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PETRA SOMMEROVÁ

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The Role of Discourse Markers

in Face-to-face Conversations

of Native and Non-native Speakers of English.

Úloha diskurzních markerů

v neformálních anglických konverzacích

rodilých a nerodilých mluvčích.

Author/ autor: Petra Sommerová

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Thesis supervisor/ Vedoucí diplomové práce: Mgr. Jana Šandová

Kozubíková

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Declaration:

I hereby declare that this thesis titled "The Role of Discourse Markers in Face-to-face Conversations of Native and Non-native Speakers of English" and the research to which it refers, are the result of my own work and that all used sources quoted in the enclosed bibliography.

Abstract

The thesis is focused on the study of discourse markers in English informal language. The main corpus includes seven face-to-face conversations of native and non-native speakers and serves as the basis for the research. At first, necessary linguistic terms are defined. Then, the corpus and speakers' characteristics are presented. The practical part concerns frequency, different functions and positions of particular discourse markers. The factors which might influence the possible choice of discourse markers and its motivation are focused on. Attention is also paid to the frequency of discourse markers used by the class of non-native speakers who were divided to the sub-classes of pre-intermediate, intermediate and advanced. The work further observes co-occurrence of the markers and ambiguous expressions that are not easily distinguishable. Finally, the results of the research are interpreted and analyzed.

Anotace

Diplomová práce se zaměřuje na výzkum diskurzních markerů v anglickém neformálním jazyce. Sedm nahraných konverzací, zahrnující rodilé i nerodilé mluvčí, poskytly základní materiál pro výzkum. Práce nejdříve uvádí definice nezbytných lingvistických termínů a dále specifikuje nahrané konverzace a charakterizuje jejich mluvčí. V praktické části je pozornost věnována frekvenci, různým typům funkcí a umístění jednotlivých markerů v promluvě. Následuje rozbor možných faktorů, které by mohly ovlivnit konkrétní výběr diskurzních markerů. Výzkum také uvádí statistiku frekvence výrazů užívaných skupinou nerodilých mluvčích, která je dále dělena do tříd mírně, středně a výše pokročilých uživatelů jazyka. Práce zahrnuje popis výskytu několika markerů v jedné promluvě a víceznačné výrazy, které nejsou snadno určitelné. Závěr práce je ukončen výsledky analýzy a jejich shrnutím.

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I. Introduction

This thesis deals with the occurrence, usage and functions of discourse markers in face-to-face conversations. Seven recorded interviews provide a base for the practical research. During my two-year stay in Reading, Great Britain, I became aware of the interest in English, not only in speaking language itself. After I attended the seminar of pragmatics lead by doc. Urbanová, I realized the desire to examine English from various points of view. Although the subject of pragmatics was not my main field as I could devote only one semester to this study, doc. Urbanová's lectures were notable as I was able to compare the particular discussed issues with the language I encountered in England. Within this seminar, I realised the ambiguity of a text on condition that particular features such as relevant intonation, pauses, pace and discourse markers are not used in compliance with the rules of certain types of communication. Different forms of English language were presented such as a political debate, media advertising, interviews with famous people, a university lecture, a ceremony speech and an informal conversation during the pragmatic seminar. I became interested in informal language because it belongs to the most used variants of English used every day.

Main aims of the thesis are analyzing the discourse markers in face-to-face conversations that were provided by recording the native and non-native English speakers; furthermore determine the frequency, main functions and positions in which the markers might occur. I am going to focus on the various factors (e.g. speakers' age, education, occupation) that might influence possible choice of the discourse markers. The determination whether discourse markers impact the coherence of the discourse is the next target.

Chapter II deals with introducing different issues such as pragmatics, discourse, formal and informal language, conversation and definitions of discourse markers that are necessary terms for the following research. Chapter III begins with the corpus description including speakers' characteristic and analysis of particular discourse markers. Moreover, different class of discourse markers, the ambiguous expressions and co-occurrence of the markers within one utterance are specified. Chapter IV sums up the result of the research and provides the overview of main aims of this work.

II. Theoretical background

This section focuses on the explanation of the linguistic terms that are important in order to understand the following research in the practical part, which investigates discourse markers and their various characteristics in face-to-face conversations between both native and non-native speakers.

2.1 Pragmatics

One of the important terms for the research in the practical part is pragmatics as it concerns defining the discourse markers. The field of pragmatics belongs to the modern disciplines. To make the reader acquainted with this relatively unknown issue, this subject is presented in a larger scope.

The linguists espouse various opinions on definitions of pragmatics. A most general and brief interpretation explaining pragmatics is that this field studies the use of particular language and people's behaviour within their communication. More specifically, pragmatics involves speaker's utterances and its meaning as well as hearer's interpretations of these utterances. (Yule, 1996)

I am going to state several linguists who share the same interest in this discipline, however, their opinions sometimes diverge from each other.

Yule separates pragmatics to the diverse units that altogether form the whole term. One of his approaches defines pragmatics as "the study of speaker meaning." (1996: 3)

Yule pays attention rather to the meaning of utterances than the lexical meaning of words within his investigation. Furthermore, he analyses the particular situations when the context can influence what has been uttered. Therefore he next clarifies pragmatics as "the study of contextual meaning." (1996: 3)

As the next aspect he suggests that within the communication the difficulties may arise to happen when the meaning of the uttered part is inferred by a hearer only from what was said, thus understanding only a part of what is communicated. Yule therefore indicates to "investigation of invisible meaning." (1996: 3)

And he sums up next the definition of pragmatics as "the study of how more gets communicated than is said." (1996: 3)

What aspects help to distinguish the said and unsaid parts of human communication? I share the same opinion about this notion as Yule who explains that the aspect of distance is the most decisive one. The quantity of how much it is going to be said varies according to the either physical or social distance of the speaker and the hearer. (Yule, 1996) For this reason, the last definition of pragmatics is introduced as "the study of the expression of relative distance." (Yule, 1996: 3)

One of the latest conceptions, that I found sufficient to realizing the field of pragmatics, is interpreted by Verschueren as follows *"a general cognitive, social, and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in forms of behaviour."* (1999: 7, italics in original in May 1993: 9)

2.1.1 Levinson's pragmatics

One of the other linguistic authors who deal with the term of pragmatics is Levinson. He explains the origin and historical background framework of the term and mentions the basic ideas of Morris's semiotic and the three inquired fields of study: syntactics, semantics and pragmatics. As mentioned at the beginning, there are various definitions of pragmatics, depending on the selected linguists' approaches. Morris defines pragmatics in relation to the field of signs as following "Pragmatics is the study of relation of signs to interpreters." (1938: 6 in Levinson 1983: 1)

Levinson admits that the variance of definitions and shortage of an evident boundary among individual linguistic disciplines can bring confusion and possible speculation. Anyway, he suggests that pragmatics includes the field of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics and claims this suggestion to be "the one generally used on the Continent." (Levinson, 1983: 2)

The next idea deals with the mutual influence of disciplines of pragmatics, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. In my view, these domains can not be characterised separately as they support the existence and development of each other.

Firstly, Levinson explains what contributions have been brought by sociolinguists "Sociolinguists have contributed much to certain areas of pragmatics, especially the study of social deixis and speech acts and their use." (1983: 374) On the other hand, the pragmatics also helps sociolinguistics "in trying to understand the social significance of patterns of language usage, it is essential to understand the underlying structural properties and processes that constrain verbal interaction." (Levinson, 1983: 374)

Secondly, the shared interest between pragmatics and psychology is apparent because both disciplines are engaged in processes of language understanding, specified by Levinson as "they have a mutual interest in the development of concepts like implicature, presupposition and illocutionary force." (1983: 375)

2.1.2 Applied pragmatics in different fields

The field of pragmatics is constantly developed and it affects varied branches and parts, not only the linguistic ones.

This section concerning pragmatics was captured by Levinson's ideas where throughout pragmatics can be applied practically. Primarily, he mentions applied linguistics, which deals, besides other, with theory and practical usage of a studying second language. Levinson believes that "cross-cultural misunderstanding" (1983: 376) can occur even on condition that general rules of language usage are followed.

Second field where pragmatics is applied is "man-machine interaction." (1983: 376). This study discusses the ideal situation when the language used by both people and computers is based on corresponding propositions of natural languages, and people with more or less no experience of computers gain the opportunity to integrate into working society without difficulties.

One of the other studies he concerns with, is that pragmatics might help to solve the problems caused by participants in face-to-face conversations, even if the same language is shared, e.g. how can be inter-ethnic misunderstandings be caused. To learn more about this subject, Gumperz (1977), Jupp & Roberts (1979) provide further information in their works.

The last field of applied pragmatics is devoted to difficulties arising when participants are not communicating face-to-face. In written or recorded message, one does not have to necessarily find the point that the other person intended. (Levinson, 1983)

2.1.3 Other linguistic disciplines

In order to realize the demanding field of pragmatics it is necessary to understand other distinctive fields concerning syntax and semantics. I assume that Yule explains these terms in a very comprehensible way, therefore I drew the basic facts from his work.

He defines syntax as "the study of the relationships between linguistic forms, how they are arranged in sequence, and which sequences are well-formed." (Yule, 1996: 4)

Furthermore, he defines another linguistic term, semantics, as "the study of relationships between linguistic forms and entities in the world; that is, how words literally connect to things." (Yule, 1996: 4)

To these definitions mentioned above, he contrasts the field of pragmatics and assumes it as "the study of the relationships between linguistic forms and the users of those forms. Only pragmatics allows humans into the analysis." (Yule, 1996: 4)

To enlarge the presentation of pragmatics, if the language is examined with the help of the pragmatic approach, the researcher concentrates on people's intentions, targets, conjectures and various types of actions within their communication because all these elements comprise a unit creating the field of pragmatics.

Another linguist, Mey, suggests conception concerning the task how can be "full communicative intention" (1993: 18) of a speaker identified.

This term was used by Levinson who also clarifies the meaning as follows "By taking into account, not only the meaning of [an utterance] U, but also the precise mechanism [such as irony etc.] which may cause a divergence between the meaning of U and what is communicated by the utterance of U in a *particular context.*" (1983: 18 in Mey, 1993: 18, italics in original, emphasis added)

However, I hold the same view as Yule who claims that analysis of these concepts is a very difficult task considering that every person does not have to share the same congruent and objective outlook. (Yule, 1996)

After being acquainted with the various linguists' suggestions and propositions, the summary presents the fact that the scientists do not mutually agree with opinions concerning pragmatics. Their various methods and approaches to the research of this linguistic science cause diverse definitions and expositions of pragmatics. Yule sums up pragmatics as an appealing branch of study because "it's about how people make sense of each other linguistically, but it can be a frustrating area of study because it requires us to make sense of people and they have in mind." (1996: 4)

2.1.4 Experience background

Participants' behaviour and interaction within their communication involves their basic experiences of the world. On condition that a speaker and a hearer share the same experience background, then few obstacles interfere to their mutual understanding.

This notion is presented by Yule who introduces this principle "the more two speakers have in common, the less language they'll need to use to identify familiar things."(1996: 8)

This perspective was noticed in my research several times when one of the speakers was discussing the subject that was unfamiliar to the other speaker. Consequently, the result of misunderstanding became obvious (see chapter 3.1.1.1).

One of the other necessary factors for a successful and comprehensible conversation is the participants' cooperation. This notion follows an above mentioned reference about similar experiences that should be shared by participants of conversation.

2.1.5 Implicatures

Implicature presents another important unit occurring within a conversation and is explained differently by the linguists. I am providing a definition of implicatures as these features were proved in the recorded conversations and thus the implicatures are related to this work dealing with discourse markers. The verb "imply" comes from Latin word "plicare" and carries the meaning of "blend in something into something else", in other words "to suggest that you think something without saying it directly." (Macmillan English dictionary, 2002: 719)

Implicature is defined by Yule as "an additional conveyed meaning." (1996: 35)

He, furthermore, states that "Implicatures are primary examples of more being communicated than is said, but in order for them to be interpreted, some basic cooperative principle must first be assumed to be in operation." (1996: 36) He introduces this cooperative principle by four sub-principles (called maxims).These maxims, of quantity, quality, relation and manner, support the conversation as is required and intended within communication. (Yule, 1996)

Conventional implicatures form a different group. These are words not founded on the maxims or cooperative principle, they are textually independent and their appearance in the text is not obligatory. Yule suggests words such as ´but, even, yet´ to be conventional implicatures because of their functions in the text. (Yule, 1996)

The term implicature is also investigated by Mey who explains the origin and specifies the expression (see 2.1.5.1 and 2.1.5.2).

2.1.5.1 Conversational implicatures

Mey's definition explains a conversational implicature as following "therefore, is something which is implied in conversation, that is, something which is left implicit in actual language use." (1993: 19)

Leech suggests the idea supporting the notion that interpretation is based not strictly on the syntactic or semantic rules. He remarks that "[i]nterpreting an utterance is ultimately a matter of guesswork, or

(to use a more dignified term) hypothesis formation." (1983: 30-1 in Mey, 1993: 21).

This sub-class of implicatures occurred within the recorded conversations in the research.

2.1.5.2 Conventional implicatures

The conventional implicature is a particular context independent component. Mey assumes that the speakers whose accent of a language is noticeable are not generally accepted to the "socially ´received´ world of language use." (Mey, 1993: 24, single quotation mark in original)

Furthermore, he presents that the usage of a nonstandard variety of English indicates the shortage of education and culture. He adds the attitude that "Such implicatures are standardized by convention, and cannot be changed even if we invoke another context." (Mey, 1993: 24)

Moreover from this interpretation, it can be understood that the hearer needs to interpret what the speaker has said, in order to find out the meaning of the utterance. However, the explication can become intricate within various conditions and consequent misunderstanding should be awaited by the conversation participants. (Mey, 1993)

2.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis became one of the basic approaches in the practical part of this thesis; therefore, I am presenting explanations that were the most comprehensible, based on Yule's opinions.

2.2.1 Functions of conversation

Conversation participants use the language in interpersonal function, which for example means they are involved in social interaction. Another function of language is the ideational function, which means that the speakers describe their experience coherently. The last, no less important function is the textual function. This function enables the speakers to form a correct suitable discourse. (Yule, 1996)

Yule sums up the discourse analysis as "Investigating this much broader area of the form and function of what is said and written." (1996: 83) I agree with Yule's definition of the discourse analysis concentrating on the "record (spoken or written) of the process by which language is used in some context to express intention." (1996: 83-4)

Discourse analysis focuses e.g. on the structure of a text, what sentence connections preserve cohesion, on the features that are typical for particular type of a text and it also pays attention to how these features are divided and allow to establish different types of a text. The pragmatics is associated with the discourse analysis as it examines social and psychological concepts, and more specifically the unsaid and unwritten speaker's intentions and ideas. (Yule, 1996)

2.2.2 Background knowledge

Next paragraph is devoted to the explanation of background knowledge that is essential for the hearer in order to interpret the unsaid speaker's messages. These foregoing knowledge structures work as a model from previous experience and are used for new interpretation. Yule calls this pattern as "schema" (1996: 85) and he alerts to presence of this schema if the conversation should be understood. He assumes that "the reader uses a pre-existing knowledge structure to create an interpretation of what is not stated in the text. (1996: 86)

To sum up this idea of background schema, it seems to be obvious that for conversation participants from different countries and/ or cultures, combined with their lack of the background knowledge might convert the communication into an incomprehensible and misunderstanding matter.

This general knowledge might be underpinned by de Beaugrande's idea, who claims that "the question of how people know what is going on in a text is a special case of the question of how people know what is going on in the world at all." (1980: 30 in Brown, Yule, 1983: 233)

2.3 Discourse

The term discourse is an inevitable component to analyse discourse markers. I have become acquainted with several definitions given by researchers who take up interest in pragmatic research of a language. However, their individual definitions and views differ from each other and the vastness and ambiguity of discourse analysis indicate that this dynamic issue is open to further research.

Discourse often refers to the speech patterns and usage of language, dialects, and acceptable statements, within a community. It is a subject of study in nations who live in secluded areas and share similar speech conventions. (Crystal and Davy, 1975)

Crystal and Davy are one of the researchers who define discourse as "a continuous stretch of speech preceded and followed by an agreed change of speaker. The word ´agreed´ is needed so as to discount brief interruptions, agreement noises, and so on, which only temporarily ´interrupt the flow´." (1975: 86, single quotation marks in original)

The written discourse is composed out of regularly identifiable sentences beginning with a capital letter and finishing with an obvious mark of punctuation. Anyway, these rules are not usually followed in the field of poetry of advertisements. (Crystal and Davy, 1969)

2.3.1 Discourse model

In my view, the Schifrin's discourse model appears to be the one, which is most effective for the analysis of this work therefore, I am citing her suggestions "My discourse model has both non-linguistic structures (exchange and action) and linguistic structures (ideational). Speaker and hearer are related to each other, and to their utterances, in a participation framework. Their knowledge and meta-knowledge about ideas is organized and managed in an information state. Local coherence in discourse is thus defined as the outcome of joint efforts from interactants to **integrate** knowing, meaning, saying, doing." (Schiffrin, 1987: 29, bold in original)

2.3.2 Properties of discourse

Schiffrin in her work presents several properties of discourse that contribute to create cohesion of a text. Three main units are further discussed.

The first property of discourse is a structure. Linguistic elements such as morphemes, clauses and sentences compose the structure of a discourse. Non-textual factors are integrated within the discourse. Moreover, there are several analyses which concern the linguistic units as the main components of dialogue structure. Schiffrin deals with the questions whether linguistic elements constitute monologue and dialogue structures and whether methods taken over from linguistics can be used to investigate these structures. However, to examine this task in detail is not the main goal of this thesis. For more contributing knowledge, Levinson or Stubbs specifies this particular question in their works. (Schiffrin, 1987: 7)

The second property of discourse is meaning. Cohesion of a text, above mentioned, depends on both, hearer's and speaker's contributions as these participants of the discourse use some cohesive ties to or not to complete the propositions of their utterances (further details in 2.4.3)

This suggestion is solved by Schiffrin who states that "The meaning conveyed by a text is meaning which is interpreted by speakers and hearers based on their inferences about the propositional connections underlying what is said. Cohesive devices do not themselves create meaning; they are clues used by speakers and hearers to find the meanings which underlie surface utterances." (1987: 9)

Action is considered as the next property of discourse. To accomplish the action is more dependent on the speaker's arrangement of his intentions and goals that the hearer can accept and interpret. Action of discourse is connected with functions of the language (referred to Gumperz 1964 or Jakobson 1960), speech act theory (defined by Austin 1962 or Searle 1969) and lastly with the ethnography of communication (discussed by Bauman and Sherzer 1974, 1982) (Schiffrin, 1987)

2.3.3 Coherence and cohesion

The successful conversation is supposed to be fluent and coherent in order for participants to understand the proposition and discussed issue. Coherence is one of the important attributes of a discourse, both written and spoken. In case that the discourse does not preserve coherence, the recipient becomes confused and does not understand the goal and message conveyed by the utterance.

One of the views of coherence was presented by Gumperz (1984) who suggests that "The communicative meaning is achieved through a process of situated interpretation in which hearers infer speakers' underlying strategies and intentions by interpreting the linguistic cues which contextualize their message." (Schiffrin 1987: 21)

Gumperz calls these cues as contextualization cues and distinguishes between "verbal (prosodic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, rhetorical) and nonverbal (kinesic, proxemic) aspects of communicative code which provide an interpretive framework for the referential content of a message." (Schiffrin 1987: 22)

The term cohesion is defined as "the grammatical and/or lexical relationships between the different elements of a text. This may be the relationship between different sentences or between different parts of a sentence." (Dictionary of Language Teaching, 1985: 45)

Cohesive items such as pronouns, conjunctions or adverbs are devices that help to create a discourse; nevertheless, they do not form the particular meaning of discourse.

(Crystal and Davy, 1969)

Linguists separate these terms and describe cohesion "which is the way words formally hang together in sentences and the like, and coherence, which captures the content-based connections between the words that make them produce sense." (Mey, 1993: 27)

Another author, Stubbs, distinguishes between the terms of coherence and cohesion as follows "Cohesion has to do with relations between surface linguistic forms…whereas coherence refers to relations between communicative acts." (1983: 126-7 in Mey, 1993: 27)

2.4 Conversation

This research is based on analysing the everyday face-to-face conversations between participants who involve both native and non-native English speakers.

'A conversation *is any stretch of continuous speech between two or more people within audible range of each other who have the mutual intention to communicate, and bounded by the separation of all participants for an extended period'* (Crystal and Davy, 1975: 86, italics in original)

Conversation is created to provide information in order to help achieve the target. There are usually spontaneous reactions to what has previously been said. The spoken English differs from its written forms in certain aspects. Speaking people can demonstrate ill-humoured jokes, can lose their temper while speaking, forget their speech, make mistakes, argue, join the other person's utterance, get disturbed, show their feelings, shift the styles of speech, fail to understand the foreign language, apply the vocabulary vaguely or talk at the same time. (Crystal and Davy, 1975)

Many of these aspects are evident in the recorded conversations. To the contrary, these instances are not evident in the written language.

2.4.1 Linguistic terms

There are linguistic terms concerning conversation that are significant for imagining the main concept of communication. I am drawing these terms from Yule who seems to formulate these expressions in the most comprehensible way.

The structure of conversation is composed of conversation participants' interaction. The certain type of talk depends on a particular context of interaction; however, the basic paradigm of structure is formed on the primary type of interaction that is most often used.

Yule uses analytic approach based on analogy with the operations of a market economy. He labels the right to speak as the "floor." Whenever the speaker is in control of the floor, he calls the situation "turn". The other speaker has the right and can take over this control, which is by Yule named as "turn-taking". The next term he defines, is a condition of conceivable change of turn-taking and he titles it as

"a Transition Relevance Place, or TRP" (all terms in quotation marks – Yule, 1996: 72).

2.4.2 Conversation pattern

This part explains the structure of the conversation. Generally two or more participants are involved in the conversation. They take turns or might interrupt each other but in the most common situations one of the speaker talks and the other one listens to him. However, this optimal pattern is not followed in every discussion.

Some difficulties are presumable under various circumstances and situations. the longer pauses, hesitations or overlaps can occur within the conversation and can be the reasons of misunderstandings. (Yule, 1996)

Yule introduces this notion as "When two people attempt to have a conversation and discover that there is no ´flow´, or smooth rhythm to their transitions, much more is being communicated than is said." (Yule, 1996: 72-3, single quotation mark in original)

At the moment of beginning a new discussion, the overlapping situation is expected as both speakers try to start the utterance. Overlapped speech can indicate that both speakers share the similar ideas of the discussed subject and this way they show either their closeness or their desire to compete. (Yule, 1996)

While one of the participants is listening, the other one wants to see some signals that he is being heard and that attention is paid to him during his speaking. Many different backchannels such as smiles, head nods, gestures or facial expressions can be used to show the interest in the discussed subject. These backchannels support the feedback to the speaker who is in charge of speaking and indicate that the hearer has accepted the conveyed message. (Yule, 1996)

2.4.3 Linking constituents

Every conversation involves some kind of linkage to maintain the speech cohesive and understandable. Pronouns, adverbials, articles, lexical repetitions, etc. appear in a speech as linking constituents; however, these can not be isolated out of a sentence. They are contextual dependent. (Crystal and Davy, 1975)

The conversation participants are required to keep up a flow of brief vocalization, such as ´m´, ´mhm´, etc. In case of not using these components a listener might become either suspicious of not paying attention to a speaker or if he uses too many of them, it might affect dominative pugnacity or embarrassing sympathies.

The participants' facial expressions are also considerable to point out the correct meaning. If these linking constituents are inserted in a wrong place, the comprehensibility of the conversation can be broken. (Crystal and Davy, 1975)

2.5 Formality and informality of the language

This section offers a brief overview to distinguish between formality and informality of a language. I am going to pay attention rather to informal English language as this category has become the main subject of my investigation. The attitude to formal or informal language depends on a particular register that is selected for a certain occasion.

Register is defined as various forms of a language that is referred to a particular subject matter or scope of activity, complexity of words and expressions just as well as syntactical features so as that specific area of language can be distinguished. Many kinds of register can be distinguished, e.g. academic, scientific, mathematical, technical, etc. (Crystal and Davy, 1975)

Difference of registers determines whether the language is formal or informal. Many degrees of formality and informality are noticeable within various opportunities of using the language and some of them are not possible to define strictly as either formal or informal. However, there are some general conventions that should be followed to determine at least the elementary boundary between informal and formal language.

2.5.1 Informal language

Most people use informal English every day. Informal English is widely used within informal situations such as meeting friends or family members, playing a sport, studying with schoolmates, going shopping, at parties, watching television and many others. Necessary elements such as slang words, short words, colloquial vocabulary, phrasal verbs, contractions and improper grammar rules occur frequently in informal language. There are many forms of using proper option of English that are selected in compliance with a particular situation or event, speaker's feelings and surely a person who is being talked to. There is no possibility to prepare the regular controlled utterances in spoken discourse within a spontaneous speech. The field of rhetoric is an exception but it is not related to informality of English. Informal conversation comprises unprepared and inexplicit content; it does not follow rigid lines. The subjects are casual and it brings "loosely co-ordinated constructions, incompleteness, ungrammaticality, stylistic vacillation, and many other linguistic ´errors´ – but these features remain either unnoticed or tolerated, and can be called errors only from the viewpoint of the norms of formal or written   language"
(Crystal and Davy, 1975: 87, single quotation marks in original).

2.5.2 Formal language

As distinct from the informal language, the formal one is mainly used in its written form, e. g. in textbooks, letters, contracts or essays. Its spoken form is asserted within education, work meetings, official ceremonies, political debates (see chapter 2.5.2.1), polemics and serious events. Formal language contains more complex vocabulary than its informal form. Slang, colloquial vocabulary, short words and other aspects of informal language are not permitted. Formal language inclines to be rather impersonal or neutral, hence passive forms and neutral subject ´it´ are preferred. Main target of professional literature is accuracy, matter-of-factness and systematicness of configuration. It preserves notional character and precisely specified goal therefore, these texts are more explicit. (Čechová a kol., 2003)

2.5.2.1 Political debate

This part introduces the basic elements creating political debate. The majority of information has been provided by the Czech author of stylistic, Čechová.

Political debates, polemics and interviews form the special class of scientific register. These genres are composed of features concerning both formal and informal language. The content and the target of the political debate include confrontation of different attitudes, opinions, suggestions and contrary arguments. Its main functions are suggested to inform, realize and gain the hearers. The politicians interpret their suggestions immediately and trustworthily in order to influence the hearers. They frequently appeal to viewers, further rhetorical questions; definitional stereotype and paradigm appear in their speech.

Their speech pattern does not avoid the set expressions, clichés, frequent repetitions of the facts and parenthesis. These parentheses express attitudes of others, they remind the hearer of general public persuasion, they demand evidence of various specific sources, and they bring the urgency of argument and importance of agitation. The parentheses can further introduce the quotations. The speakers might mention the ideas of eminent personages and try to incorporate different pieces of knowledge. It is not a rare situation when the politician tries to generalize individual propositions for various reasons. One of them might be the fact of insufficient

information of the matters or preserving certain principles of diplomacy. The speakers sometimes cut themselves off their synopsis, further slips of the tongue, introductory and parasitic particles reflecting e. g. hesitation and dysfunctional words often occur with their discussion within political debate.

The prepared monologue of a politician might pass into spontaneous dialogue due to a moderator who poses unexpected questions. The speakers try to fortify the clearness of their speech by using various examples or particular comparisons. (Čechová a kol., 2003)

2.5.3 Spoken language

Spoken language differs from its written form in many aspects. A person who speaks is able to use various "range of ´voice quality´ effects" (Brown, Yule, 1983) among others extralinguistic features, e.g. facial expressions, body motions and gestures, further paralinguistic features such as volume, voice tone, pace, rhythm, pauses, intonation and so on. The speaker's feelings are displayed within his speech in case that the speakers participate in face-to-face communication. (definition in chapter 5.3.1) (Brown, Yule, 1983)

The speaker is pressed by time that is limited for him. He produces his speech under more demanding circumstances. He needs to control what he is uttering at a certain moment and at the same time his next predication needs to be formulated in his mind. Moreover, he has to control whether his stated ideas intend to reach the point. In addition, the feedback and reactions of the listener are fundamental elements for the speaker. He is able to monitor the listener's reactions and can modify his speech for the hearer to be more acceptable. He does not usually keep a complete record of his speech, only some necessary notes to remind of the main ideas that might be available. Whenever the speaker makes a mistake e.g. slip of the tongue, and he is aware of it, he can correct himself and makes the context clear. (Brown, Yule, 1983)

A speaker can use the above mentioned paralinguistic features to express the emotions, indicate agreement, disagreement, and doubts or signal the directions. The demonstratives and anaphoric devices, further ellipsis, appellate syntactic devices, rhetorical questions and emotional expressions frequently occur in the spoken language. (Čechová a kol., 2003)

There are various formal devices to mark the boundaries in the speech. Active declarative forms are usually heard more than the passive ones. The sentences might stay incomplete, frequently simply extracts of phrases occur within the speech. Frequent pauses might interrupt syntactic units too and frequent repetitions, generalized vocabulary, slips of the tongue and ´fillers´ are presumed to appear in the spoken language. (Brown, Yule, 1983)

2.5.3.1 Face-to-face interaction

Face-to-face communication is described as "communication between people in which the participants are physically present. In contrast there are some situations where speaker and hearer may be in different locations, such as a telephone conversation." (Dictionary of Language Teaching, 1992: 135)

This type of conversation is embedded in an actual active situation when the time and place of production and reception of speech are in congruence. Choice of linguistic devices is followed by dependence or independence of communication on the situation. One of the main features of slang is spontaneity accompanied by non-standard level of the language. (Čechová a kol., 2003)

2.5.4 Written language

The written language mostly serves when textbooks, essays, letters and other serious documents are formed. If a person composes a text, he has sufficient time to think what to write next. There is a possibility to prepare the particular ideas, paragraphs and chapters and these might be reordered if the writer were not satisfied with them. The text is possible to control by the writer and correct the mistakes. A dictionary might be used and be helpful for language accuracy of a text. However, no immediate feedback and no reactions from the reader present the essential distinctive feature of the written language. Many pieces of information connected to one referent are packaged into one utterance in the written language. Written texts follow punctuation conventions and the lineation signals the change of a speaker. Paragraphs and chapters should be organized to keep the text comprehensible and cohesive. In the written language the various colours, different size, type of handwriting and lay-out preserve the organization of a text and influence the total complete image. (Brown, Yule, 1983)

Written form includes metalingual markers such as complementisers and temporal markers (so-called logical connectors) that determine the relationships between sentences. Rhetorical organisers are typically used to divide larger segments of a text. (Brown, Yule, 1983)

The main function of the spoken language is that people use speech to establish and maintain human relationships whereas through the written language people are able to work out of and transfer the information. Goody mentions two main functions of the written language. The first one is a storage function, which means that communication over time and space is allowed. The second is that which "shifts language from the oral to the visual domain" so the words and the sentences might be examined out of their original contexts, where they appear in a very different and highly ´abstract´ context" (1977: 78 in Brown and Yule, 1983:13, single quotation marks in original)

2.6 Discourse markers

Discourse markers (defined by Fraser and Schiffrin), discourse connectives (defined by Blakemore), discourse operators (defined by Redeker), pragmatic connectives (defined by van Dijk and Stubbs), sentence connectives (defined by Halliday and Hasan), cues phrases (defined by Knott and Dale), phatic connectives (defined by Bazanella), pragmatic operators (defined by Ariel), pragmatic particles (defined by Ostman), pragmatic expressions (defined by Erman), pragmatic devices (defined by Polanyi and Scha), semantic conjuncts (defined by Quirk) and many other various labels are used by different linguists to discuss the issue of discourse markers.

The researchers of the discourse markers do not advocate the same points of view concerning the definitions, categorization and functions of discourse markers in particular utterances. They reached only partial agreement on the issue of discourse markers.

Therefore, I am going to provide more researchers' views and state their main opinions in order to imagine what varied units, expressions or phrases can be considered as discourse markers.

2.6.1 Fraser's view

Fraser defines the discourse markers as "a pragmatic class of lexical expressions drawn primarily from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositional phrases. Within certain exceptions they signal a relationship between the interpretation of the segment they introduce, S2, and the prior segment, S1." (1999: 931) He further states that "They have a core meaning, which is procedural, not conceptual, and their more specific interpretation is ´negotiated´ by the context, both linguistic and conceptual." (1999: 950)

Occurrence of discourse markers differs but most of them appear in initial position and only few of them are possible to find in medial or final position. From the syntactical approach, the discourse markers are subordinate conjunctions and on that account the independent foregoing clause has to be present. From the semantic approach, Fraser claims that the meaning of a discourse marker is procedural. The words belonging to the open class contain defining complex of semantic attributes hence, their meaning is conceptual unlike the meaning of discourse markers. (Fraser, 1999)

According to Fraser each discourse marker should associate two different messages. However, his suggestion of how to divide discourse markers contradicts Schifrin's classification. He does not agree with certain expressions such as particles (even, just, only), further pause markers (hum, well, oh) vocatives and interjections to be claimed as discourse markers. The main reason for this exclusion is that no relationship between segments is indicated. Furthermore, they do not follow the distinctive features of discourse markers that have been already mentioned. (1999)

Fraser supports the idea that discourse markers do not create a separate syntactic class. The sentences are associated in case that an expression functioning as a discourse marker occurs in the utterance. If a discourse marker was absent in the utterance, the listener would need "a lexical clue to the relationship intended between the two segments."(1999: 944)

2.6.2 Zwicky's view

Zwicky suggests "On the ground of distribution, prosody, and meaning, discourse markers can be seen to form a class. But like the ´particles´ discussed...they are independent words rather than clitics." (Zwicky, 1985: 303 single quotation mark in original)

According to Zwicky other words with functions that frequently appear at the beginning of the sentence should be separated from discourse markers in order to link the conversation. Discourse markers must be prosodically independent and linguistic elements such as breaks, pauses and intonation help to separate them form the context. Furthermore, he states "Discourse markers ALL have the latter, pragmatic functions rather than the former, narrowly semantic, ones" (Zwicky, 1985: 303 in Fraser, 1999: 933 capital in original).

2.6.3 Schiffrin's view

After I read definitions and theories suggested for discourse markers I have decided to use mostly Schiffrin's classification of discourse markers for my research in practical part as I support the same viewpoint and the words she believes to be discourse markers occur in the survey of this thesis.

Schiffrin interprets the discourse markers such as "sequentially-dependent units of discourse" (1987). She analyzes unstructured interview conversations where discourse markers such as *and, but, because, now, oh, I mean, or, so, then, well, y'know* appear.

On the contrary, Fraser opposes this statements as he does not classify *now, I mean, oh* and *y'know* as a discourse markers. (further details in chapter 2.6.1)

Schiffrin further includes paralinguistic features and non-verbal gestures to a class of discourse markers.

These features are, in my point of view, able to influence the coherence of the utterance hence, I support previous Schiffrin's suggestion.

However, for proving what should or should not be defined as a discourse marker, Schiffrin suggests more specified analysis to examine. Zwicky's suggestions is in agreement with the Schiffrin's views and they offer similar ideas about the aspects that constitute a marker.

Schiffrin suggests that

- "It has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence
- It has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance
- It has to serve a range of prosodic contours
- It has to be able to operate at both local and global level of discourse
- It has to be able to operate on different planes of discourse."
(1987: 313 in Fraser, 1999: 933 - 4)

Each discourse marker has meaning excluding *well* and *oh*. Markers have integrative function and on that account, the discourse coherence is preserved.

There are some other examples that might be considered as a discourse markers according to Schiffrin "verbs of perception – *see, look, listen*

deictic – *here, there*
interjections – *gosh, boy*
meta-talk – *this is the point, what I mean is*
quantifier phrases – *anyway, anyhow, whatever*"
(1987: 328 in Fraser, 1999: 934)

2.6.4 Redeker's criticism

To show disagreement of another linguist, a different angle is presented by Redeker who criticizes Schiffrin. Redeker does not use the term discourse markers, she calls them discourse operators. Schiffrin's concept does not comply with the satisfying definition of discourse markers, therefore Redeker demands "a clearer definition of the component of discourse coherence and a broader framework that embraces all connective expressions and is not restricted to an arbitrary selected subset." (1991: 1167 in Fraser, 1999: 935).

These are the components, which she does not consider as discourse markers

"- clausal indicators of discourse structure – *let me tell you a story, as I said before, since this is here*

- deictic expressions as far as they are not used anaphorically – *now, here, today*
- anaphoric pronouns, noun phrases
- any expressions whose scope does not exhaust the utterance."
(1991: 1168 in Fraser, 1999: 935)

A discourse operator is defined by Redeker as "a word or phrase...that is uttered with the primary function of bringing to the listener's attention a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediate discourse context. An utterance in this definition is an intonationally and structurally bounded, usually clausal unit." (1991: 1167 in Fraser, 1999: 935)

The first chapter outlined the terms as pragmatics, discourse, conversation, differences of formal and informal language and definitions of discourse markers viewed by various linguists. These fields concern the following research as the analysis of the particular discourse markers is assigned to be the main aim of this work.

Firstly, the corpus consisting of the conversations with native and non-native speakers is going to be introduced. Further, the different groups of discourse markers are going to be classified including their functions and positions. Next, I mention the frequency of markers used by native and non-native speakers. Finally, I am going to focus on the expressions that might be considered as ambiguous and co-occurrence of the discourse markers in the same utterance.

III. Research

3.1 Corpus description

3.1.1 Participants of conversations
The necessary description of participants who were creating the conversations is going to be outlined and distinguished between native and non-native English speakers.

3.1.1.1 Native speakers
Native speakers had no or at least fewer problems with grammar mistakes, vocabulary usage, intonation and correct pronunciation as English was their mother tongue. To analyse their conversations, the native speakers' age, education, occupation and life experiences constitute the elementary distinctive features (see chapter 3.1.3)

The pace of their speech was not adjusted and assumed to be noted by a non-native listener as well. The main problem of the conversations with native speakers was to understand their accent, especially to note down the American couple's dialogue appeared to be the most intricate task of all the recorded conversations. The boy seemed to be very tired that day and he was not very keen on showing his interest in having a conversation. Moreover they had not been acquainted with the fact they were going to be recorded so their speech was relatively fast paced and they did not pay attention to the pronunciation of the particular words. Furthermore, the issues they were discussing were not very familiar to me so that some ideas were left with an open ending and many other utterances stayed cut-off. the last recorded conversation makes difference from the American one even though the participants were native speakers. I was able to participate in this interview and thus there was a possibility to find out the meaning of misunderstood words or whole utterances after the recording finished. The speakers' answers and clues helped to clarify the troubled situations.

However, the clear comprehension of English native speaker's depends on the presence or absence of a person who is recording and subsequently re-writing the conversations, furthermore on the surroundings where the conversations take place and the disturbing elements connected with it. Then different dialects, slang words and improper English grammar made the re-writing difficult.

3.1.1.2 Non-native speakers

To judge the non-native speakers level of English, it is essential to know some important information about them such as their age, education, their occupation, their knowledge of English and their attitude to this language. Some of their life experience might contribute to closer characteristic (see chapter 3.1.3). Their English knowledge appeared to be without any difficulties and was understandable. Some grammar mistakes might be noticed in their interviews; especially the tenses and forming questions were not used correctly.

3.1.2 Interrupting elements

Some of the conversations, including both native and non-native speakers were recorded within bothersome conditions. The background noise interfered with the recording. The next troublesome situation occurred when one of the speakers did not feel very comfortable about his health condition, he was suffering from a cold and was not in the best mood and thus it was very demanding to understand his utterances. Another problem arose when the conversation was recorded near the stables where the machines were working and dogs barking around us caused that the utterances remained unfinished and partially incomprehensible. One of the recordings was interrupted by a third person who came into the room and slipped into the conversation. It was difficult to identify their voices afterwards and the interview could not be used for this work. The speakers, who had been told about the recording before they started to talk, became quite nervous and during the conversation they paid too much attention to the form of their discourse rather than proper choice of a topic.

I found the most successful conversation 6, which was recorded when two Australian men were speaking spontaneously about their stay in the Czech Republic. Their English was completely intelligible which could have been caused by the fact they had been informed about the recording. However, these men were willing and without any troubles they permitted to be recorded.

In conclusion, acquiring the recorded materials for this survey was not an easy task. Many people who had been asked for help were not willing to be recorded although they had been ensured that their personal data were not going to be published in this thesis. Furthermore the above mentioned difficulties caused the problems to understand each said

utterance perfectly. Anyway the main points and the cohesion of the conversations stayed preserved.

3.1.3 Speakers characteristic

This section offers necessary information about the participants of the recorded conversations. Their age, education, occupation and life experience are described and thus they provide basic overview to analyse their speech.

On the basis of the all speakers' agreement I decided to use their first names or the initial letters of the names in order to make the analysis more transparent.

3.1.3.1 First conversation

It took place in my friend's house where my friend's sister (speaker I - Iva) and their guest from the USA (speaker a – Amanda) were recorded. The Czech girl was not too keen on recording because she was afraid of her mistakes in English. The American girl took my request for help as a challenge.

Speaker I lives in Prague, she is 31 years old and at this moment she is on maternity leave. After finishing studies at grammar school, she graduated from the Economical University in Prague. She has been learning English for ten years although some basic mistakes appear in her speech. She declares herself as a "permanent beginner" (which is a term used for the people who had been studying the language for a particular time before they stopped for various reasons and start from the absolute beginning again). When she forms a question it has the form of a declarative sentence. She uses only basic vocabulary and the verbs such as 'to be', 'to have', 'to make' are often repeated. Furthermore, she confuses verbs 'make' and 'do' in some phrases. I suppose she is able to understand better than she communicates in English.

Speaker a comes from California, from the city of San Diego, she is a woman in her thirties who came to the Czech Republic with a denomination, which name should not be presented. There is a group of people who are engaged in exchanging working and travelling experience. They came to this country to both educate and distribute their theories. This woman was not very keen on providing more information about her life or her mission in the Czech Republic.

American accent was clearly distinguished in her speech that caused troubles to me to understand all what had been said. Moreover, the words whose meaning could not be guessed were used although the context was available.

The speakers were discussing, besides other ideas, English teaching and learning. They tried to keep the conversation as a dialogue form from the real beginning but as the time was running, speaker I became rather a passive participant of the conversation. Iva tried to show her paying attention to the speaker at least by nodding, agreeing and different gestures and mimics.

This situation was expected as the native speaker was leading the conversation due to her ability to speak the language without any difficulties. On the contrary, the non-native speaker was caught in a demanding situation as English is not her mother tongue and her language knowledge can be evaluated as the pre-intermediate level.

3.1.3.2 Second conversation

It was recorded without my attendance. The present speakers were American and their Czech lecturer who was teaching them the Czech language was present as well. These students travelled to the Czech Republic during their interchangeable training educational system. They were supposed to study the same field of subjects as they studied at home and the Czech language should have helped them to integrate with other students.

Speaker K (Kayla) was a 16 year-old girl who was born in Arizona. She studied at the College of Technology and she always wanted to visit European countries and spend some time there. She liked shopping, meeting her friends and chatting.

Speaker W (Wade) was an 18-year-old boy who lives in Seattle. His parents got divorced when he was a child and since then he has been travelling around the world always with one of his parents in attendance. This year he is going to explore African countries with his friend. He practices many sports, e.g. kick box, basketball, rowing and so on. He seemed to be a versatile man. Both of them would vote for Barrack Obama. They were staying with Czech families for a year.

They chose various issues for their discussion such as their trip to Prague, experiences with bookmakers, their Christmas traditions, travelling, etc. This conversation appears to be the most problematic one because the speakers' English was very fast, the particular words were not pronounced properly and the American accent made some of their utterances incomprehensible to me. Obviously, the speakers' unawareness of the recording influenced my possibility to understand.

3.1.3.3 Third conversation

It took place in a town of Brentwood, in Great Britain. The speakers were close friends and they shared the same liking for horses.

Speaker a (Angie) is 38 years old and comes from Reading, which is located in the county of Berkshire, forty miles west of London. This woman finished the primary school and then she had to start working at her parents´ farm. Her interest in horse riding started there and since then she has been working with horses all the time. No further information was provided.

Speaker L (Lucy) lives in a small village near Brentwood; she is married and has one child. She graduated from Reading College. She participates in horse races and has already gained a few awards. Her husband is a poetry writer and they have just bought a new house, which they are furnishing.

This conversation could have been more successful if it was not interrupted by one of the stable employees who kept on talking without realizing that this conversation was being recorded. Furthermore, the barking dogs were annoying although the change of the place for the recording happened several times. The sort of London accent was distinguished in their speech. Both speakers were talking and laughing at the same time that again caused incomprehensibility again. Their main topics to discuss were horses but the speakers often swap their topic afterwards and talked about casual daily events.

3.1.3.4 Fourth conversation

The fourth conversation was recorded in Brentwood in Great Britain. The speakers were university schoolmates and have known each other for ten years.

Speaker a (Aleš) comes from a village close to Prague and he is 30 years old. After his graduation from secondary school he focused on making the furniture, he studied the at the Faculty of physical education. He tried to work as a teacher at secondary school but was not satisfied with the assessment of this job and that is why he moved to England where he has been for five years now. He now works as a waiter in an Italian restaurant and he has been travelling to many countries such as Brazil, Mexico, New Zealand, India, etc. His knowledge of English is of upper-intermediate level. He can speak the language fluently although some mistakes appeared. He has no problems with understanding a native English speaker and he claims he is keen on learning foreign languages in a foreign country. The textbooks and listening materials are not sufficient for him.

Speaker V (Vít) was born in Jihlava but he is living in Prague nowadays. This man is 28 years old. He graduated from grammar school and he left his studies at university unfinished. He works as a real estate agent and is becoming successful in his job. There is a necessary demand to speak English in this business so he is trying to improve his language skills. He would like to travel around the world and explore various foreign countries. I suppose this person's knowledge of speaking and listening to English is of the same level. He forms questions as a declarative sentence and misuses past and present tenses.

These participants were talking about speaker's a life in Great Britain, how he feels among foreigners and the way he is treated by the British. Then some funny stories and recollections of university studies were mentioned. It seems that speaker A is more experienced in using English and he kept on talking, meanwhile speaker V was rather listening and asking the questions. No difficulties were noted within the recording, as both the men were non-native speakers of English.

3.1.3.5 Fifth conversation

It was also recorded in the city of Brentwood in Great Britain. Both speakers became good friends while staying abroad, they are women in their late twenties who came to England in order to earn money and save them for their living in their respective countries.

Speaker P (Petra) came to England to study the Bachelor of Arts in field of economics and accounting. She comes from Ostrava from the Czech Republic. She graduated from London University and started to work as a key manager of a hotel. This woman is engaged to a British soldier and is planning her future life in England. Because of her frequent contact with an English native speaker, her language skills are of the highest level. She has a British accent and chooses the various vocabulary and grammar rules to express her ideas. She has been staying in England for five years now and has decided to live there.

Speaker I (Iveta) is of Slovakian nationality. She graduated from secondary school of hotel management and she has been working as a waitress and a receptionist in a restaurant. She is married to a Slovakian man whose job is in the same place as hers. Anyway, she has recently made the decision to return to her country and start her new life there. She has been learning English longer than speaker P but ironically her knowledge of English is not as experienced as speaker P's.

The girls used to work together so they were discussing the last staff party they attended. Besider their troubles at work, their friends and shared experience were mentioned. They both know speaker a from conversation 4 and used to work with him as well. They were chatting about how this man behaves as a friend and they compare how hard it is to deal with him at work. In this conversation, no difficult situations arose and their English could be perfectly understood.

3.1.3.6 Sixth conversation

It took place in a Prague pub. Two family members were very kind and accepted the recording. These men are cousins and were both born in Australia.

Speaker D (Danny) has been staying in the Czech Republic for three years and his Czech language has much improved since he first came here. Both cousins live in different cities so they rarely saw each other in Australia. Speaker D is 37 years old and was born in the town of Noosa very close to Brisbane. He studied at Noosa district high school, then at the college of Business Hospitality and finally a gardening course at TAFE (tertiary and advanced further education). His main hobbies are fishing, surfing, writing poems, travelling, painting and tennis. He is working as a reception manager in a Prague hotel. Speaker D has both Czech parents and has two brothers. During their upbringing both parents spoke Czech to their sons that resulted in the fact that all the boys are able to use Czech and English as their mother tongues. The only problem is they do not have any contact with Czech people living in the Czech Republic so they sometimes do not remember of all the vocabulary and they have an Australian accent and intonation. Danny came to the Czech Republic to find a Czech partner and he is going to enter the Charles University to study the field of translating and interpreting next year.

Speaker J (James) is 27 years old and he lives in Brisbane. Most of the nationalities living in Brisbane are from India and China. He completed a Bachelor of Engineering majoring in Electrical. After graduation, he worked in the mining industry as an Electrical Engineer. The main projects he worked were in relation to coal. Australia is the largest exporter of coal in the world. The job involved working and living in remote areas of Australia and often consisted of an international workforce. Historically, mining has been a major contributor of immigration to Australia. In 2009, he resigned as an engineer and began a Master of Commerce majoring in Financial Planning, studying full-time. His hobbies include tennis, cycling, hiking, canoeing, downhill and cross-country skiing. He is interested in reading, nutrition, health, learning and improving. In 1969, when his mother was 14 years old she left the Czech Republic. She speaks Czech to her sister and her father. She sometimes has to use an English word because she does not know the Czech one or possibly she finds easier to say it in English. Speaker B travelled to the Czech

Republic to visit his cousin and some friends who had been staying with him at a student residence. He spent almost three months at different places in the Czech Republic. Speaker J attended an intensive three weeks course of the Czech language but was not happy with the results at all. According to his facts, the course did not function as it was supposed to. They attend it only three hours a day per three times a week.

The lecturer started an introduction lesson with declination of substantives and conjugation of verbs. Such a demanding beginning is very difficult for a non-native Czech speaker to set about learning a new language.

The cousins entered for the Czech websites of Seznamka and have been trying to find a partner over the internet. They were talking about their dates with girls, moreover about the life in the Czech Republic and the differences living in Australia and here. I was present within the recording so I was able to write some notes if I did not understand. Although they were talking quite fast the speakers were willing to go through the recording once more and explained the expressions that were incomprehensible to me.

3.1.3.7 Seventh conversation

It was recorded also in Prague pub where three people met. Two of them were the Czech-Australians, Danny and James, that I have introduced in conversation 6.

Third speaker P (Petra) was a Czech; she is 28 years old and comes from Český Krumlov. She studied the secondary school of hotel management and spent two years in Reading and Basingstoke, which both belong to the county of Berkshire in South England. She worked there as an au pair and studied the language. After her return, she has started studying the Pedagogical Faculty at university. Firstly, I was recording only Australian speaker and the Czech one but during their interviewing the other Australian entered the dialogue, and I did not contribute, as I was able to recognize the voices and particular utterances.

The discussed issues include local life in Prague, James's work in Australia and the importance of English which can be sufficient to succeed at business, next the proportion of various nationalities living and studying in Australia, James's reason to visit the Czech Republic and his experiences from this journey were also discussed.

Finally, the conversation focused on the question about choosing the right girlfriend for these two Czech-Australians.

3.2 Analysis of discourse markers

I am going to outline the outcomes of the research that converges on analyzing the discourse markers used by native and non-native English speakers in their face-to-face conversations.

3.2.1 Discourse markers – *so, I mean, oh, well, y'know*

The primary focus concerns the group of discourse markers such as *so, oh, well, I mean, y'know*. Their characteristic and functions are presented on the basis of Schiffrin's study (1987) as she gives them detailed regard.

Table 1 provides the frequency of discourse markers that is paid most attention to. These markers are used by both native and non-native speakers. the only exception is formed by the marker I mean uttered only by native speakers as can be noticed in Table 2.

Table 1: total figure of discourse markers *so, I mean, oh, well, y'know* in all conversations
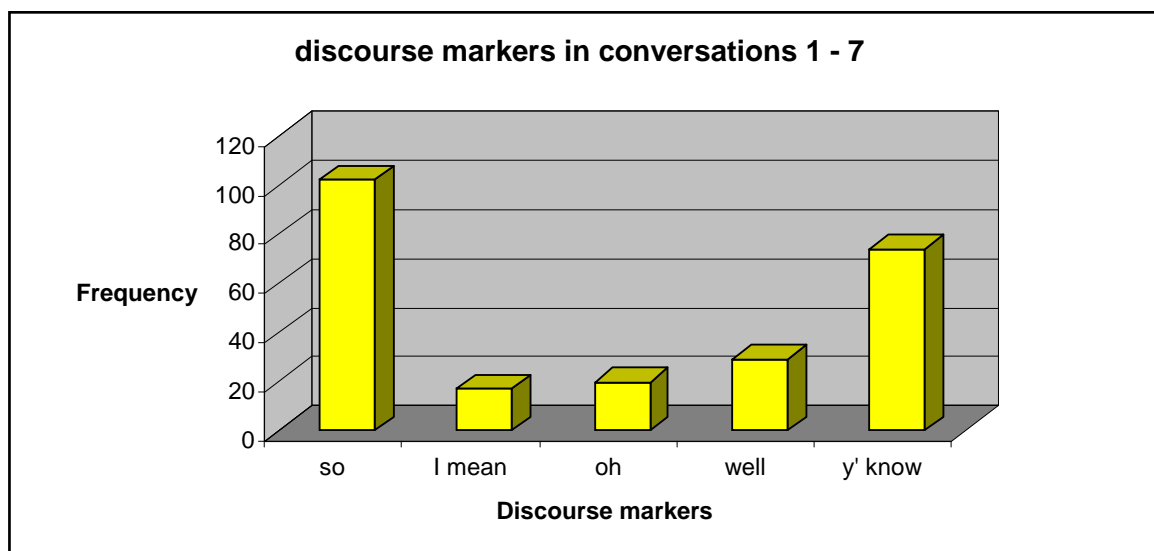
Table 2 represents the different frequency of particular discourse markers that are used by native and non-native speakers. Individual markers and their functions are described in separate sections.

Table 2: frequency of discourse markers *so, I mean, oh, well, y' know* **depending on native or non-native speakers**
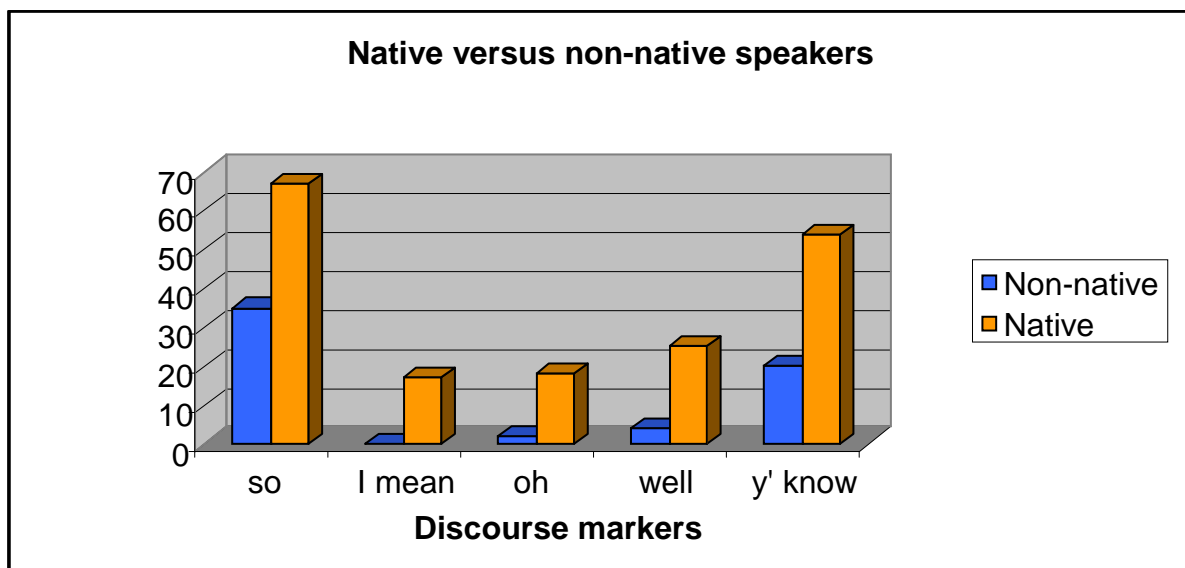
Discourse marker	Non-native	Native	
so	35	67	102
I mean	0	17	17
oh	2	18	20
well	4	25	29
y' know	20	54	74
Total amount	61	181	242

3.2.1.1 *So*

The most used marker *so* is claimed to be a complementary marker of main idea units. Table 3 contains some of main functions of *so* and the most used ones are divided to particular sections.

Schiffrin defines the discourse marker so as "superordinate marker" and a "marker of potential transition." (1987: 227)

3.2.1.1.A *So* conveys meaning of ´result´

C1, 98-104

"I – Because I don't want that you will waste time with me to prepare on it.
A – Well, yeah. That's what I'm saying. But I know this spring is going to be a little
bit busier because we have the spring like last year. the spring is very busy for us
*´cos we have the groups coming like different colleges come to visit and... (pause) **So***
that always take a lot of time ´cos we're with them like every day. You know, they
come and stay with me... (unfinished) And any time we're doing anything, we're
taking them around and showing them things. And so just takes lot of time."

Amanda was explaining to Iva why she is so busy that spring. She has to look after the people who come to the Czech Republic to try the work exchange programme. Amanda was clarifying why she is going to be so busy. The marker *so* conveys the result of having not so much free time as this job involves a lot of time and energy.

C1, 126-138

A – And they... (unfinished) Ron, but Ron, not necessarily what Ron does but...
*(thinking) Ron arranges for them to do different things while they are here. **So** they*
*can get to meet people and then they can see that kind of work that's done. **So** some*
*of them may want to come back. **So** this year nobody came back but Ron's had*
groups they've come to see, to work with us while they are here that have maybe two
people out of the group of fifteen. We'll see, you know, I would like to come back
and help. And come back to teach English for three months. That's what Rachel was.
She was somebody that went to Hungary when they were living in Hungary and just
*came for a week. And she got to know them to see what they were doing. **So** she*
could talk with Ron and then she decided to come here to teach English for two or
three months. That's for the experience. She decided she didn't want to teach English
but it was for her to try it, you know.
I – Ehm. That's great experience.

Amanda's description of her work serves to realize the main reason why she came to the Czech Republic and why she would like to come back again. The functions of *so* are not clear in this part of the conversation. They either preface a new topic or they can function in cause / result sequence.

The last so might be considered as a marker which conveys the result. Amanda mentioned the girl who participated in this programme and the idea of getting the necessary information and her arrival to our country can be accepted as the result.

3.2.1.1.B Participant and topic transition

C1, 139-141

*"A – to see, to decide what she wanted to do. **So**, it's basically for people, just a kind of try up to see what they want to do, **so**… (unfinished)*
I – Ehm (nodding).

The first *so* serves as a kind of preface for conclusion of Amanda's explanation. The second *so* suggests that the other speaker might take the floor if she wants to. However, Amanda can continue in her speech in case the other speaker does not take the option to talk. Iva only shows her agreement and demonstrates she is paying attention to what has been said by Amanda so far. The last *so* might indicate that present topic is going to be closed and there is possibility to start the new one.

The change of topic can be noticed as well as participant transition in the following example.

C1, 179-185

*"A – Yes, they come up for a week or like this spring. There's a girl that wants to come that was that heard what they were doing when they were home this year. She said she wants to come for two months, I think. And helped to plan with ministrant and these things like with organizing and piling things for him and editing things that he's written on the computer. She wants to do all those things ´cos she does secretarial work, **so**.*
*I – **So**, the most time that you spend is to take care of these people?"*

3.2.1.1.C Return to the main point

C1, 278-286

"A – Yeah, we… (pause) I said that's what I did by listening to you. (both laughing) Try to understand what you are saying and actually that's, that's good practise for me ´cos right now I'm not at the level I'm able to speak to someone ´cos I just don't have enough vocabulary and I don't know the learned forms, you know, past tense. I – Ehm (nodding).
A – Or how to put it to… (incompr.)
*I just feel like I know what I'm saying that doesn't make any sense but maybe they can figure out. **So** it's frustrating, you know. But I'm going to use Ron and a book they have. I'm going to order that book."*

Amanda was presenting her obstacles within learning Czech. She is able to understand the vocabulary but does not realize the grammar rules.

This marker *so* concludes Amanda's feelings about her knowledge of Czech and how demanding it is for her to learn Czech language for her. *So* is returning the attention back to the main point which is the emphasis of the difficulties during studying the Czech language.

3.2.1.1.D Introducing new topic

C3, 01

*"A – **So** are you going for that bed?"*
C3, 33
*"L – **So** are you still up for tomorrow night?"*
C1, 01
*"A – **So**, let's see what can we talk about."*

These examples show that *so* can function when new topic of the utterance is going to be start. Both speakers use *so* in initial positions to discuss new theme.

3.2.1.1.E Preface to a conclusion

C4, 97-9

*"big dreams was went to the rocky… (thinking) to America, to Utah or Colorado and to these resorts, so… (pause) **so** basically I don´t know what I´m going to do but I´m still keeping this on my mind that I would go to the mountains later on, maybe next year"*
Aleš was talking about his big dream as he loves travelling and exploring new places. *So* creates a kind of preface to his conclusion to keep the idea about visiting America in his mind. He finishes this topic with presenting the approximate time of realization of his dream.

The following Table 3 provides the occurrence of *so* in many different functions. However, only the main ones have been defined above to outline why the discourse marker *so* is widely used by both native and non-native speakers.

Table 3: functions of *so* used by native and non-native speakers

So
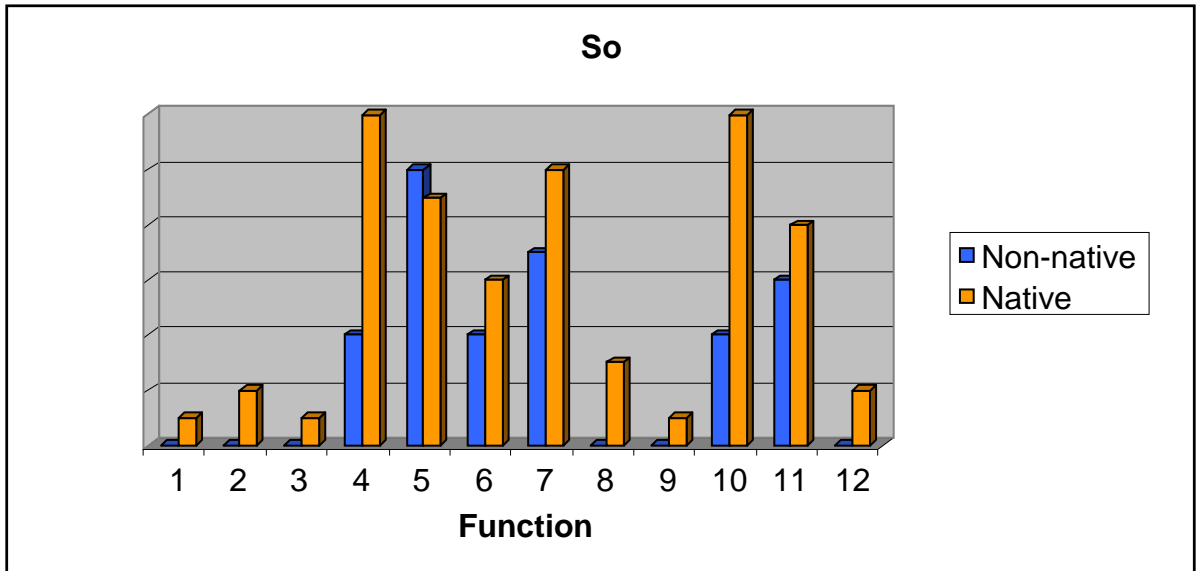
1	action for ´cause´ and ´result´
2	action of ´request´ and ´account´
3	completion of previous utterance
4	conveys meaning of ´result´
5	participant transition
6	topic transition
7	new topic
8	maintaining discourse topic
9	pause for thinking
10	preface to a conclusion
11	return to the previous topic

3.2.1.2 *Y'know*

Discourse marker *y'know* offers two possible complex meanings. Firstly, a piece of information is available to the recipient of the conversation and secondly this information is generally available. *Y'know* is considered to be the cognitive interactional marker and is created from the question form of ´do you know´. Its complementary function is to confirm the speaker as the one who provides the information which is contingent on the hearer reception. (Shiffrin, 1987)

This discourse marker might be noticed in two variants. The original one *you know* is used in all the recorded conversations, however the linguists use the shortened form *y'know*.

3.2.1.2.A *Y'know* draws hearer's attention

One of the most frequent functions of this discourse marker is defined as drawing the hearer's attention. It leads the hearer to concentrate on the piece of information that is being said by the speaker.

C1, 53-4

*"A – **You know**, I'm not so... (incompr.) English speaker because it's hard for me to know... (pause) **you know**, I can hear the mistakes that you are making"*

Amanda was trying to evaluate herself as an English teacher explaining the difficulties that usually arise when she practises conversation with a non-native speaker and tries to point out his/ her main mistakes. *Y'know* is used in order to encourage the hearer to some reaction or only to make certain the hearer is still listening to the speaker and understands the associations in the context.

C7, 10-12

*"company called Eriva, huge French company that deals with engineering, ehm, manufactory engineering, equipment, in a big office in Brisbane and no-one speak French in that office, **you know**. Just why? All the clients are Australian."*

James was talking about his job in one of the big French companies in Australia and he was explaining why it is not useful to speak French there even though their boss is a Frenchman. The only language that is necessary to master is English. The discourse marker *y'know* verifies the hearer's attention as James's utterance was rather long and he made sure the hearers were still paying attention to him.

3.2.1.2.B *Y'know* invokes hearer's agreement

Schiffrin defines this function as follows "*y'know* appeals to shared knowledge as a way of converting an opponent to one's own side in a dispute." (Schiffrin, 1987: 279, italics in original)

C1, 51-55

"A – Yeah, in your daily conversation?
I – Yes, in my daily conversation.
*A – **You know**, I'm not so... (incompr.) English speaker because it's hard for me*
*to know… (pause) **you know**, I can hear the mistakes that you are making*
*but for me to stop and, **you know**, in the middle of the conversation like "wait, wait,"*

Amanda and Iva were planning their English lesson. Amanda was trying to explain the difficulties occurring within a mere simple conversation and she was persuading Iva that teaching beginners seems to be much easier task for her than to educate advanced students. The marker *y'know* attempts to change recipient's opinions.

C1, 59-61

*"things that are wrong, **you know**, that... (unfinished) Like intermediate, like what I*
*usually teach, **you know**, the middle level is little bit harder because I have to go*
*back and change things, **you know** what I'm saying."*

Amanda is still leading the conversation in this part and she continues in her explanation of teaching English. Using the *y'know* indicates that her explanation should present sufficient base for the hearer and thus the hearer is supposed to agree with the speaker's information. This explanation leads to the conclusion that *y'know* doest not have to be involved only in the quarrel so as to attempt to gain the hearer's agreement.

C4, 04-8

*"A – Basically, because I didn´t know what to do, **you know**. I've alwayas been telling*
by my parents to study. What I think now it´s a silly thing and I hate the school system
*little bit at the moment. **You know**, like university and because the life is, the life is, I*
*think, different, **you know**. You don't need to do the university because you are*
*yourself, **you know**, and everyone´s different. I understand it's in some, in some…"*

This Aleš's monologue is filled with marker *y'know* several times. The functions of this marker in this particular utterance might seem to be ambiguous. The marker *y'know* might be used to enlist the hearer's participation as a kind of audience to this story about speaker's life experience. The hearer's attention is necessary evidence for understanding of why the speaker has told this story. However, *y'know* might also indicate that the speaker makes himself certain to be listened by the other participant and that sufficient

attention is paid to his speech. This part of the conversation sounds rather confusedly and I suppose that *y'know* is used pointlessly too many times in this utterance.

3.2.1.2.C Relinquishment of the floor

The marker *y'know* is often used by the speaker in the final position within the speech to signal that he is going to either leave his utterance with an open ending and the other participant is given the opportunity to comment on the situation or he is going to continue in his idea but with a little interruption.

It is essential to mention the importance of intonation when defining this function. The speaker uses rising intonation usually to indicate he has not finished his uttered line yet.

Furthermore, rising intonation might display less certainty about shared knowledge than the falling one. Otherwise, the falling intonation is used when the information unit has been already completed. (Schiffrin, 1987)

C1, 133-138

*"She was somebody that went to Hungary when they were living in Hungary and just came for a week. And she got to know them to see what they were doing. So she could talk with Ron and then she decided to come here to teach English for two or three months. That's for the experience. She decided she didn't want to teach English but it was for her to try it, **you know**.*
I – Ehm. That's great experience."

Amanda was talking about the girl who came first to the Czech Republic to meet Amanda's boss, Ron and to experience his job. Later on that girl changed her mind and after several weeks she gave it up and decided not to teach English here. The *y'know in* the final position signals that Amanda is finishing her utterance and she provides the hearer time to comment on this idea, which Iva does and contributes to the conversation.

C1, 198-203

*"A – Yeah, like I didn't go anywhere. I didn't know how to go to a store; I didn't know anything (laughing). I was afraid to do things, to communicate, **you know**.*
I – Yes, it's difficult and especially if you don't know the language.
*A – Right, right. Everything scared you. I still don't know the language but I'm not afraid to go and just try to figure out, **you know** (laughing). Yeah, but the beginning it's just like **you know**… (unfinished) so."*

Native speaker was describing her experience being alone in a foreign country and with no friends and no language knowledge. The first *y'know* is used because Amanda assumes that Iva understands her feelings and worries and thus the shared knowledge is considered. the second *y'know* might indicate either the chance for the hearer to take the floor or it might invoke the hearer's agreement with the fact. The last *y'know* is presumably used by Amanda to indicate finishing the utterance and she is offering to Iva to start speaking and/or the topic transition might be regarded as well.

Another function of *y'know* defined as transition in information, might be associated with the relinquishment of the floor. In the case the speaker leaves the turn to the hearer and he does not accept it, then some time can be taken by the speaker to think about his forthcoming utterance and thus the information might be adjusted.

C2, 108-113

"K – Ehm, yes. I care about like every single Christmas like my family like we have traditions like… (interrupted)
W – Ok.
K – Every time I go to the like midnight church service like the candle light service
so it´s pretty like ´cos, **you know**, *at the end they sing like Holly night and then you like to light candles like everyone lights candles.*

Kayla and Wade were discussing their Christmas traditions. As Wade appeared not to be too keen on talking, Kayla led the conversation. She started describing their family habits, e. g. going to the church and participating at the midnight mass. Firstly, she tended to describe the whole course of the ceremony but finally she jumped to the end of the event. And thus her former idea was transformed.

To sum up the discourse marker *y'know* there are several more functions that can represent this marker, e. g. confirmation of the proposition, a preface of the reported speech, a turn-initiator or a marker of general truths. However, this marker is broadly used in the functions above mentioned. Table 4 provides the essential overview of the functions *y'know* within this research.

Table 4: functions of *y'know* used by native and non-native speakers
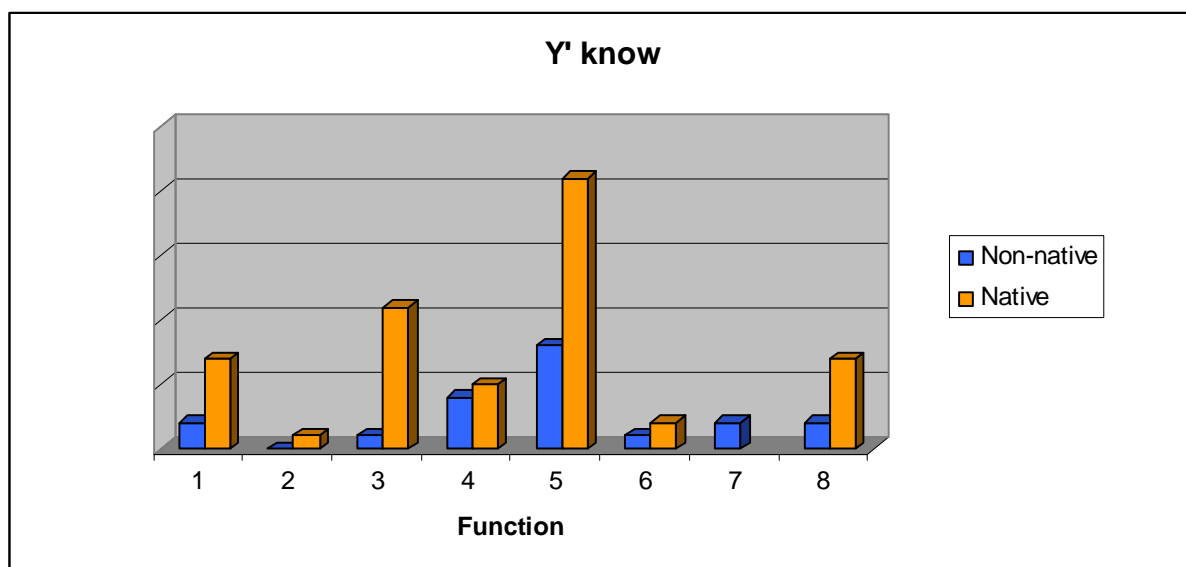
1	confirmation of the proposition
2	preface the reported speech
3	hearer's agreement
4	relinquishment of the floor
5	hearer's attention
6	general truths
7	background explanation in narratives
8	transition in information

3.2.1.3 *I mean*

The discourse marker *I mean* is considered by Schiffrin together with the above defined marker *y'know* because their semantic meaning affect the discourse functions. She proposes that "*y'know* marks interactive transitions in shared knowledge, and *I mean* marks speaker orientation toward the meanings of own talk." (1987: 309, italics in original)

Furthermore, their functions are complementary as *I mean* "focuses on the speaker's **own** adjustments in the **production** of his/her own talk, *y'know* proposes that a hearer adjust his/her orientation (specifically knowledge and attention) toward the **reception of another's** talk."
(1987: 309, bold and italics in original)

The last notion why these markers are mutually associated is defined as following "*y'know* works basically within the information state of talk, with secondary effects on the participation framework." (1987: 309-310)

"Y*'know* marks information in discourse to which a hearer is invited to attend."
(Schiffrin, 1987: 310) The function of *I mean* is noticeably distinct as Schiffrin defines the difference as follows "*I mean* marks information to which a hearer will pay extra attention – even though he/she has not been explicitly invited to do so."
 (1987: 310, italics in original)

The last reason why are these two markers judged together is their social evaluation and negative sanction. (Schiffrin, 1987)

3.2.1.3.A Preface an expansion idea

C7, 09-19

*"J – Great but all I care about is English because **I mean** I used to work for a French*
company called Eriva, huge French company that deals with engineering, ehm,
manufactory engineering, equipment, in a big office in Brisbane and no-one speak
French in that office, you know. Just why? All the clients are Australian.
P – And your boss was like French man or?... (unfinished)
J – Oh no, maybe the senior senior boss was French but everyone else is Australian,
you know, and so he just wouldn't care for... (interrupted)
P – So it wasn't necessary to speak any... (speaking over each other)
J – French? No. Probably I think the Chinese would be most useful because
*we, we... (pause) **I mean**, we export so much to China, we import so much from China,*
you know and... (unfinished)"

James was describing his last experience with the job in one of the French big companies in Australia. His first suggestion deals with English language that James found as the only important language to know if this job is wanted. He uses *I mean* to enlarge his idea about that particular job and describes activities and processes which the French company covers.

C7, 62-71

"P – So how is your dating game?
J – (laughing) It's not existing. I'm going home, anyway.
P – Ok, then how was it? How has it been so far (laughing)?
J – Ehm, well... (pause) **I mean** *I travelled around, not existing at all,* **I mean** *I travelled around so much that it wouldn't matter, anyway. I didn't spend much time in Prague so* **I mean***, I... (interrupted)*
P – And who did you go skiing with?
J – Ehm, I went with the brother of the guy who is with me in Australia, ehm, **I mean** *I spent a lot of time in his place in Červený Kostelec and, erm... (pause) then from there we did a lot of trips, you know, to different places after that, to Vysočina ..."*

Petra asked James about his dating game. (James and Danny placed an advertisement to meet a new partner during their stay in the Czech Republic) James started explaining why this game finished without any satisfying result. The used marker *I mean* seems to have several functions here. Firstly, it might indicate the speaker's self-correction as he uses *I mean* frequently in a short time unit and he repeats his foregoing statement with little modification. Secondly, the *I mean* expands James's reasons why he did not succeed in looking for a girl. The modified utterances altered by *I mean* can imply both expansions of ideas and explanations of intentions. This marker prefaces the explanation of the speaker's intention. Lastly, the marker *I mean* might signalise the speaker's orientation toward his own talk.

3.2.1.3.B Replacement and background repair

Schiffrin divides these repairs by following definition "the clearest difference between background and replacement repairs is the way they are followed in discourse: background repairs lead back to the discourse which had been interrupted. in sharp contrast, replacement repairs lead forward to the ideas of the upcoming discourse on the basis of the material in the repair itself." (1987: 301).

Furthermore, she claims that these repairs differ in providing distinct information as they are rather alternatives of previous material. (1987)

C3, 44-51

"L – Well, Jane will come here in our car… (speaking over each other).
*A – Yeah, yeah. That's what? **I mean** she shall she can go with you and I can go and*
pick Eva.
So what is it? Three thirty?
L – Yeah, me at Black horses at three thirty.
A – Ok so.
*L – So **I mean** I have, we have, we've got an apppointment. We have actually two*
appointments on some Monday."

Lucy and Angie were planning their meeting with other girlfriends. Their arrangement
might seem a little confusing as the associations among particular friends were not
explained. The marker *I mean* indicates that the speaker idea was not finished, a short
pause followed and then the speaker specified her attention in other words. The second *I*
mean was used to substitute pronoun I for pronoun we. The speaker initiated her utterance
with talking only about herself but immediately she modified the utterance to plural form.

C7,75-81

"J – You don't know Červený Kostelec? It's near Krkonoše, it's probably... (thinking)
It's probably near Turnov, actually.
P – Right.
J – So we spent like, we spent two weeks in Krkonoše like in two different colleges,
*erm and erm, **I mean** you know colleges are like what would you say, you know,*
shared accommodation, bank rooms. But it was great you know. I loved it and, erm,
there weren't place where I... (incompr.)"

James was reporting the travelling experiences during his stay in the Czech Republic.
The location of the village was embedded in the conversation and subsequently he returned
back to describe where he spent a few days in winter. His *I mean* might be considered
either as a preface to expansion the idea about shared accommodation or it can signalize
the background repair when James realized he did not provide sufficient information.

3.2.1.3.C Speaker's orientation toward own talk

One of the frequently used function is speaker's orientation toward own talk, which
displays that the speaker concentrates on his own speech, intentions and ideas. This might
be noticed in the following example.

C7, 01-8

*"J – **I mean** do you know any other languages? Do you know German or French? Or?*
P – I used to learn it. But I don't speak it now. Cos if you don't practise the language,
you forget it.
*J – Yeah, yeah, of course, yeah. But **I mean** for example like in Australia, **I mean***
French, German, Czech and English, all I care about.
P – I learned five languages.
J – Five languages?
P – But it came to an end (laughing)."

James was discussing languages with Petra to find out how many she speaks fluently. Using *I mean* displays James's focus on modification of his utterance. The marker *I mean* has the interactional relevance here as it maintains speaker's focus on the foregoing material.

The remarkable outcome appeared when the functions of this discourse marker were analyzed. None of the non-native speakers used the *I mean* within his/her utterance. Only the native speakers included it to their speech. Very high frequency of using *I mean* was found out to be used by Australian speakers.

In conclusion the discourse marker *I mean* "is a member of a larger set of meta-linguistic expressions such as *lemme tell you*, *let´s put it this way*, *like I say*, *what we call*, *so called* and in *other words* which themselves are discourse markers." (Schiffrin, 1987: 303, italics in original)

**Table 5: functions of *I mean* used by native and non-native speakers**
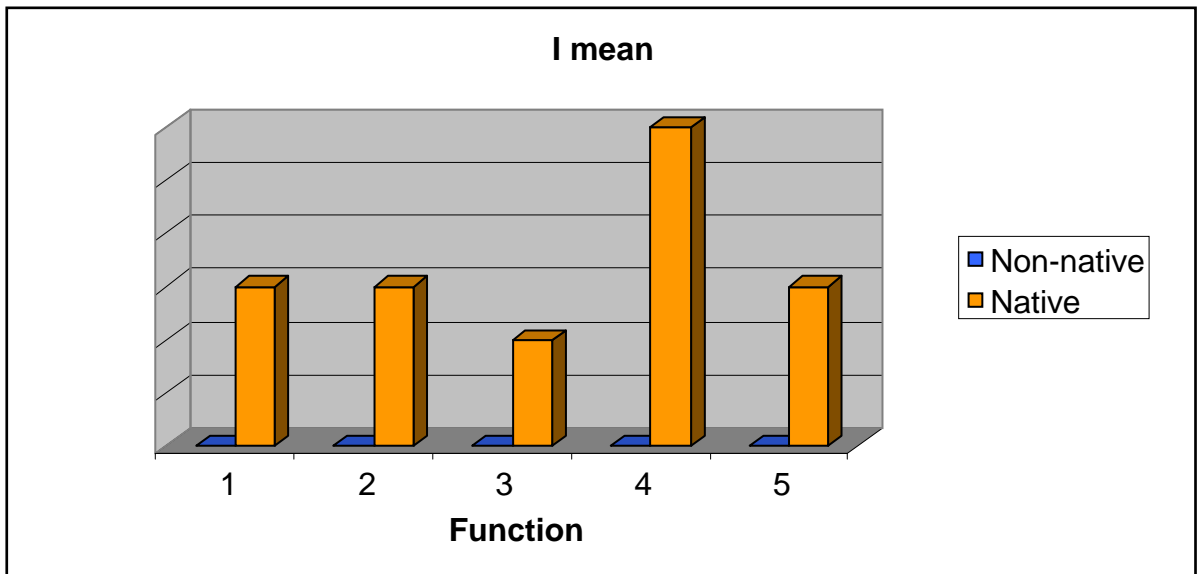
1	speaker´s orientation toward own talk
2	background repair
3	clarification of misinterpreted meaning
4	preface an expansion of idea
5	replacement repair

3.2.1.4 *Oh*

The discourse marker *oh* is generally defined as an exclamation or interjection. In the case *oh* is not supported by a sentence, e.i. occurs alone; it is supposed to display strong emotional states such as surprise, pain or fear. It usually occurs at the beginning of the utterance and a short pause can follow. If there is no pause, it precedes the rest of the tone unit. *Oh* is used to shift speaker's orientation to information. (Schiffrin, 1987)

As Schiffrin states "*oh* pulls from the flow of information in discourse a temporary focus of attention which is the target of self and/or other management."
(1987: 74, italics in original)

3.2.1.4.A *Oh* in repairs

Schiffrin defines repair as "speech activity during which speakers locate and replace a prior information unit. Because they focus on prior information, repairs achieve information transitions anaphorically – forcing speakers to adjust their orientation to what has been said before they respond to it in upcoming talk." (1987: 74).

Furthermore, she claims that the listener as well as the speaker can accomplish repairs, including repair initiation and completion but this performing is assumed particularly to speakers. (1987).

C2, 06-12

"K – We went to the museum and we did some shopping. the shopping was amazing.
W – Yeah, that´s really cool. I got some shopping. I went to some books store and they bought me a book, really cool. And I´m reading them right now.
K – Did... (pause) did they buy you a book or did you buy it?
W – Well, they bought it to me back.
*K – **Oh**. Ok. Well, I bought the maps.*
We got lost and in the underground... (interrupted)"

Kayla was describing her trip to Prague and Wade joined her with a description of his shopping day. He was proudly talking about his books that he had purchased. Nevertheless, the meaning of his utterance is not clear enough as it is demonstrated in next in Kayla's confused question. She wanted to find out whether he bought the books by himself or the books were bought for him.

The marker *oh* is used by her in clarification sequence. Using other markers *ok* and *well* show she is leaving Wade's without any repair and mere agreement is used to finish his given information about books.

C2, 37-46

"K – Ehm, everyone in Prague spoke English.
W – Really?
K – Doesn´t seem to? Like didn´t you notice it?
W – Yes, like a tour guide and some like the people at the museum.
*K – **Oh** yeah, like everytime I go walking like twenty minutes later I was really...*
(covered with laughing) English, American and like adore and just like... (laughing)
Nice, I could keep telling... (incompr.) and I was like "wow"... (speaking over each
other).
W – No accent.
K – Yeah.
W – You can hear the English... (both speaking).

After finishing their exchange of information about books they started to discuss the knowledge of English in the Czech Republic, particularly in Prague. Kayla asked Wade if he could observe how many Czechs are able to speak English. Firstly his reaction appeared to be a surprise but then he joined Kayla's opinion. That *oh* initiated the clarification of the previous utterance with the help of *yeah* and next Wade began to explain the main information about Czechs speaking English. Unfortunately because of their laughing and mutual speech their utterance merged into incomprehensible meaning.

3.2.1.4.B *Oh* in question/ answer sequence

C3, 13-23

*"L – **Oh**, I forgot to ask you how did she got on in Italy? I haven´t spoken to her since*
*she broke the rib. **Oh**... (overexcited, incompr). Ok, you´ve missed it... (unfinished)*
*A – **Oh** dear, what happened? I hit the floor a few times (laughing).*
*L – **Oh** no.*
A – Yeah, yes, I´ve been hunted (laughing).
L – What happened?
A – Erm, she decided to buy all again and gets me off. So, (pause) yes.
*L – **Oh**.*
A – So that´s fun.
*L – **Oh** and what did you do about that?*
A – Let you ride her.

This part recorded with British speakers is filled with the marker *oh* many times. But the functions differ from each other. The first *oh* is used in a question sequence when Lucy was asking about their friend's condition. The second *oh* seems to be ambiguous and the following utterance is not comprehensible. Nevertheless, it might function as an exclamation. The third marker *oh* embedded in phrase ´oh dear´ supposes to present either an exclamation or even intensification or it can be classified as a question sequence

because Angie was asking Lucy what happened. The fourth *oh* expresses Lucy's consternation, and thus it can be evaluated as an exclamation again. The fifth *oh* should not be defined as a discourse marker as it occurs only as a single word utterance. Finally the last marker indicates a question sequence.

C6, 18-27

D – Ehm. Well... (pause) I give my number whether they ask for it or not. Czech girls are funny, they do not show much interest from the start, but later on it is sometimes quite difficult to get rid of them, if you know what I mean... (unfinished)
J – Eh? You mean like the movie fatal attraction (laughing)?
D – Ehm (nodding). I have not encountered a problem like that yet. Though the year is young, and you never know what is lurking around the corner (burst of laughter).
It actually reminds me of one of the poems written by Tolkien.
*J – **Oh**, are you still reading his poems? I seem to recall, that you remember them off by heart.*
*D – **Oh**, (sigh) I remember only the ones that matter most to me."*

The cousins were discussing why it is so difficult to find the right partner in the Czech Republic. They tried to lighten the atmosphere by providing a simile to a film that made both of them laughing. Then James posed the question initiating with *oh* which is classified here as the question sequence. Danny's answer starting with *oh* and following sigh belongs to the answer sequence. The mention of the Tolkien's poems was embedded to the main subject dealing with finding a partner. This subject was later further discussed.

C3, 66-70

„L – So I wanna buy some cheap regular ones. I put them on my Christmas list and spend another pair but I think that Dave will put it. They're not a mucking out valley. You're strolling round a yard looking like you are going to play but you don't do any kind of work in valley.
*A – **Oh**, that could be good for Wendy (both laughing)."*

This using *oh* might be considered as an ambiguous example as I could not associated it with any of the functions provided by Schiffrin. However, the marker may complete the previous information. As Lucy was describing how the valley boots are expensive and do not work as they are supposed to, Angie completed the information with the caustic mention about Wendy, and thus *oh* functions to organize the information state.

Table 6: functions of *oh* used by native and non-native speakers
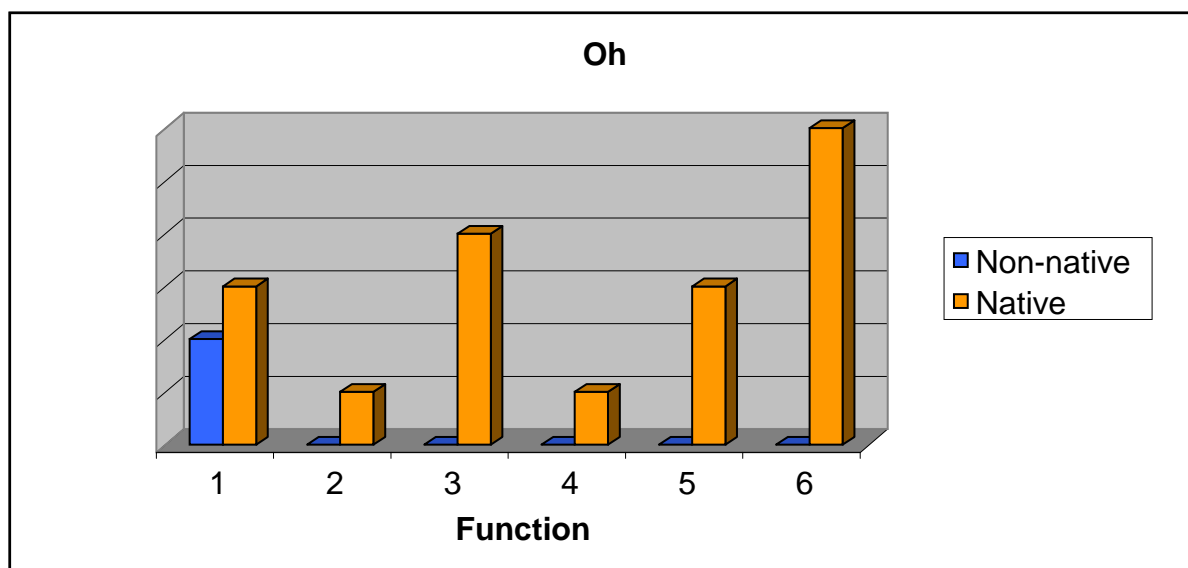
1	answer sequence
2	complete information
3	exclamation
4	exclamation - intensification
5	question sequence
6	repair, clarification

3.2.1.5 *Well*

The linguists offer various functions and definitions of the discourse maker w*ell*. I am going to outline some of them so as to demonstrate the wide range of application of *well*.

Svartvik (1980) suggests that *well* is possible to define as interjection, particle, hesitator, filler and initiator.

Schlegloff and Sacks states the classification as following " *well* (along with *okay* and *so*) is used as a pre-closing devise, offering its recipient a chance to reinstate an earlier or unexpanded topic, or to open another round of talk, prior to conversational closure."
(1973 in Schiffrin, 1987: 102, italics in original)

Schiffrin qualifies the *well* as "a **response** marker which anchors its user in an interaction when an upcoming contribution is not fully consonant with prior coherence options."
(1987: 103, bold in original)

3.2.1.5.A Answer to Y/ N question

C2, 28-36

*"W – Oh, New York Giants. I think we gonna be, erm, fameless and yeah, erm, Camp
was going to lose... (incompr.) and I don´t remember any other ones.
But it was good because we bet twenty crowns on it so for there we had hundred
crowns. It sounds cool (both laughing).
K – That´s funny. Why did you go to bet on American teams?
W – **Well**, I was like... (pause) erm... (pause) ´cos I...(pause) the clue was gonna like
from early England and so I ... (incompr.) every packet and threw them to it. And I
thought football the girls hate football here. It is better on this one because I know
American pretty well. So that´s really good. I hope we win eu five, to win anything."*

Wade was presenting his experience with bets in the Czech Republic. Their foregoing utterance concerned the particular age to start betting. He was explaining to Kayla what teams and why he bet on them. There is an obvious ascertainment that Kayla does not understand the bets and finally she swapped the subject for a different one. The marker *well* was used in Wade's answer to Kayla's question about choosing the American team.

Schiffrin specifies this function of answers and argues that "*well* is more frequent when a larger set of answer options is encoded through the form of the question."
(1987: 105, italics in original)

C3, 33-43

"*L – So are you still up for tomorrow night?*
A – Yes.
L – Tomorrow evening?
A – Yes.
L – What erm... (thinking) Would you want to meet there or meet here?
*A – **Well**, I wanna have my car with me to get... (incompr.) ready so.*
L – So will you come there bringing the horses? But you don´t have any other
job after that?
*A – Yeah, I think so. Perhaps I might leave it but... (unfinished) **Well**... (unfinished)*
*L – **Well** yeah, you get better car, put that to the stupid car.*
A – You can do like just pick Jane and I will pick Eva."

Lucy and Angie were discussing their meeting the next night. Lucy asked her friend where she would like to meet. Although she offered only limited choice of the possible answers Angie used the marker *well* and responded her short answer. Lucy made herself sure with asking the next question. She sounded little bit worried when asking whether Angie is free or have more work to do. The second *well* indicates the unfinished utterance and thus might be considered as a mere filler. The last *well* initiates Lucy's agreement and her following advice to take the car. Although no question was mentioned, the marker starts the utterance, which is compensating the answer about how to reach the place of their meeting.

3.2.1.5.B Information search

C1, 81-90

"*I – Ok, so I think this is the best way how... (incompr.) that you said that... (pause) we*
can just talk, then I think you will realise what the main mistakes I do.
A – Yeah, yeah.
I – And on that I will focus.
*A – Ok, ok. **Well** (coughing) so, for me, it´s... (pause) It´s not so much about*
whether I have time to do it. ´Cos it's, it doesn't take a long time to me in talk, you
know, it doesn't take a long time but for me it's how much preparation I'm putting
into it. You know, how much time I have to take to prepare for it.
I –Yeah, I don't want that you will, that you will waste too much time with this. Just
ok, if we take for example three lessons just... (pause) just talk."

Amanda and Iva were discussing their future English lessons. Iva showed her agreement with the above mentioned method how to teach her the language. There is a noticeable but frequently occurring mistake as she confused the verb 'to make' and 'to do' in the collocation with the word 'mistake'.

Amanda agrees with the previous statement by using *ok* then following *well* conveys the unsure position of Amanda's reaction. Some time was needed to provide the next utterance. Her coughing and pauses indicate she was not sure how to start her next information about the English lessons.

3.2.1.5.C Request for action

C3, 01-13

"A – So are you going for that bed?
L – Yeah we´re finally buying a new house. And because it´s got a nice spare room,
I got a nice spare bed. And my mum would be sitting or sleeping on the floor if
I don´t get that.
A – That´s not over Christmas?
L – No, ´cos they´ve got double discount going on today.
A – But you don´t seem that you like it, do you?
L – No, because it´s... (unfinished)
A , L – (are speaking over each other).
L – And we need to go food shopping cos there´s no food and Dave seems to want
food this week (laughing). I don´t know why. (ironically)
*A – **Well**, they can cook and I´ll do the horses. Well, … (interrupted)*
L – Oh, I forgot to ask you how did she got on in Italy? I haven´t spoken to her since"

The request for action is one of the functions that are not easy to identify. Lucy was talking about furnishing her new house, particularly about a spare room. She was presenting the option to gain the discount in a shop and mentioned that food shopping is necessary to do. As Angie found out there was not much more to talk about and therefore no need to return to the discussed issue, she used the *well* to request for different action.

3.2.1.5.D Request for confirmation

C1, 89-102

"I –Yeah, I don't want that you will, that you will waste too much time with this. Just
ok, if we take for example three lessons just... (pause) just talk.
A – Ehm (nodding).
I – And just think about it. Ok, we'll see that I make mistakes in, erm…
(thinking) tensenses.
A – you mean tenses (A corrected I)
I – Yes, in tense (smiling). So next time we will focus e.g. on one type of tense that
I will practise.
A – Erm, it's ok.
I – Because I don't want that you will waste time with me to prepare on it.
*A – **Well**, yeah. That's what I'm saying. But I know this spring is going to be a little*
bit busier because we have the spring like last year. the spring is very busy for us
´cos we have the groups coming like different colleges come to visit and... (pause) So
that always take a lot of time ´cos we're with them like every day. You know, they"

Amanda and Iva were discussing the particular suggestions of their future English lessons. Iva does not want Amanda to bother with the preparation for the lessons too much and she offers her a solution which Amanda accepts in her next utterance. The *well* initiates the utterance confirming the foregoing Iva's proposition.

Schiffrin specifies this function as following "if a speaker makes a statement about an event about which a hearer is expected to have knowledge, that statement is heard as a request for confirmation from its hearer." (1987: 115) However, the requests for both either and confirmation does not seem to be identified easily.

3.2.1.5.E Self-repair

C1, 331-339

"A – Because they do school every day till about two thirty and then you know, they
have homework. They usually work on that and in the evening... (unfinished)
I – So, you teach them from... (pause) from what time?
A – We start at eight thirty.
I – Eight thirty till fourteen thirty?
A – Yeah, two thirty p. m.
I – And all the children have the same teaching plan or the same lessons?
A – No, they are... (unfinished) **Well**, *they all take the same subjects obviously with*
the different levels but they... (unfinished)"

Amanda was explaining her care of Ron's children after they come home from school. They actually do not attend the regular school as Amanda and other lecturers teach them. These American children learn Czech and are not yet prepared to attend the class with Czech pupils. Amanda's description of home education was interrupted with *well* and her following repair continued the description.

3.2.1.5.F *Well* used in a story to respond a question

C6, 45-54

"J – (laughing) Since when have you had any values regarding women?
D – Ha ha, very funny. If you stay around here long enough, then you will see what
I mean... (thinking) I used to think that only guys have one night stands but... (pause)
J – (sighing) Geez...How old are you?
D – (laughing) See this grey hair? I'm not getting any younger you know... (unfinished)
But it's not the same here with one night stands.
J – How do you mean?
*D – **Well**, here it is common for women, and even men, have more than*
one partner. Marriage is no barrier either. Have you ever heard the saying
"Where the wind blows, that's where the sails goes"?"

James and Danny were discussing their favourite issue about women in the Czech Republic. Danny does not accept the one night stands and claims that that the Czech women are different as they do not mind this. James's question displays his incomprehension and it demands the explanation and at the same time. Danny's answer is initiating with *well* and is encoded within a story finished with a proverb that should confirm his suggestion.

Other functions of *well* such as embedded question/answer pair, wh-question or Y/N question occurred within the recorded conversations only in a poor amount but were included to the table to display the complete range of functions of the marker.

Table 7: functions of *well* used by native and non-native speakers
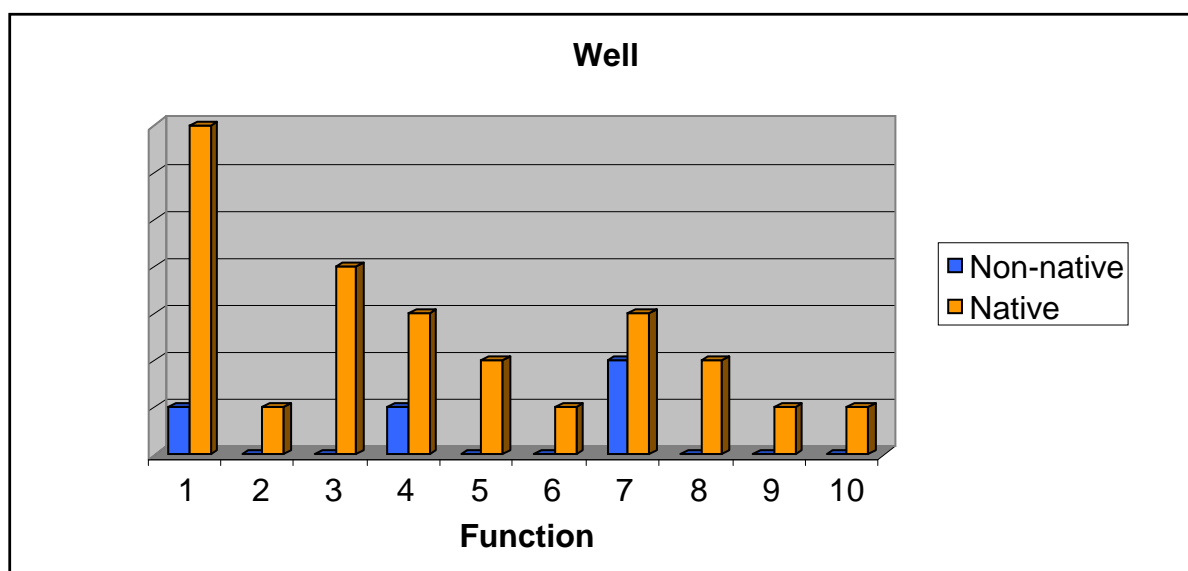
1	answer to Y/N question
2	embedded question/answer pair
3	information search
4	request for action
5	request for confirmation
6	request for evaluation
7	self-repair
8	use a story to respond a question
9	Wh question

3.2.2 Pragmatic marker *like*

This pragmatic marker is going to be described separately of the basic group of markers. Unlike the group of discourse markers such as *so, oh, well, I mean, y´know* analysed on the basis of Schifrin's classification, the pragmatic marker *like* is going to be examined on the Andersen's suggestions. Andersen analysed pragmatic marker *like* mostly in the speech of younger generation and all recorded participants of this research are the age from their twenties' to their thirties' on average.

Like is a marker that firstly occurred in British traditional dialects and this form has extended and is frequently used in every day English nowadays. The linguist Pei claims that like "spread to the point of appearing almost universally in the speech of younger-generation members who have no intellectual pretensions, and even of some who do." (1973: 126 in Andersen, 2000: 216)

This marker is used by most speakers for its functional complexity and generality. The most used function of *like* is exemplification. The following examples of recorded conversations prove the particular functions of *like* in the spoken discourse.

3.2.2.1 Exemplification

C1, 17

*"just two years. I want to do it as my job **like** teach the kids and to teach English so"*

Amanda was talking about her future plans in the Czech Republic and she presented teaching children and teaching English as examples of her function here.

Another instance of exemplification can be noticed in this utterance:

C1, 181-3

*"said she wants to come for two months, I think. And helped to plan with ministrant and these things **like** with organizing and piling things for him and editing things that he's written on the computer. She wants to do all those things ´cos she does secretarial"*

Amanda was presenting what activities need to be done when the appointed person comes to the Czech Republic to gain experience with such a job.

3.2.2.2 Approximation

Another frequent function of the pragmatic marker like appears to be approximation, especially the numeral approximation.

C4, 19-21

*"basically, I don´t know basically how you call this system in English but I´ve been just like doing the furniture school. And I finished and I do **like** two years upgrading of this course so I finished with the FCE and the leaving exams."*

Aleš was talking about his education in the Czech Republic and he specified the time spent in the English course with the support of *like*.

Next example confirms that numeral approximation is used when the speaker presents the particular number but it does not necessarily mean the exact quantity.

C5, 42-3

*"P – So you´ve got **like** twenty people at the bar waiting and another ten people queuing up just waiting for a table."*

Petra was speaking about the troublesome situation occurred during her work time in England. Her irritation was obvisous as she was describing the situation when a certain amount of people are sitting at the bar as no free tables are available anymore and another greedy people are waiting in the queue for their tables. The marker *like* provides certain number of people, however not the exact figure of present ones. It refers to the suggestion that there might be more or less people sitting at the bar.

3.2.2.3 Introducing a direct speech

The pragmatic marker *like* is a device for introducing direct speech.

C1, 54-6

*"hard for me to know… (pause) you know, I can hear the mistakes that you are making but for me to stop and, you know, in the middle of the conversation **like** "wait, wait, wait!" You know (laughing) I need to learn how to best do that everything with* a"

Amanda was demonstrating how she does not want to interfere in the speech of non-native speaker within their English lesson and she used *like* to preface the direct speech.

This marker occurs in the utterances as a ´filler´, which means that the speaker uses *like* to hesitate, to think of his forthcoming idea and needs to gain some time to prepare for the next utterance. This kind of function can be noticed when markers *oh* or *well* (see chapters 3.2.1.4. a 3.2.1.5.) are used.

3.2.2.4 Self-repair

C1, 152-3
*"A – And all travel around them a group that is **like** ehm... (coughing, then longer pause) he, he'll go to... (unfinished) when they have a meeting for all of them and"*

Amanda was speaking about her boss and she stopped her utterance with *like* to think about the description of Ron's activities for gaining new participants in that working exchange programme.

C2, 111-3
*"K – Every time I go to the **like** midnight church service **like** the candle light service so it´s pretty **like** cos, you know, at the end they sing **like** Holly night and then you **like** to light candles **like** everyone lights candles."*

This part of Kayla´s utterance is very difficult and thus not univocal to analyse. The marker *like* serves here in various functions and the border among these functions does not seem to be clear. The first *like* gives the example where Kayla goes every Christmas. The second *like* might function as a self-repair because she specifies the church service and corrects herself. The third *like* is used for thinking and thus as a ´filler´, and subsequently starting the new utterance with a different idea. The next *like* is used to express the example of particular song and might be considered as an exemplification. The fifth *like* resembles the foregoing one as it gives the example of the activity performed during the midnight church service. Finally, the last *like* might present the function of self-repair or another exemplification.

3.2.2.5 False start

C2, 108-9
*"K – Ehm, yes. I care about **like** every single Christmas **like** my family **like** we have traditions **like**... (unfinished)"*

This Wade´s utterance contains marker *like* several times in oder to express the false start. Wade intended to introduce Christmas traditions in his family but did not know how to express himself. He started the particular utterance, left it cut-off and it caused the incomprehensibility of his intented speech.

3.2.2.6 Concluding remarks

To sum up the functions of the pragmatic marker *like*, there are main opinions suggested by Andersen. "Like as a marker may even have truth-conditional implications and that its omission woul lead to pragmatic anomaly in some contexts." (2000: 228)

Besides above mentioned functions, *like* might be associated with politeness as spekers use it as a device to present themselves rather tentatively than too resolutely. The marker *like* is generally considered as a mere hesitational device and meaningless interjection.

Various ideas are suggested by linguists, e. g. major claims that *like* is "a word that bridges gaps in spoken sentences." (1971: 77 in Andersen, 2000: 229) Andersen is engaged in examining the pragmatic marker *like* mainly in functions such as approximation of a measurable unit, loose use of a lexical expression, exemplification, metaphorical use, hyperbolic use, enrichment of a vague expressions, hesitational link in discourse and metalinguistic focus. (Andersen, 2000)

Finally, the authors and works concerning *like* are mentioned. Use of marker *like* is comprised mostly in dictionaries of dialects, slang and unconventional English. All of these denote *like* as either ´non-standard´, ´dialect´ or colloquial´. Furthermore it is considered as redundant and interjection without semantic meaning or hesitation tool. (Andersen, 2000)

Most studies of *like* were based on American English. Following authors (not a complete list) deal with *like* in their conceptions: Pei (1973), Schourup (1985),), Yule & Mathis (1992), etc.

Table 8: functions of *like* used by native and non-native speakers
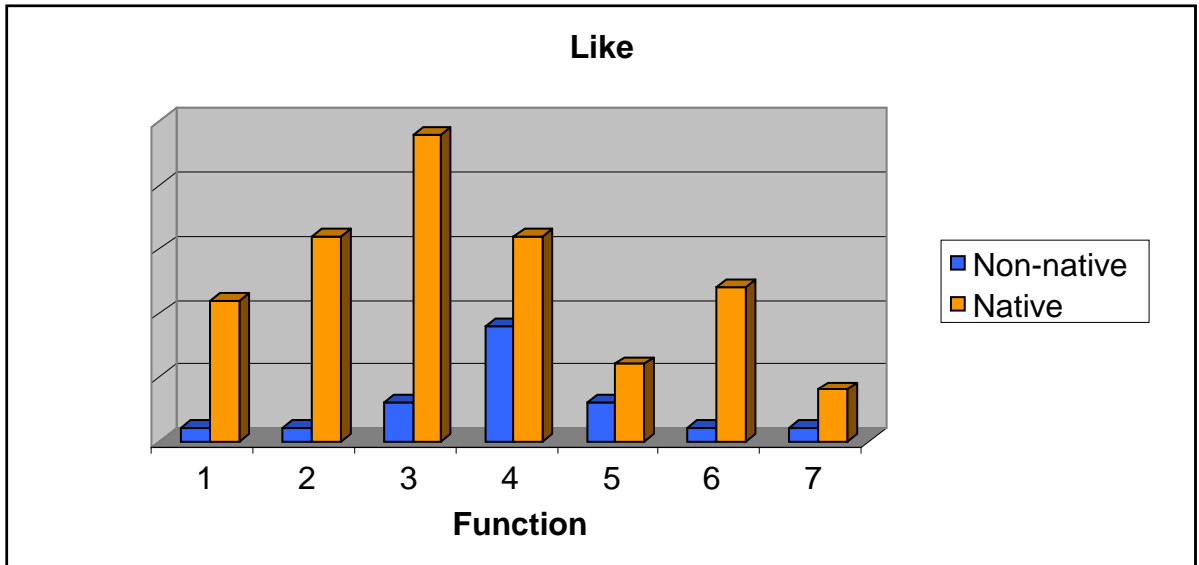
1	ambigous
2	false start
3	self-repair
4	exemplification
5	numeral approximation
6	hesitation
7	quotative

3.3 Study of positions of discourse markers

Table 9: position of discourse marker *so*, I – initial, M – medial, F - final
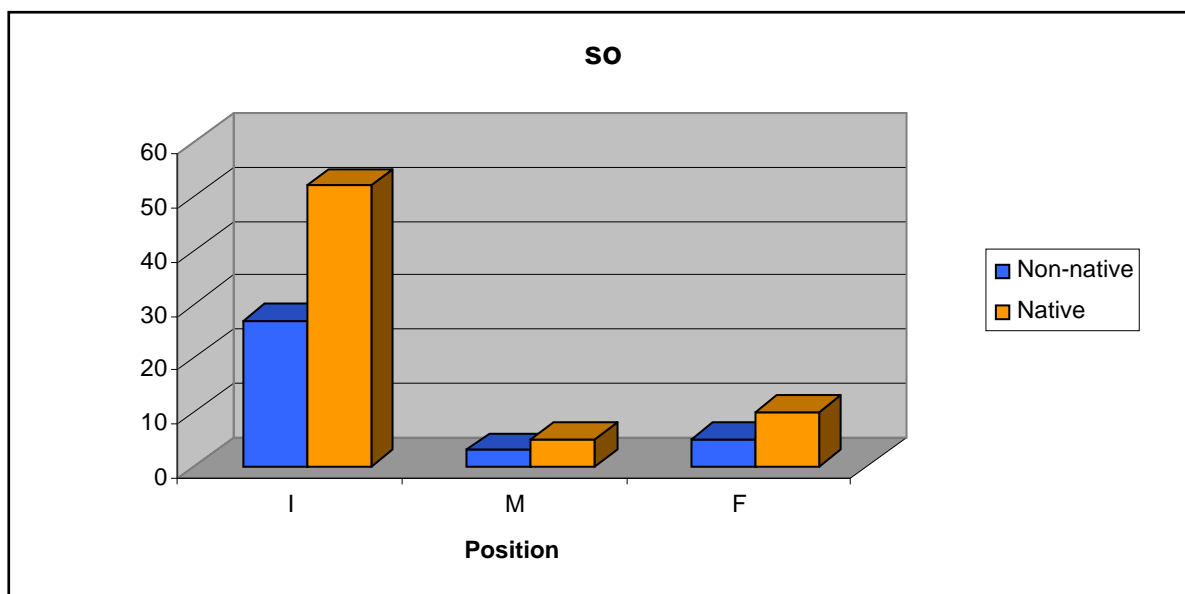
Table 10: position of discourse marker *I mean*, I – initial, M – medial, F - final
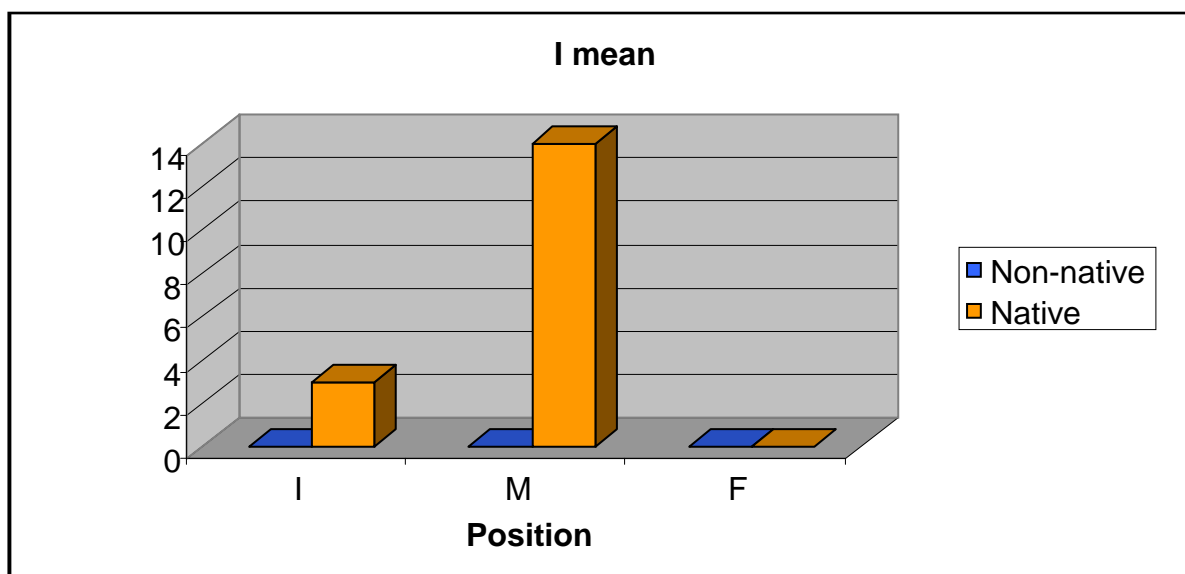
Table 11: position of discourse marker *oh*, I – initial, M – medial, F - final
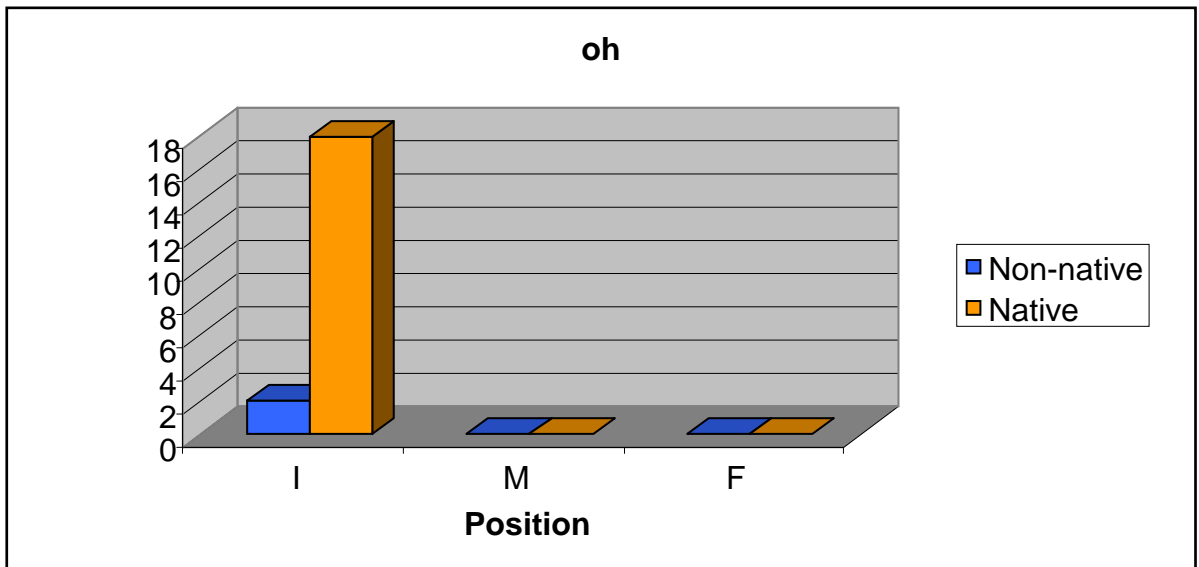
Table 12: position of discourse marker *well*, I – initial, M – medial, F - final
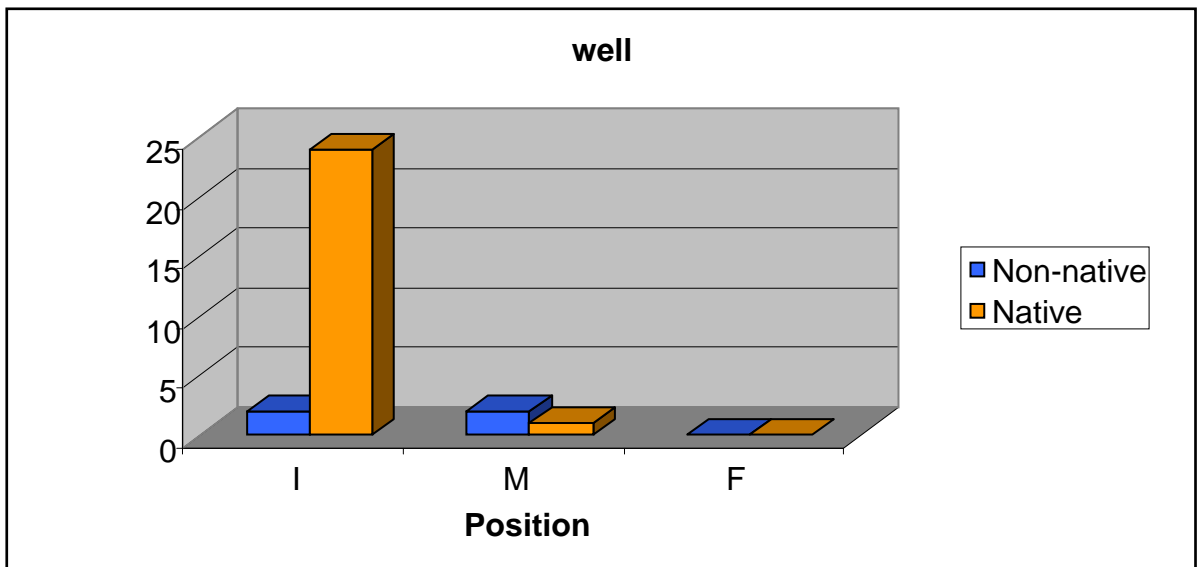
Table 13: position of discourse marker *y'know*, I – initial, M – medial, F - final
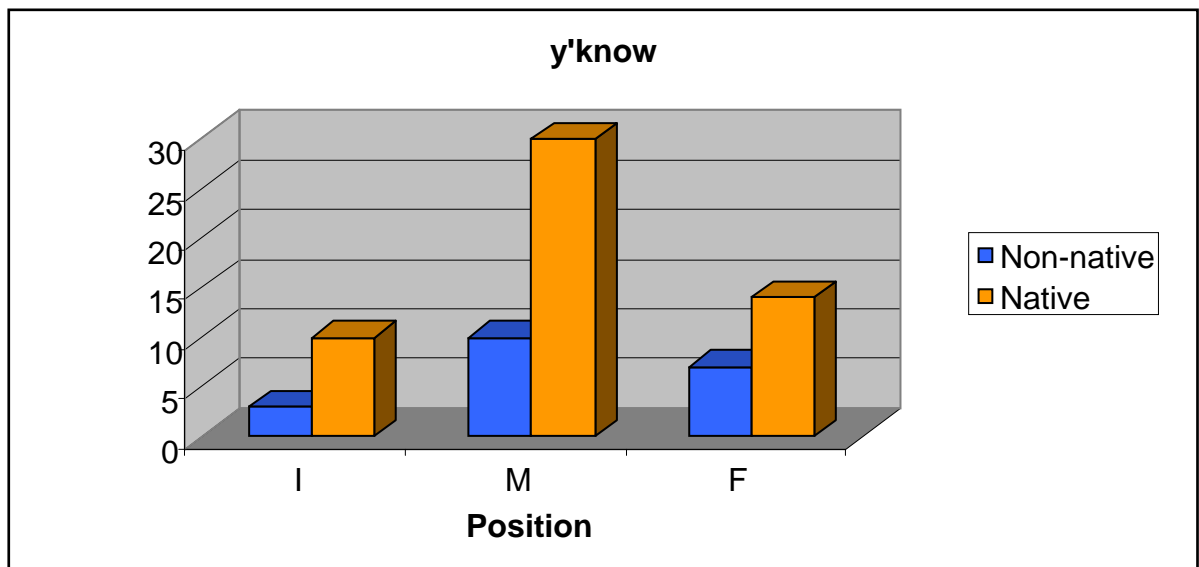
3.3.1 Interpretation of the results

This part presents the results of particular positions, in which the discourse markers occurred within the conversations. The fact that most of the discourse markers occur mostly in initial positions was mentioned in the theoretical part, however some of them do not strictly follow this rule
(see Tables 9-13).

Table 9 displays the results when the marker *so* was used in the particular positions. The marker proved to be used mostly in the initial position. Using *so* in the medial and final position occurred as well but the frequency of occurrence is notably lower. To define the discourse marker *so* in the medial position might be subjective as the ambiguity of this expression can show. *So* in the medial position determined as a discourse marker is easily interchangeable with *so* as a conjunction.

As *I mean* is used mostly for a speaker's orientation to his own talk, as a repair or a preface to extended ideas, it is usually incorporated within the utterance. This fact is verified in Table 10 proving that *I mean* is used mostly in its medial position. It occurred several times in its initial position when a new utterance has been started. This discourse marker was not registered in the final position at all.

The only marker occurring in its initial position appears to be the marker *oh* (see Table 11).

Well is used mostly in the initial position as it initiates the answers to the questions or it prefaces a story, which might either response the question. The speakers used *well* in the initial position in the situations when some time was needed to provide the answer. Non-native speakers applied *well* in the same frequency in both initial and medial position (see Table 12).

The discourse marker *y'know* is the most frequently used marker by both native and non-native speakers. It was applied in all its positions, the highest amount in the medial position. Firstly, *y'know* focuses on the hearer and provides feedback to the speaker. This might be one of the reasons why *y'know* occurs in the middle of the utterance in the majority of the recorded conversations. Next, this discourse marker applied in its final position of the utterance indicates the speaker's option for the hearer to take the floor. Finally, the initial position appears to be the less used one in the recorded material (see Table 13).

3.4 Comparing proficiency levels of non-native speakers to native speakers

Table 14: particular levels of non-native speakers in comparison to native speakers using discourse marker *so*
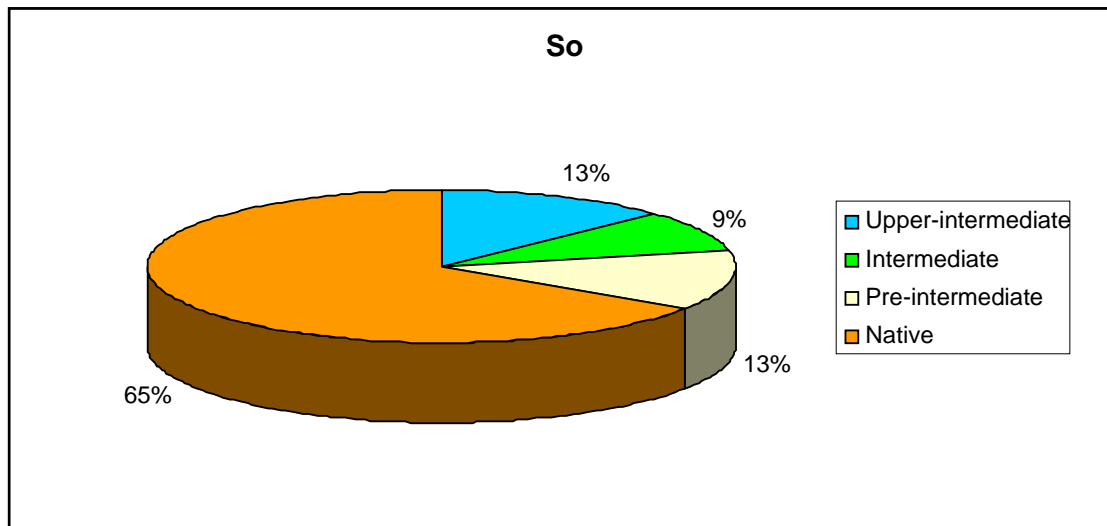
Table 15: particular levels of non-native speakers in comparison to native speakers using discourse marker *I mean*
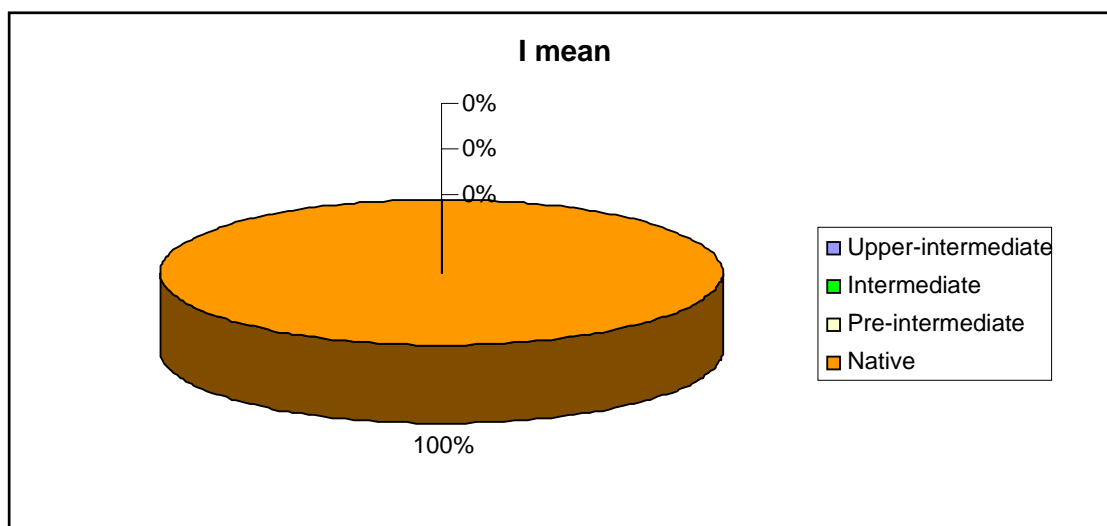
Table 16: particular levels of non-native speakers in comparison to native speakers using discourse marker *oh*

Oh

0%
0%
10%

- Upper-intermediate
- Intermediate
- Pre-intermediate
- Native

90%
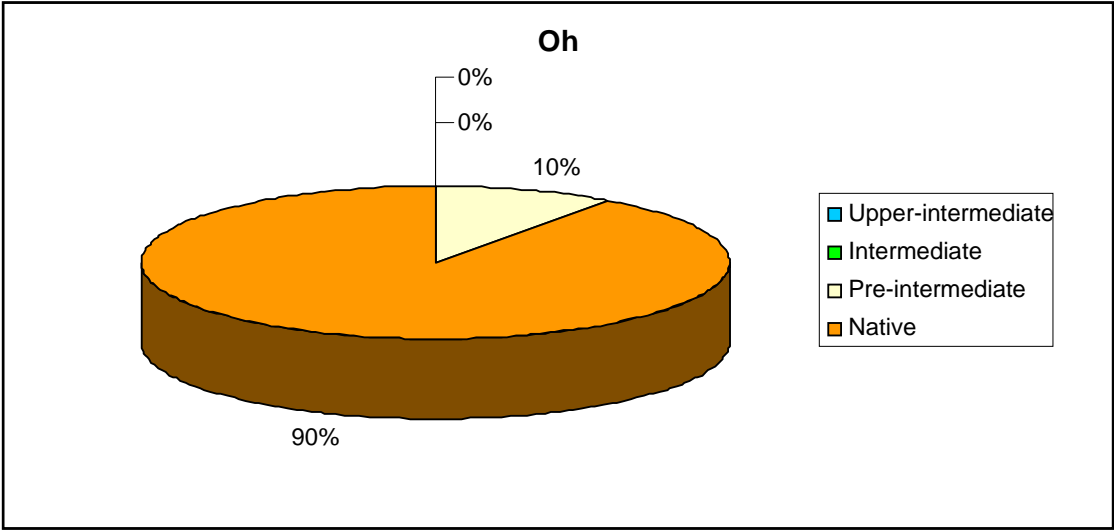
Table 17: particular levels of non-native speakers in comparison to native speakers using discourse marker *y'know*

Y' know

26%

- Upper-intermediate
- Intermediate
- Pre-intermediate
- Native

1%
0%

73%
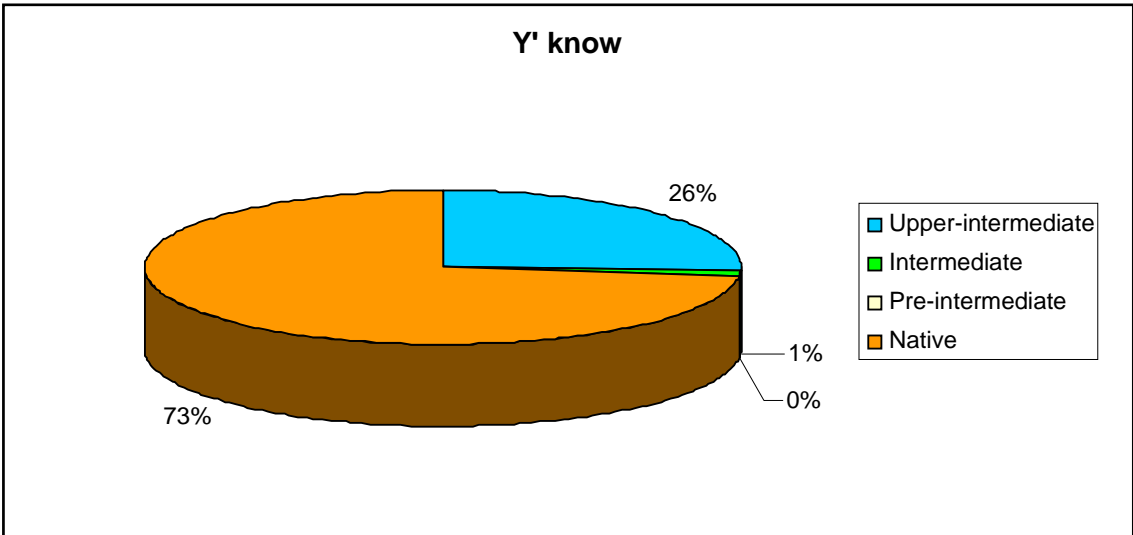
Table 18: particular levels of non-native speakers in comparison to native speakers using discourse marker *well*
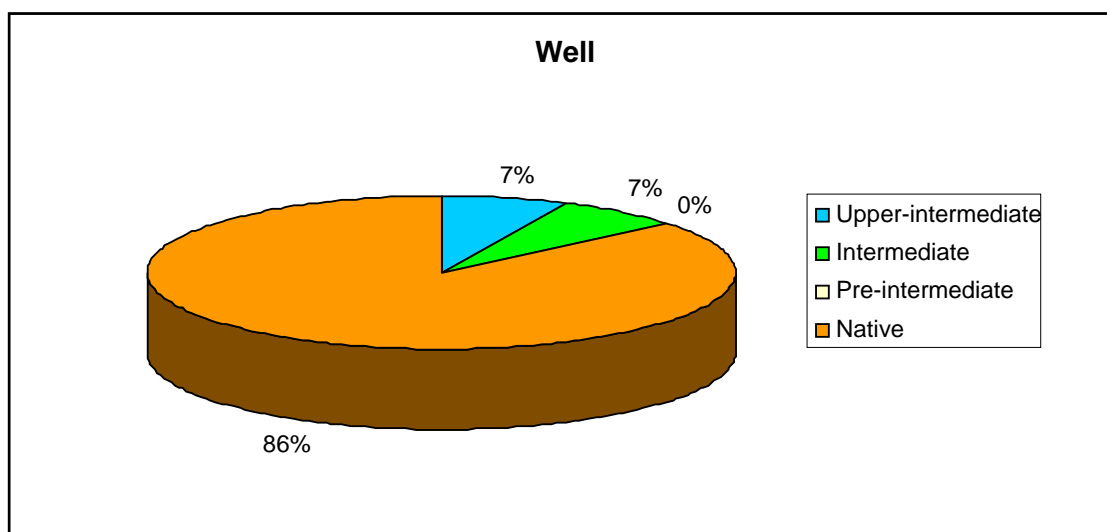
3.4.1 Interpretation of the results

This survey concerns the occurrence of discourse markers depending on the speakers. The speakers were divided into two groups – native and non-native participants of the conversations. The non-native class was further specified to the sub-classes consisting of upper-intermediate, intermediate and pre-intermediate speakers.

Table 14 distinguishes the particular levels of non-native and native speakers who used the marker *so* in the conversations. The result that 65% of native speakers included this marker to their speech seems to be adequate as English is their native tongue. Both classes, the upper-intermediate and pre-intermediate levels create 13% of the total sum using *so*. The intermediate level of non-native speakers resulted in the group with the least occurrence of the marker.

Table 15 shows that the marker *I mean* forms an exception of using discourse markers as the only class of native speakers implied *I mean* within their conversations. The Australian speaker in the seventh conversation used this marker in the highest frequency. *I mean* is surely spoken by non-native speakers but this fact was not proved in the research. Table 16 displays the results similar to results of *I mean*.

Only 10% of non-native speakers, particularly the group of pre-intermediate used *oh* in the recorded material.

The marker *y'know* was spoken by 73% of native speakers and 26% of upper-intermediate non-native speakers (see Table 17). Insignificant 1% was used by intermediate non-native speaker.

However, the non-native speaker from the fourth conversation used *y'know* in the highest frequency out of all non-native participants. It might be notable that he filled his conversation with this marker too many times and it might be argued that it sometimes functioned as a rather disturbing element than as a cohesive device of a discourse. And thus, the main used function of *y'know in* his conversation can be defined as a filler or hesitation device.

The last marker *well* was expectantly used by 86% of native speakers. a mere 7% concern the class of upper-intermediate as well as intermediate speakers including this marker to their discourse (see Table 18).

To conclude this section, the particular tables prove that all the discourse markers are mostly used by native English speakers. A lesser appearance of discourse markers within the speech of non-native speakers is obvious. In virtue of learning English as a foreign language the speakers are not familiar with these expressions. Their usage is dependent on their knowledge level of the English language.

3.5 Other discourse markers

Table 19: total figure of other discourse markers, not defined in this research
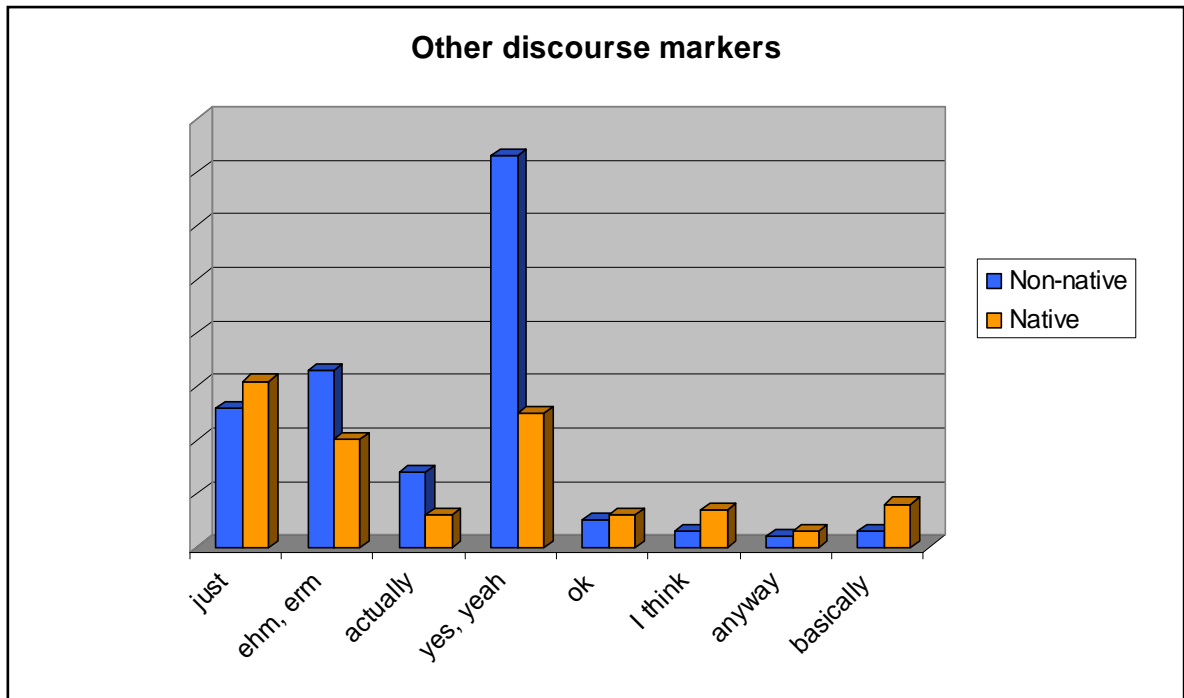
3.5.1 Interpretation of the results

Table 19 provides a brief overview of other discourse markers that occurred within the recorded material. However, these markers were not focused on during this research but their behaviour might be assimilated to the main class of discourse markers (*so, I mean, oh, well, y'know*) defined above. Furthermore, it is important to point out that the most used marker *yes* (*yeah*) dominates in the speech of non-native English speakers. In my opinion they use this filler as no other possible options of these devices are known. And thus they often nod their heads and show their agreement instead of using different tools to express their reactions.

The rest of the markers examined in Table 19 are used by both native and non-native speakers in a rather balanced way.

3.6 Ambiguous expressions

I have already outlined the particular definitions in theoretical background (see chapter 7) which form the essential characteristic of a discourse marker. However, several other expressions occurred in the recorded material that might be confused with the above defined discourse markers.

These expressions include words such as *and, but, or, however, now* and *then*. As some of them were examined by Schiffrin I am going to present her basic definitions and functions of these words. In my point of view, it is difficult to determine whether the particular word belongs to the class of conjunctions or to the discourse markers. Firstly, some of them occurred in the medial and final positions, which is not a feature typical for discourse markers. Secondly, to omit these expressions the utterance would lose its meaning, which is another unusual trait when defining the discourse marker.

The word *and* might signal that the action is going to be continued. It joins different levels of idea units within one discourse. *And* preserves continuation and integrates the ideas and intentions in a discourse. Finally, it seems to be free of any meaning. (Schiffrin, 1987)

Another ambiguous expression *but* usually contrasts the ideas as well as the actions. If the speaker needs to accomplish the repair his utterance, *but* usually occurs in his speech. Furthermore, it can be defined as a point-making tool that has expressive and interactional results. (Schiffrin, 1987)

Next confusing expression *or* can display that the speaker offers some options to the hearer. It might also indicate that the speaker would like to leave the floor to the hearer as he does not want to continue in his turn. (Schiffrin, 1987)

However defining similarly as *but* is used to signal the referential contrast. Finally, the expressions *now* and *then* did not occur in the recorded corpus as discourse markers, and thus I consider them as adverbs.

3.7 Co-occurrence of discourse markers

After rewriting the recorded materials I have discovered the fact that the discourse markers can co-occur within one utterance. This feature was used only by native English speakers and there are several examples of the co-occurrence.

C1, 68-9

*"A – So I guess I would like to hear what mistakes you're commonly making and figure what's that is and **just, you know, just** focus on one thing other time. So that's what about Alena I thought ok. How much I made hoping her to... (laughing)"*

C1, 201-3

*"A – Right, right. Everything scared you. I still don't know the language but I'm not afraid to go and just try to figure out, you know (laughing). Yeah, but the beginning it´s **just like you know**... (unfinished), **so**."*

C2, 22

*"W – **Oh, all right. Well**. That was really cool. Ehm... (thinking)"*

C7, 04-5

*"J – **Yeah, yeah, of course, yeah. But I mean** for example **like** in Australia, I mean French, German, Czech and English, all I care about."*

C7, 39-40

*J – of **course. Yeah, yeah. I mean** it's like here. Ukrainians are doing a job that Czech people wouldn't ."*

C7, 78-9

*"J – So we spent like, we spent two weeks in Krkonoše like in two different colleges, **erm and erm, I mean you know** colleges are like what would you say, you know,"*

C7, 82-3
*"**But erm**... (thinking) **so I mean, yeah**, I've travelled around so much. **Ehm, I mean, yeah**, there wasn't much opportunity, I guess. I did like one girl, yeah. I didn't mean"*

C7, 100-1
*"J – I wasn't sure I was... (incompr.) her email, **you know like**... (pause) **erm, ok, anyway**... (unfinished)"*

As can be noticed the discourse marker clusters include the same markers repeatedly. There are the markers of agreement *yes, yeah, ok*, hesitation markers *ehm, erm*, etc. Then *y'know* and *I mean* is involved and the particle *just* and conjunctions *but, so, and* co-occur. And thus it can be claimed that the discourse markers can co-occur within the same

utterance. More problematic fact is to determine which discourse markers can co-occur and what functions they represent.

I suppose that the larger context of these instances is mostly insignificant as the coherence of the utterances remains preserved and hereby I consider these clusters of the discourse markers function as a hesitation devices or mere fillers. Fraser deals with co-occurrence in his work and suggests the following question "Is such co-occurrence a rule-governed, principle-governed, or an idiosyncratic matter?" (1999: 950) and refers these question for further research.

IV. Conclusion

Seven conversations by native and non-native speakers of English were subjected to an analysis of discourse markers, which this thesis addresses. Analysed interviews provided the basic material for research on discourse markers in the natural informal conversations. Their analysis shows however that a more detailed study of all markers is not feasible in the work.

Comparing the various terms, their position in a sentence, different functions, and clusters of various discourse markers that occur in one utterance, their definition, possible uses and other aspects were observed in the thesis.

During the research there were a number of situations which made it difficult. Above all, fear and unwillingness to participate in the conversations which were recorded caused significant complications for the collection of material, which became the basis for the research. Furthermore, the conversations were influenced with the participants' knowledge that they will be recorded. Non-native speakers naturally reflected stress in their speeches, which contained grammatical and stylistic mistakes, sometimes causing an unnatural and disjointed impression. This fact was not confirmed by native speakers, who were trying to make their language understandable and did not leave the convulsive impression. The participants, who were not informed of the recording, expressed their thoughts directly with an unprepared viewpoint, which is reflected in the overall understanding of their interviews. On closer specification, varied English accents, slang words, careless pronunciation, physical and mental state of speaker and disturbing elements influenced a total comprehension of all the interviews.

Figure 1 shows that the most common expression closely examined from group of five, was the discourse marker *so* that was included in the speech of both native and non-native speakers. The second most frequently used expression became the marker *y'know*. Its most common function is primarily to attract the hearer's attention and invite the hearer to agree to details, or just check feedback. An additional three markers *oh, well I mean,* were used in relatively low numbers. Higher frequency of those terms would be able to be demonstrated amongst a wider corpus of conversations.

Factors that could affect or influence the occurrence of markers, such as the level of education and the profession of the speakers their age and social inclusion in the work were not clearly confirmed. The fact that probably influenced the occurrence of certain markers in the conversations are diverse topics. Higher frequency of usage the markers were observed in topics that were unknown to one or both parties. In this field, markers were mainly used to complete or fill the speech or as the hesitation devices when the speaker frequently repaired and changed their utterances, and then used that marker to support discourse coherence and connectivity of ideas previously unprepared.

The fundamental division of markers used was shown, with a comparison between conversations of native and non-native speakers. During the research, it was shown that native speakers include these markers in a much greater frequency than non-native speakers. The expected outcome in advance is justified by the fact that English is the native language of a native speaker; therefore these expressions were used quite naturally and unplanned.

The group of non-native speakers was further subdivided into groups of pre-intermediate, intermediate and advanced level language users. General results show that speakers, who achieve the advanced level of knowledge, use discourse markers in a higher number compared with beginners, for which this phenomenon is not usual. a specific exception is made to the marker *so*, which was used in the same group of both advanced and pre-intermediate speakers (see Table 14). A surprising result is the use of marker *oh*, which occurred only in the utterances of pre-intermediate speakers (see Table 16). The use of the marker *I mean was* observed only with native speakers, which I think is an atypical phenomenon, because this term is used in conversation even by non-native speakers. Recorded conversations are not yet sufficient evidentiary material in order to express that this marker is used only by native speakers.

A very common expression in everyday conversation was the occurrence of the word *like* that was most often expressed by non-native speakers and in very large numbers. Exemplification appears to be most used function of this marker. In other words, *like* enumerates examples of diverse factors. Furthermore, this expression appeared frequently in utterances where the speaker tried to engage the audience, for e.g. as a quantity or number. Number, which was followed by a marker, was not a precise statement,

but only an approximate value (see Table 8). To determine all the functions of the discourse markers occurring within the corpus is not feasible in this work.

The research in the practical section confirms the definitions presented in the theoretical background, which comprises various linguists' suggestions and approaches. And thus it can be stated that the discourse markers belongs to the expressions that frequently occur, notably in the spoken language. Further they help to preserve the discourse coherence, connect the particular utterances and even they have no or little semantic meaning, they carry out specific functions in the communication. Therefore, they are claimed to be the necessary features in both formal and informal language. Despite this conclusion some authors regard the discourse markers to be the class of mere fillers and no association with the particular utterance is obvious. They argue that the functions of the markers do not enrich the conversation in any respects.

The research of the discourse markers might become involved in other specific issues. One of the possible studies is the analysis and survey of the different markers occurring within the same utterance. This subject was dealt with only briefly in chapter 6. More detailed study, specific functions and positions of the discourse markers in one utterance is beyond the scope of this work.

Závěr (Czech summary)

Sedm konverzací rodilých i nerodilých mluvčích anglického jazyka bylo podrobeno analýze diskurzních markerů, která je hlavním těžištěm mojí diplomové práce. Analyzované rozhovory poskytly základní materiál pro výzkum diskurzních markerů v bezprostřední neformální konverzaci. Jejich rozbor však dokazuje, že podrobnější analýza všech markerů není v rámci práce uskutečnitelná.

V práci jsem porovnávala jednotlivé výrazy, sledovala jejich postavení ve větě, rozdílné funkce, shluk několika markerů vyskytujících se v jedné promluvě, jejich definice, možné významy a další aspekty.

V průběhu samotného výzkumu se objevilo několik skutečností, které jej ztěžovaly. Především lidská neochota a strach účastnit se nahrávaných rozhovorů působily nemalé komplikace pro sběr materiálu, který se stal základem výzkumu. Dále byl průběh konverzací ovlivněn sdělením, že účastníci budou nahráváni na diktafon. U nerodilých mluvčích se stres projevil přirozeně v jejich promluvách, které obsahovaly jednak gramatické a stylistické chyby a které občas působily nepřirozeným a nesouvislým dojmem. Tento fakt se nepotvrdil u rodilých mluvčích, kteří se naopak snažili, aby byla jejich řeč srozumitelná. Účastníci, kteří nebyli o nahrávání informováni, vyjadřovali své myšlenky bezprostředně a s nepřipraveným cílem, což se odrazilo v celkově nesnadném porozumění jejich rozhovorů. Blíže specifikováno, britský, americký a australský přízvuk, slangová slova, nedbalá výslovnost, fyzický i psychický stav mluvčích a rušivé elementy poznamenaly celkové porozumění všech rozhovorů.

Graf 1 prokazuje, že nejpoužívanějším výrazem ze skupiny pěti blíže zkoumaných markerů je výraz *so,* který byl zahrnut v řeči jak rodilých, tak nerodilých mluvčích. Druhým nejfrekventovanějším výrazem se stal marker *y'know*, jehož nejčastějšími funkcemi je předně upoutat posluchačovu pozornost a také vyzvat posluchače k souhlasu dané informace nebo si pouze ověřit zpětnou vazbu. Další tři markery *oh, well* a *I mean* byly užity v poměrně stejně nízkém počtu. Vyšší frekvence těchto výrazů by se jistě mohla prokázat v širším korpusu konverzací.

Faktory, které by mohly ovlivnit výskyt markerů, např. stupeň vzdělanosti a povolání mluvčích, jejich věk a sociální zařazení, se v práci prokazatelně nepotvrdily. Skutečnost, která nejspíše ovlivnila výskyt markerů v některých konverzacích, jsou různorodá témata.

Vyšší frekvence užití znaků byla zaznamenána v námětech, které nebyly známy oběma účastníkům. V této oblasti byly markery používány zejména ve funkci výplně nebo zaváhání, kdy mluvčí často měnil a opravoval své výpovědi a kdy užití daného znaku napomohlo k textové soudržnosti a propojenosti myšlenek předem nepřipravených.

Zásadní rozdělení výskytu užívaných markerů se projevilo v porovnání konverzací rodilého a nerodilého mluvčího anglického jazyka. Během výzkumu se prokázala skutečnost, že rodilý mluvčí zahrnuje výrazy v mnohem větší frekvenci než mluvčí nerodilý.

Tento předem předpokládaný výsledek je odůvodnitelný tím, že angličtina je pro rodilého mluvčího jazykem mateřským, proto výrazy používá naprosto přirozeně a neplánovaně.

Skupina nerodilých mluvčích byla dále specifikována do skupin mírně, středně a vyšších pokročilých uživatelů jazyka. Obecný výsledek ukazuje, že mluvčí, kteří dosahují nejvyšší úrovně znalosti, používali diskurzní markery v hojnějším počtu ve srovnání se začátečníky, u kterých není tento jev obvyklý. Konkrétní výjimku tvoří marker *so*, který byl používán ve stejném počtu skupinou jak pokročilých, tak začátečníků (viz.Tabulka 14). Překvapivým výsledkem je také užití markeru *oh*, který se vyskytl pouze u méně pokročilých mluvčích (viz. Tabulka 16). Použití markeru *I mean* bylo shledáno pouze u mluvčích rodilých, což považuji za jev atypický, protože tento výraz bývá zahrnut do konverzace také nerodilých mluvčích. Zda je výraz používán výhradně rodilým mluvčím, nelze prokázat, protože nahrané konverzace nepředstavují dostatečně průkazný materiál. Velmi častým výrazem v běžné konverzaci se prokázal výskyt slova *like*, který byl nejčastěji vyjadřován nerodilým mluvčím ve velmi hojném počtu. Nejužívanější funkci markeru můžeme označit jako exemplifikaci. Jinými slovy se *like* používá k výčtu příkladů rozmanitých skutečností. Dále se *like* objevilo často v promluvách, kdy se mluvčí snažil posluchači sdělit např. nějaké množství či počet. Číslo, které marker následovalo, nepředstavuje přesné vyjádření, ale pouze přibližnou hodnotu (viz. Tabulka 8)

Tento výzkum potvrzují definice uvedené v teoretické části, jež zahrnují myšlenky různých lingvistů. Diskurzní markery jsou jevem často se vyskytujícím zejména v jazyce mluveném, udržují koherenci textu, propojují jednotlivé výpovědní úseky a přestože nemají sémantický význam, plní specifické komunikační funkce a jsou tedy prvky potřebnými v jazyce formálním i neformálním. Navzdory tomuto závěru, některé

publikace   uvádí,
že tyto výrazy jsou typem „vycpávkových" slov, nemají přímou spojitost s danou výpovědí a jejich funkce nemají velký přínos pro obohacení konverzace.

Výzkum diskurzních znaků by mohl zahrnovat další specifické náměty. Jednou z možných problematik je analýza a výzkum markerů vyskytujících se v jedné promluvě současně. Toto téma bylo pouze stručně uvedeno v kapitole 6. Podrobnější výzkum, specifické funkce a jednotlivé pozice při účasti těchto výrazů ve stejné větě jsou však nad rámec této práce.

Výzkum předkládá zejména všeobecný přehled, který slouží jako základní materiál ke klasifikaci a bližšímu zkoumání diskurzních markerů v běžném hovorovém jazyce.

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V. Appendix

I present the explaining commentary following some of the utterances to provide more accurate state of the recorded conversations.

Annotation:

- Incompr. (incomprehensible utterance)
- Sigh (the speaker demonstrated his/ her feelings)
- Pause (the speaker took some time for thinking)
- Longer pause (silence took much more time than it was expected)
- Agreement (the hearer held the same opinion)
- Nodding (hearer used the gesture to show his/ her agreement)
- Unfinished (the utterance remain with open ending)
- Laughing (funny information was accompanied by laughter)
- Coughing (was used by the speaker to take some time)
- Thinking (used by speaker as time was needed)
- Disturbed (speech was disturbed by another person or another disturbing element)
- Speaking over each other (speakers interrupted mutually)
- Puzzled (the hearer's confusing feeling was displayed)
- Amazedly (the hearer's surprise was displayed)
- Unbelievably (the hearer could not believe some information)
- Can not express themselves (speakers could not find the correct expression)
- Ironically (speaker's ironical note)

Conversation 1 (C1)

Speaker A – American (33)

Speaker I – Czech (28)

01 A – So, let's see what can we talk about.

02 I – Actually, I wanted to ask you if you will have time. I don't know where

03 *(I was supposed to say when)* are you leaving our country?

04 A – Where? *(A did not understand)*

05 I – When? When will you go home?

06 A – I will go home in June, I think.

07 I – In June? So, before vacation?

08 A – Yeah, I think so. Cos I did... *(incompr.)* teaching kids like around *(sigh)* like...

09 *(incompr.)* so I… *(pause)* I plan, I need time to grab up everything and I'll go home at

10 end of June.

11 I – Ehm. And you want return or will you? ... *(pause)* Will you return?

12 A – Yes, yes. I'm gonna come back.

13 I – Hm, erm… *(longer pause)* the whole next year you will… *(pause)* will

14 you be here?

15 A – No, I won't. Because I have to go home. I have people like… *(pause)* they pay for

16 me to live here right now but I decided that I want to come here full time like not for

17 just two years. I want to do it as my job like teach the kids and to teach English so

18 I will go home but I have to raise supporters, meet them around and visit.

19 I – Ehm.

20 A – Different people, and as long as it takes me to raise enough money for people that

21 I was supported every month, then it takes me that long before I can come back.

22 I – So… *(interrupted by A)* arrange these things and then will you come back here

23 and stay here to work?

24 A – And then I will live here, yeah, to work.

25 I – And you don't know how… *(pause)* how long will you be here?

26 A – I don't know. It might be for a long time *(laughing)*

27 A – like two years or anything, I mean, I'm planning doing that for my job.

28 I – Because I wanted to ask you if you can make some lessons of English for me?

29 A – Ehm. *(agreement)*.

30 I – But now I'm too busy.

31 A – Yeah.

32 I – And I think from February till June maybe I will have time to… *(pause)* erm…

33 *(thinking)* to practise my English.

34 A – Ok.

35 I – So I wanted to ask you if you have time for me and… *(pause)* erm… *(pause)*

36 actually to discuss the period how often and these things *(A nodding)*.

37 A – So, what do you wanna do though?

38 A – So like the same with Alena?... *(incompr.)* like being with her but …*(pause)* but

39 we just talk. You know, like… *(pause)* we don't… *(unfinished)* like the first time

40 I wanted to meet her. I made out these, you know, things to do with her but we

41 ended up in talking very easily.

42 I – Ehm *(nodding)*.

43 A – And I think she basically wanted to practise conversation and so we…*(unfinished)*

44 Now we just get together and there's... *(pause)* It's not difficult to come up to things to

45 talk about. So we just practise conversation with each other. So she can practise her

46 English. If you don't wanna do that, if you want to actually go through a book then

47 I would need to look for one.

48 I – Actually, I don't need to go through a book but I need to… *(pause)* to practise a

49 little grammar. Just prepositions and these things that I need to memorise. To not to

50 think about it, just to use it.

51 A – Yeah, in your daily conversation?

52 I – Yes, in my daily conversation.

53 A – You know, I'm not so... *(incompr.)* English speaker because it's hard for me

54 to know… *(pause)* you know, I can hear the mistakes that you are making

55 but for me to stop and, you know, in the middle of the conversation like "wait, wait,

56 wait!" You know *(laughing)* I need to learn how to best do that everything with a

57 speaker. It's so much easier. Beginners are the easiest because it's a very controlled

58 setting, you know, because they don't know much English and so it's easier to correct

59 things that are wrong, you know that… *(unfinished)* Like intermediate, like what I

60 usually teach, you know, the middle level is little bit harder because I have to go

61 back and change things, you know what I'm saying.

62 A – And that's harder ´cos it's not so controlled, you know, setting. And so, I don't

63 really know… *(pause)* I don't know (laughing) but I can… *(pause)* I can think of,

64 for me is like, if I give you something to write about, you'd just write normal

65 easiest thing for... *(incompr.)* It's easy correct it on paper, but correct it in speech, it's

66 difficult. I – Ha, ha *(laughing)* it is really difficult.

67 A – So I guess I would like to hear what mistakes you're commonly making and

68 figure what's that is and just, you know, just focus on one thing other time. So that's

69 what about Alena I thought ok. How much I made hoping her to... *(laughing)*

70 A – I think she's practising English, which is good because I don't know how much

71 opportunity she has to do that, you know, just to practise normally to speak English.

72 So that, that´s good but if you want like another level of it, I don´t know how good I´d

73 be in that. Look, I need to work it out. I never take any classes of how teaching

74 English.

75 I – Yes.

76 A – Ok, go back to the States that I wanna do. Take more classes ´cos I can´t teach

77 English.

78 I – Yes, it doesn´t matter if you will be … *(pause)* or how good will you be.

79 A – Ehm *(agreement).*

80 I – But I think it can help, anyway.

81 I – Ok, so I think this is the best way how... *(incompr.)* that you said that… *(pause)* we

82 can just talk, then I think you will realise what the main mistakes I do.

83 A – Yeah, yeah.

84 I – And on that I will focus.

85 A – Ok, ok. Well *(coughing)* so, for me, it´ s… *(pause)* It´ s not so much about

86 whether I have time to do it. ´Cos it´s, it doesn´t take a long time to me in talk, you

87 know, it doesn't take a long time but for me it´s how much preparation I´m putting

88 into it. You know, how much time I have to take to prepare for it.

89 I –Yeah, I don´t want that you will, that you will waste too much time with this. Just

90 ok, if we take for example three lessons just… *(pause)* just talk.

91 A – Ehm *(nodding).*

92 I – And just think about it. Ok, we'll see that I make mistakes in, erm…

93 *(thinking)* tensenses.

94 A – you mean tenses *(A corrected I)*

95 I – Yes, in tense *(smiling).* So next time we will focus e.g. on one type of tense that

96 I will practise.

97 A – Erm, it's ok.

98 I – Because I don't want that you will waste time with me to prepare on it.

99 A – Well, yeah. That's what I'm saying. But I know this spring is going to be a little

100 bit busier because we have the spring like last year. The spring is very busy for us

101 ´cos we have the groups coming like different colleges come to visit and... (pause) So

102 that always take a lot of time ´cos we´re with them like every day. You know, they

103 come and stay with me… *(unfinished)* And any time we're doing anything, we're

104 taking them around and showing them things. And so just takes lot of time.

105 I – Ehm, so these groups are from America or… *(unfinished)?*

106 A – Last year there was a group that came from college called Liberty University,

107 taking for a week, I think. And that's when I… *(pause)* I had girls, if you remember,

108 but I had girls, that was like seven girls that stayed here, I think.

109 I – Ehm.

110 A – And, em… *(unfinished)* so, they… *(pause)* were here for a week long.

111 We, we were in charge of taking them around and we were with them like constantly,

112 you know. When I wasn't teaching, I was with them.

113 I – And what was the reason that they came for?

114 A – Erm… *(thinking)* they come to see like Ron and I are working and to see

115 what I do to help us in the work that we were doing. It's focused their college to this

116 pro-experience to come to other country to have experience of that kind of work

117 that we're doing, to see something what they wanna do, a kind of observe… *(pause)*

118 I – Ehm.

119 A – And also to help us.

120 I – So they… *(pause)* they want to do the same things like Ron?

121 A – Some of them do, some of them are like like... (*unfinished*) Look, there is one

122 girl that came and was in education. She wanted to be a teacher. So she came in a

123 classroom with me, with the kids for a day or two. Just to see how I did it, to see if

124 there's something she'd like to do, like to go over a season teacher like a home school.

125 I – Ehm.

126 A – And they… *(unfinished)* Ron, but Ron, not necessarily what Ron does but…

127 *(thinking)* Ron arranges for them to do different things while they are here. So they

128 can get to meet people and then they can see that kind of work that's done. So some

129 of them may want to come back. So this year nobody came back but Ron's had

130 groups they've come to see, to work with us while they are here that have maybe two

131 people out of the group of fifteen. We'll see, you know, I would like to come back

132 and help. And come back to teach English for three months. That's what Rachel was.

133 She was somebody that went to Hungary when they were living in Hungary and just

134 came for a week. And she got to know them to see what they were doing. So she

135 could talk with Ron and then she decided to come here to teach English for two or

136 three months. That's for the experience. She decided she didn't want to teach English

137 but it was for her to try it, you know.

138 I – Ehm. That's great experience.

139 A – To see, to decide what she wanted to do. So, it's basically for people, just a kind

140 of try up to see what they want to do, so… *(unfinished)*

141 I – Ehm *(nodding)*.

142 A – But some of them do it just for experience. They just want to go to another

143 countries. They just wanna be, you know, some of them just like the experience of

144 doing it.

145 I – And… *(pause)* erm… *(pause)* how they know about you? That you… *(pause)* that

146 they can come here and you will take care for them? Is it because the organisation

147 will send them or… *(unfinished)?*

148 A – Well, Ron is very good. When he goes back to the States he travels around.

149 A – To different churches and he travels around to different… *(pause)* like Christian

150 in the States.

151 I – Ehm.

152 A – And all travel around them, a group that is like ehm… *(coughing, then longer*

153 *pause)* he, he'll go to… *(unfinished)* when they have a meeting for all of them and

154 he'll speak, they can hear what´s he doing and, and that way different student can get

155 to hear what's going on and some of them may say:"I'd like to come." Then the

156 group comes. But he also keeps in contact with one of the clubs, I guess that's how

157 you call it. There's like a club in a college… *(unfinished)*

158 I – *(I interrupted A)* Yes, yes we don't have it in our country but I… *(pause)* I know

159 from some movies that in America it´s typical *(laughing)*.

160 A – So, there is obviously a club in every college. One of the cause may be one that's

161 about doing cross culture ministries and so that that club has a leader or an organizer

162 and Ron keeps in contact with that person if you have any kids they want to come.

163 You can organize a group and bring them over here. And that's what he did.

164 They became good friends with the organizer at this Liberty University.

165 I – I see. And made this promotion?

166 A – And so, yeah. He says "If you want to come over", you know, he stays in contact

167 with them and... *(pause)* and when kids have come and have been interested in doing

168 cross culture…*(unfinished)*

169 I – Yes.

170 A – Then they come to him and talk to him and he gets some prepared in ready

171 to come and he brought the group over here last year. So that's how that works

172 with those universities, anyway. So… *(unfinished)*

173 I – And what about this year? Has some group arrived yet? Because I'm mostly in

174 Prague so I didn't have a chance to meet anybody.

175 A – I don´t know. We haven't had we had individual people that Ron has just met

176 through different churches that he visited. Then they will come and say, you know,

177 "I'd like to come over and work with you for a little bit."

178 I – So, it is their decision to come to the Czech Republic?

179 A – Yes, they come up for a week or like this spring. There's a girl that wants to

180 come that was that heard what they were doing when they were home this year. She

181 said she wants to come for two months, I think. And helped to plan with ministrant

182 and these things like with organizing and piling things for him and editing things that

183 he's written on the computer. She wants to do all those things ´cos she does

184 secretarial work, so.

185 I – So, the most time that you spend is to take care of these people?

186 A – You mean when they're here?

187 I – Yeah, when they come here.

188 A – So, that's one group coming for a week. For this week we'll be very busy but

189 then there is another... *(pause)* there's another girl coming for two months. She

190 comes in March and April, she'll be here. And I need to talk to your parents but she

191 may need to stay here, in your house.

192 I – That is no problem, I think. Because that room should be still empty.

193 A – So, if she stays here, it just takes more time because I, I need to help to orient

194 her to be in a different country, you know, be in the Czech Republic, helping

195 her with shopping, you know. She came just to go up and do things on her own.

196 Like… *(unfinished)*

197 I – As you were here.

198 A – Yeah, like I didn´t go anywhere. I didn't know how to go to a store, I didn't

199 know anything *(laughing).* I was afraid to do things, to communicate, you know.

200 I – Yes, it's difficult and especially if you don't know the language.

201 A – Right, right. Everything scared you. I still don´t know the language but I'm not

202 afraid to go and just try to figure out, you know *(laughing).* Yeah, but the beginning

203 it's just like you know… *(unfinished),* so.

204 A – So… (thinking) she maybe the first month I'll be busy with that but after that

205 it'll be little bit better.

206 I – Ehm.

207 A – When she gets here… *(unfinished)* I don't know her personality, you know,

208 depending on her personality.

209 I – Yeah.

210 A – For me… *(pause)* it took me a lot *(laughing)* because… *(incompr.)* just like I

211 don't wanna try if I know for sure it's gonna be ok but different… *(pause)* but Rachel

212 was more adventurous personality so she was like "aahh" *(enthusiasm)* – just like

213 "go ´n´ try it." She went out for a day and came back and had thousands of stories,

214 you know.

215 I – Ehm, ehm. *(nodding)*

216 A – And I would have been crying *(both laughing)* because it would have scared me.

217 I – But Ron said, when we were on skiing, he said that you became more patient

218 than… *(pause)* than before.

219 A – More patient?

220 I – Yes, more patient.

221 A – Oh *(laughing)*

222 I – Because of… *(unfinished)* How did he say it? Ehm… *(thinking)* because of him

223 A – Oh *(laughing)* I… *(incompr.)*

224 I -… *(incompr.)* good leader in this.

225 A – Like he could be more patient sometimes, yes *(both laughing).*

226 A – No, I… *(pause)* you know being here has really helped. Just being out of my

227 comfort, so.

228 I – Yeah.

229 A – And really helped me a lot. Before I came here I was still, still living at home.

230 I never wanted to leave college. I just drove to college every day.

231 I – Ehm

232 A – I worked so… *(interrupted)*

233 I – So you worked in the town where… *(pause)* where you lived?

234 A – It was twenty minutes away from my town so I drove every day.

235 I – Yeah.

236 A – So it wasn't far. It was like two towns over. So and I could get my whole degree

237 there so I just did that, you know. So I just stayed in my town. I get really ventured

238 out. So this is the first time that I left home.

239 I – Yeah, you left home and you went to the Europe to different countries.

240 A – Yes, I see that all *(laughing)*.

241 I – With the language you can never learn *(laughing)*.

242 A – No, I can usually *(laughing)*.

243 I – Ok, if you will stay here longer, yeah? So it is possible?

244 A – I think so and I'm actually… *(pause)* I don't think I'm so bad at the language. I

245 don't speak it, I know. Because speaking Czech is very difficult. It´s not like, like

246 Spanish. You know, you can just know little bit of Spanish and you… *(interrupted)*

247 I – And you can speak.

248 A – Yeah, exactly. Because, because the words don't change. In Czech you can know

249 little bit, you can even know how to say a word but you can't speak the language still

250 because you don't know what form to put it, you know.

251 I – I know. It must be very difficult to speak. I think to understand Czech is not so

252 difficult how to let to speak.

253 A – To understand Czech? Is not so difficult?

254 I – Yes, I think to speak Czech is more difficult than to understand.

255 A – Yes, yes. Because you can say something to me and I understand ´cos I know the

256 word

257 I – Yeah, yes you know the word… *(speaking over each other)*

258 A – I know what's this word but I wouldn't know how to put it in that form.

259 I – Yeah, yeah.

260 A – So it's easier to understand. The only thing about that is that I still have a lot of

261 vocabularies to learn.

262 I – Ehm. *(nodding)*

263 A – And so like Ron when you were downstairs in your house. I can listen to him

264 and I can… *(pause)* I figured out, I pretty much could follow what he was saying.

265 There were a few words I didn't know ´cos I still need to work on my vocabulary a

266 lot but I could pretty much follow him because he uses words that I know.

267 I – Yeah *(laughing).*

268 A – You know but most people don't use the words that I know.

269 I – *(laughing)*

270 A – They use other words and I'm like "oups" *(puzzled).* I'm not interesting because

271 I need to use my other vocabulary.

272 A – So he said to me when we were at home, he said to Bren and I "Will you, guys,

273 practise your Czech? You are supposed to be practising your Czech."´Cos while we

274 are waiting here for… *(incompr.)*

275 I – You are practising your Czech.

276 A – He was telling Bren and me that we should… *(interrupted)*

277 I – But you did it, didn't you?

278 A – Yeah, we… *(pause)* I said that's what I did by listening to you. *(both laughing)*

279 Try to understand what you are saying and actually that's, that's good practise

280 for me ´cos right now I'm not at the level I'm able to speak to someone ´cos I just

281 don't have enough vocabulary and I don't know the learned forms, you know, past

282 tense. I – Ehm *(nodding).*

283 A – Or how to put it to… *(incompr.)*

284 I just feel like I know what I'm saying that doesn't make any sense but maybe they

285 can figure out. So it's frustrating, you know. But I'm going to use Ron and a book

286 they have. I'm going to order that book.

287 I – But they don't have so many lessons of Czech like they had or… *(unfinished)*

288 A – No, no. I have hardly any lessons. And that's why. I think I was doing ok

289 through first lessons that I've had. I really haven't had individual lessons. For myself

290 I've had three.

291 I – Ehm.

292 A – That's it since I've been here.

293 A – I had pretty kids and I have said and helped the kids by learning vocabulary,

294 that's all I've done.

295 I – Ehm.

296 A – So I don't… *(pause)* I've been so bad considering that and Ron and Brenda they

297 were taking language that's why I came here to teach the kids. You know, take care

298 during the day so they can take language lessons.

299 I – I see.

300 A – So they're definitely getting a lot more language but that's the way it's supposed

301 to be. So but if I come back, which I'm planning to, then I would be doing language

302 full time when I first come back.

303 I – But will you teach full time the children or will it be different?

304 A – I think when I first come back, if I don't know the language yet, I would

305 probably for a year not teach the children for… *(pause)* for I will be taking…

(interrupted)

306 I – You will… *(pause)* you will take lessons of Czech?

307 A – Probably for a year I would say so.

308 I – Because Ron said at… *(pause)* when he was here at first time, that the children

309 will take only two years of teaching by an American and then they will go to Czech

310 school, so... *(pause)* I don't know

311 A – He said that? *(amazedly)*

312 I – He said it, yeah.

313 A – I think now that he's realized, it wasn´t at the beginning but now, they know how

314 hard the language is for the kids to be learning and the kids haven't been able to have

315 a regular Czech teacher that they won´t know enough in a language to be able to go

316 to the Czech school.

317 I – Ehm, so they will take more years to learn?

318 A – They would be lost. I don't know if they're going to be able to go onto a Czech

329 school just because of the language.

320 I – Hmm.

321 A – *(coughing)* Because I think, Ron, he could pick it up if he really, really worked

322 at it but the thing is you have there some more decisions to make, you know, because

323 these kids you don't want to like take away the child from her either because you're

324 still by doing American, you know, English school, American school and then

325 having Czech and try to get them music lessons. It's like he wouldn't be able to…

326 *(incompr.)* kids though, you know, ´cos that´s so much he… *(incompr.)* that's gone.

327 A – You know, *(laughing)* he needs to be able to have fun a little bit and play and not

328 have, you know constant… *(pause)* like school, school, school all the time. And so I

329 had to make those decisions.

330 I – Ehm.

331 A – Because they do school every day till about two thirty and then you know, they

332 have homework. They usually work on that and in the evening… *(unfinished)*

333 I – So, you teach them from... *(pause)* from what tim?

334 A – We start at eight thirty.

335 I – Eight thirty till fourteen thirty?

336 A – Yeah, two thirty p. m.

337 I – And all the children have the same teaching plan or the same lessons?

338 A – No, they are… *(unfinished)* Well, they all take the same subjects obviously with

339 the different levels but they… *(unfinished)*

Conversation 2 (C2)

K speaker – American (16)

W speaker – American (18)

01 W – Hello Kayla.

02 K – Hi, what's going on?

03 W – Oh not much. Just really tired. How was your trip to Prague yesterday?

04 K – It was really good.

05 W – Yeah.

06 K – We went to the museum and we did some shopping. The shopping was amazing.

07 W – Yeah, that's really cool. I got some shopping. I went to some books store and they

08 bought me a book, really cool. And I´m reading them right now.

09 K – Did… *(pause)* did they buy you a book or did you buy it?

10 W – Well, they bought it to me back.

11 K – Oh. Ok. Well, I bought the maps.

12 We got lost and in the underground… *(interrupted)*

13 W – Really? *(both laughing)*

14 K – In the underground metro area.

15 W – Ok.

16 K – That's pretty funny, acutally… *(incompr.)* looking for huge like music star. Where

17 did you guys see a lot of them?

18 W – We actually bet on American football and basketball. How's kind of intersting.

19 There were down there works league on the U. S., isn't it…*(incompr.)*

20 The bad answers?

21 K – I don´t think so *(laughing).*

22 W – Oh, all right. Well. That was really cool. Ehm… *(thinking)*

23 K – Do they let people of our age?

24 W – Yeah, over eighteen.

25 K – It's over twenty one here, for gambling.

26 W – I see, ok, ehm… *(unfinished)* It was, well, like pretty sure.

27 K – Who?

28 W – Oh, New York Giants. I think we gonna be, erm, fameless and yeah, erm, Camp

29 was going to lose... *(incompr.)* and I don't remember any other ones.

30 But it was good because we bet twenty crowns on it so for there we had hundred

31 crowns. It sounds cool *(both laughing).*

32 K – That's funny. Why did you go to bet on American teams?

33 W – Well, I was like… *(pause)* erm… *(pause)* ´cos I…*(pause)* the clue was gonna like

34 from early England and so I ... *(incompr.)* every packet and threw them to it. And I

35 thought football the girls hate football here. It is better on this one because I know

36 American pretty well. So that´s really good. I hope we win eu five, to win anything.

37 K – Ehm, everyone in Prague spoke English.

38 W – Really?

39 K – Doesn't seem to? Like didn´t you notice it?

40 W – Yes, like a tour guide and some like the people at the museum.

41 K – Oh yeah, like everytime I go walking like twenty minutes later I was really…

42   *(covered with laughing)* English, American and like adore and just like… *(laughing)*

43 Nice, I could keep telling… *(incompr.)* and I was like "wow"… *(speaking over each*
other).

44 W – No accent.

45 K – Yeah.

46 W – You can hear the English… *(speaking over each other).*

47 K – We were at McDonald's and there's this like three American girls came in and

48 they started talking about like… *(pause)* like the gum here.

49 W – *(laughing).*

50 K – Because the gum is like the gum here is like... *(thinking)* hard. It does square

51 instead of… *(pause)* they like it… *(unfinished)*

52 W – Oh yeah, soft.

53 K – The soft gum which most Americans like more and then are you…*(incompr.)*

54 And so she was so excited ´cos she thought the pack is of big soft gum

55 *(both laughing)* talking her about it ´cos it´s pretty funny and their ... *(incompr.)*

56 sitting there.

57 H – ... *(completely incompr.)*

58 K – Just like what are you talking about? Like what difference does it make if the gum

59 is soft or hard? *(ironically)*

60 W – That's right, Kayla. Let´s get see which actually wasn't too bad but it wasn't that

61 expensive, one hundred crowns to get a burger, fries and drink there.

62 K – Yes, that's cheaper in Prague for the fast food and than here… *(unfinished)*

63 W – How about that trainer at home?

64 K – It's really funny, actually. I can't say… *(coughing)*

65 W – ... *(incompr.)* beer for long or… *(unfinished)*

66 K – (laughing) there is… (pause) this American guy walking… *(interrupted)*

67 W – Two American guys.

68 K – Three there were.

69 W – There were two *(quarrel)*.

70 K – They were *(amazedly)?*

71 W – Yeah.

72 K – That's really funny.

73 W – And what matter... *(incompr.)* beer in one hand?

74 K – Yeah, I can't believe that you… *(speaking over each other)* we shouldn't have

75 been even talking to them… *(interrupted)*

76 W – Yeah, it was really funny. They opened their compartement and said "Beer for

77 Barack Obama. Have a bow"… *(unfinished)* was like… *(incompr.)* and he kissed my

78 bum and said nothing. K – Really *(amazedly)?*

79 W – These guys were so drunk.

80 K – Really *(laughing)?*

81 W – ´Cos I didn't understand anything and so I…. *(unfinished)* we guys were bagged

82 and we didn't… *(pause)* had some beer and kind of absinth in the next

83 compartement... *(imitating drunk speech)*.

84 K – Yuck *(laughing)*

85 W – Oh my God. That was really funny.

86 K – Gosh. So do you have sports today after school?

87 W – Ehm *(thinking),* actually, I'm considering whether not to go to it.

88 K – Is it voleyball?

89 W – No, it's football.

90 K – Ah. Why don't you go there?

91 W – ´Cos I wanna see kind of… *(incompr.)*

92 K – Though..

93 W – And I'm really tired.

94 K – We should see it.

The same speakers but different issue:

95 K – Hopefully I'll be back for part of Christmas because I don't really wanna wait

96 until like be back in the States, though. But if I have to, I will.

97 W – That's a way… *(pause)* So that´s like why is everything black?... *(unfinished)*

98 Has Amy gone?

99 K – I saw her the other day.

100 W – Really *(amazedly)?*

W, K – ... *(speaking over each other).*

101 K – I'm positive. That's huge. I wanted hanging and skimming… *(unfinished)*

102 W – *(laughing).*

103 K – Erm, uhm… *(thinking)* What do you gonna miss about Christmas?

104 W – Miss about Christmas? Not really anything now ´cos our family never do

105 anything for Christmas like they´ve always been away on trips so… *(unfinished)*

106 K – Oh, that's sad.

107 W – I never minded ´cos I'm already whole like getting gifts and... *(unfinished)*

108 K – Ehm, yes. I care about like every single Christmas like my family like we have

109 traditions like… *(interrupted)*

110 W – Ok.

111 K – Every time I go to the like midnight church service like the candle light service

112 so it's pretty like ´cos, you know, at the end they sing like Holly night and then you

113 like to light candles like everyone lights candles.

114 W – Oh that's cool.

115 K – And then we always like open like morn present on Christmas Eve ´cos...
(interrupted)

116 W – Yeah.

117 K – Once we have family like we´re doing as a family like all my relatives open

118 presents on Christmas Eve... *(interrupted)*

119 W – On the Eve? No? *(unbelievably)*

120 K – Yeah. But usually as it's just my family like my mum and my dad, brother open

121 them all on Christmas morning.

122 W – Oh... *(pause)* ok.

123 K – And... *(pause)* this is what I gonna miss the most. Every single year my dad

124 *(coughing)* makes… *(thinking)* ehm… *(pause)* I don't know how to say it. We can

125 say... *(incompr.)* It's totally wrong I'm saying that but it´s like Danish, like a pancake

126 and it's round and fluffy.

127 W – Turned over?

128 K – No! It's like disbaked. And it's like completely, like a bowl. And it's fluffy inside.

129 W – In a bowl?

130 K – Yeah.

131 W – Like a muffin?

132 K – No, not like a muffin.

133 W – Ok *(laughing).*

134 K – It's like…*(pause)* not many people make it either. Like you have a... *(incompr.)*

135 you have to buy like... *(incompr.)* My dad gets like five beers from my grandpa

136 *(laughing).*

137 W – Are you serious?

138 K – ´Cos he likes turning them constantly around ´cos like you don't have any candle

139 light.

140 W – Anything like "pufff" *(sound of exploding bomb).*

141 K – Yeah, yeah. So what actually there are like like like... *(can not express herself)*

142 that like fold over and like make around rumbling sounds. That's disgusting.

143 W – Yeah.

144 K – And put in jam and powder sugar and that is so good. And I eat like fifteen every

145 year. And me and my brother like compete to see… *(laughing).* It's so good.

146 W – Sounds like you have pretty good time.

147 K – Yeah, I know.

148 W – Like last time we were in Mexico, we were in Hawaii, ehm… *(thinking)* a year

149 before in Italy. Before a road trip to California but I mean I was like before I was in

150 States. I got my thirty gifts and was like selfish. Now guys it doesn't matter. I get the

151 gift card like money.

152 K – Yeah, I always ask for money gift card or electronics. And my mum always like

153 buys me clothes and stuff like that.

154 W – You don't ask for.

155 K – Exactly.

156 W – A gift card with money or... *(thinking)* ehm... *(pause)* is the last thing I'll get.

157 K – Yeah.

158 K – Do you guys have stockings? So do you do stockings?

159 W – Yeah, mum and dad tell they do. ´Cos my girl really like this. They give like

160 holiday things. She likes house things.

161 K – We have one of these… *(unfinished)*

162 W – Like Harley Davidson, like cars *(laughing)* all over our living room.

163 K - … *(laughing)* so funny.

164 W – Yeah, it was good

165 S – I like white Christmas.

166 W – Like yeah, and… *(unfinished)* but… *(pause)* I think all men just basically,

167 obviously do. That's cool.

Conversation 3 (C3)

A speaker – British (43)

L speaker – British (38)

01 A – So are you going for that bed?

02 L – Yeah we're finally buying a new house. And because it's got a nice spare room,

03 I got a nice spare bed. And my mum would be sitting or sleeping on the floor if

04 I don't get that.

05 A – That's not over Christmas?

06 L – No, ´cos they've got double discount going on today.

07 A – But you don't seem that you like it, do you?

08 L – No, because it's… *(unfinished)*

09 A , L – *(speaking over each other).*

10 L – And we need to go food shopping cos there's no food and Dave seems to want

11 food this week *(laughing).* I don't know why. *(ironically)*

12 A – Well, they can cook and I'll do the horses. Well, … *(interrupted)*

13 L – Oh, I forgot to ask you how did she got on in Italy? I haven't spoken to her since

14 she broke the rib. Oh... *(overexcited, incompr).* Ok, you've missed it… *(unfinished)*

15 A – Oh dear, what happened? I hit the floor a few times *(laughing).*

16 L – Oh no.

17 A – Yeah, yes, I've been hunted *(laughing).*

18 L – What happened?

19 A – Erm, she decided to buy all again and gets me off. So, *(pause)* yes.

20 L – Oh.

21 A – So that's fun.

22 L – Oh and what did you do about that?

23 A – Let you ride her.

24 L – No way *(laughing).* I'm ok. Dave's could run… *(incompr.)* get on him

25 A – Dave on to Talia, yes?

26 L – Yeah, ok. We'll have to do that.

27 A – Let's get some friends down and let him ride, I think, for a lot.

28 L – Yeah, put a beginner on the back. Let's see. That's a good idea. Would quite

29 enjoying it, wouldn't they *(both laughing)?*

30 A – Yeah. I got the female video and can send it off, though.

31 L – Yeah, get it framed.

32 A – Yeah, extra money for her. That would be lovely.

This conversation was disturbed by barking of Lucy's two dogs for a while.

33 L – So are you still up for tomorrow night?

34 A – Yes.

35 L – Tomorrow evening?

36 A – Yes.

37 L – What erm… *(thinking)* Would you want to meet there or meet here?

38 A – Well, I wanna have my car with me to get… *(incompr.)* ready so.

39 L – So will you come there bringing the horses? But you don´t have any other

40 job after that?

41 A – Yeah, I think so. Perhaps I might leave it but… *(unfinished)* Well… *(unfinished)*

42 L – Well yeah, you get better car, put that to the stupid car.

43 A – You can do like just pick Jane and I will pick Eva.

44 L – Well, Jane will come here in our car… *(speaking over each other).*

45 A – Yeah, yeah. That's what? I mean she shall she can go with you and I can go and

46 pick Eva.

47 So what is it? Three thirty?

48 L – Yeah, me at Black horses at three thirty.

49 A – Ok so.

50 L – So I mean I have, we have, we've got an apppointment. We have actually two

51 appointments on some Monday.

52 A – Fantastic.

53 L – I know. We should be back at three o'clock and I'll bring them in.

54 A – Yeah I should try *(another person interrupted the recording, laughing).*

55 L – That would be nice, you know, going in… *(incompr.)*

56 A – Going in valley boots?

57 L – Yeah, absolutely.

58 A – Yeah ok.

59 L – You've got your new valley boots, have you? I buy new ones wih my lovely

60 leather boots… *(interrupted).*

61 A – Expensive ridiculously trifling.

62 L – Valley boots? They fell apart.

63 A – Ehm *(nodding).*

64 L – Well, it was fallen apart and waterproof anymore.

65 A – Oh dear.

66 L – So I wanna buy some cheap regular ones. I put them on my Christmas list and

67 spend another pair but I think that Dave will put it. They're not a mucking out valley.

68 You're strolling round a yard looking like you are going to play but you don't do any

69 kind of work in valley.

70 A – Oh, that could be good for Wendy *(both laughing).*

71 L – Did she know she got a official notice?

72 A – Yeah, joined the sign.

73 L – Yeah, make she is told over.

74 A – She seems to think that the official notice won't mean that she has to… *(pause)*

75 she can hang up young for a year. She'll be ok.

76 L – She is convinced she´s going to get it.

77 A – Yeah, she thinks that once she gets noticed, it doesn't stop this…

78 L – It does stops the clock.

79 A – Yeah, I hope she's gonna…

80 L – She thinks that once the viction's gonna come... *(incompr.)*

81 L – She's not been there for years, no way. It's only that place.

Conversation 4 (C4)

A speaker – Czech (30)

V speaker – Czech (28)

01 V – So I would like to know one or the first question about your studying at

02 university. Why did you start studying so late or? It wasn't after high school. So what

03 did you do after high school?

04 A – Basically, because I didn't know what to do, you know. I've alwayas been telling

05 by my parents to study. What I think now it´s a silly thing and I hate the school system

06 little bit at the moment. You know, like university and because the life is, the life is, I

07 think, different, you know. You don't need to do the university because you are

08 yourself, you know, and everyone's different. I understand it's in some, in some…

09 *(interrupted)*.

10 V – And how old were you in that moment?

11 A – I started in 2000 so I was born in 1978 so it means I was twenty two when

12 I started university.

13 V – It's not too late, I suppose.

14 A – It wasn't that bad but you know... *(pause)* well, I had a good term. It was really

15 fun, you know and then… *(interrupted)*

16 V – But what did you do after the high school?

17 A – After my high school I went because I, erm, firstly I was doing like, it wasn't like

18 high school. It was actually kind of high school but not finished with the FCE

19 basically, I don't know basically how you call this system in English but I've been just

20 like doing the furniture school. And I finished and I do like two years upgrading of

21 this course so I finished with the FCE and the leaving exams.

22 V – And where was it? Was it in Prague?

23 A – It was in Liberec. Nó *(Czech word),* in Liberec I was doing the three years.

24 furniture high school and then I went to Prague. It was very nice when I was in

25 Liberec, I stayed… *(pause)* I stayed in a boarding house at the mountains. Was

26 actually very nice, very nice and warm. And we had the big sports hall… *(unfinished)*

27 V – Yeah

28 A – Tennis courts and… *(interrupted)*

29 V – Yeah and you travelled by bus or went by car?

30 A – Usually travelled by car, bus or sometimes hitchhiked. And sometimes by train.

31 V – And you have some relatives here in this moment in Liberec?

32 A – No, no, no. It was another silly thing from my parents. They wanted for me that

33 furniture school. And because my grandfather has the furniture workshop. Basically

34 when I was fifteen I wasn't pretty sure what to do but… *(interrupted)*

35 V – Do you make something from the wood now?

36 A – I wasn't that bad because I was always like kind of into art so I wasn't that bad,

37 you know *(laughing).* At the beginning I was doing quite well but later on I did not.

38 V – And that was some art furniture or... *(unfinished)*?

39 A – Not really, not really. It was just normal furniture: chairs, doors, wardrobes and all

40 this stuff. But one thing was good about it because I used to live like, like a part of my

41 family so I got used to get like be on my own ´cos I was quite close to place where I

42 lived when I was a kid.

43 V – Yeah, ok.

44 A – But later on I just, I just like left and I just was able to live by myself like here in

45 England.

46 V – Yeah and for example if your brother wanted to… *(pause)* to some help from you

47 but he wouldn't or something like that… *(thinking)* Are you ready for it?

48 A – Erm… *(thinking)* not really. ´Cos I... *(pause)* I have nothing common with it so.

49 A – So to be honest I can be like able to help but not, you know, if you do the things

50 you got the imagination, you know what to do, you know how to do it, you just play

51 with it.

52 V – And about your English. When did you start with... *(pause)* with learning? After

53 your arrival to England or before that

54 A – Erm… *(thinking)* I don´t know because the, erm, I was…(pause) when the…
(thinking)

55   because when I was a kid I was… *(pause)* I used to learn Russian at school then after

56 the Velvet Revolution in 1989… *(unfinished)*

57 V – Ehm *(nodding)*.

58 A – We just… *(pause)* there was lots of lots of stuff... *(pause)* like change to English

59 and this stuff so.

60 V – And did you… *(pause)* did you study still at high school about the furniture or still

61 after that?

62 A – I did, I did. You know, I started early.

63 V – And do you like it *(speaking over each other)?*

64 A – I like it, yeah, I have to say that this one of the things, I'm learning like fast and

65 better, is learning of the foreign languages.

66 Like I like it and when I see especially the idioms I always come to thinking and so I

67 think because it's one of the reasons why I´m in England… *(pause)*

68 I´m enjoying talking English but I´m not the person who studies so I don't like

69 opening books much or this.

70 V – Ehm *(nodding)*.

71 A – I just... *(incompr.)* as I got it.

72 V – So tell us some idiom. What means idiom? I don't know this.

73 A – It was actually in that magazine. "I didn't have a wink of a sleep", you know

74 *(laughing),* which basically means that I didn´t sleep at all, you know. But if someone

75 tells you that in a normal conversation, you don't use… *(pause)* don't have

76 imagination what's going on or you can have imagination, of course, but but you need

77 to get close to these kind of conversation, you know, speak to young ones, to young

78 people and then you can get another things, you know and make it, put it altogether.

79 V – Because on the other hand about English. I… *(longer pause)* I know that you are

80 riding a skateboard or running or how do you call it?

81 A – Riding *(laughing)*

82 V – Ok, riding. So and I'm… *(pause)* I suppose so that it's… *(thinking)* it was born,

83 erm… *(pause)* no, made from USA or from England? From USA, skateboarding?

84 A – Skateboarding started in USA, yeah.

85 V – Included? Erm, together... *(thinking)* or cooperating with England? So that's the

86 other reason for you to… *(pause)* to learn, to know something about that, about the

87 country or about this language.

88 A – Oh, at the beginning it was most the snowboarding because I, when I was in

89 Liberec I used to start snowboarding and it was at the beginning when the

90 snowboarding… *(unfinished)*

91 *(interrupted by another person, longer pause)*

92 V – I know… *(pause)* it was…*(pause)* we were talking about that before.

93 A – Yeah.

94 V – So and in the past or in that time it was the US for the other…*(interrupted)*

95 A – It was a good fun, you know, I... *(pause)* it just, I did enjoy it. There's many things

96 I like about this sport. I always liked the mountains, you know, and… and one of my

97 big dreams was went to the rocky… *(thinking)* to America, to Utah or Colorado and to

98 these resorts, so… *(pause)* so basically I don't know what I'm going to do but I'm still

99 keeping this on my mind that I would go to the mountains later on, maybe next year.

100 V – Next year, yeah, I suppose so *(laughing)*.

101 A – So... *(pause)* so let's see. I always feel there very well, you know.

102 V – And how about your first board or snowboard? It was only for you? You lent it

103 or bought it?

104 A – Oh, it was actually a funny story because my friend which I didn't know,

105 you know, he stole a few boards *(both laughing)* in a shop, you know, and he sold me

106 one and once I went when I was at school, there was a… *(pause)* police came to

107 the… *(pause)* to the workshop and took me out and took me to the police station.
(burst of laughter)

108 and they tried to interviewing me.

109 V – And you said everything about… *(interrupted)*

110 A – I didn't. I wasn't wondered by that because that friend warned me when we went

111 snowboarding. He said "Look man, I've got someting for you to tell." And he started

112 but later on he said "No, I'm not gonna tell you, forget about this because it's gonna

113 be better if you don´t know anything."

114 V – Yeah.

115 A – And I wasn't… *(pause)* I didn´t know anything so basically… *(thinking)*

116 they they… *(thinking)* they… *(can not express himself)* didn't say anything to me

117 because I didn't know what was going on at that time. Later on I found out that they

118 just stole it and so... *(laughing)*

119 V – And what was the end of this story?

120 A – Oh, I just take kept the boards to us.

121 V – And did you pay anything, any money or... *(laughing)?*

122 A – They had to pay some money to the police and a mother of that friend of mine,

123 she spoke to the police and she tried to explain them about her silly boy because he

124 was just about to travelling later on and if he had a… *(pause)* erm, something in his

125 papers that he'd done something like that, he would have been in a trouble later on

126 because you can't go for example to America if you had criminal record. So,…

127 *(thinking)* they sorted out and it wasn't a big deal finally. But I was guilty. We had

128 good f un there. I'm little bit… *(pause)* little bit sorry I didn't do it little bit more cos

129 I had the opportunity. I was just a few minutes from the skiing slope and *(unfinished)*

130 V – Yeah.

131 A – I just went away from there.

Conversation 5 (C5)

P speaker – Czech (25)

I speaker – Slovak (27)

01 P – About that party?

02 I – Ok, so did you enjoy that party on Monday?

03 P – Erm... *(thinking)*

04 I – How was the food?

05 P – Food was ok, erm, just a… *(pause)* I took… *(incompr.)* so we had a few drinks

06 before actual meal, so. Quite a few people got pretty drunk before the party actually

07 started but it was ok.

08 I – Well, I… *(pause)* me and my husband, we turned up quite late so by that time

09 everybody was already drunk *(both laughing)*

10 I – God, when the food came out, I was quite disappointed.

11 P – It was very disappointing.

12 I – Yeah, because it was overcooked and, well, the standard and… *(pause)* You know,

13 I used to work in a restaurant so as far as I know the food and everything in there, it

14 was disgusting. I didn't eat it even all.

15 P – Ehm and there was about twenty people and first when people finished eating and

16 the other meals, they just arrived and… *(unfinished)*

17 I – But after… *(pause)* after that we moved to the bar.

18 P – Yeah.

19 I – Everybody was already drunk *(laughing)*.

20 P – And music wasn't too good although it was a good night, wasn't it? Not sure about

21 the next day in the morning *(both laughing)* but… *(unfinished)*

22 I – I was awful… *(laughing)*

23 P – I started at seven in the morning but… *(interrupted)*

24 I – Did you have to work?

25 P – I did, yeah. Face to face, customer service *(laughing)* "Good morning. How was

26 your stay in Holiday Inn?" *(laughing)* But then it was ok.

27 I – From me that's different because I was working in Hartfield's from that week.

28 Usually I'm working like… *(incompr.)* and the restaurant's completely different. So

29 when I compare it to like my side is... *(unfinished)* the restaurant's opened two years.

30 Hartfield is old like fourteen years, probably.

31 P – Erm *(nodding)*

32 I – And it´s a quite comparable to… *(incompr. name)* where I was used to it.

33 It's boring. And then on Saturday I came back and I was so confused. I didn't know

34 what to do and *(laughing)* how to do it. Even today I was like "wow." It was so busy.

35 I was so busy again.

36 P – And it's just because there's a big shopping centre so whenever everyones finish

37 their shopping they go in and have something to eat so. It can happen there, not like

38 at home. If we go to a restaurant an there's not a free table, you just go somewhere

39 else. But the people in England they're willing to wait half hour, forty-five minutes

40 for a table.

41 I – They don't mind, yeah.

42 P – So you've got like twenty people at the bar waiting and another ten people queuing

43 up just waiting for a table.

Another person came and interrupted this conversation for several minutes.

44 P – But the meal was lovely tonite. Nothing like our staff party.

45 I – No, no, a very nice cook, indeed *(both laughing).*

46 P – Yeah, as usual.

47 I – Martin is a difficult person, sometimes. Difficult person to work with. He's fine as

48 a friend but sometimes… *(unfinished)* I'm thinking about Aleš right now.

49 P – Aleš? He' very easygoing. You can tell him anything. He does anything for you,

50 you know.

51 I – But what's he like at work?

52 P – Well, it's hard to say because sometimes Aleš is too much difficult. Like whatever

53 you say to Aleš, he forgets. He's really funny *(laughing).* He's been told there is no

54 fish. First order he places? – Fish *(burst of laughter)* "Aleš, what did we say?"

55 He replies "Erm, no fish" "Correct, what have you done?" "Oups, I pust the order for

56 fish, sorry." So you have to keep an eye on him.

57 I – Yeah but if they are put together, they make a perfect couple.

58 P – Exactly. Will's always laughing to them, he says "a husband and a wife."

59 *(laughing)*

60 I – Someone does the ironing, the other the cooking. So it's working out for them

61 *(laughing).*

Conversation 6 (C6)

D speaker – Czech Australian (36)

J speaker – Czech Australian (28)

01 D – Hey, so how is the dating game going?

02 J – *(laughing)* Well, I did just like you said.

03 D – You mean you took my advice?

04 J – Yes.

05 D – Well?

06 J – *(laughing)* Well what?

07 D – Well, did you get any responses? You did put an advertisement on "seznam"

08 didn't you?

09 J – Yes, I have had one for the last week or so… *(thinking)* I received a couple of

10 responses from women who are interested in language exchange.

11 D – Language exchange *(laughing)?* You must be joking! We both speak Czech

12 perfectly! Do you plan on meeting with them or what?

13 J – Well, I don't know, what do you think I should do?

14 D – Hm, erm… *(thinking)* If I were you, I would give them your

15 telephone number. It makes it easier to arrange a meeting place, and you will see

16 whether they are interested or not.

17 J – *(laughing)* Are you serious or what?

18 D – Ehm. Well... *(pause)* I give my number whether they ask for it or not. Czech girls

19 are funny, they do not show much interest from the start, but later on it is sometimes

20 quite difficult to get rid of them, if you know what I mean… *(unfinished)*

21 J – Eh? You mean like the movie fatal attraction *(laughing)?*

22 D – Ehm *(nodding).* I have not encountered a problem like that yet. Though the year is

23 young, and you never know what is lurking around the corner *(burst of laughter).*

24 It actually reminds me of one of the poems written by Tolkien.

25 J – Oh, are you still reading his poems? I seem to recall, that you remember them off

26 by heart.

27 D – Oh, *(sigh)* I remember only the ones that matter most to me.

28 J – And how many dates have you been on since you've been here?

29 D – How many? *(ironically)* I seem to have lost count. ´Cos every time I thought that I

30 had met the right one, something happened and I ended back at square one. It's strange.

31 J – *(laughing)* What's so strange about it? We're dealing with women after

32 all… *(unfinished)* Didn't you hear that they are from Venus? And that we're

33 supposedly from Mars?

34 D – Eh? From Venus you say… *(pause)?*

35 J – Yeah... *(pause)* exactly *(laughing).* They are a breed apart, and they make no sense,

36 you know.

37 D – I think that you've been watching too many movies… *(coughing)* Still I look

38 at the whole thing, like going fishing… *(pause).* You never know what you're going

39 to get… *(unfinished)*

40 J – *(burst of laughter)* I hope that you wear protection!

41 D – … *(pause)* Yeah I always take a bodyguard with me... *(laughing)* But seriously…

42 *(pause)* I think that I was born in the wrong century. It seems that a lot of the values

43 that I hold dear to me, have evaporated from this generation. Or it could be... *(pause)*

44 that women are more emancipated these days… *(unfinished)*

45 J – *(laughing)* Since when have you had any values regarding women?

46 D – Ha ha, very funny. If you stay around here long enough, then you will see what

47 I mean… *(thinking)* I used to think that only guys have one night stands but… *(pause)*

48 J – *(sighing)* Geez…How old are you?

49 D – *(laughing)* See this grey hair? I'm not getting any younger you know…

(unfinished)

50 But it's not the same here with one night stands.

51 J – How do you mean?

52 D – Well, here it is common for women, and even men, have more than

53 one partner. Marriage is no barrier either. Have you ever heard the saying

54 "Where the wind blows, that's where the sails goes"?

55 J – (smiling and nodding) Yes, that is actually a Czech proverb isn't it?

56 D – Yeah. (pause) And that's the crux of the matter. So how do you compete with

57 such behaviour? The only way around it, is to find a woman that doesn't adhere to

58 such principles.

59 J – And out of all the women that you have met, you haven't found one like that?

60 D – (laughing) I didn't say that but… *(unfinished)*

61   D – Erm … *(pause)* I met a few who were likely candidates, but… *(unfinished)*

62 J – But what?

63 D – … *(pause)* They were either not ready for a relationship, or they reached a

64 decision that no longer involved me… *(pause)* Whichever the case is, I am no expert

65 on the matter. All I know is that their minds move in mysterious ways. The funny

66 thing is, this is what intrigues me the most about them.

67 J – *(smiling)* If I wasn't your cousin, I would say you're crazy. But I know

68 that simple things were never your style! Shouldn't you just give yourself a break?

69 Maybe you are looking too hard? I don't want to give you advice… *(pause)*

70 D – *(laughing)* Yeah, yeah, sure James… *(pause).* Advice from the wise, even to the

71 wise is dangerous! But you're right, and I am tired of going out on dates. I think

72 that I should just devote some time to study.

73 J – And have you found any work?

74 D – Are you kidding? For starters I'm qualified as a horticulturist. I tried some of the

75 major companies that deal with gardening, but without any luck. Like I said before, I

76 think the best thing for me to do is to get retrained.

77 J – *(nodding)* Do you still plan on teaching then?

78 D – No way… *(pause).* There are way too many foreigners doing that. Besides, with

79 the financial crisis, a lot of companies are cutting back on surplus education.

80 J – Yeah, it doesn't look good this year.

81 D – *(smiling)* So are you going to return to Australia?

82 J – Definitely... *(pause)* I have to finish my Masters degree in Economics.

83 D – In one way I envy you, you are almost finished. Though I am probably lucky in

84 one regard, I don't have any children.

85 J – *(smiling)* Well, neither do I. To tell you the truth I don't even think that I

86 would be prepared to have any at this point in time, you know… *(pause).* I would

87 really like to come back here though.

88 D – You mean after you finish university? And why would you come back here?

89 I mean you would be way better off working in Australia wouldn't you?

90 J – *(laughing)* Yeah, but I'm in the same boat as you are *(pause).* I would

91 really like a Czech partner… *(pause)* Has anybody ever asked you why? I get asked

92 all the time.

93 D – Well, yeah *(smiling)* they do ask me, especially the girls that I go out on dates

94 with. It happens to be one of the first questions that they ask, along with what do you

95 do for a living *(laughing).* "How long have you been in the Czech Republic, and

96 how long do you plan on staying", are the usual questions.

97 J – You're kidding, man? *(surprisingly)*

98 D – *(smiling)* Does it look like I'm kidding?

99 J – No, no, I can see that you are serious *(laughing)!*

Conversation 7 (C7)

J speaker – Czech Australian (27)

P speaker – Czech (28)

D speaker – Czech Australian (37)

01 J – I mean do you know any other languages? Do you know German or French? Or?

02 P – I used to learn it. But I don't speak it now. Cos if you don't practise the language,

03 you forget it.

04 J – Yeah, yeah, of course, yeah. But I mean for example like in Australia, I mean

05 French, German, Czech and English, all I care about.

06 P – I learned five languages.

07 J – Five languages?

08 P – But it came to an end *(laughing).*

09 J – Great but all I care about is English because I mean I used to work for a French

10 company called Eriva, huge French company that deals with engineering, ehm,

11 manufactory engineering, equipment, in a big office in Brisbane and no-one speak

12 French in that office, you know. Just why? All the clients are Australian.

13 P – And your boss was like French man or?... *(unfinished)*

14 J – Oh no, maybe the senior senior boss was French but everyone else is Australian,

15 you know, and so he just wouldn't care for... *(interrupted)*

16 P – So it wasn't necessary to speak any... *(speaking over each other)*

17 J – French? No. Probably I think the Chinese would be most useful because

18 we, we... (pause) I mean, we export so much to China, we import so much from China,

19 you know and... *(unfinished)*

20 D – It makes them learn English.

21 J – They do, I mean they speak English like Brisbane's called, cos Brisbane is like

22 probably the courses capital, it's like thirteen cities Australian, that's quite close to

23 Asia so it's full of Asian students.

24 D – We call it Asian invasion *(laughing).*

25 P – Asian invasion *(laughing)*?

26 J – And, ehm… *(pause)* and education business in Australia, like lot of Asians come to

27 study in Australia ´cos I don't know, it's very well respected. I don't know why but

28 they pay a lot of money. They pay three times plus you know what Australian does.

29 And so there are lot of Asian studentes, yeah. And they can speak English, obviously,

30 ´cos the business is, of course, in English.

31 P – Ehm *(nodding)*

32 J - ... *(incompr.)* are savages, gees... *(pause)* like Indians. Ehm… *(thinking)* Chinese

33 and Indians. Every taxi driver in Brisbane is Indian. They are all Indians, there are no

34 Australian cab drivers, yeah

35 P – Why is it so?

36 J – Because no Australians would work like a cab drivers, you know. I don't know.

37 It's like here, like Czechs and Ukrainians.

38 P – Because it's like low-paid job?

39 J – Of course. Yeah, yeah. I mean it's like here. Ukrainians are doing a job that Czech

40 people wouldn't .

41 P – Yeah, Ukrainians definitely do this. But not in the cities around. You know, …

42 *(thinking)* Prague is a mixture.

43 J – Yeah.

44 P – Multiculture everywhere you… *(interrupted)*

45 J – Maybe like Český Krumlov.

46 P – Yes it's a town where I was born. Because there is like... *(interrupted)*

47 J – Are you from Český Krumlov? *(surprisingly)*

48 P – Yeah, cos it's a very small place but it's like many tourists go there just ´cos they

49 want to see sightseeing and castle and... *(unfinished)*

50 J – I know. And your parents still live there, in a place where you were born, in Český

51 Krumlov?

52 P – Ehm, … *(pause)* no they actually moved.... *(unfinished)*

53 J – It's a pitty ´cos it went up, didn't it?

54 P – My mum lives like forty kilometres away. Only my brother stayed there.

55 D – I showed him your pictures. *(speaking to P)* When was it? Remember that?

56 *(D speaking to J)* J – Two months ago or something?

57 D – It's interesting saying what girls I was meeting in the Czech Republic.

58 P – Do you keep a collection *(laughing to D)*? Anyway, how did you like the story

59 you read? *(question for J)*

60 J – It has happy ending, so why not *(laughing)*?

61 *The conversation was disturbed by a waiter.*

62 P – So how is your dating game?

63 J – *(laughing)* It's not existing. I'm going home, anyway.

64 P – Ok, then how was it? How has it been so far *(laughing)*?

65 J – Ehm, well... *(pause)* I mean I travelled around, not existing at all, I mean I

66 travelled around so much that it wouldn't matter, anyway. I didn't spend much time in

67 Prague so I mean, I... *(interrupted)*

68 P – And who did you go skiing with?

69 J – Ehm, I went with the brother of the guy who is with me in Australia, ehm, I mean

70 I spent a lot of time in his place in Červený Kostelec and, erm… *(pause)* then from

71 there we did a lot of trips, you know, to different places after that, to Vysočina …

(interrupted)

72 P – And where is that village or a town you've been talking about?

73 J – Červený Kostelec?

74 P – Ehm, yeah.

75 J – You don't know Červený Kostelec? It's near Krkonoše, it's probably... *(thinking)*

76 It's probably near Turnov, actually.

77 P – Right.

78 J – So we spent like, we spent two weeks in Krkonoše like in two different colleges,

79 erm and erm, I mean you know colleges are like what would you say, you know,

80 shared accommodation, bank rooms. But it was great you know. I loved it and, erm,

81 there weren't place where I... *(incompr.)*

82 But erm… *(thinking)* so I mean, yeah, I've travelled around so much. Ehm, I mean,

83 yeah, there wasn't much opportunity, I guess. I did like one girl, yeah. I didn't mean

84 one girl that... *(interrupted by D)*

85 D – Zuzka

86 J – No, no, no but like one girl I met and she told me she wanted to work as an au-pair

87 in Australia and I mentioned her, I said "Oh, my sister has two children, you know

88 and she's not working at the moment, she's probably looking for someone

89 for six months." And straight away she started to ask me "Do you have a girlfriend in

90 Australia? I really want to... *(pause)* to know someone there."And she said "Oh, look,

91 if you wanna learn Czech, the best way is a Czech girlfriend."

92 P, D – *(burst of laughter)*

93 P – But she's right in a way.

94 D – In a way

95 J – Yeah, she's probably right, yeah.

96 D – But she had some plans *(ironically).* How old is she?

97 J – Twenty-one.

98 D – So that's why I say:"Trust me."

99 J, P, D – *(laughing)*

100 J – I wasn't sure I was... *(incompr.)* her email, you know like… *(pause)* erm, ok,

101 anyway… *(unfinished)*

102 D – Too young. Or too much old?

103 P – No… *(pause)* How old did you say is James? Twenty...?

(unfinished question for D)

104 J – Twenty-seven.

105 P – Twenty-seven? *(surprisingly)*

The discussion was interrupted by a waitress again.

106 J – Twenty-eight in one week.

107 P – Which day? When?

108 J – March of the fourth I'm turning twenty-eight.

109 D – Oh, you are almost the same age.

110 J – So you are guys both invited to my birthday party *(laughing).*

111 D – Where? To your birthday party? *(surprisingly)* In where? Brisbane?

112 J – Yeah, Brisbane. If you are not doing anything. *(laughing)*