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"Obracení na víru" jako komunikační problém: situace prvního kontaktu

Proselyting in first-contact situations

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Contents

List of abbreviations:

FCPP situations, encounters – first-contact public proselyting situations, encounters

LDS Church – Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints

MTC – Missionary Training Center

EM – Ethnomethodology

CA – Conversation Analysis

MCA – Membership Categorization Analysis

MCD – Membership categorization device

CBA – Category-bound activities

TCU – Turn-constructional unit

TRP – Transition relevance place

FPP – First pair part

SPP – Second pair part

NTRI – Next-turn repair initiator

SA – Summons-answer sequence

LMT – Language Management Theory

LM – Language Management

SM – Simple Management

OM – Organized Management

GR competence – Grammatical competence

NGC competence – Non-grammatical communicative competence

SC competence – Sociocultural competence

Proselyting in first-contact situations

Abstract:

This study explores the process of proselyting as methodically accomplished, learned, continually developed in particular situations, and reflected by American Mormon missionaries in the Czech Republic. The analysis is guided by four research questions: 1) How do missionaries "do" proselyting such that it is recognizable to them for what it is? 2) What interactional work constitutes this process, and how is this work done through the interplay of the organization of sequence, preference, topic and category? 3) How do the participants in these proselyting situations make relevant the given setting, in this case characterized by the contact between Czech (local) and American (foreign) languages and cultures? 4) How do the individual missionaries and their church "behave toward language", i.e. how do they manage language and cultural competence and their manifestations through and for the purpose of engaging in proselyting interactions? Recorded and transcribed first-contact public proselyting situations are used as the primary data in this study, supported to a lesser degree by participant observation, field notes, so-called interaction and follow-up interviews, and document analysis. Ethnomethodology, or the study of members' methods for producing and recognizing features of talk, activities, or settings, is the main theoretical approach. Conversation Analysis, Membership Categorization Analysis, and Language Management Theory are used as the primary analytical tools.

"Obracení na víru" jako komunikační problém: situace prvního kontaktu

Abstrakt:

Práce se zabývá „obracením na víru" jakožto verbálním procesem, který „metodicky" uskutečňují, učí se, situačně adaptují a reflektují američtí mormonští misionáři v České republice. Analýza se zaměřuje na čtyři výzkumné otázky: 1) Jak misionáři „dělají" obracení na víru a jak je tento proces jakožto právě takový v rozhovoru rozpoznáván? 2) Jaká interakční práce konstituuje tento proces a jak se na ní podílejí sekvenční, preferenční, tematická a kategoriální organizace rozhovoru? 3) Jak mluvčí v situacích obracení na víru činí relevantním dané prostředí, které se vyznačuje kontaktem češtiny a angličtiny, resp. české (domácí) a americké (cizí) kultury? 4) Jak se jednotliví misionáři a jejich církev „chovají vůči jazyku", jak „spravují" svou jazykovou a kulturní kompetenci a jejich manifestace prostřednictvím a za účelem obracení na víru? Výchozími daty této studie jsou nahrané a transkribované interakce a terénní poznámky ze zúčastněného pozorování; v menší míře využívám tzv. interakční interview, následná interview a analýzu dokumentů. Hlavním teoretickým přístupem je etnometodologie neboli analýza metod, jejichž pomocí aktéři produkují a intepretují různé aspekty rozhovorů, aktivit nebo prostředí. Analytický aparát se opírá o konverzační analýzu, čl.enskou kategorizační analýzu a teorii jazykového managementu.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study, informed by Ethnomethodology (EM), Conversation Analysis (CA) and Language Management Theory (LMT), examines the phenomenon of proselyting in first-contact public situations as conducted, learned, continually developed, and reflected by American Mormon missionaries in the Czech Republic. Proselyting is understood as attempting to convert others into a doctrine or religion (from an etic perspective) and as spreading the gospel (from an emic perspective). The study also uses the data from these situations to address questions of the phenomenon of order, particularly the organization of sequence, topic, preference and category, in the study of foreign language talk-in-interaction.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The idea for this dissertation was originally born out of a simple observation. That is, on a continual quest to make sense of the process of foreigners' integration into a new country, I have repeatedly noted that the reflected everyday activities and routines of these "strangers in a strange land" are tied to these strangers' acquisition and use of the local language. In the Czech Republic, Czech-speaking foreigners from the West may invoke numerous raised eyebrows, for they are a breach in local norms of the sociology of language - who speaks what to whom and in which situations. The questions which often follow are that of "How is it that they do it?" and "Why are they doing it?" There is often a highly individual narrative answer to these questions, a narrative that emphasizes personal initiative and the quest for a life less ordinary. But when one encounters the Mormon missionaries - young, clean-cut, well-dressed, nametag-wearing, polite, and fluent-Czech-speaking Americans from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, the model presented by this narrative breaks down. The missionaries' presence in one particular country as opposed to another is not the result of their own decision: they have been placed at their mission site by church administration, and they believe the selection of this site to be a matter of divine intervention. Their language acquisition and use are group activities as well as individual ones, and they are all motivated by the same goal.

Many people in many countries have met Mormon missionaries at one time or another. A bit of further investigation reveals that they are linguistically very well-organized, with a renowned language school in Utah. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS), also known as the Mormon church, headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah, organizes a missionary program that currently maintains 61,600 missionaries per year throughout the world, including 90 in the Czech Republic and Slovakia[1], outside of the territory of "Zion" (Utah), including the United States. Males are eligible to serve at the age of 19 and serve for two years, females are eligible at 21 and serve for a year and a half.[2] The missionaries' journey begins with the submission of an application to the church, which determines where the missionaries will serve, after which they receive the "Call to serve". They subsequently attend the Missionary Training Center (MTC) in Provo, Utah, for language and practical training. The period of time spent in the Missionary Training Center is commensurate with the amount of linguistic preparation necessary for the mission. Some missionaries are sent to various parts of the United States and thus do not require extra language training. The missionaries assigned to the Czech mission (which includes Slovakia) spend nine weeks in the MTC, during which they spend 8-12 hours per day learning Czech.

Upon arrival in the Czech Republic, each missionary is assigned a "companion", or another missionary of the same sex with whom the missionary spends all waking hours for a two-month period (known as a "transfer"). This process is repeated every two months, and the missionary moves around to different parts of the country and works together with many different companions. One companion, the "senior companion", is the companion who has spent more time in the country and holds responsibility for further training of the junior companion, particularly as concerns language. This older companion is expected to lead the younger one through the variety of day-to-day situations which comprise what is emically known as *proselyting*, or the spreading of the gospel. Most of this consists of addressing people in public, going door-to-door, and

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[1] www.mormon.cz

[2] While most active LDS males go on a mission, the same is not true for LDS females, who are viewed as having a different role, primarily that of devoting oneself to family. Hence, they are encouraged give precedence to marriage (if they have marriage prospects at that time) over serving a mission.

arranging and conducting teaching sessions for those who are interested (who are known as "investigators"). That is, most activity is comprised of talk.

The LDS proselyting approach, as the ethnographic research reveals, contains two key elements. One is the fact that the church prides itself in the unity of beliefs of its 12 million members throughout the world. There is joke which begins "You know you live in Utah if…" followed by tens of humorous stereotypes mixed with general observations, one of which is "There is a church on every corner, but they all teach the same thing". The other is that at the same time each individual missionary is encouraged, and, in fact, instructed, to develop a personal approach to faith, and a personal method of proselyting as well, one which corresponds to personal style. As one missionary commented on her practices in talking with people "we don't recite a set script, we say it in our own words." It is then relevant to pose the questions of how these two elements are intertwined, and in which sorts of situations this intertwining is manifested.

When members of an organization are given the same instructions and then sent to various parts of the world, their subsequent interpretation and following of these instructions can tell us much about the nature of their assigned activities. This dissertation seeks to examine the process of proselyting in first-contact public situations as a members' method, with the members being Czech-speaking American LDS missionaries. The missionaries act as members of their religious group, but also in many cases as "members" of their native country and language. Their aim is to make as much contact as possible, so they become researchers in their own right, continually storing away information and experiences for later use, e.g. to pass on to their companions. But there are also methods within the process that make them missionaries, and that makes their work in these situations proselyting.

As mentioned earlier, common laymen's questions of the missionary work include not only "How is it that they are able do it?", but also "Why are they doing it?". I will add another, which this dissertation specifically addresses. That is: "What are they doing?" Previous sociological, anthropological and linguistic studies of LDS missionary work have, among other things, addressed it from macro-sociological and organizational perspectives (Cornwall et al. 2001), characterized "the missionary experience" and the dynamics of the missionary companionship (Shepherd and Shepherd 1997, 2001,

Knowlton 2001, Parry 2001, Wilson 2001), and characterized missionary code-mixing (Smout 1988). But never before has proselyting been specifically studied as "talk", nor has it been analyzed using the research and analytical procedures of Ethnomethodology, (hereafter EM), the study of the way in which people (members) make sense of the world and display their understanding of it, or Conversation Analysis, the study of "talk-in-interaction", or Language Management Theory, the study of the way in which people behave toward language. The filling-in of all of these "gaps" is this dissertation's task.

1.3 Research Questions

In this study, I examine the following questions:

1) How do missionaries "do" proselyting such that it is recognizable to them for what it is?

2) What interactional work constitutes this process, and how is this work done through the interplay of the organization of sequence, preference, topic and category?

3) How do the participants in these proselyting situations make relevant the given setting, in this case characterized by the contact between Czech (local) and American (foreign) languages and cultures?

4) How do the individual missionaries and their church "behave toward language", i.e. how do they manage language and cultural competence and their manifestations through and for the purpose of engaging in proselyting interactions?

In dealing with research questions 1-3, I will analyze examples of one type of situation which constitutes parts of the missionaries' daily routine and work. This is: the first-contact public proselyting situation (FCPP situation), which I delimit as a situation in which missionaries approach people unknown to them, in a public place, and engage in conversation. These conversations may be as short as a few seconds or as long as a half an hour, and need not contain faith as a topic. I will focus in particular on the initiation and maintenance of conversations through the use of questions and a "checklist" of

conversational topics, the transition to the topic of faith, and the attempt to establish further contact. In attempting to answer research question 4 (and, in part, question 3), I will analyze both these situations and other materials which either reflect on these situations or are oriented toward preparing for them.

1.4 Significance of the study

   This is a sociolinguistics dissertation and thus one might be tempted to pose the question of why research in the field of sociolinguistics would take the EM approach. This study does not examine language for the sake of language, but rather, explores the use of language as something on par with other human activities, something that in fact functions in cooperation with them. It explores language as something that people use, something that they "do", rather than as something that exists, language as interaction as opposed to language as a system. Though some work in this area has been done by linguists[3] and sociologists[4] using Czech first language data, there is almost no such work done using Czech second-language or foreign-language data.The examination of this topic thus adds to the phenomena analyzed using EM and specifically CA. CA differs from the rest of EM in that it makes talk its primary focus, using recorded and transcribed talk as the primary data for analysis. In my view, this study will be interesting and important to practitioners of both branches because it combines their approaches.

   From the perspective of CA, this study contributes further to the work on "second language conversation" (cf. Gardner and Wagner 2004, Wagner 1996), as not only are the missionaries' Czech language features non-native, but everything about the situations in which they communicate is influenced by the fact that they are non-native speakers and performing atypical activities in their second language. An individual's foreign accent may not affect how his native-speaker interlocutors understand him, but it will put him in the category of "foreigner" and thus cause these interlocutors to behave differently than they would if they understood him to be a "native". For example, they might ask him where he is from, ask him why he is in the Czech Republic, etc.

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[3] Work using the EM and/or CA approach on Czech-language data include: Leudar and Nekvapil 1998, 2000, Leudar, Marsland and Nekvapil 2004, Nekvapil 1997, Nekvapil and Leudar 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2006, Hoffmannová and Müllerová 2000, Hoffmannová, Müllerová, and Zeman, 1999.
[4] Konopásek 2005, Konopásek and Kusá 1999, 2000, Bonková 2002.

The integration of Language Management Theory into this study also integrates the view of the Mormon church from a primarily organizational standpoint, similar to other complex organizations such as corporations or universities. The missionaries have a specific job within this organization, one that could potentially be compared with similar jobs in other types of organizations, and approached from the bottom-up perspective, as is consistent with the EM view of organizations. In this vein, this study also considers the literature on talk in organizations and institutions (cf. Boden 1994, Boden and Zimmerman 1991). This workplace, in which no one works for money (all church activities are voluntary), should help to shed light on the general EM understanding of other organizations, particularly those which aim to teach foreign languages to their employees.

1.5. Scope of the study

"One of the most prominent features in Sacks's lectures is the concern with the concept of 'recognizability'. In one sense, this notion refers to the way in which social interactants orient their actions to the task at hand and engage in recognition work as a means of accomplishing local social organization. This observation, argues Sacks, should inform the examination of interaction as a mutually constitutive, methodical display that is socially recognizable and recognized as part of the process of getting things done in a *social* way rather than a cognitive, economic, theological, biological, telepathic or occult manner." (Housley and Fitzgerald 2002: 61)

As Housley and Fitzgerald insinuate here, there are many "ways" in which interaction may be viewed, and the idea of viewing first-contact public proselyting situations in the first place lends itself to many views beyond the scope of this study. For example, when I speak of my interactions with the Mormon missionaries with different people, one common question posed to me is "How successful are they?" People often seek official figures, numbers of converts, how many per missionary per mission, for example. This question is born out of assumptions regarding local context: the perceived high rate of rejection, particularly in the perceived atheist-agnostic Czech Republic[5], where large-scale value clashes are anticipated, embodied as references to drinking, smoking, caffeine, premarital sex, etc., associated comments such as "they're wasting their time here" and so forth.

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[5] Cf. Mehr 2002 for a picture of the "re-entry"of Mormon missionaries into former Soviet Bloc countries.

As Francis and Hester (2004: 206-208) note, "It is mainstream sociology's practice of treating outcomes as separate from the activities in and through which they are defined as outcomes that forms the basis of the macro-micro dichotomy. The notion that social life consists of two distinct levels is sustained by the analytic strategy of taking the outcomes of activities out of the circumstances of their creation and conceiving them as having some free-standing objective status. In essence, this is the same kind of mistake that was made (and still continues to be made) within philosophy concerning language. Ethnomethodology's sociological stance has much in common with the philosophical view taken by Wittgenstein (1967) and expressed in his famous maxim regarding language: 'Don't ask for the meaning, consider the use.'" I would argue that asking the question of outcome with the expectation of a quantitative answer is not addressing the most relevant and interesting aspects of the missionaries' situation. We should instead aim to examine the doing of the missionaries' various types of activities and interactions, particularly when we consider the missionaries as members of two different cultures – Czech and American.

Thus any background information on the church itself in this study is meant to indicate what the broader situation brings with it into individual interactions. It may indeed be the frequency of rejection (on all missions as well as in the Czech Republic) which influences the initial situations of missionary contact. From the missionary's perspective, interactions are often guided by a predicted likelihood of rejection from the other party. This puts the practice of proselyting in a group with many other practices, e.g. those of door-to-door or public venue salespeople, including "Avon ladies" or Amway representatives, military recruiters, individuals looking for people to sign petitions or to join any type of political cause or interest-based group, people attempting to pick other people up in bars or elsewhere (cf. Snow et al 1991), telemarketers or those conducting telephone surveys (cf. Maynard et al 2002), and others.

Garfinkel and Sacks (1986: 166) refer to "ethnomethodological indifference", by which ethnomethodological studies seek "…to describe members' accounts of formal structures wherever and by whomever they are done, while abstaining from all judgements of their adequacy, value, importance, necessity, practicality, success, or consequentiality". Thus, though this study examines "goal-oriented" or "strategic"

interaction (Arminen 2005), it does not evaluate the missionaries' proselyting in terms of "effectiveness", nor does it attempt to suggest how they might perform their duties better. It also does not evaluate the validity of their religious beliefs.

Also, though I will observe some interesting features of the missionaries' Czech language use on all linguistic levels *as concerns the significance of such features in and to the given interactions*, I do not attempt to create a general *model* of "Missionary Czech" (cf. Smout 1988).

1.6 Overview of the dissertation

This dissertation is organized as follows:

Chapter 1 introduces the entire study of the LDS missionaries in the Czech Republic, providing the background on how it originated, characterizing the research problem selected for this study, particularly in the framework of post-1989 contact between Czech and English.

Chapter 2 presents a conceptual framework for the analysis of proselyting situations as instances of talk-in-interaction and instructed actions. This consists of three major components: Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis, and Language Management Theory. It re-specifies the research problem and questions in the light of these conceptual components and their interrelated nature.

Chapter 3 outlines the dissertation's methodological framework. This includes the qualitative research strategy, the role of the researcher, the procedures undertaken for data collection, and subsequently, selection, the strategies for validating findings, potential ethical issues, and the stages of data analysis.

Following this, there are four chapters which, primarily using the tools of CA and Membership Categorization Analysis, analyze the four main phases of FCPP situations.

Chapter 4 examines the way in which the missionaries begin interactions in first-contact situations with their interlocutors. This can be divided into two categories. These are: situations in which the 'summons' is provided directly (the missionary approaches his interlocutor and asks a question), and situations in which the summons is indirect (the interlocutor stops and enters into an encounter on the basis of other stimuli). I will address the general question of how it is possible to initiate a conversation with a

completely unfamiliar individual, and consider how this is done in situations of intercultural contact.

Chapter 5 addresses the question of how, following the initiation of the encounter, the missionaries account for the fact that they have done so, i.e. how they do identification and recognition in FCPP situations. This is an analysis of how the missionaries work together with their interlocutors to produce an explanation of "who they are and what they do". I examine the category collections of "place of origin/residence", "nationality" and "occupation" as well as the activities which are bound to these activities by the missionaries themselves and their interlocutors. This is integrated with the continually-developing understanding of "who is talking to whom" and the sequential order in which different categories are presented in different situations.

Chapter 6 deals with the topical order of FCPP situations as it revolves around the issue of religious faith, symbolized by the question "Do you believe in God?" The approach to this topic, which is of a highly intimate nature, is viewed metaphorically as the checking off of items on a "topical list". I explore how this list is sequentially related to conversational closings. I further consider the interlocutors' reactions to this intimate question in terms of how the missionaries use them to negotiate a common understanding of religious faith.

Chapter 7 explores the final phase of the FCPP situations: the initiation of further contact, e.g. the exchange of phone numbers, e-mail addresses, and "arrangement making" for future meetings. It maps out a hierarchy of types of further contact which may be obtained, shows how these types are negotiated and how they are related to the closing sequences of the encounter. It also compares the way in which the interlocutor was summoned (overtly or covertly) influences this final phase.

The final analytical chapter makes a slight digression from the focus of the previous four chapters, and, while integrating CA, considers missionary work as a type of language management. Chapter 8 deals with the process of Language Management at various levels of the missionaries' experience, Czech language acquisition and use. Given the two types of LM, Simple Management and Organized Management, the chapter applies each to the collected data. Simple Management, or management on the level of discourse, is the object of analysis primarily as concerns the action of repair initiation.

Organized Management is explored as the interaction of four different levels in the LDS church organization: Church, mission, zone and companionship.

Chapter 9 summarizes the previous chapters, provides the major conclusions as well as both theoretical and methodological implications, discusses the study's limitations, and provides suggestions for further research. It re-examines the research questions and re-specifies the way in which the concept of "instructed actions" has been utilized.

Chapter 2
Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

        This chapter presents the major theoretical and conceptual framework for this study. It is divided into sections in accordance with the different parts of the dissertation. All frameworks begin with the assumption of "language as interaction" and examine the use of language in its social context. I have already stated that the first-contact public proselyting situations consist of talk. The concept of talk can be further divided into three elements. The first of these is *talk as observed*. In this case, the "observing" is done by the researcher. The ethnographic approach in this study is primarily represented by the use of field notes as well as the fact that the researcher was also present to some degree during all of the recorded interactions which are analyzed in chapters 4 - 8. The second is *talk as recorded*. This involves analysis which takes into consideration only the recorded talk-in-interaction itself, without external elements imposed on the speakers by the researcher. Finally, there is *talk as reflected.* This refers to either meta-talk within a recorded interaction itself, for example, repairs or their initiations, or talk about an interaction or interactions either immediately following it or at a later time, in an institutional setting or in a form evoked by the researcher. As Erickson (2004: 4) points out, "The continual process of mutual checking and mid-course correction is what makes interaction social, i.e. it enables the actions of various parties to fit together as reciprocal and complementary".

        The following sections will combine these elements to varying degrees. In section 2.2, I will attempt to establish a working definition of "proselyting" both emically and etically. Section 2.3 will explore the field of ethnomethodology (EM), which serves as the major conceptual backbone for this study. Section 2.4 will examine ethnomethodological conversation analysis (CA) and its basic principles. Section 2.5 will cover some of the "extensions" of Harvey Sacks' CA work: Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) and the combination of CA as well as its application to second or foreign language data. Section 2.6 will deal with Language Management Theory (LMT), which focuses on the various forms of the reflexive nature of language use or "behavior-toward-language". Section 2.7 will expand the point of view of the interactions studied,

considering the missionaries as native English speakers in the Czech Republic. Section 2.8 will tie these approaches together and characterize the manner in which proselyting will be understood throughout the rest of the study.

2.2 Proselyting: Preliminary definitions

Here I will take note of some the most common emic and etic definitions of proselyting and then formulate my own understanding of it, for the purposes of this study. The word is often used interchangeably in an alternate form, "proselytizing". I use "proselyting" here because it is an emic term – used by the missionaries themselves and appearing in their manuals and other guidance materials, referring to missionary work in general. For example, the LDS Missionary Handbook lists "proven methods" of proselyting, which fall into three categories: "finding"[6], "teaching", and "baptizing and fellowshipping" (Missionary Handbook 6-11).

In light of the fact that missionaries in the LDS church have blocks of time which are strictly determined for certain activities. In the local missionary handbook, there are materials which specifically state what can be considered proselyting and what cannot. The activities which "count as proselyting" are divided up into the different types of general activities – e.g. teaching, finding, planning/preparing, meetings, and serve more as an institutional guide in which proselyting could be made synonymous with 'working'.

As for etic definitions, the Merriam-Webster dictionary lists the primary definition of proselyte as 'proselytize', which is subsequently defined twice as an intransitive verb as 1) to induce someone to convert to one's faith, and 2) to recruit someone to join one's party, institution, or cause, and once as a transitive verb - to recruit or convert especially to a new faith, institution, or cause[7].

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[6] This is further divided up into the following "opportunities to find" or "sources" which are "listed in order of effectiveness": 1. Recent converts, 2. Baptismal services, 3. Stake missionaries' contacts with members and nonmembers, 4. Part-member families, 5. Members in general, 6. Former investigators, 7. Current Investigators (referral dialogue), 8. Media, visitors' centers, and Church headquarters' referrals, 9. Activation efforts (unknown address file), 10. Service activities, 11. New move-ins, 12. Special interest contacts, 13. Tracting, 14. Street contacting, 15. Speaking with everyone. It should be noted that the missionaries thus understand the sources analyzed in this study, numbers 14 and 15, from the very beginning as low-effectiveness activities and approach them accordingly.

[7] This dual-transitivity meaning for 'proselytize' is echoed by the American Heritage Dictionary and Dictionary.com.

The differentiation between the transitive and intransitive definitions of the verb to proselyte or proselytize point to an emphasis on the question of 'success' of the proselyting process. It is thus possible to pose questions such as: if the intended convert ends the conversation, walks away, or changes his or her mind during the teaching and conversion process, has proselyting actually occurred? Here I would lean more toward the intransitive understanding of the process and define proselyting in my own terms, that is, interactionally. That is, as composed of a series of previously identified phases which consist of at least one missionary "summoning" the interlocutor, establishing a categorical relationship between him/herself and the interlocutor, finding out the interlocutor's stance on matters of the spiritual, and securing further contact to the interlocutor or a promise of a further meeting between the two.

This study thus takes the view that proselyting is a *course of action* that is done through *members' methods* and *talk-in-interaction*, and thus the major frameworks for its research are Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, to be discussed in the next sections.

2.3 Ethnomethodology

In this section I will offer a brief general overview of the field of Ethnomethodology, or the study of members' methods (also known as "ethno-methods") for doing and making sense of social action. The central term, "member", does not refer to a person, but rather, to anyone who masters natural language (Garfinkel and Sacks 1986: 163).

Ethnomethology's origins reach back to the philosophical stream of phenomenology, in particular to its sociological elaboration by Alfred Schutz. Another source was the structural functionalism of the American sociologist Talcott Parsons. Shutz's and Parsons' work influenced Harold Garfinkel, who is considered to be the conceptual father of Ethnomethodology.

In Garfinkel's conception, Ethnomethodology involves treating "the commonplace activities of daily life" which are normally "seen but unnoticed", as phenomena in their own right, as extraordinary activities or events. It rejects the notion that laypersons are "cultural dopes", possessing inferior knowledge to that of the

sociologist. Rather, it is the use of mundane knowledge and reasoning, the utilization of "what everybody knows" which is the focus of inquiry (Garfinkel 1967, Heritage 1984, Francis and Hester 2004).

One of the challenges that Ethnomethodology addresses is how to bring background knowledge into the foreground, how to make it visible. This may involve becoming somehow estranged from the "'life as usual' character of everyday scenes'"(Garfinkel 1967: 37). This "life as usual" as manifested in common discourse contains a) the anticipation that persons *will* understand, b) the occasionality of expressions, c) the specific vagueness of references and d) the retrospective-prospective sense of a present occurrence (waiting for something later in order to see what was meant before) (Garfinkel 1967: 41). These various elements can be more clearly elaborated as through the principles detailed in the next paragraphs.

One of the primary principles of interaction in the view of EM is that of **reflexivity**. This refers to the fact that members do two things at the same time: they produce actions *and* they interpret them, make sense of them, give them "meaning". There are a set of methods, procedures, or activities that members use in order to produce and manage actions. This set, as Garfinkel (1967: 1) points out, is identical to that which members use to make actions accountable – "observable and reportable", and therefore subject to interpretation and members' assignment of meaning. So when performing an action, an actor creates a context for its interpretation or demonstrates an interpretation of a previous action. An action cannot be performed without sense-making.

EM is further characterized by attention to **indexicality**, or the context-bounded nature of social actions (Garfinkel 1967: 4-7). Going back to the question of "meaning" in language as something other than description, indexicality emphasizes the idea that the meaning of a word or utterance is dependent on (and varies in accordance with) the context of its use, i.e. it is the combination of what is said and where, when and how it is said that gives an utterance meaning. It is the "here and now" aspect of any activity or utterance, the "just-thisness", the occasioned nature of talk and actions. In talk, all aspects of what people are talking about are often not elaborated, but the talk that does occur points to which aspects of the context the interactants are orienting to. This is often formulated as the analytical question of "Why that now?"

Another EM principle, the **documentary method of interpretation** is a way of using "common sense knowledge of social structures" to understand "common culture" or what "every member of society (including professional sociologists) knows". It is a method which involves treating every occurrence of a phenomenon as the representation of some underlying pattern (Garfinkel 1967: 78), which it "documents". Each new "documenting" occurrence, in turn, can be interpreted on the basis of what is known about the previous ones.

A fourth principle, which has been called **reciprocity of perspectives** (Heritage 1984: 81-82) concerns the agreement between social actors that they are following the same norms and attempting to achieve intersubjectivity, attempting to understand one another, to "be on the same page", which includes a structural bias toward cooperation. This does not mean that the social actors always succeed in achieving mutual understanding, but rather, that they agree to make an attempt to do so.

A final principle is that of **normative accountability** (Heritage 1984: 115-134). As described above in regard to reflexivity and reciprocity of perspectives, norms serve as both a guide for actor's actions and as a means for the interpretation of those actions. Norms in ethnomethodology are understood as descriptive, "constitutive of action", a resource for action, as opposed to prescriptive, "regulative" (Seedhouse 10; see also Arminen 2005: 11, who refers to "rules and regularities"), binding. They are motivated by accountability as opposed to a past history of rewards and punishments (Heritage 1984: 131). Norms are something participants can orient to, either in designing their actions or interpreting those of others (Seedhouse 10). Behavior corresponding to the norm has "seen but unnoticed" status. An action which is accountable is "observable-and-reportable, i.e. available to members as situated practices of looking-and-telling" (Garfinke1 1967: 1). For example, given pairs of actions, the first actor does the first part of the pair, thus making the second actor "accountable" for the second in accordance with norms for behavior[8].

Since Garfinkel's initial studies, Ethnomethodology has developed in several directions. These include workplace studies and "radical ethnomethodology", which mostly addresses practices of scientific inquiry, and Conversation Analysis (CA). In the

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[8] See the section on Language Management below for a further discussion of norms.

next section, I will provide a brief summary of Ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis and its relevance for the study of proselyting encounters.

2.4 Ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis

As the previous section demonstrated, much of EM's focus concerns the production of mutual understanding in the context of (among others) temporal order – the relationship of what comes first to what came before as well as what comes next, particularly through language, or more specifically, talk. Conversation Analysis is most commonly characterized as the study of talk-in-interaction (described in Psathas 1995, Hutchby and Wooffitt 1997, ten Have 1998) originating with the work of Harvey Sacks[9]. In the vein of ethnomethodology, it seeks to uncover a sense of the "order" that members, i.e. participants in talk, do and interpret. Talk then assumes the role played by other social actions in ethnomethodological studies. As the name of a discipline, "Conversation Analysis" may be a bit confusing, presuming the definition of units which are referred to as "conversations". Rather, it can also be understood as "Conversational Analysis"[10], focusing not only on what is being analyzed, but also the way in which it is analyzed. Data takes the form of audio or video recordings of interactions which can be repeatedly played back and re-analyzed, and both the recordings and their transcripts can be analyzed through interpretive discussion between researchers, for example in a group "data session". CA methodology is data-driven, prioritizing working through individual cases of phenomena in talk, with the goal of a comprehensive analysis of the data available (Maynard and Clayman 2003: 182). One analytical tool in this realm is known as the *next-turn proof procedure*, by which speakers, in doing a "next" turn, display their understandings of the previous turn (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998:15).

The basic CA assumption is that of "order at all points". This order is of varying types, all of which are subject to the following set of observations (Psathas 1995: 2-3).

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[9] Though this section examines the connections between EM and CA, or rather, the influence of EM on the work of Sacks, it should be observed that Sacks had additional influences, "including Erving Goffman, Wittgenstein's ordinary language philosophy, Chomsky's transformational grammar, Freudian psychoanalysis, anthropological field work, and research by Milman Parry and Eric Havelock on oral cultures" (Maynard and Clayman 2003: 176).

[10] Though these two terms are often used interchangeably, most of all by linguists. The latter represents an understanding of the field by Sacks (Bjelić 2006). In this work, I will use only the term "Conversation Analysis" or its short form, CA.

1. Order is a produced orderliness.
2. Order is produced by the parties 'in situ'; that is, it is situated and occasioned.
3. The parties orient to that order themselves; that is, this order is not an analyst's conception, not the result of the use of some preformed or preformulated theoretical conceptions concerning what action should/must/ought to be, or based on generalizing or summarizing statements about what action generally/frequently/often is.
4. Order is repeatable and recurrent.
5. The discovery, description and analysis of that produced orderliness is the task of the analyst.
6. Issues of how frequently, how widely, or how often particular phenomena occur are to be set aside in the interest of discovering, describing and analyzing the *structures*, the *machinery*, the *organized practices*, the *formal procedures*, the ways in which order is produced.
7. Structures of social action, once so discerned, can be described and analyzed in formal, that is, structural, organizational, logical, atopically contentless, consistent, and abstract, terms.

In the course of CA's development, several aspects of talk have moved to the forefront as topics of analysis. These include the organization of *turn-taking, sequence*, *preference*, *repair*, and *categories* in talk. In all of them, the key overarching analytical question is that of "Why that now?" (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) and what speakers are doing by doing "that" (Schegloff 2007: 2). I will now examine each type of organization in turn. It will be observable that there is a focus on some of the more technical or mechanical aspects of the analysis of talk. This is in part due to the development of CA that occurred after Sacks' initial lectures – there has been a clear effort to map out as many of the "systematic" observations of talk as possible, part of which has turned into investigation of areas which had been primarily in the domain of linguistics.

2.4.1 Sequence organization

The most well-known type of "order" in talk is the order of sequences. This can be referred to either as "sequence organization" or "sequential organization". Sequential organization in Schegloff's (2007: 2-3) understanding is "any kind of organization which concerns the relative positioning of utterances or actions". This includes turn-taking and the overall structural organization of talk-in-interaction. "Sequence organization" is a type of sequential organization. "Sequences" or "moves" are "coherent, orderly, meaningful successions" or turns-at-talk, which "are a vehicle for getting some activity

accomplished" (Schegloff 2007: 3), such as a request sequence or a summons-answer sequence.

Central in all of this is the notion of turns, or more roughly expressed, what precedes what and what comes after what[11]. Turn-taking, or the accomplishing of actions, is subject to a set of rules or "systematics", which have been described in detail by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974: 700-701), whose basic observations are:

1) Speaker change recurs, or at least occurs.
2) Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time.
3) Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief.
4) Transitions (from one turn to a next) with no gap or overlap are common.
5) Turn order is not fixed, but varies.
6) Turn size is not fixed, but varies.
7) Length of conversation is not specified in advance.
8) What parties say is not specified in advance.
9) Relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance.
10) Number of parties can vary.
11) Talk can be continuous or discontinuous.
12) Turn-allocation techniques are obviously used. A current speaker may select a next speaker or parties may self-select in starting to talk.
13) Various 'turn-constructional units' are employed.
14) Repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations.

Within this set of observations, Sacks et al established the vocabulary for the analysis of turn-taking and of much of sequence organization in general. Their model of turn-taking contains two components: the *turn-construction component*, or the units used to build the individual turns, and the *turn-allocation component*, or the rules governing the alternation of speakers.

The turn-construction component is further specified as the *turn-constructional unit* or TCU (Schegloff 2007: 3-8, . The TCU broadly corresponds to linguistic categories such as sentences, clauses, phrases, and lexical constructions, though it should not be equated with them. TCUs are also shaped by phonetic form of the talk, the intonation. Each turn at talk is constructed of at least one TCU. A TCU is "projectable", meaning that its properties must provide the other talk participants with information on when the TCU will end, either through intonation, syntactic or pragmatic completion, or non-verbal cues. The TCU constitutes a recognizable action in context. This final element, the

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[11] Schegloff (2007: xiv) in referring to various "problems" of the "generic orders of organization", also speaks of the problem of turn-taking as "Who should talk next and when should they do so?"

implementation of an action, points to the understanding of a TCU as a "unit of conduct". This is a key element as concerns the process of turn-taking.

The turn-allocation component basically consists of several possible actions. At the boundaries of turns, the places where turn transfer can occur, which are known as *transition-relevance places* or TRPs, either the current speaker selects the next speaker (through eye contact, body orientation, or turn design), the next speaker self-selects, or the current speaker continues to talk (i.e. self-selects in the role of the "next speaker").

These two major components are integrated in *adjacency pairs*. The TCU serves to select the next speaker as well as that next speaker's action, i.e. it forms the first part of the pair (also known as first pair part or FPP, which is followed by the second pair part or SPP). Examples of adjacency pairs are question-answer or request-reply. The most basic features of adjacency pairs are that they are: a) composed of two turns, b) by two different speakers, c) placed adjacently, i.e. one after the other, d) relatively ordered into first pair parts (which are initiative) and second pair parts (which are responsive), e) pair-type related, or corresponding to one another (Schegloff 2007: 13). First and second pair parts are in a relationship of conditional relevance, i.e. the use of one of them in talk makes the use of the other (or the absence of such use) relevant.

The following turn-taking model (Schegloff 2007: 26) elucidates the relationships and positioning of actions within adjacency pairs.

<---- Pre-expansion

A First pair part

<---- Insert expansion

B Second pair part
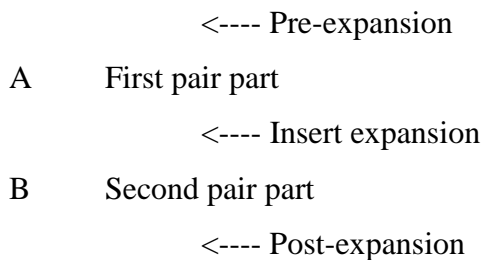
<---- Post-expansion

A and B are known as the "base sequence". The pre-expansions can include presequences. Presequences consist of talk of sequential character which precedes base sequences. These can be type-specific, such as a pre-question ("Can I ask you something?) or a pre-invitation ("What are you doing tomorrow night?"), or can be more generic, in the form of a summons-answer sequence ("Mom?" "What?"), which aims to catch the attention of an interlocutor. The insert expansion can include repair (discussed below), and post-expansion can include topicalization of the second pair part.

Presequences are often done in consideration of another general principle characterizing sequential order, *recipient design*, that is, "a turn's talk will be heard as directed to a prior turn's talk" (Sacks et al 728). In other words, speakers orient or "design" their turns at talk toward the selected next speaker. This relationship between two turns at talk is further reflected in what has been called preference organization, which will be examined in the next section.

2.4.2 Preference organization

2.4.2.1 General definition

The understanding of preference organization (described in detail e.g. in Pomerantz 1984) begins with the concept of adjacency pairs that we have just discussed. One action follows another action, which precedes the first action. Yet there are many actions which do not have merely one relevant adjacent action, but two or more. An offer, for example, may be accepted or refused. These two actions, however, are not designed in the same way. An action can be "preferred" or "dispreferred". While preferred actions are those which are expected or normative, dispreferred actions tend to be noticed by the interlocutor and accounted for somehow in the dispreferred turn design.

2.4.2.2 Differentiation from psychological interpretation

The term "preference" is somewhat misleading. What is repeatedly emphasized by CA researchers is that preference should not be confused with "personal, subjective, or 'psychological' desires or dispositions" (Atkinson and Heritage 1984: 53). It may also recall Goffman's original concept of "face" (Goffman 1963), further developed in the field of what is termed "politeness theory", e.g. Brown and Levinson (cf. Lerner 1996). Very generally, it could be argued that preferred actions maintain face, while dispreferred actions threaten it.

2.4.2.3 Preference organization in FPPs and SPPs

Much of the previous research on preference organization has focused on the various ways of doing dispreferred actions in second pair parts. Pomerantz (1984: 63) defines "preferred next action" as one that is oriented to as invited, and "dispreferred next

action" as its opposite. In cases of second-pair parts, the preferred response can be understood as the "default" one.

However, dispreferred actions are also done in first pair parts. One example of this is requests, to which offers are preferred. The dispreferred nature of the request can be found in its "distributional evidence" (Schegloff 2007: 83), i.e. its disproportionately late occurrence in conversations, which suggests that it may be withheld. Also, like dispreferred second-pair parts, requests are often preceded by accounts or mitigations, or even masked as other actions (Schegloff 83-86).

As we will see, the request is a "necessary evil" for the missionaries, as they must ask their interlocutors for information, to devote time to a conversation, and later, even possibly for contact information. The question at hand is that of which strategies for doing dispreferred actions they use, i.e. how they shape the turns in which these dispreferred actions are done.

2.4.2.4 Turn shapes of preferred and dispreferred actions

Pomerantz (1984: 64) observes that "there is an association between an action's preference status and the turn shape in which it is produced". That is, preferred turn shapes are meant to maximize the doing of the action, dispreferred turn shapes are meant to minimize it. The "maximization" of preferred actions is displayed by the fact that they are performed straight away, while actions which are dispreferred tend to be avoided, delayed, or done indirectly or with redress.

Schegloff (2007: 64-73) describes several observed devices which point to the difference between the "maximization" of preferred actions and the "minimization" of dispreferred actions. These are:

1) Mitigation – dispreferred responses may be mitigated or attenuated, preferred responses are not.

2) Elaboration – preferred responses are more brief and to the point than dispreferred responses, dispreferred responses are often accompanied by accounts, disclaimers and hedges.

3) Default – preferred responses may be treated as "default responses". Pomerantz 1984: 95) also notes: "If a participant produces something that is not an *overt* instance of either of the two alternatives, such as a silence, it is interpretable as the dispreferred alternative". 4) Positioning – Preferred responses conform to basic turn-taking rules primarily in that they are not delayed and are placed adjacently in time to their FPPs, while dispreferred responses are not done adjacently in time in that a) there is too long of a gap between turns, b) there is a turn-initial delay (delay after the response has begun) b) the dispreferred response is preceded (delayed) by an agreeing response c) the first speaker may revise his or her formulation prior to the response, either after a gap or immediately following the formulation.

2.4.2.5 Types of preferred-dispreferred action pairs

The development of the research has revealed that preference organization involves not only the question of pairs of actions, but also that of which speaker performs which action and how the turns are designed. In terms of actions, it has been determined that there is a preference for offer sequences over request sequences, a preference for noticing-by-others over announcement-by-self, a preference for recognition over self-identification in conversational openings (Schegloff 2006) and a preference for agreement with assessments over disagreement (Pomerantz 1984, Sacks 1987). In terms of speakers, a preference for self-correction over other-correction has also been shown (Schegloff, Jefferson, Sacks 1977). And in terms of turn design, for reference to persons, there is a preference for a single reference form over multiple ones ("minimization") and a preference for "recognitionals" or names ("recipient design") (Sacks and Schegloff 1979). As we will see, every single one of these preferences is displayed in first-contact public proselyting situations.

2.4.2.6 "Generalizability" of the connection between an action and preference organization

It is not necessarily the case that certain actions are preferred or dispreferred in general, but that preference organization is "sensitive to activities being accomplished" (Schegloff 2007: 55). Or, as Pomerantz puts it (1984: 63-64), actions are variably (across

a wide range of the given action), as opposed to invariably (across all of the given action), preferred or dispreferred. For example, though in most cases, agreement is preferred to disagreement, when a speaker makes a self-deprecating statement, disagreement in the following turn is preferred.

2.4.3 Repair

Not everything that people say is what they meant to say, nor is it necessarily what others expect them to say. CA also assumes a mechanism for changing talk – repair. Repair can reflect back to one part of an adjacency pair and become an insert expansion or post-expansion (in accordance with Schegloff's adjacency pairs scheme). The notion of repair is most comprehensively systematized in Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1977. First of all, a repair sequence must contain a "repairable item", which may range from a pronunciation or grammatical "error" (though the repairable item need not be an "error" per se, which would make it an item for a "correction", but rather, a contextually inappropriate item) to a mistaken word or phrase – there is nothing which can be excluded from the class of "repairable". This repairable item becomes a "trouble source". The repair sequence then consists of the following three "repair positions": 1. trouble source 2. NTRI (next-turn repair initiator) 3. repair. The NTRI prompts the next speaker to do the repair.

Repair need not involve the replacement of one item by another, but rather, can involve what is called a "word search", in which an item "is not available to a speaker when due" (Sacks et all 1977: 363). There may also be cases in which a repair is done without a hearable "error" or in which an "error" is not repaired (ibid).

A speaker can repair an item of his own speech (self-repair) or of his interlocutor's (other-repair). Furthermore, each of these two types of repair may either be self-initiated or other-initiated. Efforts at repair may sometimes fail (364), and the initiator of the repair is not always the one who ends up completing it (or failing to after attempting to do so) (distinction between repair initiation and repair outcome). "Repair" refers to the result or outcome of the sequence.

When a repair is self-initiated, it may be placed sequentially in several slots. When the repair is other-initiated, it is usually done in the turn following the trouble-

source turn (367). Self- and other- initiation techniques also differ. While other-initiation is done using the NTRI ("huh?" "what?" "who?", always with question intonation), self-initiation may involve a greater range of techniques.

The "courses" or "trajectories" for self- and other-initiated repair differ (most self-repair is initiated in a trouble-source turn and completed in same turn, most other-initiated repair takes several turns to complete). Self- and other-initiation of repair both operate in the same domains (same trouble types) and are ordered relative to each other (positions for self-initiated repair precede positions for other-initiated repair)(370). Other-initiations are often "withheld" a bit past the possible completion of a trouble-source turn (374). This is interpreted as "opportunities not taken" to do repair (within the "repair space", "repair-initiation opportunity space").

As Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson point out, both self-repair and self-initiation are (distinct) organizationally preferred actions, because a) opportunities for self-initiation come before opportunities for other-initiation, b) same-turn and transition-space opportunities for self-initiation are taken by speakers of the trouble source and c) same-turn self-initiated repairs are usually done before there is a position/opportunity for other initiation (376). Also, other-initiations "overwhelmingly" yield self-corrections (376).

2.5 Further Development of CA

In addition to the different processes by which talk orients to order in the various ways, there is one more type of order, categorial order, the study of which has developed parallel to that of CA. This is called **Membership Categorization Analysis** (MCA) and will be discussed in the next section.

2.5.1 CA and MCA

MCA (Sacks 1972, 1979 1992) explores the way in which members do categorization [12], particularly how they use categories for labeling persons, either explicitly or implicitly, based on the assumption that there are many ways to 'correctly' do so. We can also understand category work as a way of 'doing description' or 'word

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[12] Given the term "member" as a part of the name of this field of inquiry, it is important to not get confused and talk about "category members" (as opposed to "incumbents" – see Chapter 5).

selection'. Schegloff (2007: 463) has also described categorization as "how speakers come to use the words they do, and how that informs the hearing that the talk gets from the recipients".

MCA was first established as a part of CA in Sacks' lectures and early articles and has subsequently developed into a field in its own right. I will first characterize Sacks' basic framework, then explore the directions it has taken that are relevant to this study. MCA was developed by Sacks as a part of CA, though the two developed along more of a parallel course than an intertwined one.

Sacks specified what he called the **membership categorization device** (MCD) as 'any collection of membership categories, containing at least a category, which may be applied to some population containing at least a member, so as to provide, by the use of some rules of application, for the pairing of at least a population member and categorization device member. A device is then a collection plus rules of application' (Sacks 1972: 332). Examples of collections are family, workplace, or club.

The **rules of application** consist of: the economy rule, the consistency rule (with its corollary), duplicative organization (with its "hearer's maxim"), Collection R, programmatic relevance, Collection K, category-bound activities, positioned categories, and the two viewer's maxims. I will now explore each in turn.

The **economy rule** states that 'a single category from any membership categorization device can be referentially adequate' (Sacks 1992 Vol. I: 246). We already know that there are an infinite number of ways to categorize something or someone, yet given this rule, it is enough (or, in fact in many cases, desired) to use only one. A person may be categorized as an American, a cat-lover, a niece, an engineer or an epileptic at various points, but is always categorized as is relevant to a given situation (in accordance with the EM principle of indexicality), and that is sufficient.

The **consistency rule** states that 'If some population of persons is being categorized, and if some category from a device's collection has been used to categorize a first Member of a population, then that category or other categories of the same collection may be used to categorize further members of the population' (Sacks 1992: Vol. I: 246). If we take the (often-used) collection "family", we can observe how this functions – speaking about a "father" suggests also speaking about a "mother". However,

it is important to observe that a category can belong to more than one collection, for example "father" may belong to the collection "family" as well as that of "clergy".

The ambiguities resulting from multiple collections can be solved on the basis of what is known as the **consistency rule corollary** (otherwise known as the "hearing rule"), which states 'If two or more categories are used to categorize two or more Members to some population, and those categories can be heard as categories from the same collection, hear them that way' (Sacks 1992 Vol. I: 247). Therefore, if I say "a brother and sister were walking down the hall", both "brother" and "sister" are to be heard as belonging to the same collection "family".

The principle of **duplicative organization** takes us even a step further, such that we are able to hear the relationships between categories within collections. "We treat any 'set of categories as defining a unit, and place members of the population into cases of the unit. If a population is so treated and is then counted, one counts not numbers of daddies, numbers of mommies, and numbers of babies but numbers of families – numbers of "whole families", numbers of "families without fathers", etc.'" (Sacks 1992 Vol. I: 247-8). It is *possible* to hear "brother" as the brother of the aforementioned sister, or to hear "sister" as the sister of the aforementioned brother.

Duplicative organization also has a **hearer's maxim**, 'If some population has been categorized by use of categories from some device whose collection has the "duplicative organization" property, and a Member is presented with a categorized population which *can be* heard as co-incumbents of a case of that device's unit, then hear it that way' (Sacks 1992 Vol. I: 248). Whereas the principle of duplicative organization makes is possible to hear "brother" and "sister" as belonging to each other, the hearer's maxim makes it *required* to hear them that way. Hearing their relationship as any other would be considered a violation of the existing norms in a given culture.

The relationship between two categories in a collection is further specified by **collection R**, or "A collection of paired relational categories 'that constitutes a locus for a set of rights and obligations concerning the activity of giving help'"[13]. Some examples of this would be parent-child, teacher-student, or doctor-patient. For these pairs of

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[13] Silverman 1998: 82 from p. 37 in Sacks, H. (1972) An initial investigation of the usability of conversational data for doing sociology. In Sudnow, D. (ed.) Studies in Social Interaction. New York: Free Press.

categories, known as **standardized relational pairs**, there is thus a "common-sense" understanding that it is reasonable or proper for one category to have certain expectations of the other (Silverman 1998: 82).

Within these "collection R" relational pairs, it can happen that one half of the pair is noticeably absent. A teacher can be "a teacher without students" a doctor can be "a doctor without patients". This is otherwise known as the **programmatic relevance** of collection R: 'if R is relevant, then the non-incumbency of any of its pair positions is observable, i.e. can be proposedly a fact'[14].

Another type of collection, **Collection K** is 'a collection constructed by reference to special distributions of knowledge existing about how to deal with some trouble'[15]. This is very specific to Sacks' research on suicide hotlines. Several different categories are invoked in the calls to these hotlines. The caller may present him or herself as having 'no one to turn to', i.e. lacking the incumbent of another category who is obligated to help him or her (such as a spouse) and thus suicidal. The counselor who has taken the call is categorized as 'expert', someone who possesses specialized knowledge that will enable him or her to help the caller. Therefore if someone is categorized as 'expert', we already have a sense about what activities he or she is e.g. able to do, supposed to do or obligated to do.

This "sense" of what incumbents of categories do, are expected to do or are supposed to do is what Sacks calls **category-bound activities**: 'many activities are taken by Members to be done by some particular or several particular categories of Members where the categories are categories from membership categorization devices' (Sacks 1992 Vol. I: 249). Mothers pick up babies. Babies cry. Experts give advice. It is the orientation to these category-bound activities, Sacks posited, that allows us to resolve ambiguities in everyday situations. That is, if some activity has been done, for example if a meal in the kitchen has been cooked or a public space has been vandalized, on what basis do we decide who did this activity? We use the 'tying' of certain activities to certain categories to make assumptions.

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[14] Ibid., p. 38.
[15] Ibid., p. 37.

It is also possible for a category incumbent to behave in some way that assumes the existence of category-bound activities, that is, to not do the given activity, and thus either be praised or criticized for not doing so. This is called the concept of **positioned categories** – 'A collection has positioned categories where one member can be said to be higher or lower than another' (Sacks 1992 Vol. I: 585). An example of this is the "stage of life" scale of baby-adolescent-adult. While a baby can be praised for not crying, an adolescent or an adult may be criticized for crying or "acting like a baby". The 'positioning' of categories helps to depict the existing moral order in a given society – incumbents of categories may do something which is inappropriate, e.g. a woman doing a 'man's' job or a man staying home and taking care of children, or adjectives may be used to evaluate someone as a 'bad mother' for either doing or not doing certain category-bound activities, like staying home with her children.

Much of this is related to the way in which we look at different situations – as mentioned before in the concept of norms in ethnomethodology, norms are used as a resource for sense-making. Sacks describes two "viewer's maxims" which help to guide this process. The **first viewer's maxim** states that 'If a Member sees a category-bound activity being done, then, if one sees it being done by a member of a category to which the activity is bound, see it that way' (Sacks 1992 Vol. I: 259). A baby need not only be a baby, but may be a boy or a girl, an American or a Czech, or be describable in other ways. But because the incumbent is doing a category-bound-activity, he or she is seen as the category to which the activity is bound.

Not only can categories be in a relationship to one another, but the activities bound to them may also be in such a relationship. The **second viewer's maxim** states 'If one sees a pair of actions which can be related by the operation of a norm that provides for the second given the first, where the doers can be seen as members of the categories the norm provides as proper for that pair of actions, then (a) see that the doers are such Members, and (b) see the second as done in conformity with the norm' (Sacks 1992 Vol. I: 260). That is, some activities are done normatively on the basis of other activities – there is an understanding of the order in which these activities are done. Thus the doing of one activity (picking up a baby) is accounted for using the fact that the first one has occurred (the baby having cried). On the other hand, not doing an activity is accounted

for on the basis of the other activity's not being done previously (the baby was not picked up because it did not cry, a phone was not answered because it was not ringing). It is important to note that in regard to both of these hearer's maxims, the hearer is the 'recipient' and the use of categories, like other actions in the framework of CA, is 'recipient-designed' – as Silverman puts it "members pay detailed attention to the implication of using a particular category in a particular place" (1998: 89). The question which interests us, of course, is how and when they do so.

2.5.2 MCA after Sacks

The preceding principles characterized MCA in its initial, Sacksian form. They do very much to explain the nature of categorial organization in social action and for the most part are relevant to this study, yet it appears there is a limited range of category work to which they can be applied – the "rules of application" may have originally been quite dependent upon the types of contexts in which the initial analysis was done. MCA has developed as its own field, and has been described as "culture-in-action" (Hester and Eglin 1997), and some of its developments are relevant to this study.

The first of these is the debated split between CA and MCA on the basis of "sequence vs. category". Membership Categorization Analysis was developed by Harvey Sacks in conjunction with Conversation Analysis. The difference between the two has been later understood (see Housley and Fitzgerald 2002), debatably, to lie in CA's focus on sequence and MCA's focus on categories. Hester and Eglin (1997: 2) note that sequential and categorizational aspects of social interaction inform each other, though many MCA studies have left out the study of sequence to a great degree. In the other direction, in relation to this focus on sequence, CA has taken a "linguistics" turn, thus forming the backbone of the field of interactional linguistics, dealing with, among other things, issues of prosody (cf. Selting and Cooper-Kuhlen 1996) and grammar (cf. Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson 1996).

Another important development is the expansion the discussion surrounding category-bound activities to include other concepts which focus in the local production of categories as an interactional achievement. "Jayyusi (1984), Payne (1976), Sharrock (1984) and Watson (1976, 1978, 1983) for example, have all observed that category-

bound activities are just one class of predicates which 'can conventionally be imputed on the basis of a given membership category' (Watson 1978: 76). Other predicates can include rights, entitlements, obligations, knowledge, attributes and competencies" (Hester and Eglin 5).

The described set of actions done using categorization beyond simply "description" has also expanded, including the analysis of categorization as a rhetorical device which helps to account for the normativity or "moral order" of a given social world created through discourse (Jayyusi 1984). This includes categorization for the purposes of identification, to upgrade or downgrade other members' claims (Housley 1999) and the justification of past actions and the preparing of the ground for future ones (Leudar, Marsland and Nekvapil 2004).

The breadth of different types of categories which may be used, the types of properties they may have, and the relationships between categories and devices, has also grown. Jayyusi (1984) also introduced the concept of "features". A feature can be made category-constitutive, tied, or occasioned in a given context.

Finally, there is the idea that categories change, the exploration of how they change, and how new categories are formulated. Leudar, Marsland and Nekvapil (2004) describe three ways in which these processes occur. 1. Through "changing the predicates normatively bound to a category (personal characteristics, dispositions to act in a certain way, etc.)" 2. Through respecification of the incumbency of a category (for example, who is included as a particular "us" and "them" at various stages of reactions to political events), and 3. Through changing a collection into which the category is allocated (cf. also Leudar and Nekvapil 2000, Leudar and Nekvapil 2006). In these three ways, categorizations are not independent of one another.

The field of MCA represents an early independent development of basic Sacksian CA principles. Interestingly, Hester and Eglin, in their understanding of MCA as "culture-in-action" (as compared to CA as the study of "talk-in-interaction") hit upon the idea of "culture" as being "done" through category work. Another, later direction along these lines is based on the idea that data analyzed using CA (including MCA), particularly in its early phases, was specific to a single "culture", and, in essence, a single

language. The way in which this idea became a challenge and was subsequently approached will be discussed in the next section.

2.5.3 CA and second language interactions

In the initial decades of CA application, several authors initially pointed out that most of the work being done involved speakers of American English. The question posed, primarily by Michael Moerman in his book "Talking Culture" (1988), was that of whether universals could be found in interactional practices. And one groundbreaking element of Moerman's work is that it applied CA to other languages and cultures, albeit from the point of view of an outsider-ethnographer. Later on, most of all in conjunction with CA's linguistic turn, languages and cultures other than English have been examined by their "natives". Furthermore, instances of people speaking languages not native to them have more recently become the subject of analysis. On the one hand, this has utilized CA as a "diagnosis tool" for analyzing and presumably improving techniques of second language teaching (cf. Seedhouse 2004), particularly in the classic format of the classroom. On the other hand (and, for the purposes of this study, more interestingly), "second language users" have become the subject of CA studies, when speaking amongst themselves or with native speakers. And this occurs in situations where the degree of traditional "acquisition" and experience with formal learning varies greatly, e.g. individuals who have only or primarily learned the language *outside* the classroom are especially interesting in their interactions. Gardner and Wagner, in their edited volume, reach a set of conclusions not unlike those from previous CA work: SL speakers orient to the local interactional order and are able to accomplish much within it. Their conclusions, specifically, are these:

1. Second language conversations are normal conversations which can be described using the same methodology that has been developed for first language conversations.
2. Errors and mistakes are rarely consequential: speakers can – but do not have to - orient to grammatical form and make it the focus for some of the talk.
3. Whilst second language users may not be highly proficient in the language, they are not "interactional dopes" (Garfinkel 1967: 68): they are able to engage in quite exquisite activities in the interaction, and in this respect they are just like any other speakers in a socially embedded situation.

4. Being a second language speaker is not a paramount identity in itself, it is one identity a speaker can adopt, but on the other hand, non-nativeness can be made relevant at any time, by a speaker or by recipients, as well as by different means.
5. Second language speakers are highly versatile, they are able to use a wide range of interactional resources, and they do it from the very beginning of their language careers.
6. Second language speakers are very persistent – they struggle for meaning and keep going until they are successful.
Gardner and Wagner (2004: 14-17)

These conclusions are framed in accordance with EM and CA, but they have relevance for other conceptual perspectives as well. In the next section, I will follow the "second language speaker" stream in introducing the final part of the overall framework of this study. Second language speakers must manage their learning and use in some way. The way in which they do so is discussed in the next section.

2.6 Language Management

FCPP situations display both language use and meta-language talk. Not only do the missionaries "do" proselyting through talk, but they also must acquire and use methods for doing so. Part of this process involves learning Czech and using Czech, which is, on the one hand, an individual matter, done gradually on the basis of continual day-to-day experience. On the other hand, it is a matter done at various organizational levels, in the church, in the mission, and in the companionship (a group of two or three missionaries who work together for two-month periods). And it is language-related ethno-methods which incorporate the interaction of these different organizational levels, and which are able to bring to light any language and sociocultural "problems" which may be encountered.

The integration of different levels is most visible through the employment of Language Management Theory (LMT), which provides a perspective on behavior-toward-language[16]. Like the conceptual frameworks of EM and CA discussed above, LMT is derived from an intersubjective understanding of norms or "expectations" for behavior, or rather, from the ongoing attempt at this understanding through communication and the "solving" of language and sociocultural problems. These problems arise from the norms to which participants orient and the fact that various

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[16] See Jernudd and Neustupny 1987, Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003.

participants in different situations possess differing norms which fluctuate e.g. over time and space, from individual to individual or within a given community. These norms may concern issues as "micro" as single units of grammar or pronunciation, or those as "macro" as the official status of a language in a single country or the creation of an institution for the language training of future missionaries.

Language Management is interpretable as a process consisting of five stages: 1) deviation from a norm, 2) noting of the deviation, 3) evaluation of the noted deviation, 4) design for the adjustment of the noted and evaluated deviation, and 5) implementation of the design for adjustment of the noted and evaluated deviation[17]. Not all of these stages need to be present in order to enable the analysis of management processes. It is enough for something to be conceived of as a problem for us to understand that a process of behavior-toward language is occurring. Even if a norm deviation is noted, but not evaluated, or is evaluated, but not adjusted, significant data has already been obtained from the point of view of LMT. What LMT seeks to investigate primarily, then, is what types of deviations exist, where, when, and how they are noted and evaluated, what types of adjustment plans are formed and where, when and how they are implemented (Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003). In this way, it is possible to follow the aforementioned fluctuation of norms over time and space, regardless of whether or not "problems" have surfaced on a large scale.

2.6.1 Simple and Organized Management

The macro-micro dynamic in language problems is revealed through the notion of two types of management: simple and organized. Simple management (discourse-based management) is the management of problems as they appear in individual communication acts (where, according to Neustupny, all language problems originate and/or are visible). Simple management shares some aspects, then, with theories of language correction (Neustupný 1978) and the CA concept of repair discussed in section 2.4.3 above.

Organized management (which has also been called "directed management", see Jernudd 2001) exists on the basis of the following conditions: 1) more than one person

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[17] Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003: 185-186.

participates in the management process, 2) discourse about management takes place, and 3) thought and ideology intervene.[18] Theories of this type of management were originally conceived of as an alternative to theories of language planning and policy. As language planning and policy were understood as activities which were primarily the domain of large entities such as governments and ministries, the theory of organized management sought to address the behavior toward language of entities of varying size, "officiality of status", and orientation. Organized management can occur within a family, a group of friends, an interest-based club, or even an internet-based community. Therefore, it is also an appropriate lens through which to view the various levels of a church.

The other advantage of LMT over language planning is that it allows for a relationship to management on the level of individual acts of discourse. According to Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003, management theory maintains that, in principle, language problems originate and/or are visible in simple management, and from there they are transferred to organized management. The results of organized management are then reflected in simple management.

In a more detailed examination of LMT, I will first explore the concept of norms in more detail, then I will elaborate on the five stages in which these norms are involved, including their relationship to the concept of "language problem".

2.6.2 Norms

The first stage of LM involves the *deviation* from a norm or expectation. "Norm" has been defined in various ways by the practitioners of LMT, with the most general distinctions in meaning being "norm as prescriptive" vs. "norm as descriptive" and "norm as codified" vs. "norm as not necessarily codified"[19]. Furthermore, the use of the term "expectation" instead of "norm" points to the fact that there are many situations for which it is problematic to speak of norms in the sense of norm as "what is correct" or as "what is usual". Neustupný (2003) demonstrates this best when analyzing the accounts of interactions provided by Japanese students in Prague, and emancipates LMT from the

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[18] Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003: 185.
[19] This is a facet of LMT's origins in the work of J.V. Neustupny, inspired by the theories of language cultivation of the Prague Linguistic Circle (B. Havránek), which mostly dealt with the question of norms as they related to issues of standard language and style. For a discussion on this, see Neustupný 1978 and Nekvapil and Neustupny 2003: 333).

confusion surrounding the norm in using the term "expectation". Individuals who are linguistically and culturally Japanese, when engaging in communication situations with individuals who are linguistically and culturally Czech, are participating in what have been called "contact situations" (Neustupný 1985, Fan 1994). In these contact situations, it has been observed that "native norms" can be "covertised" or backgrounded in favor of other communication interests or goals[20]. However, this observation is based on questions such as "Why do native speakers often not correct the mistakes of non-native speakers in contact situations?", which are essentially reflections of the analyst's own management processes and perceived norms. A resulting distinction has been that between the aforementioned "native" or "internal" norms and "contact" norms. Contact norms have been described for certain contact situations (e.g. Australian-Japanese), but there are many situations which may possess no large-scale establishment of contact norms, such as Neustupny's Czech-Japanese situations. In these situations, norms belong to the individual as a part of his or her individual past experience in various social worlds. They are an embodiment of, in a word, expectations.

2.6.3 Deviations

The unsolved issue above of how to operationally define norms leads us to the question of how norms are foregrounded in the first place. It is, in fact, only the occurrence of deviations that provides both participants and analysts with a picture of what norms and expectations exist. A deviation may correspond to the understanding of the norms of "language as system" and thus be the equivalent of a linguistic "error" – the inappropriate case-ending on a noun in Czech, or the replacement of a Czech vowel with an American English one. However, it is important to consider the fact that these "errors" may not be relevant (or rather, may not be made relevant) in a given interaction (as mentioned in the section on CA). A deviation may correspond to the choice of language. One person may begin an interaction with another person in Czech and expect that the other person will respond in Czech, but the other person responds in English.

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[20] Fairbrother 2002: 209-211

2.6.4 Noting

In the next stage, any of the participants may *note* the deviation. This phase may be difficult for the analyst to assess, because there are many psychological processes which cannot be recorded or observed. Therefore, manifestations of the noting phase are limited to those which are done observably in the interaction and those which are done post-interaction, either spontaneously or evoked in various types of research interviews, e.g. follow-up interviews (Neustupny 1999) or interaction interviews (Neustupny 2003, Muaroka 2000). The noting may otherwise be conscious or subconscious, overt or covert (not foregrounded in the interaction)[21] and when it is overt, it may involve a sort of meta-linguistic description. Jernudd (2001b) describes noting as the first phase of management within the interaction thus (italics mine):

"…*noting by speaker ('self') is often an interruption of an ongoing utterance accompanied by a murmur ['uh']*; and implementation of adjustment of an expression noted by self is often preceded by a repetition of the syllable or word immediately preceding the "product-item" when it is repaired (as ethnomethodologists term the noted speech segment and its adjustment, respectively)."

2.6.5 Evaluation

In conjunction with noting, the deviation may be *evaluated*. If evaluated negatively, it is a "problem", and if evaluated positively, it is a "gratification" (Neustupny 2003). For example, Fairbrother (2000) describes situations in which native Japanese speakers were pleasantly surprised by the linguistic and cultural behavior of their non-native Japanese speaking interlocutors. Furthermore, it is possible that for an evaluation to be more neutral, for example, consisting of an adjectival evaluations such as "it was different" or "it was interesting" (Fairbrother 2000: 36) for which the meaning may also be dependent upon the speaker's intonation. Like noting, evaluation in simple management may not be expressed directly in an interaction and thus be difficult to identify and analyze.

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[21] Jernudd (2001b) also differentiates between behavior-toward language which occurs "on-line" and that which occurs "off-line". "On-line" management is a complete process which may not even be conscious, and is not necessarily reflected. "Off-line" management occurs outside of a given interaction.

2.6.6 Adjustment designs

Subsequently, an *adjustment plan* may be selected or designed. This depends on a number of resources and potential adjustment plans which may be at the language user's disposal, and there may be other, external issues influencing which adjustment plan to choose. For example, a newer missionary's lack of knowledge of how to decline a noun in Czech may limit the selection of the "correct" adjustment plan. Given the absence of the grammatical knowledge required for the adjustment, the speaker may consider others, based on the possibilities presented by the situation and their potential outcomes. Another possibility would be to repeat the word in English, however, this depends on the anticipated likelihood that the interlocutor will understand, as well as the personal or organizational policy-related implications of using English.

Adjustment plans and designs may be viewed both on the micro and macro levels. At the micro level, the CA concept of repair (Schegloff et al 1977) often serves as the starting point for the analysis. For example, Miyazaki (2001) points to two essential factors in the process of adjustment design: frames and networks. Frame design concerns how the adjustment is designed in terms of sequence – whether or not the adjustment is done in a single turn, or whether it involves an entire expanded sequence. Network design is a matter of *who* is doing the adjusting, i.e. self- vs. other-adjustment and two-party vs. multiple-party adjustment. In cases of both self-adjustment and other-adjustment, an individual speaker may repair his own item in the same turn ("single-adjustment") or repair the item following negotiation ("complex-adjustment"). Both adjustment and negotiation may involve either two parties or multiple parties (Miyazaki 2001: 56).

The issue of the circumstances surrounding which adjustment to select is discussed below as one of the possible understandings of what a "language problem" is.

2.6.7 Implementation

In the last stage of LM, the adjustment plan may be *implemented*. Again, this may be as "simple" as self-initiated self-repair in the course of a single turn of speech, or as "complex" as the introduction and ratification of legislation and educational policy. This stage is similar to what is otherwise called language planning and policy in what is known as "organized management".

2.6.8 "Language Problems"

The concept of "language problem" characterizes the LM framework thus: the problem or "inadequacy" is the equivalent of the negatively-evaluated, noted deviation itself, and this negative evaluation is somehow "projected into communication from the socioeconomic sphere" (Neustupny and Nekvapil 2003: 323). This may often be realized in a situation in which a deviation has been noted and evaluated negatively, but it is not clear how the adjustment phase should look.

2.6.9 LMT and English in the Czech Republic after 1989

In this section, I will understand FCPP situations in one final sense, that is, from the perspective of the historical background of contact between languages and cultures. While EM and CA place emphasis on the categories and structure made relevant or oriented to by the participants, a further question can be posed, that of how we as analysts can make sense of the data, and what local ethnographic knowledge can be involved in the analysis, whether tacit (belonging to the analysts as "local members") or explicit (published as the results of study and thus widely available even to "non-members"). It is thus necessary to briefly explore the language problems managed in conjunction with contact between Czech and English after 1989, particularly as concerns the learning and use of English by Czechs, the learning and use of Czech by native speakers of English, and the organized management done in their communities. I will do so following Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003), describing first the situation, and then the multiple forms of simple and organized management.

2.6.9.1 The Situation

Sociolinguistic contact between Czech and English in the Czech Republic has thus far been the subject of markedly limited research, whatever its conceptual framework may be. There is a reason for this, a historical backdrop. The notions of a) native English speakers in the Czech Republic and b) the existence and subsequent language problems surrounding greater numbers or even a "community" of such speakers, have come about as a result of political changes in the year 1989. A totalitarian system of

state socialism (more popularly known as "communism" among foreigners) which held tight control on the movement of individuals both into and out of the country, was replaced by a system of representative democracy which, for the most part, allowed for such movement, especially as concerned the influx of people from western countries. Local language policy, practice and management have gradually reflected this ever since. On the state level, Russian, which had been mandatory in schools prior to 1989, ceased to be the most-commonly-taught language (Nekvapil 2007). In essence, it was replaced by other languages, primarily English, and many Russian teachers were "re-qualified" as English teachers. Furthermore, the free movement of individuals from English-speaking countries, many of whom would make their living as English teachers, into the Czech Lands was enabled, though this does not mean that it was common for most Czechs to come into close contact with them. In some locations (primarily Prague), these native speakers moved from being exotic to being commonplace, even becoming a part of a multicultural/multilingual community, in which norms for interacting with non-Czech speakers were gradually established.

This historical backdrop and the subsequent development have enabled the creation of many interactional situations for simple management, as well as many units for the practice of organized management. Language behavior, primarily the acquisition of competence and use of both English and Czech from the perspective of the English-speaking community as well as "from outside", from the majority Czech community, may be the subject of discourse, of discussions in domains such as the home, public places such as cafes and pubs, and, in more recent years "private-public" spheres such as internet discussion forums[22]. Norms for learning and using Czech as well as those for using English are established within the various communities, workplaces, social networks and families[23] to which the English-speakers belong.

2.6.9.2 Simple Management

There are several "language problems" which have been described within the English-speaking community, and these problems are continually managed in varying

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[22] See Sherman 2006a, 2006b, 2006c and in press.
[23] cf. Sherman 2001, 2003a, 2003b and 2005 for the management of language in Czech-American families.

ways, as they reflect different norms possessed by different speakers. One, for example is an interactional problem concerning language choice. An English-speaker may begin an interaction in Czech, and the interlocutor, hearing the first speaker's accent, may respond in English (see Crown 1996, Sherman 2006b). If the native English speaker is trying to learn Czech, this may be a frustrating situation, a negatively evaluated deviation, and the problem can be formulated as "Nobody wants to speak Czech with me". However, if the native English speaker is simply trying to achieve successful communication, the switch to English may be evaluated positively. Conversely, if a speaker begins an interaction in English and is responded to in Czech and this is evaluated negatively, the problem can be formulated more generally as "Czechs do not speak sufficient English", a language problem which may appear in the sphere of tourism and the service industry (cf. Marriott 1991b), and in issues of communication on the European level.

2.6.9.3 Organized Management

From the Czech perspective, the greater language problem of "insufficient command of English" as a noted and negatively evaluated deviation is represented in various ways. One of these is in the media. For example, in an article for one of the daily newspapers, an American journalist detailed her experiences "testing" the English of Czech politicians, and found the language ability of many of them to be lacking (Spritzer 2004). In 2004, after the resignation of the Czech candidate for Eurocommissioner, it was speculated that part of the reason for this resignation was his poor knowledge of English (Dvořákova 2004: 5). It has also been noted in the newspapers that police in the center of Prague have insufficient command of foreign languages, including English, and for a short period of time, high school students were dispatched to act as translators, and later, the police department for Prague 1, a major tourist area, was reconstructed such that its officers with foreign language skills were assigned to the center of the city, and access to interpreters was guaranteed (Miklíková 2006).

Adjustment designs for this more generally noticed "inadequacy" abound. The largest of these is on the state level, in that part of the "National plan for the teaching of foreign languages" is two mandatory foreign languages in school, one of which must be English (Nekvapil 2007). Furthermore, the demand for English appears in job

advertisements, for example, shops in the center of the city have English as a requirement. Employers sponsor the teaching of English for their employees.

From the perspective of the native-English speaker living in the Czech Republic, the greatest language problem is that of how to use both languages to such a degree that lack of Czech language knowledge does not inhibit one's activities, and at the same time, that the use of English does not create the impression of rudeness or ethnocentrism. The implementation of adjustment designs is manifested in organized management "products" such as the concept of "Survival Czech", a communication-oriented, limited collection of vocabulary and phrases which enable a non-fluent speaker to enter into basic interaction situations (shopping, restaurants, etc.), or the bottom-up organization of extra schooling, language exchanges, "language tables", or small-group private language courses.

The LMT framework predicts that there is a relationship between the management of linguistic, communicative, and socioeconomic problems (Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003: 186). Language problems can be addressed at the linguistic level, but in order to deal with them more effectively, it is necessary to consider the socioeconomic level, for example, the issue of sufficient language-learning resources becoming somehow financially viable to those who need them. This often means that there is a relationship between various languages and varieties as concerns their prestige, and in effect, their economic value, e.g. on the job market. For many of their interlocutors, then, the Mormon Missionaries are not merely foreigners speaking Czech. They are also foreigners speaking English and offering free English classes. It should be noted that English classes, if not sponsored by a school or employer, may present a financial difficulty for many people and the supply of native-speaking teachers may not fulfill the demand, especially outside of larger cities.

It can thus be observed that many people approach the offer of free English classes with purely practical and economic intentions. In the sense of organized management, we can view the negatively-evaluated deviation or "inadequacy" as the lack of knowledge in English, and furthermore, the inability to self-finance English classes. The adjustment design and implementation, then, involves attending these classes. In general, it is not uncommon in various countries to hear locals say that they had voluntarily spent time with the missionaries in order to improve their English and that it

was an item of "local knowledge" in a given community that the missionaries were an appropriate source of this. This became immediately evident given the observation of missionary English class attendance. On one of my participant observation visits, for example, I met a doctor who needed to have a scientific article for publication proofread. As two of the sister missionaries were completing this task, the doctor told me that some of her colleagues had recommended the missionaries to her for help with English. Another week, the missionaries announced that instead of the weekly English classes, an informal "English party" would be held. When I attended the following week, I observed that the number of visitors had dropped by approximately two-thirds. This was explained by the missionaries as "people want to learn English, not come to a party".

The management of language, as we can thus observe, is always done against the background of a society with multiple interests, which can become the subject of discourse. In consideration of this fact, the specific management practices of the missionaries, their mission and church, both simple and organized, will be further detailed in Chapter 8.

2.7 Proselyting as an instructed action done and managed in a foreign language

In this chapter, I have presented an overview of the frameworks of Ethnomethodology (EM), Conversation Analysis (CA), and Language Management Theory (LMT). There are significant relationships between these frameworks. I have shown that CA has developed on the background of EM, and that LMT, like EM and CA, provides for the analysis of behavior toward language which is reflexive and indexical, and which utilizes norms as a resource for action. In concluding my presentation of these frameworks as relevant ones for the analysis of proselyting encounters, I will elaborate on two final concepts – the Sacksian notion of the "thick surface" of social activity, where all of these conceptual backgrounds meet, and the EM concept of "instructed actions".

2.7.1 The concurrent organization of the "thick surface" of social activity

In each individual proselyting situation, it would not be desirable, or even possible, to do only an analysis of single instances of turn-taking, for example, without considering the topic being discussed, the greater context of the turn sequences, or the

way in which the participants categorize themselves, their interlocutors, and the situation. In one of his lectures, Sacks observed the following:

"I've mentioned varieties of types of organization and proposed that adjacency pairs were used in various types of organization. One of the sorts of interests raised by talk like that can be developed in the following way. Imagine a surface of some sort, and we are now proceeding to characterize that surface in terms of conversational sequential types of things. Since the things we're talking about are serial it's imaginable that for lots of them they are in some ways *serially linked* on the surface – this follows this, this goes after this position, etc., etc. – rather than focusing on another aspect of things, which is the way that different types of organizations may be *layered* onto each other. So the surface is thick and not just serial. Which is to say that a given object might turn out to be put together in terms of several types of organization; in part by means of adjacency pairs and in part in some other type of organizational terms, like overall structural terms or topical organizational terms. And one wants to establish the way in which a series of different types of organizations operate in a given fragment, i.e., in a given, quotes place, on the surface. " (Sacks 1992,Vol. II: 561-2) (see also Garfinkel and Sacks 1986)

The "thick surface" described here can be paraphrased as the concurrent operation of various types of order. In combining all of the frameworks I have introduced above, I will present the foreign language FCPP situations through the analysis of different layers of meaning and order. In conjunction with this, I will use the EM concept of instructed actions.

2.7.2 Instructed Actions

A missionary is not born a missionary, and though an LDS missionary may spend much of his life beforehand preparing to go on a mission, it is only when he attends the Missionary Training Center that he even begins to receive any sort of step-by-step information - instruction on exactly how to do missionary work. Even then, before he has actually entered the mission field, he may even have heard stories from returned missionaries or read preparatory literature, yet much of the instruction he has received is more vague in nature, e.g. "talk to as many people as possible". In language instruction classes, he may have been asked to plan out a foreign-language dialogue to use in certain situations. The materials he receives upon arriving at the mission site also contain sample dialogues. Some of these dialogues even contain suggestions for questions to ask in conversational openings. Later, the missionary has the opportunity to watch his more experienced companion demonstrating "doing" first-contact proselyting encounters,

which, presumably, he is to be able to eventually emulate. Eventually, the new missionary has to do these encounters himself, initially purely on the basis of the "instructions" he has received up to now. In observing and then doing FCPP situations over the two-year period, his "documentary method of interpretation" further develops his understanding of them. His interlocutors' behavior in these situations demonstrates underlying patterns, and when it deviates from them, these deviations are considered in his further sense-making practices. By the time he has completed his mission, his understanding of how he *has done* proselyting, and, in fact, how *to do* proselyting, looks somewhat different than it did at the beginning. Doing proselyting is a process gradually refined, that is, it is comprised of the repetition of a sequence of actions which may be successful or unsuccessful at any point. It involves overcoming natural troubles which may occur, getting the "hang" of missionary work in such a way that it can be passed on to a newer missionary. It is a type of "instructed action".

The "instructed" action is primarily a concept of EM. It has been discussed by several authors in relation to a later direction of EM, and often related to actions on the basis of formal types of instruction materials such as maps, manuals, recipes and guides (Garfinkel 2002, Lynch 1993, 2002, ten Have 2004). Ten Have describes it as "…the local, each-time-again, embodied character of practical order-producing activities, conceived of as an achieved relationship between on the one hand descriptions and instructions and on the other hand the actual activities to which these descriptions and instructions refer" (ten Have 2004: 152). Lynch (2002: 128-9) (citing Garfinkel) describes "actions performed in accordance with instructions" as two-part actions, which is detailed by the following diagram:

[Instructions] → {Lived course of action}

In the diagram, "instructions" are any sort of formal[24] instructions for doing an action, and "lived course of action" is the actual course of "lived work", of carrying out this action or actions. "The arrow denotes the situated work of using the instructions, making out what they say, finding fault with them, re-reading them in the light of what is happening *just now*, and other contingent uses and readings." (Lynch 129). This is not,

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[24] "Formal" here may seen as tangible, instructions in writing with a specific "instructional structure", as exemplified in the previous paragraph, yet I understand the term a bit more loosely, including the "instructing" done between missionary companions.

however, a one-directional relationship. Rather, it is a dialectic one – the instructions are continually modified on the basis of repeatedly doing the action.

The process of continually modifying the proselyting process works in a similar way. This "lived course of action" is also closely related to the setting in which the missionaries find themselves. As mentioned in the introduction to this study, the Mormon missions pride themselves in the claim that "we all teach the same thing". Many of the manuals available to the missionaries are universal, written for any missionary serving in any country in the world, despite the fact that the missionaries who read them have very different experiences. The question that this study poses, then, is that of how these universal instructions translate into lived public proselyting encounters done in terms of talk. Furthermore, there is the question of what makes proselyting different from any other activities done through talk which involve the establishment of some sort of closer relationship between actors.

What I am about to analyze in the following chapters are instances of the lived course of action, a group of situations consisting of various numbers of turns and lengths. Some of the examples are only a couple of lines long, while others are hundreds or even thousands of lines long. What do they have in common? What is significant about them all? They all involve the following, which is part of the common sense framework of members' methods.

1) The local sequential order. The situations not only consist of individual sequences and adjacency pairs, but are also guided by the norms "constitutive of action" for the operation of these sequences. This type of order is intertwined with preference organization, as the contacting encounters are occurring between strangers, and the missionaries operate with the aim of being "polite", among others. This leads, for example, to the extensive use of presequences preceding dispreferred actions such as requests. For their interlocutors, it is a question of refusals and how to "politely" do them. This type of order makes up the building blocks of the encounter and also determines the nature of the extended sequential order.

2) The extended sequential order, primarily in the form of "extended sequences" or "sequences of sequences" (Schegloff 2007: 195). In its missionary-envisioned ideal form, the proselyting encounter is a sequence of sequences that enable the introduction and

maintenance of certain topics as well as the mutual categorization of the interlocutors. Even in the situations which consist merely of a couple of turns, those turns and their respective sequences are done with the understanding of the sequences which could potentially follow, and participants act accordingly. At the beginning of each encounter (with the exception of the street display encounters), we can assume that the missionary enters it with the assumption or hope that the encounter will be an extended one, while his interlocutor enters it with the expectation that the encounter will be brief, and if he expects otherwise, he may not enter it at all. There are many situations in which people do not stop at all after being addressed by the missionaries with a pre-request sequence, because the pre-request projects a request sequence.

3) The topical order. It can be argued that one element that makes proselyting recognizable is the subject of God or faith. There are several observations which can be made about these "topics". One is that they are intimate, personal, in fact private, matters to be discussed with people who are close. Another is that they can be complex and require longer explanations for the sake of clarification. The missionaries understand such topics as a way for two interlocutors to get to know each other better. Yet FCPP situations begin in public between two strangers, and the transitions between topics must consider this fact. Also, all topics must be initiated and closed. Some must be preceded sequentially by others, while some can be shifted around.

4) The categorial order. As I have pointed out earlier, there are some FCPP situations which are very brief, and others which are very long and drawn-out. This is, in part, determined by the fact that even prior to any verbal exchanges, the interlocutors have already categorized each other in some way, most likely as "stranger-stranger". The mutual categorization of the talk participants provides some indication as to what topics will be discussed, and, conversely, the topics that are discussed indicate the mutual categorization that the talk participants are already doing, in a manner similar to that of Sacks' "we were in an automobile discussion" (Sacks 1992, Vol. I: 148-149).

5) The "language" order. Czech is the language used in the greater part of the FCPP situations. It is the language chosen by the missionaries in which to initiate and continue the encounters. The missionaries are second-language speakers of Czech, so it may be difficult for them to express themselves such that their interlocutors understand them.

This may influence all of the types of order discussed above, as specific elements of sequence, preference and category may be language- or culture-specific. The missionaries are also first-language speakers of English, the status of which means that it can also be used in the encounters. The issue of foreign language in missionary work involves a process of learning and using at the same time. An important part of the missionaries' language training is meant to come from proselyting encounters.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the conceptual framework in which this study is grounded. Section 2.1 introduced this framework in conjunction with its varied understanding of "talk". Section 2.2 offered a summary of some of the preliminary etic definitions of the practice of proselyting. Section 2.3 explored the basic elements and subsequent directions of the approach of Ethnomethodology. Section 2.4 detailed one of Ethnomethodology's related fields – Conversation Analysis. Section 2.5 explored some of the further development of CA which has become a separate field, MCA, as well as the use of CA and MCA in the analysis of non-American-English and non-native speaker data. Section 2.6 introduced the framework of Language Management Theory and set out the basic framework for the management of language problems concerning English in the present-day Czech Republic. Section 2.7 pointed to the relationships between these major frameworks in presenting proselyting as an instructed action done and managed in a foreign language. This framework has motivated the research design of this study, which is detailed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Analytic Methods

3.1 Introduction

This study examines the doing and sense-making processes of American Mormon Missionaries in the Czech Republic in first-contact public proselyting situations. Chapter 2 has provided a conceptual framework for the approach to this topic, in which Ethnomethodology, particularly Ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis, is able (including in conjunction with LMT) to depict proselyting encounters as "instructed actions" which are done through topical, categorial, and local and extended sequential order. This chapter provides an overview of the research design and analytic methods by which this study was conducted, including the project design, qualitative research strategy, data collection procedures, role of the researcher, further data selection procedures, ethical issues, strategies for validating the findings and the various stages of analysis.

3.2 Project Design

3.2.1 Qualitative research strategy

This qualitative study ultimately combines a number of methodological approaches, in particular an ethnographic one, while adhering to the basic principles of EM and CA. There have been various approaches to EM research. For example, ten Have (1990) describes four existing research "solutions" to ethnomethodology's problem, which is "…a double-faced problem: on the one hand a problem of minimizing the unexamined use of common sense, and on the other that of maximizing its examinability." These solutions have manifested themselves in number of various combinations[25]. The first such combination, manifested in the early work of Garfinkel, examines situations containing "sharp discrepancies" between existing expectations and practical tasks which "necessitate extraordinary sense-making efforts by members". One famous case of this is Garfinkel's "Agnes", a study in which he analyzes a transsexual's "doing being a woman". His well-known "breaching experiments" also involve a strategy

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[25] Cf. Maynard and Clayman 1991.

of this type. The second type of work is that in which the researcher places him or herself in an extraordinary situation and allows him or herself to be instructed in the sense-making processes of the members being studied, and, in effect, makes the transition from being a non-member to being a member[26]. The third type is work resembling that of traditional ethnography, whereby the researcher maintains the identity of an outsider and observes the situated activities of the members being studied, which may even involve recording equipment. Fourthly and finally, there is work in area of CA, which assumes the use of recording equipment and the subsequent transcription of the recordings. This serves as the primary (if not sole) form of data and has the goal "…to formulate a 'device' which may have been used to produce that 'product' and phenomena like it (c.f. Sacks, 1984 a)." (ten Have 1990)

ten Have points out that what in essence marks the difference between EM and CA can be paraphrased as a distinction between the targeted study of the extraordinary (EM), in which specific circumstances are created or sought out, and the study of the ordinary, the mundane (CA), in which the phenomenon being studied is selected only after the data has been recorded and transcribed. The present study does a bit of both.

In another attempt to capture the methodology of EM work, Hester and Francis (2004) describe three modes for analysis more generally: self-reflection, analysis of recorded talk and action, and "acquired immersion" (26). While "acquired immersion" corresponds to the Garfinkelian concept of unique adequacy, and also to the type of ethnomethodological research in which the researcher is "instructed" in the sense-making processes of the members being studied, the analysis of recorded talk and action corresponds to the documentary method of interpretation, and its most common manifestation has come in the form of Conversation Analysis (CA).

The steps for doing the ethnomethodological analysis, as outlined by Hester and Francis (2004, 25-26) are:

1. Notice something that is observably-the-case about some talk, activity or setting.
2. Pose the question "How is it that this observable feature has been produced such so that it is recognizable for what it is?"

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[26] ten Have notes that this developed at least partly on the basis of the ethical concerns brought about in particular by the use of breaching experiments.

3. Consider, analyze and describe the methods used in the production and recognition of the recognizable feature.

Clearly, the EM/CA research strategy selected for this study (which also enables later analysis on the basis of other frameworks, including LMT), as discussed briefly in the previous chapter, conforms to both CA and the steps outlined by Hester and Francis. It includes the following principles:

- Focusing on the actions and the categories made relevant by the interaction participants themselves, as opposed to those of the analyst and/or those which may somehow be "pre-existing"
- Primarily analyzing recordings of naturally-occurring interaction (if possible)
- Formulating a topic for analysis on the basis of "unmotivated looking" rather than beginning with a hypothesis to be tested
- Collecting instances of related interactional phenomena

3.2.2 Data collection procedures

The field research for this study took place over the course of a year and a half. The first phase involved a combination of participant observation and interviews. Upon receiving a contact to the missionaries through an acquaintance who is an LDS member, I contacted the missionary zone leader and was promptly invited to Sunday worship services. I attended and, following the service, I attended Sunday school and the Relief Society meeting (for women), after which I proceeded to conduct nine semi-structured and interaction interviews with missionaries. The interaction interview, as previously utilized by Neustupný (2003) and Muraoka (2000), consists in subjects' describing a set period of time, for example a day, and all events or interactions taking place within that period. When the interaction interview is aimed at generating accounts of certain types of behavior in particular, the researcher may prompt the subject to reveal certain details of interactions, such as which language the given interactions were conducted, who an individual interacted with, or how the interviewee would evaluate a given interaction. This type of interview was established in order to research situations where recording

actual interactions is either forbidden, have already occurred, or would strongly influence the course of the interaction. Eight missionaries were interviewed individually and one "companionship" (a pair of missionaries who work together for the period of a "transfer", or two months in a given location in the Czech and Slovak Republics) was interviewed together. One week later, a similar interview was undertaken with a companionship of female missionaries or "sisters".

This phase of the research served as a preliminary study. This data was then analyzed and its relevance for future research assessed. This analysis was assisted by supplemental data gained from LDS internet websites[27]. This helped me to get a general sense of the missionaries' work, daily routines, and instructional aids and background, i.e. what materials and courses are available to them both prior to and during their mission period. This data, primarily the reflections of the missionaries on their work, will be used at several points in the following chapters to support the analysis of data collected during later phases.

During the second phase of the research, the missionaries were subsequently contacted once again, and a specific city was selected for the fieldwork[28]. The purpose was to visit the missionaries there and discover which types of activities I would be able to return and observe. On my initial visit to this city, I conducted a group interview, with four missionaries and one Czech church member present. This interview was originally intended to be of interaction interview character, but was ultimately more of a semi-structured interview, bearing resemblance to a focus group session. This was followed by participation in a "Family Home Evening", which is a regular event practiced in the LDS church[29] (held biweekly in this location), usually involving food and socializing, held at a church member's home.

The missionaries reacted positively to my request for further visits, indicating that I could assist them with language problems which came up in their work. This was followed by five months of field research in the given city, with research conducted on a weekly basis. This largely consisted of participant observation, with ethnographic field notes prepared after each visit. I accompanied the missionaries as they went about their

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[27] www.lds.org, www.mormon.cz, www.mormon.org, www.mtc.byu.edu
[28] On no particular basis, with the aim of choosing as "average Czech city" that was not the capital, Prague.
[29] cf. LeBaron 2005 for one of the few EM-based analyses of LDS ritual.

normal daily routines, and this encompassed a number of different activities. These activities can be divided into three categories: first contact situations, second contact situations, and organizational situations. First contact situations consisted primarily of "contacting", or addressing people in public (on the street, on public transportation, etc.) and "street display", or an activity in which missionaries sing in public (most often on a large square in the city) and take turns talking to passers-by. Second contact situations included follow-up meetings, visits, English classes, stop-smoking seminars, "family home evening" and "sports night" activities and in some cases Sunday worship services. Organizational situations consisted of preparation time and district meetings.

All of the above-mentioned activities were recorded on mini-disc when deemed possible and appropriate. As the researcher, I was present for all of the activities, keeping a low profile during most of them. I did not actively participate in first contact situations[30], and in the case of street display I observed from a distance (on one occasion) or observed and then was invited to join in the singing segment (on another). On occasions during which the missionaries and their investigators or members took turns reading in Czech from the Bible, the Book of Mormon, or other documents (e.g. the stop-smoking seminar guidance material), I took my turn as well. I also participated in group activities during English classes (which was also largely turn-taking oriented) and in selected turn-taking organizational activities, e.g. during a district meeting, each missionary was asked to provide an anecdote representing his or her most entertaining moment of the previous week, which I was invited to do as well.

During the participant observation, I was able to conduct interviews of varying length and approach. These ranged from the initial interaction interviews to brief, open-ended interviews conducted as the missionaries moved from place to place around the city (i.e. between different activities). There were also a number of follow-up interviews which occurred following first-contact situations. Impressions from such situations were often gathered spontaneously – it was common for the missionaries to comment on the individual interactions immediately after their conclusion.

I also gathered various written documents during this time. Several of these were provided to me by the missionaries themselves. This included directly religious materials

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[30] There are a few small exceptions to this, in which I am identified in the transcript as "T".

such as the Book of Mormon in both Czech and English, as well as planning materials for the missionaries at the local level, flyers, and other materials.

The final phase of the initial data gathering involved the collecting of a number of books sold at Brigham Young University[31] with missionaries as their intended audience. This includes the official missionary handbook, and the textbook *Preach My Gospel*. This phase came out of my gradual observation of how the missionaries are trained for their jobs on several different levels with the aid of different types of materials. Given that the LDS church as well as many others have been sending missionaries around the world as well as throughout the United States for decades, certain general strategies have been years in the making. This has resulted in numerous publications and educational materials which the missionaries and their families have the opportunity to purchase, with titles such as *Making the Most of Your Mission*, *What I Wish I'd Known Before My Mission*, or *Your Best Two Years: Practical Mission Preparation*[32].

3.2.3 Role of the researcher

In the Czech context, I as the researcher self-categorized identically to the missionaries in several respects, yet differed from them in regard to others. Like them, I am a native-English-speaking American who had to face the trials and tribulations of learning the Czech language and attempting to communicate with various people, and like them, I began this process at the age of nineteen. Unlike them, I originally came to the Czech Republic to be a student, not a missionary, and in addition, I was not raised in any specifically religious tradition. I do not belong to any religious group even as an adult, and am not well-versed in religious discourse[33]. It should also be mentioned that I am female and nearly ten years older than the missionaries with whom I worked, about three quarters of whom were male. All of these "self-categorizing" details about me were made known to the missionaries with whom I worked.

"Radical" Ethnomethodology speaks of the "unique adequacy requirement" (Garfinkel 2002, Garfinkel and Wieder 1992, ten Have 2002). The requirement is that the

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[31] The university in Utah founded by the LDS church, with branches in Idaho and Hawaii, www.byu.edu
[32] For a complete list of these, see the section on LDS materials in the bibliography.
[33] Cf. Gordon 1987, who concludes that establishing a visible, distant role as a researcher (as opposed to a potential convert) leads to increased rapport and acceptance from the members of proselytizing groups.

researcher should develop a "vulgar competence" in the trade in question. To the degree that it was possible, I feel that it was possible to strive for, if not satisfy, this requirement by accompanying the missionaries in their work to the degree that it was permitted. Many parts of the missionary experience were deemed too private for a researcher (especially a researcher of the opposite sex) to participate in. For example, activities conducted in the missionaries' homes were not possible due to a rule stating that guests were not allowed there.

3.2.4 Data selection procedures

The data was initially classified into separate situations - individual first contact situations, of which there were thirty-seven (see below), several of which were part of two separate street displays, second contact situations – English classes (3), stop-smoking seminars (1), informal language and/or spiritual teaching appointments (8) and organizational situations – zone meetings (2). During the phase of "unmotivated looking", the relevance of these individual types of situations was then considered, and subsequently, the first-contact public proselyting (FCPP) situations were selected for further primary analysis. This recorded data was transcribed based on the conventions of Conversation Analysis (specifically, a modified version of that used in Psathas 1995). Situations that the missionaries call "tracting", more commonly known in an etic sense as going door-to-door, are not examined here, largely due to the inaccessibility of data (hence the definition of the situations ultimately selected for analysis as "public" as opposed to "private") .

The individual FCPP situations were selected for analysis (i.e. categorized by the researcher as FCPP situations) on the basis of several conditions. These are a) the encounter took place in public, b) the missionaries and their interlocutors did not know each other previously (with one exception, see below), and most importantly, c) the missionaries themselves categorized the activity as "contacting", usually prior to doing it (e.g. by making statements such as "we're going to go contacting now", or "let's contact that guy"). Proselyting may be etically observed to be consisting of phases, all of which involve some type of emically-determined "goal-oriented interaction"[34] – outside of the

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[34] cf. Arminen 2005: 135-8

FCPP situations, the missionaries stated a number of goals connected to the situations. As can be expected, not all (or, in fact, very few) FCPP situations involve the "fulfillment" of these goals, so not all recorded interactions contain all phases examined in Chapters 5-7, e.g. some may end as early as the initial attempt to initiate conversation. Hence the entire process, the general activity, including the individual phases by themselves or in combination with other phases, is both emically and etically defined as 'proselyting' and the data selection process reflects this.

The resulting total number of FCPP situations collected in this study was 37. Of these, 8 are "street display" situations, and another 2 are exceptional situations which fall more loosely into the category of FCPP. That is, one is actually a second-contact situation[35] and the other is a "shopping situation" in which the missionaries enter a store, look around for awhile, ask about some of the products, look around some more, and then offer their free English class before leaving the store[36]. The data selected for analysis totaled 2 hours, 26 minutes and 4 seconds, with the individual encounters ranging from 4 seconds to 35 minutes and 2 seconds in length.

Though a total of 26 missionaries[37] participated in the various phases of the research, only 3 missionaries (all men) were recorded in FCPP situations. Most of the recorded missionary turns at talk belong to one of the missionaries who served as "senior companion" at the time of the research and had already spent more than a year and a half in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, marked in the transcripts as "M1", and this is reflected in the similarity in, among other things, word choice and general "individually standardized" interactive approach. The other two missionaries recorded, marked as "M2" and "M3" in the transcripts, were "junior companions", and had either just arrived in the country (M2) or had only been there for several months (M3). Other missionaries, i.e. those participating in the zone meeting analyzed in Chapter 8 or quoted from interviews, are also marked numerically. A total of 43 different native Czech speakers, numbered chronologically as C1-C43, were recorded in FCPP situations, one (C9) on more than one occasion.

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[35] In which an interlocutor met the missionaries twice in subsequent "street displays".
[36] The transcript of only a part of the encounter is thus provided in the appendix.
[37] 19 men and 7 women, aged 19 to 26 and almost entirely American, with the exception of one Czech and one German.

The combination of participants in the different situations varied. Street display situations always involved a single missionary and interlocutor or interlocutors (this was missionary M1 in all cases). All other situations involved 2 missionaries and the researcher, with the exception of situations 28-33 in the appendix, which involved missionary M1 and the researcher, and situations 34-37, which involved missionary M3 and the researcher. The interlocutors ranged in gender and age, with a tendency toward younger males[38].

Because Chapter 8, the LMT chapter, looks at the FCPP situations from a broader perspective, it involved a slightly different range of data. Though most of the examples analyzed in this chapter do come from FCPP situations, the main criterion for selection of examples was that they contained *actions displaying behavior toward language*. For the FCPP situations, this was most commonly demonstrated in instances of repair or code-switching, which can also be viewed as a sort of repair. Hence, there are other situations utilized in this chapter -- excerpts from a zone meeting and an interaction interview. These other situations are understood as either preparation for future contacting encounters (zone meeting) or talk about past contacting encounters (interaction interview data).

3.2.5 Ethical issues

Participants in this study were informed of its nature and given the opportunity for oral informed consent beforehand, to the degree that this was possible without exercising undue influence on the interactions. That is, there were interactions which were recorded without the knowledge of the participants. For the FCPP situations, non-Mormon FCPP participants were unaware of the recordings, for other situations, participants were aware of them. The unaware individuals were always participants in first-contact situations who spoke to the missionaries in public. The lack of these individuals' consent is due to the fact that it would be simply impossible to explain the research to people who were not even sure why they were being approached by the missionaries in the first place. In other

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[38] The same demographic group as the missionaries themselves, which the ethnographic research revealed was a specific strategy, particularly as concerns male missionaries talking to men and female missionaries talking to women.

words, informing them would create a serious handicap to the phenomenon under study[39].
Also, one aim of the study was to capture (to the greatest degree possible) naturally-occurring conversation. Therefore, the primary ethically motivated efforts were put toward the maximization of anonymity and confidentiality[40] in the data.

The anonymity of the FCPP situation participants was maintained naturally to a certain degree, because in most cases, the given individuals did not reveal any identifying details about themselves. However, there were occasional cases in which they did provide the missionaries with such details. In these cases, confidentiality, as opposed to anonymity, became the object. In order to maintain the highest degree of confidentiality in cases where anonymity was impossible, all names and identifying details of any participants in interactions have been altered in the transcription process, not appearing anywhere on paper or in electronic form. I have also altered any details referring to the time (year, month) and place (city, local street names) where the research was conducted. Furthermore, I was the only person to listen to and transcribe the recordings, with the exception of the missionaries, who were provided with them only upon the completion of their mission period.

3.3 Strategies for validating findings

As discussed in section 2.7.2, one of the aims of this study is to examine the missionaries' embodiment of the lebenswelt pair of *instructions* and *lived course of action*, which together form the concept of *instructed actions* (Garfinkel 2002, Lynch 1993, ten Have 2004). The first segment of this pair involves some set of instructions (training and instructional materials), and the second segment is the work (proselyting), the description of which can, in turn, serve as the basis for the creation of the normative instructions. Therefore, I aim to praxiologize, or read as related constituents of an instructed action, both the missionaries' various descriptive accounts of their work (pre- and post-interaction) and their actual work. Praxiological accounts can be validated by members, practitioners (Garfinkel 1967, 2002, Garfinkel and Wieder 1992).

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[39] For more on this issue, see Agar 1980.
[40] I distinguish between these two concepts in that anonymity means the researcher does not even possess identifying details about the person in question, and confidentiality means that the researcher does possess these details but does not share them with any other person, and in published findings, alters the details such that the individual in question cannot be recognized.

Both EM and CA by their own nature, have a sort of "self-validating" character, EM in the sense described above, and CA in terms of the possibility of repeated re-analysis of the data. Another way to understand this is through the concept of data triangulation, or the use of different methods providing different perspectives. This study's data, does not, metaphorically speaking, form an equilateral triangle. That is, as concerns the types of data central to the study, there is primarily one type of data under analysis – recordings of FCPP situations. The recordings were not simply made and then transcribed and analyzed by third persons, but rather, all data was also observed by (and, some cases, even included the participation of) the researcher (who served as the transcriber), creating more perspectives on individual situations. The smaller "angles" of the triangle dominated by the analysis of recorded and transcribed FCPP situations are the missionaries' reflections following the interactions, their general reflections in the context of interviews, and data from the missionary and church documents.

Some methods have also served to assess which other methods would be appropriate later and which data could become the focus of the study. Preliminary findings[41] primarily utilized the first set of interaction interviews conducted and focused on the way in which the missionaries integrate their previous experiences and subsequently acquired knowledge of the Czech language and culture to develop further work strategies. This analysis also focused on the manner in which the missionaries describe their daily routines, revealing that they divide them up into three types of domains – home, work, and church. They also portray their routines as an integration of three levels – normative, personal routine, and specific, and orientation to the expected reactions of their interlocutors.

3.4 Stages of data analysis

As established in the previous chapter, Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA), serve as the main analytical tools in the analysis of the transcribed recordings. Recall also that the focus of the study is the doing and sense-making processes in FCPP situations. In Chapter 1, the following research questions were posed:

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[41] Published as Sherman 2005 and Sherman 2006a.

1) How do missionaries "do" proselyting such that it is recognizable to them for what it is?

2) What interactional work constitutes this process, and how is this work done through the interplay of the organization of sequence, preference, topic and category?

3) How do the participants in these proselyting situations make relevant the given setting, in this case characterized by the contact between Czech (local) and American (foreign) languages and cultures?

4) How do the individual missionaries and their church "behave toward language", i.e. how do they manage language and cultural competence and their manifestations through and for the purpose of engaging in proselyting interactions?

All of these research questions will be applied to the analysis of the relationships between:
1) initial local sequential organization and extended sequential organization in the proselyting encounter (Chapter 4).
2) local sequential organization, extended sequential organization, and programmatically relevant categorial organization in the proselyting encounter (Chapter 5).
3) local sequential organization, extended sequential organization, and topical organization in the proselyting encounter (Chapter 6).
4) final local sequential organization and extended sequential organization in the proselyting encounter (Chapter 7).
5) the organization of linguistic acquisition, use, and reflection, both locally, within the proselyting encounter itself, and on a larger scale (Chapter 8).

My analysis thus involved the undertaking of the following stages:

0. "Unmotivated looking" at the materials – transcription of audio recordings and re-listening to the FCPP situations.

1. Analysis of the process of beginning a conversation with a completely unfamiliar individual in public and that of maintaining that conversation such that the first speaker's interests are made (at least minimally) clear (detailed in Chapter 4):
    a. Analyzing the different types of summons used to open an interaction (overt and covert) and the manner in which these summonses are answered.
    b. Analyzing the transition from the summons-answer sequence to the first topic sequence.
2. Analysis of the process by which the missionaries and their interlocutors represent and/or describe themselves through categorization, and how this relates to the ensuing organization of the interaction (detailed in Chapter 5).
3. Analysis of the topical approach to faith, involving the question of "Do you believe in God?" or some variation thereof, i.e. sequentially and topically-ordered mutual self-categorization in regard to the MCD "religious orientation/affiliation" (detailed in Chapter 6).
4. Analysis of the closing sequences and attempt to secure contact information (telephone, address) or a verbal commitment to a further meeting (detailed in Chapter 7).
5. Analysis of situations in which the participants actually attend to issues of language, more specifically, in which they categorize the encounter as one between two or more speakers of differing native languages (detailed in Chapter 8) by analyzing the processes of language management a) in FCPP situations and b) outside of them.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has outlined the design of the research for this study. Section 3.1 briefly summarized the main defining points and objectives of the study. Section 3.2 covered the project design: qualitative research strategy, data collection procedures, role of the researcher, further data selection procedures, and ethical issues. Section 3.3 dealt with the strategies for validating the findings. Section 3.4 provided a more detailed

picture of the various stages of analysis. This chapter serves as a basis for the analysis presented in the following five chapters.

Chapter 4

Overt and Covert Summons and Identification and Recognition Sequences in FCPP situation openings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the initial stages of interaction in FCPP situations, which must be executed if the proselyting process is to continue and if a relationship is to be developed between the two interlocutors. Following Schegloff's (1968) conversational openings model of summons-answer-summoner continuation, I analyze data from proselyting situations as two types of situations. The first type consists of situations in which the 'summons' is provided overtly, i.e. the proselyter approaches his interlocutor in public and asks a question. The second type involves situations in which the summons is covert, i.e. the interlocutor stops to watch the missionaries singing in public in a practice known as 'street display' or notes something out of the ordinary about the proselyters from the position of an overhearer. I then break down the individual situations on the basis of the interlocutors' "answer", and further on the basis of the continuation from the summoner. In the spirit of Conversation Analysis, each example will tell us something about the previous ones that may not have been considered earlier, and will thus cause us to amend our generalized picture of the proselyting process.

More globally, I will address the general question of "How is it possible to initiate a conversation with a completely foreign individual, with the expectation that the individual does not want to talk about the given topic?" I will take this question further, posing those of "How is it possible to do this considering that it presents a potentially strong violation of the interlocutor's negative face?" and "How is it possible to maintain this conversation?" Furthermore, I will examine how these phenomena may be influenced by the fact that the situations involve intercultural contact between native speakers and non-native speakers of Czech.

Section 4.2 explores some of the work of both Sacks and Schegloff on conversational openings in more detail. Section 4.3 looks at FCPP situations in which the summons is overt. Section 4.4 explores a case in which the summons takes the form of a greeting. Section 4.5 deals with "covert" summons in FCPP situation openings. Section

4.6 analyzes the role of the "foreign" language and culture in these openings. Section 4.7 summarizes these analyses.

4.2 Conceptual Framework

As mentioned earlier in section 3.2, the interlocutors in this study do not know each other personally, yet the missionaries would like to commence a relationship with selected "strangers" they encounter on the street, being well aware of the fact that this desire is unlikely to be mutual. The conversation between them must somehow be opened, the grounds for it clarified, including some sort of what has been called "identification and recognition". In the following paragraphs, I will review previous work done on these topics, first in regard to the question of strangers talking to one another at all, then in regard to conversational openings in general.

4.2.1 Legitimizing and accounting for conversational openings

An early concept developed by CA's founder, Harvey Sacks, sheds light on face-to-face conversational beginnings between people who do not know one another. That is, there arises the question of "What enables one person to talk to another?" In a lecture from the Spring of 1966, Sacks introduced the concept of "tickets". This concept begins with the assumption that there are two people who do not "have the right" to talk to one another, given the simple fact that they are not "persons who converse with one another" i.e. because they have never been introduced in an institutional manner. In this vein, Sacks differentiates between "proper conversationalists" and "non-proper conversationalists". The largest subclass of proper conversationalists can engage in what Sacks called "minimal proper conversation"[42]. Other, smaller subclasses of "proper conversationalists" can engage in even more extensive conversation (Sacks 1992, Vol.I: 552). Then there is the class of "non-proper conversationalists". These individuals, according to Sacks, know that they are not proper conversationalists and must announce this fact using the ticket. Ticketed conversations are those which are defined by the fact

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[42] Sacks (1992, Volume I: 552) initially questions whether such a thing actually exists, then determines that "minimal proper conversation" consists of the exchange of greetings and that "Any two persons, no matter how intimate, they are – or how un-intimate they are, if they are at least intimate enough to exchange greetings – can at some time only exchange greetings. So that you wouldn't say, for example, if two persons merely happened in passing to say "Hi," that they couldn't be very intimate."

that they do not begin with greetings (192-193). The task at hand for the "ticket-holder" is to create conditions under which he can talk to other people, similarly to the way in which purchasing a ticket allows an otherwise unauthorized person entrance into the theater or cinema. The first piece of talk can constitute this ticket. The ticket must somehow explain why the speaker has chosen to initiate the interaction. This can be, for example, announcement of some trouble relevant to the other person, e.g. Sacks' example of "Your pants are on fire!" (Sacks 1992, Vol I: 257-258, 265).

Furthermore, Sacks (1992, Vol. II: 194) asks "Why do those who are approached as "strangers" allow themselves to be talked to?" and describes the types of openings which can function as "tickets".

"Those techniques consist of such a first utterance as solves the question of how come I'm talking to you; things like 'Excuse me, could you tell me where the subway entrance is?' 'Pardon me but do you have the time?' etc. Such a 'ticketed' first utterance is plainly a 'beginning', but is such a thing as when it has been returned to the action will be, if not complete, completable with a 'thank you-you're welcome' exchange…these sorts of things…announce what it will take to bring that interaction to a close. So that people who, if you say 'Hello' to them will ignore you, will answer, I take it, if you say 'Pardon me, could you tell me where the subway is.'" (Sacks 1992, Vol. II: 195-196)

The ticket theoretically allows one's interlocutor an "out" of the conversation, through "reference to the interests of the other" (Sacks 1992, Vol. II: 364). In other words, a ticket is the information given by the opener of conversation that can allow his interlocutor to close it.

The concept of "tickets" reflects the understanding that beginning any sort of conversation with another person (whether or not that person is a stranger) is an accountable act (Sacks 1992, Vol. I: 73-74). Even if people do know each other, their accountability in starting conversations can be demonstrated, for example, through an action known as "announcing reason for a call"[43] (Sacks 1992, Vol. I: 773-9), which "warrants bringing off the contact beyond "greetings" (773)", serving as grounds for acceptance or rejection by its recipient and occurring in the caller's first or second utterance.

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[43] Though Sacks' work on this phenomena was primarily grounded in data from telephone calls, I understand the concept of "reason for call" as the accounting for any interaction which one person has started with another, in the form of an announcement.

Sacks' early work points to some of the categorial issues at hand, e.g. the kind of work done so that a stranger can talk to another stranger in public, and provides some anecdotal examples of such situations. Much of the work regarding how, in a mechanical sense, conversational openings are actually done, has used data from a different type of source, which will be the subject of the next section.

4.2.2 The mechanics of conversational openings

In terms of their structure, conversational openings have been explored in the greatest detail by Emmanuel Schegloff, mostly using data from telephone conversations. The most general question he posed was that of how the establishment of contact, and the issues of who is talking to whom and why are played out in turn-by-turn sequencing. According to Schegloff (1986:113), there are several important jobs accomplished in a conversational opening. One of these is 'gatekeeping' or establishing whether or not two persons are going to engage in some interaction on some given occasion or not, of what character the interaction will be, how long the interaction will last, and "how entry into the episode, or circumvention of it, will be managed on a moment-to-moment, action-to-action basis". Another involves the constitution or re-constitution of the relationship between the two interlocutors for the occasion at hand, whether they are engaging in this type of interaction for the first time or there interaction has a "past". Yet another is the determination of the "matter, manner and order" of the talk.

These jobs are accomplished through sequential phases: the summons-answer sequence, or the first two formulations of a conversation, (cf. Schegloff 1968), identification and/or recognition sequences (cf. Schegloff 1979), a greeting sequence (which, however, is inseparable from the identification work), and where applicable, the exchange of "howareyou" sequences, all of which precede the introduction of the first topic ("the anchor position") (Schegloff 1986: 116). There are two types of organization for these sequences. In the first of these, which Schegloff calls "serial organization", "each turn includes one sequence part, with one sequence following another, a turn with the last part of one sequence followed by a turn with the first part of the next sequence" (Schegloff 1986: 131). In "interlocking organization", turns can have a greater number of components and combine the last part of one sequence and the first part of the next in the

same turn. These two types of organization may compress or stretch out a given opening, which can influence the way in which topic talk is entered into (Schegloff 1986: 132).

In the following subsections, I will review Schegloff's general findings regarding the phases of conversational openings.

4.2.2.1 The summons-answer sequence

Schegloff (1968) calls the first sequence of a conversation the "summons-answer sequence". Types of devices which can (but need not) function as summons, include terms of address ("Mom?"), courtesy phrases ("Excuse me"), and physical devices (waving, tapping someone on the shoulder), all used in a particular way, e.g. if terms of address are used, they must involve question intonation or be inserted at a particular point in the utterance. Schegloff describes several aspects which characterize the summons-answer (or SA) sequence. The first of these is its non-terminality. A completed SA sequence cannot serve as the final stage of the conversation – SA sequences are "preambles, preliminaries or prefaces to some further conversational or bodily activity" (Schegloff 1968: 1081). Second is the principle of conditional relevance – A is conditionally relevant on the occurrence of S, further talk is conditionally relevant on a completed SA sequence, and the conditional relevance of an A on an S must be satisfied within a constraint of immediate juxtaposition. Furthermore, there is the terminating rule (Schegloff 1968: 1085) – the summons is not repeated infinitely. If an answer is not forthcoming, the summons is terminated.

The answer to a summons reveals three attributes of the interactional situation: presence, availability, and commitment to the interaction. First, the presence or absence of an answer in response to a summons attests to the answerer's physical presence (which is more relevant when dealing with telephone calls than with face-to-face interactions). Second, it can attest to that person's ability to talk. While the absence of an answer can lead to the assumption of the second party's physical absence or unavailability to talk, the presence of an answer leads to the assumption that the party is present and available to talk. Thirdly, the presence of an answer means that the "called" party is then obliged to

listen to the further talk of the summoner[44]. All in all, Schegloff (1968: 1089) postulated that "the completion of the sequence establishes the mutual availability of parties and allows the activity to continue".

The answer returned to the summons, according to Schegloff, often has the character of a question, e.g. "What?" in response to a term of address ("John?"). This indicates a degree of open-endedness in regard to the content of the conversation, though not a lack of constraint on what the interlocutors may talk about, based on their relationship, and leads to two further assumptions, 1) the summoner is obliged to answer to this question, and in doing so, introduce the topic of the talk, and 2) the person asking the question (originally the "answerer") "thereby assumes the obligation to listen to the talk he has obligated the summoner to produce" (Schegloff 1968: 1091).

Summons-answer sequences vary, and may or may not involve two speakers who know the other's identity. It is often this question of identification which determines the way summons-answer sequences are done. This will be discussed below.

4.2.2.2 The identification and recognition sequence

The sequence of identification and recognition has been, in a research sense, considered to be more typical of telephone conversations than those conducted "face to face". Telephone conversations were also deemed ideal for analysis by Schegloff because the only sensory access the interlocutors had to one another was through their voices, i.e. the data could be delimited in some way. However, Schegloff notes that "the talk people do on the telephone is not fundamentally different from the other talk they do" (1979: 25), while acknowledging that access to a visual record of the interactions can provide interesting data in its own right. Indeed, the added dimension of other sensory stimuli in the present study is not a trivial one. In fact, as we will see, visual stimuli serve, in most cases, to replace audial stimuli.

There are a number of "systematically-ordered features" which underlie the phenomena of identification and recognition (Schegloff 1979: 63). This includes the declaration two types of resources which can serve as sources of recognition:

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[44] This works similarly to the question-answer sequences examined by Sacks when he formulated the rule "a person who asks a question has the right to talk again after the other has answered" discussed at a later point in this chapter.

"inspectables", such as appearance, voice or behavior, and "self-references", such as names or descriptions. These recognition resources are graded, Schegloff notes (1979: 64), in regard to recipient design. The basic resource is identification by name, with other resources graded as "more than" or "less than" this basic resource. While "less than" resources may involve mere "inspectables", "more than" resources aim for descriptions such as "what you know about me" or "where you know me from". Furthermore, "recognition from least possible recognition resources sensitive to recipient design is preferred. Thus, recognizable should select lowest graded resource he can suppose can secure an 'effortless' recognition solution." (Schegloff 1972: 64) In other words, the preferred action for a speaker is to make it as easy as possible for his interlocutor to recognize him, which is exemplified in the prescriptive behavior of self-identification by name when answering the telephone[45].

4.2.2.3 Pre-questions in conversational openings

The presequences described in Schegloff's articles on conversational openings lead us to one final area of his work, that of pre-questions. In another article titled "Preliminaries to Preliminaries" (1980), which does not limit itself to conversational openings, Schegloff examines "pre-questions", i.e. situations in which one interlocutor says something like "May I ask you a question?" (what Schegloff calls "a question") and then later on in the sequence asks what Schegloff calls "the question". "The question," however, does not occur until after a number of turns in between in which the interlocutor explains the background for the question and leads up to it. Though Schegloff's data is taken from situations in which the interlocutors already know each other, I have included this concept because many conversations in this study's data between interlocutors who do not know each other begin with pre-questions such as "May I ask you something?".

4.2.3 Negative politeness strategies

The concept of face (Goffman 1963, Brown and Levinson 1987) concerns the two sides of the individual in relation to the social world. Each person has a positive and negative face. Positive face reflects that person's desire to be part of the social world,

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[45] See also section 8.5.2 for the prescriptive norm of self-identification by name when answering the phone.

while negative face concerns that same person's right to privacy. Various types of activities have been identified as acts which threaten the negative face, one of the most common of which is requests. Though authors in the past (e.g. Searle, Austin 1962) have categorized speech acts on the basis of syntactic and semantic attributes isolated from context, in this chapter I analyze the speech act of requesting on the basis of the speech act's use in conversation. That is, I understand a situation in which one person approaches another (whom he does not know) on the street and asks "May I speak with you?" as a request situation, on the basis of the fact that the "requestee" treats it as a request situation. Speakers may threaten their interlocutors' various faces in interaction, and in consideration of this "threat", utilize positive and negative politeness strategies. The most common negative politeness strategy would be the modification of the above request to "Excuse me, may I speak with you?" or even "May I speak with you for just a little while?" (emphasizing the fact that the speaker does not want to take up too much of the interlocutor's time).

A more recent turn in research on speech acts and politeness theory is a turn away from their consideration in isolation or solely on the basis of linguistic form (as done by Searle, Austin and many researchers following them), and a turn towards the consideration of given speech acts defined on the basis of their function. That is, linguistic form may serve the purpose of orientation in initial phases of data analysis, but thorough treatment of speech acts actually involves looking at their positioning in the context of conversational sequence.

Politeness theory is utilized here to emphasize the fact that the missionaries' work consists in a certain routinization of activities. The image of a general unwillingness to engage in conversation on the part of their interlocutors is one that accompanies the missionaries for the entire mission period. These encounters are generally defined by the norm of rejection. Each encounter is thus approached with the idea that the interlocutor's unwillingness must somehow be overcome, and over time, learned practices are developed in order to overcome this potential unwillingness at any phase of the conversation.

4.2.4 Summary

To sum up: here, we are analyzing Schegloff's model of conversational opening phases (summons-answer sequence, identification and recognition sequence, greeting sequence). The main emphasis will be on the first phase, the summons-answer sequence. This will be followed by second, the identification and recognition sequence, which, however, will be discussed only in part. I will move up to the point at which the missionaries are identified and recognized by their interlocutors *somehow*. This analysis will consider the "ticketing" framework provided by Sacks because the proselyting encounters are essentially stranger-initiated interactions, as well as the negative politeness framework due to the general assumption of the interlocutors' unwillingness to participate in the encounter.

4.3 The overt summons in a summons-answer sequence

In this section, I will discuss situations in which the first turn of the given interaction is an overt summons, a sort of equivalent of a ringing phone which is subsequently picked up[46]. Schegloff (1979) calls these "pre-beginnings", and they have been elaborated, e.g. by Zimmerman (1992: 432) in his research on emergency assistance calls, as consisting of the caller dialing an advertised emergency number. In this case, the fact that a caller has dialed a specific number is interpreted as a request for help, even without the caller explicitly saying so. Here, the summons-turn contains, in addition to visual cues, two spoken elements: a courtesy phase (e.g. "Excuse me") and a grammatical question (e.g. "May I speak with you?"). One situation in which a summons-turn does not contain these elements will be analyzed in the context of "learning" (Section 4.4). The missionaries' interlocutors often interpret this initial grammatical question as a pre-request which may be either granted or rejected, and they do each of these actions in a number of ways. In my analysis, I first classify the FCPP situations on the basis of the missionary's verbal opening of the summons, and further on the basis of the responses (e.g. whether they were verbalized or not), further differentiating them on the basis of

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[46] The fact of the phone being picked up could be called the "consent" phase of initial encounters. Schegloff (2007: 30) also refers to the "go-ahead" type of response.

their grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic features. I will focus upon the ways in which the missionary ("caller") adapts to the initial response of his interlocutor.

4.3.1 Openings as pre-requests: Continuation

The first group of cases involves a very commonly-encountered response, that is, what would translate to "What do you need?". This can be paraphrased as the interlocutor's demonstration that he or she understands the request as a pre-request, i.e. enters the conversation with the assumption that another, more concrete, request will follow. That is, the interlocutor is asking the missionary to produce his "ticket".

Case 1: "What do you need?" "just…" (4)
1.   M1: prosím vás? můžu mluvit s vámi?
2.   C5: (no co potřebujete)
3.   M1: no jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovol<u>níci</u>. a tady my učíme zdarma angličtinu
4.   (.) já nevim jestli umíte anglicky ného<u>dou</u>?
5.   C5: (trošku)
6.   M1: jo? well chtěl byste se učít <u>víc</u>? zdarma?

This encounter is characterized by the minimization of the response to the "go-ahead" (Schegloff 2007:30) provided in line 2. That is, C5 indicates that his answering of the question in line 1 is at least partially contingent on M1's answering the question posed in line 2. This takes the form of the question "no co potřebujete". The missionary M1's "jenom" (line 3) minimizes the explanation to follow – the self-identification, the description of what they are offering, a further question ("nevím jestli umíte anglicky náhodou", line 4). "The question" in this case, is "chtěl byste se učít víc?" (line 6, with the added incentive of "zdarma").

In fact, the missionary rejects the idea that the opening is a pre-request. There is no "ticket" immediately produced. In cases like this, the question of "co potřebujete", the "ticket-check" is taken quite literally by the missionaries. In the following example, the missionary directly answers the question:

Case 2: "What do you need?" "nothing. Just…" (6)
1.   M1: prosím vás můžu mluvit s vámi na chvilku?
2.   C7: no: co potřebujete?
3.   M1: nic jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci,
4.   C7: no
5.   M1: a tady my učíme zdarma angličtinu,
6.   C7: no

7. M1: a dnes my snažíme mluvit s lidmi o tom,
8. C7: no
9. M1: já nevím jestli máte zájem? nebo jestli znáte někoho?

Here, again, M1 rejects the idea that the opening is a pre-proposal, and instead of producing the request, he utters a self-identification turn. The pre-proposal, then, is used as the "ticket" to open the conversation and the subsequent proposal, an offer, is delayed until line 9, after C7 has listened to the account. Or rather, there is, in fact, no ticket at all. In the opening, the interlocutor was led to believe that there would be one, and the missionary has gotten his attention.

In the following example the response is in anticipation of a similar type of ticket.

Case 3: "What are you going to want?" (12)
1. M3: prosim vás máte chvilku čas teďka?
2. C14: [co budete chtít?]
3. M3: [no jako] my jsme zde z ameriky jako j- uh jako dobrovolníci jedna
4.   služba děláme
5. C14: no:
6. M3: je učíme bezplatný angličtiny kurz
7. C14: jo:
8. M3: nevím (.) jestli (.) studujete angličtinu?

A question which arises here is: can the ticket be delayed? There is the promise of a question which will allow the interlocutor an out, but this question is delayed, like in Schegloff's "preliminaries to preliminaries" (Section 4.2.2.3). Before the actual ticket is produced, the missionaries provide background on themselves, what they offer, sometimes even about their faith. At this point, it is not clear what "the question" will be – it basically depends on the direction the conversation takes. As further data throughout this study will show, if given the opportunity to do so, the missionaries will talk about their faith, if not, they will steer things in the direction of the free English classes and stop-smoking programs.

Another grammatical form of the response to the pre-request is an imperative.

Case 4: Imperative, no hedging in the answer[47] (29)
1. M1: prosím vás mohl bych mluvit s vámi (.) na chviličku?
2. C34: povídejte
3. M1: my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci nevím jestli znáte nás ze církve ježiše krista a
4.   tady my děláme několik <u>věci</u>, my jsme hlavně my jsme tady abychom mohli

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[47] Cf. Sacks (1992, Vol.I: 18-19) description of an "invitation".

5.   mluvit s lidmi o naši církvi a o bohu ale, (.) nevím jestli mluvíte anglicky
6.   náhodou?

The imperative "povídejte" can be used, for example, in a pub or restaurant, when the waiter wants the customers to order. What differentiates this case from the previous ones is the sequence "imperative-unhedged answer" -- the absence of the particle "no" or others preceding the missionary's self-identification. If we understand lines 2-6 as the adjacency pair "command-action" based on the grammatical form of C34's initial response, we could say that M1 is producing a preferred action, and is able to be direct without forcing himself on C34.

Preferred and dispreferred actions have been described by Pomerantz (1984) (see section 2.4.2) in a framework where request refusals are dispreferred actions. In practice this means that they are more complex than preferred actions, often accompanied by hedges, delays, or descriptions of relevant details which make the preferred action impossible to accomplish. But requests themselves are also dispreferred, and threaten the other's negative face as well.

The missionaries' request to speak to someone is not the only way in which they begin contacting encounters. Another method, one which is both recommended to them by more senior missionaries as well as their instructional materials, is (in an etic sense) to produce a ticket regarding the things they see around them, to ask a question to which they actually would like to know the answer, but which serves as a conversation-starter as well. In the first example of this type, the question serves a dual purpose.

Case 5: "Can I ask you something?" I (17)
1. M1: prosím vás? (.) můžu se vás na něco zeptat?
2. C20: no
3. M1: jestli znáte kde je barák sto sedmdesát čtyři tady
((13 lines omitted))
17. M1: yeah? to je v pohodě (.) well (.) my mluvíme s vámi nevím jestli znáte nás
18. C20: (myslím že jo)
19. M1: my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci a tady my děláme několik věci ((phone ringing))
20.   my učíme zdarma angličtinu ((M1 turns off phone)) a:le (.) je- vy mluvíte vy
21.   mluvíte anglicky náhodou?

This encounter has ultimately grown out of what the missionaries refer to as a "look-up", meaning that their fellow missionaries have provided them with contact information (usually the street address) of an individual who has expressed interest in the

church. Consequently, they must actually find this address. Asking people they meet along the way not only brings them closer to their intended interlocutor, but also provides the opportunity to make other contacts.

Case 6: "Can I ask you something?" II (1)
1.   M1: prosím vás? můžu se vás na něco zeptat?
2.   C1: no
3.   M1: jaký je rozdíl (.) mezi: (.) jako devatenáct až dvacet a dvacet devět? jako proč
4.   tam je jako dvě čísla
5.   C1: to vám neřeknu proč je to takhle označený
6.   M1: to nevíte? nebo
7.   C1: nevím nevím proč to tam je
8.   M1: je to zajímavý že jo
9.   C1: ( ) tady je to dvacet devět třicet a ono je to devatenáct dvacet <u>nevím</u> jo? z jakého
10.   důvodu
11. M1: no jo to je šílený ((smích)) vy mluvíte anglicky náhodou?

Harvey Sacks began lecture 7 of his Fall 1964 series with a brief summary of data he collected from a student homework assignment. He had asked his students to gather first lines of "pickups", situations in which one person tries to engage the other in a date or a sexual encounter, and found that more than 50 out of 60 first lines were questions. On the basis of this and other data he had been collecting for years, Sacks formulated the rule "A person who asks a question has a right to talk again, after the other talks". Given this, Sacks observed, the challenge in the process of "ticketing" (discussed above), is that of how to indicate in interaction to someone (with whom you are not "eligible" to be engaged in conversation) that you're *not* trying to get into a conversation with them. There are several ways to do this. One is by not using a greeting. Another is by providing the first part of a commonly-used adjacency pair, e.g. question-answer, as in the example: A: "what time is it?" B: ((gives time)) (Sacks 531).

The missionaries are provided, in fact, with a list of "conversation-starter" questions. These include questions which are indexical (e.g. Case 12 above), concerning bits of (often semiotic) realia which can be found in the immediate surroundings – language on signs, systems for marking addresses, etc., as well as questions related to the Czech language itself – e.g. what is the difference in meaning between two Czech words with the same English equivalent, or how a given word is put into a certain grammatical case. This is also an area in which the type of question to ask is a learned practice - it may

be better for the missionaries to ask a question with a more complicated answer, for example, note the unsuccessful use in the following example[48].

Case 7: "Ticket out"
((On a bridge, the missionaries approach a woman pushing a baby carriage))
1. M1: Prosím vás, můžu se zeptat, jak se jmenuje tahle řeka?
2. W: Labe. ((annoyed tone, leaves))

4.3.2 Openings as pre-requests: Rejection

Let us, then, examine several cases of the "summons rejection". This can also be understood as what Schegloff (2007:30) calls a "blocking response" (in regard to invitations), which "raises the possibility that the invitation, if tendered, will be declined or rejected". The question to be posed is, what do the different types of summons rejection tell us about what constitutes the summons? In the following examples, the initial summons is ignored, or the initial pre-request contained within it is refused. This can be done directly, as in the following examples:

Case 8: Minimal verbal reaction rejection (24)
1. M1: uh prosím vás můžu mluvit s vámi? (.) na chviličku
2. C30: ((keeps moving))
3. M1: jenom mluvíte anglicky?
4. C30: ((keeps walking))
5. M1: <u>aah</u> dobře. ((fast)) tak mějte se hezky na shle

Case 9: Direct rejection of anticipated request (2)
1. M1: uh prosím vás můžu se vás na něco zeptat?
2. C2: nemám zájem ((walking))
3. M1: jestli mluvíte anglicky náhodou?
4. C2: ((keeps walking)) (   )
5. M1: tak na shle

Here we have two cases in which the opening turn is met with rejection. In comparing the type of rejection in Case 8 to that done in telephone conversations, we could imagine the ringing phone having been picked up by someone who immediately identifies the caller as someone he or she did not want to talk to and proceeds to hang up the phone. Or, in the days of mobile phones and caller-identification, a specific type of ring tone or displayed number which either a) identifies an unfamiliar number or b)

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[48] This example was not recorded, but rather, reconstructed from the researcher's memory.

identifies the number of someone we do not wish to speak with, and whose summons we will subsequently not answer.

There is significant conversational element which should be noted in line 5 of Case 8. A pragmatic feature of conversation is that it is possible to verbally close an interaction without the interaction having actually involved any talk. For example, if two people are in an elevator together and one gets off, it is common to hear both parties bidding each other goodbye. Or if more than one party has shared a table in a restaurant and held parallel conversations which had nothing to do with each other, and one party gets up to leave, the same phenomenon occurs. The rejection repeatedly expressed in lines 2 and 4 is thus accepted in the missionary in line 5, and the "end-of-interaction" acknowledgement is uttered.

The same occurs in Case 9. Interlocutor C2 formulates a direct rejection in line 2. This is not a rejection of the summons per se, but rather, of the anticipated offer which would follow it.

Another such rejection can be found in the following case.

Case 10: Delayed rejection (13)
1. M1: prosím vás (nemluvíte anglicky náhodou)?
2. C15: prosím?
3. M1: jenom mluvíte anglicky? protože my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu
4. C15: nemluvím ((woman walks away))
5. M1: tak na shle

We should note that this case does not begin with the same pre-request as the previous cases. Here, the same question which is posed e.g. in Case 1 ("mluvíte anglicky?") only after the initial pre-request ("můžu mluvit s vámi?"). The pre-request "Do you speak English?" or rather "You wouldn't happen to speak English, would you?" could be an indication that P would like to begin speaking English. Since C15 (as she conveys in line 4) does not, she would not have any reason to continue the conversation, and her account for ending it is that she is not "eligible" to continue further.

In the FCPP situations there were no cases in which direct rejections such as "no!" were offered (Case 9 is the closest thing to this), rather, as we have seen so far, removing oneself from the interaction physically has been the method selected by people. We are aware of the fact that such rejections are dispreferred actions, and in fact that

actually rejecting the pre-request in such a direct may be inappropriate. Next, we will look at the ways in which the rejections are delivered directly verbally.

Case 11: Minimal direct rejection (20)
1. M3: prosím vás (můžu se vás na něco zeptat)?
2. C25: bohužel ((continues walking))
3. M3: no (na shledanou)

Rejection may also be done in a manner we can call "providing an excuse", which is a device used to mitigate the dispreferred action. We might also refer to it as a "ticket out" of a potential conversation – just as a ticket gives one person the right to enter a conversation, a ticket out gives another person the right to leave it, or, in fact, not enter it at all. It should be noted that in the public space where the FCPP situations occurred, there are many people attempting to begin conversations with passers-by, e.g. during the research, I observed people handing out flyers for various events, attempting to sell mobile telephone plans, and offering the sampling of cosmetics, among others. So, just as the missionaries develop an understanding of how to open conversations, their potential interlocutors develop an understanding of how to avoid the openings of such conversations. We do not know if their motivations for rejecting conversation with the missionaries are the same as those for rejecting it with anyone else on the street, i.e. if they are rejecting potentially "being proselyted". The most common excuse was not only noted in the recorded interactions, but also commented upon by the missionaries in interviews - the excuse of being in a hurry.

Case 12: "In a hurry" (10)
1. M1: uh prosím vás? můžeme mluvit s vámi?
2. C12: uh uh uh uh [spěchám]
3. M1:   [jenom mluvíte] anglicky?
4. C12: u:h spěchám ((walks away))
5. M1: tak na shle

There is one matter that is to be considered here, one that we have been reminding ourselves of throughout this entire study. That is, the concept of "rejection" as symbolized by the slamming of doors in one's face is not only a past experience, but a general expectation in the missionaries' work. Thus, over time, they may develop strategies for dealing with direct rejection, which may change over the two-year missionary period. Consider the following example:

Case 13: "In a common hurry" (27)
1. M1: uh prosím vás mohli bychom mluvit s vámi?
2. C32: já spěchám
3. M1: ((fast)) no my taky spěcháme jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci misionáři
4.   ze církve ježiše krista, a tady my nabízíme několik uhm služeb, například my
5.   tady učíme zdarma angličtinu nevím jestli umíte anglicky náhodou nebo jestli
6.   znáte někoho
7. C32: umím trochu ((laughs))
8. M1: yeah? domluvíte se?
9. C32: domluvím
10. M1: yeah? ((slowly)) what is your name?
11. C32: my name is ladislava
12. M1: d- well nice to meet you.
13. C32: ((laughs))

In this encounter, the initial request is met with rejection, which missionary M1 downplays, and in fact disqualifies by stating that the missionaries themselves are in the same situation. The practice of "providing an excuse", is, on the one hand, a way of mitigating a dispreferred action – a rejection. However, its verbal expression alone, or certain elements of its realization (e.g. intonation) are not sufficient to enable its success, i.e. in this situation, to prompt M1 to initiate a conversational closing (the "na shledanou" or similar turns in the examples discussed earlier). It is not completely functional unless it is accompanied by physical movement away from the summoner, perhaps the equivalent of hanging up the phone on someone, as in the previous example as well as the following one, in which the missionary responds in the same way, this time unsuccessfully.

Case 14: Hurrying (23)
1. M1: prosím vás? můžu mluvit s vámi?
2. C29: já spěchám ((keeps moving))
3. M1: ((fast)) no jenom my taky spěcháme (.) dobře.

4.3.3 Openings as pre-requests: Negotiation

There is one more type of example to be discussed, that is, one in which the request to begin a conversation is neither accepted or rejected, but rather, subjected to further negotiation.

Case 15: "minimization of time needed", "request negotiation" (22)
1. M1: prosím vás? můžu mluvit s vámi? na chviličku?
2. C27: jak velkou chvilku?
3. M1: jo, jako (.) dva minuty. jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci, já nevím jestli
4.   znáte nás vůbec

5. C27: asi ne
6. M1: asi ne (.) well, já jsem američan asi je to slyšet ((laughs)) mám skvělý český
7.   přízvuk že jo? a my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu, (.) a já nevím jestli umíte
8.   anglicky nebo jestli studujete angličtinu

This encounter can be deemed "conversation-beginning negotiation". As expressed by interlocutor C27, whether or not a conversation will take place depends on its projected length. The fact that a projected time duration for the encounter is offered by M1 is an interesting one. First of all, we must ask what the fact that it is mentioned at all does for the potential conversation. In previous cases 2, 3, 4, and 5, there is also some form of the diminutized adverbial "na chvíli" (for a short time) or noun "chvíle" (a short while) in the initial grammatical question part of the summons. A request, as we have noted before, presents a potential violation of the interlocutor's negative face. Therefore, it must be accompanied by what Brown and Levinson call (1987) call "redressive action". Redress in this case is meant to minimize in some way what is required of the other person, i.e. time. "Na chviličku" in fact, is not the shortest amount of time that M1 could potentially request of his interlocutors (we could find shorter or more clearly-defined time periods, such as "na minutku", "na vteřinu", etc.), but it actually presumes the presence of some sort of dialogue, and not merely the adjacency pair of "request for information - providing of information". We should be reminded that the missionaries' conversations range in time greatly, and they evaluate longer conversations positively in general.

For the interlocutor in this situation, the missionary's ticket is sufficient for entrance only if it is a certain type of ticket. Later in this conversation, missionary M1 reminds his interlocutor that he has not taken up more than two minutes of his time, as promised.

Let us look at one more example of negotiation.

Case 16: Conditional acceptance (36)
1. M3: no prosím vás můžu mluvit s vámi na chvilku?
2. C41: [no]
3. C42: [spěcháme ale no]
4. M3: no: možná já taky ((laughter)) no jako jsem tady (.) uh jako dobrovolníci (.)
5.   uhm z ameriky (.) uh dělám pár (služba) správně? čeština je
6. C41/C42: (no no)
7. M3: pár služba správně?

8. C41: (něco je pár)
9. M3: no tak (.) um jo jeden věc je učím bezplatný bezplat<u>nu</u> anglický kurz
10. C42: jo jo jasně no
11. M3: nevím jestli umíte nebo studujete?

In this example, the pre-request is granted conditionally. Two teenagers are approached by the missionary. While one of them initially issues a "go-ahead" to the pre-request (line 2), the other reminds his interlocutors (and the missionary) of the limited time available for the potential conversation (line 3). This condition, set out at the beginning of the conversation, therefore theoretically licenses the teenagers to leave the conversation at any point, re-invoking the already-mentioned time constraint.

4.4 Greeting as summons

Let us contrast these examples with one final one, in which the interaction does not begin with a grammatical question, but rather, with a greeting followed by a direct statement. In place of a question, the interaction begins with a direct self-identification and self-description. It should be noted that this type of opening appeared several times in the data and was used by the less-experienced missionary of the pair. The missionaries receive a binder of materials when they arrive on their mission. In this binder are sample dialogues, which, however, do not resemble actual conversation, often beginning with a longer monologue by the missionary, intertwined with brief questions by the interlocutor. In this sense, we might refer to it as a "rehearsed dialogue". This "rehearsed dialogue", however, does not explain exactly how to get the interlocutor's attention, rather, it only indicates what the missionary should say once he begins talking.

Case 17: Greeting as summons (5)
1. M2: dobrý den my jsme dobrovolníci a učíme zdarma angličtinu
2. C6: ano
3. M2: umíte anglicky náhodou?
4. C6: uh: trošku no tak (.) učím se no
5. M2: chtěl by- chtěl byste se učít <u>navíc</u>?

The overlapping of utterance functions can also occur, and two things are done using one utterance/expression. In this example, the greeting "dobrý den" serves as both a summons and a greeting (cf. Levinson 1983, Nekvapil and Neustupny 2005). We might assume that the summons turn also involved the missionary making eye contact with his

interlocutor. The fact that people engage in greetings, according to Sacks, does not generally give us the ability to assume what level of intimacy they have, and this can be used as a resource. Missionaries engaging in the activity of 'contacting' become what Sacks calls "persons who will 'greet anybody'" (Sacks 1992, Vol. I: 553), for example, like politicians on the campaign trail.

In this vein, it should also be noted that the missionaries have comic strips which they pass around to one another. In one particular strip, a pair of missionaries approach a house and immediately begin with a self-identification. As a result, the door is promptly slammed in their faces. In the final panel, one of the missionaries, standing in front of the now-closed door, asks "Does that mean 'no'"? It should be noted that the missionary involved in the interaction in Case 17 had only been serving his mission for a few months, which means that he was still unsure of his linguistic abilities and had experienced relatively fewer contacting situations than his companion had.

This leads us to another question. In face-to-face interaction, to what degree is the summons is visual and to what degree is it spoken? It also leads to the observation that overt summons in the form of a grammatical question is a learned practice, a gradually instructed action. Though it may be possible to engage a stranger in conversation purely through physical gesture, the likelihood of maintaining that person's attention may be lower than when questions are asked. On the other hand, it may "force" some people to stop and listen.

4.5 Providing the covert summons in a summons-answer sequence
4.5.1 Covert summons in the form of general public behavior

The second group of interactions to be explored here are those in which the "summons" is not provided by the initial question, but by some external stimuli. That is, the missionaries' interlocutor enters the conversation from the initial position of an overhearer. This person is not an overhearer in the sense of being an eavesdropper, but rather, this is an intended overhearer. Through a number of verbal as well as non-verbal actions, the missionaries provide 'summons' covertly. If these actions are performed in public, we can understand them as behavior designed to lead not necessarily to a conversation with a specific person, but to a conversation with anyone. We could

compare this to dialing a telephone number at random with the hope that someone (we do not know who, but this does not matter) will pick up on the other end. Consider the following quote from a book written with missionaries as its audience.

"Extraordinary missionaries begin teaching the moment they leave their *clean* (italics author) apartment (Many landlords would never join the church because of how the missionaries treat their apartments). The way they walk, talk, treat others, obey traffic rules and stay within crosswalks all say something about them. They know that a missionary who walks slowly or looks at the ground is sending a message. What might people think when they see that? Perhaps "They sure don't look very happy" or "I don't want what they're selling". Missionaries who walk together with a bit of urgency, a spring in their step and a smile on their face, make people ask, "What kind of organization produces young people like that?" or "Why are those two so happy, and why are they walking with such purpose and energy?" Extraordinary missionaries know that someone is always watching, and that the first real discussion is the one they give the moment they walk out their door."[49]

Someone is always watching, and the idea is to be prepared to begin a conversation at any time. This is illustrated by the following example.

Case 18: Foreign Accent (11)
((Missionaries are speaking Czech amongst themselves while walking along a sidewalk, and woman turns to look at them.))
1. M1: dobrý den paní
2. C13: dobrý den
3. T: dobrý den
4.   ((...))
5. M1: znáte nás?
6. C13: neznám.
7. M1: neznáte
8. C13: neznám ale
9. M1: slyšíte náš moje <u>přízvuk</u> že jo? [yeah ((laughs))]
10. C13:   [vy jste asi cizinci]

Here, we have a situation in which an initial greeting is offered following a visual cue and this greeting is returned. The covert summons, then, has taken the form of the missionaries "sending a message" through their public behavior (speaking Czech), and the answer has taken the form of the visual cue. Greetings are mutually exchanged. So the encounter has already passed through the summons and answer sequence and what Schegloff calls the "greeting sequence". There is a pause after this initial greeting

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[49] Bytheway, J. G. (2005). How to be an extraordinary missionary. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, p. 17.

exchange. In order to interpret it, we must turn again to Schegloff's work. Why did the woman turn to look at the missionaries? First of all, Schegloff points out that "the connection between a summons and an answer provides both prospective and retrospective inferences" (1968: 1086). That is, what history may have already occurred between the parties involved, and what future do they have together? What does the fact that the two parties greeted each other say about these relationships?

Schegloff (1979:34) notes "Greetings are the end of a phase of interaction… pre-beginnings". Backtracking even further, in the discussion of "caller first-turns", he points out that in some situations where greeting terms are used as these "first-turns", the call recipient may not recognize the caller and withhold the return greeting until the caller identifies him or herself further. He notes (42) "…identification/recognition is at best deferrable for a turn or two if it appears the conversation between the current parties may terminate thereafter." This pause, then, may be the result of the fact that a greeting sequence has occurred prior to an identification/recognition sequence. Identification and recognition, then, as it has been bypassed, must somehow be addressed. In understanding the turns that follow, we can paraphrase the question "Do you know us?" as "You must know us, otherwise you would not have returned our greeting." Just as the summoner is accountable for having provided the summons and moved on the greeting sequence, the answerer is accountable for having answered it and 'consented' to further interaction by returning the greeting.

Furthermore, we cannot assume that the "us" that the addressee may know is a specific, personal "us", i.e. that the parties involved in the interaction have actually ever met before. Schegloff, in a description of what he calls "gatekeeping", notes that "'acquaintanceship' is one major basis for the undertaking of an interaction (1979:26)." With this in mind, the conversation here cannot continue unless the interlocutors are established as acquainted, unless it is clear who is talking to whom. The object in the question "Znáte nás?" does not refer to the particular individuals taking part in the interaction, but to any of their presumably interchangeable "previous incarnations", missionaries who have previously served in their city, or even to the church as a whole. From the perspective of the missionaries, this is enough, it is a sufficient basis for "acquaintanceship" – if the woman has already met Mormon missionaries, the parties can

already claim to be acquainted. Another element of this is the degree to which the missionaries are understood in a given location to be, as discussed earlier "people who will greet anybody", so the question "Znáte nás?" in this sense could also be paraphrased as "Do you identify us as "persons who will greet anybody"?"

4.5.2 Covert summons in the form of directed public behavior: "street display"

The next set of examples comes from "street display" situations. In these situations, a group of missionaries stands in a centrally-located place in a given city which is heavily-trafficked by pedestrians. While most of the group sings from a hymnal book, two or three of the missionaries engage in "contacting". There are two types of potential addressees for this contacting – people who have stopped to listen to the singing and are subsequently approached, and people who are contacted in the same manner as any other contacting situation. The difference between the situations involving the latter group and other contacting situations is that the missionaries have additional indexical aids – they can refer to themselves as part of a larger group, and, in fact, "verify" who they are. What I will explore now, however, are the situations in which a missionary approaches an individual who has already been "summoned". The "answer" takes the form of the individual's stopping and thus making him/herself approachable. These individuals, as we will see, have a varying degree of understanding as to who has summoned them, thus the most interesting phase of these interactions is the identification and recognition sequence. As Schegloff notes (1979), an 'excuse me' in first turn can display an identification of its recipient as a "stranger". As we will see, this 'excuse me' which we have observed in the openings of the previous section, is lacking in the "street display" openings. Unlike the examples in which the summons is overt, the "excuse me" slot has already been bypassed. The degree of acquaintance, naturally, varies from person to person. In the first example, the observer whose attention has been caught does not know who the missionaries are at all.

Case 19: Observer (21)
1. M1: dobrý den pane
3. C26: nazdar
4. M1: nazdar nevím jestli znáte nás?
5. C26: ne, <u>neznám</u> dívám se-
6. M1: ne? my jsme tady já jsem američan asi můžete slyšet můj přízvuk,

7. C26: aha aha
8. M1: a my jsme tady na dva roky (.) a my tady (.) tady my jsme tady jako
9.   dobrovolníci
10. C26: jo: [jako biblická] škola (jo)
11. M1:   [my tady]   uh huh my jsme ze církve ježiše krista,
12.   a já nevím jestli znáte nás? slyšel jste něco?
13. C26: u::h ne neslyšel neslyšel
14. M1: ne?
15. C26: asi ne
16. M1: yeah? nebo (.) well, to je v pohodě=
17. C26: =asi ne já to rád poslouchám

M1 is a member of the group singing on a square, he notices that a man has stopped to watch them. This encounter begins with a formal greeting by the missionary, followed by an informal one by his interlocutor, which the missionary duplicates[50]. As in the previous section's example, the greeting sequence precedes the identification and recognition sequences. And as in that example, the addressed person is accountable both for having answered the summons and for moving on the greeting sequence. This accountability is addressed twice, one after the greeting sequence and once after the identification and recognition sequence. One "acceptable account" of having answered the summons and returned the greeting is a re-affirmation of the fact that the summons was provided in the first place. In other words, the man addressed does not "recognize" the missionary until after the first three identification turns, when he offers an initial identification which the missionary then clarifies further. This further identification, including the name of the church, however, is not familiar to the man, who proceeds to confirm that he has not answered the summons or, in fact, entered into the interaction on the basis on "acquaintanceship", but rather, has willingly entered into an interaction with strangers, due to the nature of the summons itself ("já to rád poslouchám", line 17). After

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[50] The use of what may appear to be conflicting degrees of formality in various examples in this chapter, e.g. the missionaries' inconsistent use of formal and informal forms of address and the greeting forms associated with them, is not an arbitrary matter. Rather, it is a product of official policy of the Czech mission, according to which the missionaries are to use the 'vy' form in addressing all Czech speakers with whom they come into contact. Two types of deviations from this prescriptive practice are observed. One results from speech accommodation practices: an individual, usually one of the same age as the missionary, uses the 'ty' form of address and the missionary follows suit. The other results from either a lack of understanding of what encompasses the formal register defined by the usage of the 'vy' form or an attempt to be informal without literally deviating from the norm: a missionary will use the 'vy' form, yet combine it with greeting forms associated with the 'ty' form – 'ahoj', 'nazdar', etc., often also as an accommodation practice. This will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

the establishment of the fact that the man does not know them, the missionary's "to je v pohodě", also indicates the acknowledgement of the stranger-stranger relationship, and the conversation can continue on to the first topic.

I will now present three cases in which the interlocutor enters into the conversation with the missionary with at least some sort of knowledge of who the missionary is, i.e. there is no "stranger-stranger" identification. Both are cases in which the 'summons' is the singing as a part of the street display. In the first case, the missionaries are identified more generally.

Case 20: Identification I (8)
1. M1: uh prosím vás?
2. C9: noo ((laughing))
3. M1: můžu mluvit s vámi?
4. C9: jistě ((laughing))
5. M1: jo? ((laughing)) znáte nás že jo
6. C9: cože?
7. M1: znáte nás? (..) určitě. že jo
8. C9: z ameriky?
9. M1: jo
10. C9: jo už jednou
11. M1: jo?
12. C9: jednou jsem byl na tom na=
13. M1: =jo? vy mluvíte anglicky?
14. C9: <u>nemluvím</u> právě že jsem byl na kurzu že nemluvím anglicky

This case does not begin with a greeting. So, based on our previous observations of the use of "Znáte nás?", we must pose the question of why the missionary has begun this identification sequence in this way if not prompted to do so by the "premature" greeting sequence. This interaction, on the other hand, begins, in terms of what is verbalized, in the same way as those in Section 4.3. On the one hand, we could ask why it is begun this way if the summons has already been answered (by the man having stopped), on the other hand we could ask why the "znáte nás?" subsequently appears if the missionary's first turn takes the form it does. The latter question may be answered given the fact that there is a difference in the degree of agreement expressed by the interlocutor – the answer "jistě" (line 4) as opposed to the pre-request responses "what do you need?" etc. This clues us in to the former question, provoking another - Is it common for a stranger to immediately, firmly consent to an interaction with another stranger? The

answer is, with a few exceptions, no. Therefore, it may be less important to understand why the first spoken turn takes the form it did (this may have been an instance of mere formality which turned out, ultimately, to be out of place) than to understand why it was responded to in such a way. That is, the question "znáte nás?" is posed because the missionary has reason to believe this may not be a stranger-stranger interaction on the basis of his interlocutor's willingness to enter into it. And as the identification and recognition sequence unravels, the missionaries are ultimately first identified (unlike in the previous case) not as religious figures but as teachers of English.

Case 21: Identification II (25)
1.   M1: prosím vás? můžu se vás na něco zeptat?
2.   C31: jo dobrý dobrý
3.   M1: znáte nás?
4.   C31: no znám vás
5.   M1: yeah?
6.   C31: no
7.   M1: už ste mluvil s naší jako kolegami? nebo
8.   C31: jsem katolík já
((14 lines omitted))
23. M1: homeless people yeah? you speak english?
24. C31: uh very little ((laughs))
25. M1: ((laughs)) jak dlouho se učíte anglicky?
26. C31: uh já jsem se učil ve třetí třídě ale tak jsem si na to asi (nabalil) moc neumím
27. M1: yeah uh máte mluvíte <u>dobře</u>
28. C31: no jo ((laughs))
29. M1: yeah ((slowly)) what is your name?
30. C31: my name is martin
31. M1: yeah nice to meet you martin.
32. C31: yeah
33. M1: I'm michael

What is interesting about Case 21 is the interlocutor's initial response in line 2. We might interpret the Czech "dobrý dobrý" as equivalent to the English "it's alright, it's okay". What is alright or okay is the prospect of beginning the conversation – the man who has stopped to watch the missionaries singing is letting the missionary know that the initial question has not violated his negative face – it is not necessary to go through the standard politeness routine with him. The man confirms that he knows the missionaries, but does so by identifying himself using a religious category (line 8). It should also be

noted that like in Case 13, a formal identification of each party is triggered by the switch to English.

In the final case of this section, the interlocutor identifies the missionaries in a third manner, that is, directly as Mormons. The missionary who speaks to him is originally singing in the group, and upon noticing that the man has stopped to watch them, leaves the group and addresses the man.

Case 22: Identification III (9)
1. M1: dobry den, (..) nevím jestli (.) <u>znáte</u> nás? náhodou
2. C11: ne
3. M1: ne? jenom posloucháte? my zpíváme trochu
4. C11: vy jste mormoni?
5. M1: <u>uh huh</u> (my jsme) tady (a jsme) tam
6. C11: já jsem petr
7. M1: já jsem henderson těší mě (..) a vy bydlíte tady?
8. C11: jo v blanci
9. M1: jo? a už jste jako mluvil s naši jako kamarády? nebo
10. C11: uh: já jsem křesťan.
11. M1: uh huh
12. C11: takže (já osobně jsem nemluvil nikdy)
13. M1: uh huh (.) máte skvělé šance dneska že jo těšíte se? ((laughs))

In this example, the missionary's initial greeting is not returned. Given the fact that the missionary says "nevím jestli znáte nás náhodou", we can observe that the assumption of recognition is not necessarily a result of a "premature" greeting sequence, but rather, the result of having provided an answer to the summons (i.e. having stopped to listen to the singing). What is interesting about this case is that the identification sequence follows the recognition sequence. Only after the missionary has confirmed that he and his colleagues are Mormons does the man introduce himself.

In these last two sections, we have experienced a growing level of familiarity between interlocutors. Let us now compare this to an example in which the missionary and interlocutor actually do know each other, i.e. one in which they have met before in a similar situation, in public. I will offer one final street display case here. It is a case which can be deemed a "second contact situation".

Case 23: Personal Identification (26)
1. M1: čau dobrý den
2. C9: (čau ahoj)
3. M1: jak se mate?

4. C9: dobrý (zrovna jsem)
5. M1: tak to tady ((they move away from group of singers))
6. C9: můžu si popovídat (s tebou)?
7. M1: jo?
8. C9: já jsem tam- dneska zejtra určitě pudu jo?
9. M1: jo?
10. C9: (už si to psal) že seš to ty? že jo? jaks psal
11. M1: jojojojojo
12. C9: jo dobrý jo
13. M1: jo máš esemesky a co je nového?
14. C9: no tak jo jde to jo
15. M1: jo? vy jste mi napsal a (my)
16. C9: já jsem napsal že že že potřebuju (.) já jsem to myslel jako že se potřebuju
17.   pomodlit ((laughs))

In the spoken part of this case which makes up the first few turns, we can observe that the initial sequences, the summons-answer sequence and the identification and recognition sequences, have already been achieved on the basis of visual cues. So we are left with the sequences in the order that Schegloff describes them – greeting sequence, "howareyou" sequence, "anchor position". The roles are reversed, we may note, as interlocutor C9 poses the preliminary "Can I talk to you?".

4.6 The foreign language and culture factor

In this section, I would like to return to one element of the situations analyzed from a more extensive vantage point. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints has over 60,000 missionaries out in the field at any given time, including in the United States[51]. The essence of the mission remains the same, but those serving abroad are required to learn a foreign language as well as some basic tools for interaction in a specific foreign culture. All church materials are also translated into the respective languages. Therefore, interactions in the Czech Republic will have some sort of difference in character from those in the United States, Japan, Kenya, etc. But what is the nature of this "different character?" How are these interactions influenced by the fact that the missionaries are speaking a foreign language and that the situations at hand are "contact situations"?

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[51] www.mtc.byu.edu

Fan (1994) describes the concept of "foreign factors", or the differences between members of different speech communities within a contact situation. The three types of foreignness in contact situations are: linguistic foreignness, communicative foreignness (which I would paraphrase together as "structuring being different") and sociocultural foreignness ("looking different"). That is, there are some elements about a person's presence – appearance, accent, linguistic interference, etc., which render that person readily identifiable as a foreigner. As second language speakers, the missionaries may display elements of interference at all linguistic levels. For example, some of their expressions may be direct translations from English. Despite this fact, conversation-opening gestures and opening questions such as "May I speak with you?" or "May I ask you something?" may not be abnormal to ask in Czech language/culture, which, as the previous sections have shown, appears to be proven by the Czech interlocutors' responses.

The universality of conversational interaction in terms of its most basic elements – i.e. turn-taking or preference organization, has been examined to some degree, but can only be truly measured through research in individual cultures. The work of Moerman (1988), for example, is fundamental in that it reveals a certain universality in elements of conversational interaction, whether those involved are speakers of American English or members of the Lue tribe in Thailand. In the Czech context, Nekvapil (2000) postulates that there is not any essential difference between English and Czech as concerns the interactional use of presequences. ten Have (1999b) notes that the "North American cultural bias" of which CA studies have been accused in the past can be overcome by separating the "functional version" of a formulation (i.e. what it accomplishes in an talk-organizational sense) from its "structural version" (e.g. the fact of it being a part of an adjacency pair). ten Have claims that the functional versions of formulations are less likely to be prone to this bias than the structural versions of these formulations.

Given the "looking different" and "structuring different" background, I conclude that "foreignness" or "speaking a foreign language" is accomplished interactionally, i.e. it is a case of "doing being different"[52]. The missionaries are non-native speakers of Czech and at the same time native speakers of English. These are identities that may be made

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[52] cf. Nishizaka 1999 for how concepts such as "interculturality" and "strange foreigner" are done through talk.

relevant at any time for any purpose. Establishing oneself as a non-native speaker of a language enables the missionary to ask for help, and conversely, establishing oneself as native speaker of a language enables him to offer help.

Let us return, then, to the often-posed question of "Do you know us?" in the context of Sacks' idea that "the non-ability to assume, from the fact that persons do engage in greetings, what intimacy they have, constitutes a sort of resource… that is special in this case to those persons who will 'greet anybody'". Sacks continues (1992, Vol. I: 553) "though of course most people don't assume that there are persons or some particular person who will greet anybody, because they take it that, since the class of proper conversationalists is bounded for them and most people they know, then the class is bounded for everybody." Yet, depending on experience, there are certain individuals we know will 'greet anybody', and for some, Mormon missionaries may fall into this category. In parts of the United States, for example, Missionaries perhaps need not "ticket". Their initial greetings may be interpreted by their interlocutors on the basis of their clearly-recognizable appearance – going around in single-sex pairs, wearing suits and ties, and in particular, name tags identifying them as "Elder" or "Sister" and containing the name of the church[53]. This may enable them to "get to the point" earlier, i.e. ask about their interlocutor's religious beliefs or offer testimony to their faith, and ultimately make it easier for the interlocutor to leave the conversation. In the Czech Republic, it may take a greater number of turns to "get to the point", as the interlocutors may not initially place the missionaries in the category of "people who will greet anybody".

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented a primary framework within which missionaries begin proselyting conversations in public with strangers. I have argued that in FCPP situations, the "summons" used to call people into conversation may be divided into two

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[53] Note the following quote from the main missionary guidebook: "Look at the image of the name tag. How does your name tag differ from that worn by an employee of a company? Note that the two most prominent parts are your name and the Savior's name. How can you ensure that you represent the Savior as one of his disciples? Why is it important for people to associate your name with the Savior's in a positive way? Write your thoughts in your study journal."
"Preach My Gospel", published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2004, p. 123.

types: overt and covert (Section 4.1). I have shown that overt summons can be interpreted as a prelude to a request to enter into the situations, thus presenting a potential violation of the interlocutor's negative face and giving the interlocutor the choice between continuing in the conversation or producing a dispreferred turn (Section 4.2). In many cases, the interlocutors indeed understand the initial summons as a 'pre-request', as revealed either by the responses "What do you need?", "What do you want?", by the imperative "talk", or by the production of the relevant dispreferred turns (Section 4.3). The potential for a greeting to function as a summons is revealed in cases of less experienced missionaries, who may do the summons in a more "textbook" fashion (Section 4.4), not beginning with a question but with a statement. This, however, points to the fact that a certain amount of the summoning is done by physical actions such as eye contact or by greetings.

Covert summons, on the other hand, do not have a specific addressee, rather they serve as general "attention-grabbers", and do not threaten potential interlocutors' negative face (Section 4.5.1). The assumption made in the case of the covert summons is one of identification and/or recognition - that anyone who responds to them must know them in some way – if not personally, then representationally, in the form of the previous missionaries the interlocutor may have encountered (Section 4.5.2).

Unlike in the telephone conversations analyzed by Schegloff, which have formed the model for work on conversational openings in CA, proselyting interactions with overt summons are characterized by the fact that recognition and identification sequences need not follow immediately after summons-answer sequences. This is at least in part due to institutional, transactional nature of the FCPP situation. The question of who is talking to whom can be actually be delayed for many turns, and can be preceded by other "first topics". In these cases, recognition in the Schegloffian sense may never be achieved. Covert-summons interactions, however, tend toward initial identification-recognition sequences. They often begin with an "assumption of acquaintance recognition" on the part of the missionary, who often proceeds to seek confirmation of this recognition, typified by the question "Do you know us?". And, as Section 4.5 has shown, the pre-existing degrees of expressed recognition span a broad range.

I have deemed the differentiation between types of summons significant in that it helps in answering the question of how the fact that the contacting encounters are situations of intercultural contact is manifested. I have noted that the findings detailed in this chapter need not indicate a difference in talk-in-interaction practices between native Czech speakers and native English speakers, even though the conversations may involve code-switching or linguistic interference. The intercultural aspect here, rather, is a question of the way in which the interlocutors create and utilize their own and their interlocutors' identities and the degree of familiarity or foreignness between them.

Making one's identity relevant pre-interaction, particularly in situations of covert summons, involves creating at least some sort of picture of oneself and thus makes the missionaries' verbal self-identification "work", easier and what's more, it does so without threatening their interlocutors' negative face. The interaction, then, is understood to have begun in a more polite, natural manner. However, from the situations analyzed in this chapter we still do not have a good idea of *how* the missionaries' interlocutors understand who the missionaries are, nor of what the missionaries can do to invoke this understanding. Also, the missionaries do not know who their interlocutors are, but must discover some information about them in order for the interaction to be extended. These processes will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

"Who we are and what we do": Category work in identification and recognition and first topic sequences

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will address the issue of how the interlocutors in FCPP situations formulate and utilize categories to a) account for the fact of the initiation of an encounter between strangers, and b) move the encounter from one between strangers to an encounter between incumbents of mutually recognizable pairs of categories, or, conversely, to prevent such movement from occurring. That is, what categorical work do these interlocutors do in order to determine whether the proselyting conversation can continue and, subsequently, to continue it? This will be an analysis of how the missionaries work together with their interlocutors to produce an explanation of "who we are and what we do" for both interlocutors, otherwise known as "who is talking to whom".

Specifically, I will orient to the following questions:

1) What categories do members use in identification/recognition sequences in FCPP situations? Which categories are programmatically relevant? The greatest part of this chapter will involve the analysis of the self-categorizations and the associated predicates the missionaries themselves used in relation to their continually-developing understanding of the image their interlocutors may have of them. How are these categories 'collected' in various ways?

2) How do members use these categories? Do they use them directly or through their predicates? What is the relationship between context, category incumbency of the participants, and the features predicated of the categories?

3) When do they use these categories? I am especially interested in the sequential order in which different categories are presented in different situations, i.e. the key to analyzing these fragments of the interactions is posing the classic MCA question of *why that category now?* For example, why do members use a category belonging to one collection prior to a category belonging to another?

4) To what end do members use these categories? I will further discuss how both the missionaries and their interlocutors may do categorizing to determine whether the

interaction should be continued. How do they use categories to "wade through" the intercultural nature of the interaction, and to fill in perceived missing information?

In section 5.2, I will expand on the concept of MCA discussed in Chapter 2. In section 5.3, I will do an initial analysis of the types of category work the missionaries and their interlocutors do, observing the types of categories which are commonly found in FCPP situations. I will subsequently explore three types of membership category collections or devices which the missionaries and their interlocutors make relevant: place of residence/origin (section 5.4), nationality (section 5.5) and occupation (section 5.6). I will summarize the initial category work done in FCPP situations in section 5.7.

5.2 Membership Categorization Analysis

The main focus in this chapter will be the categorial organization of interaction, to be analyzed using Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). As mentioned earlier, the use of categories is indexical, and in these cases something which both the missionaries themselves and their Czech interlocutors formulate and utilize under the conditions of the given setting, the "here and now" of the interaction. In light of the perceived theoretical conflict between the analysis of sequence and the analysis of category (as mentioned in Chapter 2), this chapter seeks to combine the two in using MCA to interpret first-contact situations. In the spirit of "layering" (section 2.7.1), it will also integrate topical organization. In the process, I look at the order in which the interlocutors present categories, at how the use of categories performs important sequential tasks, and at how the interlocutors use categories to facilitate the organization of topics which constitute a FCPP situation.

5.2.1 Category Incumbency

One focus here is the concept of "category incumbency" (Watson 1978, Jayyusi 1984 Housley and Fitzgerald 2002), which I understand as members' hearing of a person or a thing as belonging to a given membership category, including self- or other-categorization. This may be influenced by, for example, elements of the setting in which a person is found or activities in which that person is engaged. If, for example one enters a police station and sees person wearing a blue suit with a badge, one might categorize

that individual as a "police officer". A person wearing a white coat and a stethoscope in a hospital could be categorized as "doctor", a person wearing a uniform or a nametag in a shop as "shop employee", and so forth. Members may see/hear any given individual as an incumbent of multiple categories.

All of these guides to seeing or hearing someone as a category incumbent are inherently connected to stimuli commonly found in the social world. Jayyusi (1984: 73) points to the various ways in which this "social or public availability of category incumbency" is organized. These include:

1. *Perceptual availability*, or category incumbency which is "naturally" observable, such as gender, age or profession (in the case of uniforms or locations in which the person is found, as mentioned above.)
2. *Behavioural availability,* or category incumbency which is "displayed" through talk and/or action.
3. *First-person avowal*, or category incumbency which is declared, avowed, revealed, or admitted (in the case of a category with negative social value such as "thief) by the incumbent, or self-categorization.
4. *Third-person declaration,* or other-categorization.
5. *Credential presentations*, or category incumbency invoked through the producing of, e.g. a piece of paper which "proves" category incumbency (a passport, diploma, police badge, etc.)

In consideration of these types of "availability", we should be reminded that Mormon missionaries, while working, also wear "uniforms" (suits and ties at all times of the year) and have nametags which contain the name of their church. They may also self-categorize as "missionaries", which is a relevant category for them. Yet it is not clear whether this allows for their categorial incumbency in their interlocutors' perception of them. In some cases, it may be necessary for the "display" of category incumbency.

In the previous chapter, I considered Sacks' category collection of "people who will greet anybody", and whether the Mormon missionaries' Czech interlocutors categorized them as such. The degree to which incumbency in the category "Mormon Missionary" is invoked varies, reflecting the more general fact that members hear the embodiment of categories differently in different cultures, with the understanding that "culture" is contextually created and situated as well. I will operate, though, using the assumption that in all "cultures", people walking around in a large city in public categorize other people as "strangers" unless they have a reason to do otherwise (the

origin of Sacks' concept of "ticketing"). This brings us back to the missionaries' initial questions such as "Znáte nás?" or "Slyšel jste o nás?" discussed in the previous chapter. These questions pointed to the fact that the pair "stranger-stranger" has already somehow been overcome or is being overcome because, as observed, the interlocutors had moved into the greeting phase of the interaction, which assumed that they had already identified the missionaries in some way. These questions of "Do you know us?" also *test for the possibility of category incumbency*. In this sense, the questions can be paraphrased as "Do we exist in your world, and if so, as what?" If the interlocutor acknowledges this incumbency, the question which then follows is that of how the missionaries and their interlocutors subsequently proceed. If the "incumbency test" for "acquaintance" is passed, the question is then that of which further categories are tested for incumbency, and how the interlocutors associate or disassociate themselves with the predicates they assign or are assigned.

If, however, the missionaries' interlocutors do not acknowledge or identify the missionaries' category incumbency, what happens then? Other categories must be tested for incumbency. As discussed in Chapter 2, post-Sacksian research using MCA has focused on the idea that "identity or role is not a fixed feature of interactants. Rather, identities and role can be understood to be situated interactional achievements and important resources for undertaking various tasks within different settings." (Housley and Fitzgerald 2002). I will explore how categories relevant to the FCPP situation are formulated and modified, and how members formulate them in a *coordinated* orderly manner, through interaction with one another[54].

5.2.2 Categories and their features

As discussed in Chapter 2, Sacks' original consideration of categories and their use by members included the concept of category-bound activities (CBAs), as in 'many activities are taken by Members to be done by some particular or several particular categories of Members where the categories are categories from membership

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[54] Cf. Leudar, Marsland and Nekvapil 2004 and Nekvapil and Leudar 2006, who point out that membership categories are formulated and modified in three ways: 1) through a change in "predicate" which is normatively associated with a given category, 2) through a new delimitation of category incumbency, and 3) through a change in collection to which the category is assigned.

categorization devices' (Sacks 1992 Vol. I: 249). Later, other extensions of this concept of "activities" were developed. For example, Watson (1978) uses the term "category predicates". Jayyusi (1984: 20-56) uses the term "features". Features which are *category-constitutive* are those which are essential to a type, which make it up, which must be present for the category to be observed, and alternatively, cannot be lacking. They may also be *category-tied*, with their presence not necessary but sufficient for categorization to occur, or *category-occasioned*, with their presence potentially enabling categorization to occur in certain cases. We will observe how these different types of features of the categories the interlocutors used are of relevance to the course of the interaction.

5.3 Initial analysis: The categories made relevant in the initial phases of FCPP situations

In the previous chapter, I explored the (primarily) sequential aspects of conversational openings in FCPP situations. These segments of encounters (or, in some cases, complete encounters) were usually opened as interactions between strangers, involved some initial categorial work, and then the examples were usually concluded with turns signaling the reaching of the first topic (most often "Do you speak English?"). This chapter will place greater emphasis on the initial categorial work and the sequences beginning where the examples in the last chapter left off. Let us, then, return to one of the examples, the initial part of which was examined in the previous chapter.

Case 1: Category Summary (11)
1.   M1: dobrý den paní
2.   C13: dobrý den
3.   T: dobrý den
4.   ((...))
5.   M1: znáte nás?
6.   C13: neznám.
7.   M1: neznáte
8.   C13: neznám ale
9.   M1: slyšíte náš moje <u>přízvuk</u> že jo? [yeah ((laughs))]
10. C13:   [vy jste asi cizinci]
11. M1: my jsme my jsme z ameriky
12. C13: <u>aha</u> studenti?
13. M1: [cože?]
14. M3: [uuh ne]

15. M1: já jsem z kalifornie
16. C13: a<u>ha</u>
17. M1: my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci
18. C13: mm hmm
19. M1: uh (.) vy mluvíte anglicky náhodou?
20. C13: bohužel
21. M1: ne?
22. C13: bohužel celá rodina jo moje ale já ne
23.   ((laughter))
24. M1: jo? víte co? možná můžete (.) (přijít na to) (.) [u nás] ((hands her flyer))
25. C13:   [no děkuju]
26. M1: my učíme (.) zdarma angličtinu tady
27. C13: (mm)
28. M1: (je to) tady na horním náměstí
29. C13: mm hmm
30. M1: um uh (.) (a my se snažíme pomáhat lidem tady) my jsme tady jako misionáři
31.   asi je to vidět=
32. C13: =<u>jo</u> je to vidět ((laughter))
33. M1: já nevím jestli možná jste slyšela o nás slyšela jste o <u>mormon</u>ech?
34. C13: no tak slyšela
35. M1: yeah? (.) a co jste slyšela?
36. C13: takhle já musím musím [(teď na úřad)]
37. M1:   [jo dobře]
38. M3:   [no dobře]
39. C13: tak to předám
40. M1: dobrý dobrý tak na shledanou
41. M3: na shle

There are five categories used directly here: three by the missionaries to describe themselves, and two offered by their interlocutor. The encounter begins with the missionaries practicing their Czech with one another in public while walking along a sidewalk. A woman walking next to them hears them, and turns to look at them. One missionary subsequently greets her and she returns the greeting. It is unclear as to what should follow, hence the longer pause before the next turn, marking a transition relevant point (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). The question remains – why has the woman stopped to observe the missionaries? One possibility is that she might know them. The question "znáte nás?" is put forth, and the woman answers negatively, but conditionally "neznám, ale…". She does not know them personally. But she has reacted to something they were doing, which she does not state. One possible "head-turning" activity, speaking Czech with an accent, is identified by missionary M1. This leads to the use of the first

category – foreigners. Foreigners are the people who speak Czech with an accent, thus the people who speak Czech with an accent belong to the ethno-category of foreigners or non-Czechs[55]. After the "foreign" origin of the missionaries is confirmed, the category is abandoned, and another is offered. That is, we must pose the question of: in the given city where the research took place, into which further categories can "foreigners" be grouped? The ethnographic research revealed that the given city contained a faculty of medicine which offered a program of study in English, and the missionaries themselves observed that most of the other foreigners with whom they came into contact were students at this faculty.

Upon answering the question of whether they are students negatively, the missionaries then become accountable for explaining what, in fact, they are if not students. The next category is that of "volunteers". But as we will see, "volunteers" is what might be understood as an "incomplete category". Activities which are bound to "volunteer" include doing something without being paid for it, and doing something for what one considers a good cause. It could be argued that stating that one is a volunteer in the context of, e.g, walking into a soup kitchen and introducing oneself to the head chef, or arriving at the scene of a natural disaster, would not make the speaker accountable for explaining what kind of work he or she does or wants to do. But in a situation where there is no apparent "cause" to be attended to, "volunteer" could be seen as a "hedging" or a "mitigating" category – a category used as a predecessor to a further category, to delay a direct explanation of an individual's activities.

As is observable from this example, how the missionaries explain "who we are and what we do" to their interlocutors is the first step in establishing what kind of relational pair the two interaction participants form, may have formed in the past, or can form in the future. Thus, it is necessary to evaluate the categories used to describe the interlocutors which can correspond to those already used in the missionaries' self-identification. The task at hand is for the interlocutors to collaborate to determine whether or not a pair of categories exists on the basis of which the interaction can continue, whether the two categories have any further activities in which they can (or are allowed

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[55] See Nekvapil 2000 for an examination of the non-self-evident relationships between language and ethnicity.

to) engage in together. As Sacks has pointed out, stranger-stranger is not sufficient. That is, these sets of pairs, may be used by the missionaries to distinguish between whom to address and whom not to address, to whom to offer which services, which order of topics to use, and to what degree to prolong the conversation.

In the following sections, I will explore the use of the missionaries' self-categorization in the context of the varying collections they may belong to and the standardized relational pairs they form with categories used to represent their interlocutors. To the categories directly named here, I will add the use of another category, "American", which is not used in this example directly, but through a predicate ("we are from America"). I will examine these self-categorizations in relation to the topical organization of the conversations in which they appear. That is, there is an unwritten chronological order within contacting situations, particularly those with a overt summons, which is rarely disturbed: the offer of the missionaries' various services precedes discussion of the gospel. I will show that while the categories belonging to the collection "place" tend to be used to determine whether the conversation can continue, categories belonging to the collections "nationality" and "job" tend to orient toward the services offered and mark the transition to attempts to discuss the gospel. The "religious" categories will be discussed in the next chapter.

I will now explore several of the MCDs (collections of categories plus rules of application, as defined in Chapter 2) which the interlocutors make relevant in the initial phases of the FCPP situations.

5.4 "Place of origin/residence"

The collection "place" can contain many categories, but the relational pair on which I will focus here are "local" and "non-local". The categories in these pairs are tied to both speakers in an interaction – the missionaries and their interlocutors, and the relationship of each to the given city or part of the city in which the FCPP situation is taking place. However, there is interactional work which must be done in order for the interlocutors to self-categorize in relation to "place" in consideration of the projected interaction. Schegloff (1972: 114-115) has pointed out that:

"It happens, on the whole, that speakers select "right" or adequate formulations, and do preliminary work if it is required in order to do so. The selection of a "right" term and the hearing of a term as adequate, appear to involve sensitivity to the respective locations of the participants and referent (which can change over the course of interaction); to the membership composition of the interaction, and the knowledge of the world seen by members to be organized by membership categories (where the composition can change over the course of the interaction); and to the topic or activity being done in the conversation at that point in its course, and which is, at least in part, constituted as "that topic" or "that activity" by the formulations selected to realize it."

The missionaries do their work while walking around various parts of a city, to which they often refer to as "here". But in other situations, "here" may refer to the entire region or country. Members must often specify and negotiate this reference in the course of the early stages of th FCPP situation. Given these considerations, as concerns "place", the missionaries and their interlocutors do category work in order to:

a)   establish oneself as "non-local" in order to either enter into or maintain an interaction, i.e. to establish "local - non-local" as a collection K (see section 2.5.1). Similarly to "expert-layman", the "local" is expected to know more about the place where the interaction is taking place, and is able (and perhaps even obligated) to provide the necessary information. As a "local" is able to answer this type of "ticketing" question, a "non-local" is entitled to ask it. It should be noted that some forms of "ticketing" may utilize this collection ("do you know where the train station is?"), while others may not ("do you know what time it is?").[56]

b) establish oneself as a "non-local" in order to bring the interaction to a close through declaring oneself "ineligible" for the services initially offered by an interlocutor. This is also a way of avoiding a dispreferred response – "providing an excuse" as discussed in the previous chapter (on the example of "I'm in a hurry").

c)   based partly on b), to determine if it is possible to topically continue the interaction by establishing whether one's interlocutor is a "local".

For situation (a), the categories may, though, also belong to different, more specific collections, namely "people found in the Czech Republic" (to be explored in greater degree in the next section), "people found in the given region", "people found in the given city" or even "people found in the given part of the city". The first way in

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[56] Cf. Nekvapil and Zeman 2000.

which this is manifested is the questions posed by the missionaries about things around them (why is the postal number system set up the way it is, what is the difference between one word and another in Czech, what is the name of this river, do you know how to find this address, etc.) are used to indicate that they are "non-locals" or even "foreigners" (either to the part of the city, the city, or the entire country), as in the following example.

Case 2: Non-local to this part of the city (16)
1. M1: prosím vás můžete pomoct?
2. C19: (mm hmm)
3. M1: my musíme najít někoho
4. C19: mm hmm
5. M1: on se jmenuje milan (.) novák nebo=
6. C19: =je:žiš to já podle jména vás asi (.) to asi těžko
7. M1: jenom znám že on bydlí tady (.) um benice (.) je tuto oblast má číslo
8. C19: to vám neporadím
9. M1: vůbec nic?
10. C19: jak je ještě to jméno jednou?
11. M1: milan novák
12. C19: novák
13. ((...))
14. M1: a vy vypadáte jako šikovná žena
15. C19: [((laughs))] jo: ale nikoho neznám ((laughter))
16. M1: [(   )]
17. C19: protože nejsem drbna já neznám (mnoho lidi) ani ( ) to vám neporadím fakt
18.   nevím
19. M1: jo? a bydlíte tady?
20. C19: no tadyhle ještě takhle ještě takhle kéž by mám k tomu mám to kousek na
21.   hřbitov=
22. M1: =jo?=
23. C19: =aby tady se mnou neměli starosti pak
24. ((laughter))
25. C19: ne jako tohle mě n- tohle mě vůbec nic neříká no
26. M1: jo?
27. C19: ono ulici vůbec že jo oni já vím oni to (.) taky nemus- (.) ale starý benice ty
28.   jsou zase spíš tamhle dole kdyby
29. M1: [jo uh huh]
30. C19: [protože] my píšeme ulici že jo=
31. M1: =jojojo=
32. C19: =na tomhle sídlišti
33. M1: nedostal jsem jako: (.) protože my jsme tady jako misionáři
34. C19: jojo
35. M1: je to vidět

This encounter has begun with the missionary's establishment of himself as "non-local to this part of the city" and his interlocutor as a "local to this part of the city" in lines 1-7, because he has to ask for directions. "Local" can belong to the collection of "people encountered in public in a given city" – of the people found in a given city on a given day, some live in that city, while others do not, and those who do not may live at various distances from it, affecting their ability to engage in various activities in the city to a varying degree. In any case, it is a potential topic of conversation topic. C19 continues her display of "local knowledge" in lines 19-30 – she lives there, she knows where the cemetery is and where the old part of the village is, and, as she points out in lines 28-32, a local address must contain the name of the street. Given the establishment of the pair "local - non-local", it is then possible for the missionary to shift the topic in line 33 (this extract is followed by an offer of the free English classes).

In the previous chapter, we observed the fact that the missionaries' interactional work is gradually learned, i.e. on the bases of commonly-heard responses from people on the street, they can learn to do categorization work in order to determine whether the conversation could continue. So let us first look at a case in which the interlocutor uses self-categorization to avoid a dispreferred response.

Case 3: "Non-local" (32)
1. M1: uh prosím vás? mohl bych mluvit s vámi?
2. C37: no co potřebujete?
3. M1: no jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci (.) tady my tady mluvíme (.) (nebo
4.   spíš) tady my učíme zdarma angličtinu
5. C37: jo. ale já to- já nejsem místní
6. M1: jo?
7. C37: já nemůžu tady chodit na kurzy
8. M1: aha dobře tak [skvělé]
9. C37:   [já dojíždím]
10. M1: ((fast)) aha dobře tak na shle
11. C37: mějte se hezky na shledanou

The missionary in this example has been in the country for less than two months. His interlocutor responds to his initial offer by directly self-categorizing as non-local (line 5). This is predicated later in lines 7 and 9. In line 7, we find the predicate "(non-local) cannot attend courses (in this city)" and in line 9, we find the predicate "(non-local) commutes (to this city)". For the missionaries, this means "(non-local) is not accessible to

us for teaching, either English or the gospel". And accordingly, we can observe that, in line 10, it is the missionary who initiates the ending of the conversation.

In the next examples, we can observe that the question of whether the interlocutor lives in the given city is posed early on in the conversation.

Case 4: "Do you live here?" I (29)
3. M1: my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci nevím jestli znáte nás ze církve ježiše krista a
4.   tady my děláme několik <u>věci</u>, my jsme hlavně my jsme tady abychom mohli
5.   mluvit s lidmi o naši církvi a o bohu ale, (.) nevím jestli mluvíte anglicky
6.   náhodou?
7. C34: moc ne
8. M1: ne? že je to slyšet, mám přízvuk. trochu divný americký
9. C34: no ((laughs))
10. M1: ((laughs)) a my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu: (.) každý každý úterý já nevím
11.   jestli vy tady bydlíte?
12. C34: bydlím no
13. M1: yeah? well chtěl byste přijít na (.) na tu angličtinu?

Following the opening sequence in this example, a series of self-categorizations is presented in a monological manner by the missionary. The topical range for first-contact situations is presented as well (lines 3-6). As this is not produced interactionally (with minimum response tokens from C34), it is not clear to what degree the information in this turn was understood by the interlocutor. The first point at which the interlocutor is actively drawn into the conversation is through M1's question as to whether he speaks English. In line 8, the missionary established his categorial identity as "native English speaker of Czech" by drawing attention to his own accent (as in Case 1). All of this leads up to the determination of whether the interlocutor is a potential candidate for further discussion or not.

We might understand the question posed in lines 10-11 as one which the missionaries gradually learn to ask. There are a number of "excuses" provided (as in the previous case) for not being able to attend the English class, and one of these is through invoking the category "non-local". Therefore, it is economical for the missionaries to ask early on in the conversation whether their interlocutors are "local". In lines 10-12, the two interlocutors confirm an intersubjective understanding of what "here" means – it refers to the city in which the encounter is taking place. The missionaries informed me that for reasons of time and finances, they are not able to travel too far out of the city in

which they live to work further with potential investigators, so it is important to clarify the interlocutor's category incumbency as "local" or "non-local" as early on as possible in the encounter. Missionary M1 confirms that the "here" in line 11 is sufficient by subsequently making the offer in line 13.

The "place" collection can be used in one final way.

Case 5: "Do you live here?" II (9)
1. M1: dobry den, (..) nevím jestli (.) <u>znáte</u> nás? náhodou
2. C11: ne
3. M1: ne? jenom posloucháte? my zpíváme trochu
4. C11: vy jste mormoni?
5. M1: <u>uh huh</u> (my jsme) tady (a jsme) tam
6. C11: já jsem petr
7. M1: já jsem henderson těší mě (..) a vy bydlíte tady?
8. C11: jo v blanci
9. M1: jo? a už jste jako mluvil s naši jako kamarády? nebo
10. C11: uh: já jsem křesťan.
11. M1: uh huh=
12. C11: =takže (já osobně jsem nemluvil nikdy)
13. M1: uh huh (.) máte skvělé šance dneska že jo těšíte se? ((laughs))

Here, the question of "Do you live here?" serves another purpose, that is, determining how much information the missionary needs to provide at the beginning of the interaction. The question "Do you live here?" is preceded sequentially by a different category than in the previous example. This example is taken from a "street display" situation. In it, as discussed in the "covert summons" cases of the previous chapter, a man has stopped to watch the missionaries singing. It is the only example in which the interlocutor identifies the missionaries as "Mormons" before they self-identify in this manner, if they do so at all. The pair "stranger-stranger" is further overcome by the mutual self-introductions in lines 6-7. The "place-question" in line 7 follows immediately after this. C11's identification of the singers as Mormons intimates that he may be familiar with "local Mormons", missionaries working or having worked in the given city (hence the question in line 9), and as such may require a lesser degree of explanation in the current interaction.

The concept of "formulating place" and different people's categorial relationship to a given location provides a sense of who "is allowed" to talk to whom and about what. A local may be "obliged" to provide information to a non-local, which thus provides the

opportunity to begin or continue a conversation. In the same sense, a non-local is not "obliged", and in fact, not able, to participate in "local" activities.

5.5 "Nationality"

Members make the collection "nationality" (or "ethnicity") relevant primarily through the categorization "American". Every encounter analyzed in this study is a situation in which an incumbent of this category is talking to the incumbent of the category "Czech", and there was no encounter in which the category of American was not made relevant by the missionaries themselves. The questions which then follow are: How do the missionaries make this category relevant and how do their Czech interlocutors do so? Let us recall from the discussion of standardized relational pairs that only one pair-member of the standardized pair needs to be mentioned in order to invoke both. Do the missionaries and their interlocutors make the Czech identity relevant at all? If so, how?

I will examine how the ways in which referring to oneself as an American (either by directly naming oneself using a category or by associating oneself with "American" predicates) vary in relevance in accordance with the situation. I will do so using four examples in which the category of "American" is used in some way. In each circumstance, the category has a different predicate. These are: Americans as foreign or non-Czech, Americans as modern, Americans as rare or exotic, and Americans as authentic. We will see how categories can be utilized as the given situation requires. Category work (mostly self-categorization) here serves to:

a) account for the fact of one's atypical communicative practices (language difficulties, pragmatic differences, etc.)

b) to emphasize the "quality" of an offer through the contemporary relevance and high value of what is being offered

The first of these types of category work is demonstrated in an initial example.

Case 6: "American" as "foreign" or "non-Czech" (5)
1. M2: dobrý den my jsme dobrovolníci a učíme zdarma angličtinu
2. C6: ano
3. M2: umíte anglicky náhodou?
4. C6: uh: trošku no tak (.) učím se no
5. M2: chtěl by- chtěl byste se učít <u>navíc</u>? [(je to)]

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6. C6:   [mm tak] já mám ještě dva roky ve škole pak
7.   bych (se chtěl) udělat <u>státnice</u> no tak (.) určitě takže
8. M1: tak máte <u>štěstí</u> dneska ((laughter)) (..) protože my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu,
9. C6: uh huh
10. M1: my jsme američany asi určitě můžete nás poznat
11. C6: uh huh
12. M1: kvůli tomu my máme <u>přízvuk</u>,
13. C6: mm hmm
14. M1: a my učíme každé úterý na horním náměstí
15. C6: mm hmm
16. M1: tam. máte leták?
17. C6: uh nemám
18.   ((sound of flyer being pulled out and handed to C))

This example contains a predicate that is one of the most commonly used in categorial self-identification (as is, for example, demonstrated in Case 1 of this chapter). According to M1 (lines 10 and 12), foreigners (Americans) are recognizable in that they speak Czech with an accent. This categorization places emphasis on the missionaries themselves, as foreigners who are Czech learners, who try to integrate into Czech society, in other words, the predicate "where the category goes to". Let us look further then, at the predicate of "where the category comes from". In this instance, we are talking about the question of what "America" or "being American" can be associated with more generally, what it can be used to represent in talk.

Case 7: "American" as "English speaker = modern, relevant" (15)
17. C18: ne. (.) to může být (.) vo ulici vedle
18. M1: jo?
19. C18: a už člověk neví
20. M1: jo? tak v pohodě my zkusíme
21. C18: děkuji=
22. M1: =oh vy máte apple?
23. C18: prosím?
24. M1: vy máte apple počítač?
25. C18: mám
26. M1: yeah tak to je hezký (.) já jsem z kalifornie, a tam jako dělají apple
27. C18: (..) ((surprised laugh))
28. M1: to je zajímavý já nevím jestli mluvíte anglicky vůbec?
29. C18: aj ((likely English pronoun I)) velice málo
30. M1: yeah?
31. C18: já už jsem starší ročník a mě hlavně učili ruštinu=
32. M1: =jo da da=
33. C18: =jo? se kterou se stejně dodneška pořádně nedomluvím protože eh: (.) díla

34.   ruských klasiků
((8 lines omitted))
43. C18: [to je to je to samy jako] uh: tady učili angličtinu způsobem (.) no. čert to vem
44.   ((laughter)) no nebyla nebyla eh: možnost komunikace s někým kdo skutečně
45.   je angličtina [angličan]
46. M1:   [jee: víte co?]
((14 lines omitted))
61. M1: jo? ((laughter)) no jestli chcete už máte skvělou šanci se učit anglicky. protože
62.   my tady uč- učíme zdarma každý týden na horním náměstí (.) tak jestli máte
63.   zájem tak přijďte=
64. C18: =budu si muset na to najít čas
65. M1: dobrý
66. C18: protože eh jsou okamžiky kdy (.) eh: člověku eh: (.) neznalost jazyka (.) voni
67.   (.)náš komenský měl pravdu kolik jazyků znáš tolikrát seš člověkem
68. M1: mm hmm
69. C18: a jedu (.) nás dřív pustili na dovolenou do bulharska do východního německa
70.   nebo do maďarska tak tam jsme se všude jakž takž domluvili rusky ale teďka
71.   když je tady ta možnost cestovat jinam než-li do tohodletoho východního sektoru
72.   a přijedete třeba do řecka (.) tak v tý chvíli najednou člověku strašně vadí že není
73.   schopen se s těma lidma domluvit je vám někdo velice sympatickej, (.) chtěl
74.   byste si s ním popovídat, (.) ale rukama nohama němčina angličtina ruština to je
75.   to je taková paskvil a stejně (.) uh ty takový ty jemný nuance co jsou v:- v tý řeči
76.   uniká vám smysl těch
77. M1: mm well snad se uvidíme
78. C18: určitě.

Prior to this section of the transcript, the conversation has begun with the missionaries first establishing their identities as "non-locals" – they have received an address of a man they want to visit, but cannot find it, so they have resorted to asking people if they know either the address or the man. As the missionaries themselves noted to me on the occasion, this serves a dual purpose – it may genuinely bring them closer to finding this man, but it can serve as a "ticket" (as discussed in the previous chapter) into discussions with many other people as well. In this situation, the missionaries have approached a man standing behind a gate in front of a house, engaged in activity involving unloading and disposing of various objects. The "ticket" has been provided prior to this excerpt, and in lines 17-21 the interlocutor produces the final bits of his "ticket out". There are, then, several issues at hand in this excerpt. The first, chronologically, is the connection made between the identity of one interlocutor and an object (an empty computer box) held by another. The object is first noticed - "noticings"

are an interactional tool used to engage or re-engage other speakers in a conversation[57]. The conversation could have, in lines 20-21, been completed "legally". Its continuation, however, is prompted by the missionary's "noticing" of the brand name on the box his interlocutor is holding and his subsequent linking of the brand name to himself – both have the same "American" origin. The fact that the computer brand is "noticed" marks it as something unusual, out of the ordinary, new, as Sacks remarks (1992, Vol. II: 93) "…the issue is to find a way of turning it to use under the various sorts of constraints that there are in conversation, which involve that you pretty much can't say "Hey you're wearing a shirt" or things like that just anywhere in a conversation."

The man's pause and subsequent surprised laugh in line 27 reflect the fact that the conversation has not only undergone a topical transformation at this point, but a categorial one as well. Whereas the missionary had begun by presenting his identity as a "non-local looking for an address", he has subsequently moved on to present the situation as a sort of strange coincidence in which two connections to a far-off land have been re-united in the Czech Republic. Maynard and Zimmerman (1984: 313) call this "doing affiliation", which can be used to "occasion self-revelatory talk" -- both interlocutors are somehow affiliated with the object – the missionary with the place of its origin, his interlocutor with its current possession. Given that there is this connection between the object and each of the interlocutors, there is then an established coherent categorial relationship between the two interlocutors. They are not "stranger-stranger" anymore, but rather, as unusual as the situation may seem, "American-Czech", though the "Czech" identity appears later than the "American" one.

The man's answer to the question as to whether he speaks English (beginning in lines 29-31) involves the acquisition of both an age-category and a "nationality" category. He takes on the identity of "Czech", particularly "older Czech" whose job it is to explain his fate to the Americans in a coherent manner. First he is, as he notes in line 31, "starší ročník" (of an older generation) (note the same category use later in case 10). Age is used as the defining factor in the Czech individual's language biography[58], which is presented here as a situation in which the teaching of Russian was dominant (line 31), in which the

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[57] See Sacks 1992, Vol II: 87-97.
[58] Cf. Nekvapil 2004 and the concepts of "management summaries" within language biographies.

teaching of English was flawed (line 43) and in which there was an isolated atmosphere containing no native English speakers (lines 44-45). This is exemplified by a list of locations where, in the past, "older Czechs" had the opportunity to spend vacation time (Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, lines 69-70).

This is contrasted in the later phase of the interaction with the situation in which the man finds himself at this very moment - English has become relevant, useful (lines 70-76), and, in fact, necessary for a Czech person's multifaceted, contemporary life (the "nationality category" is, among other things, demonstrated through the use of "náš komenský" in line 67). On top of that, its native speakers, whose presence in the Czech Republic is a facet of the "modern" historical era, have come to the man's hometown to offer it for free.

As we can see, the missionaries use the features of the category "American" as bargaining tools or "selling points". In other words, an offer of free English lessons from native speakers holds a certain value for the missionaries' interlocutors, given the self-described categorial situation of the man in the previous case. It is something that "older Czechs" need to be a part of the world in its current state. The offer made by the missionaries is also valuable in the sense of "supply and demand", with the demand for "authentic" English teachers being higher than the supply. This idea is explored in the next example.

Case 8: "American" as "rare" ("native speaker") (4)
1. M1: prosím vás? můžu mluvit s vámi?
2. C5: (no co potřebujete)
3. M1: no jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovol<u>níci</u>. a tady my učíme zdarma angličtinu
4.   (.) já nevim jestli umíte anglicky náho<u>dou</u>?
5. C5: (trošku)
6. M1: jo? well chtěl byste se učít <u>víc</u>? zdarma?
7. (..)
8. C5: my se učíme na střední
9. M1: jo? (.) a tam má ami- američany?
10. C4: no.
11. M1: jo? opravdu? dvě?
12. C4: ne (   )
13. M1: ((laughs)) no víte co alespoň můžu vám dát leták
14. C5: vezmeme alespoň leták a
15. M1: a jestli máte čas tak můžete přijít na to jestli nechcete (.) tak
16. C4:   [jo děkujem. na shle]
17. M1: ((fast))[dobrý na shle]

The key sequence of this encounter is that in which the categories are presented. A pair of missionaries have approached a teenage couple. At first, missionary M1 presents himself and his companion as "volunteers" and immediately provides the corresponding predicate – they teach English (line 3). The missionaries' self-categorization as Americans is never expressly stated. In line 6, as in many other examples, the offer of English classes is accentuated by the fact that they are being offered for free. However, when the offer is "countered" by their interlocutors' assertion in line 8 that they are already learning English at their high school, M1 uses the category of "American" in line 9 as an extra bit of incentive – an attribute of the offer as well as self-identification. The pair "native speaker - non-native speaker" is invoked in which the "native speaker" is presented as rare in the given setting. In the following example, from a different encounter, we will see that this pair is utilized not only by the missionaries, but by their interlocutors as well.

Case 9: "American" as "authentic" ("native speaker") (3)
1.   M2: ((beginning obscured by ringing bell, asking about whether H speaks English))
2.   C3: já budu (.) já budu chodit k rodilýmu mluvčímu takže (.) rodilý mluvčí budu
3.   chodit ke kanaďanovi na hodiny (..) ((turns toward second missionary)) do you
4.   speak uh uh?
5.   M1: no my mluvíme česky ale on se učí česky on je tady
6.   C3: ne že já budu chodit [ale ke] kanaďanovi no
7.   M1:   [jojojo]   jojo tak to je v pohodě
8.   C3: rodilý mluvčí takže jsem zvolil tuhle cestu
9.   M1: to je dobrý jestli máte zájem jako my tady učíme každý úterý, um na horním
10.   náměstí je to zdarma nemusíte nic platit
11. C3: ano?
12. M1/M2: (.) je to (.) taky uh
13. C3: tak máte nějakou vizitku?
14. M1: jo mám (.) ((pulls out flyer)) a to je americký ang- angličtina
((30 lines omitted))
45. C3: nebo já jsem teď se neučil asi dva roky takže si to musím zopakovat
46. M1: uh huh
47. C3: ale budu [chodit] uh (.) k rodilému mluvčímu abych se naučil správný přízvuk
48. M1:   [uh huh]
49. C3: uh huh je to (pravda)
50. C3: abych nemusel jezdit do zahraničí se učit (jazyky)
51. M1: uh huh
52. C3: no a můžu taky chodit i k vám samozřejmě=
53. M1: =jo proč ne jako taky my máme=
54. C3: =občas=

55. M1: =uh huh protože je to zdarma=
56. C3: =když bude čas

In this longer interaction, partially drawn out due to the elementary-level Czech skills of one of the missionaries, we also find that the initial offer of English lessons is met with the statement that the interlocutor is already learning English elsewhere. As opposed to the previous example, the category of "native speaker" is brought forth by the interlocutor (line 2), who states that he will be attending classes with a "native speaker", further specified as "Canadian" (line 3). He repeats the "native speaker" description in lines 6 and 47, and, in line 50, explains this as "so that I don't have to go abroad".

This is a case in which the relevance of the category "native speaker" is primarily put forth by the missionaries' interlocutor, and in which the missionaries merely support the authenticity of his claim. The missionaries make only one such reference to the "authenticity" of their being American in line 14, where M1 points out that they teach "American English".

The category of "American", for the missionaries, represents an important link between "who we are" and "what we do" in their process of self-identification. This, in effect, connects the identification and recognition sequences with common "first topic" sequences. In the next section, we will see that "what we do" can be utilized in further ways.

5.6 "Occupation"

In further specifying the collection I explore here, I shall paraphrase "occupation" as "what people do all day". As we will see, this also subsumes a number of other different collections, e.g. "stage of life". Through this collection, members do category work in order to:

a) provoke further questions as to the complement of an "incomplete" category. This enables the missionaries to subsequently provide more information about all aspects of their work, including the gospel. Nekvapil and Leudar (1998) have referred to this process as "fleshing out", as in "the category was fleshed out by binding it to the views, intentions and actions of its incumbents". The category in question is that of "volunteers".

b)   establish whether the standardized relational pair (SRP) "teacher-student" can be invoked through the interaction in question, i.e. to determine if the people encountered can potentially be "taught". One of the key elements of first-contact proselyting encounters in this study is the offer of the free English classes. This involves, among other things, determining the age of the interlocutors, determining whether or not they have a need or desire to learn English. The category pair "teacher-student" can be likened to that of "missionary-investigator" which is ultimately one of the goals of the proselyting encounter (to be discussed in the next chapter). An "investigator" is an emic category which the missionaries use to refer to someone who has expressed interest in learning about the church or joining it, i.e. who is "investigating" his or her spiritual development. In the LDS church, a person remains an "investigator" until he or she is baptized, after which the missionaries refer to him or her as a "member". A final category which is used to a somewhat lesser degree to determine whether an interlocutor is a potential "student" is that of "smoker", for another service that the missionaries offer in contacting situations is that of stop-smoking classes.

c)   to engage in "providing an excuse" instead of uttering a dispreferred response, as with the collection "origin". Predicates tied to various "occupation" categories may concern the lack of available time to devote to the activities devoted by the missionaries or the idea that the interlocutor possesses adequate knowledge already, and needs not be "taught".

The pair "teacher-student" is presented as a potentiality, not only for English classes, but for teaching of the gospel. The missionaries are potential teachers, and everyone they speak to is a potential student. "Student" can also belong to the collection "stage of life" or "age"[59]. This is manifested in the missionaries' direct asking of their interlocutors' ages and English-learning background. It should be noted that most of the people addressed in contacting situations were teenagers. There were some exceptions to this, however, such as the following case.

Case 10: Student as an age category (1)
9.   C1: ( ) tady je to dvacet devět třicet a ono je to devatenáct dvacet <u>nevím</u> jo? z jakého
10.   důvodu

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[59] This is especially apparent in situations in which older people are addressed – one man commented on Russian while the other joked that it was impossible for him to have learned English.

11. M1: no jo to je šílený ((smích)) vy mluvíte anglicky náhodou?
12. C1: nee nemluvím ((smích))
13. M1: ne proč ne? vypadáte jako mluvíte anglicky
14. C1: ((smích)) jo <u>kamaráde</u>? víš? kolik je tobě roků?
15. M1: já?
16. C1: no
17. M1: hádejte
18. C1: no vidíš to
19. M1: ((smích)) dvacet jedna
20. C1: teď mi bude padesát
21. M1: vy máte padesát roků?
22. C1: noo a to tenkrát tady nebylo ještě tadyhle to
23. M1: jojo
24. C1: tady byli ty zkurvený komunisti
25. M1: jo
26. C1: no to byla ta doba víš (musím už jít) ((přijíždí policejní vůz)) já mám botičku
27.   nashle
28. M1: okay tak na shledanou

This case begins with an 'environmental' question[60] discussed in the previous chapter regarding a bit of realia in the surroundings (the system of postal numbers). In this way, the missionary categorially establishes himself as "non-local", either to the city of even the whole country (where the system of postal numbers works in the same way throughout). His interlocutor does not, however, in answering the question, complete the self-categorizing pair by providing the "local" knowledge the missionary has requested. But his attention has been gotten, and M1 is able to transition the topic in line 11.

Let us further discuss the question in line 11, "do you happen to speak English?" It can function sequentially in several ways. It can indicate that the speaker wishes to speak English in his/her next turn, and would like his interlocutor to do the same. It can serve as a "pre-ticket" preceding a ticket such as asking for directions or other information. Here, however, it appears to have neither of those functions.

As we have observed in the examples thus far, there are several ways to introduce the topic of English into the interaction. One is through the missionaries' "announcement" that they offer free English classes. Another is the direct question of whether the interlocutor speaks English. Yet whether the interlocutors can be categorized as "potential students" is not dependent on the answer to this question. If they say yes,

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[60] I use this term following Sacks' (1992, Vol. II: 90) 'environmental noticings', or "…all sorts of things which occur in conversation and which involve the noticing of, e.g., the passing world…".

they can subsequently be asked if they would like to learn more, and if they say no, they can be presented with the offer to learn from the beginning. We will return to this question later. But in lines 11-14, there is an interesting exchange, which, in fact, achieves what was not achieved with the environmental question used to begin the interaction. The activity of "speaking English" as a predicate to "older Czech", according to the interlocutor, is so preposterous that it could only have been created by a person young, perhaps foreign and lacking in local historical knowledge (which is subsequently provided in lines 22-26). We might thus understand the statement "you look like you speak English" as a breach utilized to continue the conversation, perhaps invoked by the interlocutor's ironic laugh preceding it. In sum, here the category work involves the predicate of "youthfulness" to "student". If someone is of a different generation, that person may present him or herself as ruled-out for being a potential student. "Older person" is presented as being more synonymous with "teacher", as in "teacher of history lessons".

In the next cases, I will explore the category of "teacher" as it is used to specify the category of "volunteer".

Case 11: "Volunteers teach" (16)
41. C19: tak tam v těch barákách ale já já <u>fakt</u> <u>nevím</u> jo?
42. M1: mm hmm okay dobrý
43. C19: protože tady to má všechno každej ulici jo takže
44. M1: jojojo dobrý tak díky moc
45. C19: zkuste to no ((laughs))
46. M1: a poslední před- než odejdete my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci,
47. C19: mm mm
48. M1: a tady my děláme několik věci,
49. C19: mmm
50. M1: například učíme zdarma angličtinu
51. C19: no vidíte to
52. M1: nevím jestli znáte někoho kdo by měl zájem? (na)

This interaction, like many others, has begun with a request for directions. In line 46, though, the missionary introduces "one last thing before you go". He identifies himself and his companion as "volunteers" and receives consent to continue in the description of what the volunteers do (lines 46-47, 48-49, 50-51), moving from the more general ("we're volunteers", line 46) to the locally-situated specific request/offer ("I don't know if you know anyone who would be interested").

In this case, M1 presents one predicate for the category "volunteer", that of teaching. Volunteers teach free English. They are not paid for their work (line 50). There is room left here in line 48 ("we do several things here") for further description of volunteer activities. Such further description occurs in the following case.

Case 12: Volunteers (28)
1. M1: uh prosím vás? Mohl mohl bych mohl bych mluvit s vámi?
2. C33: mm hmm
3. M1: vy máte (.) americký vlajku. nemluvíte anglicky náhodou?
4. C33: uh: a little
5. M1: a little?
6. C33: uh huh
7. M1: ((slowly)) we are here as <u>volunteers</u>
8. C33: uh huh
9. M1: ((slowly)) and we teach free english here
10. C33: uh huh
11. M1: rozumíte mi?
12. C33: rozumím
13. M1: <u>yeah</u>. domluvíte se asi že jo?
14. C33: no trošku jenom. spíš spíš rozumím než mluvím
15. M1: yeah? a byl jste v americe?
16. C33: ne nebyl
17. M1: ne a máte nějaké [uh to tričko]
18. C33:   [to mám] od táty on tam byl
19. M1: on tam byl?
20. C33: mm
21. M1: a kde byl?
22. C33: uh: v chicago (.) uh: (.) v el ay uh uh (..)
23. M1: yeah? ((slowly)) I am from california
24. C33: california
25. M1: ((slowly)) from los angeles
26. C33: uh huh
27. M1: yeah? ((slowly)) well we're here as <u>volunteers</u>
28. C33: mm (..) uh huh
29. M1: mm hmm dobrovolníci
30. C33: <u>jo</u>.
31. M1: ((slowly)) yeah and we are from the church of jesus christ
32. C33: uh <u>huh</u>. uh huh
33. M1: ((slowly)) do you know us?
34. C33: uh huh
35. M1: ((slowly)) yeah? have you talked to our (.) friends?
36. C33: uh (.) mm
37. M1: už jste mluvil s námi?
38. C33: ne. nenenenene
39. M1: máte máte šanci skvělou dneska že jo? ((laughs))

40. C33: uhm
41. M1: no my tady (.) máme budovu na na horním náměstí,
42. C33: uh huh
43. M1: a my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu.

There are a few general observations to be made here. One is that "volunteers" is the only category explicitly used. Based on C33's reaction in line 28, he may not have initially understood the word "volunteers" in English – the first thing that C33 demonstrates that he understands is what the missionaries "do" ("we teach free English here"), as opposed to who they "are" ("volunteers"). The category is later repeated, then confirmed in Czech. What kind of volunteer work they do is mentioned immediately. The missionaries' interlocutor is drawn into the conversation due to the fact that he has an American flag symbol on his clothing (for the missionary, this allows him to put himself accountably into the category of "English speaker", "English learner", or perhaps "Anglophile", providing missionary M1 with a "ticket" (cf. Chapter 4) enabling him to open the conversation. Initially, it appears that C33 has responded to M1's question "do you know us?" positively (lines 34 and 36), though later, once the language has been changed to Czech, C33 reveals that he does not know them. Predicates used include where the missionaries are from. There is an interesting alternation between English "our friends" and Czech "s námi", followed by a repetition of what it is that the missionaries do.

Finally, in the following cases, the "occupation" collection is used as a part of "providing an excuse" to initially refuse the offer of free English classes.

Case 13: "Occupation equals no free time" (33)
1. M1: uh prosím vás? mohli bychom mluvit s vámi?
2. C38: no, co potřebujete?
3. M1: nic my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci ze církve ježiše krista a tady my učíme
4.   zdarma angličtinu [nevím] jestli umíte anglicky náhodou?
5. C38:   [mm]   ne
6. M1: ne chtěl byste se učit?
7. C38: nemám čas na to
8. M1: <u>nemáte</u> <u>čas</u> na to
9. C38: já jsem věčně v práci dneska mám dovolenou výjimečně ((laughs))
10. M1: a kde kde pracujete?
11. C38: (.) u soustruhu
12. M1: jo? [tak] to je skvělé
13. C38:   [jo]   na shle

14. M1: dobře na shle

     As discussed earlier, the question of whether the interlocutor speaks English does not provide him/her with a "ticket out", especially if it is not the first sentence of the interaction. In this case, the category of "volunteer", immediately specified as "church volunteer", and the volunteer activity are contained in one turn. The interlocutor's negative response allows the missionary to make the offer. The "excuse" provided here as the response is attributed to the interlocutor's occupation, which takes up all of his time (line 9). At the same time, we can note that "occupation", as it has already been brought into the interaction, can operate topically. That is, talking about one's occupation is a typical part of becoming acquainted with another person, and asking about another person's occupation is a part of the topical structure of first-meeting conversations. It is, as discussed in the previous chapter, a way to ensure the continuation of the conversation (and, as we see, in lines 14-16, the fact that the missionary does not continue in "questioning mode" leads to a quick end to the interaction).

Case 14: "Occupation equals no need for more English" (34)
1. M3: no prosím vás? můžu mluvit s vámi na chvilku?
2. C39: copak potřebujete?
3. M3: no, my jsem zde z ameriky
4. C39: uh huh
5. M3: jako dobrovolníci
6. C39: mm
7. M3: uh jako děláme dělám par služb? služby? správně?
8. C39: mm hmm
9. M3: jako učíme bezplatn- bezplatný anglický kurs
10. C39: ((fast)) já nepotřebuju já studuju angličtinu [na vysoké] ((walks away))
11. M3:   [oh je to skvělý] na shle

     In this case, the interlocutor's self-categorization as "student of English", and in this case, an even "more advanced" category, "university student of English", is used in a manner similar to that in cases 8 and 9. C39 rejects the offer of free English lessons in line 10 because he already has access to English lessons, i.e. he rejects the potential "Collection K" relationship between himself and the missionaries – the "special knowledge" they may have to offer him is something that he does not need. The difference between this interaction and the others, though, is that the missionary does not

(or does not have a chance sequentially, because the conversation is ended by the man walking away) re-self-categorize in order to make the offer more attractive.

5.7 Summary

Members use categories widely to establish 'recognizability' in the initial phases of interaction, in the process of identification and recognition, in handling the question of who is speaking to whom. Sacks' economy rule tells us that a single category is sufficient for reference to a person, and we thus ask the question of "Why that category now?" Yet as Jayyusi (1984:135) points out, "One categorization, chosen for its self-explicating relevance, may perform the practical task at hand for which a category selection is required and by which that particular selection is warranted. This does not mean, however, that in every such case one (and this) categorization is the only one *relevantly available*." Each category the missionaries and their interlocutors use in FCPP situations is relevantly available at a different point in the talk, and the use of some categories subsequently makes other categories relevantly available.

This is often a question of gradation, or, as Jayyusi (1984:38) calls it "hierarchy or relevance or consequence". In this case, there is a continually-developing idea (based on each missionary's past experience) of which categories may be more or less familiar, vague, agreeable or disagreeable to potential interlocutors. The approach which is detailed in these examples, then, appears generally to be one of beginning with a category which is most vague or general and gradually using categories which are more specific (volunteers → English teachers) as well as moving from a category which is perceived to be more agreeable to one that is less so (English teachers, Americans →missionaries), but most of all, moving from a category which is perceived to be more familiar to one which is perceived to be less familiar (volunteers, English teachers, Americans → missionaries, Mormons). Also, the use of categories is combined with a "checklist" for the topical organization of contacting situations. This list includes the offer of free English lessons, the offer of smoking cessation classes, and the topic of the gospel. It should be noted, however, that all of these elements are not necessarily a given in an interaction – the first two are primarily utilized as ways to approach the third, which is why we can observe

that the gospel is approached more directly in "street display" situations where people have stopped to watch the missionaries singing (as discussed in the previous chapter).

The use of the category of "American" (as detailed in Section 5.5) is of varying relevance and is used primarily as part of the initial offer of free English lessons. The establishment of one's identity of "American as foreign language speaker" is done through the indexical, emphasis on here-and-now, demonstrable category-bound activities (e.g. a foreign language speaker has an accent). The further specification of identity through the category of "American as English speaker – modern, relevant" can also be done indexically, through the missionaries' association of themselves with objects belonging to their interlocutors (e.g. an American flag label on clothing or an American-brand computer box).

The membership categorization device or collection "occupation" is, more generally, utilized in talk to determine the rights and responsibilities between category incumbents (as in Sacks' "collection R" and "collection K"), but also to determine the future possibilities for interaction between the two (Section 5.6). Most prominently, the occupation of "volunteer" is used in order to involve the interlocutor in the sequential process of the missionaries' self-identification. The category-bound activity of doing work without receiving money for it provokes not only the question of what kind of volunteer work one does, but also that of *why* one is doing it. This can aid the missionaries in that they do need not state their religious purposes directly or initially, but rather, can explain them gradually.

Furthermore, proselyting situations involve the formulation and utilization of pairs of categories representing both the missionaries themselves and their interlocutors. In other words, the missionary must determine whether his interlocutor can be designated as a potential candidate for further proselyting. This designation determines whether or not the conversation will continue, and whether or not there will be further encounters. This, for example, can be directly observed through the establishment of the category of "local" or "inhabitant of the given town" as opposed to "non-local" (Section 5.4). It can also be created through the category of "English speaker", "English-learner" or "potential English learner" as opposed to "English teacher".

All of these categories, as we can see, still manage, for the most part, to remain clear of the topic of faith. There is one more category, that of "missionary", which cannot be ignored in the context of first-contact situations. In the examples in this chapter, it generally appears to be used in two slots in conversation. The first of these slots occurs initially in conversation, where the category of "volunteer" might alternatively be used, preceding the "listing" of things the missionaries do (model: we are missionaries and we do this, this and this). Later, it may be used to precede information of a religious nature, when another category has been chosen as the initial introductory category (model: we are volunteers/Americans, and we do this and this, and because we are missionaries, we also do this). The use of this category, as well as that of "Mormon" as an introduction to religious discourse, remains to be explored. Given the fact that these interactions are taking place in a "foreign culture", there is no slot for the identification of religious category membership in the earliest stages of interaction, for many interlocutors may not be familiar with the Mormon faith in the first place.

The use of categories in this initial phase, as we can see, serves as a negotiation activity in which a specific pair of categories is the goal – that of *missionary-investigator*. The interactive path taken toward this goal will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

"…a poslední…": Topicalizing faith

6.1 Introduction

Earlier in this study, I offered one emic definition of proselyting, as the spreading of religious gospel. Yet before any gospel can be spread, it must be brought up as a topic in conversation. The topic of faith, possibly including questions such as "Do you believe in God?" is of a highly intimate nature, yet for the missionaries, it is the primary or most important topic – following interactions, the missionaries often evaluated a contact situation in which this topic was successfully introduced more highly than one in which it was not. So how, then, do the interactants in proselyting encounters get to the topic of faith in conversation? To generalize this question, we could ask, how is "the core of a matter" approached in sensitive-topic interactions where the person initiating the interaction is unaware of his or her interlocutor's stance toward the given issue? How is this "crossing the line" achieved?

In the previous chapters, I have explored several topics which are brought up in the initial phases of proselyting encounters. The members initiating these topics have demonstrated their awareness of the varying degrees of appropriateness of given topics at various slots in the conversation. In many cases that we have already seen, for example, the first topics of the interactions concerned the learning and teaching of English, despite the fact that faith is a much more important topic for the missionaries. This is not a matter of chance. As Schegloff and Sacks (1973) observed:

"Conversationalists, then, can have mentionables they do not want to put in first topic position, and there are ways of talking past first topic position without putting them in." (Schegloff and Sacks 1973:301)

What happens after the first topic position has been "talked past"? In this chapter, I will focus on the topical organization of contacting situations as it relates to the topic of faith. I pose the following questions:

1) How do members bring faith into a conversation through the interplay of topical, categorial and sequential organization? What forms of topical transitions occur in the introduction of this topic?

2) How do members "negotiate" faith as a topic once it has entered into the conversation? How do they formulate and re-formulate the category of "believer" and its predicates? How do they formulate the role of the missionary in this process?

I will first examine the concept of topical organization in the theoretical framework of Conversation Analysis (section 6.2). This includes the flow of topics, types and mechanisms of topic opening, closing, and transition, and the relationship of "first topics" to "main topics". Then I will explore two sequential ways in which members initiate the topic of faith, the conversational aim of which is the direct or the indirect posing of this question "Do you believe in God?" . These ways are: a) stepwise transition and b) "conversation-in-a-series" (section 6.3). I will subsequently explore how missionaries transition to the topic of faith during pre-closing sequences (section 6.4). I will then deal with the way in which they do so in other types of sequences (section 6.5). I will then examine the actual course of the turns involving the topic of faith. One aspect of this is what I will call "negotiating alternative descriptions", i.e. a shift in discourse initiated by the missionary in order to view the issue in a different light, based on his interlocutors' responses (section 6.6).

Again, here I will integrate the fact that the first-contact situations are taking place between native speakers of two different languages and members of two different cultures. I observe that there is quite a bit of "background information" missing in intercultural encounters. This makes for a necessity of sufficient "setting talk" prior to "topical talk". I will focus on the interplay between categorial orientation and topical orientation through continuation of the category work presented in the previous chapter, showing how categorical self-identification is used to lead up to the topic of faith. Identifying oneself using a category from the collections "religious figure" or "religious orientation" can be transitioned into faith as a topic. Examples will be taken from situations in which this transitioning is done "successfully", i.e. in which the *interlocutor's* religious orientation is also topicalized.

6.2 Topical organization

Topical organization will provide the conceptual backbone for this chapter. In this section, I will review some of the CA approaches to topical organization which are relevant to proselyting situations, which in this sense are characterized by the fact that there is a topic (faith) whose achievement in the conversation is the main aim of one interlocutor, and that this aim can be facilitated by a number of other potential topics (English class, smoking, etc.), as well as 'here-and-now' occasioned topics.

6.2.1 Topic in the course of talk

This section will explore the nature of topical talk and its positioning in conversation. Let us recall that so far, we have examined the practices of conversational openings more or less in comparison to the Schegloffian phone conversation model, which includes a summons-answer sequence, an identification and recognition sequence, a "how are you" sequence" and then a "first topic". And thus far, in many cases, the "first topic" we have seen involves English classes. In some of the examples analyzed, the first topic becomes the only topic and the conversation is ended without the introduction of other topics. What this chapter will involve is a slight revision of the previous analysis, so we must return, again, to some of the conceptual framework which has been only slightly touched upon in the previous chapters.

In examining the nature of topical talk, let us then return to the concept of "first topics". In section 4.2.2, I discussed Schegloff's description of the "routine" for telephone conversational openings. A part of this routine, or, in fact, the goal of the opening, is what he terms 'the anchor position'.

"Among other uses it has, the opening is an arena in which this issue can be worked out by the parties. It provides a base position (I will call it the 'anchor position') for the introduction of 'first topic'. That position comes after a fairly standard set of four or so sequences (depending on whether an exchange of 'howareyou's is in point) have been 'run through' - a summons/answer sequence (Schegloff, 1968, 1970), an identification sequence (Schegloff, 1979), a greeting sequence, and, if in order, an exchange of 'howareyou' sequences (Sacks, 1975, Jefferson, 1980). After completion of the second 'howareyou' sequence is the anchor position. Ordinarily, it is the caller (or the initiator of the contact, if an earlier call which failed to contact its target is being returned) who, in the first instance, gets to initiate first topic, initiates it in the anchor position, and

regularly uses the opportunity to introduce something overtly announced to be, or readily analyzable (by co-participant and academic analyst) as, the 'reason for the call'. (Schegloff 1986:116)

In the process of "working toward the anchor point" (further explored in ten Have 2000), there is a distinction made between the different types of sequences that compose a conversational opening. The final one, deemed the 'howareyou' sequence, can also in essence be understood as 'setting talk" and can be applied to certain situations of face-to-face interaction.

Setting talk (much of which was observed from the examples in Chapter 4), more specifically, is talk concerning phenomena observed in the surroundings in which a conversation is taking place. It has been shown to be a potential "false" first topic (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984), which can be used by "anybody talking to anybody", and as a type of topic-changing utterance (Maynard 1980).

In Sacks' lecture from February 13, 1970, he discusses conversational first topics in beginning conversational sequences (using phone conversation data), which can be normal in duration, shortened, or lengthened. He observes that one manner of lengthening a beginning conversational sequence is the introduction of a "transitional" or "false" first topic, one example of which is the weather, which can be used in a similar way as the exchange of the formality "How are you?". Maynard and Zimmerman (1984:304) compare these 'false topics' to setting talk, in that both soon run their course if they are not used to introduce other topics or "mentionables" (a term coined in Schegloff and Sacks 1973).

How, then, is the transition from "false first topic" to "main topic", or even "final topic" done? Schegloff and Sacks (1973), in their research on topical organization in the context of conversational closings, describe the concept of 'fitting':

"A further feature of the organization of topic talk seems to involve 'fitting' as a preferred procedure. That is, it appears that a preferred way of getting mentionables mentioned is to employ the resources of the local organization of utterances in the course of the conversation. That involves holding of the mention of a mentionable until it can 'occur naturally', that is, until it can be fitted to another conversationalist's prior utterance, allowing his utterance to serve as a sufficient source for the mentioning of the mentionable (thereby achieving a solution to the placement question, the 'why that now' whose pervasive relevance was noted earlier, for the introduction of the topic)." (Sacks and Schegloff 1973: 301)

They also point out (302), however, that a particular mentionable may not "come up naturally", which is the case in proselyting encounters when the conversation is ended with the topic of English class. One slot in which a topic can "occur naturally" is during the initiation of a conversational closing, in the form of what they refer to as a "potential pre-closing" (303), which in some cases may take the linguistic form of a lone particle such as "Well…" or "Okay…" with a downward intonation contour.

To sum up, setting talk can occur at any point during the conversation, while topical talk must be carefully "fitted in" or "hooked on" to previous topics, and there are a limited number of points at which this can occur. The way in which the conversation moves from one topic to another will be explored in the next section.

6.2.2 Topic transitions

Topical talk can be, according to Sacks, both free-flowing and non-free-flowing[61]. In the initial part of the first contact situations (analyzed in Chapter 4), we have observed the latter, in which the maintenance of conversation in interactions begun with "ticketing" often involved the clear closing of one topic and the opening of another, or a topic-close followed by a topic beginning. This is known as "conversation-in-a-series" (cf. Button 1991), and it occurs *in the absence of a natural, free flow of topics*. Transition during situations when a natural, free flow of topics *is* in operation has been referred to by Sacks as as "stepwise transition" (cf. Jefferson 1984).

6.2.2.1 Free-flowing topics

Sacks, in his lecture from, Feb 19, 1971, described the concept of stepwise transition as follows:

"Now, the character of *stepwise production for topics* is that is if you have some topic which you can see is not connected to what is now being talked about, then you can find something that is connected to both, and use that first. So that the chile is in some way on topic with talk about the Mexican pottery and food, and can be used in an utterance that becomes a first part of – in this case, via a structure 'I was going to do X but I couldn't for reason Y'. And utterances can be built in such formats, starting with

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[61] Schegloff and Sacks (1973) also make a distinction between "topic shading" and "topic bounding" and Bublitz (1988) differentiates between "topic shift" and "topic change".

something connected to the prior topic, with, then, the second part using something else which is connected to the first part of the utterance, not the prior topic. So there is a routine stepwise movement, which is to say that any next utterance is built in such a way as to be on topic with the last. That then becomes a thing which can also be used to make jumps. But to notice that a way of making jumps is via using the steps, is one way to see how the stepwise movement operates in general, and also provides for tasks which are in some way characterizable." (1992, Vol. II: 300)

Jefferson (1984) has analyzed the use of stepwise transition in cases where the transition is made from "troubles talk" to the closing of the conversation. She concluded that: 1) Some topic-types are open to immediate introduction of any next topic whereas others, such as a troubles-telling, are closed, that is, constrain what sort of talk properly comes next, 2) Topics may be occasioned in the course of ongoing talk, and 3) Whereas topics occasioned in the course of a closed topic-type are properly delayed until an open environment is achieved, topics occasioned in the course of an open topic-type can be introduced immediately. (Jefferson 1984: 221)

6.2.2.2 Non-free-flowing topics

For points of an interaction in which *the topics do not flow freely and naturally*, the opening of a topic only occurs only after a preceding topic has been closed. The more specific mechanics of this opening and closing have been explored by a number of authors. Button and Casey (1984), for example, describe the use of *topic elicitors*. Topic elicitors generate topic interactionally and mutually. They are used to segment talk (or separate prior talk from following talk), and their sequences consist of three parts: a topic initial elicitor, e.g. "what's up?", "what's new?"[62], a positive response to the first part which produces a newsworthy event-report, and a topicalizer, which "topicalizes the prior topic-initial and provides for talk on the reported event" (Button and Casey 1984: 167). One way in which topic initial elicitors can be used is to move out of closings without actually introducing new topical material, and in this sense they are oriented toward topic generation (171-2). They are also found following opening components (172-3), in which case they can be used to move into "reason for call" or "first topic" (following Sacks' terminology). Finally, they are used following "topic-bounding turns", which mark the

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[62] This could be understood in relation to the initial responses to the summons analyzed in Chapter 4 "What do you need?"

sequential completion of a topic, as a possible way to generate topic "without having to retopicalize the prior topic" (188).

Maynard (1980) considered topic in relation to turn-taking. He examined topic change as a solution to failed speaker transitions, e.g. a series of silences. He further explored types of topic changing utterances, namely setting talk – transitional topics, invitations and announcements. Announcements and invitations are also used as topic-changing utterances (Maynard 1980: 283-4) – they are the first parts of adjacency pairs. An announcement makes a second pair part in the form of an acknowledgement, assessment, or question conditionally relevant. This occurs between unacquainted pairs – between acquainted pairs this is known as "invitation" to a new topic.

Maynard and Zimmerman (1984), in their experimental research on topical talk, further explore three issues: "the problem of relevance" ("why that now?"), how unacquainted speakers produce talk related to their personal biographies through practices that ritually protect the 'selves' of the involved parties (how what is "unsaid" is approached in regard to whether or not it is "sayable"), and how topic initiation offers members' analysis of a given relationship as distant or intimate. They explore the relationship of relevance, ritual and relationship in interaction. The devices involved in achieving characteristic types of relationships include the displaying of prior experience and the use of setting talk, which, as opposed to "prior experience", "can be used as topical material by anybody talking to anybody" (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984), by which they "achieve, make observable, and define their relationship at that moment as anonymous." (305) (and conversely, doing "acquaintedness" is a method for establishing a degree of intimacy).

Button and Casey (1985) have also examined the phenomena of topic nomination and pursuit for situations in which the organization of topic flow is not systematic. They identify three environments in which topics are started: during conversational openings, following the shutdown of a prior topic, and following the initiation of conversational closings. These are cases in which a topic-initial-elicitor may be responded to with a "no-news report" (Button and Casey 1985: 4). For topic nomination, there are two sequence types which are used: itemized news enquiries (e.g. "personal state enquiries" such as "How's the foot?"), in which the speaker requests information from the hearer, and news

announcements, in which the speaker provides the hearer with a "partial report" of new information relating to him/herself. These sequence types preserve the "disjunct" nature of the bounded topic in that that the sequence structure is capable of receiving extended talk and the beginning a topic is done interactionally and mutually (4).

However, these types of topic nomination may not be successful ones. Button and Casey describe how they may be "curtailed", or "not actively provide material to extend the talk on the news" (19). For example, they may not be followed by topicalizers, or the topicalizers may not be followed by elaboration – a co-participant may "refuse" to elaborate on the news. In such cases, topic pursuit may be done in the form of a combination of topic-initial elicitors, news enquiries and news announcements. An important distinction is made between news that is "volunteered" by the person nominating the topic and news that is provided in the form of an answer to a question. The latter option is seen as the preferred one, as "the issue of whether news is elaborated by answering or volunteering can be sensitive to other matters of practical concern for the interactants", and news announcements are perhaps a "strong" form of movement to topic constitution. The key question, then, in examining topic nomination and pursuit, is "what was a speaker 'doing' in initiating a topic beginning in one way given that there are a variety of ways in which topic could be begun?" (46)

6.2.3 Negotiation

Finally, once introduced, the topic of faith may involve the process of negotiation, which has been described by Arminen (168-197) as "a form of strategic interaction in which a deliberate goal is to reach an agreement or a compromise between parties' interests". Negotiation often involves what Arminen refers to as a "bargaining sequence", in which "a party formulates a position and a recipient aligns or misaligns with it". In regard to this, some negotiations are organized formally so as to avoid the emergence of arguments. These include "proposal sequences", involving invitations, offers, proposals or requests, which project a parallel sequential course: acceptance or rejection.

Negotiation plays a role in FCPP situations in a number of ways. When the missionaries initiate the topic of faith, they do so by asking if their interlocutors believe in God. In many cases, their interlocutors either respond negatively or in a noncommittal

or conditional manner. These latter types of responses are not grounds for the missionary to abandon the encounter, and often, nor for his interlocutors to do so. The negotiation the missionaries subsequently do involves proposals for the alignment in description, in meaning, in order to come to a common intersubjective understanding of what it means to be a "believer".

Negotiation is also done in the context of establishing further contact, but this will not be discussed until the following chapter.

6.2.4 Summary

As we will see, what I have called "the topic of faith" is actually a matter of several topical components. The free-flowing or non-free-flowing nature of topical talk, as we will see, does not characterize individual interactions, but rather, the topic may "flow" to varying degrees at different points, and may be intertwined with "setting talk" or "false topics" as well. For in proselyting encounters, this "flow" may be the ideal of the conversation-initiators (the missionaries), but it is, in fact, rarely achieved. In cases where one topic is closed and another opened, a variety of actions may be done to accomplish this. The combinations of these various possibilities will be observed in the next section.

6.3 Checking off the list: Faith as a topic

As in the previous chapters, let us begin by examining an initial example. A question which has been lingering throughout this study thus far is that of what the missionaries want to talk about in contacting situations. This example summarizes the sequential order of such topics.

Case 1: The last thing we do (27)
55. M1: já nevím jestli kouříte náhodou? [asi ne]
56. C32:   [ne.] už ne
57. M1: ne? tak to je <u>skvělý</u> (.) a poslední? je tím že já nevím jestli viděla jste nás
58.   předtím? (.) nebo znáte nás?
59. C32: neznám.
60. M1: ne? my jsme tady ze církve ježiše krista, a my děláme tyto věci bez náboženství
61.   (.) a:le hlavně my jsme tady abychom mohli mluvit s lidmi o o bohu a naši víře
62.   (.) a nevím jestli vy jste věřící náhodou ((laughs))
63. C32: no ano ((laughs))

Understanding the question of faith here means seeing it as part of a larger topical structure that involves a "checklist" – mentioning free English, stop-smoking seminars, and then, finally (we do a lot of things… one thing we do, another thing we do… the last thing we do…). Here I will understand the topics of free English and stop-smoking seminars as producing the setting for the talk. They then occasion other topical talk in cases where the conversation successfully approaches faith.

This initial case reveals the pieces of information that are, from the missionary perspective, key to the interaction. Two important goals are to find out: if the interlocutor is a "believer", and if so, what does he or she believe in (cases of "if not" will be discussed in a later section). The contacting encounter has begun with the offer of free English classes, and continued on to the offer of stop-smoking seminars. And in line 57, we find that the last part of the "checklist" ("a poslední") precedes the categorial incumbency test discussed in the previous chapter. In this case the "do you know us?" has a more limited number of categories to which it can correspond, because the missionaries' initial identities as Americans, volunteers, etc. has already been established. In line 60, the category "members of the Church of Jesus Christ of" is introduced. This category belongs to the larger collection – "individuals practicing a religion". Because the category members of this collection could be predicated as "engaging in religious activities", the missionary's qualification of the activities previously mentioned in the encounter (teaching free English and stop-smoking seminars) as "bez náboženství" (line 60) serves to clarify the fact that he has not initially misrepresented them as activities done by another category (i.e. by a non-religious volunteer) when they actually are activities involving religion. These "non-religious" activities, however, are not the missionaries' main activity or purpose, which is a religious one. So topically, we have moved from non-religious topic to religious topic and back. The final shift takes place in this description of the activities that are relevant to the category of "individuals practicing a religion".

"The last thing" and the "main thing" in lines 57 and 61, respectively, are tied together, and are, in essence, the same thing. What comes in between is an account, a bit of background, an explanation for why the conversation was begun in the first place.

Whether or not someone believes in God can be seen as a part of "highly personal" discourse. Which brings us to the question: How do the missionaries approach highly personal issues? For example, Sacks et al, in their research on suicide hotlines, observed that a technique the hotline employees used to get people to give their names was to give their names first. In this case, the missionary has done something similar – he has revealed his own answer to this personal question categorially – by identifying himself as "member of a church", as an activity bound to this category is "believes in God".

This encounter occurred after the exchange of contact information took place, based on the fact that C32 had expressed interest in attending the English classes (making this contacting situation an unusually successful one, as was noted by missionary M1 immediately following the encounter). This is an instance in which the topic is "shifted" – it has moved from the description of the services that the missionaries offer to the last item on the list. So what we have is a topic change followed by stepwise transition (lines 60-62) from the missionary's self-identification to the question "Do you believe in God?"

That is, the topic of faith contains two parts – the self-categorizations of the missionaries as religious figures (the topic of faith as it relates to one participant in the interaction) and the enquiry into their interlocutor's beliefs (the topic of faith as it relates to the other participant).The sequential order of these two parts is not set in stone, but in many cases, the latter follows the former. The former follows the latter only in cases in which the missionaries' identity is clear to their interlocutors and need not be "talked past".

There is a potential third part, and that is the renegotiation of the identities which are initially presented in the first and second parts. That is, the initial establishment of the identities does not guarantee that the gospel will be *talked about*, i.e. that one or more of the participants will elaborate on his or her stance toward the topic (which would be a potential fourth part, which was extremely rare in overt-summons contacting situations).

I will now examine the various ways in which the two types of topic-changing mechanisms are combined to introduce the topic at various sequential points in the interaction.

6.4 Faith in pre-closing sequences: Combining topic transitions

Here I will examine three cases in which the move to the topic of faith is done in the course of a closing initiation by the missionaries' interlocutors following the exhaustion of "mentionables".

Case 2: "The mentionables list": Short version (29)
32. M1: a to je jedna věc který my tady děláme
33. C34: mm hmm
34. M1: a další věc my učíme kurs o tom jak přestat kouřit,
35. C34: mm hmm no tak já nekouřím no ((laughs))
36. M1: no dobrý to nemáte ten problém ((laughs))
37. C34: dobrý.
38. M1: a poslední?
39. C34: no
40. M1: už jsem mluvil trochu o tom že my jsme tady jako misionáři ale, nevím jestli
41.   jste slyšel o <u>nás</u>? nebo jestli vy jste věřící vůbec ?
42. C34: no věřící nejsem no

Here, we see "the list" described as such in its entirety. This excerpt has been preceded by the offer of English lessons, which is continued in line 32 by M1. Line 32 and Line 34 make an interesting subject for comparison. Line 32 can be viewed as a "partial report" (Button and Casey 1985), as "one thing we do" indicated that there are more items on the list to follow, that the "mentionables" are yet to be exhausted. Line 34, on the other hand, does not necessarily have a "partial" nature to it. From the perspective of C34, it could very well be the final item on the list, and line 38 is thus a "potential pre-closing". Thus M1 is then obliged to indicate that he is not ready to close the interaction. M1 requests the opportunity to introduce another topic (which he indicates is a final one, which serves to mitigate the fact that he is taking up C34's time). The topic introduced in line 40 is actually a "recycled" one and the move from the speaker's self-categorization as a missionary undergoes a stepwise transition to the question of whether C34 is a "believer".

One topical phenomenon this example reveals is that the missionaries self-identifications as either "missionaries" or "Mormons", when not immediately followed by further mention of predicates which are bound to faith, for example in an initial identification and recognition sequence like those explored in Chapter 5, cannot be understood as a sufficient method of topic nomination for the topic of faith. This is due to

the fact that these identities are not relevant to both participants until both participants are *consciously* and *actively* involved in a discussion of faith.

What this also indicates is that early mention of "missionary", "Mormon" or even "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints" is useful in that it can be "recycled" back into the conversation later and need not be introduced as a new topic. This is a phenomenon which can also be observed in the following example.

Case 3: "The mentionables list": Long version (5)
51. C6: =tak sem to není zas tak daleko
52. M1: tak to je zajímavý
53. C6: ((laughs)) ha ha to <u>je</u>. ((laughter)) tak každý úterý jo?
54. M1: mm hmm (.) každé úterý
55. (..)
56. C6: tak (.) uvidím
57. M1: dobrý
58. C6: ((fast)) třeba se někdy přijdu podívat
59. M1: dobrý. přijďte jestli máte kámoši tak my pozváme kdekoho
60. C6: dobře
61. M1: dobrý a=
62. C6: =tak jo=
63. M1: =a <u>poslední</u>? abyste věděl je to jasný my jsme tady jako misionáři
64. C6: misionáři
65. M1: a já nevím jestli <u>znáte</u> nás slyšel jste o nás?
66. C6: ne [neslyšel bohužel]
67. M1:   [ne? vůbec?]
68. C6: ne.
69. M1: nebo slyšel jste o <u>mormon</u>ech? možná?
70. C6: jo to jsem slyšel
71. M1: jo co jste slyšel? to jsme my
72. C6: jo?
73. M1: uh huh (.) co jste slyšel o mormonech?
74. C6: no: jako nic konkrétního jenom vim že=
75. M1: =vim že to existuje v americe
((18 lines omitted))
93. C6: a vy tady jako takhle pracujete? nebo (.) tady studujete?
94. M1: jenom my jsme tady jako misionáři
95. C6: misionáři
96. M1: tak to znamená že na dva roky,
97. C6: uh huh
98. M1: my jsme tady
99. C6: uh huh
100. M1: a my mluvíme s lidmi (.) o naši církvi
101. C6: mm hmm
102. M1: my chceme pomáhat lidem a proto máme tu (mišnu)

103. C6: no jasně
104. M1: ale jako pro nás jako nejlepší způsob jak můžem pomáhat lidem je abychom si-
105.   se- s-dělili
106. C6: mm hmm
107. M1: s lidmi o naši jako věře jako co my věříme přesně a
108. C6: mm hmm
109. M1: o víře a a co vy na to? vy jste věřící?
110. C6: ne: nejsem

In this case, the missionaries have approached a young man, and the conversation has already moved through the offers of English class and the smoking cessation seminar, and they have discussed the fact that the young man does not live in the city (ending with line 51 – "it's not so far from here"). In line 52, missionary M1 expands upon this answer ("that's interesting"). C6 reacts to this with a laugh and the first move toward a closing in line 53, returning to an older topic and summarizing the information which he has understood as the purpose of the interaction, in the form of a request for confirmation. For C6, the "mentionables" have been exhausted. In line 54, M1 confirms the information but does not move toward a closing. In lines 56 and 58, C6 refers to a potential future meeting again, which is elaborated upon by M1 in line 59[63]. In line 61, M1, in effect, closes the topic and attempts to initiate another, followed by C6 uttering the pre-closing "tak jo". It is possible that this is a result of line 61 being interpreted by C6 as a pre-closing.

The topic nomination in line 63 is what Button and Casey call a "news announcement", a "partial report" of new information relating to the speaker. The following topical sequence involves M1 requesting that C6 fill in the information which he potentially already knows. This is followed by (in the omitted section) C6's question as to how long M1 has been in the country, a compliment on his Czech, and M1's explanation of the process by which the missionaries learn Czech. Despite the fact that M1 has spent lines 63-69 presenting himself as "missionary" or a "Mormon", these categories have still not been connected to religion and it has thus not been established what makes the missionaries missionaries (Do they work? Do they study? What do they do?). It is not until line 100 that M1 connects the missionaries to the "new" topic of the church. This is done in the following stepwise manner: we are here as missionaries and

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[63] The establishment of further contact and meetings will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 7.

we are Mormons (partial information) → what we do as missionaries (non-religious) → what we do as missionaries (religious) → are you religious?

In sum, this is a case in which a pre-closing initiated by an interlocutor is not successfully achieved interactionally, but rather, is responded to with the volunteering of a new topic, a partial report which is then developed in a step-by-step manner into the inquiry into C6's religious faith.

There is one final case in this group, in which the potential pre-closing is even more explicitly formulated.

Case 4: "Getting to the point"
8. M3: nevím (.) jestli (.) studujete angličtinu?
9. C14: no studuju no
10. M1: yeah (.) vypadáte jako student (.) jako šikovný student
11. C14: no:
12. M3: ((laughs)) no
13. C14: no já (.) <u>spěchám</u> já nevím potřebujete něco jinýho? nebo
14. M3: no, můžu vám dát (.) naše leták (.) leták o tom (nevím)
15. C14: jo:
16. M3: jestli chcete nebo
17. C14: jasný: jo já se podívám a (.) když tak zavolám
18. M1: dobrý
19. M3: no?
20. M1: a to je jedna věc který my tady děláme
21. C14: prosím?
22. M1: ( ) taky my jsme tady jako misionáři?
23. C14: jo
24. M1: ze církve ježiše krista [(to byste viděl jestli se kouknete na to)]
25. C14:   [jasně jo]
26. M1: ale my mluvíme s lidmi <u>o naši církvi</u>
27. C14: jo
28. M1: a o bohu a n- asi a taky o rodině
29. C14: jo
30. M1: a nevím jestli vy jste věřící vůbec? nevím jestli
31. C14: tak jo, jsem no
32. M1: yeah? a co co věříte vy? vím že nemáte hodně času,
33. C14: no: tak (.) věřím tak věřím no

This example involves what can be termed a "getting to the point" sequence. The interaction began topically with an offer of the English classes, which was then shifted to the question of whether C14 has been learning English up until now (line 8), which C14 answers positively (line 9). Line 10, which shifts to the topic of C14's categorization as a

student, is, as reflected by C14 in line 13, treated as a sort of digression. In line 13, C14 delivers a potential pre-closing topic-initial-elicitor by asking whether the missionaries "need anything else", because he is not able to continue the conversation due to time constraints. The positive response to the topic-initial-elicitor, or in Button and Casey's terminology, the "newsworthy event-report", is the fact that the missionaries have a flyer to hand out. As is mentioned later by missionary M1, the flyer serves as a connection between two topics as well – it contains the name of the church, thus connecting the English lessons to the church. C14's response "jo" in line 15 serves as a topicalizer. M3 is then able to offer the flyer. This is followed by another attempt by C14 to initiate a conversational closing, using a summary and the potential promise of further contact. Lines 18 and 19 can be viewed as pre-closings which, if the conversation is actually closed, would be followed by "terminal sequences" (e.g. "goodbye"). Instead of this terminal sequence, however, M1 offers the new topic in line 20, which is a recycling of the topic of talk prior to C14's original attempt to close the conversation. The topic is then produced in a stepwise fashion – English lessons are presented as one thing the missionaries do (line 20), followed by a self-categorization as missionaries (note the condition "we are *here* as missionaries", to emphasize that they may be incumbents of entirely different categories when not present in the Czech Republic). In line 24, this is further specified, with the connection made between the flyer and the church. The topic is gradually shifted, with C14 using minimal response tokens, until line 32, when the question of C14's faith in posed by M1.

We can observe through this example and others that stepwise topical transition is a strategy used generally by the missionaries to prolong the conversation at more than one point – in line 10, the topic is moving in the direction of C14 providing more biographical information about himself. Later, in lines 20-30, the topic moves from a listing of the missionaries' activities, a listing of what they do *as missionaries* (category predicates), to actually doing it - talking to C14 *as missionaries* about god. Topic openings and closings, then, are used when interlocutors utilize their "ticket out" or "warrant" to end the conversation (which I have also referred to as "providing an excuse"), as C14 does in line 13.

In this section, we have observed three examples in which faith is only successfully introduced as a topic when the conversation threatens to be closed. This phenomenon is dependent on the fact that it is the missionaries' interlocutors who have made the move toward the closing. If the interlocutor makes no such move, this enables the missionary to introduce the topic in a different sequential manner. In the next section, we will observe this manner.

6.5 Faith in continually-developing conversation

In cases in which the topic of faith appeared as a part of free-flowing, continually developing conversation without either party's attempt to close it, members also use stepwise transition to approach it. The topic of faith becomes, then, a part of the identification and recognition sequence, which is not so easily separated from the various other topical sequences. There is category work involved in this – that is the "who we are and what we do" element of the interaction involves a list of categories belonging to various MCDs (Chapter 5). As the types of categories move from more general to more specific, once the MCD "religious figure" to which the categories "missionaries" or "Mormons" might belong, is invoked, the gradual, final categorial transition begins, to the MCD "participants in a proselyting encounter – missionaries and potential investigators" comes into play. It may become clear to both parties what the aim of the interaction is, and the sequence of "who is talking to whom" is completed.

Case 5: Continuation of "the list" (17)
45. M1: yeah? a jak dlouho už jste kouřil?
46. C20: asi skoro rok
47. M1: jo?
48. C20: no
49. M1: tak to je <u>dobrý</u> docela (.) well a poslední? my jsme tady jako misionáři
50. C20: mm hmm
51. M1: a já nevím jestli znáte nás? nebo slyšel jste o nás? slyšel jste o církvi ježiše
52.   krista?
53. C20: jo (to jsem)slyšel
54. M1: yeah co jste slyšel?
55. C20: (církev ježiše krista no)
56. M1: co jste slyšel?
57. C20: (.) vím akorát že existujete ale jako
58. M1: yeah? ale to je všechno
59. C20: no to je tak všechno ((laughs)) bohužel

60. M1: nebo možná jste slyšel o mormonech? (.) něco to vá-
61. C20: to nevím (.) to mi nic neříká
62. M1: ne?
63. C20: (nebo nevím)
64. M1: well my jsme tady a my mluvíme s lidmi,
65. C20: mm hmm
66. M1: o bohu o rodině my máme skvělý poselství
67. C20: mm hmm
68. M1: uhm a já nevím jestli vy jste věřící?
69. C20: no tak (.) nevím. já v tom moc ne- bohužel nevěřím tomuhleto

This interaction has also moved through the topics of free English and smoking cessation courses, which is continued in lines 45-46. In line 47, missionary M1 evaluates C20's response in line 46, and then returns to the "checklist". This is done in the course of M1's subsequent turns. M1 reaches the "final" item on the list (line 49). This final item consists of a) a self-categorization as a missionary (line 49), b) a "deeper" identification and (attempt at) recognition sequence (lines 51-62), in which recognition does not occur, c) a continuation of the self-categorization an accounting which has moved from "who we are" to "what we do", and d) the inquiry into C20's faith.

A similar topical flow can be observed in the following case.

Case 6: Extended "first topics" (28)
69. M1: a další věc (.) je: (.) my tady učíme kurs o tom jak přestat kouřit?
70. C33: aha?
71. M1: vy kouříte?
72. C33: ((laughs))
73. M1: tak skvělý ((laughter)) jak dlouho kouříte?
((42 lines omitted))
116. M1: a jestli následujete každý krok? jako určitě to sto procent
117. C33: mm hmm
118. M1: a můžeme to dělat jestli chcete nevím kdy máte čas ( ) normálně?
119. C33: mm (..) tak nějak je to jedno
120. M1: je to jedno?
121. C33: mm
122. M1: vy pracujete?
123. C33: pracuju ale (.) doma na počítači
124. M1: yeah? co děláte?
125. C33: webový stránky
126. M1: (.) tak to je <u>dobrý</u> docela (.) a jak jste našel takovou práci?
127. C33: uuh <u>sám</u>. tak nějak. jsem se to naučil na nějakých stránkách svejch (.) a (jsem
128.   našel) práci tak nějakou ( )
129. M1: to je <u>dobrý</u>

130. C33: občas nějaký zakázky a tak
131. M1: a to je dobrá práce?
132. C33: je to dobrá práce můžu to dělat kdy chci no
133. M1: (..) tak já jsem studoval program- programování ve škole
134. C33: programování?
135. M1: uh huh tak a taky jsem jako dělal svoje stránky na
136. C33: v yu es ay?
137. M1: uh huh (.) ale (.) to už jsem misionář my jsme tady jako misionáři na dva roky (.)
138.   jenom na dva roky a pak vrátíme se domů a-
139. C33: proč zrovna tady?
140. M1: jo? to je dobrá otázka proč ne? protože tady máte svíčkovou
141. C33: ((laughs)) (.) dobrý
142. M1: ((laughs)) ne: jak to funguje, když my chceme jít na misi
143. C33: uh huh
144. M1: nemusíme
145. C33: mm hmm
146. M1: ale tady na tomto světě je padesát pět tisíc misionářů
147. C33: mm
148. M1: my jsme všude já mám bráchu v japonsku teď
149. C33: uh huh
150. M1: a je to jenom na dva roky, jenom my chceme pomáhat lidem tím že my učíme
151.   angličtinu zdarma, nebo ten kurs jak přestat kouřit,
152. C33: mm hmm mm hmm
153. M1: a hlavně my mluvíme s lidmi o naši církvi,
154. C33: mm hmm
155. M1: a my pomáháme církvi
156. C33: a co je to za církev? [(jesus christ)]
157. M1:   [církev ježiše krista] the church of jesus christ of latter day
158.   saints
159. C33: uh huh
160. M1: nebo hodně lidi nás znají jako <u>mormoni</u> ale to je přezdívka občas
161. C33: uh huh [no já se podívám]
162. M1:   [něco jste slyšel?]
163. C33: ne.
164. M1: ne?
165. C33: (ne no)
166. M1: a vy jste věřící člověk?
167. C33: uh:: no křesťanství ne

This case begins like many of the others with the "list". The missionary has presented English class as a topic and discussed it in detail, including C33's background in English, and the stop-smoking classes as well as C33's smoking habits are detailed. Both topics have provided for extensive biographical details about C33. In lines 118-122, M1 makes an attempt to establish further contact, to actually schedule the stop-smoking

classes. The question "Do you work?" is part of this sequence. C33 has previously indicated that it does not matter when they meet (line 119), which is a statement requiring clarification as it is noticeable as a bit of a breach. How is it that C33 has such a flexible schedule, with no time conflicts? This clarifying question ultimately nominates a new topic. The topic of the interlocutor's occupation (working with computers) comes up and the missionary indicates that he has also done these activities in the past, which he contrasts in lines 137-138 with the fact that he is doing a different occupation now – that of a missionary. What follows in line 139 is a rare instance in which a missionary is actually invited by his interlocutor to share details about his biography or occupation. Lines 139 and 140 relate, then, more to the missionary as an incumbent of the category "foreigner" or "American". A predicate to this category membership is having come to the Czech Republic for a reason, and, in fact, having *chosen* to come to the Czech Republic in particular. This is an invitation to present biographical narrative. M1 answers the question with a joke in line 140, but the narrative follows – M1 provides background which is used to introduce the topic of the church, which is transitioned into the questions in lines 162 and 166. It should be noted that in lines 153 and 155, the description "our church" is used, so the name of the church is not subsequently "volunteered", but is presented as an answer to C33's question in line 157. The overall topical structure for this final part of the example is, then: where do you work? → I did similar work, but now I'm doing missionary work → what does missionary work have to do with being in the CR? → missionary work involves the church → are you religious?

It should be observed here that in terms of "strategic interaction" (Arminen 135-139), the elaboration of any topic which comes up in conversation is evaluated positively by the missionaries, particularly if it involves the exchange of biographical details. In further contact situations, the exchange of biographical details (for example, through the sharing of family photos) is considered part of what is called "building the relationship of trust". In other words, the "list" is a sort of bare-bones approach to the contact situation, with the interactionally-produced elaboration of any item on it being the goal. As we have seen here, this elaboration enables the stepwise transition to the topic of faith, which is ultimately more comfortable than the introduction of faith as a topic opened after the previous one has been closed.

These cases differ from those in the previous section in that Case 5 involves a direct continuation of "the list" without the interlocutor attempting to previously end the interaction. Case 6 is an example in which the "identification and recognition sequence" was successfully realized in a topical manner. That is, both participants in the interaction were able to provide biographical details about themselves.

In this section, I have examined examples in which the topic of faith is introduced in the ongoing course of talk as opposed to in potential pre-closings to the conversation. As we have seen, once the question "Do you believe in God?" is uttered, it is answered in a number of ways.

6.6 "What are we really talking about?": Topic renegotiation

The question "Do you believe in God?" is, as discussed earlier, a question which potentially categorizes the person answering it, as well as an invitation to talk about a certain topic. The reply to this invitation may be, minimally, a mere answer: "yes" or "no", as opposed to an offer to do topical talk: "yes, and…." or "no, because…." among others (Maynard and Zimmerman 307). In several of the previous cases in this chapter (1, 4), the question is answered positively, in another (5) it is answered conditionally negatively (yes, but not in Christianity). In these cases, the missionary's next question involves *what* his interlocutor believes in (inviting, among other things, self-categorization within the MCD "religion"). In this section, I will explore examples in which the question "do you believe in God?" is answered negatively. As we will see, the question which follows is that of what the negative answer means exactly, and whether it couldn't be understood in another way.

In some cases, this may mark the end of the potential list of topics the two interlocutors can share, and the conversation is closed, while in others, it sets the stage for negotiation and reformulation.

6.6.1 Unsuccessful attempt

Here I will explore one case in which the topic of faith is the last topic, and is closed before it is elaborated fully. It follows the model of what Maynard (1980: 277-279) calls "disagreement turns".

Case 7: Avoiding conflict (36)
24. M3: um jako (.) je to zdarma pro všechny

25. C42: mm hmm
26. M3: a (.) uh jako taky my učíme uh jak (.) uh <u>kurz</u> o jak přestat kouřit
27. C42: jojo
28. M3: um uh (.) a taky <u>hlavní</u> jsem zde je abych mluvil
29. C42: česky? jo ((laughs))
30. M3: česky ((laughs)) <u>to taky</u>. u:h s lidmi s lidmi jako o (.) církvi nebo o náboženský
31.   věci
32. C41: jo
33. M3: nevím jestli vy jste věřící?
34. C42: jsem spíš ateista (.) ale
35. M3: mm hmm
36. C42: ale nikomu to nevyvracím no
37. M3: mm jo (.) věříte v nějaký <u>energii</u> nebo něco? nebo ne? nic?
38. C42: (no já vůbec)
39. M3: ((laughs)) no jako
40. C41: tak jo
41. M3: no?
42. C42: děkujem
43. M3: no
44. C42: takže se uvidíme možná
45. M3: no možná
46. C41: tak se uvidíme
47. M3: no jo
48. C42: na angličtině

In this example, the topic of faith is approached through stepwise transition. Missionary M3, who has only been in the country for a couple of months, is less experienced, and his speech is slower and more careful. In line 34, C42 self-categorizes as an atheist. This is a potential source of disagreement, which is demonstrated in line 36, in which C42 indicates that he does not wish for the fact that the two interlocutors self-identify as incumbents of opposing categories to cause a conflict. Line 37 is an attempt to reformulate the question, but it is an unsuccessful one, and line 39 is an attempted continuation of the topic. However, C42 delivers pre-closings in lines 40 and 42, and in line 43, the opportunity to introduce a new topic or re-introduce an old one is not utilized – in fact, it would seem that there are no more new topics left to introduce. An earlier topic (English class) is referred to once again in the further part of the closing sequence.

6.6.2 Negotiating alternative descriptions

In this section, I will deal with four further, slightly different cases in which the question "Do you believe in God?" is answered negatively. As we have already observed, the fact that the interlocutor self-categorizes as a non-believer presents a complication in the interaction. In Case 7, it was sufficient enough for the topic, and, in fact, the entire interaction to be brought to a close through the re-invocation of an earlier topic (English class). Yet the encounter and topic need not be closed solely because the interlocutor self-categorizes in this way. In the cases that follow, I will examine how the topic is reformulated, how "alternative descriptions of believers and their activities" are used to reformulate the interlocutor's relationship to the topic. These types of descriptions have been explored by Mazeland, Huisman and Schasfoort (1995), in their work on calls to a travel agency. They show that alternative descriptions of a given product (various travel packages) are negotiated based on individual customers' requests and needs. In FCPP situations, when an interlocutor answers "no" to the question of "Do you believe in God?", it is not immediately clear what activities "believing in God" entails, or whether religious affiliation is a question of the individual or the individual's societal circumstances. Similarly, Button and Casey (1985: 32) describe the process of "recycling a no-news report", in which one person asks another what is new, and the other person responds that nothing is new. The first speaker then, expresses doubt as to the truth of this statement. We will observe this phenomenon in the following examples. Cases 8 and 9, for example, involve the reformulation of "God" as "some kind of energy".

Case 8: "Some kind of energy" I (29)
40. M1: už jsem mluvil trochu o tom že my jsme tady jako misionáři ale, nevím jestli
41.   jste slyšel o <u>nás</u>? nebo jestli vy jste věřící vůbec?
42. C34: no věřící nejsem no
43. M1: yeah? alespoň věříte v nějakou energii nebo něco? nebo?
44. C34: no: tak (.) sem tam jako každý normální člověk
45. M1: no asi [každý věří] v něco že jo?
46. C34:   [no no]   no nono
47. M1: no my máme poselství o bohu. (.) my věříme tomu že bůh opravdu existuje že
48.   nejsme tady náhodou na tomto země na to to skloňování ((laughs)) ( ) uhm uh
49.   my věříme v ježiše krista my jsme normální křesťanský církev (.) umm a taky
50.   my věříme tomu že bůh (jeho   ) tím že on povolal novýho proroka dneska
51.   (.) uhm na zemi a já nevím jestli jste slyšel o nás oni lidi nás znají jako
52.   <u>mormoni</u> (.) slyšel jste o <u>mormon</u>ech?
53. C34: mm to asi ne

54. M1: to ne?
55. C34: mm
56. M1: já tomu nevěřím ((laughs))
57. C34: asi ne nic mi to neříká
((10 lines omitted))
68. M1: ale my? co my tady děláme jako misionáři
69. C34: mm hmm
70. M1: my nejsme tady abychom před- svěčili lidi nebo abychom vnucovali lidi aby (.)
71.   slyšeli co máme říct no jenom my mluvíme s lidmi,

There are several key elements in this interaction. The first occurs in line 43, which begins the reformulation after C34 has stated that he does not believe in God (line 42). Missionary M1 then replaces "God" with an alternate-description category, "some kind of energy", which is something that C34 "at least" must believe in. This is answered positively by C34 ("occasionally I believe in something like every normal person does", line 44) as a result of M1's "bargaining". Line 45 serves as an explanation to the question posed in line 43 – because "everyone" believes in something, C34 must "at least" believe in something as well. Now that it has been established what one participant in the conversation (C34) believes, there is a slot for M1 to share what he believes. That is, in order for the missionary to provide, in detail, an account of what he and his church believe, it is necessary for his interlocutor to provide some (however minimal) account of what he/she believes *first*.

This sequential phenomenon can also be observed in Case 9.

Case 9: "Some kind of energy" II (17)
64. M1: well my jsme tady a my mluvíme s lidmi,
65. C20: mm hmm
66. M1: o bohu o rodině my máme skvělý poselství
67. C20: mm hmm
68. M1: uhm a já nevím jestli vy jste věřící?
69. C20: no tak (.) nevím. já v tom moc ne- bohužel nevěřím tomuhleto
68. M1: yeah? no ales- alespoň věříte v nějakou energii nebo něco jo?
69. C20: no to asi jo [ale]
70. M1:   [nebo]
71. C20: v boha moc ne
72. M1: a bydlíte tady v blanci? nebo
((7 lines omitted))
80. M1: yeah? tak to je hezký well já nevím jestli (.) chtěl byste jako slyšet názor na
81.   bohu nebo protože my jsme tady (.) na na dva roky abychom mohli mluvit
82.   s lidmi o bohu (.) protože my věříme tomu že on existuje (   )=

83. C20 :=takhle já neříkám že neexistuje
84. M1: yeah? um (.) a já nevím jestli (.) slyšel jste (.) o josefu smithovi?
85. C20: (.) asi ne
86. M1: asi ne nebo možná o o mojžíšovi?
((15 lines omitted))
102. M1: uh aby byl prorok (.) aby mohl (.) ukázat lidem že bůh existuje (.) a taky aby
103.   mohl jako napsat své svědectví (.) v knihách to my říkáme to my říkáme písma
104.   (.) asi (.) asi znáte bibli že jo?
105. C20: jo to jo
106. M1: [to jste šikovný kluk]
107. C20: [to jsem si to jsem si i učil] dokonce
108. M1: yeah?
109. C20: [na literatuře no]
110. M1: [a četl] jste ji?
111. C20: ne bohužel nečet

The main question to be posed in this example is that of who is telling the story – the missionary or his interlocutor. As we can see, missionary M1 attempts to make the information about faith collaborative. First, as in Case 8, in line 66 M1 provides the partial report of "a wonderful message" that the missionaries have, but does not immediately describe what the message is. Instead, he asks whether C20 is a believer. The subsequent reformulation (line 68), which is nearly identical to that in Case 8, invokes a similar answer (line 69) which is further specified (line 71). M1 changes the topic in line 72, and 7 lines are spent talking about C20's school, before M1 changes the topic back to begin the "message" in line 80. The omitted section following involves the collaboration of the two participants in retelling the biblical story of Moses. Lines 102-111 involve the missionary's attempt to link C20's knowledge to having read the bible.

This can be summarized as an attempt to create links between predicates of "religious practitioners", such as reading the bible and having knowledge of biblical stories, and the participants in the conversation. Further such predicates will be explored in the final two examples.

Case 10 : Praying (8)
54. M1: my (..) um všechno co my tady děláme (.) je zdarma (.) my nechceme nic (.) a
55.   hlavní, (.) my jsme tady abychom mohli mluvit s lidmi o naši víře (.) o o bohu
56.   [a co vy jste věřící?]
57. C9: [ty vole to to to mě moc nezajímá to ne]
58. M1: ((ironic tone)) já tomu nevěřím,
59. C9: teď jsme se učili v literatuře jako

60. M1: jo?
61. C9: jako renezance (tamten) bůh ale jinak jako ne
62. M1: a co si myslíte o bohu? myslíte že (.) nějakou energii existuje nebo: prostě <u>nic</u>?
63.   nebo
64. C9: nevím nepřemejšlím o (týhle)
65. M1: jo?
66. C9: akorát na vánoce do kostela chodím
67. M1: uh huh. tak to je v pohodě
68. C9: a jinak nic
69. M1: ((laughs)) to je v pohodě nejsme tady abychom jako (.) vás vnucovali abychom
70.   abyste jako=
71. C9: =uh věřili jako=
72. M1: =jako chodit na=
73. C9: =jako cyril a metoděj ((laughs)) šíření křesťanství
74. M1: jo jenom my jsme tady protože (.) každý z nás my nedostaneme žádný peníze
75.   my platíme sami tady
76. C9: mm
77. M1: protože my věříme tomu že tyto věci? jako: víra v našich životech může nám
78.   pomáhat (.) určit- vy vyp- vy vyp- dyeh- vy vypadáte jako sportovec. vy jste
79.   sportovec?
80. C9: hraju fotbal
81. M1: jo?
82. C9: a (.) sázím ((laughs))
83. M1: ((laughs)) a možná jako před zápasem, jako: když to bylo těžký nebo ten další
84.   tým byl jako skvělý
85. C9: já dycky když potřebuju když (mám sázeno) vždycky <u>pane bože</u> ať (ho dá)
86. M1: <u>přesně tak</u> ((laughs))
87. C9: včera jsem šel na záchod modlil jsem se a pomohlo mi to
98. M1: opravdu?
99. C9: táta to taky jednou udělal,
90. M1: uh huh?
91. C9: [spíš potřeboval nějaký peníze]
92. M1: [a fungovalo to?]
93. C9: no jo
94. M1: tak vidíte
95. C9: ale musí to bejt na záchodě
96.   ((laughter))
97. M1: tak jdeme jdeme jdeme do WC ((laughs))
98. C9: ale jednou jsem to přeháněl nějak moc před zápasem (.) ale (.) z toho nic
99.   nevyšlo čau ((to C10, who is arriving))
100. C10: čau
101. C9: hele poď sem
102. C10: no?
103. C9: tady říká že když se pomodlíš že ti vyjde tiket ((laughter))
((11 lines omitted))
115. M1: oh my g- (.) <u>přesně tak</u>. <u>ty vogo</u>. tak well? tak už vidíte jako vy jste už jako

116.   napůl věřící že jo? jako když se modlíte občas asi věříte že něco je tam že jo
117. C9: no: (.) ale tak jako (aniž bych si to) uvědomoval že [to je vlastně vono]

In this example, the question is how the predicate of praying is presented in a different light in the move from line 57, in which C9 declares that he is not interested in the topic of faith, to lines 115-116, in which C9 is re-categorized by M1 as a "half-believer". M1 rejects C9's claim in line 57 that he is not interested. In line 16, M1 uses a predicate to combat potential negative perception of "force" associated with his questioning of C9 in regard to faith. In lines 74-75, M1 reiterates predicates relating to volunteer nature of missionary work – not being paid to do it, paying for it by oneself, etc. The following talk involves extensive category work in the reformulation of the activity of prayer in a framework of sports, first soccer (lines 77-84), and subsequently, betting (lines 85-103).

What is interesting to compare in the various cases is the topical work done after the missionary's "follow-up response" to his interlocutors' various declarations of not being believers. In this case, in line 58, M1 challenges the sincerity of C9's claim that he is not interested in an ironic tone. C9 transitions the topic into what he has learned at school.

This can also be compared with the following example.

Case 11: "Faith in the blood" (22)
57. M1: jo (.) well tak to je to je další jako věc který my tady děláme,
58. C28: no ((blowing nose))
59. M1: ale nejdůležitější, je to vidět my jsme tady jako misionáři, (.) ze církve ježiše
60.   krista, (.) a nevím jestli vy jste věřící vůbec?
61. C28: ne.
62. C27: ne, nejsem
63. M1: <u>ne</u>? ani trochu?
64. C28: ani trochu.
65. M1: co babíčka?
66. C28: babička? (.) babička asi taky ne
67. M1: [taky ne?]
68. C28: [děda] děda možná ale babička asi ne
69. M1: jo? tak děda tak [a co-]
70. C28:   [byla prababička]
71. M1: prababička?
72. C27: moje prababička taky
73. M1: [jo tak už mát-]
74. C27: [ale ta už umřela]

75. M1: ((laughs)) tak máte jako věřící krev? jako v sobě že jo? váš prababička byla
76.   věřící
77. C28: no
78. M1: ((laughs)) well, my máme poselství o ježiši kristu (v krat- v krátkosti) uhm tím
79.   že je (jistě) hodně církví i když jako nejste věřící
80. C28: mm
81. M1: může (.) asi každý z nás jako (.) my jsme měli věřící zkušenosti možná (.) vy vy
82.   vypadáte jako sportovec (.) vy jste sportovec?
83. C28: no:
84. M1: vy taky? (.) ne:?
85. C27: já moc ne
86. M1: a když jste měl jako velký zápas? (.) modlil jste se?
87. C27: ah na snowboardu akorát jezdím
88. M1: oh jo jo (.) [aha takhle]
89. C27:   [(   )]
90. M1: jo? já taky snowboard-uju ale v americe tady ne ((laughs)) ta- tady ale (.) jako
91.   já jsem mluvil s hodně lidmi a hodně lidí řekli že nejsou věřící (.) ale alespoň
92.   věří v nějakou energii nebo možná před velkým zápasem oni se modlili za
93.   pomoc nebo něco
94. C28: tak to jsou věřící v tom případě ale
95. M1: jo? ale i i když jako ti lidi? (.) jako řekli předtím že nejsou věřící a právě jsem
96.   řekl a co jako před zápasem nebo něco? on řekl je: to jo ((laughs))
97. C27: potom nevědí co říkají v tom případě
98. M1: jo ((laughs)) (.) ale co si myslíte? myslíte že aspoň něco existuje? (.) nebo my
99.   jsme tady úplně jako náhodou
100. C27: ne: náhoda tak někd- někdo je v domnění že jo někdo v domnění že ne že jo
101.   tak
102. M1: uh huh uh huh
103. C27: je- jeden se to snaží vyvrátit druhýmu
104. M1: mm hmm (.) a co vy na to?
105. C28: no asi tak co on

In this example, missionary M1 recounts experiences such as Case 10, in which a connection between everyday activities (hoping something we want to happen will happen) and religious activities (praying) is formed, yet with different results. In lines 61-62, C27 and C28 (both of whom are teenage boys) provide a firmly negative answer to M1's question in lines 59-60. Lines 65-76 involve M1's attempt to connect C27 and C28 to faith in some way, given the lack of success of "ani trochu" in line 64 (which can be likened to "some kind of energy" in the previous examples), which M1 summarizes as "faith in the blood" in line 75. M1 is able to continue in lines 81-97 with another topical attempt to connect C27 and C28 to religious behavior – the same topic (sports) used in

the previous example. When this proves unsuccessful as well (as demonstrated by the boys' statements in lines 94 and 97), M1 recycles the "some kind of energy" reformulation.

The topical progression in this case is significant in that it shows that it is not necessary for an interlocutor to have admitted to any religious beliefs in order for the topic of faith to continue – all that is necessary, in fact, is for C27 and C28 to not initiate a closing.

6.7 Summary

This chapter has shown that the missionaries approach the topic of faith at two points in a proselyting encounter. These are: during pre-closing sequences, in which there are clear boundaries between the topic of faith and the topics preceding it as items on a "list" (Section 6.4), and during extended identification and recognition sequences involving category work, when the elaboration of earlier "list" topics has been greater, in which faith is approached through stepwise topic transition (Section 6.5). Through these examples, I have also shown the manner in which the missionaries initially pose the sensitive question of "Do you believe in God?" and how they initially process their interlocutors' answers – through reformulations and "negotiating alternative descriptions" (Section 6.6).

In general, this question is not *projected* as delicate in these encounters, i.e. it is not preceded by "action projections" such as "Can I ask you something?". Another element which is key to the introduction and continuation of this topic is the mutual establishment of religious "positions" – the missionaries' interlocutors must understand that "missionary" and "Mormon" are intended as religious categories, and must express *some* opinion (whether positive, negative, or neutral) on this understanding before the missionary can elaborate on the details of his own beliefs.

Of course, it is one thing to engage in a discussion of personal matters on the street and another to continue it at another place and time. As can be observed, the selected parts of the transcripts from many of these encounters involve the establishment of both interlocutors' stance toward matters of the spiritual. Continuation of this often ends with the issue of what to do about it further. This question, which involved the final

phases of the very few encounters which make it that far, will be further examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

"Můžu vás prozvonit?" Initiating further contact in the final phases of interaction

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines FCPP situations in which the missionaries have succeeded in "topicalizing faith" as explored in the previous chapter, and in which this topical talk has continued. In these encounters, there arises the possibility that the conversation can commence again at another time and place. After all, the encounters analyzed are occurring at a time and place which is neither comfortable nor convenient for both interlocutors, and, for the latter, the encounter was unplanned. Missionary activities are intentionally geared toward arranging further contact with interlocutors, which may include the aim of obtaining further contact information (telephone number in particular) and arranging specific further meetings (inviting people to social events, for individual teaching, stop-smoking program, etc.). Yet from the members' perspective we face yet another problem: how and when to initiate this contact, and, accordingly, who should initiate it.

In this chapter, I will analyze several types of such activities. These involve the missionaries' attempts to initiate further meetings with the people they meet, their interlocutors' amenability to such attempts, and the resulting interactional activities: strategies for drawing conversations to a close or making the details for the further meetings vague, or, on the other hand, the aim to make the details of the (welcomed) further meetings as specific as possible. I will consider issues of preference organization (cf. section 2.4.2) and the concept of strategic interaction in these encounters. Some of the activities I will analyze can be paraphrased in a Sacksian manner such as "How to obtain someone's phone number without asking for it directly", "How to initiate a specific meeting when facing potential rejection".

I will pose the following questions:

1) How do the missionaries topically and sequentially initiate further contact? How do the missionaries and their interlocutors do "further contact proposal sequences"? What types of further contact do the missionaries attempt to obtain? How are these types negotiated?

2) How do the missionaries do "further contact proposal sequences" in the context of the other actions done in FCPP situations? These other actions include: opening sequences, identification and recognition sequences, various topical sequences, and pre-closing and closing sequences. How are are these sequences and actions related to the overt or covert nature of the initial summons?

3) What elements characterize "successful attempts" and "unsuccessful attempts" at initiating further contact?

In answering these questions, I will first review the research on conversational closings, strategic interaction and bargaining sequences (section 7.2). Then I will examine a preliminary example which characterizes further contact initiation sequences in the context of the topical order discussed in the previous chapters, also known as "the list" (section 7.3). I divide further contact initiation into three types on the basis of their outcome: successful (section 7.4), unsuccessful (section 7.5), and "settling" for providing contact to oneself (section 7.6). Finally, I will relate the final phases of the FCPP situations to their initial phases by examining cases in which the initial summons was covert (section 7.7).

7.2 Conceptual framework

These analyses consider everything that has happened previously in the interaction. There are, as usual, multiple perspectives on initiating further contact in the final phase of an interaction. These are summarized in the following sections. First, I will characterize the nature of closings, then I will explore the concept of strategic interaction, and finally, I will examine negotiation or bargaining sequences, which contain proposal sequences.

7.2.1 Closings: arrangement-making in the course of topical and sequential organizations

As Sacks points out in his discussion of stepwise transition, "…arrangement-making is a way that you end conversations, and of course the topic which has been involved in that conversation." (1992, Vol. II: 301). Fundamental in the characterization conversational closings is the work of Schegloff and Sacks (1973), who analyze them in

relation to the organization of speaker turns. The main interactional challenges faced in conversational closings are formulated thus:

1) "How to organize the simultaneous arrival of the interlocutors at a point where one speaker's completion will not occasion another speaker's talk and which will not be heard as some speaker's silence" (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 294-5), or an intersubjective understanding of when the conversation has reached its end – it is not enough to simply stop talking.

2) "How to coordinate the suspension of the transition relevance[64] of possible utterance completion, not how to deal with its non-operation while still relevant."

The final phase of closings involve what Sacks and Schegloff refer to as a **terminal exchange**, e.g. the exchange of goodbyes, though these are not determined as such merely by their formal components. This lifts the transition relevance of possible utterance completion (293). In such a phase, there are no further speaker transitions which can relevantly occur, or in other words, there are no more expectations of further talk. They also explore the concept of "close ordering" of adjacency pairs in closings, which serves as "the basic generalized means for assuring that some desired event will ever happen" (297). This means that if both parties do not utter their parts of the terminal exchange, there is no guarantee that the conversation will be closed.

In many FCPP situations (particularly those begun with overt summons), there is a general tendency that the missionary wants to continue the conversation for as long as possible, while his interlocutor would like it to be as brief as possible, and may often make attempts to close it. This "conflict" is expected by the missionaries, and they thus behave in a strategic manner.

7.2.2 Strategic interaction

"Strategic Interaction" (a term originally coined by Goffman 1970) is partially defined by Arminen (2005: 136) as "an attempt to get another party to do Y by doing X; this X does not request Y directly, but implies that it is the next relevant thing to do without saying so directly. A strategic action thus always involves an implicit, covert goal that is not at the surface of the action." However, as he points out later (137),

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[64] See section 2.4.1.

strategic action can only be inferred and not observed, and that there is "a fine line between strategic interaction and a conventionalized indirection".

The ethnographic research in this study has determined that the missionaries enter and proceed through the FCPP situations with this "implicit, covert goal" very much present. Their intention is to establish further contact, but also, as discussed in Chapter 4, want to be polite, not offend, and not violate their interlocutors' right to privacy. It is the combination of these two elements (clearly-defined aims and politeness) that is salient. Arminen (2005: 137) observes "our inferences about underlying intentions and motivations are based solely on observable actions, which do not provide any first hand data on the underlying cognitive states". Strategic actions may be composed of extended sequences, e.g. extended question series (138). In another strategic action, the use of second position, "the speaker designs actions so as to avoid taking a stance until the other party has revealed its position" (139). Another type is negotiation, which will be dealt with in the next section.

7.2.3 Negotiations: Proposal and bargaining sequences

As mentioned in the previous chapter, negotiation, as described by Arminen (168-197), is "a form of strategic interaction in which a deliberate goal is to reach an agreement or a compromise between parties' interests". Furthermore, in a "bargaining sequence", "a party formulates a position and a recipient aligns or misaligns with it" (168). Negotiations can also be "organized formally so as to avoid the emergence of arguments" (168). Within negotiations, invitations, offers, proposals and requests project the same sequential course: acceptance or rejection. Complications (and thus the need for bargaining sequences) in this basic proposal sequence can occur in three sequential positions: 1) after the proposal[65], 2) before the proposal, 3) in the construction of the proposal (170). The resulting **bargaining sequence** may include **preliminaries to the proposal** and/or **post-proposal expansions** (Arminen 175-187).

The complications which can occur after the proposal include: further information or dimensions of an issue are made relevant before the interlocutor responds to the initial inquiry, the acceptance of the proposal is made dependent on some conditions, the

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[65] Comp. the negotiation of conversational openings in section 4.3.3.

answer to the proposal is delayed and the proposer uses the delay to modify the proposal, or the proposal is rejected and the proposer reformulates the proposal (Arminen 171-175).

Bargaining sequence elements are related to responses and their anticipation, and subsequent versions of offers, requests and proposals. This has been explored by Pomerantz (1984) and Davidson (1984). Davidson (1984) explored situations in which people make offers, requests and proposals which they believe may be rejected or actually are rejected. The "potential rejections" are embodied by silence following the initial proposal, or by the beginning of what is understood to be a rejection (for example, hedging particles such as "well…"). What follows is a "subsequent version" on the part of the initial speaker (similar to the reformulations discussed in the previous chapter), involving the "inviter's or offerer's attempts to deal with some inadequacy, trouble or problem with the initial formulation, where such an inadequacy, trouble or problem may be adversely affecting the acceptability of the invitation or offer". Subsequent versions also provide a slot for a recipient to do a response. There can also be numerous subsequent versions. A subsequent version may also occur after an actual rejection, or after what is called a "weak agreement" (such as a minimal response token "huh", "mm hmm", "yeah"). There can also be multiple "weak agreements", leading to multiple subsequent versions. The recipient may "escape" from the sequence by changing the topic.

Subsequent versions can also occur after a "quick response" – immediately after the proposal, in fact in overlap with its completion. Offers and invitations have possible completion points, and what the offerer utters after that point have been called "tag position" components in Jefferson 1973, and provide "monitor space" in which the speaker can "examine what happens or what does not happen there for its acceptance/rejection implicativeness". Components in the "monitor space" may then be latched onto by the offerer in the subsequent version. This (the use of tag-position elements) is likely done to avoid silence.

7.2.4 Summary: The final phase of FCPP situations

The following three elements can be considered parts of the final phase of the interactions in this study: 1. **topical continuation of "the list"** (English, smoking, faith –

as discussed in the previous chapters), 2. a **proposal sequence** (or a **negotiation sequence**, involving a **proposal**, **request**, **offer** or **suggestion**) possibly preceded by a **pre-proposal sequence**, 3. a **pre-closing sequence**, and 4. a **closing sequence**. It should be noted that the order in which these elements occur is varied, and the individual elements may be repeated in the course of the unfolding of the interaction. The focus I have chosen here, however, is the proposal sequence, with the elements that surround it used as support for the analysis.

7.3 Topical continuation of "the list": Preliminary example

Again, let us begin with a preliminary example. The structure which this example takes is: topical continuation of "the list" (English), a pre-proposal sequence, a proposal sequence, further topical continuation of "the list" (faith).

Case 1: "Can I pass your contact on?" (27)
33. M1: ((slowly)) yeah? and do you have children that speak english as well?
34. C32: yes I have
35. M1: yeah?
36. C32: ((laughs))
37. M1: <u>skvělý</u> tak vidíte už máte štěstí že jo?
38. C32: [((laughs)) jo]
39. M1: [a máte čas] v úterý?
40. C32: no já asi ne já nejsem tady z blance přímo=
41. M1: =odkud jste?
42. C32: ale můžu to dát na: (.) na nástěnku v práci
43. M1: okay, a odkud jste?
44. C32: z lebedic
45. M1: z l- víte co? taky my učíme ve lebedicích. máte hodně štěstí víte?
46. C32: ((laughs))
47. M1: v- chcete já tam jdu dneska. chcete abych vám dal jejich číslo?
48. C32: můžete
49. M1: dobrý (.) on se jmenuje elder smith (...) starší kovář
50. C32: mm hmm
51. ((laughter)) (...) ((pause, M1 writes down information))
52. M1: there we go (.) a to je jedna věc který tady děláme, další věc je my tady učíme
53.   kurs o tom jak přestat kouřit?
((12 lines omitted))
66. M1: a co věř- věříte vy?
67. C32: já jsem katolík
68. M1: yeah? tak to je fajn. well, chtěla byste slyšet jako (.) názor? o o bohu? a proč

69.   my jsme tady?
70. C32: no: (.) možná někdy jo
71. M1: jo? (.) možná- víte co? um já tam jdu dneska já tady bydlím v lebedicích uh
72. C32: [v blanci]
73. M1: [v blanci] ale jdu tam na na návštěvu dneska. <u>mohl</u> <u>bych</u> mu dát ten starší
74.   smith jako váš kontakt?
75.   (..)
76. C32: no (.) [((laughs))] můžete
77. M1:   [yeah?]   tak skvělý jak se jmenujete?
((13 lines omitted))
91. M1: okay ((slowly)) have a great day and he will give you a call
92. C32: ((laughs)) thank you
93. M1: okay bye bye
94. C32: bye
95. M3: bye

In this example, two missionaries have approached a middle-aged woman. They have asked if she is interested in English class. They speak in English briefly about the woman's experience with English in lines 33-36. In line 39, M1 switches back to Czech and issues a proposal – would C32 have time to attend the English class on Tuesdays? Instead of answering yes or no, C32 provides an "account": she does not come from the city they are in and M1 asks where she is from. C32 mitigates this blocking of the projected proposal by saying she can hang the flyer up at her work. M1 asks again where she is from, C32 states she is from a nearby city (line 44). M1 states that there are also missionaries in that city, and asks if he can give C32 a contact to another missionary there (lines 45-49). C32 accepts and M1 provides the contact, then initiates another topical sequence in accordance with the "list" (stop-smoking topic) and later leads into the "Do you believe in God?" topical sequence (discussed in the previous chapter). When C32 answers positively, M1 asks what she believes and C32 self-categorizes as Catholic. M1 then makes an offer. He immediately asks if she would like to "hear an opinion on God and about why we're here" (which, we should note, can be interpreted both "locationally" as why the missionaries are in the Czech Republic, and "spiritually", as why people are on earth). C32 accepts this offer, though she tones down the acceptance using the vaguer words "maybe" and "sometime". The fact that M1 has a colleague in the nearby town is clarified, and then M1 requests if he can "give elder Smith your contact". We can observe that this is not a direct question and not the question paraphrased

"personally" as "can I have your phone number for my own use?" This is a request (a more dispreferred action) as opposed to an offer, which C32 accepts. M1 then proceeds to collect C32's name and phone number. In line 91, M1 issues the pre-closing "have a great day" (which might be characterized as a very "American" pre-closing) and then states that his colleague will be contacting C32. C32 thanks him and the terminal sequence is uttered.

Afterward, M1 noted "that was a good contact". The turn-by-turn analysis provides some indications as to why he might have evaluated it in this manner. This situation is an ideal one mostly because C32 repeatedly provides affiliation markers, either through preferred responses to M1's offers (lines 48, 70, 76 or through mitigating an unrealized dispreferred response in line 42). Her agreement to the first contact exchange offer (to take the contact information for the missionary in her town), her self-categorization as a believer and her acceptance in line 76 are key, as they form a gradual reduction in the likelihood of potential future rejection of M1's offers.

We can again observe that it is M1 who initiates the closing in line 91. After further contact has been "set up" in some way, we observe the missionaries actually initiating closings, as opposed to their interlocutors, who have initiated closings in all of the "closed" cases I have examined so far. On the basis of this, it is possible to understand "further contact exchange" as a necessary element of a first-contact proselyting encounter from the perspective of the missionary. In other words, without having at least initiated further contact, the missionary cannot end the encounter. Yet what may "count" for the missionary as further contact initiation can vary greatly, and is highly dependent on earlier sequences in the encounter, particularly on the affiliation expressed by the missionary's interlocutor. The following sections will investigate these points further.

7.4 How to suggest further meetings: Successful attempts

Case 1 has revealed that in contacting situations, there are a number of different types of "further contact" which can be established. These form a certain hierarchy, that is, the missionaries evaluated some more highly than others post hoc in terms of the type of "second contact situation" planned and the topical pre-determination for that situation.

At the top of the hierarchy is a concrete meeting during which the topic of faith would be discussed. This presents two challenges. The first is obtaining the interlocutor's approval to meet and discuss faith in the future (as was done successfully in Case 1, albeit without a concrete specification of time), and the second is determining a time to do that, or, as a second option, obtaining the interlocutor's contact information so that such a time can be determined. This requires a proposal, offer, or request on the part of the missionaries as a part of a bargaining sequence. We shall recall that a "proposal sequence" consists of the pair proposal (invitation, offer, request) – acceptance or rejection. This forms the background for bargaining sequences.

In this section, I will examine cases in which a missionary makes a proposal for a further meeting to talk about faith. I will explore the context from which these proposals are born and the ways in which "bargaining" occurs. I will present three cases in which the sequential environment provides for a favorable slot in which the missionary can a) initiate a further meeting for the purpose of discussing religion and b) request specific contact information from his interlocutor. As we will see, this information is successfully obtained, albeit in slightly different ways in each case.

Case 2: "Can I ring you?" (17)
78. M1: aha to je hezký a vy studujete tady v blanci?
79. C20: no tady v blanci na strojárně na průmce
80. M1: yeah? tak to je hezký well já nevím jestli (.) chtěl byste jako <u>slyšet</u> názor na
81.   bohu nebo protože my jsme tady (.) na na dva roky abychom mohli mluvit
82.   s lidmi o bohu (.) protože my věříme tomu že on existuje (   )=
83. C20:=takhle já neříkám že neexistuje
((51 lines omitted))
135. M1: no co to je, to je další svědectví (.) o ježiši kristu
136. C20: mm hmm
137. M1: že on (.) fakt žil (.) že on mm (.) byl syn boží (.) a skrze něho můžeme se vrátit
138.   k bohu (.) a to má to má několik obrazů. chcete se jako podívat na obrázky?
139. C20: náhodou já spěchám já-
140. M1: vy spěcháte?
141. C20: no já sp- já spěchám docela
142. M1: no jako pět- víte co?
143. C20: no?
144. M1: uhm taky my spěcháme protože musíme najít toho mu:že
145. C20: mm hmm
146. M1: ale já nevím jestli chtěl byste (.) s- jako mluvit, jdeme na kofolu nebo něco,
147.   můžeme se bavit půl hodinky, (.) to by šlo? můžu vás prozvonit?
148. C20: můžete

149. M1: jo?
150. C20: jestli chcete číslo
151. M1: okay jak se má- jaký máte číslo?
((9 lines omitted, C20 gives number))
161. M1: dobrý (.) a jak se jmenujete?
162. C20: marek
163. M1: marek (...) ( ) dobrý (.) tak my vám zavolám
164. C20: mm hmm
165. M1: u:m (.) nebo hele co děláte zítra večer?
166. C20: je: já mám o víkendu celý mimo úplně totálně
167. M1: jo?
168. C20: mm
169. M1: kam jdete?
170. C20: no tak budu s přítelkyní za kterou teď <u>jdu</u> potom se musím eště učit protože
171.   něco nezvládám do školy
172. M1: yeah?
173. C20: a pak eště někam do těch ( )
174. M1: okay tak nechceme vás podržovat (.) tak mějte se asi příští týden já vám
175.   zavolám jo?
176. C20: mm hmm[tak jo děkuju]
177. M1:   [dobrý tak zatím mějte ahoj]
178. C20: vy taky na shle

In the part of the transcript prior to this excerpt, two missionaries have stopped C20, a teenage boy, on the outskirts of a part of the city, asked for directions and if he knows a man they have been looking for, and then transitioned into the various "list" items. C20 is not familiar with the church and does not believe in God, but has conceded to M1's further offer of "some kind of energy" (analyzed in the previous chapter). This is followed by a side sequence in which it is clarified where C20 lives and what he studies, and the first part of the excerpt begins.

What happens in this case, then, is that M1 asks C20, a "place" question, if he studies in the city. C20 responds positively, M1 asks if C20 would like to "hear an opinion on God" and begins talking about what he believes – that God exists. It is also important to note that this "proposal" is not done directly, but rather, is followed by a post-proposal expansion or an account – M1 explains why he has made the proposal. It is this account which C20 orients to in the following turn (line 83), countering M1 by pointing out that he is not saying that God does not exist. The fact that C20 does not sequentially orient to the proposal likely accounts for the more concrete reformulation of the proposal. M1 and C20 collaborate to recollect the story of Moses (C20 has read it in

school in literature class) in the omitted portion of the transcript (partially analyzed in the previous chapter). C20's lack of interest in reading is discussed, then M1 introduces the Book of Mormon. This is where the second part of the excerpt begins. In lines 137-138, M1 opens the Book of Mormon and offers that C20 a look at the pictures in it. C20 mitigates his (unstated) refusal by saying that he happens to be in a hurry (note that this account or "excuse" has been used at nearly all points of the proselyting encounters by the missionaries' interlocutors to do pre-closings). In line 142, M1 initially attempts to negotiate for more talk (this is, presumably, the beginning of the pre-minimization of talk – "five sentences" we have seen elsewhere). He goes another route, however, beginning with the "You know what?", the continuation of line 142. He states that the missionaries are also in a hurry, because, after all, they have to find the man they were looking for when they began the conversation in the first place.

The following lines contain three parts. The first (beginning in line 146) can be termed a "general offer" which "recycles" the offer made in lines 80-81. Immediately after this, M1 makes a second concrete offer – that they could occasionally meet ("go for a kofola") for a specific amount of time ("half an hour"). The third part of this turn (in line 147) is the key request "can I ring (prozvonit) you?" This is another, less direct, way of requesting "may I have your phone number?"[66] In a Sacksian manner, I will paraphrase this practice as "How to be offered something without asking for it directly". The telephone number, then, is, in fact, "offered" by C20 in line 150 before M1 poses the direct question "what is your phone number?" in line 151. In lines 161-163, M1 gets C20's name and promises to call him. This "arrangement-making" is the first part of the pre-closing initiated by M1. In line 165, M1 makes one final pre-proposal. The proposal is not realized, however, because C20 provides an account of being busy in lines 166-

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[66] A few words are in order on the concept of "ringing" someone, as an English translation presents certain difficulties. This refers to the practice of creating a "summons" (dialing a mobile phone number) without the expectation that this summons will be answered, or, in fact, the hanging up of the phone before the other person has a chance to answer. This serves several purposes: either it functions in the place of other types of summons (e.g. a doorbell), as an indication that the caller does not have credit to pay for the call and expects the "called" to call him back (it is only the caller who pays for the call in the Czech mobile phone system), or, finally, it functions as a way to put one's phone number into the memory of the other person's phone or to "check" that the phone number one has been given is the correct one. These calls are referred to in an etic sense as "boom calls" (Ilkka Arminen, personal communication). All of the examples in this case occurred in interactions with teenagers or people in their early twenties, but as this represents the greater part of the (male) missionaries' intended interlocutors, it is impossible to generalize further.

173-40. The closing is then re-initiated by M1 in line 174 (in part, a repetition of line 163).

This case reveals that initiating further contact can actually be a process of recycling offers, and moving from vague to specific in doing so. Once a dispreferred activity has been attempted or hinted at in the conversation, the more "recyclable" it becomes. Also, we should note that the offer was recycled after speaker C20 moved toward ending the conversation by "providing an excuse".

In this case, no attempt was made to set up a concrete meeting time, though a contact was obtained. In the next case, we have a situation in which the initial offer is also topically drawn from the discussion of faith and contact information is requested and obtained. The subject of negotiation is when the meeting will take place, revealing that the exchange of contact information need not be the final element in the encounter.

Case 3: "Why not?" (28)
170. M1: a co věříte vy?
171. C33: uh: spíš uh jako- nejsem úplně věřící ale (.) spíš jako (.) takový ty buddhistické
172.   věci a takovýdle
173. M1: yeah? yeah? slyšel jsem něco o tom jako
174. C33: mm hmm
175. M1: že mluvil jsem s hodně lidmi? o náboženství a všechno to mi to mi zajímá jako
176.   byl s- já jsem byl v lebedicích?
177. C33: mm hmm
178. M1: a tam byl jeden hin- hinduist? jak se řekne? to je správný?
179. C33: mm hmm mm hmm mm hmm
180. M1: yeah? oni mají zajímavý (.) jako (.) kultura a
181. C33: mm hmm
182. M1: a náboženství (.) a chtěl byste taky slyšet nás náš jako (.) pohled?
183. C33: proč ne?
184. M1: proč ne? tak to je skvělý
185. C33: proč ne proč ne? uh:: (.) takže tady stačí každý úterý že to tam jste?
186. M1: mm hmm
187. C33: stačí přijít jo?
188. M1: mm hmm, ale, tam co my normálně děláme
189. C33: mm hmm
190. M1: je my máme s- tam nebydlíme my
191. C33: mm hmm
192. M1: znáte zástavku duha?
193. C33: mm hmm
194. M1: my tam bydlíme
195. C33: ano
196. M1: a my máme jako schůzky s lidmi

197. C33: mm hmm
198. M1: jako pře- (.) nebo skrze týden
199. C33: mm hmm
200. M1: a mohl bych vám jako prozvonit? až máme čas? ten jako tento příští týden mohl
201.   bych vám zavolat můžeme domluvit na čas?
202. C33: můžeme
203. M1: no tak <u>skvělý</u>. už my jsme moderní misionáři ((laughter)) to rád říkám oops (.)
204.   jaký máte číslo?
((7 lines omitted))
212. M1: tak skvělý. jak se jmenujete?
213. C33: uuh david
214. M1: david?
215. C33: mm
216. M1: a já jsem ((slowly)) michael henderson
217. C33: mm
218. M1: těší mě. dobrý určitě- možná v pondělí? šlo by to?
219. C33: mm: no: možná nevím. nevím.
220. M1: možná?
216. C33: možná já mám teďka hodně práce a já nevím jak to stihnu přes víkend
217.   všechno=
218. M1: =dobrý=
219. C33: =udělat no, ale rád jako přijdu
220. M1: dobrý tak možná- nebo taky jestli chcete?
221. C33: mm hmm?
222. M1: ve pondělí, my jdeme na <u>bowling</u>
((11 lines omitted))
234. M1: tak jestli chcete je to zdarma pro vás
235. C33: ((laughs))
236. M1: tam budeme mít pět drah
237. C33: uh huh
238. M1: a klidně to je od šesti v tescu
239. C33: mm hmm
240. M1: ale já můžu vám vám zavolat v pondělí. jo?
241. C33: dobře
242. M1: dobrý tak david mějte se hezky ještě jednou
243. C33: jo taky
244. M1: čau
245. C33: ahoj
246. M1: ahoj

M1 has approached C33 on a public square. At the onset of the interaction (analyzed in chapter 5), M1 notices that C33 has an American flag on his clothing and asks if he speaks English, if he has been to America. Czech and English are alternated,

and the "list" has been gradually detailed, during the final item of which it is revealed that C33 believes in God, but not in the Christian one.

M1 asks what C33 believes in, C33 answers that he believes in Buddhism. In lines 175-180, M1 describes how, in the course of his work, he has met people of many different religions, for example a "Hinduist" (here he initiates "other-repair" in his pronunciation/translation of the word – see Chapter 8 for a more extensive discussion of this). This is, for M1 "interesting", the culture and faith, which he transitions into an offer – would you (like I did then) like to hear a new view on faith? (line 182) This is met with C33's positive response. The issue of when to meet follows. C33 proposes (repeatedly, in lines 185 and 187) that "it's enough to come on Tuesday". M1 at first answers positively to this, but then, through the extended descriptive sequence in lines 188-198, indicates that C33's coming to English class on Tuesdays was not exactly what he had in mind when he made the offer in line 182. This serves as a both a pre-proposal account and a post-proposal expansion – an explanation of what the initial offer in line 182 actually entailed as well as a set-up for the proposal that will ensue in lines 200-201.

M1 then proposes that he could "ring" C33 and they could set up a concrete time to meet. This proposal, however, differs in form from the proposal in Case 2. There are two parts to this turn. The first is the proposal itself ("can I ring you?"), and the second is the account or post-proposal expansion ("when we have time next week we can call you and set up a time"). This is similar to what Taleghani-Nikazm (2006: 49-54) refers to as "accounts built into request turns". C33's response ("we can") in line 202, then, is not, grammatically speaking, a response to the initial request, but to its built-in account. The projected question follows in line 203-204.

C33 gives M1 the number and M1 rings him. It is only after this that introductions occur – M1 asks for C33's name after he has obtained his phone number. In line 218, M1 actually tries to propose a concrete meeting date. This is met with C33's "I don't know, I have a lot of work". M1 follows this up with a "subsequent version" of the offer in lines 220 and 222 to join the missionaries for bowling (post-proposal incentives are added, such as it being free, five lanes being rented, etc.). In line 240, M1 poses a "confirming" question – can he call on Monday? C33 answers positively. It is only after

this that M1 initiates the closing, utttering a pre-closing in line 241 followed by C33's confirmation of the pre-closing and a terminal sequence.

This case is the first hint of a "bargaining sequence" in the study. Throughout it, as M1's requests, offers, and proposals have become more and more specific, C33 has provided a series of preferred responses. M1 could have ended the encounter after obtaining C33's phone number, but instead, he initiates further "arrangement-making". This is where C33 finally provides a dispreferred response (one that is neither positive nor negative) accompanied by an account. This prompts a subsequent version of the offer, to which C33 responds in a similar manner. Finally, M1 "settles" for a third subsequent version of the offer – at the very least, he can call C33 on Monday.

In this case we have observed that there is no level of "further contact" which automatically serves as grounds for the missionary to initiate a closing. Furthermore, the exchange of contact information can but need not mark the end of an encounter. There is one case which reveals this.

Case 4: "Can I call you?" (8)
209. M1: máme jako zvláštní jako hodiny s lidmi (.) my je učíme angličtinu jako tři
210.   čtvrtě hodin, a pak se jako, patnáct minut na čtvrt hodiny nebo za půl hodinky
211.   my mluvíme o bohu, nebo o rodině,
212. C9: mm hmm
213. M1: o těchto věcech a je to lepší pro <u>vás</u> protože je jenom jako to je to je dvě
214.   američany <u>a</u> <u>vy</u> tak to je jako to je lepší než jako učitel-
215. C9: a jaký to je naučit se česky?
216. M1: já?
217. C9: no
218. M1: já ne- ne- nemluvím tak dobře ((laughs))
219. C9: ale jako-
220. M1: já asi dělám hodně chýb ((laughs))
221. C9: takhle kdybych uměl anglicky ((laughs))
222. M1: no víte co? já vás slibuju že jestli se chcete učit jako (.) my jsme tady je to
223.   <u>zdarma</u> můžete se, se naučit (.) proč ne?
224. C9: (..) to tak já zkusím přijít
225. M1: jo? [no můžem-] můžu vám zavolat?
226. C9:   [( )]   v úterý bych přišel no
227. M1: jo? můžu vám zavolat?
228. C9: na mobil jo?
229. M1: uh huh (.) už my jsme moderní misionáři
230. C9: ((laughs))
231. M1: máme mobily ((rustling sound)) jak se jmenujete?

((11 lines omitted))
243. M1: aha třicet osm třicet devět okay dobrý (..) takže tak (.) přijďte zítra
244. C9: přijdu no, no ve středu pak (.) nic není no tak jo zejtra zkusím
245. M1: dobrý a možná můžeme se domluvit na čas a my můžeme vám pomáhat jako to
246.   co potřebujete nejvíc jako vy (.) jo co máte problém s jako s tím s čím
247. C9: no: (.) jak se tam jak to tam probíhá? tam jako tam bude hodně lidí?
248. M1: mm: (.) no asi: dvacet lidí [tam] tam jsou tři [hod-] jako tři třídy
249. C9:   [no]   [( )]   já nevím
250.   kde to přesně je na náměstí
((14 lines omitted))
265. M1: =tam se píše jako církev ježiše krista a tak (.) tam budou jako další lidi
266. C9: tak jo
267. M1: dobrý. jenom musíte jako zvonit jako-
268. C9: jak přestat kouřit tak já nekouřím
269. M1: jo? tak nemáte tu starost ((laughs))
270. C9: to je dobrý ((laughs))
271. M1: dobrý dobrý
272. C9: tak jo
273. M1: tak honzo tak čau
274. C9: tak jo: díky zejtra zkusím přijít
275. M1: dobře dobře [( )]
 ((32 lines until the end of the encounter))

The context of this encounter is a "street display" situation. In the part of the interaction not contained in this excerpt, missionary M1 has approached a teenager (C9) on the square while the others sing, first asking if he knows them (C9 does, apparently he has been to the English class before), and then going through the list (analyzed in the previous chapter). Given its final item, C9 seems surprised at the talk about God, and the conversation continues through several more topics in a free-flowing manner.

In the excerpt here, M1 offers English teaching again and C9 repeats the time and place for confirmation. M1 says that they can also hold the lessons separately (line 209). In line 222 M1 transitions C9's expressed desire to speak good English into an offer (a reiteration of the offer from earlier in the conversation), which C9 accepts.

In line 227, M1 makes the request "Can I call you?" C9 responds to this in such a manner that suggests he has understood the request as the equivalent to "Will you come to English class?" – he says that he'll try to come on Tuesday. M1, then, repeats the request. It should be noted that C9 not directly verbally respond to this request by accepting or refusing it. Instead, in line 228, C9 poses a clarifying question – is it the mobile phone number that M1 wants? M1 shifts the emphasis from the fact that he is

making a request by making a joke - the missionaries have phones too, they are "modern". Then an introduction is made, but only by C9, after being asked for his name by M1. C9 gives his number, then the date is reconfirmed, as is the location of the classes, what takes place there, how to get in. In line 268, C9 (possibly reading the flyer) says he doesn't smoke, that topic is wrapped up. The pre-closing is initated by C9 in line 272, followed by M1 in line 273, including the first-pair-part of a terminal sequence, yet the conversation continues on, C9 promises to come to class again, then he asks who will be there, the conversation continues with M1 finally introducing himself by name (joking about that as well), then the pre-closing and terminal sequence.

Here we can observe that the conversation can go on even after the exchange of contact information has occurred. It can be postulated that this is a further part of the public "display". Other people walking around may see the missionaries talking to their interlocutors, and thus be "summoned" as well.

We have now observed cases in which the missionaries have succeeded in their "strategic interactions". However, it is equally possible that the missionaries' interlocutors can refuse (in various ways) the request for further contact information. The ways in which they do so will be discussed in the next section.

7.5 Unsuccessful attempts at obtaining contact info

Let us now look at what can be considered "unsuccessful cases", which I will paraphrase as "cases in which the missionaries' interlocutors refuse requests to provide contact information". I focus on how these refusals are done politely and how they are subsequently interactionally handled by the missionaries in their attempts to "save" the encounter. While in Case 5 the conversation ends, in Case 6 multiple versions of the offer are put forth.

Case 5: "I don't come from around here" (5)
109. M1: o víře a a co vy na to? vy jste věřící?
110. C6: ne: nejsem
111. M1: vůbec? v žádným případě?
112. C6: ne: jako ne- neříkám v žádném případě ale zatím (.) mě jako já nevim mě
113.   k tomu nevychovávali takže=
114. M1: =jo? nenašel jste jako důvod jako věřit
115. C6: no nenašel jo [takhle]

116. M1:   [jo?] uh huh no proto my jsme tady ((laughs))
117. C6: ((laughs)) no jasně
118. M1: nejsme tady abychom jako přesvědčili vás
119. C6: [mm hmm]
120. M1: [nebo] abychom vás vnucovali=
121. C6: =jako neříkám že (.) ne. (.) ale (.) za- zatím ne
122. M1: jo? [zatím ne?]
123. C6:   [zatím nejsem]
124. M1: aspoň jako chtěl byste jako slyšet nový (.) <u>názor</u>?
125. C6: no
126. M1: abyste jako mohl (jako mít svoj-) svoji názor na to?
127. C6: no jako <u>nebráním</u> se tomu
128. M1: jo?
129. C6: mm hmm
130. M1: tak to je dobrý kdy máte čas? (normálně)
131. C6: ((laughs)) kdy?
132. M1: mm hmm
133. C6: to já nevim (..) jako (.) na co?
134. M1: vy jste tady jako: (.) jako přes týden že jo?
135. C6: ne ne
136. M1: ne?
137. C6: jenom občas jsem zde
138. M1: jenom <u>občas</u> jste tady
139. C6: no jasně jasně
140. M1: uh <u>huh</u>.
141. C6: ne jako vždycky jen tak když mám čas nebo (.) když se s někým domluvím ze
142.   známých tady z blance
143. M1: [uh huh <u>takhle</u>]
144. C6: [tak sem přijedu]
145. M1: a kde bydlíte ještě jednou?
((15 lines omitted))
161. M1: uh <u>huh</u> takhle. tak to je směrem- dobrý dobrý už [(tuším)]
162. C6:   [tak jo] když budu mít čas
163.   [takže]
164. M1:   [dobrý] dobrý
165. C6: přijdu podívat a-
166. M1: dobrý
167. C6: a děkuju
168. M1: dobře tak víte-
169. C6: přeju: hodně štěstí ať se vám daří
170. M1: dobrý dobrý tak-
171. C6: na shledanou
172. M1: na shle
173. C6: na shle

Two missionaries have approached a teenage boy on a large square in the center of the city and offered him free English classes and stop-smoking classes. He has stated that he does not smoke, that he plays soccer. They have talked about his biographical details – how old he is, where he lives (in another town, which C6 notes "is not so far from here" - this is glossed over until later) and what he studies. He has made a verbal commitment to perhaps come to English class, "sometime", which has been extended by missionary M1 into an invitation to bring interested friends as well. When C6 moved toward a closing, M1 mentioned the last item on the "list".

In this excerpt, M1 asks if C6 believes in God. C6 answers negatively, explaining that he was not raised in a religious tradition. M1 reformulates this in line 6 as "you never found a reason to believe" and C6 confirms this. Lines 116, 118 and 120 are accounts, preliminaries to a proposal: "that's why we're here", "we're not here to convince you" and "we're not here to force you". C6 may have no reason to expect anything negative (convincing, forcing) from M1, yet M1, in clarifying that his actions should not be interpreted negatively, anticipates a dispreferred turn. Taleghani-Nikazm (2006: 86-88) refers to these statements preceding a request or proposal as "prefatory components".

C6 then reformulates his original answer, saying "I'm not saying I don't, but I don't now, not yet" (line 121). This is confirmed by both speakers in lines 122-123, and then the "proposal" occurs in line 124: M1 asks if C6 would like to hear a "new opinion", and C6 answers positively, then M1 explains in line 126, in a post-proposal expansion, "so that you can have your own opinion" (though it is not clear whether this refers to a new opinion as opposed to that of his parents, or that of the Mormons) In line 127, C6 claims that he has nothing against that. This is an "acceptance", and as is revealed later, this is understood differently by each speaker.

The transition between line 127 and M1's further pre-proposal in line 130 is key. It seems that C6 was speaking generally, but M1 transitioned the topic into something more specific, asking when C6 has time. C6 repeats a shortened form of the question, then in line 133 it becomes clear that he did not understand M1's question. When would he have time for what? Here, the proposal sequence is terminated or "fades out" – it is transitioned into another sequence which rules out C6 as a potential candidate for the proposal. That is, M1 does not answer the question in line 133 directly, but rather, asks

further about which days C6 is in town, with the assumption that he is in town often. C6 repairs this information, claiming he is only in town occasionally, when he has plans with friends. Line 134 begins a "side sequence" in which it is clarified where C6 lives (far away). C6 promises to "come have a look" if he has time. In line 168, it appears that M1 is preparing to say something else, but in line 169, C6 offers a potential pre-closing in the form of a "well-wishing". This is accepted by M1, then the final three lines involve a terminal exchange sequence.

Like in the cases in the previous chapters, there are numerous ways in which such an attempt may end differently than the missionary would have liked. These include the interlocutor's "providing an excuse", e.g. "I don't have time", "I have other hurdles" (it would bother someone else, I don't live here, etc.), as well as what can be termed "compromises", e.g. "I'll take a flyer", "I'll look at the website", etc. We might now ask what subsequent versions or alternative proposals the missionaries offer and how they do so. Such actions can be observed in the following example.

Case 6: Multiple alternative proposals or "Proposal-in-a-series" (19)
84.   M1: jako on řek (.) my jsme tady jako misionáři ze církve ježiše krista (.) a my
85.   mluvíme s- o bohu s lidmi (.) o ježiši kristu (.) o rodině (.) to je důležitý (.) asi
86.   rodina rodiny jsou důležitý pro vás že jo?
87.   C23: [mm hmm]
88.   M1: [že máte] svoji rodinu? a kolik máte jako sourozenci?
89.   C23: já mám dva
90.   M1: jo co vy?
91.   C22: sourozence? dva taky jeho a ještě jednoho doma
((45 lines omitted))
137. M1: tak to je dobrý no víte <u>co</u>? já nevím jestli chtěl byste s námi mluvit trochu o
138.   bohu o o o čemkoliv my jsme tady my tady bydlíme (.) (v tom) no, máme
139.   trochu máte trochu čas <u>teď</u>?
140. C23: no moc ne právě
141. M1: moc ne?
142. M3: mm hmm moc ne?
143. C23: no moc ne ale (teď jsem se na to koukal jako) tam se dá přijít i v <u>jiný</u> <u>dny</u> než
144.   v to úterý?
145. M1: no to je my jenom učíme tu angličtinu v úterý a to je bez náboženství, a
146.   normálně my scházíme s lidmi přes týden- můžu vás prozvonit? a pak až máte
147.   čas, až my máme čas, můžeme jako vám poslat esemesku
148. C23: uh já nevím jestli budu mít tohleto číslo furt protože tohle není můj telefon já
149.   to mám půjčený jenom=
150. M1: =<u>aha takhle</u>=

151. C23: =a jinak telefon nemám
152. M1: nemáte?
153. C23: mm mm
154. M1: a jak dlouho budete mít- budete ho mít?
155. C23: tak do večera. mám půjčený od kamaráda
156. ((laughter))
157. M1: no víte co? možná (..) co děláte-
158. C24: (vy máte tak) tady je číslo
159. M1: no to je náš číslo
160. C24: to je vaše?
161. M1: uh huh
162. C24: (   )
163. M1: nebo my- co děláte (.) v neděli máte čas?
164. C23: v neděli jak vy jste na tom? já vůbec nevím
165. C24: já nevím
166. C22: nevím
167. C23: my jsme teďka přijeli z učňáku a vůbec
168. M1: yeah?
169. C23: ze školy
((9 lines omitted))
179. M1: uh huh. jako tam se píše starožitnosti? tam se píše jako církev ježiše krista a
180.   musíte jako zazvonit na nás a můžeme vás pustit dovnitř a my máme
181.   (.) shromáždění každou neděli, od půl desátý, ale my tam budeme (.) po sko- to
182.   skončí to skončí v půl- (.) půl jed- půl jedný já nevím jestli máte čas v neděli
183.   možná můžeme se bavit
184. C23: no: když budu mít čas tak přijdu určitě
185. M1: jo?
186. C23: já vůbec právě nevím jak jestli nepojedem třeba na chalupu s rodičema ale (.)
187.   když budu mít čas tak bych přišel
188. M1: okay okay (.) nebo taky, my děláme několik věcí tady my taky máme sportovní
189.   večer (.) každou um sobotu?
190. C23: ((laughs)) no to sportovat asi nebudu ((laughter)) my jsme přijeli totiž takhle
191.   jak jsme tři tak jsme byli reprezentovat náš (.) učební obor jako mezi
192.   republikou mezi učňákama jsme byli na olympiádě na lyžích na [běžk- na
193.   běžkách no]
194. M1:   [opravdu?]
((17 lines omitted))
212. C22: no unavený jsme celej tejden jsme tam byli a
213. M1: ((laughs)) well víte co? jako aspoň možná můžeme se zastavit u vás? to by šlo?
214. C23: prosím?
215. M1: vy jste vy bydlíte kousek tady? můžeme se zastavit u vás? (jako vám)
216. C23: to nevím jestli by se líbilo rodičům protože=
217. M1: =jo?=
218. C23: =u nás se furt někdo stavuje a máma už (ze zvonku)
219. M1: okay well víte co? možná můžete přijít na na tu angličtinu nebo (.) na
220.   shromáždění jo?

221. C23: no (ještě přijedeš nějak?)
222. C22: (možná jo)
223. C23: (tak se loučíme)
224. M1: dobrý tak čauec
225. C23: mějte se (tak zavolám)
226. M1: dobrý
227. C24: na shledanou čau čau
228. M3: mějte se hezky
229. M1: na shle
230. M3: na shle
231. C22: čau měj se

Two missionaries have approached a trio of teenage boys on a smaller, less populated square in the older part of the city. M3, whom the ethnographic research revealed to be the less experienced missionary, begins the interaction, first offering the English class, handing out flyers, then making faith the second item on the "list" and asks if they believe in God. They answer that they do a little bit, sometimes. Missionary M3 gets into language difficulties when trying to speak further, which leads into a side sequence involving M1, in which the boys compliment M3's Czech. M3 moves back into the topic of faith, this is discussed for a while, the boys' ages are discussed, and M1 takes over.

In this excerpt, M1 reiterates the missionaries' identity (lines 84-86), declares that they talk to people about family, and this topic is discussed in a side sequence, which leads to an introduction by name by all. In lines 137-139 M1 makes the proposal as to whether they would have time to talk about faith. This proposal concerns a specific meeting time as well, because at the given moment, they are not far from the church building. C23, in lines 140 and 143, answers that they don't have time now, but in line 144, he mitigates this dispreferred response by asking if there are days other than Tuesday available (presumably for English class). In lines 145-146, M1 explains the situation with English class (it does not involve religion) and proposes that he could call them for a meeting another time, could he ring them? This presents a problem requiring an account. C23's account (lines 148-155) that he is only borrowing the phone for a day and does not have one otherwise. This is dealt with by M1 through further offers – he begins another pre-proposal (continued in line 163) in line 157, before the boys indicate

in lines 158-161 that they already have contact to him (his phone number on the flyer he has given them).

In line 163, M1 makes a pre-proposal (what are they doing on Sunday?). This is followed by another pre-proposal: an indexical description of where the church is located. The proposal which follows (in lines 182-183) is whether they would like to meet after church services on Sunday. In lines 184-187, M provides a "contingent acceptance" (related to "contingent requests", cf. Taleghani-Nikazm 2006: 29).

Lines 188-189 involve another proposal by M1 - would they like to come to sports activities on Saturday (a concrete date)? The account in M's mitigated refusal leads into another side sequence – the boys explain that they have just come back from a skiing competition, and this is discussed in more detail. In lines 213-215, M1 makes another request -- could the missionaries stop at the boys' house (line 215 is a post-proposal expansion – this is accounted for by the fact that the boys live so close by)? C23, in lines 216 and 218, provides another account: this presents a problem as well, their parents wouldn't like it. Finally, given all of these refusals and their related accounts, a "compromise" is reached in lines 219-222 – the boys could come to English or to the gatherings on Sundays. This they deem acceptable, perhaps they could come. The closing is initiated by C23 in line 223 and the resulting terminal sequence lasts until line 231.

In all, this excerpt from the transcript contains six proposal sequences (lines 137-144, 145-156, 157-169, 179-187, 188-192 and 213-218) before a "bargain" is struck in lines 219-222. This serves as a signal that the conversation can be closed, but it should be noted that it is C23 who first initiates the closing. After this interaction, M1 said "I hate it when they don't have a phone".

I have used the term "compromise" to describe the result of the negotiation process that occurred in this example. Here, the missionary's having "settled" for the least concrete form of further contact possible is, from an analytical point of view, a very explicit phenomenon. In the next section, I will look at several examples of less explicit "compromise".

7.6 "Settling" for offering a contact to oneself

In this section, I will examine three cases in which the interlocutor's contact information is not pursued. Rather, the missionaries offer contact to themselves and do not ask for it from their interlocutors. I pose the question of how the overall sequential and topical order relate to the fact that it was not pursued now. My point is that the origin of this non-pursuit is a sequential and topical one. The three cases are quite different from one another. In the first case (as seen in Case 6), the missionaries' interlocutor sets out a "condition" for potentially agreeing to future meetings in the first place. In the second case, the interlocutor predetermines the sharing of contacts to be something that is not desired. Finally, in the third case the topical orientation of the conversation dominates in such a way that the "further contact" phase is never truly reached.

Let us look at the first of these cases.

Case 7: "I'll look at the web page" (29)
47.   M1: no my máme poselství o bohu. (.) my věříme tomu že bůh opravdu existuje že
48.   nejsme tady náhodou na tomto zeměě na to to skloňování ((laughs)) ( ) uhm uh
49.   my věříme v ježiše krista my jsme normální křesťanský církev (.) umm a taky
50.   my věříme tomu že bůh (jeho   ) tím že on povolal novýho proroka dneska
51.   (.) uhm na zemi a já nevím jestli jste slyšel o nás oni lidi nás znají jako
52.   mormoni (.) slyšel jste o <u>mormon</u>ech?
53.   C34: mm to asi ne
54.   M1: to <u>ne</u>?
55.   C34: mm
56.   M1: já tomu nevěřím ((laughs))
57.   C34: asi ne nic mi to neříká
58.   M1: jo? a vy máte internet?
59.   C34: prosim?
60.   M1: máte <u>internet</u>?
61.   C34: internet?
62.   M1: internet
63.   C34: internet mám no
64.   M1: jo? máme stránku na internetu ve ve ve=
65.   C34: =mm hmm=
66.   M1: =tečka mormon tečka ce zed
67.   C34: mm hmm
68.   M1: ale my? co my tady děláme jako misionáři
69.   C34: mm hmm
70.   M1: my nejsme tady abychom před- svěčili lidi nebo abychom vnucovali lidi aby (.)
71.   slyšeli co máme říct no jenom my mluvíme s lidmi,
72.   C34: mm hmm
73.   M1: o (.) o tom jako co čemu věříte vy (.) a taky co co my věříme a nevím jestli

74.   chtěl byste to dělat jestli byste chtěl jako (.) kecat s námi občas a (.) můžete nám
75.   říct váš nápad jako (může) smysl života
76. C34: ((fast)) no takhle začnu tím že já se podívám na vaše stránky a pak bych když
77.   tak to no [s tou]
78. M1:   [dobrý]
79. C34: s tou angličtinou teda=
80. M1: =dobře=
81. C34: =to kouření jako to se mě netýká s tou angličtinou buď že bych o to měl
82.   zájem já nebo to bych někomu mohl předat no a (.) podívám se na ty vaše stránky
83.   tam nějaký kontakt bude určitě ne?
84. M1: dobrý tady je [(navštívenka) tady] jako kontakt
85. C34:   [no no no takže]
86. M1: můžu napsat
87. C34: jo napište no
88. M1: m- moje jméno
89. C34: napište a
90. ((pause, M1 writes))
91. M1: dobrý
92. C34: mm hmm
93. M1: já jsem henderson (.) a jak se jmenujete vy?
94. C34: já jsem pešek
95. M1: pešek tak těší mě
96. C34: tak jo
97. M1: dobrý tak mějte se hezky
98. C34: mm hmm díky na shle

Missionary M1 has approached C34, a young man, in public. M1 has identified himself as a member of the church, asked if C34 speaks English, explained that they offer free English lessons, given C34 a flyer (C34 has promised to look at it and potentially pass it on) and offered the stop-smoking classes (C34 does not smoke). M1 completes the list by introducing the topic of faith. C34 says he is not a believer, M1 begins talking about "the message".

In this excerpt, M1, talking about the message, asks if C34 has heard of the Mormons, C34 says no, M1 jokes that he doesn't believe that, but then C34 confirms that he really does not know them. M1 asks if C34 has internet and then provides the address of the Mormons' web page (thus providing contact to himself). In lines 70-71, M1 continues, downplaying the "forced" nature of missionary work. In lines 73-75, M1 makes the offer – they speak with people, would you like to speak with us, exchange views? C34 negotiates a different hierarchy with a "topic summary" – first he will look at the web pages, then he will see about the English classes, the stop-smoking seminar

doesn't concern him, he promises that either he himself or someone he knows would be interested in English (he avoids a dispreferred turn here). M1 offers him a paper with contact info (something like a business card) on which he writes contact info (which he himself offers to do), after this he introduces himself (line 93), his interlocutor does as well, and then C34 offers the potential pre-closing, which M1 follows with a terminal sequence turn, as does C34.

As C34 provides conditional consent to further contact beginning in line 76, and, importantly, initiates the idea of contact information (beginning in line 82), he has already aligned with the missionary's initial suggestion that they might see each other again. Because C34 has "taken control of the reigns" in suggesting *what type* of further contact is possible, a "bargain" has been reached, there are no more details to discuss, and the conversation can be brought to a close.

In the next case, we will observe another situation in which the missionaries' interlocutor's active stance toward the type of further contact leads to a similar compromise.

Case 8: Pass it on (16)
48. M1: a tady my děláme několik věci,
49. C19: mmm
50. M1: například učíme zdarma angličtinu
51. C19: no vidíte to
52. M1: nevím jestli znáte někoho kdo by měl zájem? (na)
53. C19: můj známej chodí právě aby se takhle (.) stýkal nějak jako aby mluvil anglicky
54.   ten chodí někde (.) myslím do média (takže   )
55. M1: no možná můžete
56. C19: to nemůžu mu dát vaši adresu. to by mě zabil ((laughs))
57. M1: nechcete ani leták? na to
58. C19: nebo jo letáček mu dejte.
59. M1: jojo
60. C19: no já myslela jestli nechcete kontakt na něj
61. M1: nenenene to ne
62. C19: no dobrý to mu dám no
63. M1: jenom jako kon- kontakt
64. C19: no
65. M1: [ale-]
66. C19: [a kdo ví] jestli vůbec taky k vám někdy nebyl
67. M1: je to od šestý do sedmý v úterý
68. C19: mm hmm:
69. M1: u:m na horním náměstí [jest-]

70. C19:   [právě] že tady čtu to horní náměstí protože taky tam
71.   asi jednou nebo dvakrát někdy už (měl zač)
72. M1: a taky my my děláme několik věci taky my učíme kurs (.) o tom jak přestat
73.   kouřit, jestli kouříte?
74. C19: ((lowered voice)) na to bych měla jít já no já už radši jdu. na shle <u>děkuju</u>
75. M1: na shle
76. M3: na shle

The missionaries are in an area on the city periphery looking for "Milan Novák". They have already asked several people, now they are asking a middle-aged woman, who goes to great lengths to try to explain that it's hard to find an address without a street name. Missionary M1 transitions the topic – he explains that they are looking for the man because they are working as missionaries, then begins explaining what they do, beginning this excerpt.

Missionary M1 begins "the list", but in line 52, he does not offer its "items" to C19 directly, but instead, asks if she knows anyone who would be interested[67]. In lines 53-54, C19 answers positively, then M1 asks a question which C19 finishes for him – she assumes that they want her acquaintance's contact information and says that she can't give it to them (line 56). M1 offers a flyer, which, it seems, is a good compromise for C19, who thought they wanted something more (as expressed in line 60). In lines 67-70, the details on the flyer are reiterated, then M1 continues on with the list, with the listing of the stop-smoking course. He does not get further than that – C19 jokes that she would theoretically need that and abruptly utters the first-pair part of a terminal sequence and leaves. The missionaries complete the terminal sequence. Afterward, M1 expresses disappointment at not having gotten to the gospel or "given the message".

What is interesting about this case is M1's vehement denial in line 61 of the missionaries' intentions to ask for contact information. This indicates that, in order for the missionary to request contact information, his interlocutor must provide some prior indication that this request would not be followed by a dispreferred action, e.g. a direct, unmitigated refusal. C19's joking statement "He would kill me" in line 56 reveals that any future missionary requests, either for contact information to her acquaintance or to herself, would not be welcomed.

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[67] Asking an interlocutor if he or she knows someone who would be interested is usually done after asking if the interlocutor him or herself would be interested, as a "mitigating" tool, making the request less direct.

In this case, there was no slot provided for the topic of faith to even be approached, and this influenced the subsequent possibilities for initiating further contact. The final case presented in this section, in contrast, does contain the topic of faith, and can thus be paraphrased as "giving up" on the part of the missionary.

Case 9: Rejections "reflecting back to topic" (22)

111. M1: mám hrozný přízvuk. že to- (.) well (zkrátka) že nejsme tady náhodou, že bůh
112.   má plán pro nás, a proto my jsme tady na tomto země (protože něco
113.   zajímavého) nejsem jako expert to tady to nebude moje obor až se vrátím domů
114.   (.) já se stanu chemickým inženýrem, (.) asi to bych chtěl, nebo byznys něco
115.   takového, ale nechci jako být kněz nebo něco, ale to je jedno protože v naši
116.   církvi nikdo jako nemáme nikdo nedostal žádný peníze (.) jako my platíme
117.   sami naši jako kněži jako pracujou mají jako svoji práci ale to je něco jinýho (.)
118.   a:le (.) naše poselství tady je abychom mohli sdělit poselství, (.) um s lidmi o
119.   rodině a o (.) o bohu a vím já jsem řekl jenom dvě minuty (.) tak já nevím jestli
120.   chtěl byste slyšet t- to- to poselství?
121. C28: to je problém že my nemáme čas
122. M1: nemáte čas?
123. C28: my musíme na <u>intr</u> jinak budeme mít průser vod vychovatele
((21 lines omitted))
145. M1: ty brďo to bych chtěl ((plane sound above)) a vy jste tady přes týden?
146. C28: jenom přes týden,
147. M1: a pak vrátíte se domů (.) jo? well, alespoň- možná- vím že nemáte hodně času,
148.   (.) ale možná máte půl hodinky nebo něco (.) máme budovu na náměstí (.) na
149.   horním tady a (.) můžu vám uh už máte jako naš adresu ale to je jedenáct
150.   dvanáct tam tam se píše staro- starožitnosti a to je v tom baráku tam se píše jako
151.   církev ježiše krista jenom musíte jako zvonit na nás (.) a (.) a můžeme (.) jako
152.   my jako mluvíme o těchto věcech jestli byste chtěli jako nechci vás vnucovat,
153.   ale je to zajímavý (.) určitě i když jako ten člověk není věřící je to zajímavý
154.   alespoň jako slyšet nový (.) pohled na na to na svět tady (.) já nevím jestli chtěli
155.   byste to dělat?
156. C28: mm (.) asi ne
157. M1: asi ne?
158. C28: já tak sp- (.) opravdu věřící nejsem ani nijak (.) nad tím neuvažuju moc
159. M1: jo? myslíte že to nemůže vám pomáhat? nebo ne:?
160. C28: (mm mm)
161. M1: a co vy?
162. C27: (ah taky takhle já si myslím že) kdyby byl bůh tak proč by třeba byly <u>války</u>
163.   nebo takhle
((27 lines omitted))
191. M1: ale (..) víte co? asi můžu vám dát něco (.) to je něco o ježiši kristu (.) a co my
192.   věříme a tady máme (.) máte internet? určitě máte. můžete se (.) zastavit u ve ve
193.   ve tečka <u>mormon</u> tečka ce ze (akceptujete) to?
194. C28: no
195. M1: (.) no tak díky za váš čas

196. C28: jo
197. M1: snad se uvidíme
198. C27: možná
199. M1: možná ((laughs)) dobrý tak díky tak čau
200. C28: tak (čau)

This is another "street display" situation, one which is marked by negotiation from the very beginning. It is also one of the few examples of "contesting" from the missionaries' interlocutors. Missionary M1 has stopped teenagers C27 and C28 on the square. They want to know immediately "how long" they will be talking before agreeing to do so – M1 tells them "two minutes". M1 asks them if they study English, they say they study German. They agree to take a flyer. M1 continues on with the "list", asking if they smoke. One says no, the other says yes, and they talk about his previous experiences with quitting. M1 continues on with the "list", reiterating that he is a missionary and asking if they believe in God. They say no. M1 offers several reformulations, but C27 and C28 claim they still do not believe. M1 enters into a longer "monologue", the end part of which is where this excerpt begins.

M1 has begun his monologue by explaining that he is not any sort of expert on religious matters but that he believes we are not here by chance, that he does not receive any money for doing his missionary work, that he just wants to share a message about God and about family. Then he reiterates his earlier promise of only keeping them for two minutes (which he later presents as the reason for trying to arrange to meet on another occasion), would they like to hear the message? C28 says the problem is that they don't have time. More specifically, they live in a student dorm and have a schoolmaster who oversees their activities. They do not come from the city, so they explain where they do come from. In lines 145-146 it is clarified that they are only there during the week. This is followed by another extensive uninterrupted utterance by M1, in which he minimizes the time needed to meet, provides directions to their building, states that he does not wish to "force" them into anything, that the discussions (English class) are interesting even for non-believers. In lines 153-155 comes "the offer" to hear a new view on the world ("I don't know if you'd like to do that..."). C28 declines, saying he really isn't a believer. In line 159, M1 reformulates this as "you think that it can't help you". C28 agrees with this reformulation in line 160. M1 then asks C27. C27 opens a debate,

explaining why he does not believe in God. A longer discussion ensues (mostly with M1 talking). This is concluded in line 191-192 with a summary of the information in the flyer ("it's something about Jesus Christ and what we believe"), then indicates the contact to the church (perhaps to offer them an alternate or "official" version of what he has just said in his self-described accented Czech). In line 195 he offers a pre-closing ("thanks for your time"). This could be considered a "given up" case (in terms of the elaboration of the religious topic), with the minimum success understood as having provided the basic contact information, thus line 197 is an optimistic "projection" ("maybe we'll see each other"), echoed by C28 prior to the pre-closing and terminal sequences.

In sum, this case is an example where the missionary does not attempt more specific further contact because, in essence, the topic of faith, and thus the invitation to enter into religious discourse, has been refused by his interlocutors.

In this larger section, I have analyzed cases in which the missionaries have attempted to obtain further contact with their interlocutors. Such attempts have met with a variety of reactions and outcomes. We should recall that all of these cases occurred in FCPP situations where the missionaries approached their interlocutors in public, and summoned them overtly. In the next section, I will return to one of the themes discussed in Chapter 4, the differentiation between overt and covert summons and the subsequent courses of the encounters begun. As this differentiation has a significant effect on the openings of conversations, it is particularly relevant in their closings as well.

7.7 Covert Summons Cases: Role reversal and the lack of urgency

In this section, I will examine three cases which can be characterized by two influencing elements: 1) that the missionaries' interlocutors have stopped to watch the "street display" singing, and 2) that the missionaries' interlocutors self-identify as members of some type of Christian faith early on in the encounter. As discussed in Chapter 4, these are "covert summons" situations, i.e. it was not necessary for the missionary to request that his interlocutor stop and talk. As we will see, this has a significant effect on the manner in which further contact is sought, provided, and negotiated.

Case 10: Role reversal I (21)
37. C26: =a (prostě) vás rád poslechnu
38. M1: yeah? tak to je hezký
39. C26: ((laughs))
40. M1: well aspoň (.) my- to je jedna věc který my tady děláme, a <u>hlavní</u>-
41. C26: jo to je já ani nerozumím (.) vůbec jsem nerozuměl slovům jako (smysl)
42. M1: jo? jako: ty písničky?
43. C26: no jistě no
44. M1: uh huh uh huh (.) u:m well můžete=
45. C26: =já se ještě vrátím (já si chci poslechnout)
46. M1: to je dobrý tak klidně
47. C26: tak jo tak jo
48. M1: dobrý tak
49. C26: kde pak tady máte centrum?
50. M1: tady? víte co? nemám nemám kontakt [musím (.) mluvit]
51. C26:   [to je dobrý] no mě stačí takhle (takhle)
52. M1: já můžu vám dát ((goes over to other elder)) do you have contacts? díky ((goes
53.   back)) já vám dám něco
54. C26: uh <u>huh</u>.
55. M1: tady je něco:
56. C26: tak to je nějaká navštívenka
57. M1: uh huh tady náš (.) číslo a my máme (...) tady blanec, horní náměstí jedenáct
58.   dvanáct tady
59. C26: [(to asi jo asi tam)]
60. M1: [uh huh my jsme] skoro well skoro v každ- každý (.) uh hla-
61. C26: (jiná země)
62. M1: uh huh my jsme v no tady je seznam (...) a co je n-
63. C26: to asi o vás přečtu. můžu?
64. M1: můžete klidně
65. C26: můžu si to-
66. M1: uh huh. to můžete to je pro vás
67. C26: to si (rád) o vás přečtu a já se asi
68. M1: jestli máte vůbec otázky? [jako] klidně můžete (..) my tady
69. C26:   [ne]
70. M1: my mluvíme s lidmi
71. C26: já teďka nemám (.) já jsem tak jako <u>náhodou</u> kolem přišel a
72. M1: jo?
73. C26: a tak je to (..) uh takový náhody
74. M1: (.) well my máme-
75. C26: zajímám se no
76. M1: my máme poselství o ježiši kristu a já nevím (.) že- nevím, vy jste věřící?
77. C26: eh já jsem praktikující katolík
78. M1: jo? tak to je dobrý. máme něco podobného. s tím že my věříme v ježiše krista
79.   že jo?
80. C26: <u>tak</u> jo
81. M1: dobře tak

82. C26: díky
83. M1: mějte se hezky na shledanou
84. C26: na shledanou mějte se hezky

The opening of this "street display situation" is analyzed in Chapter 4. Missionary M1 approaches C26, who has stopped to watch the singing. When asked if he knows them, C26 states that he just likes to listen to the singing. In line 40, M1 begins the "list", in which the singing is "one thing we do", then moving on to the "main thing", which is ultimately not extended as a topic. C26 continues on the topic of the singing and says he'll come back (line 45) and asks where the missionaries have their center (line 49). This is key, as it means that the "further contact" in this case is not initiated by the missionary, but by his interlocutor. This is the first such case we have analyzed so far.

M1 does not have the flyers or pamphlet, so he must run over to another missionary to get them. In lines 52-62, M1 gives the contact information, and C26 promises to read it. In line 68, M1 makes an offer to talk further "if you have any questions" (presumably either at this time or at a later time), because, as he says in line 70 "we talk to people here" (another item on the "list"). In lines 71 and 73, C26 further explains, clarifies why he stopped to watch the singing. In line 76, M1 moves on to the topic of faith and asks C26 if he believes in God. C26 self-categorizes as a "practicing Catholic". M1 evaluates this positively in line 78 and notes that "we have something in common (similar)", using a tag question to seek agreement. C26 initiates the end of the conversation in line 80. In lines 80-82, M1 and C26 do the pre-closing sequence and in lines 83-84 the terminal sequence.

In this case, it is C26 who has both requested further contact and, once he has achieved it, moves toward closing the encounter, which we have so far in this chapter observed as sequential activities done by missionaries. In the next case, we can observe another case of such "role reversal".

Case 11: Role reversal II (25)
208. M1: =a protože jako dělal jako svůj církev (.) ale (.) já nemůžu mluvit česky teď
209.　　　nevím proč ((laughs))
210. C31: ah (..) nevadí
211. M1: ale, my máme poselství (.) ( ) půl hodinky tři čtvrtě hodin já nevím jestli chtěl
212.　　　byste mluvit s námi já bych chtěl jako slyšet co tady děláte <u>vy</u>
213. C31: přijďte se podívat někdy [do azyl]ovýho domu
214. M1:　　　　　　　　　　　　　[jo?]　　　　　　　　　možná můžeme vám pomáhat

215. C31: jo:
216. M1: a máte kontakt nějaký?
217. C31: jo já dokonce chodím takhle sbírám (.) já ti dám na mě takovej ten když tak tak
218.   zavolej (.) přijď se podívat
219. M1: dobrý
220. C31: no
221. M1: tak skvělý
222. C31: (do domu přijď jo a)
223. M1: dobrý my (můžeme) mít schůzku a můžete nám říct co děláte přesně (.) a
224.   můžeme si (.) cvičit svou češtinu abych (.) ((laughs)) mohl mluvit s vámi
225. C31: no bylo by to <u>fajn</u> no, protože říkám je to pravda že (.) že jak se říká? (.) podle
226.   lásky se poznají poznají že jo? (.) křesťani
((9 lines omitted))
236. C31: já jsem rád třeba když by byli nějak kdybyste třeba mohli občas třeba zajít
237.   třeba jít si zahrát <u>floorball</u> s bezdomovcema víš co je <u>floorball</u>?
238. M1: jo:
239. C31: máme tam tělocvičnu <u>krásnou</u>, stavte se.
240. M1: <u>opravdu</u>?
241. C31: no:
242. M1: tak to je-
243. C31: máme tam jako říkám my tam i když je tam bejvají ale-
244. M1: a je to tady v blanci?
245. C31: je to tady v blanci
246. M1: a kde to je?
247. C31: na břendově my máme dokonce <u>dva</u> domy jeden máme tam jsou maminky
248.   s dětma (.) a (.) tam v druhým to jsme jako my no tam
249. M1: já bych chtěl se zastavit=
250. C31: =no přijď přijď se podívat
251. M1: (co dneska) co děláte zítra?
252. C31: já mám dneska noční, jo? takže jako spíš tak pozítří ve středu to budu stěhovat,
253. M1: [a ve čtvrtek?]
254. C31: [ve středu nebo] ve čtvrtek no
255. M1: [ve čtvrtek?]
256. C31: [no]
257. M1: dobrý
258. C31: protože v pátek máme poradu ve <u>čtvrtek</u> se zastav
259. M1: dobrý dobrý
260. C31: zavolej mi na to číslo
261. M1: dobrý
262. C31: ve čtvrtek a přijď a mohli bysme klidně to bych byl <u>rád</u> no
263. M1: dobrý, tak to je skvělý
264. C31: já ti ukážu fotky to budeš koukat no
((22 lines omitted))
287. M1:   [yeah a to je smutný] že jo?
288. C31: to je smutný no jo
289. M1: dobře. tak já vám zavolám

290. C31: jojo
291. M1: dobře (martine) na shledanou
292. C31: ahoj

As in the previous case, C31 (a middle-aged man) has stopped to watch the singing. In the opening of this conversation (analyzed in Chapter 4), M1 has asked C31 if he knows them, and C31 has answered positively. C31 self-identifies as a Catholic and explains that he works in a charity with homeless people. M1 asks if C31 speaks English and introductions are made. It is revealed that C31 knows one of the (Czech) members of the group singing. A discussion of faith follows, prompted by M1 asking "have you heard anything about us?". It is revealed that C31 knew some missionaries (though their church affiliation is not clarified) in the past. M1 begins talking about his church's message. This is where this excerpt begins. In lines 211-212, M1 first proposes further talk. There is a contrast, however, in the way this further talk is presented. Let us recall that in some of the previous cases (list cases), it was presented as "hearing a new opinion", while in this case M1 states (line 212) "I'd like to hear about what you do". Then, in line 213, it is C31 who offers that the missionaries can come to his place of employment, the homeless shelter. In line 216, M1 asks for specific contact information. C31 responds by providing the contact and repeating the offer. M1 accepts it once again. C31 accounts for having made this offer, leading into a faith side sequence. This is followed by a string of offers by C31 and subsequent acceptances by M1 (lines 217-226). Lines 251-259 involve the doing of specific "arrangement-making" for when a further meeting will take place, which is followed by another side sequence involving the homeless people that C31 works with. M1 initiates the closing in line 289 and the pre-closing and terminal sequences ensue.

The "reversal" here involves the fact that it is the missionary's interlocutor who is doing most of the offering. There is one final case in which such a reversal occurs.

Case 12: Post-half-hour discussion (9)
571. C11: tak nevím jestli je pravda, ale
572. M1: ale jo. ale (.) jako vaše otázky o knize mormonově o bibli (.) já bych chtěl jako
573.   (.) mluvit s vámi o tom
574. C11: mm
575. M1: aspoň (.) aspoň pro <u>mě</u> abych mohl se učit něco nového, protože (.) já jsem rád
576.   že byl jsem tady protože měl jsem hodně šancí abych se učil
577. C11: mm

578. M1: ne všechno co protože já jsem vyrostl ve církvi měl jsem jako já znám
579.   baptisty metodisty (katolíci) trochu a ostatní? <u>neznám</u>
((22 lines omitted))
603. M1: to je šílený
604. C11: no tak uh, (.) mm
605. M1: a jestli=
606. C11: =možná si můžeme vyměnit <u>e-mail</u> a můžem když když něco bude tak tak
607. M1: (bude)
608. C11: (bychom se mohli třeba potkat ještě někdy)
609. M1: můžeme jako vyměnit e-mail,
610. C11: ano
611. M1: ale my jenom e-mailujeme jako jen jednou jako za týden. a je lepší pro nás už
612.   my jsme moderní misionáři a máme mobily můžeme- mohu=
613. C11: =můžeme
614. M1: [mohli bychom]
615. C11: [(mobil)]
616. M1: jo?
617. C11: jo. tak uh (.) já možná (.) uh č- uh českej (.) normální českej mobil (.) můžu
618.   (   )
619. M1: mm hmm (..) a jak se jmenujete?
620. C11: já jsem petr
621. M1: petr? (..) well víte co? já můžu vás prozvonit (.) to asi by bylo nejednodušší že
622.   jo? jaký máte číslo?
((17 lines omitted))
640. M1: yeah ano (.) a a víte co taky? já nevím my jsme protože my jsme tady jako
641.   američany ((rustling sound)) (jenom tři) a my (děláme službu) (.) uh a my
642.   učíme anglicky taky že jo?
643. C11: mm
644. M1: jestli (potřebujete) jako (víc s američany) (.) my bychom jako a nemluv-
645.   nemusíme mluvit o nás taky jako o jako o bohu jen můžeme tam jít jako občas
646.   a můžeme pomáhat
647. C11: jako to <u>já nevím</u> no
648. M1: nevíte?
649. C11: asi nejsem tak kompetentní osoba
650. M1: uh huh jo? [jako k-]
651. C11:   [nejsem] nejsem
652. M1: jako confident?
653. C11: nenene že nejsem (.) jako nemám tu autoritu abych [(   )]
654. M1:   [uh huh takhle takhle]
655.   okay
656. C11: no
657. M1: no dobrý
658. C11: tak jo
659. M1: (tak fajn) mějte se hezky tak ahoj
((11 lines until end of encounter))

This final excerpt is taken from the most extensive FCPP situation recorded in the data. C11 has stopped to watch the missionaries singing. In the opening analyzed in Chapter 4, C11, when asked if he knows the missionaries, immediately identifies them as Mormons. Self-introductions (C11 by first name, M1 by last name) immediately ensue and C11 identifies himself as a Christian. M1 asks what C11 knows about them, and thus begins a half-hour discussion, the topic of which is whether it is necessary to be spiritually guided by another book (the Book of Mormon) in addition to the Bible. Eventually M1 offers a free copy of the Book of Mormon to C11. C11 politely refuses, stating that he isn't likely to read it, as he stands by his conviction that the Bible is complete. M1 acknowledges that C11 is an knowledgable man, and this is where this excerpt begins.

In lines 572-576, M1 presents his desire to talk about the subject matter further. This is followed by M1's description of members of other world religions he has met. Based on observations of the formal way in which M1 has done pre-requests, pre-offers, and pre-proposals in some of the previous examples ("I don't know if…"), it is possible that he is doing the same in line 605. Lines 606 and 608 constitute the first case of "role reversal" – it is C11 who specifically initiates the exchange of further contact information via e-mail. And then, in lines 611-612, it is M1 who provides an account for why the suggested contact medium is not appropriate (the missionaries have access to e-mail only once a week), but mitigates this by offering an alternative (mobile phones). C11 provides M1 with his phone number in the sequence beginning in line 622.

It is only after the exchange of contact information that we can observe that overall in Case 12, the "missionary template" or "list" topical order is reversed. The "list" items which in other cases have come at the beginning of the conversation serve not as conversation-openers or "tickets", nor as conversation-maintainers, but rather, primarily as additional forms of further contact. In lines 641-642, M1 offers English class, and in lines 644-646, he proposes future meetings (which he had pre-proposed back in lines 572-576). In lines 647-653, C11 indicates that he has understood M1's proposal as one which would require some kind of responsibility or knowledge, and states that he does not feel like he is competent enough to fulfill this role[68]. C11 initiates the closing in line

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[68] This also involves a "word search", which will be dealt with in section 8.4.1.1.

657, and the conversation is ended for the first time. This is, however, immediately followed up "in retrospect" by another offer by M1 – to go bowling that evening, which C11 refuses, using time constraints as a mitigating account.

What distinguishes cases 10, 11 and 12 from those examined in the previous sections. One answer may be that they all involve the missionaries' interlocutors doing the interactional tasks that have been in the previous cases done by the missionaries. In Case 10, the interlocutor is the first speaker to sequentially initiate further contact (in a somewhat less specific sense). In Case 11, it is the interlocutor who invites the missionaries to take part in specific activities. And in Case 12, it is the interlocutor who suggests the exchange of a specific type of contact information, and the missionary who must do the "accounting". Also, in Cases 11 and 12, it is the interlocutor who is (self-) categorized as the member who can offer something to the missionary, instead of the other way around. Again, as in Chapter 4, we can point to the "covert" nature of the summons to explain these phenomena, at least in part.

7.8 Summary

In summarizing what the missionaries do in their attempts to ensure that an FCPP situation will not be the last time they and their interlocutors meet, it is interesting to look back to the local mission handbook (C-33), which notes, among others, four principles of "friendshipping" concerning obtaining further contact:

"1. It is generally true that the longer the conversation we have with a friend, the more likely we will obtain a phone number to call.
2. It is generally better to ask "Can we call you sometime?" than it is to ask outright for a phone number, "Could we have your phone number?" If they consent we can pull out a pen and notebook and ask,"What number would be best to call?"
3. It is always best to try and obtain a phone number from them before offering them a piece of literature with our number on it.
4. It is a folly to imagine people will be willing to give us a phone number before some level of trust has been established."

In nearly all of the cases analyzed thus far in this study, closings have been initiated by the missionary's interlocutors. Therefore, it is necessary to pose the question: Are there any sequential or topical conditions under which the missionaries initiate closings? The answer leads to the examination of what Sacks originally called

"arrangement-making" and what I have called here "further contact initiation", and consists of several major points.

The first of these is that further contact initiation in contacting encounters can be understood as an interaction sequence which *must* occur in order for a missionary to subsequently initiate a closing (such closings were initiated in cases 1-3), otherwise closings are initiated by their interlocutors. This does not assume that a concrete meeting has been set up or a contact to the interlocutor has been obtained, but rather that an attempt has been made to do so. In some cases, we may see examples of exhaustion of subsequent versions of proposals or "giving up", specifically in Cases 6 and 9, preceding the missionary's initiation of a closing.

That is, a practice that is both prescribed and done is the hierarchy of the types of further contact. This means that arranging a further meeting and getting an interlocutor's phone number are at the top (Sections 7.3-7.4) and carries a high risk of rejection (section 7.5) and offering contact to oneself is below (Section 7.6). And, as exemplified by Case 10, initial topical or categorial affiliation may lessen the urgency of the need to arrange for further contact, and in fact, this contact may be initiated by the missionaries' interlocutors (Section 7.7).

The second point is that some conversational elements do not occur prior to the initiation of further contact (such as those belonging to identification and recognition sequences), but then may occur after further contact has been established. For example, the successful establishment of further contact can precede an introduction sequence (of one of the interlocutors or of both). Pre-closings may also include a "summary" of the list. Under certain circumstances, as shown in Case 4, the securing of further information need not immediately precede a closing – the conversation can go on further and involve the re-introduction of further topics.

One final point is that in attempts to set up concrete meetings or obtain specific contact information, indirect approaches are not only prescribed from above (as the initial quote in this section shows), but actually done. Phone numbers are never asked for directly initially. It is not uncommon for "subsequent versions" of further contact proposals to be done by the missionaries in the face of either anticipated or actual rejection. Case 8 shows that it is also possible to invoke a third person in the interaction

(this is also done, to a certain degree, in Case 1), in the sense of "passing a contact on". "Passing it on" is also a promise often made by interlocutors to mitigate lack of personal interest. Also in this vein, Cases 10, 11 and 12 reveal that, as in the previous chapters, there is a marked difference in the initiation of further contact practices in situations of "covert summons". These situations are different in regard to the level of perceived rejection of proposals (it is quite low).

The fact that the missionary can, but need not close the encounter following the exchange of contact information leads to the thesis that, in addition to the obtaining of further contact, there is another, perhaps more important communicative goal in FCPP situations. It is to prolong the conversation as much as possible, circumstances permitting. This allows for side sequences and topical sequences which contribute to the further mutual exchange of information by the two interlocutors about each other, which can be understood as the initial phases of what the missionaries call "building the relationship of trust", a practice which the missionaries consider an integral part of further-contact meetings.

Chapter 8
Language Management: Reflecting "How we do things"

"The Lord knows the language perfectly, and He will help you if you work hard to develop the gift of tongues. It is real." (Deaver 2004: 104)

8.1 Introduction: "Behavior-toward-language"

As discussed in Chapter 2, Language Management Theory can be summarized as a theory of "behavior-toward-language", a term coined by Joshua Fishman[69] primarily in the context of language attitudes. I would like to take this a step further and understand this sort of "behavior" as meta-linguistic reflection. There are several types of such "reflection" present in the interactional approach to language. One of these is on the level of discourse, within individual interactions. A deviation is noted, evaluated, and adjusted, either by the speaker himself or by his interlocutor (or only noted and evaluated by either). Another type of reflection involves post-interaction noting, evaluating and potentially adjustment design. This can also take a number of forms, the first being a chronologically immediate post-interaction evaluation of the interaction or some aspect of it. The second can occur long after the interaction, in the form of anecdote in casual conversations with others or in formal ones, e.g. the weekly meetings held by the missionary zones to discuss such matters, or it can be evoked by a researcher in the context of follow-up or interaction interviews. Finally, a third such form is formulated as policy, in the form of oral or written guidelines to interactions or other types of language use.

In this chapter, I will make a slight move from the Conversation Analysis perspective dominating the previous chapters. I will continue to analyze how members "do" certain practices, but I will focus on a different type of phenomena and use more of a combined-methods approach. However, in executing this, I would also like to keep in the spirit of the ethnomethodological concept of the dialectical relationship between "instructions" and "lived course of action" (c.f. ten Have 2004, Lynch 2002, Garfinkel and Wieder 1992) which can be observed in language management as well. That is, the strategies the missionaries use in their work are not new, but rather, tested through years of varying experience of many missionaries before them, both in the Czech Republic and

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[69] Who differentiates between language structure and behavior-toward-language, see e.g. Fishman (1999).

in other parts of the world. This has served to develop a discourse on these strategies, and it takes place in organized meetings, formal group activities, handbooks containing general information, and even in comic strips, which provide a lighter look at the character of repeated situations. On the basis of this discourse, missionaries are oriented toward constant self-reflection in their work and modify their approaches in reaction to observed local phenomena.

It is important to now examine how the missionaries integrate "instructions" and "lived course of action" in managing their behavior. I will begin by posing a series of research questions (8.2) based on a general set of norms to be examined in missionary work, determining exactly what it is that is managed. The answer falls into several areas: language acquisition (8.2.1), politeness (8.2.2) and multilingualism (8.2.3). I will then summarize the methodological approaches used in this chapter by further integrating the concept of "noting" in LMT and its relationship to the different types of methodological approaches to LM (Section 8.3). In this context, I examine two types of reflection: follow-up reflection (8.3.1) and interaction interviews (8.3.2). Then, given the important distinction between Simple and Organized Management, I will explore selected topics in each. I begin with Simple Management (SM) (8.4), in which I deal with SM in acquisition management through repair mechanisms (8.4.1), SM in politeness management in regard to the use of Czech forms of address (8.4.2), and multilingualism management through code-switching (8.4.3). Then I look at Organized Management (OM) (8.5), in the context of which I focus on the various types of "organizations" doing the management. These are the church (8.5.1), mission (8.5.2), zone (8.5.3) and companionship (8.5.4). These levels will then be related to one another in the chapter's summary in section 8.6.

8.2 Research areas

To begin to understand how people behave toward language, it is necessary to get an idea of the situation and, subsequently, norms which may be operating in a given situation. Norms take a number of forms. Most importantly, they may be explicit or implicit, written or unwritten, prescriptive or descriptive. There has also been an attempt to conceptually escape from the more historical connotations of the term "norm"

(Neustupný 2003), by replacing it with the term "expectation", particularly when dealing with individual language users' instances of simple management (cf. section 2.6.1).

One of the main issues I have observed throughout this study is that of how the researcher, as well as the participants in given interactions, may get a sense of the norms in question. A piece of data previously analyzed as part of an FCPP situation (section 6.5, Case 6) can provide some clues to this.

"Missionary Situation" (28)
137. M1: uh huh (.) ale (.) to už jsem misionář my jsme tady jako misionáři na dva roky (.)
138.   jenom na dva roky a pak vrátíme se domů a-
139. C33: proč zrovna tady?
140. M1: jo? to je dobrá otázka proč ne? protože tady máte svíčkovou
141. C33: ((laughs)) (.) dobrý
142. M1: ((laughs)) ne: jak to funguje, když my chceme jít na misi
143. C33: uh huh
144. M1: nemusíme
145. C33: mm hmm
146. M1: ale tady na tomto světě je padesát pět tisíc misionářů
147. C33: mm
148. M1: my jsme všude já mám bráchu v japonsku teď
149. C33: uh huh
150. M1: a je to jenom na dva roky, jenom my chceme pomáhat lidem tím že my učíme
151.   angličtinu zdarma, nebo ten kurs jak přestat kouřit,

This transcript excerpt contains the types of sequences which are "successful" in that have been evaluated positively by the missionaries. The interlocutor, C33, has asked a question of his own accord and introduced a new topic: why is missionary M1 here, of all places? This requires an account, a long account of the way the mission works and how its language policy works. M1 manages to attempt to communicate several basic elements of "how we do things". These are: missionary work is voluntary, there are fifty thousand missionaries throughout the world, and the missionary period lasts two years, during which the missionaries help people by teaching English and stop-smoking seminars. The opportunity to provide this account in FCPP situations is one the missionaries welcome. It is an introduction to the "language and sociocultural situation" of the missionaries, both for their interlocutors and for the researcher. In the initial phase of this project, it was this very situation which I had hoped to capture. On the basis of interviews with eleven missionaries who were at various stages of their mission periods, I

reconstructed the following prescriptive norms for the missionaries during the mission period (taken from Sherman 2006a):

1. Observe set daily schedule (with blocks of time determined for eating, sleeping, studying, praying, meeting with people, participating in group activities).

2. Learn and use Czech continually.

3. Talk to as many people as possible.

4. Do not bother people.

5. Secure further contact with people (exchange of addresses/phone numbers, scheduled meeting, flyer handout, etc.).

In the various sections of this chapter, I will show how management within this "situation" in relation to some of these norms occurs. Norm 1 is a "base" norm, one which allows all others to be successfully upheld. Norm 2 is the subject of what I will call "acquisition management", and, in many ways, enables the upholding of the other norms as well. Norms 3 and 5 are also norms of missionary practice around the world. Norm 4 is the subject of what I call "politeness management". One final issue involving all of these norms is the question of which language to use when, which I will call "multilingualism management".

Neustupný (2005) refers to several types of norms. One type is called "native norms", which are "based on the belief that one's own norms are correct ("ethnocentrism")" (311). Another type are contact norms (cf. Fan 1994, Fairbrother 2000, Marriott 1990, 1993), or norms born out of "contact situations", those which involve native speakers and non-native speakers of a language or those who are "native" and "non-native" to a culture. This may include natives' expectations of deviations from "native norms" by foreigners or natives' use of "foreigner talk" (Neustupný 2005: 312-313). It may also include the "covertisation of (native) norms" (Fairbrother 2002), during which deviations from native norms are often overlooked by native speakers. Important in the discussion of contact norms is the fact that they may be evaluated both positively and negatively. There are also "dual norms", or "simultaneous acceptance of norms from two different systems" (Neustupný 2005: 313). Finally, there is the concept of "universal norms" or "norms for which evaluation should be on the basis of universal principles" (Neustupný 2005: 314).

In examining the missionaries' language management, I understand norms as flexible, situated achievements, and dynamic. I will not be able to exhaust the wealth of language issues that the missionaries face, rather, I have chosen to focus on those which surfaced as most salient in the research process.

8.2.1 Acquisition Management

The uncovering of the first type of management stems from a very basic question regarding the missionaries' "situation", which, ultimately, served as motivation for this entire study. How is it that the missionaries speak Czech in the first place? This involves the ways on which the missionaries manage what has been called *linguistic competence* in the Chomskyan sense or *grammatical communication processes* as defined in Neustupný 2003 and 2005. For the most part, the aspects of this type of "competence" or "communication processes" (also known as GRC in Neustupný's terms, Neustupný 2003:126) which are managed by the missionaries here are aspects of the Czech lexicon (concerning translation issues among other things), semantics, morphology and word formation and collocation.

The management of language acquisition involves questions of when and how mission language (Czech) is studied formally as well as how individual interactions are utilized as language-learning situations. On the level of organized management, I will evidence the teaching and learning processes used by the church, the mission, the zone and the companionship. On the level of simple management, I will understand acquisition management as a question of self-initiated other repair, code-switching, and new norm establishment.

8.2.2 Politeness Management

"Politeness" can be understood in many senses. It can include interaction with the more or less conscious goal of not threatening the interlocutor's face (as described in Brown and Levinson 1987). Linguistically, it can also include the use of "politeness tokens" – various form of address, the use of various styles, etc. I will understand this as management of what has been called *communicative competence* (Hymes 2005), *non-grammatical communication processes* (Neustupný 2003), or part of *non-grammatical*

communicative competence (NGC, Neustupný 2005) or even *sociocultural competence* (SC, Neustupný 2005). This includes the pragmatic aspects of second language use as well as the pragmatic aspects of self-presentation. As self-presentation is very important to the work of the missionary, the question that remains, then, is that of how politeness is managed through the intertwining of individual interactions and official church policy.

8.2.3 Multilingualism Management

The management of the use of more than one language concerns norms of which language to speak to whom and when. One question which arises is whether the individual languages are used to varying ends, and how the individual management processes reveal this. The multiple-language use problems of the missionaries can also be related to those of other foreigners in the Czech Republic detailed in previous research. The type of competence we can speak of here could be called sociolinguistic or *"sociology of language" competence* (in the sense of Fishman's base description "who speaks what to whom, when, where, and why" for the sociology of language, see Fishman 1965), or the ability of language users to act as sociologists of language in managing their behavior. It is also a part of Neustupný's NGC and SC from the previous section. There are two issues here – which languages to use in interactions with local interlocutors and which languages to use in interactions with the other missionaries.

In regard to the former, one phenomenon noted and evaluated negatively by native English-speakers and other individuals trying to speak Czech (see Sherman 2003b, 2006d, Crown 1996, Neustupný 2003) is that a speaker, after uttering a Czech turn to a Czech speaker, is responded to with an English turn. Neustupný (2003: 22) observes:

"Negative evaluations concerned the use of English by some Czech interlocutors. The complaint was that when the subject used Czech, English was returned. This was reported in particular by graduate students and the researcher received the impression that the matter had already been a stereotyped problem discussed in the group. Muraoka (forthcoming) has recently emphasized that 'native networks provide members with idioms and episodes with regard to contact experiences.' Such idioms and illustrations may subsequently be employed in actual interaction."

This evaluation of a perceived language problem separates the missionaries from these other non-native Czech speakers – in the course of this study, the missionaries never reported this issue as a problem. It should be pointed out that their "interaction

networks" and thus contact with Czech speakers is otherwise widespread and they are not dependent only on a few daily Czech-language contact situations in order to practice their Czech. Conversely, at least one missionary observed that the native Czech speakers might not have any other opportunity to practice their English, and was thus happy to oblige them. In other words, the missionaries in this study did not present the occasional use of English as a threat to their acquisition of Czech. On a worldwide scale, literature geared toward future missionary notes the excessive and intentional use of English by some missionaries, evaluates it negatively, and describes it as a practice to be avoided:

"If you will be learning a new language, your biggest key is to speak the language as much as possible and learn to teach the basic doctrines so you can defend the kingdom. Some missionaries, when they get to the MTC or the field, look for every opportunity to speak English, and they offend people by speaking just English to others, because the people don't understand (and offending people isn't a positive missionary quality). In the MTC there is a program that encourages the speaking of the languages you are learning. Do it and you will be blessed with the gift of tongues. You will receive the confidence you need to teach with power." (Deaver 2004: 77-78)

This quote points to several issues in multilingualism management and, in effect, draws together issues of both acquisition and politeness management. According to (unofficial) church policy, speaking English instead of the local language is not only a hindrance to the acquisition of that language, but it is also offensive, a deviation from local norms which can and will be evaluated negatively both by local interlocutors ("they offend people… because the people don't understand") and by the missionaries' church superiors ("offending people isn't a positive missionary quality").

The use of the local language is also an issue on the level of the companionship (as will be discussed in section 8.5.4 below).

"I had been speaking French nonstop in the MTC, and I almost couldn't believe it when my trainer greeted me in English when I got off the train! "I thought we speak nothing but French in the mission field!" I thought to myself. After several days of listening to my companion speaking English and replying to her in broken French, I asked her if she would speak more French with me so I could learn what she knew. She surprised me by saying that she would only speak English to me and other missionaries because it was important to establish good relationships among us. Although I loved and resepected my trainer, I vowed to speak the language consistently, even with other missionaries. It proved to be extremely difficult at times, but I knew the lord had promised us great things if we were obedient." (Finnegan 2005:110)

As we will see in actual interactions, the choice to use one language or another is often connected to the doing of various actions which serve the missionaries' interactional goals as discussed in Chapters 4-7.

8.3 Methodology

Much of the data analyzed in this chapter is the same as that in chapters 4-7, and Conversation Analysis shall remain the primary analytical tool, while utilizing the fact that I was present for most of the interactions to examine contexts. In order to explain the choice of methodology for this part of the study, it is important to return to the issue of norms and the noting of deviations from them. Methodologically, "pure" CA does not allow for the explanation of deviations from norms which are not explicitly (i.e. verbally) noted. Noting can be done consciously, half-consciously, or not consciously at all, and may involve norms which are either "aware" or "unaware". Neustupný (1985: 167) observes:

"It would be totally incorrect to conceive of norms as merely aware norms. Only some linguistic norms cross the threshold of awareness. Others remain completely unaware for the speaker or the hearer or both. A hearer may for instance expect that a certain type of 't' will be pronounced, without being aware of possessing this norm."

The noting of these types of norms may or may not be detectable by the researcher using CA, and when it can be detected, particularly in the form of repair, it is certainly of value. However, the picture of LM it provides for a given interaction may not be a complete one. Deviations can be also noted post-interaction, either spontaneously or in various types of interviews, especially when researchers pose theory-motivated questions. In this section, I will review some of the other methods used in this study to further elaborate management processes. While some of these reveal concrete individual reactions to selected phenomena, others point to the "idioms and episodes" (Muraoka 2000) of the missionaries' native networks.

8.3.1 Follow-up behavior-toward-language

One type of noting and evaluation of deviations is that which occurs following selected cases of language use. This may either be elicited by the researcher or not. In the "organized" form of post-interaction noting and evaluation, Neustupný (1999) describes

what he terms the follow-up interview[70]. This is an approach in which the process of LM is elicited directly. In the most orthodox version of this method, interactions are initially recorded on either audio or video, with the interview itself containing several phases. In the "warming-up" phase, the participant may be asked for his or her overall impressions from the interaction. In the next phase, the researcher gradually plays back all or parts of the interaction for the participant. It is often the case that certain elements of the interaction become the focus, e.g. the accent a foreigner has when speaking Japanese (Neustupný 1999). For each section played back, the participant is asked if he or she noted, evaluated or planned for the adjustment of, or implemented the adjustment of anything during the interaction. This is the post-interaction behavior-toward-language in its most idealized form.

During the course of the research on the missionaries' LM, several forms of post-interaction management occurred. First, in terms of purely linguistic issues, it was a common practice for the companions to note, evaluate and adjust deviations amongst themselves, particularly for contacting situations in which the junior companion had done most of the talking. Second, due to the establishment of my identity as a "Czech speaker", the missionaries posed questions regarding linguistic phenomena to me as well. A further development for the contacting encounters was for the missionaries to conduct them, and then immediately afterward to evaluate them and subsequently make adjustments which could be applied to future encounters. In a certain sense, this is a less formal variation of the "follow-up interview" described by Neustupný.

8.3.2 Interaction interviews

There is one final way in which management processes were captured in this study using a directed interviewing methodology. In the "interaction interview" (Neustupný 2003, Muraoka 2000, Sherman 2006a), subjects describe a set period of time, for example, a day, and all events or interactions taking place within that period. When the interaction interview is aimed at generating accounts of certain types of behavior in particular, the researcher may prompt the subject to reveal certain details of interactions,

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[70] Let us recall from section 2.6 that one element of organized management is that discourse about the management takes place. I understand research on language use to be a part of organized LM as well, in which linguists become a part of the language situation they are trying to analyze.

such as which language the given interactions were conducted in or who an individual interacted with. The challenge presented is that of how to capture the various stages of management when in situations where recording actual interactions is either forbidden or would strongly influence the course of the interaction. The interaction interview provides its own unique set of data. The speaker's elaboration of the various interactions is highly dependent on the life domains which the interview covers. In this case, the missionaries' life consists primarily of the daily life and work domains, while others, e.g. a family domain, are lacking. Also, given the routinized nature of the missionaries' work, the "anecdote-worthiness" of some interactions may lead to more clear recall of them than of other, more standard interactions.

This method was utilized during several stages of the research. What ultimately became the most salient result of the interaction interview is what we might call "management summaries" (cf. Nekvapil 2004), or accounts detailing all phases of a given LM process. In the following example, we can observe the management summary as detailed by a companionship of female missionaries.

Management summary

1.   M4: I went out for the first half hour half an hour there's usually like three of us out
2.   there talking to people
3.   T: on Jungmannovo náměstí
4.   M4: uh huh
5.   M5: is that when you talked to the [that (   ) lady that and then the other one]
6.   M4:   [uh and I the people were really nice to me] um I
7.   talked to one lady I don't know I talked to I don't know what you want to know
8.   about it=
9.   T: =yeah=
10. M4: =just like=
11. T: =everyone you talked to ((laughs))
12. M5: ((laughs)) oh everyone that could take a while=
13. T: =what you recall yeah
14. M4: uh huh some people don't want to talk to us,
15. T: mm hmm
16. M4: but like they say prosím vás or like ( ) I don't know they just
17.   don't want to talk to us=
18. M5: =spěchám=
19. M4: =and so but I talked to one (.) girl who was really really nice and I just told her
20.   like about what the book of mormon is, and how it's helped me, and and (.) I
21.   don't know. like I don't understand everything people say but enough that I

22.   can like usually like (.) get the gist of it and kinda respond
23.   T: mm hmm
24.   M4: and it's not perfect but people are really patient
25.   T: mm hmm
26.   M4: they're like <u>your Czech's so good</u> and I'm like <u>no it's not</u>. but um they're
27.   really (.) like they can understand what I'm saying so
28.   M5: ((laughs))
29.   T: mm hmm
30.   M4: that's important and then I talked to like an old lady, she was really really
31.   nice too
32.   T: mm hmm
33.   M4: just um really open
34.   T: yeah?
35.   M4: really open and just (.) um (.) yeah like just mostly about the book of mormon
36.   and about like why we're here
37.   T: mm hmm
38.   M4: and what we believe and
39.   M5: yeah
40.   M4: yeah got her phone number so that was good
41.   M5: yeah

This example contains a summary of the types of processes in FCPP situations discussed in Chapters 4-7, as well as a summary of some of the missionaries' more general language and sociocultural management processes. Two female missionaries have been asked to recount the events of a given day on which a "street display" was held. In lines 14-18, M4 and M5 summarize the reactions of some of the people on the street, naming their most common forms of "providing an excuse". In lines 19-27, M4 provides a summary of her management of Czech language skills - she is not always able to understand everything or make herself understood to the degree that she would like, and people often compliment her on her language skills, which she rejects. In lines 30-41, M4 summarizes one specific encounter, the outcome of which she evaluates positively.

All in all, this form of commentary is most telling in that it contains three levels of "management account" or "management summary". These are 1) normative, "what we're supposed to do", mostly as determined by the higher level of management or planning, 2) routine, "what we usually do" or "what usually happens" based on the missionary's past experience, and 3) specific "what we did then/that day/during that interaction".

These forms of behavior-toward-language are valuable in their own right, but their primary significance surfaces when they are analyzed in conjunction with actual interactions. Such interactions will be the topic of the next section.

8.4 Simple Management: Management in interactions

In this section, I will discuss instances of management in which the missionaries and their interlocutors note and evaluate norm deviations, propose adjustments, and occasionally even implement them, solely within the individual interactions. This will concern three types of management: acquisition management, politeness management, and multilingualism management.

8.4.1 Acquisition Management: Repair

The missionaries use the individual interactions with native speakers in Czech to achieve several goals. One, of course, is the progression of proselyting. Another we can call "language socialization". If we are to understand the mission period as a rite of passage in which a certain type of socialization occurs[71] and certain types of skills are learned, the acquisition of skills in the foreign language can be understood in this vein as well. Within the course of the proselyting encounters, one goal is the improvement of one's Czech. It is interesting to observe that the presence of language as a topic is a strategy employed by both the researcher and the participants. The missionaries in both phases of the research reported it to be one of their most commonly used conversation-starting topics when engaging people in conversation on a daily basis. It serves as an indirect route to the discussion of faith, as an aspect of strategic interaction. One conversational action the missionaries initiate for this purpose is repair.

In this section, I will explore, using the mechanisms revealed by CA, the phenomena of error correction and repair as an element of language management. CA classifies repair on the basis of a) which speaker's utterance is repaired, b) which speaker

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[71] Sociologists have long sought to uncover further social purposes of missionary service in addition to the recruitment of further members into the church. Shepherd and Shepherd (1994:168), for example, understand it as an important "cultural practice for maintaining the generational continuity of Mormon society". They also refer to it as a "turning point" in the development of their religious careers (171), preparing them for leadership positions both in the church and in other areas of life, given the various skills they develop in the field. I therefore understand foreign language ability, or the ability developed in order to learn a new language, as one such highly-valued skill.

repairs the utterance, and c) which speaker initiates the repair (Schegloff, Sacks and Jefferson 1977). It is also possible to differentiate between production errors and interactional errors (Jefferson 1974). I will focus here primarily on the missionaries' initiation of other-repair of production errors. There are two elements to this: the fact that the repair is initiated and the question of whether or not the repair is actually done after it is initated. As I have observed in chapters 4 and 5, and as Gardner and Wagner (2004:16) point out, "foreign language speaker" is not a permanent identity or category permanently assigned to an individual (incumbent). That is, it is possible to either make one's own or another's non-nativeness relevant at any point in an interaction. The ways in which it is possible to do so include repairs and corrections (Kurhila 2004, Brouwer 2004, Rassmussen and Wagner 2004) accent (Brouwer 2004), delays (Wong 2004) and reformulations (Gardner 2004) (Gardner and Wagner 16). As has been demonstrated by Kurhila (2004), it cannot be assumed that when non-native speakers initiate repair, that their interlocutors will take on the role of "language experts" and correct them. It is necessary to determine which of these "ways of making non-nativeness relevant" are phenomena involving reflection by the interaction participants.

Given the fact that some aspects of the missionaries' behavior/initial address/conversation have been observed (or reflected by the missionaries in interviews) to generate questions such as: "You're American, why are you here learning Czech?" or "Why do you teach English for free?", it is possible to talk about missionary awareness of local norms. One interlocutor (the missionary) can thus utilize the expectations of the Czechs, prompting them to note deviations verbally. We could call this "prompted language management". The same applies to cases in which the "first topic" of the missionaries is a question regarding the meaning of a word in Czech or the difference between two seemingly synonymous words in Czech (those often found by looking up a single English word in an English-Czech dictionary).

These are elements of acquisition management. In actual interactions, missionaries seek corrections of presumed mistakes from their interlocutors. If the interlocutors oblige in correcting them or sufficiently explaining the differences between words, the missionaries often write the information down in their small appointment

books, which they carry around at all times, either during or immediately after the interaction.

Sequentially, there are two ways in which repair can occur. The first is described by Brouwer (2004) in her analysis of sequences in which first language speakers correct the pronunciation of second language speakers (who have initiated the correction). She posits that correction sequences are "side sequences" (as described by Jefferson 1972) in which "the interaction is 'put on hold' while the interlocutors take care of some other business, which has to do with the participants' orientation to matters of language competence" (Brouwer 2004: 93). In other words, this is a form of reflection, of LM. Jefferson (1983: 97) has also referred to this type of repair, in which the correction is made the "interactional business of its own right" as an "exposed correction". She terms (1983: 95) the second type of repair "embedded correction". In such instances, correction occurs unexposed, and the interaction continues uninterrupted.

In the following two subsections, I will investigate cases in which a missionary, unsure about some linguistic (mostly grammatical) phenomenon of a previous utterance, initiates repair from his interlocutor. The initiation of such repair can be used in several ways, and can involve the invoking of the missionaries' identities as well as the situational establishment of norms for "foreigner Czech". I will divide this further into two types, which I will call "Czech is difficult" and "Is that correct?" While the former is more closely associated with the junior companions, the latter can be found among missionaries of varying levels of experience.

8.4.1.1 "Czech is difficult"

In this section, I will analyze two cases in which the same "account" is provided for norm deviations during repair initiation.

Case 1: "Czech is difficult" I: Believing in God (19)
18. M3: jeden pro vás pro vás
19. (   )
20. M1: a i pro vás ((laughs))
21. M3: a i pro vás (.) uh taky hlavní my jsme zde je protože věříme v bůh (.) v boha
22.   promiňte (můj češt-)
23. C22: v boha no
24. C23: mm
25. M3: čeština je ne- není dobré ((laughter)) ale nevím jestli jste věřící nebo (.) (v bohu)

26. C22: no já trochu trochu věřím,
27. M3: mmhmm
28. C22: ale jako občas mám i pochybnosti ale jako věřím
29. M3: mm hmm (.) no jako jaký forma něco jako energie nebo (.) b- bůh jako
30. C22: mm
31. M3: um jako věříme v bůh uh (.) taky v je- v ježiši kristu um (.) jako (.) a taky
32.   ((laughs)) čeština je
33. M1: ale dobré mluví
34. M3: nee
35. M1: domluví se už jo
36. M3: ne: není dobré
37. M1: je tady tři měsíce tady v čechách
38. C22: tak na to že jste tady tři měsíce tak mluvíte docela dobře to jo
39. C23: jo docela dobrý
40. M1: no tři měsíce
41. M3: myslím že to není dobrý
42. C22: jako v zahraničí říkají hlavně v itálii že čeština je (pomalu) nejtěžší jazyk jako
43. M3: jo
44. C22: tak to umíte perf- to umíte docela pěkně už na tu dobu

As has been clarified throughout Chapters 4-7, M3 and M1 are missionary companions, M1 is near the end of his mission period having served for nearly two years, and M3 has served for three months. At the time of this interaction, the two had been working together in the companionship for about a week and a half. As may be obvious from the amount of time each has spent in the country, M1 is the "senior companion" (also known as a "trainer") and M3 is the "junior companion". C22, C23, and C24 are teenagers whom M1 and M3 have approached in public.

Both recorded interactions and interviews have revealed that a common management practice for first-contact situations for missionaries in the early stages of their mission period is for the senior companion to take over the role of the "main speaker" if he has noted that his companion is experiencing communicative difficulties. Yet the aim is to do this in a constructive manner, one which does not deter the junior companion from speaking further, one that encourages him in his language acquisition processes. In correspondence with his role as senior companion, M1 has "taken over" the primary speaking role in lines 33-35.

The management processes of the various speakers in this excerpt reveal that there are a number of norms which are in operation. One is a norm for "foreigner Czech",

and another is a norm for "missionary Czech". M3 has been able thus far in this interaction, with his self-described poor command of Czech (lines 21-22, 25, 41), to successfully execute all of the practices described in chapters 4-6: opening the conversation, offering the free English class and handing out flyers, and asking his interlocutors if they believe in God. It is in the doing of this final action that he notes his own deviation from the norm for Czech speakers – not being able to express himself sufficiently. This occurs in lines 21-22, in which he does self-repair of the case ending in the expression "to believe in God", eliciting confirmation of this repair from his interlocutors.[72] Then, in line 25, M3 utters an explicit self-depreciation which leads, conversationally, to the elicitation of compliments which ultimately occur later in the interaction. M3 subsequently poses the faith question and the conversation then continues on unperturbed. In lines 29 and 31, M3 attempts to respond to C22's answers in lines 26 and 28. This is where M3 provides an account of his communication difficulties.

What then follows is interesting from the perspective of how his interlocuters view him in relation to Czech language acquisition norms. In line 33, M1 compliments M3 on his Czech. M3 rejects the compliment, and then M1 tones it down in line 35 ("he can make himself understood, right?"). M3 rejects this further, and then in line 37, M1 provides what I will call a "norm-establishing account". M3 has only been in the country for three months, hence his speaking ability should not be evaluated according to either the norm for Czechs or the norm for M1 himself, who has been in the country for nearly two years. On the basis of this norm, C22 evaluates M3's abilities positively in line 38, and C23 adds to this in line 39. After M3 continues to reject the compliments in line 41, C22 adds to the elaboration of the norm of Czech as spoken by non-native speakers. However, we should note that C22 corrects himself in line 44 – M3 does not speak "perfectly", but "rather nicely for that amount of time". In this case, norms deviations occur and the deviations are evaluated negatively before new, more appropriate norms are actually established. This results in a positive evaluation of a norm deviation (M3 speaks very well given the short amount of time he has spent in the country).

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[72] Note that this is not *my* interpretation as the analyst but that the utterance was interpreted as next turn repair intitiator by the Czech interlocuter as obvious from line 6.

In the second case, missionary M3 establishes his identity as a foreign language speaker, but this does not present a problem to his interlocutors, and it does not become an additional conversational topic.

Case 2: "Czech is difficult" II: Why I'm here (36)
18. C41: =chodíme spolu do třídy
19. M3: mm hmm (.) jo (..) u:m nevím jestli chtěl byste jako (.) lepš- ah nevím dokonalit
20.   uh nebo lepšit lepšovat mm český je <u>velmi</u> těžký pro pro mě
21. C41: jasně no
22. M3: jo ((handing out flyers)) a jeden pro vás taky
23. C42: díky
24. M3: um jako (.) je to zdarma pro všechny
25. C42: mm hmm
26. M3: a (.) uh jako taky my učíme uh jak (.) uh <u>kurz</u> o jak přestat kouřit
27. C42: jojo
28. M3: um uh (.) a taky <u>hlavní</u> jsem zde je abych mluvil
29. C42: česky? jo ((laughs))
30.   M3: česky ((laughs)) <u>to taky</u>. u:h s lidmi s lidmi jako o (.) církvi nebo o náboženský
31.   věci

In this FCPP situation prior to this excerpt, M3 has already demonstrated that he is struggling with Czech by asking if something is correct. His interlocutors C41 and C42 have informed him that they are classmates in school, where they learn English. M3 expands on this in line 19 and conducts a word search for the appropriate verb for "to improve" or "to perfect" one's language skills. He provides an accounting of the word search in line 20. Interlocutor C41 displays some sort of understanding (either of the difficulty of the situation or of what M3 was trying to say), and the conversation continues on throughout lines 22-28. The point at which M3's interlocutors acknowledge (note) his identity as a foreign language speaker is in line 29.

This case demonstrates that M3 is able to make himself understood with some small adjustments made in his speech. It should be observed that he was not accompanied by M1 during this encounter. His interlocutors react to the sufficiency of his Czech skills by displaying their understanding. This is a case in which M3's deviation from norms and subsequent negative evaluation is noted explicitly only by himself in line 20. It appears that M3 is trying to get through the various points in the conversation as opposed to trying to make his Czech learning an extra topic within it, with the exception of line 20, in which his interlocutor does not accept this topic nomination. In line 30, he emphasizes

that speaking Czech is just one of the things (not necessarily the most important thing) he does ("to taky").

In these two cases, missionaries note deviations in their own Czech and make the adjustments themselves. In the next section, I will deal with cases in which the Czech "language experts" are actually asked to perform in this role and come up with potential adjustment designs in the form of repair.

8.4.1.2 "Is that correct?"

In this section, I will examine cases in which the missionary notes a potential deviation and explicitly "checks" it with his interlocutor by asking if a given phenomena is correct. In these cases, the native speaker of Czech, the supposed "linguistic expert" is expected to come up with an adjustment design. However, as we will see, there are some barriers to this.

Case 3: Is that correct? "How do you say that?" (14)
112. M1: kolik je mu?
113. C16: deset
114. M1: deset? jo? a jak dlouho jako kony žijí? nevím jestli je to správný
115. C16: no, ne ((laughter))
116. M1: ((laughs)) jak dlouho jako co je normální? deset roků? patnáct roků? pro jako
117.   kony (.) nevím jak se skloňuje how do you say that?
118. C16: jak dlouho jezdi- jako my jezdíme na koni nebo ten kůň?
119. M1: no jako ten kůň jak dl- jak dlouho žije?
120. C16: no nevím třicet roků
121. M1: třicet roku?
122. C16: no ten jo
123. M1: (to je to) je mladý mladý
124. C16: mm
125. M1: deset roků
126. C16: docela jo

M1 is talking to two teenage girls who have told him that they cannot come to English class because they will be busy riding horses. In the subsequent discussion, M1's intonation in his initiation of repair suggests that he does not know how to decline the word for "horse", "kůň", and notes a potential deviation by "checking" the use of the nominative plural in line 114. C16 responds that it is not correct in line 115, but does not offer repair. In line 116, M1 tries to use the word again, this time in accusative plural, followed by an accounting in line 6 (that he does not know how to decline the word). In

line 118, C16 reveals that it is not clear what M1 is asking, and offers a potential repair, the word in nominative singular. M1 is then able to adjust his original question by using the nominative singular form in line 119. The use of the demonstrative pronoun (check intonation) with question intonation in line 119 indicates that M1 did not know the gender of the word and is guessing that it is masculine. C16 confirms this in line 122.

Case 4: "Is that correct?" (17)
115. C20: no: já spíš (.) ani knížky celkově moc nečtu já na tohle moc ne to nejsem
116. M1: yeah? a máte rád dějiny? nebo
117. C20: ah taky moc ne ((laughs)) mě to nebaví
118. M1: ((laughs)) to vám nebaví?
119. C20: ne nebaví mě dějiny ne
120. M1: a co co vám baví? co vás baví nebo co vám baví?
121. C20: co mě baví?
122. M1: co vám baví?
123. C20: (.) no: tak je toho dost ale nic kolem jako školy (nebo jako to) učení

In this case, M1 makes a grammatical error ("to vám nebaví", line 118), notes it and initiates repair in line 120. C20 does not do the repair, however. Instead, he repeats the pronoun "mě" in line 121, which is in the accusative case, but sounds the same as the variant in the dative case (mně), perhaps testing what M1 means, initiating repair himself. M1 repeats the construction erroneously in line 122, and C20 continues with the conversation in line 123. The correction is embedded into the conversation, but it does not help M1 to make the proper adjustment.

This interactional phenomenon is not uncommon, and in fact, can occur in repeated encounters. In the following two cases, the same word and grammatical phenomenon is repeatedly checked by the missionary.

Case 5: "Is that correct?" Služba I (34)
3. M3: no, my jsem zde z ameriky
4. C39: uh huh
5. M3: jako dobrovolníci
6. C39: mm
7. M3: uh jako děláme dělám par služb? služby? správně?
8. C39: mm hmm
9. M3: jako učíme bezplatn- bezplatný anglický kurs

Case 6: "Is that correct?" Služba II (36)
3. C42: [spěcháme ale no]
4. M3: no: možná já taky ((laughter)) no jako jsem tady (.) uh jako dobrovolníci (.)

5.   uhm z ameriky (.) uh dělám pár (služba) správně? čeština je
6.   C41/C42: (no no)
7.   M3: pár služba správně?
8.   C41: (něco je pár)
9.   M3: no tak (.) um jo jeden věc je učím bezplatný bezplat<u>nu</u> anglický kurz
10. C42: jo jo jasně no

These two encounters occurred on the same day, a day in which M3 and M1 went in two different directions and began contacting people separately on a large square in the center of the city. In both cases, M3 makes a number of grammatical mistakes in the identification and recognition phases of the encounter, which do not seem to pose any problems for its continuation. The grammatical phenomenon that M3 appears to be checking is the genitive plural of the Czech word for service, služba. This is a part of the introduction of the "list", during which the missionaries explain what they offer. It appears in both cases that M3 has noted his own deviation in terms of the use of case endings - he is continually seeking the proper form of the word, which would be "služeb". However, the reactions of M3's interlocutors (line 8 in Case 5 and line 6 in Case 6) suggest that they interpret his "checking" as an issue of word choice and not of case endings. This may indicate that it is enough for M3's interlocutors to understand him in his word choice and that their set of norms for his "foreigner Czech" does not include perfect grammar. In line 7 of Case 6, however, M3 retries his "checking", likely having understood that C and D did not understand his initial checking to be related to grammar.

There are also cases in which the initiated correction is actually done by the interlocutor, such as the following situation, which is the case of a "word search".

Case 7: "How do you say that?" (22)
106. M1: jo? (.) já si myslím že nejsme tady náhodou (.) že evo- evoluce jak se řekne
107.   česky evoluc-
108. C27: vývoj. evoluce.
109. M1: jo: takhle ((laughs))

There is also the case of making oneself understood in the context of a more complex discussion, as in the following case.

Case 8: "Is that understandable?" (22)
182. M1: a a stejným způsobem každý z nás tady v tomto světě má svobodné jednání (.) a
183.   bůh ne- bůh nás nevnucuje abychom jako byli poslušný abychom slyšeli
184.   abychom byli věřící můžeme jako dělat cokoliv můžeme zabít někoho jiného (.)
185.   i když jako to není dobrý

186. C28: (no jo)
187. M1: nevím jestli to dává smysl pro vás to je těžký vyjad- vydař- vyjádřit v češtině
188. C28: no: dobrý. dobrý rozumím
189. M1: no (.) ale to je dobrá otázka

Overall, it appears that when the missionaries explicitly note deviations in their own speech and initiate adjustments in the form of repair from their interlocutors, it is not common for the interlocutors to repair grammatical errors, even though it is precisely this type of repair which is initiated, particularly by younger missionaries. Word searches, on the other hand, are more "adjustable" than grammatical deviations. Though the Czech interlocutors can function as "linguistic experts" and offer adjustment designs, they are not likely to make extra efforts do so. Rather, they focus on understanding the content of the missionaries' talk. There are two conclusions to be drawn from this: a) Different norms are clearly applied to the missionaries as non-native speakers of Czech, and b) Continuous interactions with Czech speakers may help the missionaries to manage their acquisition of Czech, but only to the degree that it helps them to make themselves understood, not such that they can speak grammatically perfect Czech.

Grammatically perfect acquisition, to the degree that any of the missionaries achieve it, is, of course, not the whole story. There are situationally relevant elements of language which grammatical rules do not cover, which will be discussed in the next section.

8.4.2 Politeness management: The use of "ty" and "vy"

In this section, I will focus on one particular prescribed norm for the missionaries concerning the use of the varying forms of address in Czech. I will refer to this as a "categorial norm", or a norm for interactional behavior which is prescriptively tied to a category, that of "missionary". As we will see, this is very much a "here and now" category. As we will also see, there is a difference between the deviation from norms as those norms are literally stated and deviations from norms in regard to what other behavior should accompany them, what related actions they imply. I will begin with a quote from missionary preparatory materials entitled "Tykání a vykání, pokyny pro misionáře" (The use of the "ty" and "vy" forms, instructions for missionaries). This takes the form of a model conversation between a missionary and an investigator.

Tykání a vykání: Model conversation

Mladý zájemce (Z): Proč mě vykáš? Já jsem Karel (Alena). Jak se jmenuješ ty?

Misionář (M): Já jsem starší Smith[73]. Rád bych vám vysvětlil, proč vám vykám. Přijel jsem do této země jako misionář Církve Ježíše Krista Svatých posledních dnů. Mluvím zde s lidmi o evangeliu, pokud o to mají zájem. Poznal jsem, že evangelium je velmi důležité v životě člověka. Budu zde dva roky. Když druhým lidem vykám, přípomíná mi to, že jsem misionář. Proto bych vás chtěl poprosit o to, abychom si vykali. Jak jsem již říkal, jmenuji se starší Smith. Mám to zde napsané na této cedulce. Můžete mi prosím napsat vaše jméno, abych vás mohl správně oslovovat?

((Conversation model continues, Z gives name, M checks that he is pronouncing it correctly))

Z.: Ano, je to dobře.

M.: Pane Kalousku ~~(Slečno Kalousková)~~, moje misie skončí až za 10 měsíců a já pak budu ze svého povolání misionáře uvolněn. Budu rád, když budeme i potom přátelé, a budu rád, když si potom budeme tykat. Souhlasíte, abychom si nyní vykali a abychom si tykali, až má misie skončí? (V případě, že zájemcem je mladá žena, bude možná vhodné nenabízet tykání po misii, aby tím misionář nenaznačoval možnost důvěrnějšího vztahu v budoucnu.)

    As this example demonstrates, there is an established prescriptive norm for the use of various forms of address. This is relevant because many of the missionaries' interlocutors are young men of the same age (19-21) or younger, and there are many "informal" linguistic aspects to the encounters. In the Czech language norm, the practice of using the "vy" form with other people also assumes the appropriateness of certain types of greetings. Those who use "vy" with each other may use "dobrý den" to greet each other and "na shledanou" when parting, while for those who use "ty", terms such as "ahoj", "nazdar" or "čau" are appropriate. There were four cases in the data, all of which were from interactions with young men under the age of thirty and mostly teenagers, in which a deviation from the norm occured.

    The question which arises when glancing at this data is: What norms are established in the course of the conversation? Does the missionary routinely use the 'vy' form (in accordance with prescriptive norms "from above") in combination with its corresponding forms of greeting (as determined by norms of "Czech politeness")? Is the

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[73] "Starší" is the Czech version of "Elder" the title used by the male missionaries. The female version of this is "Sestra", or "Sister".

use of informal greeting forms a case of "letter of the law" accommodation to stylistic norms of youth? In order to answer these questions, we have to look at the forms and other stylistic elements which have been used in other turns of individual contacting encounters.

Case 9: Vykaní + "ahoj" – first used by missionaries (17)
174. M1: okay tak nechceme vás podržovat (.) tak mějte se asi příští týden já vám
175.   zavolám jo?
176. C20: mm hmm[tak jo děkuju]
177. M1:   [dobrý tak zatím mějte ahoj]
178. C20: vy taky na shle

In line 174, M1 uses the "vy" form in all clauses of his utterance. In line 177, he also provides a "well-wishing" using the "vy" form before uttering the informal "ahoj". Note that the response by C20 cannot necessarily be seen as "vykání", because the missionaries always work in pairs (also, the researcher was present during this interaction).

Case 10: Vykání + "čau" and "ahoj" – first used by missionaries (28)
240. M1: ale já můžu vám vám zavolat v pondělí. jo?
241. C33: dobře
242. M1: dobrý tak david mějte se hezky ještě jednou
243. C33: jo taky
244. M1: čau
245. C33: ahoj
246. M1: ahoj

Again, the "arrangement-making" analyzed in previous chapters begun by missionary M1 in line 240 involves the "vy" form. This is continued in line 242. In line 244, M1 utters the informal "čau", which C33 follows with the equally informal "ahoj" which M1 repeats. This is clearly a case in which M1 deviates from the prescriptive norm.

Case 11: Vykání + "čauec" – first used by missionaries (19)
219. M1: okay well víte co? možná můžete přijít na na tu angličtinu nebo (.) na
220.   shromáždění jo?
217. C23: no (ještě přijedeš nějak?)
218. C22: (možná jo)
219. C23: (tak se loučíme)
220. M1: dobrý tak čauec

221. C23: mějte se (tak zavolám)
223. M1: dobrý
224. C24: na shledanou čau čau
225. M3: mějte se hezky
226. M1: na shle
227. M3: na shle
228. C22: čau měj se

This case is more difficult to assess, because we have a dialogue between two groups – the missionaries M1 and M3 on the one hand and teenagers C22, C23 and C24 on the other hand, so plural verb forms may be involved. Although it has been previously observed in this example (specifically when handing out the flyers to each of the boys and saying "pro vás" to each one) that the "vy" form is used for individuals, its use in line 219 can be identified as a plural form of identification. This can also apply to M3's use of the "vy" form in line 225. In line 220, M1 uses a highly informal parting term ("čauec"). In line 224, C24 offers both formal and informal parting terms. In lines 226 and 227, both M1 and M3 offer a "halfway" formal parting ("na shle"). In line 228, C22 offers informal partings.

Case 12: Vykání + "čau" and "ahoj – first used by missionaries (8)
269. M1: jo? tak nemáte tu starost ((laughs))
270. C9: to je dobrý ((laughs))
271. M1: dobrý dobrý
272. C9: tak jo
273. M1: tak honzo tak čau
274. C9: tak jo: díky zejtra zkusím přijít
275. M1: dobře dobře [( )]
((28 lines omitted))
303. C9: dobrý
304. M1: dobrý tak honzo tak čauec
305. C9: tak jo ahoj
306. M1: čau ahoj

In this final case, missionary M1 once again initiates an "informal" parting (line 273) after having used the "vy" form (e.g. in line 269). "Ahoj" is first used by C9 (a young man) in line 305, followed by M1's "čau ahoj" in line 306.

In the field notes, I also observed that when writing notes to people who were not at their places of work when the missionaries dropped by to visit them, a missionary began by writing "Ahoj, jak se máte?". This, as well as cases 9-12 above, though, involve

no verbal notings by the interlocutors in any of the interactions. There are several potential reasons for this. One is that sequentially, the use of the less formal variants are at the close of the interaction and there is thus no slot in which they might be evaluated. After all, as we can see especially in cases 9, 10 and 12, the "vykání" norm has been upheld by the missionary up to that point in the conversation. Another is the age of the interlocutors. Yet another is that a different set of norms or "expectations" are in operation. If the missionaries are not expected to handle the Czech language "natively" in a grammatical, semantic or other "linguistic" sense, they are likely not expected to have perfectly mastered the "vykání" and "tykání" conventions either.

8.4.3 Multilingualism management in interaction: Code-switching

In the cases analyzed in the previous sections, we have observed that the missionaries present the device of repair as a reciprocal tool – they emphasize that their Czech is imperfect, they are learning – and they are willing to offer the same repair services to their interlocutors in English. In this section, I look at situations in which the switch from one language to another is made in the proselyting interactions. Czech serves as the normative, "default" language choice, switching from Czech to English can serve as an adjustment to an inadequacy - a solution to a language problem, among other things. Czech's "default" role can be witnessed in interactions where English is introduced into the conversation in reaction to one of the items on the missionaries' "list", the offer of free English classes.

Case 13: Code-switching to Czech as the "default" form of communication (19)
3. M3: uuh my jsme zde z ameriky uh jako jako dobrovolníci my jsme zde z naše
4.   církvi uh církev ježiše krista, a taky jeden služba děláme je uh učíme uh
5.   angličtinu kurz kurz (.) uh nevím jestli uh umíte uh angličtinu anebo jestli
6.   (vědĕte)
7. C22: no jo, trošku
8. M3: no trošku?
9. M1: ((laughs))
10. M3: nevím jestli
11. C22: my speak english is very small
12. ((laughter))
13. M1: yeah?
14. M3: sounds good
15. M1: you speak good
16. M3: sounds good (..) um (.) mám leták o tom

17. C22: díky
18. M3: jeden pro vás pro vás

In this example, English is introduced by C22 (line 11), who has been approached by the missionaries, but Czech is brought back into the conversation by M3 (line 16), who is a newer missionary still experiencing trouble with Czech.

In general, when the switch is made from Czech to English by a missionary, there are a number of management processes in operation. The first and most obvious is that English is used when the missionary cannot think of a word or expression in Czech. This occurred often, for example, in cases of quotes from religious texts.

Case 14: Inability to express something in Czech I (25)
187. M1: ((laughs)) omlouvám se moje čeština (.) to je něco jiného ale: ježiš kristus zem-
188.   zemřel jo on zemřel pro nás jako na usmíření pro nás jako v třech dnech (nevím)
189.   čemu věříte vy že jako po třech dnech on s- on se objevil k- z mrtvých a co jako
190.   ke svým jako apoštolům a tak dále, ale taky (.) časem ty lidi taky zabili ty
191.   apoštoly ty apoštol- apoštoly u:m a pak v roce tři sta něco ony (.) organiz-
192.   organiz- organized rozumíte mi?
193. C31: málo
194. M1: org- org- (.) oni dělali jako katolický církev. (.) jak se řekn- organized víte co to
195.   je?
196. C31: organizace?
197. M1: ne: ale
198. C31: organize? jako
199. M1: jako sloveso
200. C31: sloveso jojo
201. M1: or-
202. C31: organize to je
203. M1: to je hrozný přízvuk (..) organajzo- organajzovat? crap. (..) uh tak to je jedno
204. C31: (   )
205. M1: to je jedno. ale katolický církev byl a pak a ještě je dneska (.) a pak lidi uh
206.   mysleli že katolický církev tam jako byl něco špatného a jako jan hus jako

Case 15: Inability to express something in Czech II (9)
581. M1: a taky jaky další jako náš církev jako učí nám nás abychom se abychom hledali
582.   pravdu
583. C11: mm hmm
584. M1: abychom jako
585. C11: to je důležitý no
586. M1: je to důležitý protože (..) a man cannot be saved in ignorance (.) nevím
587. C11: (a man cannot be)
588. M1: yeah já nevím jak bych to řekl jako v češtině
589. C11: (a tam bude)

590. M1: a man,
591. C11: mm hmm
592. M1: ((slow)) cannot be saved
593. C11: uh huh
594. M1: in ignorance
595. C11: uh huh uh huh
596. M1: u:hm (.) ale aspoň pro mě já jsem já jsem bydlel v lebedicích

In the first of these two cases, missionary M1 tries to form the Czech version of an English word with the help of his Czech interlocutor before finally giving up, evaluating the deviation negatively (by uttering a mild expletive in line 203), and claiming that "it doesn't matter". In the second case, M1 quotes from a religious text in English after declaring that he does not know how to say it in Czech, and receives positive response tokens from his interlocutor. He then switches to the default language Czech after the C11 has indicated his understanding of the English quote (line 595).

The change in code due to inability to communicate in a given language is ultimately a form of management that can be assumed in all first-language speaker - second-language speaker interactions. The second-language speaker encounters a deviation (the wrong word in the second language, or more precisely, the lack of the right one), evaluates this negatively, and either self-corrects or initiates other-correction. The self-correction may take the form of a word from the speaker's first language. When that first language is English and the interlocutor has previously demonstrated knowledge (albeit minimal) of it, the self-correction may be interpreted as potentially understandable by that interlocutor. It is also interesting to observe that a common adjustment made by native English speakers learning Czech is to place the ending "-ovat" at the end of an English verb in an attempt to form a Czech verb (as in Case 15, line 203).

The next type of action done through code-switching from Czech to English has been touched on in Chapter 5. It has to do with the "application" of the missionaries' categorial self-identification. They identify themselves as native English speakers and teachers of English, and then prove this by switching to English. In some cases, it may also serve as a test.

Case 16: Code-switching to English as immediate identity "proof" (6)
7.   M1: a dnes my snažíme mluvit s lidmi o tom,
8.   C7: no

9. M1: já nevím jestli máte zájem? nebo jestli znáte někoho?
10. C7: já anglicky <u>umim</u> to (nepotřebuju)
11. M1: mluvíte? you speak english?
12. C7: no jistě
13. M1: yeah? ((slowly)) would you like to practice your english at our free
14.   conversation courses?
15. C7: mm I practice it every day (   ) ((walking away))
16. M1: yeah? at work?
17. C7: (yeah really) ((walks away))

The missionaries, taking the role of "language experts", employ a strategy found more than once in the data. Some of their interlocutors, when offered the free English courses, mitigate their refusal by stating that they are already learning English elsewhere or already speak English. The missionaries can test the legitimacy of these statements as grounds for refusal by either asking if the teachers are native speakers or by "testing" their interlocutors' English by beginning to speak it. The behavior of interlocutor C7 was evaluated negatively by missionary M2 immediately after this interaction. M2 observed that many people believe that they know English and underestimate the value of native English speakers as teachers.

There is one final type of switch to English. In the following case, it is done by the interlocutor.

Case 17: Code switching to English as an element of joking (8)
109. M1: neříkejte to opravdu?
110. C9: no
111. M1: patnáct roků?
112.   ((laughter))
113. M1: o:h ty brďo to není možný
114. C9: o maj god ((laughs))
115. M1: oh my g- (.) <u>přesně</u> <u>tak</u>. <u>ty</u> <u>vogo</u>. tak well? tak už vidíte jako vy jste už jako
116.   napůl věřící že jo? jako když se modlíte občas asi věříte že něco je tam že jo

Interlocutor C9, who has previously said he does not speak much English, switches into it for a single turn, in which he jokingly mocks the shock (also jokingly) expressed by missionary M1 at finding out that C9's friend (who does not speak in this transcript but is otherwise marked as C10 in the transcript) is only fifteen years old. The conversation continued in Czech after that.

Finally, there is one example which generally summarizes the norms for the use of the two languages.

Case 18: Code-switching summary (28)
3. M1: vy máte (.) americký vlajku. nemluvíte anglicky náhodou?
4. C33: uh: a little
5. M1: a little?
6. C33: uh huh
7. M1: ((slowly)) we are here as <u>volunteers</u>
8. C33: uh huh
9. M1: ((slowly)) and we teach free english here
10. C33: uh huh
11. M1: rozumíte mi?
12. C33: rozumím
13. M1: <u>yeah</u>. domluvíte se asi že jo?
14. C33: no trošku jenom. spíš spíš rozumím než mluvím

This case captures the "bottom line" of the norms for missionary multilingual behavior. The missionaries must be able to speak Czech – speaking the local language is a worldwide strategy. The language enables contact, making acquaintance, and no lack of topic shortage within initial encounters and any encounters after that. English can be seen as "bonus" language, which the Czech interlocutors *can* but *need not* use actively (as the transition from line 4 to line 12 shows). It allows for additional conversational topics (like that initiated in line 3) and also serves to enrich the conversation if possible.

8.5 Organized Management: The interaction of levels

This section will explore the missionaries' work from an institutional perspective. The data to be analyzed here for the most part come from the collection of "supplemental" material – field notes, the initial interviews with the missionaries as well as the ongoing observation process, and whatever written material I could obtain. Norms here are for the most part understood as "top-down" prescriptive norms.

8.5.1   Church Level: Language preparation

In this section, I will provide a bit of background on what classically might be termed the Language Planning of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Based on interviews and material from church websites, it is possible to reconstruct the management as it is carried out by the church, and, in effect, a "group language biography" of the missionaries.

The majority of the missionaries[74] were native English speakers who had studied a foreign language in high school and/or college, with Spanish, French, German and Russian represented. Many of the missionaries had parents and siblings who had served missions abroad and thus were engaged in language learning (several European and South American countries were mentioned). One missionary mentioned a family background in German as well. All had undergone a 9-week mandatory intensive Czech language course at the Missionary Training Center (MTC) in Provo, Utah prior to their arrival in the Czech Republic, which marked the end of their formal, classroom or group language training. During this course, they used a textbook written by returned American missionaries, which several missionaries noted contained mistakes, mostly orthographic (this fact was pointed out to them by a rare native-speaker teacher who was serving at the MTC). Upon their arrival in the Czech Republic, their language education then continued on the level of self-study and practical application (one missionary compared the preparation for the self-taught Czech lessons to that for the free English classes he taught). The use of the textbook series *Chcete mluvit česky?*[75] was mentioned. At the beginning of the mission period, each missionary is paired with a companion who is nearing the end of his/her stay and can assist in the language management of the first. There is also the opportunity to officially complete various language levels and be awarded a certificate for this. However, for many of the missionaries, the concern with Czech was primarily practical in orientation. For most of them, Czech was the first foreign language they had learned to speak fluently, as many reported having little success with the other languages they had studied. They also did not anticipate ever using Czech again to a great degree upon the completion of their mission, but did not evaluate this negatively.

Upon their arrival at the mission site, new missionaries conduct initial interactions often using pre-prepared, memorized lines (this concerns both first-contact situations and later-contact situations involving reading passages from the Book of Mormon and other

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[74] Over the various periods of the research, a total of 26 missionaries participated in the research, i.e. 11 (9 men and 2 women) in the first interview phase, and 15 (10 men and 5 women) in the field research phase. The latter group contained one Czech male missionary and one German female missionary, both of whom were proficient in English.

75 This textbook series (Čechová, E., Trabelsiová, H., Putz, H.: Do you want to speak Czech? Wollen Sie tschechisch sprechen? Workbook, Volume 1, Arbeitsbuch zum 1. Teil, Liberec 2001, Čechová, E., Trabelsiová, H., H., Putz, H.: Chcete ještě lépe mluvit česky? 2.díl, Liberec 1996) is commonly used in the teaching of Czech to foreigners in various institutions in the Czech Republic as well as for self-study.

materials). They have also received the "missionary handbook"[76] which is specific to the Czech Prague Mission and contains language educational materials as well. These will be the subject of the next section.

8.5.2 Mission Level: Written reflection in the form of educational materials

The various types of management are formulated in the local missionary handbook as tips and pointers for learning Czech. These constitute a form of adjustment design and have been written on the basis of repeatedly noted missionary deviations from Czech language norms, which we might paraphrase as "most commonly made mistakes". While some of these tips are clearly oriented toward semantic and lexical norms which would apply to all native English speakers learning Czech, for example, observed deviations occurring on the basis of mistaken translation or calques between English and Czech, others are specific to the types of expressions constituting religious discourse. Still others are not linguistic in character, but are related to politeness norms, both general, Czech-specific, and missionary-specific.

The following examples reveal some of these various types of norms and adjustment designs. The first type consists of adjustment designs concerning language acquisition. These can be divided into further types: designs for language learning practices and those of the language itself.

8.5.2.1 Management of Acquisition: Language learning activities

"14. Study the case charts. You can memorize them. And you will be able to skloňovat correctly if you work at it."

"15. Find out how to spell words that you hear often so you can say them exactly right. You will quite often find that some words make more sense than you expected them to. For example: panelák (panelový dům)
            S dovolením (dovolíte, dovolíš)
      are often pronounced wrong."

"18. There are some words that are the same in Czech and English, but they're usually pronounced differently. Make sure you know how to pronounce them before using."

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[76] Like with many of the materials published directly by the church, it is not entirely clear who the author(s) of this handbook is (are), whether they are native speakers of Czech or past missionaries.

"19. Young missionaries, never leave an appointment without saying something. Older missionaries, make sure your companion gets to say something, if not more."

"30. Try saying something different in your prayer or contacting. Don't use always the same phrases."

"31. Try to think in Czech about normal things you don't think about in English, about things you're doing every day. Your Czech will improve a lot."

While the adjustment designs for language learning practices above may not be much different from those we might find in any guide to language (or, specifically, Czech) learning, those concerning lexical semantic deviations are a) specific to Czech as learned by native speakers of English and b) specific to the situations in which the missionaries repeatedly find themselves.

8.5.2.2 Management of Acquisition: The avoidance of lexical deviations

"3. To say one time, you can say jedenkrát. Also try jednou. You can also use kdysi when speaking about time period (sic) in the past."

"4. To say that time or at that time, you can use tenkrát or tehdy."

"5. To say maybe, say možná or asi."

"29. There are a lot of words for translating the English word first.
    poprvé = the first time ever
    Ex.: Já jsem v České Republice (sic) poprvé v životě.
    zaprvé = first in list of things
    Ex.: Abyste se mohl vrátit k Bohu, musíte udělat několik věcí. Zaprvé, musíte mít víru…
    nejdříve = first, earliest, having the highest priority
    Ex.: Nejdříve jdeme na oběd, mám velký hlad.
    první = first in general
    Ex.: první zjevení Josepha Smitha."

"35. When you want to say now, the correct words are teď or nyní. There are a lot of colloquial versions of these words like teďka, teďkonc, nýčko. It's good to know them to understand them, but don't use them, you would mostly confuse people. Even more, they're hard to pronounce."

The adjustment designs in this category vary: while some are simply a step away from a dictionary definition (4 and 5), others reflect potential deviations concerning the mistranslation of a word from a dictionary (3, 29). Number 35 goes even a step further,

providing the "correct" adjustment design while reflecting a number of different deviations – the mispronunciation of colloquial terms or their contextually inappropriate use.

8.5.2.3 Management of Acquisition: The avoidance of phraseological deviations

"1. To say next time, don't say příští krát. Instead say příště."

"2. To say every time, don't say každý krát. Instead say pokaždé. Also vždy, neustále and pořád work."

"10. When you want to announce that you have a question, don't say Mám otázku (dotaz). It isn't an error to say this, but it has a bit different meaning and usage in Czech, for example you can use it as a student in class trying to get an explanation of something you don't understand. When asking one person about something specific say Chtěl bych se na něco zeptat. Or you can ask Mohu se vás na něco zeptat?"

"22. It's je hodně not jsou hodně. For English speakers, this is hard to overcome because it's exactly the opposite in English (there are a lot of, not there is a lot of) but it's important to get it right."

"24. When you want to explain that you were riding in a bus, train, or metro, don't say Byl jsem na autobusu/vlaku/metro. That means you were sitting on top of them. Instead, use v autobusu, ve vlaku, or v metru."

These noted deviations and suggested adjustments correspond to the observed most commonly made phraseological errors by native-English learners of Czech, concerning the translation of English-language adverbial phrases (examples 1 and 2) as well as word collocation (examples 22 and 24). Example 10, also a translation adjustment, has a pragmatic element as well – it explains how to properly "do" a pre-question, which, as we have seen in Chapter 4, is highly relevant to the missionaries' FCPP work.

8.5.2.4 Management of Acquisition: Morphological adjustment designs

A further type of adjustment design concerns morphology. In Czech, morphology is an area often cited as difficult by learners and thus as a common source of deviations. One element of it, declination or "skloňování", was mentioned in number 14 above. Some others are detailed below.

"8. There's a difference between the words cítit and cítit se.
   cítit = to feel, as if with your hands or your body; also to smell with your nose.
      Ex.:   Cítím bolest. = I feel pain.

Cítím nějaký zápach. = I smell some kind of stink.

Co cítíte? is equivalent to Jaké máte pocity?, but it can also mean What do you smell?

Cítit se = to feel yourself, or to be feeling

Ex.: Cítím se špatně. = I feel bad, meaning I'm sick."

"11. Learn how to use fifth case. Then you can call people by their names confidently and properly."

"16. When adding the letters ne to a verb to make it negative, be careful not to get carried away with pronunciation. It is ne, not nej."

"17. Sisters, make sure you maintain your femininity by using the á ending when needed.
Ex.: Jsem vděčná za…"

"32. Don't forget to put se or si in the right place, usually, they precede or follow the verb. It's a part of the verb, you can find them in a dictionary with every verb which has it. Leaving them out could change the meaning of the whole verb."

"36. Lepší is an adjective which must modify or describe a noun. Lépe, or colloquial form líp, is an adverb which must describe a verb.
Ex.: Můj společník je lepší než já.
Mluví lépe česky než já.

With the exception of the examples used in these tips, e.g. that of number 36, which alludes to the commonly observed situation of one companion speaking better Czech than the other, the nature of the adjustment designs is a more general one. The next set of examples can be understood as the "languages for special purposes" element of the missionary language training.

8.5.2.5 Management of Acquisition: Religious discourse and common missionary situations

There are a number of different elements of language acquisition which receive more or less emphasis in regard to the missionaries' work. That is, speaking and understanding are the more important of the skills, reading and writing less so (though they are important as well). This is partially reflected in the fact that there is just one suggested adjustment design pertaining to writing, i.e. "9. In letters and notes capitalize all cases of the pronouns you (Vy, Ty, Vás, Vám, Tě, Tobě, etc.)."

There are also commonly repeated words, sentences and phrases which are dealt with in the examples below.

"7. Don't ask Jaké máte pocity unless you want to know literally what kinds of feelings or emotions the person is experiencing, e.g. when you want to identify the Spirit. The general question How do you feel about… is better translated as Co si myslíte o…"

"13. When you want to talk to someone about a scripture (specifically a verse from the scriptures, don't use the word písmo. Instead, use citát (quote) or verš (verse) z písem (from scriptures)."

"21. There is a difference between návštěva u někoho a návštěva s někým.
     Ex. Byl jsem na návštěvě se svým společníkem u jedné rodiny."

"25. The words sdílet and sdělit are different. They're often confused because they can be used with the same meaning in sdílet or sdělit své svědectví (share your testimony). But only the first one means to share. Sdělit means to inform or tell."

"26. The verb to bless is interesting. When blessing your food, don't say Požehnej tomu jídlu unless you want your food to be happy and successful. Instead, say Požehnej nám toto jídlo."

"28. The verb to believe is also interesting. You believe to something or in something. In Czech, that means věříte komu, čemu or věřit v co.
Ex.: Já vám věřím.   (I believe/trust you.)
     Já tomu nevěřím   (I don't believe that.)
     Věříme v Boha, Věčného Otce, Jeho Syna, Ježíše Krista, a Ducha Svatého.
     Chtěli bychom mluvit o tom, čemu věříme.
Notice 4th case follows instead of 6th."

8.5.2.6 Management of Politeness

The second type of management is management of politeness. As stressed in previous chapters, part of the emphasis in the missionaries' self presentation is to not offend (or, as I observed earlier, the norm "Do not bother people.")

"6. When you want to indicate that you're joking, you can say Dělám si legraci or Dělám si srandu. You can also use Jenom kecám when speaking to a good friend."

"12. Learn how to use vykání a tykání. It isn't comfortable for people if you are changing from one to the other."

"20. When leaving from a visit, don't say Děkujeme za návštěvu which means Thanks for your visit and should be used only by hosts. You can use Děkujeme za pozvání (Thanks

for your invitation) or you can express your thanks for the refreshment (if you had some!) by saying Děkujeme za pohoštění (jídlo)."

"23. When you want to express that you're glad that you know someone don't say Jsem rád, že vás poznám, it means I'm glad I'll know you. Instead, say Jsem rád, že vás znám (I'm glad I know you). It's all about perfective and imperfective verbs, you can learn the difference and use them correctly."

"33. Say your name when you answer the phone. This is a very common practice throughout Europe and is very helpful to the person calling you. In addition, always introduce yourself when you're calling someone and they pick up the phone. You can introduce yourself quickly by saying Dobrý den, tady Elder…"

"38. When you want to know how to say some English word in Czech and you are asking in Czech, don't say Co je…? Instead use Jak se řekne…? I would advice (sic) you to ask in English, I guess that the person you are asking about some specific word in English should understand such a basic question."

In many cases, we can trace the noted deviations, which are subsequently expressed as the adjustment designs "Do X", "Don't do Y", or "Do X, not Y". There also occasionally an evaluation of Y, e.g. "it isn't comfortable for people if you are changing from one to the other", "this is… very helpful to the person calling you".

There is one final tip from this list which deserves our attention. It is unique in that it deals with issues of acquisition as well as politeness, and, in addition, it is a tip for the doing of FCPP situations, particularly as analyzed in Chapter 4. This is:

"37. A good way to begin talking to someone while contacting is to ask them what a certain Czech word means. You can use some of these questions:
Jaký je rozdíl mezi slovy ____ a____? Don't forget adding (sic) the word slovy, it helps clear up that you are asking about those specific words. Also, don't use Co je rozdíl… Co znamená slovo___? Use it when you want to know what a specific word means (for example, on a bus, you can use it to ask someone what a word on an advertisement flyer means)."

These written materials are supplemented by regular meetings and conferences organized by the mission leadership (both American and Czech), at which various topics for working are also the subject of discussion. However, this type of management is more clearly examinable on the level of the zone, the analysis of which will follow.

8.5.3 Zone level

The written materials from which the examples in the previous section are taken serve to manage the behavior of all missionaries serving in the Czech Republic at a given time. A sub-unit of this is called a zone, which covers a region of the country where the church is active, usually centered around the largest city in that region. For each zone, one of the missionaries acts as "zone leader" for a two-month period (also known as a "transfer"). Zone meetings are held once a week and are usually followed by "street display". Only the missionaries are present at them, and they include components such as prayer, a report on the investigators currently being taught, and discussion of, for example, how to improve studying and teaching practices or use time wisely. They also involve a language component, in which an assigned missionary explains a selected grammatical or other linguistic feature of Czech (one which he himself has noted as problematic) and the feature is subsequently practiced in the group. In the following example from a zone meeting in which I participated as an observer, the problematic nature of a specific feature is noted, evaluated, and adjusted.

Case 19: Zone meeting
1. M6: so what I wanna talk about today is <u>second case</u>. I don't know the word for it
2.   genitive? genitive case
3. M3: mm hmm
4. M6: is that right? okay <u>second case</u> first I wanna just like toss out a question when
5.   do we use second case?
6. M1: you don't have to
7. M6: you don't have to?
8.   ((laughter))
9. M6: (why don't we write it down)
10. M7: (stačí   )
11.   ((laughter))
12. M7: you don't have to use any case (some second version)
13.   ((laughter))
14. M1: I heard you said like use first case (once) ((laughs))
15. M7: (něco)
16. M6: alright when do we use second case in Czech?
17. M1: for <u>of</u>? when we express the:
18. SM: yeah
19. M1: english phrase
20 X: ( )
21. M1: english phrase of <u>of</u>?
22. X: eh
23. M1: and prepositions

24. M6: of
25. M1: and verbs

During each zone meeting, there is one missionary who has been pre-designated to lead the language section. This week M6, a missionary near the end of his mission period, has been selected as the "teacher". He has chosen the second case (genitive) as the "language problem" for the meeting. Through this small excerpt, we can observe some more general aspects of the missionaries' (or, in fact, native English speakers') management of the Czech acquisition process.

There is a jovial atmosphere at the meeting, at which there are eight missionaries present (6 men and 2 women). One of them, M7, is Czech. M7 is, at the time of the meeting, the companion of M6. In the past, M7 has also served as a companion to M1 and has acted as his "language teacher". At various points of the meeting, M7 serves as "language expert", for example, at one point during the meeting, he went up to the board and corrected an orthography error made by M6.

This excerpt involves a "joke" adjustment to a language problem faced by many learners of Czech – when to use which case, before the actual adjustment is revealed. M6 begins the session by attempting to review the grammatical function of the genitive case, asking his fellow missionaries to summarize it. M1, an experienced Czech speaker who has spent nearly two years on the mission, offers the joke as the first answer in line 6. It takes a moment or two for the joke to "catch on". Laughter by the group follows M6's initial reaction in line 7, which demonstrates that M6 may have understood the joke (the suggestion of an adjustment design) with a bit of a delay. He also maintains his "teacher" role of keeping the group on task in line 9. In lines 10 and 12, M7 joins on to the joke, and in line 14, M1 points to M7 as the origin of this joke. The two had previously been companions, and this is likely a reference to the fact that M7 had tried to use humor to ease the difficulty of Czech grammar by stating (ironically) that cases are not necessary. In line 16, M6 signals that the joke is over by asking for the "real" (as opposed to the "deviant" joke) solution to the grammar question, to which M1 is the first to offer the (prescriptive normative) answer.

The non-use of cases may be understood as a potential element of "foreigner Czech", i.e. one adjustment design to the problem of which case to use when – simply to

not use cases at all, which might be tolerated in contact situations. It is significant that the missionaries at the meeting are at varying stages of the language-learning process (some of them have been in the country for less than a month), so a grammatical topic which may be so obvious as to be a joke to some of them may be an actual source of new information for others. This is an element of weekly zone meetings, with the more experienced helping the less experienced and is an extension of companionship management, which will be discussed in the next section.

8.5.4 Companionship level

A missionary companionship consists of two (and in some cases, three) missionaries of varying levels of experience who work and live together in a given town in the mission area for a period of approximately two months (this period is known as a "transfer").

8.5.4.1 Norms

Norms and practices of language management within the companionship can be found in the form of written policy. For example, the "Missionary Handbook" of the local mission (this one is known as the "Czech Prague Mission") contains a set of guidelines for "learning Czech as companions". The basis for these guidelines is the concept known as "Speak Our Language" or "SOL". This concept is explained in the following excerpt from the Missionary Handbook:

As missionaries in the Czech Republic and Slovakia we are asked to learn the language of the people we are called to serve. When we received our callings we accepted the responsibility to learn the Czech or Slovak language. We believe that we, as missionaries, will be more effective teachers as our language abilities improve. Our goal is to be Czech and Slovak missionaries, not just Americans trying to learn a foreign language. To be such, we must speak the language (be it Czech or Slovak) to members (even if they speak English to us), investigators, in public, and to each other – all of the time. Some of the exceptions may be:
1. Zone Conferences
2. Companionship study (only when necessary)
3. Speaking with the Mission president and his wife
4. District and Zone Meetings will also be in Czech and Slovak, with English being used only as needed
5. Teaching English classes
6. Occasional times when we need to express feelings, explain things quickly or seek clarification.

7. New missionaries will also be expected to speak Czech or Slovak all of the time, or as much as possible from the day they arrive.

(Missionary Handbook F-4)

These written, prescribed norms, however, do not stand alone in forming the missionaries' general orientation in the processes of both acquisition management and multilingualism management. What happens, for example, in a situation in which the missionaries' interlocutor wants to speak English? This issue must be managed situationally.

8.5.4.2 Norm Deviations, Noting, Evaluating, and Adjustment

One of the most common deviations on the basis of these prescribed norms, then, is one companion's excessive use of English, or the use of English between companions at all. The Handbook recommends the following adjustment plan for this:

"SOL whenever possible and as much as possible. Don't limit yourselves to outside. Speak at home, in the shower, while brushing your teeth, speak to yourself, but speak always in Czech. If your companion is unwilling to SOL, SOL anyway. If your companion is too young, say things first in Czech and repeat yourself in English." (F-2)

We can observe that the norms for language use are dependent on the "age" of the missionaries – this does not refer to their biological age, but rather, to the amount of time they have spent on the mission, e.g. the first city in which a missionary has served is referred to as the place where he was "born". There is a time allowance for a missionary to learn – he is allowed the "crutch" of English, but only when absolutely necessary, as the following prescribed management for senior companions suggests:

"Correct at all times reviewing declensions, correcting grammar, pronunciation, etc.; but always in a spirit of love. (ex. Meekly repeat what your companion said in the way it should have been said). Correct to help them, not to put them down and shame them. Correct to help yourself (teaching is the best proven method of learning)." (F-2)

"Prayers should be in Czech (these should be corrected as well following the prayer)." (F-2)

While these materials write about all phases of simple management, they themselves constitute the phase of implementation in the process of organized management. We could refer to this as the church or mission's management of companionship management. One type of extension of this implementation is that which occurs during interactions, such as Case 1 of this chapter. Another such extension

consists of the adjustment designs which are actually done following interactions, as in the following case.

Case 20: Post-interaction companionship management
1. M1: what's when they when they te- when you don't understand the first time say
2.   ještě jednou ale pomalu
3. M2: I don't understand-
4. M1: (   )
5. M2: a word that's comin out of their mouth anyway ((laughs))
6. M1: well tell them tell them to say it again and tell them to say it smaller I mean not
7.   smaller to slower it's probably like that'll probably help a lot more than to just be
8.   translating

M1 and M2 have just walked away from a completed encounter (also analyzed in section 5.5, Case 9) which was begun by M2 in Czech, continued in English upon the initiation of their interlocutor as a result of M2's inability to express himself, and then continued in Czech, as initiated by M1. M1's "correction" of M2's contacting approach (or his "meek repetition of what should have been said" as prescribed above) does not concern a specific linguistic error M2 may have made, but suggests an adjustment design for situations in which M2 does not understand "the first time" his interlocutor says something in Czech.

8.6 Summary: Relationships between the various levels of management

For the missionaries, reflecting on their language use and sociocultural behavior is nothing out of the ordinary, rather, it is one of their daily practices. Questions surrounding it (and their perhaps less than transparent answers) could also be found in the missionary interactions themselves. In this chapter, by showing a broader context of the individual interactions, yet which imminently concerns them, I have provided a picture of how the missionary interactions are achieved and are subject to a sort of normative accountability, as well as how they self-reproduce. I have indicated the areas of language which are reflected and "behaved toward" in regard to missionary work.

In Section 8.3, it was demonstrated that there are a number of ways in which management processes and the norms guiding them can be revealed by the researcher. The issue of how to analyze norm deviations which are not verbally noted (e.g. the missionaries' "mistakes" in Czech) is a difficult one, and yet, as Section 8.4 has shown,

this question is certainly a relevant one. In the FCPP situations in Section 8.4.1, in which linguistic deviations occur and repair is initiated by the missionaries, their interlocutors do indicate in some way that they understand that the missionaries are non-native speakers of Czech, but do not act as "linguistic experts" in helping them learn. A different set of norms for non-native speakers are in place, and the goal is mutual understanding as opposed to perfect language. Some things "are correct" while other things simply "work", e.g. the use of an incorrect case in many examples of Section 8.4.1 or the non-use of cases suggested in a joking manner in Section 8.5.3. This applies to purely linguistic features as well as pragmatic features such as forms of address. The mixed use of tykání and vykání by the missionaries, demonstrated in Section 8.4.2, reveals that norms "from above", including those prepared by the local mission, listed in Sections 8.5.2 and 8.5.4, may be understood in a very specific, narrow manner. Deviations from these norms may not be verbally noted by their interlocutors, and in fact, the missionaries are not sanctioned for speaking informally to interlocutors of their own age.

Norms concerning "which language to speak to whom and when", as examined in Section 8.4.3 are motivated by both practical and goal-oriented concerns. Multilingualism management on the level of discourse, in relation to the motto "Speak Our Language" summarized in Section 8.5.4, is shown to be a more complex phenomenon than in its prescriptive version, which designates mostly situations ("to whom and when") in which one language or the other should be used. In actual interactions, Czech as the default language is revealed to be quite strong, with English being used to do only a short list of tasks which have varying degrees of significance, it is a sort of "bonus".

One of the major tenets of LMT is that Simple and Organized Management mutually influence one another. As we have seen throughout this entire study, each missionary interaction contains numerous acts of SM, and the continued noting and evaluation of one-time or (more often) repeated deviations both by missionaries and their superiors forms the basis for OM in the zone, mission, and church, policy which takes the form of official materials, and which is continually being perfected, or rather, adapted to the changing socioeconomic and cultural situation in various countries of the world.

Deviations are, of course, to be expected when anyone is learning and using a foreign language. This in itself does not constitute a language or sociocultural problem. The issue is that of how these deviations are evaluated and adjusted on both a small and large scale, and how they serve as an impetus for the creation of "instructions". The individual interactions in which the deviations occur, then, are instances of "lived course of action" which continually modify each missionary's sense of the instructions.

Chapter 9

Conclusions and Implications

9.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the major conclusions and implications of this study, re-considering the research questions initially posed. It reiterates some limitations for studies of this type, implications of this particular study, and also offers directions for further research. The most general conclusion made here is that the analysis of naturally-occurring FCPP situations demonstrates that members do proselyting in adherence to multiple types of order, which are organized in an intertwining manner.

9.2 Major conclusions

In this section, I present the study's most salient findings as they correspond to the four research questions originally posedin Chapter 1.

9.2.1 Proselyting through "contacting" as an action recognizable to members

The research question initially posed was: How do members (missionaries) produce proselyting in first-contact public interaction situations such that it is recognizable to them for what it is?

During the two-year mission period, the missionaries spend much of their time engaging in talk. Some of it they do in the course of what they refer to as "contacting". In FCPP situations, missionaries engage their interlocutors in talk with a distinct and declared aim – to begin the building of a relationship founded on matters of the spiritual, categorizable as "missionary-investigator". A proselyting encounter does not, however, differ from many other types of encounters taking place in public. Much of its being done such that is "recognizable to members for what it is" is grounded in what the missionaries have already learned *as talkers-in-interaction.* FCPP situations can thus be characterized by their participants' orientation to various types of order. For example, speakers shape the FCPP situation through the issue of topical order. Personal faith is a sensitive topic and it is necessary to introduce other topics sequentially prior to it.

The missionaries, like other talkers-in-interaction, operate through the interplay of "instructions" and "lived course of action". The "recognizability" of such an interplay comes in many ways in the form of such instructions and the ways in which the missionaries personally reflect these instructions verbally. Some instructions may "institutionalize" the missionaries' lived course of action and interactions, in which they act as members of an institution.

The way in which this orientation to various types of order is manifested is the subject of the next research question.

9.2.2 The interplay of sequence, preference, topic and category

The initial research question posed was: What interactional work constitutes first-contact public proselyting situations, and how is this work done through the interplay of the organization of sequence, preference, topic and category?

A proselyting encounter does not differ sequentially from many other types of encounters taking place in public. It differs topically, but only as concerns the specific topics, not as concerns topical order. The missionaries have a "list" of topics which they *can* use to move through the various sequences, however, the use of others, particularly those which involve the exchange of personal information, is available as a resource. This constitutes a further element of what the church refers to as "friendshipping" or "building the relationship of trust". As concerns preference organization, given the reciprocity of perspectives with its bias toward cooperation, the FCPP encounter does not differ from any other encounter between strangers – missionaries demonstratively consider their interlocutors' face and do all the work required to avoid dispreferred actions.

These types of organization (sequence, topic, preference) are very much dependent on categorial organization – the move from an interaction between two strangers to one between (in the most advanced cases) a missionary and an investigator. That said, even between strangers there exist certain normative expectations for behavior, particularly conversational behavior. Jayyusi (1984: 141) notes:

"Now, although in going out to the marketplace, for example, we may spend hours among 'strangers', they are nevertheless only *strangers biographically*. *Culturally*, the persons we thus encounter are not strangers – we know them well, we know what to expect from them, what they will expect from us, we know some of the features of their

lives, we can provide stories about them and the scenes we encounter them within are self-evident through *this* knowledge. It is in moving from this level of knowledge (and the consequent ascriptions, inferences and perceptions) to ascriptions, inferences and perceptions on a personal or individual level that one *may*, and routinely does, encounter problems of 'fit' between (a) two levels of knowledge and (b) the knowledge claimed by or attributable to a speaker and the contingent description/perception of or inference from a witnessed or reported scene or action."

Given these categorial considerations, the conversational practice of repair, which is also intertwined with topical and categorical order in an important way. Given the gradual categorization of the participants as "native speaker" and "non-native speaker" of Czech, we can view the interaction under study as a "language-learning encounter". It differs from other settings in that repair is often not done. This reveals much about "foreign language conversations", in particular the study of the way foreigners actually speak Czech, make themselves understood, and use their knowledge to some specified end. This does not equal perfect grammatical competence. The interaction between native and non-native speakers of Czech confirms findings (e.g. by Kurhila 2004) that native speakers are not likely to act as "linguistic experts". This study of actual "intercultural" interactions and communication, which is not limited to talk between university students and highly educated people (as many studies of second language use tend to be), show that the intercultural aspect is done through interactions and talk. This has been further considered by means of the next research question.

9.2.3 Setting

The research question posed was: How do the participants in these proselyting situations make relevant *the given setting*, in this case characterized by the contact between Czech (local) and American (foreign) languages and cultures?

Foreignness is one element that characterizes the setting in the RCPP situations themselves, both the foreignness of languages and cultures and that of religious practices. However, it is important to note that this setting is "done" by the interactants themselves through talk. The missionaries do not try to do what Garfinkel (1967) calls "passing" as Czech, but rather, place their American identity at the forefront of the interaction and utilize it as a basis for the building of further relationships. As Americans, the missionaries are able to set up potential categorial relationships between themselves and

their interlocutors - each side has something to offer the other. The American identity legitimizes the continued asking of questions about local culture and local language.

It is important to consider the given setting when examining the conditions under which the missionaries *can* enter into and continue the conversation, getting past critical conversational hurdles in order to get to the heart of the matter. The LDS missionary approach may be similar in all countries where there are missions, but the offer of free English classes is not relevant everywhere, either from an economic point of view or others. Such an offer may have a varying meaning in different countries of the world, as well as in different cities and regions within the same country.

It is thus possible to state that the missionaries' approach is necessarily adapted to local conditions, and that this adaptation occurs on a number of levels. However, this does not take away from the missionaries' later ability to compare experiences with missionaries who served elsewhere, and find many commonalities in their work. These commonalities are reflected in the missionary "instructions".

Part of the local conditions are the specifics of the local language and how it is approached. This is the topic of the final research question

9.2.4 Behavior-toward-language

The research question posed was: How do the both the individual missionaries and their church "behave toward language", i.e. how do they manage language and cultural competence and their manifestations through and for the purpose of engaging in proselyting interactions?

The aim of the Mormon church is for missionaries to speak the local language of the mission area. The church as an organization does a great deal of top-down macro management in order to realize this aim, beginning with the large-scale intensive language instruction it provides to the missionaries prior to the arrival in the mission country. The local mission takes over from that point, providing the missionaries with instructions on how to constantly improve their linguistic and cultural competence. The zone, an even smaller unit, provides an outlet for the missionaries to reflect their language problems in the context of group meetings. And finally, the two-person missionary companionship involves the constant use of language and reflection of this

use in the role of both teacher and learner, evolving over the two-year mission period. In the midst of all this, individual missionaries in individual interactions deviate from language and cultural norms similarly to many of those missionaries who have preceded them. This can be observed on each of the aforementioned levels in that it is noted and evaluated, and adjustments are designed. The implementation of these adjustment designs, may it concern linguistic norms for Czech, politeness norms, or language choice, is subsequently done by the missionaries, once again, in the individual interactions.

In interactions with their Czech interlocutors, "contact norms" are often in place, i.e. the missionaries are not expected to speak like native speakers of Czech. As noted earlier, the focus instead is on making themselves understood. Their deviations from Czech language "native norms" point to their foreignness and thus become a resource for the continuation of conversation. They attempt to make proselyting encounters into language learning encounters, with relatively little success in my data. This can at least in part be explained by interactional difficulties – the missionaries often have trouble in articulating the problem that is to be solved to their interlocutors such that the interlocutors can correct them – noting and evaluating the deviation in the context of the interaction.

9.3 Implications of the study

9.3.1 Theoretical implications

9.3.1.1 Ethnomethodology and conceptualizing "proselyting" as the object of study

This study introduces the analysis of proselyting encounter as a members' phenomenon which occurs interactionally, turn-by-turn in talk. However, In many of the FCPP situations I have presented here, one might observe that "there's no God here". The fact of the matter is, the amount of time devoted to "God" as a conversational topic can be minimal. What I have attempted to show in this study is all the work that it takes to "get to God" when proselyting in another culture. In Chapters 4-7, I have demonstrated the work it takes within individual interactions, and in Chapter 8, I have shown the language management that occurs in order for the first-contact proselyting encounters to be conducted in the first place.

It should be re-emphasized here that publicly conducted "contacting" situations do not constitute the entirety of the emically-conceived notion of proselyting. And in fact, as many of the missionary manuals indicate, they are not even considered the most effective way of attracting potential new members to the church.[77] Key in EM, though, are two things: its reflexive element, the sense that members assign to their own actions, and its indexical element, the situated, context-bounded nature of social action. We witness the missionaries trying to put themselves in their interlocutors' shoes, especially in doing category work and topical order, in that the degree of familiarity between interlocutors influences the order of categories used and topics discussed.

The documentary method of interpretation is what the missionaries employ, encounter by encounter. They do the whole of the FCPP situation, and people collaborate (or do not collaborate) in various ways The ways in which people collaborate guide the missionaries in their future interactions, as there are patterns in people's responses. These patterns are also demonstrated in the way the missionaries react to the various types of responses. In this way, they can be uncovered by the researcher both through the recordings of the interactions and through interviews, as well as through the missionaries post-interaction reflections.

9.3.1.2 CA and MCA

In the realm of Conversation Analysis, this study contributes to the understanding of the global organization of talk, or the study of extended sequences, of whole encounters, conversations, etc., particularly those which may vary greatly in length, etc. It categorizes a type of encounter, the FCPP, and details the phases and sequences which

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[77] For example, the missionary manual "Missionary Preparation: A Student Manual" (99) cites a quote from an article in the church publication "Ensign" ("The Role of Members in Conversion,", Mar. 2003, 54): "An investigator who is brought to the missionaries through the members is 10 times more likely to be baptized than one the missionaries have found through their own contacting efforts. [Does this figure] catch your attention on the importance of the members' role in finding people for the missionaries to teach?" So a less effective manner of getting to know people and ensuring that you will see them again is by approaching them on the street as "strangers", establishing an identity for yourself that they can make sense of, engaging them in conversation on topics of your own choice, and attempting to initiate further contact with them. More effective is getting to know them in an "institutional" manner. Proselyting could carry a certain parallel to processes often described as "socializing", "creating social networks", "getting acquainted" or the Mormons' own "building a relationship of trust"."

characterize such an encounter, not in relation to specific language forms used but in consideration of the actions done.

The first implication arising from this is the new approach to summons-answer sequences. A summons can be understood as an action members do to get the attention of others, to engage them in some sort of interaction, primarily involving talk. In this study we have witnessed a number of different types of summons. Differentiating overt summons from covert ones helps in looking at proselyting situations from the perspective of whether they led to a longer conversation or the exchange of contact information. This is, in part, because covert summons serve as a categorial "weeding out" action, distinguishing the interlocutors who "want to talk" (as the missionaries put it) from those who do not. Overt summons are often understood as pre-requests made to a concrete interlocutor, i.e. the missionary selects a specific next speaker, while covert summons are not. This means that the "answerers" of covert summons can self-select as the next speakers – they allow themselves to be approached.

The second implication concerns the exploration of topical organization. One phenomenon that instructed actions such as FCPP situations can demonstrate is that of the "checking off" of items on a pre-prescribed "topical list". In these situations, this list is sequentially related to conversational closings, as one place where the missionaries introduce the topic of faith is during pre-closing sequences. Another place in which they do this is during extended identification and recognition sequences involving category work. If a missionary is successful in self-categorizing as such and in assigning sufficient meaning to this category during identification and recognition sequences, he may then introduce the topic of faith by asking his interlocutor to categorize himself in relation to religion as well.

A third and final CA theoretical implication concerns conversational closings in relation to the "transactional" type of interaction and the interactive goals of the individual participants. In most cases, one participant (the missionary) is trying to prolong the interaction while the other (his interlocutor) is trying to keep it brief. The closings of the interaction consist in what Sacks originally called "arrangement-making" and what I have called here "further contact initiation". Given the instructed nature of the FCPP situations, the initiation of further contact is a goal to be achieved by whatever

creative interactional means the individual missionaries can develop. In attempts to set up concrete meetings or obtain specific contact information, indirect approaches are not only prescribed from above, but actually done. Further contact initiation in contacting encounters can be understood as an interaction sequence which enables the missionary to subsequently initiate a closing, otherwise closings are initiated by their interlocutors. Initial topical or categorial affiliation may lessen the urgency of the need to arrange for further contact, and in fact, this contact may be initiated by the missionaries' interlocutors.

Regarding MCA, there are two important theoretical implications. They stem from the test for incumbency, and the way in which members use categories in identification and recognition phases of talk. These are interrelated in the order in which categories are used – from more general to more specific, more generally agreeable to less generally agreeable to the interlocutor, and from more familiar to less familiar to the interlocutor. For this "order" to exist, the missionaries must categorize their interlocutors, which they can either do through on-site categorization or through the asking of questions. Categorization is also a factor in the missionaries pre-selection of interlocutors – the question of whom to approach. The establishment of the missionary identity is done through the indexical, emphasis on here-and-now, demonstrable category-bound activities (e.g. a foreign language speaker has an accent). The membership categorization device or collection "occupation" is, more generally, utilized in talk to determine the rights and responsibilities between category incumbents (as in Sacks' "collection R" and "collection K"), but also to determine the future possibilities for interaction between the two.

The use of categories is combined with a "checklist" for the topical organization of contacting situations. That is, people categorized in certain ways talk about certain topics. The choice of whom to approach is related to which topics the missionaries believe they can discuss with which interlocutors, and in which order. For example, the topic of free English lessons might be especially initially relevant to teenagers studying English as a subject in school.

9.3.1.3 Language Management Theory

Given the unusual situation of the Mormon Church in terms of the organization of language instruction, the concept of language management served as the original theoretical impetus for this study. Subsequently, this study has contributed to the elaboration of LMT in three ways.

First, it has demonstrated management at a number of different levels of management in an organization, extending the work done, e.g. on multinational companies (e.g. Nekvapil and Nekula 2006). This research has provided an initial look at the investigation into management of an entire organization, level-by-level. It has demonstrated the links between simple and organized management and shown what kinds of materials can be used to study these links.The management framework has contributed to the study of contact between Czech and English after 1989 in that it has offered a glimpse into the type of language problems which actually occur and how they are resolved.

Second, it has extended the type of norms which may exist and the way in which they become the subject of behavior toward language. These norms are related to the use of a second language. The norms for second language cannot be detached from power-based relationships between speakers of various languages and groups of such speakers, these relationships being situationally created through talk. Contact norms are bound to the external geopolitical situation and situation of power, power of individual languages in a world context. The missionaries' Czech is evaluated in various ways by their interlocutors, often conditionally as "given how long you've been here…".

Third, it has confirmed the idea that adjustment designs created by people wishing to serve their own interests can be created as a solution to the language problems of others. Missionaries in a general sense have been solving the perceived language problems of the people with whom they work for centuries (for example, through the work which serves as subject of the field of "missionary linguistics"), e.g. by codifying many languages and translating the bible and other religious materials into as many languages as possible. The difference between the present situation and the historical one is that the teaching of English addresses the contemporary dynamics of the language market given the historical situation of the Czech Republic. In a sense, the English

speakers are seeking to solve other people's language problem which they themselves note and evaluate negatively. For example, one overall language problem discussed in chapter 2 from the perspective of the Czechs is "insufficient english". The missionaries offer an adjustment design to this , in their everyday dealings,.

9.3.2 Methodological implications

There are two methodological implications which result from this study. The first of these concerns the fact that naturally-occurring talk is presented as the most important focus of the analysis in this study, but is not isolated from the context in which it was collected for the purposes of analysis. We can call the CA being done here "culturally contexted conversation analysis", a potential element in ethnographic research introduced by Moerman (1988). This involves, first of all, the notion of culture not as "a uniformly owned property of a discrete society", but as "a set – perhaps a system – of principles of interpretation, together with the products of that system. In this sense, the materials of all conversation analysis are inextricably cultured." (Moerman 1988: 4). This study has proceeded in a similar direction without originally intending to do so. At the outset of the study, it was not clear that conversation analysis would be the main analytical tool. Traditional ethnographic research techniques, such as participant observation, field notes and the collection of ingroup materials were used in order to determine an appropriate topic. Only after these techniques were utilized was the ultimate topic for the dissertation selected. In other words, this is a "targeted study" which still managed to involve "unmotivated looking".

This study combines CA with other EM-type approaches, or, in other words, uses a number of approaches to study a phenomenon which could be limited to CA. It is a contribution to the study of actions done through talk which are in some way instructed. In this way, it expands further on the work on "standardization and tacit knowledge" done by Maynard et al (2002), and invites further such expansion. Practitioners of LMT, likewise, have been working with a basis in ethnomethodology, either knowingly or not. This dissertation demonstrates that individual instances of talk, individual acts of simple LM, can influence the policy of an entire organization.

A second major implication concerns the combination of methodological approaches used in the section on language management, based on the fact that "behavior toward language" can take many forms. The interaction interview, which is only mentioned briefly in the final analysis, played an important role in determining what kinds of activities the missionaries engaged in on a day-to-day basis. It then allowed for the second research step, which involved recordings of whatever was available. This allowed for various types of reflection of behavior toward language to be examined in relation to one another.

9.4 Limitations of the study and directions for further research

First of all, many of this study's limitations concern issues of access to certain types of data. Given the nature of the missionaries' schedules, they were not able to take time out from their work to do extensive interviews. This also meant that the research aim was to gather as much data as possible without disturbing the nature of the interaction. Thus, while other types of situations such as tracting (going door-to-door), or other methods of capturing them, such as on video, might be useful, they would ultimately prove to be too distracting. This is unfortunate because the use of visual stimuli, particularly in summons-answer and identification and recognition sequences, cannot be ignored.

Second, though the issue of "naturally-occurring interaction" and the philosophy of it has been placed at the forefront of these studies and, in fact, of EM and CA studies in general, it is important to note that one element of this interaction is its personal dimension. There are two issues at hand here: that the missionaries were aware of the recording and that the researcher was present for many of the interactions. This means that often the interlocutors were speaking to two men and one woman. The missionaries are almost exclusively male, so the researcher's identity is unavoidably present in some ways. More different missionaries would have been useful, as would more different locations. As mentioned earlier, the city where the research took place was chosen for its "average" character and size, and it is a question as to whether some aspects of the setting were not regional ones. Therefore, the repetition of this study in different cities, with

different missionaries, and by researchers with different ethnic, gender, and perhaps religious identities would add to the situation described here greatly.

Thirdly, a fully established method for transcribing "foreigner" language is lacking, particularly in Czech. This study has explored the various ways in which Czech-speaking Americans make their identity known in an indexical manner as well as how they are able to make themselves understood without speaking perfectly on any linguistic level (e.g. phonetic, morphological, syntactical). Some of these levels, such as morphology and syntax, can be captured in the transcript without difficulty. The situation with the phonetic level is slightly more complex. The missionaries' Czech language pronunciation is characterized, among other things, by differences in the production of phones, in particular by changes in the place of vowel articulation and the aspiration of plosives, as well as by prosodic features, such as by the use of the incorrect syllabic stress in a word or tact. As one goal of the transcription is that it is accessible to readers and also given the fact that the specific details of the missionaries' pronunciation are not the main focus of this study, all of these elements are difficult to capture in a non-IPA-based transcription system or any similar system designed for phonetic transcription, such as the Czech phonetic transcription system described in Palková (1997). More CA studies of Czech as spoken by foreigners are needed, and a question which remains is that of what transcriptional elements can be used to "identify" these non-native speakers. We should also be reminded that the transcript is a necessarily imperfect record of the data, and that the relevant record is the recording itself.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this study sought to examine the interaction between "instructions" and "lived course of action", with the assumption that much of the "lived course of action" is specifically related to the culture of the place in which the missionaries serve. For this reason, it would be beneficial to conduct similar such studies in other countries and other languages. Furthermore, religious missionaries are not the only type of people engaging in these "instructed actions". Other groups working in public such as salespeople, volunteers engaged in political canvassing and others, are worthy of similar investigation.

9.5 Concluding remarks

People build relationships with strangers in public for a number of reasons and they do so through talk, including foreign language talk. In the building of such relationships, the motives of one party are often very different from those of the other. Proselyting situations are the initial sequences of a longer series of talk which involves one person attempting to get another to re-categorize as a member of the first person's church. This study has specified the types of order to which both actors orient in these situations. The discussion has shown how they demonstrate these orientations through the use of natural language. The argument has been that a seemingly unusual activity involves the orientation to the same sets of order as any other activity, which is in fact quite normal for any social actor, and that proselyting, though seemingly defined by its sensitive "main topic" of religion, is thus not essentially different from any other talk-based activity. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the "learned" nature of proselyting involves the utilization of the interactional sense-making processes that individuals already possess. Harold Garfinkel, in describing the work of jurors, noted the following:

"As a person underwent the process of "becoming a juror", the rules of daily life were modified. It is our impression, however, that the person who changed a great deal, changed as much as 5 per cent in the manner of making his decisions. A person is 95 per cent juror before he comes near the court". (Garfinkel 1967:110)

Much has been written on the subject of preparation for activities such as missions, as well as on the "life-changing" phases that they are. As social actors, most of what the missionaries need to engage in talk in doing their work is, similarly, something they already possess – the sense of order and organization, and the ability to both produce and interpret this order and organization in and through talk.

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Appendix I: Transcription Conventions

[ ]	the onset and ending of simultaneous talk of two speakers (overlap)
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
:	lengthening of the preceding syllable
=	sudden insertion of the following expression or turn, without pause (latching on)
(.)	short pause
(..)	longer pause
(…)	long pause
( )	unintelligible point
(but)	presumed, but not completely intelligible expression
((laughs))	comment by the transcriber
-	sudden interruption of the word or construction
<u>ne</u>ver	strong emphasis on a syllable or word
…	omitted portion of the transcript

Appendix II – FCPP situation transcripts

(1)
1. M1: prosím vás? můžu se vás na něco zeptat?
2. C1: no
3. M1: jaký je rozdíl (.) mezi: (.) jako devatenáct až dvacet a dvacet devět? jako proč
4.   tam je jako dvě čísla
5. C1: to vám neřeknu proč je to takhle označený
6. M1: to nevíte? nebo
7. C1: nevím nevím proč to tam je
8. M1: je to zajímavý že jo
9. C1: ( ) tady je to dvacet devět třicet a ono je to devatenáct dvacet <u>nevím</u> jo? z jakého
10.   důvodu
11. M1: no jo to je šílený ((smích)) vy mluvíte anglicky náhodou?
12. C1: nee nemluvím ((smích))
13. M1: ne proč ne? vypadáte jako mluvíte anglicky
14. C1: ((smích)) jo <u>kamaráde</u>? víš? kolik je tobě roků?
15. M1: já?
16. C1: no
17. M1: hádejte
18. C1: no vidíš to
19. M1: ((smích)) dvacet jedna
20. C1: teď mi bude padesát
21. M1: vy máte padesát roků?
22. C1: noo a to tenkrát tady nebylo ještě tadyhle to
23. M1: jojo
24. C1: tady byli ty zkurvený komunisti
25. M1: jo
26. C1: no to byla ta doba víš (musím už jít) ((přijíždí policejní vůz)) já mám botičku
27.   nashle
28. M1: okay tak na shledanou
Total time: 0:50

(2)
1. M1: uh prosím vás můžu se vás na něco zeptat?
2. C2: nemám zájem ((walking))
3. M1: jestli mluvíte anglicky náhodou?
4. C2: ((keeps walking)) (   )
5. M1: tak na shle
Total time: 0:06

(3)
1. M2: ((beginning obscured by ringing bell, asking about whether H speaks English))
2. C3: já budu (.) já budu chodit k rodilýmu mluvčímu takže (.) rodilý mluvčí budu
3.   chodit ke kanaďanovi na hodiny (..) ((turns toward second missionary)) do you
4.   speak uh uh?

5. M1: no my mluvíme česky ale on se učí česky on je tady
6. C3: ne že já budu chodit [ale ke] kanaďanovi no
7. M1:   [jojojo]   jojo tak to je v pohodě
8. C3: rodilý mluvčí takže jsem zvolil tuhle cestu
9. M1: to je dobrý jestli máte zájem jako my tady učíme každý úterý, um na horním
10.   náměstí je to zdarma nemusíte nic platit
11. C3: ano?
12. M1: ah: (.) je to (.) taky uh
13. C3: tak máte nějakou vizitku?
14. M1: jo mám (.) ((pulls out flyer)) a to je americký ang- angličtina
15. C3: ano
16. M1: ( )
17. C3: mm hmm
18. M1: ale ((cell phone rings)) uh oh alright um omlouvám se sorry
19. C3: dobře děkuju
20. M2: () učíme seminář o tom jak přestat kouřit kouřit kouříte
21. C3: kouřím
22. M2: uh huh um
23. C3: I smoke ((laughs))
24. M2: chtěl byste přestat
25. C3: mm yes ((laughs))
26. M2: um um (..) uuh
27. C3: you can
28. M2: uh uh
29. C3: you can speak english
30. M2: um you can like this is our our number this one uh you can call and arrange an
31.   appointment and then go through it with you what would be the program (..) you
32.   can stop stop as you eh týden a week
33. C3: mm hmm
34. M2: uum
35. C3: okay
36. ((P returns))
37. C3: nice to meet you
38. M1: nice to meet you how long have you been learning english
39. C3: how long
40. M1: uh huh
41. C3: long english
42. M1: uh huh jak dlouho se učíte
43. C3: uh () uh three uh three years
44. M1: three years have you
45. C3: nebo já jsem teď se neučil asi dva roky takže si to musím zopakovat
46. M1: uh huh
47. C3: ale budu [chodit] uh (.) k rodilému mluvčímu abych se naučil správný přízvuk
48. M1:   [uh huh]
49. C3: uh huh je to (pravda)
50. C3: abych nemusel jezdit do zahraničí se učit (jazyky)

51. M1: uh huh
52. C3: no a můžu taky chodit <u>i k vám</u> samozřejmě=
53. M1: =jo proč ne jako taky my máme=
54. C3: =občas=
55. M1: =uh huh protože je to zdarma=
56. C3: =když bude čas
57. M1: a taky jako už on vám řekl že my učíme zdarma ( ) my učíme seminář o tom jak
58.   přestat kouřit
59. C3: to bych chtěl
60. M1: jo ( )
61. C3: () šestý
62. M1: jo
63. C3: ((laughs)) kouřím no ( )
64. M1: kouříte hodně
65. C3: eh takových deset cigaret za den
66. M1: jo tak to ( ) přestat
67. C3: ano ( )
68. M1: no kdy máte čas
69. C3: nevím tak já nevím tak třeba příští týden jestli budu mít čas
70. M1: ( )
71. C3: a dopředu si to nemůžu to ale vím že to bude od šesti hodin na horním
72.   a kde to tam je prosím vás?
73. M1: je znáte ahm modrýho kun- kuně
74. C3: ano ano
75. M1: jo to je vedle toho
76. C3: vedle toho
77. M1: () je čtrnáct patnáct () a tam se píše jako ()
78. C3:mm hmm
79. M1: je to tam
80. C3: mm hmm
81. M1: my se uvidíme tam
82. C3: okay
83. M1: okay tak čau čau
84. C3: čau ((laughs))
85. M2: na shledanou
86. C3: na shle
Total time: 3:47
((Examples 1-3 recorded on cassette tape))

(4) 9:39
1. M1: prosím vás? můžu mluvit s vámi?
2. C5: (no co potřebujete)
3. M1: no jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovol<u>níci</u>. a tady my učíme zdarma angličtinu
4.   (.) já nevim jestli umíte anglicky náho<u>dou</u>?
5. C5: (trošku)
6. M1: jo? well chtěl byste se učít <u>víc</u>? zdarma?

7.   (..)
8.   C5: my se učíme na střední
9.   M1: jo? (.) a tam má ami- američany?
10.   C4: no.
11.   M1: jo? opravdu? dvě?
12.   C4: ne (   )
13.   M1: ((laughs)) no víte co alespoň můžu vám dát leták
14.   C5: vezmeme alespoň leták a
15.   M1: a jestli máte čas tak můžete přijít na to jestli nechcete (.) tak
16.   C4:   [jo děkujem. na shle]
17.   M1: ((fast))[dobrý na shle]
10:15

(5) 11:58
1.   M2: dobrý den my jsme dobrovolníci a učíme zdarma angličtinu
2.   C6: ano
3.   M2: umíte anglicky náhodou?
4.   C6: uh: trošku no tak (.) učím se no
5.   M2: chtěl by- chtěl byste se učit navíc? [(je to)]
6.   C6:   [mm tak] já mám ještě dva roky ve škole pak
7.   bych (se chtěl) udělat státnice no tak (.) určitě takže
8.   M1: tak máte štěstí dneska ((laughter)) (..) protože my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu,
9.   C6: uh huh
10.   M1: my jsme američany asi určitě můžete nás poznat
11.   C6: uh huh
12.   M1: kvůli tomu my máme přízvuk,
13.   C6: mm hmm
14.   M1: a my učíme každé úterý na horním náměstí
15.   C6: mm hmm
16.   M1: tam. máte leták?
17.   C6: uh nemám
18.   ((sound of flyer being pulled out and handed to C))
19.   C6: mm hmm
20.   M2: a taky my učíme (.) uh uh kurz o tom jak přestat uh kuřit? uh kouřit
21.   C6: jo. jak přestat kouřit. no jasně
22.   ((light laughter))
23.   M1: vy kouříte?
24.   C6: uh: ne.
25.   M1: ne?
26.   C6: ne hraju fotbal
27.   M1: jo:?
28.   C6: uh huh.
29.   M1: kolik je vám?
30.   C6: šestnáct
31.   M1: šestnáct?
32.   C6: uh huh

33. M1: (ty brďo) šestnáct roků to je hustý
34. ((laughter))
35. C6: no to jo ((laughs))
36. M1: jo tak to je dobrý
37. C6: (jo)
38. M1: well kd- a v- kde bydlíte? bydlíte [v blanci?]
39. C6:   [ne: nebydlím v blanci]
40. M1: (v lešeticích?)
41. C6: bydlím v břevici nad vranici to je tak sto d- sto kilometrů odsaď
42. M1: ah. tak to je daleko ((laughs))
43. C6: no ale tak já sem jezdím (.) tak každej (.) druhý třetí den
44. M1: domů?
45. C6: ne sem
46. M1: (uh huh tady)
47. C6: do blance (uh huh)
48. M1: uh huh
49. C6: protože chodím na obcho- obchodní akademie do kostelce (.) nad vranici a=
50. M1: =uh huh=
51. C6: =tak sem to není zas tak daleko
52. M1: tak to je zajímavý
53. C6: ((laughs)) ha ha to je. ((laughter)) tak každý úterý jo?
54. M1: mm hmm (.) každé úterý
55. (..)
56. C6: tak (.) uvidím
57. M1: dobrý
58. C6: ((fast)) třeba se někdy přijdu podívat
59. M1: dobrý. přijďte jestli máte kámoši tak my pozváme kdekoho
60. C6: dobře
61. M1: dobrý a=
62. C6: =tak jo=
63. M1: =a poslední? abyste věděl je to jasný my jsme tady jako misionáři
64. C6: misionáři
65. M1: a já nevím jestli znáte nás slyšel jste o nás?
66. C6: ne [neslyšel bohužel]
67. M1:   [ne? vůbec?]
68. C6: ne.
69. M1: nebo slyšel jste o mormonech? možná?
70. C6: jo to jsem slyšel
71. M1: jo co jste slyšel? to jsme my
72. C6: jo?
73. M1: uh huh (.) co jste slyšel o mormonech?
74. C6: no: jako nic konkrétního jenom vim že=
75. M1: =vim že to existuje v americe
76. C6: no no no
77. ((interruption for car to pass through))
78. C6: jak dlouho jste v česku?

79. M1: já už jsem tady rok a devět měsíců
80. C6: a za tu dobu jste se naučil takhle dobře česky
81. M1: mm hmm tady v Čechách
82. C6: tak máte talent
83. M1: ((laughs)) ne nemám talent mluvím s hodně lidmi
84. C6: č- čeština je <u>těžkej</u> jazyk
85. M1: jo to víte ((laughter)) (platí) každý den denně
86. C6: jo?
87. M1: ne, kecám ((laughter)) ale ((laughs)) je to těžký alespoň <u>taky</u> my jsme se učili
88.   česky v americe
89. C6: uh huh
90. M1: na dva měsíce
91. C6: mm hmm
92. M1: tam my máme jako zvláštnou školu
93. C6: a vy tady jako takhle pracujete? nebo (.) tady studujete?
94. M1: jenom my jsme tady jako misionáři
95. C6: misionáři
96. M1: tak to znamená že na dva roky,
97. C6: uh huh
98. M1: my jsme tady
99. C6: uh huh
100. M1: a my mluvíme s lidmi (.) o naši církvi
101. C6: mm hmm
102. M1: my chceme pomáhat lidem a proto máme tu (mišnu)
103. C6: no jasně
104. M1: ale jako pro nás jako nejlepší způsob jak můžem pomáhat lidem je abychom si-
105.   se- s-dělili
106. C6: mm hmm
107. M1: s lidmi o naši jako věře jako co my věříme přesně a
108. C6: mm hmm
109. M1: o víře a a co vy na to? vy jste věřící?
110. C6: ne: nejsem
111. M1: <u>vůbec</u>? v žádným případě?
112. C6: ne: jako ne- neříkám v žádném případě ale zatím (.) mě jako <u>já nevim</u> mě
113.   k tomu nevychovávali takže=
114. M1: =jo? nenašel jste jako důvod jako věřit
115. C6: no nenašel jo [takhle]
116. M1:   [jo?] uh huh no proto my jsme tady ((laughs))
117. C6: ((laughs)) no jasně
118. M1: nejsme tady abychom jako přesvědčili vás
119. C6: [mm hmm]
120. M1: [nebo] abychom vás vnucovali=
121. C6: =jako neříkám že (.) ne. (.) ale (.) za- zatím ne
122. M1: jo? [zatím ne?]
123. C6:   [zatím nejsem]
124. M1: aspoň jako chtěl byste jako slyšet nový (.) <u>názor</u>?

125. C6: no
126. M1: abyste jako mohl (jako mít svoj-) svoji názor na to?
127. C6: no jako nebráním se tomu
128. M1: jo?
129. C6: mm hmm
130. M1: tak to je dobrý kdy máte čas? (normálně)
131. C6: ((laughs)) kdy?
132. M1: mm hmm
133. C6: to já nevim (..) jako (.) na co?
134. M1: vy jste tady jako: (.) jako přes týden že jo?
135. C6: ne ne
136. M1: ne?
137. C6: jenom občas jsem zde
138. M1: jenom občas jste tady
139. C6: no jasně jasně
140. M1: uh huh.
141. C6: ne jako vždycky jen tak když mám čas nebo (.) když se s někým domluvím ze
142.   známých tady z blance
143. M1: [uh huh takhle]
144. C6: [tak sem přijedu]
145. M1: a kde bydlíte ještě jednou?
146. C6: břev- břevice nad vranici
147. M1: a to je jako kolem jako čeho
148. C6: uh: hradinec
149. M1: nebo co víte kde to je? (to T)
150. T: ne
151. C6: uh břevice nad vranici?
152. T: jo
153. M1: to je směrem
154. C6: tam as- asi tak dvacet kilometrů od kostelce nad vranici
155. T: jo
156. M1: a kde to je?
157. C6: uh kostelec nad vranici je [u moravského knína]
158. T: [u lešetic jo no dál no]
159. C6: mezi lešetice mezi lešetice a moravský knín
160. T: mm
161. M1: uh huh takhle. tak to je směrem- dobrý dobrý už [(tuším)]
162. C6:   [tak jo] když budu mít čas
163.   [takže]
164. M1:   [dobrý] dobrý
165. C6: přijdu podívat a-
166. M1: dobrý
167. C6: a děkuju
168. M1: dobře tak víte-
169. C6: přeju: hodně štěstí ať se vám daří
170. M1: dobrý dobrý tak-

171. C6: na shledanou
172. M1: na shle
173. C6: na shle
16:49

(6) 18:49
1.   M1: prosím vás můžu mluvit s vámi na chvilku?
2.   C7: no: co potřebujete?
3.   M1: nic jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci,
4.   C7: no
5.   M1: a tady my učíme zdarma angličtinu,
6.   C7: no
7.   M1: a dnes my snažíme mluvit s lidmi o tom,
8.   C7: no
9.   M1: já nevím jestli máte zájem? nebo jestli znáte někoho?
10. C7: já anglicky umim to (nepotřebuju)
11. M1: mluvíte? you speak english?
12. C7: no jistě
13. M1: yeah? ((slowly)) would you like to practice your english at our free
14.   conversation courses?
15. C7: mm I practice it every day (   ) ((walking away))
16. M1: yeah? at work?
17. C7: (yeah really) ((walks away))
19:14

(7) 8:33
1.   M1: mm prosím vás pane? můžu mluvit s vámi? krátce?
2.   C8: [bohužel] ((walking))
3.   M1: [jenom-] mluvíte anglicky náhodou?
4.   C8: ((keeps walking))
5.   M1: ((fast)) dobře tak na shledanou
8:39

(8) 9:11
1.   M1: uh prosím vás?
2.   C9: noo ((laughing))
3.   M1: můžu mluvit s vámi?
4.   C9: jistě ((laughing))
5.   M1: jo? ((laughing)) znáte nás že jo
6.   C9: cože?
7.   M1: znáte nás? (..) určitě. že jo=
8.   C9: =z ameriky?
9.   M1: jo
10. C9: jo už jednou
11. M1: jo?
12. C9: jednou jsem byl na tom na=

13. M1: =jo? vy mluvíte anglicky?
14. C9: <u>nemluvím</u> právě že jsem byl na kurzu že nemluvím anglicky
15. M1: jo tam (na středním)
16. C9: jednou vo prázdninách vo prázdninách letních
17. M1: aha na m- na horním náměstí
18. C9: uh to bylo tam na rohu u řeky tam
19. M1: mm hmm
20. C9: a pak ještě na horním náměstí to bylo taky
21. M1: jak dávno to bylo?
22. C9: vy, co děláte?
23. M1: my?
24. C9: no
25. M1: no my jsme tady jako misionáři, ze církve ježiša krista, my jsme z ameriky, oh
26.   většina z nich jako ten vysoký člověk tam, on je čech (.) ale ostatní my jsme
27.   američany, a my tady bydlíme na dva roky hlavní náš jako povolání je
28.   abychom mohli jako pomáhat lidem, skrze jako tím že jsme jako misionáři my
29.   mluvíme s lidmi o ježiši kristu
30. C9: mm hmm
31. M1: a: o bohu ale taky děláme další věci, jako například my učíme zdarma
32.   angličtinu, taky máme kurz (.) o tom jak přestat kouřit nevím- kouříte?
33. C9: mm ta angličtina mi nejde no
34. M1: yeah?
35. C9: mám jsem v prvákách na střední škole a (.) <u>vůbec</u> základy neumím ((laughs))
36. M1: ((laughs)) well chtěl byste se učit?
37. C9: no potřeboval bych no
38. M1: jo? spíš pracujete? nebo ještě studujete?
39. C9: ne:: to mám- šestnáct mně včera bylo
40. M1: jo máte šestnáct roku?
41. C9: no:
42. M1: opravdu? vypadáte jako dvacet dva
43. C9: jo?
44. M1: jo. ty brďo
45. C9: ((laughs))
46. M1: ((laughs)) tak to je- máte štěstí
47. C9: ne: šestnáct
48. M1: jo no víte co? já vám dám (.) leták
49. C9: (tak dej mi) leták
50. M1: to (.) na tu angličt-
51. C9: (no jak je to) je to placený? nebo pro toho kdo přijde tak to je-
52. M1: je to pro každého je to zdarma
53. C9: mm hmm
54. M1: my (..) um všechno co my tady děláme (.) je zdarma (.) my nechceme nic (.) a
55.   hlavní, (.) my jsme tady abychom mohli mluvit s lidmi o naši víře (.) o o bohu
56.   [a co vy jste věřící?]
57. C9: [ty vole to to to mě moc nezajímá to ne]
58. M1: ((ironic tone)) já tomu nevěřím,

59. C9: teď jsme se učili v literatuře jako
60. M1: jo?
61. C9: jako renezance (tamten) bůh ale jinak jako ne
62. M1: a co si myslíte o bohu? myslíte že (.) nějakou energii existuje nebo: prostě <u>nic</u>?
63.   nebo
64. C9: nevím nepřemejšlím o (týhle)
65. M1: jo?
66. C9: akorát na vánoce do kostela chodím
67. M1: uh huh. tak to je v pohodě
68. C9: a jinak nic
69. M1: ((laughs)) to je v pohodě nejsme tady abychom jako (.) vás vnucovali abychom
70.   abyste jako=
71. C9: =uh věřili jako
72. M1: jako chodit na
73. C9: jako cyril a metoděj ((laughs)) šíření křesťanství
74. M1: jo jenom my jsme tady protože (.) každý z nás my nedostaneme žádný peníze
75.   my platíme sami tady
76. C9: mm
77. M1: protože my věříme tomu že tyto věci? jako: víra v naších životech může nám
78.   pomáhat (.) určit- vy vyp- vy vyp- dyeh- vy vypadáte jako sportovec. vy jste
79.   sportovec?
80. C9: hraju fotbal
81. M1: jo?
82. C9: a (.) sázím ((laughs))
83. M1: ((laughs)) a možná jako před zápasem, jako: když to bylo těžký nebo ten další
84.   tým byl jako skvělý
85. C9: já dycky když potřebuju když (mám sázeno) vždycky <u>pane bože</u> ať (ho dá)
86. M1: <u>přesně tak</u> ((laughs))
87. C9: včera jsem šel na záchod modlil jsem se a pomohlo mi to
98. M1: opravdu?
99. C9: táta to taky jednou udělal,
90. M1: uh huh?
91. C9: [spíš potřeboval nějaký peníze]
92. M1: [a fungovalo to?]
93. C9: no jo
94. M1: tak vidíte
95. C9: ale musí to bejt na záchodě
96.   ((laughter))
97. M1: tak jdeme jdeme jdeme do WC ((laughs))
98. C9: ale jednou jsem to přeháněl nějak moc před zápasem (.) ale (.) z toho nic
99.   nevyšlo čau ((to C10, who is arriving))
100. C10: čau
101. C9: hele poď sem
102. C10: no?
103. C9: tady říká že když se pomodlíš že ti vyjde tiket ((laughter))
104. C10: no

105. M1: to je kámoš kolik je mu? šestnáct taky? ne
106. C9: mm patnáct ještě mladší
107. M1: patnáct?
108. C9: ještě devátá třída ten je největší ((laughs))
109. M1: neříkejte to opravdu?
110. C9: no
111. M1: patnáct roků?
112.   ((laughter))
113. M1: o:h ty brďo to není možný
114. C9: o maj god ((laughs))
115. M1: oh my g- (.) přesně tak. ty vogo. tak well? tak už vidíte jako vy jste už jako
116.   napůl věřící že jo? jako když se modlíte občas asi věříte že něco je tam že jo
117. C9: no: (.) ale tak jako (aniž bych si to) uvědomoval že [to je vlastně vono]
118. M1:   [uh huh] ale jako jak mu- co
119.   si myslíte jak můžeme jako vědět jestli něco je tam? (..) kdyby bůh existoval co
120.   by udělal nebo co by dělal abychom mohli to poznat? protože bohužel bůh tam
121.   nebydlí nebydlí kousek nemůžeme se zastavit u něho
122. C9: no
123. M1: ale to by bylo skvělý že jo ((laughs)) pane bože dejte mi odpovědi na na test
124.   zítra
125. C9: to by bylo jako v tom filmu božský bruce
126. M1: ((laughs)) to jsem neviděl
127. C9: no jak tam (.) byl bůh no, ale (..) já nevím
128. M1: ne?
129. C9: mně to připadá jako nesmysl
130. M1: jo (asi to je pohodě) ale já nevím jestli slyšel jste o nás? slyšel jste o církvi
131.   ježiše krista?
132. C9: jo
133. M1: jo? nebo slyšel jste o mormonech? náhodou?
134. C9: mormoni?
135. M1: uh huh
136. C9: to ne.
137. M1: to ne? no my jsme křesťanský církev, (.) a: my věříme v bibli určitě ale taky my
138.   věříme v knihu mormonovu já nevím jestli něco to vám říká? (.) ne? vůbec?
139. C9: neznám vůbec
140. M1: well (.) to je další svědectví o ježiši kristu protože, bůh ví že je to těžký
141.   abychom jako (.) mohli ho poznat
142. C9: a mají v češtině jo?
143. M1: uhuh to je (fakt) v češtině to je v japonštině (.) ne kecám
144. C9: (   )
145. M1: to je v češtině (.) ale jako bůh ví že asi skoro každý člověk nebudeme ho vidět a
146.   nebudeme ho jako zastavit v nebi tam ale, (.) a proto on povolal proroky na
147.   zemi určitě znáte mojžíše
148. C9: no
149. M1: jo? ten frajer jako rozdělil jako moři ((laughs)) (.) u:hm a ty proroky ty proroci
150.   spíš oni napsali své svědectví v písmech, a proto jako spíš v knihách to mi

151. říkáme jako písma

152. C9: jo

153. M1: a proto, jako když my jako čteme v písmech (.) nebo když my (.) u:m nebo

154. chceme se učit o bohu že jako můžeme číst, a můžeme se pomodlit o tom, a

155. jestli je to pravda, (.) tak můžeme jako skrze naše pocity a myšlenky můžeme to

156. jako poznat (.) protože (.) já jsem jako vyrostl v této církvi

157. C9: no

158. M1: moje rodiče jsou mormony (.) ale, taky měl jsem hodně s- zkušenosti ve své ve

159. své životě (.) tím že jako (.) no, když jsem byl jako mladší, u:m nevěděl jsem

160. jako jestli bůh opravdu existuje nebo jestli (.) mm tahle církev je ta správná

161. protože existuje je hodně církví že jo?

162. C9: jo

163. M1: je hodně církví (.) a jak můžeme jako poznat kdo má pravdu?

164. C9: já jsem byl ve vatikaně tam je (taková ta církev dřív)

165. M1: jo? (řimský) katolík

166. C9: no

167. M1: jo (.) a jak se vám líbilo tam?

168. C9: no pěkný no

169. M1: jo?

170. C9: já jsem tam byl ten tejden než umřel papež

171. M1: opravdu?

172. C9: no to jsem ho viděl naposled

173. M1: jo? (.) hm. já mám otázku pro vás. jako, určitě znáte o prorocích

174. C9: no

175. M1: a proč proč jako nemáme proroky dneska? (.) nebo bůh povolal

176. C9: to já nevím

177. M1: co si myslíte?

178. C9: já se o to nezajímám

179. M1: jo? vůbec?

180. C9: ale jako

181. M1: asi trochu protože

182. C9: nevím nevím jako

183. M1: to to je dobrá otázka ale nejsem tohle není můj obor, jenom jsem tady my jsme

184. tady jako na dvě dva roky a pak vrátíme se domů a studujeme jako cokoliv já

185. bych chtěl se se stát chemickým inženýrem

186. C9: chemický?

187. M1: uh huh.

188. C9: no:

189. M1: no to je něco úplně jiného co

190. C9: chemie chemie a angličtina (.) nesnáším chemii ((laughs))

191. M1: proč ne?

192. C9: děláte doučování i na chemii?

193. M1: jo?

194. C9: jo? to bych potřeboval chemii ((laughter))

195. M1: a co studujete teď?

196. C9: no na stavebce jako inženýr

197. M1: jo?
198. C9: no
199. M1: aha:
200. C9: no a všechno dobrý, kreslení, ale chemie a angličtina
201. M1: jo? hele jestli chcete? (.) jako my mluvíme my učíme tu angličtinu to je jako
202.   mimo hodinu angličtinu
203. C9: a takže to je každý úterý?
204. M1: a to je každý úterý
205. C9: jo
206. M1: a tam jako je dost lidí (.) ale jestli chcete? um občas my učíme
207.   lidí jako zvlášť tohle my děláme tohle asi tři: krát týdeně
208. C9: (no)
209. M1: máme jako zvláštní jako hodiny s lidmi (.) my je učíme angličtinu jako tři
210.   čtvrtě hodin, a pak se jako, patnáct minut na čtvrt hodiny nebo za půl hodinky
211.   my mluvíme o bohu, nebo o rodině,
212. C9: mm hmm
213. M1: o těchto věcech a je to lepší pro <u>vás</u> protože je jenom jako to je to je dvě
214.   američany <u>a</u> <u>vy</u> tak to je jako to je lepší než jako učitel-
215. C9: a jaký to je naučit se česky?
216. M1: já?
217. C9: no
218. M1: já ne- ne- nemluvím tak dobře ((laughs))
219. C9: ale jako-
220. M1: já asi dělám hodně chýb ((laughs))
221. C9: takhle kdybych uměl anglicky ((laughs))
222. M1: no víte co? já vás slibuju že jestli se chcete učit jako (.) my jsme tady je to
223.   <u>zdarma</u> můžete se, se naučit (.) proč ne?
224. C9: (..) to tak já zkusím přijít
225. M1: jo? [no můžem-] můžu vám zavolat?
226. C9:   [( )]   v úterý bych přišel no
227. M1: jo? můžu vám zavolat?
228. C9: na mobil jo?
229. M1: uh huh (.) už my jsme moderní misionáři
230. C9: ((laughs))
231. M1: máme mobily ((rustling sound)) jak se jmenujete?
232. C9: honza
233. M1: honza
234. C9: tady je každej honza (john jo)
235. M1: jan jo okay?
236. C9: uh pět set sedm šedesát devět třicet osum
237. M1: (tři set osum)
238. C9: <u>třicet</u>
239. M1: jo třicet
240. C9: třicet osum třicet pět (.) jo
241. M1: (   )
242. C9: třicet bez té nuly třicet osm třicet pět jo

243. M1: aha třicet osm třicet devět okay dobrý (..) takže tak (.) přijďte zítra
244. C9: přijdu no, no ve středu pak (.) nic není no tak jo zejtra zkusím
245. M1: dobrý a možná můžeme se domluvit na čas a my můžeme vám pomáhat jako to
246.   co potřebujete nejvíc jako vy (.) jo co máte problém s jako s tím s čím
247. C9: no: (.) jak se tam jak to tam probíhá? tam jako tam bude hodně lidí?
248. M1: mm: (.) no asi: dvacet lidí [tam] tam jsou tři [hod-] jako tři třídy
249. C9:   [no]   [( )]   já nevím
250.   kde to přesně je na náměstí
251. M1: nebo znáte-
252. C9: tam je hotel melinda to vím
253. M1: uhm tam na horním náměstí, na- víte kde je znáte modrý modrýho koně
254. C9: jo modrý kůň
255. M1: jo? je u toho
256. C9: mm hmm
257. M1: um taky tam se píše starožit- [starožitnosti]
258. C9:   [starožitnosti]
259. M1: uh huh a v této (.) spíš v tomto paneláku nebo ne- to není panelák
260. C9: barák
261. M1: v tomto jako baráku,
262. C9: uh huh
263. M1: my máme jako svůj jako já nevím jako místo, nebo
264. C9: dobrý tak (jo)
265. M1: tam se píše jako církev ježiše krista a tak (.) tam budou jako další lidi
266. C9: tak jo
267. M1: dobrý. jenom musíte jako zvonit jako-
268. C9: jak přestat kouřit tak já nekouřím
269. M1: jo? tak nemáte tu starost ((laughs))
270. C9: to je dobrý ((laughs))
271. M1: dobrý dobrý
272. C9: tak jo
273. M1: tak honzo tak čau
274. C9: tak jo: díky zejtra zkusím přijít
275. M1: dobře dobře [( )]
276. C9:   [( )] tam budete všichni? nebo vy budete (tam sám)
277. M1: u:h já a ty sestry, protože ty ty holky? (.) taky jsou amerikany
278. C9: mmhmm
279. M1: mm jo američanky, a: a dvě misionáři, bydlí v
280. C9: ( ) amerika s tou válkou pořád ((laughter)) to to je hrozný
281. M1: to je hrozný vůbec nevím proč tam dělají to dělají. už jsem tady rok a půl
281.   v čechách tak
282. C9: to je každý den ve zprávách
283. M1:američani
284. M1: ty ty američany ty amíci jsou hrozný že jo
285. C9: no ne mám rád eminema
286. M1: cože?
287. C9: eminema mám rád (.) bush ((laughs))

288. M1: bush a
289. C9: jak se jmenuješ ty?
290. M1: já?
291. C9: no
292. M1: michael
293. C9: majkal
294. M1: michael henderson
295. C9: majkal owen. hraje za nukestl. ((laughs))
296. M1: ((laughs)) znáte michael jackson?
297. C9: jo majkal jekson
298. M1: jo jo
299. C9: jo
300. M1: já jsem majkal
301. C9: ((laughs)) aha jo
302. M1: ale nejsem jako zpěvák
303. C9: dobrý
304. M1: dobrý tak honzo tak čauec
305. C9: tak jo ahoj
306. M1: čau ahoj
21:56

(9) 36:02
1.   M1: dobry den, (..) nevím jestli (.) <u>znáte</u> nás? náhodou
2.   C11: ne
3.   M1: ne? jenom posloucháte? my zpíváme trochu
4.   C11: vy jste mormoni?
5.   M1: <u>uh huh</u> (my jsme) tady (a jsme) tam
6.   C11: já jsem petr
7.   M1: já jsem henderson těší mě (..) a vy bydlíte tady?
8.   C11: jo v blanci
9.   M1: jo? a už jste jako mluvil s naši jako kamarády? nebo
10. C11: uh: já jsem křesťan.
11. M1: uh huh
12. C11: takže (já osobně jsem nemluvil nikdy)
13. M1: uh huh (.) máte skvělé šance dneska že jo těšíte se? ((laughs))
14. C11: uh (.) tak já vím že uh že jakoby mm (.) už že jakoby máte svoji vlastní knihu
15.   mormon, (.) a že nerespektujete bibli
16. M1: uh huh?
17. C11: u:h=
18. M1: =well to není pravda, my jsme křesťani taky, a taky my věříme v bibli
19. C11: jako jo, uh věřím tomu že jako dobře řekl jsem to špatně (.) ale no že (.) mm
20.   že jste tam něco přidali no, a to je pravě ta kniha mormon
21. M1: uh huh (.) w- kniha mormonova to není jako lepší než bible nebo horší, je to
22.   jenom jako prostě další svědectví
23. C11: (právě) no
24. M1: jako vy víte co to znamená slovo bible?

25. C11: slovo bible nevím
26. M1: mm hmm to je dobrá to je dobrá jako věc jako vědět to znamená kniha knih
27.   protože bible jako hodně lidi napsali bible to je pani mojžíš abrham a tak to to
28.   víte vy jste věřící že jo?
29. C11: mm hmm
30. M1: uhm a kniha mormonova (.) jenom (proroci) je to o lidech o prorocích který
31.   bydleli v americe
32. C11: mm hmm
33. M1: šest set let před kristem
34. C11: no, (.) a tomu já právě nevěřím no
35. M1: uh huh
36. C11: takže
37. M1: měl jste šanci jako ji číst?
38. C11: tu knihu? ne. nene
39. M1: jo?
40. C11: protože mm (.) já třeba, mm nebo máte třeba nějaký jako: (.) důkazy o tom že
41.   ta kniha mormon začíná dřív šest set let před (.) u:h jako před kristem jakože
42.   bible je velice jako snadno (.) u:h důkazy jsou velice snadné jako: doložitelné
43. M1: uh huh
44. C11: že jsou že jsou evidentní a: (.) ale no, jestli třeba u té knihy mormon je to taky
45.   takové
46. M1: well, exis- taky existuje důkazy
47. C11: no
48. M1: hodně hodně
49. C11: hodně
50. M1: um ale i pro ty lidi už jsem tady rok a půl v čechách
51. C11: mm hmm
52. M1: a i pro ty lidi kteří tady jako protože tady je hodně lidi není hodně
53.   lidi tady nejsou věřící
54. C11: mm hmm
55. M1: i ti ti jako důkazy pro ty lidi nejsou nejsou jako důkazy protože každý z nás
56.   můžeme myslím že opravdu věříme něco (jako například) možná ten pan tam
57.   možná není věřící a možná ty důkazy pro vás jako že bible jako slovo boží
58.   nejsou důkazy pro něho
59. C11: mm
60. M1: a jako (.) protože já si myslím že jako ty důkazy jsou tam ale nejlepší způsob
61.   jak každý z nás jak já jsem jako (získál) svoje svědectví je tím že já jsem četl
62.   bibli já čtu už jsem přečetl um nový zákon (já jsem-) a teď jako i pracuju well já
63.   jsem ji četl mnohokrát teď jako pracuju na starý zákon
64. C11: mm to je těžší no
65. M1: to je těžší ale stojí to za to protože když jako člověk (.) i když jsem i kdybych to
66.   nečetl tak já to nevím to neznám ah znám ty příběhy ale to je všechno
67. C11: mm hmm
68. M1: a stejným způsobem když člověk čt- jako čte v bibli,
69. C11: mm
70. M1: nebo v knize mormonově, ten člověk může to poznat um (.) skrze modlitb-

71.　　　modlitbu
72. C11: no jo ((text message sound)) jako (.) no já jsem (..)
73. M1: ale dává to smysl?
74. C11: jo určitě ale ale já prostě jako ne nedůvěřuju tý knize mormon jo? že-
75. M1: mm hmm
76. C11: že prostě si nemyslím že to bylo boží slovo
77. M1: a co-
78. C11: no?
79. M1: já mám otázku. (.) jako proč myslíte že to to není možný že lidi lidi nebyli pro-
80.　　　proroky nebyli proroci v americe? šest set let před kristem? nebo (.) že že jako
81.　　　mojžíš mojžíš byl prorok boží že jo?
82. C11: mm hmm
83. M1: a a co dělal mojžíš?
84. C11: já právě věřím tomu co je napsáno v bibli (.) a když by to třeba v bibli napsáno
85.　　　 nebylo,
86. M1: mm hmm
87. C11: tak nebo jako že není třeba že prostě byly dvě místa jo?
88. M1: mm hmm
89. C11: u:h tak ono to vylučuje to že (.) někde někde jinde (.) třeba v americe byla (.)
90.　　　u:h byla nějaká podobná věc uh taky mm: (.) u:h
91. M1: a píše se v-
92. C11: no já asi nerozumím tady že že
83. M1: nevím jo jestli bible říká že že existuje jako další lidi? nebo
94. C11: no že že bible jasně mluví je to o tom o vzniku světa o (.) o tom že přijde ježiš
95.　　　kristus a (　　) a to je právě v tom starém zákoně že jsou ukazovány vlastně je
96.　　　tam ukazováno na to že se to naplní v tom novém zákoně a (.) a není tam nic o
97.　　　tom že by to mělo vzniknout jinak a ta bible [(ta druhá) kniha je]
98. M1:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[co si myslíte-]
99. C11: je konsistentní jo? jako že dává logicky smysl (.) u:h i kapitoly do sebe
100.　　　zapadají dobře jo ale není tam prostě o (.) o jiné cestě jakoby (.) u:h tam není
101.　　　jako zmínka jo?
102. M1: mm hmm a
103. C11: a proto-
104. M1: a tam-
105. C11: proto si třeba myslím že (.) že jako se nemá nic přidávat na na tu knihu
106. M1: uh huh
107. C11: že že mě ta kniha sama o sobě je velice dobře jako logicky zapadá do sebe (.) a:
108.　　　to si myslím že je (.) uh že je ten jakoby mm racionální důvod, a pak jsou
109.　　　samozřejmě důvody jako duchovní jo? že že samozřejmě jako i to slovo je
110.　　　duchovní
111. M1: mm
112. C11: ah (.) a tak mi to dává smysl
113. M1: [mm hmm]
114. C11: [no v tom]
115. M1: a jaký význam máte vy?
116. C11: jako já jako člověk?

117. M1: uh huh oh jako vy jste <u>katolík</u>? nebo
118. C11: já jsem protestant
119. M1: protestant
120. C11: no
121. M1: uh huh (.) well, já vím že- že já jsem z ameriky, já bydlím v kalifornii
122. C11: mm
123. M1: tam je hodně jako baptistů
124. C11: mm
125. M1: methodistů, a tam je hodně jako mormonů (tam je dost) a (.) a měl jsem hodně
126.   jako mm (.) rozhovory nevím jestli tohle je rozhovor
127. C11: jo jo jo
128. M1: s lidmi moje jako přítelkyně ona nebyla jako mormon mormonka
129. C11: mm
130. M1: byla methodist jestli víte co to je to já jsem jako mluvil s ní o tom ale já si
131.   myslím že protože člověk může jako (.) co je co je nejlepší způsob, aby člověk
132.   se učil se naučil plavat?
133. C11: (.) jasně no (.) jako abych si abych si přečetl tu knihu mormon
134. M1: no to ne [to ještě ne]
135. C11:   [(ale ešte a nebo)]
136. M1: ale co je co je-
137. C11: to je jako-
138. M1: co je odpověď?
139. C11: začít plavat no
140. M1: jako to můžete studovat že jo? můžete mi říct tak to musí být takhle
141. C11: aha
142. M1: anebo takhle to je backstroke ((laughs))
143. C11: uh huh
144. M1: ale nejlepší způsob je <u>šup do vody</u>
145. C11: mm mm (.) jo jako myslíš abych si jako přečetl knihu mormon jo? nebo
146. M1: a jestli to není pro- pravda bůh vám neřekne
147. C11: určitě určitě to ukáže
148. M1: určitě bůh a jestli je ale musíte se pomodlit o tom jako s upřímným=
149. C11: =jo=
150. M1: =srdcem
151. C11: mm hmm
152. M1: a jestli to to je pravda bůh vám to to říká
153. C11: mm hmm
154. M1: a jestli to není tak musíme stále jako eště (.) ale (.) my jsme tady jako
155.   dobrovolníci ((C11 blows nose)) my nedostaneme žádný peníze
156. C11: já vím
157. M1: my obětujeme jako naši čas
158. C11: mm hmm
159. M1: my platíme sami naše peníze, protože věříme tomu (.) že tyto věci jsou pravdivá
160. C11: huh
161. M1: tak to je to je trochu šílený asi ((laughs))
162. C11: ne tak já tomu rozumím to

163. M1: jo
164. C11: taky jsem byl třeba na ukrajině a
165. M1: jo?
166. C11: no
167. M1: gavarite pa rusku?
168. C11: a ne množku
169. M1: ((laughs)) (já vůbec neumím) vy mluvíte anglicky?
170. C11: uh huh
171. M1: yeah? you speak english?
172. C11: uh huh
173. M1: have you been in america?
174. C11: yes I have been there
175. M1: yeah? where have you been?
176. C11: in wisconsin
177. M1: yeah? what did you do in wisconsin?
178. C11: i was working in a factory and
179. M1: yeah?
180. C11: hard work (hard work)
181. M1: was it fun?
182. C11: ((laughs)) not it was hard
183. M1: ((laughs)) what did you do?
184. C11: I (just) in a plastic factory and there was very hard (   ) and
185. M1: yeah
186. C11: and (heat) routers do you know routers?
187. M1: router what is that?
188. C11: its uh its like a drill uh uh s- to to (separate into two parts)
189. M1: uh huh you speak <u>well</u>.
190. C11: uh
191. M1: jako američan
192. C11: no ((laughter))
193. M1: (..) that's interesting (..)
194. C11: and (..) I believe that if I will be praying for the (right to say something about
195.   the   ) and that god can can give me give me any response but I don't
196.   believe that
197. M1: uh huh
198. C11: (he really does)
199. M1: well can I get the book? (.) můžu to vzít?
200. C11: mm
201. M1: můžu přečíst něco tam?
202. C11: u:h
203. M1: it's only three verses it's not long uh jestli nezemřete
204. C11: ne I I know that I don't já nezemřu stejně
205. M1: ((laughs)) no kecám
206. C11: no (..) no jakože
207. M1: jenom já říkám jako <u>zkuste to</u>. nemáte co ztratit ale jestli jestli to není pravda,
208.   tak, můžete pokračovat ve vaši životě

209. C11: já jsem jako spokojenej jako třebaže i dostávám jako od boha (.) u:h jako že se
210.   modlím denně a (.) a dostávám jakoby odezvu jo? že že že já prostě mm jako
211. M1: ale nechcete věřit že bůh by byl jako (.) nebo
212. C11: u:h (.) jako nevěřím tomu že že prostě něco by šlo jako proti proti bibli jo?
213. M1: mm hmm
214. C11: jakože uh já jsem prostě=
215. M1: =well=
216. C11: =jak bych to řek jo ale mm prostě bůh (a plní a plněj)
217. M1: like fill fill?
218. C11: no (.) a já bych nemusím udělat nic víc na to aby jim to dělal
219. M1: mm hmm
220. C11: protože já nemusíme mít žádný skutky jo? ani že že pokud no že že jako bůh
221.   miluje jako bezpodmínečně
222. M1: uh huh
223. C11: bez toho ani ani jako že on za to že právě v tom je ta jeho láska
224. M1: mm hmm
225. C11: že jakoby si neklade žádné podmínky
226. M1: jo já vím jako vy nevěříte grace nevím jak se řek- víte co to je grace?
227. C11: milost
228. M1: jenom jako mi- milost že jo? jako my jako náš skutky?
228. C11: věřím no nevěřím skutkům
229. M1: uh huh uh huh a vy jako my taky věříme grace jako bez bez milostu? to je spr-
230. C11: bez milosti
231. M1: bez milosti jo určitě nemůžeme být jako
232. C11: mm hmm
233. M1: být jako být spasen? to je spr-
234. C11: uh huh správně
235. M1: ale taky (.) my věříme (.) um že jako tam jsou jako skutky a i i tam se píše
236.   v v novém v novém zákoně
237. C11: uh huh uh huh
238. M1: ale to ne to neznamená jako nic
239. C11: (je) tam něco že víra bez skutků je mrtvá
240. M1: jo
241. C11: to je pravda
242. M1: to to je pavel to řekl že jo
243. C11: jo a ale (.) ale zároveň je tam jakoby on to říká v určitém kontextu jo?
244. M1: jo
245. C11: (že je   )
246. M1: a co je ten jako kontext?
247. C11: u:h (.) kontext je to že on jako napomínal
248. M1: mm hmm
249. C11: ty lidi který upadli do takový lenosti do do nicnedělání
250. M1: mm hmm
251. C11: no, takže a je to pravda že víra bez skutků je mrtvá
252. M1: mm
253. C11: jenže ono se to musí nějak projevit

254. M1: ale musí jako něco
255. C11: uh jakoby ten základ je je v tý (.) je v tý víře a v tý lásce jo? a a z tohoto musí
256.   plynout jo?
257. M1: mm hmm
258. C11: jo a pokud ty skutky plynou jakoby z toho že se to musí dělat že to uh je na
259.   zákoně napsáno tak to je to je špatná cesta jo?
260. M1: mm hmm
261. C11: protože je obráceně první první je první by měla být jakoby láska k bohu a
262.   z toho (.) by měly vycházet ty skutky jo?
263. M1: nevím jestli rozumím jako sto procent
264. C11: jako=
265. M1: =ale asi jako chápu protože to je co jako baptisti a jako methodisti věří
266.   v americe tak asi asi jako chápu
267. C11: uh huh
268. M1: ale já mám otázku pro vás vy byste řekl že jako bůh jako máte pravdu bůh
269.   nebude dělat jako zmatnost nebo (to je správný) confusion
270. C11: mm hmm
257. M1: to je správný?
258. C11: zmatek no
259. M1: zmatek uh huh uh huh a když jako kniha mormonova se říká něco něco jiného
260.   než jako co se tam píše v bible
261. C11: mm
262. M1: ale v bibli to je problém že jo ah máte pravdu tam jsou několik věcí co říká
263.   něco jiného ale taky musíte jako (.) h- jako uznat že jako existuje hodně církví
264.   dneska
265. C11: určitě no
266. M1: oni jako čtou to stejný bibli
267. C11: mm hmm
268. M1: a oni jako stejný vers úplně stejný vers a mají jako úplně jiný jako ve=
269. C11: =výklad=
270. M1: =výklad
271. C11: mm hmm mm hmm mm hmm
272. M1: asi bůh to nedělá že jo?
273. C11: u:h
274. M1: protože to je (.) to je jako (   )
275. C11: to jsme my lidi jo že že nedokážeme úplně pochopit
276. M1: uh huh
277. C11: co nám bůh dal (.) a každej člověk jakoby klade důraz na jiný jako čas že jo
278.   někdo mluví jazyky někdo prostě mm
279. M1: a to je jako křest například jako katolický jako církev jako pře- pokřtí jako
280.   takhle a dostal nějak jako pod vodou ale další n- dalším způsobem (.) bůh pavel
281.   apoštol pavel řekl jeden pan jeden (vyjde) jeden křest neřekl že tak to může být
282.   může pokřtít takhle a taky jako jako sprinkle water
283. C11: mm hmm
284. M1: nebo
285. C11: no jako každý tomu rozumí jinak protože uh člověk si to nějak vykládá ale já

286.   nemám problém v tom že (.) že jakoby někdo to dělá s- s- nevím s šálkem vody
287.   někdo někdo se potápí ale já myslím že důležitý je co ten člověk jakoby má
288.   v srdci a a důležitý je jakoby ty motivy těch lidí proč to dělají jo
289. M1: mm hmm
290. C11: jako že není důležitý uh jestli se to děje (.)že poliješ někoho jako s šálkem
291.   s šálkem vody
292. M1: uh huh
293. C11: kdyby to bylo kafe nebo to je <u>jedno</u>. důležitý je jako proč to je
294. M1: já si myslím že máte jako pravdu,
295. C11: no
296. M1: určitě jako tím člověk musí to jako vnitř protože bez jako toho to nestojí za nic
297.   že jo
298. C11: mmmm
299. M1: ale taky ježiš kristus on on dělal jako dobrý příklad je ve starém zákoně
300. C11: mm
301. M1: oni mají jako <u>přísný</u> zákony. (.) oni musejí jako obětovat jako zvířata jako
302.   jenom tento jako tímto způsobem a ježiš kristus jako on je jako um naplnil? to je
303.   správný?
304. C11: mm
305. M1: fulfilled the law?
306. C11: mm hmm
307. M1: ale, já si myslím že ještě ježiš kristus on taky jako má jako určitý jako proces
308.   (.) jako jak člověk musí jako být pokřtěn
309. C11: já si myslím že bůh se jako nedívá=
310. M1: =protože
311. C11: no?
312. M1: protože jako starý zákon to je to je jako jasný tam jako hlavn- ((laughs)) nikdo
313.   nemůže jako
314. C11: to je pravda
315. M1: to je pravda
316. C11: jsou ale právě proto on prostě tolik bojoval proti tomu (v určitém zákoně
317.   farismu)
318. M1: mm hmmmm
319. C11: že on jako (.) neměl rád to že se to dělalo kvůli tomu aby člověk jako vypadal
320.   sám před sebou jako že splnil všechny ty (   )
321. M1: uh huh
322. C11: a pak nechali třeba já nevím tu sobotu nechali někoho umřít protože
323.   (nechtěl) nebo jo?
324. M1: mm hmm
325. C11: a to přece není jakoby to nikdy jako bůh nechtěl jo?
326. M1: mm hmm
327. C11: jako že
328. M1: well jako ty lidi jako to ne- jako zmínili jako ty jako přikázání
329. C11: oni nezměnili přikázání
330. M1: well ti jako the herecies
331. C11: uh huh

332. M1: of the jews after like moses gave a law moses gave like the ten commandments
333.   and they feel the things and with time the people changed those things they had
334.   crazy rules like you couldnt cook on Sunday you couldn't set like an egg next
335.   to the fire
336. C11: yeah
337. M1: the crazy rules ((laughs))
338. C11: yeah these stupid uh I would say that they they understand the commandments
339.   by themselves=
340. M1: =mm hmm=
341. C11: =like if their their own understanding
342. M1: mm hmm
343. C11: u:h
344. M1: a co chcete jako svůj? nebo bůh?
345. C11: ale určitě určitě boží
346. M1: mm hmm
347. C11: mm ale (.) no že to není v tý formě
348. M1: mm hmm
349. C11: jako není to ve formě je to prostě mm
350. M1: mm hmm
351. C11: mm
352. M1: a to to respektuju jako my respektujeme každého určitě jako musíme ale víte?
353.   co jako moje (.) nejlepší (.) mm (.) jak bych to řekl (.) convict- conviction? je
354.   to-
355. C11: přesvědčení
356. M1: přesvědčení?
357. C11: mm hmm
358. M1: proč jako, (.) já věřím že tyto věci jsou pravdivé
359. C11: uh huh
360. M1: no za za prvé já jsem jako četl já jsem se pomodlil o tom jsem přemejšlel nad
361.   tím tak to je jako
362. C11: mm
353. M1: je to velký jako součást toho
364. C11: mm
365. M1: ale taky ((C blows nose)) u:m (.) já mám přesvědčení že je to pravda protože (.)
366.   ježiš kristus on byl syn boží asi on byl ne:j (.) jako (.) well vy znáte ((laughs))
367.   ježiš kristus on byl jako příklad pro každého. um myslím že on byl dokonalý (.)
368.   a všichni jako bojovali jako proti jako proti němu.
369. C11: mm
370. M1: že jo? a: on jako zemřel pro nás
371. C11: mm hmm
372. M1: a jenom no nevím (.) jenom já říkám zkuste číst jako tu knihu je to zdarma ne-
373.   nemáte co ztratit (..) aspoň zkuste to? až příště až mluvíte jako s námi můžeš <u>ah</u>
374.   už jsem četl váš kniha jako
375. C11: mm hmm
376. M1: a nevěřím tomu. ale musíte to přečíst s upřímným jako srdcem (.) myslím že
377.   protože (.) to je taky jako součást bůh ne bůh nám nedá odpovědi když my

378.   nechceme jako následovat
379. C11: mm
380. M1: jestli (.) to dává smysl? možná ne (.) [asi špatná čeština]
381. C11:   [uh huh]   já tomu rozumím
382. M1: when a person like reads the book just like a non-believer reads the the bible he
383.   just like reads it just to read it
384. C11: mmhmm
385. M1: he's like oh that's not god not from god that person has to like have a sincere
386.   heart has to be like, <u>okay</u> if I read this if I pray about it, if I'll <u>act</u> on the answer I
387.   get from my prayer
388. C11: mm
389. M1: a klidně já můžu číst (to třetí) jako knihu (v knize)
390. C11: já tomu rozumím, jo, ale mm (.) já já jako mm těžko můžu něco těžko jako
391.   můžu jít proti (.) mm proti bibli v tom jo? že že prostě já si myslím že že je ta
392.   kniha je úplná jo?
393. M1: mm úplná?
394. C11: dokonalá jako complete
395. M1: uh huh
396. C11: protože že už není jako potřeba k ní nic přidávat
397. M1: uh huh uh uh proč je to jako proti bibli?
398. C11: já neříkám že to je proti bibli ale (.) ale myslím si že bible stačí jo?
399. M1: mm hmm takhle
400. C11: já si myslím že že bible stačí i třeba (.) jako (.) třeba je hodně jako křesťanský
401.   knihy jo? a každej si tam přidává trošku jako svůj názor (.) a a snaží se prostě
402.   nebo baptisti se snaží trošku jako toho člověka někam dostat jo? uh já nevím
403.   metodisti se snaží zase trošku jinak jo? uh katolíci se snaží trošku jinak jo? a
404.   každá ta křesťanská knížka (.) uh se snaží prostě nasměrovat toho člověka tak
405.   kudy tak by měl jít a taky odpovídal jejich církvi jo? ale ale jenom když člověk
406.   bude číst bibli tak uh tak se třeba bude moct umět dobře vybrat která církev je
407.   mu nejblíž (.) a
408. M1: a co chcete?ta církev který je jako nejblíž k vám? nebo církev boha?
409. C11: ((blows nose)) uh já věřím tomu uh nevěřím tomu že my lidi bysme jakoby
410.   (.) měli (.) měli nebo dokázali vytvořit uh naprosto jako církev bez chyb
411. M1: mm hmm
412. C11: protože (.) to bychom museli být jako vždycky jako v duchu svatém (.) a to
413.   prostě ještě nedokážeme až potom až jako až v nebi jo to ještě ne jo?
414. M1: [( )]
415. C11: [a pak] si myslím že neexistuje církev která by byla dokonalá jo?
416. M1: to je zajímavý to jsem nikdy neslyšel
417. C11: no a a nevěřím tomu že je: jo? jako dokonalá církev
418. M1: a věříte tomu že ježiš kristus založil svou církev? když on byl na zemi?
419. C11: určitě
420. M1: jo?
421. C11: mm hmm
422. M1: a co ta církev? byla jako dokonalá?
423. C11: u:h ani ta jeho církev nebyla dokonalá protože

424. M1: to bylo prostě boží on byl dokonalej
425. C11: jo on byl dokonalej
426. M1: ((laughs))
427. C11: ale ne, lidi už ne jako že
428. M1: jojo tak
429. C11: jako že petr ho třikrát taky zapřel jo?
430. M1: mm hmm
431. C11: jako že
432. M1: smutný že jo?
433. C11: ono to nejde jo?
434. M1: tak vy věříte že ta církev je pra- jako je dokonalá ale ty lidi vevnitř nejsou
435.   dokonalé
436. C11: u:h (.) ((laughs)) já věřím tomu že to nemůže být jenom jako když (.) když
437.   pořád zůstáváme v duchu svatým jo?
438. M1: mm hmm
439. C11: protože nezůstaneme v bohu prostě my lidi ještě nedokážeme že k tomu
440.   směřujeme jo?
441. M1: mm hmm
442. C11: ale ale je to až tedy jako až umřeme jo? tak to bude naplňeno
443. M1: aby bůh nám jako
444. C11: ještě ne jo
445. M1: bůh nam jako říkal jako
446. C11: uh huh to je v bibli napsáno že my jsme svatí a jako dokonalí z jeho pohledu
447. M1: uh huh
448. C11: my k tomu směřujeme
449. M1: to je <u>zajímavý</u> to jsem nikdy neslyšel
450. C11: tak, to je v bibli no
451. M1: jo?
452. C11: jako že často no že jako že na uh ale (.) proto jako si nemyslím že ty tady na
453.   zemi jako by sme mohli mít dokonalou církev
454. M1: jo?
455. C11: a proto já jsem schopnej třeba jako přijmout to že budu chodit do sboru nebo
456.   (.) do kostela kterej bude v něčem jako chybovat jo? ale vyberu si to podle
457.   bible vyberu si to (.) vyberu si ten sbor kterej bude jakoby nejvíc odpovídat
458.   bibli
459. M1: uh huh. (.) no víte co? máte žádný jako jestli máte vůbec o- if you have any
460.   questions about the <u>bible</u> ((laughs)) I can guarantee you I can answer them like
461.   maybe not at very first
462. C11: uh
463. M1: but any question
464. C11: no
465. M1: možná teď ne možná jako na paměť ale každá otázka já vás slibuju já můžu
466.   najit odpověď
467. C11: jo jako v bibli se najdou jako všechny všechny odpovědi no určitě
468. M1: well a občas jako nemůžou protože já znám mám jako (.) jak se řekne (ty)
469. C11: a co?

470. M1: u:m popular
471. C11: popular?
472. M1: možná to není- tady já mám jako několik
473. C11: papír? certifikát? nebo
474. M1: mm ne já mám jako kamarády doma
475. C11: uh huh
476. M1: a jeden jeden z nich u:m on byl jako mormon jako dvě syny měl tři syny
477. C11: mm
478. M1: a jedna jedna dcera a dvě syny a jeho dcera oni jako nebyli jako moc věřící
479. C11: mm
480. M1: ah oni nechtěli jako jít na na shromáždění,
481. C11: mmhmm
482. M1: a tak časem nastoupili jako do dalšího do dalšího církve
483. C11: mm
484. M1: um ale jeden jako u:m jako syn (.) on jednoho jako dne se zeptal jeho jako kněž
485.   jako otázka o bibli
486. C11: mm hmm
487. M1: a on jako nevěděl odpověď protože tady je <u>hodně</u> věcí jako
488. C11: jako:
489. M1: jako isiáš to je to je šílený ((laughs))
490. C11: no
491. M1: já osobně neznám jako ty ty odpovědi
492. C11: mmhmm no
493. M1: ale nevím jestli to dává smysl vůbec. to je občas těžký abych jako přemýšlel
494. C11: uh huh uh huh
495. M1: ještě nemluvím dobře česky ale, snažím se
496. C11: je to dobrý (je to dobrý)
497. M1: domluvím se ale, (.) to je těžký (.) ale
498. C11: jo
499. M1: já myslím že jako mnohokrát (.) bůh nebude nám jako <u>lhát</u>. (.) um (.) bůh je
500.   pravda (.) on byl on jako byl pravda he was he's always been truth
501. C11: mm
502. M1: jako existuje pravidla a ty pravidla ta ta pravidla jsou jako navždy oni jako byly
503.   předtím a budou (.) jako: v minulosti er I mean v budnosti protože jestli oni
504.   jako změnili, (.) bůh už ne by byl bůh protože ty zákony jako změnili.
505. C11: mm
506. M1: nevím jestli rozumíte mi?
507. C11: (.) u:m, no snažím se
508. M1: yeah? d- v angličtině ((slowly)) god is perfect.
509. C11: mm hmm
510. M1: right? he's truth. and he works under certain guidelines under certain rules and
511.   he cannot be god he cannot be a just god a fair god if he (.) u:m if he lets some
512.   other people work under one set of rules, and then changes the conditions later
513.   on and lets other people work under another set of rules
514. C11: jako
515. M1: to je těžký tak to je v pohodě

516. C11: jako ty ty <u>pravidla</u> jestli jde o ty pravidla teď jako že že už stanovil nějaká
517.   pravidla a že se jako musí dodržovat pořád
518. M1: well, to ne jenom že on že jako (učil) lidem jako v minulosti že on existuje
519. C11: mm
520. M1: například mluvil s mojžíšem tváři v tvař to se píše v starém zákoně
521. C11: mm
522. M1: um
523. C11: jo a a (.)a   potom vlastně on jako říká že v novém zákoně (.) že že ruší
524.   v podstatě ty předcházející pravidla tím že (.) ježiš tam dal nový dvě který jsou
525.   jako důležitější
526. M1: mmhmm jojo
527. C11: a to to je jako milovat boha v první řadě
528. M1: a a jako na s-
529. C11: a potom milovat druhé [a sebe sama]
530. M1:   [uh huh]
531. C11: a to si myslím že: (.) je že z tohoto vychází
532. M1: uh huh
533. C11: že a pokud tady ty pravidla budou dodrženy, a to jsou tz nejdůležitější tak u:h
534.   tak budou automaticky naplněny ty=
535. M1: =ty ostatní=
536. C11: =ty ostatní
537. M1: uh huh já to chápu a
538. C11: a a stejně třeba on mluví jako že tím jak jsme uvěřili (.) takže nám dal do mysli
539.   a do srdce jako <u>jeho zákony</u>
540. M1: mm hmm
541. C11: no (to je) židům a=
542. M1: =a co je v bible skvělé jako místo kdyby každý člověk následovali jako ty děje
543.   nebo i jako desatero tak to je všechno (sen) ((laughs)) představte si
544. C11: tak jdu už do práce
545. M1: jo? kde pracujete?
546. C11: (ve škole)
547. M1: jo? vy jste učitel?
548. C11: no
549. M1: yeah? co učíte?
550. C11: management
551. M1: management?
552. C11: mm
553. M1: <u>wow</u>. a na universitě?
554. C11: mm
555. M1: yeah? kolik universi- (.) universite?
556. C11: universit?
557. M1: kolik universit- how many universities are here?
558. C11: three
559. M1: tři jo? (.) a to je dobrý. well, jestli chcete tu knihu je to zdarma já můžu vám dát
560.   a možná až to přečtete nebo jako číst jako trochu, můžete to nám dát zpátky
561.   jestli nechcete

562. C11: já si myslím že bych ji nečetl jo? jako že
563. M1: ale proč ne? (.) (tam-)
564. C11: protože (.) to už se vracím zase zpátky
565. M1: protože (pak potom) budete mít jako
565. C11: že si myslím že je že je bible je úplná no
566. M1: jo?
567. C11: no a že jsem- no žes- no že stačí jako že není třeba víc
568. M1: mm hmm well,
569. C11: a
570. M1: já bych chtěl jako vy jste jako inteligenty to je správný? muž ((laughs))
571. C11: tak nevím jestli je pravda, ale
572. M1: ale jo. ale (.) jako vaše otázky o knize mormonově o bibli (.) já bych chtěl jako
573.   (.) mluvit s vámi to tom
574. C11: mm
575. M1: aspoň (.) aspoň pro mě abych mohl se učit něco nového, protože (.) já jsem rád
576.   že byl jsem tady protože měl jsem hodně šancí abych se učil
577. C11: mm
578. M1: ne všechno co protože já jsem vyrostl ve církvi měl jsem jako já znám
579.   baptisty metodisty (katolíci) trochu a ostatní? neznám
580. C11: mm hmm mm hmm
581. M1: a taky jaky další jako náš církev jako učí nám nás abychom se abychom hledali
582.   pravdu
583. C11: mm hmm
584. M1: abychom jako
585. C11: to je důležitý no
586. M1: je to důležitý protože (..) a man cannot be saved in ignorance (.) nevím
587. C11: (a man cannot be)
588. M1: yeah já nevím jak bych to řekl jako v češtině
589. C11: (a tam bude)
590. M1: a man,
591. C11: mm hmm
592. M1: ((slow)) cannot be saved
593. C11: uh huh
594. M1: in ignorance
595. C11: uh huh uh huh
596. M1: u:hm (.) ale aspoň pro mě já jsem já jsem bydlel v lebedicích
597. C11: mm hmm
598. M1: na dvě měsíce tam byl hind- hinduist?
599. C11: mm hmm
600. M1: a a to byl fakt zajímavý víte že mají jako svůj kalendář? pro pro ně je to v roce
601.   dvě stě šedesát sedm nebo něco
602. C11: mm hmm mm hmm
603. M1: to je šílený
604. C11: no tak uh, (.) mm
605. M1: a jestli=
606. C11: =možná si můžeme vyměnit e-mail a můžem když když něco bude tak tak

607. M1: (bude)
608. C11: (bychom se mohli třeba potkat ještě někdy)
609. M1: můžeme jako vyměnit e-mail,
610. C11: ano
611. M1: ale my jenom e-mailujeme jako jen jednou jako za týden. a je lepší pro nás už
612.   my jsme moderní misionáři a máme mobily můžeme- mohu=
613. C11: =můžeme
614. M1: [mohli bychom]
615. C11: [(mobil)]
616. M1: jo?
617. C11: jo. tak uh (.) já možná (.) uh č- uh českej (.) normální českej mobil (.) můžu
618.   (   )
619. M1: mm hmm (..) a jak se jmenujete?
620. C11: já jsem petr
621. M1: petr? (..) well víte co? já můžu vás prozvonit (.) to asi by bylo nejednodušší že
622.   jo? jaký máte číslo?
623. C11: sedm osm pět
624. M1: ( ) (..) okay?
625. C11: dvanáct (.) nula čtyři jedna šest (...) ((calling sound))
626. M1: český mobil ((laughs))
627. C11: jo, to jsem dostal od bohu
628. M1: ((laughs))
629. C11: já jsem já jsem si to nezasloužil vůbec ((phone rings))
630. M1: dobrý
631. C11: určitě
632. M1: (..) víte co?
633. C11: ((rustling sound)) a tvoje to (.) jméno?
634. M1: uhm moje
635. C11: křestní
636. M1: křestní jméno je <u>michael</u>
637. C11: michael
638. M1: em aj jako znáte michaela jacksona?
639. C11: majkal jekson
640. M1: yeah ano (.) a a víte co taky? já nevím my jsme protože my jsme tady jako
641.   američany ((rustling sound)) (jenom tři) a my (děláme službu) (.) uh a my
642.   učíme anglicky taky že jo?
643. C11: mm
644. M1: jestli (potřebujete) jako (víc s američany) (.) my bychom jako a nemluv-
645.   nemusíme mluvit o nás taky jako o jako o bohu jen můžeme tam jít jako občas
646.   a můžeme pomáhat
647. C11: jako to <u>já nevím</u> no
648. M1: nevíte?
649. C11: asi nejsem tak kompetentní osoba
650. M1: uh huh jo? [jako k-]
651. C11:   [nejsem] nejsem
652. M1: jako confident?

653. C11: nenene že nejsem (.) jako nemám tu autoritu abych [(   )]
654. M1:   [uh huh takhle takhle]
655.   okay
656. C11: no
657. M1: no dobrý
658. C11: tak jo
659. M1: (tak fajn) mějte se hezky tak ahoj (..) <u>oh</u>. (   ) vy pracujete? dnes večer?
660. C11: dneska večer (to je   )
661. M1: jo?
662. C11: nebo první setkání uh ( )
663. M1: protože tady taky bydlí jedna američanka (v   čtvrtě)
664. C11: mm
665. M1: ona bydlí tady v blanci a ona rezervovala um pět drah na bowling na tescu
666. C11: mm
667. M1: my tam budeme od šestý do devátý dnes večer je to zdarma, tak
668. C11: no: já já budu pak do půl devátý (   )
669. M1: tak smůla, tak snad příště. tak ahoj ahoj
1:11:04

(10)
8:21
1.   M1: uh prosím vás? můžeme mluvit s vámi?
2.   C12: uh uh uh uh [<u>spěchám</u>]
3.   M1:   [jenom mluvíte] anglicky?
4.   C12: u:h spěchám ((walks away))
5.   M1: tak na shle
8:27

(11) 17:15
1.   M1: dobrý den paní
2.   C13: dobrý den
3.   T: dobrý den
4.   ((...))
5.   M1: znáte nás?
6.   C13: neznám.
7.   M1: neznáte
8.   C13: neznám ale
9.   M1: slyšíte náš moje <u>přízvuk</u> že jo? [yeah ((laughs))]
10. C13:   [vy jste asi cizinci]
11. M1: my jsme my jsme z ameriky
12. C13: <u>aha</u> studenti?
13. M1: [cože?]
14. M3: [uuh ne]
15. M1: já jsem z kalifornie
16. C13: <u>aha</u>
17. M1: my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci

18. C13: mm hmm
19. M1: uh (.) vy mluvíte anglicky náhodou?
20. C13: bohužel
21. M1: ne?
22. C13: bohužel celá rodina jo moje ale já ne
23. ((laughter))
24. M1: jo? víte co? možná můžete (.) (přijít na to) (.) [u nás] ((hands her flyer))
25. C13:   [no děkuju]
26. M1: my učíme (.) zdarma angličtinu tady
27. C13: (mm)
28. M1: (je to) tady na horním náměstí
29. C13: mm hmm
30. M1: um uh (.) (a my se snažíme pomáhat lidem tady) my jsme tady jako misionáři
31.   asi je to vidět=
32. C13: =jo je to vidět ((laughter))
33. M1: já nevím jestli možná jste slyšela o nás slyšela jste o mormonech?
34. C13: no tak slyšela
35. M1: yeah? (.) a co jste slyšela?
36. C13: takhle já musím musím [(teď na úřad)]
37. M1:   [jo dobře]
38. M3:   [no dobře]
39. C13: tak to předám
40. M1: dobrý dobrý tak na shledanou
41. M3: na shle
18:24

(12) 27:50
1. M3: prosim vás máte chvilku čas teďka?
2. C14: [co budete chtít?]
3. M3: [no jako] my jsme zde z ameriky jako j- uh jako dobrovolníci jedna
4.   služba děláme
5. C14: no:
6. M3: je učíme bezplatný angličtiny kurz
7. C14: jo:
8. M3: nevím (.) jestli (.) studujete angličtinu?
9. C14: no studuju no
10. M1: yeah (.) vypadáte jako student (.) jako šikovný student
11. C14: no:
12. M3: ((laughs)) no
13. C14: no já (.) spěchám já nevím potřebujete něco jinýho? nebo
14. M3: no, můžu vám dát (.) naše leták (.) leták o tom (nevím)
15. C14: jo:
16. M3: jestli chcete nebo
17. C14: jasný: jo já se podívám a (.) když tak zavolám
18. M1: dobrý
19. M3: no?

20. M1: a to je jedna věc který my tady děláme
21. C14: prosím?
22. M1: ( ) taky my jsme tady jako misionáři?
23. C14: jo
24. M1: ze církve ježiše krista [[(to byste viděl jestli se kouknete na to)]
25. C14:   [jasně jo]
26. M1: ale my mluvíme s lidmi o naši církvi
27. C14: jo
28. M1: a o bohu a n- asi a taky o rodině
29. C14: jo
30. M1: a nevím jestli vy jste věřící vůbec? nevím jestli
31. C14: tak jo, jsem no
32. M1: yeah? a co co věříte vy? vím že nemáte hodně času,
33. C14: no: tak (.) věřím tak věřím no
34. M1: yeah? a možná (.) pět vět co věříte? pět větů
35. C14: no já jsem o tom já jsem o tom ani nepřemejšlel
36. M1: yeah?
37. M3: ((laughs))
38. M1: well my jsme tady (.) abychom mohli mluvit s lidmi o těchto věcech
39. C14: jo no
40. M1: (o náboženství) o bohu já nevím jestli chtěl byste mluvit s námi? (jenom) půl
41.   hodinky
42. C14: nemám čas teďka
43. M1: nemáte ani půl hodinky?
44. C14: nemám. opravdu já musím jet
45. M1: já tomu nevěřím
46. C14: no
47. M1: well alespoň máme máme stránku na internet
48. C14: jasně tak se podívám
49. M1: dobrý dobrý tak díky moc
50. C14: jo
51. M1: na shle
52. C14: na shle
53. M3: na shle
29:28

(13)
32:21
1. M1: prosím vás (nemluvíte anglicky náhodou)?
2. C15: prosím?
3. M1: jenom mluvíte anglicky? protože my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu
4. C15: nemluvím ((woman walks away))
5. M1: tak na shle
32:30

(14)

50:29 ((quality of recordning influenced by background noise))
1. M1: prosím vás? můžu se vás na něco zeptat?
2. C16: ( )
3. M1: jaký je rozdíl mezi slovy dozvědět se a zvědět?
4. ((laughter))
5. C17: no (dozvědět to vím) to je jako když vám někdo řekne nějakou
6. zprávu a dovíte se
7. C16: jako vědět mam vědět nebo zvědět
8. C17: zvědět
9. M1: dozvědět
10. C17: no to máš-
11. M1: a zvědět jak je to? (.) dozvědět a zvědět jaký je rozdíl mezi mezi těmi slovy?
12. C16: skoro žadnej ((laughter)) nějak
13. M1: jo? (.) jak můžu to používat? (.) víte?
14. C16: spíš to dozvědět to zvědět se moc nepoužívá skoro vůbec
15. M1: yeah? to používáte víc? dozvědět? a tam musí být se k tomu?
16. C16: uh huh
17. M1: po každý uh do: dozvím se?
18. C16: no
19. C17: jo
20. M1: yeah dává to smysl?
21. ((giggling))
22. M1: okay (.) nebo co:: (.) jaký je rozdíl mezi slovy (.) scházet a sejít se?
23. C16: no scházet
24. C17: scházet se to jakoby se scházet jakoby pořád (.) můžem se takhle scházet
25. C16: (a scházet se)
26. C17: pořád jakoby
27. C16: scházet třeba se můžeme
28. C17: neustále
29. C16: každý pondělí a sejdem se (.) nevím
30. C17: ono to je skoro to
31. M1: to ještě jednou?
32. C17: ono to je skoro to samy ((laughter))
33. M1: uh to
34. C17: (můžeme se) pořád tak scházet třeba každý pondělí a sejít se ()
35. C16: my se třeba sejdem třeba nevím teďka za chvíle
36. M1: uh huh nemůžeme scházet uh dneska
37. C16: když my můžeme tak scházet to je jakoby ((giggling)) no jakoby jako když no
38. jakoby ((laughter))
39. M1: ((laughs)) ((to T)) that's way funny
40. C16: [no jako že je scházet se od scházet]
41. C17: [no vždyť to je skoro to samy že se sejdem]
42. C16: no to je no
43. C17: nebo ( )
44. M1: (tak to je zajímavý)
45. C16: ale my neříkáme scházet se sejdem

46.   ((laughter))
47.   M1: uh vy můžete jako hádat se domluvit se ((laughter)) (..) a vy mluvíte anglicky?
48.   C16: tak t- no tak jako hodně málo ((laughter))
49.   M1: yeah? my jsme z ameriky a my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu. nechtěly byste se
50.   učit
51.   C16: to je dobrý to už bych nestíhla
52.   C17: noo ((laughs))
53.   M1: víte co? mám leták může- (.) jestli znáte někoho nebo možná vy máte zájem
54.   nebo
55.   C17: můžeme (jeden leták) spolu
56.   C16: díky
57.   M1: prosím
58.   C17: děkuju
59.   M1: prosím
60.   C16: (   )
61.   C17: (   )
62.   M1: to je na na: (.) horním náměstí, víte kde to je?
63.   C16: jo
64.   C17: jo
65.   M1: určitě (.) vy tady bydlíte?
66.   C17: jo
67.   M1: jo (.) a to je od šestý do sedmý každý úterý
68.   C16,C17: to bysme nemohly ((laughing))
69.   M1: cože?
70.   C16: to asi ne no
71.   M1: jo? co máte?
72.   C17: tehdy zrovna ne
73.   C16: my jezdíme na koni
74.   M1: na koni?
75.   C16: no
76.   M1: opravdu?
77.   C16,C17: jo
78.   M1: a máte svůj?
79.   C16: jo vlastně jo (   )
80.   M1: wow.
81.   C16: (   )
82.   M1: víte co? já jsem z kalifornie
83.   ((laughter))
84.   M1: tak já to znám ale nemám svůj (..) wow. a vaše rodiče taky to dělají? nebo
85.   C16: ne
86.   C17: ne:
87.   M1: jo prostě máte jako koníček koníček
88.   C16,C17: no, jo
89.   M1: jo hele mámo já chci si koupit kon
90.   ((laughter))
91.   M1: kůň (..) tak to je zajímavý

92. C16: (no to jo)
93. M1: no možná znáte někoho (.) kdo by měl zájem
94. C16, C17: jo pár lidí
95. M1: jo?
96. C16: (určitě) se někdo najde ((laughter)) (taky my můžeme hodit) do školy ((laughs))
97. M1: jo no jako i jako ve škole jako
98. C16: no to to u nás to by bylo ((laughter))
99. M1: proč ne
100. C16: (taková síla)
101. C17: (   )
102. M1: ((to T)) these girls are way funny
103. ((pause, girls continue laughing))
104. M1: a jak se jmenuje váš kůň?
105. C16: rio
106. M1: jak?
107. C16: rio
108. M1: rio
109. ((laughter))
110. M1: tak to je hezký
111. C16: a jaký je to druhý ne
112. M1: kolik je mu?
113. C16: deset
114. M1: deset? jo? a jak dlouho jako kony žijí? nevím jestli je to správný
115. C16: no, ne ((laughter))
116. M1: ((laughs)) jak dlouho jako co je normální? deset roků? patnáct roků? pro jako
117.   kony (.) nevím jak se skloňuje how do you say that?
118. C16: jak dlouho jezdi- jako my jezdíme na koni nebo ten kůň?
119. M1: no jako ten kůň jak dl- jak dlouho žije?
120. C16: no nevím třicet roků
121. M1: třicet roku?
122. C16: no ten jo
123. M1: (to je to) je mladý mladý
124. C16: mm
125. M1: deset roků
126. C16: docela jo
127. C17: ((laughs))
128. C16: no jo
129. C17: třeba na (   )
130. M1: a co máte máte ho tady? (.) v blanci nebo (.) to je zajímavý
131. ((laughter))
132. M1: já jsem bydlel v lebedicích
131. C16: jo:
132. M1: a tam mají hodně
133. C16: no
134. ((girls talk to one another)) ((long pause))
135. (T: can we take the two? no)

136: M1: ((to T)) what? (.) ((to girls)) už jdete dobrý tak ahoj
137. C16, C17: ahoj mějte se hezky
56:24

(15) 1:23:19
1. M1: mm prosím vás víte kde je barák (.) sto dvacet čtyři? nebo znáte milana nov-
2.   nováka?
3. C18: nováka?
4. M1: jo
5. C18: tady v tý ulici?
6. M1: uh huh
7. C18: benická?
8. M1: uh huh no benice
9. C18: <u>pane</u> benice jsou [velikánský]
10. M1:   [jo já vím ale]
11. C18: [novák]
12. M1: [tahle ulice je něco podobného]
13. C18: ne
14. M1: to ne
15. C18: ne, neříká mi to nic
16. M1: nic?
17. C18: ne. (.) to může být (.) vo ulici vedle
18. M1: jo?
19. C18: a už člověk neví
20. M1: jo? tak v pohodě my zkusíme
21. C18: děkuji=
22. M1: =oh vy máte apple?
23. C18: prosím?
24. M1: vy máte apple počítač?
25. C18: mám
26. M1: yeah tak to je hezký (.) já jsem z kalifornie, a tam jako dělají apple
27. C18: (..) ((surprised laugh))
28. M1: to je zajímavý já nevím jestli mluvíte anglicky vůbec?
29. C18: aj ((likely English pronoun I)) velice málo
30. M1: yeah?
31. C18: já už jsem starší ročník a mě hlavně učili ruštinu=
32. M1: =jo da da=
33. C18: =jo? se kterou se stejně dodneška pořádně nedomluvím protože eh: (.) díla
34.   ruských klasiků
35. M1: uh huh
36. C18: gogola čekova uh dostojevskýho (.) eh vykládat jeho díla v ruštině tak
37.   eventuelně jo ale pro praktické využití jazyka abych si popovídal=
38. M1: =jojojo=
39. C18: =s rusem
40. M1: to je těžký
41. C18: on bude koukat na mě co mu říkám a já mu nebudu rozumět

42. M1: [asi jako mluvím česky já]
43. C18: [to je to je to samy jako] uh: tady učili angličtinu způsobem (.) no. čert to vem
44.   ((laughter)) no nebyla nebyla eh: možnost komunikace s někým kdo skutečně
45.   je angličtina [angličan]
46. M1:   [jee: víte co?]
47. C18: nebo mluví anglickým jazykem a největší průšvih na tom je nebo mluví
48.   anglickým jazykem a největší průšvih na tom je ten že tak jako někdy se
49.   nedohodne <u>čech s čechem</u> protože nářeční dialekty na severní moravě v jižních
50.   čechách
51. M1: mm hmm
52. C18: a východočech mu nerozumí o čem to mluví
53. M1: mm
54. C18: tak to samy je: (.) u:h jak oni tomu říkají kembridž? linguidž
55. M1: uh huh
56. C18: kembridžská angličtina (.) oproti třeba americký angličtině (.) [ten kdo]
57. M1:   [to je trochu]
58.   rozdíl ale
59. C18: no, (.) američan ten to jako malinko víc roztáhne (.) a ten kdo s- jako <u>čech</u> se
60.   jede učit angličtinu <u>tam</u>, tak tomu američanovi taky nerozumí
61. M1: jo? ((laughter)) no jestli chcete už máte <u>skvělou</u> šanci se učit anglicky. protože
62.   my tady uč- učíme zdarma každý týden na horním náměstí (.) tak jestli máte
63.   zájem tak přijďte=
64. C18: =budu si muset na to najít čas
65. M1: dobrý
66. C18: protože eh jsou okamžiky kdy (.) eh: člověku eh: (.) neznalost jazyka (.) voni
67.   (.)náš komenský měl pravdu kolik jazyků znáš tolikrát seš <u>člo</u>věkem
68. M1: mm hmm
69. C18: a jedu (.) nás dřív pustili na dovolenou do bulharska do východního německa
70.   nebo do maďarska tak tam jsme se všude jakž takž domluvili rusky ale teďka
71.   když je tady ta možnost cestovat <u>jinam</u> než-li do tohodletoho východního sektoru
72.   a přijedete třeba do řecka (.) tak v tý chvíli najednou člověku strašně <u>vadí</u> že není
73.   schopen se s těma lidma domluvit je vám někdo velice sympatickej, (.) chtěl
74.   byste si s ním popovídat, (.) ale <u>rukama</u> <u>nohama</u> <u>němčina</u> <u>angličtina</u> <u>ruština</u> to je
75.   to je taková paskvil a stejně (.) uh ty takový ty jemný <u>nuance</u> co jsou fff- v tý řeči
76.   uniká vám smysl těch
77. M1: mm well snad se uvidíme
78. C18: určitě.
79. M1: dobrý
80. C18: najdu si najdu si
81. M1: mějte se hezky
82. C18: děkují pane
83. M1: na shle na shle
84. C18: na shledanou
1:27:05

(16) 1:34:47

1. M1: prosím vás můžete pomoct?
2. C19: (mm hmm)
3. M1: my musíme najít někoho
4. C19: mm hmm
5. M1: on se jmenuje milan (.) novák nebo=
6. C19: =je:žiš to já podle jména vás asi (.) to asi těžko
7. M1: jenom znám že on bydlí tady (.) um benice (.) je tuto oblast má číslo
8. C19: to vám neporadím
9. M1: vůbec nic?
10. C19: jak je ještě to jméno jednou?
11. M1: milan novák
12. C19: novák
13. ((...))
14. M1: a vy vypadáte jako šikovná žena
15. C19: [((laughs))] jo: ale nikoho neznám ((laughter))
16. M1: [(   )]
17. C19: protože nejsem drbna já neznám (mnoho lidi) ani ( ) to vám neporadím fakt
18.   nevím
19. M1: jo? a bydlíte tady?
20. C19: no tadyhle ještě takhle ještě takhle kéž by mám k tomu mám to kousek na
21.   hřbitov=
22. M1: =jo?=
23. C19: =aby tady se mnou neměli starosti pak
24. ((laughter))
25. C19: ne jako tohle mě n- tohle mě vůbec nic neříká no
26. M1: jo?
27. C19: ono ulici vůbec že jo oni já vím oni to (.) taky nemus- (.) ale starý benice ty
28.   jsou zase spíš tamhle dole kdyby
29. M1: [jo uh huh]
30. C19: [protože] my píšeme ulici že jo=
31. M1: =jojojo=
32. C19: =na tomhle sídlišti
33. M1: nedostal jsem jako: (.) protože my jsme tady jako misionáři
34. C19: jojo
35. M1: je to vidět
36. C19: zkuste teda tadyhle takhle ještě tam jsou takový původní (.) obyvatele z benic
37.   jo?
38. M1: a kde?
39. C19: tadyhle (jak přejdete tady) tu hlavní silnici
40. M1: jo tamhle
41. C19: tak tam v těch barákách ale já já fakt nevím jo?
42. M1: mm hmm okay dobrý
43. C19: protože tady to má všechno každej ulici jo takže
44. M1: jojojo dobrý tak díky moc
45. C19: zkuste to no ((laughs))
46. M1: a poslední před- než odejdete my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci,

47. C19: mm mm
48. M1: a tady my děláme několik věci,
49. C19: mmm
50. M1: například učíme zdarma angličtinu
51. C19: no vidíte to
52. M1: nevím jestli znáte někoho kdo by měl zájem? (na)
53. C19: můj známej chodí právě aby se takhle (.) <u>stýkal</u> nějak jako aby mluvil anglicky
54.　　　ten chodí někde (.) myslím do média (takže　)
55. M1: no možná můžete
56. C19: to <u>nemůžu</u> mu dát vaši adresu. to by mě zabil ((laughs))
57. M1: nechcete ani leták? na to
58. C19: nebo <u>jo</u> <u>letáček</u> mu dejte.
59. M1: jojo
60. C19: no já myslela jestli nechcete kontakt na něj
61. M1: nenenene to ne
62. C19: no <u>dobrý</u> to mu dám no
63. M1: jenom jako kon- kontakt
64. C19: no
65. M1: [ale-]
66. C19: [a kdo ví] jestli vůbec taky k vám někdy nebyl
67. M1: je to od šestý do sedmý v úterý
68. C19: mm hmm:
69. M1: u:m na horním náměstí [jest-]
70. C19: 　　　　　　　　　[právě] že tady čtu to horní náměstí protože taky tam 71.
asi jednou nebo dvakrát někdy už (měl zač)
72. M1: a taky my my děláme několik věci taky my učíme kurs (.) o tom jak přestat
73.　　　kouřit, jestli kouříte?
74. C19: ((lowered voice)) na to bych měla jít já no já už radši jdu. na shle <u>děkuju</u>
75. M1: na shle
76. M3: na shle
1:37:16

(17)
1:48:47 ((quality of recording influenced by background noise – passing cars))
1.　M1: prosím vás? (.) můžu se vás na něco zeptat?
2.　C20: no
3.　M1: jestli znáte kde je barák sto sedmdesát čtyři tady
4.　C20: jakej?
5.　M1: sto sedmdesát čtyři
6.　C20: no tak když tak to bude tam na tý druhý straně tam jsou šlácka tam nejsou
7.　　　benice benice jsou tam přes křižovatku rovně a sto sedmdesát čtyři já vím kde
8.　　　je ten barák sto sedmdesát čtyři to nevím
9.　M1: jo?
10. C20: ale vím že ty benice jsou tam
11. M1: yeah? nebo znáte milana nováka?
12. C20: bohužel

13. M1: neznáte
14. C20: bohužel
15. M1: protože protože my tam byli a (a nic)
16. C20: tam někde musí bejt protože tam jsou benice
17. M1: yeah? to je v pohodě (.) well (.) my mluvíme s vámi nevím jestli znáte nás
18. C20: (myslím že jo)
19. M1: my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci a tady my děláme několik věci ((phone ringing))
20.   my učíme zdarma angličtinu ((M1 turns off phone)) a:le (.) je- vy mluvíte vy
21.   mluvíte anglicky náhodou?
22. C20: uh moc ne
23. M1: yeah? chtěl byste se učit?
24. C20: uh tak zatím o tom ani moc neuvažuju
25. M1: proč ne? ještě studujete? nebo
26. C20: no zatím ještě studuju
27. M1: yeah? no alespoň můžu můžu vám dát leták a i
28. C20: no můžete
29. M1: možná znáte někoho můžete (.) předat někomu
30. C20: uh huh děkuju
31. M1: a taky my učíme kurs o tom jak přestat kouřit
32. C20: uh huh=
33. M1: =jestli kouříte
34. C20: už ne
35. M1: už ne?
36. C20: už jsem přestal.
37. M1: jak jste přestal?
38. C20: u:h v- vůlí sám
39. M1: yeah jenom jako
40. C20: uh huh
41. M1: už nechci jako kouřit
42. C20: no jako prostě bylo to těžší ale přestal jsem no
43. M1: to je dobrý kolik je vám:
44. C20: sedmnáct
45. M1: yeah? a jak dlouho už jste kouřil?
46. C20: asi skoro rok
47. M1: jo?
48. C20: no
49. M1: tak to je <u>dobrý</u> docela (.) well a poslední? my jsme tady jako misionáři
50. C20: mm hmm
51. M1: a já nevím jestli znáte nás? nebo slyšel jste o nás? slyšel jste o církvi ježiše
52.   krista?
53. C20: jo (to jsem)slyšel
54. M1: yeah co jste slyšel?
55. C20: (církev ježiše krista no)
56. M1: co jste slyšel?
57. C20: (.) vím akorát že existujete ale jako
58. M1: yeah? ale to je všechno

59. C20: no to je tak všechno ((laughs)) bohužel
60. M1: nebo možná jste slyšel o mormonech? (.) něco to vá-
61. C20: to nevím (.) to mi nic neříká
62. M1: ne?
63. C20: (nebo nevím)
64. M1: well my jsme tady a my mluvíme s lidmi,
65. C20: mm hmm
66. M1: o bohu o rodině my máme skvělý poselství
67. C20: mm hmm
68. M1: uhm a já nevím jestli vy jste věřící?
69. C20: no tak (.) nevím. já v tom moc ne- bohužel nevěřím tomuhleto
68. M1: yeah? no ales- alespoň věříte v nějakou energii nebo něco jo?
69. C20: no to asi jo [ale]
70. M1:   [nebo]
71. C20: v boha moc ne
72. M1: a bydlíte tady v blanci? nebo
73. C20: no v (šláckách) právě jdu odtamtud do benic
74. M1: yeah?
75. C20: no
76. M1: jo tam máte
77. C20: to jsou šlácka
78. M1: aha to je hezký a vy studujete tady v blanci?
79. C20: no tady v blance na strojárně na průmce
80. M1: yeah? tak to je hezký well já nevím jestli (.) chtěl byste jako <u>slyšet</u> názor na
81.   bohu nebo protože my jsme tady (.) na na dva roky abychom mohli mluvit
82.   s lidmi o bohu (.) protože my věříme tomu že on existuje (   )
83. C20: takhle já neříkám že neexistuje
84. M1: yeah? um (.) a já nevím jestli (.) slyšel jste (.) o josefu smithovi?
85. C20: (.) asi ne
86. M1: asi ne nebo možná o o mojžíšovi?
87. C20: to jo
88. M1: yeah?
89. C20: jo
90. M1: a co: co o mojžíšovi? co jste slyšel? ((laughter)) ten byl fešák asi
91. C20: ((laughs)) já jsem o něm <u>slyšel</u>. slyšel jsem o něm toho dost ale já si to
92.   nepamatuju bohužel moc
93. M1: yeah? well on byl prorok boží (.) on žil asi před (..) několik tisíce roku (.) a on
94.   rozdělil jako moře mořu=
95. C20: =jo a prošel
96. M1: uh huh
97. C20: a přived ten svůj [(národ)]
98. M1:   [uh huh] uh huh uh huh já čtu v nov- ve starém zákoně právě
99.   jako dneska jsem četl (.) ten příběh (.) ale náš náš poselství je že bůh existuje a
100.   on povolal muži jako on povolal mojžíše
101. C20: mm hmm
102. M1: uh aby byl prorok (.) aby mohl (.) ukázat lidem že bůh existuje (.) a taky aby

103.   mohl jako napsat své svědectví (.) v knihách to my říkáme to my říkáme <u>písma</u>
104.   (.) asi (.) asi znáte bibli že jo?
105. C20: jo to jo
106. M1: [to jste šikovný kluk]
107. C20: [to jsem si to jsem si i učil] dokonce
108. M1: yeah?
109. C20: [na literatuře no]
110. M1: [a četl] jste ji?
111. C20: ne bohužel nečet
112. M1: ne?
113. C20: bohužel nečet
114. M1: ne nemáte čas? nebo
115. C20: no: já spíš (.) ani knížky celkově moc nečtu já na tohle moc ne to nejsem
116. M1: yeah? a máte rád dějiny? nebo
117. C20: ah taky moc ne ((laughs)) mě to nebaví
118. M1: ((laughs)) to vám nebaví?
119. C20: ne nebaví mě dějiny ne
120. M1: a co co vám baví? co vás baví nebo co vám baví?
121. C20: co mě baví?
122. M1: co vám baví?
123. C20: (.) no: tak je toho dost ale nic kolem jako školy (nebo jako to) učení
124. M1: yeah?
125. C20: jako dějiny nějaký to moc ne
126. M1: yeah? víte co? já nevím (.) možná máme něco my- (.) protože my máme
127.   přezdívku mormony
128. C20: mm hmm
129. M1: protože my věříme v bibli ale taky věříme v knihu mormonovu
130. C20: mm hmm
131. M1: a jestli něco to vám ř- ř- říká
132. C20: neříká
133. M1: vůbec nic?
134. C20: vůbec bohužel nic
135. M1: no co to je, to je další svědectví (.) o ježiši kristu
136. C20: mm hmm
137. M1: že on (.) fakt žil (.) že on mm (.) byl syn boží (.) a skrze něho můžeme se vrátit
138.   k bohu (.) a to má to má několik obrazů. chcete se jako podívat na obrázky?
139. C20: náhodou já spěchám já-
140. M1: vy spěcháte?
141. C20: no já sp- já spěchám docela
142. M1: no jako pět- víte co?
143. C20: no?
144. M1: uhm taky my spěcháme protože musíme najít toho může
145. C20: mm hmm
146. M1: ale já nevím jestli chtěl byste (.) s- jako mluvit, jdeme na kofolu nebo něco,
147.   můžeme se bavit půl hodinky, (.) to by šlo? můžu vás prozvonit?
148. C20: můžete

149. M1: jo?
150. C20: jestli chcete číslo
151. M1: okay jak se má- jaký máte číslo?
152. C20: osm pět osm
153. M1: osm pět osm
154. C20: šest šest
155. M1: šest šest
156. C20: uh třicet šest
157. M1: třicet šest
158. C20: tři nula
159. M1: oh (..) jo?
160. C20: uh huh
161. M1: dobrý (.) a jak se jmenujete?
162. C20: marek
163. M1: marek (...) ( ) dobrý (.) tak my vám zavolám
164. C20: mm hmm
165. M1: u:m (.) nebo hele co děláte zítra večer?
166. C20: je: já mám o víkendu celý mimo úplně totálně
167. M1: jo?
168. C20: mm
169. M1: kam jdete?
170. C20: no tak budu s přítelkyní za kterou teď jdu potom se musím eště učit protože
171.   něco nezvládám do školy
172. M1: yeah?
173. C20: a pak eště někam do těch ( )
174. M1: okay tak nechceme vás podržovat (.) tak mějte se asi příští týden já vám
175.   zavolám jo?
176. C20: mm hmm[tak jo děkuju]
177. M1:   [dobrý tak zatím mějte ahoj]
178. C20: vy taky na shle
1:55:44

(18)
((M1 and M3 have been looking around in a motorcycle shop, C21 has shown them
motorcycles, pictures of owner, talked about his trips to the US))
2:14:03
1.   M1: so why haven't you been to america? just no time?
2.   C21: no time a lot of work no money ((laughs))
3.   M1: yeah. (.) that's true. alright well thanks for showing us your stuff well you know
4.   what? before I leave we're here as volunteers and we teach free english here
5.   C21: mm hmm (.) okay
6.   M1: and maybe if you have time on tuesday night? it's free, you can come
7.   C21: thank you
8.   M1: or if you know someone who would like to
9.   C21: mm hmm
10. M1: zlepšovat svou angličtinu

11. C21: mm hmm mm hmm
12. M1: they can come as well
13. C21: okay. I will tell that to my chief ((laughs))
14. M1: yeah sounds great <u>wow</u> I would- tell him that theres a guy from california that
15.   he wants to talk to him
16. C21: ((laughs)) okay (.) fine thanks a lot
17. M1: okay
2:14:47
((conversation continues regarding other objects in the store, departure))

 (19)
9:58
1.   M3: no prosím vás (můžu se vás na něco zeptat?)
2.   C22: no co byste potřebovali?
3.   M3: uuh my jsme zde z ameriky uh jako jako dobrovolníci my jsme zde z naše
4.   církvi uh církev ježiše krista, a taky jeden služba děláme je uh učíme uh
5.   angličtinu kurz kurz (.) uh nevím jestli uh umíte uh angličtinu anebo jestli
6.   (věděte)
7.   C22: no jo, trošku
8.   M3: no trošku?
9.   M1: ((laughs))
10.   M3: nevím jestli
11.   C22: my speak english is very small
12.   ((laughter))
13.   M1: yeah?
14.   M3: sounds good
15.   M1: you speak <u>good</u>
16.   M3: sounds good (..) um (.) mám leták o tom
17.   C22: díky
18.   M3: jeden pro vás pro vás
19.   (   )
20.   M1: a <u>i</u> pro vás ((laughs))
21.   M3: a i pro vás (.) uh taky hlavní my jsme zde je protože věříme v bůh (.) v boha
22.   promiňte (můj češt-)
23.   C22: v boha no
24.   C23: mm
25.   M3: čeština je ne- není dobré ((laughter)) ale nevím jestli jste věřící nebo (.) (v bohu)
26.   C22: no já trochu trochu věřím,
27.   M3: mmhmm
28.   C22: ale jako občas mám i pochybnosti ale jako věřím
29.   M3: mm hmm (.) no jako jaký forma něco jako energie nebo (.) b- bůh jako
30.   C22: mm
31.   M3: um jako věříme v bůh uh (.) taky v je- v ježiši kristu um (.) jako (.) a taky
32.   ((laughs)) čeština je
33.   M1: ale dobré mluví
34.   M3: nee

35. M1: domluví se už jo
36. M3: ne: není dobré
37. M1: je tady tři měsíce tady v čechách
38. C22: tak na to že jste tady tři měsíce tak mluvíte docela dobře to jo
39. C23: jo docela dobrý
40. M1: no tři měsíce
41. M3: myslím že to není dobrý
42. C22: jako v zahraničí říkají hlavně v itálii že čeština je (pomalu) nejtěžší jazyk jako
43. M3: jo
44. C22: tak to umíte perf- to umíte docela pěkně už na tu dobu
45. M3: mm je to velmi těžký pro mě uh (.) taky um jako věříme v bibli a nevím jestli
46.   umíte
47. C22: no desatero (.) přikázání
48. M3: no
49. C22: to ne
50. M1: ((laughs))
51. C22: (   )
52. M1: to neumíte? nebo to neznáte? nebo to nesledujete? nebo ( ) =
53. C22: =jako <u>znám</u> ale neumím to nazpaměť
54. M1: ah takhle
55. C22: vím že jako tam je nepokradeš,
56. M1: mm
57. C22: a takovýdle ale jak to přesn=
58. M1: =uh=
59. C22: =kolik tam toho přesně je vím že tam toho je deset ale co přesně to nevím
60. M1: uh huh
61. C22: takhle jako ne
62. M1: a to to neznám v češtině
63. M3: ((laughs)) no, (.) a my věříme v bibli. (.) a nevím jestli čtete bibli trošku nebo
64. C22: no už jsem to trochu čet
65. M3: mm hmm
66. C23: já jako moc ne nejsem moc dobrý čtenář
67. M1: ((laughs lightly))
68. C23: ale jako
69. M3: ((laughs lightly))
70. C23: občas do toho kouknu no (.) no když si musím šáhnout do svědomí
71. M1: a kolik je vám?
72. C23: šestnáct
73. C22: (osmnáct)
74. C23: mně je šestnáct
75. M1: osmnáct? a vám?
76. C24: šestnáct
77. M1: šestnáct? yeah? vy máte jak se řekne česky tohle? ((indicates facial hair))
78. C23: bradka
79. M1: bradka vy máte krásnou bradku
80. ((laughter))

81. M1: ty brďo vypadáte jako máte dvacet dva roků
82. ((laughter))
83. M3: no
84. M1: jako on řek (.) my jsme tady jako misionáři ze církve ježiše krista (.) a my
85.   mluvíme s- o bohu s lidmi (.) o ježiši kristu (.) o rodině (.) to je důležitý (.) asi
86.   rodina rodiny jsou důležitý pro vás že jo?
87. C23: [mm hmm]
88. M1: [že máte] svoji rodinu? a kolik máte jako sourozenci?
89. C23: já mám dva
90. M1: jo co vy?
91. C22: sourozence? dva taky jeho a ještě jednoho doma
92. M1: jo vy jste jako?
93. C22: no
94. C24: no
95. M1: tak to je <u>dobrý</u> docela ((laughter)) a vy znáte (.) u:m pavla vano?
96. C22: koho?
97. M1: pavel vana vano
98. C22: mm mm ne
99. C23: to mi nic neříká já jsem teda tady z blance ale mně to nic neříká ale tyhle ne ty
100.   nejsou z blance
101. M1: odkud?
102. C23: jsou kamarádi z (   ) z učňáku
103. C22: z nízkého blaníka to je takový město (třicet kilometrů) odsud
104. M1: <u>ah</u> to je daleko?
105. C22: tak třicet kilometrů
106. M1: yeah?
107. C23: mm
108. M1: tak to je to není tak daleko a kde bydlíte vy tady?
109. C23: já bydlím u muzea
110. M1: u muzea? jo tak to je kousek
111. C23: no
112. M1: a jak se jmenujete?
113. C23: tomáš pavel
114. M1: jo tak čauec já jsem henderson
115. M3: no jsem (.) sundin
116. M1: a jak se jmenujete?
117. C22: michal černický
118. M1: tak čau henderson
119. C24: jarda černický
120. M1: no čau
121. M3: sundin
122. M1: a kde studujete?
123. C23: v krčinném (.) v bílých horách
124. M1: yeah?
125. C23: to jsou hory naše bílé hory a krčinné je takový malinkatý městečko učíme na
126.   zedníky

127. M1: co to je zed-? oh like a bricklayer ((to T))
128. T: yeah
129. C22: stavějí baráky ale jak se to řekne česky? jak se to řekne česky teda anglicky to
130.   nevím zedníky
131. M1: bricklayer
132. T: or mason
133. M1: or mason yeah mason
134. M3: mason
135. M1: ((laughs))
136. M3: mm hmm
137. M1: tak to je dobrý no víte <u>co</u>? já nevím jestli chtěl byste s námi mluvit trochu o
138.   bohu o o o čemkoliv my jsme tady my tady bydlíme (.) (v tom) no, máme
139.   trochu máte trochu čas <u>teď</u>?
140. C23: no moc ne právě
141. M1: moc ne?
142. M3: mm hmm moc ne?
143. C23: no moc ne ale (teď jsem se na to koukal jako) tam se dá přijít i v <u>jiný</u> <u>dny</u> než
144.   v to úterý?
145. M1: no to je my jenom učíme tu angličtinu v úterý a to je bez náboženství, a
146.   normálně my scházíme s lidmi přes týden- můžu vás prozvonit? a pak až máte
147.   čas, až my máme čas, můžeme jako vám poslat esemesku
148. C23: uh já nevím jestli budu mít tohleto číslo furt protože tohle není můj telefon já
149.   to mám půjčený jenom=
150. M1: =<u>aha takhle</u>=
151. C23: =a jinak telefon nemám
152. M1: nemáte?
153. C23: <u>mm</u> mm
154. M1: a jak dlouho budete mít- budete ho mít?
155. C23: tak do večera. mám půjčený od kamaráda
156. ((laughter))
157. M1: no víte co? možná (..) co děláte-
158. C24: (vy máte tak) tady je číslo
159. M1: no to je náš číslo
160. C24: to je vaše?
161. M1: uh huh
162. C24: (   )
163. M1: nebo my- co děláte (.) v neděli máte čas?
164. C23: v neděli jak vy jste na tom? já vůbec nevím
165. C24: já nevím
166. C22: nevím
167. C23: my jsme teďka přijeli z učňáku a vůbec
168. M1: yeah?
169. C23: ze školy
170. M1: tak (chcete   ) tak pojďte sem ((car passing)) víte co? tak tam tam je horní
171.   náměstí
172. C23: no?

173. M1: (tamhle) (.) je yellow? ((to T))
174. T: žluté
175. M1: žlutá jako (.) známka? nebo forgot how you say sign známka? ((to T))
176. T: cedule
177. M1: cedule uh huh víte tam (tam   ) my máme svoje jako budovu
178. C23: vedle toho baru?
179. M1: uh huh. Jako tam se píše starožitnosti? tam se píše jako církev ježiše krista a
180.   musíte jako zazvonit na nás a můžeme vás pustit dovnitř a my máme
181.   (.) shromáždění každou neděli, od půl desátý, ale my tam budeme (.) po sko- to
182.   skončí to skončí v půl- (.) půl jed- půl jedný já nevím jestli máte čas v neděli
183.   možná můžeme se bavit
184. C23: no: když budu mít čas tak přijdu určitě
185. M1: jo?
186. C23: já vůbec právě nevím jak jestli nepojedem třeba na chalupu s rodičema ale (.)
187.   když budu mít čas tak bych přišel
188. M1: okay okay (.) nebo taky, my děláme několik věcí tady my taky máme sportovní
189.   večer (.) každou um sobotu?
190. C23: ((laughs)) no to sportovat asi nebudu ((laughter)) my jsme přijeli totiž takhle
191.   jak jsme tři tak jsme byli reprezentovat náš (.) učební obor jako mezi
192.   republikou mezi učňákama jsme byli na olympiádě na lyžích na [běžk- na
193.   běžkách no]
194. M1:   [opravdu?]
195.   ty brďo já umím snowboardovat a neumím lyžovat
196. C23: to neumím na běžky na snowboard neumím jsme byli na běžkách asi
197. M1: ah like ice-skating ((to T))
198. T: [cross-country skiing]
199. C22: [neumannová říká vám to něco neumannová?]
200. M1: ne
201. C22: vyhrála olympijské zlato
202. M1: yeah?
203. C22: vlastně ne ne sjezd, ale
204. M1: jo jako
205. C22: no jak se odpichujou
206. M1: yeah yeah to je těžký já bych (to ne-)
207. C22: tak vlastně běhají na lyžích no
208. M1: jojo
209. C22: no a dělali jsme vlastně pátý místo ze sto čtyriceti učňáků tak si myslím že je
210.   to docela dobrý
211. M1: tak vy jste jako fešáci docela
212. C22: no unavený jsme celej tejden jsme tam byli a
213. M1: ((laughs)) well víte co? jako aspoň možná můžeme se zastavit u vás? to by šlo?
214. C23: prosím?
215. M1: vy jste vy bydlíte kousek tady? můžeme se zastavit u vás? (jako vám)
216. C23: to nevím jestli by se líbilo rodičům protože=
217. M1: =jo?=
218. C23: =u nás se furt někdo stavuje a máma už (ze zvonku)

219. M1: okay well víte co? možná můžete přijít na na tu angličtinu nebo (.) na
220.   shromáždění jo?
221. C23: no (ještě přijedeš nějak?)
222. C22: (možná jo)
223. C23: (tak se loučíme)
224. M1: dobrý tak čauec
225. C23: mějte se (tak zavolám)
226. M1: dobrý
227. C24: na shledanou čau čau
228. M3: mějte se hezky
229. M1: na shle
230. M3: na shle
231. C22: čau měj se
18:50

(20)
20:09
1.   M3: prosím vás (můžu se vás na něco zeptat)?
2.   C25: bohužel ((continues walking))
3.   M3: no (na shledanou)
20:15

(21)
29:47
1.   M1: dobrý den pane
3.   C26: nazdar
4.   M1: nazdar nevím jestli znáte nás?
5.   C26: ne, <u>neznám</u> dívám se-
6.   M1: ne? my jsme tady já jsem američan asi můžete slyšet můj přízvuk,
7.   C26: aha aha
8.   M1: a my jsme tady na dva roky (.) a my tady (.) tady my jsme tady jako
9.   dobrovolníci
10. C26: jo: [jako biblická] škola (jo)
11. M1:   [my tady]   uh huh my jsme ze církve ježiše krista,
12.   a já nevím jestli znáte nás? slyšel jste něco?
13. C26: u::h ne neslyšel neslyšel
14. M1: ne?
15. C26: asi ne
16. M1: yeah? nebo (.) well, to je v pohodě=
17. C26: =asi ne já to rád poslouchám
18. M1: to je v pohodě jenom my my tady děláme několik věcí a možná máme něco
19.   zajímavého pro vás tím že my jsme američany, tady my učíme zdarma
20.   angličtinu a nevím jestli vy umíte anglicky? nebo jestli znáte někoho?
21. C26: neznám když nejsem z blance
22. M1: yeah? odkud jste?
23. C26: já jsem z daleka ze hercperka

24. M1: hercperk kde to je?
25. C26: to je (.) na hranici s moravou
26. M1: ty brďo tak
27. C26: (střední) morava
28. M1: to je <u>daleko</u>
29. C26: no, je to odtaď asi osmdesát kilometrů
30. M1: tak to je dost
31. C26: osmdesát pět
32. M1: a vy jste tady- tady pracujete? nebo [na výlet-]
33. C26:   [ne ne] na služební cestě
34. M1: yeah?
35. C26: a=
36. M1: =a co?
37. C26: a (prostě) vás rád poslechnu
38. M1: yeah? tak to je hezký
39. C26: ((laughs))
40. M1: well aspoň (.) my- to je jedna věc který my tady děláme, a <u>hlavní</u>-
41. C26: jo to je já ani nerozumím (.) vůbec jsem nerozuměl slovům jako (smysl)
42. M1: jo? jako: ty písničky?
43. C26: no jistě no
44. M1: uh huh uh huh (.) u:m well můžete=
45. C26: =já se ještě vrátím (já si chci poslechnout)
46. M1: to je dobrý tak klidně
47. C26: tak jo tak jo
48. M1: dobrý tak
49. C26: kde pak tady máte centrum?
50. M1: tady? víte co? nemám nemám kontakt [musím (.) mluvit]
51. C26:   [to je dobrý] no mě stačí takhle (takhle)
52. M1: já můžu vám dát ((goes over to other elder)) do you have contacts? díky ((goes
53.   back)) já vám dám něco
54. C26: uh <u>huh</u>.
55. M1: tady je něco:
56. C26: tak to je nějaká navštívenka
57. M1: uh huh tady náš (.) číslo a my máme (...) tady blanec, horní náměstí jedenáct
58.   dvanáct tady
59. C26: [(to asi jo asi tam)]
60. M1: [uh huh my jsme] skoro well skoro v každ- každý (.) uh hla-
61. C26: (jiná země)
62. M1: uh huh my jsme v no tady je seznam (...) a co je n-
63. C26: to asi o vás přečtu. můžu?
64. M1: můžete klidně
65. C26: můžu si to-
66. M1: uh huh. to můžete to je pro vás
67. C26: to si (rád) o vás přečtu a já se asi
68. M1: jestli máte vůbec otázky? [jako] klidně můžete (..) my tady
69. C26:   [ne]

70. M1: my mluvíme s lidmi
71. C26: já teďka nemám(.) já jsem tak jako <u>náhodou</u> kolem přišel a
72. M1: jo?
73. C26: a tak je to (..) uh takový náhody
74. M1: (.) well my máme-
75. C26: zajímám se no
76. M1: my máme poselství o ježiši kristu a já nevím (.) že- nevím, vy jste věřící?
77. C26: eh já jsem praktikující katolík
78. M1: jo? tak to je dobrý. máme něco podobného. s tím že my věříme v ježiše krista
79.   že jo?
80. C26: <u>tak</u> jo
81. M1: dobře tak
82. C26: díky
83. M1: mějte se hezky na shledanou
84. C26: na shledanou mějte se hezky
32:49

(22)
49:16
1. M1: prosím vás? můžu mluvit s vámi? na chviličku?
2. C27: jak velkou chvilku?
3. M1: jo, jako (.) dva minuty. jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci, já nevím jestli
4.   znáte nás vůbec
5. C27: asi ne
6. M1: asi ne (.) well, já jsem američan asi je to slyšet ((laughs)) mám skvělý český
7.   přízvuk že jo? a my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu, (.) a já nevím jestli umíte
8.   anglicky nebo jestli studujete angličtinu
9. C27: ne němčinu
10. M1: ((joking tone)) němčinu? co to je? (.) za jazyk?
11. C27: ((laughs)) jo jo je to blíž
12. M1: ((laughs))
13. C28: taky právě
14. M1: jo? chtěli byste se učit angličtinu?
15. C27: to je na dlouho ale
16. C28: když (se učíte) německy tak se to pak plete
17. M1: jo?
18. C28: a
19. M1: ale myslíte že to může vám pomáhat?
20. C28: no:
21. M1: asi jo ((laughs))
22. C28: asi, no
23. M1: ((laughs)) víte co alespoň můžu vám dát leták na to. (.) a možná znat- znáte
24.   někoho (.) kdo by měl zájem můžete (.) to předat tento leták a to je na horním
25.   náměstí, jedenáct dvanáct každé úterý vy taky byste chtěl byste taky?
26. C27: no to stačí jeden dohromady
27. M1: dobrý

28. C28: no jasně
29. M1: dobrý
30. C27: podělíme
31. M1: a:h to je jedna věc který my tady děláme, další věc je my tady děláme další věc
32.   je my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu nevím jestli neumíte anglicky náhodou? (ah
33.   jejeje) omlouvám se my tady učíme seminář o tom jak přestat kouřit
34. C27: to nekouřím vůbec
35. M1: jo? a vy kouříte?
36. C28: no jo
37. M1: jo? chtěl byste přestat? kolik je vám?
38. C28: no sedmnáct
39. M1: sedmnáct? a už kouříte? jak dlouho kouříte?
40. C28: no kouřil jsem (.) od sedmičky asi do osmičky, jsem přestal, jsem vlastně začal
41.   v prváku trávu to jsem zas teď přestal ( ) jsem začal kouřit asi normálně
42. M1: ((laughs)) jo?
43. C28. no
44. C27: ((laughs)) cigára no
45. M1: ((laughs)) a chtěl byste přestat?
46. C28: no právě kvůli tomu abych jako přestal s tou trávou tak jsem začal právě na
47.   tohle že jo
48. M1: jo jo
49. C28: ze zvyku prostě
50. M1: a proč jste jako přestal kouřit předtím?
51. C28: no možná jo no
52. M1: ne proč proč jste chtěl jako přestat před tím? jako v minulosti? jako protože vy
53.   jste řekl že vy jste už přestal jednou jo?
54. C28: no
55. M1: jo
56. C28: (počkejte moment) já se musím vysmrkat
57. M1: jo (.) well tak to je to je další jako věc který my tady děláme,
58. C28: no ((blowing nose))
59. M1: ale nejdůležitější, je to vidět my jsme tady jako misionáři, (.) ze církve ježiše
60.   krista, (.) a nevím jestli vy jste věřící vůbec?
61. C28: ne.
62. C27: ne, nejsem
63. M1: ne? ani trochu?
64. C28: ani trochu.
65. M1: co babíčka?
66. C28: babička? (.) babička asi taky ne
67. M1: [taky ne?]
68. C28: [děda] děda možná ale babička asi ne
69. M1: jo? tak děda tak [a co-]
70. C28:   [byla prababička]
71. M1: prababička?
72. C27: moje prababička taky
73. M1: [jo tak už mát-]

74. C27: [ale ta už umřela]
75. M1: ((laughs)) tak máte jako věřící krev? jako v sobě že jo? váš prababička byla
76.   věřící
77. C28: no
78. M1: ((laughs)) well, my máme poselství o ježiši kristu (v krat- v krátkosti) uhm tím
79.   že je (jistě) hodně církví i když jako nejste věřící
80. C28: mm
81. M1: může (.) asi každý z nás jako (.) my jsme měli věřící zkušenosti možná (.) vy vy
82.   vypadáte jako sportovec (.) vy jste sportovec?
83. C28: no:
84. M1: vy taky? (.) ne:?
85. C27: já moc ne
86. M1: a když jste měl jako velký zápas? (.) modlil jste se?
87. C27: ah na snowboardu akorát jezdím
88. M1: oh jo jo (.) [aha takhle]
89. C27:   [(   )]
90. M1: jo? já taky snowboard-uju ale v americe tady ne ((laughs)) ta- tady ale (.) jako
91.   já jsem mluvil s hodně lidmi a hodně lidí řekli že nejsou věřící (.) ale alespoň
92.   věří v nějakou energii nebo možná před velkým zápasem oni se modlili za
93.   pomoc nebo něco
94. C28: tak to jsou věřící v tom případě ale
95. M1: jo? ale i i když jako ti lidi? (.) jako řekli předtím že nejsou věřící a právě jsem
96.   řekl a co jako před zápasem nebo něco? on řekl je: to jo ((laughs))
97. C27: potom nevědí co říkají v tom případě
98. M1: jo ((laughs)) (.) ale co si myslíte? myslíte že aspoň něco existuje? (.) nebo my
99.   jsme tady úplně jako náhodou
100. C27: ne: náhoda tak někd- někdo je v domnění že jo někdo v domnění že ne že jo
101.   tak
102. M1: uh huh uh huh
103. C27: je- jeden se to snaží vyvrátit druhýmu
104. M1: mm hmm (.) a co vy na to?
105. C28: no asi tak co on
106. M1: jo? (.) já si myslím že nejsme tady náhodou (.) že evo- evoluce jak se řekne
107.   česky evoluc-
108. C27: vývoj. evoluce.
109. M1: jo: takhle ((laughs))
110. C27: no
111. M1: mám hrozný přízvuk. že to- (.) well (zkrátka) že nejsme tady náhodou, že bůh
112.   má plán pro nás, a proto my jsme tady na tomto země (protože něco
113.   zajímavého) nejsem jako expert to tady to nebude moje obor až se vrátím domů
114.   (.) já se stanu chemickým inženýrem, (.) asi to bych chtěl, nebo byznys něco
115.   takového, ale nechci jako být kněž nebo něco, ale to je jedno protože v naši
116.   církvi nikdo jako nemáme nikdo nedostal žádný peníze (.) jako my platíme
117.   sami naši jako kněži jako pracujou mají jako svoji práci ale to je něco jinýho (.)
118.   a:le (.) naše poselství tady je abychom mohli sdělit poselství, (.) um s lidmi o

119.   rodině a o (.) o bohu a vím já jsem řekl jenom dvě minuty (.) tak já nevím jestli
120.   chtěl byste slyšet t- to- to poselství?
121. C28: to je problém že my nemáme čas
122. M1: nemáte čas?
123. C28: my musíme na intr jinak budeme mít průser vod vychovatele
124. M1: co to je intr?
125. C28: na intr no
126. M1: co to je?
127. C28: co?
128. M1: co to je?
129. C28: uh
130. C27: [ubytovna]
131. C28: [ubytovna od školy]
132. M1: uh huh.
133. C28: [tam máme vychovatele]
134. C27: [my nejsme odsud]
135. M1: jojo odkud jste?
136. C28: no dál prostě takhle
137. M1: jo? jako kde?
138. C28: mm: bantice nad vltavou to je (prostě) daleko
139. M1: mm hmm a vy?
140. C27: staré město na orlici
141. M1: to neznám ((laughs))
142. C27: jo
143. M1: to je směrem co?
144. C27: (to se nedivim)
145. M1: ty brďo to bych chtěl ((plane sound above)) a vy jste tady přes týden?
146. C28: jenom přes týden,
147. M1: a pak vrátíte se domů (.) jo? well, alespoň- možná- vím že nemáte hodně času,
148.   (.) ale možná máte půl hodinky nebo něco (.) máme budovu na náměstí (.) na
149.   horním tady a (.) můžu vám uh už máte jako naš adresu ale to je jedenáct
150.   dvanáct tam tam se píše staro- starožitnosti a to je v tom baráku tam se píše jako
151.   církev ježiše krista jenom musíte jako zvonit na nás (.) a (.) a můžeme (.) jako
152.   my jako mluvíme o těchto věcech jestli byste chtěli jako nechci vás vnucovat,
153.   ale je to zajímavý (.) určitě i když jako ten člověk není věřící je to zajímavý
154.   alespoň jako slyšet nový (.) pohled na na to na svět tady (.) já nevím jestli chtěli
155.   byste to dělat?
156. C28: mm (.) asi ne
157. M1: asi ne?
158. C28: já tak sp- (.) opravdu věřící nejsem ani nijak (.) nad tím neuvažuju moc
159. M1: jo? myslíte že to nemůže vám pomáhat? nebo ne:?
160. C28: (mm mm)
161. M1: a co vy?
162. C27: (ah taky takhle já si myslím že) kdyby byl bůh tak proč by třeba byly války
163.   nebo takhle
164. M1: myslíte- a myslíte-

165. C27: jako třeba proč by to dopustil nebo tohdlento
166. M1: uh huh to je dobrá otázka
167. C28: (no to jsem) taky zaměšlel nad tím
168. M1: uh bůh vidí věci než my vidíme jako například vaše rodiče (.) ony možná
169.   (dejme tomu) že vy chcete jít ven? jako (.) každou každý den já alespoň pro mě
170.   když jsem byl mladší (.) já jsem chtěl jít ven furt jako pátek sobota jako neděli
171.   chtěl jsem jít za kámoši jako dělat věci no rodiče mně řekli (.) mi řekli hele
172.   musíte jako musíš studovat
173. C28: no
174. M1:co máš co tam děláš? co děláš? a stejným způsobem
175. C28: to my musíme tady přes tejden že jo
176. M1: uh huh přesně tak
177. C28: no tady tady musíme prostě sedět furt a (tak)
178. M1: a já jsem měl svobodné jednání, moje rodiče jsou skvělý a ony (.) um mi
179.   nevnucovali abych jako dělal něco (.) a občas (.) když jsem měl testy v ve škole
180.   občas jsem dostal no (.) jako trojku nebo čtvrtku ((laughs))
181. C28: no
182. M1: a a stejným způsobem každý z nás tady v tomto světě má svobodné jednání (.) a
183.   bůh ne- bůh nás nevnucuje abychom jako byli poslušný abychom slyšeli
184.   abychom byli věřící můžeme jako dělat cokoliv můžeme zabít někoho jiného (.)
185.   i když jako to není dobrý
186. C28: (no jo)
187. M1: nevím jestli to dává smysl pro vás to je těžký vyjad- vydař- vyjádřit v češtině
188. C28: no: dobrý. dobrý rozumím
189. M1: no (.) ale to je dobrá otázka
190. C28: ((coughs))
191. M1: ale (..) víte co? asi můžu vám dát něco (.) to je něco o ježiši kristu (.) a co my
192.   věříme a tady máme (.) máte internet? určitě máte. můžete se (.) zastavit u ve ve
193.   ve tečka mormon tečka ce ze (akceptujete) to?
194. C28: no
195. M1: (.) no tak díky za váš čas
196. C28: jo
197. M1: snad se uvidíme
198. C27: možná
199. M1: možná ((laughs)) dobrý tak díky tak čau
200. C28: tak (čau)
58:39

(23)
58:56
1. M1: prosím vás? můžu mluvit s vámi?
2. C29: já spěchám ((keeps moving))
3. M1: ((fast)) no jenom my taky spěcháme (.) dobře.
59:01

(24)

59:14

1.   M1: uh prosím vás můžu mluvit s vámi? (.) na chviličku
2.   C30: ((keeps moving))
3.   M1: jenom mluvíte anglicky?
4.   C30: ((keeps walking))
5.   M1: <u>aah</u> dobře. ((fast)) tak mějte se hezky na shle

59:21

(25)
59:36

1.   M1: prosím vás? můžu se vás na něco zeptat?
2.   C31: jo dobrý dobrý
3.   M1: znáte nás?
4.   C31: no znám vás
5.   M1: yeah?
6.   C31: no
7.   M1: už ste mluvil s naší jako kolegami? nebo
8.   C31: jsem katolík já=
9.   M1: =jo?
10. C31: já dělám v charitě
11. M1: tak to je fakt <u>skvělý</u>
12. C31. no:
13. M1: my máme něco podobnýho [jako] my věříme v ježiša krista
14. C31:   [no no] my možná taky ((laughs))
15. M1: ((laughs)) jo vy jste katolík a co co máte?
16. C31: prosím?
17. M1: co s- vy jste řekl že máte něco vy ste katolík?
18. C31: uh uh no pracuju v křesťanské organizaci pracuju
19. M1: a<u>ha</u> a co tam děláte?
20. C31: bezdomovc- uh jako o bezdomovce se staráme [(azylové domy)]
21. M1:   [tady v blanci?]
22. C31: home- homeless people
23. M1: homeless people yeah? you speak english?
24. C31: uh very little ((laughs))
25. M1: ((laughs)) jak dlouho se učíte anglicky?
26. C31: uh já jsem se učil ve třetí třídě ale tak jsem si na to asi (nabalil) moc neumím
27. M1: yeah uh máte mluvíte <u>dobře</u>
28. C31: no jo ((laughs))
29. M1: yeah ((slowly)) what is your name?
30. C31: my name is martin
31. M1: yeah nice to meet you martin.
32. C31: yeah
33. M1: I'm michael
34. C31: yeah yeah ((laughs)) (.) and uh kde tady sídlíte? kde (.) vy jste vy jste
35.   z ameriky příšli?
36. M1: uh huh já jsem ze kalifornie

37. C31: z kalifornie
38. M1: uh huh tak to je daleko z beverly hillsu. viděl jste ten seriál?
39. C31: jo koukal jsem na to
40. M1: beverly hills? jo yeah já znám brandon on je můj bratr ((laughter)) (.) ne (.) ale
41.   my jsme tady na dva roky,
42. C31: jojo
43. M1: a většin- mm tam jsou ty holky jsou američany američanky
44. C31: jojojojo
45. M1: a pak ten vysoký (.) on je čech (.) a: ten ten rom on je čech taky
46. C31: toho znám toho v tý modrý bundě
47. M1: jo zná-
48. C31: ten občas ten nám pomáhá když je třeba (.) mm děláme tříkrálovou sbírku
49.   vždycky v lednu
50. M1: uh huh
51. C31: a on chodí s koledníkama jako s těma třema králama no
52. M1: yeah? uh huh no on je fakt skvělý
53. C31: no no on je všude (.) všude jako zapojuje se
54. M1: ((laughs)) on zná tolik jako lidi tady to
55. C31: no jako takový no, jako dítě
56. M1: bezva
57. C31: dítě boží
58. M1: ((laughs)) on je skvělý
59. C31: jojojo
60. M1: ah eh já jsem zvědavý jako co jste slyšel o nás? asi určitě znáte nás nebo
61. C31: (viš co?) já se v tomdhle moc jako (.) já se o tohdle moc nezajímám protože (..)
62.   já jsem s- já nějakým způsobem jsem (.) konvertita že já jsem začal asi
63.   v pětadvaceti chodit do kostela (.) uh jako já si ten vztah buduju k pánu bohu
64.   no takže uh (.) mám strašně moc uh (.) mm v tý práci strašně moc věcí kerý (.)
65.   kerý jsou jako (.)je to psychicky náročný ne? takže jako já do kostela chodím
66.   kvůli tomu že že se snažím nějakým způsobem obnovovat protože to je na
67.   psychiku to je dost náročný
68. M1: o- obnovovat? co to znamená?
69. C31: jako eh <u>čerpat</u>
70. M1: čerpat uh huh jako brát nebo
71. C31: uh huh jako modlit (   )
72. M1: uh huh uh huh cítit se jako (důkaz na to) uh huh uh huh
73. C31: ano takže, takže jako já si myslím si že (.) máme pos- že máme podobný touhy
74.   jako
75. M1: jo je to pravdu
76. C31: jo já jako třeba nemám zájem- já už jsem kolik mně je teď? pět a čtyricet a
77. M1: jo?
78. C31: (můžu si všimnout) jako společenství lidí mně to vyhovuje protože všude je to
79.   stejný jo u nás pracuju třeba v charitě to je sice katolická organizace ale
80.   pracujou tam z křesťanského společenství, (.) uhm (.) z českobratrský církve
81.   eh tady to jsou, buddhisti tam jsou, nevěřící, vedoucí dokonce je nevěřící

82.   kterej (.) chodil do křesťanského společenství a (.) vodešel (.) takže je takový
83.   malinko zahořklej ((laughs lightly)) ale-
84. M1: jo to se stane občas
85. C31: ale ale zas má zas ty hodnoty cejtí (.) jinak jo? takže třeba má určitej má dary
86.   od pana boha kerej nějakým způsobem on sám říká že (.) že on jako si (.) jako
87.   boha ježiše krista prostě tyhlety věci že má v úctě, (.) ale
88. M1: v úctě co to znamená v úctě?
89. C31: v úctě jako že si jich váží jako že mu jsou jako drahý uh jo
90. M1: pro pro něj
91. C31: pro něj. Ale, že jako církev jako společenství lidí ho zklamali a že on je vůči
92.   lidem jako má problém trochu jo?
93. M1: takže tam je jako (korupec) ob- občas že jo?
94. C31: no jasně no ale to je všude stejný
95. M1: uh huh
96. C31: všude stejný
97. M1: oh jo ale ne všude
98. C31: já vím ale v každém společenství jsou nějaký prostě problémy jako v tý
99.   komunikaci mezi těma lidma kdy prostě každý z nás občas jaksi uletí a je rád
100.   když ty druhý ho nějakým způsobem (.) vo- vodpustějí zas že jo?
101. M1: občas to se stane [to je všude]
102. C31:   [(musíš) to] praktikovat ať budeš eh ve vaši církvi vaše
103.   církev (církev) prostě ty vztahy mezi lidmi prostě (světem) to hledání to co
104.   pan bůh po nás chce bych řek že pan bůh to chce po každým (ať je to církev
105.   nebo) mimo tohle společenství (   ) vím já jako po těch bezdomovcích každým
106.   je každý ten duch ( ) tím způsobem pracuje a jako myslím že to je
107.   úkol úkol jako se na to nějak napojit no, takže to to je pro každýho úkol (tady
108.   to myslím   )
109. M1: uh huh uh huh
110. C31: jako já teda vás obdivuju jak vy-
111. M1: ((laughs))
112. C31: jak vy vystupujete takhle
113. M1: ((laughs)) no jenom my jsme tady
114. C31: protože-
115. M1: dvě hodiny
116. C31: no
117. M1: normálně v pondělí máme jako- protože já tady bydlím v blanci vy taky tady
118.   bydlíte?
119. C31: nono
120. M1: um ale ten vysoký uh ty ty vysoký misionáři, ony bydlí ve mertině
121. C31: jo
122. M1: a jo ten misionář na to jako tamhle?
123. C31: jo
124. M1: uh a ten tamhle oni bydlí v lebedicích a ostatní my, tady bydlíme tady v blanci
125.   (.) a ony tady ony sem cestuj- cestujou? cest- cest-
126. C31: cestují
127. M1: cestují díky

128. C31: a vy máte něco společnýho jak je protože sem jezdějí taky z ameriky u:h církev
129.   mormon- mormoni?
130. M1: uh huh. to jsme my
132. C31: to jste vy.
133. M1: (to je název naše)
134. C31: tak se to jmenuje takhle uh huh
135. M1: ona se oficiálně jmenuje církev ježiše krista
136. C31: v plšovicích máte nějakou [( ) ne?]
137. M1:   [v plšovicích?]
138. C31: plšovice
139. M1: u::h tady?
140. C31: no (vy jste) tam byli no ne? v blanci?
141. M1: no možná bývalo
142. C31: (   ) nebo bydleli tady (v plšovicích)
143. M1: jojojo jenom jsem tady čtyři měsíce, v blanci
144. C31: jo
145. M1: a my máme (.) budovu na na horním náměstí (.) tam (.) můžu vám dát něco
146. C31: my jsme se kamarádili s jedním američanem on se jmenuje stanley (.)já nevím
147.   jestli on (   )=
148. M1: =on byl mormon?
149. C31: já nevím no bylo bylo bylo tady právě k tomu křesťánskému společenství (.)
150.   nějak on byl pas- takový nějaký pastor nebo něco takovýho
151. M1: jo?
152. C31: no byla s ním sranda
153. M1: ((laughs))
154. C31: jako všichni znali (   ) protože on byl takový dítě velký
155. M1: (   )
156. C31: (   ) přišel ale
157. M1: ((laughs)) (přišel)
158. C31: dobrej. já jsem mu byl na svatbě dokonce
159. M1: tady na horním náměstí jedenáct dvanáct?
160. C31: no někde
161. M1: my máme jako (.) to je
162. C31: jo
163. M1: to je pro vás jestli chcete
164. C31: jojo
165. M1: to je něco ( ) a co jste slyšel o mormonech? (.) hodně lidi nás znají jako
166.   mormony,
167. C31: jo. (.) (ještě)
168. M1: slyšel jste něco?
169. C31: já moc abych pravdu řek tak jako (.) jako něco jsem slyšel ale
170. M1: a něco jako
171. C31: tak z (rychlíku) vůbec jsem nějakým (   ) rozumíš? jako
172. M1: uh huh. well my máme poselství, (.) o o bohu a o ježiši kristu (nebo o   ) jako
173.   církev ježiše krista. (.) protože uh vy jste jako že- well existuje hodně církví že
174.   jo?

175. C31: no
176. M1: a podle vás myslíte že to vadí ve kterém církve že člověk je? to to to zal- jak
177.   bych to řekl nevím (.) to (.) mm (.) no my věříme tomu, že ježiš kristus, on
178.   založil jednu církev. (.) um když jako tady žil povolal dvanáct apoštolů on jim
179.   dal pravomoc, a oni byli jako vedoucí církvi ty dejme tomu jako když on měl
180.   jako problém ony jako to (.) mm jako (.) jak bych to řekl? oni to: opravili nebo
181.   když jako bible jako nový zákon (apoštol) jako pavel on jako napsal jako ty
182.   dopisy na na konci jak (kodensk- kodenským) napsal jako ty dop- ty dop-
183.   dopisy, k různých jako (.) pobočkám nevím jestli to je správně nebo ne ((laughs))
184. C31: jojojojo
185. M1: [uh to je jedno]
186. C31: [já ti rozumím] já ti rozumím
187. M1: ((laughs)) omlouvám se moje čeština (.) to je něco jiného ale: ježiš kristus zem-
188.   zemřel jo on zemřel pro nás jako na usmíření pro nás jako v třech dnech (nevím)
189.   čemu věříte vy že jako po třech dnech on s- on se objevil k- z mrtvých a co jako
190.   ke svým jako apoštolům a tak dále, ale taky (.) časem ty lidi taky zabili ty
191.   apoštolu ty apoštol- apoštoly u:m a pak v roce tři sta něco ony (.) organiz-
192.   organiz- organized rozumíte mi?
193. C31: málo
194. M1: org- org- (.) oni dělali jako katolický církev. (.) jak se řekn- organized víte co to
195.   je?
196. C31: organizace?
197. M1: ne: ale
198. C31: organize? jako
199. M1: jako sloveso
200. C31: sloveso jojo
201. M1: or-
202. C31: organize to je
203. M1: to je hrozný přízvuk (..) organajzo- organajzovat? crap. (..) uh tak to je jedno
204. C31: (   )
205. M1: to je jedno. ale katolický církev byl a pak a ještě je dneska (.) a pak lidi uh
206.   mysleli že katolický církev tam jako byl něco špatného a jako jan hus jako=
207. C31: =jo=
208. M1: =a protože jako dělal jako svůj církev (.) ale (.) já nemůžu mluvit česky teď
209.   nevím proč ((laughs))
210. C31: ah (..) nevadí
211. M1: ale, my máme poselství (.) ( ) půl hodinky tři čtvrtě hodin já nevím jestli chtěl
212.   byste mluvit s námi já bych chtěl jako slyšet co tady děláte vy
213. C31: přijďte se podívat někdy [do azyl]ovýho domu
214. M1:   [jo?]   možná můžeme vám pomáhat
215. C31: jo:
216. M1: a máte kontakt nějaký?
217. C31: jo já dokonce chodím takhle sbírám (.) já ti dám na mě takovej ten když tak tak
218.   zavolej (.) přijď se podívat
219. M1: dobrý
220. C31: no

221. M1: tak skvělý
222. C31: (do domu přijď jo a)
223. M1: dobrý my (můžeme) mít schůzku a můžete nám říct co děláte přesně (.) a
224.   můžeme si (.) cvičit svou češtinu abych (.) ((laughs)) mohl mluvit s vámi
225. C31: no bylo by to <u>fajn</u> no, protože říkám je to pravda že (.) že jak se říká? (.) podle
226.   lásky se poznají poznají že jo? (.) křesťani
227. M1: mm hmm
228. C31: a mám pocit někdy že třeba ta katolická církev u nás že jsme velký ale že je
229.   strašnej problém nikdo nechce tam jít pracovat
230. M1: jo?
231. C31: protože tam je málo peněz tady že
232. M1: jo?
233. C31: jo chodějí radši pracovat vlastně katolíci tam kde mají víc peněz je to takový
234.   smutný no trochu jo? takže vlastně
235. M1: to je smutný
236. C31: já jsem rád třeba když by byli nějak kdybyste třeba mohli občas třeba zajít
237.   třeba jít si zahrát <u>floorball</u> s bezdomovcema víš co je <u>floorball</u>?
238. M1: jo:
239. C31: máme tam tělocvičnou <u>krásnou</u>, stavte se.
240. M1: <u>opravdu</u>?
241. C31: no:
242. M1: tak to je-
243. C31: máme tam jako říkám my tam i když je tam bejvají ale-
244. M1: a je to tady v blanci?
245. C31: je to tady v blanci
246. M1: a kde to je?
247. C31: na břendově my máme dokonce <u>dva</u> domy jeden máme tam jsou maminky
248.   s dětma (.) a (.) tam v druhým to jsme jako my no tam
249. M1: já bych chtěl se zastavit=
250. C31: =no přijď přijď se podívat
251. M1: (co dneska) co děláte zítra?
252. C31: já mám dneska noční, jo? takže jako spíš tak pozítří ve středu to budu stěhovat,
253. M1: [a ve čtvrtek?]
254. C31: [ve středu nebo] ve čtvrtek no
255. M1: [ve čtvrtek?]
256. C31: [no]
257. M1: dobrý
258. C31: protože v pátek máme poradu ve <u>čtvrtek</u> se zastav
259. M1: dobrý dobrý
260. C31: zavolej mi na to číslo
261. M1: dobrý
262. C31: ve čtvrtek a přijď a mohli bysme klidně to bych byl <u>rád</u> no
263. M1: dobrý, tak to je skvělý
264. C31: já ti ukážu fotky to budeš koukat no
265. M1: dobře

266. C31: to jsou chudáci to je kolikrát to jsou jako (.) napůl blázní, ti bezdomovci, a to
267.   tady v blanci tady to nic není, ale v praze to je jich deset tisíc ne?
268. M1: mm hmm
269. C31: to je strašný. (.) a tam bydlejí ne všelijak tam kolem toho nádraží a ono jako
270.   když seš vlastně jako (.) jako když je krysa v koutě ret v rohu krysa tak
271. M1: uh huh
272. C31: ((demonstrates)) ret ret
273. M1: krysa? rat (   )
274. C31: ret is in the corner jako ((aggressive noise))
275. M1: rat in the corner uh huh
276. C31: jo
277. M1: (rozumím)
278. C31: člověk když je when the uh=
279. M1: =persons in the corner?
280. C31: man have a bad bad (.) uh bad life,
281. M1: that's crazy
282. C31: (crazy and) je no a tak jako si myslím že
283. M1: yeah
284. C31: to je dobrý jako když je (.) když je pro- projeví člověk jako třeba vůči těmdle
285.   lidem lásku i nějakým způsobem jim pomůže protože (.) oni si (.) uh oni si ani
286.   neumějí představit že to může bejt jinak třeba ten [[že to může bejt]]
287. M1:   [yeah a to je smutný] že jo?
288. C31: to je smutný no jo
289. M1: dobře. tak já vám zavolám
290. C31: jojo
291. M1: dobře (martine) na shledanou
292. C31: ahoj
1:13:13

(26)
1:20:36
1.   M1: čau dobrý den
2.   C9: (čau ahoj)
3.   M1: jak se mate?
4.   C9: dob<u>rý</u> (zrovna jsem)
5.   M1: tak to tady ((they move away from group of singers))
6.   C9: můžu si popovídat (s tebou)?
7.   M1: jo?
8.   C9: já jsem tam- dneska zejtra určitě pudu jo?
9.   M1: jo?
10. C9: (už si to psal) že seš to ty? že jo? jaks psal
11. M1: jojojojojo
12. C9: jo <u>dobrý</u> jo
13. M1: jo máš esemesky a co je nového?
14. C9: no tak jo jde to jo
15. M1: jo? <u>vy jste mi napsal</u> a (my)

16. C9: já jsem napsal že že že potřebuju (.) já jsem to myslel jako že se potřebuju
17.   pomodlit ((laughs))
18. M1: jojojojojo
19. C9: a nepomohlo mně to ((laughs))
20.   ((pause))
21. M1: jak to že jo?
22. C9: nevyšlo to. a pak
23. M1: a co se stalo? vy jste vsadil že jo
24. C9: ne <u>táta</u>. měl (to)=
25. M1: =jo <u>táta</u>
26. C9: měl to nasazený
27. M1: ((laughs))
28. C9: ale pak příští tejden tam mě to pomohlo (.) už všechno byl konec a jediný to
29.   naštěstí hrálo devadesátá pátá minuta už byl (skoro) konec a táta řek <u>běž na</u>
30.   <u>záchod</u> tak jsem šel, ((laughter)) přišel jsem a bylo to tam
31. M1: ((laughs))
32. C9: ale co tam bylo (..) oni to neuznali a pak z penalty a zopakovali penalty fakt to
33.   pomohlo
34. M1: ((laughs))
35. C9: to bylo čtyři- čtyřicet tisíc to bylo to bylo dobrý
36. M1: whoa a vyhrál jste?
37. C9: no <u>já ne</u> táta ale já jsem to dělal taky ((relief gesture)) fffff
38. M1: ty brďo
39. C9: já jsem to ve škole říkal jak si tady povídám s američanama ((laughs))
40. M1: ((laughter))
41. C9: mně nikdo <u>nevěří</u>
42. M1: ((laughs)) opravdu?
43. C9: já to mám v mobilu uložený a teď já mám napsaný
44. M1: [vy máte jiný číslo?]
45. C9: [(to vyndám)] ne nemám mám tady američan majkal ((laughs))
46. M1: ((laughs)) to jsem já
47. C9: jo. a to je přímo vaše číslo jo?
48. M1: well já to (povídám) my jsme tady a my střídáme čas
49. C9: (mobil) jo?
50. M1: uh huh to ten mobil to je: (.) to zůstane tady
51. C9: a me- méno tam není? starší henderson?
52. M1: já jsem henderson to je
53. C9: starší
54. M1: já jsem michael henderson=
55. C9: =kdo je mladší?
56. M1: to je dobrá otázka. <u>starší</u>, to je špatný překlad to znamená elder v angličtině a-
57. C9: aha to není jako že jsi starší jo?
58. M1: ah to je jako titul spíš to je jako kněz nebo-
59. C9: jojojo
60. M1: uh huh (.) ale
61. C9: dneska jsem utíkal před revizorem z autobusu

62. M1: yeah? ((laughs))
63. C9: kontroloval já jsem začal <u>já nemám peněženku</u> (.) a tak jsem vystoupil a utek
64.   jsem, a spadla mě bota ((laughs))
65. M1: opravdu?
66. C9: ((laughs)) tak jsem se vrátil vzal jsem si ji a (vnořil jsem se) do obchodu
67. M1: ty b- tak to máte hodně štěstí pane
68. C9: já nejsem moc věřící teda ((laughs)) ale už jo
69. M1: ale už jo ((laughs))
70. C9: ne: dyť jsem říkal mně je šestnáct ne (   )
71. M1: jo? to je nejlepší jako čas jako začít jako věřit (.) určitě když člověk je mladý
72.   já znám jednoho může tady-
73. C9: (můžeme) začít se učit chemii společně
74. M1: jo?
75. C9: no
76. M1: já znám jednoho může tady (.) a on asi začal asi začal věřit když on měl (.)
77.   patnáct let já si myslím (v naši církve)
78. C9: mm hmm
79. M1: a už má krásnou rodinu jako a dobrou práci a slou- sloužil a misi taky, nebo
80.   když my jako v naši církvi,
81. C9: no,
82. M1: my máme šanci jít na misi jako tomu se říká naše jako <u>misie</u>
83. C9: jo
84. M1: když my jako jdeme a a my s- já jsem tady v čechách a já mám brachu a on je
85.   v v koreji my jsme tady na dva roky pak se vrátíme vrátíme se domů a
86. C9: a (kde je to místo)?
87. M1: já já jsem doma studov- budu studovat
88. C9: a v jakým městě (žiješ)?
89. M1: uh v utahu provo? tam je jako církevní univerzity velký asi tam chodí čtyři-
90.   čtyřicet tisíc u:m (.) studenti studentů spíš (.) a, a je to hustý docela
91. C9: ((laughs))
92. M1: já se vrátím domů za měsíc a půl
93. C9: mm hmm
94. M1: tak
95. C9: já jsem před chvilkou šel to ste tady eště nebyl ne?
96. M1: ja?
97. C9: no=
98. M1: =u:h byl
99. C9: já jsem koukal a neviděl jsem
100. M1: mluvil jsem s nějakým mužem
101. C9: uh huh
102. M1: tamhle jsem byl (.) ale <u>hele</u>
103. C9: (ženská)
104. M1: jo? holka
105. C9: manželka ((laughs))
106. M1: manželka?
107. C9: ne: ((laughs))

108. M1: já bych řek ty brďo
109. C9: jen tak (jo)
110. M1: vy máte šťastnou (   ) hele kdybyste hele co děláte dnes večer?
111. C9: dneska? no jen to budu doma asi
112. M1: jo?
113. C9: já bydlím tady za rohem
114. M1: jo? kde bydlíte?
115. C9: no jak je jak je motýlek víš to občerstvení tamhle za rohem (.) jsou květiny a
116.   hned vedle tak motýlek se jmenuje
117. M1: tam?
118. C9: tamhle v tadytýhle ulici naproti baště tam ta je nejdřív ( ) a ( )
119. M1: jojo jo já znám jednoho člověka tady
121. C9: (napsal) proč bydlíte tady? nebo nějak tak
122. M1: cože?
123. C9: já jsem tomu nerozuměl jaks psal
124. M1: ((laughs))
125. C9: proč bydlíte tady? nebo
126. M1: ale ne to jsem napsal?
127. C9: no
128. M1: to jsem nechtěl říct ((laughs))
129. C9: (to bylo něco) proč bydlíte tady? nebo nějak tak
130. M1: no občas moje čeština tak není dobrý
131. C9: ne: jako
132. M1: dobře
133. C9: tady jako v blanci? nebo jak to bylo jako?
134. M1: u:m nevím možná (ještě mám) ale nemám mobil na sobě (.) tak smůla
135. C9: a píšou lidi? nebo volají?
136. M1: cože?
137. C9: píšou nějaký lidi na to číslo? když dáte takhle
138. M1: uh huh.
139. C9: jo?
140. M1: na moje číslo?
141. C9: no jako (.) abych nebyl jedinej kdo votravuje
142. M1: ((laughs))
143. C9: dneska je pěkný už
144. M1: to je fakt krásný (.) už sluníčko svítí víte jaký má být počasí v sobotu?
145. C9: no potřeboval bych dobrý v sobotu
146. M1: jo?
147. C9: no
148. M1: už máte plán?
149. C9: ne ((laughs)) ne
150. M1: ne? víte co možná (.) tu v sobotu (.) um jedna holka tady bude bude pokřtěn.
151.   chtěl byste se podívat na to?
152. C9: kdo bude?
153. M1: jedna jako (.) ona se jmenuje helena,
154. C9: malá holka jo?

155. M1: no má devatenáct roku
156. C9: jo devatenáct
157. M1: jo devatenáct chtěl byste se podívat na to? to je krásný
158. C9: zase tady na náměstí?
159. M1: u: h ne. to to nebude tady. (.) to bude: eště musíme najít místo na to
160. C9: jo
161. M1: ale ( ) ale to bude krásný. (.) víte co? možná, (.) nemáte čas zítra?
162. C9: zítra, je úterý, já mám zítra pozdě školu mám do pěti
163. M1: do pěti
164. C9: no: mám tělocvik
165. M1: a přijdete na angličtinu? určitě?
166. C9: to je vod šestý?
167. M1: víte kde to je?
168. C9: no dneska jsem byl zkoušenej z angličtiny (.) no tak asi zejtra jo. (.) ve středu
169.   pak nic nemám, jo to jo
170. M1: to jo? a jak dlouho jak dlouho se učíte anglicky?
171. C9: (jak dlouho to je co) jsem začal?
172. M1: jo?
173. C9: ale mně to nejde
174. M1: ((laughs))
175. C9: (aspoň) jsem na malování
176. M1: jo? no můžeme vám pomáhat s tou angličtinou proč ne?
177. C9: no ( )
178. M1: jo
179. C9: teď se učíme (.) předložky
180. M1: uh huh
181. C9: a teď to máme, ah teď tomu nerozumím [já nevím jak se to jmenuje]
182. M1:   [jo?   prepositions?]
183. C9: něja- nenene nějaký jako ver- (.) verb- nějaký jako sloveso
184. M1: uh huh
185. C9: co se užívají, (.) word peterns word peterns to se jmenuje tak
186. M1: word [patterns]
187. C9:   [verb- verb peterns] to je nějaký
188. M1: ah verb patterns
189. C9: verb patterns?
190. M1: ah to je těžký že jo (   )
191. C9: no nevím co to je to to znamená
192. M1: já taky nevím ale ale ((laughs)) to nevadí můžeme vám pomáhat ((laughs)) víte
193.   co? co ve čtvrtek? (.) máte školu?
194. C9: ve čtvrtek mám nejdíl
195. M1: jo?
196. C9: mně by se to hodilo, (.) v pondělí
197. M1: v pondělí (.) v pondělí v pondělí
198. C9: dneska
199. M1: jo dneska?
200. C9: uh huh

201. M1: co děláte dneska? well
202. C9: zítra nemáme nic ve škole to je dobrý
203. M1: asi to nejde v pátek taky?
204. C9: v pátek,
205. M1: spíš dopoledne uh odpoledne
206. C9: uh toho mám plný brejle
207. M1: jo máte hodně věcí
208. C9: no v pátek jdu ze školy jsem rád že už to
209. M1: ((laughs))
210. C9: že už je konec tejdne
211. M1: okay (.) dobrý tak (podívej se) eště mám váš číslo?
212. C9: jo no to jo (   )
213. M1: já si myslím jo prozvoň-
214. C9: já jsem si koupil kredit tak (..) američan majkal pět set tři
215. M1: ((laughs))
216. C9: no hezky zpívají ((laughs))
217. M1: (..) dobrý tak já tam mám
218. C9: já mám už jednu zprávu od vás (.) ((reads)) ahoj jak se máte? jaký jste měl den
219.   dneska? přijdete zítra na angličtinu?
220. M1: dává to smysl?
221. C9: to mě potěšuje
222. M1: ((laughs))
223. C9: to mi někdo napsal
224. M1: ((laughs)) dobrý tak přijďte zítra
225. C9: tak jo zítra
226. M1: dobrý
227. C9: vedle modrýho koně?
228. M1: uh huh
229. C9: já jsem tam hledal. kde to tam vlastně je?
230. M1: (to je   ) tam dobře (tam je modrý kůň)
231. C9: (tam je) takovej bazar
232. M1: jo to je bazar
233. C9: nononono
234.M1: to je nad tím tam se píše církev ježíše krista
235. C9: no já to
236. M1: a musíte jako zvonit zvonit na nás
237. C9: jo
238. M1: a my vám pustíme. jo?
239. C9: dobrý
240. M1: a to je v tom jako baráku
241. C9: jo
242. M1: starožitnosti
243. C9: jo: tak tam jak jsou ty knížky a tohle
244. M1: yeah ano ano
245. C9: dobrý
246. M1: dobrý

247. C9: já tam zrovna jdu dneska prodat nějaké knížky starý, tak se podívám
248. M1: dobrý
249. C9: tak jo, tak ahoj
250. M1: dobře tak čau (.) nebo hele jestli to nem- nemůžete najít, prozvoňte nám nebo
251.   zavolejte nám jo?
252. C9: (tak mi to tam řeknou)
253. M1: dobře tak čau
1:29:26

(27) 18:43
1.   M1: uh prosím vás mohli bychom mluvit s vámi?
2.   C32: já spěchám
3.   M1: ((fast)) no my taky spěcháme jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci misionáři
4.   ze církve ježiše krista, a tady my nabízíme několik uhm služeb, například my
5.   tady učíme zdarma angličtinu nevím jestli umíte anglicky náhodou nebo jestli
6.   znáte někoho
7.   C32: umím trochu ((laughs))
8.   M1: yeah? domluvíte se?
9.   C32: domluvím
10. M1: yeah? ((slowly)) what is your name?
11. C32: my name is ladislava
12. M1: d- well nice to meet you.
13. C32: ((laughs))
14. M1: ((slowly)) well we are here from america we're here for two years and we teach
15.   free english. would you like to come? (..) on tuesday night (.) from six o'clock
16.   (.) where did you learn english?
17. C32: eh?
18. M1: uh huh
19. C32: in school at school ((laughs))
20. M1: really? you speak <u>well</u> [have-]
21. C32:   [thank you]
22. M1: have you been to america? or=
23. C32: =no=
24. M1: =to england?
25. C32: no
26. M1: no
27. C32: uh uh in england I I was
28. M1: yeah?
29. C32: I I have been in england in e- ((laughs)) I have been to england ((laughs)) (.)
30.   twice
31. M1: yeah? twice in london?
32. C32: in london and (.) bath
33. M1: ((slowly)) yeah? and do you have children that speak english as well?
34. C32: yes I have
35. M1: yeah?
36. C32: ((laughs))

37. M1: <u>skvělý</u> tak vidíte už máte štěstí že jo?
38. C32: [((laughs)) jo]
39. M1: [a máte čas] v úterý?
40. C32: no já asi ne já nejsem tady z blance přímo=
41. M1: =odkud jste?
42. C32: ale můžu to dát na: (.) na nástěnku v práci
43. M1: okay, a odkud jste?
44. C32: z lebedic
45. M1: z l- víte co? taky my učíme ve lebedicích. máte hodně štěstí víte?
46. C32: ((laughs))
47. M1: v- chcete já tam jdu dneska. chcete abych vám dal jejich číslo?
48. C32: můžete
49. M1: dobrý (.) on se jmenuje elder smith (...) starší kovář
50. C32: mm hmm
51. ((laughter)) (...) ((pause, M1 writes down information))
52. M1: there we go (.) a to je jedna věc který tady děláme, další věc je my tady učíme
53.   kurs o tom jak přestat kouřit?
54. C32: mm hmm
55. M1: já nevím jestli kouříte náhodou? [asi ne]
56. C32:   [ne.] už ne
57. M1: ne? tak to je <u>skvělý</u> (.) a poslední? je tím že já nevím jestli viděla jste nás
58.   předtím? (.) nebo znáte nás?
59. C32: neznám.
60. M1: ne? my jsme tady ze církve ježiše krista, a my děláme tyto věci bez náboženství
61.   (.) a:le hlavně my jsme tady abychom mohli mluvit s lidmi o o bohu a naši víře
62.   (.) a nevím jestli vy jste věřící náhodou ((laughs))
63. C32: no ano ((laughs))
64. M1: yeah? tak <u>skvělý</u>
65. C32: ((laughs))
66. M1: a co věř- věříte vy?
67. C32: já jsem katolík
68. M1: yeah? tak to je fajn. well, chtěla byste slyšet jako (.) názor? o o bohu? a proč
69.   my jsme tady?
70. C32: no: (.) možná někdy jo
71. M1: jo? (.) možná- víte co? um já tam jdu dneska já tady bydlím v lebedcích uh
72. C32: [v blanci]
73. M1: [v blanci] ale jdu tam na na návštěvu dneska. <u>mohl</u> <u>bych</u> mu dát ten starší
74.   smith jako váš kontakt?
75.   (..)
76. C32: no (.) [((laughs))] můžete
77. M1:   [yeah?]   tak skvělý jak se jmenujete?
78. C32: ladislava beranová
79. M1: okay tak ještě jednou
80. C32: ladislava
81. M1: lad-
82. C32: el el ay dee

83. M1: yeah
84. C32: ei es (..) uh el
85. M1: el?
86. C32: es (...) ((longer pause, C32 writes))
87. M1: dobrý skvělý a to je pět set sedm devět osm jedna
88. C32: pět
89. M1: pět osm tři?
90. C32: pět ((laughs))
91. M1: okay ((slowly)) have a great day and he will give you a call
92. C32: ((laughs)) thank you
93. M1: okay bye bye
94. C32: bye
95. M3: bye
22:37

(28) 30:37
1. M1: uh prosím vás? Mohl mohl bych mohl bych mluvit s vámi?
2. C33: mm hmm
3. M1: vy máte (.)americký vlajku. nemluvíte anglicky náhodou?
4. C33: uh: a little
5. M1: a little?
6. C33: uh huh
7. M1: ((slowly)) we are here as volunteers
8. C33: uh huh
9. M1: ((slowly)) and we teach free english here
10. C33: uh huh
11. M1: rozumíte mi?
12. C33: rozumím
13. M1: yeah. domluvíte se asi že jo?
14. C33: no trošku jenom. spíš spíš rozumím než mluvím
15. M1: yeah? a byl jste v americe?
16. C33: ne nebyl
17. M1: ne a máte nějaké [uh to tričko]
18. C33:   [to mám] od táty on tam byl
19. M1: on tam byl?
20. C33: mm
21. M1: a kde byl?
22. C33: uh: v chicago (.) uh: (.) v el ay uh uh (..)
23. M1: yeah? ((slowly)) I am from california
24. C33: california
25. M1: ((slowly)) from los angeles
26. C33: uh huh
27. M1: yeah? ((slowly)) well we're here as volunteers
28. C33: mm (..) uh huh
29. M1: mm hmm dobrovolníci
30. C33: jo.

31. M1: ((slowly)) yeah and we are from the church of jesus christ
32. C33: uh <u>huh</u>. uh huh
33. M1: ((slowly)) do you know us?
34. C33: uh huh
35. M1: ((slowly)) yeah? have you talked to our (.) friends?
36. C33: uh (.) mm
37. M1: už jste mluvil s námi?
38. C33: ne. nenenenene
39. M1: máte máte šanci skvělou dneska že jo? ((laughs))
40. C33: uhm
41. M1: no my tady (.) máme budovu na na horním náměstí,
42. C33: uh huh
43. M1: a my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu.
44. C33: no,
45. M1: každý úterý
46. C33: komunikace jako?
47. M1: uh huh. hlavní
48. C33: (   ) mm hmm.
49. M1: no to to záleží na na té (.) třídě
50. C33: mm hmm mm hmm mm hmm
51. M1: protože tam tam je (.) pokročilé a tam jenom mluví anglicky, a ještě tam je s-
52.   střední pokročilé,
53. C33: mm hmm
54. M1: tam mluvíme jako půl anglicky půl česky,
55. C33: mm hmm
56. M1: a pak tam taky je ((slowly)) začátečníci tam mluvíme jako (.) to je jako ty
57.   základy
58. C33: mm hmm
59. M1: jako dobrý den, jak se máte, ty brď brďo ((laughter))
60. C33: ((laughs))
61. M1: ty základy v angličtině
62. C33: uh huh uh huh uh huh
63. M1: to je jedna věc který my tady děláme,
64. C33: uh huh
65. M1: můžete přijít?
66. C33: no: (.) rád no
67. M1: to je dobrý
68. C33: no
69. M1: a další věc (.) je: (.) my tady učíme kurs o tom jak přestat kouřit?
70. C33: aha?
71. M1: vy kouříte?
72. C33: ((laughs))
73. M1: tak skvělý ((laughter)) jak dlouho kouříte?
74. C33: dva roky. two years
75. M1: jenom- only <u>two years</u>?((slowly)) how old are you?
76. C33: uh twenty eight

77. M1: twenty eight? ((slowly)) and why did you decide now?
78. C33: uh: (.) mm nerozumím
79. M1: yeah v pohodě ještě jednou (.) ((slowly)) why. did.
80. C33: mm
81. M1: you. decide.
82. C33: uh
83. M1: to. smoke. now?
84. C33: decide?
85. M1: rozhodnout
86. C33: uh
87. M1: rozhod- rozhodl
88. C33: <u>jo</u>. uh chtěl bych přestat no ((laughter))
89. M1: jo? a proč vy jste rozhodl jako kouřit ((slowly)) před dvěma lety?
90. C33: uh: uh
91. M1: s kámoši?
92. C33: mm
93. M1: řekli <u>hele</u> zapálit
94. C33: no: spíš s holkou
95. M1: ((laughs)) ty kočky češky
96. C33: no špatný no ((laughter))
97. M1: v pohodě. (.) chtěl byste přestat?
98. C33: uh huh. určitě
99. M1: jo? kouříte hodně? nebo-
100. C33: mm (.) deset patnáct denně
101. M1: jo tak to (slyšel jsem   o tom mluvil)
102. C33: zkouším to pořád a
103. M1: jo?
104. C33: jako přestat, a nejde to.
105. M1: máte hodně štěstí dneska jo ((laughter)) mám ten kurs to má patnáct kroků
106. C33: uuh
107. M1: to opravdu funguje už jsem to učil několikrát
108. C33: mm hmm
109. M1: občas to funguje když to lidi jako post- jako sto procent to funguje když ti lidi
110.   jako následovali (.) každý krok
111. C33: mm hmm
112. M1: a když ti lidi jako (následovali) jen jako deset z nich, nebo devět, nebo <u>pět</u>
113. C33: mm hmm
114. M1: ne ne přestali
115. C33: mm hmm
116. M1: a jestli následujete každý krok? jako určitě to sto procent
117. C33: mm hmm
118. M1: a můžeme to dělat jestli chcete nevím kdy máte čas ( ) normálně?
119. C33: mm (..) tak nějak je to jedno
120. M1: je to jedno?
121. C33: mm
122. M1: vy pracujete?

123. C33: pracuju ale (.) doma na počítači
124. M1: yeah? co děláte?
125. C33: webový stránky
126. M1: (.) tak to je <u>dobrý</u> docela (.) a jak jste našel takovou práci?
127. C33: uuh <u>sám</u>. tak nějak. jsem se to naučil na nějakých stránkách svejch (.) a (jsem
128.   našel) práci tak nějakou (   )
129. M1: to je <u>dobrý</u>
130. C33: občas nějaký zakázky a tak
131. M1: a to je dobrá práce?
132. C33: je to dobrá práce můžu to dělat kdy chci no
133. M1: (..)tak já jsem studoval program- programování ve škole
134. C33: programování?
135. M1: uh huh tak a taky jsem jako dělal svoje stránky na
136. C33: v yu es ay?
137. M1: uh huh (.) ale (.) to už jsem misionář my jsme tady jako misionáři na dva roky (.)
138.   jenom na dva roky a pak vrátíme se domů a-
139. C33: proč zrovna tady?
140. M1: jo? to je dobrá otázka proč ne? protože tady máte svíčkovou
141. C33: ((laughs)) (.) dobrý
142. M1: ((laughs)) ne: jak to funguje, když my chceme jít na misi
143. C33: uh huh
144. M1: nemusíme
145. C33: mm hmm
146. M1: ale tady na tomto světě je padesát pět tisíc misionářů
147. C33: mm
148. M1: my jsme všude já mám bráchu v japonsku teď
149. C33: uh huh
150. M1: a je to jenom na dva roky, jenom my chceme pomáhat lidem tím že my učíme
151.   angličtinu zdarma, nebo ten kurs jak přestat kouřit,
152. C33: mm hmm mm hmm
153. M1: a hlavně my mluvíme s lidmi o naši církvi,
154. C33: mm hmm
155. M1: a my pomáháme církvi
156. C33: a co je to za církev? [(jesus christ)]
157. M1:   [církev ježiše krista] the church of jesus christ of latter day
158.   saints
159. C33: uh huh
160. M1: nebo hodně lidi nás znají jako <u>mormoni</u> ale to je přezdívka občas
161. C33: uh huh [no já se podívám]
162. M1:   [něco jste slyšel?]
163. C33: ne.
164. M1: ne?
165. C33: (ne no)
166. M1: a vy jste věřící člověk?
167. C33: uh:: no křesťanství ne
168. M1: yeah?

169. C33: jo
170. M1: a co věříte vy?
171. C33: uh: spíš uh jako- nejsem úplně věřící ale (.) spíš jako (.) takový ty buddhistické
172.   věci a takovýdle
173. M1: yeah? yeah? slyšel jsem něco o tom jako
174. C33: mm hmm
175. M1: že mluvil jsem s hodně lidmi? o náboženství a všechno to mi to mi zajímá jako
176.   byl s- já jsem byl v lebedicích?
177. C33: mm hmm
178. M1: a tam byl jeden hin- hinduist? jak se řekne? to je správný?
179. C33: mm hmm mm hmm mm hmm
180. M1: yeah? oni mají zajímavý (.) jako (.) kultura a
181. C33: mm hmm
182. M1: a náboženství (.) a chtěl byste taky slyšet nás náš jako (.) pohled?
183. C33: proč ne?
184. M1: proč ne? tak to je skvělý
185. C33: proč ne proč ne? uh:: (.) takže tady stačí každý úterý že to tam jste?
186. M1: mm hmm
187. C33: stačí přijít jo?
188. M1: mm hmm, ale, tam co my normálně děláme
189. C33: mm hmm
190. M1: je my máme s- tam nebydlíme my
191. C33: mm hmm
192. M1: znáte zástavku duha?
193. C33: mm hmm
194. M1: my tam bydlíme
195. C33: ano
196. M1: a my máme jako schůzky s lidmi
197. C33: mm hmm
198. M1: jako pře- (.) nebo skrze týden
199. C33: mm hmm
200. M1: a mohl bych vám jako prozvonit? až máme čas? ten jako tento příští týden mohl
201.   bych vám zavolat můžeme domluvit na čas?
202. C33: můžeme
203. M1: no tak skvělý. už my jsme moderní misionáři ((laughter)) to rád říkám oops (.)
204.   jaký máte číslo?
205. C33: pět set sedm
206. M1: pět set sedm
207. C33: osm jedna sedm, (.) tři šest šest
208. M1: (okay?)
209. C33: mm hmm
210. M1: dobře rozumím
211. ((dialing, phone rings))
212. M1: tak skvělý. jak se jmenujete?
213. C33: uuh david
214. M1: david?

215. C33: mm
216. M1: a já jsem ((slowly)) michael henderson
217. C33: mm
218. M1: těší mě. dobrý určitě- možná v pondělí? šlo by to?
219. C33: mm: no: možná nevím. nevím.
220. M1: možná?
216. C33: možná já mám teďka hodně práce a já nevím jak to stihnu přes víkend
217.   všechno=
218. M1: =dobrý=
219. C33: =udělat no, ale rád jako přijdu
220. M1: dobrý tak možná- nebo taky jestli chcete?
221. C33: mm hmm?
222. M1: ve pondělí, my jdeme na bowling
223. C33: uh huh
224. M1: tady bydlí jedna američanka
225. C33: mm hmm
226. M1: a ona je fakt skvělé
227. C33: mm hmm
228. M1: a ona um zaplat- (.)zaplatí
229. C33: mm
230. M1: to je správný?
231. C33: mm hmm
232. M1: zaplatí? jako bowling jako občas my jdeme jednou za měsíc
233. C33: mm
234. M1: tak jestli chcete je to zdarma pro vás
235. C33: ((laughs))
236. M1: tam budeme mít pět drah
237. C33: uh huh
238. M1: a klidně to je od šesti v tescu
239. C33: mm hmm
240. M1: ale já můžu vám vám zavolat v pondělí. jo?
241. C33: dobře
242. M1: dobrý tak david mějte se hezky ještě jednou
243. C33: jo taky
244. M1: čau
245. C33: ahoj
246. M1: ahoj
38:31

(29)
40:44
1. M1: prosím vás mohl bych mluvit s vámi (.) na chviličku?
2. C34: povídejte
3. M1: my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci nevím jestli znáte nás ze církve ježiše krista a
4.   tady my děláme několik věci, my jsme hlavně my jsme tady abychom mohli
5.   mluvit s lidmi o naši církvi a o bohu ale, (.) nevím jestli mluvíte anglicky

6.   náhodou?
7.   C34: moc ne
8.   M1: ne? že je to slyšet, mám přízvuk. trochu divný americký
9.   C34: no ((laughs))
10. M1: ((laughs)) a my tady učíme zdarma angličtinu: (.) každý každý úterý já nevím
11.   jestli vy tady bydlíte?
12. C34: bydlím no
13. M1: yeah? well chtěl byste přijít na (.) na tu angličtinu?
14. C34: ((fast)) no tak jestli máte nějaký letáček tak mi ho dejte a když (.) třeba (.) bych
15.   o to neměl zájem tak bych to i mohl někomu dát a=
16. M1: =jo můžete předat to
17. C34: jasně
18. M1: tomu komu je (.) toto leták
19. C34: bude to na horním náměstí jo
20. M1: uh <u>huh</u>
21. C34: to je tam od s-
22. M1: mm hmm
23. C34: na tom jo
24. M1: to je každé každý úterý od šestý do sedmý,
25. C34: mm hmm
26. M1: a tam to je vedle modrýho koně
27. C34: mm hmm
28. M1: a tam se píše starožitnosti
28. C34: mm hmm
29. M1: a to je v tomto baráku, (.) a jenom musíte zvonit na nás je to církev ježiše krista
30.   a tak můžeme vás jako [pustit]
31. C34:   [mm hmm]
32. M1: a to je jedna věc který my tady děláme
33. C34: mm hmm
34. M1: a další věc my učíme kurs o tom jak přestat kouřit,
35. C34: mm hmm no tak já nekouřím no ((laughs))
36. M1: no dobrý to nemáte ten problém ((laughs))
37. C34: dobrý.
38. M1: a poslední?
39. C34: no
40. M1: už jsem mluvil trochu o tom že my jsme tady jako misionáři ale, nevím jestli
41.   jste slyšel o <u>nás</u>? nebo jestli vy jste věřící vůbec ?
42. C34: no věřící nejsem no
43. M1: yeah? alespoň věříte v nějakou energii nebo něco? nebo?
44. C34: no: tak (.) sem tam jako každý normální člověk
45. M1: no asi [každý věří] v něco že jo?
46. C34:   [no no]   no nono
47. M1: no my máme poselství o bohu. (.) my věříme tomu že bůh opravdu existuje že
48.   nejsme tady náhodou na tomto země na to to skloňování ((laughs)) ( ) uhm uh
49.   my věříme v ježiše krista my jsme normální křesťanský církev (.) umm a taky

50.   my věříme tomu že bůh (jeho   ) tím že on povolal nového proroka dneska

51.   (.) uhm na zemi a já nevím jestli jste slyšel o nás oni lidi nás znají jako

52.   <u>mormoni</u> (.) slyšel jste o <u>mormon</u>ech?

53. C34: mm to asi ne

54. M1: to <u>ne</u>?

55. C34: mm

56. M1: já tomu nevěřím ((laughs))

57. C34: asi ne nic mi to neříká

58. M1: jo? a vy máte internet?

59. C34: prosim?

60. M1: máte <u>internet</u>?

61. C34: internet?

62. M1: internet

63. C34: internet mám no

64. M1: jo? máme stránku na internetu ve ve ve=

65. C34: =mm hmm=

66. M1: =tečka mormon tečka ce zed

67. C34: mm hmm

68. M1: ale my? co my tady děláme jako misionáři

69. C34: mm hmm

70. M1: my nejsme tady abychom před- svěčili lidi nebo abychom vnucovali lidi aby (.)

71.   slyšeli co máme říct no jenom my mluvíme s lidmi,

72. C34: mm hmm

73. M1: o (.) o tom jako co čemu věříte vy (.) a taky co co my věříme a nevím jestli

74.   chtěl byste to dělat jestli byste chtěl jako (.) kecat s námi občas a (.) můžete nám

75.   říct váš nápad jako (může) smysl života

76. C34: ((fast)) no takhle začnu tím že já se podívám na vaše stránky a pak bych když

77.   tak to no [s tou]

78. M1:   [dobrý]

79. C34: s tou angličtinou teda=

80. M1: =dobře=

81. C34: =to kouření jako to se mě netýká s tou angličtinou buď že bych o to měl

82.   zájem já nebo to bych někomu mohl předat no a (.) podívám se na ty vaše stránky

83.   tam nějaký kontakt bude určitě ne?

84. M1: dobrý tady je [(navštívenka) tady] jako kontakt

85. C34:   [no no no takže]

86. M1: můžu napsat

87. C34: jo napište no

88. M1: m- moje jméno

89. C34: napište a

90. ((pause, M1 writes))

91. M1: dobrý

92. C34: mm hmm

93. M1: já jsem henderson (.)a jak se jmenujete vy?

94. C34: já jsem pešek

95. M1: pešek tak těší mě

96. C34: tak jo
97. M1: dobrý tak mějte se hezky
98. C34: mm hmm díky na shle
44:04

(30)
46:59
1. M1: prosím vás? mohl bych mluvit s vámi?
2. C35: uh prosím?
3. M1: můžu mluvit s vámi? uh my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci uh my jsme tady jako
4.   dobrovolníci
5. C35: jo
6. M1: ze církve ježiše krista já nevím jestli znáte nás
7. (..)
8. C35: uh česky
9. T: česky
10. C35: jo
11. M1: (   ) takže díky moc na shle
47:22

(31)
47:50
1. M1: ( ) (..) uh prosím vás? můžu mluvit s vámi
2. C36: nee ((walks away))
3. M1: vy- nemluvíte anglicky?
4. C36: ((keeps walking away))
5. M1: ah: (to by bylo)
47:57

(32) 50:44
1. M1: uh prosím vás? mohl bych mluvit s vámi?
2. C37: no co potřebujete?
3. M1: no jenom my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci (.) tady my tady mluvíme (.) (nebo
4.   spíš) tady my učíme zdarma angličtinu
5. C37: jo. ale já to- já nejsem místní
6. M1: jo?
7. C37: já nemůžu tady chodit na kurzy
8. M1: aha dobře tak [skvělé]
9. C37:   [já dojíždím]
10. M1: ((fast)) aha dobře tak na shle
11. C37: mějte se hezky na shledanou
51:02

(33) 52:50
1. M1: uh prosím vás? mohli bychom mluvit s vámi?

2. C38: no, co potřebujete?
3. M1: nic my jsme tady jako dobrovolníci ze církve ježiše krista a tady my učíme
4.   zdarma angličtinu [nevím] jestli umíte anglicky náhodou?
5. C38:   [mm]   ne
6. M1: ne chtěl byste se učit?
7. C38: nemám čas na to
8. M1: <u>nemáte</u> <u>čas</u> na to
9. C38: já jsem věčně v práci dneska mám dovolenou výjimečně ((laughs))
10. M1: a kde kde pracujete?
11. C38: (.) u soustruhu
12. M1: jo? [tak] to je skvělé
13. C38:   [jo]   na shle
14. M1: dobře na shle
53:15

(34) 59:50
1. M3: no prosím vás? můžu mluvit s vámi na chvilku?
2. C39: copak potřebujete?
3. M3: no, my jsem zde z ameriky
4. C39: uh huh
5. M3: jako dobrovolníci
6. C39: mm
7. M3: uh jako děláme dělám par služb? služby? správně?
8. C39: mm hmm
9. M3: jako učíme bezplatn- bezplatný anglický kurs
10. C39: ((fast)) já nepotřebuju já <u>studuju</u> <u>angličtinu</u> [na vysoké] ((walks away))
11. M3:   [oh je to <u>skvělý</u>] na shle
1:00:13

(35)
1:01:44
1. M3: no prosím vás můžu mluvit s vámi na chvilku?
2. C40: no: nemám čas díky
3. M3: no na shle
1:01:48

(36) 1:04:35
1. M3: no prosím vás můžu mluvit s vámi na chvilku?
2. C41: [no]
3. C42: [spěcháme ale no]
4. M3: no: možná já taky ((laughter)) no jako jsem tady (.) uh jako dobrovolníci (.)
5.   uhm z ameriky (.) uh dělám pár (služba) správně? čeština je
6. C41/C42: (no no)
7. M3: pár služba správně?
8. C41: (něco je pár)
9. M3: no tak (.) um jo jeden věc je učím bezplatný bezplat<u>nu</u> anglický kurs

10. C42: jo jo jasně no
11. M3: nevím jestli umíte nebo studujete?
12. C41: studujeme
13. C42: studujeme no
14. M3: no jako jak dlouho?
15. C41: čtyři roky ( ) čtyři roky
16. M3: čtyři (.) je to skvělý a vy?
17. C42: já taky já já jsem s ním ((laughs))
18. C41: chodíme spolu do třídy
19. M3: mm hmm (.) jo (..) u:m nevím jestli chtěl byste jako (.) lepš- ah nevím dokonalit
20.   uh nebo lepšit lepšovat mm český je velmi těžký pro pro mě
21. C41: jasně no
22. M3: jo ((handing out flyers)) a jeden pro vás taky
23. C42: díky
24. M3: um jako (.) je to zdarma pro všechny
25. C42: mm hmm
26. M3: a (.) uh jako taky my učíme uh jak (.) uh kurz o jak přestat kouřit
27. C42: jojo
28. M3: um uh (.) a taky hlavní jsem zde je abych mluvil
29. C42: česky? jo ((laughs))
30. M3: česky ((laughs)) to taky. u:h s lidmi s lidmi jako o (.) církvi nebo o náboženský
31.   věci
32. C41: jo
33. M3: nevím jestli vy jste věřící?
34. C42: jsem spíš ateista (.) ale
35. M3: mm hmm
36. C42: ale nikomu to nevyvracím no
37. M3: mm jo (.) věříte v nějaký energii nebo něco? nebo ne? nic?
38. C42: (no já vůbec)
39. M3: ((laughs)) no jako
40. C41: tak jo
41. M3: no?
42. C42: děkujem
43. M3: no
44. C42: takže se uvidíme možná
45. M3: no možná
46. C41: tak se uvidíme
47. M3: no jo
48. C42: na angličtině
49. M3: ( ) přijde možná je to velmi dobré
50. ((laughter))
51. C41: tak jo
52. M3: no
53. C41: dik
54. M3: no na shle
55. C42: tak zatim, čau

1:07:02

(37)
1:13:49
1.   M3: no prosím vás? máte chvil- chvilku čas?
2.   C43: no co potřebujete?
3.   M3: jako jsem tady z ameriky
4.   C43: uh huh
5.   M3: jako dobrovolníci
6.   C43: mm hmm
7.   M3: jo a dělám pár <u>služeb</u> (.) uh jako tady učím bezplatný [bezplatnou]
8.   C43:   [jo anglicky]
9:   M3: angličtinu
10. C43: to jsem slyšel už
11. M3: no?
12. C43: uh huh. já nemám zájem děkuju
13. M3: oh. no,
14. C43: ale mějte se pěkně
15. M3: no (mějt-)
16. C43: na shle
17. M3: na shle
1:14:14

Proselyting in first-contact situations

Summary:

This study explores the process of proselyting as methodically accomplished, learned, continually developed in particular situations, and reflected by American Mormon missionaries in the Czech Republic. The analysis is guided by four research questions: 1) How do missionaries "do" proselyting such that it is recognizable to them for what it is? 2) What interactional work constitutes this process, and how is this work done through the interplay of the organization of sequence, preference, topic and category? 3) How do the participants in these proselyting situations make relevant the given setting, in this case characterized by the contact between Czech (local) and American (foreign) languages and cultures? 4) How do the individual missionaries and their church "behave toward language", i.e. how do they manage language and cultural competence and their manifestations through and for the purpose of engaging in proselyting interactions? Recorded and transcribed first-contact public proselyting situations are used as the primary data in this study, supported to a lesser degree by participant observation, field notes, so-called interaction and follow-up interviews, and document analysis. Ethnomethodology, or the study of members' methods for producing and recognizing features of talk, activities, or settings, is the main theoretical approach. Conversation Analysis, Membership Categorization Analysis, and Language Management Theory are used as the primary analytical tools.

"Obracení na víru" jako komunikační problém: situace prvního kontaktu

Práce se zabývá „obracením na víru" jakožto verbálním procesem, který „metodicky" uskutečňují, učí se, situačně adaptují a reflektují američtí mormonští misionáři v České republice. Analýza se zaměřuje na čtyři výzkumné otázky: 1) Jak misionáři „dělají" obracení na víru a jak je tento proces jakožto právě takový v rozhovoru rozpoznáván? 2) Jaká interakční práce konstituuje tento proces a jak se na ní podílejí sekvenční, preferenční, tematická a kategoriální organizace rozhovoru? 3) Jak mluvčí v situacích obracení na víru činí relevantním dané prostředí, které se vyznačuje kontaktem češtiny a angličtiny, resp. české (domácí) a americké (cizí) kultury? 4) Jak se jednotliví misionáři a jejich církev „chovají vůči jazyku", jak „spravují" svou jazykovou a kulturní kompetenci a jejich manifestace prostřednictvím a za účelem obracení na víru? Východími daty této studie jsou nahrané a transkribované interakce a terénní poznámky ze zúčastněného pozorování; v menší míře využívám tzv. interakční interview, následná interview a analýzu dokumentů. Hlavním teoretickým přístupem je etnometodologie neboli analýza metod, jejichž pomocí aktéři produkují a intepretují různé aspekty rozhovorů, aktivit nebo prostředí. Analytický aparát se opírá o konverzační analýzu, členskou kategorizační analýzu a teorii jazykového managementu.