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DIOGO MAICON KREVONIZ BALDUINO

VIADAGEM:

An Analysis of Queer Identities Co-construction and Negotiation in Talk-in-Interaction

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An Analysis of Queer Identities Co-construction and Negotiation in Talk-in-Interaction

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In memory of all those who dared to break heteronormativity
and because of it had their lives ended.

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“Resistance is the first step to change.”

(Louise Hay)

ABSTRACT

Based on the theoretical and methodological perspective of Conversation Analysis (SACKS; SCHEGLOFF; JEFFERSON, 1974) and Membership Categorization Analysis (SACKS, 1992), this study claims that social identities are locally constructed and negotiated and it is done by activating categories (e.g., ethnicity, gender and sexuality) in interaction. To understand the phenomena socially demonstrated in interaction, the analysis within both CA and MCA takes an emic perspective (PIKE, 1967; MALABARBA, 2015), i.e., the analysis is done by looking to the ways in which the participants interpret what is said and done by each other. The database is composed by interactions taking place during a weekend trip among a group of friends who identify themselves as belonging to the LGBT+ community (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and non-heteronormative individuals). The focus of the analysis is on a drinking game activity that presents Brazilian memes popular among members of LGBT+ community. Through ‘unmotivated looking’ (PSATHAS, 1995) at the data, it was possible to identify two different trajectories in terms of identity construction during the drinking game. In several sequences the participants activated categorizations that evoke ‘gender’ and ‘sexuality’ membership category devices (MCD) and these were oriented to as unproblematic by the participants. Interestingly, in other several sequences, some categorizations were activated, and these were challenged by the participants and such action led them to negotiate their social identities. The findings show that participants’ identities were mutually constructed as the interaction happened and that individuals’ language use is responsible to shape their identities. The study contributes to Brazilian CA studies on social identities and to bring representativeness to Queer individuals by occupying a niche in the academy.

Key-words: Queer identities. Conversation Analysis. Membership Categorization Analysis. Identities in action. Drinking game.

RESUMO

Baseado nas perspectivas teórico-metodológicas da Análise da conversa (SACKS; SCHEGLOFF; JEFFERSON, 1974) e da Análise das Categorias de Pertença (SACKS, 1992), este estudo defende que as identidades sociais são localmente construídas e negociadas e isto é realizado através da ativação de categorias (por exemplo, etnia, gênero e sexualidade) na interação. Para compreender os fenômenos socialmente demonstrados na interação, a análise dentro de ambas Análise da Conversa e Análise de Categorias de Pertença assume uma perspectiva êmica (PIKE, 1967; MALABARBA, 2015), isto é, a análise é realizada olhando para as formas nas quais os participantes interpretam o que é feito e dito por cada um. O banco de dados é composto por interações que ocorreram durante uma viagem de fim de semana entre um grupo de amigos que se identificam como pertencentes à comunidade LGBTQ+ (Lésbica, Gay, Bissexual, Transgênero e indivíduos não-hetero-normativos). O foco da análise é na atividade de *drinking game* que apresenta memes brasileiros populares entre membros da comunidade LGBTQ+. Através de um ‘olhar desmotivado’ (PSATHAS, 1995) aos dados, foi possível identificar duas trajetórias interacionais diferentes em termos de construção de identidade durante o *drinking game*. Em muitas sequências contendo termos que evocam dispositivos de categoria de pertença (MCD) de ‘gênero’ e ‘sexualidade’, foram orientados como não-problemáticos pelos participantes. Em outras várias sequências, identificamos termos que foram desafiados pelos participantes e isto os levou a negociarem suas identidades. Os resultados mostram que as identidades dos participantes foram mutuamente construídas conforme a interação acontecia e que o uso da linguagem dos indivíduos é responsável por moldar suas identidades sociais. O estudo contribui para estudos de AC sobre identidades sociais e traz representatividade para indivíduos Queer através da ocupação de um nicho na academia.

Palavras-chave: Identidades Queer. Análise da Conversa. Análise das Categorias de Pertença. Identidades em Ação. Drinking game.

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1 NO TEA, NO SHADE: INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH TERRITORY

Sexual and gender identities have been a subject of interest to me since I started having contact with members of the LGBT+ community¹. I had the opportunity to attend different talks in which people discussed their understandings about gender and sexuality, and the more I learn the more interested in this thematic I get. My interest in Queer identities co-construction and negotiation in talk-in-interaction begun in the first semester of 2017. At that time, I was taking a subject called ‘English V: language and variation’ and, while discussing a chapter of a book with the class, professor Malabarba² mentioned that people use language to build their identities. Such discussion instantly reminded me of my own life experience regarding the way I used language before accepting my sexuality, i.e., when I was in the ‘closet’ I used to pay special attention to my talk and gestures because I did not want people to think that I was gay. From that moment on, I started wondering about the relations between gender, sexuality and identity. Thus, in the end of the semester I approached professor Malabarba to discuss about it and, in the following year, we started carrying this study on Queer identities together.

Social identities are produced and negotiated through language because it is where social practices are accomplished (BUCHOLTZ; HALL, 2004). Language is a means to build identities and social identities are constructed because of the way we use it. In other words, language does not merely reflect what and who we are, but what and who we are is constructed through language use (BORBA, 2015). Furthermore, social identities are not stable; they are challenged in interaction thus need to be constantly reaffirmed and displayed and, as they are in ongoing development, they may be both claimed by oneself or imposed by others in interaction (BUCHOLTZ; HALL, 2004). With this regard, it is necessary for any analysis of identity and language to look at the way interactants negotiate them in context.

In order to be able to perceive how social identities are locally negotiated, this study is drawn on the theoretical and methodological constructs of Conversation Analysis (CA) (SACKS; SCHEGLOFF; JEFFERSON, 1974) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (SACKS, 1992). For CA, conversation is used to do actions in social interaction (e.g., an invitation or a request); thus, its focus is on how actions are accomplished through talk (SCHEGLOFF; KOSHIK; JACOBY; OLSHER, 2002). Considering that one of these actions done in talk-in-interaction is describing, MCA approach investigates the ways in which

¹ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and non-heteronormative individuals.

² Undergraduate professor at Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos (UNISINOS) and pedagogical coordinator at UNILINGUAS.

participants mutually construct and negotiate their understandings of the social world by means of description.

Even though a great body of studies has been done in this field (e.g., KITZINGER, 2005; KING, 2016), there is still a lack of CA research on LGBT+ individuals regarding identities displayed in while participants are engaged in playing games. In order to address this gap, the aim of this research paper is to understand, explain and demonstrate how Queer individuals, e.g., Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and non-heteronormative people, display, co-construct, negotiate and orient to their identities in talk-in-interaction. In this study, this is done by analyzing naturally occurring interaction among friends belonging to the LGBT+ community while playing drinking games that present memes related to national and international pop culture which are popular in this community.

This research paper seeks to contribute to the Queerification of linguistic studies³, that is, to bear a multifaceted vision of how Queers co-construct their identities through language within heteronormative structures and somehow break identity dichotomies (BORBA, 2015). These studies aim at bringing representativeness for those who are historically marginalized, not only in society but also in academy. A Queerification of linguistic studies may represent hope for the ones who are on the margins of society and overlooked by the academy (BORBA, 2015).

³ In Portuguese *Queerificação dos estudos linguísticos*.

2 WE ALL WERE BORN NAKED: SOCIAL IDENTITIES

In our daily life we interact with different people and do many activities, for instance, working, studying, and talking to family and/or friends. These activities are performed through talk and it is where social identities are co-constructed and negotiated. In different moments of our lives, we perform multiple identities (e.g., man, gay, teacher), but these identities are not interactionally relevant all the time, they become relevant in some moments (BUCHOLTZ; HALL, 2004). Our goal in this section is to provide an overview of previous linguistic studies that looked at interaction that demonstrate Queer individuals' identities being made relevant by the participants themselves.

2.1 Queer Identities Co-construction

Within CA, Land and Kitzinger (2005) analyzed how lesbian identities become relevant and how they are challenged in talk-in-interaction. They showed that lesbians who participated in the study faced difficulties to manage their identities when interacting with strangers because heterosexuality is taken for granted in interaction. Regarding the assumptions of heterosexuality in interaction, Kitzinger (2005) argued that the identities are not performed one at a time, but they are performed simultaneously, for instance, being part of an ethnicity and being heterosexual. That is to say that multiple categorical identities (e.g., class, age, sex) may become relevant at the same time in interaction. In his study, King (2016) analyzed how elderly LGB, i.e., Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, categorize themselves and the others in order to Queerify their identities in interaction. The study was drawn on CA and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) and demonstrated that heteronormative orders, e.g., being heterosexual, are challenged by the complex ways that people categorize themselves and the others.

In Brazil, Borba and Ostermann (2008) investigated the manipulation of grammatical systems among southern Brazilian travesties in order to construct their gender and sexual identities. The study showed that individuals subvert the grammar system in order to produce social meaning and laminate their identities. Similarly, Borba (2009) analyzed the (re)construction and (re)negotiation of social identities among those individuals. That study relied on a socioconstrucionist perspective on the relations between discourse and social identities and demonstrated that social identities co-constructed in interaction are not stable, they are multifaceted and fluid.

More recently, Borba (2016) explored, through the Foucauldian genealogical approach, how medical clinics that pathologizes transsexuality as a mental disorder interfere in the embodiment of the gender and identity of travesties. Since doctors were the ones responsible for deciding if the patients were or not transsexuals, it was discussed that doctors (in)validate through talk the “true” transsexuals. This (in)validation was attributed to the way the patients spoke and to their physical appearance, i.e., the more “feminine” the patients looked, the higher the chances to be considered a “true” transsexual by the doctors. In brief, language was used as a resource to embody and legitimate a metapragmatic model of identity.

This study adds to this body of research by analyzing the ways through which identities are made interactionally relevant and negotiated in talk-in-interaction, and the ways interactants orient to them in their talk.

2.2 Gender and Sexual Identities in Action

Individuals are continuously co-constructing the social world by attributing meaning to what is happening in the interactions (OSTERMANN, 2017). In other words, individuals’ understandings of the social world are in ongoing development and are co-constructed moment by moment. This section aims to discuss about gender and sexual identities *in action* (EHRlich, 2002; KITZINGER, 2005, 2007; SPEER; STOKOE, 2011; OSTERMANN; KITZINGER 2012 apud OSTERMANN, 2017), i.e., being co-constructed and negotiated while being performed.

According to Ostermann (2017), we accomplish our social practices in interaction and therefore it is where researchers should look at aiming to identify the local understandings of gender and sexual identities. In other words, researchers should investigate every day interactions because it is where social identities take place. Moreover, the local understandings of ‘women’ and ‘men’ are socially constructed and negotiated, i.e., people learn how they should behave in society according to the ‘communities of practice’ (WENGER, 1998; SELL, 2007; OSTERMANN, 2017) that they are in. In brief, the understandings of gender and sexual roles are constructed and entailed by the social groups that we are in. Thus, individuals perform them gender and sexuality identities according to what is locally expected from them.

Social identities are not homogenous, but they have to be mutually constructed and negotiated in and through interaction and they also demand effort to be reinforced (SELL; OSTERMANN, 2009). Regarding this collaborative process of identity construction, gender and sexual identities require maintenance in interactions by the participants (SELL;

OSTERMANN, 2009). In other words, social identities are displayed and reinforced moment by moment in interaction (OSTERMANN, 2017).

Researchers have discussed that individuals construct and negotiate their identities by orienting or not to certain categories (SACKS, 1992; SCHEGLOFF, 2007; OSTERMANN, 2017). Through these categories activated by the individuals, it is possible to access the local understandings of gender and sexuality identities of a given community (SELL; OSTERMANN, 2009). Interestingly, however, in social interaction, gender identities cannot be understood as they were relevant all the time but, while conducting an analysis, researchers should be able to demonstrate the ways in which these identities are produced and oriented to by the participants (WEATHERALL, 2002; OSTERMANN, 2017). Nevertheless, categorizing is not a straightforward process because individuals orient to the categories differently according to the context in which they are in, especially to what they are expected to produce in their gender performances (SELL; OSTERMANN, 2009) and, additionally, these categorizations activated may be challenged by the participants. Thus, the participants activate categories which can be oriented to or not by the others in order to produce and negotiate the local understandings of behavior and gender expectations (MARTIN, 2003; SELL; OSTERMANN, 2009).

3 YOU BETTER WORK: METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

In this section, the theoretical and methodological approach, the research context of this study, and the research questions are presented.

3.1 Conversation Analysis

Within CA, conversation is understood as a way of doing actions in interaction, such as an invitation, a request for information (SACKS; SCHEGLOFF; JEFFERSON, 19974). The focus of CA therefore is not on isolated chunks of words and sentences, but on how actions are accomplished through talk (SCHEGLOFF; KOSHIK; JACOBY; OLSHER, 2002). CA studies everyday activities in their natural settings and aims to understand how interaction is organized (HERITAGE, 2009). As Malabarba and Nguyen (in press) state based on Sacks (1995), social interaction and conversation might seem messy; however, human interaction follows a systemic order in which all participants are normatively orientated to. That is to say that the way participants design their turns (*e.g.*, pauses, intonation, emphasis) is not random or even meaningless, but used as methods to accomplish social actions in different contexts.

In interaction, actions occur in different ways and not only through talk. Although the pioneer CA studies were based on audio recording, more recent CA studies have been looking beyond vocal conduct. This includes visual and embodied resources, such as gestures, facial expressions, and the use of objects in the setting (HEATH; LUFF, 2013). In brief, semiotic resources perform a crucial role in interaction because they are part of the constitution of actions and as they are publicly visible, they also influence the way interaction is understood by the participants (GOODWIN, 2000).

After generating data, research within CA involves essentially four methodological procedures: “[...] listening/watching, segmentation, transcription, and data analysis”⁴. (KANITZ, 2010, f. 21, our translation). This methodology allows conversation analysts to understand, explain and describe how interactants organize themselves to do actions through their language use (LODER, 2008; KANITZ, 2010). Thus, within CA, recording and transcribing the recorded material are more than mere research methods, they are fundamental elements (AYAß, 2015). Consequently, transcribing is not only a stage of the CA researches. Since it consists of rebuilding what was recorded through audio or video into a written form, it

⁴ “[...] metodológicos: audição/visualização, segmentação, transcrição e análise dos dados” (KANITZ, 2010, f. 21).

is actually the first step of the analysis (AYAß, 2015) and it is accomplished following the transcription system suggested by Jefferson (1984).

Within CA, data is analyzed through an emic perspective, that is, the analysis process is concerned with the way the participants understand action in social naturally occurring interaction without involving any *a priori* categories or phenomenon (PIKE, 1967; MALABARBA, 2015). Analyzing data from an emic perspective means that the researcher seeks to comprehend the phenomena that are socially demonstrated in interaction based on how the participants in the interaction interpret each other in relation to what is sequentially said and done.

3.2 Membership Categorization Analysis

Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) is an analytical approach developed by Harvey Sacks in 1963 and 1964 which is often combined with CA (SELL, 2007; SELL; OSTERMANN, 2009). MCA seeks to understand the devices and methods used by the participants within a given interaction to categorize oneself and the others (SACKS, 1992). In other words, within MCA approach it is discussed that individuals construct their understanding of the social world by means of description. Such descriptions are organized into categories, for instance, a female person is, within heteronormative structures, categorized as ‘woman’; moreover, some activities are indexed to this category. As different categories are grouped together, it is necessary to understand the relation among them in order to understand the meaning of a given social interaction (SACKS, 1992).

As discussed before, membership categorizations are likely to be grouped together thus creating “collections”, which are called membership categorization devices (MCD). Aiming to explain what MCD is, Sacks (1992) presented the classic example “The baby cried. The mommy picked it up”. In this example, according to Sacks (1992), ‘mommy’ and ‘baby’ may be members of the same MCD (family), and in this MCD would be included other members, such as brother, sister, grandma, among others. Considering that individuals may be part of different MCDs, the term baby could also belong to the MCD called “stage of life” in which teenager, adult, among others would be included. Through these devices the participants construct their understandings of the social interaction based on the inference in which such categories belong to. As discussed by Sell and Ostermann (2009), some collections may include several categories; however, others are likely to be constructed as binary, for instance, within heteronormative structures gender is divided into ‘woman’ and ‘man’.

Another important concept from MCA is the category-bound activities (CBAs), which refers to the set of activities indexed to a specific category (SACKS, 1992; SELL; OSTERMANN, 2009). In other words, some activities are socially expected to be accomplished by specific categories. For instance, regarding the example from Sacks (1992) previously presented, the activity cry is socially expected from the category baby, i.e., this activity is connected to a collection (MCD). However, the same activity may be indexed to different MCDs; thus, it is necessary to look at the local construction of the social meanings.

Categorizing, however, is not simply tagging oneself or the others, i.e., the participants orient to different contexts and to what they consider to be expected from them to produce their talk and their gender performances. Since the categories are constantly negotiated in talk-in-interaction, they are neither stable nor imposed to the participants, but they are indexed to the social context in which they are created (MARTIN, 2003; SELL; OSTERMANN, 2009; BORDIGNON, 2011).

The terms used by participants in interaction select and evoke categories which are created regarding the recipients. That is, considering that within a given interaction a person considers belonging to the same category as the interlocutor, one might choose to use a differentiated lexical item in order to seek identification as a member. However, when a person self-categorizes as belonging to a specific category, this person is also self-excluding from others. For instance, when a member is categorized as being a ‘woman’ and ‘homosexual’, this person is automatically excluded from the categories ‘man’ and ‘heterosexual’ (WENGER, 1998; SELL; OSTERMANN, 2009; BORDIGNON, 2011).

In sum, conversation analysis and membership categorization analysis provide powerful tools to explore participants’ understandings and categorizations of gender and sexuality (OSTERMANN, 2017).

3.3 Research Context

The database consists of interactions that took place during a weekend trip to a town in the region of hills in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil in the last weekend of April 2018. The interactions were recorded through audio and video, and in total, six participants were recorded. The participants’ age range is 20-24, all of them are undergraduate students and identify themselves as belonging to the LGBT+ community⁵. Before the recordings, the

⁵ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and non-heteronormative individuals.

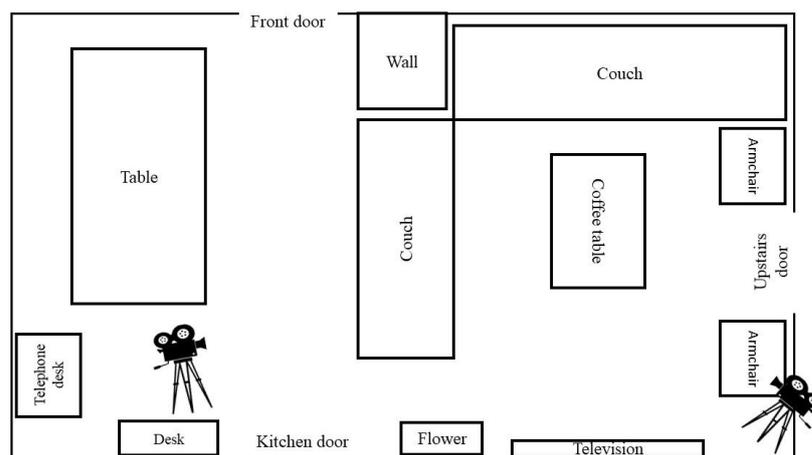
research aims and procedures were explained to the participants, who signed the consent form⁶ (TCLE); thus, following ethical procedures.

During the weekend, the participants engaged in several different activities, such as watching movies, having lunch, and playing drinking games. Although near five hours of participants' interaction was recorded in the last weekend of April 2018, it was decided to focus the analysis on the drinking game activity, which corresponds to one hour of the videos. For the recordings, the following materials were utilized: two cameras, Nikon D5200, two batteries for each camera, two Wired Lapel Microphone P2, and two tripods that were made available by Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos (UNISINOS). In between each recording, the videos were transferred from the cameras to a laptop and finally saved in an external hard drive (HD).

Some challenges in recording the interactions involved the recording time-limit, it was 29:59 minutes for each camera and, after these minutes, the recordings stopped; and the battery duration, it was only possible to record one hour with each battery. After that it was necessary to recharge them.

Since the games were played in the living room and the participants sat on the floor, in front of the couches around a coffee table, the cameras were positioned on opposite sides of the room. That allowed for the capture of participants' conduct from different angles. Figure 1 illustrates the setting organization during the recordings.

Figure 1 - Setting organization



Source: Developed by the author.

After watching the recordings several times, identity co-construction and negotiation sequences among the participants became the frame of this research study. Finally, the

⁶ See Appendix A.

recordings were divided into excerpts and using Audacity and Excel software, data were analyzed and transcribed following the convention system suggested by Jefferson (1984) (see Appendix B). For ethical purposes, the participants' real names were replaced by pseudonyms and their faces blurred on the pictures thus ensuring their anonymity.

3.3.1 Valley Drinking Game

The participants played two different versions of the same game. The first one was a board game downloaded from the internet and printed. The participants used different small objects that were near them as tokens, and they also used an app on a smartphone as a dice. The second version was an app downloaded on the smartphone of one participant. Both games present memes and references to national and international pop culture.

The first version, the board drinking game, is named Valley Game⁷ and the second one, the app, is named Valley Drinking Game⁸. Even though the games are played on different supports, they are similar. And, according to the website *SOS Solteiros*, both games present Brazilian memes that are popular in groups of people who identify themselves as part of the LGBT+ community (CRIARAM..., 2017).

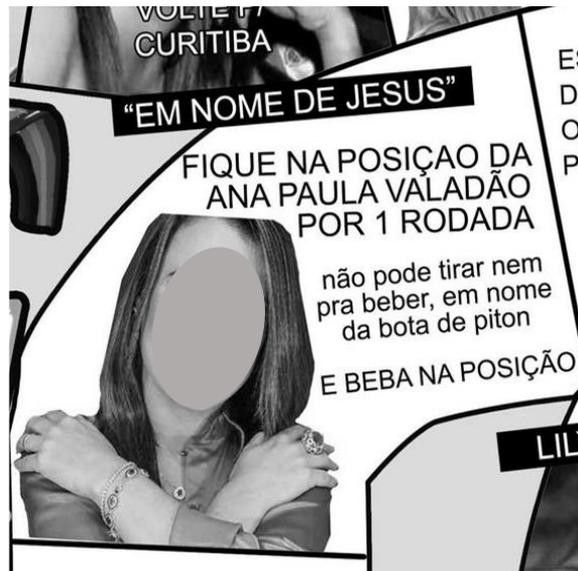
Each step entails the players finding a meme that suggests a task to be completed and, as it is a drinking game, these tasks are related to consuming alcohol (CRIARAM..., 2017). Some examples of the tasks are *say an old-fashioned slang and drink; drink and play again; the effeminate ones drink; the rude ones drink*⁹. The following figures illustrate the examples from both the board and the app drinking game: figure 2 presents a picture of a Brazilian singer who became a meme because of a specific pose in pictures of her, and imposes that the player drinks and stays in that pose for one round; figure 3 is a screenshot of the app game, it imposes that the ones who are rude must drink and it also presents a picture of a famous Brazilian television host and the sentence *Sit there, Claudia* which became a meme because she said it in a rude way to a guest.

⁷ In Portuguese *Jogo do Vale*.

⁸ In Portuguese *Vale Drinking Game*.

⁹ In Portuguese *Fale um bordão ultrapassado e beba; beba e jogue de novo; afeminadas bebem; quem é grosso bebe*.

Figure 2 - Task of the board game



Source: Almeida (2017).

Figure 3 - Screenshot of the app game



Source: Gonçalves (2018).

Thus, the main goal of the game is to arrive in the Homosexuals' Valley¹⁰ whether by moving through steps on the board according to the number designated by a dice or by

¹⁰ In Portuguese *Vale dos Homossexuais*.

completing the tasks suggested on the app. Generally speaking, the term Valley is used as a short form for Homosexuals' Valley, which is a sarcastic term used to refer to some declarations made by a preacher who alleges that she has visited hell fifteen times, and in six of these times she also went to the Homosexual's Valley. This place is described as a valley where homosexual people would spend the afterlife forevermore being tortured (AIRAF, 2017).

3.4 Research Questions

Individuals orient to gender and sexual identities differently depending on the context they are in (WENGER, 1998; SELL, 2007; OSTERMANN, 2017). Thus, while looking at the data some questions arose, and they are as follows:

- a) How do the Queer identities become interactionally relevant during the drinking game activity?
- b) How does the group of friends co-construct and negotiate their Queer identities in talk-in-interaction?
- c) How do the participants orient to the identities displayed in the drinking game activity?

These questions guide the analysis that follows.

4 THE LIBRARY IS OPEN: DATA ANALYSIS

Unmotivated looking (PSATHAS, 1995) at the data led to two different trajectories in terms of identity construction during the drinking game. In many sequences containing terms that evoke ‘gender’ and ‘sexuality’ membership category devices (MCD), these were oriented to as unproblematic by the participants. That is to say that the participants did not contest such categorizations. Moreover, several sequences containing terms that evoke problematic understandings, which led the participants to challenge such categorizations in order to negotiate their identities. Sections 5.1 and 5.2 each discuss these two different categories that emerged from the data.

4.1 “*Gostosa*”: Queer identities which are not contested

When doing the analysis, some Queer identities, *i.e.*, non-heteronormative identities, which became interactionally relevant by means of categorizations, were perceived. These categorizations were not contested, they were instead ratified by the participants of such interaction. In other words, such identities were not understood as problematic nor did the participants within this interaction challenge them. Excerpts 1-3 will illustrate how this is done.

In excerpt 1a, Paola will categorize Lucas A as being *gostosa* (roughly translated as ‘hot woman’). We join the interaction as Lucas A has just moved along the board and is now reading the current task of the game. The task is to take off a piece of clothing. From lines 2-6, the participants assess positively the current task of the game. This is done in overlapped screaming (lines 2-5), clapping and arm shaking (see line 4, figure 4). Additionally, Paola places her hands in front of her mouth as a megaphone and produces the turn ADO::RO::: (‘I love it’) to display her positive assessment of the task (line 6). *Adoro* produced in such fashion is quite common within the LGBT+ community and is followed by U:i:: (roughly translated as ‘Geez’). Whilst the participants are laughing and screaming (lines 6-12), Lucas A takes off his T-shirt and throws it to Paola.

Excerpt 1 a: How good it is to be a gay man

- 1 Lucas A: ↑a playboyzu- (.) ↑a playboyzu::da ↑tire uma peça de roupa
 the playboyg the playboy girl take off a piece of clothing
 the playboyg, the playboy girl, take off a piece of clothing
- 2 Jéssica: [A:::|:::~::~:

3 Gustavo: |((clapping))
 [A:::::::::::::
 4 Maria: [A|:::::::::::::
 |((shakes her left arm))

Figure 4 - Arm shaking.



Source: Captured by the author.

5 Paola: [A:::|:~::~:
 |((clapping))
 6 Paola: |ADO::RO::: (.) |U:I::
love geez
i love it, geez
 |((imitates a megaphone))

Figure 5 - Paola imitating a megaphone.



Source: Captured by the author.

|((Lucas A takes his T-shirt off))
 7 Jéssica: u::1
 8 Paola: U::1
 9 Maria: tadum tutunts tunts ((singing))
 10 Maria: [u::1]
 11 Paola: [U::1]
 12 Jéssica: [u::1] |hahaha
 |((Lucas A spins his T-shirt and throws it to Paola))
 13 Paola: → |<GOS[TOSA>
delicious woman
hot woman
 |((clapping))
 14 Maria: → |[gostosa
delicious woman
hot woman

|((smiling, rubs her hand on Lucas A's chest))

Figure 6 - Maria rubbing her hand on Lucas A's chest.



Source: Captured by the author.

Paola categorizes Lucas A as being a *gostosa* (line 13), a typical term to refer to a hot woman, *i.e.*, in the Brazilian context it is not common to call a man hot using such term. Her turn is acknowledged by Lucas A with a smile (line 14) and aligned and affiliated with (STIVERS, 2008) by Maria, who repeats Paola's turn as she rubs her right hand on Lucas A's chest (line 14).

Another categorization can be observed in the subsequent turns. Paola reformulates her previous assessment (line 15) and smells Lucas A's T-shirt, causing the other participants to laugh (lines 16-19). After smelling Lucas A's T-shirt once more, Paola spins it above her head and takes the turn by saying *AI o glitter ta em mim aqui ó* ('the glitter is over me') (line 25).

Excerpt 1 b: How good it is to be a gay man

- 15 Paola: A|::: †Ui (.) <ADO::RO>
geez i love
geez i love it
- |((places the T-shirt on her shoulder))
- 16 Maria: |[hahaha
- 17 Gustavo: |[hahihihi
- 18 Jéssica: |[hahihihi
- 19 Lucas A: |[hhhh
 |((Paola smells the T-shirt))
- 20 Paola: †Ai que cheiro
wow that smell
wow what a smell
- 21 Maria: |[hahaha
- 22 Gustavo: |[hahihihi

23 Jéssica: | [hahahihi
 24 Lucas A: | [hhhh
 | ((Paola smells the T-shirt))

Figure 7 - Paola smelling Lucas A's T-shirt again.



Source: Captured by the author.

25 Paola: → AI o glitter ta em mim | aqui ó
hey the glitter is on me here
hey the glitter is over me
 | ((spins the T-shirt above her head))

Figure 8 - Paola spinning Lucas A's T-shirt.



Source: Captured by the author.

26 Maria: Hhhhhh
 27 Paola: → †ai meu deus como é bom ser via:do
hey my god how is good to be fag
oh god how good it is to be a fag
 28 Gustavo: [hahhh
 29 Jéssica: [hahahihi
 30 Lucas A: [hahhh
 31 Paola: °amo°
i love
i love it

Considering that Paola is holding and spinning Lucas A's T-shirt and he is a gay man, the turn she produces about the glitter may refer implicitly to Lucas A's gayness. This category is more explicitly oriented to by Paola as she assesses his being gay as wonderful by saying †ai meu deus como é bom ser via:do (roughly translated as 'oh god how good it is to be a fag') (line 27) and thus categorizing Lucas A as a *viado* (a 'fag'). This term evokes the categories

Figure 9 - Maria pointing to Gustavo.



Source: Captured by the author.

Paola, on her part, reformulates Lucas A's turn by saying *=ou comigo ou com ela* ('either with me or with her') (line 16). By using a feminine word (her) to refer to Lucas A, Paola categorizes him as a 'woman'. 'Woman' belongs to 'gender' MCD. Lucas A and the others orient to this categorization as non-problematic since they do not initiate repair and they keep discussing Maria's options to swap houses. Gustavo then takes the turn and includes himself as an option for Maria to swap houses with (line 17). Maria agrees with him by orienting to the whole crowd and saying *ou pode ser com ele* ('or it can be with him') while pointing at Gustavo (line 18). As she uses the term *him* in her turn, Maria clearly categorizes Gustavo as a man, which also belongs to 'gender' MCD. In sum, although Lucas A and Gustavo are gay men, only Lucas A is categorized as *ela* (her). Interestingly, none are contested.

In the following turns, another categorization is made explicit by Paola. After discussing Maria's possibilities to swap houses (lines 21-31), Gustavo is explicitly categorized as a *viado* (a 'fag') by Paola (line 32). In her turn, Paola says *SIM mas ela ta na mesma casa viado* (roughly translated as 'yeah but she is in the same place fag').

Excerpt 2 b: Dumb_fag_is_born_straight

- 19 Gustavo: [na mesma casa hhhh
in the same house
in the same house
- 20 (.)
- 21 Lucas A: mas- (.) se ela
but if she
but she
- 22 Paola: não::[mas::
no but
no but

In excerpt 2c, the participants once again use *her* to refer to Lucas A (line 34) and in the subsequent turns Lucas A categorizes Gustavo as being ‘homosexual’ and ‘man’, by applying the term *fag* (line 35). Interestingly, however, Gustavo contests the previous categorizations which evoke the understanding of him being a man and categorizes himself as being a sly woman (line 38). The other participants validate this categorization by means of laughing.

Excerpt 2 c: Dumb_fag_is_born_straight

34 Maria: → [é |(to) ligada nela
is i am connected to her
yeah i got her

|((points to Lucas A))

Figure 10 – Maria pointing to Lucas.



Source: Captured by the author.

35 Lucas A: → bich burra [nasce hetera: ((smiling))
fag dumb is born straight
dumb fag is born straight

36 Paola: [{{laughing} bicha bu- bicha} hahahaha
fag dum, fag
dumb fag

37 Maria: |mas |[xxx
But xxx
but xxx

38 Gustavo: → |((looking at Lucas A))
 [|mi↑ga: sabe o que é son↑sa
female friend know what is sly woman
girl, do you know what a sly woman is

|((looks at Lucas A))

39 Paola: |[HAHAHAHAHA
 40 Jéssica: |[hahahaha
 41 Maria: |[hahahaha

Maria takes the turn agreeing with Lucas A by saying *é (to) ligada nela* (roughly translated as ‘yeah I got her’) and pointing to Lucas A. Once again, Lucas A is categorized as *her*. Considering that Gustavo insists in being an option for Maria to swap houses with even though he cannot because the task entailed by the game was to swap houses, Lucas A negatively assesses Gustavo using the expression *bicha burra nasce hetera:* (roughly translated as ‘dumb fag is born straight’) (line 35). By means of this assessment, Gustavo is categorized as a *bicha* (another term for ‘fag’).

Paola reformulates Lucas A’s turn while she laughs (line 36) and Gustavo produces the turn *mi↑ga: sabe o que é son↑sa* (roughly translated as ‘girl, do you know what a sly woman is?’) while he looks at Lucas A (line 38). In his turn, Gustavo categorizes Lucas A as a *miga* (a ‘female friend - girl’) and himself as a *sonsa* (a ‘sly woman’). Even though the other participants have categorized Lucas A using feminine terms and Gustavo using masculine terms, Gustavo categorizes not only Lucas A but also himself using the terms ‘*miga*’ and ‘*sonsa*’ both in the feminine form.

Overall, Lucas A’s Queer identity is co-constructed by means of categorizations which are done by Paola, Maria and Gustavo through the use of terms in the feminine form (see lines 16, 34, 38) and not contested by him. Although Gustavo is categorized as *ele* (him) (line 18), Lucas A categorizes Gustavo as ‘man’ and ‘homosexual’, which belong to ‘gender’ and ‘sexuality’ MCDs, by applying the expression *bicha burra* (roughly translated as ‘dumb fag’) (line 35). *Bicha* is culturally used to refer to gay men. Different from what is done by the other participants, Gustavo uses the term ‘*sonsa*’ in the feminine form to refer to himself (line 38). The participants validate these categorizations by laughing even though Lucas A seems not to be oriented to it.

In excerpt 3, Lucas A will be categorized as a *Hétero de Taubaté* (roughly translated as fake straight) by the participants. Gustavo reads the task on the board game (line 1), which says that only the single participants must drink. After a brief pause, Lucas A negatively assesses the task by saying *A:I* (ouch) (line 3). On their part, Paola and Jéssica do the opposite, they positively assess it by their embodied actions (putting their hands up and hugging each other) and by Paola’s turn *A::: GRAÇAS A DE::US AI MEU DEUS DO CÉ:U A MELHOR DECISÃO QUE EU TOMEI NA MINHA VI:DA* (oh, thank god, for god’s sake, the best decision I have ever made in my life) (line 5). They are referring to the fact that, since they are in a relationship, they do not have to drink, which at this point in the game is considered a punishment.

Excerpt 3 a: Straight_from_Taubaté

- 1 Gustavo: |solteiros bebem.
singles drink
the single ones must drink
- 2 |((reads the task))
 2 (.)
- 3 Lucas A: A:i
ouch
ouch
- 4 Jéssica: [A:::e:|:::
 5 Paola: [A:::: |GRAÇAS A DE:::US |AI MEU DEUS DO CÉ:U A MELHOR
thank god oh my god of heaven the best
oh, thank god, for god's sake, the best
- 6 DECISÃO QUE EU TO[MEI NA MINHA VI:DA
decision i have ever made in my life
decision i have ever made in my life

|((Jéssica and Paola put their hands up))

Figure 11 - Paola and Jéssica arm shaking.



Source: Captured by the author.

|((Paola and Jéssica hug each other))

Figure 12 - Paola and Jéssica hugging each other.



Source: Captured by the author.

- 7 Lucas A: → [>tu qué namo↑ra comi]↑go< (.)MA- MA-
you want to date with me
do you want to date me

|((Gustavo rubs his hand on Lucas B's face))

Figure 14 - Gustavo rubbing his hand on Lucas B's face.



Source: Captured by the author.

13 Paola: hahaha |{{laughing}} não}
no
No

14 Lucas A: → |eu acabei de pedir ela em namo:ro
i have just asked her in dating
i have just proposed to her

|((Lucas B blows a kiss to Gustavo))

Figure 15 – Lucas B blowing a kiss to Gustavo.



Source: Captured by the author.

15 Paola: eu quero ver |[beijo]
i want to see kiss
i want to see a kiss

16 Gustavo: |[NÃ::O] (.) NÃ::O=
no no
no, no

|((Gustavo points to Lucas A and shakes his
finger))

Figure 16 - Gustavo shaking his finger.



Source: Captured by the author.

- 17 Paola: | =EU QUERO VER UM BEIJO
i want to see a kiss
i want to see a kiss
- | ((Lucas A and Maria kiss
each other))
- 18 Gustavo: → | NÃ::O NÃO [NÃO NÃO]
no no no no
no, no, no, no
- 19 Paola: → [NÃO NÃO] NÃO >[NÃO NÃO] NÃO NÃO NÃO] NÃO NÃO<
no no no no no no no no no no no
no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no
- | ((Gustavo and Paola point their finger to Lucas A and
shake it))

Overlapping with Lucas A's turn, Paola's and Jéssica's non-heterosexual identities become interactionally relevant when Paola produces her turn by saying *AE EU NAMORO ELA AQUI Ó (.) Ó Ó* (hey, I date her, this one) and pointing to Jéssica (line 11). Paola displays her and Jéssica's Queer identity when announcing that they are in a relationship. Similarly, Gustavo displays his and Lucas B's Queer identity when he rubs his hand on Lucas B's face and gets a blown kiss, which might indicate that they are in a relationship since the task proposed by the game is related to having a partner or not.

Paola negatively assess Lucas A's announcement by laughing and saying *no* (line 13). Lucas A then refers to his turn from line 11 by saying *eu acabei de pedir ela em namo:ro* (roughly translated as 'I have just proposed to her') (line 14). Again, he is displaying a heteronormative sexual identity. As Paola asks Maria and Lucas A to kiss each other (line 15), Gustavo in overlap negatively assesses Lucas A's declaration by saying *NÃ::O (.) NÃ::O* ('no, no') as he points his finger to Lucas A and shakes it (line 16). Paola repeats her turn from line 14 in a louder voice (line 17) and Lucas A and Maria kiss each other. In overlap, Gustavo

and Paola produce the negative assessment term *NÃO* (no) several times and they point their shaking fingers to Lucas A (lines 18-19).

Interestingly, in excerpt 3c, even though Lucas A has previously displayed a non-heterosexual identity by proposing to Maria and kissing her, he categorizes Maria and himself using a term in the feminine form. However, Gustavo and Paola do not orient to these categorizations, they produce an assessment term and categorize Lucas A as a *Hétero de Taubaté* (fake straight). Such term is used by some participants of the interaction to contest the heterosexual identity displayed by Lucas A.

Excerpt 3 c: Straight_from_Taubaté

- 20 Lucas A: → [não somos soltei:ras]
not are single women
we are not single women
- 21 Gustavo: → |HÉTERO DE TAUBATÉ (.) >hétero de taubaté<
straight from taubaté, straight from taubaté
fake straight, fake straight
- 22 Paola: → |((points to Lucas A))
 |HÉTERO DE TAUBATÉ ESSE AI ↓HEIN [HA[HAHAHAHA
straight from taubaté this one
this man is a fake straight, that's what he is
 |((points to Lucas A))

Figure 17 - Paola pointing to Lucas A.



Source: Captured by the author.

- 23 Maria: [ha [haha
 24 Jéssica: [há [haha
 25 Lucas A: [haha

Lucas A produces the turn *não somos soltei:ras* ('we are not single women') (line 20). In his turn, he categorizes himself and Maria as not single and, in order to do so, he applies the feminine term *solteiras* ('single women') which elicits the categories 'woman' and 'non-

single' that are in the 'gender' and 'relationship' MCDs. However, Gustavo refers to the fact that Lucas A asked Maria to be his girlfriend first and now he is calling himself *solteira* (roughly translated as 'single woman') (line 20) by producing twice the negative assessment term *hétero de taubaté* (roughly translated as 'fake straight') (line 21). Paola displays her alignment and affiliation (STIVERS, 2008) with Gustavo by reformulating Gustavo's turn HÉTERO DE TAUBATÉ ESSE AI ↓HEIN (roughly translated as 'this man is a fake straight, that's what he is') and laughing (line 22). Thus, Gustavo and Paola categorize Lucas A as a homosexual man. Lucas A and the others affiliate with this categorization through laughter (lines 23-25).

Differently from the previous excerpts, in excerpt 3, besides the queer identities, the participants also displayed heteronormative identities. However, Lucas A (yet in a playful manner) displays a heteronormative sexual identity when he proposes to Maria, which is contested by Gustavo and Paola. Lucas A also categorizes himself and Maria by using a term in the feminine form; however, Gustavo and Paola contested his heterosexuality and categorized him using terms in the masculine form. In order to contest it, Gustavo and Paola categorize Lucas A as homosexual by using the idiom fake straight.

In brief, we showed and discussed that the participants' identities became interactionally relevant and were co-constructed by means of categorizations. It is worth noting that most of these categorizations broke heteronormativity (e.g. a man being categorized by the others or even by himself using feminine terms) and were ratified throughout the interactions. The only case (excerpt 3) in which an identity was contested, was when a heteronormative identity was displayed by a participant. Participants' identities' co-construction was achieved by a variety of embodied resources, such as pointing, rubbing hands, patting, hugging, among others.

4.2 “Tu é um viado mulher”: Queer identities which are negotiated

This section discusses four cases in which participants' queer identities became interactionally relevant and were contested as well as negotiated among the participants.

In excerpt 4, Paola, who had just been observing Gustavo as he walked down the stairs, uses a term in the masculine form (*gato* – roughly translated as 'male cat') to refer to Gustavo's way of walking (like a cat) thus categorizing Gustavo as a man.

Excerpt 4: He_seemed_to_be_a_cat

- 1 |((noise on the stairs))
|((everyone looks to the upstairs door and Gustavo comes out of it))
- 2 Paola: → parecia um gato descendo.
*seemed to be a cat walking down
your way of walking down seemed to be a cat*
- 3 → |(0.6)
|((Gustavo looks to Paola))

Figure 18 - Gustavo looking to Paola.



Source: Captured by the author.

- 4 Paola: → é que é né?
*is that is isn't?
you are, aren't you?*
- 5 (.)
- 6 Gustavo: → |eu sou um gato.
*i am a male cat
i am handsome*
- |((opens the fan and shakes it))

Figure 19 - Gustavo shaking a fan.



Source: Captured by the author.

- 7 Paola: |há[hahaha
|((Jéssica and Lucas A smile))
- 8 Maria: [°hehe°
- 9 Lucas A: → <GATA>
*female cat
Beautiful*

10 | (.)
 11 Gustavo: | ((kneels, smiles))
 12 Paola: → |lin↑da (.) podero:sa
 beautiful (.) powerful
 beautiful, powerful woman
 | ((Gustavo smiles))

As Gustavo orients to Paola's turn by looking at her (see line 3, figure 18), she revisits her previous turn by saying *é que e né?* (roughly translated as 'you are, aren't you?') (line 4). Gustavo orients to Paola's turn from line 2, which is repaired by him when he says *eu sou um gato*¹¹ (roughly translated as 'I am handsome') (line 6). In Gustavo's turn, he produces a heteronormative self-categorization by using 'gato' in the masculine form.

While he produces his turn, he opens a fan and shakes it. This action is a category-bound activity, i.e., an activity that is indexed to a specific category. In other words, this activity is not common among heterosexual men, but it is common within LGBT+ community and may be a semiotic resource to display his Queer identity.

The other participants show to be oriented to Gustavo's turn by laughing and smiling (lines 7-8). Lucas A, however, challenges the previous categorization by repairing it, <GATA> (roughly translated as 'female cat') (line 9). The term *gata* elicits the categories 'woman' and 'beautiful' which are in the 'gender' and 'appearance' MCDs. Gustavo playfully kneels and smiles, and Paola displays affiliation (STIVERS, 2008) with Lucas A's turn and starts categorizing Gustavo using feminine terms, i.e., Paola categorizes Gustavo as *lin↑da (.) podero:sa* ('beautiful, powerful woman') (line 12).

Regarding Queer identities in excerpt 4, first Gustavo is categorized as a man, which is validated by himself. As this category is challenged by Lucas A, Paola recategorizes Gustavo, now as a woman. On his part, Gustavo ratifies both categorizations as they occur, not orienting to them as problematic. Over this excerpt, it is possible to perceive how participants' identities, rather than having been fixed prior to this conversation and simply referred to, are made relevant, enacted and negotiated in and through interaction.

In excerpt 5, Paola will categorize the participants in such way that they will be divided into women and men. This happens after Gustavo reads the next task (lines 3-4), which consists of having to drink with other two female friends.

¹¹ In Brazilian Portuguese the term *gato* (cat) is an informal synonym to handsome (GATO, 2018). Paola first talks about the Gustavo's way of going down the stairs (line 2), however, the second use of it is used as the adjective handsome (lines 4 and 6).

Excerpt 5 a: Everybody_is_a_girl

- 1 Gustavo: |SEIS
six
Six
- 2 Maria: |((put his hands up))
 hahaha
- 3 Gustavo: †u:m dois trê:s (0.7) [quatro cinco se:is]
one, two, three, four, five, six
one, two, three, four, five, six
- 4 Lucas A: [†quatro cinco se:is]
four, five, six
four, five, six
- 5 Gustavo: (.) †beba com mais duas amigas
drink with more two female friends
drink with two girls
- 6 Maria: → |ham::
 |((leans forward))

Figure 20 - Maria leaning forward.



Source: Captured by the author.

- 7 Lucas A: [hhhh
- 8 Paola: → [†ai beba com a Jéssica e com a |coi:sa=
ouch drink with the jéssica and with the thing
hey, drink with jéssica and with her
- 9 Gustavo: |((Jessica squeezes
 Paola's shoulder)) =,si:m
yes
Yes
- 10 Paola: A:I
ouch
Ouch
- 11 Jéssica: †a::h Pao::la vai te catá::
hey paola, go look for yourself
hey, paola, screw you

Paola takes the turn and says ↑ai beba com a Jéssica e com a |coi:sa= (‘hey, drink with Jéssica and with her’) (line 8). In her turn, categorizes only the girls as being up to the task for being women, excluding herself as an option. Paola, despite identifying herself as lesbian, demonstrates a binary understanding of gender as she divides the participants in the room into women and men.

In the next turns, the previous categorization will be reinforced by Gustavo. Interestingly, this will be contested by Maria, who will categorize everybody as being women.

Excerpt 5b: Everybody is a girl

12 Gustavo: → ↓si:m (.) |[eu que:ro as duas eu que:ro as duas]
yes i want them two
yes i want them both

|((points to Maria and Jéssica))

Figure 21 - Gustavo pointing to Maria and Jéssica.



Source: Captured by the author.

13 Maria: → |[>é tudo amiga aqui< é tudo amiga aqui]
is all female friends here, is all female friends here
everyone is a girl here, everyone is a girl here

14 >|nada a ver< é tudo amiga hehe
nothing to do, is all female friend
it's not right, everyone is a girl

|((points to everybody))

Figure 22 - Maria pointing to everybody.



Source: Captured by the author.

→ |((pats Lucas A's shoulder))

Figure 23 - Maria patting Lucas A's shoulder.



Source: Captured by the author.

15 Lucas A: [hhhh
 16 Maria: [hahaha
 17 Paola: Hahahahehe

Gustavo, in his turn, categorizes Jéssica and Maria as women by saying *eu que:ro as duas eu que:ro as duas* (roughly translated as ‘I want them both’) and pointing to both participants (line 12). In order to categorize Jéssica and Maria he uses the term *duas* (roughly translated as ‘two women’), the female correspondent for the word *dois* (two in English) evokes the category ‘women’ which belongs to ‘gender’ MCD.

Maria then contests the previous categorization by saying *>é tudo amiga aqui< é tudo amiga aqui >nada a ver< é tudo amiga hehe* (roughly translated as ‘everyone is a girl here, everyone is a girl here, it is not right, everyone is a girl’) and pointing to everyone in the room (see line 14, figure 22). While she produces her turn, Maria pats Lucas A’s shoulder (see line 14, figure 23). In her turn, Maria challenges the categorization done by Paola and Gustavo and categorizes all the participants as women using not only talk but also embodied resources. As such, everyone becomes options Gustavo may choose from, which is validated by means of laughing (lines 15-17).

Along excerpt 5, the task proposed by the game has an important role in making participants' identities relevant and subject to negotiation. Paola first displays a heteronormative understanding of gender by dividing the room between the male and female, which is reinforced by Gustavo. Interestingly, however, these categorizations are challenged by Maria and, after she repairs the first categorization, participants' orientation change.

In excerpt 6, Paola will categorize herself as being a *viado* ('fag'), that is, a gay man. As this is a masculine term, Gustavo contests this categorization by initiating a repair that leads the participants to negotiate Paola's identity.

Excerpt 6 a: She_is_a_man

- 1 Paola: HAHahaha
- 2 Gustavo: pelo menos a paola °X de vez em quando°.
at least the paola x sometimes
at least paola x sometimes
- 3 Paola: hahaha
- 4 Paola: → transmissão de pensamento °sabia que viado
transmission of thought, knew that fag
thought transmission, did you know that fag
- 5 tem isso°.
have this
think alike
- 6 Gustavo: → |viado?
fag?
fag?
- 7 Paola: |((serving some drinks))
 °°uhum°°
yes
Yes
- 8 |(.)
- 9 Lucas A: → |((looks at Paola))
- 10 Paola: → TA: eu so:ı=
ok i am
ok i am a
- 11 Lucas A: → =ısapatão: mas não deixa de ser
dyke but it is still
dyke but it is still
- 12 viado
fag
Fag

- 13 Paola: → mas não deixa de ser viado
 but it is still a fag
 but it is still a fag
- 14 Maria: ↑quase
 almost
 Almost
- 15 Lucas A: → tu é um viado mulher
 you are a female fag
 you are a female fag

Even though the term *viado* ('fag') is used to characterize men, Paola uses it to characterize herself. Such categorization is challenged by Gustavo, who initiates repair by repeating the word *viado* with rising intonation (line 6). In his turn, he demonstrates an understanding that the term used by Paola does not apply to her because the term, under heteronormative structures, is used to refer uniquely to homosexual men, and not women.

Although Paola initially confirms that she is a *viado* (line 7), after Lucas A looks at her (line 9), she then produces a turn that seems to be initiating repair of her previous turns TA: eu so: ↓= (ok, I am a) (line 10), which is collaboratively-constructed (LERNER, 1996) with Lucas A, who candidates the word *sapatão* (roughly translated as 'dyke'), which, he explains, is also *fag* sapatão: mas não deixa de ser viado (roughly translated as 'dyke, but it is still a fag ') (line 11). Indeed, the term *dyke* is commonly used in Brazilian Portuguese to refer to homosexual women and then contrasts with the word *viado*.

It follows that Paola displays her affiliation (STIVERS, 2008) with Lucas A's turn by repeating it (line 13) and Lucas A candidates an increment (LERNER, 1996) to the previous categorization by saying that Paola is a *viado mulher* (roughly translated as 'female fag') (line 15). Within heteronormative structures, this categorization (*viado mulher*) is contradictory because it evokes both the categories of 'man' and 'woman', from the 'gender' MCD. In other words, it seems that Lucas A in his turn is categorizing Paola as belonging to both 'woman' and 'homosexual' categories, i.e., Lucas A might be explaining that even though *dykes* and *fags* belong to different gender categories ('woman' and 'man' respectively), they belong to the same sexuality category ('homosexual').

Other categorizations are done in the subsequent turns. Maria will categorize Paola as being a man, which will be contested by Paola. Maria will take the turn and categorize Paola as a man by saying ↑não- °°ela é homem°° (roughly translated as 'no, she is a man') (line 16).

Excerpt 6 b: She_is_a_man

- 16 Maria: → |ela é ↑quase (.) ↑não- °°ela é|[homem°°
she is almost no she is man
she is almost, no, she is a man
- |((points with her thumb to Paola))

Figure 24 – Maria pointing with her thumb to Paola.



Source: Captured by the author.

- 17 Gustavo: | [tim
 18 tim honeys?
cheers honey
cheers, honey
- |((Gustavo
 makes a toast))
- 19 Lucas A: → (ah ce) é homem?
oh you are man?
oh are you a man?
- 20 Maria: → ela é homem
she is man
she is a man
- 21 Lucas A: → {{laughing} ela é homem}
she is man
she is a man
- 22 Paola: → ela é homem (.) |°eu sou ho↑mem° >↑jé:ssica<?
she is man i am man jéssica?
she is a man, Am I a man, jéssica?
- |((looking to Jéssica))
- 23 Gustavo: tem cheiro de gelati:na.
has smell of gelatine
it smells like gelatine
- 24 Jéssica: → |mhm
 |((drinking))
- 25 Lucas A: curi↑oso
curious
Curious

- 26 Paola: → °nãõ sou homem°
not am man
i am not a man
- 27 Jéssica: → OH: °que bom que não é°
oh that's good that not is
oh that's good that you are not

In order to produce the categorization, Maria uses terms that evoke, from a heteronormative perspective at least, opposite understandings (she and man), that is, the terms evoke the categories ‘woman’ and ‘man’ which belong to the ‘gender’ MCD, at the same time. In other words, even though Maria is categorizing Paola as a man, she is still applying feminine terms to do so.

Lucas A questions it saying (ah ce) é homem? (roughly translated as ‘oh, you are a man?’) (line 19) and Maria reformulates her previous turn affirming that Paola is a man by saying *ela é homem* (‘she is a man’) (line 20). Lucas A demonstrates to be aware that Maria is categorizing a woman as a man, which within a heteronormative perspective is problematic, because he produces the turn *ela é homem* (‘she is a man’) (line 21) with laughter. Here, it is important to pay attention to the fact that, while Lucas produces his turn, he emphasizes the words *ela* (she) and *homem* (man) indicating that the categorizations done by Maria are seen by Lucas A as problematic and thus funny.

Paola also challenges the categorizations done by Maria and invites Jéssica to categorize her by saying *ela é homem* (.) °eu sou ho↑mem° >↑jé:ssica<? (roughly translated as ‘she is a man, am I a man, Jéssica?’) (line 22). As a response, Paola only gets a *mhm* (denial sound) because Jéssica is drinking a shot (line 24). In Jéssica’s turn, she is denying that Paola is a man. Paola takes the turn and says °nãõ sou homem° (‘I am not a man’) (line 26); thus, categorizing herself as not being a man. From a heteronormative structure, considering that Paola is self-excluding from the category ‘man’, she is self-categorizing as ‘woman’. Jéssica confirms that Paola is not a man and assesses it positively by saying OH: °que bom que não é° (roughly translated as ‘oh, that is good that you are not’) (line 27).

In excerpt 7, Lucas A will categorize Gustavo as being a *poc*¹² (roughly translated as ‘effeminate gay man’), which will be contested by Gustavo. Additionally, Paola will categorize both Lucas A and Gustavo as being *pocs*.

¹² In the Brazilian context, the term *poc* has been used among LGBT+ community to describe effeminate gay men (FOX, 2018).

Excerpt 7 a: Poc

- 1 Lucas A: |poc=
poc
Poc
- 2 Maria: |((Reading on a smartphone))
 |=quem for (.) poc bebe
who is poc drink
the ones who are poc must drink
- 3 Lucas A: |((Reading on a smartphone))
 A::I quem for poc ↑bebe
ouch who is poc drink
Oh, the ones who are poc must drink
- 4 Lucas A: → |vai ↓poc
go poc
drink, poc
- |((points to Gustavo))

Figure 25 - Lucas A pointing to Gustavo.



Source: Captured by the author.

- 5 Gustavo: → por que:::?
why?
why?
- 6 Lucas A: → >porque quem< for poc bebe tu é poc
because who is poc drink you are poc
Because the ones who are poc must drink, you are a poc
- 7 Paola: → tu é poc também ((imitating the voice of Pabllo Vittar¹³))
you are poc too
you are a poc too
- 8 Lucas A: → e- eu [sei]
i know
i know it

¹³ Pabllo Vittar is a famous Brazilian Drag Queen singer who has a sharp voice (PABLLO...,2018).

Lucas A and Maria read the task from the smartphone (lines 1-2). Since the task entails that the ones who are *pocs* (roughly translated as ‘effeminate gay man’) must drink, the participants start negotiating who is *poc* and who is not *poc*.

After reading the task, Lucas A reformulates it (line 3) and says pointing to Gustavo *vai i poc* (‘go, *poc*’) (line 4). In his turn, he is categorizing Gustavo as being a *poc* thus he must drink. Such categorization is contested by Gustavo. He takes the turn saying *por que:::?* (‘why?’) (line 5). Lucas A reinforces the previous categorization by explaining *>porque quem<* for *poc bebe tu é poc* (roughly translated as ‘because the ones who are *pocs* must drink, you are a *poc*’) (line 6). Paola categorizes both Lucas A and Gustavo as being *pocs* by saying *tu é poc também* (roughly translated as ‘you are a *poc* too’) (line 7), which is not contested by Lucas A, *e- eu sei* (‘I know’) (line 8).

In the following turns, Gustavo challenges the previous categorizations again. However, other categorizations will be done, and the participants will validate them.

Excerpt 7 b: Poc

- 9 Gustavo: → | [eu]so poc lu::cas?
i am poc lucas?
am i a poc, lucas?
- | ((looks to Lucas B))
- 10 Lucas A: → é [poc
is poc
you are a poc
- 11 | [↑hei me dá essa cerveja aí XXXX
hey give me this beer there xxx
hey give me that beer xxx
- 12 Paola: → as [duas é poc]
the two girls is poc
the two girls are poc
- 13 Lucas A: → [eu sei que] tu falou com o outro lu:cas (.)
i know that you talked with the other lucas
i know that you talked to the other lucas
- 14 [mas (.) as duas são poc
but the two girls are poc
but the two of us are poc
- 15 Gustavo: [AI tá gelada:::
ouch is cold
ouch it is cold

16 Gustavo: eu >quero um< goli[nho des::sa
i want one sip of this
i want one sip of this ones

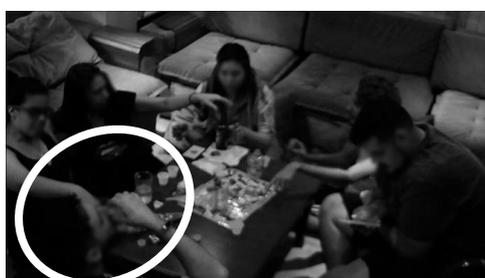
((lines omitted))

32 Gustavo: → quero cerveja.
want beer
i want beer

33 Lucas A: |não vale.
it's not worth
it is not fear

34 Gustavo: |((drinks some beer))

Figure 26 - Gustavo drinking.



Source: Captured by the author.

((lines omitted))
 37 Lucas A: → °eu quero cerveja também |então.°|(.)
i want beer as well then
so i want beer as well

|((drinks some beer))

Figure 27 - Lucas A drinking.



Source: Captured by the author.

Overlapping with Lucas A's turn, Gustavo looks to Lucas B and asks him *eu so poc lu::cas?* ('Am I a *poc*, Lucas?') (line 9). Lucas A takes the turn and says *é poc* ('you are a *poc*') (line 10). Paola reformulates her previous categorization and categorizes them again as being *pocs* by saying *as duas é poc* (roughly translated as 'the two girls is *poc*') (line 11).

Lucas A refers to his previous turn from line 10 by saying [eu sei que] tu falou com o outro lu:cas (.) [mas (.) as duas são poc (I know that you talked to the other Lucas but the two of us are *pocs*) (line 13). Lucas A also applied the term *duas* (roughly translated as ‘two women’), which elicits the category ‘woman’; therefore, the ‘gender’ MCD. After this discussion, the participants start talking about what they will drink. Gustavo announces that he wants to drink some beer (line 32) and he drinks while Lucas A produces his turn. Lucas A announces that he also wants some beer and at the end of his turn he drinks it (line 37). By drinking, the two participants ratify their identities as being *pocs*.

In this section, two different interactional trajectories in relation of Queer identities co-construction and negotiation were shown. The participants were categorized differently in different moments of the interaction according to what was more convenient while playing the games. Some Queer categories activated by the participants were oriented to as unproblematic and were ratified without being contested (see subsection 4.1) and other Queer categories activated were contested before being ratified (see subsection 4.2). Thus, this shows that our social identities are negotiated all the time in interaction.

5 THE LIBRARY IS CLOSED: FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This paper analyzed the ways in which a group of friends belonging to the LGBT+ community co-construct and negotiate their queer identities while playing a board drinking game. Different interactional trajectories (OSTERMANN, 2017) were identified in terms of identity co-construction and it was possible to notice that the participants performed their identities fluidly. In other words, the participants activated categorizations which oscillated between the binary understandings of 'woman' and 'man', i.e., at some points of the interaction they categorized themselves and/or the others using terms that evoke the understanding of being 'woman' and in other moments the participants used terms that evoke the understanding of being 'man'. Thus, participants' identities were co-constructed moment by moment in interaction (OSTERMANN, 2017).

Participants' gender and sexual identities have been activated by some categorizations. Interestingly, the participants' sexual identities which broke heteronormativity were not contested; however, Lucas A (in excerpt 3) displayed (in a playful manner) a heteronormative sexual identity and the others contested it by activating the category 'fake straight'. Such categorization unveils local and naturalized understandings of sexuality (OSTERMANN, 2017) and reinforces this breaking of a heteronormative understanding about sexuality. Moreover, it seems that within this interaction, participants' sexual identities were not 'reportable', i.e., being homosexual was understood as the 'norm' by them. Thus, the participants, in this context, break the social expectation indexed to LGBT+ community in which the individuals should 'come out'.

Although the participants performed their identities fluidly, it seems that there was a preference for performing their identities in a queer standard manner, that is, some participants were categorized in both masculine and feminine forms by the others and they validate these categorizations as they happened without problematizing or orienting to them as problematic; however, heteronormative categorizations were likely to be challenged. Interestingly, at some moments the drinking game entailed tasks to a specific gender and, as drinking at that moment was a punishment, some participants did not contest it. Thus, it may indicate that identity fluidity is mutually constructed and negotiated in and through interaction and the participants therefore performed their identities according to what was convenient to them while playing the game.

Considering the different interactional trajectories (OSTERMANN, 2017) shown and discussed over this paper, it was possible to perceive that our social identities are not fixed, but

they are mutually constructed and negotiated in complex ways in and through interaction. That is, social interaction is where and how we construct our identities. In this regard, we do not use language in a certain way because of who and what we are, but the ways in which we use language constitutes who and what we are. According to Nguyen and Yan (2015), social identities are both a state and a process. This is evidenced when Gustavo and Lucas A are categorized as being *pocs* and Gustavo challenges this categorization (see excerpt 7) even though he identifies himself as belonging to the LGBT+ community. They are not inherently *pocs*, quite the opposite, they become *pocs* as they talk. Thus, we are negotiating our identities in interaction all the time and as we talk, we become.

This study contributes to CA studies on social identities and poses an important discussion on Queer individuals in society. That is, this study contributes to bringing representativeness to this community, in which I include myself, by occupying this space in the academy. Discussing about this community is a way of claiming that we exist and are part of society thus we cannot be overlooked and do not have the same social rights as heteronormative individuals. Furthermore, by understanding the machinery of conversation and co-construction of social identities in interaction also contributes to classroom teaching practices. According to Nguyen and Yang (2015), teachers should pay attention to students' identities construction, especially to Queer learners because they are historically marginalized. They also advocate that language classroom might be a place where students explore different ways to develop identities.

Interestingly, regarding my life experience, second language classroom was the place where I, as a student, used to explore my own identities. For instance, the first time I 'came out' as being gay was in a second language classroom. Additionally, this was one of the first places where I felt comfortable to wear turbans and other accessories related to black culture. Considering it, this study helps to create awareness regarding to the diversity of identities displayed in classroom, not only related to gender and sexuality but also in terms of age, ethnicity and other identities aspects. Thus, for further studies it is suggested to investigate the complex ways in which queer learners co-construct their identities in other contexts, to explore the links between their gender and sexual identities and language learning, and to observe the ways in which heteronormativity is broken or reproduced in second language classroom.

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APPENDIX A – CONSENT FORM (TCLE)**PROJETO DE PESQUISA:**

Viagem: UMA ANÁLISE DA CO-CONSTRUÇÃO DA IDENTIDADE QUEER
NA FALA-EM-INTERAÇÃO

TERMO DE CONSENTIMENTO LIVRE E ESCLARECIDO

Prezado(a),

Sou aluno do Curso de Licenciatura em Letras Inglês da Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos – UNISINOS – e estou realizando um estudo sobre a co-construção da identidade Queer na fala-em-interação. O estudo busca compreender como integrantes da comunidade LGBTQ+ utilizam a linguagem para construir sua identidade. Esse estudo é conduzido por mim, Diogo Maicon Krevoniz Balduino, e orientado pela Profa. Dra. Taiane Malabarba.

Para a realização da pesquisa, serão gravadas em vídeo e áudio interações naturalísticas entre os/as participantes. Depois das gravações em vídeo e áudio, os arquivos serão transcritos e analisados. As gravações são confidenciais e não visam, em hipótese alguma, emitir qualquer julgamento a respeito dos/as participantes. No entanto, os/as participantes podem escolher que certos trechos das interações sejam excluídos da gravação.

As informações disponibilizadas através das filmagens serão utilizadas para fins acadêmicos apenas, e as identidades dos/as participantes serão preservadas em sua integridade – todos os nomes serão trocados por nomes fictícios. Os dados coletados ficarão sob minha responsabilidade e poderão ser utilizados em estudos futuros.

Sua participação na pesquisa é voluntária e, caso você tiver dúvidas, ou necessitar conversar comigo por qualquer motivo relacionado à participação na pesquisa, estarei à disposição pelo e-mail krevonizdiogo@gmail.com.

Você receberá uma cópia deste documento de consentimento que ficará em seu poder.

Cordialmente,

Diogo Maicon Krevoniz Balduino
Licenciando em Letras – UNISINOS
Profa. Responsável: Taiane Malabarba

LI O TERMO DESCRITO ACIMA E AFIRMO QUE CONCORDO COM OS TERMOS DA FILMAGEM.

NOME: _____

ASSINATURA: _____

DATA: ____/____/____

APPENDIX B – TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Participants' talk has been translated based on the three-tier system used by Nguyen and Kasper (2009): a) first tier: original talk (plain text in Courier New), b) second tier: literal translation (Courier New italics), and c) third tier: interpretative translation (Times New Roman italics). The transcription conventions were adapted from Jefferson's system (1984) and they are as follows:

(1.0)	Interval of talk in seconds
(.)	A brief interval within or between utterances.
=	Latched talk
[Talk]	Overlapped talk
((comment))	Embodied action overlapped with talk
,	Continuing intonation of turn
↑Talk	High pitch
↓Talk	Low pitch
.	Falling intonation
?	Rising intonation
-	Abrupt cessation of talk
:::	Prolonged sound
>Talk<	Faster stretch of talk
<Talk>	Slower stretch of talk
TALK	Increased volume of talk
°talk°	Lower volume
°°talk°°	Too lower volume
<u>Talk</u>	Emphasis
(Talk)	Stretches of uncertain transcription
xxxx	Stretches that are inaudible
((comment))	Transcriber's comments
hhhh	Aspired laughter
hahahehehihi	Laughter with vowel sound
{{laughing} talk}	Turns which the speaker is laughing
.hhh	Inbreath