14 Constructing and Managing Male Exclusivity in Talk-in-interaction

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One keeps forgetting to go right down to the foundations. One doesn't put the question marks deep enough down.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Culture and Value* (1980: 62)

1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the issues involved, for both members and analysts, in the production and recognition of exclusively male contexts and attends to the organization of talk within so-established contexts.[1] In this respect it differs in outlook and mode of argumentation from much, if not most, work in the field of interactional sociolinguistics where the facts of the "context" (including the relevance of the participants' gender) are often treated as pre-established. The concern of much work in interactional sociolinguistics is to discover correlations between some feature of the "context" and the talk seen to occur "within" it.[2] It is argued here, in contrast, that members' production and recognition of a social setting, including the visibility of the participants' gender, is a topic worthy of sustained empirical investigation. Rather than taking the social setting or context as a backdrop against which the phenomena of real analytic interest occur (e.g. talk), it is suggested that practices of talk-in-interaction are implicated in the very recognizability of the determinate features of those settings.

   The discussion is divided into three sections: the first (section 2 below) examines theoretical issues at the nexus of conversation analysis and gender and language studies. The second (section 3) provides an analysis of the way context or social situations are constructed through talk-in-interaction as

exclusively male. The third (section 4) looks at two practices of speaking which weave gender into the seen-but-unnoticed backdrop of everyday life. Taken together, sections 3 and 4 present an extended case-study of a male domain: the rural Guyanese rumshop.

2   The Visibility of Gender in Talk: Some Initial Considerations

The characterization of a setting as "male-only" or "exclusively female" is not simply a description to be judged as to its accuracy but also a formulation of that setting. Such a characterization formulates the setting in so far as it extracts one feature of the context and proposes its relevance to the organization of the activities embedded therein.[3] To see that this is the case one need only note that the same setting might just as accurately be described as "adult-only," "exclusively human," "conversations involving people more than four feet tall," "rumshop talk," "kitchen talk," "conversations between vegetarians," or what have you, ad infinitum.[4] So such a description as "male-only" presupposes the relevance of gender to the organization of any setting so formulated.

A first question raised then, at least from the perspective adopted in this discussion, is whether it can be shown that there is any warrant for describing a particular setting in this way.[5] Once it is recognized that descriptions of this kind ("male-only," "men's talk" etc.) are in fact formulations, it becomes necessary to specify the grounds on which any particular formulation is selected. If such grounding is not made a requirement, the analyst is free to formulate the context in any way that suits his or her present purposes, the intellectual context of the time, the particular prejudices and analytical interests of that researcher, and so on. The alternative route, and the possibility which is at least explored in this chapter, is that such formulations be grounded in the observable and publicly displayed orientations of the participants themselves. Such a goal is not at all straightforward and it is complicated by the overwhelming presumed "obviousness" of gender – an obviousness apparent in both analysts' and members' attitudes to the phenomenon. To summarize, it is here being proposed that a formulation such as "male-only" (a basic feature of sex-differences research) contains within it a members' analysis which requires explication and cannot be simply imported as a resource of sociological analysis. An ethnomethodological respecification takes precisely this members' work, implicated in the recognizability of gendered persons and settings, as a focus of analytic inquiry.[6]

2.1   Producing and recognizing gender: The case of interactional sociolinguistics and sex-differences research

It is plainly the case that much sociolinguistic research presupposes the analytic relevance of gender.[7] Within such an approach, the fact that the participants are observably men or women is taken as warrant for formulating them, in the analysis, in such terms.[8] The problem as noted in several places with respect to gender is that, for instance, the fact that some speaker is a woman is not sufficient grounds for analyzing her talk as "women's talk" since "she is, by the same token, a Californian, Jewish, a mediator, a former weaver, [. . .] and many others" (Schegloff 1997: 165). From a conversation analytic perspective, as Kitzinger (2000: 170) notes, there are problems inherent in much research which reports sex differences in talk "because it imposes the analysts' selective adoption of members' categories ('male', 'female', 'heterosexual', lesbian' and so on) on the data, without troubling to show that the participants themselves are orienting to doing gender or sexuality in the talk."

These same considerations apply to research which focuses on the assumed gender of the context rather than the gender of individual speakers. Sex-differences research investigating differences between talk in all-male versus all-female groups takes these designations as self-evident ("obvious") and as a starting point of empirical analysis. In many cases the purported relevance of gender to these contexts is built directly into the methods of data collection as women (or men) are instructed to make recordings that fit the description. This demands of subjects that they do an analysis of the setting in which the recordings are made and, presumably, encourages them to police or, at least, to regulate it in ways that will produce a data set that can be seen to fit the specifications of the researcher's instructions. How subjects do this is rarely, if ever, discussed. What will they do, for instance, if a male child enters the room (calls in from another room, calls on the telephone, etc.)? Will this count, for members or analyst, as a disruption of the all-female context of interaction? Data derived from such procedures is, for these reasons, problematically des-ignated "spontaneously occurring" (Coates 1997: 108). With respect to data collection, Cameron (1997: 47) reports: "In 1990, a 21-year-old student in a language and gender class I was teaching at a college in the southern USA tape-recorded a sequence of casual conversation among five men; himself and four friends. This young man [. . .] had decided to investigate whether the informal talk of male friends would bear out generalizations about 'men's talk' that are often encountered in discussions of gender differences." Researchers do not discuss the ways in which, given the mandate to record male or female conversations, settings were constructed and managed to assure that this was accomplished. Moreover, the researchers do not acknowledge the possibility that, given a mandate to find women's or men's talk, the people collecting the

data might already be predisposed to producing features of talk-in-interaction consistent (or otherwise) with its stereotypic understanding.[9]

Such research is then predicated on certain managed, produced, accomplished features of social settings. The problem with research to date lies in the fact that the production of such underlying features is not adequately explicated in the analysis (they are rather taken as essential features of those settings). However, members routinely go about providing for the recognizability of some setting as "exclusively male" or "exclusively female." What we want to uncover are the everyday methods which underlie the production and recognition of such exclusivity. Once we have shown that members have oriented to the exclusive character of a particular setting, and moreover methodically went about producing that exclusivity as a recognizable feature of that setting, we will be in a better position to analyze the talk contained within it as "men's talk," etc.

2.2   Respecifying gender: Exemplary studies and outstanding issues

When we look at the management of gender exclusivity in particular contexted case-studies, it is clear that the "all-male" or "all-female" character of an inter-active setting is not something that simply happens – rather, it is an account-able and contingent accomplishment requiring several different kinds of interactional work. In the first place work is devoted to creating the conditions under which a setting might be seen as involving some kind of gender exclu-sivity. Minimally, this involves some policing of the participants, on gender grounds. Second, once those conditions are met, work is involved in provid-ing for the recognizability of gender as an organizing feature of that setting. That is to say that even once the gender exclusivity is provided for it is still up to the participants to ensure that that feature can be seen as constitutive of *that* setting.

This interactional work is seen perhaps most clearly in interaction between children where gender is often deployed as a basic organizing feature of a wide range of activities (see Farris 2000; Goodwin 1990, 1998; Thorne 1990). In a discussion of cross-sex jump-rope, Goodwin (1998: 181) includes the following example:

	((*The girls have practiced several minutes*))
Malcolm:	All the girls have to go bye bye.
Girls:	((*Girls start to move to another area*))
Malcolm:	Okay. Now the boys get to practice.
Ron:	This is our home field.

In this example the children collaboratively organize the setting in ways that provide for the recognizability of its gender exclusivity: the boy, Malcolm, by

issuing instructions which formulate the setting as involving gender exclusivity, and the girls by complying with such instructions in ways that show their shared orientation to perceived gender as a relevant feature of the emergent social setting. By building a categorization based on gender into the sequential organization of the talk, the participants endow it with procedural consequentiality. Jointly recognized gender categories are taken as the basis of further action and thus made an organizing feature of the social world.

Things are, however, rarely made explicit in this way, particularly, it seems, in adult interactions. In his well-known discussion of these issues, Schegloff (1997: 182) provides an example in which a rule of etiquette, "ladies first," is reformulated, "ladies last," so as to produce an ironic account of an in-progress course of action (not passing the butter despite multiple requests to do so). Schegloff goes on to note that although the example he isolates for analysis involves explicit mention of a gender-relevant category (here "ladies"), orientation to the category need not be invoked in this way. Other researchers have examined the multitude of ways in which participants' orientation to gender as a relevant feature of the social setting is displayed in particular interactional contexts (Schegloff mentions Garfinkel 1967, Ochs 1992, West and Zimmerman 1987, among others). A particularly clear case is presented by Limon in his discussion of barbecues among "periodically unemployed working-class men" in Mexican-American south Texas. He describes one activity as follows:

> Simon takes Jaime's hand as if to shake it but instead yanks it down and holds it firmly over his own genital area even as he responds to Jaime's "¿Como estas?" with a loud "¡Pos, chínga ahora me siento a toda madre, gracias!" (Well, fuck, now I feel just great, thank you!) There is more laughter which only intensifies when "Midnight" in turn actually grabs and begins to squeeze "el Mickey's" genitals. With his one free hand, for the other is holding a taco, el Mickey tries to pull on Jaime's arm unsuccessfully. Finally in an effort to slip out of Jaime's grip, he collapses to the ground cursing and trying to laugh at the same time and loses his taco in the process.   (Limon 1989: 473)

According to Limon's description, such occasions are organized in large part around a kind of speech play of which the above excerpt is typical. This is often, as in the example given here, accompanied by and embedded in forms of mutual physical engagement which involve one man either actually or virtually handling another's genitals. Such activities then display the relevance of gender by virtue of the central and organizing role played by perceived "male insignia" (penis and testes).[10] The fact that this is relevantly characterized as "men's talk" for the participants is thus recoverable from an analysis of the organization of the activities themselves.

Again such examples present somewhat extreme cases where the role of gender in the organization of activity is readily apparent. As such, while these examples are useful in showing the clear orientation of participants to a category, they are not representative of the way gender, as Hopper and LeBaron (1998) put it, "creeps in to" everyday affairs. Work such as that of Garfinkel's

on Agnes in fact makes the case for the near omnirelevance of gender (see also
West and Zimmerman 1987). A vast array of actions and behaviors may
be inspected for what they say about the gender of the speaker, the recipient,
the referent. Garfinkel (1967) goes so far as to suggest that for Agnes, who at
the time he interviewed her was a pre-operative male-to-female transsexual,
there was "no time out" and that

> the work and socially structured occasions of sexual passing were obstinately
> unyielding to (her) attempts to routinize the grounds of daily activities. This
> obstinacy points to the omnirelevance of sexual statuses to affairs of daily life as
> an invariant but unnoticed background in the texture of relevances that comprise
> the changing actual scenes of everyday life.   (1967: 118)

As Heritage (1984a: 182) notes, one general conclusion that can be reached
from Garfinkel's study is that "the reproduced differentiation of culturally
specific 'males' and 'females' is [. . .] the outcome of a mass of indiscernible,
yet familiar, socially organized practices" (see also Ochs 1992). As such, the
social scientist is set with the work of describing the ways in which members
of a society methodically go about producing their gender as a recognizable
"social fact." In this respect Agnes's accomplishment was to

> treat the "natural facts of life" of socially organized, socially managed sexuality
> as a managed production [. . .] so as unavoidably in concert with others to be
> making these facts of life visible and reportable – accountable – for all practical
> purposes.   (Garfinkel 1967: 180)

This managed production was implemented in a vast array of self-evident
practices of dress, make-up, and grooming which formed, for Agnes, the
groundwork for being taken as female. The managed production of sexual
status secondly involved adopting appropriate modes of recognizable "femin-
ine comportment" – sitting, walking, talking. These behaviors were "minutely
accountable" and yet Agnes was largely successful in her attempt to adopt
them (Heritage 1984a: 183). But the managed production of female sexual
status, even after Agnes had mastered such fundamental aspects of appropri-
ately gendered comportment, remained a persistent source of trouble. This
residue of trouble was in part, it seems, a result of the fact that gender or
sexual status made up a significant dimension of the seen but unnoticed back-
drop of everyday, ordinary, mundane activity – a backdrop whose familiarity
and banality made it almost impossible to reconstruct or imitate. Agnes was
well aware of this deeper source of trouble and repeatedly emphasized in
sessions with Garfinkel the problems caused by her lack of a girl's biography.
Garfinkel writes:

> Another common set of occasions arose when she was engaged in friendly con-
> versation without having biographical and group affiliation data to swap off
> with her conversational partner. As Agnes said, "Can you imagine all the blank

years I have to fill in? Sixteen or seventeen years of my life that I have to make up for. I have to be careful of the things that I say, just natural things that could slip out . . . I just never say anything at all about my past that in any way would make a person ask what my past life was like. I say general things. I don't say anything that could be misconstrued.

"Going along with" her interlocutor's assumptions about her gender thus in some ways proved more difficult than creating the reasonable grounds for those assumptions.[11] This issue is addressed in the final section of the present chapter. Picking up on the problem of biography from Garfinkel's discussion of Agnes, the analysis turns to look at the way in which men in a Guyanese rumshop publicly ratify one another's "boyhood" recollections and by that weave gender into the seen-but-unnoticed fabric of context. At the same time they actively exclude women (and children) from the situated activities of the rumshop and thus provide for the recognizability of the talk as "men's talk."[12]

The remainder of this chapter addresses these issues through an extended case-study. It begins with some ethnographic considerations concerning the construction of these exclusively-male contexts before moving to look in detail at the delivery and receipt of biographical talk as a way of investigating the seen but unnoticed character of gender. A concluding section returns to discuss some of the theoretical issues raised by the analysis and makes some recommendations for further research.

3   Producing and Recognizing Gender in a Guyanese Rumshop

The Guyanese rumshop is typically a one- or two-room structure often built onto the front of a house and facing the road.[13] There are several varieties of rum but one that is consumed on a daily basis (the so-called "white ball"). This is often acquired by advancing to a counter and requesting either a half or a full bottle. This is then taken back to the table with water, ice, and pop. The bottle of rum is passed around and each participant mixes his own drink – for most this consists of a shot of rum, about the same amount of water, ice, and a dash of coke. Each man drinks down his drink more or less at the same time but there is no strict timing adhered to. Rather, the bottle circulates the table in a coordinated fashion, and its travel provides for an inspection of each participant's glass to see if the drink has been consumed. It is, then, the orderly passage of the bottle which institutes an evenly distributed pattern of drinking.

Some fair amount of talk in the rumshop more or less obviously topicalizes and organizes the activities of drinking but most of the conversation is concerned with other matters. So while not completely unconnected, there are two relatively independent orders of activity underway at any given moment

in the rumshop: on the one hand – drinking, and on the other, *gyafing*, the local term for ordinary conversation. It is important, for purposes of the present analysis, to recognize that the social organization and orderliness of drinking is accomplished, in part, through practices of talk-in-interaction but also that these practices are produced as independent of the main line of conversational activity simultaneously taking place. Both activities play an important role in organizing features of the setting including its visibly constructed social structure.

The activities of drinking and *gyafing* take place within a framework of social norms which specify a relationship between rumshop and gender. There is, in this respect, an often invoked rule which can be variously formulated but whose underlying sense amounts to something like, "no respectable woman goes into a rumshop," or put with a positive valence, "a woman in a rumshop is a prostitute." The power of invokable rules such as this does not depend on their definiteness and specificity in relating prescribed actions to well-defined contexts. Rather, it is the vague and unbounded character of such rules which permits searches of "indefinite scope and detail so as to see and evaluate whatever details of conduct" occur within their purview (Heritage 1984a: 207; see also Wieder 1974). From this perspective norms do not determine action, rather they provide for its intelligibility.

Norms, in this sense, may be treated as publicly available frameworks for the analysis and production of conduct (after Garfinkel 1967). In the specific case under examination, rules such as "a respectable woman never enters a rumshop" "provide for the intelligibility of perceivedly normal conduct and for the visibility of conduct which deviates from this" (Heritage 1987: 240). Norms, then, function in multiple ways. In the first place, norms are a resource drawn on in the production of normatively compliant conduct. In this respect we may note that women often call their husbands home from the rumshop. When they do this they come to the road outside the shop and yell in to the man closest the door and thus visibly avoid entering the shop. Women also often, for a variety of reasons, have reason to buy rum. On such occasions they routinely send a young male member of the extended household to purchase it for them. Thus, women display an orientation to the rule "a respectable woman never enters a rumshop" in building normatively compliant conduct.

An orientation to the rule is also visible in conduct which might be seen as deviant. It is to this set of cases that we now turn our attention. My goal is to show, in the examination of a particular example, the way in which male spaces, male domains, exclusively male contexts of conversation are actively constructed, sustained, and made visible through practices of talk-in-interaction.

On many occasions, women are, in fact, present within the space of the rumshop. These women (along with children and other men who are co-resident or simply passing through) are routinely engaged in the ongoing construction of simultaneous activities including those involved in the day-to-day maintenance of a household. The rule and the perceived respectability of

the women involved are preserved, in such cases, through various secondary accounting practices. In particular, members work to maintain the sense in which women in such situations, while physically present, can be seen to be excluded from the framework of ongoing, exclusively male, activity. So, for example, if a woman works in the rumshop, serving rum over the counter or perhaps cooking fried fish a short distance away, she is routinely disattended by the men except in the course of those activities where she must be engaged – for example, in order to request the rum, to pay for it, etc. This produced disattention then operates to preserve the recognizability of the setting as an exclusively male domain.

When on occasion men do address their talk to co-present women in the rumshop, both the design of the talk and the manner in which it is fitted to the sequential context once again work to preserve the for-all-practical-purposes male exclusivity of the setting. Consider in this respect the following example, one of the few cases I have of talk directed to a woman in the rumshop. Two relatively independent courses of action are being pursued in the talk represented by the transcript. On the one hand, Ralph and John are here challenging Jaio to substantiate a claim he has made (lines 9–11, 18, 21, 29–31), which as they seem to understand it, contains the questionable assertion that Jaio knew a now deceased resident of the village.[14] When Jaio does not answer their questions in a way that they find satisfactory (line 16) they proceed to mock him (through imitation, lines 17, 26–27; see also Sidnell 2000 and below). We are interested at present in the quite distinct line of action implemented in Jaj's talk which emerges more or less simultaneous to the one just described. Jaj has found that there is no ice at the table and attempts to procure some through Sam's wife, Baby, who happens to be within earshot at the time.

(1) Rumshop[15]

1	Jaio:	yu na sopoos to bii moor	You're not supposed to be more
2		dan foor yiir fo mii.=	than four years older than me.
3	Ralph:	=di man na laik fu hiir	The man doesn't like to hear
4		s-laang taim stoorii.	old time story.
→ 5	Jaj:	ee. Sam waif. kom.	Hey. Sam's wife. Come.
6	Ralph:	nobadii na arguu hia	Nobody's arguing here
7		fu fait.	to start a fight
8	Jaj:	kom.	Come.
9	Ralph:	yuu noo, mis mana?	Do you know who Miss Manners is?
10		aks a-aks am	Ask, a-ask him.
11		if i noo mis mana	If he knows Miss Manners.
12	John:	( ) boloo shit op batii	Bolo shit his pants
13	??:	hhhh	hhhh
14	John:	di – aa jos di oda dee.	the – aa just the other day
15	Jaj:	( ) rait?	( ) right?
16	Jaio:	Mis mana darsii moma or=	Miss Manners is Darcy's mother or
17	John:	=ya darsii muma.	Yeah, Darcy's mother
18	Ralph:	eh he we shi bin liv den?	Ah-ha Where did she live then?

19	Jaj:	EE.	HEY
20	John:	miz: bee:bii:[a darsii muma	Miss Baby is Darcy's mother
21	Ralph:	[we shi bin liv?	Where did she live?
22	Jaio:	oo mi-am-tchh-	Oh my-uhm-tchh
23		[nat am beebii muma	not -uhm- Baby's mother
24	Ramish:	[pot a ais de	Put the ice there
25	Jaj:	huu ga chroo wid mii.	Who will drink with me?
26	John:	miz beebi muma	Miss Baby's mother
27		da-a-a mis mana	that is Miss Manners
28	Ramish:	[pot som ( )	Put some
29	Ralph:	[eh-he.	ah-ha
30		we shi bin <u>liv</u>?	Where did she live?
31		[°da mi wan fu noo.°]	That's what I want to know
32	John:	[<u>we</u> [<u>shi bin liv</u>.]	Where did she live?
33	Jaj:	[°som moor ais°]	Some more ice
34	Ralph:	[ii noo piiopl]	He knows people
35	John:	[weer shi woz] living?	Where was she living?
36	Jaj:	kaal fo wan bool ais.	Call for a bowl of ice
37	Ralph:	<u>hee</u>(hhh)?	Huh?

There are several ways in which the design of Jaj's talk here displays an orientation to the gender-exclusive character of the setting and its constituent activities. We may begin by noting that the turn in question is a directive and stands at the boundary between the activities taking place at the table and those in the immediate surround. Jaj's participation in the exclusively male group at the table is a witnessable feature of the emergent setting. At the same time his talk in line 5 is specifically designed to establish contact with the ongoing framework of activity in which Baby is engaged. The rumshop activities are organized by reference to a normative mutual exclusivity of men's and women's activities. We may ask then how Jaj's talk can be seen as preserving that feature of the setting.

The turn at line 5 is made up of three components, each engaged in a particular kind of interactional work (see figure 14.1). The first component is clearly a summons – an action which requests a display of availability from a recipient. A summons is an action that can be done either as the first pair part of its own summons–answer (pre-)sequence or as a component of a turn which
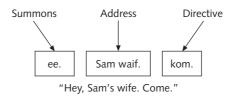

Figure 14.1   Components of Jaj's turn (line 5)

is engaged in other interactional work (the summons usually occurs in turn-initial position). As Schegloff (1995: 53) notes:

> some utterance forms which serve as common pre-expansion first pair parts can also be deployed instead as initial parts of the first pair part turn of a base adjacency pair. [. . .] An important issue is involved here, . . . , and that is the possible trade-offs between turn-organization and sequence organization in getting various interactional jobs done. . . . [s]ome jobs can either have a sequence dedicated to them or can be done as part of a turn's construction.

In his discussion of summons–answer sequences, Schegloff (1968) notes that a summons is fundamentally prefatory in so far as it projects further talk. Participants' orientation to this feature of the summons is observable in deferrals such as "wait a minute," "not now," and the like which convey a recipient's unavailability for the talk which they take to be projected in the summons. In the summons–answer sequences Schegloff studied, the summons serves as a request for a display of availability and willingness to talk. In the canonical sequence (e.g. T1 = Name, T2 = "What?"), the recipient is provided with a place to display that availability, a place to show a willingness to go along with what is being proposed.

In this example, however, Jaj does not build the summons as the first pair part of a pre-sequence and as such does not provide a place for an answer to it; rather he immediately launches into the next two components of his turn. This is significant in several ways. First, it suggests that the interaction the summons projects is likely to be cursory and not open-ended. Second, by launching directly into the rest of the turn, Jaj subordinates the request for a public display of recipiency, conveyed by the summons, to the directive which follows. This is an intervention into an order of relevances such that it reformulates what Baby can take to be proposed as a proper next action on her part.[16] Third, and perhaps most important, the summons without the provision of an answer proposes that Baby *should* be available, that is, it does not question her availability, but demands it.

The second component of this turn, "Sam waif," is likewise revealing. Rather than address this woman by her name, which he knows well, Jaj uses an address term that makes visible her relationship to one of the owners of the shop, who is also a participant in the conversation underway.[17] The address term does not treat the woman as an individual in her own right but rather as an individual associated with one of the men with whom Jaj is drinking. In formulating her in this way, Jaj displays a link between the recipient for his talk and a legitimate participant in the rumshop activities (Sam). Finally, the directive component of the turn ("kom") displays, to some extent at least, the warrant for talking to a woman in this context. It is not to engage in conversation but rather to have some task accomplished – a task which requires her to move into close proximity. The preferred response for a directive such as "kom" is

non-vocal. As such, it is possible for Baby to properly respond to Jaj's talk without becoming publicly engaged in the ongoing course of the activities taking place at the table.

So Jaj has designed his talk here to preserve the observable gender exclusivity of the activity.[18] While summonses in other contexts call for a vocal response and project further talk, Jaj builds in additional turn components so as to provide for a non-vocal response from the recipient. Jaj's later talk is further suggestive in that, when his directive (reissued in line 8) is left unanswered, he soon abandons this course of action. After a second and again unsuccessful attempt to summon Baby (line 19), Jaj re-engages the course of action underway at the table (line 25). In line 33 Jaj publicly notices a need for ice and then somewhat ambiguously directs Ramish to "call for a bowl of ice" (line 36).[19] In this way he avoids further interaction with the woman and furthermore avoids topicalizing her in his own talk. Jaj's talk to the co-present woman should be contrasted with his talk in, for instance, line 25. While his talk to Baby is specifically designed to provide for only minimal further interaction, that directed to the co-present men invites collaborative activity (e.g. toasting, drinking).

While analysis in the preceding has focused on the design of Jaj's talk, one could argue that Baby is actively engaged in preserving the exclusively male character of the setting also. Baby and others are engaged in the construction and organization of a set of activities of which these recordings provide only brief glimpses. Our records thus do not provide an adequate basis for an analysis of what is going on in this respect. However, it is possible to see that, for whatever reason, Baby fails to hear, or perhaps more to the point, she fails to publicly acknowledge the talk directed to her. As I noted earlier, women often visibly avoid entering the rumshop. In this and other ways, then, women work to preserve the exclusivity of the setting just as men do.

It is the managed and produced non-engagement of co-present women in the two intertwined activities of drinking and talking which provides for and sustains the perceived male exclusivity of the setting. That is to say, even when women can be said to be co-present given some definition of the here-now, that co-presence is not disruptive of the seen-at-a-glance exclusively male character of the setting as long as the women remain non-participants in the two focal activities of drinking and conversing. I have attempted here to show that this peripheralization-exclusion does not simply happen but is rather a situated accomplishment. It is the product of concerted interactional work. Approaches which gloss actions such as we examined above as "directives" and correlate their frequency of occurrence with pre-determined gender categories and other presumed-to-be-already-established features of the setting run the risk of obscuring that interactional work. Sex-differences research in sociolinguistics generally excludes from consideration, by methodological fiat (that is, by building the exclusivity into the methodological basis of the study), the members' production and recognition of the gender exclusivity of particular settings.

So far we have discussed the way in which participants provide for, and sustain, the perceived gender exclusivity of the setting – the way they provide for its recognizability as a male domain. What has not been addressed is the way gender is systematically and persistently woven into the seen-but-unnoticed backdrop of the life-world. It will be recalled that, in her discussions with Garfinkel, Agnes frequently remarked upon the trouble caused by her lack of a female biography – she was left without "biographical and group affiliation data to swap off with her conversational partner" (Garfinkel 1967: 148). The next section of this chapter takes up this issue in relation to the activities of the rumshop.

4   Swapping-off Biographical Talk: Two Practices of Talk-in-interaction

As a way of getting at the methods by which participants weave gender into the settings of everyday life, some specification will now be given of the language game in which conversationalists swap-off biographical and group affiliation data: what might this consist in and how is it accomplished? The phenomenon that Garfinkel points to with this phrase might be taken to include a wide array of practices of talk-in-interaction. Here we will examine only two modes of "swapping-off": anticipatory sentence completion and second stories, as discussed in the lectures of Harvey Sacks (1995). The datum for the discussion will be a single story and its immediately surrounding talk. At the heart of the exchange is a story told by John primarily to Raja who, along with several other members of their "crew," were taking a drink in the rumshop.

Briefly, the story as it emerges in John's telling involves two central characters, himself and somebody these people refer to as Buddy['s] Daddy (hereafter BD).[20] The larger segment of talk from which this fragment is extracted involves a series of stories in which BD is portrayed as a menacing antagonist (on stories in a series see Jefferson 1978; Ryave 1978). Each man, it seems, has a story to tell about BD. The fragment here begins with Ramish suggesting that, on occasion, someone got the better of BD (and his brothers).[21] John follows this up with a story that illustrates this. The story John tells involves BD getting his comeuppance because of his own predictable behavior. The young John – these events took place many years earlier – knows that if he is walking with a stick, BD will want it and insist that John give it to him. John prepares for this eventuality by putting one end of the stick in a latrine before he encounters BD. As predicted, BD grabs the stick, takes it away from John, and in the process the contents of the latrine are transferred to his hand.

Although the roles of storyteller and story-recipient are relatively consistent across the course of the telling, a number of participants contribute in one way or another to the talk represented in the transcript. In particular, a reading of the transcript will reveal a significant element of byplay (see Goffman 1980;

Goodwin 1997). Not all aspects of the byplay and storytelling will be discussed here; however, they are provided for the sake of completeness.

John starts the story with a clear preface, "One time there now," before moving into what turns out to be important background material for the development of his story. For the purposes of the present analysis, the talk represented as lines 10–16 is of particular importance. At about line 27 (not included in the transcript) Jaj and Ramish begin what becomes a byplay sequence that constitutes an impediment to John's successful telling of the story. Jaio's role in the storytelling is incidental.

Despite the distraction of the story's grotesque content, we can see that it is in fact built quite artfully and with some subtlety despite a number of attempts to derail it. In particular, the byplay – surrounding the botanical knowledge implied by the use of a name, *chichilelee* – presents a significant potential obstacle to the telling of the story. This section is more or less confined to lines 25–73 (although Jaj persists till the end of the telling). After John's story reaches recognizable completion there follows a series of "second stories" which constitute a second focal point for analysis here (lines 140 and following).

(2) John's BD story (simplified)

1	Ramish:	Yaro prapa biit dem man,	Yaro really beat them
2		(tuu)~	(too)
3	Jaj:	aal de fokin (leta) bodii.	All of those brothers
4	Raja:	Wodiialii?	Wodiialii?
5	Ramish:	tchh-bodi dadii.	tchh- Buddy's father
6	Jaj:	oo-ya	Oh yeah
7	John:	[wan taim deer nou,	Now, one time
8	Raja:	[ya-a-a-a-a-	Yaaaaa
9	John:	ya-ii a bad bai.(.)	Yes, he was a bad man
10		i a wikid kaal.(.)	He'd call you with wicked intention
11		an yu ge wan lil pis stik	and you have a little stick
12		an soo,(.)	or something
13		kom bai.(.)	"come boy"
14	Sam:	gi mi di fo:king [stik hi.	"give me the fucking stick here"
15	Jaj:	[foking	"fucking
16		stik hi.	stick here"
. . .			
25	John:	[yu noo	Do you know what
26		chichilelee?	*chichilelee* is?
. . .			
29	Raja:	if yu tel mi bak wan neks	If you tell me another
30		- odinrii nemor it.	ordinary name for it
31	John:	beebii shuu.	"Baby's shoes"
32		dee doz kaal am man.	they call it, man.
33	Ramish:	chichilelee a wan	*Chichilelee* is a
34		griin staak ting man	green stalk thing man
35		(wid a bal)	(with a ball)
36	John:	yu noo chichilelee?	Do you know what *chichilelee* is?

37	Sam:	y̱ea. mi na mos	Yeah, How could I not?
38		min <u>nof</u>=	There was a lot
39	Jaio:	=a da eria de.	in that area there
40	Raja:	oo.	Oh.
41		wan=wan wiid ya taak bou?	Is it a weed you are talking about?
42	??:	ai.	Yes
43	John:	n<u>[</u>o::.	No
44	Raja:	[oo-oo-aaa	Oh-oh-ahhh
. . .			
46	John:	wat rilii hapm,	What really happened
47	Ralph:	wan griin ting bai.=	It's a thing with green leaves
. . .			
49	John:	flowa plant rait	a flower plant right
50		bot ii-ii ting	but it's
51	Raja:	mmmm	mhhh
52	John:	wel i doz bos wan <u>la</u>:ng	Well it produces a long
53		(.) ting.	thing.
. . .			
74	John:	=nou wen mi -mi <u>k</u>ot wan	Now, when I-I cut one
75	Ralph:	i kyaan see	He can't say it.
76	Jaj:	ah?	What?
77	John:	wan aftanuun, (.)	One afternoon
78		mi see [am gona laarn yu]	I said I'm goin to teach you
79	Ralph:	[( )]	
80	John:	a <u>sen</u>s.	a lesson.
81	Jaj:	flowa plant	Flower plant.
82	Raja:	da yu <u>t</u>el y̱uself?	You told yourself that?
83	John:	yes.	Yes.
. . .			
91	Sam:	=[chichilelee de.	That's *chichilelee* there
92	John:	=[yu na sii abi lachrin?	you never saw our latrine?
93		abi lachrin don ool.	The latrine was already old.
. . .			
95	Jaj:	le mi [shoo yu	Let me show you
96	John:	[mi pul out wan bood	I pulled out a board
97	Jaj:	if yu wan noo	If you want to know
98		[wa neem chichilelee	what *chichilelee* is
99	John:	[mi jos mek so rait dong	I just went like this right down
. . .			
103	John:	yu wok wid a	You work with
104		( ) an yu push am in a	and you push it in the
105		a lachrin pit [soo	latrine like this.
106	Jaj:	[le mi sho yu	Let me show you.
107	John:	fol a shit.	It was full of shit.
. . .			
111	John:	wel mi gu out a rood di-	Well I went out on the road the-
112		obou sevn aklak	about seven o'clock.
113		siks torty – sevn=	six-thirty, seven
. . .			

115	John:	abi de out-	We were out-
116		abi liv rait hi.=	We use to live right here
117	Jaj:	=mi oz chrim am.	I used to trim them
118	Raja:	ya mi noo de aiyu bin liv	Yes I know that you lived there.
119	John:	ee yu bai.	"Hey you boy"
. . .			
121	John:	<u>bring da st</u>ik le mi sii bai.	"Bring that stick let me see, boy."
. . .			
124	John:	mi se (.) <u>ma</u>:n	I said, "Man,
125		na tek wee mi stik man.	don't take away my stick man."
126		mi se hee.	I said, "hey."
127		yu sii bai taim mi see hee	You see by the time I said "hey."
128		ii mek [soo an ii hool am.	he went like this, and he held it.
129	Jaj:	[( )	
130	John:	an ii jos mek soo	and he just went like this.
131		shit de in ii han.	There was the shit in his hand.
132	Jaj:	(chichilelee)	*chichilelee*
133	John:	oo skont man.	Oh skont man.
134		shit de in ii han.	The shit was in his hand.
135		na tek wee hool	Don't take away
136		nada foking bodii stik.	any-fucking-body else's stick.
137		(.)	
138		wa woz ii [op tu todee	What was he up to today.
139	Jaj:	[(hooz)	
140	Sam:	hee	Hey.
141		wan taim Diizil biit	One time Diesel beat
142		am bad do~	him bad though.
143	Ramish:	ii a plee foking bad man.	He used to pretend he was real bad
144	Sam:	Diizil biit bodii dadii	Diesel beat up Buddy's father
145		skont. rait a front	right in front
146		-in front a Mazjibit	-in front of Mazjibit
147		le mi tel yu,	Let me tell you,
148		tek out ii <u>shuuz</u>.	he took out his shoes
149		an ii biit ii skont	and he beat his skont
150	Ralph:	ii tek out ii shuuz	He took out his shoes
151		an biit mongkii tuu	and beat Monkey too
152		jost in fron de	Just in front there.
153	Raja:	dem teelii na don	Those Tally's are forever
154		gu an biit wid foking shuuz.	beating people with shoes.

John initially attempts to start the story with "Now, one time." Such a preface projects some immediate recounting of the specifics of an encounter. However, John abandons this projected course of action and in line 11 rather re-initiates the story by establishing a scene. There are several features of this turn that are worth remark. Note first that in lines 9 and 10 John has begun to sketch out the character of Buddy Daddy. His talk represented as line 11 is meant to be heard as following up on the specifics of this characterization (displayed by the use of *and*-prefacing). Whereas John's talk in line 7 had projected the telling of a

specific encounter, here his talk is designed to convey something generic, not limited to a specific occasion; quite the contrary, this is a situation that John takes it others might recognize. This is conveyed in part through John's use of *you*. The pronoun selected invites the recipient to position themselves in this scene. This is an invitation that both Sam and Jaj appear to recognize and accept as displayed in their anticipatory completions (14, 15). As Sacks noted, anticipatory completion allows a recipient to display not only that they are listening (and understanding) the talk in progress but also that they can project its course. Here, the completion is in part invited by John's selection of *you*. For the purpose of the present analysis what we want to notice is that the scene, in which the participants are invited to imagine themselves, is a gendered one. This is true in some general way because boys in rural Guyana are more likely to wander around playing with sticks than girls (who, charged with a significant portion of the domestic labor of a household, are expected to stay close to home). But it is also true in the much more specific sense that the reported speech which John, Sam, and Jaj collaboratively voice is explicitly addressed to a boy. John's "kom bai" locates these events within a typical male child's biography. As such, when Sam and Jaj complete the talk, one of the things they are doing is displaying their access to (or at least familiarity with) a typical boy's biography. In the participants' silent acceptance of the voicing that Sam and Jaj offer they ratify that access. This is then perhaps one way in which gender is woven into the taken-for-granted, seen-but-unnoticed backdrop of everyday life.

The "swapping-off" here is done with some considerable degree of subtlety and before we leave the example it is worth noting at least one of the resources which John, Sam, and Jaj draw on in building this turn collaboratively. Sacks (1978: 257) mentions, in one of his lectures, a discussion of Gogol by Nabokov where Nabokov makes the point that "[b]efore Gogol, if when the curtain rises, there's a gun on the mantelpiece, you can be sure the gun will go off before the end of the play." That is, features of the constructed setting routinely turn out to matter, and participants can and do inspect settings, fully expecting that this will be the case. Something like this appears to be happening in the fragment under examination. John's mention of the stick is surely not coincidental. Rather, Sam uses that reference to anticipate what John is getting at (line 14) before John says it.

It has been suggested that some of the swapping-off that Garfinkel remarked upon could be accomplished within the course of a single collaboratively built turn. A phenomenon which is probably closer to what Garfinkel originally had in mind involves the telling of what Sacks called second stories. In several places in his lectures Sacks notes that, upon completion of a story in conversation, a response from the recipient is due. In responding in the appropriate place with an appropriate turn the recipient not only displays their monitoring of the story's progress (i.e. that it has reached completion) but also its sense, the reason it was told in the first place. Compare in this respect the way in which laughter, expressions of sympathy, displays of surprise or disbelief,

each convey a distinct sense on the part of the recipient as to why the story was told – what its upshot is. One of the things that recipients routinely do upon completion of a story is tell another story, not just any story but one that conveys their hearing of the first. These second stories, according to Sacks, offer recipients a way of showing their detailed understanding of a first story and also their particular sense of the import of its telling at this juncture in the conversation.

Upon completion of John's story, we find Sam launching his own, responsive second story with the words "Hey, one time Diesel beat him bad, though." In this turn, Sam establishes a contrast between his projected story and the one that has just been told by John, through the use of "though." At the same time Sam ties his story to the one that precedes it through the use of anaphora (*am* "him"). Sam proceeds to tell a story in which Buddy Daddy received a public beating. Rather than dwell on the details of the telling of this second story and the further story-like response which Ralph offers upon its completion, I want to briefly note the way in which such second stories provide opportunities for swapping-off personal biography.

In some significant respects, John's story is built around his own involvement in the events he narrates. Here, then, his own personal biography is worked into the organization of the story. Now it may appear that Sam's story does not involve personal biography in the same way. After all the characters are now Buddy Daddy and Diesel. However, although Sam does not explicitly make himself a character in his story, he implicates himself as a witness (see Sidnell 2000). Sam's citing of a place where the events took place and the manner in which they were done (beat him bad, take out his shoes) index his seeing of those events, his position as a witness to them. In this sense Sam's story involves the swapping-off of biographical knowledge with John. Sam has heard in John's talk both particular details (i.e. the characters and what happened to them) as well as a more general theme (someone "getting the better" of this particular character) and uses those features to build a responsive story – one that displays his own understanding of John's story and his access to, in some sense, similar experiences and similar understandings of those experiences. With respect to the latter, I have argued elsewhere (Sidnell 2000) that a recurrent aspect of these stories is that, in them, the tellers are positioned as relatively impotent boys in contrast to the adult characters. Although John manages to get the better of an adult in his story he does this through trickery. Both Sam and John position themselves in the telling of their stories as children looking up through the age-stratified ranks of their community.

What Sam, John, and Jaj achieve here with apparent ease, this swapping-off of appropriately gendered personal biography, became for Agnes a major stumbling block in her attempt to construct herself as a recognizable woman. The case of Agnes then points to the way in which, in trading personal biography, members are weaving gender into the taken-for-granted scenes of

everyday life. Here we have examined two practices of talk-in-interaction through which this swapping is accomplished: anticipatory completion and second stories. It should be noted that while in the specific case examined here these resources are put to this interactional task, they are not in any way specific to that task. This then points to the contingent nature of the connection between particular practices of speaking and socially recognized gender. In other words, practices of speaking are not necessarily linked to gender in any straightforward way. Rather, gender emerges as a recognizable feature of social settings (and social structure) within situated activities (such as story-telling, etc.). These activities have, as constituent features, particular, generic, practices of speaking which nevertheless themselves remain completely am-bivalent with respect to the gender of the speaker. Coates (1997) suggests that anticipatory completion is more characteristic of women's talk than of men's. However, the phenomenon was first noted in Sacks' discussion of the Group Therapy Sessions, and in particular a fragment involving three teenage boys.[22] In fact, there appears to be no one-to-one correlation between such practices of speaking and the perceived gender of the participants; rather, the point is that such practices are deployed in courses of action which provide for the production and recognition of gender.

5   Conclusion

In this chapter I have pointed to one way in which, by wedding the close analysis of talk-in-interaction with ethnography, it is possible to examine the manner in which the settings of everyday life, and the relevance to them of the participants' gender, are constructed and managed through practices of talk-in-interaction. It has been suggested that the recognizable gender exclusivity of particular settings is the product of members' interactional work. Such work was exemplified in an analysis of a particular male domain – the rural Guyanese rumshop. Even when women are present within the space of the shop, mem-bers work to preserve the for-all-practical-purposes male exclusivity of the setting. An attempt has also been made to describe some features of the talk which takes place in the rural Guyanese rumshop. Following up on observa-tions contained in Garfinkel's discussion of Agnes, it has been suggested that gender is woven into the seen-but-unnoticed settings of everyday life in part through practices of "swapping-off." An attempt to specify what such a lan-guage game might consist in led to an examination of two particular practices of talk-in-interaction, anticipatory completion and the telling of second stories. Taken together the analyses suggest that the rumshop, as an exclusively male domain and a place where "men's talk" occurs, is not simply a physical space but rather a social setting which is the product of concerted and collaborative interactional work by both men and women.

APPENDIX

For the sake of simplicity, readability, and consistency I have used the phonemic transcription system most commonly used by scholars of Guyanese Creole. Most of the characters are equivalent to IPA symbols; exceptions which occur in the transcripts are listed below:

sh   [ʃ] voiceless alveopalatal fricative
ch   [ʧ] voiceless alveopalatal affricate
y   [j] palatal approximant/semi-vowel
ii   [i] high, tense, front unrounded
i   [ɪ] lower-high, lax, front unrounded
ee   [e] mid, tense, front unrounded
e   [ɛ] lower-mid, lax, front unrounded
a   [a] low/open, short, central unrounded
aa   [a:] low/open, long, central unrounded
ai   [aɪ] falling diphthong
o   [ə] short, central unrounded, unstressed, or [ʌ] short, back unrounded, frequently (but not always) stressed
ou   [ʌʊ] falling diphthong
oo   [o] long, mid, back rounded
u   [ʊ] lax, lower-high, back rounded
uu   [u] tense, high, back rounded

Other transcription conventions are adapted from Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974):

[ ]   Square parentheses mark the onset and resolution of overlap.
°soft°   Superscripted zeros indicate that the talk contained within them was produced with decreased amplitude.
noo::   Colons indicate lengthening of the preceding vowel sound.
noo   Underlining used to indicate emphasis.
( )   Single parentheses used to indicate a transcriber's best guess.
(( ))   Double parentheses used to mark additional glosses.
?   Question mark indicates rising intonation.
.   Period indicates falling intonation.
(0.2)   Numbers in single parentheses indicate a pause in tenths of seconds.
=   Equals sign indicates that there is no interval between adjacent utterances, the second being latched immediately to the first (without overlapping it).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NOTES

1   The term "member" is used to refer to a non-specific member of the society under investigation.

2   For discussion of the various ways in which "context" has been conceptualized in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology see Goodwin and Duranti 1992.

3   "Formulate" is a technical term in conversation analytic literature: for discussion, see Schegloff 1972, 2000. The term is used with a somewhat different nuance, but essentially the same meaning, by Garfinkel and Sacks 1970. See also note 16.

4   The incompleteness of all descriptions is often discussed under the heading of the "etcetera principle" (see Sacks 1963).

5   And of course there is a question as to what counts as evidence here – that is where one might look for the warrant. Conversation analysts tend to focus that investigation on the talk but the anthropologist might be predisposed to looking elsewhere.

6   In his lecture of February 16, 1967, Sacks remarked: "Is it possibly the case that, first, the phenomenon of a 'setting' needs to be recognized as also a Members' phenomenon, and not, for example, one of those things which, as social scientists, we construct and manage? And if so, then we have got to find out what

kind of thing it is that they're doing with it – what kind of thing this is" (Sacks 1995, vol. 1: 516).

7   This in and of itself should not be taken as a critique. Research in this area, with the relevance of gender presupposed, has clearly been the source of significant insight.

8   There is an underlying tension here in so far as many researchers advance anti-essentialist, theoretical conceptions of gender (suggesting that gender emerges through practices of talk) but at the same time employ the very same categories in their analysis. The theoretical notion of "performance," offered as an anti-essentialist antidote, is problematic in so far as it presupposes some "real" set of actors who inhabit the roles of the dramatis personae. Furthermore, the notion of performance fails to account for the fact that, in the first place, performances are necessarily embedded in socially organized activities, and second, performances admit of any number of interpretations – the problem of recognition, understanding, recipiency, is radically undertheorized. Dramatists have long been aware of these issues. Stoppard (1967: Act II, p. 62) for instance, writes: "audiences know

what to expect, and that is all they are prepared to believe in."

9   Some research has been conducted in settings organized by members rather than analysts, e.g. fraternities (for instance Kiesling 1997). Such an approach points to the possibilities of a productive dialogue between interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography.

10   West and Zimmerman (1987) use this term "insignia" to convey the relatively permanent yet socially constructed significance accorded to the genitalia in determining sex-category membership. A reliance on such a perceived once-and-for-all criterion for determining such matters is made explicit in many legal rulings: for instance, "[. . .] the law should adopt in the first place, the first three of the doctors' criteria, i.e. the chromosomal, gonadal and genital tests, and if all three are congruent, determine the sex for the purpose of marriage accordingly, and ignore any operative intervention. The real difficulties, of course, will occur if these three criteria are not congruent. This question does not arise in the present case and I must not anticipate, but it would seem to me to follow from what I have said that the *greater weight should probably be given to the genital criteria than to the other two*" (emphasis added: Mr Justice Ormrod as excerpted in Douglas 1973: 115–17).

11   Agnes reported that she was able to defuse potential problems by suggesting that she didn't like to talk about herself.

12   The issues tackled in this chapter raise certain difficulties given the framework within which the arguments are developed. The seen-but-unnoticed character of gender poses some serious problems for a conversation analytic perspective which places a premium (even a constraint) on grounding analytic claims in members' displayed orientations – that is, their "noticings." Such problems have surfaced in a number of previous accounts. Thus, for instance, Hopper and LeBaron (1998) begin by noting the omnirelevance of gender (citing Garfinkel) and develop an analysis in which gender is said to "creep into talk" through noticings which have describable antecedents ("peripheral gendered activity") and consequences (extensions of explicit gender topic talk) in the talk. However, while the analysis they present is useful in many respects, it skirts the main, problematic issues raised in much of the work on language and gender. In that body of scholarship, the focus is generally not on the gender of the things talked about (those features of the topic which can be perceived as "gendered") but rather the gender of the participants who produce that talk and, in the process, produce and recognize their own recognizably gendered selves. So while Hopper and LeBaron mention and to some extent attend to the well-known argument of Ochs (1992) regarding the "indirect indexing" of gender, they do not substantively address the issues to which that paper and the bulk of the language and gender literature is directed. Kitzinger, recognizing such problems, writes (2000: 171–2):

> From my own perspective, it would be unbearably limiting to use CA if it meant that I could only describe as "sexist" or "heterosexist" or "racist" those

forms of talk to which actors orient as such. Indeed, it is precisely the fact that sexist, heterosexist and racist assumptions are routinely incorporated into everyday conversations without anyone noticing or responding to them that way which is of interest to me. [. . .] These questions can be addressed without violating the precepts of CA – as evidenced by Sacks' analysis of a telephone conversation between two white women, Estelle and Jeanelle, neither of whom orients in any way to the white privilege and class privilege, yet Sacks draws our attention to precisely these features.

In her own substantive discussion of "coming out" in conversation, Kitzinger develops a not unrelated analysis of the way in which such actions are accomplished as visibly "not news," as completely ordinary, and as seen-but-unnoticed. This is achieved through members' methodic deployment of turn-taking practices. Kitzinger notes (p. 185). "Information about the speaker's sexuality is often deeply embedded within turn constructional units in ways that would render as interruptive any acknowledgement or assessment of this information from a co-conversationalist." That is to say that "coming out" is an action that seems to get routinely "buried" within a turn-at-talk so as to insulate it from modes of receipt that would mark it as "news" or as an "announcement" (e.g. "oh": see Heritage 1984a, 1984b).

13 This way of stating things accords particular rumshops a transcendental existence above and beyond members' production

and recognition of such spaces as rumshops. Such an account cannot in fact adequately deal with the phenomenon under study. The same space can be seen as, and oriented to as, a wake house, a shop front, a family home, etc. This is to say that it is the activity of men drinking in the space that affords it the status of a rumshop for members. This is particularly the case given that, because most rumshops sell liquor without a license, there are times when proprietors and patrons collectively work to obscure the seeing of this space as a "rumshop" – i.e. by quickly hiding the glasses, rum, and money.

14 All names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the participants.

15 The example is taken from a corpus of over 85 hours of recordings made during fieldwork in a rural Indo-Guyanese village between 1994 and 1996. Transcription conventions are given in the Appendix.

16 The first pair part of an adjacency pair is related to a second pair part by a relation of conditional relevance: a question establishes a next position for an answer, and talk in this position is routinely inspected to see how it might be seen as doing answering (see Heritage 1984a; Schegloff 1968). Here Jaj has intervened into the relations of conditional relevance by talking in the position that might otherwise have been occupied by the response to the summons. Another feature of conversational organization then comes into play – where two actions are done in a single turn at talk, recipients routinely respond to the second action first (see Sacks 1987).

17 We may speak of formulating persons here just as we spoke of formulating settings or contexts earlier. What is particularly clear in a consideration of place (Schegloff 1972) or person formulation is the way a referent remains constant while, to borrow from Frege, the "mode of presentation" differs (see Frege 1960 [1892]).

18 As Miriam Meyerhoff (personal communication) points out, the form of the directive also serves a boundary-marking function – marking this talk as somehow "external" to the "official" rumshop activities. In this respect note that Jaj's talk hails and beckons someone who is, by virtue of the talk, recognizably outside the immediate interactive environment occupied by the men.

19 Jaj's selection of Ramish may be prompted by the fact that they have together, just prior to this talk, distributed the few remaining pieces of ice.

20 The relevance of this formulation – "Buddy Daddy" – is discussed in Sidnell 2000.

21 Raja's "Wodiiaḷii?" (line 4) is offered as candidate hearing of an earlier mention of "Buddy Daddy" and serves as a next turn repair initiator to which Ramish responds with the correction "tchh-Buddy Daddy."

22 The transcript reads as follows (Sacks 1995, vol. 1: 136):

Joe:	(*cough*) We were in an automobile discussion,
Henry:	Discussing the psychological motives for
Mel:	Drag racing on the streets.

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