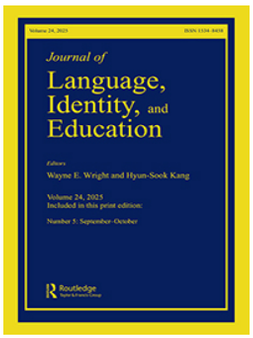

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Journal of Language, Identity & Education

ISSN: 1534-8458 (Print) 1532-7701 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/hlie20

"Native English Speakers, I Cannot Say Them as a Teacher": NEST Schemes and Teacher Identity

Sue Garton, Fiona Copland & Steve Mann

To cite this article: Sue Garton, Fiona Copland & Steve Mann (11 Sep 2025): "Native English Speakers, I Cannot Say Them as a Teacher": NEST Schemes and Teacher Identity, Journal of Language, Identity & Education, DOI: 10.1080/15348458.2025.2537421

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2025.2537421

Published online: 11 Sep 2025.

JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE, IDENTITY & EDUCATION
https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2025.2537421

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

"Native English Speakers, I Cannot Say Them as a Teacher": NEST Schemes and Teacher Identity

Sue Garton[a], Fiona Copland[b], and Steve Mann[b]

[a]Aston University; [b]University of Warwick

ABSTRACT

Schemes that hire "native-speaker English teachers" (NESTs) are common around the world. Such schemes, where NESTs and local English teachers (LETS) work together, can provide opportunities for both teachers and learners, but they can also present many challenges. One challenge is the negotiation of teacher identity for both NESTs and LETs. Drawing a socio-cultural linguistic approach to identity, this article analyses interview data to examine how LETs and NESTs construct both their own and each other's identity. Through micro-analysis of the interviews, the study sheds light on the identities claimed and assigned by the participants, offering insight into NESTs and LETs and their "self" and "other" perceptions. The findings show the complexity and individual nature of positioning and identity construction, and give a deeper better understanding of team-teaching relationships, which can contribute to more positive classroom experiences for NESTs, LETs, and learners.

KEYWORDS

Language teacher identity; LETs; NEST schemes; NESTs

Introduction

Although the pandemic may have briefly interrupted the trend, it seems that the global demand for English teachers, and for "native" English speaker teachers (from here, NESTs) in particular, continues.[1] The reasons are well documented: the number of learners of English continues to grow around the world (British Council, 2013) and they are learning at an ever-younger age (Copland et al., 2024). In some countries, the attraction of having NESTs, either because of the perceived benefit of their linguistic skills or because of a lack of local English teachers, has resulted in the establishment of formal programmes to recruit and sponsor NESTs.

A range of studies has focused on NEST schemes, with research mainly conducted in East Asia (see, for example, Heo, 2013 on Korea; Bryant, 2011 on Hong Kong; Rao & Chen, 2020 on China; Glasgow, 2018 on Japan; Tran, 2014 on Vietnam). Most work to date has concentrated on the experiences and attitudes of those involved (Copland et al., 2020, for an overview).

At the same time, there has been a growing interest in the identity of language teachers and the role it plays in professional development and practice. Studies have focused on the professional identity of NESTs (see, for example, Trent, 2014; Yim & Ahn, 2018) and especially on non-NESTs, or Local English Teachers (from here, LETs) (see Yuan, 2019 for a review of recent studies). However, there are few studies that investigate the identities of NESTs and LETs working together on NEST schemes. Yet identities—both claimed and assigned—can affect teachers' classroom practices, self-esteem, and well-being, and therefore are worthy of investigation.

CONTACT Sue Garton s.garton@aston.ac.uk Department of Communication and Culture, Aston University, Birmingham B4 7ET, UK

Drawing on data from a wider study, this article analyses semi-structured interviews with LETs and NESTs who are involved in team-teaching, espoused by many NEST schemes. It examines how they construct their own identities and the identities of their co-teachers. The analyses question the findings in much of the research literature, which suggests that LETs feel their professional identity is threatened and undermined by NESTs and that NESTs have higher status and enjoy greater privileges than LETs simply because they are "native speakers" (see for example, Selvi, 2019; Wang & Lin, 2013; Yazan, 2018).

Through the analysis of the ways in which NESTs and LETs talk about themselves and each other, we aim to shed light on the identities claimed and assigned by the participants. In doing so, we consider factors that contribute to this perception of "self" and the "other." This is important because team teaching is an area where misunderstandings are reportedly common (e.g., Brown, 2013; Rao & Chen, 2020), therefore a deeper insight into NESTs and LETs and their "self" and "other" perceptions can contribute to improved team-teaching relationships and more positive classroom experiences for NESTs, LETs and learners.

A note on terminology

We are well aware of the debates and controversies surrounding the terminology used to discuss the issues in this article (Copland et al., 2020). We are also aware that the very use of the dichotomy is potentially damaging, particularly when researchers working in this area fail to interrogate them (E. Lee & Canagarajah, 2019). However, this article is concerned with the identities of teachers working on NEST schemes in which the recognition of two separate groups of teachers is inherent, where labels are assigned a priori, and so cannot be ignored. The acronym NEST will therefore be used for the "Native English Speaker Teacher" and LET for the teachers who host the NESTs in overseas context (see also Luk & Lin, 2007; Trent, 2016), whilst also acknowledging the imprecision of the labels (NESTs are not all native speakers, and not all are qualified teachers, while LETs are not all local, for example). The decision to use the terms is both a principled and a pragmatic one: NEST is a widely used and recognised term, while LET is the term that informants in our study used to refer to themselves. Moreover, the use of LETs avoids the problematic status of the "non" (Medgyes, 2017) in the more widely used NNEST, or "Non-Native English Speaker Teacher" (although see Selvi, 2016 for a defence of the term).

Background

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in teacher identity, both in general (see for example, Schutz et al., 2018) and in language teaching in particular (see Cheung et al., 2014; Kayi-Aydar, 2019). Barkhuizen (2016) is an illustration of the complexity of the field, with chapters drawing on theoretical perspectives such as poststructuralism, sociocultural theory, communities of practice, social identity theory, psychology, sociolinguistics, and philosophy (Barkhuizen, 2016).

Identity is, therefore, a complex concept, with no single definition. For the purposes of this study, we draw on MacLure (1993), who defines identity as "a resource that people use to explain, justify and make sense of themselves in relation to others and to the world at large" (p. 311). Identity is, therefore, "the social positioning of self and other" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586). The fluidity of identity implies that, in a team-teaching relationship, the identities of NESTs and LETs are likely to be constantly negotiated, contributing to how they report their team-teaching relationships in the interviews (see below for a detailed discussion of the analytical approach adopted here).

As Swearingen (2019) shows in their literature review, LETs' identities have attracted much interest, in particular those on graduate TESOL preparation programmes. Recent studies take a variety of perspectives on LETs' identity, including the role of teacher associations (Nair, 2021),

language policy (Aoyama, 2021), teachers' experiences both locally (Hsieh et al., 2022), and overseas (Fan & de Jong, 2019), and working with NESTs (Trent, 2014).

There are fewer studies of NESTs, but there has been some interest in the difficulties that NESTs may face in developing their professional identity (see, for example, Guo et al., 2021; Kocabaş-Gedik & Ortaçtepe Hart, 2021; Trent, 2014). Whilst not explicitly focused on identity, Yim and Ahn (2018) and Yim and Hwang (2019) both examine the challenges NESTs face in developing what they refer to as a sense of belonging.

Whilst we are not aware of any studies that investigate both LET and NEST identity construction when working together in a co-teaching scheme, Trent's (2014, 2016) research with teachers on the NET scheme in Hong Kong considers each group separately. It explores how professional identity, mentioned in other studies, is particularly salient to NESTs. Given their qualifications and experience, NESTs positioned themselves as professional language teachers; however, they felt that this identity was threatened by both the institutions in which they worked and some of the LETs with whom they worked. Trent (2016) found multiple competing discourses of cooperation and conflict in the way in which the LETs in his study constructed their own identities. In line with many more recent studies, Trent (2016) underlines the need to problematise the discourses that exist around NEST schemes to liberate teachers from the constraints on their identity that such discourses entail.

Analytical approach

Positionality

We draw on Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) sociocultural linguistic approach to identity and interaction, in which identity is "a relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction" (p. 585). This approach recognises that identity is not fixed but is shaped through the positions that participants assume in interaction. In this framework, the "positionality principle" posits that there are different levels of identity.

The first is macro-level categories, such as race and academic status. Zimmerman (1998) defines such "transportable identities" as "identities that are usually visible, that is, assignable or claimable on the basis of physical or culturally based insignia which furnish the intersubjective basis for categorization" (p. 91).

Richards (2006) suggests that transportable identities are different from second-level, situated, or ethnographically specific local identities. These are those identities that come with the territory, for example, teacher and student or interviewer and interviewee. The third level is temporamicro-identities shaped by the ongoing interaction, such as joke tellers or engaged listeners.

In addition to their situated identities, LETs and NESTs (and interviewers) in the context reported here generally have different physical insignia—specifically race—which instantly mark them out in the classroom, and in the interview. The analysis below will show that both transportable and situated identities are made salient in the interview.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 594) list some of the linguistic resources through which what they term identity relations emerge:

1. Explicit use of categories or labels
2. Presupposition or implicature
3. Evaluative or epistemic orientation
4. Linguistic structures or systems associated with specific groups.

This article therefore focuses on the linguistic resources used by NESTs and LETs to discursively construct their identities, and the ways in which these shape their identities.

Narrated and narrating events

The analysis is based on interview data in which NESTs and LETs construct their identities through their self-reports of events and experiences. Relevant to the discussion is Wortham and Reyes's (2015) distinction between narrated and narrating events, where the "narrated event is what is being talked about while the narrating event is the activity of talking about it" (p. 3). The narrated event is not, however, only a story: it can be anything that is spoken about. Narrating events "refer to discursive interaction among participants" (p. 3), that is, how the thing is talked about. Wortham and Reyes (2015) make the point that content discussed in narrated events provides resources for interlocutors in the narrating events, with features such as reported speech and deictics helping them both to carry information about the narrated event ("factual" and attitudinal) and to perform "social action" (Wortham & Reyes, 2015, p. 3), such as complaining or taking an ideological stand. Narrated and narrating events are used by interlocutors in the study to do identity work, as will be shown.

Methodology

The data described here are part of a wider project funded by the British Council ELT Research Partnership Awards Scheme (Copland et al., 2016 for details). The wider study aimed to investigate NEST schemes globally, exploring their operation, training, and support for participants. It examined classroom practices, roles of LETs and NESTs, and sought to improve teaching and collaboration between these groups of teachers. There are significant differences in NEST schemes, detailed in a full audit.[2] Differences include qualifications/experience required, contract length, target institutions, induction/training, benefits packages, roles/responsibilities, locations, and eligibility criteria. The schemes vary considerably in their requirements, support, and overall structure, ranging from assistant teaching roles to independent teaching positions across various countries and educational levels.

Ethical approval was obtained from Aston University. In this project, we interviewed 23 teachers, 8 LETs, and 15 NESTs, all of whom were co-teaching (although not necessarily with each other). Despite having local contacts, it proved more difficult to recruit LETs than NESTs, hence the uneven numbers. Interviewees were told that the interviews were for a project investigating NEST schemes, were given a detailed participant information sheet and signed a consent form before the interview took place. The interviews were undertaken by all three members of the research team and were conducted in five different countries: Brunei, Cameroon, Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea. In a sixth country, Taiwan, they were conducted by a local collaborator. The interviews lasted between 30 and 45 minutes each and were conducted either face-to-face or via video call/telephone, depending on the participants' preferences and availability. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis. For a fuller account of this process see Copland et al. (2016).

A constructivist view of interviews was taken, in which interview data are not viewed as objective accounts of external reality but as a form of interaction jointly constructed by the interviewer and interviewee. The interviews are active and locally accomplished events in which perspectives on lived worlds are created *in situ* (Mann, 2011). The relationship between interviewer and interviewee is clearly fundamental. Therefore, we will follow Langan et al. (2016) in not only looking at how identities are constructed but also how the interview speech event contributes to that construction. As Vásquez (2011) notes: "Identity is both contingent and relational. In other words, who we are as humans varies according to who we are talking to, where, and for what purposes" (p. 539).

All interviews were transcribed for the project, and in our first analysis, we highlighted "identity" as a theme. For this article, we reread all the transcripts and determined segments in which participants position themselves or where they position their co-teachers. Two interviews with LETs and seven with NESTs were selected as containing sections in which identity is made

interactionally relevant. We then revisited the original recordings in order to transcribe the pertinent extracts in more detail including pauses, hesitations, repetitions, emphasis, and non-verbal cues (laughter, sighs, and so on), all of which can be significant in understanding positioning and identity construction (see Appendix for transcription conventions). Finally, the transcriptions were analysed in detail for evidence of the discursive positioning of self and others, and the linguistic resources that were used to achieve it.

Analysis

The following sections present micro-analyses of NEST and LET interview talk in order to examine positioning and identity work. We consider both explicit labelling and also whether identities are claimed and assigned in more subtle ways.

NESTs' self-positioning

One aspect of the way in which the participants positioned themselves in the interviews concerns their identity as teachers. The following extract is from an interview with a relatively inexperienced NEST, Claire,[3] who works in Korea on EPiK:

Extract 1

(1) I so (.) how long have you been a teacher and er do you have any
(2) teaching qualifications
(3) C **erm (.) ok: (.) well I've been a (…) teacher for a (.) a total of a**
(4) **year and a half (*right*) I guess there is that five-month break**
(5) **[in between]**
(6) I [yeah (.) yeah]
(7) C where I went home er I've only taught in Korea (*right*) er my
(8) qualification before comi:ng↑ was **I just had a university degree it**
(9) **wasn't in teaching**
[… .]
(14) C **(er) (.) so not really↑(.) [((laughs))] (.) ° teaching°↓ ((laughs)) but**
(15) I [((laughs))]
(16) C erm (.) **I did like er a hundred hour TESL (.) certif [certificate]**
(17) I [oh right yes]
(18) C before I came (1) which (.) honestly I found helped a lot (*yes*
(19) *yeah*) it prepared me like a lot (.) er maybe I ha just had a really
(20) teacher for that but (1) it was (.) quite useful

In this extract, through her "labelling" question, the interviewer positions Claire as a teacher. However, the pauses and hesitation in Claire's reply (the narrating event), both before she begins her turn in 03 and before the word "teacher," would seem to indicate resistance by Claire to accept the identity she has been assigned. When describing her professional qualifications (the narrated event) the specification that her degree was not in teaching confirms her reluctance to accept the subject position of teacher, while the adverbs *only* and *just* reduce her claim even further. Having cast additional doubt on her own teacher identity by underlining again in 14 that her qualifications do not afford her the right to be considered a teacher, she then shifts her position slightly by stating her possible credentials as an English teacher (a basic teaching certificate) which she found "helped a lot."

However, not all inexperienced NESTs demonstrate hesitation in claiming their identity as teachers. Jo, also working in Korea on the same programme as Claire but in a different school, is also

relatively inexperienced. When asked "How long have you been a teacher and what qualifications, if any, do you have?' Jo replied:

Extract 2

(1) J **erm (.) I: got (.) a teaching English (.) as a foreign language (.)**
(2) **certificate↑=**
(3) I oh [right]
(4) J **[so] TEFL (.) TESL (.) TESOL (.) I got all of those=**
(5) I =yeah=
(6) J **=in one programme↑ er (.) a hundred hour (.)**

The relationship between qualifications and teacher identity emerges as complex when comparing Claire and Jo, who both hold similar 100-hour TEFL certificates. While Claire's narrative shows significant hedging and hesitation in accepting the label of "teacher," Jo demonstrates remarkable confidence, even amplifying her credentials by presenting her single certification as multiple qualifications ("TEFL, TESL, TESOL, I got all of those").

NESTs positioning by others

While NESTs may position themselves in a certain way, their perceptions of how they are positioned by others and the effects this has on their identity are varied, which is similar to the NESTs' experiences in Trent's (2014) study. In the following extract Martin (a NEST with a 100-hour TESOL Certificate and 8 years' experience as a JET at both urban and rural elementary schools) has been asked how he is perceived by the learners, which has led to a discussion of the terms used to address the "foreign teacher." Martin has just stated that he is addressed as "the foreign teacher" in his current rural school, simply to distinguish himself easily from the LET. He then goes on to narrate an event:

Extract 3

(1) M erm (…) there have been times where (…) I've been expected to just
(2) be a (.) an entertainer (.) a clown (.) erm you know a monkey (now)
(3) you know (.) YOUR CLASS (2) DOESN'T MEAN ANYTHING (.)
(4) this is one teacher (.) telling me this (.) before class (.) which made me
(5) go a little bit (.) crazy for a minute (.) yo- YOUR CLASS ISN'T A
(6) REAL CLASS MARTIN SO JUST CALM DOWN (.) AND DON'T
(7) WORRY ABOUT IT (.) AND JUST MAKE SURE THEY LAUGH (.)
(8) because that's all (.) that's all yo- (.) that's all you- (.) your class is
(9) about (.) that's all that's IT (…) it's JU:ST about having fun

Martin uses the narrated event to illustrate how his status as a teacher is denied by the LET he works with; he reports his classes are evaluated as having no meaning or value and his role is to entertain. His description is brought to life by a particular narrating technique: he uses double voicing, a "playfully produced stylisation" (Tagg, 2016, p. 62), of the LET's raised voice, staccato delivery and use of lexis such as "clown" "monkey" in the telling. In doing so, he is able to both reject the way he is positioned and also note his outrage at how he is treated.

Paul's interview also reveals some of the complexities that NESTs have to negotiate. Paul, a NEST working in Japan, who has a CELTA, and DELTA and an MA in TESOL as well as over 10 years' experience, is asked how he and his co-teacher decide on who will do what in the classroom and about

their planning. Initially, Paul replies

Extract 4

(1) P **completely depends on the teacher↓=**
(2) I = right yeah
(3) P erm (…) so (.) and it is you know it's it's not an equal relationship
(4) we're (.) we're the client↑=
(5) I = um=
(6) P to be (.) to be honest (.) s:o it's it's up to them

Paul positions himself and his fellow NESTs as being powerless and under the control of the LETs, who organise the class and decide what they will both do. He then goes on to explain the different ways in which the LETs have worked with him, stating that he is normally asked to take the lead on planning. The interviewer then asks him whether this is different from the JET scheme and Paul narrates an event to explain the difference, using it to position himself as a different kind of professional:

Extract 5

(1) P I: (.) I I kind of exPERienced the the JET style just for ONE class I
(2) had a teacher and er had to just help her out for one lesson and she kind
(3) of (.) TREAted me like the typical:l you know erm (.) human voice
(4) recorder [which is the] the JET style and er (.) and I was a bit
(5) I [yeah (.) yeah]
(6) P SHOCKed (.) yeah because I wasn't USED to kind of being given that
(7) kind of (.) subSERvient role and er I I didn't like it=
(8) I =°yeah°=
(9) P and I TOLD her I didn't like it

Paul's narrating talk is similar to Martin's in that he uses emphasis to express both his outrage and his rejection of the role he believed was assigned to him. However, while Martin did not describe whether he acted to reposition himself, Paul describes how he asserted his identity as a teacher and resisted being positioned as an assistant. His description of the rejection of the imposed role casts some doubt on his earlier assertions of his powerlessness as a NEST.

LETs self-positioning

While the LETs in the study were all experienced teachers, they could show reluctance to accept the interviewer's positioning of them as English teachers when they were asked how they came to the role. Extract 5 is from an interview with Mrs. K, the LET who worked with Claire, the NEST in Extract 1. When asked about her qualifications, Mrs. K's initial self-positioning finds some parallels with Claire's reluctance to accept her ascribed identity as an "English teacher." The interviewer starts by asking Mrs. K how long she's been teaching. Having clarified that the interviewer is referring to teaching English, Mrs. K begins a narrated event:

Extract 6

(1) Mrs. K **actually my major is Korean traditional art**
(2) I re:ally↑=

[… .]

(6) Mrs. K **but somehow from that Ministry of Education (.) they just you**
(7) **know changed the curriculum** entire curriculum so we need er
(8) more English teacher while the er amount of teaching time for art
(9) club is just reducing
(10) I so you needed to
(11) Mrs. K s:o I just took a training course↑ (*right*) er two months

In line 1, Mrs. K's first move is to reject her positioning as an English teacher by noting that is not her area of expertise. However, she immediately explains how she became an English teacher, thereby establishing her credentials and shifting her position.

(17) **there are selected 40 er non-English teacher (.) you know to get**
(18) **trained as a English teacher (.) (*right*) but there are like a ()**
(19) **teachers selected as English teacher (.) [so] that's one of me**

From line 17, Mrs. K appears to suggest she is more comfortable with her identity as an English teacher as she positions herself with the small group of just 40 teachers selected for training and then as one of those chosen to teach, therefore as a member of a select group of teachers.

Throughout her narrated talk, Mrs. K seems to construct a lack of agency (Ahearn, 2001) in her career as an English teacher, through the narrating technique of the passive voice and vague description of how she changed from an art teacher to an English teacher. Thus, in lines 6–7 the Ministry "somehow" changed the curriculum and in lines 17–19 teachers "are selected." Later in the interview, Mrs. K reveals further career developments.

Extract 7

(1) Mrs. K erm additional informations er in er 2011↑ (.) er ministry of
(2) education (.) er (.) they er set up the new (.) programme (*mm*)
(3) which is the (.) master teacher (*mm*) so (.) er (.) **I got selected↑**

Becoming a master teacher is also something that Mrs. K narrates as happening to her, and whether or not this is the case, by the end of this complex interactional section her position as a legitimate (indeed expert) English teacher is well-established, without her having to brag or compare herself with the NEST.

The initial resistance to claiming an identity as an English teacher, followed by subsequent interactional work to show the interviewer that the label English language teacher is indeed legitimate, was found in other interviews with LETs when they were asked how long they had been teaching.

LETs positioning by NESTs

The data show a wide range of positioning of LETs by NESTs. One aspect of the LETs' identity as constructed by the NESTs is as a less-than-perfect speaker of the language, which is why a NEST is needed to teach English.

Extract 8

The interviewer has just asked Claire why she thinks the Korean government has a native-speaker teacher scheme. Claire initially seems unsure, but goes on to say:

(1) C **(1) er (2) Korea (.) English teachers are (.) generally not perfect (2)**
(2) and they only teach reading and even like a lot of the ones at this
(3) school their their English level↑ is conversational but (.) pretty low (1)
(4) and so (1) er I think (3) maybe just to have like an expert

(5) I right
(6) C quote un-quote you know ((laughs))
(7) I yeah yeah
(8) C **I'm not really an expert but I'm (.) like (.) a native speaker**

Claire positions the LETs as less-than-perfect English speakers and draws explicitly on her own identity as a "native speaker" to legitimise her positioning as at least partly an "expert" on the language, even if she is not a teacher (see Extract 1).

Dave, who had worked in Korea, gives a specific example of his "expertise." The interviewer had asked Dave if Koreans were generally positive about the idea of NESTs coming in to teach English. In extract 9, Dave replies that they are because "our English (.) is essentially flawless." He goes on to say that, even if Korean teachers have a good level of English:

Extract 9

(1) D she will make (.) a lot of mistakes (.) that (1) that she might not even
(2) know about (1) and if those mistakes are made in CLASS↑ then those
(3) mistakes get taught to the students↑ and then the students end up
(4) learning the wrong thing

In this extract, Dave positions the LET as an imperfect English speaker but also seems implicitly to question the LET's identity as an English teacher because the students are not learning what they should. Dave goes on to provide a narrated event to justify this claim in which he describes the pupils putting on a play of Little Red Riding Hood. He states that, despite the LET being an excellent English speaker, he and his fellow NESTs were "confused" because the students said *olf* instead of *wolf* until they realised that the teacher also said *olf*. He goes on to explain:

Extract 10

(1) D **.hhh that's why native teachers are important↓=**
(2) I =um=
(3) D =because (.) a native teacher would have been like hang on a tick (.)
(4) it's not olf it's wolf↓ [so] let's fix that now
(5) I [um]
(6) I um
(7) D erm I mean (and) I have that ex (1) experience in my class too like I've
(8) seen my (.) co-teachers (.) like (.) basically flat out teach something
(9) wrong↓
(10) I yeah
(11) D and it's not it's not their fault (.) you [know] they they're they're
(12) I [um]
(13) D excellent English speakers but (.) even an excellent English speaker in
(14) Korea will make (.) blatant mistakes in grammar (.) in sentence structure

Both Claire and Dave position the LETs as having imperfect English skills. They appear to do so in order to make their own identities as native speakers relevant and to position themselves as the language "expert," which legitimises their presence in the classroom. Nonetheless, in their narrating of events they both provide mitigating comments to distance themselves from the judgements they make (Claire in Line 8 and Dave in lines 11–13), perhaps realising that their claims might be contested by the researcher, because the claims made are general in nature (broad statements about native speakers' superiority and non-native speakers' errors) and these lack nuance and empirical support. Certainly,

there is a lack of endorsement or agreement from the interviewer as seen in lines 2, 6, and 12 ("umm" in Extract 10).

NESTs also positioned LETs as inadequately trained or not open to new ideas. In the following extract, the interviewer has asked Paul what he would like to change about the team-teaching relationship. Paul replies that he would like lessons to be prepared more collaboratively and explains how generally he prepares alone, although sometimes the Japanese teacher asks him to prepare a specific lesson. He goes on to add:

Extract 11

(1) P erm but I think (…) it would be much better if we (.) both (…)
(2) produced a lesson (.) beca- well one (.) and I don't (.) I don't wanna
(3) (…) er not (.) to be ru::de↑↓ but hhh I I don't in my: experience I don't
(4) think that (.) Japanese teachers have any (…) skill of creating a lesson
(5) from scratch [if] nothing else cos they don't have the training

Paul positions the LETs as lacking in the skills to create lessons which do not follow the coursebook. While on the surface, this could seem to reflect the negative attitudes often associated with NESTs, he too does interactional work in narrating the event, denoting a more complex attitude. The hesitations and false starts seem to indicate a reluctance to make a point that might not be considered acceptable. This is then signalled explicitly in lines 2–3 (I don't wanna be rude). While Paul then states that the Japanese teachers lack training or experience, this is also constructed as not their fault.

A very different positioning of LETs, and one that has not generally been discussed in previous research, was also found in our data: LETs as experienced and in control, someone the NESTs can learn from (see also, Copland et al., 2020). In the following extract, Richard is being interviewed by the Taiwanese co-researcher about his work in a Taiwanese school. Richard has just explained how the co-teaching works in his context and the interviewer has expressed his opinion that co-teaching is good practice. Richard agrees and continues:

Extract 12

(1) R and I've learned (.) so much from (…) the teachers that I've worked
(2) with↓ so I think (2) that's been a great experience too just learning from
(3) them because (.) they all have (…) are (.) much wiser and (.) more
(4) experienced in terms of (.) er teaching especially teaching erm (.) this
(5) age group and (.) the the specific students in this school=
(6) I = oh [yeah]
(7) so I felt like (.) erm (3) it was such an advantage to me to be able to
(8) (.) interact with them and (.) erm (…) seek their advice on things↓

Narrating this event, Richard draws on the grammatical affordance of comparison, which allows him to position himself as being "less" than his LET co-teachers and therefore in need of their advice. Although he qualifies this slightly, emphasising the context-specific experience of the LETs, he nevertheless positions them as teachers from whom he can learn.

LETs positioning of NESTs

Rather than feeling inferior to NESTS, there was evidence in the data of LETs challenging NESTs' identity as teachers. When asked about how lessons are planned, Mrs. K first makes the point that the

NEST needs support. She goes on to add:

Extract 13

(1) Mrs. K mostly (.) that native English s:peaker I cannot (say) them as a
(2) teacher (*um*) because not enough (.) er education background
(3) and no degree (*um*) the reasons how they are hired↑ is just (.)
(4) extremely I feel sorry about it (*um*) **they are not a teacher**

In this extract, Mrs. K, Claire's co-teacher, directly rejects the positioning of the NEST as a teacher. In contrast with narrating previous events where Mrs. K presents herself as lacking agency, her narrating language here is much more emphatic, including a series of negations (not, not, no), twice stating "they" are not teachers, and in a final coup, stating "they' deserve her pity."

In contrast, Ms. P does not reject the identity of the NEST as a teacher, calling them a "co-teacher" which gives the NEST some status. However, the NEST is then positioned as a "foreigner" and therefore someone who is in need of support, although this positioning is mitigated by situating it as relevant in the particular context. In extract 15, the interviewer then asked what roles they play in the classroom:

Extract 14

(1) Ms. P so first I think I er (.) I THINK (.) I I tried to teach↓=
(2) I = mmm=
(3) Ms. P =I designed (.) the (.) class (with [him)] I think I I helped (.) I helped (.)
(4) I [right]
(5) Ms. P assist like (in) co-teacher=
(6) I = mmm=
(7) Ms. P = because (.) you know he is a (.) foreigner↓ sometimes she may be↓ (.) but
(8) you know (.) these kids are really special

In this narrative event, the LET alludes to the NEST's inexperience. First, she evaluates her own work positively when she states she designed the class to include the NEST and that she helped her, suggesting that she is in control of the planning and delivery of the lesson. When she comes to line 7, she seems about to say something negative ("sometimes she may be") but instead of continuing she pauses and then shifts the subject, again perhaps affected by the identity of the interviewer. Nonetheless, the overall impression is that the NEST was not an effective co-teacher, perhaps because of his/her foreign identity.

Discussion and implications

The article presents interview data that report on two kinds of talk: narrated events and narrating events. In the former, the identities of LETs and NESTs are ascribed and claimed through illustrative descriptions; in the latter, identities are constructed within the texture of the reporting, as interlocutors draw on linguistic and interactional resources. This analysis reveals the complexity of identity construction in these interviews.

The analysis suggests that context has a role in determining identity positioning and description. Cultural contexts can shape identity positioning. For instance, Mrs. K's direct rejection of NESTs as teachers (Extract 13) may reflect specific Korean educational cultural norms; different cultural understandings of teacher professionalism impact identity construction. The schemes themselves may ascribe identities such as "speaking teacher" to NESTs or "grammar teacher" to LETs; for example, the JET scheme does not require NESTs to have qualifications or experience and the expectation is that

they will *assist* the LET. However, the form that such assistance takes is often left to the school and the individual LET and may be quite fluid, often depending on the LETs and NESTs involved. Moreover, qualified and experienced NESTS apply for and are accepted on schemes that do not require either, potentially leading to a mismatch in the roles prescribed by the scheme and the professional self-evaluation and expectations of the NEST. NESTs may also work on schemes such as JET for many years, thus gaining considerable experience, such that their self-positioning may change while their positioning by the scheme and by the LET may not. This can be seen in the case of Martin in Extract 3 who had many years of experience as a JET, and of Paul in Extract 5, who had both qualifications and experience.

Furthermore, the contrast in identity construction between Claire (Extract 1) and Jo (Extract 2), despite similar formal qualifications, suggests that teacher identity in NEST schemes is shaped by factors beyond mere certification, indicating schemes need frameworks that consider both formal qualifications and how teachers construct their professional identities.

Contradictions and lack of consistency in different levels of decision-making and in the expectations of those directly involved in team teaching may give rise to conflicts. For example, Martin (Extract 3) and Paul (Extract 4) both reject roles they were assigned by LETs (reported as an entertainer and human voice recorder respectively) but Paul (Extract 5) also describes how he was expected by LETs to plan and lead classes, a much more agentive identity position. Claire (Extract 1) seems at first to reject the identity of teacher assigned by the interviewer but claims that her native speaker identity provides her with legitimacy when compared with LETs (Extract 8).

Importantly, the data provide further insights into identities previously identified in the literature for both LETs and NESTs. Ma (2012) has discussed LETs' lack of confidence, especially in their English proficiency, when compared to NESTs. Lack of confidence may explain the interactional work Mrs. K does in Extracts 6 and 7 in narrating events to establish her legitimate position as an English teacher. However, it is possible that she felt she needed to carry out this interactional work because the interviewer was a native English-speaking researcher from a British University, a point addressed below.

Moussu (2018) highlights that NESTs lack qualifications, a notion with which some LETs concur. In Extract 13, Mrs. K does not recognise Claire as a legitimate teacher, for these reasons, and in Extract 14 Ms. P suggests that her NEST co-teacher lacked relevant experience. On the other hand, as noted above, two NESTs, Paul and Martin, challenge their positioning as low skilled and in Paul's case, underqualified, and only able to focus on teaching listening and speaking (as opposed to the more important skills of grammar or writing, on which learners are often assessed). In their accounts, they assert that their professional identities are undermined and misunderstood by some of the LETs who manage them, a finding which chimes with Trent's (2014) examination of NET schemes in Hong Kong. However, our data also contrasts with Murai's (2004) and Nigar and Kostogriz's (2019) assertion that LETs are disempowered by NESTs and provides a different perspective on Wang and Lin's (2013) claim that NEST schemes damage LETs' professional identities.

Although there are some data revealing NESTs discussing LETs critically, the analysis of Extract 11 as a narrated and narrating event reveals that NESTs may be less critical than a content or thematic analysis of interview data implies. So, while Paul criticises Japanese teachers for their lack of training, he performs interactional work to downplay the criticism. He also assigns a lack of agency to the Japanese teachers who are positioned as not responsible for what he considers to be their lack of skill.

The data also suggest that the researchers' transportable identities can affect both the identity claims made in the interviews by LETs and NESTs, and how they narrate identity events. In her interview with a female European researcher, for example, Mrs. K gave a very full account of her professional life (Extract 6), explaining details which an outside researcher might not be expected to know (e.g., that educational priorities had shifted in the country to enhance English language teaching at the expense of, for example, art). She also spent time establishing her identity as a qualified and experienced teacher. At the same time, she downplayed her agency in her rise to master teacher, which emphasised that her skills and authority were externally recognised and acknowledged. This

interactional work seemed to be done to explain to the (foreign) researcher that she was experienced, qualified, recognised for her skills, and therefore in a strong position to judge the NESTs with whom she worked ("they are not a teacher"). In contrast, in Extract 12, Richard was keen to extol the skills and support of the Taiwanese LETs he worked with when talking to a male Taiwanese researcher. He was the only NEST to be interviewed by a local researcher and the only one who did not have at least some critical comments to make about the local teachers. Dave, on the other hand, did not hold back in his criticism of the (female) LET's pronunciation when talking to a male European researcher (Extract 10). In his narrated account, he uses the pronouns "them" and "us" to co-opt the interviewer into his censure of LETs, who, despite being "excellent speakers" in his view, teach the wrong thing and must be corrected by native speakers. The interviewer's role in co-constructing data has been consistently made in the literature (see Garton & Copland, 2010; Mann, 2016; Widdicombe, 2015). These analyses extend the findings to suggest that interviewers' transportable identities can substantially affect what interviewees discuss and that a detailed analysis of narrated and narrating events can identify how interviewees construct their positions, a point not often acknowledged in research.

Finally, our analyses demonstrate that identities are fluid even within the same interview. In Extracts 1 and 8, Claire resists the categorisation of "teacher" but suggests that being a native speaker makes her presence in the classroom legitimate. Paul claims that his experience and qualifications mean that he is able to teach across the English language curriculum; however, he also recognises that his activities are constrained by the wishes of the LETs, who can if they wish, make him take a menial role in, despite his view that many lack lesson planning skills (Extracts 4, 5, and 11). In Extract 6, Mrs. K describes herself as an art teacher who is now an English teacher. Taken together, these descriptions challenge the static identities of LETs and NESTs and highlight the dissimilarities between LETs and between NESTs.

There are implications from this research for those responsible for NEST schemes and for those working on them. First, greater clarity could be provided on the purpose of NESTs in each scheme, the roles they are expected to take, and who is responsible for deciding what those roles are. Opacity presents challenges for LETs and NESTs, leading to confusion and frustration. However, greater clarity of purpose would not address the mismatches between the expectations of schemes and the experiences and qualifications of those taking part, particularly as NESTs gain experience precisely by taking part in the schemes. Therefore, because NESTs and LETs in reality have different, and often complementary, experiences and qualifications, they should be supported to work together (and with the schools) to understand how they can draw on their skills to best contribute to successful language teaching and learning. Finally, NEST schemes should sensitise NESTs to native speakerism and how it can lead them to overestimate their own skills and especially to underestimate those of their co-teachers. Suggested activities can be found in materials to support co-teaching[4] (which the authors produced with both LETs and NESTs resulting from their research).

Conclusion

The extracts and discussion shed light on the complexity and individual nature of positioning and identity construction in co-teaching relationships. NEST schemes ascribe macro-identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) to their participants. However, our data show that both parties then negotiate their identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) at the micro level, in the school and in the classroom. We have explored identity construction at the micro-level through analysing narrated and narrating events in interview talk and we have argued that both require consideration as they provide different evidence of identity construction.

We suggest that the co-teaching relationship has been under-researched from an identity perspective. This is surprising given that hundreds of teachers each year are thrown together in such relationships and expected to work together to enhance students' language learning. The analysis has shown that hierarchies, professionalism, and power are salient in these relationships in ways that

have not been previously explored in the literature, suggesting new lines of enquiry for research in this field, which we hope researchers will pursue.

Notes

1. On its website (Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme UK (jet-uk.org) the Japanese Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET) states it currently hosts around 5000 teachers, while other programmes discussed in this article are also open for recruitment.
2. https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/publications/case-studies-insights-and-research/global-nest-schemes-audit
3. Pseudonyms have been used for the participants throughout.
4. https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/sites/teacheng/files/BC_Materials_online_screen%20res_FINAL.pdf

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the British Council who supported this work through their British ELTRA awards. They would also like to thank Tzu-Bin Lin from the Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, for carrying out the interviews in Taiwan.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by the British Council.

Notes on contributors

Sue Garton is Professor of Applied Linguistics (TESOL) at Aston University, Birmingham, UK. She has been an English language teacher and teacher educator for just over 40 years, working with teachers and teacher trainers from all over the world. She has led and collaborated on a number of Erasmus+ and British Council funded projects on teaching young learners, CLIL and EMI. She has published widely including *The Routledge Handbook of Teaching English to Young Learners* and is co-series editor of the 15-volume *International Perspectives in ELT* series, published by Palgrave Macmillan (both with Fiona Copland). Her research interests are in language teacher education, teaching young learners and classroom discourse.

Fiona Copland is Head of the School of Education, Learning and Communication Sciences at the University of Warwick. She has extensive experience of teaching English and teacher education and has worked in Nigeria, Hong Kong, Japan and the UK. Fiona has researched and published in the areas of language teacher education, teaching English to children and linguistic ethnography, including the *Routledge Handbook of Teaching English to Young Learners* (with Sue Garton), *Linguistic Ethnography: Collecting, Analysing and Presenting Data* (with Angela Creese) and *Analysing Discourses in Teacher Observation Feedback Conferences* (with Helen Donoghue). Fiona is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences and a National Teaching Fellow.

Steve Mann (Professor of Applied Linguistics) currently works at the Centre for Applied Linguistics at the University of Warwick. He has experience in Hong Kong, Japan and Europe in both English language teaching and teacher development. He has published various books including 'Innovations in Pre-service Teacher Education' (British Council) and 'Reflective Practice in English Language Teaching: Research-Based Principles and Practices' (Routledge). He is interested in qualitative methodology and has published a book with Palgrave on research interviews. He leads a group of PhD students who are researching aspects of teacher education and development.

ORCID

Sue Garton http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7421-0858

References

Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *30*(1), 109–137. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.30.1.109

Aoyama, R. (2021). Language teacher identity and English education policy in Japan: Competing discourses surrounding "Non-native" English-speaking teachers. *RELC Journal*, *54*(3), 788–803. https://doi.org/10.1177/00336882211032999

Barkhuizen, G. (2016). Language teacher identity research: An introduction. In G. Barkhuizen (Ed.), *Reflections on language teacher identity research* (pp. 1–11). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315643465

British Council. (2013). *The English effect: The impact of English, what it's worth to the UK and why it matters to the world*.

Brown, J. D. (2013). On the way to effective team teaching: A model of ICC development within the context of team teaching in Japan. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, *13*(3), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.36923/jicc.v13i3.661

Bryant, D. A. (2011). *From origins to sustainability: Native-speaking English teachers as an innovation* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. The University of Hong Kong. https://doi.org/10.5353/th_b4587812

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, *7*(4–5), 585–614. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445605054407

Cheung, Y. L., Said, S. B., & Park, K. (Eds.). (2014). *Advances and current trends in language teacher identity research*. Routledge.

Copland, F., Davis, M., Garton, S., & Mann, S. (2016). *Investigating schemes around the world: Supporting NEST/LET collaborative practices*. British Council.

Copland, F., Garton, S., & Barnett, C. (2024). *Global practices in teaching English to young learners: 10 years on*. British Council.

Copland, F., Mann, S., & Garton, S. (2020). Native-english-speaking teachers: Disconnections between theory, research, and practice. *TESOL Quarterly*, *54*(2), 348–374. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.548

Fan, F., & de Jong, E. J. (2019). Exploring professional identities of nonnative-english-speaking teachers in the United States: A narrative case study. *TESOL Journal*, *10*(4), e495. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesj.495

Garton, S., & Copland, F. (2010). 'I like this interview; I get cakes and cats!': The effects of prior relationships on interview talk. *Qualitative Research*, *10*(5), 533–551. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794110375231

Glasgow, G. P. (2018). The persistence of native speakerism in Japanese senior high school curriculum reform: Team teaching in the "English in English" initiative. In S. A. Houghton & K. Hashismoto (Eds.), *Towards post-native-speakerism* (pp. 197–216). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7162-1_11

Guo, X., Chen, G., & Sun, Y. (2021). An ethical analysis of native-speaking English teachers' identity construction in a mainland China university. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *42*(3), 247–261. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2019.1684502

Heo, J. Y. (2013). *A case study of team teaching and team teachers in Korean primary schools* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Warwick.

Hsieh, J. K. T., Gao, X., & Bell, S. (2022). The multilayered nature of becoming a nonnative-english-speaking teacher. *TESOL Quarterly*, *56*(1), 178–200. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.3057

Kayi-Aydar, H. (2019). Language teacher identity. *Language Teaching*, *52*(3), 281–295. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444819000223

Kocabaş-Gedik, P., & Ortaçtepe Hart, D. (2021). "It's not like that at all": A poststructuralist case study on language teacher identity and emotional labor. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *20*(2), 103–117. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2020.1726756

Langan, D., Hannem, S., & Stewart, C. (2016). Deconstructing accounts of intimate partner violence: Doing interviews, identities, and neoliberalism. *Applied Linguistics*, *37*(2), 219–238. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amu019

Lee, E., & Canagarajah, A. S. (2019). Beyond native and nonnative: Translingual dispositions for more inclusive teacher identity in language and literacy education. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, *18*(6), 352–363. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2019.1674148

Luk, J. M. C., & Lin, A. M. Y. (2007). *Classroom interactions as cross-cultural encounters: Native speakers in EFL lessons*. Routledge.

Ma, L. P. F. (2012). Strengths and weaknesses of NESTs and NNESTs: Perceptions of NNESTs in Hong Kong. *Linguistics and Education*, *23*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2011.09.005

MacLure, M. (1993). Arguing for yourself: Identity as an organising principle in teachers' jobs and lives. *British Educational Research Journal*, *19*(4), 311–322. https://doi.org/10.1080/0141192930190401

Mann, S. (2011). A critical review of qualitative interviews in applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, *32*(1), 6–24. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amq043

Mann, S. (2016). *The research interview: Reflective practice and reflexivity in research processes*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137353368

Medgyes, P. (2017). *The non-native teacher* (3rd ed.). Swan Communication.

Moussu, L. (2018). Shortcomings of NESTs and NNESTs. In J. I. Liontas (Ed.), *The TESOL encyclopedia of English language teaching* (pp. 1211–1217). John Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118784235.eelt0044

Murai, G. (2004). Using checklists: A way of reducing surprises in team-taught classes. *The Language Teacher*, *28*(11), 35–40.

Nair, R. (2021). (Re) constructing teacher identity through the contesting narratives of ELT associations. *The English Teacher*, *50*(2), 130–141. https://doi.org/10.52696/dlpa6521

Nigar, N., & Kostogriz, A. (2019). Deconstructing non-native English-speaking teachers' professional identity: Looking through a hybrid lens. *English Language Teaching*, *12*(12), 76–87. https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v12n12p76

Rao, Z., & Chen, H. (2020). Teachers' perceptions of difficulties in team teaching between local-and native-english-speaking teachers in EFL teaching. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *41*(4), 333–347. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2019.1620753

Richards, K. (2006). 'Being the teacher': Identity and classroom conversation. *Applied Linguistics*, *27*(1), 51–77. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/ami041

Schutz, P. A., Hong, J., & Francis, D. C. (Eds.). (2018). *Research on teacher identity*. Springer International.

Selvi, A. F. (2016). Native or non-native English-speaking professionals in ELT: "that is the question!" or "is that the question?". In F. Copland, S. Garton, & S. Mann (Eds.), *LETs and NESTs: Voices, views and vignettes* (pp. 135–155). The British Council.

Selvi, A. F. (2019). The 'non-native'teacher. In S. Walsh & S. Mann (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English language teacher education* (pp. 184–198). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315659824-16

Swearingen, A. J. (2019). Nonnative-english-speaking teacher candidates' language teacher identity development in graduate TESOL preparation programs: A review of the literature. *TESOL Journal*, *10*(4), e494. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesj.494

Tagg, C. (2016). Heteroglossia in text-messaging: Performing identity and negotiating relationships in a digital space. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *20*(1), 59–85. https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.12170

Tran, T. M. K. (2014). *A study of relating between Vietnamese and native English-speaking teachers in team-teaching EFL students at tertiary level in Vietnam* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Warwick.

Trent, J. (2014). Towards a multifaceted, multidimensional framework for understanding teacher identity. In Y. L. Cheung, S. B. Said, & K. Park (Eds.), *Advances and current trends in language teacher identity research* (pp. 44–58). Routledge.

Trent, J. (2016). The NEST-NNEST divide and teacher identity construction in Hong Kong schools. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *15*(5), 306–320. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2016.1214587

Vásquez, C. (2011). TESOL, teacher identity, and the need for "Small story"research. *TESOL Quarterly*, *45*(3), 535–545. https://doi.org/10.5054/tq.2011.256800

Wang, L. Y., & Lin, T. B. (2013). The representation of professionalism in native English-speaking teachers recruitment policies: A comparative study of Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and Taiwan. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique*, *12*(3), 5–22. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1017167.pdf

Widdicombe, S. (2015). 'Just like the fact that I'm Syrian like you are Scottish': Ascribing interviewer identities as a resource in cross-cultural interaction. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *54*(2), 255–272. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12087

Wortham, S., & Reyes, A. (2015). *Discourse analysis beyond the speech event*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315735207

Yazan, B. (2018). Identity and NNESTs. In J. I. Liontas (Ed.), *The TESOL encyclopedia of English language teaching*. John Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118784235.eelt0020

Yim, S. Y., & Ahn, T. Y. (2018). Teaching English in a foreign country: Legitimate peripheral participation of a native English-speaking teacher. *System*, *78*, 213–223. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2018.09.008

Yim, S. Y., & Hwang, K. (2019). Expatriate ELT teachers in Korea: Participation and sense of belonging. *ELT Journal*, *73*(1), 72–81. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccy036

Yuan, R. (2019). A critical review on nonnative English teacher identity research: From 2008 to 2017. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *40*(6), 518–537. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1533018

Zimmerman, D. H. (1998). Identity, context and interaction. In C. Antaki & S. Widdicombe (Eds.), *Identities in talk* (pp. 87–106). Sage.

Appendix

Transcription conventions

(.) (.) (…)	micro pauses under 1 second
(1)	timed pauses
↑word ↓word	rising/falling pitch
[word]	
[word]	overlapping speech
.hhh, hhh	audible in-breath/out-breath
word::	prolonged word or syllable
° word°	word(s) or syllables quieter than surrounding speech
WORD	word(s) or syllables louder than surrounding speech
word	word(s) or syllables emphasised
(*right*)	listening response
(now)	uncertain transcript
((laughs))	analyst description
[… .]	lines cut from transcript