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DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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Jazykový management v procesu recepce literárních textů: perspektiva rodilého a nerodilého mluvčího češtiny

Language management in the process of reception of literary texts from the perspective of a native and a non-native speaker of the Czech language

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Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a výhradně s použitím citovaných pramenů, literatury a dalších odborných zdrojů.

V Praze, dne

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Klíčová slova:

jazykový management, recepce, literární text, literatura, rodilý mluvčí, nerodilý mluvčí, literární kritika, aktualizace

Keywords:

language management, reception, literary text, literature, native speaker, non-native speaker, literary criticism, foregrounding

Abstrakt:

Předkládaná diplomová práce zkoumá možnosti zmapování recepce literárních textů jakožto procesů jazykového managementu a následně poukazuje na hlavní rozdíly v percepci literárního textu v případě rodilého mluvčího a nerodilého mluvčího. První tři kapitoly práce se zabývají metodologií výzkumu, která se opírá o Teorii jazykového managementu, Neustupného přístup k literární kritice skrze zmíněnou teorii a formalistické a strukturalistické teorie. Samotný výzkum je popsaný ve čtvrté až sedmé kapitole. Zabývá se jednotlivými případy povšimnutí, hodnocení a strategiemi řešení problémů, jak je provádějí dva čtenáři moderní české povídky (jeden rodilý a jeden nerodilý mluvčí). Konkrétně jde o rozpoznání takových procesů a jejich analýzu pomocí následných interview. Cílem práce je sestavení komplexní metodologie pro identifikaci, bližší popis a interpretaci procesů jazykového managementu probíhajících při recepci literárního textu. Dalším cílem je zjištění hlavních rozdílů v tomto procesu, je-li příjemcem textu rodilý resp. nerodilý mluvčí.

Abstract:

This diploma thesis explores the possibility of mapping the reception of a literary text in terms of language management processes and in succession unveils the main differences in the perception of a literary text by a native opposed to a non-native speaker. The first three chapters treat the research methodology, which is based on Language Management Theory, Neustupný's approach to literary criticism through this concrete theory and single elements from formalism and structuralism. The research, which is described in chapters four to seven, focuses on the different moments of noting, evaluation and problem solving strategies realised by two readers of a modern Czech short story (one native and one non-native speaker). These processes are identified and analysed by the means of follow-up interviews. The aim of the thesis is to establish a complex methodology of identifying, describing and interpreting management processes which occur during the reception of a literary text and further to investigate the main characteristics that distinguish this process in the case of a native and a non-native recipient of the text.

Contents

Introduction

Literature and reading have fascinated mankind from the very beginning of the existence of language in its written form and throughout history they have become an important part of our life – of our language use in everyday life. Reading can contribute to and enrich our lives in so many ways, which is why this activity has not only attracted the attention of readers themselves, but also of researchers and teachers suggesting it is an important part of native and foreign language acquisition. One of the central themes discussed in many studies and articles remains: what do we – as readers – do with literary texts? The aim of this thesis is to give insight into readers' approaches to literary texts and to explore the process of reading in one's native and comparatively in a foreign language.

In my choice of this topic, I was inspired by Jiří Neustupný's paper from 2003 "Literární kritika jako jazykový management" ["Literary criticism as language management"], where he first mentions the possibility of mapping the reception of a literary text with the help of Language Management Theory. Reading can thus be identified as a language management process and treated as such. My research will focus on the different moments of noting, evaluation and problem solving strategies realised by readers of modern literature. These are to be identified and analysed in the case of two different interviewees both reading the same text. However, for one of them, the language of the text is his mother tongue, for the other it's a second language. Both of them will be asked to read a modern Czech short story. Their reading and (at the same time) management strategies shall be monitored; elements of language management and literary criticism shall be identified and interpreted by means of follow-up interviews.

Further, it is the aim of this research, to establish a complex methodology for the purpose of identifying, describing, and interpreting management processes taking place during the reception of a literary text, and also to investigate some of the main characteristics that distinguish this process in the case of a native and a non-native speaker of the language of the text. This research entails not only a contribution to the discourse about operations we perform while reading, but also an enhancement of Language Management Theory itself. Except for Neustupný's study mentioned above, this theory has not been applied to literary utterances, even though it does have great potential to become an effective instrument in this field, as I will show.

Firstly, I will give a detailed description of theories used in this context and revise some previous research accomplished in the field. Secondly, hypotheses and the methodology

of the research will be described, focussing on its variables and conditions. The final part of the thesis will consist in the presentations of my findings and the evaluation of the results. They shall be analysed by the means of the previously discussed methodology and with special regard to the fine differences and possible similarities between the two reading acts which were accomplished during the experiment. In this thesis I hope to give a closer look at how we read literary texts in our native and a foreign language.

1 Language Management Theory

My choice to connect the reading process and Language Management Theory has to do firstly with the wide range of questions that this theory is able to respond to and with its compatibility with literature, as I will show. Therefore, I would like to give a detailed overview of the history, terminology and most important characteristics of this theory. As Nekvapil (2012a, p. 17) argues, Language Management Theory is "one of several theories of language management. [... I]t occupies a specific position among these theories and is able to respond to contemporary issues." This theory is also reckoned to be "capable of investigating the *historical processes* which have an impact on the deliberate regulation of language and linguistic behaviour" (ibid. p. 18).

The term language management itself has become quite frequent within the past decades, sometimes however not having much in common with the above mentioned Language Management Theory:

> In the sphere of practical language planning, "language management" is frequently used to mean the provision of translation services or the development of different linguistic skills via language courses. "Language management" is also used as the English equivalent of the French term "l'aménagement linguistique", above all in relation to language planning in Canada [...], but essentially it is used to mean nothing more than what is labelled as "language policy and planning" in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Finally, there are the sociolinguists who have only relatively recently begun working with the term "language management" as a specific term, or rather, a semi-term to express their more or less specific theoretical approach to language policy and planning issues. (Nekvapil, 2009, p. 1)

The relationship Language Management Theory bears to the other theories mentioned in the above citation is important for its fine discrimination and very definition. Language Management Theory once emerged from langue planning, which itself evolved as one of the aspects of sociolinguistics (cf. Neustupný, 2002, p. 432) and may be defined as follows:

> […] language planning was conceived as the concern of technical experts with efficient techniques at their disposal, as an objective process basically independent of ideology, although in relation to extra-linguistic factors, and hence other social fields, was emphasized (political science and economics in particular). Language planning was considered a type of societal resource planning, with Language Planning Theory aiming at an optimum utilization of this particular resource. […] language planning was conceptualized as rational problem-solving, as weighing up the advantages and disadvantages of various alternatives in specific social, economic and political contexts. […] language planning was to be performed at the level of the state. (Nekvapil, 2012a, p. 6)

In its traditional form language planning was aimed at modernizing the so-called Third World, addressing questions such as the choice of an official language (mainly in favour of "big" languages). Later on, the critique brought forward against this conception gave birth to a new, postmodern conception of the same, now in turn focussing on language plurality and

diversity (cf. Nekvapil, 2010, p. 54). Examples of language planning can be found throughout history as shown by Nekvapil (2010). The insight that some aspects of this model must be reviewed in order to let the field of study go beyond cases of language choices made for whole states, brought about a new concept – that of Language Management Theory. It was first defined by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987, p. 71), as follows:

> The use of this term, *language management*, in lieu of the currently widely used *language planning* will leave the latter term free to refer to the particular phase of the "linguistic of language problems" which developed in the 1970s. This usage coincides with the Canadian French use of the term *amenagement linguistique* […].

With the help of a short comparison of the two models in a few points, I would like to closer define the most important characteristics of Language Management Theory[1] – the theory behind language management as it will be defined here:

1) Language Management Theory connects language problems and problems of societies as a whole: it implies that solutions for language problems can be found only if social problems are also taken into account and the solution of these is aimed for as well.

2) Language planning was conceived as an activity taking place exclusively at state level whereas Language Management Theory emphasizes the fact, that language can be managed in very different surroundings, contexts and networks ranging from global to the individual, from expert to layman level.

3) Concerning the dimensions of language problems, language planning was concerned mainly with grammar. Language Management Theory in turn includes a wider range of language problems and in addition to that the "positive" version of these – gratification[2].

4) Language Management Theory does not identify language problems only from the viewpoint of "specialists" for a society as a whole but insists that their origin always be at the level of utterance, in interaction. From problems identified in single utterances and interactions, conclusions may then be drawn as to language problems in the form of larger entities. In language planning this link between concrete utterances and the labelling of language problems by "experts" on the state level had not been constituted as a condition for the successful and reasonable identification and solution of language problems.

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[1] The following enumeration is based on Neustupný, 2002.

[2] I will further explain this term in the section on evaluation as one of the stages of language management in Chapter 2.

5) In language planning all problems were solvable – something Language Management Theory does not demand.

6) Language Management Theory has brought about the concept of viewing language management as a process realised in four different phases which will be specified below.

Even though the listed points may help to bring across the basic design of Language Management Theory there are a few further aspects that are crucial especially for my employing it for the purposes of this concrete thesis and its research. One of the most important acquirements of Language Management Theory is the discrimination of two kinds of processes in the use of language – (a) the generation of language and (b) language management. The former is "the process which enables the generation of utterances or communicative acts", while the latter describes "the process whose object is the utterances or communicative acts themselves, whether they have already been generated, are currently being generated, or are anticipated" (Nekvapil, 2009, p. 1). This is to serve as the concrete definition of *language management* in my employment of this term. It derives from Jernudd's assumption (1991, p. 63) that speakers of any language are able to:

1) produce messages

2) monitor the language that constitutes these messages and compare it with norms, thus noting deviations

3) evaluate these deviations, thus defining inadequacies

4) decide on means of adjustments and

5) implement potential adjustments.

Only the first one of these five abilities can be subsumed under the concept of generating language, the remaining four points represent the single stages in the process of language management[3], as this term is conceived in Language Management Theory. The difference between point 1 and points 2–5 can also be expressed by the opposition of linguistic and meta-linguistic activity, as language behaviour versus behaviour towards language (cf. Nekvapil 2009, p. 9). Just as important as their distinction, however, is the observation, that these two processes are fatally linked to each other and thus inseparable: "The former [generative language use] cannot be consummated without the latter [language management] and the latter lacks meaning without the former" (Jernudd, 1991, p. 63).

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[3] Jernudd (1991) still uses the term "corrective competency" for points 2–5, Nekvapil (2009, p. 2), however, notes that "[t]he expression 'corrective' [...] suggested only some aspects of process (b) [language management], which is why Jernudd & Neustupný (1987) programmatically introduced the term 'management' for this process [...]."

Language management is therefore a process that can and does quite frequently occur within the provision of translation services and is one of the main ingredients in language courses; however it is, by definition, neither one of these. It is merely the process described above. Taking into account points 2–5 we can establish a model of what would be the complete process of (simple) language management, it is extracted here from Nekvapil (2009, p. 3):
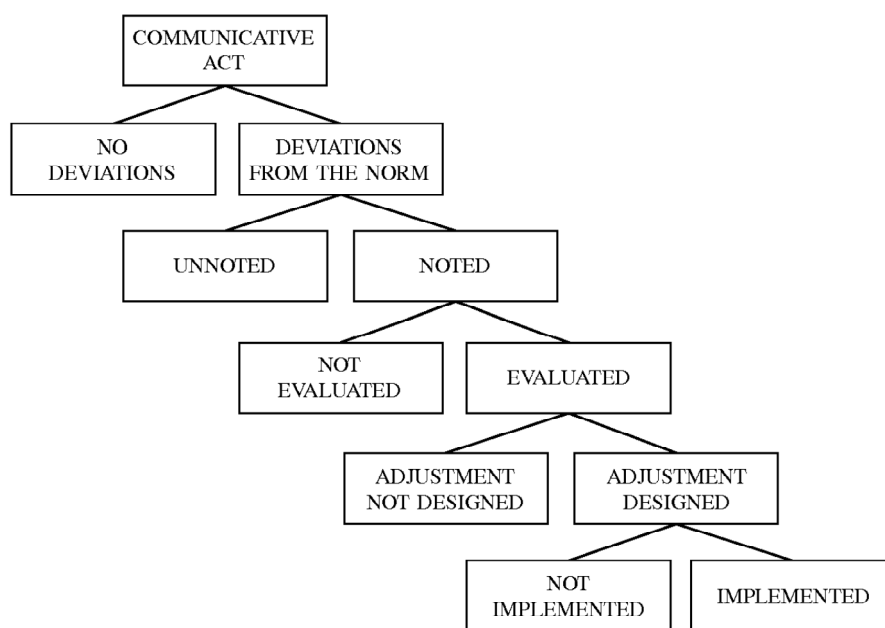

Fig. 1 - The language management process (Nekvapil, 2009, p. 3)

As the diagram shows, not all steps have to be completed. Language management begins with deviations from the norm that are noted; it may or may not extend to the further stages which are evaluation, the design of an adjustment and the implementation of the same. The process can be interrupted or terminated at any point. As we have seen above, this process with all the four stages was first mentioned at the very beginning of Language Management Theory, it has, however, since then been explored more deeply and duly appropriated. Further relevant remarks and explications concerning the individual stages of the language management process will be made in the following chapter's sections concerned with the single steps carried out by actants of language management.

At this point, I would like to emphasize that the diagram shows what is called *simple* language management. This very process may be intertwined (as mentioned in point 4 of the differences between language planning and Language Management Theory) with other management processes – namely what is called *organized management*. The main difference between these two forms of language management is, that simple management is "directed to discourse" whereas organized management is directed "towards a language system or part of a

system" (Jernudd – Neustupný, 1987, p. 76). The characteristics by which organized management differs from its simple version are the following (cf. ibid.):

1) Its object is language not as discourse but as a system.

2) There are theoretical components at work.

3) A complicated social system, i.e. "specialists", is involved.

4) A specific idiom for discussing language matters is applied (meta-linguistics).

Nekvapil (2009, p. 2) adds that organized management processes are: "[...] trans-situational and sometimes demonstrate a lesser degree of organization and sometimes a greater one" and makes the following conclusion concerning the relationship of Language Management Theory and language planning theory:

> We are now thus able to claim that the language planning theory from the 1960s and the 1970s dealt precisely (and only) with organized management. LMT [Language Management Theory] emphasizes the *connections* between organized management and simple management. These connections are key not only for LM *theory*, but also for the *functioning* of organized management itself – Neustupný [...] even calls directly for basing organized management on the analysis of simple management to the greatest extent possible.

What has already been mentioned is that organized management, i.e. management on the macro-level, *should* be based on simple management meaning management on the micro-level. The simple language management process is therefore the base for all other exploration conducted in this field of research. For its better understanding I will demonstrate it with the help of one example. The following conversation took place within a very specific linguistic situation – a family, in which the father (F) is German and the mother (M) Czech. They have decided to raise their child – seven-year-old Ondra (O) – bilingually, applying the rule "one parent one language"[4]. All three family members are present when Ondra is looking for single parts needed to build a castle he has received for Christmas:

> O: Papa! Ich such (..) ((to himself:)) (Hm, wo ist das erste?) ((to his father:)) Ich such noch eins dieses, das soll hier hin.
> F: Dann musst du suchen. (Das) muss da sein, Ondra.
> O: Ich kuck ü:berall .(..) ich finde das [nicht].
> M: [und] hast du das nicht *hier* hingetan?
> O: *Ne.* ((Czech))
> M: (..) A jestli ses nepodíval, jak víš, že to tam není?
> O: Protože tam to spadlo a bylo to tam jen *jednou*. …

> Translation into English; Czech utterances are underlined to distinguish them from German ones:
> O: Daddy! I'm looking for (..) ((to himself:)) (Hm, where is the first one?) ((to his father:)) I'm looking for one of these ((grammar mistake – apparently negative transfer from Czech)), it should be here.

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[4] For further reading on this subject see Du, 2010.

F: You'll have to look for it. (It) must be there, Ondra.
O: I've looked e:verywhere .(..) i can['t] find it.
M: [and] didn't you put it *here*?
O: *Ne*.
M: (..) And if you didn't look, how can you know it's not there?
O: Because it fell down there and it was there only *once*. …

In this example we can see how a small child is actually managing the language of his entire family. We know that there is a norm coordinating interactions between the three members of this family – Ondra speaks German to his father and Czech to his mother (the "one parent one language" rule). The parents, however, communicate with each other in German. Evidently Ondra's mother got carried away in the presence of her husband and in the heat of the moment addressed her child in German: "[und] hast du das nicht *hier* hingetan?" Ondra has noted this deviation from the family-intern norm which becomes evident in his unusually emphatic answer consisting of a "ne" with undoubtedly Czech pronunciation[5]. Although he does not communicate this explicitly, his adjustment plan is clear – using Czech when speaking to his mother. By choosing this code also for his own utterance at that moment he has already to a certain degree implemented the adjustment plan, and even so does his mother: she formulates her subsequent utterances in Czech. Apparently, Ondra is content and his attention can again belong to extra-linguistic activity – the search for the missing piece of his new toy.

We have seen that within one word (Ondra's energetically articulated "ne") all four phases of language management may be constituted. Thus as little as one word is enough to set off and develop this whole process. Therefore, the researcher's sensibility for these small hints is crucial for the identification and analysis of especially simple language management processes. Organized forms of language management are much more easily recognized which lies in the subject matter that one of their main characteristics is the *explicit* communication about language problems. Therefore I will not put forward a detailed example and analysis of an organized language management process at this point. Instead I would like to refer to the interaction between the simple (micro) and organized (macro) level of language management. In the ideal case the so called management cycle is complete and occurs in the form of micro–macro–micro. Nekvapil (2009, p. 6) explains this model as follows:

> This scheme captures the following typified situation: problems experienced by ordinary language users or "laymen" are brought to the attention of linguistic or other professionals; the problems are solvable and the designed adjustments are accepted be the laymen.

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[5] There is also an informal version of the German negation, that (in its written form) may seem the same as the Czech "ne". However, the articulation of the letter "e" chosen by Ondra here leaves no doubt – he is speaking Czech, not German.

If, for some reason, this process is not complete, we speak of a partial management cycle or a fragment of the management cycle (cf. ibid. pp. 6 ff.). The former consists of two steps of the total three (i.e. either micro-macro or macro-micro), the latter is management accomplished only on one of the levels (either micro or macro) without its outreach to the other level. In the following chapter, we will take a closer look at the four stages of language management as to their specifics which are of importance not only for this research.

2   The simple language management process

2.1   Noting

This first phase of language management, i.e. of behaviour directed at language itself, is perhaps the most important, since it is the only possible initiator of the entire language management process. If nothing is noted by the interlocutors (or at least somebody overhearing the utterance in question) nothing can be managed or, more precisely, the management process did not commence. At this point I would like to recapitulate how noting has been defined.

Jernudd (1991, p. 63) speaks of the ability to "monitor the language that constitutes [...] messages and compare it with norms, thus noting deviations" in this context. According to him, noting occurs in the moment the deviation from a norm is detected. Nekvapil (2012b, p. 161) specifies this definition by adding *what* concretely one might have in mind when speaking about the so-called *norm*: "[…] 'noting' [...] can be triggered by various stimuli, such as a deviation from an expectation the speaker had of the normal course of interacting, or the 'norm'". Based on Lanstyák's definition of a language problem (2010, p. 191) another definition of this inception of language management can be put forward. According to him, a language problem is "a negatively evaluated deviation from the real norm applied in the given interaction" ("negativne hodnotený odklon od reálnej normy uplatňovanej v danom prehovore"[6]). Therefore we have got another specification of the *norm* here – it may differ according to the context it is applied in, according to the circumstances of the given conversation.

In his discussion of noting, Nekvapil (2012, p. 162) concludes as follows: "The main empirical question has become under which circumstances 'noting' takes place or not and thus 'management' commences." At the same time as serving as the "main empirical question", noting can be characterized as the most difficult to actually identify of all the four stages in language management. As we have seen above, I have even derived one of the definitions of noting from a definition of a language problem, i.e. of one of the further stages of language management (Lanstyák). And this is the main problem we encounter when trying to identify noting as such – in the majority of cases of naturally occurring data we detect it with the help of another evitable stage of language management. We simply assume (and there is no obstacle to this) that in order for an evaluation to be made, an adjustment plan to

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[6] This definition of language problems is especially valuable due to the clearer specification of the norm, opposed to earlier definitions.

be designed or even implemented, noting must have occurred at some point since otherwise there would be nothing to evaluate or adjust.

This was the case in the example given above – Ondra's energetic "*Ne*" was the constitution of disagreement (i.e. negative evaluation) and the adjustment plan (changing back to Czech) in one, and further reassured us that he had noticed his mother breaking with the norm valid in their family. I do not wish to doubt this method of detecting 'noting', however this would leave us without any possibility to detect management processes which have not transcended their first stage. Connected to this issue, the follow-up interview has proven to be a very useful and efficient tool. With its help, management processes can be identified at any stage. The follow-up interview brings into play a discursive approach, thus allowing to "respecify cognition in terms of discursive categories" (Nekvapil, 2012b, p. 164). Arguing in favour of this research tool, Nekvapil further amplifies his point as follows:

> [...] the individual phases of simple language management (particularly, "noting", but also "evaluation" and "adjustment design") can be viewed as categories to which speakers are oriented while reporting their experience with language, communication or socio-cultural phenomena. This does not mean that they use *just* those words (they are likely to use the word "evaluate", perhaps also "note", but certainly not "design an adjustment"). Importantly, these categories are employed not only by the interviewee but also the interviewer. Put briefly, in this approach the "linguistic reality" of the language management model is not derived from informants' or researchers' mental states but their ways of talking. Relying on follow-up interviews, in fact, most of the studies of "noting" carried out within LMT unwittingly assumed that approach. (ibid.)

These observations are of utter importance when establishing instruments of how research of language management processes shall be conducted. I would like to highlight the statement that an appropriate method to detect not only management processes obviously being in the stage of evaluation or adjustment design, is the follow-up interview as cognitivist approaches can easily be integrated here. Inter alia, this is one of the reasons why this will be the main tool for explorations within this research.

But it is not only the interaction of the researcher – the interviewer – and the interviewee subsequent to possible language management processes that can help detect them. Another essential element is that of instruction: as claimed e.g. in connection to second language acquisition research, instruction "provides structured, differentiated input that assists noticing by focusing attention on and enhancing awareness of language features [...]" and "[...] instruction may play an important role in priming learners to notice features by establishing expectations about language" (Cross, 2002, p. 3). The interviewer is therefore able to direct the interviewee's attention to certain features by giving him the accordant

instructions, as a teacher of a second language is able to conduct the student's attention in such a way that they will be able to notice certain features of a text or an utterance.

In connection with second language teaching and acquisition there is one last remark I would like to make about noting. It is also part of the base upon which the hypotheses of this thesis will be formulated. For her accurate expression of this argument, I would like to cite Sherman (2012, p. 187): "What constitutes a notable, relevant deviation for a NNS [non-native speaker] may not be the same for a NS [native speaker]." This has also something to do with Nekvapil's finding that it is not only the norm – and deviations from it, of course – agitate us to note something but also very individual aspects:

> [...] people's "noting" seems to be prompted not only by a deviation from the norm, as claimed in LMT [Language Management Theory], but also by the particulars of their biographies; in other words by unique events that have happened during the course of their life, which makes them sensitive to specific phenomena that other individuals (with other biographies) would not "note". (Nekvapil, 2012b, p. 167)

One of these unique events may be that of learning a second language; in the specific situation when language management takes place it may be the event of the managed utterance being in a foreign language. It may as well be the instruction given to us before engaging in the concrete interaction. All of these factors that potentially influence noting and should be kept in mind when studying the initial stage of the language management process. Clearly, individual differences, instruction and the relationship to a language (whether it is one's mother tongue or a foreign language) determine not only noting but also all other stages and aspects of the language management process.

2.2 Evaluation

The second step performed when managing language – evaluation – is only little less difficult to identify than noting, as in simple management it may be quite discrete. As we have seen in our example with Ondra, only his implementation of the plan (the strongly emphasized Czech pronunciation of *Ne*) pointed his evaluation out to us. This is due to the fact that in simple language management, the evaluation of a deviation from the norm is usually not communicated explicitly. Nonetheless, evaluation has been granted more attention than noting and has, in fact, been the process from which language management as we know it today originally evolved. Together with language planning, language management was firstly conceived as the "linguistic of language problems" (Nekvapil, 2012a, p. 12). Language problems can simply be defined (cf. above citation) as "a negatively evaluated deviation from the real norm applied in the given interaction" ("negatívne hodnotený odklon od reálnej

normy uplatňovanej v danom prehovore" – Lanstyák, 2010, p. 191). For years, problems were the core of the language planning and language management – it was them that gave the stimulus for further management (respectively planning) and it was them that made a deviation "worth noticing" for those interested in adjustment plans. Elements that could not be identified as a problem were not conceived as calling for a solution.

This initial definition and charge of the second stage of language management, however, was fairly general and therefore did not meet the needs of more specific analyses in Language Management Theory. Lanstyák (2010, p. 191) specifies the definition of the *language problem*[7] as follows, describing concrete cases which can be defined as negatively evaluated deviations from the expectations towards a communication act:

> [...] such a problem that appears in (written or oral) verbal communication makes the speaker and/or the auditor feel uncomfortable and raises difficulties for him; it disturbs the communication, slows it down or even makes it impossible and forces the speaker to use verbal or non-verbal means which he initially did not intend to use.[8] (own translation)

In addition to this extension of the very definition of a language problem, Lanstyák developed a detailed classification of language problems, which can be found in the same paper of his (2010) and will be shortly paraphrased here. According to him, there are four kinds of language problems:

1) Problems related to the context: the means used are only "wrong" in this concrete situation; the utterance does not comply with the norms established for this certain communication. Ondra's mother could, for example, have spoken German to her husband and this would not have been evaluated as negative at all. Her utterance was therefore noticed and evaluated negatively only due to the context – it did not comply with the norm established for the conversation with her son.

   Problems in Lanstyák's first category may have to do with style, language correctness or with certain language means being off-limits within a certain context.

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[7] According to him, the original definition cited above is "too narrow and not always applicable in the context of minority bilingualism where norms aren't always stable and different competing norms will often be applied in one concrete situation" – "príliš úzky a nie vždy aplikovateľný v kontexte minoritného bilingvizmu, kde normy nie sú vždy stabilné a kde sa často uplatňujú v tej istej situácii rôzne normy, ktoré si navzájom konkurujú" (Lanstyák, 2010, p. 191).

[8] „[...] taký problém, ktorý vzniká v (písanej alebo hovorovej) verbálnej komunikácii, vyvoláva v hovoriacom a/alebo v poslucháčovi nepríjemný pocit a spôsobuje mu ťažkosti, v komunikácii zapríčiňuje poruchu, spomaľuje ju alebo ju dokonca znemožňuje a núti hovoriaceho používať jazykové alebo neverbálne prostriedky, ktoré pôvodne nemal v úmysle použiť." (Lanstyák, 2010, p. 191)

2) Problems related to the realisation of the utterance – the speaker uses a non-existent (language) element[9].

3) Problems deriving from the language insufficiency of the speaker.

4) Problems originating from the language system itself, e.g. a language may lack certain means of expression (grammar, lexicon etc.) or a whole variety or register.

The consequences of these language problems may then be – according to Lanstyák – a) minimal; b) they may limit the comprehensibility of the conversation, or they may even c) evoke negative reactions of the speaker, the addressee or a third person overhearing the conversation.

These negative reactions may be anticipated by the interactants and they may try to tackle them in advance – thus applying so-called "pre-interaction management strategies" (cf. Nekvapil – Sherman, 2009). These could be language courses and linguistic instruction. The value a language problem has in this field is commonly called a "mistake". Mistakes in second / foreign language use are the reason why language courses are offered and taught. Even in this very organised and prototypical process of language management the (language) problems – the mistakes and their anticipation[10] – are its motor.

This is the negative aspect to the second stage in language management which used to be the only one referred to in language planning and early Language Management Theory as it was originally developed. However, there had been objections to this concept and soon the other pole of evaluation attracted attention. The question was: what if a deviation is noted and then evaluated not negatively, thus constituting a problem, but positively? Neustupný calls this *gratification* using the term for the first time in his paper from 2003 (cf. 2003a, p. 127).

Due to its novelty the term hasn't been analysed deeply yet. Therefore I will just make a few remarks on how, in my judgment, it would be possible to work with it. First of all, it should – as all other stages of language management – have its place in discursive categories. I suppose we can locate gratification where an interviewee uses expressions such as "I liked ...; ... was pleasant; ... was fun; I was happy to see / hear / realise that ..." etc. Second of all, gratification could also be of fundamental interest in second language acquisition theories.

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[9] I have put *language* into parentheses here due to the fact that I am certain this classification of problems can not only be applied to language problems but also to socio-cultural problems experienced within any conversation. This is in the spirit of Neustupný (2003a, p. 126) himself, when he claims the following about Language Management Theory: "[...] language problems must be viewed within the context of communication problems, and these within the context of interaction problems. Communication [...] is considered [...] as composed of grammatical ('linguistic' in the narrow sense of the word [...]) plus nongrammatical communication [...] processes, and interaction is seen as communication plus sociocultural [...] interaction. From this point of view, our concern must be interaction, not communication or narrowly conceived language."

[10] For further reading on language teaching and the anticipation of language problems (mistakes) as the main motivation for undergoing this type of education see: Nekvapil – Sherman, 2009.

The value of noting has been subject to controversial claims and there are no definite results of empirical studies (cf. Nekvapil, 2012b, pp. 162ff., and Cross, 2002). However, gratification defined as the positive evaluation of an element having been noted could qualify as a useful instrument in the description of the language learning process. When a language learner remarks the usage of a certain linguistic means and evaluates it as positive or useful for his own language use (i.e. gratification takes place), there might be an incomparably high probability of further management of the element and it eventually being internalized. For a further development of this idea empiric data would be needed, whatsoever.

2.3 Adjustment design and adjustment implementation

Adjustment design is what we do if we locate a problem or – and this hasn't been granted much attention yet – if gratification takes place. It is therefore the reaction to our evaluation of something we have noted. As it is possible to anticipate problems before actually engaging in the interaction (cf. Nekvapil – Sherman, 2009), plans to tackle these problems can be part of pre-interaction management processes, as well. These may be inscribing in a language course before going abroad, looking up words in a dictionary before actually taking part in an interaction and many more. Analogically in-management and post-management can be performed (ibid. p. 184). In our example from above (bilingual Ondra managing language use in his family) we have seen classical in-management. Post-interactional management is any management taking place after the interaction has been interrupted or completed.

I am listing these terms in this section on adjustment design and implementation because in the case of pre-interaction management the interactants seem to skip the first stage of language management. They simply *assume* there will be a problem, i.e. they assume the occurrence of stage two, and therefore *suggest* (for themselves) and partly implement (the full implementation is then to take place during the interaction, comprehensively) this adjustment plan. They may also assume there will be gratification taking place – in consequence they might take a notepad and a pen with them to note down especially useful information they expect to derive from future or anticipated interaction.

Since my research is going to be concerned with the field of reading I would like to show a parallel to what has become known as reading strategies (cf. Aebersold – Field, 1997, and Najvarová, 2006). Here, too, authors distinguish between strategies performed before, while and after reading a text. In a certain way reading strategies can be conceived as management strategies (even though they have so far not been described in terms of Language

Management Theory and have not been amplified as concerns the single stages of the management process) and therefore they may be an inspiring source what concerns how readers approach texts.

The final point I would like to make in connection to adjustment plans and their implementation is, that they can be enforced either by the interactant whose utterance has triggered the management process or by other participants of the interaction or by an overhearer respectively. As I have mentioned above, any of the interactants or an overhearer may note a deviation, evaluate it and thereafter design and implement adjustments. The difference between management performed by the person having uttered the element subject to the management process and that performed by other interactants or overhearers, become the most obvious within the fourth management stage – adjustment implementation. This is namely due to the fact, that in any other stage, the management process could still be shifted back to the author of the utterance subject to it (the deviation from the norm). The deviation from the norm can be pointed out to its originator, so that they can eventually conduct further language management themselves[11]. This was the case in our example – Ondra did most of the language management. But the final implementation of his adjustment plan was also completed by his mother who was the originator of the deviation of the norm that initially led to the management process.

At the stage of adjustment implementation, Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1997) define these two processes as self-repair and other-repair[12]. The former means the implementation of an adjustment plan by the interactant who has uttered the repairable, i.e. "that which the repair addresses" (ibid. p. 363), in the latter case the adjustment is implemented by others than those whose utterance has become subject to language management. I would like to point out that in our study we will have to do rather with other-repair which derives from the very nature of a literary text already having been printed and published meaning its author cannot (at this moment) make any further adjustments to it. Readers[13] can, however, easily adjust their attitude to the text or their strategies while dealing with it, thus performing other-repair.

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[11] Provided that they agree with the interactant or overhearer who has so far conducted the language management process or are due to other factors obliged to obey their recommendations.

[12] Analogue terms for the other management stages could, naturally, be set up. These could be *self-noting* vs. *other-noting*, *self-evaluation* vs. *other-evaluation*.

[13] At this point it does not matter whether we define the reader as the addressee of a literary utterance or the overhearer of the same. Naturally, arguments for both viewpoints could be found.

3 Literature and Language Management Theory

3.1 Neustupný's heritage

In his study "Literární kritika jako jazykový management" ["Literary criticism as language management"] (2003b) Neustupný was the first to make literature and the reception of it subject to research in Language Management Theory. His paper is based upon the presupposition that literary criticism is a form of language management, and that there is an analogy as to (a) generative language use opposed to (b) language management and (a) the generating of literary utterances opposed to (b) "the activity whose objects are these very literary utterances" ("activity, jejichž objektem jsou samy literární promluvy" – ibid. p. 277). Already at the beginning of his study Neustupný makes a significant remark:

> However, the situation is not simple. The phenomenon called "actualisation" in the Prague School (Garvin's "foregrounding") reminds us promptly, that it is one of the functions of literature to draw structural characteristics of utterances to the attention of the writer/reader – and this fact considerably enhances the importance of category (b) [i.e. literary criticism as language activity directed towards literary utterances]. (ibid. – own translation)[14]

Except for a short excursion into the history of the term *foregrounding* in the respective footnote, Neustupný doesn't commit himself to any further explorations of this phenomenon. He does however admit that his view on literature, and presumably also on foregrounding, has been shaped mainly by the Prague scholars of the 1950's:

> When I was studying at Charles University in the fifties the representatives of the linguistic novitiate often made ribald comments on literary sciences addressed to the literary novitiate labelling it a discipline without rigorous theory and methodology. Nevertheless many of us had read not only Trubeckoj and Trnka, but also Mukařovský and Wellek and admired their concept of language which went far beyond traditional linguistics. Compared to literary sciences even phonology, the supreme discipline at the time, seemed to be immature and pointless. (p. 276 – own translation)[15]

We may therefore assume that Neustupný's concept of literary criticism as a form of language management was influenced by structuralist theories, as they were developed by Mukařovský and others. I would like to further explore these approaches and perhaps add a

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[14] "Situace však není jednoduchá. Jev nazývaný v Pražské škole „aktualizace" (Garvinovo „foregrounding") nám naléhavě připomíná, že jednou z funkcí literatury je činit stavební rysy promluv objektem pozornosti pisatelů/čtenářů – a tato skutečnost podstatně zvyšuje závažnost kategorie (b)." (Neustupný, 2003b, p. 277)

[15] "Když jsem v padesátých letech studoval na Karlově univerzitě, zástupci lingvistického noviciátu se často uštěpačně vyjadřovali o literární vědě, na jejíchž pozicích stál noviciát literární, jako o disciplíně bez rigorózní teorie a metodologie. Mnozí z nás přesto četli nejen Trubeckého a Trnku, ale i Mukařovského a Wellka a obdivovali se jejich pojetí jazyka, které daleko překračovalo hranice tradiční lingvistiky. Z hlediska strukturální literární vědy se i fonologie, tehdy ještě královna věd, zdála být nejen nevzletná, nýbrž i úzkoprsá a bez pointy." (Neustupný, 2003b, p. 277)

few thought-provoking impulses in the following subchapters. First of all, however, further aspects of Neustupný's text shall be reflected.

Through another analogy to Language Management Theory he states that there are two types of management of literary utterances – simple and organized management, the latter covering literary theory as well as what is conventionally known as literary criticism. At this point, the "traditional" notion of literary criticism is reflected. Through it, we integrate literary criticism into an organized management process only, defining it as something occurring on an official level, in journals, at universities, an act accomplished by professionals. However, Neustupný does not conceive literary criticism as an exclusively organized process. He defines it in an innovative way thereby extending its scope also to simple management – according to him, simple literary criticism is performed by every reader in every contact of his with a single literary utterance, whereas organised literary criticism is accomplished by professional critics and connected to theories, may be communicated in larger networks and with the help of special nomenclature (cf. ibid. p. 278). He thus establishes an analogy to Language Management Theory and its distinction between simple and organised language management.

After another comment on the fact that actualisation respectively foregrounding[16] adds complication here, too, and a short excursion on Wellek's discussion on the connection of literary theory and literary criticism by the means of evaluation[17], Neustupný concludes that literary criticism equals prescriptive metalinguistics of literary utterances (cf. ibid.). From this statement we can draw several conclusions: Firstly, literary criticism makes suggestions or produces rules of how literature should be, i.e. of how language should be used in this case or imaginably also how literature should be approached by potential readers. Therefore, adjustment designs and their implementation are likely to be included in its process. Secondly, it is metalinguistics – as has already been stated, literary criticism is an activity directed at language as such; it is therefore a typical management activity. And finally the object this language is directed at, are literary utterances.

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[16] In this thesis I am going to use the term foregrounding for what Mukařovský originally called aktualisace. See also Miall – Kuiken, 1994, p. 390: "The term *foregrounding* had its origin with the Czech theorist Jan Mukařovský: it is how Mukařovský's original term, *aktualisace*, was rendered in English by his first translator [...]."

[17] „Situace je však opět složitá, neboť ‚aktualizace' implikuje hodnocení a to následně prostupuje teorii a literární historii. Už v raném období Pražské školy byl tento rys diskutován Wellkem […]. To, že mnozí experti v oblasti literatury nazývají svou disciplínu ‚literární kritikou' spíše než ‚literární teorií', vyplývá tedy odjinud než z pouhého tradicionalismu. Ve čtvrté kapitole knihy Theory of Literature (Wellek – Warren, 1942), která vychovala generace odborníků na literaturu, Wellek opět zdůrazňoval jednotu disciplín, které se zabývají studiem literatury, avšak vymezit literární kritiku v této množině přístupů se mu nepodařilo." (Neustupný, 2003b, p. 278)

At this point Neustupný makes a hint at an important difference between language management in its conventional form and the management of literary utterances: "I am convinced that both types of criticism are inseparably connected whilst organised management must be based on simple management" ("Mám za to, že oba typy kritik jsou nerozlučně propojeny, přičemž organizovaný management je nutně založen na managementu jednoduchém" – ibid., own translation). Language Management Theory had always called for organized management to be based upon simple management, sharply contrasting with language planning on this point. In literary criticism this is not an issue – except for absurd cases when e.g. somebody were to criticise a book, text, etc. without reading it, there can be no organized management, no literary criticism in journals, literature classes, interpretation in a wider context, without previous simple management, i.e. perception of the text and its simultaneous reflection. This establishes a very specific relationship of simple and organised management in this context accounting much greater weight to the simple management process in literary criticism than is the case with classical language management. Here, no adjustment plans can be designed only on the macro level, because any management starts at the micro level; that means there can be no partial management cycle macro-micro or even the fragmental macro.[18]

According to Neustupný (2003b, p. 278) the literary management process works according to the same principle on the simple as well as the organized level and may be described as follows:

1   Interactants note deviations from the literary norm.
2   They evaluate such deviations. If the characteristics they have noted fail to fulfil the interactants' expectations their evaluation is negative. However, if the literary utterance contains characteristics that exceed their expectations the evaluation is positive.
3   In the next stage an adjustment plan may be designed, i.e. changes to the literary utterance can be suggested.
4   Such plans can be implemented. A reader might for example evaluate a literary utterance negatively and implement "adjustment remedies" – he decides not to finish the text. Or an editor might notice that the text of a young author does not fulfil her expectations, evaluate such deviations from her norms negatively and request improvements which may be realised by the author. Many realisations of improvements suggested in this way do not occur in the temporarily limited "present" interaction, but in the author's future production.[19] (own translation)

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[18] Of course, counterarguments can be found –a piece of literature could be banned or devaluated by critics without them having actually read it. This, however, should not be the case and cannot be considered as seriously performed literary criticism.

[19] "1. Účastníci si povšimnou odchylek od literárních norem.

2. Takové odchylky hodnotí. Jestliže rysy, jichž si povšimli, nedosáhly úrovně očekávání účastníků, hodnocení je negativní. Jestliže však literární promluva obsahuje rysy přesahující očekávání, hodnocení je pozitivní.

In addition to the fact that the single stages are basically the same, there is a much greater permeability between these simple and organised literary criticism. A literature student might start reading a book, evaluate certain points negatively and in consequence not finish it. This is a simple management process. If the same student, however, goes and makes his opinion of the book known amongst his friends using sophisticated methods of text analysis, the process initiated may easily become part of organized management, e.g. the discussion of the book in a literary class.

Nonetheless, Neustupný keeps these two processes apart for the purpose of his research. He conducts two analyses of what he has defined as literary criticism. Both processes – simple and organized literary criticism – are examined in the case of one literary work, Hirano Keiichirō's short novel "Nisshoku". In the part of the text which focuses on simple literary criticism, the respondent is a friend of the researcher, who has not received specialised education in the field of literature. The researcher asked her to read the first 22 pages of the short novel, and then conducted two follow-up interviews[20] with her (pp. 279 ff.). What concerns organized literary criticism Neustupný depicts nine short texts judging the mentioned short novel in matters of its potential for winning a literary prize (pp. 282 ff.). According to the researcher, the main differences between the simple management process in the case of his friend and the examples of organized management provided in the reviews are the following (p. 283)[21]:

1) Simple management is often conducted unknowingly, whilst professional criticism is always a conscious process.

2) Organised management happens within a network of readers.

3) It is regarded a professional activity with all attributes that come with that – the ability to sustain opinions, the observance of certain norms concerning the formulation etc.

4) Professional criticism is over all more "organized", i.e. connected to theories, to former discussions of similar topics and professional norms.

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3. V další fázi se může vyskytnout plán pro úpravu, tj. návrh na změny v literární promluvě.

4. Takové plány mohou být realizovány. Například čtenář může hodnotit literární promluvu negativně a může přijmout „adjustační opatření" – rozhodne se například nedočíst text. Nebo si redaktorka může povšimnout, že literární text mladého autora neodpovídá jejímu očekávání, může pak takové odchylky od svých norem hodnotit negativně a vyžadovat úpravy, které mohou být autorem realizovány. Mnoho realizací takto navržených úprav neprobíhá v literatuře v rámci časově omezené, „přítomné" interakce, ale v autorově budoucí literární tvorbě. " (Neustupný, 2003b, p. 278)

[20] A more detailed description of this method will be given below.

[21] These are analogical to what characterizes classical language management and the difference between its simple and organised forms.

5) The norms applied differ considerably – simple management is based upon "folk norms", organised management has its professional norms.

6) The idiom used by the professionals has to be unified and must comply with their norms.

7) The functions of the two processes are divergent – simple management usually occurs as reading for pleasure[22], while organised literary criticism may serve a number of different purposes – Neustupný calls them the social, professional, theory-deriving and informative function (cf. ibid. pp. 283–284).

It is the aim of this thesis to explore simple literary criticism – meaning the process of reception of literary texts in single reading acts not aiming at the production of a professional critique of the text. Therefore, further commitment to the different functions Neustupný has postulated within the context of organised literary criticism will not be supplied at this point. The same applies to his further remarks on the management process in organised literary criticism, whose description goes into much greater detail than is the case with the simple management process.

3.2 The "complicating" element: foregrounding

Neustupný (2003b, pp. 277, 288) has above been cited in two incidents stating that the element of foregrounding present in literary texts complicates the management of such utterances and its analysis. He does not specify how exactly this occurs and why we may assume it does. These are the questions that I will try to answer in this subchapter.

There have been numerous attempts to define literature as such – why is it we feel there is something special about certain texts? What is it that distinguishes an instruction manual from a novel? I am not aiming at unravelling the essence of literature – this is a much too complex subject to tackle here. In summarizing works, this topic has also been described as a riddle (cf. Culler, 2002, p. 43). Culler concludes that there are two different views on what literature is – it might be language used in a special way or the product of special attention directed towards language[23] (ibid., p. 44). Both of these approaches lead us back to Language Management Theory. Its object is language used "in a special way" (this special

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[22] Neustupný mentions certain exceptions to this rule when e.g. students of literature are obliged to read a text. However, as I would argue, it is disputable that this form of reading – in an organised environment of literature courses – is still a form of simple literary criticism. This proves the close involvement of simple and organised management processes in the reception of literary texts.
[23] This second aspect is described as conventional, implying that there is really nothing special about the language used, that we pay attention to it only due to certain conventions. This aspect as well may be implicated by Language Management Theory as processes on the macro-level, where interest (and therefore the establishment of conventions) plays an important role (cf. also Neustupný, 1987).

way could be language use that isn't exclusively generative, and is therefore attracting attention) and at the same time the attention paid to such cases (the management itself). I am not trying to argue here that all language that is managed is literature; however, these obvious connections between the two fields of study support the eligibility of applying Language Management Theory to literature.

Neustupný himself, who was the first to come up with the connection of both, was influenced by structuralist theories, which themselves strongly emphasize the first aspects of the "riddle" of literature, special language use. The term foregrounding can first be made out in Shklovsky's text "Art as Technique" (1988). The Russian structuralist speaks of the unusual characteristic of language used in literary texts, its power to counteract habitual and automatic perception. According to him, language in literature is used in a way enabling the reader to perceive words in their original quality – speaking in Language Management Theory terms *to manage the words and not just perceive them as generated, but also as part of management processes* (i.e. note them) or to *perceive the words as managed not merely as generated[24]*. It could also be said that literature, in Shklovsky's terms, is such language use which enables noting, therefore implies the possibility of setting off a management process in the reader's consciousness.

Russian formalism, and with it Shklovsky's theories, had great impact on theories that evolved all over Europe, especially on Czech structuralism. In Prague it was Jan Mukařovský who further worked with this concept and came to elaborate the notion of foregrounding. According to him, whatever element is "*fore*grounded", is of special quality only against a certain *back*ground. Merely thanks to this duality, both categories can exist:

> Foregrounding is the opposite of automatization, that is, the deautomatization of an act; the more an act is automatized, the less it is consciously executed; the more it is foregrounded, the more completely conscious does it become. (Mukařovský, 1964, p. 19)
> [...] the simultaneous foregrounding of all the components of a work of poetry is unthinkable. This is because the foregrounding of a component implies precisely its being placed in the foreground; the unit in the foreground, however, occupies this position by comparison with another unit or units that remain in the background. A simultaneous general foregrounding would thus bring all the components into the same plane and so become a new automatization. (p. 20)[25]

To again draw a parallel to Language Management Theory we could say that generative language use is a kind of background from which language management can emerge. The fact that some utterances are managed, i.e. perceived and treated differently from

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[24] I am well aware that this step requires the extension of the category "corrective language use" to "everything other than generative language use" i.e. "language management".
[25] For the Czech original cf. Mukařovský, 1934, pp. 126/128.

others is proof enough that they "stick out". Structuralism determined the presence of (systematic) foregrounding of certain elements in language to be the key ingredient of literary texts: "The function of poetic language consists in the maximum of foregrounding of the utterance" (ibid. p. 19). This does complicate the question of language management of literary texts – if we follow Mukařovský's thoughts, there are certain elements in such texts destined and formally calling to be noticed, in other words to be managed. Neustupný (2003b, p. 279) paraphrases this idea as follows: "[it is] one of the functions of literature to draw structural characteristics of utterances to the attention of the writer/reader – and this fact considerably enhances the importance of [...] [language use as language management]" ("[...] jednou z funkcí literatury je činit stavební rysy promluv objektem pozornosti pisatelů/čtenářů – a tato skutečnost podstatně zvyšuje závažnost kategorie (b)." – p. 279, own translation).

Aside from this, there are a number of further consequences the presence of foregrounding has for the management of literary texts. I will classify them in four points, thus showing that the effects of foregrounding complexly engage in management processes:

1) Foregrounding doesn't mean that these elements have to be "problems" and it is important to correctly identify cases in which their management is just about noting or gratification, about merely remarking or enjoying the literacy of a text, and perhaps realising further management procedures thanks to the positive evaluation of noticed elements.

2) The assumption of the presence of foregrounded elements implies that it is perfectly alright and even desirable to note and manage certain aspects of the text. Management processes are therefore naturally integrated into the process of reading literary texts.

3) In the field of foregrounding, a number of theories, idioms and interest can easily come into play and subsequently modify the simple management process in favour of more organised management elements.

4) Foregrounding (as defined by Mukařovský) is one of the reasons why a certain element in the text may be noted, but there may, of course, also be other reasons why different readers may initiate a management process during the reception of a literary text.

There are two questions that come up together with these four conclusions: What is the *back*ground from which foregrounded elements emerge? Which factors can influence the awareness of foregrounding and enhance the identification of the same?

Concerning my first question, Neustupný's approach in his study (2003b) is not consistent in this point. In the above cited process of simple literary criticism as he defines it (p. 278), he comes to mention in the first stage literary norms, in the fourth stage when giving the example of an editor he speaks of "her norms" and "her expectations" – those being very personal criteria. In the case of simple management he speaks of "folk norms" (cf. p. 284). When depicting the organised management process the author defines elements worth noting as "unexpected" ("nečekaný" – p. 284) – also of relatively individual character – and thereon adds that evaluation, too, relies on standards which "are sometimes of very individual character" ("jsou někdy velmi individuální" – p. 285, own translations).

Mukařovský assumes it is standard language that figures as a background in literary texts: "[...] for poetry, the standard language is the background against which is reflected the esthetically [sic!] intentional distortion of the linguistic components of the work, in other words, the intentional violation of the norm of the standard" (Mukařovsky, 1964, p. 18)[26]. In one of his essays published two years later, in 1936, Mukařovský treats the wider field of art, its main characteristic being the aesthetic function it has in our lives. He works with a parallel to language use (mark the notion of mistakes) to show that in contact with works of art in general we also rely on certain standards:

> [...] language, religion, science, politics etc. These systems are part of reality even though they cannot be perceived directly: their existence is manifested by the standardising power they exercise on empiric reality: so e.g. a deviation from the language system which is encoded in collective conscience is spontaneously felt and evaluated as a mistake. The field of aesthetics, too, appears in the collective conscience above all as a system of norms. (Mukařovský, 2000, p. 96. – own translation)[27]

To conclude – Mukařovský's background is a system of standards, be they language standards or others. According to him these are determined collectively. However, he does remark that every evaluation comprises a moment of subjectivity (ibid. p. 100). In spite of this, his definition of art is very closely linked to the definition of (collective) standards:

> Art work is always the inadequate application of the aesthetic norm in a way that disturbs its hitherto existing state – not out of unintentional necessity but deliberately and therefore

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[26] For original see: Mukařovský, 1934, p. 124.
[27] "[...] jazyk, náboženství, věda, politika atd. Tyto systémy jsou reality, třebaže pomocí smyslů přímo nevnímatelné: svou existenci dokazují tím, že vzhledem ke skutečnosti empirické projevují sílu normující: tak např. odchylka od jazykového systému, uloženého ve vědomí kolektivním, se spontánně pociťuje a hodnotí jako chyba. I oblast estetična se v kolektivním vědomí jeví především jako systém norem [...]." (Mukařovský, 2000, p. 96.)

usually very sensibly [...]. [...] Viewing art history from the perspective of the aesthetic norm, we see it as a revolt against the dominant norms. (ibid. p. 105–106 – own translation)[28]

From Mukařovský we can conclude so much about the character of this standard as it being defined by the whole of a society, transcending pure individual consciousness and expectation (cf. ibid. p. 100). However, this is only part of what we have seen in Neustupný's study. What is foregrounding if its background isn't some sort of standard valid throughout the entire society, but a very individual element? The answer can perhaps be found through the other Prague structuralist mentioned by Neustupný (2003b). Havránek gives greater insight into what might be the background of foregrounding, about the character of the automatized part of language:

> By automatization we mean such usage of isolated or connected language means as it is regular in certain tasks of expression, maening that the expression itself does not attract attention; the expression occurs in its linguistic form and is accepted as conventional striving towards "comprehensibility" as part of the language system, and not only when completed by the situation and the context in a concrete utterance. (Havránek, 1934, p. 52–53 – own translation)[29]

There are quite a few interesting and remarkable aspects in this short passage. Firstly, there is the element of attracting attention – automatized language (in Language Management Theory's terms generative language use) does not attract attention. Further it is accepted as conventional, i.e. it complies with certain rules valid for those involved in the communication (meaning mainly the reader), it is comprehensible to them and part of their language system. If this is automatized language, and its opposite is foregrounding, this description allows for the inclusion of a wider spectrum of possible definitions of what foregrounding and especially its reception can be, thus helping me to define this term for the purpose of the analysis of the reading process.

I will look upon foregrounding not as an act performed exclusively by the author of a piece of literary work, but rather as something that "sticks out" for its recipient. Concretely, I am arguing that foregrounding is very often the reason for something being noted and therefore the trigger of the language management process in reading literary works. The term foregrounding as I will subsequently use it responds to the fact that the text in question is a

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[28] "Umělecké dílo je vždy neadekvátní aplikací estetické normy, a to tak, že porušuje její dosavadní stav nikoli z bezděké nutnosti, nýbrž záměrně, a proto zpravidla velmi citelně. " (ibid. p. 105) "[…] Dějiny umění, pohlížíme-li na ně ze stránky estetické normy, jeví se jako dějiny revolt proti normám vládnoucím. " (ibid. p. 106)

[29] "Automatisací rozumíme tedy takové užívání jazykových prostředků, a to buď isolovaných anebo vzájemně spojovaných, jaké je obvyklé pro určitý úkol vyjádření, totiž takové, že výraz sám nebudí pozornost, vyjádření po stránce formy jazykové se děje a je přijímáno jako konvenční a chce být „srozumitelné" již jako součást jazykového systému a nikoliv teprve doplněním v konkrétním jazykovém projevu ze situace a souvislosti. " (Havránek, 1934, p. 52–53)

work of art. It includes the notion of language use to be "artistic" and this quality to be the main reason for noting. So far, this is in accordance with Mukařovský. However, by the extension of the term on the basis of Havránek's definition, it can also comprehend what goes beyond deviations from the norm of the standard, deviations from literary standards and other collectively defined rules. It should include moments of subjectivity and specific conditions of single reading acts. Foregrounding as I would like to introduce it can be defined as follows:

1) It is a special trait of a literary text that can appear, disappear and significantly differ in single reading acts.

2) Its occurrence can but must not have been intended by the author of the text.

3) It may but must not be a deviation from the standard variety of a language. It may but must not be a deviation from the literary norm of a certain period of time, artistic style, art group or other formation. Rather it is a deviation from a combination of standards projected into the text by its reader.

4) Foregrounding can occur also in cases when language elements of the text are not part of the reader's language system – regardless of the fact that this is because of the non-existence of these language elements, their obsoleteness, inadequacy, rarity or the reader simply not being acquainted with them[30]. These elements can result in the identification of language problems; however, they might as well lead to gratification or remain unevaluated.

5) There is no right or wrong recognition of foregrounding, even though consensus between readers is possible and probable, especially if their backgrounds coincide.

To conclude, this notion of foregrounding is the general framework of conditions that may lead to language management of literary texts, that is to literary criticism.

3.3 Managing literary texts

To sum up I will now list the single stages of the management process conducted while reading literary texts, in other words literary criticism:

1) When a reader (or a critic) is engaged in literary criticism, the main objects of his management are foregrounded elements and the phenomenon of foregrounding itself. That is due to the fact that foregrounding makes it possible for certain elements in the text or characteristics of the text to be noted by the reader. However, noting does not have to be limited only to these cases.

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[30] For this point of my definition I have drawn inspiration from Lanstyák's (2010) typology of language problems as mentioned above.

2) Noted aspects of the text may then be evaluated positively or negatively, namely leading to gratification or the constitution of a problem respectively.

3) Further, an adjustment plan can be designed. Mainly this is going to be other-repair, except for the case when an author is reading his own literary work before publishing it.

4) The implementation of such an adjustment is also in most cases going to take place in form of other-repair (again, except for the case when an author is reading his own literary work before publishing it). Typical examples of adjustment plans may be trying to guess the exact meaning of words or phrases or the entire text, looking a word up in a dictionary, resigning from reading the text, consulting the text with another reader, reading more texts written by the same author, jotting down certain phrases or passages, gathering more information about the author, his works, topics the text refers to etc.[31] Cases of pure self-repair are possible if – as mentioned above – the author locates problems while revising his text before publication, and then makes changes to the text before publishing it. A combination of self- and other-repair is the case when an editor makes remarks upon an author's text; he accepts them and makes changes to the text accordingly before it is published. One further form might be the reaction of the author to management performed by his readers – in future works he might apply different strategies and adjust some elements to evoke different management strategies (more positive ones presumably) with his readers.

I have already foreshadowed above that in literary criticism, the distinction between simple and organised management is only very vague. The main difference lies in the degree of which the single stages of the management process are influenced by institutions, professional standards and previous discussions. This standardisation (and therefore organisation) of the reading process is closely linked to the possible consensus between readers of where they spot foregrounding in the text, i.e. of which elements they choose to manage. At this point an interesting question arises – where exactly does "organisation" affect the management process?

Miall and Kuiken (1994) conducted a research focused on foregrounding and the probability of it being noticed by an extensive number of people. They found out that there was no difference in identifying foregrounded elements in a text as to whether their

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[31] Again, Lanstyák's text (2010) and the consequences of problems he distinguishes are very useful for the categorisation of possible management here.

respondents were educated in literature or not. According to the authors there may, however, be a difference in the following behaviour towards the identified foregrounding between literary competent and incompetent readers:

> In four studies with three literary stories and four groups of readers, we have shown that the degree to which foregrounding is present in the segments of a story is a predictor of both reading times and reader's judgements of strikingness and affect. By studying readers with different levels of literary competence and interest, we have provided evidence that these effects are independent of literary background and interest. [...] The results suggest that foregrounding achieves its effects in relation to norms of language use outside of literature, rather than [...] in relation to norms established within especially trained communities with particular perspectives on what is literary. Thus, readers with general linguistic skills – and either high or low in literary competence – will respond to foregrounding by finding it striking, affectively evocative, and interpretively challenging, even though it is very likely that readers with high levels of literary competence will more effectively develop a coherent understanding of the meaning of foregrounded passages. (p. 404–405)

We may take the last sentence of the cited passage as a hint at the three further stages of the management process – the "educated" or trained reader may be able to evaluate more efficiently what he has noted and put these elements into a broader context. This does have a great effect on the outcome of an evaluation (positive vs. negative) and therefore also on possible adjustment designs and their possible implementations.

To be more concrete, a trained reader will note certain elements as well as the untrained. The untrained reader might evaluate them negatively because he does not understand their function in the text – they could be allusions to other texts, they might also be the prolongation of a certain style the author of the work has elaborated for himself through his previous work etc. Since the inexperienced reader is unable to identify these elements as part of a strategy or a style or otherwise appreciate their presence in the text, he might evaluate them negatively, therefore stating a problem. His further management of the text might be to stop reading it completely and do so (adjustment design and implementation), to go on reading with the hope of getting into the text eventually (adjustment design) but with the unsatisfactory feeling of not understanding or being subject to misunderstandings. Another possibility would be for him to consult a specialist or further literature, thus giving his simple literary criticism a more organised touch.

The experienced reader might immediately "understand" some of the clues the text supplies him with, i.e. some of the elements he has noted. If he evaluates them positively, gratification will take place and no further "problem solving" management measures will be necessary in this case. He might collect his positive impressions from the text and write a review or recommend the text to his friends and colleagues. We can therefore expect different degrees of the integration of organised structures into literary criticism in

correspondence to personal experiences of the reader with these structures, his education, reading preferences and many other factors.

However, we should keep clearly in mind how organised the use of language itself (especially in the case of modern Western languages) is – its speakers learn to distinguish between standard and non-standard varieties already during their first years of primary education, they permanently and throughout their whole life perceive instructions of what is normal in which context from their surroundings and in return assist to form and consolidate the rules valid within this system. Thus, the sole fact, that a reader has his entire life been part of and taken part in his mother tongue which is the official language of a state and therefore underlies relatively strict rules, is quite a strong "organisational" feature in his perception of language and especially literary texts. In my opinion, this is one of the main reasons why a broad consensus may be reached concerning foregrounding, why literary criticism conducted by trained and untrained readers differs so little.

Evidence for this claim could come from readers who are not so tightly integrated into the use of the language given, as are second language learners reading in their second/foreign language. In connection to this idea Kadir, Maasum, and Vengedasamy (2012) recently conducted an experiment with 24 Malaysian learners of English as a second language. Their main conclusions were as follows:

> More high proficient ESL [English as a Second Language] learners are able to identify foregrounded literary devices used in the L2 [second/foreign language] text such as the personification and metaphor compared to low proficient learners, who mostly identified isolated words or phrases. (p. 1688)
> [...] ESL learners especially high proficiency ones, demonstrated understanding of the tasks required of them; identifying literary devices (foregrounding) and expressing their personal comments based on the question presented. However, one central issue worth highlighting is that the ESL learners' comments were not wholly elicited by the foregrounded elements they have identified. Instead, the comments were strongly related to the character or event that takes place in the story. (p. 1690)

Unassailably, this study is of interest and its results are significant for the topic treated here. It shows that, the more proficient a reader is in the second language – the more he is integrated into the social system of this language, the more he will be able to identify foregrounded elements in accordance to the "wishes" and preferences that authorities have established. Here, these "authorities" were three experienced teachers, who had helped the researchers pre-determine five foregrounded elements which were supposed to be identified by the Malaysian pupils participating in the study. This part of the design of the research undoubtedly enhances the notion of right and wrong. Another "falsifying" factor, which is also partly reflected by the authors of the study (cf. p. 1691), is the environment in which this

research was conducted: it was clearly part of the "macro" level where language can be planned – the place being a compulsory school and the time shortly after final examinations before year-end school holidays. These circumstances may not only have affected the respondents' motivation as speculated by the researchers (cf. ibid.) but also deprived the results of their authenticity, since the reading process was clearly determined by academic discourse and rules stating what was *correct* and what the students were *supposed* to note, evaluate etc.

This also correlates to another fact mentioned in the conclusion – students underlined elements they suspected to be foregrounded and then commented on completely different features of the text. Drawing from Language Management Theory we may assume, that something had to be noted beforehand, since comments include evaluation and evaluation only occur upon prior noting. However, the respondents did not highlight what they noted because the instructions were not to highlight what you note, but to highlight what might be literary devices (cf. p. 1688). The definition of such is of course related to highly organised structures – in this case the instruction by the teachers throughout the preceding academic year. In addition, foregrounding can not only appear in the lexica and syntax but also within the plot and in connection to single motives of the text. The students commenting on characters or events in the story also serve as evidence for management processes going on: these elements have been at least noted and in many cases evaluated, as stated directly in some of the students' responses (cf. p. 1690).

The design and outcomes of this research will be directive also for my research which is to be significantly set apart from it in some points. First and foremost, I would like to avoid the categorisation of management processes as correct or incorrect. Further, Kadir, Maasum, and Vengedasamy's research shows how crucial instruction can be for the value of responses to a text. This will be considered in the design of the present research.

4   Research design and hypotheses

4.1   The respondents

My research is to consist of two contrastive cases – one being that of a native speaker, the other that of a non-native speaker. Previous studies (cf. e.g. Nekvapil, 2012b) have shown that the language management process can be strongly influenced by personal factors – the respondent's biographical details, their personal preferences, educational and cultural background (cf. especially Neustupný, 2003a) and many others. Also in this research all of these aspects may play a great role, therefore, the two respondents will be shortly introduced at this point. Naturally, it is impossible to predict which features will eventually be reflected in the research and will then turn out to be decisive for the literary criticism accomplished. From the general profile of the respondents we can, however, deduct some of the hypotheses and perhaps later on explain certain aspects of their behaviour towards language.

To gain detailed information about them, both were given a short questionnaire (enclosed in the Appendix) consisting of 6 and 5 questions respectively (question 3 was omitted in the questionnaire for the Czech native speaker). The concrete questions were inspired by the way Neustupný (2003b) describes his respondent for simple literary criticism (cf. p. 279). I decided to communicate with each of the respondents in their mother tongue, thus allowing them to express themselves freely and minimizing the influence of any language barriers. This principle was applied not only in the follow-up interviews but also in the communication preceding them, including the questionnaire. The questions were formulated in Czech and English and communicated by electronic mail. In addition, the information about the respondents could also be completed with facts I have come to know through my friendship with them.

The first respondent is Kuba – a native Czech who was born and has spent his whole life in Prague. He is 26 years old and until June of last year studied at medical school. After the successful completion of his studies he started his internship at a Prague hospital. Concerning his reading habits he tries to read as much as possible; his reading matter includes fiction, psychotherapeutic literature, medical textbooks and non-fiction books, e.g. popular philosophy, ethnography, books on landscape. He makes an effort to stay informed about new publications in Czech. The last time he has received official instruction about literature was at grammar school. However, we may presume that he is still exposed to some forms of organised literary criticism due to his concern about newest releases – he probably draws this information from official reviews. Concerning his language skills, he does speak English and

German to a certain degree, doesn't use them in everyday life, whatsoever. He reads only in Czech and this is also the language he communicates in most of the time.

I expect the operations he will perform within simple literary criticism to be strongly intertwined with his ample knowledge about Czech culture and his firm integration into the social system of this language. I do not expect him to be unfamiliar with vocabulary used in the literary text I have picked for my research since it is written in temporary language which is exactly the code Kuba is the most acquainted with and applies in the overwhelming majority of his interactions.

The non-native speaker involved in this research is also male and in the same age group as Kuba. The first nineteen years of his life he spent in Cheyenne, Wyoming, United States of America. To pursue university education he moved to California. After his second year of study he first came to Prague as an exchange student. In the end, he extended his stay, to a total of three years. After finishing his Bachelor's of Humanities and Social Sciences at the Anglo-American University in Prague, he moved back to the USA for about two years. Three years ago, he returned to Prague to work as an English teacher, what he has been doing ever since.

He speaks Czech quite well which is also due to his great interest in the people, the country and the culture. During the first year and a half he spent in Prague, Brian regularly attended language courses at Charles University. After that he did not inscribe in any further official courses but continued to use and improve his Czech in everyday life. Even though his work consists of teaching English, and all his lessons are conducted only in English, he usually speaks Czech with colleagues at the language school and with his flatmates and friends.

He does not read a lot in his spare time, he is, however very interested in literature. When he was studying Brian took numeral literature courses at University and his Bachelor's thesis was focused on literature, as well. He has studied literature from all over the world, but the texts and instruction were always in English. Presently, he does not have much time to pursue this hobby of his, reading novels in English only occasionally. He does, however, read newspaper and magazine articles in Czech and English quite often. As he has mentioned to me in one conversation, he frequently uses a dictionary when reading in Czech. I therefore expect him to use the same strategy also in this research. Since he mentioned this to me before I first showed him the text, this is very likely to become part of Brians pre-interactional management. He might anticipate problems with understanding certain elements of the text and therefore prepare accordingly, e.g. by getting ready a dictionary.

Probably he will also make use of the dictionary later – the text contains less frequented words and their meanings cannot always be deduced from the context which is why I believe Brian will need to look them up while reading the text. Language elements that are not part of modern-day Czech standard language might be evaluated negatively because their meaning cannot easily be clarified by the means of a dictionary. This might also result in misunderstandings or confusion. However, I do expect Brian to evaluate the text positively overall, since he is interested in Czech history and literature in general. As Neustupný (2003b) has shown, finding something "interesting" is often a means of expressing positive evaluation.

4.2 The text

Both of the respondents are presented with a modern Czech literary text. This text is *Návštěva staré dámy* [*The Visit of the Old Lady*], one of the short stories from Josef Moník's publication *Neser bohy* [*Don't Fuck with the Gods*] (2004). It has been selected due to the following facts: firstly, the text has been published quite recently and therefore should not contain elements (language as well as motives) that might be too remote for modern readers to relate to. Secondly, it is not part of what could be described as the mainstream of modern Czech literature and therefore I expect that any attitudes towards it will not be directly influenced by previous discussions of the same text.

Another feature making this text apt for the objectives of my research is its length which is a total of eleven pages. Neustupný (2003b) presented his respondent with 22 pages of the short novel's total 75. His justification for this reduction of the text's length is that it would be easier for the reader to remember details from the text (p. 179). No doubt, the native speaker respondent could easily have read a longer text than the eleven pages of Moník's *Visit of the Old Lady* – this is, however, not the case with the non-native speaker. It is one of my hypotheses that the non-native speaker will spend substantially more time reading the text because there will be more he has to do – more words will not be part of his active language use and there will be more motives he might not recognise easily, therefore he will need to apply more complicated (and time-consuming) management strategies (e.g. consulting a dictionary).

The story itself is set in Prague in the 1990's, its protagonist being forty-year old Alžběta occasionally working as a tourist guide. One day her former friend and fellow skier Liliana who emigrated to the USA contacts her asking her to show her around town when she will be visiting Prague. Throughout the text there are some hints at the fact that Liliana might be identified as Ivana Trump. The protagonist agrees and also arranges for a car and for a

driver to be at their disposition for the whole day. The main part of the story is this day the two women spend together touring Prague and viewing the main sights of the city. The whole story is presented from the perspective of the protagonist who repeatedly criticises her guest. She eventually realises how much their worlds have diverged throughout the years and how much the "old lady" is still attached to the Czechoslovakia of her childhood, thus making it impossible for her to perceive the present-day reality of this country.

Clearly, this short story is full of allusions to Czech history, geopolitics and culture. Even though I do not expect the non-native speaker to have great troubles relating to these (he has been living in Prague for almost six years in total and has surely gained insight into the mentioned topics), it is probable, that he will not be so much at ease with them as the native speaker. Therefore problems could emerge in connection to these elements, they could also lead to further research on the topic or be managed in some other way. However, it cannot be ruled out that even the native speaker will note some of these elements e.g. describing them as interesting, funny, nostalgic etc. Concerning the whole text, the time and place of its setting could also be one of the main criteria for its overall evaluation by the readers. Both of them live in Prague and have a positive relationship to this city, which could be an element they would evaluate positively.

Concerning the language of the text itself, it can be said that grammatically it is written in the standard variety of Czech. Much of its vocabulary derives, however, from common Czech, slang or is tightly connected to the time the story is set in. I expect the non-native speaker to rather perceive these words as problems, whereas they could lead to gratification in the native speaker's case making the text more interesting, attractive or authentic for him.

4.3 Instructions

A copy of the eleven pages of the text (plus one page at the end of the text visualising one of its motives – a ten-crown-bill) was given to each of the respondents. The text itself was centred on the A4-pages leaving enough space in the margins for the respondents to take notes.

From Neustupný's study (2003b) we cannot deduct the exact instructions he gave to his respondent JR before having her read the text. What we do know is that the researcher told her, she was going to read an interesting text, and that the following interview was going to relate to this text (cf. ibid. p. 179). Another lack of clarity concerning the research procedure can be stated as to when and in reaction to which instructions JR marked certain segments of

the text that were then discussed in the second, process follow-up interview (cf. ibid. p. 281). It is not clear whether JR was asked to mark certain segments after the first, summarizing follow-up interview or before approaching the text for the first time. Just as little do we know about the precise instructions she was given about making certain notes or remarks in the text.

However, these remarks she has made in the text, later on become crucial for Neustupný's research. In follow-up interviews used for the research of non-literary discourse, the researcher presents segments of the (recorded or videotaped) original utterance, the so-called base communication, to the interviewee and asks him to comment on these (cf. ibid. p. 281). When studying simple literary criticism Neustupný – as the researcher – did not choose these segments that were to be discussed, but instead chose to discuss what JR herself had marked in the text. Intending to do the same, I had to choose a way of instructing the respondents to ensure they would actually mark certain segments in the text.

To be concrete, the respondents were told they were going to read an interesting text and that my research was going to be about "how you read a literary text". The further instructions had to be given in accordance to what I wanted to monitor – the language management process in the case of literary texts. As I have argued above (based upon Nekvapil, 2012b) that discursive categories help us to discover language management as it is described by the interactants of concrete communications, usually in follow-up interviews. The specification of the instructions given to the respondents was also derived from these categories. Based upon statements made by JR in Neustupný's research (2003b) we can find the following categories (pp. 180–182): JR mentioned something being *interesting*, herself being *(not) interested in* something, something being *good reading*, *positive*, *negative*, something else she *didn't understand, had difficulties with*. Neustupný comments on these as follows: "I interpret such formulations as instances of noting deviations from norms accompanied by evaluation [...]" ("Takové formulace interpretuji jako případy povšimnutí odchylek od norem doprovázené hodnocením […]" – p. 281, own translation).

When the copy of the text was handed over to each of my respondents, they were instructed as follows: *You may make remarks into the text, next to it, take notes in the margin, on the reverse side of the paper – however you like. It would be great if you could just highlight, underline or somehow demarcate anything you noticed, you evaluated in some way, tried to resolve or dealt with in some way.* – For the sake of completeness I will also mention the Czech version of the instructions given to Kuba: *Můžeš si dělat poznámky do textu, na okraje, na zadní stranu papíru – úplně jak chceš. Bylo by dobré, kdybys mohl nějakým způsobem označit, podtrhnout nebo jinak vyznačit, čeho sis všiml, co jsi nějak hodnotil, co jsi*

řešil nebo s čím ses nějakým způsobem vypořádal. Further, both of the respondents were told, that anything was allowed, that they might use any aids or resources when reading the text. Examples given were the Internet, dictionaries and thesauruses.

I would like to explain my choice for the formulation of the instructions by relating the vocabulary to discursive categories used to describe the single stages of language management. As Nekvapil (2012b) has shown, respondents themselves are likely to use terms corresponding directly to the first two stages of language management, however they are not likely to explicitly formulate statements about adjustment design and implementation in Language Management Theory terminology (p. 164). Therefore, I could use the original terms for noting (*anything you noted*) and evaluation (*evaluated in some way*). The formulation of instructions evoking the last two stages of language management represented a greater challenge, finally I chose *to try to resolve* and *deal with in some way*.

Both of the respondents were given these instructions and the copies of the text. They were asked to read the text within one session and inform me as soon as they would finish, so we could conduct the follow-up interview.

4.4 Methodology

As foreshadowed above, the main tool in this research is the follow-up interview. Neustupný (1990) has given a detailed record of this methodology and has also applied it in his own research on literary criticism (2003b) and other projects (e.g. Neustupný, 1994) for exploring simple management processes. It is an introspective method directed at processes which take place consciously as part of a base conversation/communication (cf. Neustupný, 1999, p. 14). This base communication is usually videotaped or tape-recorded. The researcher then presents single sequences to the respondent, questioning him about them in detail.

Neustupný (1999, p. 14) describes the follow-up interview in five main points that I will reflect here and at the same time modify them so they can be made compatible with my research – the main alternation consisting in the base conversation not being oral interaction but the reception of a literary text[32]:

1) The base communication is a natural utterance that has not been recorded merely for the sake of linguistic studies. In our case it will be the reading process of a text as it is performed by the two respondents. The reading of a text can basically be described as the interaction between the reader and the text (cf. e.g. Aebersold –

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[32] To my knowledge the follow-up interview has not yet been applied to explore processes of reading and writing. Neustupný (1999, p. 16) indicates this and the possibility to expand in the given direction in his paper: "Značné možnosti využití NI [následného interview – follow-up interview] existují i při studiu psaného jazyka: jaké vědomí doprovází procesy čtení a psaní, je dozajista důležitá otázka, která by nám neměla unikat."

Field, 1997, p. 5), there is thus a sort of communication going on. One problem is however, that this base communication cannot be easily recorded in a traditional way. There are usually no sounds being produced and videotaping the reader as he leans over the text reading it would not lead to satisfying results. Therefore, the only lasting account of this communication is the copy of the text itself including remarks and notes made by the reader that can be supplemented by his oral account supplied during the follow-up interview.

2) The follow-up interview analyses the awareness of the interactant in the course of the base communication. It does not evaluate or test his language proficiency or grammar. This does not mean that his accounts of not understanding something or not knowing how to express something aren't interesting for the follow-up interview. However, they are not to be evaluated from a normative point of view. The same can be applied in relation to reading a literary text – it is not the aim of the follow-up interview to evaluate whether the respondents "correctly" identified e.g. foregrounded elements or guessed right concerning the meaning of unfamiliar vocabulary but how they themselves reflected these.

3) The object of the research is the awareness of the interactant.

4) It is presumed that the awareness of language is displayed in language management processes. Therefore, questions directed at the respondent are connected to the single stages of the management processes, which is reflected mainly in the instructions that were given to the respondents. Extended questions may also be: *What did you note about the text? How did you evaluate that? Which conclusions did you draw from that / what did that make you want to do? How did you deal with that?* Again, the first two stages of the management process can be addressed directly whilst the further have to be paraphrased.

5) It is desirable that any data containing language management be reflected in the follow-up interview. This means that any passage or elements demarcated by the respondent in the text, the margin, on the backside of the paper, should be discussed during the follow-up interview.

The follow-up interview itself can then be divided into five phases – warming up, awareness before the recording, during the recording and after the recording and the closing phase (cf. Neustupný, 1999, p. 16–17). In his researches (e.g. 2003b, 1994) Neustupný distinguishes between two types of follow-up interviews accomplished within these five phases, the first one being a "summarizing assessment", the second one being a "process

follow-up interview". The former takes part during the warming up phase and is initiated by questions about the overall impression the respondent has about the base communication. It could be shown that there is usually a wide discrepancy between statements made in the summarizing assessment and the process interview (cf. Neustupný, 1994; 1999; 2003b). Nevertheless it is important to give the respondents a chance to express their thoughts freely (without guidance as this is practised in the further phases) and in the very beginning of the interview to insure their cooperation throughout the whole procedure (cf. Neustupný, 1999, p. 16).

The following three phases of the follow-up interview are what Neustupný (2003b) elsewhere calls the process follow-up interview. As mentioned above, this consists of the exploration of the respondent's awareness at three different points of time – before, during and after the interaction figuring as the base communication for the interview. Connected to reading, this distinction once again calls into mind reading strategies which are also categorised as pre-, during and post-reading strategies (cf. Aebersold – Field, 1997). For the follow-up interview used to explore literary criticism I would therefore like to extend the scope of my questions, so they will not only explore the respondents' awareness, but also the actions and reactions which they have realised at the single points of time. Following Neustupný's basic description of the follow-up interview (1999, pp. 16–17) I will give an overview of what should be focussed on in the three phases of the process interview exploring simple literary criticism:

1) In the phase focussed on pre-reading awareness and behaviour, the main aim is to find out what the respondents knew or presupposed about the research. Further, the researcher focuses on what the respondents did before they commenced to read the text, whether and how they prepared, i.e. whether they performed pre-interactional management acts. A non-native speaker might for example get ready a dictionary or turn on the computer and open a web translator. Regardless of their mother tongue, readers might gather information about the author, skim the text or apply other pre-reading strategies (see also Aebersold – Field, 1997, pp. 65ff).

2) When exploring the respondent's awareness and behavior while reading, the interviewee should relate to the remarks which have been made into the copies of the text. Each demarcated segment should be discussed and analyzed – if necessary with the help of questions directed at the single stages of the management process.

3) Related to processes after reading, we will want to find out whether any and if yes which kind of post-interactional management has taken place. The researcher should focus on the attitudes the respondents have established towards the text and aim at questions revealing what they might have stored in their long-term memory.

These three phases of the process follow-up interview are followed by the closing phase which consists of a short conclusion by the researcher giving the respondent the chance to put forward a short commentary on his part, and the relevant acts of courtesy (reciprocation, possibly handing over a reward, taking leave etc.).

5 Hypotheses

Most of my hypotheses have already been mentioned above. For the sake of clarity I will sum them up at this point and explicitly list them below. According to my expectations the non-native speaker's i.e. Brian's literary criticism will differ from the literary criticism performed by Kuba i.e. the native speaker in the following points:

1) Brian will spend more time reading the text, since the language management he will complete within his simple literary criticism will be more extensive;

2) Kuba will not have problems understanding the text's lexicon, gratification will take place in cases of foregrounded elements;

3) Brian will note far more lexical elements than Kuba since such management acts performed by him will include words he does not know;

4) both of the respondents will somehow manage motives of the text whereas Brian will identify them as problems in more cases than Kuba;

5) language management performed by Kuba will contain more instances of positive evaluation (gratification) than negative ones, in the process follow-up interview he will focus on what was interesting for him as JR did in the case of Neustupný's research (2003b);

6) Kuba's simple literary criticism will be more strongly intertwined with his knowledge of Czech culture and his firm integration into the social system of the language.

6   Findings, results and interpretation

6.1   Literary criticism performed by the native speaker

The first respondent – the native speaker Kuba – read the text and was interviewed the same day, a weekday evening. This fact is reflected during the interview when he points out he was tired and therefore had to concentrate harder (K33–34)[33]. The total time he spent reading the text was about 30 to 45 minutes and the interview lasted a little over 20 minutes.

In the summarizing assessment Kuba gave a verdict of the text which can be situated somewhere between positive and negative: "Well I found it average, rather rather the longer I read it the more fun it was. Mainly in the beginning I didn't like it" ("Tak líbilo se mi to asi tak průměrně, spíš spíše čím jsem to čet dýl, tím mě to jako víc bavilo. Ze začátku mě to hlavně nebavilo" – K3–4). Concerning his pre-reading activities, i.e. pre-interactional management, he did not prepare any reading aids or possible references. Kuba did however skim the text, concluding from the title that the story was going to be about an old woman. When reading the beginning of the text he extended this impression of his to an old woman from a Prague posh quarter (Jevany – cf. K16ff.).

It was also at the beginning of the text where Kuba identified the main problems he had with it. He talked about these after mentioning his initial impression of the title and the first few sentences (old woman, Jevany), one instance of noting as regards the content of the text (K42ff) and two more instances of noting related to the lexicon of the text (K46, 49). He did not evaluate these two elements but deducted from them that the text was going to be written rather in colloquial or informal style. In addition, he evaluated positively one passage describing it as "funny" ("vtipný" – K52). His subsequent negative evaluations of certain elements in relation to the beginning of the text can be found in connection to the following:

1) He did not agree with the spelling of the name of a pub (U raka); according to him it should have been spelled with a capital R (cf. K55). This evaluation also implies an adjustment plan directed at the author – in Kuba's view he should have adapted his spelling. A similar case of management he did not mention in the interview can be found in his copy of the text (cf. appendix, p. 92). Here he corrected, i.e. he implemented his adjustment design, the spelling of "k vánocům" to "k Vánocům" with a capital V. Later on in the text there was one more such correction Kuba would suggest (using the past instead of the present tense, p. 99 – cf. K237ff),

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[33] The numbers in brackets refer to the line of the interview – K for Kuba, B for Brian. The transcripts of both interviews can be found in the appendix. M stands for the researcher, K Kuba and B Brian. All translations from the interview with Kuba are my own.

however he did not insist upon this amendment to the text, even if according to him the formulation was "unusual" ("není zvyklý" – K243).

2) One passage he did not understand ("nerozuměl" – K68; "nechápal" – K71), it interrupted his reading flow (zaseknout se – cf. K68) since it didn't make sense to him (cf. K 74).

3) He found the text inconsistent mentioning there were too many names and different characters (cf. K90) making the text too "loose" (K92) and "unsystematic" (K127). He explicitly said he liked texts better when they stick to one topic (cf. K91–92) therefore hinting at an adjustment he would suggest. Until the "story itself" ("samotnej příběh" – K103) began Kuba felt the text was annoying him (otravovat – cf. K104) which implies a very negative evaluation that could even have led to his not finishing the text, i.e. breaking off the interaction with it.

4) Direct speech in the text is not marked by quotation marks making the text difficult to read, according to Kuba (cf. K 94ff).

5) After the "story itself" had begun, he did not get to know anything else about Jack (cf. K106ff).

The beginning of the "story itself" was a turning point for Kuba's literary criticism. Up to here the text had "annoyed" him so much he might have not continued to read it. We can see here one of the features identified as typical for literary texts by the structuralists – their position between something we know (automatization) and something that is new to us (foregrounding). The first part of the text was obviously almost too much foregrounding for Kuba – all the events, characters and motives were new and there was nothing he could hold on to. That is why his gratification was so great when the "story itself" began.

From here on he started to evaluate more and more things positively and gratification took place in numerous cases. He himself pointed out the importance of this development: "so in the end I was happy that it finally like got going" ("tak nakonec jsem byl rád, že tady se to už jako chytlo" – K 106). However, even though he was already more satisfied with the story itself he still negatively evaluated "mental leaps" ("asociační [...] skoky" – K123). His positive evaluations became even more ample from the point where the protagonist and her guest start touring through Prague:

> K: [...] tady jsem si říkal, že už je to dobrý, jak to jezdí tou Prahou, jak jsou tam ty místa, který člověk zná, může si to jako spojovat v tý mapě co má v hlavě, tak jsem si říkal, že to je takový zábavný takhle si to jako projíždět geograficky, že to má takovou najednou strukturu, to se mi líbilo. (K168–171)

K: [...] here I told myself, that's it's becoming good, how they're going through Prague, how there are the places one knows, you can connect them in your mental map, so I told myself, that it's kind of fun sort of to go through it geographically, that all of a sudden it has some structure, I liked that.

Again, the respondent referred to his disfavour of the initial disorder of the text, suddenly appreciating its eventually emerging "structure" which he was also able to pursue easily thanks to his knowledge of the places mentioned. Not only did he characterise this feature of the text as positive but he also took further steps to actively work with this geographical structure thereby enhancing his enjoyment of the text making it a very good example of gratification, as it can take place in literary criticism. He also emphasised the importance of getting acquainted with the text, which is one of the reasons he could enjoy it more when he reached page 97 (a little beyond the middle of the text):

K: [Tady už jsem] tady už asi tady už tady už jsem jel po tom textu, tady jsou v tý kavárně už nebo v nějaký tý restauraci, to mi tak, to tak jako vodsejpalo hezky nebo už si člověk tak zvykne na to že tam nejsou i ty uvozovky. A mam pocit že už taky jak si člověk ( ) a jsou tam furt ty postavy stejný tak najednou člověk nemusí furt- takže tady se mi to jako četlo *dobře* (.) tady se mi to *taky* četlo dobře […] (K 223–227)

K: [Here I was] I was already I was perhaps already going with the text, here in the café or in that sort of restaurant, it was for me like, like it was flowing so nicely or I'd already become accustomed to the fact that there are no quotation marks. And I suppose that here when you ( ) and there are always the same characters then all of a sudden you don't always have to- so here it was *good* reading, here it was *also* good reading [...]

Even though he did enjoy reading the text more and more as he got used to it, he mentioned the missing quotation marks once again later on (cf. K252) signalising that this problem did not cease to exist even after he had gotten more used to this peculiarity of the text. Together with the "negative" elements at the beginning of the text Kuba also reflected the fact that his reading was in fact an experiment and that he was not reading the text under completely ordinary circumstances. This concerned his reading speed, he pointed out he would have read the text more quickly had he not been taking part in the experiment (cf. K26–27), and his attention paid to some details he would otherwise just have skipped (cf. K80–81). In another instance he was alluding to the instructions I had given to him, saying that these had actually inspired him to apply certain management strategies, concretely to search for information on the Internet:

K: no (.) pak tady ty- ty Svéradice s tím Trumanem, to (.) to mě jako zaujalo, (..) to jsem i jedinkrát využil tu možnost, že vůbec mě by to ani nenapadlo přitom se koukat na internet, ale když's mi to jakoby *řekla*, že se můžu podívat na *internet*
M: =mhm

K: =tak (.) tak proto mě to asi napadlo, tak jsem si řek, že to bych se podíval, jestli je to pravda, protože to je taková jako zajímavá informace, pokud to tak bylo. A zadal jsem do googlu Svéradice zvon a Truman, a nic nevypadlo, nebo jsem nic nenašel, takže jsem to hned *vzdal* [...] (K57–64)

K: yeah (.) then th- this Svéradice with Truman, that (.) I was fascinated by that, (..) that's also the only time when I took advantage of the possibility, *I* wouldn't even have come up with the idea to search on the Internet, but if you sort of *told me*, that I could use the *Internet*
M: =mhm
K: =so (.) so that's why I got the idea, so I told myself, that I would look that up, whether that's true because that's kind of an interesting information if that were the case. And I wrote Svéradice bell and Truman into google and nothing came out, or I didn't find anything, so I *gave up* right away [...]

We can see here that the instructions for reading the text are crucial – Kuba came up with using external resources only due to my extended explication of the "rules" of the experiment. This was the only case he consulted any external sources. Most of the management he performed thus mainly relied on his own judgement and the information given in the text. There are several instances where Kuba noted some deviations from his norms, describing them mostly in the following terms: it struck me that (zarazilo mě, trklo mě), it was weird (divný) or unusual (není zvyklý, nezvyklý), it crossed my mind (bliklo mi hlavou), I stumbled upon (zastavil jsem se). The interview with Kuba has also revealed one example showing us clearly how individual noting can be:

K: [...] No, tady jsem to čet, tady zase, tydlen ty vo tom konopišti, s tím Drákulou a tak, tak (jsem si) říkal, že je to takový ( ), jsem si říkal, tak to bude vo takovým těch interkulturních, jako vo těch předsudcích a vo tom co se tak říká. [...] (K83–85)

K: [...] Well, here I was reading it, here again, that that about Konopiště, with that Dracula and so, so (I) gathered, that it is that kind of ( ), I gathered, that it would be about those intercultural, like about those prejudices and about what people say about that.

Upon hearing this, a stranger might not be able to follow at all, why Kuba is mentioning intercultural discussions or prejudices here. Knowing him and his immediate social environment, I can say that these associations might have something to do with his girlfriend who is currently studying abroad and therefore often speaks of the topics Kuba mentioned here. If it hadn't been for her experiences from abroad, he would probably not have made such a comment or even noted the element of Dracula as something evoking intercultural differences or prejudices to him, I expect. His girlfriend and her studies were not included in the initial characterization of Kuba, however, it becomes obvious here that this factor also had a certain impact on his individual approach to the story and especially on his noting certain elements.

In other instances Kuba did not understand lexical elements or the overall meaning of a phrase, therefore more or less explicitly identifying them as problems. In the text, he underlined them in most cases and occasionally also wrote a short commentary in the margin. He then reflected them in the interview employing the following discursive categories to signalise his negative evaluations: I didn't understand (nerozumím, nechápal jsem), I don't know (nevím, neznám), I don't understand (nechápu), it wasn't clear (nebylo úplně jasné). However, in most cases there was no further management of the identified problems. Once he even gave his reason for not trying to complete any further management of words he did not understand, saying it wasn't important (cf. K138). In some cases, however, Kuba tried to guess from the context or find associations that could help him define the elements he didn't know. This is the case with the word "uzance" (K129ff) and to a certain extent also with the word "okluzní" (K189ff). He tried to find out what "tajdův" could mean, guessing it could be transcribed from an English word, he did not come up with any resolution whatsoever (cf. K254ff).

At the very end of the text he also mentions one word he did not understand in its context – the word "old" ("stará" – K265ff). At first it wasn't clear to him in which way the characters of the story were employing the word. He had also remarked on it in the very beginning of the interview implying he had associated with it an old woman probably retired living in a villa in Jevany (K16ff). At the end of the story he stumbled over the word "old" once more:

> K: […] jo a pak akorát tadle ta, já nevím jestli z toho něco jako vyvozovat nebo jestli je to nějaký jenom to že ona to stará myslí jenom jako že stará kamarádka von to myslí jako že stará jako nějaký absolutní (.) jako že je prostě stará no
> M: =mhm
> K: že by staře nevypadala tak (to je nějak tak) že vlastně jsem to nejdřív jako přečet rychle a říkal jsem si proč jako se říká, že staře nevypadala vlastně mě to jako jsem to nějak jako nechyt,
> M: =mhm
> K: =pak jsem se vrátil k tomu že ona vlastně myslí jako stará kamarádka a von myslí jak stará (vůbec asi) (K265 – 274)

> K: […] yeah and then this here, I don't know whether to like draw some conclusion from that or whether it's just some kind of that she means this old only like old friend he means it like old like some absolutely (.) like that she's just old yeah
> M: =mhm
> K: that she wouldn't look so old (something like that) that actually I read it quickly at first and told myself why is she like saying that, that she didn't actually look old it kind of I didn't get it,
> M: =mhm
> K: =then I returned there that she actually means like an old friend and he means like old (overall)

In conventional conversation we might ask the speaker for clarification how he meant something. With written texts other strategies have to be applied, a very useful being re-reading for clarification which is exactly what Kuba did here. He became aware of some inconsistency or deviation, evaluated it negatively and managed it successfully adjusting his interpretation of the word "old" in both cases of its usage in the text.

In other cases he didn't resolve problems right away but hoped the text would supply him with further information so he could then be able to adjust accordingly. Amongst the problems Kuba was trying to solve throughout his reading was the time period the text is set in; here he did come to a conclusion eventually, see K162 and K182ff. The second such question bothering him was the main character of the story – Liliana. He remarked it was "weird" ("divný" – K119) that she arrived in her own bus; according to him this was "uncommon" ("nezvyklý" – K123) even in the case of rich people. He also reflects her personality several times describing it as oscillating between capitalism and nostalgia (cf. K165ff). He comes to speak of her again relating to her husband and that he must have been unbelievably rich if he built a skyscraper on 5th Avenue (cf. K200): "It seems to me like sci-fi" ("to mi přijde jak scifi" – K201). In the end he made an adjustment design of just taking this as a hyperbole ("literární nadsázka" – K207) reflecting the fact that he was reading a literary text. He also implemented this plan and did not brood over Liliana's identity any longer.

In some cases Kuba's positive and negative evaluations of elements he had noted were quite closely interrelated. Not understanding something was the trigger for further management or at least for closer attention paid to the passage in question, which in the end led to gratification. We can find one example for such a concentration of noting and of subsequent positive as well as negative evaluation on page 96 of the text (Moník, 2004). The density of remarks made in the text is remarkably higher than elsewhere and the commentary is detailed as well:

> K: No tady je to takový nějaký rýmovaný najednou nebo takový zvl- takový jako opyš se sklání, tomu taky moc nerozumím (.) no (..) Mánesův most, vody je dost (…) to je to takový to, to je takový jako nějaký rozvolnění takový jako (..) takový jak básnicky nebo nějak jako, jak bych to řek? (.) no (.) no že vykvétá naivitou to mi přijde takový docela dobrý tady ten popis toho jako vlastně její- (..) že je taková (...) no (.) ( ) taková asi ta hloupost je taková jako omlazující nebo (.) no

> K: Yeah here it kind of rhymes all of a sudden or sort of spec- sort of like opyš se sklání, I don't understand that a lot either (.) yeah (..) Mánesův most, vody je dost (...) that's like that, that is kind of a loosening up here kind of (..) kind of like poetic or something like that, how can I say that? (.) yeah (.) yeah vykvétá naivitou ((she blooms with naiveté)) that seems quite

good to me and then here this description of this actually her- (..) that she's kind of (...) well (.) ( ) that foolishness of hers is kind of rejuvenating or (.) yeah

There is a negative evaluation of not understanding but immediately after that a considerably long description of gratification follows. The poeticism of the text perceived here was undoubtedly one of the things Kuba enjoyed most about it. For us it is interesting to see how closely not understanding which would usually be interpreted as a problem can be connected to finding the text poetic and therefore appreciating it, thus displaying gratification. Another interesting feature of this comment is that here "loosening up" ("rozvolnění" – K212) is evaluated positively, whereas the beginning of the text was negatively described in terms of being too "loose" ("volný" – K92).

Moving towards the end of the text, Kuba became interested in how much tip money Liliana actually gave to the driver. His management of this passage became quite complex because he drew upon much information gathered throughout his entire engagement with the text:

> K: No, tady už jak se to chýlilo ke konci, tak už jsem si říkal, jak mu že mu dala nějakou tu složenou ten složenej peníz tak tak tak jsem si říkal tak to by už mohla bejt nějaká ta pointa že se to tam vlastně neprozradí hned. Tak tak samotnýho mě to za- za- (jako) začalo zajímat kolik mu dala, tak jsem si řek, že by to nějak tak mohlo skončit což tak nějak bylo. no (..) No pak vlastně že jo ta (.) ten konec kdy (..) to vlastně skončí tím, (asi) tím že mu jako dala hodně nebo málo to se člověk může dohadovat (.) protože že jo pro ni jde o cenu ty Eskima ten Gottwaldov ne ty vysoký peníze v tý Americe […] (K259–265)

> K: Well, and here when the text was actually drawing to a close, so I told myself, when she that she gave him that folded money that folded bill then then then I told myself that this could already be sort of a punch line that that wouldn't be revealed right away. So so even I started to (like) become interested in how much she gave him, so I told myself, that it could somehow end like that, which was also the case sort of. well (..) Yeah and then actually that yeah that (.) that end when (..) actually it ends like (maybe) with her giving him a lot or little you can argue about that there (.) because you know for her it's about the price of an Eskimo ((iced-lolly)) that Gottwaldov and not the big money in America

This consideration can also be connected to the sentence that received the most positive evaluation from Kuba, i.e. the strongest gratification, in his literary criticism: "Dětství vám nezkazí ani blbý režim" (Moník, 2004, p. 95). When he came to speak of it during the process interview, he characterized it as follows:

> K: […] Dětství vám nezkazí ani blbý režim, to mi přijde taková dobrá jako věta.
> M: [mhm]
> K: [Kde] je to takový koncentrovaný, a takový jako dobře by se to dalo vytrhnout, je to taková nosná. […]

> K: […] Childhood won't be spoilt even by a stupid political system, that seems like a good sentence to me.

M: [mhm]
K: [Where] there's sort of a concentration here, and such a like it could well be extracted, it's sort of representative. [...]

And it is apparently also this motive that might be decisive for Kuba's lasting impression of the text. For him, it has clearly been made subject to foregrounding – to the respondent it sticks out, it could be extracted from the text; it has a representative function for its overall construction. It clearly lifts off the background of the remaining text. Together with the style of the text and the description of some scenes he liked, it was the main subject of his final remarks:

K: Možná třeba to to že dě- dětství dětství nezáleží v jakým režimu je nebo něco takovýho jako třeba to by se dalo nějak rozvádět ale spíš jde vo to, jak to je hezky napsat. No. Tak. (K301–302)

K: Perhaps maybe that that ch- childhood childhood doesn't depend on which political system there is or something like that like perhaps this could be conveyed in some way but more than that it's about how to write things nicely. Yeah. Like that.

The last lines of the interview showed that Kuba was overall satisfied with his reading experience and when I later asked him in an email conversation whether he would read more stories from the same author, he answered he would. In his closing words in the interview he even said that this one motive of the short story could be subject to further discussions, therefore implying possible post-interactional management.

6.2 Literary criticism performed by the non-native speaker

Brian read the text at the weekend and was interviewed during the evening hours of the same day. The total time he spent reading it was about 2.5 hours which was longer than he had expected. The interview lasted approximately 20 minutes.

Brian's evaluation of the text in the summarizing assessment was surprisingly positive, he did mention a few negative aspects but these were clearly overweighed by the positive ones:

B: Um it was interesting. I (.) I was (.) uh there was some funny parts of it um but uh a couple things that were a little bit confusing for me but I think overall it was pretty: understandable and uh I didn't have too much trouble with it. (B5–7)

Concerning his pre-interactional management Brian obviously expected to experience some problems while reading the text, so he prepared by getting ready a large regular dictionary and an online dictionary that he would have at his disposal (cf. B18–20). Indeed, the majority of the management he performed was in some way connected to vocabulary making the dictionary one of his most obvious aids. About words, phrases and passages he

had troubles understanding he mainly spoke using following discursive categories: I had trouble with, it didn't (completely) make sense to me, it was confusing, I couldn't figure out, it wasn't (completely) clear, I didn't (quite) get, I wasn't sure. Especially the use of the adverb "completely" in a few cases points out that certainty is very important for Brian. This might also be one of the reasons why he appreciated any kind of external resource supporting his (possibly even correct) assumptions about the meaning of single words or phrases.

During the interview we came to speak of the nature of the dictionaries he employed and Brian told me he was using a translation dictionary (English-Czech) but also an English-English dictionary (cf. B140ff). From the remarks he made into the text, it can be assumed that he also consulted a Czech-Czech dictionary at least once. On page 92 (cf. Brian's copy of the text in the appendix) he explained the word "zhola" to himself by means of its Czech synonym "zcela". The internet offers, of course, uncountable possibilities of resources; therefore Brian might just have forgotten to mention the usage of a Czech monolingual dictionary (probably online) in the interview.

This management strategy – the usage of a dictionary and especially the English-English dictionary installed on his personal computer, seems to be applied by Brian not only in this concrete interaction. He mentions it functions as a reference for him in countless situations; his strategy seems to be well-proven and he very much appreciates it:

> B: =yeah I well I always, I have a (.) just on my computer an English-English dictionary that is *really* really good and I use it all the [time] for many different things, so it's always kind of the first thing I go to when (.) like I um (.) when I need to know a word or just have a question about something. It also has the etymology of all the English words so its
> M: uhuh
> B: =I really like it [...] (B151–156)

Brian also hinted at the superiority of this dictionary over ordinary online search engines like Google (cf. B164). I assume he is so much at ease looking lexicon up in a dictionary, he actually favours this strategy over pondering on things he is unsure about, and that also in terms of saving time and getting on more quickly. In relation to loanwords, which occurred repeatedly throughout the text and were transcribed phonologically in Czech, he said: "you usually don't find them in a dictionary and it takes me a minute to (I go) read it and I have to think about it and I'm like oh okay it's (.) feet" (spelled "fit" in the text – Moník, 2004, p. 98). This is also supported by the fact that most instances of noting were actually made subject to further management, especially in the beginning of Brian's literary criticism. A clear aim at gratification, at creating lasting knowledge through the act of reading becomes visible (cf. B65ff.). Brian takes the act of reading as a chance to broaden his own horizons,

stating that he had to clarify some things not in order to follow the text, but just for himself. His very first comment in the process interview can be cited as an example:

> B: Um (.) okay so the first thing uh the woman's talking about uh her husband and what he does and um I just took a couple notes for some vocabulary the difference between uh správní řad- radě or or is it spravní rad? and uh dozorčí rad board of directors and board of trustees.
> M: mhm ((chuckle))
> B: =( ) to sort of clarify for myself (.) (B24–28)

Of course he did also guess the meaning of words from the context, i.e. possibly just noting them but not explicitly identifying them as negative and not making any adjustment designs to resolve such problems. Even if the meaning of the word was fairly clear to him, however, he did at least mention his effort to show gratification, to remember it (cf. B65). Cases of such words he merely noticed and did not identify as problems become more frequent towards the end of the text, which he himself also reflected in the interview:

> B: ( ) okay (..) and then (..) generally um (.) whenever I read a story or something like this uh for myself I'm kind of uh I'm torn between wanting to know what every single word means and wanting to just read it and not stop every you know (.) paragraph and so (.) in the beginning I tend to read a lot more slowly and carefully and then as I go along it just it's quicker and I just pick things up more from context and uh than really thinking about them and looking things up so
> M: =mhm
> B: =that's kind of why (.) as it goes along there's less and less uh yeah. (B238–245)

Here, he mentions being "torn between" two possible approaches and even though continuous reading is identified as one possibility, it is obvious that *not* knowing something is in the vast majority of cases a very negative experience for Brian. The most representative example is the phrase "zaplať pámbůh":

> B: [...] I had trouble with this phrase here. Uh zaplať pámbůh?
> M: mhm.
> B: Uh (.) it's used a few times throughout the text and I couldn't find any sort of definition for it in (the) dictionary or (.) uh anywhere
> M: =uhuh
> B: =on internet um just looking at it uh in a few different contexts I- I can kind of understand how it's (.) *used*
> M: [mhm]
> B: [as] something like thank heavens or whatever
> M:=yeah [mhm]
> B: [it's um] but I- literally I ( ) I don't know what this word means. (B35–43)

His management of the expression was successful in the end (he guessed the meaning correctly) but he still wasn't completely comfortable with the phrase. He mentioned it again later on in the interview (cf. B203), showing the uncertainty about the exact meaning of the phrase was disquieting him even then. Apart from this lasting problem, at the beginning of his

reading Brian also immediately identified two passages he evaluated very positively. The first was the phrase "skepsi až sepsi", which he described as "funny" (B69) and "pretty funny" (B74). On page 91 of his copy of the text the density of Brian's notes is extremely high and upon analysing the single comments, it becomes clear that this was a passage marked by gratification as well as problems and the resolution of the same. When going through the text he did, again, first mention the positive aspects he had noted, then starting to address the problems he encountered:

> B: [...] I like this sort of section here when um she told the man about her sort of escape from uh from Czechoslovakia and you know she's fleeing from these uh the border guards in uh white jump suits un- under a hail of bullets and this
> M: =uhuh
> B: = dogs chasing her which um (.) guess it was not- was a bit of an exaggeration.
> M: mhm
> B:=um and yeah this is- this style here was a *little* uh different for me um because it's all dialogue but it's just (.) instead of clearly marking who said what and using quotation marks it's just divided by paragraph
> M: =mhm
> B: =and it sort of (.) it just kind of flows into this and so down (you know) at this point because I'm you know sort of reading slowly or stopping a lot it (.) it got a little bit confusing as to who was saying what and I had to go back and kind of uh reread it. Um (.) yeah here (.) this (.) it wasn't completely clear what Head was but I guess it was just a brand that she's sponsored by

He first mentions a passage he liked a lot, which is actually the account of Liliana's flight from Czechoslovakia as Jack reports it to the narrator. Accompanied by the formulation "I like" this can clearly be identified as gratification, even though the same passage did contain some problems as well. Brian had to look up several words before being able to understand the section in order to enjoy it. This might be a hint at the fact that effective language management of smaller problems may lead to gratification in a wider context. Due to the identification of problems the attention paid to the concrete passage is increased and if the problems are solved efficiently, they give the reader the feeling of being capable of understanding, and thereby enhance positive evaluations i.e. gratification and enjoyment of the text. Or, it might be the aspired enjoyment of a passage that makes it worth looking up words the reader does not know. This would mean that there is foregrounding here as a certain a priori feature, making the passage attractive for the reader, so he will take the pain to search for the meaning of words he does not understand. At any rate, the successful management of problems is obviously strongly interconnected with gratification.

The most important problem Brian solved here, apart from the vocabulary which he didn't comment on in the interview, was what he called style – direct speech not being marked by quotation marks. This problem, too, he could resolve successfully by identifying

the speakers of each utterance and indicating them next to the utterances. He also marked the beginning of each new replica by a small vertical line, as can be seen in the appendix. To implement this adjustment plan into the text, he had to go back and reread the passage, which might again have contributed to his appreciation of the same.

In some cases, however, problems remained unsolved, i.e. adjustment designs could not be implemented. Brian tried to find out what "lézt někomu do zelí" meant, but he wasn't able to, so he decided to just go on reading, relying on his feeling, that for the overall context of the story the passage wasn't too important (cf. B125ff.). Such a calm acceptation of uncertainty was quite rare in Brian's literary criticism.

The only other such case when Brian seemed to be alright with not understanding was related to what he called references to Czech culture (cf. B204). This statement was made in relation to the colloquial designation of cars (Tatra 613, bavorák, vektra, Zil, Čajka) which he was not able to clearly identify. He did not even try to search for the meaning of these words, perhaps assuming he would not find them in a dictionary anyway. Here we can see how closely linguistic problems are interrelated with socio-cultural ones and how much the single interactants are aware of their presence and of the distinction between these two. Brian identified his problems on the linguistic level (not understanding the names for the cars) as a socio-cultural problem (not knowing Czech culture so well). In sequence he did not attempt to use a merely linguistic management strategy (looking the words up in the dictionary).

In the overall, however, Brian employed the dictionary very frequently sometimes even looking up words even though he had already identified their meaning from the context:

> B: [...] the bundeswehr?
> M: =mhm.
> B: =I had to look up online to see what it is um
> M: =mhm.
> B: =and from context it's pretty clear it's um something to do with the army or soldiers but (B164–169)

There were three instances where Brian was obviously noting certain elements and perhaps evaluating them slightly negatively but not solving them right away. In these cases he chose to just wait until the text would supply him with explanations or clarifications. The first of these cases is "Gottwaldov" being the former name of the city Zlín under communist rule (B108ff.), the second was the time period the text is set in (cf. B79ff.). The third such case was the character of Liliana. His first noting of this element took place on page 91, where he formulated for himself the question whether she was a famous skier (see Brian's copy of the text). However, he did not comment on this in the interview or evaluate the fact in some way,

leaving the management process at its first stage. Only at a later point he came to explain further management steps he had taken to actually identify the character of Liliana:

> B: um here when she starts talking about her um her husband was when I first got the idea of who she *was*
> M: mhm.
> B: but it's also (.) it's a little bit confusing here because th- until this point the narrator is always referring to her as Liliana
> M: =mhm
> B: =and Liliana Drummondová and then she starts referring to her as Ivana and I wasn't sure if it was there were two women or what exactly (.) was happening
> M: =mhm
> B: =in the story so it was a bit confusing here.
> M: =yeah.
> B: =um (..) but then yeah er I gathered that it's she's some millionaire who's from Czechoslovakia married to an American um (.)
> M: millionaire.
> B: =yeah it's
> M: =yeah ((laugh))
> B: =it's pretty obvious who it is [...] (B171–187)

On the corresponding page of his copy of the text (p. 93) he wrote "Ivana Trump?" into the margin signalising his solution about who the main character of the story was. But again, as has shown typical for his literary criticism, Brian was not completely satisfied with an explanation that he had come up with solely on his own and which he had not been able to verify, as we can see in the final part of the interview: "I have some questions about sort of the story itself again with th- you know uh (.) with the names of Liliana Drummondová and uh Trump like *why*? What was going on with that exactly or have I just completely misunderstood it" (B256–258).

As the text continues, there were two more cases of gratification I would like to point out. The first one was Brian realising that he understood a collocation (jedním uchem tam, druhým ven – in one ear, out the other – B212ff.) thanks to the fact that a similar one exists in English. He did not feel the need to look the phrase up and was satisfied with his interpretation. The other case of gratification took place in connection to page 96 of the text where we can again notice a high density of remarks. Obviously Brian looked up the meaning of several words. In the interview he commented on this section as follows:

> B: [...] more vocabulary here yeah I just (she's) kind of going on, this was more from I guess a *literary* perspective just the way that the narrator's talking about uh Ivana and um just keeps pointing out her plastic surgery and ( ) calling her an American instead of Czech. Um and er yeah this ( ) yeah I think (..) maybe it's here somewhere where she's sort of looking at her and looking at the sor- the guy who looks kind of dirty or
> M: =mhm
> B: the guy is looking at Ivana and uh (.) so it's kind of interesting um. [...] (B: 213–219)

The respondent is at this point reflecting the fact, that he is reading a literary text, and is describing the passage as interesting therefore showing gratification. Together with the description of Liliana's flight from Czechoslovakia mentioned in the beginning of the interview these might also be the positive elements shaping Brian's lasting impression of the text (together with the above mentioned questions he still hasn't been able to clarify completely):

> B: [...] um yeah I think it was interesting entertaining there were a fe:w sort of descriptive sections that I liked again sort of her flight from the country
> M: =mhm
> B: =her story and um (.) when they were waiting in line to get into uh the saint Vita's cathedral. And there was this dirty man sort of standing at the (.) you know (.) plastic American woman [...] (B258–264)

In the final phase of the interview Brian was also questioned about possible post-interactional management he might perform, concretely about whether he would like to read further short stories from the same author or of the same kind. His answer was as follows:

> B: Perhaps yeah. They're actually um (.) I think this was manageable enough for me, (but) again in the beginning I went pretty slowly but I (.) I could just more read it for just enjoyment not you know trying to study the language or learn something, I could just *read* some stories like this and um (..) not have to you know er stop (look) everything (up) um and still enjoy it. (B275–279)

Again, he emphasized that he was trying to study the language of the text which made him read more slowly and carefully. This does not seem to have something to do with the circumstances of the experiment but rather with his personality and his overall attitude towards the Czech language and towards reading in general, wanting to know everything and know it for sure. In his eyes this might be a strategy not keeping him from enjoying it, but rather enabling him to enjoy the text, as becomes clear in the last cited sentence.

7 Analysis and further discussion

7.1 Similarities

In this subchapter I would like to highlight some aspects that were similar or the same in both cases of literary criticism and offer possible explanations of why these similarities may have occurred.

1) Both Brian and Kuba reflected the fact they were reading a literary text, which might be interrelated with the instructions I had given them, telling them they were going to read a *literary* text. They actually referred to this fact when trying to explain something or justify the text in cases of elements that somehow exceeded their norms or deviated from them. Kuba resolved the question of Liliana's identity labelling the fact that her ex-husband built a skyscraper on 5th Avenue a hyperbole (cf. K207). Brian also dismissed parts of the text as exaggerations (i.e. the figure of a hyperbole) (cf. B96) and even emphasized that some of his own comments on the text were made from a literary perspective (cf. B214).

2) Both readers managed two main elements determining the design of the plot. The first one of them is mentioned also in point 1 – Liliana's identity. Her unusual wealth was noted by both readers; however Brian's management of the same was much more complex and in the end led to an acceptable answer, the identification of Liliana as Ivana Trump. It is possible however, that Kuba's less complicated strategy was in fact the more effective one, since the question did not bother him any longer after he had put it off as a hyperbole typical for literary texts. Brian mentioned Liliana's identity once more in the final stage of the interview, suggesting it could still represent a small (but unresolved!) problem for him. Further, both readers pondered upon the time the story took place in and both eventually came up with an adjustment satisfying each of them. In both cases management strategies chosen had to do mainly with waiting for the text until it would supply further information to them before identifying the uncertainty about the mentioned elements as a problem.

3) Both readers reflected the graphic structure of the text evaluating negatively the lack of quotation marks in direct speech and additionally did so in relation to the same page of the text (Moník, 2004, p. 91). They tackled this problem by rereading the related sections and Brian additionally marked the speakers in the text, more consistently implementing his adjustment design. Apparently, this strategy was

more effective since he did not mention having the same problem again, whereas Kuba did (cf. K252).

4) Loanwords from the English language that were transcribed within the Czech phonetic system presented a problem for both readers. However, Brian was able to profoundly resolve more of them, whereas Kuba mostly just skipped them.

5) Certain passages received extended attention by both readers – especially the scenes described on page 95 and 96 (Moník, 2004) and these descriptive sections or the way certain circumstances were described were also positively reflected by both of them in the final stage of the interview. In connection to these passages the non-native as well as the native speaker made an increased amount of remarks into the text and there was a high amount of vocabulary they commented on in the interview. Brian and Kuba mentioned having trouble with the meaning of some words or phrases here.

6) Both readers reflected the fact they had to get acquainted with the text and were reading it more fluently afterwards.

Concerning points 1, 3 and 4 we can say that the reason for why the readers treated certain aspects of the text similarly can be found in their education. They have both received instruction at school about stylistic traits typical for literary texts and the usual typographic organisation of texts, these being supposedly the same in North America and Central Europe. Normative education thus has a great impact on what readers expect from a literary text and introduces very specific norms into the interaction altering the management they perform. To give a concrete example, I suggest that in an ordinary interaction when someone would have told Kuba about the erection of a skyscraper on 5th Avenue he would have further questioned the validity of this information or the details about the person involved respectively.

In the cultural and language contexts the two respondents are connected to it is claimed typical for literary texts to employ figures such as hyperboles or exaggeration and it is a common and widely accepted convention to graphically demarcate direct speech in texts. Both readers are accustomed with Czech and English orthography – and expect Czech words to be written according to Czech orthographic rules and English according English writing conventions. That is why the inobservance of these rules by the author of the text was noted by them. A possible explanation as to why Brian was more successful at determining the meaning of these loanwords might lie in the fact that he is less firmly integrated into the Czech spelling system – his mind being therefore more open towards "word games" on this

aspect – and he has a wider scope of English words to draw from when trying to imagine the original version of the mentioned loanwords.

Point two refers to information which was crucial for a fundamental understanding of the text and was at the same time never mentioned explicitly in it. Both readers tackled these questions and noted elements related to them, which shows that they are central for the plot of the story. They invite the reader to engage in the text, to manage its language since it is not just generating pieces of information. It therefore supports language management and we can speak of foregrounding here. The readers expected the text to be explicit about the time it takes place in and its characters; however, it did not meet their expectations. Elements hinting at the desired information were repeatedly noted and then combined so the readers obtained the information they were looking for.

Point five is a typical example of foregrounding as it has been defined by Mukařovský – the literary text contains an increased amount of items that stick out from ordinary language use making it interesting, perhaps literary. This was exactly the case here: both respondents had certain troubles with some of the vocabulary. They noted it because it was not part of their standard and in some way had to manage it to insure it made sense to them. Brian even mentioned that his comment on this section of the text was made from a literary point of view (cf. B214) and Kuba characterised it as a nice description of the situation (cf. K210ff.) and as poetical (cf. K212). Especially the consensus of both readers is a proof to me that here we can actually speak of one of the main strengths of this literary text, one of the features making it (among others) literary. It directed the readers' attention towards its language displaying its power to foreground certain aspects and trigger management processes.

The sixth and last similarity I have chosen to depict here is the fact that both readers felt they had to get acquainted with the text. According to them, this led to a decrease in their notes and comments, i.e. to a lower density of noting and therefore of management processes overall. As the discussion reached page 64 (Moník, 2004) Kuba said: "[H]ere there won't be so many notes anymore I guess" ("[T]ady už těch poznámek snad nebude tolik" – K154). In Brian's case, a similar statement came up much later, concretely when discussing page 98 (Moník, 2004): "as it goes along there's less and less" (B245).

In relation to his analysis of JR's simple literary criticism, Neustupný (2003b, p. 282) argues that in literary criticism noting takes place not only at the beginning of the interaction but repeatedly throughout the whole text. According to him, this is the main point on which literary utterances differ from non-literary ones and it is this fact that guarantees the aesthetic function of the text:

[... W]e know that noting deviations (and therefore the entire management process) often takes place at the very beginning of interactions. [...] Despite the fact that we can observe no instances of noting on pages 15, 16 and 17 there is a relatively high occurrence of noting on page 18 and beyond that as well. This fact can probably be associated with the phenomenon of "foregrounding": as opposed to non-literary texts many parts of the literary utterance are foregrounded and some instances of this foregrounding make themselves visible to the reader at any stage of his reception, not only at its beginning – otherwise the aesthetic function of the text would not be fulfilled. (own translation)[34]

The respondents argued that with getting used to the text there were not so many things they noted any more. This is true to a certain extent; however there are still – as in JR's literary criticism – instances of management after Brian's and Kuba's mentioned remarks. This means that there were elements of the text worth noting even after they had already gotten acquainted with it, which is a signal that these elements are very likely to be examples of foregrounding. At this point, readers have adapted to the text, getting to know its norms, and are thus more sensitive to deviations from it, making their noting of foregrounding more reliable, i.e. more of their noting will actually be concerned with foregrounded elements and not with anything that strikes them but might not at all be a deviation from the text's internal norm. Neustupný's claim that foregrounding distinguishes literary texts from ordinary interactions by ensuring that management processes take place not only at its beginning but throughout the whole text has hereby been affirmed.

7.2 Differences

As the above listing of similarities between the native speaker's and the non-native speaker's literary criticism has shown, there were also numerous differences in the way they approached the text. In the following section I will highlight the most important of them, put forward possible explanations for them and offer conclusions that can be drawn from them. Kuba's and Brian's management of the text differed mainly in the following points:

1) Brian was much less confident about his ability to read the text without any external aids; therefore his management was more frequently connected with the use of dictionaries and the Internet. Kuba rather relied on his own judgement and knowledge than consulting external resources.

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[34] "[... J]e známo, že povšimnutí odchylek (a tudíž celý managementový proces) často probíhá na samém začátku komunikační události. […] Ačkoli můžeme pozorovat, že na stranách 15, 16 a 17 k povšimnutí nedošlo, relativně vyšší výskyt povšimnutí se objevuje i po osmnácté straně. Tento fakt lze pravděpodobně spojit s jevem ‚aktualizace': na rozdíl od neliterárních textů je v literární promluvě mnoho jejích částí ‚aktualizováno' a některé z těchto ‚aktualizací' se čtenáři vnucují v kterékoliv fázi četby, nikoliv je na počátku – estetická funkce četby by se jinak ‚neuskutečnila'." (Neustupný, 2003b, p. 282)

2) Brian's management of certain elements of the text was much more concerned with vocabulary, whereas Kuba's management was very often concerned with its content. However, Brian did manage then content as well.

3) Brian mentioned getting acquainted to the text at a much later point than Kuba.

4) Kuba noted certain colloquial words and colloquial phrases concluding from them that the text would be written in an informal style, e.g. grupa, každý pes jiná ves (Moník, 2004, 90). Brian also noted such lexical elements, e.g. cestovky, každý pes jiná ves (ibid.), but did not draw any conclusions from them about the overall style of the text.

5) Kuba made adjustment designs concerning the grammar and spelling of the text (cf. K54 and K237ff.), and in one case also implemented these (capital V in "k vánocům" – cf. Kuba's copy of the text p. 92). Brian did nothing similar and did not comment on such elements in the interview, either.

6) Kuba's lasting impression of the text was concerned with the motive of childhood under communist rule and the remembrance of it, whereas Brian was captured rather by the character of Liliana and elements he has not fully understood.

Point 1 mainly concerns the expectation the reader has towards a text and towards his own language proficiency. Both of the respondents knew they were going to read a text written in Czech, which also shows in their preparation prior to reading it. Kuba's pre-interactional management was limited to skimming the text, reading the title and accordingly trying to adjust to what he might expect from the text. Brian got ready at least two dictionaries which he also referred to during the reading process. He was more eager to use the Internet during the reading process. Kuba did admit not knowing the meaning of some words; in no case did he refer to a dictionary whatsoever. This shows that the native speaker feels sure about his own abilities and especially his ability to overcome difficulties on his own, not needing to consult any other sources. This became visible also at the very end of the interview – Brian still had questions and was concerned he had misinterpreted certain aspects of the text, while Kuba was ready to start a discussion about what he had identified as the main motive of the text (the positive view on childhood in any governmental system).

Doubtlessly, all of these differences between the two respondents are also, to a certain extent, related to the personality of the two respondents. Brian seems to be more anxious about having accurate and verified information in general but I do think he would be much more comfortable reading a text in his mother tongue than he was in this case. The fact that the text was written in a foreign language was certainly also the reason for point 2 – Brian

was quite occupied by searching for vocabulary he did not understand and therefore he might have been unable to comment on the content of the text in some instances. For example, Kuba frequently spoke about things that did not make sense to him from a logical point of view, e.g. that Americans could hire a tour guide directly from overseas (cf. K42ff), the presence of a translator and a director speaking English (cf. K68ff.), the episode the narrator remembers having experienced years ago at the hotel (cf. K144ff.), the simultaneous toilet flushing Liliana mentions (cf. K230ff.). Brian did not refer to these or similar problems which does not necessarily mean he understood all the logical aspects of these passages. To further explore what exactly each of the readers was doing with the language of the text here, I will compare their commentary on the scene Liliana remembers at the hotel:

> K: No (.) pak vlastně i tady ten (…) i tady ten člá- ten vodstavec vo tom (.) vo těch nadstandardních službách jak, jak mně to taky nebylo jako úplně jasný, že vona tam šla někomu naproti, a vlastně udělala něco *špatně*
> M: =mhm
> K: =jako že tam za to nějak platěj jako (..) navíc e taky je v tom nějaký jako šmelina, ale úplně jasný mi to jako není, proč někomu nemohla jet naproti nebo
> M: [jasně, no]
> K: [nebo jak] se to s těma protislužbama jako dělá. […] (K144–151)

> K: Well (.) then actually this here, too (...) and here this art- this paragraph about that (.) about those special services when, when it wasn't completely clear to me, that she went to meet somebody there, and then actually did something *wrong*
> M: =mhm
> K: =like that there they pay for that somehow like (..) and also um also there's some kind of racket, but it isn't really clear to me, why she couldn't go to meet somebody or
> M: [yeah, sure]
> K: [or like] how they do that with those counter charges. [...]

> B: [...] yeah this phrase here I- I couldn't figure out what it meant at all um when she was talking to the uh the porter in the elevator
> M: =mhm
> B: =um (.) yeah že jeho holkám nepolezu do zelí. I (..) yeah I couldn't figure out what it means exactly
> M: =mhm
> B: =but um just sort of from the context of the situation I can you know (.) just continue (B125–131)

As we can see, both readers stated some difficulties with this passage. Kuba did so especially in relation to its content and the story's logic, Brian's commentary was focussed on a phrase which he didn't understand and wasn't able to clarify for himself. Obviously, both readers identified a problem here; they did not understand what exactly the narrator was relating to. The difference lies in the level of the text they identified the problem at – Brian on the linguistic level and Kuba on the socio-cultural level of the present communication. For

whatever reason this passage might be so unintelligible, each of the readers searched for it in a different field. This is connected with what I have mentioned above in relation to how confident readers feel about understanding the text. Kuba assumed he understood all words and phrases, i.e. the linguistic factor of the interaction, therefore he figured his inability to make sense of the account must originate from the socio-cultural factor involved. This led him to mentioning he didn't really know "how they do that with those counter charges". Brian on the contrary interpreted his problem on the linguistic level. He couldn't figure out a phrase but felt comfortable enough about his understanding of the context of the situation.

We can see here how these two components of communication as they were identified by Neustupný (2003a) interrelate. Interactants are quite well aware of their competence in each of these fields and perhaps even more conscious about their incompetence in them. If a problem emerges, they tend to search for its origin in relation to the communication component which they have for themselves identified as their weakness. We know Brian has identified the language of the text as his main weakness and therefore also the most obvious reason for any problems he might encounter. Kuba had to go further to find a reason why he might have a problem understanding. He therefore identified the milieu in which this scene takes place (obviously there is a pimp and prostitutes involved) as something strange to him, making it difficult for him to understand the situation.

We may conclude that when reading a text, non-native speakers will be more likely to identify problems related to linguistic aspects of the text, since they expect to be incompetent in this field. This may, to a certain extent, simplify or even falsify their problems in the observer's eye because they seem not to experience so many problems related to the content of the text. The higher amount of content problems Kuba identified thus doesn't reveal Brian's higher competence in this field or his more profound knowledge of specific situations and contexts. The disproportion merely shows that Brian identified his problems mainly where he expected them to occur – on the linguistic level. If someone explained the meaning of the phrase "lézt někomu do zelí" to him and he still hadn't understood he might have stated the same problem has Kuba did.

Points three, four and five are closely interrelated. They are, as a matter of fact, all linked to Kuba's closer and firmer integration into the social system of the Czech language. He disposes over a more profound knowledge about its different registers making it easier for him to identify them and subsequently to adapt to them. Lexical items which are not part of the standard language were noted by both readers at the very beginning of the reading process (e.g. cestovka – cf. B45, grupa – cf. K46) but only Kuba subsequently made conclusions

about the whole text figuring it would be written in a rather informal style. Therefore, further informal language was not noted by him anymore. Brian repeatedly had to manage such elements (e.g. the slang designations of cars – cf. 192ff.) and reflected them. When reading a text in a foreign language we can therefore expect a reader to adapt to its style more slowly since he is not able to classify certain elements as quickly and efficiently as native speakers. He may thus perform more language management because some things still "stick out" to him, whereas the native speaker is able to judge them in a greater context and therefore perceive them as normal and expected within the context and the style of the given text.

Brian's much lesser integration into the social system of the Czech language also makes him less sensible for deviations from norms which we usually acquire in compulsory school education such as spelling and grammar. That is why he did not, as Kuba, correct certain elements of the text or suggest their "correct" version. Further, this is linked to what I have discussed in relation to point two – I believe Brian would not feel competent enough to design and implement adjustments in the field of Czech grammar and spelling. Another possible explanation would be that in English literature, a larger spectrum of variation is tolerated and therefore such deviations from the standard are not experienced as deviations from the supposed norm for literary texts. However, we do not have any proof for this here since Brian seems to not even have noted these aspects of the text and therefore was not confronted with the question of how to manage them.

Point 6 reflects how very individual reading and literary criticism are. Not only the single instances of management are influenced by individual preferences, personal background, education and many other factors, but as is the lasting impression of the text. At the very end of the interview Kuba reflected the motive of childhood and its value regardless of time and political system, Brian mentioned Liliana's identity and the possible connection to Ivana Trump. In these two statements we can see how both of the respondents were influenced by the culture they grew up in. The motive Kuba spoke about might be of importance to him personally, since people in his surroundings e.g. his parents or slightly older peers have experienced communist system in their childhood. Brian referred to an (at least partly) "American" motive – Ivana Trump is famous mainly in the USA. Obviously this story described her from a completely different perspective than the American media, which could make the story interesting for Brian and might be decisive for the lasting impression it made on him.

Another interesting point is that Kuba did not come up with the idea that Liliana might be Ivana Trump (perhaps he does not know her) and neither did Brian address the motive of

childhood in the communist period in the course of the interview. It is also important that everything the respondents mentioned in the final stage of the interview was managed by them when they had been reading the text, making it logical to suggest that only elements which have at least been noted will shape the lasting impression of the text. Looking at their final statements we can, however, see that the facts mentioned were not just noted but also evaluated:

> K: Možná třeba to to že dě- dětství dětství nezáleží v jakým režimu je nebo něco takovýho jako třeba to by se dalo nějak rozvádět ale spíš jde vo to, jak to je hezky napsat. No. Tak. (K301–302)

> K: Perhaps maybe that that ch- childhood childhood doesn't depend on which political system there is or something like that like perhaps this could be conveyed in some way but more than that it's about how to write things nicely. Yeah. Like that.

> B: well I mean I think I- I enjoyed reading it, I was curious whether it's uh a true story um or it's just an (allocation). Yeah I- I have some questions about sort of the story itself again with th- you know uh (.) with the names of Liliana Drummondová and uh Trump like *why*? What was going on with that exactly or have I just completely misunderstood it um. But um yeah I think it was interesting entertaining there were a fe:w sort of descriptive sections that I liked again sort of her flight from the country
> M: =mhm
> B: =her story and um (.) when they were waiting in line to get into uh the saint Vita's cathedral. And there was this dirty man sort of standing at the (.) you know (.) plastic American woman, so. (B255–264)

Kuba evaluated positively the motive mentioned above (the value of childhood) and the way the story is written. Thus in both cases, gratification had taken place. Brian evaluated positively the two sections of the text and in addition articulated his negative evaluation of lack of clarity concerning the main character. This experiment has shown, therefore, that only problems or instances of gratification are likely to be stored in the long-term memory of the reader. A shift from studying the value of noting in second-language acquisition (cf. Cross, 2002) to the study of evaluation in this context might therefore be an efficient contribution to the field.

7.3 Summary

In relation to the analyses put forward above the results of the research can now be compared to the hypotheses I have defined prior to carrying it out.

1) Brian did spend more time reading the text; he read it about three times longer than Kuba did. However, it is not clear whether his management was actually more extensive. The interview itself lasted about the same time in the case of both respondents which indicates that Kuba had just as much to say as Brian. The only

thing Brian chose not to mention repeatedly was vocabulary. Regarding the lexical inventory of the text the non-native speaker's management was doubtlessly more extensive than the native speaker's.

2) Against my expectations, Kuba did have troubles with some lexical items. In most cases, he chose not to solve these, however. Gratification took place in several instances, as I have pointed out above.

3) Brian noted far more lexical elements and especially evaluated them as problems (since he did not know them) which he was able to resolve successfully in most cases. However, there were also numerous cases of gratification and we cannot speak of a polarity of Kuba evaluating lexical elements mainly positively and Brian negatively. Both of the readers showed gratification towards the vocabulary of the text in some cases and identified the lexicon and as motives as the source of problems in others.

4) Both of the respondents managed motives of the text and both of them identified them as problems in some cases. It is true, however, that for Brian certain motives seemed to present more severe and lasting problems. On the one hand this might have been caused by individual differences between the readers (Brian being more concerned with accuracy and certitude), but on the other hand we have seen that the expectation a reader has towards the text is decisive also on this point. The non-native speaker expected to have more problems and was therefore unsure about his ability to solve them on his own which is why he also identified some motives as lasting problems (e.g. Liliana's identity) whereas Kuba was confident enough not to let them bother him any longer. It is also important to mention here, that in sections of the text that were difficult for both readers, it was the native speaker who rather reflected motives and content while the non-native speaker searched for the origin of problems he had identified rather on the lexical level. Thus this hypothesis could not be confirmed.

5) Positive and negative evaluations were distributed evenly in Kuba's literary criticism, the hypothesis about a dominance of gratification in his case could therefore not be proven. Subsequently he did not focus more on the positive aspects during the process follow-up interview. However, it is significant that none of his problems were so severe he would have projected them into his overall impression of the text put forward in the final phase of the interview. There, he focussed on what had been evaluated positively for him as JR did in the case of

Neustupný's research (2003b) and opposed to Brian, who in this phase also returned to problems he had experienced.

6) Kuba's simple literary criticism was more strongly intertwined with his knowledge about Czech culture and his firm integration into the social system of this language as I have depicted above.

Concerning foregrounding as a special concept involved here, I would like to add that on this point the literary criticism of the native and the non-native speaker differed to a certain degree. The native speaker's management was in most cases concerned with what I have earlier defined as foregrounding. Doubtlessly the non-native speaker as well, has encountered this trait of the text and managed it accordingly, even though much of his management was dedicated to vocabulary he was not familiar with. As the follow-up interviews have shown, however, vocabulary is not the most important fact for the reader's awareness while reading the text. It seems to just be a by-product, being mentioned occasionally but not actually eclipsing other management of the text.

Referring back to the recent research conducted by Kadir, Maasum, and Vengedasamy (2012) we can now say that language proficiency should not be the ultimate condition for the access to literary texts and their "correct" reception. Neither should any of the stages of the management process taking place during literary criticism be subject to judgement in terms of the categories correct and incorrect. What low proficiency readers "do" with a text – i.e. how they manage it – should not be labelled as digressive, but appreciated as an interesting source providing insight into a reading process which is less affected by different organisational structures. We have seen that Brian did bring numerous impulses into the text and managed various aspects of it very differently from Kuba. However, this does not make one of the literary criticisms examined here more valuable or more correct than the other.

In connection to several sections of the text, unfamiliar vocabulary and the successful management of the same was very closely intertwined with gratification in relation to foregrounding. Understandably, Brian showed more instances of having troubles with the lexicon of the text. However, there was a high correlation between sections identified as foregrounded and at the same time obtaining problems in both respondents' cases. All this supports the idea that non-native speakers are able to appreciate certain features of the text in spite of their lower language proficiency. I therefore strongly disagree with one of the conclusions drawn by Kadir, Maasum, and Vengedasamy (2012):

> In terms of proficiency, high proficient ESL learners identified more correctly the literary devices in the story while low proficient ones chose ordinary words or phrases which they

might find difficult. Perhaps in the context of the study, the act of choosing difficult vocabulary over literary devices may indicate low proficient learners' level of linguistic and literary competence which has yet to reach certain "permissible" level for responding to literary texts. (ibid. p. 1691)

By introducing a certain level of language proficiency necessary to "correctly" manage texts, only selection and the enforcement of highly organised structures can be achieved. My research has shown that the loosening of such structures is highly valuable. Brian was more open to some aspects of the text and was therefore able to manage them in a more creative way than Kuba. As an example, I would like to mention the Czech transcribed English words appearing throughout Moník's text. The research has also shown that management performed by the readers differed mainly in their attitude and expectations. The non-native speaker was not as confident about relying solely on his own judgement but was also more eager on actually learning from the text. This makes his reading valuable in two aspects – he could enjoy the text and at the same time acquire new vocabulary and train his foreign language skills.

Studying literary criticism performed by non-native speakers (and comparing it to that of a native-speaker) can thus considerably broaden the spectrum of possible ways to read a text and is extremely fruitful. Reading literary texts is also precious for the non-native speakers themselves, as the management performed contributes to their acquisition of the foreign language.

Conclusion

In my thesis I have shown how Language Management Theory can considerably be enhanced by adding literary utterances and the interaction with them to its field of study. At the same time this theory has proven to be an effective tool in examining how the reception of literary texts actually works. The technique of the follow-up interview was adjusted in such a way that it could be applied to the analysis of the reading processes enabling the researcher to reveal management processes performed by the readers.

Apart from these aspects I have also made an effort to integrate the concept of foregrounding into Language Management Theory and correlate certain features of both theoretical constructs. I hope that also these outputs of my study will show useful in further studies or become the subject of future discussions.

Concerning the practical part of my thesis I have shown how reading can actually be reviewed in terms of Language Management Theory. Follow-up interviews were employed in order to get a better idea of what readers actually do when they approach a literary text. The main focus was the difference between a native speaker and a non-native speaker reading the text in question. I am very well aware of the fact that my sample was too small to be representative, but I do believe some interesting facts could be pointed out and generalised to a certain degree. One important outcome was the evidence that the literary criticism performed by a non-native speaker was a fully acceptable and very complex case of language management. Thus it can be considered just as precious as literary criticism performed by a native speaker.

Many questions remain, of course. Possible criticism could be addressed at the fact that the respondents were reading the text as part of an experiment and were very well aware of this fact. However, my contribution to the thematic field was merely a first attempt and it is intended and desirable that it may among others stimulate further discussion and inspire more research. Nonetheless, I believe that this study has brought us closer to finding out what literature might be in the eyes of a reader, what it does to us and foremost what exactly we do with it.

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Transcription conventions

?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
:	lengthening of the previous syllable
(.)	a very short, still audible pause
(..)	a longer pause
(…)	a long pause
-	a cut-off of the preceding word or syllable
(but)	items enclosed within single parentheses are in doubt
( )	no words could be distinguished in the talk enclosed within single parentheses
((cough))	in double parentheses there is a comment by the transcriber
out	italics indicate emphasis
[ ]	the onset and the ending of simultaneous talk of two speakers (over-lap)
=	subsequent utterance follows without an audible pause (latching on)
[…]	the utterance continues but this part is omitted in the presented extract from the transcript

Appendix

1) Questionnaire – Kuba
2) Questionnaire – Brian
3) Interview transcript – Kuba[35]
4) Interview transcript – Brian[36]
5) Text read by Kuba
6) Text read by Brian

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[35] M means the researcher, K Kuba.
[36] M means the researcher, B Brian.

Questionnaire – Kuba

1. Kdy a kde ses narodil, kde jsi doposud žil?

Narozen v říjnu 1986 v Praze, kde také celý život žiju.

2. Jaké máš vzdělání, jaká studia jsi ukončil a kde?

Vysokoškolské – obor Všeobecné lékařství na UK ukončený v roce 2012.

3. [omitted]

4. Čteš si někdy jen tak pro radost/ve svém volném čase? Pokud ano, jaké texty čteš? Ve kterém jazyce čteš tyto texty?

Snažím se číst hodně – beletrii, psychoterapeutické publikace, lékařské učebnice, naučnou literaturu (populárně-filosofické, etnografické, knihy o krajině atd.). Výhradně v češtině.

5. Zajímáš se o literaturu?

Snažím se zajímat, sleduji nově vydané knihy v češtině.

6. „Studoval" jsi někdy literaturu, např. ve formě kurzu na univerzitě nebo jiné instituci? Byla to česká (nebo jiná) literatura?

Naposledy jsem literaturu oficiálně studoval na gymnáziu.

7. Jaké jazyky používáš v každodenním životě? Které méně často; které častěji?

Každodenně pouze češtinu, výjimečně angličtinu, německy na té nejbazálnější úrovni.

1) When and where were you born, where have you lived up to now?

I was born in October 1986 in Prague, where I have also lived throughout my entire life.

2) What is your education, which study programmes have you absolved and where?

Education at university level – general medicine at Charles University, graduated in 2012.

3) [omitted]

4) Do you read just for pleasure/in your free time? If yes, which kind of texts? Which language do you usually read these texts in?

I try to read a lot – fiction, psychotherapeutic literature, medical textbooks and non-fiction books (popular philosophy, ethnography, books on landscape etc.) Only in Czech.

5) Are you interested in literature?

I try to be interested; I pursue new books published in Czech.

6) Have you ever "studied" literature in terms of a course at university or another institution? Was that English or Czech (or other) literature?

The last time I officially studied literature was at secondary school.

7) Which languages do you use in everyday life? Which more, which less?

I use Czech on a daily basis, English exceptionally and German at its most basic level.

Questionnaire – Brian

1) When and where were you born, where have you lived up to now?

I was born in Cheyenne, Wyoming, United States of America, where I lived for nearly 19 years before moving to California for university. For my third year of study I decided to go abroad, which was when I first came to Prague. I ended up staying in Prague for three years and finishing my Bachelor's degree there. Upon finishing, I returned to the US for about two years, during which I lived in Portland, Oregon. In September 2010, I went back to Prague for work, and have remained there since.

2) What is your education, which study programmes have you absolved and where?

I have a Bachelor's of Humanities and Social Sciences, which I began at Sonoma State University in Rohnert Park, California, and finished at Anglo-American University in Prague.

3) Wen and how did you start learning Czech?

When I first arrived in Prague in fall 2005 as a study abroad student, I had a two-week introductory course at Charles University, and then continued with regular language courses there for three semesters.

4) Do you read just for pleasure/in your free time? If yes, which kind of texts? Which language do you usually read these texts in?

Not a lot. I read novels in English occasionally and read newspapers and magazines in both English and Czech fairly regularly.

5) Are you interested in literature?

Yes.

6) Have you ever "studied" literature in terms of a course at university or another institution? Was that English or Czech (or other) literature?

Yes, I took many literature courses at University and my Bachelor's thesis was focused on literature as well. I studied literature from all over the world, but the texts and instruction were always in English.

7) Which languages do you use in everyday life? Which more, which less?

English, Czech, and on rare occasions German. My work is teaching English, and all my lessons are conducted completely in English, but with colleagues at the school I usually speak Czech. At home I speak Czech with two of my flatmates, and English with the third. With friends it depends on the situation. My girlfriend is German and we speak primarily in English, but I have been slowly learning German as well.

Interview with Kuba

1 M: Tak, em, toto bude interview s Kubou. Takže nejdřív bych se ch- tě chtěla zeptat, é jaký
2 máš z toho obecný dojem, nebo jak se ti to líbilo nebo nelíbilo?
3 K: Tak líbilo se mi to asi tak průměrně, spíš spíše čím jsem to čet dýl, tím mě to jako víc
4 bavilo. Ze začátku mě to hlavně nebavilo.
5 M: mhm.
6 K: Musel jsem se do toho jako začíst.
7 M: mhm.
8 K: Začátek mně trval nejdýl.
9 M: (..) Aha, dobře. Tak a co jsi věděl vlastně předtím, než jsi vůbec začal číst, tak em co jsi
10 dělal předtím, co jsi věděl o tom textu nebo co sis tak myslel, nebo odhadnul?
11 K: Tak nevě- nevěděl děl jsem nic a já nevím, jestli jsem něco odhadoval. No na ten název =
12 to jsem ( ) já jsem řek, první jsem viděl název, tak jsem si myslel (.) že to bude vo nějaký
13 starý paní jako. Když jsem viděl to návštěva starý dámy, tak mi to evokovalo spíš nějaký
14 takový tak (..)
15 M: [mhm]
16 K: [a když jsem to začal číst, tak jsem viděla Jevany a nějakou ( ) tak jsem si představil
17 nějakou starou paní a nějakou vilu velkou v Jevanech
18 M: = mhm
19 K: =Tak nějak takhle jsem to, jsem si myslel, že to bude nějakej takovej, že to bude o nějaký
20 paní (.) zámožný, protože v Jevanech to je takový, že (..) jako z dobrý společnosti, v nějakým
21 důchodovým věku třeba jsem si [myslel].
22 M: [mhm] (..) A em o tom výzkumu, tak jak moc jsi to tam zapojoval? Jakoby co jsi už věděl
23 dopředu
24 K: [jo]
25 M: [že jako] půjde o čtení nebo [nebo]
26 K: [jo] (..) No, asi (…) asi kdybych si to čet jen tak, (.) tak bych asi jako víc jako skákal=nebo
27 ne skákal v tom textu, ale že bych asi to čet rychlejc, no.
28 M: =mhm. A em jak dlouho jsi to př- přibližně četl, já si myslím, že teď tak
29 K: =půl hodiny [určitě]
30 M: půl hodiny, [tři čtvrtě hodiny].
31 K:[tři čtvrtě hodiny] no.
32 M: = mhm, dobře.
33 K: =jsem byl unavenej z práce, ((laugh)) [tak] jsem se musel soustředit a doléhaly ke mně
34 hlasy z okolí, tak to ( ) jsem se musel soustředit.
35 M: [jo]   mhm, jasně. (.) tak
36 jo, tak é já bych ráda třeba prošla jakoby ty jednotlivý věci, co sis tam poznamenal
37 K: =jo
38 M: =jestli na to můžeme vidět oba, takže ( ) jo dobře, tak začnem tady.
39 K: =Tak když jsem to tak čet, tak jsem se tak zorientovával – tady první (.) mě tady zarazilo
40 třeba, jo bude to úplně takovej pelmel těch poznámek
41 M: jojo.
42 K: takže provázela ty lidi, a to třeba dostane fakt rovnou z Ameriky, tak mě zaujalo to, že
43 jestli jako průvodci (.) jak můžou průvodci v Čechách dostávat rovnou jako maily z Ameriky
44 (.) Kdo si řekne z Ameriky vo průvodce takhle přímo vo tom, to mě jenom tak zarazilo, že
45 M: =mhm
46 K: =nevěděl, pak tady to tu *gruppu*, tak jsem si říkal, no tak to už to, že to asi bude takovým
47 hovorovým jako jazykem (.)
48 M: =mhm
49 K: =no (.) každý pes taky. tak (.) No ten Staromák, tak jsem si říkal je to takovej jako
50 neformální text

51 M: mhm.
52 K: Tady to to (.) rudý náměstí to mi přišlo (..) to mi přišlo vtipný
53 M: ((laugh))
54 K: = jo (.) no pak tady u raka, tak to asi to bylo psaný v době kdy nebylo, kdy se ne- kdy to
55 šlo psát malým, ale tak na mě, že by tam mělo být velký r.
56 M: =mhm
57 K: no (.) pak tady ty- ty Svéradice s tím Trumanem, to (.) to mě jako zaujalo, (..) to jsem i
58 jedinkrát využil tu možnost, že vůbec mě by to ani nenapadlo přitom se koukat na internet, ale
59 kdyžs mi to jakoby *řekla*, že se můžu podívat na *internet*
60 M: =mhm
61 K: =tak (.) tak proto mě to asi napadlo, tak jsem si řek, že to bych se podíval, jestli je to
62 pravda, protože to je taková jako zajímavá informace, pokud to tak bylo. A zadal jsem do
63 googlu Svéradice zvon a Truman, a nic nevypadlo, nebo jsem nic nenašel, takže jsem to hned
64 *vzdal*, ale
65 M: =mhm
66 K: =ale je to třeba věc, kterou (.) bych si třeba dohledal.
67 M:=jo‚jo.
68 K: no (.) tady (..) tady jsem tomu úplně nerozuměl, tady jsem se na tom nějak zasek, jako ona
69 tady mluví (..) vo tlumočníkovi a potom, že maj sekčního ředitele, kterej je vyčleněn
70 k podávání informací, umí plynně anglicky, ale vlastní tlumočník se vždycky hodí, tak jako,
71 já mám pocit, že (.) ředitel a tlumočník je prostě úplně jiná role, moc jsem to jako nechápal
72 proč
73 M: =mhm
74 K: =moc mě to jakoby nedávalo smysl nebo (.) prostě tlumočník je tlumočník a ředitel je
75 ředitel a že někde maj ředitele, tak to přece mě nevysvětluje to, že by tam neměl bejt
76 tlumočník,
77 M: =mhm
78 K:= i když teda ředitel umí mluvit plynně anglicky [tak]
79 M: [mhm]
80 K: tak jako ( ), ale zase bych se, zase kdybych to nečet jako s tímhlestím záměrem, tak bych si
81 to asi přeskočil [a]
82 M: [jasně]
83 K: =neřešil bych to. No, tady jsem to čet, tady zase, tydlen ty vo tom konopišti, s tím
84 Drákulou a tak, tak (jsem si) říkal, že je to takový ( ), jsem si říkal, tak to bude vo takovým
85 těch interkulturních, jako vo těch předsudcích a vo tom co se tak říká. (.) tak to mě jen tak
86 jako bliklo hlavou, vo čem jako, s jakým záměrem, to třeba ten někdo psal nebo psala. No (..)
87 Tady když se vobjevilo zase to další jméno, tak (.) ( ) což vlastně ta hlavní postava nebo ta- ta
88 druhá hlavní, [to]
89 M: [mhm]
90 K: =jsem ještě v tu chvíli nevěděl, tak už jsem si říkal, že tam ( ) se zase nějak moc jako jmen,
91 že to je furt takový, to furt jako skáče a zase někdo další: a jako já mám radši, když se to drží
92 nějakýho tématu, než že je to takový jako volný no (.)
93 M: =mhm
94 K: =tady zase je Jack tak to už byla zase zase, tady, jak se třeba mluví tak, zase mě tady trklo,
95 že jako vlastně nepoužívá v těch přímejch řečech uvozovky (.) už bych se tady s- trošku jsem
96 se musel soustředit na to abych si (.) zrekonstruoval kdo jako mluví.
97 M: =mhm
98 K: =že je to jako (..) že člověk přečte celej vodstavec a pak už na konec zapomene vlastně kdo
99 mluvil, a tady no, tak, tak, jsem si říkal, na to že se píše bez těch uvozovek, tak člověk se musí
100 jako více na to soustředit.
101 M: =mhm

102 K: =no Gottwaldov to používá to starý to (.) no a tady už, tady jak to přeskočilo vlastně
103 jakoby na ten samotnej příběh nebo (.) tak (..) tak jsem si říkal, že to takhle bude skákat až do
104 konce a trošku mě to votravovalo.
105 M: =mhm
106 K: =tak nakonec jsem byl rád, že tady se to už jako chytlo. A vlastně už to byl jako jeden děj
107 až do konce, ale zase jsem byl jako z toho ( ) zase bude něco jinýho s Jackem. Nedověděl
108 jsem se moc vo Jackovi
109 M: =mhm
110 K: =a už zase je to u tý kamarádky, přišlo mi to takový to (..) no (.) no tady jsem si akorát
111 říkal, jestli (…) že to (.) že (..) no tady s těma autobusama jak tam parkujou, že jako pak jsem
112 to vlastně pochopil, že vona přijela jako *svým autobusem* asi, jako se svejma jako, že- že
113 nějaký bodyguardi,
114 M: [mhm]
115 K: [a pak] že přijela, jako že tam byla spousta nějakých jejích jako [služebnictva]
116 M: [jo], ta Lilane, že přijela
117 K: =jo, jo. [no, no]
118 M: [jo, jo, jo] to jsem taky tak [pochopila]
119 K: [tak mi to přišlo] takový jako *dívný* jako
120 M: =mhm
121 K: =jako když někdo přijde že i bohatší jako přijel boháč vlastně velkým jako autobusem
122 M: =mhm
123 K: že to není úplně zvyklý. No (.) tak tady zase že jsou takový ty asociační jako skoky, že
124 prostě stojí teda, čeká tam na tu Liliane zase si vzpomene co tam v tom hotelu zažila někdy
125 jindy
126 M: =mhm
127 K: takový hodně jako mě to přišlo neuspořádaný ten text [no]
128 M: [a] co máš tady to rozumím, ale
129 K: jo ta uzance jakože neznám to slo-, jako že vím, že je to od nějakýho úzu nebo že to
130 M: =mhm
131 K: =chápu to slovo, ale neznám ho
132 M: =mhm
133 K: = uzance že to je takový jestli to je hovorový nebo jaký to je slovo
134 M: =mhm
135 K: =nev- nesetkal jsem se s ním asi. no. Pak tady tu libru, reklamovat Shylockovu- nebo já
136 nevím jako se to čte
137 M: =mhm
138 K: nevím, co to je. Ale zase si myslím, že to není podstatný tak
139 M: Tak jsi s tím nic nedělal jako že nevyhledal sis to nebo tak [nějak]
140 K: [ne] protože to je vo nějakým tom lokajovi tam [jo, to]
141 M: [no jasně]
142 K: =ale, ale že prostě to vůbec jako nevim.
143 M: =mhm
144 K: No (.) pak vlastně i tady ten (…) i tady ten člá- ten vodstavec vo tom (.) vo těch
145 nadstandardních službách jak, jak mně to taky nebylo jako úplně jasný, že vona tam šla
146 někomu naproti, a vlastně udělala něco *špatně*
147 M: =mhm
148 K: =jako že tam za to nějak platěj jako (..) navíc e taky je v tom nějaký jako šmelina, ale
149 úplně jasný mi to jako není, proč někomu nemohla jet naproti nebo
150 M: [jasně, no]
151 K: [nebo jak] se to s těma protislužbama jako dělá. Jo tady je vlastně tím ten autobus, že mi to
152 tady teprv jako došlo

153   M: =mhm

154   K: jo tady už těch poznámek snad nebude tolik. Jo tvrdej akcent to jsem jenom se na tom

155   zasek, že jsem přemejšlel jak že je vlastně když anglic- angličtina je asi měkčí než čeština tak

156   protože- proto má ten tvrdej akcent v tý angličtině, no. (…) Tady jsem si říkal, jestli tam ještě

157   někdy bude ten *Jack* nebo jestli už to jako pojede furt dál, jestli se to jako vrátí [nějak]

158   M: [mhm]

159   K: nebo ne. no, pak tady ta informace, že zbouraný hradby v Budapešti a ve Vídni, to jsem

160   taky nevěděl, že by se bou- jako že se bouraly hradby. Jestli to tak je, tak to se mi taky přišlo

161   jako nový. (…) Tady mě to ř- to jsem přemýšlel, jestli je to dvacet let po revoluci takže asi

162   v roce dva tisíce plus minus

163   M: =mhm

164   K: ta cena, tak jsem se jenom tak u toho zasek, no (.) pak pěticípá hvězda na hrobě Bedřicha

165   Smetany taky nevím no (..) tady se mi (.) jo tady (.) no potom jak vona na jednu stranu je

166   strašná jako by kapitalistka nebo t- ta Lilian a na druhou stranu jako jí přijde hrozný, že

167   Rolling stones hráli na, na Strahově. tak to je taky takový jako ten kontrast, že je taková

168   kapitalistka a zároveň taková nostalgická vůči tomu socialismu. (..) tady jsem si říkal, že už je

169   to dobrý, jak to jezdí tou Prahou, jak jsou tam ty místa, který člověk zná, může si to jako

170   spojovat v tý mapě co má v hlavě, tak jsem si říkal, že to je takový zábavný takhle si to jako

171   projíždět geograficky, že to má takovou najednou strukturu, to se mi líbilo.

172   M: =mhm

173   K: (…) no (.) tady je to nějaký ty jídla, rahat neznám. (..) hagiografii, no, taky vlastně nevím,

174   co to slovo znamená, jako znám ho, ale vlastně nevím co znamená.

175   M: =mhm

176   K: To bych se podíval asi. No. Dětství vám nezkazí ani blbý režim, to mi přijde taková dobrá

177   jako věta.

178   M: [mhm]

179   K: [Kde] je to takový koncentrovaný, a takový jako dobře by se to dalo vytrhnout, je to

180   taková nosná. (.) no.

181   M: A tady máš zase ten rok nějak?

182   K: jo (…) jo (.) že jsem viděl Havla, že jsem si říkal vlastně, kde bydlí Havel, takže že Havel

183   že jsem si vzpomněl, že *asi* skončil v roce dva tisíce tři, což [se]

184   M: [mhm]

185   K: dá spočítat jednoduše vlastně teď ( ) Klaus skončil, tak skončil, tak jsem přemejšlel furt

186   jako kdy se to vlastně vodehrává, že to je kolem toho roku dva tisíce asi když tam ještě ten

187   Havel jakoby uřadoval, no.

188   M: =mhm

189   K: =potom tady fronta je okluzní, tak zase jako rozumím tomu slovu, znám ho, ale takový

190   nezvyklý spojení jako okluzní fronta, nebo vlastně to je fronta okluzní, možná to je z nějaký

191   meteorologie nebo prostě

192   M: =nevim ((laugh))

193   K: =vím že okluzem, když se to zablokovaný ( ) za- je to zaseklý, ale to (..) no, že tam koukal

194   nějakej ten chudák do toho svatého víta, že je z jižní Moravy, jestli na ni koukal, protože vona

195   je taky z jižní moravy že? no. (.) Svatý Vjačeslav Zajcev (.) taky nevím, jestli to je ten svatej

196   Václav ( ) nebo kníže Václav nebo jestli je to nějakej úplně jinej, nerozumím tomu.

197   M: mhm

198   (…)

199   K: No a pak tady jsem si říkal, že ten manžel nebo bejvalej manžel ( ) současnej tý tý Liliane

200   si postavil mrakodrap na pátý avenue tak si ne- jako neumím představit jako bohatej musí

201   bejt, protože na pátý avenue to mi přijde jak scifi [jako]

202   M: [jo]

203   K: postavit mrakodrap na pátý avenue

204   M: ((laughter))
205   K: skoro jako ((laughter))
206   M: neuvěřitelný [no]
207   K: [no] takže takže buď je to nějaká jako jako literární nadsázka takový jako nebo je prostě
208   hodně bohatej, no [jsem si říkal]
209   M: [mhm]
210   K: No tady je to takový nějaký rýmovaný najednou nebo takový zvl- takový jako opyš se
211   sklání, tomu taky moc nerozumím (.) no (..) Mánesův most, vody je dost (…) to je to takový
212   to, to je takový jako nějaký rozvolnění takový jako (..) takový jak básnicky nebo nějak jako,
213   jak bych to řek? (.) no (.) no že vykvétá naivitou to mi přijde takový docela dobrý tady ten
214   popis toho jako vlastně její- (..) že je taková (...) no (.) ( ) taková asi ta hloupost je taková jako
215   omlazující nebo (.) no
216   M: mhm
217   K: =eku- ekumenickej kostel asi nevím co to je ekumenickej kostel
218   M: =mhm
219   K:=taky.
220   M: Dobře.
221   K: no
222   M: =Tady ta stránka je nějaká [prázdější]
223   K: [Tady už jsem] tady už asi tady už tady už jsem jel po tom textu, tady jsou v tý kavárně už
224   nebo v nějaký tý restauraci, to mi tak, to tak jako vodsejpalo hezky nebo už si člověk tak
225   zvykne na to že tam nejsou i ty uvozovky. A mam pocit že už taky jak si člověk ( ) a jsou tam
226   furt ty postavy stejný tak najednou člověk nemusí furt- takže tady se mi to jako četlo *dobře* (.)
227   tady se mi to *taky* četlo dobře, tady jsem se zastavil, jestli že že neznám etiketu a jestli
228   opravdu jako ty ty bohatší nechávaj vochutnávat nějaký ty číšníky
229   M: ((laugh))
230   K: tak to je taky pro mě nová informace. Tady jsem nepochopil akorát, proč ekologové viděj
231   problém v tom že všichni splachujou najednou. Nevím jako co je na tom [neekologickýho]
232   M: [taky nevím] mhm ((laugh))
233   K: Jako já bych v tom viděl problém nějakej technickej, že se to nějak zablokuje, ale vody
234   vypotřebuje, jestli půjdou teď na záchod nebo za půl hodiny ( ) nevím, nevím, jakej je v tom
235   rozdíl.
236   M:=no.
237   K: =no tady je (..) opravdu milý chlapec říká Lian, když Toník odejde. Já bych tam psal
238   odešel, mě to trklo jako že (jestli) tam jako ten přítom- nebo budoucí
239   M: mhm
240   K: =jenom
241   M: no
242   K: (..) (možná) se to tak jako píše nebo asi já neříkám že je to jako špatně, ale trklo mě to že
243   to není jako *zvyklý*.
244   M: mhm
245   (..)
246   K: tak tady je (..) no tady zase taky nechápu proč by mělo měli ty malíři nebo koupě těch
247   vobrazů vod těch tří malířů, (jak) ten její vtip, kterej ani ta Lilian vlastně ne- nepochopí
248   M: =mhm
249   K: =proč by mělo zabránit splachování v milionech amerických domácností. (.) Ona se tomu
250   taky nejistě uchichtne, ona tomu asi taky nerozumí, já jsem tomu taky neporozuměl.
251   M: mhm. tady něco chybí?
252   K: No ty uvozovky zase
253   M: =jo

254 K: =že je to zase takový jako (..) no takže to *tajdův*. Tajdův jsem přemýšlel jako jak co to je.
255 (..) Ne- jako nedokázal jsem (.) to jako česky přepsaný americký slovo vlastně co to jako
256 znamen- jako jsem si to představoval (jak se to píše) tide nevím prostě co to je za slovo
257 nedokázal jsem to z toho (..) asi ho neznám ani.
258 M: =mhm.
259 K: No, tady už jak se to chýlilo ke konci, tak už jsem si říkal, jak mu že mu dala nějakou tu
260 složenou ten složenej peníz tak tak tak jsem si říkal tak to by už mohla bejt nějaká ta pointa že
261 se to tam vlastně neprozradí hned. Tak tak samotného mě to za- za- (jako) začalo zajímat
262 kolik mu dala, tak jsem si řek, že by to nějak ta k mohlo skončit což tak nějak bylo. no (..) No
263 pak vlastně že jo ta (.) ten konec kdy (..) to vlastně skončí tím, (asi) tím že mu jako dala hodně
264 nebo málo to se člověk může dohadovat (.) protože že jo pro ni jde o cenu ty Eskima ten
265 Gottwaldov ne ty vysoký peníze v tý Americe a- jo a pak akorát tadle ta, já nevím jestli z toho
266 něco jako vyvozovat nebo jestli je to nějaký jenom to že ona to stará myslí jenom jako že
267 stará kamarádka von to myslí jako že stará jako nějaký absolutní (.) jako že je prostě stará no
268 M: =mhm
269 K: že by staře nevypadala tak (to je nějak tak) že vlastně jsem to nejdřív jako přečet rychle a
270 říkal jsem si proč jako se říká, že staře nevypadala vlastně mě to jako jsem to nějak jako
271 nechyt,
272 M: =mhm
273 K: =pak jsem se vrátil k tomu že ona vlastně myslí jako stará kamarádka a von myslí jak stará
274 (vůbec asi)
275 M: =mhm
276 K: no. tak tak
277 M: Dobře. Můžu si tě (.) jako já ti děkuji mockrát, to bylo skvělé. Já myslím že to bylo lepší
278 než jsem vůbec čekala že to tak jako dopadne že opravdu tam toho bylo vidět hodně co jsi
279 vlastně s tím textem dělal. A máš k tomu ještě nějakou závěrečnou poznámku?
280 K: Závěrečnou poznámku? [já nevim]
281 M: [jakési shrnutí]
282 K: jo.
283 M: Co si myslíš jako teďka jak jsi o tom ještě jednou mluvil?
284 K: Já mám jako (..) já mám třeba rád takový jako povídky nebo nějaký kratší takový texty
285 který (…) jako jako že nemusej bejt primárně vo něčem že stačí že ta situace je hezky
286 popsaná a- a že člověk nemusí z toho vymejšlet nějakej závěr velkej ale že si řekne to je jako
287 přesný
288 M: =mhm
289 K: = takový že to prostě sedí a je to takový jako že to člověk obrazově vidí, že prostě si to
290 projde a řekne si todleto je tak napsaný že tak bych to nenapsal, ale popis- popisuje to tu
291 situaci *věrně*. Tak mám pocit tak si to jako zařazuju do takovýdle kategorie jako něčeho co
292 nemá nějakej že bych v tom nehledal nějaký obrovský jako by to ne- neanalyzoval prostě
293 nějak extra, ale jenom ta představa toho jak si prostě ta po těch dvaceti letech projdu tu Prahu
294 a teď je vidět jako kde to naráží nebo jako že vlastně to mi stačí takže
295 M: takže splnil účel.
296 K: jo, takže to je takovej text jako (.) jako (..) jak to naps- říct? jako že není to já si to jako
297 sám takhle bych to potřeboval jako (.) jsem nad tím moc nepřemejšlel (.) no že spíš takovej
298 věrnej popis tý situace než vo nějaký velký myšlenky. To si myslím, že v tom nejsou nějaký
299 myšlenky.
300 M: =mhm
301 K: Možná třeba to to že dě- dětství dětství nezáleží v jakým režimu je nebo něco takovýho
302 jako třeba to by se dalo nějak rozvádět ale spíš jde vo to, jak to je hezky napsat. No. Tak.
303 M: Dobře, tak jo tak já děkuju mockrát.
304 K: To je všechno? Já jsem čekal[ještě nějaký otázky.]

305   M: [To je všechno] To je zatím všechno, děkuju. ((laugh))

Interview with Brian

1 M: So uh this is the interview with Brian. (..) Um so just to begin, what was your overall
2 impression?
3 B: Um whether I enjoyed it (.) o:r?
4 M: Anything, anything that comes to your mind.
5 B: Um it was interesting. I (.) I was (.) uh there was some funny parts of it um but uh a couple
6 things that were a little bit confusing for me but I think overall it was pretty: understandable
7 and uh I didn't have too much trouble with it.
8 M: Okay. And uh so I think you knew I was going to uh investigate how you read a text and is
9 there anything else you ng like uh: what did you know *before* starting to read. So uh just what
10 was your uh what were your expectations or (.)?
11 B: About the text?
12 M: or (.) also about the experiment or anything
13 B: Um well I: (..) I didn't know *what* to expect from the text at all, I had no idea what kind of
14 story it was or anything like that um (.) and from this I figured you kind of wanted to see what
15 uh what sort of notes I took, how I approached it um (.) and (.) I don't know what else.
16 M: =okay. And what did you do before you started to read it? Did you get uh did you prepare
17 in some way or?
18 B: Um I mean I (.) I knew I would need a dictionary uh so I- I have one pretty big dictionary
19 that is good bud I also use one uh online dictionary and so I just had those ready but otherwise
20 (.) there wasn't any real preparation.
21 M:=okay. so and um now if you could just go through the uh single remarks you've made and
22 just tell me uh what uh: (.) what you were thinking of when you when you made theses notes
23 or just comment a little bit on that.
24 B: Um (.) okay so the first thing uh the woman's talking about uh her husband and what he
25 does and um I just took a couple notes for some vocabulary the difference between uh správní
26 řad- radě or or is it spravní rad? and uh dozorčí rad board of directors and board of trustees.
27 M: mhm ((chuckle))
28 B: =( ) to sort of clarify for myself (.) um and then here this- this sentence where she says uh
29 she doesn't have to (sort of) lead (.) tours or lead foreigners around anymore it- it didn't make
30 sense when I first read it here
31 M: =mhm.
32 B: =but then when she goes on she talks about her old job then I sort of realised what this was
33 in reference to (.) uhm I had trouble with this phrase here. Uh zaplať pámbůh?
34 M: mhm.
35 B: Uh (.) it's used a few times throughout the text and I couldn't find any sort of definition for
36 it in (the) dictionary or (.) uh anywhere
37 M: =uhuh
38 B: =on internet um just looking at it uh in a few different contexts I- I can kind of understand
39 how it's (.) *used*
40 M: [mhm]
41 B: [as] something like thank heavens or whatever
42 M:=yeah [mhm]
43 B: [it's um] but I- literally I ( ) I don't know what this word means.
44 M: =mhm
45 B: =Um uh okay. U:m yeah there's some un- cestovky it took me a minute to think its
46 M: [mhm]
47 B: [okay] it's cestovní kancelář.
48 M: =mhm
49 B: =uh:m (..) there's some idioms here that are like každý pes jiná ves which I- I found this in
50 the dictionary but uh it's- it's still (.) it doesn't completely make sense to me

51	M: [mhm]
52	B: [um] I can see how it's how it's used but just the- sort of the grammar of it is a little
53	confusing.
54	M: =mhm ((chuckle))
55	B: =um (.)
56	M: yeah.
57	B: um (alright) there's some uh: (.) yeah some more just vocabulary I didn't know that
58	M: =mhm
59	B: =yeah here (.) here there's a lot of this ( ) um I would say most of my notes are generally
60	just uh *vocabulary* that I (.) I didn't know
61	M: = mhm
62	B: =uhm (.) sometimes here it's- if it's clear what it means from the context I didn't bother to
63	look it up
64	M: [yeah]
65	B: [but just] uh sort of make notes so that- usually when I read I- I would remember it [better]
66	M: [uhuh]
67	B: =remember these phrases um
68	M: =and what about this one here?
69	B: ((laugh)) This one was kind of funny. I c- I can understand it uh just (.) from English?
70	M: uhuh
71	B: sort of um (.) you know just sceptic so much that you're septic um
72	M: ((laugh))
73	B: um it's we uh- we don't have any sort of *phrase* like this, but I (.) I could understand it and
74	it's pretty funny (.) I thought
75	M: = okay
76	B: =I did sort of for the beginning of the story it wasn't really clear what time period it all
77	took place in?
78	M: =mhm
79	B: =I sort of by the end you can tell like when exactly um yeah sometime in the sort of early
80	mid nineties probably um
81	M: mhm
82	B: =but it never says explicitly. (..) Uh: yeah again just more uh vocabulary, some different
83	phrases. Uh:m yeah and then when they introduced the character uh Liliana uh Drummondová
84	(.) it um (..) just from the conversation they were having I gathered that she's some skier and
85	and they talk about it (you know) she knew her from her youth and the- the American man
86	also knew her. um (..) here's a little confusing just the specific phrase the (yeah) juniorský
87	výběr
88	M: [uhuh]
89	B: [as far] as I I I gathered that it's you know it's not the *Olympic* team
90	M: [mhm]
91	B: [it's] something a little less or uh less prestigious but uh (..) and (.) uh yeah I (..) I like this
92	sort of section here when um she told the man about her sort of escape from uh from
93	Czechoslovakia and you know she's fleeing from these uh the border guards in uh white jump
94	suits un- under a hail of bullets and this
95	M: =uhuh
96	B: = dogs chasing her which um (.) guess it was not- was a bit of an exaggeration.
97	M: mhm
98	B:=um and yeah this is- this style here was a *little* uh different for me um because it's all
99	dialogue but it's just (.) instead of clearly marking who said what and using quotation marks
100	it's just divided by paragraph
101	M: =mhm

102   B: =and it sort of (.) it just kind of flows into this and so down (you know) at this point
103   because I'm you know sort of reading slowly or stopping a lot it (.) it got a little bit confusing
104   as to who was saying what and I had to go back and kind of uh reread it. Um (.) yeah here (.)
105   this (.) it wasn't completely clear what Head was but I guess it was just a brand that she's
106   sponsored by
107   M: = mhm
108   B: (..) okay (.) um this uh (.) this phrase I d- it took me a while I didn't figure out what it
109   meant until (yeah) a few pages later. but um byla to holka z Gottwaldova um yeah so it just
110   here the first time seeing it I- I know who Got- Gottwald was but it (.) I didn't know if it was
111   you know (.) I d- I didn't know that Zlín used to be called Gottwald until
112   M: =and how did you find out?
113   B: uh it (.) it says it later in [the text]
114   M: [ah okay]
115   B: uh the Ivana is remembering she calls it Gottwaldov
116   M: =mhm
117   B: =and then she's like oh wait
118   M: =yeah
119   B: ( ) I can't remember that
120   M: =mhm
121   B: = or I can never remember it's always it's Zlín now
122   M: =mhm
123   B: um (.) a:nd (.) yeah here just some more phrases and words I uh and then she talks about
124   Čedok uh which I know the travel agency here um so I'm guessing it was the one she worked
125   for before (that), she mentioned u:m (...) u:hm (.) yeah this phrase here I- I couldn't figure out
126   what it meant at all um when she was talking to the uh the porter in the elevator
127   M: =mhm
128   B: =um (.) yeah že jeho holkám nepolezu do zelí. I (..) yeah I couldn't figure out what it
129   means exactly
130   M: =mhm
131   B: =but um just sort of from the context of the situation I can you know (.) just continue
132   M: =yeah [okay]
133   B: [um]
134   M: and other than that vocabulary I see? mhm
135   B: yeah lot of vocabulary uh more uh: this yeah the Shylokovu sh- uh liber it's (.) yeah (.) I- I
136   know Shylock but I couldn't remember exactly I- I had to look it up and then yeah it's the
137   Shakespeare's pound of flesh. We use the phrase pound of flesh a lot but I- I'd [never]
138   connected the two before
139   M: [mhm] mhm. That's interesting. ((laugh)) and how did you find that out?
140   B: Um I just looked up Shylock in (you know) an English dictionary and
141   M: =aha okay like in a paper dictionary?
142   B: =y- uh
143   M: =or like online?
144   B: uh it's like it's uh just a regular dictionary um but it is online.
145   M: =oh okay
146   B: =I didn't just [google]
147   M: [but in an] English-English dictionary.
148   B: =English-English yes.
149   M:=aha okay so you were working actually with a translation dictionary and with an English-
150   English dictionary.
151   B: =yeah I well I always, I have a (.) just on my computer an English-English dictionary that
152   is *really* really good and I use it all the [time] for many different things, so it's always kind of

153   the first thing I go to when (.) like I um (.) when I need to know a word or just have a question
154   about something. It also has the etymology of all the English words so its
155   M: uhuh
156   B: =I really like it but um also yeah for instance here they're talking about ( ) uh this sort of I
157   don't know what you call it, when they they write a word in Czech that's just it's mimicking
158   the English [pronunciation]
159   M: [yeah] mhm
160   B: =so uh livrej and um it looks like livery and it is I think.
161   M: [mhm]
162   B: [coming] from this but again I didn't know what livery was ex- sp- just from memory
163   M: =yeah
164   B: =so I had to look that up in the English dictionary um (..) okay. Yeah, uh: (.) the
165   bundeswehr?
166   M: =mhm.
167   B: =I had to look up online to see what it is um
168   M: =mhm.
169   B: =and from context it's pretty clear it's um something to do with the army or soldiers but
170   M: mhm.
171   B: um here when she starts talking about her um her husband was when I first got the idea of
172   who she *was*
173   M: mhm.
174   B: but it's also (.) it's a little bit confusing here because th- until this point the narrator is
175   always referring to her as Liliana
176   M: =mhm
177   B: =and Liliana Drummondová and then she starts referring to her as Ivana and I wasn't sure
178   if it was there were two women or what exactly (.) was happening
179   M: =mhm
180   B: =in the story so it was a bit confusing here.
181   M: =yeah.
182   B: =um (..) but then yeah er I gathered that it's she's some millionaire who's from
183   Czechoslovakia married to an American um (.)
184   M: millionaire.
185   B: =yeah it's
186   M: =yeah ((laugh))
187   B: =it's pretty obvious who it is um (..) a:nd (.) yeah some (.) yeah some other vocabulary th-
188   more things like s- svíta?
189   M: =mhm
190   B: =and it's suite
191   M: =yeah uhuh.
192   B: It's is um (..) some of this words aren't always so obvious. Here when they started talking
193   about all the different cars I (..) I could gather like you know uh Tatra six thirteen it's it's
194   pretty clear it's a model of car, but vektra uh bavorák, I- these are some references I didn't
195   quite get um
196   M: =mhm
197   B: =so I wasn't sure at first that they were just cars or what [um]
198   M: [mhm]
199   B: =yeah.
200   M: =and here you've got this Got- Gottwaldov that it's actually uh *Zlín*.
201   B: =yeah (..) Um okay (.) and then sort of as it goes on, it's more just some vocabulary- some
202   uh: phrases again I *not* completely sure what they mean but just from context it's clear enough
203   um and the zaplať pámbůh again (.) um and this I'm guessing is another model of car but um

204   (..) (didn't get) uh (.) yeah some of these sort of references uh ( ) I guess the Czech culture, I-
205   some of them I know just from living here uh (.) some of them I I just don't get at all [you
206   know]
207   M: [mhm]
208   B: um (.) um (.) ah: yeah some more words some things I couldn't find anywhere like eklhaft?
209   It sounds like it's German (.) perhaps. Um yeah uh hagiography I think we use it in different
210   way than it's used here so um
211   M: =mhm
212   B: yeah uh we (..) more vocabulary we have a similar phrase to this in one ear out the other
213   (..) uh (.) more vocabulary here yeah I just (she's) kind of going on, this was more from I
214   guess a *literary* perspective just the way that the narrator's talking about uh Ivana and um just
215   keeps pointing out her plastic surgery and ( ) calling her an American instead of Czech. Um
216   and er yeah this ( ) yeah I think (..) maybe it's here somewhere where she's sort of looking at
217   her and looking at the sor- the guy who looks kind of dirty or
218   M: =mhm
219   B: the guy is looking at Ivana and uh (.) so it's kind of interesting um. (..) Uh okay it goes on
220   um yeah (it was just) that uh (.) that she was- she counted the statues on the Charles bridge
221   and she was *always counting something* and it's kind of a (.) I don't (you know) if this was
222   just kind of a reference to sort of her uh obsession with money or just sort of a (.) I don't
223   know something a passing thing she noticed. um
224   M: =mhm
225   B: =uh okay. (..) more vocabulary here basically um (...) uh yeah couple more phrases that I
226   couldn't work out I- even if I understand every single word in the phrase sometimes I still
227   don't get the whole meaning uh
228   M: =of the entity.
229   B: yeah. and (...) um yeah here a couple more (.) words, especially when Ivana was speaking
230   in in dialogue she uses a lot of these words that are you know pulled from English [I g-]
231   M: [mhm]
232   B: like kouč and then this it's sto fítů
233   M: =yeah.
234   B: =so yeah um there are a number of these in there but ( ) you usually don't find them in a
235   dictionary and it takes me a minute to (I go) read it and I have to think about it and I'm like oh
236   okay it's (.) feet.
237   M: =mhm
238   B: ( ) okay (..) and then (..) generally um (.) whenever I read a story or something like this uh
239   for myself I'm kind of uh I'm torn between wanting to know what every single word means
240   and wanting to just read it and not stop every you know (.) paragraph and so (.) in the
241   beginning I tend to read a lot more slowly and carefully and then as I go along it just it's
242   quicker and I just pick things up more from context and uh than really thinking about them
243   and looking things up so
244   M: =mhm
245   B: =that's kind of why (.) as it goes along there's less and less uh yeah. But again some uh
246   words I didn't know ( ) again the same phrase (..) so yeah
247   M: =okay
248   B: =and I was curious why at the end it's some (.) uh Slovak (but) but uh I don't know.
249   M: But uh (.) if for example there was still Czechoslovakia then (.) it could have been because
250   of that. Yeah, so you noted that in the end [that] it was Slovak?
251   B: [yeah].
252   M: Okay so great thanks I think that's everything about the text um just about your overall
253   feeling *after* having read it and having talked about it what's your overall um I don't know
254   some kind of evaluation or uh (..)

255   B: well I mean I think I- I enjoyed reading it, I was curious whether it's uh a true story um or
256   it's just an (allocation). Yeah I- I have some questions about sort of the story itself again with
257   th- you know uh (.) with the names of Liliana Drummondová and uh Trump like *why*? What
258   was going on with that exactly or have I just completely misunderstood it um. But um yeah I
259   think it was interesting entertaining there were a fe:w sort of descriptive sections that I liked
260   again sort of her flight from the country
261   M: =mhm
262   B: =her story and um (.) when they were waiting in line to get into uh the saint Vita's
263   cathedral. And there was this dirty man sort of standing at the (.) you know (.) plastic
264   American woman, so.
265   M: Mhm okay. And how long did it take you to read the whole story?
266   B: Um I think it was maybe two and a half hours?
267   M: mhm.
268   B: quite a while.
269   M: =okay, yeah.
270   B: Yeah I don't often read as I said in the question before I don't read so many literary texts
271   in Czech it's more just newspapers and magazines.
272   M: and uh would you read more stories of this author because uh I mean this story is from a
273   book uh you saw it (with the page) numbers so would you read more stories from this book
274   you think? Or (.)
275   B: Perhaps yeah. They're actually um (.) I think this was manageable enough for me, (but)
276   again in the beginning I went pretty slowly but I (.) I could just more read it for just
277   enjoyment not you know trying to study the language or learn something, I could just *read*
278   some stories like this and um (..) not have to you know er stop (look) everything (up) um and
279   still enjoy it.
280   M: Okay great so thanks a lot that's all. ((laugh)) Or do you have any more comments any um
281   (..) final exclamations or anything?
282   B: No no I don't know?
283   M: Okay, so thank you.

NÁVŠTĚVA STARÉ DÁMY

Ne že by mi peníze vadily, ale přišly trochu pozdě. Ostatně nikdy jsme na tom nebyli špatně. Po listopadu jsme restituovali rodinný penzion v Jevanech a vybudovali cateringovou společnost a prádelnu na povlečení pro malé hotely. Manžel je ve správní radě elektronické firmy a v dozorčí radě tří dalších. Teď už cizince provázet nemusím. Ale co má člověk dělat? Čtyřicet už mi víckrát nebude. Zavírám oči před tím, že muž má milenku, někdejší sekretářku, myslím, že není úplně pitomá, zaplať pámbů, a počítám, že ho nerozvede, ve hře je hodně peněz. Takže nejenom kvůli dcerám děláme zdání fungující rodiny.

Občas ze staré známosti se ještě uvolím, když zavolají holky z cestovky, a odvodím malou skupinu turistů. Častěji dostanu fax nebo email rovnou z Ameriky. Ale vybírám si. Žádnou obtížnou grupu, každý pes jiná ves, vdovy ze Středozápadu, se kterými se člověk vleče přes Staromák s deštníkem nad hlavou a ony se vás potom zeptají, jestli tohle je to Rudé náměstí. Já vodím kultivované byznysmeny a právníky, kteří bydlí v Intercontu nebo Ugraka; pět, šest, nanejvýš deset lidí, ale nejraději dvojice milionářů na zapřenou. Takhle jsem provázela Margaretu Clifford, dceru prezidenta Trumana, s manželem, nebo pentagonského generála, který nechal ulít zvon a zavěsil ho Svéradicích, vesnici, odkud pocházel jeho otec, protože si přečetl v americkém románu, že takhle se to dělá.

Ještě před rozpadem federace jsem objížděla republiku se skupinou obchodníků a tlumočila ve větších podnicích a bankách, totiž tam, kde to potřebovali. Obvykle mají člověka, nějakého sekčního ředitele, který je vyčleněn k podávání informací, umí plynně anglicky a řekne návštěvníkům přesně to, co potřebují, a to, co potřebuje banka. Vlastní tlumočník se ovšem vždycky hodí. Cizinci stále cítí ke kraji za železnou oponou určitou skepsi až sepsi, chtělo by se říct, občas jim ještě tuhne krev. Některým ne, někteří se vyznají. Takoví, kteří už byli v Rusku nebo na Balkáně, považují Prahu

za západní metropoli. Vzpomínám na Jacka Savage z New Yorku. Vysoký blonďák v dokonalém obleku s brýlemi ve zlatých obroučkách. Rozuměl obchodování s akciemi na burze a psal do finanční rubriky několika novin na východním pobřeží. Jack byl jiný Američan. Měl obsáhlé vědomosti o Evropě, o dějinách a obchodu. Takovému nemůžete vyprávět, že na Konopišti bydlel Dracula. Ostatně stálo by to za to, dát dohromady seznam tradovaných výmyslů, které průvodci dávají k lepšímu z nedostatku lepších historek.

Jednou po obchodním jednání jsme seděli v hotelovém baru a já jsem mu vyprávěla o životě, o tom, že jsem zamlada jezdila na vodních lyžích a byla dokonce mistryní republiky. Škoda, že tenhle sport není na programu olympiády, říkala jsem mu, mohla jsem na ni jet ještě v dobách utažené normalizace. Jezdila jsem slušně i v zimě na sjezdovkách a řeč přišla na Lilianu Drummondovou, kterou on znal z večírků obchodní smetánky. Já jsem ji znala z hor, ovšem jenom do doby, než začala jezdit s juniorským výběrem.

A dál se nikdy nedostala, řekl Jack.

Kam dál by se měla dostat, zeptala jsem se, vždyť se vdala a odstěhovala.

Když přijela Liliana do Ameriky, tvrdila, že prchala přes zasněženou Šumavu a minová pole na lyžích Head v dešti kulek, pronásledovaná komandem pohraničníků v bílých kombinézách a smečkou lidožravých psů, vysvětloval mi Jack. Říkala, že byla v československém olympijském týmu, a to není pravda. Byla právě jen v juniorském. Při lyžování v Rakousku se seznámila s podnikatelem o čtyřicet let starším a po jeho smrti se odstěhovala. Prošla řadou pečlivě vykalkulovaných známostí, lyžovala s Kennedyovými, až zakotvila ve správném loži a vzala si milionáře Mickeyho.

A co je na tom špatného? Byla to pěkná holka.

Na tom není nic tak špatného, kdyby ve společnosti i v médiích netvrdila, že byla olympionička. To u nás znamená hodně. Být v olympijském týmu znamená být smetánka. A můžeš se družit s jinou smetánkou a z toho jsou peníze a postavení. V Americe ti mohou odpustit i vraždu v afektu, ale lhaní ne. Jak jednou zalžeš, tak jsi odepsaná. A na lyže Head nemohla mít ještě kontrakt.

Nevěděla jsem, že Liliana nebyla v nějakém týmu. Ani že byla v jiném. Po pravdě mě to pobavilo. Nečekala bych to od ní. Byla hezká, tehdy ještě nebyla blond, ovšem o její inteligenci jsem si ne-

dělala iluze. Byla to holka z Gottwaldova a mezi Pražáky na horách si dávala pozor, aby neřekla něco hloupého. Dál jsem se s Jackem nepřela, měl jiné kvality, kvůli kterým stálo za to s ním posedět. Nakonec to byl moc hezký večer a když Jack odjel, nějaký čas jsme si ještě psali. Dodneška si posíláme lístky k Vánocům.

Vzpomněla jsem si na Jacka, když mi překvapivé telefonovala Liliana Drummondová z Ameriky. Bývalá kamarádka z lyží chtěla vědět, jestli bych jí neukázala Prahu, přijede v květnu po více než dvaceti letech a bude bydlet v hotelu Paříž. Volala mi, protože si pamatuje, že město znám, že už na fakultě jsem o nedělích provázela cizince. Ona sama už Prahu nezná, vlastně ji nikdy pořádně neznala. Řekla, že mi samozřejmě zaplatí, a já řekla, že to samozřejmě nepřipadá v úvahu. No dobře, nějak se dohodneme, smála se Liliana.

Čekala jsem před hotelem a byla svědkem toho, jak autobus, kterým přijela z Německa, zacouval až k samotnému vchodu – věc zhola nemožná pro řidiče Čedoku, kteří do téhle slepé ulice odmítají zajet i s mikrobusem. Vyskytl se menší problém. Dva osobní vozy stály vystrčené zadkem do ulice, ale její bodyguardi vyskočili z autobusu a parkující auta prostě přenesli.

Na tenhle hotel mám smíšené vzpomínky. Před patnácti lety jsem šla navštívit klienty na pokoj ve třetím patře, abychom vyřídili podrobnosti zájezdu. Cestou dolů přistoupil do výtahu bagážista a natlačil se na mé se zdviženým obočím. Tohle si, děvenko, nezvykej, oznámil mi. To bude padesát marek. Překvapeně jsem se ho zeptala, za co, a on řekl, že jeho holkám nepolezu do zelí. Že jsou jisté uzance, které je třeba dodržovat. Byl ztělesněním mravních uzancí, vtíravé suverenity.

Mileráda si s vámi o těch uzancích popovídám v kanceláři ředitele hotelu, opáčila jsem, a chlapec znejistěl. Za ředitelem jít nechtěl. Šla jsem za ním sama a věc mu oznámila. Vysvětlila jsem nomenklaturnímu kádrovi, že celou věc poženu výš, že takové jednání oznámím v Čedoku. Moc se omlouval, prosil mě, ať to nikde neříkám, a dal mi ze svého dvě stě marek. Vzala jsem úplatek a minutu jsem ho potěžkávala v ruce. Kolik asi dostává ředitel od toho liftboye? Ode všech? Zastrčila jsem peníze do kabelky s čistým svědomím. Pochopila jsem, že bych se mohla živit velice snadno. Vím od té doby, kolik se platí za návštěvu na pokoji a za návštěvu ředitele

v kanceláři. Stačilo by přistoupit na jisté uzance. Chamtivý bagážista dostal hodinovou výpověď a odešel reklamovat svoji Shylockovu libru do jiného hotelu. Za nějaký čas jsem ho viděla v livreji před Alcronem. Tihle hoši se pohybují v bludném koloběhu. Ti nejdou pod jistou úroveň. Napadlo mě, jestli by po mně ještě dneska někdo chtěl výpalné za nadstandardní služby, které hotely poskytují.

Liliana vypadala víceméně jako na fotografii z časopisu, ve kterém jsem ji viděla naposled. Tedy jinak než zamlada. Napadlo mě, že se podobá nafukovací panně, na které si vojáci tuším Bundeswehru cvičí dýchání z úst do úst. Po večeři jsme si na chvilku sedly v baru a Ivana se mi svěřila, kde všude má silikon a jak často si ho nechává vyměňovat. Postesdkla si, že manžel Donald si našel vlastně úplně stejný typ ženy, vyměnil jenom třiačtyřicetiletou za čtyřiatřicetiletou. V digitálním součtu to vyjde nastejno, ale je to ozvláštnění. Také jsem se jí svěřila, ovšem moje problémy s chotěm mi přišly nicotné vedle čísel a miliónů, které poletovaly kolem jejich rozchodu. Přijela se svitou osobních strážců, kadeřnic, s osobním trenérem a kuchařkou. Ale na prohlídku Prahy chce vyrazit bez autobusu, jenom se mnou, doufá, že je tu bezpečno, taky si musíme víc popovídat, dneska půjde brzo spát. A jestli bych na zítřek nesehnala auto. Navrhla jsem, že ji svezu ve svojí vektře, nebo požádám Frantu o firemního bavoráka, ale Liliana mi rozpačitě vyjevila přání svézt se Tatrou 613, to že bývala limuzína jejích snů, v tom jezdil ředitel Svitu za jejího mládí v Gottwaldově; já vím, že už je to zase Zlín, vrtěla zasněně hlavou, ale nemůžu si zvyknout. Řekla jsem, že sehnat se dá i Zil nebo Čajka, a šestsettřináctka už vůbec nebude problém, protože vím, kdo jednu má. Ta se ale pronajímá i s řidičem. Fajn, řekla Liliana, vezmi řidiče, hlavně aby v tom byla klimatizace.

Dohodla jsem se s Honzou, se kterým jsme před časem vozili Sigourney Weaver. Honza vlastnil deset vozů, které levně odkoupil dílem od nějakého ministerstva, dílem od sběratele veteránů. Zaměstnával několik řidičů a jednoho z nich nám poslal toho jarního rána do hotelu. Mladík přinesl fakturu, kterou Liliana předala své účetní a zeptala se mě, v kolik hodin se vrátíme, aby o ni personál neměl strach.

Okružka trvá obvykle šest hodin, ale třeba se někde zdržíme na kafi, řekla jsem jí.

93

Dobrá, vrátíme se do pěti hodin odpoledne, oznámila Ivana účetní.

Všimla jsem si tvrdého akcentu, který ji neopustil ani po dvaceti letech, a napadlo mě, že jím možná dělá dojem na milionářských rautech jako bělogvardějská kněžna.

Řidič se jmenoval Toník, byl to student s chytrým čelem a hezkýma očima a ještě nevěděl, co bude dělat po vysoké škole. Zatím jezdil autem pro firmu a chodil do počítačových kurzů. Byla sobota, zaplať pámbů, protože jezdit po Praze ve všední den je utrpení. Zácpy jsou teď všude. Vysvětlila jsem Lilianě, že od revoluce se počet aut zdvojnásobil. Kdekdo je teď podnikatel, což byl za režimu zločin a často je i teď, a u podnikatele se předpokládá, že jezdí do práce autem, ačkoli město na to není stavěné. Tady nejsou bulváry po zbouraných hradbách jako v Budapešti nebo ve Vídni. A benzín stojí pětadvacet korun za litr.

Kolik je to dolarů? zeptala se Ivana.

Osmdesát centů podle dnešního kurzu.

Za to je u nás, počkej, galon jsou čtyři litry ... za to jsou u nás skoro tři litry. Já si pamatuji benzín za čtyři koruny. Otec měl embéčko. Jo, a eskymo bylo za padesátník.

Vyjeli jsme na magistrálu a zamířili k Vyšehradu. Takhle já začínám prohlídkový okruh. Obvykle se začíná na Hradě, ale já mám svoje cesty, neotřelé, a vyprávím o městě v chronologickém pořadí. Libuše odhazovala vyčerpané milence z lázně pod vyšehradskou skálu. Tam je posbírali vodníci. To je ovšem německá pomluva. Liliana se směje. A proč má Bedřich Smetana pěticípou hvězdu na hrobě? To taky nevím. Dvořák je zajímavější. Žil v New Yorku a byl prvním skladatelem, který se stal dolarovým milionářem. Ten se mi líbí, usmívá se Liliana zamyšleně. Jinak jí jména nic neříkají. Milada Horáková? Nebyla to ta lyžařka ze Slavoje? Vůbec si chce spíš povídat a historická data moc nevnímá.

Sjedeme k nábřeží, pokračujeme k Tančícímu domu a tady přejedeme řeku, zabočíme k tanku, který už tady nestojí, a Holečkovou nahoru ke Strahovu.

Rolling Stones místo spartakiády? To je devalvace, říká Liliana. Já jsem tady cvičila..., počkej, v pětašedesátém. Byla nás tady z Gottwaldova půlka školy. Každý chtěl cvičit. Bylo to krásný. To už snad není pravda.

Toník nás vyloží na Pohořelci a já mu říkám, ať pro nás přijede na Klárov ve dvě hodiny. Půjdeme pěšky přes Hrad a naobědváme se ve Vikárce. Pod Hradem se nesmí s autem čekat, nanejvýš tam můžete stát deset minut, než se objeví klient po pěší prohlídce. Liliana si nadšeně prohlíží výlohy a ptá se, kolik co stojí. Všechno přepočítává na ceny dětských pamlsků z dětství na Moravě. Vzpomínáš na mejdlíčka? A na tiki? Nejhnusnější a nejlevnější byl rahat, to bylo posypaný škrobem. Ono to všechno bylo dost eklhaft, ale zmrzlina byla dobrá. Sovětská – moroženoje. Ta myslím stála tři koruny. Ale eskymo bylo stejně nejlepší. Vrtá mi hlavou, jak si může dolarová milionářka pamatovat ceny lízátek. Znám tuhle hagiografii žvýkaček a vůbec všeho, co bylo báječné jen proto, že jsme byly malé. Takovéhle inventury dětské blaženosti se provádějí při každém setkání spolužaček a neznamenají nic jiného, než že stárneme. S milionářkou mě to trochu unavuje. Vždyť je to buranka, říkám si, bez ohledu na to, kolik má peněz. Vzpomíná s dojetím i na šátkování na pionýra. Dětství vám nezkazí ani blbý režim. Liliana u sebe nemá skoro žádnou hotovost, je zvyklá platit kreditkartou, ale těch pár drobných, které má v kabelce, mi ukazuje a ptá se, co se za ně dá koupit. Na Hradě ji zajímá hlavně to, kde bydlí Havel. Říkám jí, že tam nebydlí, že tam jenom pracuje. Kde pracuje? Snad v těchhle oknech, říkám, a ona si je vyfotografuje. Kdyby tu nebyla úplně soukromě, smluvila by si s ním setkání, ale dneska už není devadesátý rok, kdy mluvil s každým, dneska by se to muselo plánovat dlouho dopředu. Ostatně viděla se s ním ve Washingtonu.

Fronta před pokladnou do sv. Víta je málem okluzní. Zatímco čekáme, prohlíží si nás mladík smutné tváře a pohledu venkovana, s havraními vlasy a s nezdravou tváří, které jakoby chyběl rozštěp na horním rtu. V ruce drží silonovou tašku a mlsně hltá silikonovou cizinku bezostyšnýma očima. Možná je z jižní Moravy. Objíždí lyrovité boky v přiléhavých džínách, hodiny soustředěného aerobiku. Američanka ze Zlína zvedne pobaveně obočí.

Proplujeme kostelními lavicemi a Liliana se rozhlíží po mozaikových oknech. V kryptě spočítá krále. Který byl ten Good King Wenceslaus? To nebyl kníže Václav? Svatý Vjačeslav Zajcev. Nebyl on to Rus? Dějepis má jednou provždy uzavřený, cokoli dalšího nemá cenu přidávat, historická data jdou jedním uchem tam, druhým ven, zajímavé jsou jenom perličky. Jak skončil svatý Vít? Uvařen?

Chudák. Vyprávím o Janovi z Nepomuku a ona si vzpomene nesouvisle na loňskou návštěvu Číny. Mezinárodní vlastenka. Výšku chrámové věže porovnává s mrakodrapem, který postavil manžel Donald (občas mu říká Myšáku) na 5th Avenue. A ovšem, vyhození místodržící z Královského paláce, to jsme se učily, jak se jmenovali – Martinic a ten druhý..., ano, Slavata. Plus písař.

Sedneme si ve Vikárce na oběd. Všechny stoly jsou rezervované, ale vrchní pozná velkou dámu a volný stůl se najde. Liliana se ponimrá ve vařené zelenině a vypije sklenku bílého vína. Divila by ses, ale dovážím do Států české pivo.

Tenhle Hrad, kde na Jiřském nádvoří sedávala knížata, kde byly pohanské trůny a kde probíhal a zase z nedostatku peněz končí nějaký archeologický průzkum; my tudy jdeme a počítáme trůny, kam nám stačí vstupenka. Američanka s umělým tělem se zdvořile diví, nic neví a to, co se dozví, hned zapomíná. Jdeme dál, není třeba se mísit do hrobů. Já mám takovéhle boty, ty máš ňujorský dyzajn, pojď se mnou, kopec se snáší, Opyš se sklání, postavili to tady, když chtěli hlídat brod, takhle vznikaly hrady, nad brody, kde už nebyli komáři, teď nouze pominula, řeka teče vysoko, Mánesův most, vody je dost, je hustá, břidličnatá, kalná, kovová, nejedlá. Liliana prostinká, světlá, chce být in, když chceš být in, dělej pro to něco, a ona dělá, vykvétá naivitou, nemá zábrany, to je hezké na milionářce, nebojí se ztrapnit, roztomilá hloupost je pozlacená penězi. U nás se staví hodně ekumenických kostelů, říká. Platí to soukromé nadace. Pod jednou střechou se skryje několik denominací a ještě synagoga. A ještě se přitom vyperou peníze. Kdoví, jestli ten Karel IV. nepral peníze, když nechával pozlatit věže. Katedrály v Porýní, to byla hotová prádelna. Říkám jí, že máme taky jednu. Na povlečení. Projdeme Zlatou uličkou, sejdeme Zámecké schody a nasedneme do auta.

To bylo hezké, říká Liliana, teď bychom mohly chvíli jezdit, abychom si odpočinuly.

Toník říká, že udělá větší okruh, a vyjede Chotkovými sady na Letnou, pokračujeme do Holešovic, přes řeku, do Heydrichovy zatáčky, do Libně, přes Karlín na magistrálu, k řece v Podolí (tady jsem jednou byla plavat, vzpomene si Liliana) a po nábřeží ke Karlovu mostu. Toník nás vyloží a počká na nás na druhé straně mostu. Přejdeme most, Liliana počítá sochy – pořád něco počítá – a v Mos-

tecké znovu nasedneme. Jedeme přes Malou Stranu, přes Most legií k Národnímu divadlu, k Muzeu přes Václavské náměstí a Toník spáchá kvůli Lilianě několik dopravních přestupků, které v sobotu projdou bez povšimnutí, vrátí se do Revoluční a zajede k hotelu.

Liliana mě zve na večeři, ale nejprve se chce převléknout. Ať Toník počká, ráda by se pak ještě jednou projela městem a viděla památky osvětlené za tmy. Říkám Toníkovi, ať si zajde něco sníst, a ptám se ho, jestli má ještě čas. Auto bylo původně pronajaté na osm hodin. Řidič povídá, že s tím sice nepočítal, že měl jít večer do kurzu, ale že se přizpůsobí. Předpokládám, že dostanete dobré spropitné, říkám mu já, a on pokrčí rameny. Jdu s Lilianou na pokoj. Ptá se, jestli se také nechci osprchovat, a já se chci osprchovat, mimo jiné proto, že chci vidět, jak hotel pojal rekonstrukci secesní koupelny (velkoryse a necitlivě), načež mi Liliana věnuje růžovou blůzku a načatý parfém značky Yardley. Jestli se neurazím. Neurazím. Cestou dolů po mně nikdo nic nechtěl. V hale se bagážista jenom ukloní. Už jsem stará.

Toník nás odveze do jednoho z těch nových podniků, které vyrostly na Starém Městě a tváří se levně a nonkonformně, zdánlivě studentsky, nicméně mají tady francouzské názvy a málem pařížské ceny. Přede dveřmi stojí tabule s nabídkou menu, napsaného barevnými křídami. Toník nemá kde zaparkovat. Říká, že odjede a vrátí se pro nás za hodinu.

Jeďte, chlapče, pozvala bych vás, ale to víte, chceme si popovídat mezi děvčaty.

Je roztomilý, řekla, když odešel. Usadily jsme se do proutěných křesel pastelových barev. Číšník přinesl menu a zeptal se, co budeme pít. Liliana se zeptala na nějaký ročník bílého francouzského vína a sommelier naklonil hlavu na stranu. Zatvářil se zamyšleně a řekl, že si není jist, jestli právě tenhle ročník mají. Liliana se zeptala, jaké jiné dobré francouzské víno mají, o němž ví jistě, že ho mají, a muž doporučil nějaký pinot, jehož celé jméno mi uniklo, neboť ho zašeptal málem spiklenecky. Liliana stočila pohled stranou a uvážlivě pokývala hlavou. Ano, to může být.

Ty si dej, co chceš, řekla Liliana a listovala jídelním lístkem, já si dám jenom něco malého. Když přišel číšník s vínem, ukázalo se, že je to Pinot Chardonney, ročník 91. Otevřel láhev a zeptal se, která z nás ho ochutná. Liliana zavrtěla hlavou a vybídla ho, ať víno ochut-

97

ná sám. Podvědomý strach elity z travičů vyhřezl v etiketu. Číšník se uklonil, zakroužil vínem ve skleničce a prohlédl jej proti světlu. Potom se napil a zamyšleně proválel víno v ústech. Pohlédl ke stropu a nakonec na nás. Mohu doporučit, řekl. Co budou dámy jíst?

Dala jsem si jehněčí kotletu a Liliana telecí řízek z Berry. Dejte mi ten telecí řízek z Berry, řekla a přečetla název ještě francouzsky – escalope de veau a la berrichone –, aby nebylo pochyb, že si ho odněkud pamatuje. Jestli mě chtěla přesvědčit, že umí francouzsky, tak se jí to povedlo. Zdálo se mi, že francouzsky vyslovuje líp než anglicky. Během jídla mi vyprávěla o obrazech, které kdysi koupili s manželem společně a které on prodal před majetkovým vyrovnáním s neodpustitelným ziskem; o to se teď ona chystá bojovat v samostatné soudní při. Prodal mi jednoho Carravagia a jednoho Steena, povzdychla si Liliana tónem, který svědčil o tom, že přímo vyrostla na barokním malířství. A nevím ani komu. Řekla to tónem, jako kdyby prodal její psí miláčky. Došlo mi, že o ní vlastně nic nevím. Až doteď neprojevila o výtvarné umění nejmenší zájem. Napadlo mě na vteřinu, že možná po návratu z lyžařských pobytů v Krkonoších či v Beskydech chodila do oblastní galérie v Gottwaldově a studovala tam... Co? Václava Vavřince Reinera? Brandla? Toho tam nemají. Jestli ona se do té Ameriky neodstěhovala, aby mohla navštěvovat Guggenheimovo muzeum? Asi ne. Na Hradě nechtěla do Rudolfovy galerie ani do Jiřského kláštera.

Zeptala jsem se, jestli ještě lyžuje.

Už ne, osobní kouč mi to zakázal. Škodí to kolenním vazům. Chodím hrát tenis a doma pochopitelně plavu, teď jsem nechala přestavět bazén. Sto fítů měří. To je třicet metrů. Kromě toho mám golfové hřiště.

Liliana si odskočila na záchod a když se vrátila, sdělila mi poněkud spiklenecky, že když běží v televizi reklama, dochází v milionech amerických domácností k masovému splachování na záchodě. Že už teď to představuje vážný problém a ještě větší problém to bude představovat v budoucnu. Že ekologové bijí na poplach. A jestlipak je to problém i u nás?

Nevím, dívám se na video, takže splachuju jindy.

Po hodině se dostaví Toník a říká, že parkuje docela blízko. Dejte si něco, říká Liliana, určitě musíte mít hlad. Toník říká, že to mají ve firmě zakázáno, i kdyby si to zákazník výslovně přál.

98

No jestli je to proti předpisům, nebudu vás nutit, pokrčí Liliana na rameny. My ještě chvilku posedíme, kde stojí auto?

Čekám tady za rohem ve Štupartské, teď večer už je tam místo.

Opravdu milý chlapec, říká Liliana, když Toník odejde. Kolik myslíš, že mu mám dát spropitného?

Říkám, že nevím, že mu samozřejmě nic dávat nemusí. Ale zvykem je...

Jo, to jsem se chtěla zeptat, přeruší mě Liliana, chtěla bych si tady koupit pár obrazů, nějaké umění. Doporučili mi několik jmen, aby to nebyl kýč. Namátkou, podívá se do růžového zápisníčku se záložkou, nějakého Saudka a Borna Holbeina Mladšího. To jsou dvě jména?

To jsou tři jména. Chybí ti tam čárka. Osobně ty pány neznám, ale pochybuju, že by zabránili splachování v milionech amerických domácností.

Liliana se nejistě uchichtne. Jak prý jsem na to přišla? A jestli by nebyl lepší Born Starší? Vzpomněla jsem si, jak jsem provázela Margaretu Clifford-Truman, někdejší kabaretní zpěvačku a dceru prezidenta, jak mi vyprávěla o tom, že otec dostal plátno od Picassa. Atomový bombometčík se malíři mírových holubic poklonil, ze slušnosti obraz přijal, a po odchodu návštěvy ho chtěl vyhodit. Truman byl jiný než Drummond. Dcera od něho obraz vyprosila, protože se může hodit, a on jí řekl, ať si ho pověsí třeba na záchod. To je dobré, směje se Liliana. Budu si muset také nějakého obstarat. Zítra se mám setkat s jedním galeristou, ten bude vědět. Ovšem ten Born Holbein je z nějakého nepodchyceného dědictví, takže je to tajdův, classified, jak se u nás říká.

Říkám, že to nejspíš bude classified. Že Born Holbein musí být klasa, když má věci u Guggenheima, v Pradu a v Dikobrazu.

Po jídle si objednáme koňak a účet. Číšník říká, že se jim polámala endorsing machine, že dneska berou jenom hotovost. Liliana znejistí, ale já říkám, že ji pozvu, a účet zaplatím. Liliana se moc omlouvá, vrátí mi to v hotelu.

Toník stojí před autem a kouří. Když nás uvidí, zašlápne cigaretu a strčí si do úst žvýkačku.

Ale to jste nemusel zahazovat, říká Liliana. Takového tygra, říká potěšena, že vylovila slangový výraz. Já si sama občas zapálím, když mě nikdo nevidí. U nás je za to elektrické křeslo.

Projedeme Prahou ještě jednou. Liliana už je unavená. Když ji upozorňuji na památky, sotva vyhlédne z okna. Zítra mě čeká dlouhý den, povídá. Jedeme na Karlštejn na golf s nějakými podnikateli. Pozvala bych tě, ale je to obchodní záležitost.

Ach, to byl den, moc ti děkuju, Alžběto, loučí se nakonec ve dveřích. Jdu s ní do hotelové haly a Toník jde s námi. Liliana se k němu obrátí a říká omluvně: Jé, zapomněla jsem v autě fotoaparát. Toník odběhne k vozu. Sotva odejde, vzpomene si Liliana, že ne. Že si ho nezapoměla v autě, že ho nechala na pokoji po odpolední prohlídce. Kolik mu má dát? ptá se. Kolik myslíš, říkám, a ona se přehrabuje v kabelce. Odpusťte, Tondo, vysvětluje řidiči, když se vrátí. Uvědomila jsem si, že jsem kameru nechala na pokoji. Tady máte. A podává mu bankovku složenou do malého čtverečku. Toník zasune peníze do kapsy a uzarděle děkuje. Ptám se ho, kam odtud pojede, a on říká, že na Lužiny, a já mu říkám, ať na mě počká v autě, že mě sveze kousek s sebou.

No a co s tebou, povídá Liliana, když chlapec odejde. Něco ti dlužím. To nestojí za řeč, vrtím hlavou. Ale ano, počkej tady, pošlu ti dolů účetní. Políbí mě na obě tváře, byl to nádherný den, na toho Holbeina se přeptá a ještě mi určitě zavolá, tak ahoj, pozdravuj doma, já dneska upadnu do peřin jako podťatá, tak pa. A je pryč.

Pospíchám z hotelu, aby si mé ještě nenašla účetní. Sednu do auta a ptám se Toníka, kolik mu dala. Nechtějte to vědět, říká student. Chtěl jsem se tam vrátit a dát jí ty peníze zpátky.

No tak, kolik?

Dala mi slovy deset korun československých, třicet centů. Papírových. Ty za půl roku přestanou platit, už budou jenom mince. Za půl roku bych to bral, to by snad bylo stylovější. Ale takhle by snad bylo lepší, kdyby mi nedala nic. Chtěl jsem jí říct, madam, nechte si to, vy ty peníze potřebujete víc.

Zaplať pámbů, že Toník měl tolik velkorysosti. Pak mě ale napadne, že mu nedala tak málo. Dala mu peníze, za které se v Gottwaldově dalo koupit dvacet eskym.

A kolik dala vám? ptá se on mě, jestli se můžu zeptat. Ach, mně nic, mě by ani nenapadlo od ní něco chtít, říkám. Vždyť je to stará kamarádka. Jo, vlastně jsem dostala voňavku Yardley.

Na první pohled tak staře nevypadala, uzavře Toník a nastartuje auto.

NÁVŠTĚVA STARÉ DÁMY

Ne že by mi peníze vadily, ale přišly trochu pozdě. Ostatně nikdy jsme na tom nebyli špatně. Po listopadu jsme restituovali rodinný penzion v Jevanech a vybudovali cateringovou společnost a prádelnu na povlečení pro malé hotely. Manžel je ve správní radě elektronické firmy a v dozorčí radě tří dalších. Teď už cizince provázet nemusím. Ale co má člověk dělat? Čtyřicet už mi víckrát nebude. Zavírám oči před tím, že muž má milenku, někdejší sekretářku, myslím, že není úplně pitomá, zaplať pámbů, a počítám, že ho nerozvede, ve hře je hodně peněz. Takže nejenom kvůli dcerám děláme zdání fungující rodiny.

Občas ze staré známosti se ještě uvolím, když zavolají holky z cestovky, a odvodím malou skupinu turistů. Častěji dostanu fax nebo email rovnou z Ameriky. Ale vybírám si. Žádnou obtížnou grupu, každý pes jiná ves, vdovy ze Středozápadu, se kterými se člověk vleče přes Staromák s deštníkem nad hlavou a ony se vás potom zeptají, jestli tohle je to Rudé náměstí. Já vodím kultivované byznysmeny a právníky, kteří bydlí v Intercontu nebo U raka; pět, šest, nanejvýš deset lidí, ale nejraději dvojice milionářů na zapřenou. Takhle jsem provázela Margaretu Clifford, dceru prezidenta Trumana, s manželem, nebo pentagonského generála, který nechal ulít zvon a zavěsil ho ve Svéradicích, vesnici, odkud pocházel jeho otec, protože si přečetl v americkém románu, že takhle se to dělá.

Ještě před rozpadem federace jsem objížděla republiku se skupinou obchodníků a tlumočila ve větších podnicích a bankách, totiž tam, kde to potřebovali. Obvykle mají člověka, nějakého sekčního ředitele, který je vyčleněn k podávání informací, umí plynně anglicky a řekne návštěvníkům přesně to, co potřebují, a to, co potřebuje banka. Vlastní tlumočník se ovšem vždycky hodí. Cizinci stále cítí ke kraji za železnou oponou určitou skepsi až sepsi, chtělo by se říct, občas jim ještě tuhne krev. Některým ne, někteří se vyznají. Takoví, kteří už byli v Rusku nebo na Balkáně, považují Prahu

za západní metropoli. Vzpomínám na Jacka Savage z New Yorku. Vysoký blonďák v dokonalém obleku s brýlemi ve zlatých obroučkách. Rozuměl obchodování s akciemi na burze a psal do finanční rubriky několika novin na východním pobřeží. Jack byl jiný Američan. Měl obsáhlé vědomosti o Evropě, o dějinách a obchodu. Takovému nemůžete vyprávět, že na Konopišti bydlel Dracula. Ostatně stálo by to za to, dát dohromady seznam tradovaných výmyslů, které průvodci dávají k lepšímu z nedostatku lepších historek.

Jednou po obchodním jednání jsme seděli v hotelovém baru a já jsem mu vyprávěla o životě, o tom, že jsem zamlada jezdila na vodních lyžích a byla dokonce mistryní republiky. Škoda, že tenhle sport není na programu olympiády, říkala jsem mu, mohla jsem na ni jet ještě v dobách utažené normalizace. Jezdila jsem slušně i v zimě na sjezdovkách a řeč přišla na Lilianu Drummondovou, kterou on znal z večírků obchodní smetánky. Já jsem ji znala z hor, ovšem jenom do doby, než začala jezdit s juniorským výběrem.

– A dál se nikdy nedostala, řekl Jack.

– Kam dál by se měla dostat, zeptala jsem se, vždyť se vdala a odstěhovala.

Když přijela Liliana do Ameriky, tvrdila, že prchala přes zasněženou Šumavu a minová pole na lyžích Head v dešti kulek, pronásledovaná komandem pohraničníků v bílých kombinézách a smečkou lidožravých psů, vysvětloval mi Jack. Říkala, že byla v československém olympijském týmu, a to není pravda. Byla právě jen v juniorském. Při lyžování v Rakousku se seznámila s podnikatelem o čtyřicet let starším a po jeho smrti se odstěhovala. Prošla řadou pečlivě vykalkulovaných známostí, lyžovala s Kennedyovými, až zakotvila ve správném loži a vzala si milionáře Mickeyho.

– A co je na tom špatného? Byla to pěkná holka.

Na tom není nic tak špatného, kdyby ve společnosti i v médiích netvrdila, že byla olympionička. To u nás znamená hodně. Být v olympijském týmu znamená být smetánka. A můžeš se družit s jinou smetánkou a z toho jsou peníze a postavení. V Americe ti mohou odpustit i vraždu v afektu, ale lhaní ne. Jak jednou zalžeš, tak jsi odepsaná. A na lyže Head nemohla mít ještě kontrakt.

Nevěděla jsem, že Liliana nebyla v nějakém týmu. Ani že byla v jiném. Po pravdě mě to pobavilo. Nečekala bych to od ní. Byla hezká, tehdy ještě nebyla blond, ovšem o její inteligenci jsem si ne-

91

Dobrá, vrátíme se do pěti hodin odpoledne, oznámila Ivana účetní.

Všimla jsem si tvrdého akcentu, který ji neopustil ani po dvaceti letech, a napadlo mě, že jím možná dělá dojem na milionářských rautech jako bělogvardějská kněžna.

Řidič se jmenoval Toník, byl to student s chytrým čelem a hezkýma očima a ještě nevěděl, co bude dělat po vysoké škole. Zatím jezdil autem pro firmu a chodil do počítačových kurzů. Byla sobota, zaplať pámbů, protože jezdit po Praze ve všední den je utrpení. Zácpy jsou teď všude. Vysvětlila jsem Lilianě, že od revoluce se počet aut zdvojnásobil. Kdekdo je teď podnikatel, což byl za režimu zločin a často je i teď, a u podnikatele se předpokládá, že jezdí do práce autem, ačkoli město na to není stavěné. Tady nejsou bulváry po zbouraných hradbách jako v Budapešti nebo ve Vídni. A benzín stojí pětadvacet korun za litr.

Kolik je to dolarů? zeptala se Ivana.

Osmdesát centů podle dnešního kurzu.

Za to je u nás, počkej, galon jsou čtyři litry ... za to jsou u nás skoro tři litry. Já si pamatuju benzín za čtyři koruny. Otec měl embéčko. Jo, a eskymo bylo za padesátník.

Vyjeli jsme na magistrálu a zamířili k Vyšehradu. Takhle já začínám prohlídkový okruh. Obvykle se začíná na Hradě, ale já mám svoje cesty, neotřelé, a vyprávím o městě v chronologickém pořadí. Libuše odhazovala vyčerpané milence z lázně pod vyšehradskou skálu. Tam je posbírali vodníci. To je ovšem německá pomluva. Liliana se směje. A proč má Bedřich Smetana pěticípou hvězdu na hrobě? To taky nevím. Dvořák je zajímavější. Žil v New Yorku a byl prvním skladatelem, který se stal dolarovým milionářem. Ten se mi líbí, usmívá se Liliana zamyšleně. Jinak jí jména nic neříkají. Milada Horáková? Nebyla to ta lyžařka ze Slavoje? Vůbec si chce spíš povídat a historická data moc nevnímá.

Sjedeme k nábřeží, pokračujeme k Tančícímu domu a tady přejedeme řeku, zabočíme k tanku, který už tady nestojí, a Holečkovou nahoru ke Strahovu.

Rolling Stones místo spartakiády? To je devalvace, říká Liliana. Já jsem tady cvičila..., počkej, v pětašedesátém. Byla nás tady z Gottwaldova půlka školy. Každý chtěl cvičit. Bylo to krásný. To už snad není pravda.

94

dělala iluze. Byla to holka z Gottwaldova a mezi Pražáky na horách si dávala pozor, aby neřekla něco hloupého. Dál jsem se s Jackem nepřela, měl jiné kvality, kvůli kterým stálo za to s ním posedět. Nakonec to byl moc hezký večer a když Jack odjel, nějaký čas jsme si ještě psali. Dodneška si posíláme lístky k vánocům.

Vzpomněla jsem si na Jacka, když mi překvapivě telefonovala Liliana Drummondová z Ameriky. Bývalá kamarádka z lyží chtěla vědět, jestli bych jí neukázala Prahu, přijede v květnu po více než dvaceti letech a bude bydlet v hotelu Paříž. Volala mi, protože si pamatuje, že město znám, že už na fakultě jsem o nedělích provázela cizince. Ona sama už Prahu nezná, vlastně ji nikdy pořádně neznala. Řekla, že mi samozřejmě zaplatí, a já řekla, že to samozřejmě nepřipadá v úvahu. No dobře, nějak se dohodneme, smála se Liliana.

Čekala jsem před hotelem a byla svědkem toho, jak autobus, kterým přijela z Německa, zacouval až k samotnému vchodu – věc zhola nemožná pro řidiče Čedoku, kteří do téhle slepé ulice odmítají zajet i s mikrobusem. Vyskytl se menší problém. Dva osobní vozy stály vystrčené zadkem do ulice, ale její bodyguardi vyskočili z autobusu a parkující auta prostě přenesli.

Na tenhle hotel mám smíšené vzpomínky. Před patnácti lety jsem šla navštívit klienty na pokoj ve třetím patře, abychom vyřídili podrobnosti zájezdu. Cestou dolů přistoupil do výtahu bagážista a natlačil se na mě se zdviženým obočím. Tohle si, děvenko, nezvykej, oznámil mi. To bude padesát marek. Překvapeně jsem se ho zeptala, za co, a on řekl, že jeho holkám nepolezu do zelí. Že jsou jisté uzance, které je třeba dodržovat. Byl ztělesněním mravních uzancí, vtíravé suverenity.

Miperáda si s vámi o těch uzancích popovídám v kanceláři ředitele hotelu, opáčila jsem, a chlapec znejistěl. Za ředitelem jít nechtěl. Šla jsem za ním sama a věc mu oznámila. Vysvětlila jsem nomenklaturnímu kádrovi, že celou věc poženu výš, že takové jednání oznámím v Čedoku. Moc se omlouval, prosil mě, ať to nikde neříkám, a dal mi ze svého dvě stě marek. Vzala jsem úplatek a minutu jsem ho potěžkávala v ruce. Kolik asi dostává ředitel od toho liftboye? Ode všech? Zastrčila jsem peníze do kabelky s čistým svědomím. Pochopila jsem, že bych se mohla živit velice snadno. Vím od té doby, kolik se platí za návštěvu na pokoji a za návštěvu ředitele

92

v kanceláři. Stačilo by přistoupit na jisté uzance. Chamtivý bagážista dostal hodinovou výpověď a odešel reklamovat svoji Shylockovu libru do jiného hotelu. Za nějaký čas jsem ho viděla v livreji před Alcronem. Tihle hoši se pohybují v bludném koloběhu. Ti nejdou pod jistou úroveň. Napadlo mě, jestli by po mně ještě dneska někdo chtěl výpalné za nadstandardní služby, které hotely poskytují.

Liliana vypadala víceméně jako na fotografii z časopisu, ve kterém jsem ji viděla naposled. Tedy jinak než zamlada. Napadlo mě, že se podobá nafukovací panně, na které si vojáci tuším Bundeswehru cvičí dýchání z úst do úst. Po večeři jsme si na chvilku sedly v baru a Ivana se mi svěřila, kde všude má silikon a jak často si ho nechává vyměňovat. Posteskla si, že manžel Donald si našel vlastně úplně stejný typ ženy, vyměnil jenom třiačtyřicetiletou za čtyřiatřicetiletou. V digitálním součtu to vyjde nastejno, ale je to ozvláštnění. Také jsem se jí svěřila, ovšem moje problémy s chotěm mi přišly nicotné vedle čísel a miliónů, které poletovaly kolem jejich rozchodu. Přijela se svitou osobních strážců, kadeřnic, s osobním trenérem a kuchařkou. Ale na prohlídku Prahy chce vyrazit bez autobusu, jenom se mnou, doufá, že je tu bezpečno, taky si musíme víc popovídat, dneska půjde brzo spát. A jestli bych na zítřek nesehnala auto. Navrhla jsem, že ji svezu ve svojí vektře, nebo požádám Frantu o firemního bavoráka, ale Liliana mi rozpačitě vyjevila přání svézt se Tatrou 613, to že bývala limuzína jejích snů, v tom jezdil ředitel Svitu za jejího mládí v Gottwaldově; já vím, že už je to zase Zlín, vrtěla zasněně hlavou, ale nemůžu si zvyknout. Řekla jsem, že sehnat se dá i Zil nebo Čajka, a šestsettřináctka už vůbec nebude problém, protože vím, kdo jednu má. Ta se ale pronajímá i s řidičem. Fajn, řekla Liliana, vezmi řidiče, hlavně aby v tom byla klimatizace.

Dohodla jsem se s Honzou, se kterým jsme před časem vozili Sigourney Weaver. Honza vlastnil deset vozů, které levně odkoupil dílem od nějakého ministerstva, dílem od sběratele veteránů. Zaměstnával několik řidičů a jednoho z nich nám poslal toho jarního rána do hotelu. Mladík přinesl fakturu, kterou Liliana předala své účetní a zeptala se mě, v kolik hodin se vrátíme, aby o ni personál neměl strach.

Okružka trvá obvykle šest hodin, ale třeba se někde zdržíme na kafi, řekla jsem jí.

93

Toník nás vyloží na Pohořelci a já mu říkám, ať pro nás přijede na Klárov ve dvě hodiny. Půjdeme pěšky přes Hrad a naobědváme se ve Vikárce. Pod Hradem se nesmí s autem čekat, nanejvýš tam můžete stát deset minut, než se objeví klient po pěší prohlídce. Liliana si nadšeně prohlíží výlohy a ptá se, kolik co stojí. Všechno přepočítává na ceny dětských pamlsků z dětství na Moravě. Vzpomínáš na mejdlíčka? A na tiki? Nejhnusnější a nejlevnější byl rahat, to bylo posypaný škrobem. Ono to všechno bylo dost eklhaft, ale zmrzlina byla dobrá. Sovětská – moroženoje. Ta myslím stála tři koruny. Ale eskymo bylo stejně nejlepší. Vrtá mi hlavou, jak si může dolarová milionářka pamatovat ceny lízátek. Znám tuhle hagiografii žvýkaček a vůbec všeho, co bylo báječné jen proto, že jsme byly malé. Takovéhle inventury dětské blaženosti se provádějí při každém setkání spolužaček a neznamenají nic jiného, než že stárneme. S milionářkou mě to trochu unavuje. Vždyť je to buranka, říkám si, bez ohledu na to, kolik má peněz. Vzpomíná s dojetím i na šátkování na pionýra. Dětství vám nezkazí ani blbý režim. Liliana u sebe nemá skoro žádnou hotovost, je zvyklá platit kreditkartou, ale těch pár drobných, které má v kabelce, mi ukazuje a ptá se, co se za ně dá koupit. Na Hradě ji zajímá hlavně to, kde bydlí Havel. Říkám jí, že tam nebydlí, že tam jenom pracuje. Kde pracuje? Snad v těchhle oknech, říkám, a ona si je vyfotografuje. Kdyby tu nebyla úplně soukromě, smluvila by si s ním setkání, ale dneska už není devadesátý rok, kdy mluvil s každým, dneska by se to muselo plánovat dlouho dopředu. Ostatně viděla se s ním ve Washingtonu.

Fronta před pokladnou do sv. Víta je málem okluzní. Zatímco čekáme, prohlíží si nás mladík smutné tváře a pohledu venkovana, s havraními vlasy a s nezdravou tváří, které jakoby chyběl rozštěp na horním rtu. V ruce drží silonovou tašku a mlsně hltá silikonovou cizinku bezostyšnýma očima. Možná je z jižní Moravy. Objíždí lyrovité boky v přiléhavých džínách, hodiny soustředěného aerobiku. Američanka ze Zlína zvedne pobaveně obočí.

Proplujeme kostelními lavicemi a Liliana se rozhlíží po mozaikových oknech. V kryptě spočítá krále. Který byl ten Good King Wenceslaus? To nebyl kníže Václav? Svatý Vjačeslav Zajcev. Nebyl on to Rus? Dějepis má jednou provždy uzavřený, cokoli dalšího nemá cenu přidávat, historická data jdou jedním uchem tam, druhým ven, zajímavé jsou jenom perličky. Jak skončil svatý Vít? Uvařen?

95

Chudák. Vyprávím o Janovi z Nepomuku a ona si vzpomene nesouvisle na loňskou návštěvu Číny. Mezinárodní vlastenka. Výšku chrámové věže porovnává s mrakodrapem, který postavil manžel Donald (občas mu říká Myšáku) na 5th Avenue. A ovšem, vyhození místodržící z Královského paláce, to jsme se učily, jak se jmenovali – Martinic a ten druhý..., ano, Slavata. Plus písař.

Sedneme si ve Vikárce na oběd. Všechny stoly jsou rezervované, ale vrchní pozná velkou dámu a volný stůl se najde. Liliana se ponimrá ve vařené zelenině a vypije sklenku bílého vína. Divila by ses, ale dovážím do Států české pivo.

Tenhle Hrad, kde na Jiřském nádvoří sedávala knížata, kde byly pohanské trůny a kde probíhal a zase z nedostatku peněz končí nějaký archeologický průzkum; my tudy jdeme a počítáme trůny, kam nám stačí vstupenka. Američanka s umělým tělem se zdvořile diví, nic neví a to, co se dozví, hned zapomíná. Jdeme dál, není třeba se mísit do hrobů. Já mám takovéhle boty, ty máš ňujorský dyzajn, pojď se mnou, kopec se snáší, Opyš se sklání, postavili to tady, když chtěli hlídat brod, takhle vznikaly hrady, nad brody, kde už nebyli komáři, teď nouze pominula, řeka teče vysoko, Mánesův most, vody je dost, je hustá, břidličnatá, kalná, kovová, nejedlá. Liliana prostinká, světlá, chce být in, když chceš být in, dělej pro to něco, a ona dělá, vykvétá naivitou, nemá zábrany, to je hezké na milionářce, nebojí se ztrapnit, roztomilá hloupost je pozlacená penězi. U nás se staví hodně ekumenických kostelů, říká. Platí to soukromé nadace. Pod jednou střechou se skryje několik denominací a ještě synagoga. A ještě se přitom vyperou peníze. Kdoví, jestli ten Karel IV. nepral peníze, když nechával pozlatit věže. Katedrály v Porýní, to byla hotová prádelna. Říkám jí, že máme taky jednu. Na povlečení. Projdeme Zlatou uličkou, sejdeme Zámecké schody a nasedneme do auta.

To bylo hezké, říká Liliana, teď bychom mohly chvíli jezdit, abychom si odpočinuly.

Toník říká, že udělá větší okruh, a vyjede Chotkovými sady na Letnou, pokračujeme do Holešovic, přes řeku, do Heydrichovy zatáčky, do Libně, přes Karlín na magistrálu, k řece v Podolí (tady jsem jednou byla plavat, vzpomene si Liliana) a po nábřeží ke Karlovu mostu. Toník nás vyloží a počká na nás na druhé straně mostu. Přejdeme most, Liliana počítá sochy – pořád něco počítá – a v Mos-

tecké znovu nasedneme. Jedeme přes Malou Stranu, přes Most legií k Národnímu divadlu, k Muzeu přes Václavské náměstí a Toník spáchá kvůli Lilianě několik dopravních přestupků, které v sobotu projdou bez povšimnutí, vrátí se do Revoluční a zajede k hotelu.

Liliana mě zve na večeři, ale nejprve se chce převléknout. Ať Toník počká, ráda by se pak ještě jednou projela městem a viděla památky osvětlené za tmy. Říkám Toníkovi, ať si zajde něco sníst, a ptám se ho, jestli má ještě čas. Auto bylo původně pronajaté na osm hodin. Řidič povídá, že s tím sice nepočítal, že měl jít večer do kurzu, ale že se přizpůsobí. Předpokládám, že dostanete dobré spropitné, říkám mu já, a on pokrčí rameny. Jdu s Lilianou na pokoj. Ptá se, jestli se také nechci osprchovat, a já se chci osprchovat, mimo jiné proto, že chci vidět, jak hotel pojal rekonstrukci secesní koupelny (velkoryse a necitlivě), načež mi Liliana věnuje růžovou blůzku a načatý parfém značky Yardley. Jestli se neurazím. Neurazím. Cestou dolů po mně nikdo nic nechtěl. V hale se bagážista jenom ukloní. Už jsem stará.

Toník nás odveze do jednoho z těch nových podniků, které vyrostly na Starém Městě a tváří se levně a nonkonformně, zdánlivě studentsky, nicméně mají tady francouzské názvy a málem pařížské ceny. Přede dveřmi stojí tabule s nabídkou menu, napsaného barevnými křídami. Toník nemá kde zaparkovat. Říká, že odjede a vrátí se pro nás za hodinu.

Jeďte, chlapče, pozvala bych vás, ale to víte, chceme si popovídat mezi děvčaty.

Je roztomilý, řekla, když odešel. Usadily jsme se do proutěných křesel pastelových barev. Číšník přinesl menu a zeptal se, co budeme pít. Liliana se zeptala na nějaký ročník bílého francouzského vína a sommelier naklonil hlavu na stranu. Zatvářil se zamyšleně a řekl, že si není jist, jestli právě tenhle ročník mají. Liliana se zeptala, jaké jiné dobré francouzské víno mají, o němž ví jistě, že ho mají, a muž doporučil nějaký pinot, jehož celé jméno mi uniklo, neboť ho zašeptal málem spiklenecky. Liliana stočila pohled stranou a uvážlivě pokývala hlavou. Ano, to může být.

Ty si dej, co chceš, řekla Liliana a listovala jídelním lístkem, já si dám jenom něco malého. Když přišel číšník s vínem, ukázalo se, že je to Pinot Chardonney, ročník 91. Otevřel láhev a zeptal se, která z nás ho ochutná. Liliana zavrtěla hlavou a vybídla ho, ať víno ochut-

97

ná sám. Podvědomý strach elity z traviču vyhřezl v etiketu. Číšník se uklonil, zakroužil vínem ve skleničce a prohlédl jej proti světlu. Potom se napil a zamyšleně prová18l víno v ústech. Pohlédl ke stropu a nakonec na nás. Mohu doporučit, řekl. Co budou dámy jíst?

Dala jsem si jehněčí kotletu a Liliana telecí řízek z Berry. Dejte mi ten telecí řízek z Berry, řekla a přečetla název ještě francouzsky – escalope de veau a la berrichone –, aby nebylo pochyb, že si ho odněkud pamatuje. Jestli mě chtěla přesvědčit, že umí francouzsky, tak se jí to povedlo. Zdálo se mi, že francouzsky vyslovuje líp než anglicky. Během jídla mi vyprávěla o obrazech, které kdysi koupili s manželem společně a které on prodal před majetkovým vyrovnáním s neodpustitelným ziskem; o to se teď ona chystá bojovat v samostatné soudní při. Prodal mi jednoho Carravagia a jednoho Steena, povzdychla si Liliana tónem, který svědčil o tom, že přímo vyrostla na barokním malířství. A nevím ani komu. Řekla to tónem, jako kdyby prodal její psí miláčky. Došlo mi, že o ní vlastně nic nevím. Až doteď neprojevila o výtvarné umění nejmenší zájem. Napadlo mě na vteřinu, že možná po návratu z lyžařských pobytů v Krkonoších či v Beskydech chodila do oblastní galérie v Gottwaldově a studovala tam... Co? Václava Vavřince Reinera? Brandla? Toho tam nemají. Jestli ona se do té Ameriky neodstěhovala, aby mohla navštěvovat Guggenheimovo muzeum? Asi ne. Na Hradě nechtěla do Rudolfovy galerie ani do Jiřského kláštera.

Zeptala jsem se, jestli ještě lyžuje.

Už ne, osobní kouč mi to zakázal. Škodí to kolenním vazům. Chodím hrát tenis a doma pochopitelně plavu, teď jsem nechala přestavět bazén. Sto fítů měří. To je třicet metrů. Kromě toho mám golfové hřiště.

Liliana si odskočila na záchod a když se vrátila, sdělila mi poněkud spiklenecky, že když běží v televizi reklama, dochází v milionech amerických domácností k masovému splachování na záchodě. Že už teď to představuje vážný problém a ještě větší problém to bude představovat v budoucnu. Že ekologové bijí na poplach. A jestlipak je to problém i u nás?

Nevím, dívám se na video, takže splachuju jindy.

Po hodině se dostaví Toník a říká, že parkuje docela blízko. Dejte si něco, říká Liliana, určitě musíte mít hlad. Toník říká, že to mají ve firmě zakázáno, i kdyby si to zákazník výslovně přál.

98

No jestli je to proti předpisům, nebudu vás nutit, pokrčí Liliana na rameny. My ještě chvilku posedíme, kde stojí auto?

Čekám tady za rohem ve Štupartské, teď večer už je tam místo.

Opravdu milý chlapec, říká Liliana, když Toník odejde. Kolik myslíš, že mu mám dát spropitného?

Říkám, že nevím, že mu samozřejmě nic dávat nemusí. Ale zvykem je...

Jo, to jsem se chtěla zeptat, přeruší mě Liliana, chtěla bych si tady koupit pár obrazů, nějaké umění. Doporučili mi několik jmen, aby to nebyl kýč. Namátkou, podívá se do růžového zápisníčku se záložkou, nějakého Saudka a Borna Holbeina Mladšího. To jsou dvě jména?

To jsou tři jména. Chybí ti tam čárka. Osobně ty pány neznám, ale pochybuju, že by zabránili splachování v milionech amerických domácností.

Liliana se nejistě uchichtne. Jak prý jsem na to přišla? A jestli by nebyl lepší Born Starší? Vzpomněla jsem si, jak jsem provázela Margaretu Clifford-Truman, někdejší kabaretní zpěvačku a dceru prezidenta, jak mi vyprávěla o tom, že otec dostal plátno od Picassa. Atomový bombometčík se malíři mírových holubic poklonil, ze slušnosti obraz přijal, a po odchodu návštěvy ho chtěl vyhodit. Truman byl jiný než Drummond. Dcera od něho obraz vyprosila, protože se může hodit, a on jí řekl, ať si ho pověsí třeba na záchod. To je dobré, směje se Liliana. Budu si muset také nějakého obstarat. Zítra se mám setkat s jedním galeristou, ten bude vědět. Ovšem ten Born Holbein je z nějakého nepodchyceného dědictví, takže je to tajdův, classified, jak se u nás říká.

Říkám, že to nejspíš bude classified. Že Born Holbein musí být klasa, když má věci u Guggenheima, v Pradu a v Dikobrazu.

Po jídle si objednáme koňak a účet. Číšník říká, že se jim polámala endorsing machine, že dneska berou jenom hotovost. Liliana znejistí, ale já říkám, že ji pozvu, a účet zaplatím. Liliana se moc omlouvá, vrátí mi to v hotelu.

Toník stojí před autem a kouří. Když nás uvidí, zašlápne cigaretu a strčí si do úst žvýkačku.

Ale to jste nemusel zahazovat, říká Liliana. Takového tygra, říká potěšena, že vylovila slangový výraz. Já si sama občas zapálím, když mě nikdo nevidí. U nás je za to elektrické křeslo.

99

Projedeme Prahou ještě jednou. Liliana už je unavená. Když ji upozorňuji na památky, sotva vyhlédne z okna. Zítra mě čeká dlouhý den, povídá. Jedeme na Karlštejn na golf s nějakými podnikateli. Pozvala bych tě, ale je to obchodní záležitost.

Ach, to byl den, moc ti děkuju, Alžběto, loučí se nakonec ve dveřích. Jdu s ní do hotelové haly a Toník jde s námi. Liliana se k němu obrátí a říká omluvně: Jé, zapomněla jsem v autě fotoaparát. Toník odběhne k vozu. Sotva odejde, vzpomene si Liliana, že ne. Že si ho nezapoméla v autě, že ho nechala na pokoji po odpolední prohlídce. Kolik mu má dát? ptá se. Kolik myslíš, říkám, a ona se přehrabuje v kabelce. Odpusťte, Tondo, vysvětluje řidiči, když se vrátí. Uvědomila jsem si, že jsem kameru nechala na pokoji. Tady máte. A podává mu bankovku složenou do malého čtverečku. Toník zasune peníze do kapsy a uzarděle děkuje. Ptám se ho, kam odtud pojede, a on říká, že na Lužiny, a já mu říkám, ať na mě počká v autě, že mě sveze kousek s sebou.

No a co s tebou, povídá Liliana, když chlapec odejde. Néco ti dlužím. To nestojí za řeč, vrtím hlavou. Ale ano, počkej tady, pošlu ti dolů účetní. Políbí mě na obě tváře, byl to nádherný den, na toho Holbeina se přeptá a ještě mi určitě zavolá, tak ahoj, pozdravuj doma, já dneska upadnu do peřin jako podťatá, tak pa. A je pryč.

Pospíchám z hotelu, aby si mě ještě nenašla účetní. Sednu do auta a ptám se Toníka, kolik mu dala. Nechtějte to vědět, říká student. Chtěl jsem se tam vrátit a dát jí ty peníze zpátky.

No tak, kolik?

Dala mi slovy deset korun československých, třicet centů. Papírových. Ty za půl roku přestanou platit, už budou jenom mince. Za půl roku bych to bral, to by snad bylo stylovější. Ale takhle by snad bylo lepší, kdyby mi nedala nic. Chtěl jsem jí říct, madam, nechte si to, vy ty peníze potřebujete víc.

Zaplať pámbů, že Toník měl tolik velkorysosti. Pak mě ale napadne, že mu nedala tak málo. Dala mu peníze, za které se v Gottwaldově dalo koupit dvacet eskym.

A kolik dala vám? ptá se on mě, jestli se můžu zeptat. Ach, mně nic, mě by ani nenapadlo od ní něco chtít, říkám. Vždyť je to stará kamarádka. Jo, vlastně jsem dostala voňavku Yardley.

Na první pohled tak staře nevypadala, uzavře Toník a nastartuje auto.