increase in Bryan, Ashley, David, Samuel and Zoe's use of formulaic expressions in the DCT tests. Higher proficiency group, on the other hand, also increased their use of formulaic expressions, yet they were more prone to use their own short creative ways of grammatical regularities. DCT tests revealed that (Figure 3) Joe, Michael, Kiel and Jerome had a rather fluctuating and sometimes temporal decrease in the use of formulaic expressions.

Higher proficiency group had a more proper use of formulaic expressions in the DCTs, collocation tests and authentic audios although the lower proficiency group used overused and often times misused the formulaic expressions. Kecskes (2012) argued that proper use of formulaic expressions is necessary for linguistic creativity, and that linguistic creativity is not a sentence level phenomenon. Creativity of the higher proficiency group in that sense was a communicative behavior that works with meaning units, which are more complex than sentences. Creativity can be considered as "an interplay of grammatical rules, lexical choice, functional adequacy, situational appropriateness, stylistic preference, and norms of use" (Kecskes, 2012, p. 135). According to Kecskes (2014) and Van Lancker and Rallon (2004), artfully combining formulaic expressions with newly generated units to convey one's message is what makes language use creative. Bryan's or David's increased use of formulaic language in the post-test, while Michael's or Rachael's moving away from the fixed formulaic language to alternative, succinct and more colloquial language use (e.g. Michael's response in DCT ": It's the T.A. who reads the exams. He is a git!") to express themselves might be proof of what Kecskes (2014) argues for creativity. Wray (2002) sees the same creativity as a problematic process though because according to her this tendency results in the production of finely grammatical expressions which are not often times used by native speakers. Jerome's lengthy apology to his professor can be a nice example of this unnatural use of language "Ohh, I'm really sorry professor, even though I've tried my best I couldn't come on time. Is there any other time that fits to your schedule that I could come?" Ellis

(2004) explains that this lack of idiomaticity results from not accumulating enough native repertoire of formulaic language. In that sense, Michael has the most idiomatic use of language among the other participants because I believe he accumulated enough linguistic information recourses to sound more natural thanks to his long visits abroad and his investment on the language.

Wray (2002) cautions that in order to be successful in an L2, an individual must establish a balance between formulaicity and creativity; yet for the adult learners it is a rather challenging goal to achieve because the learner usually blunders towards the more creative strings. Myles, Hooper, and Mitchell (1999) observed English learners of French for two years and they concluded that although the learners did break down the utterances initially, these breaking down instances were triggered by their need to establish a reference that links the new system with an already existing one. In the early stages, the formulaic expressions assisted them to communicate yet their communicative needs expanded beyond what the formulaic expressions would offer them, so they unpacked their previous chunks and used them productively in generation of new utterances. Yorio (1989) also supported the findings of Myles et al. (1999) and further supported that patchy existence of the formulaic strings in intermediate and advanced learners transformed into more appropriate variants, and for those learners who were most able to use them were also the most creative in the latter stages. As in the studies of Yorio (1989) and Myles et al. (1999), in the current study, as well, particularly the lower proficiency participants relied more on the freely generated and semantic units in the pre-test DCT and authentic conversations. However, in the post-test, they slightly increased their use of speech formulas and SBUs and generated formulaic strings that are more creative. Higher proficiency group also improved their use of more figurative language as well. Nevertheless, theirs were less than the lower proficiency group but the strings they produced were more creative.

In the following section, I will present a more detailed discussion on the results based on the salient features in the results section.

Overgeneralization, L1 Transfer and Creativity in ELF use

There were some salient features about the use of formulaic expressions such as overgeneralizations and L1 transfers. The overuse of some formulaic structures was one of the most noticeable tendency in the data. There were extremely overused informal fillers such as 'like,' 'I mean,' 'I'm sorry.' noticeable in the authentic data (small talks and extended conversations) and interviews for the qualitative study. Such tendency to overuse 'like' or 'I mean' resulted from the need to be understood clearly and explicitly because often times they thought that they were not able to convey their messages. 'Thank you' was also overused in offer of help in the DCT tasks, and in the service encounters, particularly in the closing sections. "Come on" was another overly used item in the DCTs. The results were in tandem with Bardovi-Harlig's (2009) study, where she found that non-native speakers overused familiar expressions like 'thank you, 'nice to meet you,' 'you're welcome,' in contexts where native speakers do not use it as frequently as non-native speakers do. Kecskes (2007) argued that even though L2 speakers may indeed know many formulaic expressions, they mostly have recourse to overgeneralizations or no use of formulaic expressions to assure that their interlocutors would understand them.

Another type of overgeneralization that appeared in the results was to make up new combinations of formulaic expressions by usually conflating two separate idiomatic expressions. For example, David came up with the expression "*on my point of view*" while he gave his opinion in one of the authentic audio recordings. It was the blend of two expressions, 'in my view' and 'from my point of view.' In another example, Ashley said "*in other ways*"

as a mixture of ‘otherwise’ and ‘in other words’ several times in the interviews and in the pre DCT. Alternatively, Zoe used “side product” for ‘by-product’ in the service encounters.

Collocations as a more fluid aspect of formulaic expressions were also another data type where I observed overgeneralization. Lower proficiency group achieved better in the weak collocation combinations, while they overgeneralized some combinations such as ‘do attempts,’ ‘do a measurement,’ and ‘make a reaction’ in the test items. The higher proficiency group on the other hand showed a better performance on the strong collocation combinations due to their better-equipped linguistic repertoire. These results were in accordance with Howarth (1998), who argued that nonnative speakers of English overused the restricted collocations. However, due to this tendency, they could not meet the stylistic expectations and diverted unwillingly the reader’s attention to form rather than content. He argued that learners need to understand the restricted collocations, which comprise a significant section of native speaker speech and writing. Therefore, conforming to native speaker norms is essential for effective communication and the effective use of collocations by nonnative speakers is a clear sign that nonnative learners have made an important adjustment to the culture. Mauranen (2012), as a prominent ELF scholar, on the other hand, argued that such native speaker collocations are not necessary for effective communication but are “optional stylistic adornments.” Considering the interactions of the participants in this study as international students are in effect ELF, I adopted an ELF perspective to interpret the results of the quantitative section rather than Howarth’s native speaker perspective.

Approximated uses of formulaic expressions were also recognized as another type of overgeneralization in the results section. Some of these expressions were grammatically incorrect yet still understandable such as “*does it make any different*” (authentic recording, Samuel) “*on the long run*” (interview 3, Kiel), “*by the time being*” (DCT, Jerome). These

mistakes usually stemmed from the misuse of articles or prepositions. Other uses were semantically or lexically misused expressions such as "*the hen or the egg*" (for chicken and egg) (authentic recording, Ashley), "*divide and govern*" (for divide and rule) (authentic recording, Michael), "*fried potato*" (for French fries) (service encounters, Kiel). Mauranen (2009) calls these overgeneralized expressions "approximation," which is a tendency developed by ELF speakers to latch on to salient features of a phraseological unit without using the standard form, even though they use the phraseological unit in its established sense. 'Approximations' include "enough familiar material for the hearer to go on to ensure comprehension" and she argues that these phraseological units enables room "for freedom for innovation or approximation in details without risking comprehensibility" (Mauranen, 2009, p. 230). Similar linguistic forms which users find easy to comprehend and to be communicatively successful are likely to stabilize and spread; therefore, she concludes that there are "incipient patterns" in the ELF speech and thus ELF speech is converging on new preferences, although the examples of these incipient patterns are somewhat limited.

Even though it is not the case that the more speakers speak in correct grammar, the more successfully they communicate, it is true that the more entrenched structures and expressions they use, the less time and energy they will have to spend on analytic processing work and composing their speeches (Mackenzie, 2014). Although pragmatic strategies such as explication, clarification, rephrasing, and the like are quite necessary for less proficient users in this study, it can hardly be considered a disadvantage to acquire a large repertoire of formulaic expressions which save the users from a lot of processing efforts.

Negative L1 transfer was another recognizable result that came out of the results section. Similar to the previous research that focuses on L2 learners' linguistic production based on their exposure to the language and culture (Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos, 2011;

Howarth, 1998; Kecskes, 2000), current research revealed that participants' use of formulaic expressions were impacted by Turkish negative transfer. There were two main types of negative transfers in the data: The first one was socio-pragmatic negative transfer, which is "knowing that a linguistic form has specific social conditions for appropriate use," and the other one is pragma-linguistic negative transfer, which is "knowing that the linguistic form conveys the right pragmatic purpose" (Kasper & Rose, 1999, p. 98).

Kecskés (2014) argues that socio-pragmatic negative transfer stems from the culturally different perceptions of contextual variables. In the DCTs, the participants, particularly the girls responded to the flatteries by complimenting the other person instead of accepting the compliment because in Turkish, one would feel obliged to compliment the other person who has expressed the compliment in the first place. Ashley, for example, refused to get some money for the cigarette she gave to an American student on campus, or (interview 3) Bryan was always surprised by the reaction of his American roommates when he offered his food because they always wanted approval for several times by asking, "Are you sure?" (Interview 4), and he remembered that he insisted by saying "I won't talk to you again!" (Küserim!), or "See my dead body!" (Ölümü gör!). These are the direct verbatim transfers from Turkish which are formulaic expressions used in the instance of guests' refusing the food offered and since the host does not take 'no' for an answer, s/he keeps insisting by such expressions. His earlier roommates did not understand Bryan's insisting on sharing his food and he tried to explain it but he was not able to make himself clear when he first arrived to the States. His was a socio-pragmatic transfer and the perlocutionary act was not felicitous. Cordiality appears to be a quite pervasive act in Turkish culture and it affects both verbal and nonverbal messages (Zeyrek, 2001). Guests and visitors are supposed to be treated cordially and it is not an overgeneralization to say that generosity is shown in offering food and it is considered one of the most prominent forms of cordiality in Turkish (Zeyrek,2001). Bryan's and others'

politeness remarks were socio-pragmatic transfers and illocutionary acts were not accomplished.

The second type of L1 transfer was the pragma-linguistic transfer, which is a process through which L2 learners choose certain forms from among their L1 repertoire to transport into their L2 interlanguage (Barron, 2003). As stated in the findings, David's utterance in the small talks "I have a sleep" is a good example of pragma-linguistic transfer because in Turkish sleep collocates with the verb have or come (uykum var, uykum geldi), so he translated the phrase directly from Turkish and used it to express that he was very sleepy. The same expression will be the sign of showing unwillingness to do a task or that of tiredness. So in order to refuse the request for help he came up with this collocation. In another instance, Samuel made a pragma-linguistic negative transfer while using the French expression "Bon appétit." In Turkish, there is an almost mandatory compliment offered to the person who cooked the meal and the cook is expected to respond by the expression "afiyet olsun" which is closer in meaning to that French idiom "bon appétit." Samuel probably knew this similar French expression "bon appétit' and wanted to replace it with the Turkish equivalent yet he misspelled it and came up with this blend: "bon appeteit," so the result was a three lingual transfer. In another instance again, participants repeated their responses in the DCT or in the service encounters as a form of emphasized exclamation such as "good, good!" "enough, enough" because in Turkish such repetitions are addressed often times to emphasize one's like or dislike. Therefore, the participants, again, made a direct transfer from their Turkish repertoire.

One possible reason for the negative transfer in the formulaic expression might be due to highly formulaic nature of Turkish. From among the very few studies conducted on the formulaic language in Turkish, it is evidenced that Turkish is a rich language in formulaic

expressions, both spoken and written, including one word formulas used for different functions in several contexts, proverbs, idioms, greetings and apologies (Dogancay, 1990). However, lack of English equivalents of these reveals the cultural differences governing the use of these formulas. Participants' tendency to use these Turkish formulas in English causes negative transfers. That is why 'bon appétit' is used as part of this negative transfer. Ashley mentioned how uncomfortable she felt when she could not use the Turkish equivalents of formulas to express herself at some contexts.

"Bi eline saglik ya da kolay gelsin diyememek cok sinir bozucu geliyordu ilk geldigimde buraya. Hep bi eksik kaliyodu, o zamanlarda ne desem bilemiyorum ve oylece bekliyorum" (Interview 2).

"When I first came here, it was so disappointing not to be able to say 'eline saglik' (a compliment to the cook for their work) and 'kolay gelsin' (a precatory expression of entreaty for the people in their dealings). Something's was ever amiss. I didn't know what to say in such instances and just waited blankly."

Length of Stay and Acquisition of Formulaic Language

Kasper and Rose (2002) argue that the length of stay in the L2 speech community reduces the L1 negative transfer. Thus, the current study was also based on the same assumption that the time of stay in the L2 speech community would increase the effectiveness of the acquisition of formulaic language and pragmatic competence. I collected data throughout two semesters, getting constant data every month but mainly, three times in these two semesters. The overall results revealed that participants' overall production did not improve significantly; however, a positive change was still observable. The ten-month period was not enough to cover and master several L2 norms and conventions. It was clearly

observed that the lower proficiency group has improved more than the higher proficiency group because their move toward L2 pragmatic competence was more recognizable in the comparative results of the pre and post-DCTs, collocation tests, and the authentic audios. While they were using more freely generated expressions in the pre-DCT and pre-authentic audios, they increased their formulaic language use in the post-tests. Thus, the results of the current study resonate with the findings in the literature. For example, Barron (2003) investigated the pragmatic developments of Irish learners of German and concluded that a 10 month period during which the data compiled created a shift towards L2 pragmatic competence but this time span was not enough to master L2 norms. In a more recent study, Bardovi-Harlig and Bastos (2011) investigated the factors that lead to recognition and use of formulaic expressions in L2 pragmatics by '*host-environment learners'* of English. Aural recognition and production tasks revealed that language proficiency level and intensity of interaction have a significant impact on the production and recognition of formulaic expressions; however, length of stay does not have any significant effects on either production or recognition. Collocation tests in the current study also supported the related literature findings about the length of stay because the pre and post-test results revealed there was no significant difference in terms of participants' recognition of the strong or weak collocations in either groups.

Thus the results of the current study reverberates the study of Siyanova-Chanturia et al. (2011), who argued that the acquisition of formulaic expressions might take longer than a year. They particularly emphasized that the acquisition of idioms takes much longer time than the other forms of formulaic units because of their highly figurative nature. In the current study, also it was revealed that even the higher proficiency groups' acquisition of idioms was the lowest amongst the other units of the formulaic continuum. Even if they used idioms, the occurrences of idioms in the pre and post-tests were minimal and repetitive in nature. For

example, in the pre-test DCT the whole group used 6 idioms in total and this number increased to 10 in the post-test, and most of the idioms were repeated in pre and post-test. Even if the participants of this study were exposed to idioms in several contexts, they would probably need more time to process them and use them as part of their productive vocabulary.

Research Question Two: How are identity enactments of Turkish international students reflected in the use of formulaic expressions?

In the qualitative section of this study, I preferred to address the participants as subjects considering that they are exposed to several languages in their daily lives and thus influenced by the symbolic power of the language they were mainly exposed to in the global contact zone, i.e.; English. Since we are particularly dealing with the formulaic expressions embedded in the social practices of the speech communities, it is essential to dwell upon the symbolic power of formulaic speech on the identity negotiations of the participants in this study. Bourdieu (1991) explains that the exercise of symbolic power can also be observed in the form of rituals i.e.; the language used in marketing ads, acts of verbal politeness, or speech acts and the like, which do not carry any particular referential meaning, and "their purpose is rather to wield subjective and social symbolic power by upholding the conventional ethos of friendly interaction and democratic opportunity" (Kramsch, 2009, p. 9). Bourdieu and Kramsch consider formulaic language as part of the ritualized speech practices, which pervade daily life with their mollifying and anticipated little verbal practices, which reflect a larger social array. Although rituals appeal to the emotions by exploring and exploiting the resources of memory and identification, they barely have a communicative purpose yet to create a certain subjective effect on the hearer or reader.

In this vein, formulaic language, as a symbolic resource, reveals societal knowledge and tacit agreements of a speech community while handling daily social interactions

(Coulmas, 1981). That is, formulaic language organizes and regulates social interactions by enabling standard ways to prevent communication breakdowns. As Willet (1995) explains, the question in regard to formulaic expressions is not which formulaic expressions assist language acquisition but instead how formulaic expressions "enable learners to construct positive identities and relations and competing agendas" (p. 499). Thus, acquisition of formulaic language brings about group membership, helps socialization with the speech community in the contexts where the multiple uses of these formulaic expressions can be observed. In the same vein, Wray (2002) argues that we express our individual identities by using purposefully memorized strings and stylistic markers and our group member identity by adopting traditional idiomatic expressions and collocations. The desire to sound like others in the speech community turns into a virtuous cycle and formulaic language in this sense acts as an adhesive to maintain the identity of the community. Thus, observing how the American speakers handle small talk, exchange pleasantries, greet each other or complain about things would result in using idiomatic formulas that was expected to improve the interactional success of the participants in the current study. This study was based on the premise that this linguistic development would improve language socialization of the speakers because their use of formulas "would serve the felicitous purpose of furnishing the 'right' thing to say in a situation in which it is felt that something to be said" (Tannen & Öztek, 1981, p. 44).

The common theme that emerged from the results of the quantitative section of this study is the participants' use of their L2 to express their needs and their own personalities through formulaic expressions along with many other linguistic resources. Some of the participants used some strategies for successful integration into an L2 speech community in accordance with the identities they enacted in the qualitative section of this study. The extent to which they showed willingness to engage in L2 speech community made a difference in their success while acquiring the language. Some, however, used the option not to

communicate as a major strategy for protecting and expressing identity and postponed communicating until they felt they were linguistically better equipped.

In the qualitative section of the study, there were three similar identity enactment groups. Bryan, Ashley and David were strongly attached to their home culture and language, and in a way resisted developing an intercultural perspective and preferred to remain tightly in their national culture, which led to lack of language learning opportunities. Michael, Kiel, Joe and Jerome developed more transnational identities and they were inclined to blend into the L2 speech communities, and thus experienced various opportunities to improve their language skills and personal experiences. The last group, Rachael, Zoe and Samuel had in-between identities, in which they were able to put a distance between themselves and their home culture, yet at the same time, on specific occasions they decided to identify strongly with their home culture. Their identity slippage sometimes hindered their language improvement. The quantitative results were in accordance with what the research participants enacted in the qualitative section, and revealed a clearer picture of the participants' language learning and owning process in the L2 speech community. As Bakhtin (1981) posited, the process of making a language one's own entails struggle, so during the participants' challenging process of making the language their own, formulaic language served as a tool to enact their identities and some common strategies and techniques were exploited while using formulaic expressions.

One of the main strategies employed by all the members was to promote themselves using formulaic expressions. Wray (2002) argues that formulaic sequences help users to manipulate others in trying their needs to be done. For example, David used memorized sequences to promote himself, which was obvious in the service encounters and small talks: "*I'll get it"* (12 times in small talks), "*I got that*" (8 times, small talks), "*I was like"* (18 times,

lengthy conversations), "*shall I get that"* (service encounters 6, small talks 4), while Ashley used partly fused strings "*I'd like to*…" (9 small talks, 2 service encounters), "*shall I*…" (8 small talks, 4 service encounters). Bryan used a lot of repetitions; he particularly repeated the last word strings of the interlocutor in the small talks, and sometimes spoke gibberish while trying to speak fluently. Wray (2002) argues that such repetitions and gibberish talk could be a sign of not yet stored sound and word strings in the lexicon so they only become automatic after a certain time.

Another strategy was avoidance to protect the sense of self and to save face. Particularly, Ashley was a different person at home with her friends, yet shy and reserved at her other interactions outside because her sense of self was threatened severely, so often times she stayed silent and spoke at a minimum level. Tannen and Öztek (1981) explain the silence that results from face-threatening situations as "tranquility of knowing that what they say will be interpreted by the addressee in the same way that is intended" (p.46). Due to the deficit in her pragmatic skills, she could not produce appropriate responses in many situations in the small talks.

The best-attested way of protecting the sense of self for other participants from the higher proficiency group was again self-promotion. Samuel, Zoe and Joe, for example, drew attention to themselves with expressions like "*I know this*," "*I know that*," "*I heard about it*," "*I noticed that*," "*I was aware of it*," "*let me see*," "*let me think*," (small talks, DCTs), and they were ready to take initiatives both social and linguistic to start up or prolong an interaction. As is suggested in the study by Schmitt, Dörnyei, Adolphs and Durow (2004), learners' active participation and investment in the second language speech community is a crucial factor in improving the acquisition of formulaic language.

The most frequent strategy they used was imitation. An important way of insinuating oneself into a group was to imitate the linguistic patterns used in-group activities. For these highly proficient participants, Michael, Joe, Jerome, Kiel and Rachael, it meant learning of the songs and catch phrases from TV shows. Another related strategy developed by them was the adoption of formulaic routines that indicated conformity with the group culture, such as using similar exclamation markers "*mehh, jesus, nah, yeap, nope*." Other manifestations were "*goodbye, see you tomorrow, how are you doing, what's up bro, I'll see you,*" and also some other formulaic expressions played the role of ingratiation, relative to hearer, e.g., "*I like you, I love you more. I am terribly sorry, I see what you mean.*" Such use of formulas was not mainly intended for communicating information but for establishing phatic contact with the interlocutors (Wong Fillmore, 1976). They had the desire to be perceived as legitimate members of the speech community so they integrated linguistically much faster than the lower proficiency group.

Personality differences seemed to make a difference on getting better language learning achievement levels and successful socialization. Michael was a unique case and he made the most progress in terms of socializing himself though language. Michael's flair for language learning was the ability to pick useful formulaic expressions, which he put in good effect on many occasions. When he said, "*Can I get an appetizing appetizer*?" in his forced British accent, this sequence was effective because of the rhyme and rhythm of the collocation "*appetizing appetizer*." It also served the function of defining Michael's personality as engaging and cute, which is no doubt one of the features that made him popular and worth communicating with both in his small community of practice and the bigger speech community. Like Joe and Jerome, he indicated familiarity with the formulaic expressions through TV shows even before coming to the US. Therefore, although he used the repetitions

of formulaic expressions, he expanded them very easily because he improved his competency throughout his stay in the US.

Wray (2002) argues that to sound like an L2 speaker is one of the most powerful catalysts for the adoption of formulaic language. Michael, Joe, Jerome, Kiel and Rachael revealed more enthusiasm and investment in sounding like L2 speech community members, thus they developed a strong–pro L2 identity, which enabled them to understand and use the patterns of language creatively. In the same vein, Widdowson (1990) invoked 'territorial imperative' which promotes the idea that involves making what one said is acceptable to others in the same territory and improving differences vis-à-vis others to alienate them. That is, new comers adjust their language to secure their space and sustain their separate social identity. Participants that are more proficient were able to adjust their languages by using idiomatic expressions and expanding the formulaic expressions freely to reinforce their individual identities. Even the participants who were strongly attached to their home culture and oftentimes surrounded by their native language demonstrated an increase in their use of formulaic expressions in overall tests. They overused many expressions yet they improved their overall use of the formulaic expressions according to the quantitative findings of the study. Although Seidlhofer (2011) argues that "The very attempt to replicate native speaker idiomatic usage could be taken as an attempted territorial encroachment, an outsider's invalid claim to community membership" (p. 132), the participants' free usage of formulaic expressions accentuated their personal involvement and investment on the language. And considering the fluidity of the territories today, one can argue that ELF usage (acknowledging that it is an auxiliary language rather than a foreign language) has no specific territory yet it is global.

Conclusion

The quantitative section of the study focused on one aspect of pragmatic competence: acquisition of formulaic expressions as a result of Turkish undergraduate students' language socialization in the US while they were pursuing an engineering degree. The data were gathered from pre and post-test DCTs, pre and post-test collocation vocabulary items, and authentic voice recordings of the participants. The results revealed that all the participants increased their use of formulaic expressions even though the pre and post-test results were not statistically significant. The participants were grouped according to their performances in the pre and post-tests. The lower proficiency group overused some formulas but they demonstrated a better improvement than the higher proficiency group. The higher proficiency group, on the other hand, produced more concise, creative and grammatical expressions, which were based on the expansions of the formulas.

Another aspect dealt with was the effect of formulaic speech on the participants' linguistic identities. In the qualitative section of the study, the effects of the culture of the speech communities connected with ideologies, beliefs, attitudes and other mind shaping institutions, historical memories and various discourses were studied in relation to social and cultural identities of the participants. Some were able to develop 'intercultural competence' while some resisted to identity slippage. The quantitative section revealed complimentary results with regard to participants' linguistic identities. Symbolic nature of formulaic expressions has been an area of negotiating their identities. The higher proficiency group were more inclined to engage in a more idiomatic phraseology, which helped them to emphasize their legitimacy as members of the speech community and their claim of ownership of English. Moreover, the lower proficiency group, despite their language barriers, were also able to benefit linguistically from their stay in the US and promote their identities. And even

though they had a strong home culture affiliations, they also improved their use of formulaic expressions. All participants' engagement in intercultural communication and formulaic expressions enabled them to understand language rather as symbolic power than only as a reference and representational system. Thanks to this understanding, they came to notice the connotational implications of the formulaic utterances and thus, they adopted some certain strategies to own the language such as imitation, promoting their selves through formulas, and creative use of formulas. In addition, although they had a large repertoire of metaphorical expressions, they tended to avoid using those expressions in order not to cause any communicational conflicts.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

Introduction

This longitudinal and mixed method study, consistent with the theoretical underpinnings of poststructuralist and feminist theories, attempted to contribute to the contemporary shift in SLA by relating L2 learning to social context and seeking to put an effort to bridge the gap between the cognitive (linguistic) and the social aspects of language acquisition, which are dichotomized in the literature as psycholinguistic vs. sociolinguistic perspectives (Kramsch, 2000b, 2002). More specifically, this study uses a second language socialization approach and integrates key concepts from language ecology perspective; thus, it attempts to combine the dynamic, social and individualistic aspects of language development within their social context.

According to language socialization approach, linguistic knowledge and cultural knowledge are interwoven and co-construct each other (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). With a larger perspective, language ecology approach offers a hybrid social semiotics and ecosystem dynamics which include not only people, but artifacts, architectures, landscapes, food, and the like (Lemke, 2004). Language ecology approach is based on the premise that language is the main source of gaining knowledge about culture, beliefs, values and practices while adapting social roles and identities (Cook, 2003), and our identities are “modes of responses to the diversity of our villages” (Lemke, 2004, p. 74). On each of the scales of space and time, individuals develop more localized and globally relevant identities (Lemke, 2002). This expansion of the scope of language socialization and the linguistic ecology of the speech communities brings out the critical importance of understanding the L2 learners', in our case Turkish international students' prior language socialization experiences and how those cumulative socialization experiences impact their present and future language experiences,

trajectories and naturally their identity formations in multiple communities and timescales (Kramsch, 2002)

Social and cultural identities are the focus of this study because language users need to mediate their historical and social realities with the newly acquired ones, from body hexis to every cultural habitus (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus this study is also based on the premise that language learners need to negotiate their identities to legitimize their right to speak in a speech community, and language plays an agentive role in this and provides creative resources while learners construct and reconstruct new and revised identities on a moment to moment, event to event, person to person basis on many timescales (Block, 2007; Bucholtz, 1999; Johnstone, 2010; Joseph, 2004a; Lemke, 2004; Ros i Sole, 2007). In order to gain right to speak in a speech community, one needs to adopt customary idiomatic turns of phrases and collocations (Wray, 2008), and "formulaic language is a linguistic solution to a non-linguistic problem - namely our need to promote and project ourselves in relation to others" (p. 4). In this respect, formulaic language use has been the linguistic tool for the identity enactments of language learners in a speech community.

The main focus of this study is, in this sense, the second language learners who study abroad as undergraduate international exchange students. It is based on the assumptions that living in a multilingual second language speech community affects second language development; and language learning is not only the acquisition of linguistic competence, but also the negotiation of the self through language. The unit of analysis has been chosen as Turkish undergraduate international exchange students who "have both physically and symbolically crossed the border" (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2001, p. 74).

Hence, this study has two bases: the social base, to focus on the identity enactment of international exchange students through language socialization, and the linguistic base, to

focus on their acquisition of formulaic language through the same socialization process, as a linguistic manifestation of identity enactment. Bucholtz and Hall's (2010) identity framework was employed to explore social and linguistic identity constructions as sub study concepts within the language ecology perspective.

The qualitative and quantitative results revealed some conclusions as an interplay between the linguistic and social aspects of language learning.

Conclusions

One of the most important conclusions that can be drawn from this study is the idea that today language learners are offered many new identity formation opportunities thanks to the period of unprecedented reshaping of global interconnectivity we are experiencing. In Appadurai's terms, various scapes intersects in new ways thus producing alternative ways of language learning and identity formation. Various narratives of the participants of this study revealed global and local flows of ideologies and people, and media offered new contexts for new identity formations. Rachael's feminist Muslim global citizen identity, Michael's cosmopolitan homosexual identity, or Samuel's nationalistic yet hybrid identity can all be seen as evidence of new fractured fluid learner identities, which were previously unimaginable unless the shifting and intersecting scapes allowed them. All participants performed instantaneous, multiple, hybrid, relational and often times contradictory local and also global second language identities. Their first language identities were also influenced from this reconstruction in their L2 in this context of cultural mélange. In this sense, the intersection of private and public identities and interconnection between personal narratives and the larger global ideologies was one of the central themes of the qualitative section of this study.

The results of this study is somehow in contradiction with what Lave and Wenger (1991) described in their paradigm on communities of practice (CoP), which theorizes language learning as an "evolving form of membership" in the 'target language' community (p.53), where newcomers are apprenticed until they become fuller and legitimate participants. In our case, however, the participants did not opt to identify with the idea of 'newcomers' who aspired to belong the 'target language' community, yet instead affiliated with other transnationals who had experienced similar things. Bryan, Ashley and David identified with the Turkish community in Rochester because they still retain their 'Turkishness,' and Michael, Kiel and Jerome preferred to identify with other cosmopolitan elite friends living in other parts of the world. In a parallel way, in the quantitative section, not all the participants tried to use the standard idiomatic usages of formulaic language. The lower proficiency group, for example, negatively transferred the fragmented forms from their L1 or they overused the popular expressions within their groups. The higher proficiency group, on the other hand, tried to use the formulas creatively to enact their individual identities.

Additionally, along with the preference to affiliate with alternative transnationals, the participants' trajectories also revealed that their engagement in the L2 community of practice did not follow a linear fashion as is described by Leave and Wegner (1991), which moves from the first culture to the second as a result of language socialization. Except for Joe and Zoe, who wanted to identify strongly with the L2 community, other participants fluctuated between the cultures and languages, and they tried to find new ways of belonging, such as Rachael's Quranic reading group, Michael's gay community affiliation or Kiel's elite friends association. Since they considered these networks more significant in their future socialization, they became more socially networked with their alternative speech communities although their initial intentions were to develop friendships with the Americans during their

university experience. Thus, they formed new transcultural communities of practices instead of trying to legitimize their participation in the existing dominant forms of culture.

New language learning contexts and alternative communities of practices allow for revising the traditional contexts where homogenous, nation state ideologies are/were prominent. In this sense, this study made it visible that there is no longer a homogenous 'target language' context where we can see the native speakers as the owner of the language and non-native speakers as the non-legitimate members of the host community. Instead, many conversations which took place during this study revealed that the context is very complex with its global members from diverse backgrounds and with multiple languages (Higgins, 2012).

In addition to exposure of the context, personal investments of the participants in learning English influenced the outcomes of their socialization and language learning, which is also supported in the literature (Darvin & Norton, 2014; Norton, 2013). Both qualitative and the quantitative results implied that participants with more enthusiasm and motivation had more extended and meaningful relationships with the speech communities, and in return, they improved their language gains. Michael, Joe and Rachael were the stellar examples of this personal investment process. They improved not only their formulaic language use but also their personal networks in the speech community. The findings, in line with the literature, suggested that since formulaic language is quite common in daily speech (small talks, service encounters, speech acts), the acquisition of such expressions require higher levels of pragmatic competence for smoother communication. And again, as the results of the study revealed simple daily exposure can help learners to improve their acquisition even if they were surrounded by their L1, as in the cases of Bryan, Ashley and David. The better acquisition process, though, might require a longer time and more integration in the L2 speech

community engaging in more meaningful communication because the lower proficiency group could not acquire highly metaphorical expressions (Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos, 2011).

Another important take away from the study is the impact of social class on language learning and socialization. Since all the members of this study come from affluent backgrounds, their language learning trajectories did not reflect the mainstream language learning practices of Turkish youth. They took their social class privilege for granted and this deflected or euphemized negative experiences they had gone through in the US, particularly in relation to their language barrier and insufficient school performance. In this vein, this study examined the interrelationship between social class and L1, and English bi/multilingualism, which has been of great significance because when the notion of identity is reconceived by those who have the economic, cultural, and symbolic capital in structuralist terms, it might become a birth and social class privilege once again (Kramsch, 2013).

The research presented here also strengthens the point that in STEM fields, although gender neutrality seemed to be promoted by the institutions or by the faculty as a policy, the practice remains unchanged and favors hegemonic masculinity in the field. The scarcity of female participants triggered this inquiry in this study and the results revealed that all three of my subjects, in this sense, negotiated their gendered identities with regard to the organizational culture in which they study both in Turkey and the United States (Acker, 1990).

Implications

The findings of the current study may offer some teaching implications about the role of language teaching and learning practices and institutions in Turkey and suggest some teaching practices to meet the needs of the language learners in a changing new world by

fostering the alternative identities. Additionally, this study may also offer some insight about the role of higher education in the US to meet the needs of international students.

Implications for Language Education

In relation to Turkish context, both qualitative and the quantitative findings of this study raised second thoughts about the language teaching context and practices in Turkey, which is also evidenced by a recent joint report from British Council and the Economic Policy research foundation of Turkey (TEPAV) (Boyacioglu, 03/21/2014). It is also revealed in the language learning narratives of the participants that the educational institutions in Turkey failed to prepare the students for competitive skills that could help them to survive the changing needs of viable communication (Bayyurt & Akcan, 2015). The failure of foreign language education in Turkey is very evident in the stories of Brian, David and Ashley, who carved resisting identities, thereby not using meaningful opportunities to improve their language skills. Their limited formulaic language use also indicated that they were not pleased with their language education in Turkey. Devaluation of bilingualism and multilingualism is also obvious in the language learning institutions in Turkey, even at the tertiary level, because David and Ashley still attribute too much to the unattainable 'native speaker goal' and nonstandard forms of English. Although Bryan, Ashley and David reject this devaluing discourses, it was clear that those discourses in their narratives were quite powerful than their counter-discourses.

Although all the participants of the current study come from affluent backgrounds and had an access to quality language education, it was revealed in their narratives and their DCT and collocation vocabulary tests that they were not able to equip themselves with the necessary language skills at the institutions in Turkey. The higher proficiency group members often times emphasized that they taught themselves English rather than the schools they

attended. They used their personal resources and investments to learn the language. They have attended study abroad language schools, they went on vacations, and they used multimedia (movies, the Internet and the like) to improve their language skills. The lower proficiency group had the similar resources yet they lacked 'the language desire' (Kristeva, 1980) to teach themselves the language because they had the anxiety to liberate themselves from the limitations of their mother tongue and its associated habitus, and look for emotional and social enjoyment in a multilingual reality.

It can be speculated that the problem in language teaching in Turkey might stem from the outdated language teaching practices. According to the above mentioned joint report, although language-teaching curriculums are based on CLT, communicative competence is reduced to grammar teaching and emphasizes the instructional responsibility of the teacher removing the facilitator effect of her in pair and group works in conversational activities. Foreign language education in Turkey is under pressure to show efficiency and accountability in the standard nationwide tests so it diverged the original pursuit of communicative competence as Hymes, Breen and Candlin envisaged in the 1970s, which was "Communication in everyday life synthesizes ideational, interpersonal, and textual knowledge – and the affects which are part of such knowledge" (p.91). Additionally, communication in the global world requires other competencies because the pedagogical landscape has drastically changed in the world today. Language learners are no longer likely to encounter only monolingual native speakers who live in mono national cultures as was imagined in the 1970s, yet today, the language learner is more likely to encounter multilingual interlocutors who have grown up in diverse national or supranational ethnic cultures. For example, today, due to the political unrest in Syria, 3 million refugees crossed the border changing Turkey demographically, linguistically and culturally. Turkey, which was formerly identified as a monolingual national culture, had to face the sociological impacts of this interaction. As

Bryan also commented in one of the interviews, “Even the people in the public bazaars are trying to interact with those refugees in English.” Another example could be the outcomes of increased mobility as in the cases of my participants. Many students are crossing the border to gain symbolic capital in the foreign land. Therefore, a language learner is more likely to engage in interactions with multilingual people who unavoidably hold a variety of values, ideologies or aspirations. Thus, these various new encounters with these multilingual individuals create a pressing need to revise the foreign language teaching in Turkey. Although the English as a foreign language (EFL) context in Turkey restrict language educators, the emphasis on the classroom atmosphere that would encourage the socialization of students via a foreign language would cultivate L2 learner identities.

In the light of the poststructuralist perspectives, language learning can now be seen as the negotiation of the self through language besides acquiring linguistic competence. This potential change is in tandem with what Kramsch (2006, 2007) suggests. According to her, “it is no longer appropriate to give students a tourist-like competence to exchange information with native speakers of national languages within well-defined national cultures… [Since] language learners are not just communicators and problem solvers, but whole persons with hearts, bodies, and minds, with memories, fantasies, loyalties, identities,” they need a much more sophisticated competence that requires them to understand the symbolic exchanges in the real world (Kramsch, 2006, p. 251). According to Kramsch (2007), increasing social and economic inequalities coupled with ethnic issues, besides the rise in religion and ideology around the world, caused cultural and historical gaps that can no longer be bridged by communicative approach to language teaching. A successful communication would entail understanding what the other party in a communication remembers from the past, how they position themselves in the present time and what they imagine for future. At the same time, we need to understand the same things for ourselves too. And, according to her such

understanding cannot be attained only by being exposed to authentic comprehensible input because in today's world input has become extremely complex due to marketing, political propaganda, and the Internet, which varied the modalities of meaning making. Therefore, a revised way of interpreting discourse in various modalities such as spoken, written, visual, electronic is needed. Additionally, the focal point should be on semiotic choice, and also on how linguistic forms shape mental representations; thus, the current discursive turn is ecological (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008). Symbolic forms are not only communication strategies but also embodied experiences, mental imaginings and emotional reverberations. What language learners need today is *symbolic competence*, which not only enables individuals with the ability to express, interpret, and negotiate meanings in a conversation, but also allows them to develop the ability to produce and exchange symbolic goods in an intricate global context. It is an ability "that emerges from the need to find appropriate subject positions within and across the languages at hand" (Kramsch, 2009, p. 200), and it must be "discourse-based, historically grounded, aesthetically sensitive and take into account the actual, the imagined and the virtual worlds in which we live" (Kramsch, 2011, p. 354).

Kramsch (2006) suggests that symbolic competence must be nourished by literature that would enable language learners not only to communicate with living others and also with imagined others and also with other selves that they might want to become or identify with. Since literature would allow learners to comprehend the full meaning making potential of language, it should be placed at all levels of the language curriculum. In this sense, literature cultivates the three components of symbolic competence: production of complexity, tolerance of ambiguity, and appreciation of form as meaning.

Production of complexity: Human production is much more complex than what is described in the pragmatic competence: i.e., saying the right things to the right people in the

right way. In real life, most of the time there is not even a right or wrong word to convey one's message. Literature in a foreign language can offer language learners alternative realities, choices of belonging to different communities of semiotic systems.

Tolerance of Ambiguity: It is an essential component of symbolic competence, which highlights the function of literature. The works of literature can be a great tool to open up discussions on the contradictions between the myths and realities and to show how language can be used to reinforce clashing and historically contingent truths.

Form as Meaning: Although communicative competence focuses on authentic content, symbolic competence embraces all forms of meaning, e.g., acoustic, poetic, and spatial. An instructors' role should be to help learners to put emotions into words in relation to various content to translate the language education into actions.

Although the participants of this study are not TESOL students, they still needed advanced communication skills to function properly in a second language environment. In that sense, although they are not expected to teach English language as a course in their future career, they were still expected to express themselves fluently in a second language. Their experiences as language learners in a second language environment and culture can contribute to the curriculum and program development in language teaching in Turkey. Additionally, these learners could also benefit from symbolic competence like TESOL learners.

Kramsch (2006) suggests that the above mentioned three components of symbolic competence should guide teachers to prospect language and culture as inseparable. It provides the learners and language users of all kinds with the capacity to dream of alternative ways of telling a story, of participating in a discussion or a conversation, of understanding others, of envisioning the future and of measuring success.

In sum, language teachers and learners should understand that communicative competence does not come from information alone but also from the symbolic competence that helps them to interpret signs and their various symbolic systems with different social and historical ecology. Thus, symbolic competence opens up these multiple perceptions on historic and social realities and prepare the learners of today's multilingual world. In other words, it is a remedy to understand and overcome the challenges "to the autonomy and integrity of the subject that comes from the unitary ideologies and a totalizing networked culture" like the one in Turkey (Kramsch, 2009, p. 201).

Implications for the higher education institutions

All of the participants in this study complained that they did not receive enough support from the international student and scholar services (ISSS) at their institutions in their home or in the States, when it comes to socialization. However, they all acknowledged that they were assisted in relation to paper work and problems regarding the laws in the US. ISSS office in every university is expected to organize social activities and create opportunities for new comers to meet other international and domestic students. Zoe mentioned that they had almost no opportunities provided by ISSS to socialize with others and when they requested social gathering events from ISSS, they were told that UB was a very crowded university so it would be extremely difficult to organize such events. If ISSS at UB had been able to provide more opportunities for international students, it would have enabled my participants to gain access to social networks which would improve their social and linguistic development. Although it has been emphasized in the literature that the positive contribution of international students to higher education is indispensable in the US (Sjogren, 1998, Chapdelaine and Alexitch, 2004) in our case, the participants felt that they were sidelined at UB and their feeling of being outcasts hindered their socialization process. Dunn (2006) suggested that

ISSS offices could hire mentors to help newcomer international students so that students can communicate with someone easily to share their experiences. In this sense, I believe, I helped the participants in this study as being somebody (participant observer) to listen to their problems and experiences. Often times they have appreciated my consultation and they mentioned that it was very important to have an interlocutor to share their experiences. Therefore, as Dunn (2006) suggested, mentors assigned to engage in international students could ease their social, cultural and linguistic adaptation. Current study corroborated the findings of the previous research concerning the crucial factors that helps or hinders international students' adaptations.

Future Research

One of the topics that remained untouched in the study was the code switching and code mixing practices of the participants. Although I tried to analyze the social effects of code switching and code mixing of some participants, I could not conduct a psycholinguistic analysis on the code switching or mixing patterns of the participants. Bryan mentioned that he could not speak in English when he had Turkish friends around because he could not switch his way of thinking from Turkish to English. In a similar vein, Zoe said, "I feel as if I have two mobile phone sim cards and if I have to switch from Turkish to English, it is as if I need to put the right sim in the right time. But, I can't switch the sims very quickly." Other participants as well recounted similar code switching experiences and code mixing instances. Many studies on the location of the transition points from one language to the other have focused on constituent structures (Azuma, 1996; Backus, 1999; Mahootian, 1996). Backus (1999), for example, suggested that transition between the languages occur at the boundaries of formulaic expressions and thus the study of code switching can help "to identify multimorphemic elements of a language that are accessed as unanalyzed (i.e. lexical) units in

speech" (p. 93). Hence, in order to gain more insight into cognitive practices with regard to code mixing or code switching and to explore what may be motivating the selection of languages, formulaic expressions and code-switching practices can be studied in a further study with the Turkish international students.

This study was designed to respond to Block's (2012) argument that social class is not studied enough in SLA, although it can be considered as one of the key variables that influence language learning. Historically, study abroad is a commodity marketed as a class-inflected activity and involving a population overwhelmingly middle class (Kinginger, 2013). The participants in this study were all coming from upper middle class or elite class. I focused on the learners from the elite class and another study can be designed to find out about the perceptions of the instructors of those affluent learners in order to better evaluate the impact of social class in the language classroom and also in the study abroad context, as in the study of López-Gopar and Sughrua (2014).

Another topic that emerged during the study is the role of sexuality, specifically in Michael and Rachael's romantic involvements. Very little research conducted on the potential effects of such involvements. In one example, Coleman (2013) studied the role of intimate relationships on the effect of language learning practices of 45 sojourns, and concluded "if less seen as an indexical characteristic and more as a language learning strategy, sex perhaps deserves more attention in study abroad research" (p.35). Thus, the experiences of language learners can be studied in different ethnographies to learn more about the social and linguistic effects of these involvements.

While some of my participants were taking the DCT and vocabulary tests, I noticed that they were talking about their decisions regarding the responses they picked for some specific questions. Therefore, I consider that think-aloud protocols could be helpful to learn

about the cognitive processes going on while processing the collocations, idioms and other formulaic language. Cooper (2009) tried to investigate the idiom processing strategies of nonnative speakers using think-aloud procedures and found out that these procedures were helpful to understand how idioms are processed. In a similar fashion, employing think-aloud procedures for DCTs and collocation tests can help us gain insight into how participants respond to specific situations and challenges with regard to metaphorical usages.

Another further research topic could be based on conversation analysis of the authentic audios recorded by the participants. Particularly the longer conversations were recorded at the dinner tables that are other socialization arenas, one example is Blum-Kulka (1997). DuFon (2006) examined dinner table conversations of study abroad students that revealed dinner table talk is a way of socializing with the locals, and at the same time, the food appeared as the identity marker in those conversations. For this study, I used the audios recorded by the participants to analyze the formulaic language, yet those conversations, many of which were taking place at the dinner table, could have been used to make conversation analysis as was in the study of Uryu et al. (2013). In their study, a Thanksgiving dinner table conversation among a German, a Russian and two Japanese women in a US context was analyzed using an ecological approach, which shows the intricacies of intercultural interaction, revealing multiple historicities and subjectivities that mesh in such encounters (Uryu et al., 2013). In a similar vein, considering the frequency of such encounters in the US context, a study of conversation analysis that focuses on timescales, which will allow ecological approach to adopt a neutral researcher position can be designed.

Limitations

This study focused on ten Turkish undergraduate students in a specific context. Therefore, the results of this study cannot be overgeneralized to a larger population.

Qualitative section of the study centered around the in-depth historicities and subjectivities of the participants; however, it was not possible to obtain ample information in such a short time for getting the glimpses of their identity formations for language socialization is a lifelong process.

In the quantitative section, with regard to the collocation test, it should be noted that I am fully aware of the fact that a deeper and more detailed analysis would be necessary regarding the linguistic and psycholinguistic factors that affect the intrinsic difficulty of collocations. Therefore, the results should be regarded with caution. It is necessary to conduct a more longitudinal study to explore the collocational competence of advanced students. More research also needs to be done to determine the reasons for the decreased performance in the strong collocations.

REFERENCES

Achiba, M. (2003). *Learning to request in a second language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations. *Gender and Society, 4*(2), 139-158. doi:10.1177/089124390004002002

Akbarov, A. (2016). *Research Cultures in Applied Linguistics: Language pedagogy between the East and the West: Cultural underpinnings of language pedagogy in the Balkans.* Paper presented at the AAAL 2016, Orlando, Florida.

Altenberg, B., & Granger, S. (2001). The grammatical and lexical patterning of make in native and non-native student writing. *Applied Linguistics, 22*(2), 173-194.

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities and Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* New York: Verso.

Antonio, R. (2000). Karl Marx. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Major Social Theorists* (pp. 105-143). Oxford: Blackwell.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions in globalization*. Minneapolis: MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Appadurai, A. (2001). *Globalization*. Durham, NC, USA: Duke University Press.

Arndt, H., & Janney, R. W. (1983). The duck-rabbit phenomenon: Notes on the disambiguation of ambiguous utterances. In W. Enninger & L. M. Haynes (Eds.), *Studies in language ecology* (pp. 94-115). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlang.

Azuma, S. (1996). Speech production units among bilinguals. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, 25*(3), 397-416.

Backus, A. (1999). Evidence for lexical chunks in insertional codeswitching. In B. Brendemoen, E. Lanza, & E. Ryen (Eds.), *Language encounters across time and space* (pp. 93-109). Oslo: Novus Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bannard, C. (2012). Formulaic Language in L1 Acquisition. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 3.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. (2009). Conventional Expressions as a Pragmalinguistic Resource: Recognition and Production of Conventional Expressions in L2 Pragmatics. *Language Learning, 59*(4), 755-795.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. (2012) Formulas, routines, and conventional expressions in pragmatics research. *Vol. 32. Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* (pp. 206-227).

Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Bastos, M.-T. (2011). Proficiency, length of stay, and intensity of interaction and the acquisition of conventional expressions in L2 pragmatics. *Intercultural Pragmatics, 8*(3), 347-384. doi:10.1515/IPRG.2011.017

Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Hartford, B. (1990). Congruence in native and nonnative conversations: Status balance in the academic advising session. *Language Learning, 40*(4), 467-501.

Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Hartford, B. (1993). Learning the rules of academic talk: A longitudinal study of pragmatic development. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 15*(3), 279-304.

Barron, A. (2003). *Acquisition in interlanguage pragmatics*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, B. V.

Bayyurt, Y., & Akcan, S. (2015). *Current Perspectives on Pedagogy for English as a Lingua Franca*: de Gruyter.

Becher, T., & Trowler, P. R. (2012). *International Studies in Higher Education: Tribes and Territories in the 21st Century : Rethinking the significance of disciplines in higher education*: Taylor and Francis.

Bedir, A. (2014, May 04). AK Party's '4+4+4' education reform turns into a debacle. *Today's Zaman*.

Beebe, L. C., & Cummings, M. C. (1996). Natural speech act data versus written questionnaire data: How data collection method affects speech act performance. In S. M. Gass & J. Neu (Eds.), *Speech acts across cultures: Challenges of communication in a second language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyer.

Behar, R., & Gordon, D. (1995). *Women writing culture*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Berlant, L. (2011). *Cruel Optimism*. London: Duke University Press.

Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research,Critique*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Besnier, N. (2004). Consumption and Cosmopolitanism: Practicing Modernity at the Second-Hand Marketplace in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. *Anthropological Quarterly, 77*(1 winter, 2004), 7-45.

Bhabba, H. (1994). *Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Block, D. (2007). *Second language identities*. Great Britain: Biddles Ltd.

Block, D. (2010a). Globalisation and language teaching. In N. Coupland (Ed.), *Handbook of Language and Globalisation* (pp. 284-304). Oxford: Blackwell.

Block, D. (2010b). Researching Language and Identity. In B. Paltridge & A. Phakiti (Eds.), *Continuum Companion to Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Block, D. (2012). Economising globalisation and identity in applied linguistics in neoliberal times. In D. Block, J. Gray, & M. Holborow (Eds.), *Neoliberalism and appliedlinguistics*. New York: Routledge.

Block, D. (2014a). Becoming multilingual and being multilingual: Some thoughts. . In J. Cenoz & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Multilingual education: Between language learning and translanguaging*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Block, D. (2014b). *Social Class in Applied Linguistics*. London and New York: Routledge.

Block, D. (2017). What on earth is‘language commodification? Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/ADMIN/Desktop/Discussion/What_is_language_commodification_2017.pdf

Block, D., Gray, J., & Holborow, M. (2012). *Neoliberalism and Applied Linguistics*. New York: Routledge.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2007). Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis: Orders of Indexicality and Polycentricity *Journal of Multicultural Discourses, 2*, 115-130.

Blommaert, J. (2011). *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. United Kingdom: Cambridge.

Blum-Kulka, S. (1997). *Dinner Talk*. Mahwah, NJ: Earlbaum.

Blum-Kulka, S., House, J., & Kasper, G. (Eds.). (1989). *Cross-cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Bolinger, D. (1976). Meaning and memory. *Forum Linguisticum, 1*(1), 1-14.

Bonfiglio, T. P. (2010). *Mother Tongues and Nations: The Invention of the Native Speaker*: Walter de Gruyter.

Bonfiglio, T. P. (2013). Inventing the Native Speaker. *Critical Multilingualism Studies, 1*(2).

Bosher, S. (1997). Language and Cultural Identity: A Study of Hmong Students at the Postsecondary Level. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 593-603.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information, 16*(654-668).

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital In J. F. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory of Research for Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). NewYork: Greewood Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, C. (1997). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (R. Nice, Trans.). London: Sage.

Boyacioglu, H. (03/21/2014). Turkish students fail to go beyond 'hello' in English courses. *Hurriyet Daily News*. Retrieved from http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-students-fail-to-go-beyond-hello-in-english-courses.aspx?PageID=238&NID=63660&NewsCatID=341

Brockmeier, J., & Harré, R. (2001). Narrative: Problems and promises of an alterbnative paradigm. In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (Eds.), *Narrative and Identity*. Amsterdam&Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Brown, J. D. (2001). Pragmatic Tests, Different Purposes, Different Tests. In K. R. Rose & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Pragmatics in Language Teaching* (pp. 301-327). Cambridge: CUP.

Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry, 18*(1), 1-22.

Bruner, J. (2004). Life as narrative. *Social Research: An International Quarterly of Social Sciences, 71*(3), 691 - 710.

Brutt-Griffler, J. (2002). *World English: A study of its development*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Brutt-Griffler, J. (2005). "Globalisation" and applied linguistics: Post-imperial questions of identity and the construction of applied linguistics discourse. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 15*(1), 113-115.

Brutt-Griffler, J. (2008). Intellectual culture and cultural imperialism: Implications of the growing dominance of English in academia. In C. Gnutzmann (Ed.), *English in Academia: Catalyst or Barrier?* (pp. 59-72). Tubingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Brutt-Griffler, J., & Davies, C. (Eds.). (2006). *English and Ethnicity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brutt-Griffler, J., & Samimy, K. (1999). Revisiting the colonial in the postcolonial: Critical praxis for nonnative English-speaking teachers in a TESOL program. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*, 413-432.

Bucholtz, M. (1999). "Why be normal?": Language and identity practices in a community of nerd girls. *Language in Society, 28*, 203-223.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Language and identity. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic antropology* (pp. 369-394). Oxford: Blackwell.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: a socio-cultural linguistic approach *Discourse Studies, 7*(4-5), 585-614.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2010). Locating identity in language. In C. Llamas & D. Watt (Eds.), *Language and Identities*. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press.

Burck, C. (2004). Living in several languages: implications for therapy. *Journal of Family Therapy, 26*(4), 314-339. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6427.2004.00287.x

Burck, C. (2005). *Multilingual living: explorations of language and subjectivity*. New York: Palgrave, Macmillan.

Burdelski, M., & Cook, H. M. (2012). Formulaic Language in Language Socialization. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 173.

Burdelski, M., & Mitsuhashi, K. (2010). “She thinks you’re kawaii”: Socializing affect, gender, and relationships in a Japanese preschool. *Language in Society, 39*, 65-93.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity* London: Routledge.

Byram, M. (1997). *Teaching and Asssesing Intercultural Communicative Competence*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, M., & Feng, A. (2004). Culture and language learning: teachiing, research and scholarship. *Language Teaching, 37*, 149-168.

Cameron, D. (2006). Styling the worker: Gender and the commodification of language in the globalized service economy. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *The discourse reader* (pp. 433-453). London: Routledge.

Cameron, D. (2013). The one, the many and the Other: representing mono- and multilingualism in post-9/11 verbal hygiene. *Critical Multilingualism Studies, 1*(2).

Canagarajah, S. (1999). *Resisting linguistic imperialism in English teaching*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Canagarajah, S. (2005). *Changing communicative needs, shifting pedagogical priorities, revised assessment objectives.* Paper presented at the Paper presented at featured symposium on The Assessment of World Englishes. 14th World Congress of Applied Linguistics, Madison, WI.

Canagarajah, S. (2006). Negotiating the local in English as a lingua franca *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 26*(1), 197-218. doi:doi:10.1017/S0267190506000109

Canagarajah, S. (2013). *Translingual Practice: Global Englishes and Cosmopolitan Relations*. Oxon: Routledge.

Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2009). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (4 ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Cech, E. (2015). Engineers and Engineeresses? Self-conceptions and the Development of Gendered Professional Identities. *Sociological Perspectives, 58*(1), 56-77. doi:10.1177/0731121414556543

Celce-Murcia, M., & Larsen-Freeman, D. (1999). *The grammar book: An ESL/EFL teacher's course*. Boston: H & HPublishers.

Charise, A. (2007). More English, less Islam? An overview of English language functions in the Arabian/Persian Gulf.

Cohen, A. (2005). Strategies for learning and performing L2 speech acts. *Intercultural Pragmatics, 2*(3), 275-301.

Cohen, A. (2006). Interlanguage pragmatics: A reply to Pilar Garces-Conejos Blitvich. *Intercultural Pragmatics, 3*(3), 359-364.

Cohen, A., & Olshtain, E. (1991). *Researching the production of speech acts*. Paper presented at the Conference on Theory, Construction and Methodology in Second Language Acquisition Research, Michigan State University.

Coleman, J. A. (2013). Researching whole people and whole lives. In C. Kinginger (Ed.), *Social and cultural aspects of language learning in study abroad* (pp. 17–44). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Conklin, K., & Schmitt, N. (2008). Formulaic sequences: Are they processed more quickly than nonformulaic language by native and nonnative speakers? *Applied Linguistics, 29*(1), 72-89.

Conklin, K., & Schmitt, N. (2012). The Processing of Formulaic Language. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 45.

Cook, T. E. (2003). *Separation, assimilation, or accomodation contrasting ethnic minority policies*. Westport Conn: Praeger.

Coulmas, F. (Ed.) (1981). *Poison on your soul: thanks and apologies contrastively viewed*. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton.

Cowie, A., & Mackin, R. (2001). *Oxford dictionary of phrasal verbs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241-1299.

Creswell, J. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J., & Plano Clark, W. V. L. (2006). *Designing And Conducting Mixed Methods Research* SAGE Publications.

Crompton, R. (2008). *Class and startification* (3 ed.). Cambridge Polity.

Crystal, D. (1997). *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2008). Two thousand million? *English Today, 24*(01), 3-6.

Danielsson, A. T., Centrum för, g., Institutionen för pedagogik, d. o. u., Humanistisk-samhällsvetenskapliga, v., Uppsala, u., Historisk-filosofiska, f., & Fakulteten för, u. (2012). Exploring woman university physics students 'doing gender' and 'doing physics'. *Gender and Education, 24*(1), 25-39. doi:10.1080/09540253.2011.565040

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2014). Social Class, Identity, and Migrant Students. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 13*(2), 111-117. doi:10.1080/15348458.2014.901823

Davies, A. (2004). The native speaker in applied linguistics. In A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.), *The handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 431-451). Oxford: Blackwell.

Davies, A. (2009). Assesing World Englishes. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 29*(-1), 80-89. doi:doi:10.1017/S0267190509090072

De Bot, K. (2008). Introduction: Second Language Development as a Dynamic Process. *The Modern Language Journal, 92*(2), 166-178. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2008.00712.x

de Botton, A. (2004). *Status Anxiety* New York: pantheon.

De Costa, P. I. (2007). The cashm widens: The troble with personal identity in Singapore Writing *Identity and Second Language Learning: Culture, Inquiry, and Dialogic Activity in Educational Contexts* (pp. 190-234). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

De Costa, P. I. (2010). From Refugee to Transformer: A Bourdieusian Take on a Hmong Learner's Trajectory. *TESOL Quarterly, 44*(3), 517-541. doi:10.5054/tq.2010.226856

De Costa, P. I. (2012). Constructing SLA differently: the value of ELF and language ideology in an ASEAN case study. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 22*(2), 205-224. doi:10.1111/j.1473-4192.2012.00309.x

De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D., & Bamberg, M. (Eds.). (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Ley, H. (1975). Organized programs of study in France: Some contributions of Stranger Theory. *The French Review, 48*(5), 836-847.

Doğançay-Aktuna, S. (1998a). The Spread of English in Turkey and its Current Sociolinguistic Profile. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 19*(1).

Doğançay-Aktuna, S. (1998b). The Spread of English in Turkey and its Current Sociolinguistic Profile. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 19*(1).

Doğançay-Aktuna, S., & Kızıltepe, Z. (2005a). English in Turkey. *World Englishes, 24*(2), 253-265.

Doğançay-Aktuna, S., & Kızıltepe, Z. (2005b). English in Turkey. *World Englishes, 24*(2), 253-265.

Dogancay, S. (1990). Your eye is sparkling: formulaic expressions & routines in Turkish. *Penn Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, 6*(2), 49-65.

Du Bois, J. (2007). The stance triangle In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, interaction* (pp. 139-182). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Duff, P. A. (1995). An ethnography of communication in immersion classrooms in Hungary. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*, 505-537.

Duff, P. A. (2007). Second language socialization as sociocultural theory: Insights and issues. *Language Teaching, 40*(04), 309-319. doi:doi:10.1017/S0261444807004508

Duff, P. A. (2010). Language Socialization. In N. H. Hornberger & S. McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*. New York: Multilingual Matters.

Duff, P. A. (2011). Second Language Socialization. *The handbook of language socialization*, 564.

DuFon, M. A. (2006). The socialization of taste during study abroad in INdonesia. In M. A. DuFon & E. Churchill (Eds.), *Language learners in study abroad contexts*. Great Britain: Multi Lingual Matters.

Duranti, A., Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. B. (2011). *The Handbook of Language Socialization* Retrieved from http://Buffalo.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=819300

Durrant, P., & Schmitt, N. (2009). To what extent do native and non-native writers make use of collocations? *IRAL, 47*, 157-177.

Eagleton, T. (2011). *Why Marx was right?* London: Yale University Press.

Edmondson, W., & House, J. (1991). Do learners talk too much? The waffle phenomenon in interlanguage pragmatics. In R. Phillipson, E. Kellerman, L. Selinker, M. Sharwoood Smith, & M. Swain (Eds.), *Foreign/second pedagogy research: A commemorative volume for Claus Faerch* (Vol. 273-287). Clevedon, UK: Multilingul Matters.

Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism* London Routledge.

Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and Identity: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ehrenreich, B. (1989). *Fear of falling: The inner life of the middle class*. N ew York: HarperCollins.

Ellis, N. C. (2001). Memory for Language. In P. Robinson (Ed.), *Cognition and Second Language Instruction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, R. (1992). Learning to communicate in the classroom: A study of two language learners' requests. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 14*, 1-23.

Ellis, R. (1997). *Second Language Acquisition. Oxford Introductions to Language Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes* (Vol. 2nd). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

English Proficiency Index (EPI). (2013). Retrieved from

Erickson, S. K. (2012). Women Ph.D. Students in Engineering and a Nuanced Terrain: Avoiding and Revealing Gender. *Review of Higher Education, 35*(2), 355.

ETS. (2013). January 2013– December 2013 Test Data. Retrieved from http://www.ets.org/s/toefl/pdf/94227_unlweb.pdf

Fader, A. (2012). Language socialization and morality In A. Duranti, E. Ochs, & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The handbook of language socialization* (pp. 322-340). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (1997). On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research *Modern Language Journal, 81*(3).

Freeman, D. L., & Cameron, L. (2008). Research Methodology on Language Development from a Complex Systems Perspective. *The Modern Language Journal, 92*(2), 200-213. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2008.00714.x

Fried, M. (2010). Introduction: from instances of change to explanations of change. In F. Mirjam, J.-O. Ostman, & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Variation and Change* (pp. 1-16). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Frosh, S., Phonix, A., & Pattman, R. (2002). *Young masculinities: Understanding boys in contemporary society*. GB: Palgrave Ed M.U.A.

Fry, S. (Ed.) (2012). *Stephen Fry in America* (Vol. Episode 2).

Gal, S. (1989). Language and political economy. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 18*, 345-367.

Gass, S. (1998). Apples and oranges, or, why apples are not oranges and don't need to be: a response to Firth and Wagner. *Modern Language Journal, 82*(i), 81-90.

Gass, S. (2013). *Second Language Acquisition*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Gee, J. P. (2011). *An introduction to discourse analysis: theory and method*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Georgakopoulou, A. (2006). Small and Large Identities in Narrative (inter)action. In A. De Fina, D. Schiffrin, & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the modern age*. Cambridge: Polity.

Gilbert, J. (1994). *The Great Fires: Poems 1982-1992*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Giroir, S. (2014). Narratives of Participation, Identity, and Positionality: Two Cases of Saudi Learners of English in the United States. *TESOL Quarterly, 48*(1), 34-56. doi:10.1002/tesq.95

Glesne, C. (2011). *Becoming Qualitative Researhers*. Boston: Pearson.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books.

Gonsalves, A. J. (2014). "Physics and the girly girl—there is a contradiction somewhere": doctoral students' positioning around discourses of gender and competence in physics. *Cultural Studies of Science Education, 9*(2), 503-521. doi:10.1007/s11422-012-9447-6

Grieco, M., & Urry, J. (2012). *Mobilities: New Perspectives on Transport and Society*. London: Ashgate.

Gui, S., & H., Y. (2002). *Chinese learner English corpus (CLEC)*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Pres.

Gumperz, J. (1968). 'The speech community' *International Encylopedia of Social Sciences* (pp. 381-386). New York: Macmillan.

Hall, K. J. (2005). *Dialogue With Bakhtin on Second and Foreign Language Learning: New Perspectives*. New Jersey: Laurance Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Hall., S. (1980). Encoding/decoding. In S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, & P. Willis (Eds.), *Culture, media, language* (pp. 136-138). London: Routledge.

Haller, M. (2003). Europe and the Arab-Islamic World: A sociological perspective on the sociocultural differences and mutual (mis)perceptions between two neighbouring cultural areas. *Innovation, 16*(3), 227-252.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1990). New ways of meaning: a challenge to applied linguistics. *Journal of Applied Linguistics, 6*, 7-36.

Hamers, J. F., & Blank, M. H. A. (2000). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hassall, T. (Ed.) (2006). *Learning to take leave in social conversations: a diary study*. Britain: Multilingual Matters.

Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge Cambridge University Press.

Heller, M. (1992). The politics of codeswitching and language choice. *Journal of Multicultural and Multicultural Development, 13*(1/2), 123-142.

Heller, M. (1995). Language choice, social institutions, and symbolic domination. *Language in Society, 24*, 373-405.

Heller, M. (2003). Globalization, the new economy and the commodification of the language. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 7*(4), 473-492.

Heller, M. (2006). *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity: A sociolinguistic Ethnography* (2 ed.). London: Continuum.

Heller, M., & Duchêne, A. (2013). Pride and profit: Changing discourses of language, capital and nation-state. In A. Duchêne & M. Heller (Eds.), *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit* (pp. 1-21). London Routledge.

Heller, M., Jaworski, A., & Thurlow, C. (2014). Introduction: Sociolinguistics and tourism – mobilities, markets, multilingualism. *J. Sociolinguistics*(18), 425-458.

Higgins, C. (Ed.) (2012). *Identity Formation in Globalizing Contexts: Language Learning in the New Millennium*. Germany: De Gruyter Mouton

Hill, P. W., Holmes, M. A., & McQuillan, J. (2014). The new stem faculty profile: Balancing family and dual careers. *Advances in Gender Research, 19*, 3-20. doi:10.1108/S1529-212620140000019001

Hinkel, I. (2008). *Handbook of research in second language learning and teaching*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Hoey, M. (1991). *Patterns of Lexis in Text*. Oxford Oxford University Press.

Hoffman, D. (1989). Language and culture acquisition among Iranians in the United States. *Antropology and Education Quarterly, 20*, 118-132.

Hofstadter, D. (2007). *I am a strange loop*. New York: Basic Books.

Holborow, M. (2015). *Language and neoliberalism*. London: Routledge.

Hornberger, N. H., & Duff, P. A. (2008). *Encyclopedia of language and education* (Vol. 8). New York: Springer.

Horton-Salway. (2001). The construction of M.E.: Discursive action model In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis*. London: SAGE.

House, J., & Kasper, G. (1987). Interlanguage pragmatics: requesting in a foreign language. In W. Lörscher & R. Schulze (Eds.), *Perspectives on Language in Performance* (Vol. 2, pp. 1250–1288). Tübingen: Narr.

Howarth, P. (1998). Phraseology and second language proficiency *Applied Linguistics, 19*(1), 24-44.

Hymes. (1972). 'On communicative competence'. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics* (Vol. 269- 285). Hammondworth: Penguin.

Isabelli-García, C. L. (2006). Study abroad social networks, motivation, and attitudes: Implications for SLA. In M. A. DuFon & E. Churchill (Eds.), *Language learners in study abroad contexts* (pp. 231-258). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Jackson, J. (2012). Mutuality, engagement, and agency: Negotiating identity on stays abroad In C. Higgins (Ed.), Identity Formation in Globalizing Contexts: Language Learning in the New Millennium. Germany: De Gruyter Mouton.

Jenkins, J. (2007). *English as a Lingua Franca: Attitude and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, J. (2009). *World Englishes: A resource book for students*. New York: NY: Routledge.

Jenkins, J. (2013). *English as a Lingua Franca in the International University The Politics of Academic English Language Policy*: Routledge.

Johnstone, B. (2010). Locating language in Identity. In C. Llamas & S. Watt (Eds.), *Language and Identities*. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press.

Johnstone, B. (Ed.) (2009). *Stance, style, and the linguistic individual: sociolinguistic perspectives on stance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jones, S., & Sinclair, J. M. (1974). English lexical collocations. A study in computational linguistics. *Cahiers de lexicologie, 24*, 15-61.

Joseph, J. E. (2004a). Language and Identity (pp. 280). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9780230503427. doi:10.1057/9780230503427

Joseph, J. E. (2004b). *Language and identity: National, ethnic, religious.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Joseph, J. E. (2010). Identity. In C. Lamas & D. Watt (Eds.), *Language and Identities*. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press.

Kachru, B. B. (1986). *The alchemy of English*. Oxford, England: Pergamon Press.

Kachru, B. B. (1997). World Englishes and English-Using Communities. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 17*, 67-87.

Kachru, Y. (2008). Teaching and learning of World Englishes. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language learning and teaching* (pp. 155–173). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kanagy, R. (1999). Interactional routines as a mechanism for L2 acquisition and socialization in an immersion context. *Journal of Pragmatics, 31*, 1467-1492.

Kanno, Y., & Norton, B. (2003). Imagined communities and educational possibilities. *Special issue for the Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 2*(4).

Karmani, S., & Pennycook, A. (2005). Islam and English in the Post-9/11 Era: Introduction. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 4*(2), 85-86. doi:10.1207/s15327701jlie0402_1

Kasper, G. (2000). Data collection in pragmatics research. In H. SpencerOatey (Ed.), *Culturally speaking. Managing rapport through talk across cultures* (pp. 316-341). London and New York: Continuum.

Kasper, G., & Dahl, M. (1991). Research methods in interlanguage pragmatics. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 13*(2), 215-248.

Kasper, G., & Rose, K. R. (1999). Pragmatics and SLA. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 19*(81-104).

Kasper, G., & Rose, K. R. (2002). *Pragmatic development in a second language*. USA: Blackwell Publishing.

Kecskes, I. (2000). Conceptual fluencey and the use of situation-bound utterances in L2. *Links & Letters, 7*, 145-161.

Kecskes, I. (2007). Formulaic Language in English Lingua Franca. In I. Kecskes & L. Horn (Eds.), *Explorations in Pragmatics: linguistic, cognitive, and intercultural aspects* (pp. 191-219). Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Kecskes, I. (2012). *Studies on Language Acquisition [SOLA]: Situation-Bound Utterances in L1 and L2*: De Gruyter Mouton.

Kecskés, I. (2014). *Intercultural pragmatics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kelly, P. (2012). Migration, transnationalism, and the spaces of class identity. *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints, 60*(2), 153-186.

Khan, S. (2002). *Aversion and Desire: Negotiating Muslim Female Identity in the Diaspora*: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Kinginger, C. (2004). Alice doesn't live here anymore: Foreign language learning and identity construction. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Great Britain: Cromwell Press.

Kinginger, C. (2008). Language Learning in Study Abroad: Case Studies of Americans in France. *The Modern Language Journal, 92*, 1-124. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2008.00821.x

Kinginger, C. (2012). National identity and language learning abroad: American students in the post 9/11 era In C. Higgins (Ed.), *Identity Formation in Globalizing Contexts: Language Learning in the New Millennium*. Germany: De Gruyter Mouton

Kinginger, C. (2013). Identity and language learning in study abroad. *Foreign Language Annals, 46*, 339-358.

Kirkgoz, Y. (2007). English Language Teaching in Turkey. *RELC Journal, 38*(2), 216-228. doi:10.1177/0033688207079696

Kirkgöz, Y. (2009). Globalization and English Language Policy in Turkey. *Educational Policy, 23*(5), 663-684. doi:10.1177/0895904808316319

Kirkpatrick, A. (2008). English as the official working language of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN): Features and strategies. *English Today, 24*(02), 27-34. doi:doi:10.1017/S0266078408000175

Koç, G. (2006). *Developing Collocational Awareness*. MA Thesis. Bilkent University. Ankara.

Kramsch, C. J. (1994). *Context and Culture in Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. J. (1998). *Language and culture* (4 ed.). Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. J. (2000a). Second language acquisition, applied linguistics, and the teaching of foreign languages. *Modern Language Journal, 84*, 311-326.

Kramsch, C. J. (2000b). Social discursive constructions of self in L2 learning. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*. China: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. J. (2006). From communicative comptence to symbolic competence. *The Modern Language Journal, 90*(2), 249-252.

Kramsch, C. J. (2007). The uses of communicative competence in a global world. In J. Liu (Ed.), *English language teaching in China* (pp. 55-74). London: Continuum.

Kramsch, C. J. (2009). *The multilingual subject: what foreign language learners say about their experience and why it matters*. New York;Oxford, UK;: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. J. (2011). The symbolic dimensions of the intercultural *Language Teaching*(44), 354-367. doi:10.1017/S0261444810000431

Kramsch, C. J. (2013). Afterword. In B. Norton (Ed.), *Identity and Language Learning: Extending the Conversation* (2 ed.). New York: Multilingual Matters.

Kramsch, C. J. (2014). Teaching Foreign Languages in an Era of Globalization: Introduction. *The Modern Language Journal, 98*(1), 296-311. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2014.12057.x

Kramsch, C. J. (Ed.) (2002). *Language acquisition and language socialization: Ecological perspectives*. New York: Continuum.

Kramsch, C. J., & Steffensen, V. S. (2008). Ecological Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition and Socialization. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (2 ed., pp. 17-28).

Kramsch, C. J., & Whiteside, A. (2007). Three Fundamental Concepts in Second Language Acquisition and Their Relevance in Multilingual Contexts. *The Modern Language Journal, 91*, 907-922. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2007.00677.x

Kramsch, C. J., & Whiteside, A. (2008). Language Ecology in Multilingual Settings. Towards a Theory of Symbolic Competence. *Applied Linguistics, 29*(4), 645-671. doi:10.1093/applin/amn022

Kristeva, J. (Ed.) (1980). *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Arts*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Kubota, R., & McKay, S. (2009). Globalization and language learning in rural Japan: the role of English in the local linguistic ecology. *TESOL Quarterly*, *43*(4), 593–619.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia.

Lam, W. S. (2000). Technophilia vs. technophobia: A preliminary look at why second language teachers do or do not use technology in their classrooms. . *Canadian Modern Language Review, 56*, 389-410.

Lam, W. S. (2004). Second language socialization in a bilingual chat room: Global and local considerations. *Language Learning & Technology, 8*(3), 44-65.

Lamarre, P. (2004). Growing up in trilingual Montreal: Perceptions of college students. In R. Bailey & A. R. Schecter (Eds.), *Language socialization in bilingual and multilingual Societies*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Lantolf, J. (2000). *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lantolf, J., & Pavlenko, A. (2001). (S)econd (L)anguage (A)ctivity Theory: Understanding second language learners as people. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 141-158). London: Longman.

Lantolf, J., & Thorne, S. L. (2006). *Sociocultural Theory and the Genesis of Second Language Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Larsen-Freeman, D. (1997). Chaos/Complexity Science and Second Language Acquisition. *Applied Linguistics, 18*(2), 141-165. doi:10.1093/applin/18.2.141

Larsen-Freeman, D. (2004). Language acquisition and language use from a chaos/complexity theory perspective. In C. J. Kramsch (Ed.), *Language acquisition and language socialization*. New York: Continuum.

Larsen-Freeman, D. (2007). On the complementarity of Chaos/Complexity Theory and Dynamic Systems Theory in understanding the second language acquisition process. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition, 10*(01), 35-37. doi:doi:10.1017/S136672890600277X

Latour, B. (1999). *Pandora's hope: essays on the reality of science studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leather, J., & one Dam, J. (2003). *Ecology of language acquisition*. The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Lemke, J. L. (2002). Becoming the village: education across lives. In G. Wells & G. Glaxton (Eds.), *Learning for Life in the 21st Century: Sociocultural Perspectives on the Future of EducationS*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lemke, J. L. (2004). Language development and identity: multiple time scales in the socail ecology of learning. In J. C. Cramsch (Ed.), *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization*. New York: Continuum.

Lemke, J. L. (2008). Identity, Development and Desire: Critical Questions. In C. Caldas-Coulthard & R. ledema (Eds.), *Identity Trouble: Critical Discourse and Contested Identities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leung, S. (2001). Language socialization: Themes and advances in research *Working Papers in TESOL & Applied Linguistics, 1*(1), 1-8.

Lewis, M. (1993). *The Lexical Approach: the state of ELT and a way forward*. Hove: Language Teaching Publications

Lewis, M. (1997). *Implementing the Lexical Approach* Hove: Language Teaching Publications.

Li, D. (2000). The Pragmatics of Making Requests in the L2 Workplace: A Case Study of Language Socialization. *Canadian Modern Language Review, 57*(58-87).

Lin, A. (2008). Modernity, post modernity, and the future of "identity": implications for educators. In A. Lin (Ed.), *Problematizing Identity: Struggles in Language, Culture, and Education*. London: Lawrence Earlbaum.

Liu, D. (2003). The Most Frequently Used Spoken American English Idioms: A Corpus Analysis and Its Implications. *TESOL Quarterly, 37*(4), 671-700.

Lo Bianco, J. (2014). Domesticating the Foreign: Globalization's Effects on the Place/s of Languages. *The Modern Language Journal, 98*(1), 312-325. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2014.12063.x

López-Gopar, M. E., & Sughrua, W. (2014). Social Class in English Language Education in Oaxaca, Mexico. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 13*(2), 104-110. doi:10.1080/15348458.2014.901822

Määttä, S., & Dahlborg Lyckhage, E. (2011). The influence of gender in academia: a case study of a university college in Sweden. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal, 30*(5), 379-393. doi:10.1108/02610151111150636

Mackenzie, I. (2014). *English as a Lingua Franca: Theorizing and teaching English*: Taylor & Francis.

Mahootian, S. (1996). A competence model of code switching. In J. Arnold, R. Blake, B. Davidson, S. Schwenter, & J. Solomon (Eds.), *Sociolinguistic variatian: data, theory, and analysis* (pp. 387-399). Stanford, C.A.: Cener for the Study of Language and Information.

Mandeville, P. (2002). Muslim Youth in Europe. In S. T. Hunter (Ed.), *Islam, Europe's second religion: The new social, cultural and political landscape* (pp. 219-230). Westport, CT Center for Strategic and International Studies and Praeger.

Mantsios, G., & Lisle, B. (1992). Class in America: Myths and realities. In G. Colombo, R. Collen, & B. Lisle (Eds.), *Rereading America* (2 ed., pp. 72-85). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Maslow, A. H. (1968). *Toward a psychology of being* (2 ed.). New York: D. Van Nostrand Company.

Matsumura, S. (2001a). Learning the rules for offering advice: A quantitative approach to second language socialization. *Language Learning, 51*(4), 6335-6679.

Matsumura, S. (2001b). Learning the rules for offering advice: A quantitative approach to second language socialization. *Language Learning, 51*(4), 635-679.

Mauranen, A. (2009). Chunking in ELF: expressions for managing interaction. *Journal of Intercultural Pragmatics, 6*(2), 217-233.

Mauranen, A. (2012). *Exploring ELF: Academic English shaped by non-native speakers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mazrui, A. A. (2006). A sociolinguistics of "double-consciousness": English and ethnicity in the Black experience. In J. Brutt-Griffler & C. Davies (Eds.), *English and ethnicity* (pp. 49-74). New York.

McLuhan, M. (1962). *The Gutenberg galaxy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*: SAGE.

Miller, E. R. (2010). Agency in the Making: Adult Immigrants' Accounts of Language Learning and Work. *TESOL Quarterly, 44*(3), 465-487. doi:10.5054/tq.2010.226854

Miller, J. (2004). Identity and language use: The politics of speaking ESL in schools. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Great Britain: Cromwell Press.

Mishler, E. (2006). Narrative and Identity: the double arrow of time. In A. De Fina, D. Schiffrin, & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discoourse and Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

MNE. (2001). http://www.meb.gov.tr/stats/ist2001/Bolum6s1.htm M. o. N. Education.

MNE. (2007). *Milli Egitim Reformu*. Retrieved from www.meb.gov.tr.

Mufwene, S. S. (2012). English as a Lingua Franca: myths and facts. *Jounal of English as a Lingua Franca, 1*(2), 365-370.

Myles, F., Hooper, J., & Mitchell, R. (1999). Interrogative chunks in French L2: a basis for creative construction? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 21*(1), 49-89.

Nattinger, J. R., & DeCarrico, J. S. (1992). *Lexical phrases and language teaching*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Nederveen Pieterse, J. (2009). *Globalization and culture: Global mélange* (2 ed.). Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Nesselhauf, N. (2003). The use of collocations by advanced learners of English and some implications for teaching. *Applied Linguistics, 24*(2), 223-242.

Norton, B. (1997a). Language, Identity, and the Ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3).

Norton, B. (1997b). Language, identity; and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 409-429.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning*. London: Longman.

Norton, B. (2010). Language and identity. In N. H. Hornberger & S. L. McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and Language Learning Extending the Conversation* (2 ed.). New York: Multilingual Matters.

Norton, B., & Darvin, R. (2014). Social class, identity and migrant students. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 13*, 111-117.

Ochs, E. (1988). *Cultural and Language Development: Language acquisition and language socialization in a Samoan village*. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. (1992). Indexing gender In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon* (pp. 335-358). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. (1996). Linguistic resources for socializing humanity. . In J. Gumperz & S. Levinson (Eds.), *Rethinking linguistic relativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. (2001). Language socialization. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Key terms in language and culture* (pp. 227-230). Great Britain: Blackwell Publishing.

Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. B. (2008). Language socialization: An historical overview. In P. A. Duff & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (Vol. 8). New York: Springer.

Olson, M. C. n. a. I. f. t. e. (1995). Conceptualizing narrative authority: Implications for teacher education. *Teaching & Teacher Education, 11*(2), 119-135.

Ortaçtepe, D. (2013). Formulaic language and conceptual socialization: The Route to becoming nativelike in L2. *System, 41*(3), 852-865. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2013.08.006

Ostler, N. (2010). *The Last Lingua Franca* New York: Walker & Company.

Pakulski, J., & Waters, J. (1996). *The Death of Class*. London: Sage.

Papatsiba, V. (2006). Study abroad and experience of cultural distance and proximity: French Erasmus students. In M. Byram & A. Feng (Eds.), *Living and studying abroad* (pp. 108-134). Great Britain: Multilingual Matters.

Park, G. (2012). "I Am Never Afraid of Being Recognized as an NNES": One Teacher's Journey in Claiming and Embracing Her nonnative-Speaker Identity *TESOL Quarterly, 46*(1), 127-151.

Paulston, C. B. (1992). Biculturalism: Some reflections and speculations. In C. B. Paulston (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A. (2004). The making of an American': Negotiation of identities at the turn of the twentieth century. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. New York, : Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A. (2007). Autobiographic narratives as data in applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics, 28*(2), 163-188.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (Eds.). (2004). *Negotiations of identities in multilingual contexts*. New York: Multilingual Matters

Pavlenko, A., & Lantolf, J. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In J. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 155-177). New York: Oxford University Press.

Pawley, A. (2007). Developments in the study of formulaic language since 1970: A personal view. In P. Skandera (Ed.), *Phraseology and culture in English*. Germany Mouton de Gruyter.

PBS. (2001). Frontline Muslims—Interview with Muslim scholars: Nilufer Gole.

Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an International language*. London and New York: Longman.

Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London: Routledge.

Peshkin, A. (1988). In Search of Subjectivity—One's Own. *Educational Researcher, 17*(7), 17-21. doi:10.3102/0013189x017007017

Peters, A. M. (1983). *The Units of Language Acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Piller, I. (2002). *Bilingual couples talk: the discursive construction of hybridity* (Vol. 25). Amsterdam;Philadelphia;: J. Benjamins.

Polanyi, L. (1995). Language learning and living abroad: Stories from the field. In B. Freed (Ed.), *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context* (pp. 271-291). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1991). Narrative and self-concept *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 1*(2, 3), 135-153.

Poole, D. (1994). Language socialization in the second language classroom. *Language Learning, 42*(4), 593-616.

Prior, M. T. (2012). "I'm two pieces inside of me": Negotiating belonging through narratives of linguistic and ethnic hybridity. In C. Higgins (Ed.), *Identity Formation in Globalizing Contexts*. Germany: De Gruyter Mouton.

Prior, P. (2008). A Sociocultural Theory of Writing. In C. A. McArthur, S. Graham, & J. Fitzgerald (Eds.), *Handbook of Writing Research* (pp. 54-66). New York: The Guilford Press.

Prodromou, L. (2003). *Collocations*: Macmillan Publishers.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: language and ethnicity among adolescents* London: Longman.

Rampton, B. (1997). Retuning in aplied linguistics *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 7*(1), 3-25.

Rampton, B. (2001). Crossing. In A. Duranti (Ed.), Key terms in language and culture (pp. 49-51). Malden, MA Blackwell.

Rampton, B. (2003). Hegemony, social class and stylization. *Pragmatics, 13*(1), 49-83.

Rampton, B. (2006). *Language in late modernity: Interaction in an urban school*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rampton, B., Blommaert, J., Arnaut, K., & Spotti, M. (2015). Superdiversity and sociolinguistics, introduction. In B. Rampton, J. Blommaert, K. Arnaut, & M. Spotti (Eds.), *Language & Superdiversity*. New York: Routledge.

Report, U. N. a. W. (2016). Best Engineering Schools. Retrieved from http://grad-schools.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-graduate-schools/top-engineering-schools/eng-rankings/page+3

Richards, K. (2003). *Qualitative inquiry in TESOL*. Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Riessman, C. K. (2008a). *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*. London: Sage.

Riessman, C. K. (2008b). *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*. London: Sage Publications.

Roever, C. (2012). What learners get for free: learning of routine formulae in ESL and EFL environments. *ELT Journal, 66*(1), 10-21. doi:10.1093/elt/ccq090

Ros i Sole, C. (2007). Language learners' sociocultural positions in the L2: A narrative approach. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 7*(3), 203-216.

Rushdie, S. (1983). 'Commonwealth Literature' does not exist *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* London: Penguin.

Saldana, J. (2009). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* Sage.

Saldana, J. (2013). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (2 ed.): Sage.

Sante, L. (1998). *The factory of facts* New York: Pantheon Books.

Schauer, G. (2009). *Interlanguage Pragmatic Development : The Study Abroad Context*. London, GBR: Continuum International Publishing.

Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986). *Language socialization across cultures*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schiffrin, D. (1996). Narrative as self-portrait: Sociolinguistic constructions of identity. *Language in Society, 25*, 167-203.

Schiffrin, D. (2006). From linguistic reference to social reality. In A. De Fina, D. Schiffrin, & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schmidt, R. (1983). Consciousness, acculturation and the acquisition of communicative competence. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 137-174). Rowley, M.A. : Newbury House.

Seidman, I. (2006a). *Interviewing a Qualitative Research*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Seidman, I. (2006b). *Interviewing as qualitative research: Aguide for researchers in education and the social sciences* (Third ed.). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Sert, N. (2008). The language of instruction dilemma in the Turkish context. *System, 36*.

Shi, X. (2006). Intercultural transformation and second language socialization. *Journal of Intercultural Communication, 11*.

Shi, X. (2011). Negotiating Power and Access to Second Language Resources: A Study on Short-Term Chinese MBA Students in America. *The Modern Language Journal, 95*(4), 575-588. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01245.x

Shively, R. L. (2011). L2 pragmatic development in study abroad: A longitudinal study of Spanish service encounters. *Jounal of Pragmatics, 43*, 1818-1835.

Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication, 23*, 193-229.

Silverstein., B. (2011). *Islam and Modernity in Turkey*. United States of America: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sinclair, J. (1987). *Looking Up*: Collins Cobuild.

Sinclair, J. (1991). *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Singh, P., & Doherty, C. (2004). Global Cultural Flows and Pedagogic Dilemmas: Teaching in the Global University Contact Zone. *TESOL Quarterly, 38*(1), 9-42. doi:10.2307/3588257

Siyanova-Chanturia, A., Conklin, K., & Schmitt, N. (2011). Adding more fuel to the fire: An eye-tracking study of idiom processing by native and non-native speakers. *Second Language Research, 27*, 1-22.

Siyanova-Chanturia, A., & Schmitt, N. (2008). L2 learner production and processing of collocation: A multi-study perspective. *The Canadian Modern Language Review, 64*, 429-458.

Skeggs, B. (2004). *Class, Self, Culture*. London: Routledge.

Soysal, Y. N. (1994). *Limits to citizenship: Migrants and postnational membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Spolsky, B. (2009). *Language management*. Cambridge;New York;: Cambridge University Press.

Steffensen, S. V. (2007). Language, ecology and society: An introduction to dialectical linguistics. In J. B. Chr. & J. Door (Eds.), *Language, Ecology and Society - A Dialectical Approach. Edited by Sune Vork Steffensen and Joshua Nash*. London: Continuum.

Stoltzfus, N. (1996). *Resistance of the Heart: Inter marriage and the Rosenstrasse Protest in Nazi Germany*. New York W.W. Northon

Talburt, S., & Stewart, M. A. . (1999). What's

the subject of study abroad? Race, gender and Foreign Language Annals *Modern Language Journal, 46*(3 357), 163-175.

Talmy, S. (2008). The cultural productions of ESL student at Tradewinds High: Contingency, multidirectionality, and identity in L2 socialization. *Applied Linguistics, 29*, 619-644.

Tannen, D., & Öztek, P. C. (1981). *Health to Our Mouths: Formulaic Expressions in Turkish and Greek*: Mouton U6 - ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info%3Aofi%2Fenc%3AUTF-8&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fsummon.serialssolutions.com&rft_val_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Abook&rft.genre=book&rft.title=Health+to+Our+Mouths%3A+Formulaic+Expressions+in+Turkish+and+Greek&rft.au=Tannen%2C+Deborah&rft.au=%C3%96ztek%2C+Piyale+C%C3%B6mert&rft.date=1981&rft.pub=Mouton&rft.externalDocID=R02427352&paramdict=en-US U7 - Book.

Terkourafi, M. (2002). Politeness and Formulaicity: Evidence from Cypriot Greek. *Journal of Greek Linguistics, 3*, 179-201.

Thurlow, C. (2018). Queering critical discourse studies or/and Performing 'post-class' ideologies. In J. Flowerdew & J. Richardson (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Analysis* London: Routledge, Taylor&Francis Group.

Thurlow, C., & Jarowski, A. (2009). Taking an Elitist Stance: Ideology and the Discursive Production of SocialDistinction. In A. Jarowski (Ed.), *Perspectives on Stance. New York: Oxford University Press.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Ting-Toomey, S. (1999). *Communicating across cultures*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Urciuoli, B. (2008). Skills and selves in the new workplace. *American Ethnologist, 35*, 211-228.

Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity.

Uryu, M., Steffensen, V., & Kramsch, C. J. (2013). The ecology of intercultural interaction: timescales, temporal ranges and identity dynamics. *Language Sciences, xxx*(xxx).

van Lier, L. (1996). *Interaction in the Language Curriculum: Awareness, Autonomy, and Authenticty* London: Longman.

van Lier, L. (2000). From input to affordance: Social-interactive learning from an ecological perspective In J. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning* (pp. 245-259). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Lier, L. (2002). An ecological-semiotic perspective on language and linguistics. In C. J. Kramsch (Ed.), *Language acquisition and language socialization: ecological perspectives*. New York Continuum.

van Lier, L. (2004). *The Ecology and Semiotics of Language Learning: A Sociocultural Perspective*. Boston: MA:Kluwer.

Vandrick, S. (1995). Privileged ESL university students. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*(2), 375-381.

Vandrick, S. (2011). Students of the New Global Elite. *TESOL Quarterly, 45*(1), 160-169. doi:10.5054/tq.2011.244020

Vickers, C. H. (2007). Second Language Socialization Through Team Interaction Among Electrical and Computer Engineering Students. *The Modern Language Journal, 91*(4), 621-640. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2007.00626.x

Visweswaran, K. (1994). *Fictions of feminist ethnography*. Minneapolis, MN.: University of Minnesota Press.

Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Wang, C. (2010). Toward a Second Language Socialization Perspective: Issues in Study Abroad Research. *Foreign Language Annals, 43*(1), 50-63. doi:10.1111/j.1944-9720.2010.01059.x

Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (2004). Mind, Language, and Epistemology: Toward a Language Socialization Paradigm for SLA *The Modern Language Journal, 88*(8), 331-350.

Watson-Gegeo, K. A., & Nelson, S. (2003). Language socialization in SLA. In C. J. Doughty & M. H. Long (Eds.), *The handbook of second language acquisition*. United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing.

Watson-Gegeo, K. A., & Nielsen, S. (2004). Language socialization in SLA. In C. J. Doughty & M. H. Long (Eds.), *The handbook of second language acquisition*. United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing.

Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*. London: Blackwell.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

White, J. (1997). Turks in the New Germany *American Anthropologist, 99*(4), 754-769.

Whiteside, A. (2006). Research on transnational Yucatec Maya-speakers negotiating multilingual California. *Journal of Applied Linguistics, 3*, 103-112.

Widdowson, H. G. (1990). *Aspects of Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Widdowson, H. G. (1994). The ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 28*, 377-389.

Widdowson, H. G. (1997). EIL, ESL, EFL: global issues and local interests. *World Englishes, 16*(1), 135-146.

Wilkinson, S. (1998). Study abroad from the participants' perspective: A challenge to common beliefs. . *Foreign Language Annals, 31*, 23-39.

Willet, J. (1995). Becoming first graders in an L2: an ethnographic study of L2 socialization. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*(3), 473-503.

Wollcot, H. F. (1994). *Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, Analysis, and Interpretation*: Sage Publication.

Wong Fillmore, L. (1976). *The second time around: ognitive and social strategies in second language acquistion.* (PhD), Stanford University.

Woolard, K. (1985). Language variation and cultural hegemony: Towards an integration of sociolinguistic and social theory. *International Journal of Sociology of Language, 66*, 85-89.

Wortham, S. (2001). *Narratives in action*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Wray, A. (2002). *Formulaic Language and the Lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wray, A. (2008). *Formulaic Language: pushing the boundaries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wray, A., & Namba, K. (2003). Formulaic language in a Japanese-English bilingual child: a practical approach to data analysis *Japanese Journal for Multilingualism and Multiculturalism, 9*(1), 24-51.

Yorio, C. A. (1989). Idiomaticity as an indicator of second language proficiency. In K. Hyltenstam & L. K. Obler (Eds.), *Bilingualism across the lifespan* (pp. 55-72). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Zeyrek, D. (2001). Politeness in Turkish and linguistic manifestations: a socio-cultural perspective. In M. Sifianou & A. Bayraktaroglu (Eds.), *Linguistic Politeness Across Boundaries*: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Zuskin, R. D. (1993). Assessing L2 Sociolinguistic Competence: In Search of Support from Pragmatic Theories *Pragmatics and LAnguage Learning, 4*, 166-182.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

I did not cover the questions in order if they seemed inappropriate but I followed the feedback of my participants while covering the points I was interested in. during the research interviews.

Demographic Questions

1. What is your age?
2. What is your major at UB?
3. What is your first language?
4. Apart from your mother tongue and English, do you know any other languages?
5. How many years did you study English in classes in Turkey?
6. Did you study English outside of school or university? If yes, please describe:
7. Would you describe the focus of your English studies in Turkey (i.e., Grammar and grammar exercises, translation, conversation, reading skills, listening skills)?
8. How often did you speak English in Turkey?
9. With whom did you speak English, and for what purpose?
10. Do you consider yourself fluent in English?
11. How long have you been in the USA?
12. Have you spent some time in any other English speaking countries? If so, where and for what purposes did you stay there?
13. What do you think is your economic standing?

Section B

1. How did you end up at the engineering program that you are enrolled in right now in the States?
2. How long have you been studying English?
3. How many languages do you speak fluently?
4. Can you tell me the circumstances of learning your languages? (context, by choice, age, attitude towards the language?
5. Where did you use which language?
6. How often do you switch between languages? What is the reason for code switching in any of your relationships? What are the contexts?
7. What language do you speak when you are angry and when you curse?
8. In what social contexts and social activities did you get involved when you were in your own country?

9. What family and cultural celebrations, traditions, or rituals were important in your life in Turkey?
10. What cultural influences are still important to you today?
11. Is a sense of belonging to a community important to you?
12. Were you encouraged to try new things, such as food, activity, etc., or did you feel held back, in the USA?
13. Tell me a story about how you felt, when you first arrived the US. What was your first experience of leaving home like?
14. Did you make friends easily when you arrived in the U.S.?
15. Tell me about the clubs, groups, or organizations that you joined when you came to the U.S.?
16. Does being alone in the States influence you? How does it make you feel?
17. Tell me about what you do for fun or entertainment in the U.S.
18. Did you develop new entertainment ways in the U.S.
19. Can you tell me an exciting fun event in the US.

Section 2 .

1. To what degree do you feel like a part of the American culture? Please explain.
2. Would you think of yourself as positioned in two cultures? How do you define the concept of 'home'?
3. What kind of opportunities do you have to communicate with English speakers, both native and nonnative? Where and why do these interactions take place?
4. What kind of results follow from such interactions?
5. Did you have any negative experience since you didn't know anything particular in the host culture and community? Tell me a story about it, if you had any?
6. Tell me a story about a time where you felt comfortable or somehow inferior speaking English in a group of people whose native language is English?
7. Have you ever felt as though you couldn't express yourself enough in English? Can you give me an example of a time when this happened?
8. Do you feel comfortable with expressing yourself in English? For what reason?
9. Tell me a story about how a stranger reacted to you when you told that you were Turkish. How did this make you feel?
10. How did you feel upon their reactions?
11. In what ways do you think the engineering departments are different in the US and Turkey?
12. Tell me an occasion when you felt alienated because you don't know anything about the requirements in your department?
13. Does your department have more males than females? If so how do you feel about it? Have you ever felt alienated because you are a girl in your department? Or have you ever seen a female friend being discriminated because of her gender?

Section 3:

1. Are you planning on staying in the U.S. after you've graduated? What work positions do you see yourself in after your graduation?
2. What other social contexts, except from the university settings, would you like to get into?
3. Tell me a story about a fun event that you've participated in as a student in the United States.
4. Can you tell me how you celebrated American holidays? Is it important for you to celebrate these holidays for you?
5. Is there any other particular thing that you want to tell me apart from the questions I asked?

APENDIX B: DISCOURSE COMPLETION TEST

The following task comprises everyday situations. Please read the situations and think how you would respond in these situations. Say the first thing you could think of. Try to respond as quickly as possible because in a natural conversation you would only have seconds to respond. Thank you for your participation!

PART 1:

1st Situation: You've made an appointment with one of your professors. However, you are late for 25 minutes for the meeting.
Professor: Hello, come on in, but you've been somewhat late and I'm about to leave. I have a class in 5 minutes.
You: _____

2nd Situation: You went to the theatres last night and one of your friends asks about the movie.
Friend: How did you like the movie?
You: _____

3rd Situation: You have had your hair cut in a different style than you usually do. You encounter a friend.
Friend: Wow, you look great!
You: _____

4th Situation: You prepared breakfast for your friends and after the meal they say:
Friends: Everything was so delicious! We enjoyed it a lot!
You: _____

5th Situation: You've invited a friend of yours to your house. Upon seeing your apartment she looks very much impressed by your neatness and says:
Friend: Wow, you're really well-organized!
You: _____

6th Situation: You went to Wegmans. Before starting to calculate your purchase, the cashier greets you.
Cashier: Hi, did you find everything OK, today?
You: _____

7th Situation: You go to a clothing store and you are trying to find a new t-shirt. A salesperson approaches you.
Assistant: Can I help you with anything?
You: _____

8th Situation: Your friend introduces you to his girlfriend.
Your friend: This is my girlfriend, Ashley.

You: _____

9th Situation: You've seen a friend of yours whom you haven't seen a long while.
Friend: Hey, there! What's up?
You: _____

10th Situation: You've gone jogging and on the walking trail you see a friend.
Friend: Hi, how are you doing?
You: _____

PART 2

11th Situation: Your exam results have just been announced. You look at your paper and feel frustrated because you have failed the exam.
You: It looks like I have failed this one!
Adam: Tell me about it.
You: _____

12th Situation: Your friend who knows that you smoke asks for a cigarette.
You: I don't have any. I quit.
Jason: Oh, get out of here.
You: _____

13th Situation: You see a person with whom you've met at a party. You approach her.
You: Hi, Rachel. How are you?
Your interlocutor: I am sorry, I didn't catch your name.
You: _____

14th Situation: You are waiting in a shuttle queue but you are cold and you want to get on as quick as possible. When the shuttle arrives, you move towards the shuttle hastily. The person in front of you, seemingly a member of the staff, seems angry because he thinks you are trying to get his turn. And you respond noticing his irritation.
You: I am sorry I am cold that's why I am hurrying!
Teacher: Hold your horses, big boy. You'll get your turn.
You: _____

15th Situation: You are waiting in the classroom to take an exam. One of your friends comes over and tells you that the exam's been cancelled because the teacher is sick.
You: Are you serious?
Your classmate: No! [laughing] I was just pulling your leg.
You: _____

16th Situation: You just met a friend whom you haven't seen for a very long time. Yet you are not sure whether it is him or not.
You: Kevin, is that you?
Kim: Oh, hi! Long time no see. It's so good to see you!
You: _____

17th Situation: You are on campus. A stranger asks you where the Capen Hall is.
Speaker: Excuse me, do you know where the Capen Hall is?
You: Go straight ahead and take a left at the park.
Speaker: Thank you.
You: _____

18th Situation: You and your friend are chatting at Starbucks on campus.
You: I gotta go now. See you around.
Your friend: OK, I'll talk to you later.
You: _____

19th Situation: You are talking to an agent of Bank of America on campus, yet he seems not to have heard you distinctly.
You: I want to open an account, please.
Clerk: Come again
You: _____

20th Situation: You asked for help from a friend of yours with a difficult project.
You: Can you help me with this essay!
Your friend: Oh honey, I am not gonna touch it. That's a hot potato.
You: _____

APPENDIX C: MULTIPLE CHOICE COLLOCATION TEST

NAME:

Choose the correct alternative.

1. The judge found that in her case there were some **mitigating ……..:** she had been good to a wasteful student, and she had saved two children from a blazing house, getting burnt herself while doing so. She, then, got off the prison.

A	circumstances	**B**	coincidences	**C**	interventions	**D**	events	**E**	experiences

2. The search-and-rescue operations are certainly under way. However, history tells us that after five or six days, the chances of finding anyone who may have survived an avalanche, especially given the **inclement ……** and the lack of food and water, the chances of finding someone like that are very small, but that's not stopping the efforts that are going on to the north.

A	climate	**B**	factors	**C**	incident	**D**	weather	**E**	supply

3. It was through my wife's painstaking efforts that I last came to figure out the methuselah's (a very old person) **……** Southern **accent,** and his real words.

A	mixed	**B**	intelligible	**C**	broad	**D**	dull	**E**	minatory

4. In 1899, the American artist Henry Ward Ranger (1858-1916) came to Old Lyme in search of **picturesque ……** suitable for his Barbizon-inspired landscape paintings. He was delighted with what he found: It looks like the land of Millet.

A	beauty	**B**	tableau	**C**	scenery	**D**	tree	**E**	bordering

5. Earlier yesterday, AKP submitted a memorandum saying that the Parliament should debate the education reform that proposes 12 (4+4+4) years of compulsory schooling. However, CHP objected to the proposed law. Therefore, the **meeting** in the parliament was **……** to give parties' planning committees time to consider AKP's request.

A	attended	**B**	allocated	**C**	verified	**D**	convened	**E**	adjourned

6. It is now clearer why the erosion of moral values in the Iran-Contra scandal matters so much. For here we are, asking Iraq and other nations to **adhere to ……** of international law and custom which we ourselves have messed up.

A	guidelines	b)	standards	**C**	patterns	**D**	doctrines	**E**	adaptations

7. Chelsea fans went home **deliriously ……** after the club's seventh win in eight games, a run which has moved them up to fifth place.

A	happy	**B**	glad	**C**	pleasant	**D**	successful	**E**	lucky

8. Shena Lena is not the smartest girl in the village, but she is the prettiest. She has a round smooth face that bursts with sweetness when she smiles, like a fresh orange. She has deeply dimpled cheeks and white, even teeth. Her **auburn …….** glow(s) like a red sunset in her curled braid.

A	locks	**B**	coiffure	**C**	hair	**D**	hairstyle	**E**	Haircut

9. Hung around the streets of Buffalo are posters announcing an all-star Metallica **…… concert**, which misleadingly makes you think that the band is coming to town.

A	memorial	**B**	salutation	**C**	compliment	**D**	tribute	**E**	paid

10. It's become almost **……..** **wisdom** that the stress-relieving properties of yoga - or, for that matter, any sort of physical or meditative practice - can make you healthier.

A	traditional	**B**	conventional	**C**	well-known	**D**	typical	**E**	shared

11. In that election, their share of the vote was almost certainly inflated by the fact that they were the main alternative to the governing party. So people who didn't like the governing party could **……..** a **vote** for the Muslim Brotherhood.

A	put	**B**	count	**C**	give	**D**	certify	**E**	cast

12. In Switzerland, Google has agreed to halt the display of further Street View images **pending** the **……..** of a court case lodged by Swiss federal data protection officials.

A	outcome	**B**	conclusion	**C**	verdict	**D**	delay	**E**	response

13. E.U. officials do not entirely accept that analysis, though neither do they hide the **challenge** **……** by the diverging economic performances of euro-zone nations.

A	posed	**B**	imposed	**C**	faced	**D**	rejected	**E**	dared

14. The questions that were trying to address with this theory are the ones that, in one form or another, our species has survived for thousands of years. How is it that we're here in the universe? How will it all end? If we can **……..** some **insight**, we're ultimately getting a clearer sense of how we fit into the universe. That's the goal.

A	get	**B**	gain	**C**	gather	**D**	make	**E**	collect

15. The foster child's primary goal is often reunification with her natural family. Regardless of your feelings about the natural parents, you should not make **disparaging** **……** about them in front of the child.

A	declarations	**B**	utterances	**C**	observations	**D**	remarks	**E**	points

16. Whitney Huston's daughter did not make it through the night. At the age of 20 she was dead. The **outpouring** of **……..** was stunning.

A	discomfort	**B**	grief	**C**	pain	**D**	sadness	**E**	anguish

APPENDIX D : AUTHENTIC CONVERSATION TOOL

Type of conversation (e.g. small talk, purchase, greeting, etc.) ……

The reason for the conversation ……

Who is the interlocutor? ……

Nationality ……

Age ……

Gender ……

How successful was the conversation do you think? ……

How did you feel about the interaction? ……

APENDIX E: SCHEDULES OF THE INTERVIEWS

Interview	Bryan	Ashley	David	Michael	Jerome	Kiel	Joe	Samuel	Rachael	Zoe
1	October 20, 2014			October 24, 2014	October 10, 2015	September 25, 2015			September 19, 2015	
2	November 18, 2014					October 12, 2015		October 20, 2015		
3	November 22, 2014	October 25, 2014	February 22, 2014	February 18, 2014	November 20, 2015	November 22, 2015	November 18, 2015	November 14, 2015	December 5, 2015	November 23, 2015
4	December 10, 2015	April 27, 2014		October 18, 2015	October 26, 2015	February 7, 2016	February 26, 2016		March 5, 2016	February 12, 2016
5			April 3, 2015	February 6, 2016	March 28, 2016	April 19, 2016	March 16, 2016		April 25, 2016	March 8, 2016
6	May 6, 2016 5ti			April 17, 2016		May 24, 2016	May 28, 2016			May 20, 2016
7	February 26, 2016		February 18, 2016							
8	March 6, 2016	March 17, 2016								
9										
10										

APPENDIX F: CODING INSTANCES

	Code				Number of Instances	Number of data sources
1	Habitus				428	100
2		Turkish society			517	86
3			Turkish culture		158	45
4				Islamic	24	12
5				Conservative	18	6
6			National		118	65
7				Hospitality	28	6
8			European		12	3
9				Secular	19	8
10			Historic		26	3
11				Pride	18	2
12		American society			328	52
13			Host culture		24	15
14				Politically correct	17	6
15			Temporality		59	15
16			Loneliness		78	19
17			Unbelonging		61	14
18			Westernization		32	9
19	Ideologies				264	69
20		Globalization			27	5
21			Nationalism		52	19
22			Technology		98	11
23		Otherness			72	21
24			Racism		25	9
25			Ethnics		12	1
26	Languages	Religion			56	12
27			Islam		43	7
28				Terrorism	12	5
29			Christianity		17	2
30				Missionary	9	2
31	Languages				348	97
32		Ownership			44	19
33			Nonnative speaker		63	17
34			Native speakers		78	14
35		Sexual appeal			13	4
36			LGBTE community		18	6
37			Romantic involvement		25	8
38	Socioeconomics				186	38

39		Wealth			92	15
40			Prestigious		24	10
41			Privileged		12	8
42			Superiority		21	11
43				Restaurants	57	14
44				Celebrities	24	4
45				Fashion	65	3
46				Flights	49	13
47				Tourism	35	9
48				Luxury	31	4
49	Schooling	STEM			79	12
50			Engineering		124	23
51				Female	21	8
52				Male	11	1
53			Institution		18	3
54				Department	9	2
55				Discipline	29	3

This table represents the major themes and the number of codes which were found in total and in the different sources. There were some overlaps in the coding. For example, the topic of language emerged several times at different instances with different topics. So the total number of instances does not represent the overlaps.

APENDIX G: FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS IN THE AUTHENTIC CONVERSATIONS

Formula	Name	Frequency	Type of the conversation
Here I am	Rachael	1	Small talk (ST)
Let them know	Joe	1	Long conversation (LC)
Give me a break	Kiel, Jerome	2	ST
Eat you alive	Michael	1	ST
You might wanna know	Rachael	1	ST
I'll get it	David, Ashley	6	ST
I got that	Bryan, David	9	ST
I was like	Bryan, Michael, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Joe, Rachael	39	ST LC
Shall I get that	Zoe, Ashley	5	
I know this/that	David, Michael, Samuel, Brayan	12	ST LC
I noticed that	Michael, Kiel	5	LC
There is something wrong	Michael, Joe	2	LC
Please forgive me	Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe,	6	ST
See it for yourself			
Me neither	Kiel, Jerome, Joe, Rachael	5	LC
Here we go	Rachael	4	ST
Do I make myself clear	Kiel, Joe	2	ST
You can't be serious	Michael, Kiel, Jerome, Rachael, Zoe	6	ST LC
Don't screw this	Michael	1	LC
Welcome to Buffalo	Zoe	1	ST
Just in case	Kiel	1	LC
Think about it	Bryan, Michael, Ashley	6	LC
Do you have any idea	Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome	4	ST

Since when do you ask for permission	Rachael	1	ST
Let it go	Samuel	1	ST
Well, now you do!	Bryan	1	ST
Do you understand	Bryan, Michael, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome	8	ST LC
Do you know what I am saying	Bryan, Michael, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Rachael,	12	ST LC
That's correct	Michael, Rachael	6	LC
I suppose you won't mind	Kiel, Jerome, Joe, Rachael	8	LC
Well, apparently quite a lot	Jerome		
It looks like	Bryan, Michael, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Joe, Rachael	12	ST LC
I don't think I like that	Ashley, Zoe	4	LC
You look really nice	David, Bryan, Michael, Ashley, Zoe, Joe, Rachael	18	ST LC
I am telling you that's not going to happen	Kiel	1	LC
Get out of here	Rachael	1	LC
Don't you get it	Kiel, Jerome, Joe, Rachael	8	LC
That's how it happens	Michael, Jerome, Kiel	4	LC
Don't worry	Bryan, Michael, Ashley, Rachael, Joe, Kiel	8	ST
No matter how old I get	Samuel	1	ST
Go to hell	Michael	1	ST
Eating my brain	Jerome	1	ST
Stop making me laugh	Zoe	1	ST
On behalf of my friend	Rachael	1	ST

I am looking forward to see[ing] you	Ashley	1	ST
Nowhere near me	Michael	1	ST
Like a thousand times	Jerome	1	ST
I get this/I get that//I don't get that	Bryan, Michael, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Joe, Rachael	12	ST LC
Mind your own business	Joe	1	LC
Very impressive	Michael, Bryan	2	ST
You remind me of	Zoe	1	LC
It's no big deal	Kiel	1	ST
All I need is	Jerome	1	ST
Stop looking at	Rachael	1	ST
Don't worry about me	David	1	ST
Big time	Michael	1	LC
Not at all	David, Bryan	2	ST
Killed some time	Jerome	1	LC
I'll finish up the food	Joe	1	LC
You gotta/must be kidding me	Joe, Rachael Bryan, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Michael,	16	ST LC
I was just thinking	Samuel	1	ST
If you insist	Kiel	1	LC
If you must	Michael	1	ST
Let me handle this	Jerome	1	LC
Suit yourself	Joe	1	ST
Not that I know of	Michael	1	LC
The truth is	Rachael	1	LC
Happy to help you	Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Michael	6	ST LC
You were supposed to	Samuel, Rachael, Jerome, Kiel, Michael	10	ST LC
Did it ever occur to you	Michael, Kiel, Joe	7	LC
Go see for yourself	Rachael	1	LC
Sorry to interrupt	Rachael	1	ST
I don't wanna seem	Rachael	1	LC

Are you telling me	Jerome, Kiel, Joe, Rachael	6	ST LC
I'd better get that	Michael	1	ST
How about this	Bryan, Ashley, Joe, Zoe, Kiel	8	ST
I'd like to introduce you to	Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Michael, Rachael	10	ST LC
I am not sure	Bryan, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome,	18	ST LC
Couple days	Bryan, Ashley	2	ST
Out of the blue	Rachael	1	LC
Looks like he is crazy about her	David	2	ST
Do you need a ride	Jerome	1	ST
Show me	Samuel	1	ST
Let them go	Joe	1	ST
What's the matter with you	David	1	ST
Wait a minute	David	1	ST
What's so funny	Bryan	1	ST
No brainer!	Michael	1	LC
I told you so	Zoe	1	ST
I will go with	Samuel	1	ST
I won't let them get away with this	Kiel	1	LC
Would you mind	Bryan, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome,	10	ST LC
That doesn't mean	Kiel, Bryan, Rachael	5	ST
You know what	Joe, Kiel	4	ST
I told you so	Jerome	1	ST
For the record,	Michael	1	LC
After all the things I did for you	Michael	1	LC
I'm gonna get this	Samuel	1	LC
Don't press conference me	Joe	1	LC
I know this/that	Bryan, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Michael	18	ST LC
Shall I get that	Ashley, David	5	ST
I disown you	Jerome	1	ST

I heard about it	David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Bryan, Ashley, Michael	12	ST LC
goodbye	Bryan, Michael, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Joe, Rachael	47	ST LC
See you tomorrow	Bryan, Michael, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Joe, Rachael	24	ST LC
What's up bro	Joe, Kiel, Michael	8	ST
(I'll) see you soon	Bryan, Michael, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome, Joe, Rachael	28	ST
Let me think	Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe,	12	ST LC
Let me see	Bryan, Michael, Ashley, David, Samuel, Zoe, Kiel, Jerome	18	ST LC
I noticed that	Michael, Ashley, David, Samuel,	8	ST LC
Don't ask	Michael, Rachael	3	ST
That would be the least of my worries	Michael	1	LC
Only the good die young	Joe	1	LC
To what do I owe the pleasure	Kiel	1	LC
Was really nice meeting you	Michael, Ashley, David,	6	ST

	Samuel, Bryan		
Long time no see	Joe, Jerome, Kiel, Michael	4	ST
Knock it off	David, Ryan	2	ST
If that's not cool with you	Kiel	1	ST
Hush yourself	Michael	1	ST
Shut up	Rachael, Kiel	2	ST
It's time to clean	Zoe	1	ST
I don't buy it	Samuel	2	ST
That's insane	Bryan	1	ST
Is it just me	Michael	1	LC
I wish I could	Kiel	1	ST
Better sorry than sad	Jerome	1	LC
Do you need a minute	Rachael	1	ST
Can you just give me one more second	Michael	1	ST
Have a wonderful day	David	3	ST
What makes you say that	Rachael	1	LC
I mean	Michael, Ashley, David, Samuel, David, Rachael	24	ST LC
Why wouldn't I	Joe	1	LC
Nice job	Bryan, Ashley, Rachael	4	ST
You take care of yourself	Ashley	1	ST
Seems so pointless	Jerome	1	LC
I better get that	Jerome	1	LC
Take a look	Kiel	1	ST
I really am	Michael	1	ST
You aren't gonna believe this	Michael	1	ST
I'd be happy to see you again	Samuel	1	ST
Drives me nuts	Jerome	1	LC
Enjoy the party	Joe	1	LC
Gee, I'm sorry	Joe	1	ST
No worries	David	2	ST
You've been very helpful	Michael Rachael	2	ST
What makes you say that	Michael	1	ST
Who says that I am …	Kiel	1	LC
Are you coming or what?	Samuel	1	ST
I know, right?	Jerome, Kiel, Michael, Rachael, Joe	6	LC

APENDIX H: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

:-	indicates vowel elongation
. ..-	shows micro-pause
(0.5)-	indicates timed pause in seconds
↓-	means that intonation rises
↑-	means that intonation falls
>><< -	shows faster speech
<<>>	Shows slower speech
(hhh)	indicates audible exhalation
(ummm)	indicates audible hesitation
CAPITAL LETTERS	indicates stressed louder speech
/	indicates self-correction
[ ]	shows overlapping speech
-.-	indicates cut off by another participant