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Milene Mendes de Oliveira

BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS IN ELF FROM A CULTURAL LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

APPLICATIONS OF
COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

Milene Mendes de Oliveira

Business Negotiations in ELF from a Cultural Linguistic Perspective

Applications of Cognitive Linguistics



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What sets worlds in motion is the interplay of differences, their attractions and repulsions. Life is plurality, death is uniformity. By suppressing differences and peculiarities, by eliminating different civilizations and cultures, progress weakens life and favors death.

Octavio Paz in *The Labyrinth of Solitude* (1985 [1961]: 17)

Mãe, Danny, Luisa, Melissa: to you and because of you.

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Preface

This book leans on several tenets of cognitive and cultural linguistics and, at the same time, offers back a contribution to these disciplines by testing their applicability in the practical field of business communication. Therefore, the scope of the book is in agreement with the series it integrates, *Application of Cognitive Linguistics (ACL)*. The series fosters “research applying the theoretical framework developed in cognitive linguistics to a variety of different fields” and “explores the effect of these theoretical insights when applied in various linguistic sub-disciplines, in interdisciplinary research fields, and in the practice-oriented domain of applied linguistics” (Kristiansen et al. 2006: 12). In this preface, I elaborate on the applied and interdisciplinary character of the study described in this book by calling upon the relationship between cognitive and cultural linguistics as well as on their fruitful association with applied linguistics.

In describing fields influenced by cognitive linguistic theory, Kristiansen et al. (2006: 14–15) call attention to cultural linguistics and its endeavour to explore the cognitive phenomena associated with culture. Cultural linguistics as a field of study was first suggested by Gary Palmer in the book *Towards a theory of Cultural Linguistics* (1996). Palmer (1996: 5) defines it as the synthesis of cognitive linguistics, Boasian linguistics, ethnosemantics, and ethnography of speaking. In this foundational book, Palmer suggests a well-encompassing framework that unites tenets and analytical tools developed in the aforementioned areas in order to better investigate the relationship between language, thought, and culture.

Even though cognitive linguists such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) do acknowledge the role of culture in cognitive phenomena, culture has come to receive little attention within the field of cognitive linguistics, as most researchers were more interested in describing the relationship between language and cognitive processing in monolingual investigations (for a thorough criticism of mainstream cognitive linguistics in relation to culture, see Bernárdez 2005, 2016). Therefore, cultural linguistics contributed – and continues to contribute – to cognitive linguistics by offering focused insights on how culture influences language and thought. In this regard, Bernárdez (2005: 196) argues that a linguistic analysis that considers form, meaning, and use at the same time necessarily leads to the inclusion of cultural elements.

With respect to analytical procedures, studies in cultural linguistics have leaned strongly on cross-cultural comparisons of conceptual metaphors and metonymies, cultural schemas, and categories (Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007; Sharifian 2011; see also the volume *Applications of Cultural Linguistics* edited by Sharifian and Palmer in 2007), called ‘cultural conceptualizations’ by Sharifian (2011). Here, a distinction should be made between “conceptualizations as part of

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the equipment that we carry around in our heads and conceptualizations that we form in the process of understanding something, such as the nature of the world” (Harder 2007: 1255). The former refers to cognitive mechanisms and the latter to symbolic structures (Steen 2011) that mediate an individual and her understanding of the world. In this respect, I follow Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009: xii) who state that “the interpretative nature of the study of cultural conceptualizations leads to the recognition of the hermeneutical dimension of CL [cognitive linguistics].” In the study depicted in this book, the hermeneutical, interpretative dimension is complemented by successive steps of empirical analysis aimed at operationalizing the study’s hypotheses (Kristiansen et al 2006: 4) and answering its research questions.

It should be added that the successive steps of analysis were not confined to the fields of cognitive and cultural linguistics. The analytical procedures also comprised the investigation of pragmatic instantiations of cultural conceptualizations in a community of practice (namely, a business community of practice in a healthcare company). Therefore, the applied character of the study is salient. This fact brings us to the field of applied linguistics and leads us to question how well it can be integrated with the cognitive and cultural linguistic agenda.

When looking at applied linguistics, it is important to consider two aspects: what ‘applied’ means and how ‘applied linguistics’ differs from linguistics as a whole. Leaning on Meinel (2000), Knapp and Antos (2008) explain that the term ‘applied’ was introduced by the Swedish chemist Wallerius in 1751 and was used in the sciences, until quite recently, as an antonym to ‘pure.’ Pure sciences used to have – and, in some contexts, still have – a higher academic status than applied ones due to a claimed lack of originality in the latter (Knapp and Antos 2008: v). However, the authors argue that nowadays there is a growing need for applied sciences to solve a range of urgent practical problems.

The dichotomy between pure and applied is often blurred in academic research. Knapp and Antos (2008: vi) speak of ‘application oriented basic research’ that combines both theory and practical concerns and in which “disciplines . . . take up a certain . . . practical issue, define it as a problem against the background of their respective theoretical and methodological paradigms, study this problem, and finally develop various application oriented suggestions for solutions.”

In this regard, applied linguistics,¹ in contrast with Linguistics, can be considered to be closely associated with real world problems, sometimes by solely

1 In agreement with several theoretical and practical developments in the field, applied linguistics is considered to go far beyond foreign language related-research (Brumfit 1997; Göpferich 2014; Rampton 1997).

using these problems as the context of their scientific inquiries and other times by going beyond linguistic description and offering solutions to the identified problems. In order to meet these aims, Knapp (2011; cited in Göpferich 2014: 151) suggests a six-step approach for applied linguists to follow:

1. Identification of a real-world problem related to language and/or communication;
2. Reformulation of the problem to make it fit into one or more scientific paradigms;
3. Problem analysis, in some cases by means of basic research that may lead to new theories and methods;
4. Development and testing of potential problem solutions;
5. Assessment of ethical and ecological implications as well as cost-benefit analyses;
6. Presentation of the problem solution to the real world and enabling those who need the solution to make use of it.

In general terms, the problem the present study intended to act upon was miscommunication in the context of international business negotiations (step 1 in the list above). Leaning on the cognitive and the cultural linguistic paradigms (step 2) as well as on the hypothesis that miscommunication problems can be related to differences in how business people from different countries conceptualize ‘business negotiations,’ I set out to analyze how business people from Brazil and Germany conceptualize ‘business negotiations.’ I relied on several rounds of data analysis, looking at the data from different perspectives and having each methodological step build on the previous one for sharper insights. The analytical steps led me to develop a new analytical tool for the investigation of cultural conceptualizations in speech excerpts (namely, ‘conceptual scripts,’ as described in chapter 2, section 2.1.4) (step 3 above). The results of the analysis can be regarded as the ‘potential problem solutions’ (advocated for in step 4). These potential solutions were tested in another group through a research-based consultancy project at a healthcare company (step 4). Implications of results were assessed (step 5) (chapter 3, section 3.2.3), and research participants were informed about the findings (step 6) in a practice-oriented fashion (the report sent to participants of the research-based consultancy project is in Appendix IV).

Applied linguistics has already been explored through a cognitive and cultural linguistic lens. For instance, Malcom (2007), Occhi (2007), and Sharifian (2007) explore ways for cultural linguistic approaches to be applied in the context of second language or bidialectal education. This combination seems very

appropriate but should be extended beyond foreign language teaching and learning, as applied linguistics has already established itself as a field concerned with “the theoretical and empirical investigation of real world problems in which language is a central issue” (Brumfit 1997: 93).

Referring back to the topics addressed by the series in which this book is being published, *Applications of Cognitive Linguistics* (ACL), the editors of the series highlight the importance of descriptive studies that rely on the exploration of theoretical models in the investigation of language use (Kristiansen et al. 2006: 13). Moreover, they state that “one of the main assumptions of ACL is that linguistic research must be firmly grounded in usage-based, descriptive data, which may – more often than not – imply an interdisciplinary approach to the object under scrutiny” (Kristiansen et al. 2006: 13). The present study aims at offering a thorough and empirically-grounded description of data informed by several rounds of analysis, as mentioned earlier, and by a deep interdisciplinary theoretical discussion that takes not only cognitive and cultural linguistics into account but also areas such as world Englishes and English as a lingua franca.

Having presented the assumptions underlying this work, the structure of this monograph can now be explained. The following chapters are divided as follows: Chapter 1, *Intercultural business negotiations and organizational cultures in Brazil and Germany*, starts by introducing the practical motivation for my study. Then, I proceed to show the theory of meaning on which the work was based, namely Kecskes’ (2008, 2015) dynamic model of meaning. In this chapter, I also present my working definition of ‘business negotiations.’ The reflections are extended to consider meaning construction in intercultural environments. I then provide an overview and a critique of previous studies dealing with the Brazilian and the German organizational cultures. The discussion is extended to address the issue of the utility and dangers of business manuals. After that, further theoretical reflections are made on the disciplines world Englishes and English as a lingua franca. The conceptual and methodological problems I encountered with respect to these approaches are described: on the one hand, Expanding Circle Englishes tend to be disregarded in world Englishes studies and, on the other hand, English as a lingua franca tends to emphasize negotiation of meaning and to downgrade cultural differences. Two prominent concepts connected with these fields are ‘speech community,’ within world Englishes, and ‘community of practice,’ within English as lingua franca. The former is firmly associated with the understanding of territory and the latter with social and non-permanent groupings of speakers that use language for certain common purposes (such as a business community of practice). Another issue addressed in this chapter is a recent development in these fields, namely a post-structuralist turn that

downplays cultural differences in favor of the notion of hybrid identities emerging from globalization. Furthermore, in this section, leaning on previous studies, I present some arguments in favor of a hermeneutic orientation to the study of cultures.

Chapter 2, *Cultural linguistic and pragmatic perspectives on intercultural business negotiations*, starts by describing the rationale of cultural conceptualizations, i.e., their theoretical grounding (linguistic relativity) and disciplinary origin (namely, cultural linguistics). After that, each type of cultural conceptualization identified in my data is explained and exemplified. Additionally, I introduce the concept of ‘conceptual script’ as an analytical tool that can be used for qualitative analyses of cultural conceptualizations. This part is followed by sections in which previous research is presented that addresses cultural conceptualizations in world Englishes as well as in Brazilian and German speech communities. After that, arguments are given that show how the definition of ‘cultural conceptualizations’ fits well into the hermeneutic tradition and how the study of conceptualizations can foster ‘intercultural understanding’ (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2006b). Chapter 2 also gives an overview of analytical tenets of previous studies dealing with spoken and written business discourse and introduces the analytical tools for the pragmatic analysis of e-mail interactions used in the case study (whose findings are featured in chapter 3), namely emic representations, ‘sequences’ (leaning on the work of Bhatia 1993, 2001; Bou-Franch 2006) and face strategies (following the Face Constituting Theory, Arundale 2013). Additionally, I make some considerations on how the analysis of actual business written interactions complements the analysis of cultural conceptualizations. Towards the end of chapter 2, I clarify the methodological procedures used in this study. The section is divided into two parts: one referring to the analysis of cultural conceptualizations and the other to the analysis of e-mails in a research-based consultancy project. Concerning the former, first, the choice of semi-structured interviews as a data collection instrument is explained, and information about the interviewees is given. Afterwards, details are presented on how participants were recruited, on the characteristics of the corpus I compiled, and on the analytical procedures. Subsequently, a discussion about the (expected) representativeness of my findings is included. The second part of this chapter revolves around the research-based consultancy project I developed in collaboration with a healthcare company. This part starts with the explanation of the concept of ‘research-based consultancy work,’ which describes a ‘win-win’ (to use a widespread business term) collaboration project between a researcher and a company. Following that explanation, participants and procedures (for data collection and analysis) are presented. Not only e-mails were collected in this case study but also new interviews with

HC-Comp² employees who participated in the study. This section closes with a discussion on descriptive and prescriptive research that sheds light on the topic of academic and applied research mentioned above.

Chapter 3, *Conceptualization and practice of business negotiations*, provides the analyses and the results of my study. The chapter shows the investigation of three of the themes featured in the semi-structured interviews, namely, ‘respect, success, and conflict in business negotiations.’ Conceptual scripts for each topic (from each group) are also detailed in this chapter. The analyses culminate in group-level conceptualizations of success, respect, and conflict in business negotiations. The subsequent sections show the results of interview and e-mail analyses arising from the case study and explain how they complement or diverge from the cultural conceptualizations previously presented. Moreover, I also demonstrate how the findings can foster a better understanding of the theoretical issues mentioned throughout this monograph, such as the usefulness of the concepts ‘speech community’ and ‘community of practice’ and the importance of studies that consider the prior and the actual situational contexts of meaning (Kecskes 2008, 2015). I end this chapter by revisiting my research aims and showing how the most important findings can be interpreted against anthropological and sociological theories on the Brazilian and German cultures and societies.

Chapter 4 presents the conclusion of my study as well as its limitations. In addition, ideas for future research projects are sketched.

² Fictitious name of the healthcare company that participated in the research-based consultancy project.

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Abbreviations

CA	Conversation analysis
CEC	Corpus of English in Cameroon
CMT	Conceptual metaphor theory
CPI	Corruption practice index
DMM	Dynamic model of meaning
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELFA	English as a lingua franca in academic settings
ENL	English as a native language
ESL	English as a second language
FCT	Face constituting theory
GloWbE	Corpus of global web-based English
ICE	International corpus of English
ICM	Idealized cognitive model
L1	First language
L2	Second/foreign language
TESOL	Teaching English to speakers of other languages
SAE	Standard average European
VOICE	Vienna-Oxford international corpus of English
WE	world Englishes
WCL	Witchcraft, corruption, and leadership

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1 Intercultural business negotiations and organizational cultures in Brazil and Germany

The idea that there is one people in possession of the truth, one answer to the world's ills, or one solution to humanity's needs has done untold harm throughout history – especially in the last century. Today, however, even amidst continuing ethnic conflict around the world, there is a growing understanding that human diversity is both the reality that makes dialogue necessary, and the very basis for that dialogue . . . We recognize that we are the products of many cultures, traditions and memories; that mutual respect allows us to study and learn from other cultures; and that we gain strength by combining the foreign with the familiar. (Excerpt from Kofi Annan's 2001 speech as he received the Nobel Peace Prize. Quoted in Bolton 2005: 79)

1.1 Introduction

Globalization has impacted societies in ways that were unforeseeable a few decades ago: economic relations between countries have increased exponentially; the marketplace has become more and more global; companies continue to expand across borders; processes of international Merger and Acquisition have become common; economic treaties have reduced the amount of bureaucracy for people willing to work overseas.

In terms of the Brazilian-German economic relationship, cooperation and trade between the countries have been increasing. As explained on the website of the German Federal Foreign Office (Beziehungen zu Deutschland 2017), since 2008, Brazil and Germany have been officially involved in a strategic partnership that revolves around topics such as energy, research, economy, and commerce (among others). Brazil is Germany's most important trade partner in Latin America. In 2015, the German export rate to Brazil was 9.8 billion Euro, and the import rate from Brazil to Germany was around 8.5 billion Euro. Economic events, such as the annual German-Brazilian Economic Days,³ stress an increased collaboration interest in areas such as transport, urban development, and renewable energy among others (Beziehungen zu Deutschland 2017).

From a linguistic perspective, the importance of the speech event 'business negotiations' in the international economic context described above cannot be denied. In this regard, my first hypothesis was that, due to cultural influences, Brazilians and Germans conceptualize business negotiations differently. Therefore,

3 *Deutsch-brasilianische Wirtschaftstage* (Beziehungen zu Deutschland, 2017).

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my first and main research question was *How do Brazilian and German business people conceptualize 'business negotiations'?* Another hypothesis was that cultural conceptualizations are instantiated pragmatically in authentic business negotiations. Therefore, my second research question, which derived from the first one, was *Can the cultural conceptualizations previously identified be attested in authentic business negotiations between Brazilians and Germans?*. The second hypothesis was narrowed down to a few specific hypotheses after the results of the analysis of cultural conceptualizations were clear. Colloquially speaking, the task set up in the research project was to investigate how Brazilian and German business people conceive of 'business negotiations' and how they act these negotiations out.

To answer the research questions delineated above, I investigated (a) 'cultural conceptualizations' (explained below) on which Brazilian and German business people rely when talking about 'business negotiations' in semi-structured interviews and (b) pragmatic aspects of actual business negotiations via e-mail.⁴ The analysis of cultural conceptualizations features as the main part of my study. The examination of pragmatic aspects adds to this main part.

In order to test the first hypothesis, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 9 Brazilian and 9 German business people from different sectors. In a nutshell, these were the methodological steps: (a) transcription of interviews; (b) identification of cultural conceptualizations (see explanation below); (c) assignment of assessment values to the cultural conceptualizations (positive; negative; or unspecified/neutral); (d) generation of conceptual scripts (see explanation in section 2.1.4). The first hypothesis could be proved, i.e., preferential conceptualizations (Kövecses 2005: 82) were found in both groups.

The specific hypotheses derived from the second hypothesis were tested by looking at whether certain conceptualizations were pragmatically instantiated in real business interactions. The test happened in the context of a research-based consultancy project with 7 Brazilian and 10 German business people working at the Brazilian branch and the German headquarter and of a German healthcare company. E-mail threads from these employees were collected for the analysis of sequences (see explanation in chapter 2, section 2.2.2) and face strategies. The results showed that some of the specific hypotheses could be proved, but others not, as explained in chapter 3 (section 3.2).

A specific theory of meaning underlies the study and its research aims, namely the dynamic model of meaning (Kecskes 2008, 2015). According to this theory, 'meaning' is composed of prior and actual situational contexts (Kecskes

⁴ In this part of the study, interviews were also conducted but not with the aim of identifying cultural conceptualizations. More information can be found in chapter 2 (section 2.3.2).

2008, 2015). Prior context arises from speakers' previous experiences with a certain word, expression, or concept, and the actual situational context underlying meaning is emergent and is influenced by several situational characteristics of the communicative action. Therefore, investigating how business people conceive of 'business negotiations' allows a look into prior context; checking how business negotiations are acted out allows a look into the actual situational context.

In the next paragraphs, I provide a brief outline of the theoretical context in which this study can be inserted. I present a description of disciplines and theoretical orientations and point to a few gaps in the literature. I also explain how the present study can fill some of these gaps by giving a cross-disciplinary treatment to the concept under investigation, i.e., business negotiations. Subsequently, I give a more thorough description of each of the points addressed in this outline in the upcoming sections of this chapter (1.2 to 1.4).

The topic of intercultural business communication has been investigated – or has the potential to be investigated – by different disciplines, intercultural communication being probably the most obvious one. Intercultural communication is itself an interdisciplinary field influenced by anthropology, psychology, and sociology to name just a few (Wolf 2015: 445). To be noted is the fact that many of the intercultural communication studies dealing with business contexts rely heavily on frameworks that support cultural comparisons on the basis of dichotomist or scalar relations ranging from two poles, such as Hofstede's cultural dimensions (1991), Hall's (1976) and Hall and Hall's ([1987] 1990) classifications of polychronic and monochronic cultures, and high- and low-context cultures. However, if applied alone, such bipolar categories can only offer a simplistic and reductionist view of the cultures under investigation.

Amongst the disciplines that have a strong potential to deal with intercultural business communication, cognitive and cultural linguistics, world Englishes, and English as a lingua franca can be mentioned. Starting with the two former ones, it should be explained that cognitive linguistics has been mainly concerned with the relationship between language and conceptualization (often regarded as cognitive processes). By contrast, cultural linguistics is an area of studies that draws on theoretical and analytical tools of cognitive anthropology and cognitive linguistics and explores the relationship between language, culture, and conceptualization (Palmer and Sharifian 2007: 1). Thus, the focus of cultural linguistics is on the role of culture in the cultural cognition (Sharifian 2011) of a given group.⁵

⁵ Even though studies exist within cognitive linguistics that address the topic of business (e.g., Koller 2004, 2005), to my knowledge, the context of business negotiation has not been explored within cultural linguistics yet.

An analytical framework developed in the field of cultural linguistics, named ‘cultural conceptualizations and language’ (Sharifian 2011), allows for an investigation of culture that goes beyond the linguistic surface (i.e., structural features of language, such as morphology, syntax, lexis, and phonology), as several studies have already proved (e.g., Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007; Schröder 2015b; Schröder et al. manuscript; Sharifian 2011; Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009). The study of cultural conceptualizations has an advantage over studies that base their analyses solely on well-established ‘cultural dimensions’ (Hofstede 1991) or other etic and dichotomist categories, as mentioned above. The cultural conceptualization framework leans strongly on emic construals, themselves linked with speakers’ prior knowledge (arising from past experiences). Previous studies have shown that these construals do not always find exact equivalents or opposites in other cultures (see, for example, Schröder 2014; Sharifian 2015; Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009) and that comparisons are not as clear cut as some scholars such as Hofstede believe.⁶

The other two areas mentioned above that are also promising in the investigation of intercultural business communication are world Englishes and English as a lingua franca. World Englishes is concerned with the identification and description of varieties of English around the globe. English as a lingua franca, by contrast, is mainly focused on how speakers of English from all over the world negotiate meaning in online interactions.

Within the field of world Englishes, comparisons between Englishes tend to be done on the level of lexicon, syntax, and phonology (see, for instance, Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008), without regard to cultural conceptualizations. There are, however, a few exceptions to this trend, such as Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009), who explore the conceptual level of African Englishes. These and other authors (e.g., Sharifian 2015) make a call for the investigation of cultural conceptualizations within world Englishes. The study presented here resonates these earlier calls and shows that cultural conceptualizations strongly influence the prior-context component of meaning.

Apart from a lack of attention to cultural conceptualizations, another gap in the field of world Englishes is the fact that a clear focus is given on the contrast of Englishes in the Outer- and the Inner-Circle (considering Kachru’s model 1985). With exception of works on Asian Englishes (e.g., Bolton 2003), the Expanding Circle is usually disregarded in investigations in this field.

⁶ Note that my opposition regards the *exclusive* use of such dichotomist dimensions in the study of culture. I still consider these dimensions as offering a useful first picture of a culture, but they do not ‘tell the whole story.’

However, the Expanding Circle is extensively considered in English as a lingua franca. In this sense, leading researchers in English as a lingua franca claim that this framework can be regarded as part of the world Englishes discipline (Seidlhofer 2009: 243). Here, again, surface linguistic phenomena are the focus of attention in many investigations, which tend to stress how interactants are able to overcome potential misunderstandings and communication difficulties in intercultural interactions.

Within the scope of world Englishes and English as a lingua franca (considered as adjacent research areas), business interactions have been analyzed. For instance, in the *Routledge Handbook of World Englishes* (Kirkpatrick 2010), there is a chapter by Catherine Nickerson entitled “The Englishes of Business.” In the chapter, the author summarizes results of previous research and comes to the conclusion that “studies . . . reveal that English is used for pragmatic reasons by speakers from the Expanding circle, simply as a means of achieving a business transaction” (Nickerson 2010: 515).

Pragmatic factors, such as face construals, were also investigated in the present study, as explained above. More specifically, e-mails exchanged by Brazilian and German employees of a healthcare company were analyzed. The aim was to unveil the role of the actual situational context of ‘business negotiations.’ The results arising from the investigation of the pragmatic factors, however, partially counter Nickerson’s aforementioned point. My findings show that, even though the pragmatic meaning – or the actual situational context, to use Kecskes’ (2008, 2015) terminology – does play an important role in business interactions, it is not the *only* factor that influences the use of language in these settings. Thus, I conclude that the study of cultural conceptualizations underlying language-in-use can deepen linguists’ understanding of how the prior context (acquired through past experiences in speakers’ speech communities) influences linguistic choices in actual interactional situations. An increasing number of papers have called attention to the importance of such an integrated perspective in the study of language (Kecskes 2008, 2015; Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007; Schmid 2016; Schröder 2015a; Schröder et al. manuscript). The present work represents another attempt in this direction.

Apart from a thorough investigation that considers both the prior and the actual situational contexts, a call is made in this monograph – leaning on previous work, such as Marra (2008) and Stubbe (2001) – for another integrated look, this time involving academic and applied research. In order to understand how business negotiations are acted out by Brazilian and German business people, a research-based consultancy project was designed in collaboration with a healthcare company. Therefore, the research project described here is designed in a way that allows for presentation of results to

employees who participated in the study. As a consequence, participants are expected to become more aware of intercultural communication issues. This fact confirms the applied character of the project.

In the next sections, the most important theoretical tenets presented in this brief outline are more thoroughly depicted. In section 1.2 below, the dynamic model of meaning is introduced. In section 1.3, reflections on the speech event ‘business negotiations’ as well as on the Brazilian and German business cultures are shown and are accompanied by some practical observations on the use of business manuals on intercultural communication. In section 1.4, the fields of world Englishes and English as a lingua franca are described and contrasted. Furthermore, an integrated look that considers important tenets in both areas is suggested, due to its capacity to foster ‘intercultural understanding’ in the context of international business communication.

1.2 The dynamic model of meaning

Within linguistics, ‘meaning’ has been mainly studied either from a semantic or a pragmatic viewpoint. As an example of the former, formal semantics can be mentioned as well as cognitive semantics. As an example of the latter, there are many studies based on the theories by Grice, Austin, and Searle. Kecskes’ (2008, 2015) dynamic model of meaning (henceforth DMM) unites both the semantics and the pragmatics of meaning and meaning construction. This framework brings together perspectives on meaning that had been studied independently for decades. Traditional truth conditional semantics considers the meaning of a word to be highly independent from its context. The opposing pragmatic view is that meaning is mainly created in the situational context. The DMM considers that meaning is composed of both: prior context *and* the actual situational context.

Kecskes (2015: 121) gives the example of the word ‘lunch’ in English and its equivalent in Chinese [wǔ fàn].’ While ‘lunch,’ for an American, prototypically refers to a light meal consisting of a sandwich, soup, and salad, or something else that is consumed during a short break, ‘wǔ fàn,’ for a Chinese, refers to a meal, often consisting of several courses, that is consumed between 11:30 and 2 o’clock. This is an example of prior context that is influenced by repeated actual situational experiences with ‘lunch’ and ‘wǔ fàn’ in these speech communities. This prior context and declarative knowledge influence the actual situational contexts (i.e., the act of having lunch) as well.

According to Kecskes (2008, 2015), prior context is encoded in lexical items and is a result of prior experience.⁷ It is spread in the form of declarative knowledge throughout a certain speech community. The actual situational context refers to the current experience and setting in which communication takes place. Kecskes (2008: 116) adds that “actual situational context is viewed through prior context and vice versa, prior context is viewed through actual situational context when communication occurs.” This interaction between actual and prior contexts creates, in the author’s words, a “third space” in which there is an interplay between prior and current experiences (Kecskes 2008: 385, 2015: 116).

Also of importance is the fact that Kecskes’ (2015: 116) framework regards the individual background and bias to be as important as the communicative contexts speakers are immersed in for directing attention and shaping interpretation. In his socio-cognitive approach to pragmatics, Kecskes (2015: 116) states that “meaning values of linguistic expressions, encapsulating prior contexts of experience, play as important a role in meaning construction and comprehension as actual situational context.”

It is this very link between prior and actual situational contexts that accounts for meaning, which, on the one hand, is part of a speech community’s conventionalized knowledge and, on the other, is instantiated in online meaning construction. The present study investigates these two sides of meaning in the context of business negotiations. Therefore, a parallel is drawn between ‘prior context’ and ‘cultural conceptualizations’ and between ‘actual situational context’ and real business interactions.

These considerations are important in delineating the type of speech event that is in focus in the present study: business negotiations. In the next section, concepts of business negotiations are discussed and a working definition is presented. However, this working definition should be regarded as a rough understanding of ‘business negotiation,’ because the very enterprise of the present study is to show how different speech communities elaborate upon the concept when construing it from a semantic perspective, based on prior context, and from a pragmatic viewpoint, based on the actual situational context.

⁷ Kecskes (2008, 2015) explains that prior context is divided into private and public contexts. While both arise from prior experience, the former is individual-specific and the latter is available to a certain speech community (Kecskes 2008: 390). Both private and public contexts are present all the time, but interlocutors tend to rely more on the public context when communicating. Kecskes (2015: 119) gives the example that even an alcoholic can distinguish between what the utterance ‘let’s have a drink’ means to her and to other people who do not share her addiction.

1.3 What is a business negotiation?

Looking for the meaning of ‘business negotiation’ in the literature proves to be a difficult task. Since many books on the topic are dedicated to business negotiators, a definition of ‘negotiation’ might seem inflationary. Authors usually dedicate themselves to providing their praxis-oriented readers with strategies for enhancing negotiation procedures and negotiation outcomes. In the following, I show how some conversation analysis (henceforth CA) scholars define the term. After that, I proceed to present broader definitions upon which the present study mostly leans.

Definitions of ‘business negotiation’ can be found in the work of conversation analysts, such as Firth (1991) and Wagner (1995). Firth (1991) distinguishes between ‘negotiation encounters’ and ‘negotiating activities.’ The former is described as “a single-location encounter, formally and physically-defined, involving parties with potentially conflicting wants and needs,” while the latter is “interactionally defined and is contingent on the parties’ mutual discourse actions” (Firth 1991: 8). Negotiation encounters and negotiating activities are not always simultaneous; the latter can happen outside the former. Moreover, negotiation encounters might not include negotiating activities. Wagner (1995: 12) defines the settings of negotiation encounters and the types of interactions resulting from them, as shown on the table below:

Table 1.1: Settings of negotiation encounters (based on Wagner 1995: 12).

Setting	Type of interaction
1. A has goal X. B has goal Y. Neither A nor B has control over the goals.	If there is a relation between X and Y there could be talks between A and B to coordinate their actions.
2. A and B have the same goal Y.	If both can reach the goal, they may have talks on cooperation.
3. A has goal X, X is controlled by B.	A has to ask for X or has to convince B to allow X. The result may be persuasive talk.
4. A has goal X, B has goal Z. X is controlled by B, Z by A.	<i>A and B have to negotiate.</i>

All the discourse types described above are generally referred to as ‘negotiations’ in ordinary business language. Nevertheless, from Wagner’s (1995) perspective, types 1, 2, and 3 can only be defined as a ‘negotiation’ if at least one party tries to redefine the setting to type 4. In this sense, a sales talk, for instance, becomes a negotiation only if at least one interactant tries to connect the sale with goals from the other participant(s).

However, business people themselves tend to define ‘negotiations’ in a much broader way. Along this line, Wagner (1995: 11) provides a general definition of the tacit knowledge of negotiation. The following are characteristics of negotiations, according to him:

- a. A negotiation is the interaction of two (or more) parties, where there is an attempt to optimize their mutual goals. Each party wants to achieve their goals in the best way. Neither party can achieve the goals alone; i.e., both parties need to cooperate.
- b. Goals are modified and coordinated during the negotiation. This makes the negotiation a “strategic interaction.”
- c. Since both parties know that the other party also has objectives to reach, negotiations can be seen as “exchange relations.” The parties “exchange the possibility of realizing their own goals”.
(adapted from Wagner 1995: 11)

Lax and Sebenius’s (1986) definition of a ‘business negotiation’ also highlights ‘goals’ and ‘exchange relations.’ The authors define it as “a process of potentially opportunistic interaction by which two or more parties, with some apparent conflict, seek to do better through jointly decided action than they could otherwise” (Lax and Sebenius 1986: 11). Even more broadly, Lampi (1986: 25) argues that business negotiations are a set of problem solving activities triggered by a problem or any issue requiring a solution.

Wagner’s (1995), Lax and Sebenius’s (1986), and Lampi’s (1986) characterizations are foundational for this study. I, therefore, regard a ‘business negotiation’ as an interpersonal exchange of variable duration and variable number of participants in which business counterparts have goals to reach and depend on the actions, states, and feelings of one another so as to reach these goals.

Referring back to the nature of meaning mentioned in section 1.2, ‘business negotiations’ encompass the interactive actions happening ‘on the go’ in the actual situational context – negotiating activities in Firth’s (1991) terminology – and the tacit knowledge of negotiation each counterpart relies on, defined as the prior context in Kecskes’s (2008, 2015) framework.

Because the focus in this work is on business negotiations between Brazilians and Germans, a summary of Brazilian and German business cultural traits, as shown in the literature, is presented next.

1.3.1 The Brazilian business culture

Chu and Wood Jr. (2008) review existing literature on Brazilian organizational culture and contrast earlier studies with their own. Their study consists of

interviews with foreigners that work in business contexts in Brazil and with Brazilians who have already worked in foreign countries. The authors are able to trace how some of the cultural characteristics identified in previous studies have evolved throughout the decades.

A very idiosyncratic trait in the Brazilian culture is called *jeitinho brasileiro* (in short, *jeitinho*) in Portuguese ('the Brazilian way of doing things,' my translation). Chu and Wood Jr. (2008) describe it as one of the six essential traits of the Brazilian organizational culture (besides 'power and hierarchical inequality;' 'flexibility;' 'plasticity;' 'personalism;' and 'formalism'), as assigned by previous studies. *Jeitinho* is a behavior that enables a citizen to accomplish a certain objective in spite of contrary determinations (the law, rules, orders, etc.). To the citizen who practices this 'Brazilian way of doing things,' achieving objectives has precedence over legal determinations (Chu and Wood Jr. 2008: 972). According to the Brazilian anthropologist Roberto DaMatta (1997 [1979]), the 'Brazilian way' is a strategy to soften impersonal rules and make them more personal.

Chu and Wood Jr. (2008) state that two different interpretations of the concept are possible: one in which *jeitinho* is seen as a conformist behavior of the individual who tries to survive despite the unjust *status quo*, and another one according to which the *jeitinho* is a form of cultural resistance that critically rejects the *status quo*. It should be mentioned that attitudes to this concept seem to have changed in the last decades. In a survey conducted by DaMatta (1987), respondents were asked how they would classify a person who obeys the law in Brazil, and the answers were majorly negative. However, Chu and Wood Jr. (2008) point to a renewed value for *jeitinho* in the current Brazilian organizational context. Their analysis shows an increasingly negative assessment assigned to *jeitinho*, nowadays seen by many business people as a source of instability and lack of credibility.

Another essential feature of the Brazilian organizational culture is personalism (Chu and Wood Jr. 2008). It indicates very high trust in the family or group of friends for problem resolution and for obtaining privileges. Chu and Wood Jr. (2008) call attention to the fact that, in Brazil, laws are mainly expected to be applied to anonymous individuals, i.e., those who do not have any influential contacts.⁸ Along this line, Tuller (2008: 87) advises business people interested in the Brazilian market to consider establishing an in-country presence so as to facilitate personal communication with bureaucrats, customers, and suppliers.

⁸ A famous saying in Brazil, whose origins are uncertain, is "To my friends, everything; to my enemies, the law" (*Aos amigos, tudo; aos inimigos, a lei*).

Chu and Wood Jr.'s (2008) data show that personalism is still important in the Brazilian organizational culture. People tend to look for close and affective relations in the work environment. This fact makes personal relationships sometimes more important than technical competence for the job. Moreover, personal relationships are considered important for efficiency and group productivity. How people relate to one another is, still today, seen as one of the key factors for employee motivation and satisfaction.

Flexibility is another characteristic of the Brazilian organizational culture, according to Chu and Wood Jr. (2008). The authors define it as creativity and adaptability. The former refers to the ability to innovate; the latter to the capacity to adjust to various situations. The authors explain that these aspects emerge from a historical struggle to overcome difficult economic situations and from the necessity to adapt to different administration tools and practices coming from other settings.

Along this line, plasticity (defined as easy assimilation of foreign practices and customs) also reveals the tendency to target concepts and models created in what is considered a more developed context. According to the authors, “historically and traditionally the adoption of foreign concepts and references in Brazilian organizations does not meet any criticism, which reveals the high degree of permeability of the nation to everything that is developed outside the country” (Chu and Wood Jr. 2008: 973–4, my translation).⁹ However, the authors also call attention to the fact that this assimilation might happen only at a superficial level.

Differences in power relations and hierarchy are, according to Chu and Wood Jr. (2008), also an essential feature of the Brazilian organizational culture. The authors argue that, in Brazil, some individuals tend to assign special power to themselves and refuse to defer to laws which are supposed to be respected by every individual. A very famous expression – “Do you know whom you are talking to?”¹⁰ (DaMatta 1997 [1979]: 181–259) – is commonly heard in conflict interactions. It unveils an authoritarian relationship in which the most (economically) powerful individual wants to guarantee special conditions for herself. In a similar vein, Tuller (2008: 114) states that Latin Americans are very class conscious and that “in the more developed areas such as Buenos Aires or São Paulo, class lines are drawn according to job position, company or

⁹ The original excerpt is: “Histórica e tradicionalmente a adoção de conceitos e referenciais estrangeiros na gestão das organizações no Brasil é feita sem críticas, o que revela o alto grau de permeabilidade da nação àquilo que é desenvolvido lá fora.”

¹⁰ *Você sabe com quem você está falando?*

government affiliation, income, and the normal status symbols one finds in developed nations.”

Chu and Wood Jr. (2008) argue that, since power relations are extremely asymmetrical, traces of authoritarianism can also be detected in business interactions, such as submissive behaviors in relation to bosses. This submission leads to conflict avoidance and to a ‘spectator behavior’ (Barros and Prates 1996), which is characterized by an expectation for external authority, and low levels of self-initiative. Blurring and transferring of responsibilities are some of the consequences connected with the ‘spectator role,’ according to Chu and Wood Jr. (2008). Hands-on orientation to the work is not expected. People feel more comfortable when decisions are made by others in higher hierarchical positions.

Formalism is another important feature of Brazilian organizational contexts, according to Chu and Wood Jr. (2008). It is instantiated in organizational practices that attempt to enhance predictability and control over human behaviors and actions. This trait can be connected with the creation of a great quantity of rules, norms, and procedures¹¹ that target security and ensure authoritarianism while simultaneously discouraging self-initiative. In practice, formalism results in the multiplication of control activities. However, Chu and Wood Jr. (2008) show that resistance in relation to systematization and standardization techniques has increased.

Chu and Wood Jr. (2008) point to the fact that Brazil is generally seen as a country whose individuals and organizations show very cordial behaviors, i.e., behaviors surrounded by affective relations; but they are not necessarily sincere or profound (cf. ‘the cordial man’¹² in Holanda 1995 [1936]). Chu and Wood Jr.’s data show that decisions in Brazilian organizations tend towards agreement since employees avoid confrontation. The authors also point to the difficulty Brazilians have to say “no.” According to them, criticism is reduced, and diverging viewpoints are not clearly expressed.

11 In the ‘Ease of Doing Business Index’ from 2006 (World Bank 2006: 80), time and cost associated with government requirements and their effect on business community are measured. Brazil placed 19th in Latin America and 119th in the world.

12 The ‘cordial man’ is a term coined by the Brazilian anthropologist Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1995 [1936]), which refers to the Brazilian personality. Cordiality should not be understood as related to conventionalized ‘good manners’ or polite behavior because they are regarded as behaviors that separate people from one another instead of bringing them together. In a review of Holanda’s book, McCann (2014: 367) states the following: “The result, Buarque de Holanda claims – and it remains difficult to argue the contrary – is a nation where personal, affective relationships always trump abstract political, religious, or moral principles.” McCann (2014: 367) also argues that “Brazil’s cordial man . . . seeks true liberation *within* social life, where he frees himself from both the constraints of ritual and the burdens of individualism.”

There are a number of studies that have shown that individualist cultures generally tend towards confrontational strategies to handle situations of conflict while members of collectivist cultures tend to use more passive strategies, such as conflict avoidance (Ting-Toomey and Oetzel 2007). If people in collectivist cultures do get involved in conflict, they tend to use more accommodative strategies in dealing with conflict than do people in individualist cultures (Ting-Toomey and Oetzel 2007). According to Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2007), collectivists are concerned with gaining approval, being obliging and smooth, and saving face for the other party or for both parties.¹³

However, these interpretations are not conclusive. To mention two contrasting views on these issues, we can refer to Amado and Brasil's (1991) and Graham's (1983) studies and results. The former studied real-life business interactions and concluded that Brazilians tend to avoid confrontation so as to maintain good personal relationships. The latter, based on simulations of negotiations, described Brazilians and Americans as "hard bargainers," because they adopted an authoritarian orientation in their approaches to conflict in the negotiation simulations the author carried out.

Pearson and Stephan (1998) reviewed and compared the methodologies of both studies mentioned above, i.e., Amado and Brasil's (1991) and Graham's (1983). In relation to Graham's (1983) paper, the authors called attention to the fact that the Brazilians who were involved in the negotiation simulations were not acquainted with one another prior to their participation in the study. Amado and Brasil's (1991) investigation, on the other hand, was based on ethnographic work and observation of Brazilian managers' actual behaviors in real organizational contexts.

Moreover, Pearson and Stephan (1998) also presented their own empirical study for which a questionnaire was responded to by Americans and Brazilians. The aim was to contrast aspects related to individualism and collectivism and also in-group and out-group orientations during negotiations. The authors concluded that members of collectivist cultures make a sharp distinction between in-group (as participants in Amado and Brasil's study, who were already colleagues when the data collection was conducted) and out-group (as participants in Graham's study, who had not met previously).¹⁴

13 Individualists, by contrast, are more focused on autonomy, domination, problem-solving, control, and on saving their own faces (Pearson and Stephan 1998).

14 A question that can be raised is how the in- and out-group distinction features in a business scenario in which authoritarianism is a reality. In chapter 3, section 3.2.2.2 an e-mail is analyzed that shows how these cultural characteristics can be combined.

Other studies also evidence the distinction between in- and out-groups. Espinoza and Garza (1985), for example, show that when competing with the out-group, collectivists tend to be more competitive than individualists. Leung (1987) shows that collectivists are less prone than individualists to pursue a conflict with an in-group member and more likely than individualists to pursue confrontations with somebody who is in the out-group. In Person and Stephan's words (1998: 79), Brazilians who responded to the questionnaire designed for their study "were willing to act on their own self interests (sic) if the conflict involved a business transaction with a stranger, but a concern for the outcomes of others was more important in a conflict with a friend." The authors also add that

(...) because Brazilians consider competition a strategy that should not be used toward friends, they may perceive competitive behaviors directed toward them as an indirect message communicating the idea that "you consider me to be an outgroup (sic) member". Brazilians can be competitive if the context is viewed as a business transaction, but Brazilians would prefer to deal with business transactions as they do with other interpersonal relations. Brazilians are most comfortable when business transactions can be brought into the realm of ingroup (sic) relations. However, if the Brazilians are successful in creating such a climate, they will prefer to avoid conflicts instead of confront them. (Pearson and Stephan 1998: 80)

1.3.2 The German business culture

In this section, classic studies of intercultural communication are mentioned, such as Hofstede (1991) and Hall (1976). However, more recent work complements the survey presented here (e.g., Schroll-Machl 2013).

Uncertainty avoidance is one of Hofstede's well-known cultural dimensions (Hofstede 1991). Brodbeck et al. (2002: 18) define it as "the extent to which a collective relies on social norms, rules, and procedures to alleviate unpredictability of future events." Studies dealing with measurement of cultural dimensions through various countries (cf. Hofstede 1991; House et al. 2004) and also smaller scale studies involving the comparison of two countries (e.g., Pohle 2007: 215–216) show that Germany has a high uncertainty avoidance index, which means that German people usually prefer their lives to be well-organized. To their view, structure brings security and reduces stress and anxiety. This aspect is linked to what Schroll-Machl (2013: 69–90) calls 'appreciation for rules.' The author explains that the number of rules, regulations, ordinances, laws, and other formalities in Germany is incredibly high and adherence to them usually sets Germany apart from other countries with the same number of rules (cf. also Wierzbicka 1998).

Another classic pair of dimensions in intercultural communication studies is low- vs. high-context communication. Low context communication is defined by Hall (1976: 79) as information “vested in the explicit code.” Nishimura et al. (2008: 785) explain that, in low context cultures, meanings are communicated explicitly through language in order to compensate for what might be missing in the internal or external context. That is, communicators usually rely on very explicit information as a way to convey accurate messages.¹⁵ Germany is classified by Hall and Hall (1990 [1987]: 10) as a low context culture.

The habit to verbalize ideas in an explicit way seems to be closely related to the aspect of ‘objectivism.’ Schroll-Machl (2013: 47) states that being objective is a very important part of German “professionalism.” Germans usually talk about themselves as being goal-oriented and they cherish contributions to discussions with solid arguments and facts. Establishing a good relationship is seen as positive, but not essential, for business transactions. For this reason, there is usually no great effort from Germans to get to know their business partners better. Friendliness can even be seen as a way of distracting people from bad work. As the author states, “the objectives are the center points of interest and everything else revolves around them. Regardless of all else, the goals and the tasks at hand have top priority” (Schroll-Machl 2013: 48). In this context, for instance, relationships among colleagues tend to be limited to the workplace.

Another important cultural characteristic, according to Hall and Hall (1990: 10) is the focus on territoriality. This notion is related to the concept of boundaries around one’s personal space. Even though territoriality itself is often described as an innate instinct, the way it materializes can differ from culture to culture. The authors state that this notion is especially strong among Germans in comparison with other national groups. The result is that spaces and possessions tend to be taken care of and protected.

Moreover, the notion of ‘personal space’ tends to play an important role in the German culture as well. A number of factors get into play when defining a person’s space, such as the relationship among interlocutors, their emotional states, the activity being performed, and the cultural conventionalization concerning the use of space (Hall and Hall 1990: 12–13). The notions of territoriality and personal space seem to be closely related to what Schroll-Machl (2013: 139–167) calls the cultural standard of ‘separation of personality and living spheres.’ According to the author, the following spheres are usually

¹⁵ Nishimura et al. (2008) explain that, in a high context culture, internal meaning is often embedded in the information conveyed to the hearer and not everything is explicitly stated. In this sense, “the listener is expected to be able to read ‘between the lines’, to understand the unsaid, thanks to his or her background knowledge” (Nishimura et al. 2008: 785).

well separated in the German culture: professional vs. private; rational vs. emotional; role vs. person; formal vs. informal (Schroll-Machl 2013: 140–146).

Another cultural characteristic assigned to Germany by Hall and Hall (1990: 16)¹⁶ is the system of monochronic time. To experience time in a monochronic way means to count on the understanding that time can be compartmentalized, which makes it possible to focus on one activity at a time. Hall and Hall (1990: 16) argue that this is a system that people use to order their lives and set priorities. As a result, time schedules tend to be very well structured and deadlines strictly followed.

In models that ‘measure’ individualist vs. collectivist values or behaviors, such as Hofstede’s (1991), Germany ranks high on individualism. Along this line, Schroll-Machl (2013) states that personal independence and self-sufficiency are key concepts within individualism. Personal identity distinguishes the individual from the group and is regarded as very important. As for individualism, Triandis (2001: 909) explains that

In individualist societies people are autonomous and independent from their in-groups; they give priority to their personal goals over the goals of their in-groups, they behave primarily on the basis of their attitudes rather than the norms of their in-groups . . .

Because the social image of an individual seems less important in individualist than in collectivist cultures, another cultural aspect often associated with the German culture is the orientation towards conflict confrontation, instead of conflict avoidance. Schroll-Machl (2013) explains that Germans are usually taken to be very confrontational: “They point out mistakes, expect criticism, identify and analyze problems and difficulties and come forward with their opinions in arguments” (Schroll-Machl 2013: 178).

From the summary of the Brazilian and German business cultures presented here and in the previous section, it is clear that contrasting features are to be identified that could lead to conflicting positions in situations of intercultural business talk. The enterprise of my study was to empirically investigate such contrasting features through the unveiling of cultural conceptualizations. In the following, the topic of interculturality in business negotiations is explored.

16 I do not subscribe to etic models which attempt to ‘measure’ certain cultural standards along a few continuums ranging from two poles (such as Halls’s high- vs. low-context cultures; or Hofstede’s cultural dimensions). Even though I believe such comparisons to be useful in a few situations, the models usually disregard the multiplicity of factors playing a role in different cultures. Some of these factors do not lend themselves to simplistic comparisons of this type. Take, for instance, *jeitinho brasileiro* as described above.

1.3.3 Interculturality in business negotiations

When interlocutors share, to a great extent, cultural norms and expectations in the setting of a business transaction, communication is likely to go smoothly. However, in the context of this study, the fact that interactions happen between interlocutors coming from different speech communities adds complexity to the ‘interpersonal exchange’ in place in the context of business negotiations. Kecskes (2015: 119) argues that the increasing interculturality evidenced in everyday communication requires “a theory of meaning that can explain not only unilingual processing but also bi- and multilingual meaning construction and comprehension.” Moreover, the author states that:

Fauconnier (1997: 188) wrote that when we deal with a single language the complexities of modeling meaning do not necessarily stand out. However, when we compare two or more languages, or translate something from one language to the other, we realize that different languages have developed different ways of prompting the required cognitive constructions. Furthermore, different cultures organize their background knowledge differently (e.g., Wierzbicka 1996). So, both the meaning construction systems and the meaning prompting systems differ in languages because both are culture-specific. Translating from one language to another requires a reconstruction of cognitive and cultural configurations that were prompted by one language and a determination of how another language would set up similar configurations with an entirely different meaning prompting system and pre-structured background. (Kecskes 2008: 389–390)

In the present work I argue that, in order to study the ‘meaning’ of business negotiations happening in intercultural environments, one has to look into the theories of meaning on which different disciplines rely.

Previous studies done under the rubric of intercultural communication have already shed light on the fact that cultures convey meaning differently. As stressed by Wolf (2015: 445), intercultural communication is being studied within numerous disciplines. Some of the specific fields that pay close attention to communication between cultures are cross-cultural pragmatics (Blum-Kulka 1987, 1991; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; Spencer-Oatey 2008); intercultural pragmatics (Kecskes 2014); cultural linguistics (Palmer 1996; Sharifian 2011; 2017); and interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1984, 2005) to mention a few.

The aforementioned fields inform my own understanding of ‘interculturality’, according to which not only similarities but also differences are to be found between cultures (for a radically different view on interculturality, see Holmes and Dervin 2016). Furthermore, because the intercultural contact between the two investigated cultures (i.e., the Brazilian and the German ones) happens in English, two fields that investigate the spread of the English language in the

world – namely world Englishes (e.g., Kachru 1985) and English as a lingua franca (e.g., Seidlhofer 2001) – were carefully reviewed.

These two fields approach ‘interculturality’ from different perspectives and can be regarded as connected to different theories of meaning. While world Englishes usually stresses how the English language is influenced by native languages and cultures in certain geographical territories, English as a lingua franca is mainly concerned with how speakers of English from distinct cultural backgrounds negotiate meaning in interaction. Traditionally, the former has a focus on prior context, and the latter on the actual situational context. The two fields are explored later (section 1.4) in this chapter. It should be emphasized that the present study considers both the prior and the actual situational contexts by resorting to a data-driven approach.

The next section presents some practical observations on the dangers and benefits of business manuals dealing with intercultural business communication.

1.3.4 On the dos and don'ts of do-and-don't business manuals

In the sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2 above, information about cultural traits associated with Brazilians and Germans was presented. In this section, I propose a reflection on the usefulness of manuals of intercultural business negotiations intended for practitioners. This reflection is based on a wider discussion concerning the application of theoretical knowledge produced within the field of linguistics to the applied field of business.

As already shown, the present study aims to bring together two contexts that, at first sight, have little to do with one another: the academic field of linguistics and the practical world of business. This proves to be a challenging task, especially considering that criticism is often levelled, within linguistic academic circles, against ideologies that reinforce neoliberalism and economic inequalities (e.g., Phillipson 1992, 2008).

Within the field of (applied) linguistics, studies that address the relationship between language and power have gained ground. These studies can be associated with Fairclough's (1993) critical discourse analysis, Halliday's (1977) systemic functional linguistics, and Pennycook's (2001) critical applied linguistics among others. Critical studies which subscribe to these traditions have denounced abusive power relations (e.g., Pennycook 2001), gender inequality (e.g., Lazar 2007), and the spread of a market-oriented ideology in educational systems (Fairclough 1993) among other important topics. Critical studies of this kind often lean on the post-modernist paradigm, which the present work criticizes (see section 1.4.4 below).

Linguistic fields influenced by post-modernism are skeptical not only of the business world but also of attempts to popularize findings of linguistic research among non-linguists. The reason for such skepticism is the risk of reductionism and of reinforcement of stereotypes. Examples of reductionist and stereotypical descriptions in business manuals can be easily found:

- a. "... in Latin America, bribes are a way of life" (Tuller 2008: 38).
- b. "... fewer media distractions, slower and more difficult transportation, and warmer climates tend to slow the pace of everyday life. This more relaxed lifestyle, plus the *natural Latin affinity* for leisure pursuits, leads to a laid-back attitude about virtually everything" (my emphasis, Tuller 2008: 106).
- c. "In many countries there exists interdepartmental rivalry, but when dealing with the Germans you should remember that they can be especially touchy in this area. Always try to find the right person for each message. Tread on a German executive's toes and he or she will remember it for a long time" (Lewis 2006: 223)
- d. "Germans have great respect for possessions and property. Solid buildings, furniture, cars and good clothing are important for them and they will try to impress you with all these things. You should acknowledge the grandeur of German possessions and not be afraid to display your own solidity, facilities, and so on" (Lewis 2006: 224).

However, Kristiansen (2001) argues that one cannot reject stereotypes altogether without an understanding of their grounding in cognitive mechanisms. The author explains that social stereotypes can be explained by the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1981; Tajfel and Turner 1979) and by processes of categorization and metonymy. Kristiansen (2001: 137) argues that

If stereotyping is "the process of ascribing characteristics to people on the basis of their group memberships" (Oakes *et al.* 1994: 1), such characteristics – in the form of general psychological attributes – are often continuous dimensions, something one can be to a certain degree and only in comparison with other people (cf. Zadeh's (1965) fuzzy set theory): dark-fair, progressive-conservative, religious-irreligious, sociable-unsociable, talkative-taciturn, etc. In that case there will be a tendency to exaggerate the differences on that dimension between items which fall into distinct categories and minimize differences among members who fall within the same category.

Therefore, in processes of stereotyping, differences in certain characteristics which are being compared – for instance, pace in daily activities, become accentuated (either fast pace or slow pace), while the differences between members of a group become blurred (for instance, the in-group members are all defined as fast-paced and the out-group ones as slow-paced).

Therefore, scientific approaches to stereotyping have shown that they are "imprecise but cognitively necessary" (Kristiansen and Geeraerts 2007: 275). However, it is important not to jump to the conclusion that the aforementioned quotations can be regarded as 'imprecise but necessary.' The problem with

them is not necessarily their leaning on stereotypical information, but the reductionism they represent.

In arguing for methods that are capable of rendering the field of intercultural pragmatics an empirical and reliable profile, Kristiansen and Geeraerts (2007) denounce reductionism that can lead not only to reinforcement of stereotypes but mainly to an inaccurate representation of a certain cultural group. The authors assert that it is only through empirical methods that a linguist can draw conclusions whether their initial hypotheses (often informed by folk perceptions) are true or not. Furthermore, in following the path of empirical research, the linguist will necessarily need to acknowledge the existence of intracultural variation (see 'distributed cognition' in Sharifian 2011) and the effects of social identity construction (which lead to accentuation of intragroup similarities and of intergroup differences, as explained above).

Referring back to manuals of intercultural business negotiations, the aforementioned quotations can be considered reductionist, because they derive from naive folk models and because they neither acknowledge intracultural variation nor discuss the effects of social identity construction. Nevertheless, manuals that counter such a reductionist tendency can also be found. An example is Sylvia Schroll-Machl's *Doing Business with Germans* (2013). The book presents not only a list of cultural standards (that results from the analyses of critical incidents) associated with German organizational behavior but also discussions on the meaning of 'culture,' 'intercultural competence,' and even 'stereotypes.' Moreover, each of the German cultural standards explained in the book is connected with the associated historical background, which attempts to explicate the origin of the cultural concepts.

Therefore, I believe that manuals that deal with cultural differences in ways of doing business can help practitioners achieve better understanding of other types of organizational cultures. However, there are some criteria for a manual of this kind to enable readers to *understand* other cultural conventionalizations – and not only to have them memorize a list of (often misleading) expected behaviors when dealing with people from other countries. In my view, these criteria are to provide: (a) explanations based on research findings; (b) the historical and/or contextual background of the cultural aspects identified; and (c) non-reductionist explanations that allow for intracultural variation. If these standards are observed, business manuals on cultural differences can enable an important impact on the lives of practitioners.

An aspect that usually goes unsaid in business manuals intended for international audiences is that international negotiations often happen in English, which is, more often than not, a second language for the parties involved in intercultural business interactions. In the following section, the frameworks of

world Englishes and English as a lingua franca – as well as their potential to offer useful insights for intercultural business communication – are explored.

1.4 The use of English in intercultural business negotiations: A case for world Englishes or English as a lingua franca?

In this section two fields of study are described: world Englishes (henceforth WE) and English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF). Even though data and research objectives in these two frameworks are quite similar, there are also important differences. I argue that the study described here is located at the intersection of WE and ELF.

The next subsections include an overview of the history, main concepts, important studies as well as deficits identified in both areas. Subsequently, a comparison is made in which the tenets of these fields are contrasted. In the last part of this section, I present a proposal of conjoint use of the WE and ELF frameworks so as to reach the type of ‘intercultural understanding’ (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009) Annan implicitly argues for in the quotation that opens this chapter.

1.4.1 World Englishes

The ideas underlying the concept of ‘world Englishes’ go back to the 1960s and 1970s with Braj B. Kachru’s (1965) and Larry E. Smith’s (1976) foundational writings (History of IAWEL Inc., 2016). However, it is not until 1978, when a series of discussions and academic events are organized in the USA, that the topic receives greater scientific attention of scholars aiming to uncover international and intranational functions of English. These events result in two influential publications: Smith (ed. 1981) and Kachru (ed. 1982, 2nd edition, 1992).

WE developments on the scientific and pedagogical orientations towards the English language are not only groundbreaking in relation to linguistic research *per se* but also with reference to sociopolitical matters related to legitimacy and ownership of language. As Seargeant (2012: 152) puts it, WE “has focused academic interest on non-native varieties,” which had previously often been treated as “deficient versions” of ‘main-stream’ varieties, such as the British and the American ones.

Different models have been proposed that deal with the spread of the English language throughout the world. According to Seargeant (2012), the most influential of these models is Kachru’s Three Circles of English, which is briefly

explained below. Another quite influential framework is Edgar Schneider's Dynamic Model (Schneider 2007), which is not described here, as its tenets have proven of little use to the study of English in business contexts.¹⁷

Kachru's three circles of English are comprised of the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles (Kachru 1985). The Inner Circle consists of countries where English is spoken as a first language by the majority of the population and where English permeates practically all aspects of social life. The UK, the USA, Australia, and New Zealand are in this group. The Outer Circle consists of countries where English was institutionalized in administration and educational systems, for instance, but is not the majority language. These are countries that have experienced colonization and where English co-exists with indigenous languages. In these regions, English is a second or additional language for a great part of the population (Seargeant 2012). Examples are Nigeria, Singapore, and India. The Expanding Circle is composed of countries not directly related to English colonialization but whose ties with the English language appear as a result of globalization. Examples are Japan, China, and also Germany and Brazil.

Another important aspect of Kachru's theory is its attempt to show how normatization happens within the three circles. Kachru (1985: 16) argues that Inner Circle varieties are 'norm-providing;' that is, they "have traditionally been recognized as models since they are used by 'native speakers.'" The Outer Circle varieties are 'norm developing,' because the influence of other indigenous languages brings about "a conflict between linguistic norm and linguistic behavior" (Kachru 1985: 17). That is, speakers take on norms of the Inner Circle, but also develop own norms in the Outer Circle Englishes. As for the case of the Expanding Circle, Kachru (1985) states that varieties within this circle are 'norm-dependent,' as their speakers usually refer back to Inner Circle varieties for norms. In Seargeant's (2012: 151) words, "people learning English in countries such as Japan or Brazil are likely to use a standard British or American English as their target, and aspire to its norms of usage." This assumption seems to hold true in many cases, especially when referring to pedagogical trends related to the teaching of English as a foreign language. However, later on (in chapter 3), I will argue that the pragmatic and conceptual reality of Expanding Circle Englishes can have a strong influence from the L1s and cultures of speakers.

Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009: 16–20) rightly identify a dominant tendency within WE studies to focus on the investigation of phenomena connected with the linguistic surface. A quick look at resource books for university students on the

¹⁷ Other models of classification are Strevens' world map of English (1980), McArthur's Circle of World English (1987), and Görlach's Circle Model of English (1988).

topic of world Englishes can confirm that linguistic descriptions revolve around variation in grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary, and discourse styles (e.g., Jenkins 2003; Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008; Seargeant 2012). Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009) explain that the emphasis on these linguistic surface aspects is due to a structuralist leaning that disregards conceptual aspects. With exception of relatively recent attempts to contest this dominance (e.g., Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009; Mendes de Oliveira 2017; Sharifian 2015), research on conceptual aspects is still in its infancy in comparison with other strands within WE.

Another focus in WE is on the contrast between the Outer Circle and the Inner Circle varieties. Even though Kachru treats all concentric circles as part of the concept of ‘world Englishes,’ the field has developed in such a way that a greater deal of scientific attention has been given to these two circles. With exception of the work on certain varieties of Asian Englishes (e.g., Bolton 2003, 2005), Expanding Circle Englishes have been ignored in most WE studies. Edgar Schneider’s (2007) model, for instance, does not even account for these varieties.

In terms of methodological procedures, the analysis of electronic corpora can be regarded as a trend within WE (in fact, within linguistic studies in general). This type of analysis has not only legitimated but also reinforced the idea that WE refers mostly to Inner and Outer Circle varieties. Two major corpora for WE studies are the International Corpus of English (ICE) and the Corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE). ICE compiles data from 23 countries and each country is supposed to provide a corpus of one-million words representing a certain variety. GloWbE contains 1.9 billion words of English text from twenty countries. Both corpora consist almost exclusively of Inner and Outer circle data.

The lack of interest of WE scholars in Expanding Circle varieties might likely derive from the understanding that these varieties are not norm-developing themselves (Kachru 1985: 17), which leads to the conclusion that there are no systematic endonormative patterns to be found. In my study, however, I contest this conclusion and argue that, at least on the conceptual level, endonormative patterns are to be identified within Expanding Circle varieties.

1.4.2 English as a Lingua Franca

A few publications prepare the ground for the establishment of English as a lingua franca as a field of study. For instance, Jenkins (2000) investigates mutually intelligible phonological features in ELF and introduces the notion of a phonological lingua franca core. The lingua franca core is a list of phonological features which are crucial if a non-native speaker of English aims at producing

intelligible speech.¹⁸ Following this publication, Seidlhofer (2001) publishes a paper in which she argues for the need for linguists to devote attention to ELF data. Her argument is that only through comprehensive description of data can ELF gain recognition as a legitimate linguistic (and possibly pedagogic) enterprise. In the article, she introduces an online-based corpus for EFL data, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE), which is available online to this day.

The establishment of ELF as a field of study is not only part of a linguistic agenda, but, of course, of a sociopolitical one, as in the case of WE. It is, in a way, an insurgence against traditional views in applied linguistics that still count on native-speaker norms and native-speaker-based linguistic material in teaching and research. It is true that, by the time ELF was presented to the academic community (the beginning of the 2000s millenium), many scholars in the field of applied linguistics had already realized and welcomed the global spread of English.¹⁹ Nevertheless, several practitioners (i.e., teachers of English as a second language or English as a foreign language) still aimed at norms in vogue in English-speaking communities. In a countermovement against norms settled in accordance with native-speakers' standards, Seidlhofer (2001: 138) argues that "we must overcome the (explicit or implicit) assumption that ELF could possibly be a globally distributed, franchised copy of ENL" [English as a native language].

A difficulty for ELF to gather recognition not only among general language speakers, but also among researchers, is its status as a non-native language. A problem of legitimacy encountered in the field arises from its nontraditional understanding of 'speech community.' In linguistics, the concept of 'speech community' is traditionally connected with the idea of territory²⁰ (Saraceni 2014: 28, 128). A speech community is usually regarded as a group of individuals who live in the same territory and who speak a common language. Along this line, one could refer to Americans living in the USA and speaking English as a 'speech community.' Alternatively, one could refer to citizens in Texas as part of a different speech community from individuals in the state of California, for instance. It does not matter how broad or restricted the group is; the group is often associated with a certain geographical space.

18 Outside the 'core' are phonological features that, if used, could possibly help the speaker or learner sound 'native like.' However, they are not essential if the speaker's goal is intelligibility only.

19 For counter positions, cf., for example, Phillipson (1992; 2008); Pennycook (1994).

20 ELF and certain strands of WE are critical of this notion of territory, as will be shown later.

Since there is no region in the world where ELF stems from, it is not possible to identify a speech community associated with it. Instead, ELF researchers refer to the concept of ‘community of practice’ (Wenger 1998), which is characterized by engagement in shared practices. For instance, in the case of business activities, which are in focus in the study described here, a certain community of practice is likely to arise from frequent international business communication where participants jointly negotiate meaning and create a shared linguistic repertoire.

The territory-oriented view of speech communities mentioned above is closely linked with the concept of ‘variety.’ A variety is, in this sense, usually connected with the community who speaks it. Thus, American English is a variety spoken in the USA and British English in the United Kingdom. When it comes to ELF, however, this definition of variety does not seem to work. The reason is, again, the fact that it cannot be linked with a geographical territory. As Hülmbauer et al. (2008: 28) explain, in ELF the language variety is not a fixed and geographically-bound concept; it is, instead, much more flexible and adaptable because it is “created by the community” [of practice]. In this sense, also judgements of what is linguistically or grammatically ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ derive from a subjective and community-of-practice-related understanding of a variety. An example is given in Ehrenreich (2010: 30) in the context of a study on the use of ELF in international companies. When asked about linguistic correctness, one of her interviewees states that linguistic accuracy is “what the colleagues, the secretary regard as correct.”²¹

Apart from the above-mentioned studies, several empirical investigations have unveiled other important aspects of ELF. To exemplify recent advancements in the field, Seidlhofer (2009) cites a number of works that deal with topics that range from formal aspects of lexico-grammar (Breitender 2005) to pragmatic aspects such as rapport (Kordon 2006) and resolution of misunderstandings (Pitzl 2005). As for the field of business communication, Ehrenreich (2010) investigates the use of and attitudes to ELF in international companies.

²¹ Hülmbauer et al. (2008: 27) distinguish between ELF and EFL (English as a foreign language). They explain that EFL is learned in a typical learning scenario (a school, for instance) and often has native-speaker norms and culture as a target. ELF, in contrast, is the language used in interactions in which at least one interlocutor is a non-native speaker of English. Along this line, ELF speakers cannot be considered merely learners of English but mainly users of the language. The authors state that “this user language may certainly exhibit the same forms as learner English, but the significance of the forms is essentially different” (Hülmbauer et al. 2008: 27).

As mentioned above, VOICE is a web-based corpus which has been extensively used for ELF studies. Another corpus used for similar purposes is ELFA, English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings. The former is based at the University of Vienna in Austria and the latter at the University of Helsinki in Finland. VOICE is separated into different speech event domains, one of them being professional contexts.²² This corpus could have been useful for the study described here if Brazilian speech in ELF would have been better represented; i.e., if more contributions of Brazilian speakers of ELF would have been included in the corpus. As this is not the case, data had to be collected through other means (see chapter 2, section 2.3 on methodological procedures).

This lack of a more thorough representation of some varieties is my point of criticism in relation to VOICE. ELF speakers of Austrian background are, however, well represented in the corpus. This fact is understandable because the corpus is based in a University in Austria. However, there is an urgent need to extend the scope of the corpus, so that the ELF used by speakers of a non-European background – such as, in the case of this study, Brazilians – can also be investigated.²³

Of course, the above-mentioned difficulty arises from the very principles orienting ELF research. Because the focus is on ‘communities of practice’ – and not on speech communities in the traditional sociolinguistic sense – there is a down-scaling of national speech communities. Therefore, in ELF, systematicity is mostly expected to be found independently of speakers’ nationalities. It is regarded as resulting from the shared meanings in the common ‘emergent variety’ at play. Some aspects found to be systematic in ELF interactions are, for instance, the non-pervasiveness of misunderstandings²⁴ and a general orientation towards consensus (Seidlhofer 2004: 218); the ‘let-it-pass principle’ (Firth 1996: 243), according to which non-fatal mistakes tend to be ignored by speakers for the sake of a flow in communication; and the emergence of a ‘third culture’ (Meierkord 2002), which refers to the fact that speakers of EFL tend to create norms of

22 In comparison with GloWbE, which consists of 1.9 billion words, VOICE is very small, with 1 million words only. However, the kinds of data in these corpora are different. While VOICE focuses on spoken (and subsequently transcribed) data, GloWbE is a compilation of written texts in Inner and Outer Circle countries that are easily accessible on the internet (and, therefore, more easily compiled).

23 Another point of criticism in relation to the corpus is that targeted searches aiming at finding speakers of certain nationalities are not possible. Thus, the researcher has to open all file headings so as to find out the nationality of the speakers featured in the interactions transcribed in the corpus.

24 Note that this principle can only work if one counts on a very narrow understanding of ‘misunderstanding.’ This point will be further discussed below.

interaction based on universal features of communication (for instance, laughter and pauses), instead of using norms associated with their L1s and cultures of origin.

1.4.3 World Englishes *versus* English as a Lingua Franca

Contrasting the main tenets of WE and ELF is an important step if one is to understand where exactly the differences are. The main divergent points are summarized in the following table:

Table 1.2: Comparison of tenets in the ELF and WE frameworks.

	ELF	WE
Speakers	Users of language	Native or ESL speakers
Community	Communities of practice	Speech communities
Variety	Emergent variety	National (or sub-national) varieties

Following Kachru and Nelson's (1996: 72) observation that world Englishes' varieties show differences in grammar, lexis, pronunciation, and discourse, a major methodological tendency in WE research has been what Saraceni (2014: 80–99) calls the 'spot the difference approach.' According to this approach, distinguishing features between varieties can be identified and described (for a comprehensive list of distinguishing features, see, e.g., Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008). In this sense, what could be termed as an 'error' or a 'mistake' if comparisons with native Englishes' standards were being made is now termed a 'feature' when it is proven to be systematic within a variety.

In contrast, the ELF paradigm favors an orientation to research that, in my view, could be described as a 'spot the similarities' approach. Concepts such as 'shared repertoire' (Wenger 1998: 72) and 'global discourse communities' (Swales 1990) highlight the attention given to commonalities among varieties and to the possibility to explore these commonalities in the online negotiation of meaning.²⁵ "Communicative purpose and the interpersonal dynamics of the interaction" (Seidlhofer 2009: 242) gain precedence over 'differences.' In this sense, research

²⁵ By (online) negotiation of meaning, I refer to meaning construction by two or more interlocutors and to interlocutors' (conscious or unconscious) efforts to share meanings in the interactive situation. In this sense, 'negotiation of meaning' refers to what Kecskes (2008; 2015) calls the 'actual situational context' of language use (see section 1.2).

tends to focus on how interlocutors ‘put cultural differences aside’ in accomplishing tasks by using ELF.

To recall another problem²⁶ mentioned above, the world Englishes paradigm majorly focuses on the Outer Circle (Saraceni 2014; Seidlhofer 2009). Even though WE and ELF appear to be irreconcilable under such conditions, WE and ELF seem to have been integrated and to have joined forces. Seidlhofer (2009: 243), a leading ELF researcher, states that

though different in some respects, both [ELF and WE] are engaged in the same shared endeavour to understand and confront the sociolinguistic challenges of a rapidly changing world. This is why ELF merits acceptance as forming part of the wider WE research community, to which, I would suggest, it can bring fresh impulses and ideas in the continuing exploration of our common ground.

Therefore, these two paradigms have apparently ‘met’ and come to terms with one another in what Wolf and Polzenhagen (2006a) regard as a postmodernist-functional approach. This perspective tends to deliberately overlook cultural differences in favor of ‘successful’ negotiation of meaning (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2006a; Wolf 2017).

1.4.4 Word Englishes *and* English as a Lingua Franca: Towards intercultural understanding

Despite past impasses between WE and ELF (Saraceni 2014), WE and ELF seem to have reconnected and ELF appears to have found its way as a subdiscipline of WE, as urged by Seidlhofer in the quotation above. However, a problem is identified in WE studies by the WE scholar Saraceni (2014: 3):

World Englishes began very much as an anti-establishment, revolutionary philosophy, which opposed old, traditional, anachronistic, stale and unrealistically monolithic ideas about English, and proposed new, fresh, modern ideas that would take into consideration the diverse sociolinguistic realities in which English had relocated. Now, the novelty is somewhat wearing off.

Saraceni (2014) goes on to criticize an excerpt from a recent WE resource book (Seargeant 2012), in which the same ‘revolutionary’ ideas from the mid-1980s are still used as a call to engage students and professionals in the field. He argues that “if, nearly 30 years later, we’re still advocating the need to begin to favor plurality against singularity, one could be excused for feeling that,

²⁶ A ‘problem’ from the perspective of the present study, of course.

perhaps, there may have been a certain amount of ‘congestion’ in the field. Where do we go from here?” (Saraceni 2014: 4).

The fresh view towards WE Saraceni (2014) argues for is one that acknowledges globalization, mobility, and hybridity as a replacement for concepts such as territory and closed boundaries. Despite admitting that this recent orientation towards WE research is not on the same pace as practical developments in TESOL, in which practitioners still count on Inner-Circle norms and native-speaker models, the author still calls for a post-structuralist leaning in academic inquiry.

If, as Saraceni (2014: 7) states, “to the vast majority of laypeople” it is still not clear that there are legitimate varieties of world Englishes other than the British and the American ones, one should acknowledge that the meaning of ‘variety’ these people count on leans strongly on the concept of territoriality. Therefore, to propose a move from a territorial understanding of variety to one that focuses *exclusively* on fluidity seems premature, at best. To my view, it is important that researchers take a more realistic look into the issue, and not a merely idealistic one. To paraphrase Bolton (2005: 76), “in what worlds, after all, do we live and work?”

Moreover, in ELF and in the post-structuralist strand of WE, the ‘spot the difference’ approach has been criticized because of its likelihood to create or reinforce stereotypes.²⁷ The argument behind such criticism is that an exclusive focus on the differences between two speech communities can lead researchers to a disregard of the whole complexity of the matter (Saraceni 2014: 99–100). While I agree that this is a valid argument, I do not see the post-structuralist strand of research as a viable alternative, in that it lies too strong a focus on hybridity, fluidity, and, in the case of interactional studies, on ‘third culture’ (Meierkord 2002). And all this in a world full of conflicts that arise from a strong understanding, by laypeople, of boundaries and differences between groups.

The very meaning of culture, which tends to be attached to the concepts of territory and speech community, is questioned in post-structuralism. In this context, culture gains a less stable and more fluid character and is regarded as influenced much more by socioeconomic inequalities than other characteristics (such as ‘the punctuality of the Germans’ or ‘the politeness of the British,’ for instance). Wolf (2015: 449) explains that this position is due to a “fear of essentialism.”²⁸

²⁷ An example is Macaulay’s famous Minute on education on colonial language policy in India in the 19th century (Phillipson 1992).

²⁸ Wolf (2015) refers specifically to the concept of ‘culture’ in studies of intercultural communication that have a post-structuralist leaning. I consider the arguments to apply to studies of ELF and post-structuralist studies of WE as well.

However, the author warns about the risk of “throwing out the baby with the bathwater” (Wolf 2015: 448). Because ignoring stereotypes “does not mean that they disappear” (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009: 186), Wolf and Polzenhagen (2006a) propose a hermeneutic philosophical orientation to the study of language (cf. also Mendes de Oliveira and Wolf 2019).

Gadamerian hermeneutics places the concepts of ‘prejudice’ at the core of human understanding. However, Gadamer (2004 [1973]: 294) does not refer to the negative popular connotation of ‘prejudice’ but to its sense of *fore-conception of completeness* that is regarded as a cognitive process. Along this line, because ‘prejudice’ exists and is inevitable, it is important to acknowledge it. Gadamer (2004 [1973]: 273) warns about the risk of ignoring the existence of prejudice. By ignoring it, the philosopher argues, one “denies tradition its power” (Gadamer 2004 [1973]: 273).²⁹

Hermeneutics allows us to make peace with the ‘spot the difference’ approach. That is, cultural differences do exist and should be brought to light and analyzed. However, on the same line of Wolf’s (2015: 448) ‘bathwater argument’ for the maintenance of the concept of culture that allows for the Gadamerian ‘prejudice,’ I do not argue that only the differences should be considered. I argue, on the contrary, for the importance of a combined ‘spot the difference’ and ‘spot the similarity’ approach in the study of language and culture.

The study described here takes into account both concepts of community presented above (i.e. community of practice and speech community). Participants in the study are simultaneously part of a certain business community of practice (or more than one) and of a speech community – the Brazilian or the German ones. Within the international business community of practice investigated in the case study (chapter 3), it is possible to identify emergent patterns that are a more *ad hoc* result of online interactive processes between speakers in the actual situational context (Kecskes 2008; 2015). As part of the ‘speech community’ construct, more stable conceptualizations have been shown to arise as a result of longer term meaning construction within the original speech communities or the prior context, in Kecskes’s (2008, 2015) terms. After all, it is the view of language as a complex system (Beckner et al. 2009; Larsen-Freeman 1997) – i.e., as simultaneously a

²⁹ Note that a parallel can be traced between the Gadamerian ‘prejudice’ and Kecskes’s (2008, 2015) description of the prior context associated with meaning construction described in section 1.2. The fore-conception of completeness mentioned above is based on an individual’s prior knowledge gathered through socialization (Berger and Luckmann 1991 [1966]) in her original speech community. Thus, the Gadamerian prejudice is strongly based on prior knowledge, which guides interactants’ interpretations and behaviors in actual situational communicative contexts.

‘repository of meaning’ and a creative tool for online meaning negotiation, as acknowledged by the DMM (Kecskes 2008; 2015) – that makes it prone for communicating long-existing ideas and concepts, on the one hand, and negotiating and fusing them, on the other hand. It is this capacity for negotiating old and new meaning that makes *intercultural understanding* possible. This topic will be further explored in the next chapter (section 2.1.7). I will argue that a systematic study of ‘cultural conceptualizations’ is paramount for enabling *understanding* between different cultures.

Summary

I started this chapter by providing an introduction to the practical motivations and research aims underlying this study. In section 1.2, I presented the dynamic model of meaning (Kecskes 2008, 2015) on which this study lies. In section 1.3, I wrote about the speech event ‘business negotiation’ and highlighted the need to take a cognitive (or cultural-linguistic) perspective into account in these types of studies. The reason why the cognitive perspective is important draws from the very nature of meaning, which is regarded as resulting from both prior knowledge and online meaning negotiation in the actual situational context (as explained in section 1.2). Moreover, an overview and a critique of previous studies dealing with the Brazilian and the German business cultures were given in sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2. Some of the Brazilian cultural traits emphasized in the literature are the *jeitinho brasileiro*, personalism, and power differences. The German cultural characteristics include uncertainty avoidance, individualism, and territoriality. Subsequently, the focus on business negotiations from an intercultural perspective was further explored. The final part of this section introduced a discussion on the topic of business manuals. I concluded that the aim to provide practitioners with intercultural knowledge can only be achieved if business manuals go beyond the usual ‘do-and-don’t-lists’ and approach the deeper meanings associated with the practices and cultural traits they present.

In section 1.4, I described the main tenets and practices in WE and ELF studies. I showed that WE research focuses mainly on features of the linguistic surface (phonology, syntax, etc.) and on contrastive studies regarding Inner- and Outer-circle Englishes. Moreover, with exception of recent post-structuralist studies, the focus in WE is to show how varieties differ from each other. By contrast, the objective of many of the ELF studies is to find what Englishes in the Expanding circle have in common and how these common characteristics enable *successful communication* (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009: 201). Additionally, I showed that WE’s and ELF’s understandings of communities and varieties are

different in that the former considers a territory-based view of these constructs and the latter a community-of-practice view. More recently, however, some authors of WE and ELF have made the case that both disciplines belong together and that they should pursue a common post-structuralist agenda for the study of Englishes. I pointed to some of the weaknesses in this line of thought and proposed, leaning on previous literature, that hermeneutics can offer sound philosophical grounding for contrastive studies that do not comply with the post-structuralist agenda.

Now that the main theoretical tenets of my study have been presented in detail, it is time to turn to the analytical standpoints and procedures used to empirically answer the question of how Brazilian and German business people conceptualize and act out business negotiations. The cultural-linguistic analytical tool of 'cultural conceptualization' and methodological practices for the analysis of pragmatic phenomena (of authentic written business negotiations) are introduced and explored in the next chapter.

2 Cultural linguistic and pragmatic perspectives on intercultural business negotiations

We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way – an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language.

(Whorf 1956a: 213)

This chapter revolves around the analytical assumptions and sets of procedures that underlie the investigation at the heart of this study. Section 2.1 (including all its subsections) depicts the details concerning the cultural-linguistic analysis of cultural conceptualizations, which represents the pillar of this work. Section 2.2 (also including the subsections) presents theoretical and procedural information on the analysis of emic representations and pragmatic aspects of real business negotiations via e-mail related to the case study (or ‘research-based consultancy project’) that derived from the main cultural-linguistic part of the investigation.

2.1 The cultural linguistic perspective: The study of cultural conceptualizations

This section deals with the analytical concept on which the main part of this study leans. Before explaining the term ‘cultural conceptualization,’ I will provide an account of epistemological and methodological principles that paved the way for this analytical tool in the study of language and culture: Section 2.1.1 is concerned with the principle of linguistic relativity, and section 2.1.2 provides a description of cultural linguistics, the field of studies from which the analytical tool ‘cultural conceptualization’ arose. In section 2.1.3, I present the definition for and the types of cultural conceptualizations considered in this study. In section 2.1.4, I introduce the notion of a ‘conceptual script.’ In section 2.1.5, I give an overview of research into cultural conceptualizations in world Englishes. Research into Brazilian and German cultural conceptualizations is presented in section 2.1.6. Finally, in section 2.1.7, I show how the study of cultural conceptualizations combines cultural linguistic and hermeneutic principles in an attempt to achieve intercultural understanding.

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2.1.1 Linguistic relativity

The concept of ‘culture’ is highly disputed in the Humanities. There is an interesting – yet long – story behind some controversies involving this concept, which will be shortened here for the sake of space and scope. Even though the linguistic relativity principle is often solely connected with Sapir and Whorf (whose words are reproduced in the opening lines to this chapter), there is a whole line of thought that had already countered the Aristotelian representational theory of meaning. Roger Bacon (1220–1292), for example, as early as in the 13th century already insists on the impossibility of perfect translation, given the problem of non-equivalence of semantic fields in different languages (Gumperz and Levinson 1996: 1). German philosophers such as William von Humboldt and Johann Herder also express similar concerns in the 18th and 19th centuries (Foley 1997: 193–194; Kramsch 2004: 236–237; Polzenhagen and Wolf 2010: 281–283).

Benjamin Lee Whorf, who was responsible (together with Franz Boas and Edward Sapir) for the popularization of the concept of linguistic relativity, defines it in the following way:

(. . .) users of markedly different grammars are pointed by their grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations of externally similar acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world. (Whorf 1956b: 221)

A now classical example is the study by Whorf (1956) described in the article “The relation of habitual thought and behavior to language,” in which he contrasts European languages (what he calls SAE, Standard Average European) with Hopi, a language spoken by an indigenous people living in the northwest of Arizona, United States. In that paper, he analyzes the semantic domains of MASS and TIME. To him, habitual categorizations in these languages are a result of their grammatical systems. In SAE, on the one hand, objective and subjective experiences can be quantified in the same way. Thus, it is possible to quantify time (e.g., ‘ten days’) following the same pattern as for concrete experience quantification (e.g., ‘ten men’). The temporal experience is therefore objectified following the patterns of a concrete experience of seeing ten men together.

Whorf (1956: 139–140) explains that, in Hopi, on the other hand, plurals and cardinals are used only for groups that are objectively experienced. In the case of imaginary plurals in expressions related to time, for instance, ordinal numbers with singular nouns are used. The expression ‘ten days,’ as in SAE, does not exist; instead, an expression such as ‘on the eleventh day’ would be used. The conceptualization embodied in the Hopi culture considers time intervals as being

cycles repeating the same essence. This way to conceive of time is inherently different from SAE's objectified conceptualization that allows its speakers to 'count' time as they would count objects. According to Whorf (1956: 148–152), this conceptualization of time in the Hopi culture is related to an emphasis given to persistence rather than change.³⁰

Following Sapir's and Whorf's linguistic relativity principle, there is some agitation in the academic community. Several studies go on to test the principle empirically. A now classic series of studies is Berlin and Kay's color research, which investigates how different languages name colors. As a result, it shows universal aspects in color naming. For instance, languages with three color words always have the focal colors white, black, and red (Berlin and Kay 1969). This and other universal trends identified in color research are taken to be strong evidence against the linguistic relativity principle. However, subsequent studies are published that endorse the existence of linguistic relativity and attest the influence of semantic and grammatical structures on cognition (see, for instance, Lucy 1992; Slobin 1996).

As argued by Everett (2011, 2013), a resurgence of studies dealing with linguistic relativity in the past two decades can be attested. A tendency in recent research on linguistic relativity is to investigate thought related to different cognitive activities. An example is a study by Everett (2011) himself on numeric recognition with the Pirahã people in Brazil, who do not have a number terminology system in their language. In this and other studies with the same people, the linguist attests that "when speakers lack number terminology they struggle with basic quantity recognition tasks" (Everett 2011: 92). Therefore, number terminology in a language results in an augmented capacity for numeric thinking. Everett (2011) explains that further evidence for linguistic relativity can be found in studies of gender perception (Flaherty 2001), perception of time (Boroditsky et al. 2011), and even perception of colors (Gilbert et al. 2006).

Even though the problem with empirical validation of the linguistic relativity principle has been overcome, a critical discussion remains around the concept of 'culture.' As Wolf (2015) argues, there is a growing tendency within post-modernist academic circles to reject the understanding of culture as a group-level set of values and norms (e.g., Holmes and Dervin 2016). Wolf (2015: 449) explains that this contestation of 'culture' is due to a 'fear of essentialism,' as mentioned in chapter 1 (section 1.4.4). As will be shown in the following paragraphs, the 'fear of essentialism' is countered in the field of cultural linguistics.

³⁰ Whorf's Hopi study was highly debated in academic circles at that time. For a counter position, see Malotki (1983).

2.1.2 Cultural linguistics

Even though the very term ‘cultural linguistics’ had been used before by Langacker (1994: 31), it is only after Palmer’s book entitled *Towards a Theory of Cultural Linguistics*, published in 1996, that the term is used to refer to a whole discipline. This field of studies, according to Palmer, uses frameworks coming from various disciplines – such as ethnosemantics, linguistic anthropology, and cognitive linguistics – in order to provide innovative theoretical and methodological orientations towards the study of language, culture, and cognition.

While it is Palmer (1996) who first sets the ground of the field, there are subsequent publications in which the tenets of cultural linguistics are further elaborated on. A publication arising from a conference is an important step towards the establishment of cultural linguistics in the academic community. The edited volume entitled *Applied Cultural Linguistics* (Sharifian and Palmer 2007) explores ways for cultural linguistic approaches to be applied in the context of second language or bidialectal education (Malcom 2007; Occhi 2007; Sharifian 2007) and communication (Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007) among other topics. In 2011, Sharifian publishes the monograph *Cultural Conceptualizations and Language*, in which further advancements in cultural linguistics are presented. More recently, the author defines this field of studies as a “multidisciplinary area of research that explores the relationship between language and conceptualizations that are culturally constructed and that are instantiated through features of languages and language varieties” (Sharifian 2015: 516).

As mentioned above, cultural linguistics does not succumb to the ‘fear of essentialism’ (Wolf 2015) by which other disciplines are threatened. It subscribes to a hermeneutic philosophical basis (Wolf 2015) and investigates cultural cognition as a way to unveil cultural-cognitive *forestructures* (Gadamer 2004 [1973] based on Heidegger 1977) identifiable at a group level (Mendes de Oliveira and Wolf 2019). The novelty in relation to other studies that address cultural aspects is that the group-level cultural cognition is regarded as a distributed and emergent system that is not evenly and regularly shared in a speech community (Sharifian 2011: 4–8). Thus, an essentialist reading is crossed out in favor of an emergent and dynamic understanding of culture.

2.1.3 Defining cultural conceptualizations

In his 1996 book, Palmer defines ‘imagery’ in the following terms:

Cultural and cognitive linguistics are fundamentally theories of mental imagery. They seek to understand how speakers deploy speech and listeners understand it relative to

various kinds of imagery. Some of these kinds are cognitive models, symbols, image-schemas, prototypes, basic categories, complex categories, metaphor, metonymy, and social scenarios. (Palmer 1996: 46)

The author highlights the ontological relevance of the natural human inclination to share imagery:

Language has come to serve many functions in human affairs, but perhaps the most fundamental reason for its emergence in human evolution is that it provides a means by which speakers can evoke and reinforce adaptive imagery in one another.

(Palmer 1996: 52)

Sharifian (2011) has advanced the theorization of ‘imagery,’ which the linguist calls ‘cultural conceptualizations.’ Sharifian’s (2011) understanding of ‘conceptualizations’ is based on connectionist principles that regard “an individual’s knowledge and conceptualizations as being represented over a network consisting of a large number of units joined together in patterns of connection” (Rumelhart & McClelland 1986 cited in Sharifian 2011: 4). According to this view, conceptualizations should be understood not as things in an individual’s brain, but as “configurations of strongly interconnected units in the network” that result from “interactions between the elements of the system over time” (Sharifian 2011: 4).

Conceptualizations are taken to be spread across cultural groups. In this respect, Sharifian (2011) states that:

Cultural groups are formed not just by the physical proximity of individuals but also by relative participation of individuals in each other’s conceptual world. The degree to which individuals can participate in a group’s conceptualized sphere determines their membership of the group. This participation, or non-participation, is often mirrored in interactions between the members of a cultural group as well as those between the members of different cultural groups. (Sharifian 2011: 4)

The understanding of conceptualizations as emerging from interaction is highly in line with the distributed cultural cognition model (Sharifian 2011: 4–8). Therefore, it is through interaction that conceptualizations get distributed in an uneven pattern that reflects, in turn, the irregular pattern of social relationships. These clusters of uneven – but, to a certain degree, overlapping – conceptualizations give rise to the cultural cognition of any given group.³¹

31 Note here, again, that cultural conceptualizations can be regarded as a type of prior knowledge acquired through repeated experience in the actual situational contexts of interactions within one’s speech community. For more information on prior and actual situational contexts (Kecskes 2008, 2015), see the dynamic model of meaning – DMM – in chapter 1, section 1.2.

The types of cultural conceptualizations that proved to be relevant in the present work are conceptual metaphors, metonymies, conceptual blends, image schemas, and cultural schemas, following Sharifian's (2011) framework. Additionally, expressions underlying the cognitive semantic construals of force dynamics, windowing of attention, and fictive motion are also treated as cultural conceptualizations.

In the following, the types of cultural conceptualizations taken into account for the analyses of interviews are described. First, the definitions of conceptual metaphor, metonymy, and image schema are presented and discussed and are followed by the notions of conceptual blends, cultural schema, and the cognitive semantic construals of force dynamics, fictive motion, and windowing of attention (note that these latter ones are not referred to as cultural conceptualizations in the existing literature).

My working definition of 'metaphor' draws from two main frameworks: the conceptual metaphor theory, CMT (Barcelona 2000; Grady 1997, 2005; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1999), and the discourse dynamics of metaphor (Cameron 2007, 2010; Cameron et al. 2010). Following the CMT, Kövecses (2002: 4) considers a conceptual metaphor to deal with the understanding of "one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain." Barcelona (2000: 3) defines a conceptual metaphor as "the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially 'mapped,' i.e. projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one." The domain that is mapped is called the source domain, and the one that receives the mapping is called the target.

Conceptual metaphors are instantiated in metaphorical expressions. By convention, the former are represented in small capitals and the latter in italics. For instance, the metaphorical expression "you are *wasting* my time" underlies the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 8). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 8) argue that "metaphorical expressions in every-day language can give us insight into the metaphorical nature of the concepts that structure our everyday activities." Within CMT, it is not only conceptual metaphors that are considered but also metonymies and image schemas, as explained below.

Metonymy is described as "the conceptual mapping of a cognitive domain onto another domain, both domains being included in the same domain or ICM, so that the source provides mental access to the target" (Barcelona 2000: 32–33).³²

³² ICM stands for 'idealized cognitive model,' which Kövecses (2002: 250) defines as "structured conceptual representations of domains in terms of elements of these domains." Ungerer and Schmid (2006: 250) define a 'cognitive model' as "the sum of the experienced and stored contexts for a certain field by an individual."

For instance, Kövecses (2002: 144) explains that the metonymical expression “I’m reading *Shakespeare*” underlies the conceptual metonymy THE PRODUCER FOR THE PRODUCT (or, more specifically, THE AUTHOR FOR THE WORK).

The definition and the classification of ‘image schema’ on which I count derive from different theoretical reflections on this concept (Johnson 1987; Kimmel 2004; Mandler and Pagán Cánovas 2014; Oakley 2007). I follow Johnson’s view on image schemas in conceiving them as simple topological structures acquired through bodily experience with the environment, such as CONTAINER, PATH, etc. (Johnson 1987). Moreover, they serve as the basis for primary metaphors (Grady 1997, 2005), clarified below.

Image schemas refer to basic dimensions of sensory experience. This experience can be “visual, tactile, or in any other modality – heaviness, brightness, forward motion, upright position, etc.” (Grady 2005: 1606). Oakley (2007) argues that schemas are templates that individuals superimpose onto perceptions and conceptions. It is only this set of schemas superimposed by perceptions that is meaningful and not the image schema itself.

In the cognitive linguistic literature, image schemas are frequently connected with the embodiment hypothesis. ‘Embodiment’ is often a topic of heated discussions between more culturally-oriented cognitive linguists and cognitive linguists more concerned with universally-based cognitive processing. This topic is also relevant in the context of this study because, as will be seen below, image schemas are here considered to be a type of cultural conceptualization, and this view might oppose some of the mainstream readings of the concept, which regard image schemas as culture-free building blocks of cognition.

Hampe (2005) explains that the original intention of the ‘embodiment hypothesis’ within second generation cognitive linguistics was to overcome the mind-body Cartesian dualism that strictly separates these two ‘entities.’ Hampe (2005) also argues that the reason for the above described controversy is the existence of two competing notions of ‘embodiment.’ On the one hand, scholars from cognitive psychology and the neurosciences attempt to ground universal characteristics of the human mind in similarly universal characteristics of the human body. On the other hand, scholars working within a culturally-oriented cognitive tradition (e.g., Bernárdez 2005, 2016; Kimmel 2005; Wolf 1994) look at ‘embodiment’ through the perspective of the triad body-mind-culture (Hampe 2005: 4–6). Hampe makes the point that

Though the two strands of embodiment research have so far not been integrated in a unified theory of image schema, proponents of both approaches to the embodiment hypothesis have also stressed that cognitive models and schemas – including image schemas –

can be seen both as expression of universal principles at work in individual cognition and as properties of an underlying “institutionalized” “cultural” “world view”.

(Hampe 2005: 6)

Following the discussion on embodiment presented above, I agree with Sinha and Jensen de Lopéz (2000) who state that it is not only through bodily experience *per se* that spatial terms (e.g., UP, DOWN, IN, OUT, etc.) are acquired. These experiences are always connected with a sociocultural context that will also imbue the experiences with meaning (forming, therefore a *gestalt*). Along the same lines, Wolf (1994: 41) argues that “prior to physical embodiment, our experiences are already mediated through means of interpretation provided and pervaded by culture.” Kimmel (2004: 287) also states that image schemas “may become imbued with emotion and cultural motivation” when embedded in rich social context. In this sense, and highly in contrast with a universalistic perspective on image schemas (usually connected with the strong embodiment hypothesis), variation may happen not only inter- but also intra-culturally.

Grady’s (1997, 2005) distinction between primary and complex metaphors is also associated with the CMT. Primary metaphors are directly motivated by correlations in experience (Grady 2005: 1602). Examples of primary metaphors are MORE IS UP; PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS; (ABSTRACT) ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE; PERSISTENCE IS BEING ERECT (Kövecses 2002: 252). Complex metaphors are the ones composed of primary metaphors, which function as mappings within the complex ones (Kövecses 2002: 247). For instance, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT (THEORY) IS A BUILDING is complex in that it is composed of the primary metaphors LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT (Kövecses 2002: 83). The experiential basis of primary metaphors is illustrated in Grady (2005: 1600): the primary metaphor MORE IS UP is likely to be experientially related to the human understanding of quantity and height (e.g., the more books you put on a pile, the higher the pile gets). Moreover, Grady (2005) stresses that primary metaphors are also at the basis of conceptual blends (defined below).

Closely related to the construct of primary metaphor is the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, as defined in Lakoff (1993) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999). The EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor comprises the domains of STATE, CHANGE, ACTION, PURPOSE, and CAUSE of events, which are the targets for the sources LOCATION, FORCE, and MOVEMENT. Kövecses (2005: 43) provides some examples: the metaphorical expression ‘they are *in love*’ underlies the conceptual metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS; ‘he *went crazy*’ underlies CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS; ‘let’s try to *get around this problem*’ is based on DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS. Kövecses (2005:

43–47) shows the existence of this group of metaphor in different and unrelated languages and concludes that it is a potentially universal one.

The question of universality vs. cultural variation of metaphor and other types of ‘imagery’ is often discussed in cognitive linguistics. Within CMT, different positions by different authors – as well as different positions by the same authors – can be identified. For instance, Johnson and Lakoff (2002: 251) state that:

Although aspects of our shared embodiment coupled with the commonalities of our shared environments will give rise to shared image schemas and many shared conceptual metaphors, there is room within these general constraints for extensive cultural variation in the ways the meaning is extended and elaborated. For example, it is hard to imagine any creature with a body similar to ours, located within a gravitational field like the one we inhabit, that would not have some form of verticality schema, some form of balance schema, and some shared schemas of forceful interaction. However, there is great variability in the ways a notion of vertical orientation can be interpreted and the valuation that can be placed upon it.

Thus, cultural variation is thought to be underlying the use of conceptual metaphors and image schemas. However, later, as part of his neural theory of metaphor, Lakoff (2008: 30) states that “primitive image schemas (e.g., CONTAINER, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, DEGREE OF CLOSENESS, DIRECTION, and AMOUNT OF FORCE) are computed by brain structures that are either innate or formed early. Action schemas and frames are structured using such primitive image-schemas.” Therefore, there is an emphasis on ‘primitive image schemas’ regarded as *a priori*, universal structures. In a similar vein, Dodge and Lakoff (2005: 57) suggest that cross-linguistic variation arises from different combinations of primitives.

My position is in agreement with Johnson & Lakoff’s (2002) view but in disagreement with Dodge and Lakoff’s (2005) and Lakoff’s (2008) later view. I believe that there is cultural variation in how certain groups use conceptual metaphors (including primary metaphors – often based on image schemas – and the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor) and that this variation is not a mere combination of individual primitives but results from the complex interaction of multiple cultural conceptualizations within a given speech community.³³ These multiple conceptualizations form, thus, a *gestalt*.

Apart from the CMT, another theoretical foundation for the analysis of metaphors is the ‘discourse dynamics,’ which focusses on the identification

³³ For a strong criticism of mainstream cognitive linguistics and for a call for the inclusion of cultural aspects in cognitive linguistic analyses, see Bernárdez 2005.

and analysis of metaphors in spoken discourse. As Schröder (2012b: 97) stresses, Cameron's is one of the few fully-fledged frameworks developed in an attempt to systematically analyze metaphors in discourse. It sets itself apart from CMT in that it highlights metaphor in language rather than in the conceptual system. In this respect, Cameron and Deignan (2006) state that the cognitive tradition associated with the CMT

deliberately shifted the attention away from language. While linguistic examples are cited throughout the central work in the field, their importance is as evidence for cognitive links rather than in themselves. With this focus on shared conceptual systems, a cognitive explanation of metaphor use inevitably ignores the possible explanatory power of an individual's previous experience with language. (Cameron and Deignan 2006: 672)

Metaphor – called 'linguistic metaphor' in Cameron's framework – is also considered to be comprised of two parts, a topic and a vehicle term (the latter being an equivalent of the source domain in CMT). For instance, in the expression *that's why they are kicking back* used by one of the speakers in a study about reconciliation talk conducted by Cameron (2010), the topic is classified on the basis of the overall theme of the conversation at the time the expression was uttered; in this case, the topic is "terrorism, including acts, risk, causes, perpetrator" (Cameron et al. 2010: 128) and the vehicle is *kicking back* (Cameron et al. 2010: 131).

The issue of the linguistic *versus* conceptual existence of metaphor was extensively discussed in the literature (e.g., Cameron 2010; Gibbs 1999, 2006; Steen 2011). Steen (2011) argues that, when different disciplines claim they approach the connection between language and thought, they rely on different meanings of 'thought.' Whereas some look at 'thought' as cognitive processing (e.g., cognitive psychology and psycholinguistics), others approach it as a symbolic structure (some CMT scholars). In the present study, I take metaphorical and metonymic expressions in language use (in fact, all the linguistic expressions underlying cultural conceptualizations) to be activations³⁴ of – and empirical evidence for – metaphorical systems that exist on the collective level (Müller 2009). Along these lines, the very fact that, for instance, *attack* and *defend* are recurrent words used by speakers of certain speech communities when

34 By 'activation,' I mean a symbolic activation and not an activation of cognitive mechanisms. This activation is not necessarily conscious (in this respect, Müller (2009) argues that the meaning of 'consciousness' is still highly disputed in cognitive psychology; therefore, determining whether a conceptual metaphor is produced in a conscious way is not yet possible). The idea of 'activation' is inspired by Müller's (2009) reflections on the topic, but I do not use the term in the context of sleeping and waking metaphors as Müller (2009) does.

talking about ‘arguments’ and ‘theories’ is evidence that the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR exists on the collective level (being here described as a group-level conceptualization).

Conceptual blends (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 2008) are regarded as complementary to conceptual metaphor. What they add to the metaphor framework, among other things, is the focus on novel and more complex conceptualizations (Grady et al. 1999). Take the example “I am in the dark on this issue,” analyzed by Joy et al. (2009: 40). Here, two input spaces are created: one from the domain of vision – where X, the individual in question, is being kept in the dark – and another space from the domain of knowledge, where information is being withheld from X1. The generic space contains a person who has been deprived of a particular stimulus. In the blended space, X and X1 are one, and being kept in the dark maps onto ignorance.

More recently, blending theory has been expanded with the integration network model. It focuses not on the four spaces anymore but on the relations established among spaces, such as compression, on the emergent structure of the blends and on the fact that metaphor (together with counterfactuals, framings, categorizations, etc.) is part of a group of phenomena that result from the same human ability for double-scope blending (Fauconnier and Turner 2008).³⁵

Most importantly for the purposes of this study, Fauconnier and Turner (2008) claim that integration networks leading to conceptual blends are neither entirely novel and built on the fly nor are they always based on well-entrenched and conventionalized structures. Conceptual blends are always a mix of both (Fauconnier and Turner 2008: 53–54). Schröder (2012a: 215) argues that blending theory is successful in combining stable meanings with the dynamization of cognitive processes; this combination illustrates what cognitive online processing is like.³⁶

As another type of cultural conceptualization, Sharifian (2017) defines ‘cultural schema’ as a culturally constructed sub-class of ‘cognitive schema.’ The author adds that cognitive psychology traditionally regards these schemas as

³⁵ In this work, however, I do not look at the kinds of relations between elements of input spaces; I am especially interested in the source domains used in conceptual blends. For further information on ‘vital relations,’ such as time, space, identity, change, cause-effect, etc., see Turner (2015).

³⁶ Note that this theorization is highly in line with the DMM – the dynamic model of meaning (Kecskes 2008, 2015) – introduced in chapter 1 (section 1.2), because we can equate ‘well-entrenched and conventionalized structures’ with prior knowledge and ‘novel structures’ with the actual situational context.

“building blocks of cognition that help organize, interpret, and communicate information” (Sharifian 2017: 44). What cultural linguistics offers is a culturally informed perspective on this concept.

An example of a cultural schema is given by Polzenhagen and Wolf (2007) in their study on conceptualizations of corruption in African English. The authors explain that the GIFT GIVING schema is involved in various ‘cultural scenarios,’ for instance, the Christmas scenario or the wedding scenario. In that sense, a schema displays “a low degree of complexity and a high degree of abstractness” and “represents a basic socio-cultural experience” (Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007: 129). These configurations are essential for a schema to be able to fit various “cultural scenarios.” In the case of their study, the authors show how the GIFT GIVING schema is evoked in conceptualizations of corruption, such as in the GIFT GIVING metaphorical expression “. . . the loans were some *gifts to be taken as chop money* . . .” (Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007: 152).

Sharifian (2015: 518) argues that cultural schemas “capture encyclopedic meaning that is culturally constructed.” The author explains that “cultural schemas may encompass cultural concepts, knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values, and norms that lay the foundation for human reasoning across different cultures” (Sharifian 2017: 47). Concerning some of the previous studies done on the topic of schematization, Sharifian (2017) rightly criticizes attempts to present an overall classification of existing types of schemas, as this task might prove endless and the labels might turn out to be redundant and poorly reliable. My own position is that cultural schemas are pervasive conceptualizations that take specific forms that highly depend on the historical records of a group.

In the following, I explain some notions of cognitive semantics that were considered to feature in the realm of cultural conceptualizations in this study.

In his cognitive semantics, Talmy (2000a, 2000b, 2000c) provides an encompassing framework for cognitive linguistic analysis of several types of constructions. I am well aware that cognitive semantics is not committed to relativist assumptions but rather to a universalist perspective on cognitive processes. My view on this issue is that, even though the aspects described by Talmy seem to describe universal or near-universal linguistic processes, they are produced in culturally-rich scenarios and gain, therefore, cultural meaning. In the following, I describe the cognitive-semantic tools that were used in the study, namely force dynamic patterns (Talmy 2000a), fictive motion (Talmy 2000b), and windowing of attention (Talmy 2000c).

Force dynamics is a framework designed to analyze causation in language. The analysis is made possible by the identification of fine ‘primitives.’ Central components of force dynamics are a) the agonist, the focal force entity; and b)

the antagonist, the force element that opposes the focal force entity. These components have an intrinsic force tendency, either toward action or toward rest. Talmy (2000a) describes various types of force dynamic patterns between agonist and antagonist (steady-state; shifting force; secondary steady-state) and several levels in which force-dynamic patterns apply, which range from open-class and closed-class elements to language used to describe psychological organization and social interaction.

Within the force-dynamic framework, a concept that is mentioned in my study is the ‘divided self’ (Talmy 2000a: 431–433). The concept of two forces opposing one another is often used for describing psychological activity, as in “I held myself from responding” (Talmy 2000a: 431). The pattern being referred to here is one in which one part of the self wants to act and the other part does not; these two parts play different roles. In Talmy’s (2000a: 432) words, “The agonist is identified with the self’s desires, reflecting an inner psychological state.” The agonist is described as “being overcome by an antagonist acting either as a blockage . . . or a spur” (Talmy 2000a: 432). Therefore, in the case of the example above, “I held myself from responding,” one part of the self – the agonist – shows characteristics of the Freudian ‘id,’ while the other part – the antagonist – shows characteristics of the ‘superego,’ as Talmy (2000a: 460) explains.³⁷

The term ‘fictive motion’ is used by Talmy (2000b) to refer to motions assessed as non-veridical. Veridicality is not related to any external truth in this framework but to an assessment made by individuals based on their cognitive system. In that sense, a sentence like ‘John goes from the bakery to the University every morning’ is more cognitively ‘veridical’ (or factive, in Talmy’s terms) than ‘this wall goes all the way from the bakery to the University entrance,’ because there is no real motion from the wall in the latter sentence.

Talmy (2000b) presents several sub-categories of fictive motion: emanation, pattern paths, frame-relative motions, advent paths, access paths, and co-extension paths. Most relevant to the present study is the sub-category ‘emanation’ described by Talmy (2000b: 106) as “the fictive motion of something intangible emerging from a source. Prototypically, the intangible entity continues along its emanation path and terminates by impinging on some distal object.” Take the example given by Talmy (2000b: 109): “The arrow on the signpost pointed toward the town.” In this case, the arrow is an object that is

37 For further observations on the divided-self pattern, see also Wolf (1994).

conceptualized as emitting an intangible line, which moves in the direction of the ‘distal object,’ the town, and terminates there.

The category ‘emanation’ is also divided into subtypes (i.e., orientation, radiation, shadow, sensory paths), but the most relevant one for this study proved to be the ‘sensory path’ type. Sensory paths include the conceptualization of two entities, one of which being the Experiencer and the other the Experienced (Talmy 2000b: 115). Moreover, they also include the conceptualization of something intangible moving in a straight path from one entity towards the other. According to Talmy (2000b: 115), this conceptualization can be construed in two ways: a) an Experiencer emits a Probe that moves from this Experiencer to the Experienced and allows the Experiencer to detect the Experienced, as in “Even a casual passerby can see the old wallpaper through the paint” (Talmy 2000b: 116). In this case, the Experiencer is regarded as the Source. Or, b) the Experienced emits a Stimulus towards the Experiencer and the latter is sensorily stimulated, as in “the old wallpaper shows through the paint even to a casual passerby” (Talmy 2000b: 116). Here, the Experienced is conceptualized as the Source.

Even though Talmy (2000b) mainly refers to visual paths within the realm of sensory paths, he does acknowledge the existence of other types of sensory paths, such as the ones triggered by the use of ‘hear’ and ‘smell.’ In my analysis, I make the case that several constructions can be analyzed as types of fictive motion of the sensory path type, sometimes construed as a visual path (as in ‘to show respect’) and sometimes as an object transfer, prototypically involving the path of an object from one’s hand – thus referring to the sense of touch – towards another person’s hand or towards a certain location (as in ‘to give respect’).³⁸

Another contrast in comparison with Talmy’s framework is the fact that the examples presented in his work comprise verbs with two arguments. In some of the constructions analyzed in my study, several verbs are connected with three arguments, as in ‘I show respect to somebody’. Therefore, the Experiencer is ‘somebody’ and ‘respect’ is what is Experienced. In this case, the subject ‘I’ is the entity enabling the Experiencer to access the Experienced, but it is not the Experiencer himself who is the source; it is the Experienced (the ‘feeling’ of respect) that is construed as the Source. Once presented by the enabling entity

38 Note that the analysis of fictive motion substantially adds to the analysis of conceptual metaphor. In the case of ‘to show respect’ or ‘to give respect,’ conceptual metaphor theory would lead the analyst to classify both occurrences as RESPECT IS AN OBJECT and would probably prevent her from tracing the differences.

(in this case, 'I'), it emits a stimulus towards the Experiencer, who is (fictively) visually stimulated.

The phenomenon of 'windowing of attention' is another form of cognitive operation identifiable in linguistic constructions and described by Talmy (2000c). The term is used to refer to the process of directing the distribution of one's attention to a certain part of a scene within an event frame. Talmy defines event frames as "a set of conceptual elements and interrelationships that ... are evoked together or co-evolve each other" (Talmy 2000c: 259). For instance, the verb 'spend' in the sentence "I spent \$50 and 100 hours of my time on that ham radio Kit" (Talmy 2000c: 263) evokes a commercial transaction event frame that is composed of a buyer, a certain product, money, and a seller, even though the seller is not explicitly mentioned. The very structure of the sentence does not allow for the inclusion of the seller.

Processes of windowing of attention can be identified within a certain event frame. Among the range of event-frame types presented by Talmy (2000c) (i.e., path; causal-chain; cycle event; participant interaction; and interrelationship event frames), the one that seems most relevant to the present study is the path event frame. The path event frame leads an individual to conceive of a fictive path as a trajectory.

The windowing of attention, according to this framework, can be initial, medial, or final. Another point of interest is linguistic information that is backgrounded, which accounts for constructions with initial, medial or final 'gapping.' These are examples given by Talmy:

The crate that was in the aircraft's cargo bay fell –

- a. *With maximal windowing over the whole of the so-conceived entire path*
out of the plane through the air into the ocean.
- b. *With gapping over one portion of the path*
 - i. Medial gapping = initial + final windowing
out of the plane into the ocean.
 - ii. Initial gapping = medial + final windowing
through the air into the ocean.
 - iii. Final gapping = initial + medial windowing
out of the airplane through the air.
- c. *With windowing over one portion of the path*
 - i. Initial windowing = medial + final gapping
out of the airplane.
 - ii. Medial windowing = initial + final gapping
through the air.
 - iii. Final windowing = initial + medial gapping
into the ocean.

(Talmy 2000c: 266)

Therefore, by looking at how a speaker frames certain ideas, the researcher can identify conceptualizations that are salient during the moment of speaking. As will be shown in chapter 3, this knowledge of the organization of cognitive semantic meaning complements the analysis of other types of cultural conceptualizations.

2.1.4 Cultural conceptualizations and ‘conceptual scripts’

Most studies on cultural and cognitive linguistics so far have focused on one type of cultural conceptualization only; conceptual metaphor being probably the one that has received the most attention from scholars from the 1980s on. However, I take Quinn’s (1991) position on the non-pervasiveness of metaphor³⁹ and analyze all types of cultural conceptualizations as equally important in establishing a certain conceptual background underneath language-in-use. This conceptual background is what I call a ‘conceptual script.’

Conceptual scripts are holist conceptualization scenes, composed of a set of source domains, within a speech or discourse excerpt. The identified source domains in all conceptualizations might be either of the image schematic and highly embodied type – for instance, CONTAINER – or more elaborate and complex concepts such as a certain cultural schema. In contrast to isolated groups of conceptualizations, ‘conceptual scripts’ show relations among source domains and tell ‘a little conceptual story’ no quantitative analysis would be able to show. Therefore, the idea of ‘conceptual script’ has proven to be an important qualitative analytical tool for this work.

The notion of ‘script’ should be distinguished from Schrank and Abelson’s (1977) famous formulation. They define a script as “a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation” (Schrank and Abelson 1977: 41). Even though conceptual scripts are influenced by long existing cultural conceptualizations, they are not a ‘predetermined’ set of actions. In this work, a ‘script’ is not taken to be a fixed set of conceptualizations to be followed by speakers in certain speech events; it refers, instead, to the conceptual activation, by the speakers, of conceptualizations existing on the collective level. The conceptualizations, identified and explained by the analyst, are put together in the

³⁹ Although I disagree with her argument that metaphor might have only linguistic and expository roles.

form of a conceptual script.⁴⁰ In terms of Kecskes's DMM (section 1.2), they can be regarded as cues of the 'prior context' of meaning.

Other terms are used in cognitive linguistics that refer to constructs that bare some similarities with 'conceptual scripts,' but they are still different. For instance, conceptual scripts can be considered similar to Musolff's (2006) metaphorical scenarios, defined as

a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about "typical" aspects of a source-situation, for example, its participants and their roles, the "dramatic" storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, normal or abnormal, permissible or illegitimate, etc.

(Musolff 2006: 28)

However, a metaphorical scenario seems to be more general, in the sense that a scenario can underlie various discourses. Therefore, it is closer to the definition of an idealized cognitive model (Lakoff 1987). A conceptual script, on the contrary, is an emergent conceptual 'story,' still influenced by one or more ICM(s) but created online. Therefore, it shows idiosyncratic arrangements that a metaphorical scenario does not seem to show.

Another construct that bares resemblance with my idea of 'conceptual script' is Cameron et al.'s (2010: 138–144) 'metaphorical stories.' Cameron et al. (2010: 139) explain that a metaphorical story "recounts (rather than assumes), normally within a single text or discourse event, actions involving one or more participants in settings." The analysis made of the stories told by participants takes into account the vehicle terms used by them. The main difference in relation to my definition is that Cameron's analytical tool applies to stories only. In contrast, the scope of analysis of conceptual scripts is broader in that it considers any argumentative thread. The argumentative thread might include stories but is not restricted to them. Another difference is that conceptual scripts include source domains underlying different types of cultural conceptualizations (see section 2.1.3), which are not considered in metaphorical stories.

40 Even though the term 'conceptual script' can be found in (few) academic texts, to my knowledge its use is rather loose and does not underlie a systematically deployed concept. One of the articles which uses the concept in a way that is at least minimally comparable is Cwilla and Kolk's study on world knowledge (2005) in the area of cognitive psychology. An experiment is described by the authors in which research participants were tested for priming in word triplets – such as 'director,' 'bribe,' and 'dismissal' – also called 'conceptual scripts' (Cwilla and Kolk 2005). Even though no theorization is offered about the definition of a 'conceptual script,' the authors explain that their notion of 'script' leans on Schrank and Abelson's (1977) formulation.

In this sense, a conceptual script is a ‘conceptual trace’ that a speaker leaves when talking about a certain topic. This trace can be seen as activations⁴¹ of conceptualizations that exist in the speech community. It partly reveals the speaker’s ‘prior context’ (Kecskes 2008; 2015) in relation to a certain topic being discussed. This ‘conceptual trace’ is instantiated in source domains and in the relations between them within speech excerpts about the topic being discussed (the target). Methodologically speaking, the unveiling of a conceptual script by the analyst results in a schematic representation of the relations between source domains (shown in chapter 3). This final step in the establishment of a conceptual script (i.e., the schematic representation) facilitates comparisons of a set of conceptual scripts.

2.1.5 Cultural Conceptualizations in world Englishes: Previous research

As mentioned in section 1.4.1, WE research concentrates much of its efforts on the investigation of surface linguistic phenomena, such as grammar, lexicon, pronunciation, etc. However, calls have already been made for the inclusion of conceptual research into the scope of WE (e.g., Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007; Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009; Sharifian 2015; Wolf 2015). Moreover, empirical work shows that WE can greatly benefit from cultural linguistic research. Some of the most influential studies in this area are described below.

Polzenhagen and Wolf (2007) investigate conceptualizations of ‘corruption’ in West African Englishes. The authors combine methodological tenets of corpus and cultural linguistics and analyze news articles. Two corpora are used for the purposes of the study: the CEC – Corpus of English in Cameroon⁴² – and a corpus compiled by the authors themselves, entitled WCL (witchcraft, corruption, and leadership) (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009: 53). Cultural conceptualizations of corruption are clustered in four groups: (a) gift-giving; (b) negotiation; (c) predatory authority; and (d) solidarity. Examples for each of those groups are shown below.

In the gift-giving cluster, there are several occurrences of the A BRIBE IS A GIFT metaphor, such as in “He therefore tells the Chief of Manawhoneybee village that his “ . . . name can only go on the radio if [*he*] brought something,” and of course, the chief gives him money (*kola*)” (Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007: 152). In the negotiation group of conceptualizations, instances such as the following can be found: “And with the natives pacified, civilised and rid of ignorance,

⁴¹ For ‘activation,’ see footnote 34.

⁴² Originally compiled as part of the ICE corpus.

superstition, malaria and paganism, and their leaders duly “settled”, every body [sic] was happy” (Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007: 155). Here, the metaphor is BRIBING IS NEGOTIATING. For the predatory authority group, occurrences of the metaphor A BRIBE IS A TRIBUTE TO PREDATORY AUTHORITY are shown, such as in “Recently, Tell, a respected weekly came out with a report indicating that journalists are even *commissioned* with fat pay to write editorial opinions” (Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007: 155). Finally, for the ‘solidarity’ group, occurrences of the metaphor A BRIBE IS A SOLIDARITY SURCHARGE are found, such as “There is no doubt that this announcement asking all the ex-officials to return the *extra soli* they took to the government chest is going to cause severe wahala [Pidgin English for ‘trouble’] in many houses” (Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007: 156).

Polzenhagen and Wolf (2007) demonstrate that these metaphors are based on the West African cultural schema of COMMUNITY, which, according to the authors, can be extended to various social contexts. Thus, in cases of corruption metaphors being influenced by COMMUNITY cultural schemas, an euphemistic function is clear. This function ‘hides’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) the illicit nature of the phenomenon.

Polzenhagen and Wolf (2007) conclude their article on a strong hermeneutic note. They point out that an understanding of ‘corruption’ in cases of international economic exchanges should not arise from a western conceptualization of the phenomenon only; and neither should it arise from a strict relativist perspective that allows international negotiators from other cultural backgrounds to fully accept and adopt local practices. Corruption and a definition of what corrupt practices are can only be fully understood in international scenarios when negotiators involved engage in deep exchanges about the topic; the ideal result, according to Polzenhagen and Wolf (2007), being the fusion of horizons (Gadamer 2004 [1973]) of the parties involved.

Another study that unites cultural linguistics and world Englishes is Finzel and Wolf (2017). The authors look into multimodal metaphors of gender and homosexuality in British, Nigerian, and Indian movies. Examples of metaphors identified in their corpus are HOMOSEXUALITY IS A DISEASE; WOMAN IS OBJECT AND MAN’S PROPERTY in Indian English and WOMAN IS WITCH in British and Nigerian Englishes. The linguists show that cultural variation among world Englishes varieties can be evidenced not only in terms of different choices of source domains but also in relation to different mappings within the same conceptual metaphor. For instance, the metaphor WOMAN IS WITCH shows very different mappings in British and Nigerian movies; the former involving the figure of the witch as a natural sinner, an outsider, and an unworldly creature, and the latter, as well-educated, not breast-fed as a child, and close to the family.

Sharifian (2015) presents reflections on how the framework of world Englishes can greatly benefit from a cultural linguistic view. He mentions several concrete examples of differences in cultural conceptualizations in varieties of world Englishes (for instance, the cultural schema of PRIVACY in American English and the conceptualizations underlying the use of the word ‘divine’ in Ghanaian English).⁴³ Another interesting aspect of Sharifian’s (2015) publication is the connection between conceptual and pragmatic issues. The author gives the example of a Persian cultural schema called *tâ’arof*, which is associated with several speech acts, from making requests to accepting an offer. According to Sharifian (2015: 7), the cultural schema “is realized with ‘ostensible’ invitations, repeated rejection of offers, insistently repeated offers (. . .), frequent compliments (. . .), etc.”⁴⁴ Therefore, the author shows how cultural conceptualizations can be pragmatically instantiated.

Moreover, Sharifian (2015) makes the point that taking conceptual differences into account is paramount to defining varieties of Englishes. In cases where surface linguistic features are similar or the same, speakers of two distinguishing ‘conceptual worlds’ are generally taken to believe they belong to the very same speech community, exactly because of the surface-level similarities. However, as a consequence, minorities’ ‘conceptual worlds’ might be completely disregarded, which only reinforces unequal power relations within societies.⁴⁵

2.1.6 Brazilian and German cultural conceptualizations: Previous research

As regards cognitive- or cultural-linguistic studies addressing Brazilian and German cultures, Schröder has several publications ranging from conceptualizations of ‘love’ (Schröder 2009b) to conceptualizations identified in Rap music (Schröder 2012a, 2015b). For the former study, Schröder uses the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) framework in order to analyze metaphors of love in interviews with Brazilians and Germans. In the Brazilian corpus, a preference is

⁴³ Sharifian (2015) explains that the cultural schema of PRIVACY is reflected in complaints made by American English speakers in relation to interactions with speakers from different speech communities when they feel their privacy has been invaded. As for the use of the word ‘divine’ in Ghanaian English, the author explains that it is connected with a cultural schema that is associated with ‘contact with an unseen world aiming at finding out the reason behind misfortune.’

⁴⁴ In the context of my study, the relationship between cultural conceptualization and pragmatics is built upon in the following sections.

⁴⁵ This aspect is shown in Sharifian (2011, chapters 4 and 5) and Malcolm (2007). The authors study cultural conceptualizations of the aboriginal community in Australia.

identified for CONQUEST, EATING/APPETIZING FOOD, and GROWTH/ORGANISM/PLANT metaphors. In German interviews, preferential conceptualizations are ECONOMIC EXCHANGE, FUNCTIONING MACHINE, and JOURNEY metaphors. Leaning on Luhmann (1982), the author assigns the differences to the salience of a passionate ideal of love in the Brazilian culture and of an ideal of romantic love in the German culture.

The studies regarding conceptualizations referring to rap music, based on the analysis of 300 rap lyrics, show that the LIFE IS WAR metaphor is a type of conceptualization comprehensively used in both Brazilian and German rap music. The mappings, however, are quite different. In the Brazilian group, the adversary is mapped onto abstract entities (politics, society, the upper class). In German lyrics, the adversary is mapped onto the other MC. Schröder (2012a, 2015b) highlights the fact that a pragmatic analysis is paramount in order to better understand the differences in mappings.

Schröder also analyzes conceptualizations found in written and spoken discourse about society (Schröder 2009a, 2010). In the 2009 study, based on the analysis of spoken and written interviews, newspaper articles, and non-fictional books, the German corpus shows more mixed and dynamic⁴⁶ image schemas than the Brazilian one. In terms of conceptual metaphors, BUSINESS, BUILDING, GAME, and OBSERVATION are preferred source domains for the conceptualization of SOCIETY in the German corpus, whereas in the Brazilian corpus PERSONIFICATION, STAGE, FLORA, FAMILY, and WAR are the most salient ones. Moreover, the author calls attention to ‘hiding’ and ‘highlighting’ effects of certain metaphors, which reveal certain ideological orientations in relation to the target domain SOCIETY. One of the findings arising from the study is that an emphasis on societal structure can be identified in the Brazilian corpus, whereas the focus in the German corpus is on the changes that society has been undergoing.

Moreover, Schröder (2010) complements the 2009 study in that it looks into conceptual blends in which image schemas are dynamically combined. An

⁴⁶ Oakley (2007) states that image schemas can be construed as dynamic or static scenes. The linguist gives the example of the image schema BALANCE as representing either a) a state of equilibrium or b) a process of keeping balance. In the former case, we would have a static scene and in the latter case, a dynamic one. The author states that the distinction ‘stationariness *versus* dynamicity’ refers back to Langacker’s (1987: 145) distinction between summary and sequential scanning. If a scene is construed where all facets are “coexistent and simultaneously available,” then we have a static realization of a certain image schema. If the image schema is composed of a series of transforming states, this would be a dynamic realization of an image schema.

example is the recurrent combination, in the German corpus, of VERTICALITY + PATH as in “while the *path* from the *lower class* to the *middle class* is widely *blocked*, between 2000 and 2006 approximately 13% of all employees *slid into low wage classes*”⁴⁷ (Schröder 2010: 586). Although this combination (i.e., VERTICALITY + PATH) has been found in both the Brazilian and the German corpora, it is more frequent in the German corpus. The author assumes that this finding is related to a growing change in discourse about society in Germany, as the population speaks more frequently about an ongoing degradation of the welfare state (represented through the image schema of a change in direction on a PATH) and the enlargement of lower social classes, reinforcing the image schema of VERTICALITY (Schröder 2010: 587).

2.1.7 Hermeneutics, cultural conceptualizations, and intercultural understanding

In this section, I extend on Gadamerian hermeneutics, a topic introduced in section 1.4.4. I show how Hans-Georg Gadamer’s ideas can support intercultural understanding in the context of communication between people from different cultures.

Originally, hermeneutics was regarded as a science of text interpretation, especially of biblical, philosophical, and literary texts. However, Malpas (2015) explains that the area has extrapolated its early purposes and now attempts to offer a general theory of interpretation. It rejects both extreme subjectivism and extreme relativism. As explained by Patterson and Williams (2002: 14), Gadamerian hermeneutics has shown that the experienced world is not a sole result of individual thought processes and neither a result of mental representations of the external world alone; the world as experienced is co-constructed by the individual and the world.

In his book *Truth and Method*, Gadamer (2004 [1973]: 273) explains that the truth, in the Cartesian model, is considered to be an antonym for ‘doubt.’ In this sense, for the Cartesian model, what could not be scientifically attested is considered to be false. This point is directly connected with Gadamer’s reflections on the issue of ‘prejudice.’ Prejudice is defined by Gadamer (2004 [1973]: 273) as “a judgment that is rendered before all the elements that determine a situation have been finally examined.” The philosopher argues that ‘prejudice’ certainly does

47 “Während der Weg von der Unterschicht zur Mittelschicht weitgehend versperrt ist, rutschten zwischen 2000 und 2006 rund 13 Prozent aller Beschäftigten in die unteren Einkommensklassen.”

not necessarily mean a false judgment, but part of the idea is that it can have either a positive or a negative value. However, the current meaning of the word – first attested as a result of Rationalism connected with the Enlightenment – points only to its negative value (Gadamer 2004 [1973]: 274).

Leaning on Heidegger, Gadamer (2004 [1973]: 294) explains that prejudice is a part of interpretative efforts, because it is related to the process of ‘fore-conception of completeness.’ The ‘fore-conception of completeness’ refers to an interpretative conclusion that interactants constantly take. They judge that concepts that are about to be interpreted can in fact be interpreted because they have a whole and coherent meaning (Malpas 2015). Therefore, when involved in dialogue, hearers are constantly involved in an (mostly unconscious) effort to make sense of each contribution of their interlocutors (instead of immediately dismissing it as senseless). In order to do so, hearers necessarily have to deploy the cognitive operation of fore-conception of completeness (i.e., they make inferences so as to how each contribution fits into the dialogue and contributes to its meaning).

The fore-conception of completeness is necessarily connected with, and is inseparable from, the expectations we have concerning how completeness is to be reached. In Gadamer’s (2004 [1973]: 294) words, not only does the interpreter “assume an immanent unity of meaning, but his understanding is likewise guided by the constant transcendent expectations of meaning that proceed from the relation to the truth of what is being said.” These expectations account for the kind of prejudice Gadamer writes about. Along this line, prejudice loses its merely negative bias and is seen not only as unavoidable but also as a necessary step in interpreting concepts, actions, and behaviors. Therefore, it is through prejudice that we have access to the concept that is about to be interpreted.

Disregarding the concept and the workings of ‘prejudice’ in the Gadamerian sense lends a false – and dangerous – idea of objectivity to scientific investigations and to interpretative processes in general. Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009: 186) call attention to the fact that ignoring prejudice does not mean that it disappears. Gadamer (2004 [1973]: 294) argues that “the fundamental prejudice of the Enlightenment is the prejudice against prejudice itself, which denies tradition its power.” This ‘prejudice against prejudice’ is unquestionably still present in recent research. Not only positivistic research traditions subscribe to this trend; as mentioned above, also post-modernist studies of intercultural communication tend to question the concept of culture – and, therefore, of ‘prejudice’ – altogether due to a ‘fear of essentialism’ (Wolf 2015: 448).

In hermeneutics, ‘dialogue’ is a central concept, because it enables the ‘fusion of horizons.’ That means that the horizons of meaning involved in dialogic exchanges influence and act upon one another, which causes a restructuration

and modification in both (or more, in case more than two interactants are involved in the exchanges) horizons of meaning involved in the exchange(s).

Gadamerian hermeneutics and cultural linguistics (Palmer 1996; Sharifian and Palmer 2007; Sharifian 2011) are complementary in many senses. For instance, the hermeneutic concept of ‘dialogue’ can be well matched with ‘interaction’ in cultural linguistics. It is through interaction that cultural conceptualizations emerge in a speech community (Sharifian 2011: 121). Along this line, interactants constantly negotiate meaning with one another. Cultural cognition (Sharifian 2011: 19–34), comprised of cultural conceptualizations, evolves out of this every-day negotiation of meaning. As a result, cultural conceptualizations and cultural cognition often go unnoticed, and thus, are a perfect *locus* for many of our prejudices in the Gadamerian sense. Unveiling cultural conceptualizations underlying discourse is a very important step towards the fusion of horizons, or, in other words, towards intercultural understanding (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2006b: 291).

In the next section, the analytical tools underlying the analyses made in the scope of the research-based consultancy project are presented. The consultancy project represents the case study which followed the analysis of cultural conceptualizations of business negotiations.

2.2 Emic representations and the pragmatic perspective

In this section, the categories of analysis that were used in the research-based consultancy project are explained: emic representations, as they appear in interviews; the concept of ‘sequences,’ based on ‘move’ in genre studies and used in the present work in the analysis of e-mails; and face strategies, also as displayed in e-mail exchanges.

2.2.1 Emic representations

In this study, emic representations regard the actual words used by research participants in order to describe issues discussed in an interview.⁴⁸ The issues revolved around their experiences communicating with their colleagues.

48 The terms ‘etic’ and ‘emic’ were coined by the American anthropologist and linguist Kenneth Pike (1912–2000). They originally derive from an analogy with the terms ‘phonetic’ and ‘phonemic,’ which refer to distinctions that are meaningful to members of a given society and those that are meaningful to the scientist, respectively (Pike 1967). In this regard, “the emic approach gives primacy to insider perspectives . . . [and] explores how culture gets done

Even though participant reflections on linguistic phenomena under investigation tend to be ignored in various disciplines, in this study I consider these representations to be meaningful. This view is in line with studies developed in some branches of linguistics and applied linguistics (e.g., interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of speaking, etc.). In this respect, Widdowson (2000) argues that

[Applied linguistics'] only claim to existence as a field of enquiry must rest on its readiness to enquire critically into the relevance of linguistic theory and description to the reformulation of language problems *in the practical domain*. Such an enquiry has to be linguistically informed without being linguistically determined, for these problems are inextricably bound up with other conceptions of reality, *embedded in different discourses which have their own legitimacy, and these we [applied linguists] have to somehow come to terms with*. The business of applied linguistics in this view is to mediate between linguistics and other discourses and identify where they might relevantly interrelate.

(Widdowson 2000: 23; my emphases)

The representations in question (in the case of the research-based consultancy work, elicited in interviews with research participants) are, of course, informed by prior context (Kecskes 2008, 2015; see section 1.2 in chapter 1). That is, it is participants' prior experiences with the concepts dealt with in interviews that inform their current views on the topics discussed during these interviews. However, I acknowledge that the representations are not – and cannot be – completely accurate. Considering the Gadamerian observations on prejudice (see section 2.1.7 above), these representations are 'blurred' by prejudice, sometimes in the form of stereotypes.^{49, 50} Therefore, in this study, emic representations are crossed with macro- and micro-linguistic empirical evidence in chapter 3 (section 3.2). With macro-linguistic evidence, I refer to the results of the analysis of cultural conceptualizations in section 3.1 in chapter 3. With micro-linguistic evidence, I mean the findings arising from the analyses of e-mail sequences and face construals, also in chapter 3, in section 3.2.2. The result, as I see it, is a sharper view of emic representations on the one hand, and a more encompassing and emically-informed view of linguistic data on the other.

and the meanings associated with these local practices from the point of view of agents within those cultures" (Whitaker 2017: 1).

49 However, Gadamer (2004 [1973]) does not equate prejudice with stereotype. My argument is that stereotyping is one out of other possible manifestations of 'prejudice' in the Gadamerian sense.

50 I follow Kristiansen (2003), who showed that stereotypes can be regarded as efficient cognitive shortcuts to social identification, categorization, and characterization.

2.2.2 Moves and sequences

In genre studies, a ‘move’ is associated with the communicative purpose of a text. Swales (2004: 228–229) states that “a move in genre analysis is a discourse or rhetorical unit that performs a coherent communicative function in a written or spoken discourse.” In promotional texts, such as spam mails, for instance, examples of moves are ‘calling reader’s attention,’ ‘soliciting response,’ etc.

Moves can be often partitioned into “sub-moves” (Bhatia 2001: 86). For instance, Bhatia (1993: 51) argues that the move ‘introduce the offer’ in a promotional letter can be constituted by the sub-moves ‘offering the product or service,’ ‘essential detailing of the product or service,’ and ‘indicating value of the product or service.’ Swales and Feak (2003: 35) argue that, due to its functional character, a move can range from a single clause to several paragraphs.

The understanding of ‘moves’ the above-mentioned works count on is closely related to the rhetorical structure of the text. However, in the case of this study, leaning on Bou Franch (2006), I use the term ‘sequence.’⁵¹ My own working definition of ‘sequence’ in this study is closer to the definition of ‘sub-move’ presented above in that its scope is narrower. More specifically, a ‘sequence’ is regarded in written language (in the case of this study, in e-mails) as analogous with a ‘speech act’ in spoken language; i.e., a stretch of language which accomplishes a function. In this study, examples of sequences are ‘opening,’ ‘closing,’ ‘thanking,’ ‘information giving,’ and ‘information request.’ The length of the sequence is variable.

Henry and Roseberry (1997) define three objectives for moves analysis, which also describe the objectives underneath the sequential analysis performed in my study: a) to introduce the overall organization of a text; b) to clarify the linguistic features underlying specific communicative purposes; and c) to connect the organization of the text and the linguistic features of the social context.

2.2.3 Face

The concept of ‘face’ has played and continues to play a major role in the fields of pragmatics and intercultural pragmatics. Goffman (1967: 213) states that face is “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact.” The author also

⁵¹ Not to be confused with the term ‘sequence’ as used in conversation analysis (Schegloff 1999).

argues that “face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes” (Goffman 1967: 213).

Later, Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]: 61) define face as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself.” The authors divide the concept into two parts: positive and negative face. Positive face is “the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants” (Brown and Levinson 1987 [1978]: 61). Negative face is “the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition” (Brown and Levinson 1987 [1978]: 61). Brown and Levinson’s (1987 [1978]) understanding of face forms the basis of their theory on politeness strategies, which has been extensively used in (intercultural and cross-cultural) pragmatic studies.

In short, Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]) propose four types of politeness strategies acting upon the hearer’s positive or negative face wants: bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and off-record. Considering the speech act ‘request,’ examples for each of the strategies are *Open the window;* *Would you mind opening the window?;* *Hi, buddy, can you open the window?;* *It’s getting hot in here,* respectively. These strategies are often equated with a scale of indirectness, off-record being the most indirect and on-record the most direct. The model also proposes that the more face-threatening an act is, the more redressing strategies (e.g., the more indirectness) are necessary.

Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory is presented by the authors as universal. The authors draw on examples from three disparate languages – English, Tamil, and Tzeltal – and present evidence that certain cultural and social characteristics lead to more dominant politeness strategies. For instance, in hierarchical societies, powerful groups are thought to rely predominantly on negative politeness strategies (power being associated with the freedom to act as one wills), whereas dominated groups rely on positive politeness (solidarity in view of power restrictions).

However, subsequent studies show numerous examples of societies or contexts where the principles established in Brown and Levinson’s (1987 [1978]) framework cannot be completely confirmed. For instance, in a study on politeness patterns in England and Greece, Sifianou (1992) states that the concept of face is understood differently in the analyzed cultures. The English tend to emphasize negative face, with values such as individuality and privacy, and the Greeks reinforce in-group relationships (positive face). In the former group, thanking and apologizing are often required in cases of minor impositions, even with in-group members. In the latter, positive face extends beyond the classic in-group (friends and close relatives) towards in-group associates

(friends of friends, for instance). Moreover, requests and wishes are expressed more baldly than in the English group.

In a similar vein, Matsumoto (1988) argues that Brown and Levinson's definition of negative face does not apply in the Japanese culture. The author asserts that the right to act freely emphasized by the negative face is not as important as one's position in a group and one's acceptance by a group. This last aspect differs to a certain extent from the definition of positive face in that it entails a more sociocentric view of the self than generally assumed in Brown and Levinson's (1987 [1978]) framework. An example given by Matsumoto (1988) refers to the topic of imposition. The author explains that deference in the Japanese culture does not have the function to minimize imposition. It actually represents a positive relationship between the interlocutors. For instance, the expression 'douzo yorosiku onegaisimasu' ("I ask you to please treat me well") is used in a context in which a person is introduced to another. Matsumoto (1988: 409) explains that, by using this utterance, the speaker simultaneously a) imposes on the receiver and places herself in a lower position than the receiver and b) acknowledges interdependence, which is considered a virtue in the Japanese culture. The author argues that in the Japanese culture it is an honor to be asked to take care of someone. The mentioned utterance reinforces the faces of both speaker and hearer in that it stresses their positive self-esteem as valued members of a group.

An alternative to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is Spencer-Oatey's (2008) classification of rapport management strategies. The author presents four strategies: a) rapport enhancement orientation, which refers to the desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations between the interlocutors; b) rapport maintenance orientation, which refers to the desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations between the interlocutors; c) rapport neglect orientation, referring to the lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations between the interlocutors; and d) rapport challenge orientation, which addresses the desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations between the interlocutors.

More recently, Schröder (2014) has investigated, among other aspects, politeness strategies and rapport management in intercultural interactions between Brazilian and German University students. The study goes beyond an analysis that takes the above-mentioned frameworks into account and considers what Schröder (2014: 58), leaning on Gerold Ungeheuer (2004 [1972]), calls "the fundamental epistemological-anthropological distinction between communicative and extracommunicative perspectives." Ungeheuer (2004 [1972]) assumes that the interactant experiences communication simultaneously as a) a communicator, who employs communicative acts in an attempt to reciprocal understanding (communicative perspective) and b) an observer, who tries to analyze the means of communication from an external point of view (extracommunicative perspective).

Schröder (2014) shows empirical examples of how the aforementioned frameworks (i.e., Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and Spencer-Oatey's rapport management among others) fall short in explaining some of the assessments made by interactants during retrospective interviews. In these interviews, Brazilian participants refer to more metacognitive assessments than is visible at the surface level of the recorded interactions. In other words, they tend not to verbalize their extracommunicative perspective at the actual situational level of communication. The German participants, on the other hand, tend to use more contextualization cues that reveal their metacognitive assessments (transforming them into metacommunicative acts) in the actual situational interaction. This study confirms that a completely etic framework for the analysis of intercultural interactions is not able to account for the whole picture. It also shows that qualitative analyses are necessary that consider fundamental distinctions in how information and evaluations are stored and accessed by individuals, on the one hand, and verbalized during the interactional encounter, on the other.

Along these lines, a new framework has been developed that dissociates face and politeness theory: the Face Constituting Theory (FCT) by Arundale (2006, 2013, see also Haugh 2013). In the FCT, the definition of 'face' departs from earlier definitions, as Goffman's and Brown and Levinson's. Goffman's understanding of face, according to Arundale (2013: 109), is based on person-centered attributes like public self-image and Brown and Levinson's, on social wants. The FCT, on the contrary, counts on a relational understanding of face. In Arundale's words, "face is the constituting in talk and conduct of both connection with other persons, in on-going, dialectic tension with separation from them" (Arundale 2013: 109).

The connection-separation dialectic is related to the interplay between interlocutors regarded simultaneously as part of a common social system and as individual components of this social system. This dialectic is connected with Baxter and Montgomery's (1996) Relational Dialectics Theory. In Arundale's words (2013: 111), "Separateness in a relationship is always framed in view of connectedness and has implications for it." He adds that the tension is always there whether in initiating interactions with an unknown other or within established relationships. Interactants continuously and dynamically tend towards different poles of the continuum in the actual situational context of interaction. There is never a resolution for this tension.⁵²

⁵² Note that a parallel could be traced with Brown and Levinson's positive and negative faces, which could be related to the two poles in Arundale's dialectic: connection and

Another important aspect of the FCT is that, even though it considers face to be a culture-general, second-order concept, it invites research into first-order (emic) conceptualizations as a way to probe for the culture-generality of the FCT. Arundale (2013: 109) asserts that “cultural groups or communities of practice ‘voice’ . . . [the] fundamental relational dialectic in ways that are specific to their communities, and identifying that construal is one important step in understanding the first order, culture specific, emic conceptualization of face.”

In the present study, the FCT is employed in the analyses of business interactions via e-mail. The first-order, emic conceptualizations of face which arise from the analyses of cultural conceptualizations of business negotiations (conducted at an earlier stage of the study) are used as a way to explain how the communities of practice analyzed – i.e. the Brazilian and the German – instantiate face in different ways in these written interactions.

2.2.4 Business negotiations, intercultural communication, and discourse: Previous research

Bargiela-Chiappini (2004) provides a historical overview of studies on business discourse and negotiation. The author highlights the focus on quantitative analyses and the lack of attention paid to language in studies conducted in the 1970s and 1980s. Bargiela Chiappini et al. (2007: 196) show that interest in ‘negotiations’ comes from various disciplines, such as economics, political science, anthropology, and communication. However, the authors argue that the interest was mainly practical and prescriptively-oriented. As a result, innumerable books on negotiation training have been written that give practitioners advice on how to maximize negotiation outcomes (Bargiela-Chiappini et al. 2007: 196–197). Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 197) criticize this trend and add that “these areas of negotiation research, in focusing mainly on

separation, respectively. However, the two frameworks are different in respect to the following issues: First, in the FCT, connection and separation do not exist independent of one another. Second, the aim for this tension to be solved does not have to exist (in the form of, for instance, Brown and Levinson’s politeness strategies used to ‘resolve’ face threatening acts) (note that this fact points to the dissociation between the concepts of ‘face’ and ‘politeness’ in the FCT). Finally, the most crucial difference seems to be the fact the FCT is able to account for contextual aspects (prior and actual situational meaning, in Kecskes’ (2014) terms), which the politeness theory framework does not account for. This latter fact makes FCT especially promising for the endeavors of CA.

negotiating effectiveness and end results, have offered only limited insight so far into the structural or discursal elements of business negotiations.”

After the primarily quantitative and outcome-oriented trend in negotiation research in the 1970s and 1980s, the first work dealing with the discourse of business negotiations, according to Bargiela-Chiappini (2004), was Lampi's (1986) *Linguistic Components of Strategy in Business Negotiations*. In this study, the author conducts a micro-analytical investigation of British business negotiations. The author concentrates on moves, acts, exchanges, and phases of real negotiating activities. Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 7) argue that Lampi's work “firmly established the credentials of language-focused research in business and international relations.” Nowadays, the field of Business Discourse has a more comprehensive body of literature on the topic of negotiations.

A field of studies that has given attention to the speech event ‘business negotiation’ is conversation analysis (CA). For example, Halmari (1993) used the CA framework to investigate business negotiations over the phone. For this purpose, twelve telephone conversations were recorded of the same speaker, a Finnish businessman. In seven of the conversations, he was talking, in English, with American business partners; in five conversations, he was speaking in Finnish, with Finnish partners. Halmari (1993) identified a pattern in how the conversations are structured, regardless of culture, which is as follows: opening, optional non-topical, business, and close. However, cultural differences were identified in opening sequences (Jefferson 1972), for instance. More specifically, for the Americans, the ‘how are you’ turn usually featured as part of a formal opening, while for the Finns it often functioned as an introduction to a non-topical (non-business-matter related) sequence. Moreover, the author also found that, while the Americans prioritized the business episode, the Finns attempted to create a positive atmosphere by emphasizing non-business-related themes. Differences in interruption behavior were also salient: Americans initiated overlaps more often than the Finns.

Pragmatically-oriented studies also feature in research on negotiation. Stalpers (1995), for example, performed a comparison of the speech act ‘disagreement’ in a corpus of French-French and Dutch-Dutch negotiations and of mixed Dutch-French negotiations. The analysis shows that, even though mitigation is perceived in the corpora, it does not happen so frequently as in everyday conversations. The author suggested that politeness requirements can be bended to a certain extent in negotiation settings. Conversational clarity is, thus, prioritized at the expense of politeness. In terms of the groups of negotiators featured (Dutch; French; Dutch-French), one type of strategy was used more often in mixed conversations than in native conversations: the insertion of acts between the statement of the first speaker and the disagreement act of

the second speaker. The author suggested that the “insertion of contentless acts” (Stalpers 1995: 289) might be a typical pattern in mixed interactions.

Another study whose findings point to the existence of different politeness considerations in business negotiations than in everyday discourse is Neumann’s (1997) investigation of requests in German and Norwegian business talk. The author used audio-taped authentic business talk between Norwegian and Germans negotiating in German in order to analyze request forms selected by native and non-native speakers. The directness scale for the speech act of request proposed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) was used. The findings show that Norwegians used more indirect linguistic strategies than the German speakers. Another finding is that the Germans used twice as many requests as the Norwegians.

In a study about the merger of a Swedish company and a Finnish company, Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005) applied a questionnaire on the topics of language use, communication practices, and cultural views in order to gather emic representations of employees. The questionnaires were composed of multiple-choice items as well as open-answer ones. The authors state that the answers to the questionnaire show many similarities between the Swedish and the Finnish groups of employees on the topics of everyday communicative practice, language choice and potential communication problems. However, the groups are reported to diverge in their considerations about “‘effective’ communication” (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005: 407). For instance, a Finnish employee wrote the following: “The Swedes talk a lot and want to reach a common understanding, the Finns are quicker in decision making” (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005: 408). By contrast, a Swedish respondent states the following: “Finns do not say much, difficult to interpret reactions . . . Rather quick reactions which are wrong than thoroughly weighed decisions that are right” (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005: 408).

With respect to written business discourse, Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 10) explain that investigations focusing on written data start with the analysis of business letters. Nickerson (1999), for example, analyzed politeness strategies in business letters written by British business people based on Brown and Levinson’s (1987) framework. The author concluded her paper by pointing out the general structure of a British business letter in terms of rhetoric moves associated with certain politeness strategies expected in this genre in British English. For instance, Nickerson (1999: 139) stated that “in conveying information to the Receiver where mitigation is necessary, British business writers generally use negative mitigation⁵³ within the realizations of a given act.”

⁵³ Negative mitigation includes ‘apologizing,’ ‘giving deference,’ and ‘being pessimistic’ (Nickerson 1999: 128).

A study by van Mulken and van der Meer (2005) focussed on e-mails sent in response to customer inquiries by different types of companies (labeled by the authors as Old and New producers⁵⁴) from the Netherlands and the USA. The authors performed what they call an ‘inductive genre analysis’ (based on Bathia 1993 and Yates and Orlikowski 2002). Van Mulken and van der Meer showed that the move structure of the responses generally followed this order: 1. Salutation, 2. Answer, 3. Further Contact, and 4. Close. However, several differences were found when responses were contrasted by country and by type of company. For instance, only two out of thirteen Dutch companies thanked the customer whereas almost all American companies did. The new companies investigated tended to make more use of the move ‘presentation of self’ than the old companies. A general note presented by the authors is that medium characteristics (e-mail) have implications for the structure of e-mails: For instance, sequences such as ‘opening’ and ‘closing’ can be omitted or added (for example, an e-mail might have two openings when, in the body of the e-mail, the author literally cites another e-mail received earlier), which makes this genre highly flexible and dynamic in terms of move structure (Van Mulken and van der Meer 2005: 196).

Outside the realm of business, studies have been conducted that also shed light on my own investigation. For instance, Bou Franch (2006) investigated politeness strategies in e-mails exchanges between herself and University students in her capacity as a University lecturer. Her main analytical frameworks were Brown and Levinson’s (1987 [1978]) politeness theory and Blum-Kulka et al.’s (1989) study on politeness in requests. The author divided the e-mails into sequences and found that opening, request, and closing sequences contain interpersonal politeness resources. In the opening sequences, markers of common ground and solidarity were salient. In requests, students used resources such as justifying the request, keeping social distance, and minimizing the imposition. Closing sequences showed patterns of deference with the expression of gratitude and the use of hedging particles (Bou Franch 2006). The author concluded that “despite the transactional nature of the main goal, to make a request, the electronic interactions were seen to constitute a social encounter where interpersonal features abounded” (Bou Franch 2006: n.p.).

The methodological steps employed in the aforementioned studies influenced the methodology of my own work. In the next section, the methodological procedures followed in the first (investigation of cultural conceptualizations

54 ‘Old producers’ refer to companies founded before 1990; ‘new producers’ refer to companies founded after that.

of business negotiations) and the second part of the study (the research-based consultancy project) are presented in full.

2.3 Scope and methodology of the present study

This section shows the methodological steps followed in answering research question 1 (*How do Brazilian and German business people conceptualize ‘business negotiations?’*) and research question 2 (*Can the cultural conceptualizations previously identified be attested in authentic business negotiations between Brazilians and Germans?*).

The subsection that follows describes the methodological steps observed in recruiting participants as well as in collecting and analyzing data on participants’ conceptualizations of ‘business negotiations.’

2.3.1 Cultural conceptualizations of business negotiations: recruitment of participants and interview rationale

For this study, interviews were conducted with nine Brazilian and nine German businesspeople. My aim was to find out how Brazilian and German business people conceptualize ‘business negotiations.’ The participants belong to highly varied business areas that range from high-technology machine firms to industry-development agencies. All of the participants occupy middle- and top-management positions and their professional duties revolve around business development. Business development is defined as “the tasks and processes concerning analytical preparation of potential growth opportunities, and the support and monitoring of the implementation of growth opportunities” (Sørensen 2012: 1).

Participants were selected through convenience sampling (Dörnyei 2007: 98–99), which means recruiting contributors on the basis of practical criteria, such as availability and willingness of prospective participants to take part in the study.⁵⁵

In the study described here, I conducted semi-structured interviews. This type of interview provides researchers with a certain structure that is helpful in terms of data analysis, but it also gives the investigator the possibility to be

⁵⁵ Section 2.3.3 extends on the issue of representativeness of the findings and section 4.2 discusses the limitations of the study.

flexible, act naturally, and simulate – to a certain extent – a natural conversation during the interview.

The semi-structured interview comprised questions concerning ‘business negotiations.’ The questions addressed practices and values related to this topic.⁵⁶ Interviews were recorded and transcribed in full. The whole interview corpus comprises of 38,709 words for the Brazilian group (an average of 4.301 words per interviewee), and 26,569 words (an average of 2.952 words per interviewee) for the German group. No specific transcription system was used, because the analysis of cultural conceptualizations does not take prosodic or paralinguistic aspects into account. The excerpts quoted here were transcribed with punctuation marks that resemble those used in written language for the sake of readability. Grammatical mistakes in the excerpts were not corrected. In cases in which grammatical mistakes could impede intelligibility, either footnotes are taken or the correct term (as considered by the analyst) is noted in square brackets.

Three themes addressed in the interview were chosen for a comprehensive qualitative analysis (featured in chapter 3). The themes are ‘respect,’ ‘success,’ and ‘conflict’ in business negotiations. The choice is based on the facts that a negotiation implies a degree of conflict (of interests, in this case) and that counterparts want to be successful. Respect is related to the relationship established between the parties during a negotiation. How a counterpart is perceived and treated by the other(s) is fundamental for the progress of a negotiation.

The first question analyzed is ‘What is respect in business negotiations?’ Answers to the question in the Brazilian group accounted for 3,253 words (an average of 361.4 words per interviewee) and in the German group for 2,149 words (an average of 238.7 words per person).

The answers to the second question – namely, ‘What is a successful negotiation?’ – account for 3,452 words in the Brazilian group (an average of 383.5 words per interviewee) and 3,266 in the German group (an average of 362.8 words per interviewee).

Finally, the third question chosen for a deep qualitative analysis is ‘What is conflict in business negotiations?’ The total word count in the Brazilian set of responses is 7,457 (828.5 words per interviewee) and, in the German set, 3,957 (439.6 words per interviewee).

⁵⁶ The complete interview script can be found in Appendix I.

2.3.2 Identification and analysis of cultural conceptualizations

Prior to the interviews, I performed a comprehensive literature review on the topic of business negotiations and gathered some hands-on experience with the business-world I was about to investigate. The scope of literature review included business-oriented leaflets and books written for practitioners with a focus on Germany and Brazil, books and research articles dealing with aspects of negotiation and/or intercultural business exchanges or specifically with German and Brazilian cultures.

As for the hands-on experience I mentioned, taking part in the social context which I wanted to extract data from was an essential procedure for the study.⁵⁷ This ethnographic experience allowed me to recruit participants and to better understand the workings of the business world.

Complying with suggestions in literature from cognitive linguistics that argue for multiple modes and levels of analysis (Kimmel 2004; Kristiansen et al. 2006; Wolf 2015), I take all types of cultural conceptualizations mentioned in chapter 2 (i.e., metaphors, metonymies, image schemas, blends, and cultural schemas) into account and unveil ‘conceptual scripts’ underlying each of the excerpts analyzed. As will be shown in chapter 3, my analysis is essentially qualitative.

I follow Quinn’s (2005) suggestion for researchers to create their own methods and allow themselves to do an “organic” (Quinn 2005: 35) data analysis, according to which each analytical move evolves naturally from the previous one. This means drawing “opportunistically on features of the material at hand” (Quinn 2005: 36) and focusing on different layers of analysis which add up to a whole. My own ‘organic’ method was performed in the following way: first, I separated the interview transcripts into topics; each topic comprising a question. As mentioned before, three topics were chosen for analysis, namely respect, success, and conflict in business negotiations.

Second, cultural conceptualizations were identified in the responses and described in Excel tables. The procedures for the identification of cultural conceptualizations draw strongly on Cameron’s (2010) discourse dynamics framework, which considers not only single words but also longer chunks of

⁵⁷ Apart from several other events, I participated in the German-Brazilian Economy days (*Deutsch-brasilianische Wirtschaftstage / Encontro Econômico Brasil–Alemanha*) in Joinville, Brazil, from September 20 to 22, 2015. This is an annual event organized by the German *Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie* (BDI) and the Brazilian *Confederação Nacional da Indústria* (CNI).

language to be metaphorical.⁵⁸ Occurrences of metaphorical language identified in discourse are called ‘metaphorical vehicles’ (Cameron 2010: 79). However, contrary to Cameron’s discourse dynamics framework, I listed not only ‘metaphorical vehicles’ but also the source domains underlying expressions containing cultural conceptualizations.

In total, after this first round of identification and classification of cultural conceptualizations, 1,236 source domains – pertaining to conceptual metaphors, image schemas, and conceptual blends – were listed. While this first identification and classification round served as a guide for further inquiries, it proved to be insufficient for an in-depth analysis. A ‘quantitative-only’ analysis would have led me to pay attention to aspects of the interviews that, despite being numerically salient, do not necessarily reflect how interviewees construe the topics being analyzed.⁵⁹ The qualitative analysis proved to be essential for refining the classification and interpreting the cultural conceptualizations that were in fact relevant in interviewees’ construals of the topics, as will be shown in chapter 3.

In order to account for the situatedness of the data, as a third step, the cultural conceptualizations found were divided into three assessment-values: positive (in which case the conceptualization was used by the interviewee when describing positive actions, values, and feelings related to the topics of respect, success, and conflict), negative (in which the conceptualization was used to describe negative actions, values or feelings related to respect, success, and conflict), and unspecified/neutral (when the assessment-value could not be identified).

With all the above-mentioned information at hand, the fourth and most important step was to go back to each excerpt and analyze the source domains identified in a qualitative fashion. Because context proved to be very important in the classification of cultural conceptualizations, some of the domains were re-classified and later brought together in the design of conceptual scripts

58 The discourse dynamics framework was chosen over another metaphor identification methodology serving the CMT framework, Pragglejazz (2007), for two reasons: first, as mentioned, because it allows longer chunks of language to be classified as metaphorical; and second, because it has a focus on spoken discourse and includes not only guidelines on how to identify and classify metaphors but also transcribe spoken data in ways that enable a smooth transition to the stage of metaphor identification. However, there are theoretical points in this framework I do not subscribe to. More specifically, as explained in chapter 2, section 2.1.3, the author does not assume that metaphorical vehicles are necessarily connected with conceptual metaphors (Cameron 2010). By contrast, my perspective on the issue is as follows: I take metaphorical vehicles to be linked with source domains that account for the existence of conceptual metaphors or, in a broader sense, cultural conceptualizations, as also explained in chapter 2, section 2.1.3

59 Examples are recurrent metaphoric expressions identified in metapragmatic comments, such as ‘you see?’, ‘my point is;’ etc.

underlying each of the excerpts. Apart from that, it was not until this deep level of analysis that cultural schemas (Sharifian 2011, 2017) could be identified.

The last methodological step was to bring the findings together and combine the most salient conceptualizations for each group in 6 sets of group-level conceptualizations: RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS, SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS, and CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS for both the Brazilian and the German interviewees. The conceptualizations found were classified as ‘salient’ – or ‘preferential’ (Kövecses 2005: 82) when they could be identified in at least 3 responses (out of 9 responses, i.e., a rate of 30% of the total responses in a group).

2.3.3 The matter of generalizability

An important question to address is whether the findings of this study can be generalized towards the groups featured in the interviews: Brazilian and German business people; or, more specifically, Brazilians and Germans working in top- and middle-management positions in the area of business development.

The very understanding of culture this study draws from discourages presumptions of universal representativeness of any investigation dealing with cultural matters. Sharifian’s (2011: 6) distributed cognition model offers a rationale for the uneven spread of cultural conceptualizations within a speech community in that it explains that “variation in the knowledge of cultural conceptualizations may be accounted for in terms of differences in age, gender, etc. and also the degree of interaction between each member and the rest of the network” (Sharifian 2011: 6–7).

In a similar vein, in this study, I do not claim that the results arrived at can correctly predict values and actions on an individual level. However, I do believe that, at a group level, they can be meaningful for shedding light on some guiding principles and behavioral conventions of business negotiations for Brazilians and Germans. Moreover, while I do acknowledge the risks involved in this very enterprise – i.e., looking at principles and behaviors associated with national groups –, I also believe it would be regrettable to not acknowledge the existence of a collective cognition (in the case of this study associated with national speech communities), which influences how groups make sense of determined concepts, values, and actions.

Another important observation is that, in contrastive studies such as the present one, not only differences between groups can be found, but also similarities. Along this line, I agree with Spencer-Oatey (2008), who states that

It is important to remember that cultural factors do not necessarily lead to communicative problems; on the contrary, they can be a major source of comity and enrichment.

Nevertheless, people working in international/intercultural contexts often do experience problems and may request advice for dealing with them; I believe linguists should be able to help address such practical concerns. (Spencer-Oatey 2008: 6)

I share the above-mentioned view and agree that a hermeneutically-oriented look into the research process and its results can end up yielding deep intercultural understanding (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2006a; Wolf 2015).

Finally, the case study (the research-based consultancy project) can be regarded as a way to probe for the representativeness of the findings arising from this first part of the study, since it features another group of research participants who integrate the speech communities investigated, i.e., the Brazilian and the German ones. However, in the case study, the participants represent not only the speech communities but also a community of practice in a healthcare company, as shown below.

The next subsections describe all the methodological procedures that underlay the process of contacting a company, recruiting participants, and collecting and analyzing data in the scope of the case study (research-based consultancy project), which was designed as a complement to the main investigation of cultural conceptualizations (whose methodology is described in section 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 above).

2.3.4 The design of the research-based consultancy project

As previously mentioned, a case study was designed in order to answer the research question *Can the cultural conceptualizations previously identified be attested in authentic business negotiations between Brazilians and Germans?*. In the following, the case study will be referred to as a ‘research-based consultancy project.’

‘Research-based consultancy’ is a term used in the areas of business discourse and business communication to describe a collaboration project between a company and a researcher/research institute (Bargiela-Chiappini et al. 2007: 110–131). Therefore, results are intended to be useful for both parties. The collaboration is conceived as follows: the linguist is granted access to linguistic data in the company while the company gets first-hand access to the researcher’s findings, which can be used for developing strategies for enhancing internal communication, for instance. In my study, the focus is on the internal communication in English between the Brazilian and the German employees of a German healthcare company, HC-Comp.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ For confidentiality reasons, the real name of the company is not going to be disclosed. HC-Comp is a fictitious name.

I follow Stubbe's (2001) and Marra's (2008) suggestion to engage in ongoing dialogue with the company and to establish an 'appreciative inquiry' framework (Hammond 1996) that involves not focusing necessarily on problems, but also – and mainly – on what is done well. As Marra (2008) argues, this is a way to highlight and share strengths within the company/department. In this sense, feedback from the researcher to research participants is a very important part of the process and might result in practical applications of the findings for the benefit of participants.

The timeframe for a research-based consultancy project is certainly in conflict with the prototypical academic research process, which usually takes much longer. To solve this problem, Stubbe (2001) recommends a research design that allows for both: prompt short-term outcomes to be presented to participants, and longer term results, which evolve out of deep scientific analysis. When describing steps of the 'Language in the Workplace project,' led by Janet Holmes at Wellington University in New Zealand, Stubbe (2001:4) reports that "even though the participating organizations were convinced that the research had the potential to be useful in the longer term, most still expected a more immediate concrete benefit in return for their investment of time and goodwill." As explained below, a shorter-term delivery of results for my research-based consultancy project described took place.

Participants in the research-based consultancy project were Brazilian and German employees of the healthcare company who communicate frequently in English with one another. Because of their frequent contact, they can be described as a 'community of practice' in Wenger's (1998) terms. 10 German and 7 Brazilian employees participated in the study. The recruiting process was designed together with a contact person in each of the offices. The contact persons⁶¹ helped me by pointing out staff that were in close contact with the featured countries (Brazil and Germany), forwarding research information to prospective participants, scheduling interviews, and providing me with internal and organizational information. The contact persons were indicated after various discussions with representatives of the executive board of the company.

2.3.5 Collection and analysis of corporate data

I followed several data collection steps, which I now describe in chronological order. First, company representatives briefly described the research-based consultancy to teams and requested participation; one employee in each of the

⁶¹ I am grateful to the contact persons in each of the countries for their full support for this case study.

offices was chosen among the staff to be the contact person doing the mediation between the employees and me. After that, participants collected samples of e-mails featuring Brazilian-German communication and sent them to the contact person; the contact person forwarded the compilation of e-mails to me.

Subsequently, I conducted *in-situ* interviews with employees, focusing on general impressions participants have about the internal communication between the German and Brazilian offices.⁶² Interviews were audio-recorded. During the interviews, I requested access to audio files of teleconferences happening between the German and Brazilian offices. Later on, preliminary results were brought together in a PowerPoint presentation that was sent to contact persons and spread among participating employees.

At the end of the data collection, I had a compilation of 17 interviews (7 Brazilians; 10 Germans) and 198 e-mails (106 written by Brazilians; 92 by German employees).⁶³ The interviews centered around the practices and values of business negotiation with the other party. In short, Brazilians were asked about how they acted and felt when engaged in business negotiations with their German counterparts and vice versa; the Germans were asked about their communication with the Brazilians. The answers given allowed for the identification of emic representations (see section 2.2.1), which were crossed with cultural conceptualizations identified in the main part of the study.

The e-mails were analyzed for their sequential structure as well as for face concerns. As for the former, the sequences of e-mails were hand-tagged according to their communicative functions, as explained in section 2.2.2. A total of 996 sequences were tagged in the German e-mails and 914 sequences in the Brazilian ones. Face concerns were analyzed qualitatively by taking the FCT framework into account (Arundale 2006, 2013) and were also connected with the sequential analysis just mentioned. The findings of this case study are described in chapter 3 (section 3.2).

62 For this purpose, two research stays were organized that allowed me access to the employees in the headquarter in Germany, in March 2016, and in the branch in Brazil, in October 2016.

63 Other types of data collected were questionnaires and three teleconferences. Due to time constraints, they do not feature in the analyses presented in this work. In subsequent studies, I intend to analyze the questionnaires to test Brazilian and German employees' expectations in relation to management. The teleconferences are going to be analyzed for face strategies, directness, and indirectness.

2.3.6 Description or prescription?

An issue that lies at the heart of research projects combining both academic and business aims is the matter of description and prescription, itself related to the distinction between theory vs. application in research. For instance, Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 4) describe a central concern that distinguishes the areas of study business discourse and business communication: the question of whether a given study aims to feature as a mere description of a certain discursive situation or whether the findings are meant to culminate in a set of prescriptions or applications in teaching and training areas. While business discourse favors linguistic description, business communication studies usually have a vocational objective.

A personal – or ethnographic – anecdote on this issue is included here for the sake of giving the reader a full account of the methodological aspects involved in this study. Because of my academic background as a rather theory-oriented linguist, when I first thought of my research question, I only had descriptive intentions in mind, i.e., I wanted to understand how language was used in a certain communicative context, but I did not conceive of the communicative context as a focus but as the background for my linguistic investigation. That is to say, I had an interest in the *language* used in a communicative context and also in the influence this context could have on *language*. At that time, I erroneously dissociated the context from the people who are actually part of this context.

It was not until I headed to the ‘field’ to recruit participants for my study that I realized that my motivations could not motivate anyone but myself. Prospective research participants identified saw no reasons why they would take part in a study whose final aims had nothing to do with their own needs or interests. The attempt to find a company that would support my research-based consultancy project was even more challenging in this respect. The fast-paced business world usually has no time to ‘waste’ in actions whose results are not foreseeable or whose importance – for the company – cannot be convincingly explained.

Along this line, I finally realized that I would need to adapt to research participants’ own needs and interests. Most importantly, I also concluded that these needs and interests can actually make my own academic and theory-oriented research more authentic and reliable. I use the term *reliable* because I consider participants’ emic views on business language use.

In regard to the context of business, it is a fact that this is a fast-moving world where decisions are made on a daily basis and where linguistic or grammatical rules are often bended for the sake of getting the message across as efficiently as possible. It is also a world where theories are often taken to be distractions and where practical experience is what counts. In that way, there is a need for research inquiries that do not stop in the description of findings, but that are able

to go one or two steps further: either to set up a well-founded list of ‘best practices’ in a descriptive-prescriptive fashion (see ‘appreciative inquiry’ by Hammond (1996) in section 2.3.4); or to serve as input for possible pedagogical or training applications. In both cases, prescription should be strongly informed by research findings, themselves based on participants’ emic views.

Bargiela-Chiappini (2004: 25) argues that a struggle between theory and application can be identified in the field of business communication because of a general conflict of interests: while the academic setting usually has a commitment to advance knowledge, companies have an interest in applications connected with a positive impact on results and, possibly, profits. While I do agree that a conflict of interests can exist between theory and application, I believe that there is a high potential that one serves as input for the other.⁶⁴

Along this line, besides the findings *per se*, I chose to incorporate a few prescriptive insights into the report I prepared for HC-Comp.⁶⁵ The aim of the report is to give the Brazilian and the German employees of the healthcare company empirically substantiated insights into their counterparts’ ways of speaking and writing, which can, in turn, influence their own linguistic choices in future interactions.

Of course, I am not saying every piece of linguistic research should be prescriptive. Besides, I do acknowledge the dangers of prescription, which can be used to fulfill certain political or economic agendas and to spread hidden ideologies. However, as Brooks (2010: n.p.) stated in a *New York Times* article on Tolstoy’s influences on society as a novelist, “After all, description is prescription. If you can get people to see the world as you do, you have unwittingly framed every subsequent choice.”

Summary

In the first part of this chapter, I presented the rationale for the use of cultural conceptualizations as an analytical tool and described the types of cultural conceptualizations this study takes into account. Theoretical matters often discussed in the scope of the CMT were presented, such as the embodiment hypothesis and the matter of universality vs. variation of conceptual metaphors and image

64 In fact, this idea seems to be the basis for state policies for research funding that encourage partnerships between research institutes and companies, such as the ones under the program Horizon2020 in the European Union.

65 However, because prescription was not my main objective, I could not commit myself to a fully-fledged prescriptive report.

schemas. Moreover, I presented examples of studies that look at cultural conceptualizations in WE and in German and Brazilian texts and discourse. Finally, I elaborated upon how the study of cultural conceptualizations can serve the hermeneutic task of intercultural understanding.

While the study of cultural conceptualizations represents an important step for unveiling the prior knowledge associated with the concept of ‘business negotiation’ (which is one of the aims of this study), it is not an appropriate *locus* for studying the actual situational contexts underlying this speech event. Therefore, in the subsequent part of the chapter, I presented other analytical tools that were used in this study in order to approach the situational contexts underlying authentic business negotiations. I explained that the analyses performed in the case study (or ‘research-based consultancy project’) are important in that they: a) complement the analysis of cultural conceptualizations (prior context) of business negotiations with an investigation of an actual situational context underlying the speech event but also b) probe for the validity of cultural conceptualizations identified in the main part of the study. I described the analytical tools used in the case study, namely sequences, face strategies, and emic representations. I also provided an overview of investigations dealing with business discourse and business negotiation, both in spoken and written formats.

In the third part of the chapter, I explained the methodological procedures for both the analyses of cultural conceptualizations and of pragmatic aspects of real negotiations. This methodological subsection was divided into two parts: the first dealt with the methodology used for the investigation of cultural conceptualizations of business negotiations, and the second with methodological steps chosen for the case study conducted subsequently. As for the first part, I described how cultural conceptualizations were identified and classified in a first round of data analysis. Subsequently, I explained the steps of the qualitative analysis which led to the description of group-level conceptualizations of business negotiations for both the Brazilian and German groups of interviewees. This part closed with some reflections on the representativeness and generalizability of the results. In the second part of the subsection, I presented the concept of a ‘research-based consultancy project’ and explained the steps involved in the partnership I established with a healthcare company, here named HC-Comp. At the end, reflections were presented on the topic of descriptive vs. prescriptive ambitions as part of the aims of research projects in applied linguistics.

The next chapter features the analysis of the cultural conceptualizations of business negotiations and of pragmatic phenomena associated with authentic business negotiations. The analysis of cultural conceptualizations is divided into three topics, namely respect, success, and conflict in business negotiations. For each of the topics, conceptual scripts (see section 2.1.4) are presented that

illustrate Brazilian and German conceptualizations. After that, the most relevant group-level cultural conceptualizations are shown. Moreover, I also describe the findings arising from the research-based consultancy project I developed with HC-Comp. This secondary analysis serves as a complement to the analyses of cultural conceptualizations: while the investigation of cultural conceptualizations of business negotiations mostly reveals the prior context associated with the speech event 'business negotiation,' the analysis of pragmatic phenomena reveals aspects of an actual situational context of business negotiations.

3 Conceptualization and practice of business negotiations

From what I perceive, Germans do not have a sense of irony and sarcasm. They will be like: this is gray and there is no other tone of color here. This is gray and that is it. So, very precise. Germans are extremely precise. For example, you go to the drugstore, you ask for some medicine for a headache. Here in Brazil they are going to ask 'how is work?', 'is everything well in your house?' They will try to make friends with you at the drugstore.

In Germany, they are going to say: 'which side of the head are you feeling pain in?', 'is it close to the eyes or the neck?', 'are you allergic to any kind of products?' or something like this. So, precise. That's the word. (Excerpt by a Brazilian interviewee, B2)

I had a trip to Argentina and we also met Brazilians there. I was very confused. Because we wouldn't talk business for half an hour at all! They traveled to where we were to see us, and they didn't want to talk business. There was a lot of small talk and very little product talk. I was there for ten days, but none of the people whom we met had any critical questions about the product. They didn't ask any specific questions regarding features. I had the feeling they essentially wanted to meet us and have a personal relationship with us. (Excerpt by a German interviewee, G1)

This chapter details the analyses and results arising from the investigation of cultural conceptualizations of business negotiations (section 3.1) and of emic representations and pragmatic aspects of business negotiations in a community of practice (section 3.2).

3.1 Cultural conceptualizations of business negotiations

In this section, I provide an in-depth analysis of three of the themes featured in the interviews, namely success, conflict, and respect in business negotiations. As will be shown in each of the sections, the construals arising from the analyses of these themes could not be traced only from utterances in which these concepts were explicitly mentioned. Such an analysis would yield very scarce results. This is because interviewees construe these concepts through narrative, exemplifications, and comparisons, and through calling out certain topics that they schematically associate with the three topics mentioned,⁶⁶ as shown in the quotes that open this chapter (the excerpts by B2 and G1 above).

⁶⁶ The same was reported by Quinn (2005: 42), who stated that the Americans she interviewed for her famous study on cultural schemas of marriage "not only report their own

Therefore, I look at all the source domains underlying the answers to the questions ‘What is respect in business negotiations?’, ‘What is success in business negotiations?’, and ‘What is conflict in business negotiations?.’ The most relevant source domains used for construing respect, success, and conflict in the context of a business negotiation culminate in a collection of group-level conceptualizations for both the Brazilian and the German groups of interviewees.

Many of the cultural conceptualizations found can be described as mappings of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (Lakoff 1993). While I do acknowledge the pervasiveness of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor throughout languages and cultures (Kövecses 2005: 43–47) and their grounding on spatial reasoning (Lakoff 1993), my findings support the conclusion that different cultural experiences with the image schemas underlying the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor⁶⁷ cause them to be used in different ways by different speech communities. These differences can be explained in terms of preferential conceptualizations,⁶⁸ as described by Kövecses (2005: 82). Moreover, Grady’s (2005) claim that primary metaphors are created as a result of correlation of target and source domains in everyday experience also supports this conclusion. After all, it is through culturally-mediated experience that target and source domains come to be related to one another and become conventionalized (cf. also Wolf 1994: 43–44).

Each of the following thematic subsections (i.e., on the themes of respect, success, and conflict in business negotiations) are divided in the following way: after a short introduction showing general trends in the analysis, the common conceptualizations in the Brazilian and German groups are presented; they are followed by preferential conceptualizations in each of the groups. Afterwards, conceptual scripts for two holistic scenes (one for each group) featuring complete answers to the interview questions presented above are shown and their analyses are detailed. In the end of each subsection, group-level conceptualizations are suggested.

experience – their own life story – but they also contextualize, compare, reflect upon, and analyze it.”

67 The image schemas underlying the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor are LOCATION, MOVEMENT, FORCE, DESTINATION, MOTION, OBJECT, JOURNEY (Lakoff 1993).

68 Preferential conceptualization is described by Kövecses (2005: 82) in this way: “In many cases, two languages/cultures may have many of the same conceptual metaphors for a given target domain, but speakers of the languages may prefer to use a different set of metaphors for this target. If this is so, we have a gradient between the cases of alternative conceptualization ... what I am now calling *preferential conceptualization*.”

3.1.1 Respect in business negotiations

Etymologically speaking, ‘respect’ stems from the Latin verb ‘respectāre,’ which translates into ‘to be turned towards’, ‘to look around’ or ‘to look back at someone or something.’⁶⁹ This definition seems to highlight interpersonal exchange, which was found to be important in the definition of ‘business negotiation’ (see section 1.3 in chapter 1). The general trend in the findings is as follows: HEARING and ATTENTION conceptualizations are striking in both groups. PATH-GOAL metaphors are also recurrently identified in the groups, but their uses vary interculturally. Source domains which stand out in the data are LOCATION and VERTICALITY (which I will later call VERTICAL SPLITTING) for the Brazilian corpus, and HORIZONTALITY (which I will call HORIZONTAL SPLITTING) and SPHERE SEPARATION cultural schema for the German corpus. Moreover, respect is recurrently construed as a (visual) SENSATION by Brazilians and as an OBJECT by the Germans interviewed. Below, in sections showing situated analyses, more light is thrown onto these source domains.

3.1.1.1 Cultural conceptualizations of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS in Brazilian and German responses

The following excerpts are examples of common conceptualizations that are discussed in the following paragraphs:

1. Respect means not overwhelming others with my own opinions, but *listening* to the other opinions. (G9)
2. When they are *listening* to me, they are *really paying attention*. (B7)
3. It’s like putting yourself in the other *person’s place*. (B2)
4. So I think the ultimate respect you can have for the customer is that you make sure *to arrive at a win-win situation*. (G1)

Conceptualizations appearing recurrently in both groups are HEARING metaphors, as in excerpt 1 (“*listening* to the other opinions”). I argue that the tokens in my data are examples of ‘metaphonymies’ of the *metaphor from metonymy* type, as described by Goossens (1990), i.e., metaphors “for which there is a link with their metonymic origin” (Goossens 1990: 332). In the case of the HEARING metaphor described, the metonymic origin shows a PART FOR WHOLE pattern in which the source domain HEARING is part of the target domain ‘processing the words uttered by someone’ (this target domain being comprised of other parts, such as SIGHT – for processing visual clues –, for instance). But in the excerpts

⁶⁹ respect, v. OED online. (accessed October 10, 2016).

above, the meaning of *listen* goes beyond simple auditory reception. It refers to the act of ‘taking high consideration for what the interlocutor says.’ Therefore, the metaphor TAKING CONSIDERATION IS HEARING certainly has a metonymic origin.⁷⁰ Along these lines, in a diachronic and cognitive treatment of sense verbs, Sweetser (1990: 41) states that “it is natural that physical auditory reception should be linked with heedfulness and internal receptivity (“not being deaf to someone’s plea”).”

In my data, I found instances of HEARING-related conceptualizations even when no HEARING metaphor was identified. The following excerpt illustrates that:

... one thing that is awful is when those ... you have the counterpart um ... just *ignoring what you are saying*, you see? Or *ignoring the arguments that you are giving*. So, I think that when you understand what that person is talking and the arguments that the person is giving, and respond to that argument, this makes the negotiation respectful. (B6)

As can be seen, ‘ignoring’ is being used in contrast with ‘hearing, paying attention’ and is negatively evaluated by the interviewee. Therefore, even though I cannot speak of a clear HEARING metaphor underlying this excerpt, I regard a HEARING-related conceptualization as underlying it, in more general terms.

Moreover, in the data, the expression *pay attention* appears a few times both in Brazilian and German corpora. Interestingly, it is often registered in contexts like in excerpt 2 (“when they are *listening* to me, they are *really paying attention*”), i.e., contiguously with HEARING metaphors. Fernandez-Duque and Johnson (1999, 2002) investigate scientific models of ‘attention,’ but their findings can be extended to folk conceptualizations of ‘attention’ as well, given the fact that scientific models tend to derive, to a certain extent, from folk models. Excerpt 2 is an instance of the ATTENTION IS A LIMITED RESOURCE metaphor (Fernandez-Duque and Johnson 2002). Some characteristics of this metaphor, as described by the authors, are a) it is controlled by someone and directed to a chosen object, b) the resources can be applied in graded fashion, and c) the amount of resource directed at an object defines the quality of attention.

In my classification, because of their frequent contiguity, ATTENTION and HEARING conceptualizations are grouped together. I refer to them as HEARING- and ATTENTION-related conceptualizations. Etymologically speaking, ‘attention’ stems from *attendere*, and ‘attend’ stems from “to direct the mind or observant

⁷⁰ Goossens (1990: 333) also explains that *metaphors from metonymy* usually have a hybrid character in that they can be interpreted as metonymies in certain contexts and as *metaphors from metonymy* in others.

faculties.”⁷¹ Because HEARING- and ATTENTION-related conceptualizations highlight interdependency and connection, they seem to exert strong influence on the *interpersonal exchange* feature of business negotiations.⁷²

Another conceptualization recurrently found in both groups is the PATH-GOAL image schema, as in excerpts 3 (“it’s like putting yourself in the other *person’s place*”) and 4 (“you make sure *to arrive at a win-win situation*”) above. A closer look at the schemas leads to the identification of different uses by each group. In Brazilian occurrences of the PATH-GOAL image schema, the GOAL is majorly related to humanly (or bodily) targets as shown in excerpt 3. German interviewees, on the other hand, often refer to the business deal as the GOAL, as shown in excerpt 4.

These orientations from both groups speak in favor of a difference in the character of the *interpersonal exchange* expected in respectful business negotiations. This exchange is more people-oriented for the Brazilians interviewed and more task-oriented for the Germans interviewed. From now on, I will be calling these image-schemas PATH+people-oriented GOAL for the Brazilian case and PATH+task-oriented GOAL for the German case.

In the next section, preferential conceptualizations identified in interviews with Brazilian business people are shown. Some of these conceptualizations seem to reinforce the people-oriented character of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS just mentioned.

3.1.1.2 Cultural conceptualizations of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS in Brazilian responses

Below a few excerpts are presented that were extracted from the Brazilian answers to the question of respect in business negotiations.⁷³

5. For example, when I go to a company now and I say ‘*I’m Techfirm*’,⁷⁴ they don’t know the innovation Techfirm institute, but they know Techfirm. (B8)
6. . . . so I think it’s important to *show* some respect for the person. (B6)

⁷¹ attention, n. OED online. (accessed October 10, 2016)

⁷² Note the definition of business negotiations presented in section 1.3: “an interpersonal exchange of variable duration and variable number of participants in which business counterparts have goals to reach and depend on the actions, states, and feelings of one another so as to reach these goals” (page 9).

⁷³ Note that only the metaphorical expressions mentioned below in the analysis are in italics.

⁷⁴ For confidentiality purposes, the name of the organization was changed. It is an established Brazilian company that has just started operations as an ‘innovation institute.’

7. I could maintain my *position* [in a disagreement with the boss]. (B1)
8. It's completely different when the person is actually speaking something and you are listening to it, trying to understand what they are saying. Many people call that empathy, cause it's like *putting yourself in the other person's place*. (B2)
9. I know exactly what I am saying, I've been in this *position* because of that. (B2)
10. You cannot *underestimate* what the other person is saying, or saying 'no, no, no, there's no sense what you are saying.' (B5)
11. Sometimes, people who are in *high positions*, think they are *above*. (B1)

A first point to mention is that several metonymies are found in the answers to the question of respect provided by the Brazilian group of interviewees. Among the metonymies are PART FOR WHOLE and WHOLE FOR PART relations, usually involving companies and employees as in excerpt 5 (I say '*I'm Techfirm*'). In this case, we have the metonymy ORGANIZATION STANDS FOR PERSON REPRESENTING IT. Because metonymies have the cognitive role of providing mental access to a concept (Barcelona 2000), it is telling that these conceptualizations – which seem to unveil a close connection between employee and company – are more recurrent in the Brazilian group.

The finding that metonymies involving company and employees play a more important role in the Brazilian corpus than in the German one is congruent with Schröder's (2009a) study about society, in which personification metaphors were the most frequent ones in the Brazilian corpus. According to Schröder (2009a: 121), the use of personification metaphors to refer to the highly abstract concept of 'society' has a clear concretization function (as in the excerpt "[*society*] keeps arms crossed and waits for things to happen" (Schröder 2009a: 121)).⁷⁵ Even though this concretization function is an overall characteristic of metaphor as a whole, it is interesting that Brazilians have a preference for the process of personification (and not another type of metaphor) in an attempt to make such abstract concepts more concrete. This fact indicates how valued personal relationships are in the Brazilian culture (Pearson and Stephan 1998). This

⁷⁵ The original excerpt is "fica de braços cruzados esperando as coisas acontecer." (Schröder 2009a: 121). Schröder (2009a: 121) explains that this is an example of what Goossens (1990) calls *metonymy within metaphor*. The conceptualization process is described by the author as follows: through a process of metonymization body parts come to stand for a person, who comes to stand for a group. Then, metaphorization happens when society is described as possessing body parts.

argument is another evidence for the existence of a more personal leaning in the Brazilian understanding of *interpersonal exchange* in business contexts as first evidenced in the analysis of PATH+people-oriented GOAL schemas shown in section 3.1.1.1 above.

Two other pieces of evidence of the personal leaning mentioned above can be listed. First, an interesting finding is associated with verbal constructions of ‘respect.’ Respect as a verb was used 15 times in the Brazilian corpus. Out of these 15 tokens, 11 instances were people-related (as in “They end up respecting you more – (B9)”). A second piece of evidence of a personal leaning in conceptualizations of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS is the fact that, in the Brazilian constructions, most of the verbs accompanying the noun ‘respect’ can be classified as showing characteristics of ‘fictive motion’ of a sensory path type (Talmy 2000b), as in excerpt 6 (“I think it’s important to *show* some respect for the person”). In this excerpt, ‘respect’ is framed as a visual sensation. ‘Respect’ is what – in this case, a sensation – is being experienced; and ‘the person’ – the Experiencer (Talmy 2000b) – is the entity experiencing it. Therefore, there is a fictive visual path going from the sensation towards the Experiencer. In terms of ‘windowing of attention’ (Talmy 2000c), *show* is prototypically framed as ‘one shows something to someone else.’ This enabling entity ‘one’ is missing in the utterance above. Therefore, we have a case of medial-final windowing. That is, what is windowed is the path from the sensation itself towards the Experiencer. The SENSATION⁷⁶ is, thus, foregrounded.

LOCATION metaphors, also recurrent in Brazilian answers, often refer to (a) the target domains of IDEAS, TOPICS, or ARGUMENTS or (b) the target domain of JOB. As a sample of the former, as in excerpts 7 (“I could maintain my *position*”) and 8 (“it’s like *putting yourself in the other person’s place*”),⁷⁷ such a conceptualization refers to the immediate negotiation situation. As an example of the latter target domain, in excerpt 9 (“I’ve been in this *position* because of that”), the LOCATION metaphor refers to a central hierarchical structure of the organization. This structure does not belong to the negotiation situation itself but might influence it. In all these occurrences, LOCATION is used in contexts that are either unspecified or positively assessed by the interviewees.

⁷⁶ Because I consider SENSATION to work as a source domain in the conceptualization of respect in business negotiations, I am going to use small capitals for it, as well as for the DIVIDED SELF force dynamic pattern (Talmy 2000a), which I consider to figure as a source domain for some of the conceptualizations I describe.

⁷⁷ Excerpt 8 is a conceptual blend with the following source domains (or input spaces): LOCATION, CONTAINER, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL.

A source domain that appears frequently in the Brazilian responses – and that is closely connected with LOCATION – is that of VERTICALITY, as shown in excerpts 10 (“you cannot *underestimate* what the other person is saying”) and 11 (“people who are in *high positions*, think they are *above*”). Like LOCATION, VERTICALITY can be used to refer to the immediate negotiation situation, as in excerpt 10 and the second part of 11 (“[they] think they are *above*”) or to the structural organization of the business contexts, as in the first part of excerpt 11 (“people who are in *high positions*”). By using the verb *underestimate* in 10, B8 points to a VERTICALITY image schema with ‘up’ and ‘down’ positions assessed negatively by the speaker. Note that in 11, the first part of the metaphorical expression seems to underlie an unspecified/neutral assessment of VERTICALITY (“people who are in *high positions*”). However, on the second part, the negative evaluation of VERTICALITY can be noticed (“[they] think they are *above*”). Therefore, when VERTICALITY maps onto the structural organization of the company, it is mainly unspecified. However, when it maps onto behaviors in the negotiation encounters, it is mainly negative.

Schröder (2009a) also finds VERTICALITY to be an important image schema in Brazilian spoken and written data dealing with the topic of ‘society.’ Similarly, in my interviews, occurrences of VERTICALITY also stand out. As explained above, the presence of this image schema mapping onto behaviors in negotiation encounters is generally assigned a negative value by the interviewees, but VERTICALITY as social structure – and also LOCATION – is either unspecified/neutral or assigned positive values, which reveals that social hierarchy – in terms of work and class division – plays an important role in the culturally-based conceptualization of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS.

Summing up, two scenes emerge out of the analysis. First, in organizational structure, both LOCATION and VERTICALITY are regarded as a given. Therefore, there seems to be no need to stand up against them. Second, in actual negotiation encounters, either changing or maintaining *positions* (LOCATION) is accepted, but behaviors that stress differences in hierarchy (VERTICALITY) are not. This seems paradoxical at first sight, especially because the image schema VERTICALITY also includes the image schema LOCATION (‘up’ and ‘down’ positions). So why is it that these image schemas are differently assessed by Brazilian interviewees in this context? My interpretation is that hierarchy is regarded as a given in societal and organizational structure, but verbal exchanges which explicitly acknowledge and reinforce hierarchical structures are not desirable. This seemingly paradoxical aspect will be elaborated upon in the general discussion of results later in this chapter.

3.1.1.3 Cultural conceptualizations of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS in German responses

Below are some excerpts from the German responses to the question of respect that illustrate the interpretations of the most recurrent conceptualizations found in this group.

12. I would say there's a *thin line* [between respect and disrespect]. Some people might say 'okay, that's not respectful anymore.' Especially in negotiations, um in some other cultures. (G6)
13. . . .and I also respect the requests they [customers] are *putting onto our side*. (G5)
14. How I try to *give* respect, basically, is if I prepare myself well. . . (G3).
15. I think this is the kind of ultimate respect you can have for the customer, apart from the personal *level*. (G1)
16. I think I've never done anything, any personal attacks to a customer. So yeah, that is definitely the respect *level* that should be kept. (G4)

An image schema recurrently found in the German corpus is that of SPLITTING as excerpt 12 shows ("I would say there's a *thin line* [between respect and disrespect]"). Also in blends, as in excerpt 13 ("I also respect the requests they [customers] are *putting onto our side*"), the concept of SPLITTING can be found (in this case, an OBJECT+SPLITTING+SOURCE-PATH-GOAL blend). From these and other excerpts identified in the German responses (see conceptual script in section 3.1.1.4 below), it is possible to understand that, for the German interviewees, the existence of limits surrounding negotiators and types of negotiations is part of their conceptualization of RESPECT. This argument speaks in favor of the existence of a (private-public) SPHERE SEPARATION cultural schema already identified in the German culture in previous studies (e.g., Schroll-Machl 2013) but not labeled as such. This explanation is further developed in the next section (3.1.1.4) where a situated analysis of a German interview excerpt is presented (along with a Brazilian one).

In contrast with the Brazilian construal of respect as a SENSATION, in excerpt 14 ("how I try to *give* respect is if I prepare myself well"), 'respect' is often framed as an OBJECT by the German interviewees. The fictive motion taking place in the latter excerpt seems to be not only related to a SENSATION (touch), but also, and mostly, to OBJECT TRANSFER, in that a person holds an 'object' and 'gives' it to somebody else. The verb 'give' is prototypically associated with possession – i.e., the person first possesses an object and then gives it to somebody else. In the utterance above, this somebody else, or the 'receiver' (GOAL) of the respect OBJECT, is not present. Therefore, we have an occurrence of initial-medial

windowing. Here, in contrast with the Brazilian medial-final windowing, in excerpt 6, (“I think it’s important to *show* some respect for the person”), we have a case in which the SOURCE of respect, i.e., the person possessing the OBJECT, is foregrounded.

In excerpts 15 (“I think this is the kind of ultimate respect you can have for the customer, apart from the personal *level*”) and 16 (“that is definitely the respect *level* that should be kept”), the vehicle term *level* is used with different source domains. Etymologically speaking, *level* is related to a horizontal line or a tool to indicate a horizontal line.⁷⁸ The ‘horizontal line’ is used in 15 similarly as in 12 above (“I would say there’s a *thin line* [between respect and disrespect]”) in that it also presupposes SPLITTING, i.e., a business relationship can be divided into different parts; the personal part being one of them. It should be noted that this SPLITTING presupposes separation, as in the case of the VERTICAL SPLITTING image schema in the Brazilian corpus. However, in the case of the German corpus, the HORIZONTALITY image schema presupposed by *level* does not point to ‘hierarchy.’ Thus, to mark the distinction between the German and the Brazilian group, HORIZONTALITY will be called HORIZONTAL SPLITTING.

At a first look, the pervasiveness of the image schema HORIZONTAL SPLITTING in the German corpus might seem to be in opposition with Schröder’s (2009a) finding that, within the German data in her study, the image schema VERTICALITY, especially associated with PATH in conceptual blends, plays an important role in cultural conceptualizations of society.⁷⁹ However, the author concludes that this and other occurrences of the conceptual blend point to negative evaluations made about changes in the German welfare state. Even though the topics – or target domains – are quite different (i.e., ‘society’ in Schröder’s study and ‘respect in business negotiations’ in the present study), the negative connotation of VERTICALITY in the German corpus of Schröder’s investigation can be considered to be, to a certain extent, consistent with the positive evaluation of HORIZONTAL SPLITTING in the German corpus of the present study. That is, the HORIZONTAL SPLITTING is featured by the German interviewees as a positive and desired aspect of respectful business relationships.

Even though the vehicle term *level* is also used in excerpt 16 (“that is definitely the respect *level* that should be kept”), its source domain is different from the one underlying the same word in excerpt 15 (“I think this is the kind of

⁷⁸ respect, v. OED (accessed October 10, 2016).

⁷⁹ An example is “Who is born in the *lower part* of the society today has only few chances to *climb out of it* during his/her life.” Original: Wer heute in den *unteren Teil* der Gesellschaft *hineingeboren* wird, hat nur wenige Chancen, dort im Laufe seines Lebens wieder *herauszuklettern* (Schröder 2009a: 114).

ultimate respect you can have for the customer, apart from the personal *level*”). In 16, it relates to a measurement. This measurement sense of ‘respect’ is highly in line with how the German interviewees often conceptualize it as an OBJECT or a SUBSTANCE that one can keep or transfer. This finding is in agreement with the analysis of excerpt 14 above (“how I try to *give* respect is if I prepare myself well”).⁸⁰

Turning to the analysis of verbal constructions of ‘respect,’ it should be noted that *respect* as a verb is used 7 times in the German corpus. The object of the verb is inanimate (and not ‘person’ or ‘person-related’ as in most of the occurrences in the Brazilian group) in 4 of the occurrences. Excerpt 13 is an example (“I also respect the requests they [customers] are *putting onto our side*”).

The above-mentioned pieces of evidence – i.e., HORIZONTAL SPLITTING, respect conceptualized as an OBJECT, the complements of the verb ‘respect’ – put together point to the following: the nature of the interpersonal exchange associated with respect in German interviews seems to be less people-oriented than holds true for the Brazilian interviews. This is also attested through the analysis of PATH-GOAL image schemas (shown in section 3.1.1.1). Therefore, a more task-oriented interpersonal exchange can be associated with German interviewees’ construals of ‘respect in business negotiations.’

3.1.1.4 Conceptual scripts of respect in business negotiations

In the following, two complete answers to the question “What is respect in business negotiations?” are provided. The objective is to show contextualized analyses and to outline the conceptual script underlying each of these responses. The first answer was given by a German interviewee (G4) and the second by a Brazilian (B2) interviewee:

G4: I think um respect basically is when you keep your criticism on a business *level*, on a business-related *level*, you should never *get personal*. You can *get personal* like I said in the topics you discuss, like during lunch, during whatever you do together. But you should never *attack* someone on a personal *level*. Like um involving like maybe personal deficits or whatever, or just simple insults. Even if you *get emotional*, I think; if you *get emotional*, try to *control yourself* and *stick to* the topic and that is the respect I expect; that nobody is like really insulting me or *getting personal*. I would definitely do the same. I think I’ve never done anything, any personal *attacks* to a customer. So yeah, that is definitely the respect *level* that should

⁸⁰ I would like to thank Frank Polzenhagen for having called my attention to this fact.

be kept. If you can *get emotional* but keep it to the topic, *stick* to the topic, never *get personal*. And um respect for me is if I show respect by showing my customer that I'm really interested in their concerns, so if I *listen* to them and they tell me: okay, that's the problem we have right now, we can't do this. I mean, we can just pay this amount of money for this kind of material, for example, because of this and that situation, then I try to find an alternative. I try to find a way. So just *making my mind up*, *listening* to my customer, but still focus on my *targets*. But to *really listen* to the customer, that is actually the kind of respect I'm paying to them. So because again, *in the end*, I think that pays off for me. If I *listen* to the customer, if I really focus on both parties having a successful *outcome*, then I *achieve in the end*, in the moment, well, what I want to have. So that would be another *level* of respect, I think: *listening* actually to the other part.

In this response, the word *level* is mentioned five times. The SPHERE SEPARATION cultural schema serves as a source domain for three of the occurrences, namely, "business *level*," "business-related *level*," and "personal *level*." The SPHERE SEPARATION cultural schema emphasizes that there are business-related and personal behaviors and that they belong in different spheres. The SPHERE SEPARATION cultural schema seems to share some characteristics with the HORIZONTAL SPLITTING image schema in that the concept of BOUNDARY between entities is present in both (note that the VERTICAL SPLITTING image schema, recurrent in the Brazilian corpus, includes an additional mapping: hierarchy). In this sense, the spheres, or the levels, seem to be horizontally spread instead of vertically organized.⁸¹ When *level*, as a vehicle term, is used in combination with 'respect' ("respect *level*," "*level* of respect"), it is associated with a measurement. In this case, 'respect' is being conceived of as an OBJECT or a SUBSTANCE inside a CONTAINER, i.e., the more 'respect substance' the container has, the higher the level is.

Also to be noted in this excerpt is the presence of two force-dynamic expressions pointing to the 'divided self' pattern (Talmy 2000a: 460), namely when G4 uses the maxim "try to *control yourself*" and when G4 reports 'making up the mind' while listening to the customer. In these cases, the existence of two types of selves is noted: one more oriented towards intuition and free will and the other more rational and sensible, exerting control over the former. These constructions seem to be of a similar kind as those whose source domain is the HORIZONTAL SPLITTING image schema. The SPLITTING that is social in the

⁸¹ Some authors have already referred to this aspect of the German culture (Hofstede, 1991; Schroll-Machl 2013), obviously without having called it a 'cultural schema.'

SPHERE SEPARATION schema is individual in the DIVIDED SELF.⁸² That is, a more rational self corresponds to the social being in a public sphere, and a more emotionally-driven self resembles the social being in the private sphere.

In the middle of the answer, G4 introduces the metaphorical source domain of HEARING (“if I *listen* to them”), pointing to an *interpersonal exchange*. However, in combination with the PATH-GOAL image schema (“*in the end*, I think *that pays off for me*.”), HEARING takes a goal- or task-oriented character. “Both parties having a successful outcome,” for instance, is the expected result of the action of “*listening to the customer*.” The “focus,” as stated, is on G4’s “*targets*.” Here we have the source domains RESOURCE (“*outcome*”) and COMMERCE (“*targets*,” “*paying*,” “*pays off*”), which re-construct the focus from an interpersonal relationship (the prototypical entailment of HEARING) to a more strategic (with a focus on the results associated with the negotiation) one.

Other remarkable occurrences of PATH-GOAL appear in ‘get expressions,’ *get personal* and *get emotional*. In these expressions, the GOAL has been regarded as a change in inner state or attitude (from a business sphere to a private sphere). Interestingly, all these expressions have been assigned a negative value (i.e., are not consistent with the expression of respect in business negotiations) by G4, which is additional evidence for the SPHERE SEPARATION cultural schema. Below is a representation of the conceptual script for this excerpt.

As seen in Figure 3.1, important points in RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS for G4 are the following: Respect as a SUBSTANCE/OBJECT to be kept; the HORIZONTAL SPLITTING that leads to sphere-separation and to separation of states of mind (the DIVIDED SELF); and HEARING, through which an interpersonal exchange is established. This exchange is strategically linked with OUTCOME and COMMERCE, which refer to the expected result of the business negotiation.

Next, the reply from B2 (a Brazilian interviewee) to the question is transcribed in full:

B2: From what I’ve seen so far, I think I show them respect when I *listen* what they are saying, because there’s a difference when you are *really listening* to someone or just pretending to and waiting your time to talk. So, the person is speaking something and you say: ‘uhum, uhum, uhum’ thinking ‘okay I’m going to answer this, this, this’ and when they finish, ‘okay, I’m going to say...’ It’s completely different when the person is actually

⁸² I follow Sharifian (Sharifian 2011: 35) in considering that conceptualizations within cultural cognition influence one another in non-summative ways. In that sense, I assume that the interaction between conceptualizations – e.g., HORIZONTAL SPLITTING image schema and SPHERE SEPARATION schema – form a *gestalt* and not necessarily that one leads to the other.

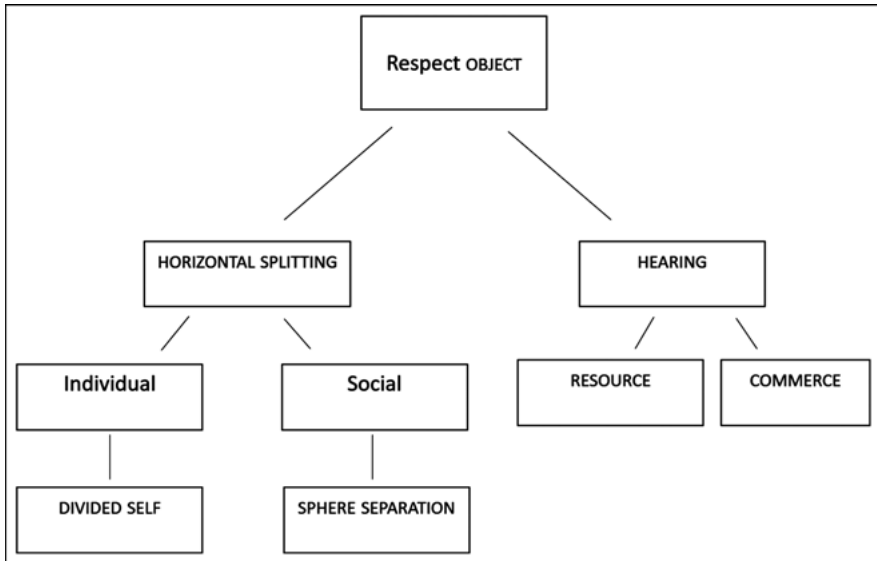


Figure 3.1: Conceptual script of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS by G4.

speaking something and you are *listening* to it, trying to understand what they are saying. Many people call that empathy, cause it's like *putting yourself in the other person's place*. I'm not a very empathic person, I do have very difficulties to *put myself in other people's position*. Because I'm always thinking: 'okay, come on, how come you do not want to do this? It's your job!' ((laughs)). But then you'll *listen* to the guy saying: 'no, because I think safety issues tarara tarara (interviewee imitating the sound of people talking)... You can counterargument as much as you want, but if you *listen* to their concern and really try to understand them, they will feel respected, and they're going to be much more *flexible* and *willing to help* you. So, that's how I think I show them that I respect the person that I am negotiating with, by *listening* to them, which, for me is a *very big effort*. Yeah, I'm an impatient person and every person that is impatient is always trying to *fix*. So, you didn't tell me what is your problem and I already have a solution. So, for me, *listening* is something that I am always trying to improve. And I do feel respected when people show me the same *amount of understanding*. So, whenever I'm speaking and you're trying to *cut* me: 'no, but it's not like that...' For me, this is *death*. When you say it's not like that, 'stop, I know exactly what I am saying, I have been in this *position* because of that. How come you are telling me it's not like that?' So, I'm going to *fight*. So, I feel respected when people *give me the right* to speak and to really *pose my position* and really *give me a space to express myself*.

The most salient source domain in B2's response is HEARING (the lemma *listen* appears seven times in this excerpt); that is, for B2, respect in business negotiation is construed through the act of listening to the other. In this case, B2's observations on the topic of 'empathy' highlight the person-orientation associated with HEARING.

In the German response presented above, by G4, HEARING is linked with a task-oriented aim. In the case of B2, this task-orientation is backgrounded for the sake of foregrounding the person-oriented character of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS. In "if you *listen* to their concern and really try to understand them, they will feel respected, and they're going to be much more *flexible* and willing to help you," B2 calls attention to the fact that, whenever an interpersonal connection is met (through HEARING), the counterpart will be more 'flexible' and willing to help. Here, the image schema SURFACE STRUCTURE (vehicle term: 'flexible') is working together with the force-dynamic expression (Talmy 2000a) 'willing to help' to express the aim of HEARING in this case: if B2 hears the counterpart, the counterpart can give B2 what she wants.⁸³ Therefore, we learn that the underlying aim is for B2 to reach a deal. However, this can only be inferred; 'a deal' as an objective is not clearly stated by B2.

Another proof of the existence of a final task-oriented aim is the force dynamics implied by the act of listening to the counterpart. In the excerpt, B2 goes on to explain why HEARING is "*a very big effort*" for her. 'Big effort' can be analyzed in terms of force dynamic patterns as high expenditure of force. It follows that this expenditure of force, brought about by the act of listening carefully to the counterpart, is worth it because it is compensated later on when the counterpart cooperates with B2.⁸⁴ This fact points to the existence of a final aim guiding B2's actions; but, again, this task-oriented aim is not made explicit.

83 Talmy (2002a: 425–426) analyzes the verb 'help' as showing a force dynamic pattern in which the antagonist removes impingement and allows the agonist to follow its intrinsic force tendency. In the expression 'willing to help,' the negotiation counterpart from B2 is construed as an antagonist that starts a negotiation with certain interests that go against B2's interests (i.e., impediments that prevent B2 from following B2's intrinsic force tendency, according to force dynamic patterns). If B2, as stated, 'listens' to the counterpart, this antagonist can remove the impediments mentioned, which will 'help' B2 reach the aim in the negotiation.

84 Here I refer, in force dynamic terms, to the scenario in which the counterpart (antagonist) removes impingement to motion of the subject (agonist), as explained in the previous footnote.

Another point in this excerpt is how LOCATION as a source domain is at times conceptualized in a static way but also appears as part of dynamic conceptual blends. The static occurrence appears in “I have been in this *position* because of that.” LOCATION here refers to a job. ‘Hierarchy’ is not highlighted as in the occurrences of the VERTICAL SPLITTING image schema. But it could be considered to be hidden (the ‘hidden’ reasoning behind such an utterance possibly being ‘I have reached this position in my career exactly because I have this specific knowledge that you do not have’). In “it’s like *putting yourself in the other person’s place*” and “difficulties to *put myself in other people’s position*,” LOCATION appears in conceptual blends together with the image schemas LOCATION, SOURCE-PATH-people-oriented GOAL, and the DIVIDED-SELF construal in input spaces. However, in this blend, LOCATION highlights movement: you should leave your own position so as to occupy the interlocutor’s position (and understand the interlocutor’s concerns). ‘Hierarchy,’ in these occurrences, does not seem to play a role anymore. These points reinforce ambiguous values (mentioned in section 3.1.1.2), according to which actions that make hierarchy explicit are not desirable in negotiation encounters, but hierarchy as part of the social or organizational structure is regarded as a given.

Below is a representation of B2’s conceptual script for this excerpt:

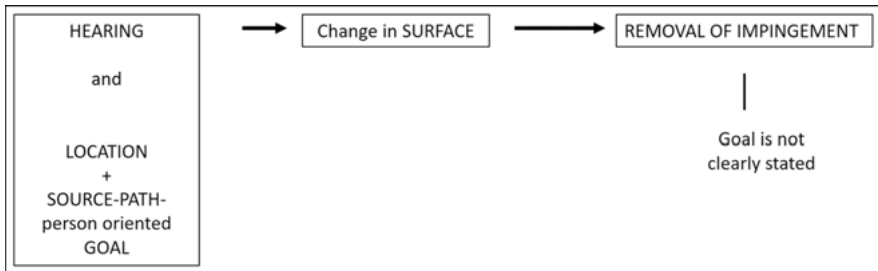


Figure 3.2: Conceptual script of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS by B2.

Since the objective connected to the series of events HEARING – CHANGE IN SURFACE – REMOVAL OF IMPINGEMENT TO MOTION (one being linked to the next one through a causal relation, as represented by the arrows in Figure 3.2) can only be implied, the other occurrence of GOAL in the conceptual blend LOCATION + SOURCE-PATH-people-oriented GOAL (as in “*putting yourself in the other person’s place*”) is the one playing a more relevant role for the construal of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS. This finding reinforces the claim of a person-oriented character in the conceptualization of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS among Brazilian interviewees.

3.1.1.5 Group-level conceptualizations of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS

A summary of the most salient conceptualizations in both groups is presented in Figures 3.3a and 3.3b. This summary considers the most common source domains appearing in the conceptual scripts for the answers given to the question on ‘respect in business negotiations’ by Brazilian and German interviewees. I take this condensation of conceptual scripts to represent group-level conceptualizations of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS by Brazilians and Germans, respectively.

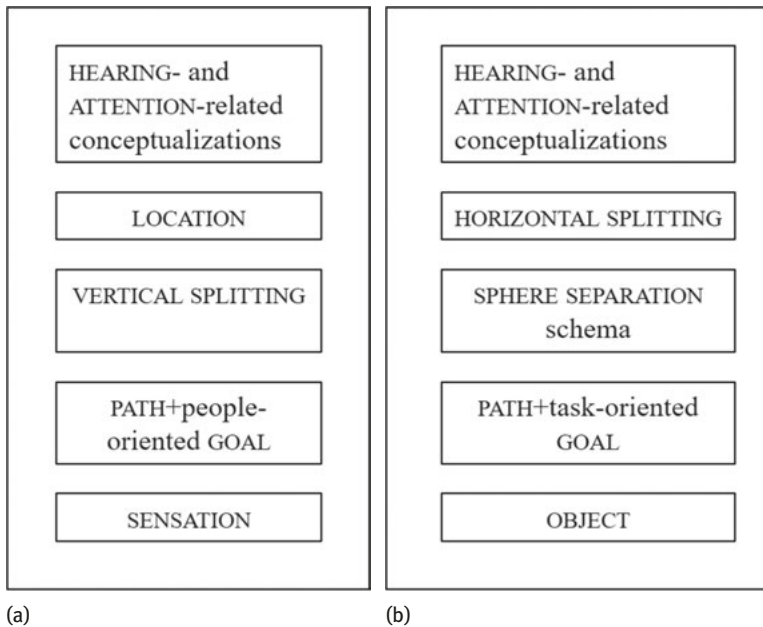


Figure 3.3: (a) Group-level conceptualizations of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS for the Brazilian interviewees. (b) Group-level conceptualizations of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS for the German interviewees.

As can be seen, the answers given by G4 and B2 and reproduced in full above are quite representative of the group-level conceptualizations found in interviews. However, not all answers given by Brazilian or German interviewees contain all those source domains. The impossibility to find static and omnipresent cultural conceptualizations throughout a speech community is due to the emergent character of cultural cognition (Sharifian 2011).

In the next session, cultural conceptualizations of success in business negotiations are presented.

3.1.2 Success in business negotiations

The noun *success* stems from the Latin *successus*, etymologically linked with ‘advance.’ The Latin verb *succedere* means ‘to come after.’⁸⁵ Another early meaning is ‘to accomplish a desired end.’⁸⁶ As made clear by the very etymology of the word, it is not surprising that the image schemas PATH and PATH-GOAL are very frequent in both the German and the Brazilian definitions of ‘success in business negotiations.’ An alternative construal for negotiations in the German group is A NEGOTIATION IS A CONTAINER, as will be elaborated upon below.

As can be expected, goals and the parties involved in the negotiation are essential in the construal of ‘success in business negotiations.’ Following the same trend as in the analysis of respect in business negotiations, GOAL in the Brazilian groups proves to be person-oriented, and, in the German group, task-oriented. OBJECT TRANSFER is another salient source domain in both groups. Other prominent conceptualizations are CONTAINER and RESOURCE in the German group.

In the following, I show how each of the target domains is predominantly construed by the German and the Brazilian interviewees. I start with conceptualizations identified in both groups.

3.1.2.1 Cultural conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS in Brazilian and German responses

The excerpts below illustrate the reflections around the topic of success in business negotiations that will follow:

17. There are always *several steps* in negotiations. (G7)
18. It doesn’t make sense to *keep moving*. (B6)
19. And in the end, it is more to show them *where we can meet [in] between*. (B2)
20. For me a successful negotiation is when (...) both are happy with the *ending*. (B1)
21. I just make up my mind: *where do I want to go?* What’s my target price? (G4)

Due to the question asked to interviewees (i.e., “what is success in business negotiations?”), conceptualizations of ‘negotiations’ set the background for the

⁸⁵ success, n. OED online (accessed October 10, 2016).

⁸⁶ success, n. Etymonline (accessed October 10, 2016).

conceptualization of ‘success.’ As stated above, PATH and PATH-GOAL are very important source domains for the construal of negotiation as a process with a certain objective. Excerpts 17 (“there are always *several steps* in negotiations”) and 18 (“it doesn’t make sense to *keep moving*”) show how the interviewees construe ‘negotiation’ as a PATH. Excerpt 19 (“it is more to show them *where we can meet [in] between*”) shows the GOAL as a source domain, and this domain implies PATH because negotiators are conceptualized as entities heading to the same location or GOAL: in between initial positions.

Excerpts 20 (“both are happy with the *ending*”) and 21 (“*where do I want to go?*”) show a first trend in the data that differentiates Brazilian and German results. In the former, the vehicle term *ending* unveils the PATH-GOAL domain in that the process of negotiation is being described as a PATH, and the GOAL is related to the feeling of happiness by both parties. The question posed by G4 in excerpt 21, on the other hand, is related to the end of a PATH – specifically, the GOAL – that is task-oriented, as the interviewee is talking about a certain price. These points will be further explored in the two upcoming sections where specificities of Brazilian and German cultural conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS are explored.

3.1.2.2 Cultural conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS in Brazilian responses

In this subsection, the following excerpts illustrate my points:

22. I think the successful negotiation will be *when the person. . . not only the person accepts the new processes. . . but also gets motivated.* (B3)
23. . . .so at the end of the negotiation, I would say that the successful negotiation would be we sign a project, okay? *Being very dry.* (B8)
24. You have also *to read . . . how people are feeling.* (B9)
25. I think that a successful negotiation is a negotiation *where you can understand the other person’s or the other group’s point of view.* (B6)
26. If I have a conversation with *a company . . . and we decide we are not going to sign a project. . .* (B8)
27. And, in the end, it’s more to *show them where we can meet [in] between*, like where we can meet to say: hey, it’s successful for country A and country B.⁸⁷ (B2)

⁸⁷ Where branches of B2’s company are located.

28. Brazilians are very possessive. They think: this is *my business*, this is *my sales*. And I want to be better than anyone else. And if I do not get the lowest cost ever, I will not succeed. (B2)
29. I think I can *give more quality*. . . I think I would do it better because it's what I like to do. (B1)
30. So, it's a very good negotiation when we can *deliver a very high quality service to the customer*. (B5)
31. Let's say of the *treatment that the salesman* in this case *gives me*. . . (B7)
32. It might happen that we didn't sign a project, but *we got a lot of (. . .) networking and mutual respect between both sides*. (B8)

As pointed out above, similarly to considerations involving the target domain RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS, the PATH-GOAL image schema is used in different ways by interviewees. For Brazilians, the GOAL is often state-, people-, or relationship-related, as shown in excerpt 22 (“I think the successful negotiation will be *when the person . . . not only the person accepts the new processes (. . .), but also gets motivated*”). In this case, the state of ‘motivation’ is the ideal GOAL. Of course, there are task-oriented goals expressed in the Brazilian data as well.

However, excerpt 23 (“I would say that the successful negotiation would be we sign a project, okay? *Being very dry*”) shows a contribution of an interviewee who seems to regard his own response as reproachable, i.e., not fully adequate for a general cultural schema of SUCCESSFUL BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS, at least in the interviewee's speech community. Because of that, a meta-pragmatic comment seems to be deemed necessary by the informant. The comment ‘being very dry’ underlies the conceptual metaphor LACK OF EMOTIONS IS DRYNESS. Because ‘dryness’ is an undesirable state, the speaker seems to use this utterance to excuse himself from the idea presented (SUCCESS IS SIGNING A PROJECT), probably because of its lack of person-orientation. The comment shows that the speaker takes the impression that this utterance might cause on the hearer (the interviewer, myself, whom the interviewee knows to be Brazilian) into consideration.

In excerpt 24 (“you have also *to read . . . how people are feeling*”), other cultural conceptualizations are shown that proved to be recurrent in the Brazilian set of responses. There is no PATH-GOAL image schema, but there is a fictive sensory path (Talmy 2000b). ‘To read,’ as an action, is closely linked with the sense of sight. Therefore, when trying to ‘read’ the counterparts, a fictive sight sensory path goes from the subject (B9) to the counterparts. In having the sensory path meet the counterparts, B9 can metaphorically interpret their feelings. This is based on the primary metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING.

This type of fictive sensory path becomes more complex in excerpt 25 (“I think that a successful negotiation is a negotiation *where you can understand the other person’s or the other group’s point of view*”). There, “the other person” is conceptualized, at the same time, as the Experiencer of a scenario (through fictive sensory path) and as Experienced (by the other party in the negotiation; in this case, “you”).⁸⁸

As for the parties involved in the negotiation, interviewees make different types of references. In the following, I refer to the interviewee himself/herself as P1 (party 1) and the counterpart in the negotiation is called P2 (party 2). Before going into the analysis, it is important to note that sometimes the parties involved in the negotiation are referenced through nominals that were not analyzed in terms of cultural conceptualizations, for instance, as ‘the customer,’ ‘the client,’ ‘the other person,’ etc. Even though these concepts are also prone to cultural differentiation, they are widespread in both groups. However, in specific cases, cultural conceptualizations could be identified, as will be described below.

First, it should be mentioned that PART-WHOLE and WHOLE-PART metonymies are more salient in the Brazilian group, following the same trend as the results arising from the analysis of the topic of ‘respect in business negotiations.’ Excerpt 26 is an example (“If I have a conversation with a *company* . . . and we decide we are not going to sign a project”).

Often in the Brazilian group, P1 and P2’s ideas are culturally conceptualized as entities in a SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema, with SOURCE referring to the location in which the movement of these entities starts. An example of P1 and P2 as entities on a PATH is shown in excerpt 27 (“in the end, it’s more to *show them where we can meet [in] between*”). This excerpt is also related to the sensory path of sight (verb ‘show’).

P1 and P2 (or only P2s) are sometimes conceptualized as POSSESSORS OF OBJECTS. These objects represent P1 or P2’s initial ideas or arguments. For instance, in excerpt 28 (“Brazilians are very possessive. They think: this is *my business*, this

88 This conceptualization seems to be in agreement with what Schröder (2014: 75) calls a “high potential of third-order reflection” by Brazilian participants in one of her studies. In the analysis of retrospective interviews after a recorded elicited conversation between Germans and Brazilians, Schröder (2014) reports that the German participants tend to transform metacognitive acts into metacommunicative acts in the communication situation, while the Brazilian participants tend not to externalize their metacognitive acts in the communicative context. However, in the retrospective interviews, the researcher attested that the Brazilian participants actually undergo a greater amount of reflection about the communicative situation than they show in the actual situational context (Schröder’s study is described in section 2.2.3 in chapter 2).

is *my sales*.”), on a negative note, B2 conceptualizes non-OBJECT TRANSFER as a non-desirable aspect of successful business negotiations. She is talking about the Brazilian team she coordinates. In this case, *business* and *sales* are conceptualized as POSSESSIONS of P2, who, in a sense, refuses to transfer these objects. This is a case of initial windowing of attention. Very importantly, these two metaphorical expressions are negatively connoted by the interviewee.

Excerpts 29–32 are examples of OBJECT TRANSFER conceptualizations that are positively connoted. In excerpts 29 (“I think I can *give more quality*”) and 30 (“it’s a very good negotiation when we can *deliver a very high quality service to the customer*”), the OBJECT refers to the quality of a project developed by P1. In excerpt 31 (“let’s say of the *treatment that the salesman* in this case *gives me*”), B7 conceptualizes the relationship with P2 to be an important part of a successful negotiation. In this case, *treatment* is conceptualized as an OBJECT transferred from P2 to P1. In excerpt 32 (“it might happen that we didn’t sign a project, but *we got a lot of . . . networking and mutual respect between both sides*”), *networking* and *mutual respect* are conceptualized as OBJECTS being transferred between P1 and P2, who are simultaneously both SOURCE and GOAL of the TRANSFER. To sum up, from 29 to 32, positively connoted OBJECT TRANSFER can be identified. Therefore, the OBJECT TRANSFER emerges as an image schema that refers to desirable actions and feelings in the Brazilian considerations on the topic of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS.

3.1.2.3 Cultural conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS in German responses

The following excerpts point to important cultural conceptualizations in the German group of responses that will be explained below:

33. I *go into these kinds of negotiation* with a target that actually both [counterparts in a negotiation] can live with the results. (G4)
34. [a successful negotiation is] when I know that there’s *something coming out* that’s good or beneficial for the company. (G1)
35. . . .when he [the counterpart] is willing to *go into the next step*. (G7)
36. The opposite [of successful negotiation] for me is if everything is still *open*. (G3)
37. It is a good negotiation or discussion when it starts punctual (. . .), the second point is when participants are (. . .) prepared. Um. . . that’s *fifty percent of the successful discussion*. (G2)
38. Successful [negotiation] means . . . um. . . both partners agree in something . . . that they *find an agreement*. (G3)

39. You are successful if you *hit this target number*. (G7)
40. You have a number *in mind* that you might settle on. So, this *target number*... you are successful if you *hit this target number*. You'll never get what you ask for *in the first round*. You have to have something in mind, you know? Where you, where you get on *common ground*. So, that's where *you can measure yourself*. (G7)
41. The first part of the negotiation is to *keep him [the counterpart] for the next step*. (G7)
42. We ... had a good relationship with the customer afterwards. That, *at the end, pays back*. (G1)
43. I think the best way to make business good business for my company is to find a solution to negotiate in a way that actually... the customer I'm sitting with is happy. I can make him happy *and that guarantees me their loyalty and that brings business on the long term*. (G4)
44. *My target price* is like um *what I gave you*. (G4)
45. What you are trying to *get out of it*. (G6)

As previously described, 'negotiation' was mainly construed with the PATH or the PATH-GOAL image schemas, but, especially in the German group, it also took different forms. Excerpt 33 ("I *go into these kinds of negotiation* with a target that actually both [counterparts in a negotiation] can live with the results") is an example of a CONTAINER construal of negotiation. The same is true for excerpt 34 ("[a successful negotiation is] when I know that there's *something coming out* that's good or beneficial for the company"). However, in this excerpt, something is expected to come out of the CONTAINER. In excerpt 35 ("when he [the counterpart] is willing to *go into the next step*"), each step of a negotiation is construed as a CONTAINER. In excerpt 36 ("the opposite [of successful negotiation] for me is if everything is still *open*"), the same image schema is used but with a negative connotation. It seems that the image schema CONTAINER accounts for a desired 'structure' of actions and behaviors associated with negotiations. Therefore, being "still *open*" is a non-desirable quality of the CONTAINER in this excerpt.

There is also a schematic construal of the negotiation as a resource that can be quantified. G2 equates a few characteristics with a certain amount of RESOURCE in excerpt 37 ("that's *fifty percent of the successful discussion*"). Adding to the conceptualization of negotiation as RESOURCE, in the German group, as stated above, the task-orientation of goals is rather salient, as attested in excerpt 38 ("[a successful [negotiation] means ... um ... both partners agree in something ... that they *find an agreement*"), in which *agreement* is conceptualized as OBJECT, calling attention to task-orientation. In excerpt 39 ("you are successful if you *hit*

this target number”), success is associated with the source domain GAME/FIGHT.⁸⁹ A longer excerpt in 40 allows us to see a more complex construal but, still, oriented towards the business task: “So, this *target number* . . . you are successful if you *hit this target number*. You’ll never get what you ask for *in the first round*. You have to *have something in mind*, you know? Where you, where you get on *common ground*. So, that’s where *you can measure yourself*.”⁹⁰ Especially in the latter part of the utterance – i.e., where *you can measure yourself* –, the DIVIDED-SELF construal can be associated with a conceptualization of P1 as RESOURCE as well.

Other cultural conceptualizations of P1 and P2 in the German group took the following forms: the relationship between P1 and P2 was often conceptualized as a RESOURCE for P1’s organization, either directly or as part of a chain of causality, as shown in excerpts 41 (“the first part of the negotiation is to *keep him [the counterpart] for the next step*”) and 42 (“we . . . had a good relationship with the customer afterwards. That, *at the end, pays back*”).

Excerpts about relationship-oriented features of business negotiation are often closely linked with a business goal. Excerpt 42 above confirms that. Also, in excerpt 43 (“I can make him happy *and that guarantees me their loyalty and that brings business on the long term*”), P2 is schematically construed as a RESOURCE for the company. The causal schema goes like this: P1 IS SOURCE OF HAPPINESS FOR P2, which leads to P2 IS RESOURCE FOR P1.

Likewise, in conceptualizations counting on the source domain OBJECT TRANSFER, a difference can be noticed in relation to the Brazilian data, as shown in excerpts 44 and 45 above. Excerpt 44 (“my *target price* is like um *what I gave you*”) is underlain by the source domains OBJECT TRANSFER (the OBJECT being the price) and COMMERCE (through the vehicle term *target*). Excerpt 45 (“what you are trying to *get out of it*”) underlies the source domain OBJECT TRANSFER from CONTAINER to negotiator. Note that these construals are not in principle different from the Brazilian ones (see excerpts 29–32 in the section 3.1.2.2 above).

89 Note that here *target number* is classified as connected with the source domain GAME/FIGHT, whereas in the utterance “*listening to my customer, but still focus on my targets*,” (section 3.1.1.4), it was classified as connected with the source domain COMMERCE. The reason for a different classification of the same vehicle term is the immediate conceptual context. In the case of the present analysis, other vehicle terms in the immediate context (e.g., *hit, in the first round*) attest the ‘activation’ (Müller 2009) of the GAME/FIGHT domain. In the case of the example in section 3.1.1.4, other vehicle terms accompanying the term are ‘paying’ and ‘pays off.’ Another example of *target* as a vehicle term for the source domain COMMERCE can be found in excerpt 44.

90 The source domains in the conceptual blend associated with this excerpt are CONSTRUCTION (*common ground*), GAME/FIGHT (*hit, target, first round*), DIVIDED SELF (*measure yourself*), and the MIND IS A CONTAINER (*have a number in mind*) metaphor.

However, what makes them different is that, in the German set of responses, the targets of the OBJECT image schema are ‘price’ and ‘result.’ In the Brazilian set, they are ‘quality,’ ‘treatment,’ ‘respect.’ Again, in the German group, a task-orientation stands out, whereas in the Brazilian group, person-orientation is more salient.

3.1.2.4 Conceptual scripts of success in business negotiations

In the following, the answers given by G6, a German interviewee, and B8, a Brazilian interviewee are transcribed in full. The analyses and conceptual scripts follow after the responses.

G6: First of all, I think there is the cultural aspect, where there is somewhat of a personal aspect as well. So regardless of what you are negotiating and what the details are, and what you are trying to *get out of it*, it matters that you have some sort of understanding that you, you know, you would never *go into a conversation* when you’ve never met that person that you negotiate with right from the start. Unless you are somewhere, at a market or something. In business, usually that doesn’t happen. Usually, you start *building a relationship*, which I believe is an important characteristic of a successful negotiation *in the end*. I’ve seen people that, you know, never try to *listen* to people, and try to understand their needs. They immediately try to sell something and usually I don’t believe that this works. So um I think there’s, first of all, there needs to be some *ground understanding* what everyone wants and needs, which is very important on *both sides*. And then, *from there*, I guess there are lots of characteristics that make um a negotiation successful. It depends on *which angle you look at it*, obviously, right? Somebody might say: okay, this didn’t go too well. Now, I have to pay this amount of money. On the other hand, the other person is obviously happy because now that person needs to pay money. So, it depends *from where you look at it*, I guess.

In the beginning, G6 conceptualizes negotiation as a CONTAINER, and its results as a RESOURCE or OBJECT that comes out of the CONTAINER (“what you are trying to *get out of it*”). An important characteristic of successful business negotiations is how P1 and P2 relate with one another. The CONSTRUCTION source domain (vehicle terms *building a relationship* and *ground understanding*) is used for pointing to a mutual effort from both parties. Additionally, the expression “from there” construes the “ground understanding” as SOURCE of a PATH (which is a representation for steps in a negotiation). What makes a negotiation unsuccessful, on

the other hand, is exactly the failure to establish a basis for interpersonal exchange. This interpersonal exchange is characterized by the source domain HEARING (“I’ve seen people that, you know, never try to *listen* to people”). That is, not listening to the counterpart is a non-desirable situation.

The last aspect of G6’s answer is the fictive sight sensory path, which underlies the expression *which angle you look at it*. That is, seeing/understanding or evaluating a negotiation as successful or non-successful depends on the point of view of the observer.⁹¹ The result of the negotiation is what is experienced, in terms of fictive motion (Talmy 2000b). The objective result (i.e., how much one has to pay for a certain product or service) is described, once again, as the goal of the negotiation. Below, the conceptual script designed for this excerpt is presented. Note that ‘evaluation’ is related to how the interviewee construes P1 and P2’s assessment of the negotiating activity.

Figure 3.4 below depicts the conceptual script generated out of G6’s speech excerpt.

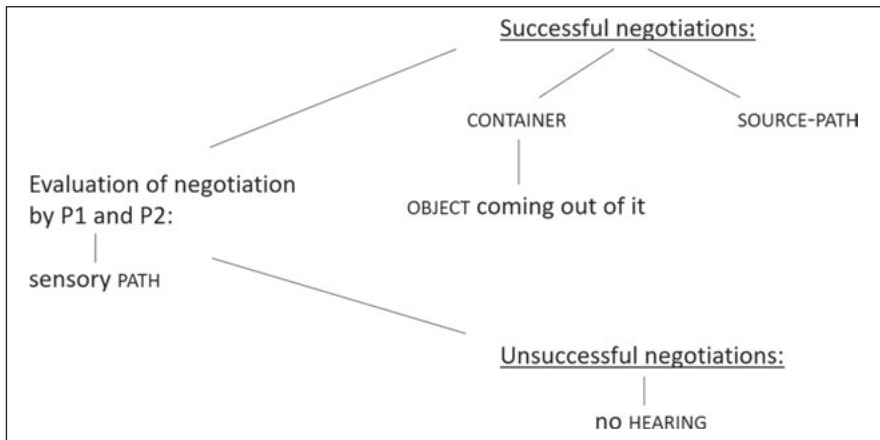


Figure 3.4: Conceptual script of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS by G6.

The following excerpt refers to the answer given by the Brazilian interviewee B8:

⁹¹ A comparison can be traced with excerpts 24 and 25 where the fictive sensory path is also present. Whereas there (see section 3.1.2.2) the ‘Experienced’ is the counterpart’s point of view, here what is ‘Experienced’ is the negotiation scenario/result itself.

B8: I think that a successful negotiation, for me, I mean, *being very dry*, let's say, would be *to sign a project at the end of the negotiation*. Yeah. We start the negotiation always thinking what I'd like *at the end of the day*. . . Not the end of the day, but the end of this process of negotiation; a negotiation can take one day or can take one year. The last negotiation for example with Techfirm⁹². . . we managed to sign a huge project with Techfirm. . . And we took one year negotiating with them. So, at the end of the negotiation, I would say that the successful negotiation would be *we sign a project*, okay? *Being very dry*. Um, for example, it might happen that we didn't sign a project, but *we got a lot of*, let's say, *networking and mutual respect between the both sides*. And this would be also a successful negotiation. But being very pragmatic, like signing a project, this is our main objective. Saying that, okay, we were successful in that negotiation signing a good project, a project with a *win-win*, let's say, *win-win* characteristic.

In that sense, when you think about a not successful negotiation, um of course it would be *not signing a project*; but not only that: *is not signing a project and also not having this mutual respect between the parts*. *Not signing a project and not trusting each other*. So, if I have a talk um, if I have a conversation with a *company*, just as I had with Techfirm representative 1 and Techfirm representative 2, and we decided not to sign a project, and more, we decided, 'you know what? I don't think I will ever sign a project with you.' So, this would be a not successful negotiation, I think.

B8's reply to the question points to two scenarios of successful negotiations: one, which is task-oriented, and another one, which is person-/relationship-oriented. For the former, signing a project is the GOAL of the negotiation PATH ("I would say that the successful negotiation would be *we sign a project*"). For the latter, the focus is on the interpersonal exchange: *mutual respect* and *networking* are conceptualized as OBJECTS being transferred mutually from P1 to P2 and from P2 to P1 ("*we got a lot of*, let's say, *networking and mutual respect between the both sides*"). The TRANSFER PATH is highlighted and points to the interpersonal exchange.

When speaking about task orientation, the interviewee makes a metacommunicative comment that contains the metaphor LACK OF EMOTIONS IS DRYNESS ("being very dry"). This metaphor seems to unveil a widespread cultural schema that distinguishes emotionality from rationality (this cultural schema is certainly widespread in industrialized speech communities).

92 The name of the company has been changed.

Even though the interviewee mentions ‘win-win,’ which could be assigned either to the GAME/FIGHT or the RESOURCE domain (see discussion in section 3.1.3.3 below), he does not elaborate on that. The scenario of a non-successful negotiation is exactly the opposite of the two scenarios of successful negotiations presented above (“when you think about a not successful negotiation, um of course it would be *not signing a project*; but not only that: *is not signing a project and also not having this mutual respect between the parts*”). That is, to be unsuccessful in the context of a business negotiation is not to accomplish the GOAL ‘project signing’ and not to establish interpersonal exchange through OBJECT TRANSFER.⁹³ The conceptual script representing the analysis is represented in Figure 3.5 below.

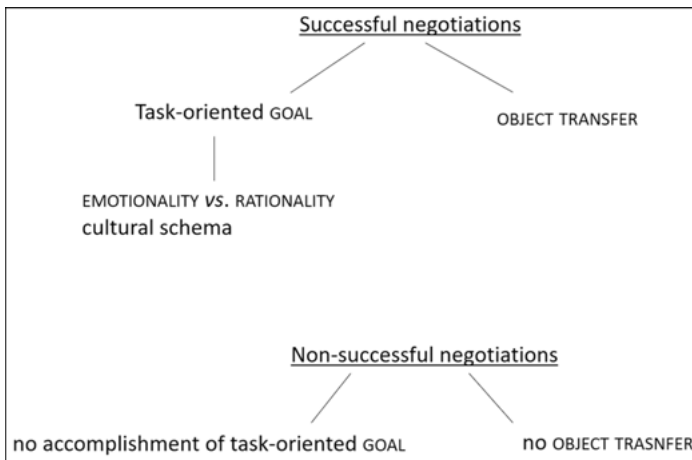


Figure 3.5: Conceptual script of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS by B8.

3.1.2.5 Group-level conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS

A summary of the most salient conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATION by both groups is shown below:

The Figures 3.6a and 3.6b below represent group-level conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS traced from the analysis of the interviews. In both, PATH emphasizes the conceptualization of the negotiation itself as a PROCESS. In the Brazilian set, a high degree of person-orientation is visible. The OBJECT TRANSFER image schema points to a certain dynamism expected in negotiations but

⁹³ Respect as OBJECT TRANSFER was also salient in the German group (see section 3.1.1.3) but not in the context of ‘mutual’ respect, with P1 and P2 as simultaneously SOURCE and GOAL of respect.

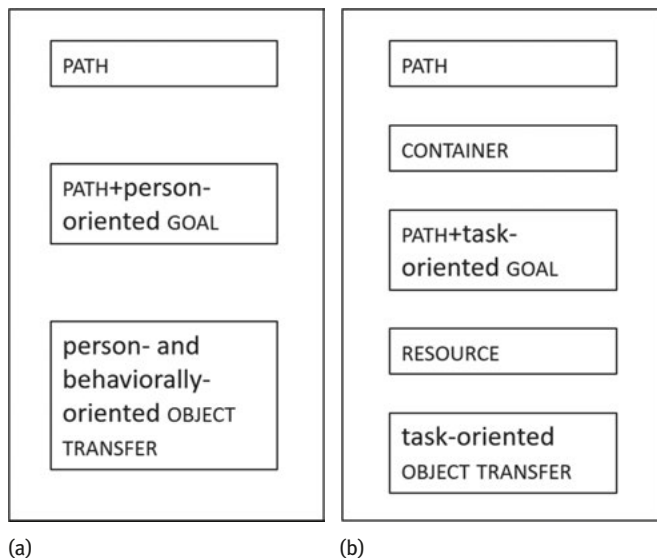


Figure 3.6: (a) Group-level conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS for the Brazilian interviewees. (b) Group-level conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS for the German interviewees.

also reinforces person-orientation. In the German group-level conceptualizations, again, task-orientation is emphasized. The CONTAINER image schema highlights structure and points to the fact that structure – in the sense of tasks and behaviors that contain clear delimitations – is a required asset in the German understanding of success in business negotiations. Moreover, this CONTAINER is often conceptualized as filled with a certain amount of RESOURCE, which is often associated with the task-oriented results expected in negotiations.

3.1.3 Conflict in business negotiations

The etymological origin of the noun/verb ‘conflict’ is, in Latin, “strike together.”⁹⁴ In Old French, ‘conflict’ was used to refer to an armed encounter. Therefore, it is not surprising that the source domain GAME/FIGHT is salient in responses given by interviewees in both groups. However, a point of caution is in order: even though the GAME/FIGHT source domain seems to be naturally linked with the very meaning

⁹⁴ conflict, n. OED online (accessed October 10, 2016).

of ‘conflict,’ I have some reservations regarding the scope of such a link. Many of the tokens of metaphorical expressions apparently underlying GAME/FIGHT metaphors seem to be more connected with business buzzwords (such as ‘win-win’ or ‘win-lose’) that underlie the source domain RESOURCE, and not GAME/FIGHT. This point is discussed later in this chapter, in section 3.1.3.3.

As will be seen in the subsections to come, for the topic of ‘conflict in business negotiations,’ the most important source domains in the Brazilian group are BLOCKED MOVE and GAME/FIGHT, which refer to negative connotations of ‘conflict’ itself. The interviewee, P1, is often construed as a closed CONTAINER. In the German group, BLOCKED MOVE and RESOURCE are recurrent source domains referring to the target CONFLICT. A difference in comparison with the Brazilian group is a slight tendency to express the BLOCKED MOVE as a natural impediment, instead of a negatively-framed one. The interviewee, as a negotiator (P1), is often construed as an open CONTAINER in the German group.

Cultural conceptualizations of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS in Brazilian and German responses

The following excerpts illustrate salient conceptualizations found in the data:

46. I need to *take a step back*. (B2)
47. Let’s *take a step back*. (G4)
48. I need to *separate things*; I need to take a step back. (B2)
49. Let’s take a step back; let’s *put it aside* and try to find out a solution. (G4)
50. You need to *step back*, you know? And you need to kind of, you know, do something completely different. *Let them hang*. (G7)
51. It [conflict] *stops* everything. (B5)
52. You should explain why there is a *limit* [in a negotiation], and this person has to (. . .) understand this *limit*. (G3)

A first important observation is that interviewees’ responses reveal, once again, how the negotiation is viewed as a process and often conceptualized as a PATH by both groups. However, because of the combination with the construal of ‘conflict,’ the difficulty or impossibility to follow this PATH is often presented by interviewees, as excerpts 46, uttered by a Brazilian interviewee (“I need to *take a step back*”), and 47, uttered by a German participant (“Let’s *take a step back*”), show.

If we zoom out and consider further comments made by the above-mentioned interviewees, we find a pattern, in that the idea of separation underlies both excerpts as shown in excerpts 48 (“I need to *separate things*; I need to take a step back”) and 49 (“Let’s take a step back; let’s *put it aside* and try to find

out a solution”). Excerpt 50 (“You need to *step back*, you know? And you need to kind of, you know, do something completely different. *Let them hang*”) follows the same pattern. Overall, there seems to be a construal of ‘conflict’ as something that prevents movement on a PATH. This is in accordance with the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (Lakoff 1993). Conflict is, thus, often conceptualized as a LOCATION on a given PATH.

These source domains create a very basic scene upon which multifaceted elaborations are created. A first difference to be mentioned in the groups is how ‘conflict’ is framed by interviewees. As explained in the methodology section, metaphors, metonymies, image schemas as well as conceptual blends were classified according to how speakers assessed the situations they described.⁹⁵ Out of 214 evaluations of conflict-related conceptualizations in the Brazilian group, 27.6% were negative and 24% positive, and the rest were unspecified/neutral. In the German group, 16% were negative and 32% positive. Even though the difference is not striking, it is still worth mentioning. It shows a slight tendency for German interviewees to take the positive aspects of conflicts more into account than the Brazilian interviewees.

It has been claimed in cognitive linguistic literature that image schemas are building blocks of cognition and are, therefore, universal and neutral. Even though cross-cultural variation has been taken into account to a certain extent within cognitive linguistics (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987), it has not enjoyed full recognition. For instance, in relation to image schemas, Lakoff (2008) and Dodge and Lakoff (2005) reduce cross-cultural variation to a combination of some image schemas regarded as primitive construals. Dodge and Layoff (2005: 27) state that “cross-linguistic differences [in how primitive image schemas are expressed] could be analyzed in terms of combinations of universal schemas.”

However, my data points to a different conclusion: some conceptualizations are based on image schemas that are very similar in terms of basic configurations, but an essential difference is in terms of how they are assessed by speakers in certain contexts. An example is the image schema BLOCKED MOVE (Mandler and Pagán Cánovas 2014: 9) or BLOCKAGE (Johnson 1987: 126). Excerpts 51 (“It [conflict] *stops* everything”) and 52 (“You should explain why there is a *limit* [in a negotiation], and this person has to (...) understand this *limit*”) show that image schemas underlying these excerpts differ in the assessment made by the speakers.

In excerpt 51, the PATH – that is, the negotiation – is conceptualized as being stopped, or blocked, by a certain conflict. Conflict is, therefore, conceptualized

⁹⁵ Each metaphor, metonymy, image-schema, and conceptual blend received a ‘positive,’ ‘negative,’ or ‘unspecified/neutral’ classification, as described in section 2.3.1.2.

as an impingement because it prevents movement of a certain entity (used as a source domain for NEGOTIATION) whose intrinsic force tendency is to continue in movement (Talmy 2000a). This is intrinsically different from excerpt 52. Here, the event is framed in a way in which it is not possible to identify an entity with an intrinsic force tendency which would be impinged by the limitation. Therefore, the noun *limit* is not as negatively charged as the verb *stop* in “conflict *stops* everything.” In the following, other recurrent cultural conceptualizations in each group are presented.

3.1.3.2 Cultural conceptualizations of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS in Brazilian responses

The following examples illustrate the analyses presented below:

53. I tried to *block* myself. (B1)
54. Sometimes I see that. . . I cannot do anything. I just get *shut*. (B1)
55. If you tell me I’m wrong in the beginning, I’m going to *shut down* as well. (B2)
56. He [the counterpart] says something and I *filter* it. And I try to understand that, if the person is angry or not, I have nothing to do with this anger. . . I really *filter* what they want. (B1)
57. We are usually told not to *show emotions*. So, if there is a conflict, we do a *poker face*. (B3)
58. I’m not going to *win* anything. (B1)
59. I’m the one who *loses*. (B5)
60. You are going to *win*. (B2)
61. Who [whoever] screams louder, *wins the fight*. (B1)
62. If we can decide the negotiation without a *fight*, everybody is happy at the first *round*. (B7)

Excerpts 53–55 (“I tried to *block* myself;” “I just get *shut*;” and “I’m going to *shut down* as well,” respectively) show that the vehicle terms *block*, *shut*, and *shut down* are used for describing states or actions taken by participants in conflictual negotiations. The image schema CONTAINER can be identified in these excerpts. The CONTAINER, in these cases, is related to the conceptual construals of the interviewees themselves (P1’s). Another configuration of CONTAINER is that it is closed or in the process of being closed. This seems to be done so as to prevent the flux of anger into the CONTAINER.

Another source domain appearing recurrently in the Brazilian data was that of GAME/FIGHT. Within this source domain, most of the vehicle terms refer

to actions negatively assessed by the interviewees, as shown in excerpts 58 (“I’m not going to *win* anything”), 59 (“I’m the one who *loses*”), and 60 (“you are going to *win*”).

Even excerpt 60, which seems to be positive at first sight, is framed negatively by the interviewee, who is talking about a situation in which you make your counterpart tired by speaking too much and, consequently, win the negotiation. This is described by the interviewee as “the worst-case scenario” (B2). Apart from the examples given above, the vehicle term *fight* is used several times, as in excerpts 61 (“who [whoever] screams louder, *wins the fight*”) and 62 (“If we can decide the negotiation without a *fight*, everybody is happy at the first *round*”). In the latter excerpt, the vehicle term *round* is used, reinforcing the interpretation that the source domain GAME/FIGHT is conceptually active (Müller 2009) for this interviewee at the moment of speaking.

3.1.3.3 Cultural conceptualizations of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS in German responses

The excerpts below exemplify the analysis that follows:

63. The person doesn’t have to hide information from you. Essentially, the person can be *open* with you. (G1)
64. I try to be *open*. (G7)
65. How can we create a *win-win situation*? (G1)
66. I think the worst thing you can do is *getting too emotional* over a conflict. (G4)
67. If you start *getting loud or emotional*, it would be considered disrespectful and not polite, and not professional. (G6)
68. If participants are very loud, or cry, or whatever, sorry, that’s not acceptable. (G2)

CONTAINER image schemas are recurrent in the German group. A construal that appears quite often is that of an open CONTAINER. The open CONTAINER frequently refers to the participants of a negotiation (P1’s and P2’s) and relates to honesty and willingness to share information. Information is, thus, construed as a SUBSTANCE or OBJECT within this person-CONTAINER. Excerpts 63 (“the person can be *open* with you”) and 64 (“I try to be *open*”) are examples.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Note that, on the contrary, in *everything is still open* (excerpt 37; section 3.1.2.3), ‘openness’ is framed negatively. In that case, the target domain is NEGOTIATION. Here the target domain is

Interestingly, most of the vehicle terms (used by German interviewees) that were initially classified as a GAME/FIGHT metaphor had to be recategorized, such as excerpt 65 (“how can we create a *win-win situation*?”). Expressions like *win-win* or *win-lose* are examples of these terms. Even though ‘winning’ and ‘losing’ are typical actions associated with games or battles, the idea of a game or battle where everybody wins seems unusual. Even though I acknowledge that game as a category has no clear boundaries and no fixed set of characteristics, as Wittgenstein (1953: §65–71) brilliantly noted, a closer look at the data and an investigation of the origins of the expressions led me to reclassify several metaphorical expressions, whose source domain was found to be RESOURCE. The explanation is given below.

In fact, the expressions *win-win*, *win-lose*, *lose-win*, etc. were used in a best-seller by Stephen Covey, first published in 1989 and entitled *The Seven Habits of Effective People*. It seems that this was the book responsible for the popularization of the expressions. This is how the author describes win-win:

Win-win is a frame of mind and heart that constantly seeks mutual benefit in all human interactions. Win-win means that agreements or solutions are mutually beneficial, mutually satisfying. With a win-win solution, all parties feel good about the decision and feel committed to the action plan. Win-win sees life as a cooperative, not a competitive arena . . . Win-win is based on the paradigm that there is plenty for everybody, that one person’s success is not achieved at the expense or exclusion of the success of others.

This and the other definitions – namely *win-lose*, *lose-lose*, etc. – are strongly related to idea of dividing resources when people interact with one another.⁹⁷ Note, however, that there are still tokens of ‘win’ and ‘lose’ metaphors that are actually related to the GAME/FIGHT domain.

As in the Brazilian set, ‘emotions’ are also mentioned by German interviewees. In both the Brazilian and the German contexts, they are related to what could be

P2. ‘Openness’ in this situation does not underlie ‘lack of structure’ but ‘capacity to give the other person access to information;’ ‘honesty.’

97 Here is an example in which G1 extends on the win-lose metaphor: “So we have to go to the customer and tell them: hey, this discount you received is not correct. You are gonna pay a much higher price from now on or you have less software. The customer is usually at first not very happy about it. So, we never go there and tell them: okay, from tomorrow on you pay more money. That way you’ll *damage* the relationship. Okay, how can we create a *win-win* situation? Well, now it’s a *lose-win*; it’s a *lose* for us, because we have highly discounted software, and a *win* for the customer. How can we create that into a *win-win* situation? The first customers were very aggressive. When you tell . . . when there’s anything about the price they are very defensive.”

labeled as appropriate behavior in negotiations, according to the interviewees. Different from the Brazilian answers, what is at stake for German interviewees is not the ANGER metaphor but the SPHERE SEPARATION schema, as shown in 66–68 (“I think the worst thing you can do is *getting too emotional* over a conflict;” “If you start *getting loud or emotional*, it would be considered unrespectful (sic) and not polite, and not professional;” “If participants are very loud, or cry, or whatever, sorry, that’s not acceptable”).

3.1.3.4 Conceptual scripts of conflict in business negotiations

Below two complete responses to the question of conflict in business negotiations are reproduced in full. First, the response given by a German interviewee is presented.

G3: I think most of the conflicts you can avoid with a good preparation, which means it’s *clear*. . .um. . .for most of them what the focus will be. Um, but many times, even if you prepare, the expectations are different, so. . . In particular I had maybe during the last weeks, I’d say, I had one *strong* situation where there was. . . *Where* I think was a conflict. *Where* one of the partners expected too much and couldn’t stop bothering all the others about this *point*, so then I think *in the beginning* you can be quite polite and say: ‘yeah, bla bla’ and try to avoid this conflict *point*. But in *a certain point* you have to make a *clear* statement. I think this is important to do. Yeah. So, it’s not like I *go aggressive* there, but at *a certain point* I say: ‘okay, this is my statement to that *point*’ and that’s it.

Interviewer: Is this your general strategy for conflicts?

G3: Um, it depends. I mean, a negotiation is *finding the best overlap*. So, there is no point of being *straight* all the time. But it depends what the capacity is also. If, for instance, if you can just provide a certain service, then this counterpart wants to have more and more and more service, and you know, it’s not really possible. Then you have to *make it clear* at *a certain point*. You can say: ‘well, I can try, but it’s not *clear*,’ yeah. I can’t maybe do it, but it’s. . . So, I think it’s okay. Also the same is valid for technology. If you have *in mind* that this technology *maybe could be stretched a little bit longer*, um maybe a bit more. Then you know there is a certain *limit*. Then there is no *point* to discuss this *limit* if there is one. And you should be the expert. If someone is requesting you, then you are the expert. So, I think you should *make clear* that you are the expert, and you should explain there is a *limit*. And this person has to basically understand this *limit*, right? So, this could be like in terms of

funding; maybe there is just a certain *way* of getting funding. There could be also technology *limit* and some other *limits*. So, I think *at a certain point* you have to *make it clear*. If the counterpart doesn't want to understand, so . . .

Interviewer: How do you feel in these situations?

G3: As I said, it's because. . .if someone requests me then I believe I am the expert in this field, and I do my best. Well, I mean, I would say. . .I try to *find a compromise*, as far as I feel comfortable with this situation. As far as I think: 'well, I guess I could make it *to that point*.' Or not, then there is no *point* to feel stress, because I just understand for myself, I have this *capacity to go so far*, and that's it. It's just like *if you try to do like one hundred meter running and you know maybe you could make it with eleven point five seconds*. So, *there's no point to discuss if you can make it with nine or so*. If there's no *way*, then there's no *way*. So, that's why I don't have any problems, and I feel completely comfortable. If this person doesn't want to understand that I have certain *limits*, then please, then you have to find someone else, you know? And it's okay cause I think, as I said before: a good negotiation for me is not that we always *find* an agreement, maybe there is none. Yeah. But it's also *clear* that there is none. So, it's okay.

G3 describes conflict as part of “a *strong* situation.” The conceptual metaphor here is CONFLICT IS EXPENDITURE OF FORCE. Conflict is also described as LOCATION, such as in “conflict point.” Negotiation is described as a PATH (“in the beginning;” “so far;” “way;” and in several tokens of “certain point”) where you can take only a few alternative ways (in order to avoid conflicts). By walking along the PATH, the parties get to a LOCATION – which represents an eminent conflict – where a clear statement is necessary (“*in a certain point*, you have to make a *clear* statement”). *Clear* here refers to transparency and is based on the metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, i.e., to ‘make a clear statement’ is to phrase your ideas in a way that the counterpart can understand (or ‘see’) what you mean.

The project being negotiated by G3 is also conceptualized as a PATH with *limits* that can *be stretched*, but these limits should be observed. Because P1 is the expert, he can analyze what the real *limits* are. The source domain underlying the use of *limits* – and also the use of several tokens of *point* (as in several occurrences of “at/in a certain point”) – is the image schema BLOCKED MOVE. Additionally, in the last part of the answer, the ‘speaker’ gets blended with the ‘project’ when G3 starts to use first person (in “I could make it *to that point*”). The project's limits are conceptualized as G3's personal limits. Most of the occurrences of BLOCKED MOVE are not assigned a negative value by G3 but an unspecified/neutral one.

In the last utterances, G3 emphasizes the fact that, even though G3 looks for compromise and agreement, there are situations in which they cannot be found. The most important factor for G3, however, is that the situation is *clear* – i.e., accessible to sight (UNDERSTANDING).

Moreover, an interesting scene is presented to metaphorically explain the ‘limit,’ namely the scene in which G3 describes a run (“It’s just like *if you try to do like one hundred meter running and you know maybe you could make it with eleven point five seconds. So, there’s no point to discuss if you can make it with nine or so*”). This description reinforces the neutral character of the *limit*, which is construed as a NATURAL PHYSICAL LIMITATION, and not as negative. In Figure 3.7 below, I show the conceptual script representing the answer by G3. Note that the ‘running scene’ described as the metaphor LIMIT IN A BUSINESS NEGOTIATION IS NATURAL PHYSICAL LIMITATION is represented in the script as well, in between the conceptualization of negotiation as a PATH and of conflict as LOCATION / BLOCKED MOVE because the scene borrows characteristics from these image schemas.

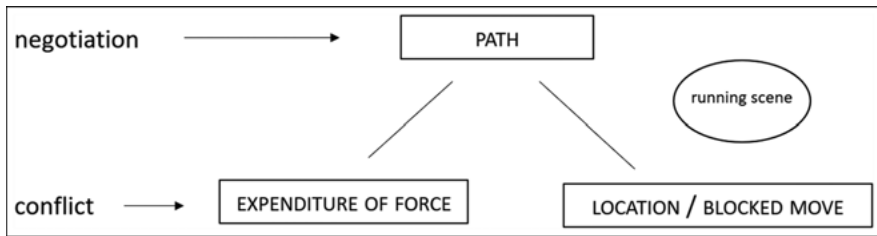


Figure 3.7: Conceptual script of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS by G3.

Next, the response given by a Brazilian interviewee, B5, is presented.

B5: We can *face* conflicts in a negotiation in many different ways. Let me think about an example. Oh, I know. When someone, you know, you are working in a team with many people and then um no one wants to do something. There is something that must be done and they try to *give* it to the other team, but no one actually wants to. This is going to definitely *lead us to a conflict*, because we are going to try to understand: the scope of the activity should *belong* to which team? Who should be responsible for that? And um it is something that normally we discuss a lot. Like ‘no, no, it should be your responsibility.’ It should be *inside* this team and not *inside* of that team, that person should be responsible, not this one. Um, and no one wants to. . . normally people don’t want to get responsibility of the stuff.

Or *take ownership*; *ownership* of new activities. Because it takes time. It takes a *resource*, you know? Um so people tend to avoid it. It's something that very frequently *leads us to conflict* – understand the scope of something and the *ownership* of something.

It's very bad, because if you are in a conflict it means that um both *sides* are not being *flexible*. Both sides are not being *open* to something and even if *something goes to me* or to the other person, no one is going to be happy *in the end* with it. And it normally takes time, and a lot of energy, and many many e-mails are exchanged in order to solve a conflict. This is very stressful. Very very stressful. And the feeling is not good. And it *stops* everything, you know? It's a *block* for any project, because um. . . Cause everyone is trying to understand what should be done or what is going on and. . .and the project itself is not *moving*.

Interviewer: Do you use any specific strategy to solve conflicts?

B5: Um. . . let me think about the situations I had. Normally I try to be very patient with the other person; I try to *understand the point of view* of that person, and understand why that person is not. . .why we have this conflict, what is the opinion of that person, or the ideas of that person. And then I try to *find a middle point where both of us can win* in this negotiation. Um, to try to solve it, but I have. . . Well, it's something. . . It's not very good, I know, but I *take the ownership*. If no one wants to do something, I *take the ownership*, and then I solve it. So, it's not the best way of negotiating, cause um. I'm the one who *loses*. When you think about the project, at least it works. For the project, it works, because someone is going to do what must be done. So, um cause I do not like conflicts. I try to avoid it. So, in order to avoid a conflict, sometimes I *get* the problem to myself. I solve that by myself.⁹⁸

B5 describes a situation in which a team is a CONTAINER and a project is an OBJECT. A team running a project is a CONTAINER for this OBJECT (“it should be *inside* this team”). B5 explains that having objects inside the team CONTAINER requires time and resource from the team, and that is why some tasks are

98 Note that the context explored in B5's answer is different from the one explored in G3's answer. While the former speaks about in-company conflict, the latter talks about conflicts with external partners. I do not take this to be a problem because the very choice made by the interviewees in relation to how to address the question ‘What is conflict in business negotiations?’ already points to how s/he frames the topic, i.e., it shows what aspects related to conflict are salient to him/her.

sometimes seen as non-desirable by the team members. When a project-OBJECT cannot be put into a team-CONTAINER, it is described as being on a PATH (which represents a normal workflow) and as blocking movement on this PATH (“it stops everything”). In this sense, conflict is described as BLOCKED MOVE.

When speaking about the strategy to solve conflicts, B5 creates two scenarios. In the first, P1 and P2 follow a PATH towards the same (middle-)point (“I try to find a *middle point where both can win in this negotiation*”). This LOCATION image schema is blended with a GAME/FIGHT source domain.⁹⁹ That is, this LOCATION in the middle enables P1 and P2 to win the negotiation GAME/FIGHT. The other scenario is one in which P1, the interviewee himself, is the GOAL of OBJECT TRANSFER described earlier. Here, it is him – and not necessarily the team-CONTAINER – who is conceptualized as the GOAL of the OBJECT TRANSFER (“I *take the ownership*”). This GOAL position is chosen by B5 himself, but it is also a defeat position in a GAME/FIGHT domain (“I’m the one who *loses*”). B5 *loses* when taking ownership of the project. This strategy, as described by B5, is used in order to *avoid* conflicts.¹⁰⁰

Figures 3.8 shows how the conceptual script for the answer above can be represented. First, there is a description of a situation that can generate conflict. After that, two different types of strategies are explored, both blended with a GAME/FIGHT scenario. Note that the own defeat is preferred rather than remaining in a conflict situation.

3.1.3.5 Group-level conceptualizations of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS

In Figures 3.9a and 3.9b, group-level conceptualizations of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS are shown.

As explained above, in the Brazilian group, conflict is mainly framed negatively as a BLOCKED MOVE. P1 is conceptualized as a closed CONTAINER. Closing the CONTAINER represents a strategy whose aim is not to get affected by anger.

⁹⁹ However, here, it would be perfectly reasonable to argue that the source domain is RESOURCE (see discussion in section 3.1.3.3). An argument for the ‘resource’ interpretation is the fact that B5 uses the word *resource* as a vehicle term in his answer. An argument for the ‘game/fight’ interpretation is the fact that B5 claims to ‘get a problem’ so as to avoid entering the ‘fight.’ This difficulty to classify the source domain is an evidence that the process of identification and classification of conceptualizations is not always clear-cut and objective. Instead, it highly depends on a holistic look into the context.

¹⁰⁰ In Brazilian replies to the question of conflict in business negotiations, there are 10 tokens of ‘avoid;’ in the German interviews, only 4. The meanings also differ. In the German set, ‘avoid’ usually means ‘to prevent from starting,’ whereas in the Brazilian set, it means ‘to find ways to escape from entering an already existing conflict situation.’

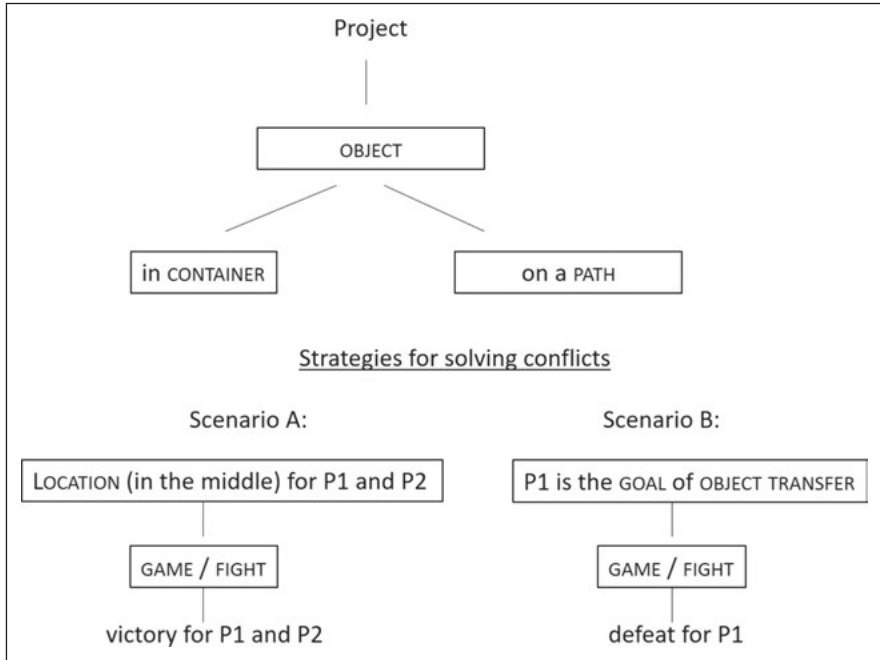


Figure 3.8: Conceptual script of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS by B5.

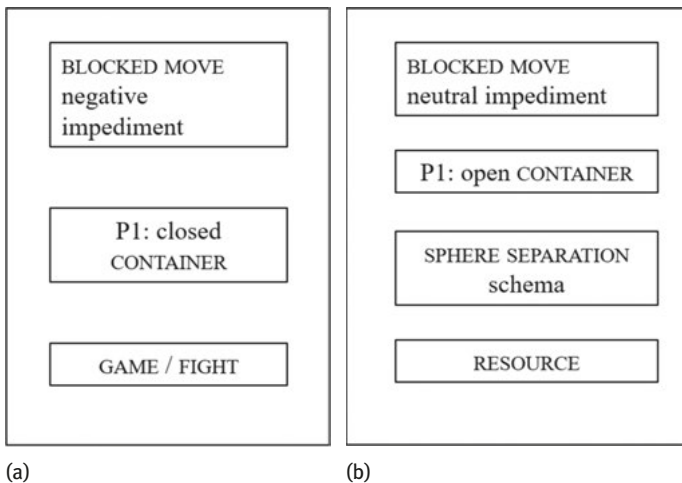


Figure 3.9: (a) Group-level conceptualizations of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS for the Brazilian interviewees. (b) Group-level conceptualizations of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS for the German interviewees.

Moreover, conflict is equated with losing in a GAME/FIGHT. On the German side, on the other hand, there is a tendency to conceptualize conflict as a natural phenomenon in business environments. A strategy to deal with conflicts is to be open, as evidenced by the use of the open CONTAINER image schema to refer to P1. Moreover, the SPHERE-SEPARATION schema is shown to play a role in terms of expected behaviors during conflicts. The non-negative tendency in the German conceptualization of conflict in business negotiations could also be attested by RESOURCE conceptualizations, which, again, point to a more positive framing.

In the next section, a few concluding remarks to this chapter are presented. Moreover, the relevance of the analyses of cultural conceptualizations presented in this chapter is justified in light of the DMM, which guides the understanding of ‘meaning’ upon which this work leans.

3.1.4 Cultural conceptualizations and the prior and actual situational contexts

Looking at the group level conceptualizations in the Brazilian and German interviews, a question one could ask is ‘Why are there overlapping cultural conceptualizations in these groups?’ A general answer to this question is the following: social cognition is a complex system (Sharifian 2011: 36–39). Parts – or, in the case of the group-level conceptualizations above, source domains – interact in a chaotic and unpredictable way. Moreover, these systems are open and receive external influence from other complex systems (in this case, other cultural conceptualizations or actual situational patterns) on a regular basis.

Kecskes’s (2008) DMM allows us to go further into the answer to the question posed above. In the frame of the DMM, I understand that cultural conceptualizations form the basis of speakers’ prior declarative knowledge about business negotiations. Source domains that are specific or much more recurrent in a group than in the other (such CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS IS GAME/FIGHT and CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS IS RESOURCE, for the Brazilian and the German group, respectively) might be a result of influences from sets of conceptualizations that are salient in the speakers’ speech communities, such as cultural schemas deriving from models of community (e.g., individualism, collectivism) or from other models or conceptualizations not specifically related to the work life.

By contrast, overlapping conceptualizations (such as RESPECT IS HEARING; SUCCESS IS PATH; CONFLICT IS BLOCKED MOVE) can be interpreted as deriving from more embodied and, therefore, more widespread experiences (i.e., present in many cultures). Still, even in that case, since they are not isolated concepts but constantly interact with other aspects of a speech community’s prior

knowledge, they are likely to be attached to a cultural leaning of their own (as could be attested in conceptualizations such as RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS IS PATH+people-oriented GOAL or RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS IS PATH+task-oriented GOAL for the Brazilian and the German group, respectively).

Apart from the aforementioned aspects of prior knowledge, the actual situational context cannot be ignored in international business scenarios. It should be noted that globalization and standardization in business procedures and business talk across the globe can impact the actual situational context of business talks. In the long run, actual situational practices in international business communities of practice – as well as the participation of practitioners in international business courses – might end up influencing the prior knowledge (i.e., cultural conceptualizations) of the involved parties. Therefore, constantly-repeated international business interactions or training can lead to emergent patterns that have the potential to become stabilized as shared conceptualizations within certain business communities of practice.

The next section depicts the analyses of emic representations and pragmatic phenomena underlying authentic business negotiations in a specific community of practice.

3.2 Case study: The practice of business negotiations

In this section, I describe the research-based consultancy conducted at a multinational healthcare company (HC-Comp). The aims of this case study were (a) to check if the group-level cultural conceptualizations previously identified could be verified in emic interpretations of Brazilian-German business interactions; and to (b) test whether and how cultural conceptualizations are pragmatically instantiated in real business (written) interactions. For this purpose, I analyzed interviews and e-mails, as described in chapter 2 (sections 2.3.4 and 2.3.5).

The interview excerpts to be shown below feature answers given to questions about interviewees' general impressions on their counterparts (Brazilians or Germans working at HC-Comp) in business negotiations. Due to space and scope constraints, I focus on interview excerpts that directly relate to the cultural conceptualizations mentioned in section 3.1 above. It should be clear, however, that I do not perform a new analysis of cultural conceptualizations in HC-Comp interviews. The reason for not going through the analysis of cultural conceptualizations once again in this group of interviews is due to the practical character of this case study. Note that the decision to focus directly on emic representations observable on interview excerpts stresses the practical character of the study: the results (see

appendix IV)¹⁰¹ that were sent to interviewees revolve around participants' own insights in relation to the issues discussed (instead of being comprised of theoretical notes, which could end up being meaningless to the participants), because interviewees' views and opinions are considered a relevant part of the analysis.

E-mails are used as samples of real negotiation data. Through the analysis of e-mails, important pragmatic characteristics in business negotiations can be identified in both groups. It should be noted that the analyses presented in this chapter are not exhaustive. The data collected will be explored for further research questions in the future.

The structure of the following subsections is as follows: in subsection 3.2.1, interview excerpts are presented that relate to cultural conceptualizations identified in the main part of the study (section 3.1). Subsection 3.2.2 details the analysis of sequences and face strategies in the e-mails. This part is divided into further subsections. Finally, the results are summarized in 3.2.3.

3.2.1 Emic representations in HC-Comp interviews

An aspect of intercultural communication already identified in previous studies is that conflicting cultural aspects are usually recognized and assessed by interactants in intercultural communication (Schröder 2014; Schröder et al. manuscript). For instance, Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005) investigated Finns' and Swedes' impressions of one another in terms of conversational management in an international company.¹⁰² The Finnish often mentioned that the Swedish were very much inclined to long and endless discussions, and the Swedish said that the Finns were few-worded.¹⁰³ The study shows that it is exactly the communicational aspect that is perceived to differ from one's own that is given cognitive salience in the context of evaluations (such as the ones arising from the interviews in the present study).

101 The report sent to the participating company, HC-Comp, is attached to this monograph (appendix IV).

102 This study was referred to in chapter 2, section 2.2.4.

103 When analyzing authentic spoken data, however, Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005) found out that the Finns were the ones using the highest number of words in all the three meetings recorded. The authors draw some conclusions based on a qualitative analysis of discourse in these meetings and suggest the possible reasons (for instance, interpersonally-oriented vs. issue-oriented interactions) for the different assessments Swedish and Finnish people have of each other.

In my interviews, Brazilian and German employees were asked to talk about their general impressions involving negotiations with the other party. Shared cultural conceptualizations seem to be unconsciously regarded as the default ones and that is why they are not usually reflected upon. However, conflicting cultural conceptualizations (as the ones identified in the first part of the study, shown in section 3.1) are often mentioned by the interviewees in HC-Comp, as will be shown below. A point to be made is that, even though some of the conflicting points are sometimes stated in a neutral way, they often tend to be evaluated and not *just* identified as the study of Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005) shows.

To recall some of the most salient cultural conceptualizations, for the target domain RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS, source domains referring to LOCATION and VERTICAL SPLITTING were recurrent in the Brazilian group (see section 3.1.1.2). These domains, as shown in the analysis, point to the importance of hierarchy in the context of negotiations. The following is an excerpt in which a German HC-Comp interviewee identifies exactly this aspect in relation to communication with the Brazilian office:

Sometimes they [Brazilian colleagues] want something, they want to go on with a project, but after a while they recognize they have to approve this from the top management to see if they will get the budget for it. Because budget is always a topic in Brazil – and it is completely understandable. So, what happens is that they say: ‘maybe we have to wait a few weeks and see if we really have the signature, then we can go on.’ (G-HC1)

Another type of cultural conceptualization identified in the Brazilian group-level conceptualizations of RESPECT and SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATION IS PATH + people-oriented GOAL (sections 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.2.2). The following is an excerpt that refers to this point:

My experience is that Brazilians are looking also for personal advantages. If you are doing something for me, I will do something for you. Private connections and relationships are very important in Brazil. This was a bit difficult to understand. (G-HC9)

It seems that, for some of the German employees interviewed, this people-orientation interferes with the task-orientation they seem to cherish. A task-orientation aspect often mentioned was deadlines for accomplishment of tasks:

It seems that we care a lot more about deadlines than our [Brazilian] colleagues. It happens a lot that we need feedback for something till a certain date and nothing happens on the right date. To me, it is okay if they tell me I can’t give you this feedback till this date, but only two weeks after that. Or just tell me ‘I’m sorry, I don’t have the time, can’t help you there.’ But sometimes it just never happens. (G-HC6)

Some people [in the Headquarters] set their minds already and think that if they have to talk to Brazilians, things are not going to happen or will be delayed. (G-HC6)

A salient cultural conceptualization for the German group in relation to the topics of RESPECT and SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS – as shown in sections 3.1.1.3 and 3.1.2.3) – is PATH + task-oriented GOAL. This aspect is highlighted by a Brazilian HC-Comp interviewee, as shown below. The ‘lack’ of people-orientation – from a Brazilian perspective – is associated with a strong focus on the task to be accomplished. This task-orientation can be unspecified or negatively accessed by the Brazilian group as the excerpts below show:

I think they [German peers] are kind of more square. For example, if a German asks a question, to continue the conversation in a good way, first you have to answer exactly what they are asking. If you are talking for instance with a Latin American, they are more disorganized and they are more flexible when they are talking. Germans are more logical and they need to have all the steps obeyed to be able to go further. (B-HC2)

They are direct. But the problem [with some people in the headquarter] is not with being direct, but being inflexible. When I ask if they can do something and they can't do it and they only say 'no,' this gives the impression they are being inflexible. If they say: 'not now, but we can try to look for a solution for that in the future,' then it's much better and we have the impression they are concerned about our problems. (B-HC4)

In relation to German conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS, CONTAINER as a source domain proved to be recurrent. CONTAINER metaphors are associated with an appreciation for ‘structure,’ as shown in the analysis in section 3.1.2.3. The following excerpt shows how a Brazilian interviewee points to this aspect:

They [the Germans] are clear . . . Latin American people are more friendly and Germans are right to the point. This is a big difference . . . How they organize their thinking is also different. This is good. Latin Americans need to learn how to structure their thinking from Germans. (B-HC6)

Other observations that can be matched with cultural conceptualizations identified are made by a German national who has been living and working in Brazil – at the Brazilian branch of HC-Comp – for more than ten years. In relation to the SPHERE SEPARATION cultural schema (section 3.1.1.3), he states that:

I have one personal policy: I don't have very personal contact with people I work with. It's work; and my personal life is my personal life. Some people know me better and know that when I say something is wrong, it is not a personal attack. But most people think it is a personal attack. (BG-HC8)

In terms of conflict, which, as shown in the results in section 3.1, tends to be negatively conceptualized by Brazilians as a FIGHT (subsection 3.1.3.2), the same interviewee says the following:

Germans are straight. But they understand: if you say something is wrong, it's wrong. It's not a personal attack to them. And Brazilians cannot do that; but it is often personal attacks. I hear from other people that some people say it is impossible to work with me. (BG-HC8)

In the next section, I refer back to some of these conceptualizations in my analysis of authentic intercultural (written) interaction.

3.2.2 E-mail exchanges between the Brazilian and German offices

Before I proceed to the analysis of e-mail negotiations, it is important to mention the hypotheses I had prior to the analysis. The hypotheses derive from my investigation of cultural conceptualizations and from the emic representations identified in interviews with HC-Comp employees shown above.

First, because of the source domain PATH + task-oriented GOAL (sections 3.1.1.3 and 3.1.2.3), as well as the task-oriented OBJECT TRANSFER (section 3.1.2.3) and the SPHERE SEPARATION cultural schemas (section 3.1.1.3) in German conceptualizations, content-related sequences were expected to be more prominent in German e-mails than in Brazilian e-mails. In contrast, the source domain PATH + people-oriented GOAL (section 3.1.1.2) was expected to lead to the prominence of sequences that point to relational purposes in Brazilian e-mails, such as greetings. Both hypotheses were confirmed as shown below.

Moreover, the fact that CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS is usually framed negatively by Brazilian interviewees – as shown by the source domains BLOCKED MOVE (negative impediment) and closed CONTAINER (section 3.1.3.2) – was expected to lead, in authentic business negotiations, to non-confrontational communicative practices (Ting-Toomey and Oetzel 2007) that reinforce rapport maintenance or enhancement styles (Spencer-Oatey 2008). For the German interviewees, BLOCKED MOVED (sections 3.1.3.3 and 3.1.3.4) is framed more neutrally (in an unspecified way). Moreover, the preferential conceptualization of open CONTAINER (section 3.1.3.3) when referring to the expected positioning of a negotiator in conflict situations is frequent in the German corpus. Therefore, in the German e-mails, conflicts were expected to be more frequent (than in the Brazilian corpus) and to evidence rapport challenge or rapport neglect styles (Spencer-Oatey 2008). These hypotheses could not be thoroughly confirmed, as shown below.

As explained in chapter 2 (section 2.3.5), 198 e-mails were analyzed: 92 coming from the German headquarter and 106 coming from the Brazilian branch. The former account for 9,428 words and the latter for 8,573 words. While the average number of words per sequence is very similar in both groups (9.5 for the German

Group; 9.4 for the Brazilian group), the number of sequences per e-mail is higher in the German group (10.8) than in the Brazilian one (8.6). Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show two e-mails used to illustrate the fact that German electronic messages are often comprised of more sequences than the Brazilian ones:

Table 3.1: Brazilian e-mail with classification of sequences* (on the right) / RE = receiver / SE = Sender.

T1EB3		
T1EB3S1	Hello RE,	Opening
T1EB3S2	Welcome back!	Greeting
T1EB3S3	I already send you the final agenda with our inputs (follow attached again).	(repeated) Information giving
T1EB3S4	Regarding the information that you asked me I will send you back until January 17th.	Promise
T1EB3S5	So, next week I will be out of the office,	Information giving
T1EB3S6	so let's schedule a webex or call during the week 4 to finalize the format.	Suggestion
T1EB3S7	All my best	Closing
T1EB3S8	SE	Signature

*The concept of a 'sequence' is presented in section 2.2.2 in chapter 2.

Table 3.2: German e-mail with classification of sequences / RE = receiver / SE = Sender / Words in capital letters replace names and places that have been omitted due to confidentiality measures.

T1EG1		
T1EG1S1	Hi RE,	Opening
T1EG1S2	Just returned from holiday yesterday and I am already in PLACE again . . .	Explanation
T1EG1S3	So please excuse my late reply.	Apology
T1EG1S4	Hope you had nice Christmas holidays and a good start into 2016!	Greetings

Table 3.2: (continued)

T1EG1		
T1EG1S5	If there is no change of dates possible, we will stay with the original timing and NAME and I will book our flights accordingly.	Information giving
T1EG1S6	Travel details will follow.	Information giving
T1EG1S7	Regarding the agenda, I am still waiting for your input regarding additions or changes of the topics in general.	(repeated) information request
T1EG1S8	If NAME1 and you are OK with the topics, we can discuss the format, for example the light version of the (xxx) toolbox that you will receive soon from us.	Suggestion
T1EG1S9	Also, please don't forget to send back the pricing request template that I sent you on Dec 15th.	(repeated) information request
T1EG1S10	This can be a great chance to get more competitive pricing in PLACE 1 markets.	Explanation
T1EG1S11	Kind regards from CITY,	Closing
T1EG1S12	SE	Signature

The fact alone that German e-mails are longer than the Brazilian ones can be regarded as an important finding. This finding counters overgeneralizations that might connect Brazilian person-orientation with wordiness or prolixity and the German task-orientation with a type of objectivity that leads to economy in the use of words.

A reasonable interpretation of this fact is offered by Hall's (1976) distinction between low- and high-context cultures, as explained in chapter 1, section 1.3.2. To recall, in low-context cultures like the German one (Hall and Hall 1990 [1987]: 10), one does not assume to have a great amount of shared understanding in relation to one's conversational partner and, therefore, states the message in the clearest and fullest way possible. The Brazilian culture, by contrast, can be described as high-context, defined by Hall (1976: 91) as "one in which most of the information is already in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message."

3.2.2.1 General sequence structure

Analyzing the sequences within each e-mail was crucial for the understanding of the structural organization of the e-mails analyzed. As explained in chapter 2 (section 2.2.2), each functional unit is regarded as a sequence (e.g., apology, complaint, information giving, information request, etc.) within the e-mail.

In the following, I show how some of these sequences can be interpreted and how the findings generated from this analysis either complement or contrast with the findings arising from the investigation of cultural conceptualizations. The first sequences to be considered are information giving and information request.

Information giving and information request are the most representative categories of sequences in both groups. Out of the 996 sequences found in the German corpus, 444 (44.6%) are classified as performing the action of information giving. In the Brazilian corpus, 268 out of 914 sequences, that is, 29.3%, accomplish the same objective. As for information request, 57 sequences (5.7%) were found in the German e-mails, and 71 (7.8%) were found in Brazilian e-mails.

The difference regarding the frequency of information giving and information request sequences might be justified by taking the nature of the communication between branches and the headquarter into account. It is fairly obvious that there is a greater amount of information requests going from the branch to the headquarter, such as product orders. However, the difference between information giving and information request is not proportional. That is, Brazilian information requests are 2.1% more frequent than German information requests, but information giving from the German side is considerably higher than that – more than 15% higher. I offer a twofold interpretation for these figures: first, they can be related to the fact that Germany is a low-context culture, as stated above. Second, they can be associated with an understanding of proper behavior in business negotiations, which will be explained below.

I now move to the sequences ‘greeting,’ ‘wishes,’ ‘openings,’ and ‘closings,’ which, in my classification, refer to units that, at least in principle, have no informational but relational purposes. They show the sender’s attitudes and emotions towards the e-mail receiver. Greetings generally appear at the beginning of the e-mail, wishes towards the end. Greetings were predominantly found in the Brazilian e-mails and wishes in German e-mails.

In the German e-mails analyzed, informational sequences in the beginning tend to be favored in contrast with more relational sequences. However, the German participants tend to be more consistent expressing their wishes towards the other party at the end of their e-mails than their Brazilian counterparts. Tables 3.3 and 3.4 show examples that illustrate this difference, which will be further explored below.

Table 3.3: Wishes in a German e-mail.

T27EG3		
T27EG3S1	Hi RE,	Opening
T27EG3S2	I'm clarifying with NAME if week 42 is possible for him.	Information giving
T27EG3S3	Regarding the (xxx) he intends to visit min. 3 customers in PLACE1 and also in PLACE2.	Information giving
T27EG3S4	Hence I suppose that 4 days in total won't be sufficient.	Information giving
T27EG3S5	I'll let you know.	Promise
T27EG3S6	Have a nice weekend.	Wishes
T27EG3S7	Kind regards,	Closing
T27EG3S8	SE	Signature

Table 3.4: Greetings in a Brazilian e-mail.

T9EB2		
T9EB2S1	Hello RE,	Opening
T9EB2S2	I hope you are well,	Greeting
T9EB2S3	Follow below my answer in red.	Information giving
T9EB2S4	[at] NAME1: feel free to complete with your inputs, ideas and other points.	Information giving
T9EB2S5	Besides that, I would like to use this opportunity to ask you a preview of NAME2's agenda for Mexico, considering my answer below.	Request
T9EB2S6	Also, as I'm answering you right now, we can discuss more about this on Friday.	Suggestion
T9EB2S7	My best	Closing
T9EB2S8	SE	Signature

As for openings and closings, 94 e-mails in the Brazilian corpus have openings (88,7%), and 84 e-mails of the German corpus have openings (91,3%). Table 3.5 presents some characteristics of the lexicon used in these sequences.

Table 3.5: Distribution of lexicon used in opening sequences in German and Brazilian e-mails.

Type of opening	German e-mails	Brazilian e-mails
Starting with 'dear'	39.3%	55.3%
Starting with 'hi, hello, hola'	53.6%	40.4%
Others (e.g., good morning + name; name only, etc.)	7.1%	4.3%

In several interviews with research participants from Germany, Brazilian informality and a more relaxed style were mentioned. The German colleagues are often considered more formal by the Brazilian HC-Comp employees. However, as shown in Table 3.5, the use of *hi* and *hello* mostly evidenced in German e-mails and the use of *dear* mostly evidenced in Brazilian e-mails might be an attempt from German and Brazilian employees to adapt to each other's perceived style. This finding can be regarded as an instantiation of adaptations arising within a community of practice (Wenger 1998), as supported by the ELF framework (Seidlhofer 2004) described in chapter 1 (section 1.4.2). Extended contact can cause interactants to adapt to each other's ways of speaking and develop 'intercultural styles' (Blum-Kulka 1991).

As for closings, 92.4% of e-mails in the German corpus have this sequence while only 68.9% of e-mails in the Brazilian corpus have it. From the 33 Brazilian e-mails with no closings, 20 (60.6%) have 'thanking' as the sequence preceding the signature, as illustrated in Table 3.6. This sequence structure, which seems to be quite representative of the style of e-mail writing for the Brazilian employees, is further explored below.

Table 3.6: Brazilian e-mail with a thanking sequence followed by no closing sequence but by the signature.

T3EB1		
T3EB1S1	Dear RE	Opening
T3EB1S2	Sorry for not giving you a feedback before.	Apology
T3EB1S3	At the end of last year we had to concentrate on some priorities, and this project definitely isn't a priority for us.	Feedback giving
T3EB1S4	In November I had exchanged some ideas about this project with some Marketing colleagues in the region, and the interest was low, according to the attached questionnaire.	Information giving

Table 3.6 (continued)

T3EB1		
T3EB1S5	My proposal is the following:	Suggestion
T3EB1S6	In February we should have a workshop in Brazil to evaluate better TYPE OF PRODUCT, and local solutions.	Information giving
T3EB1S7	As you know, PRODUCT has a similar (xxx) solution.	Information giving
T3EB1S8	The team will be together, and I will propose the concept again, emphasising the COMPANY solution.	Promise
T3EB1S9	Could you tell me the main differences between the PRODUCT and this COMPANY proposal?	Information request
T3EB1S10	Thank you in advance.	Thanking
T3EB1S11	SE	Signature

3.2.2.2 Face

Following the FCT (Arundale 2006, 2013), I screened the e-mail corpus in order to identify, in a qualitative fashion, instantiations of the cultural conceptualizations identified in the first part of the study (section 3.1). In the following, I provide examples of a qualitative analysis from e-mails and connect my arguments with some of the findings presented above in the analysis of e-mail sequences.

To recall, the FCT states that emic conceptualizations of face have to be taken into account by the analyst. I consider the cultural conceptualizations found in the analysis of interviews with business people (depicted in section 3.1) to be relevant signposts as to how Brazilian and German business people in general¹⁰⁴ tend to regard ‘proper behavior’ in business negotiations.¹⁰⁵

Another aspect of the FCT, as described in chapter 2 (section 2.2.3), is the connection and separation dialectic, which accounts for the fact that interactants continuously position themselves towards these different poles in the course of interaction. In the analysis of the example below, this dialectic is considered

104 For the matter of generalizability, refer back to section 2.3.3 in chapter 2.

105 Moreover, the emic representations shown in section 3.2.1 above confirm group-level cultural conceptualizations described in section 3.1.

from the perspective of cultural conceptualizations of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS (see section 3.1.1.2 in this chapter).

The excerpt below, for instance, shows an e-mail of a Brazilian HC-Comp employee who is in a higher position than the German receiver:

Dear RE,
 I hope you are better already!
 We didn't get your input back and the time is running.
 We are already finalizing the alignment with OBSs and for PRODUCT. we still didn't gave an input from BU/Region as expectation for 2015.
 Regards,
 SE

Figure 3.10: E-mail written by a Brazilian to a German HC-Comp employee.

First of all, it is person-orientation that connects the sender (who is the director of the Brazilian branch) and an employee in Germany through the initial sequences, i.e. opening and greeting. After the greeting, the use of direct language can be evidenced. A request (which is an act that can be seen as an imposition on the receiver) is made and upgraders are used. Because, in the Brazilian context, 'hierarchy' is an important concept (as represented by the VERTICAL SPLITTING and LOCATION image schemas; see section 3.1.1.2) associated with respect, my interpretation is that the request might be taken differently by the sender (Brazilian) and the receiver (German). Because the Brazilian employee occupies a higher position than the German employee (in the German headquarter), he might feel justified in using this type of direct request with no need to minimize imposition on the hearer.

As for the connection-separation dialectic mentioned, the fact that hierarchy plays a more important role in Brazilian conceptualizations of business negotiations might cause an asymmetry in terms of expectations, especially in relation to the separation fostered by this type of request. In the Brazilian context, such a type of direct request might be non-desirable (see section 3.1.1.2) but still justifiable especially considering hierarchy. I argue that while hierarchy, in one way, emphasizes separation, it might foster interdependence (connection) between the lower and higher levels of the organization in another (in line with Matsumoto 1988; see section 2.2.3 in

chapter 2). This case of expression of status difference seems to be better accepted in the Brazilian context than in the German one.¹⁰⁶

The following is another example of a Brazilian e-mail. This time, differences in status are not present:

Dear super RE,
 I hope you are fine!
 Well, we kept waiting today !!!
 We had a phone call to define the main topics of the meeting.
 Mr. NAME is pressure me...
 Could we talk tomorrow???

All my best
 SE

Figure 3.11: E-mail written by a Brazilian to a German HC-comp employee.

This example shows two sequences orienting towards connection. However, after that, the Brazilian employee refers to a German counterpart using direct language and the repetition of exclamation points, which highlights separation. Subsequently, there is a propositional reference to hierarchy in the sentence “Mr. X is pressure (sic) me.” My interpretation is that, in a sense, this sentence has simultaneously a separation purpose (based on the possible reasoning on the part of the sender: ‘I’m having problems because of your behavior’) but also implies connection, because of the fact that the e-mail writer is disclosing this information as a way to show the colleague that the need to have a position from the counterpart’s side does not come from him himself but from his boss, i.e., the sender fosters connection with the receiver by showing they belong to an in-group, whereas the boss, who is pressuring him, is the out-group (for the IN-GROUP VS. OUT-GROUP cultural schema in the Brazilian culture, see Schröder et al. manuscript).

Another aspect mentioned above is the fact that the German e-mails have more ‘information giving’ sequences than the Brazilian ones. The first part of the twofold explanation, suggested in the mentioned section, refers to the low-context orientation of the German culture. The second part of the explanation is here regarded as related to face concerns. Taking into account the fact that the German conceptualization of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS is associated

106 ‘Better accepted,’ in this context, means that status differences, even if non-desirable, are regarded as a given.

with the German understanding of face in these contexts, we might conclude that task-orientation surpasses person-orientation in the degree of importance. Task-orientation fosters separation (which is reinforced by the SPHERE SEPARATION cultural schema; see section 3.1.1.3), while person-orientation fosters connection. In this sense, the separation pole in the German dialectic of face in business contexts is further qualified, from an emic perspective, as task- and sphere-separation.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, the high percentage of information sequences in the German e-mail corpus is also connected with the German understanding of face and respect in business contexts. This fact can be associated with the German preference for informational sequences following the openings of e-mails as well (section 3.2.2.1).

The last point to mention is related to face and the analysis of sequences presented in section 3.2.2.1, more specifically to the thanking sequence often used in Brazilian e-mails as the sequence preceding the signature. This sequence contrasts with the default one in the German corpus, the closing sequence (e.g., “best regards,” “best wishes,” etc.). My interpretation is that such a sequence might be regarded as fostering more connection (in the FCT sense) than conventionalized closings such as “best regards.” Because person-orientation is so important, “thanking” might be relatively common in the Brazilian e-mails exactly because it fosters personal connection with the receiver. By thanking the receiver, the sender addresses speaker-sender interconnectedness, which, in turn, contributes to the connection pole in the connection-separation dialectic of the FCT.¹⁰⁸ In the following, the topic of ‘conflict’ is looked at also through the light of the FCT.

Cultural conceptualizations of conflict in business negotiations shown in section 3.1.3 point to similar source domains – e.g., BLOCKED MOVE and CONTAINER – that are framed differently by the Brazilian and German interviewees in the main part of this study. While BLOCKED MOVE is frequently framed by Brazilian participants as a negative impediment of movement, it is often framed by Germans as a natural impediment. Moreover, Brazilians often construe themselves or, more generally, a party involved in a conflict, as a closed CONTAINER, pointing to the necessity to protect oneself from strong emotions, while Germans construe themselves as an open CONTAINER pointing to the necessity of being honest with the other party. Further conceptualizations of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS are

107 By contrast, in the Brazilian case, separation is further understood in the first-order understanding of face in business contexts as hierarchically driven.

108 Note that this interpretation is clearly against Brown and Levinson’s (1987 [1978]: 315) classification of ‘thanking’ as an FTA that threatens speaker’s negative face (due to the fact that the speaker admits a debt and humbles her own face).

GAME/FIGHT (see section 3.1.3.2) in the Brazilian group and, in the German group, RESOURCE (see section 3.1.3.3) – again, pointing to a negative assessment in the Brazilian case and a positive one in the German case.

Curiously, sequences associated with conflicts (namely ‘complaint,’ ‘criticism/disapproval/negative feedback’) were more common in the Brazilian e-mails than in the German ones: 10 and 5 occurrences, respectively. However, a point that was often mentioned during the interviews is the fact that, when issues that might lead to conflict are identified, telephone conversations are preferred. Therefore, types of conflict styles associated with face concerns could not be analyzed in the e-mails.

A finding that might be associated with potential threat to hearer’s face is related to the use of the sequence ‘urgent information request,’ which had 9 occurrences in the Brazilian corpus and 1 occurrence in the German corpus. This type of request is usually accompanied by expressions such as ‘maximum next week,’ ‘as soon as possible,’ or the acronym ASAP. This type of sequence might be representative not necessarily of culture but of work structure (influenced, of course, by all types of external factors, such as regulative agencies as well as the external political and economic context, which is, as a matter of fact, less predictable in Brazil than in Germany). Table 3.7 presents an example of an e-mail containing the urgent information request sequence.

Table 3.7: Brazilian e-mail with urgent request sequences / RE=receiver; SE=sender / (xxx) and words in capital letters = omitted confidential information.

T5EB2		
T5EB2S1	Dear RE,	Opening
T5EB2S2	How are you doing?	Greeting
T5EB2S3	I hope very well.	Greeting
T5EB2S4	We are needing the editable (xxx) file (xxx) in English about TOPIC, like as the file attached.	(urgent) information request
T5EB2S5	Could you send for us this material ASAP please?	(urgent) information request
T5EB2S6	We have this urgency because we have an event that we will use this material, but before we need translate it.	Explanation
T5EB2S7	Thank you for your attention.	Thanking
T5EB2S8	Best regards,	Closing
T5EB2S9	SE	Signature

At first sight, such expressions seem to go against ‘rapport maintenance’ or ‘rapport enhancement’ styles (Spencer-Oatey 2008) previously identified within the Brazilian culture (e.g., Schröder 2014). However, this is not the case, as explained below.

First, a (methodological) note is in order: in the interviews conducted with the HC-Comp employees, they were asked to compare two simulated e-mails and to share their impressions (see Appendix III). Interestingly, the majority of German participants emphatically rejected the use of the acronym ‘ASAP’ in one of the simulated e-mails. By contrast, many Brazilian participants reported that they find this acronym appropriate in situations of urgency. One of the conceptualizations appearing at German group-level conceptualizations of SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS, as shown in section 3.1.2.3, is CONTAINER, which highlights the importance of structure. Therefore, a possible interpretation for the lower occurrence of ‘urgent information request’ sequences in German e-mails and the rejection by German participants of the expression ASAP is the following: these sequences possibly represent an unwanted external interference with the structure of the daily activities employees engage in (recall the CONTAINER image schema representing structure and the HORIZONTAL SPLITTING image representing limits in the negotiation environment, as shown in sections 3.1.2.3 and 3.1.1.4, respectively).

For the Brazilians, on the other hand, this expression might have become conventionalized in this community of practice as non-face threatening. In this sense, urgency seems to be justified because of the influence of the context and not because of the sender’s own will to be pushy. The urgency in the e-mail featured in Figure 3.11, for instance, is downgraded by an explanation sequence in which a contextual reason for the urgency is provided, i.e., the imposition comes from external conditions, not from the sender. In that case, following the FCT, connection with the receiver is expected to be maintained.

3.2.3 The practice of business negotiation and the prior and actual situational contexts

As the analyses above show, most findings confirm conceptualizations identified in the main part of this study (in section 3.1). For instance, pragmatic instantiations of VERTICAL SPLITTING, LOCATION, PATH+people-oriented GOAL conceptualizations in the Brazilian group were identified. In the German group, pragmatic instantiations of PATH+task-oriented GOAL, CONTAINER, and HORIZONTAL SPLITTING conceptualizations were found. They were explained in light of the analysis of sequences and of face (Arundale 2006, 2013).

Some of the findings, however, cannot be explained in terms of instantiations of cultural conceptualizations, for instance, the fact that Brazilian participants employ more formal openings than their German counterparts. Different theoretical frameworks could probably show other pragmatic aspects that do not conform to the conceptualizations previously identified. This aspect points to the fact that cultural conceptualizations influence – but do not *determine* – meaning in actual situational contexts, which are also shaped by contextual aspects associated with the community of practice.

With the aforementioned findings at hand, we can go back to the model of meaning this work leans on. The fact that meaning is a result of prior context plus the actual situational context in the sense laid out in chapter 1 (section 1.2) allows for (a) instantiations of cultural conceptualizations in online linguistic interactions but also for (b) creative and ‘community-of-practice related’ constructions.

3.3 Social and anthropological interpretations associated with the analysis

With the research project that culminated in this monograph, my aim was to investigate how Brazilian and German business people conceptualize ‘business negotiations,’ and whether these Brazilian and German conceptualizations are attested or challenged in authentic business negotiations. The former part of this inquiry – which revolves around conceptualizations of business negotiations – was the main part of the study. The latter part – i.e., the practice of negotiations – was a complement to the main one. In the paragraphs that follow, I extrapolate the results of the analyses presented in the previous sections of this chapter by crossing them with anthropological and sociological reflections about the Brazilian and German cultures and societies.

To start, I recall my working definition of business negotiations mentioned in chapter 1 (section 1.3, page 9): ‘a ‘business negotiation’ is an *interpersonal exchange* of variable duration and variable number of participants in which business counterparts have goals to reach and depend on the actions, states, and feelings of one another so as to reach these goals’ (emphasis added).

Going back to the results, a broad look into the group-level conceptualizations points to an interesting commonality: the salience of PATH and PATH-GOAL image schemas (note that even the BLOCKED MOVE image schema implies a PATH), which points to a certain dynamicity associated with business negotiations. This dynamicity seems to be closely connected with the ‘interpersonal exchange’ feature of business negotiations.

Even though the dynamicity associated with ‘interpersonal exchange’ is a commonality in the two groups, I believe that a different understanding of the nature of this interpersonal exchange sets the Brazilian and the German interviewees’ conceptualizations apart. More specifically, I interpret that the interpersonal exchange taking place has a more personal leaning (i.e., the personal or private connection between business counterparts is foregrounded) in the Brazilian case and a more operative and task-related leaning in the German case.

The most obvious pieces of evidence are, of course, the PATH+people-oriented GOAL image schema in the Brazilian group and the PATH+task-oriented GOAL image schema in the German group (see group level conceptualizations of RESPECT and SUCCESS IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS in sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 respectively). The personal orientation can be also attested in the conceptualization of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS as a SENSATION in the Brazilian group (section 3.1.1), a ‘sensation’ being something (inter-) subjectively (and not objectively) perceived by the interactants. These interactants are thus construed as sharing this abstract perception, and this sharing of a perception seems to connect them on an (inter-) subjective and personal level. By contrast, it is conceptualized as an OBJECT in the German group, pointing to a more operative construal of RESPECT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS (section 3.1.1).

Moreover, a ‘blockage in the movement’ (BLOCKED MOVE), represented by ‘conflict,’ (section 3.1.3.5) tends to be more negatively assessed in the Brazilian group than in the German one because it is seen as stopping the person-oriented exchange the Brazilian interviewees seem to cherish. In the German group, by contrast, the BLOCKED MOVE tends to be seen more neutrally, probably because it is thought to stay on the level of the ‘task.’ The interpersonal exchange, being more task-oriented and influenced by the SPHERE SEPARATION schema in the German group, has a tendency to be more objectively regarded from a professional sphere (which clearly excludes emotions and feelings associated with the private sphere).

Furthermore, the Brazilian tendency to conceptualize the exchange with person-based values can be evidenced even in image schemas not directly associated with a personal orientation. For instance, take the image schema GAME/FIGHT in the conceptualization of CONFLICT IN BUSINESS NEGOTIATIONS (section 3.1.3.5), more salient in interview excerpts by Brazilian interviewees. The Brazilian participants often conceptualize ‘conflict’ as something that triggers a set of personal emotions and feelings (caution, anger, surprise, etc. associated with games or fights). In the German group of conceptualizations, by contrast, there is a salience of (task-oriented) RESOURCE metaphors.

While several of the aspects identified in section 3.2 (the practice of business negotiations) confirm¹⁰⁹ the findings shown in section 3.1 (conceptualizations of business negotiations), some of them help us go beyond and deepen the understanding we received from the analyses depicted in section 3.1 alone. For instance, it was shown that the pragmatic instantiation of the image schema VERTICAL SPLITTING can entail not only ‘hierarchy’ and ‘separation’ but also interdependency (sections 3.1.1 and 3.2.2).

A possible interpretation for the distinctions with respect to the Brazilian and German conceptualizations outlined above can be found in anthropological notes on conceptions of personhood (Foley 1997: 264–269). Leaning on previous work, Foley (1997) explained two different conceptions of person regarded as underlying interpersonal relations in different societies: an individualist ideology of the person vs. a sociocentric understanding of the person. The former is often associated with the Western European tradition. Foley (1997: 265) argued that

in this egocentric individualist ideology of the person, society becomes subordinated to the individual; in a fashion not unrelated to the ideas of philosophers like Hobbes and Locke, society is imagined to have been created via a “social contract” to protect the interests of idealized autonomous individuals, independent of society, yet living within it. These individuals are themselves more important than any constituent grouping.

In sociocentric cultures, by contrast,

the individual and his autonomy are not singled out as the local understanding of the person, rather his embeddedness in the social context is the stuff of his definition as a person. Personhood is, thus, defined in sociocentric terms, according to the social position a particular human being occupies. The sociocentric conception of personhood regards the good of the social grouping as fundamental and subordinates individual wants and needs to the collective good. (Foley 1997: 266)

These two understandings of personhood were labelled differently in the work of the Brazilian anthropologist Roberto DaMatta (1997 [1979]). DaMatta (1997 [1979]) explained Brazilians’ relationship with and within society by calling upon the dialectics of the ‘individual’ and the ‘person’ (DaMatta 1997 [1979]: 226–238), which can be associated with the individualist and sociocentric conceptions of personhood, respectively.

However, the author did not argue for a classification of the Brazilian culture as a whole as a sociocentric one, as one could be led to believe. Instead,

109 In two senses: first, emic representations were found that evidence the cultural conceptualizations presented in the first part of the study (section 3.1); second, pragmatic instantiations of cultural conceptualizations were also identified.

DaMatta (1997 [1979]) asserted that both types of ‘self’ are present in all societies. What is special in the Brazilian context is that the conception of the ‘person’ (in the sense used by DaMatta) is generally considered an ideal and the one of an ‘individual’ is evaluated negatively. The anthropologist explained that, while in individualist societies an individual is regarded as a positive unit from a political and a moral point of view, “in Brazil, the isolated individual, without relations . . . is something considered extremely negative, because it reveals only the loneliness of a marginal human being in relation to other members of the community” (DaMatta 1997: 78, my translation).^{110, 111}

With respect to the aspects of hierarchy, separation, and interdependency mentioned above, Holanda (1995 [1936]: 147) showed that, because of a patriarchal model of family in the Brazilian society, urbanization took very unique characteristics that encouraged individuals to always refer to the domestic life in the creation of models of social relationships, and this phenomenon includes relationships in the public sphere as well. In that way, even work relations are supposed to resemble, to a certain extent, affective – and also hierarchical – family relations. In familial relations, for instance, hierarchy tends to be justified on the grounds that the family member with the highest status is strict and loving at the same time. He/she provides protection and affect to the other members and fosters, therefore, separation (resulting from status difference) and connection (resulting from displays of affection) (Arundale 2006, 2013).¹¹²

By contrast, in the German group, the concept of BOUNDARY is salient.¹¹² The image schemas HORIZONTAL SPLITTING and CONTAINER as well as the SPHERE SEPARATION cultural schema all underlie this concept, which seems to be consistent

110 “no Brasil o indivíduo isolado e sem relações . . . é algo considerado altamente negativo, revelando apenas a solidão de um ser humano marginal em relação aos outros membros da comunidade.”

111 It is insightful that, even though analytical models concerning the description of social organization across societies (e.g., individualism vs. collectivism) have been strongly criticized in the literature, there seems to be something fundamental that connects how a community is regarded and salient conceptualizations within this community. For instance, the cultural schema of COMMUNITY is shown to play an important role in the West African conceptualization of corruption (Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007; see section 2.1.5). Also in the present study the individualist and sociocentric conceptions of personhood are shown to strongly influence cultural conceptualizations in the Brazilian and German speech communities.

112 Of course, the concept of BOUNDARY also features within the Brazilian group-level cultural conceptualizations, as is visible in the image schema VERTICAL SPLITTING. However, this ‘boundary,’ in the Brazilian case, fosters, at the same time, separation (through fixed positions in a hierarchical system) and connection, through interdependency of the lower and higher parts of this system.

with the individualist conception of a person presented above that highlights autonomy instead of interdependence.

The concept of BOUNDARY can be regarded as deriving from German historical and societal developments. For instance, with respect to the time of the German fragmentation, Althaus and Mog (1992: 46) stated that:

Until the beginning of the 19th century, there were about 1,000 small territories in the German area and their boundaries could not be crossed easily. They formed independent legal units, were often at the same time confessional boundaries, and modeled human experiences in incise and different ways. Fundamental decisions in the life of the individual depended on the local peculiarities: e.g., the right to marry, the right to trade and to reside, corporate and feudal ties, inheritance law, education, and the provision of the poor. The influence of “space” into the social, political, and cultural reality of life was directly experienced in the constantly present contrast with the life-worlds in small living environments (*my translation*).¹¹³

In relation to the historical background influencing the separation of public and private spheres, Schroll-Machl (2013: 163) states that “boundaries of the daily reality increasingly became ‘boundaries of the mind’ as well.”

Besides the salience of the BOUNDARY image schema in the German cultural conceptualizations in this study, task-orientation is also recurrent in several conceptualizations. Above, I referred to the task-orientation in the interpersonal exchange feature of business negotiations. This orientation can be interpreted as historically influenced by the protestant ethic and the associated concepts of ‘the calling’ and ‘worldly asceticism,’ believed to have impacted the German national identity.

Max Weber (2005 [1930]) argued that the ‘calling’ in the sense of work underlies the following idea: the fulfilment of one’s duty in worldly affairs is the highest form of moral obligation of an individual.¹¹⁴ Asceticism – which, before Reformation, was associated with going beyond all worldly morality

113 Aus deutschem Gebiet gab es bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts rund 1000 kleine Territorien, deren Grenzen prägend und auch nicht ohne weiteres überschreitbar waren. Sie bildeten selbständige rechtliche Einheiten, waren oft gleichzeitig Konfessionsgrenzen und modellierten einschneidend und unterschiedlich die Erfahrungen der Menschen. Fundamentale Entscheidungen in Leben des einzelnen hingen von den lokalen Besonderheiten ab: z.B. das Recht zur Eheschließung, Gewerbe- und Niederlassungsrecht, korporative und feudale Bindung, Erbrechtsgewohnheiten, Schulwesen, Armenfürsorge. Wie “Raum” die Lebenswirklichkeit sozial, politisch und kulturell formte, wurde im ständig präsenten Kontrast der kleinräumigen Lebenswelten unmittelbar erfahren.

114 Weber (2005 [1930]) explains that ‘calling’ and *Beruf* (its German equivalent) have a religious connotation of a task set by God. This meaning, according to Weber, is a product of the Reformation and was not to be found in antiquity.

(Weber 2005 [1930]: 74)¹¹⁵ – came to be equated exactly with worldly morality in Protestantism. In this sense, in the protestant ethic, “a man without a calling . . . lacks the systematic, methodical character which is . . . demanded by worldly asceticism” (Weber 2005 [1930]: 107).

Besides that, the protestant ethic reinforces the connection between task-orientation and ‘boundary.’ With respect to this, Weber (2005 [1930]: 44) argued that, still according to the protestant ethic, “the individual should remain once and for all in the station and calling in which God had placed him and should restrain his worldly activity within the limits imposed by his established station in life.”

The image schema CONTAINER entails not only BOUNDARY (or BOUNDEDNESS, see Wolf 1994: 171) but also protection or resistance to external forces (Johnson 1987: 22), structure, and stability (Wolf 1994: 172). Gorski (1999: 72) explains that “throughout its history Germany has endured so many periods of turmoil and chaos, that it has learned to appreciate the blessings of order.”¹¹⁶ Along the same lines, Althaus and Mog (1992: 56) state that “since the Germans are prepared for the stability of their situation, they base their relations on this stability.”¹¹⁷

Summary

In this chapter, I showed the findings that resulted from a (mainly) qualitative analysis of three themes featured in interviews with Brazilian and German business people, namely respect, success, and conflict in business negotiations. The findings culminated in two lists of group-level conceptualizations for each of the themes in both of the groups investigated, the Brazilian and the German ones. Several source domains featured in most themes – such as PATH, and PATH+person-oriented GOAL (in the Brazilian group) and PATH+task-oriented GOAL (in the German group). Others proved to be more specifically related to the themes, such as HEARING in the construal of respect, PATH in the construal of success, and BLOCKED MOVE in the construal of conflicts – in both groups. I also pointed to theoretical

115 Thus, in the Catholic church, asceticism “simply served to drive him [an individual] farther away from everyday life, because the holiest task was definitely to surpass all worldly morality” (Weber 2005 [1930]: 74).

116 „Im Verlauf seiner Geschichte indes hat Deutschland so viele Zeiten der Wirren und des Chaos erlebt, daß es die Segnungen der Ordnung schätzen gelernt hat.“

117 „Da die Deutsche auf die Stabilität ihrer Verhältnisse eingerichtet sind, richten sie ihre Verhältnisse auf diese Stabilität ein.“

justifications to and implications for the findings. I especially attempted to show that the results reveal that the actual practice of business negotiations can be based on speech community and community-of-practice construals. Furthermore, I showed emic representations that evidence conceptualizations laid out in section 3.1. Moreover, pragmatic instantiations of these cultural conceptualizations could be evidenced in the analysis of face in the e-mail communication between the German headquarter and the Brazilian branch of HC-Comp. I also discussed how the analysis fits into the scope of the DMM (i.e., the prior and actual situational contexts). Finally, I interpreted the findings under the light of sociological and anthropological observations on the Brazilian and German societies and cultures.

In the final chapter, I present general implications associated with the analyses and results presented in this chapter, show limitations of the present study, point to future steps, and conclude this monograph.

4 The study of language and culture through the speech-community and the community-of-practice perspectives

4.1 Implications of the conceptual and pragmatic analyses of business negotiations

The analyses and results depicted in the previous chapter as well as their aforementioned historical and sociological interpretations help us understand the nature of the different conceptualizations identified in this study, especially in relation to the character of the ‘interpersonal exchange’ taking place in business negotiations. If we take the DMM into account, it is easy to see that these conceptualizations are strongly connected with prior knowledge (Kecskes 2008, 2015) acquired within speech communities. In this context, prior knowledge can be associated with the cultural cognition of these speech communities, which is strongly influenced by their history. However, community-of-practice-based knowledge is able to influence individuals’ conceptual worlds to a certain extent as well.

The research-based consultancy work depicted in section 3.2 confirmed that it is not only prior context (based on knowledge acquired within speech communities) that comes into play in how business people act out the business negotiation (in this case via e-mail). Here, again, emergent and community-of-practice related patterns are shown to be relevant. The community of practice gives way to the emergence of novel patterns to a certain extent detached from the speech-community’s conceptual/pragmatic norms. These emerging patterns might be a result of contextual factors (as seemed to be the case with the ‘urgent information request’ sequence in the Brazilian group) or of an increased awareness of cultural differences that leads to an attempt to adapt to the other culture (as in the case of formal/informal openings used by Brazilian and German HC-Comp employees, respectively).

What we learn is that both the concepts of speech-community and community of practice are important in the analysis of intercultural interactions. Therefore, looking exclusively at emergent patterns in the actual situational context (as many ELF studies do) provides an incomplete picture of language use in a certain context.

Along the same lines, an exclusive look at norms associated with the speech community can also be misleading in reifying concepts that are not always instantiated pragmatically in the actual interactional situation. This

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risk is bigger for studies that only make use of dichotomist or scalar categories (an etic framework) to ‘classify’ whole cultures (e.g., Hofstede 1991). In this study, I do refer to some of those categories because I believe they can be useful in providing a first picture of a certain culture. However, the bottom line is that these categories alone should not be regarded as *the* method for understanding whole cultures. Instead, empirical investigations, such as the one described in this monograph, should be conducted that allow for a macro understanding of culture informed by the emic construals (for instance, the ones associated with cultural conceptualizations). Besides that, these empirical investigations should ideally also involve a micro-level analysis that allows for the unveiling of pragmatic meanings associated with the concepts or phenomena under investigation.

Therefore, there is a need for studies addressing ‘language and culture’ to (a) go beyond etic classification systems and (b) couple the (emic) macro and the micro perspectives. The investigation of cultural conceptualizations and pragmatic aspects of language-in-use associated with the speech event ‘business negotiation’ depicted in this monograph was an attempt to bring these perspectives together.

Therefore, a broader look that considers prior and actual situational contexts (Kecskes 2008, 2015) could be regarded as an ideal that can help not only linguists working with intercultural communication (or WE or ELF) but also interactants experiencing intercultural communication. A deeper awareness of prior and actual situational contexts for both researchers and intercultural ‘communicators’ can foster true intercultural understanding.

4.2 Limitations of the study

Despite the fact that the research project described here was carefully planned and conducted, some methodological limitations were identified. One of the difficulties was in recruiting participants. Many business people approached reported not having the time to take part in the study. However, this does not seem to be an isolated problem affecting only the present study; the challenge involved in the recruitment of participants has been reported by several researchers of business discourse (e.g., Marra 2008; Bargiela-Chiappini et al. 2007; Stubbe 2001). This limitation affected the interview corpus, and an even distribution of groups of interviewees (e.g., according to age or sex) could not be reached.

Apart from the problem with recruiting participants for the study, another issue is related to the attempt to build a representative sample of the population

being studied; that is, Brazilian and German business people. It should be highlighted that a representative sample is not necessarily the largest possible group, but a group that mirrors, as perfectly as possible, the population that researchers aim to investigate. This mirroring process can take gender, age-group, social class, religious beliefs, and other variables into account. The ‘population’ in which I am interested is ‘Brazilian and German business people working in business development.’ The problem here is that there is no source from which I can get the characteristics of this population. Neither in Brazil nor in Germany is there a databank that exists with this type of information. Therefore, even if my purpose were to create a perfect sample and perform quantitative analyses of cultural conceptualizations, the task would be deemed impossible by this very basic constraint.

Another possible point of criticism concerns the interview procedures I adopted. Researchers working with qualitative research interviews usually recommend more than one meeting with the interviewees so that they feel comfortable when the actual interview takes place (e.g., Englander 2012). In the present study, this was not possible, mostly due to interviewees’ busy schedules.

Another limitation revolves around unanalyzed data. Due to time constraints, more data were collected than I had the chance to analyze. Among the unanalyzed data, there are recorded teleconferences and questionnaires collected at HC-Comp. However, this data will be analyzed in follow-up studies.

Moreover, it should be mentioned that, in the body of this monograph, at least two aspects of the research process were addressed that could be regarded as limitations of the present study, namely the impossibility for the findings from this study to be thoroughly generalized (chapter 2; section 2.3.3) within the investigated groups and the prescriptive note of part of the research-based consultancy project (chapter 2; section 2.3.6). In short, with respect to how representative the findings are, I lean on the distributed cognition model (Sharifian 2011: 4–8), which acknowledges the existence of a group-level set of conceptualizations that is unevenly distributed across a speech community. In relation to the prescriptive notes I chose to incorporate in the case study (see Appendix IV), even though I acknowledge the dangers of prescribing ‘strategies’ for ‘successful communication,’¹¹⁸ I believe that prescription based on research findings can

118 For a critique of the ‘successful communication’ paradigm in intercultural communication studies, see Wolf and Polzenhagen (2006a).

help bridge the gap between the field of applied linguistics and the business world (or, in a more general sense, the world of language users).

4.3 Future perspectives

The study described here provides a few answers but suggests several questions, which could be addressed in future studies. For instance, a follow-up project could be designed that allows for a deeper analysis of cognitive semantic aspects (force dynamics, windowing of attention, and fictive motion) of language use in a cross-cultural fashion. Thus far, the cognitive semantic framework has been mainly investigated from a rather universalistic perspective.¹¹⁹ I believe that studies addressing systematic cross-cultural variation of cognitive semantic patterns of language-in-use could help researchers unveil another level of cultural and linguistic distinctions.

Apart from theory-oriented studies, applied follow-up studies are also highly encouraged. The research-based consultancy format is a helpful methodological tool for linguists attempting to have access to companies and trying to bridge the gap between linguistic theory and possible applications.¹²⁰ Research-based consultancy projects allow for countless socially-relevant research questions.

4.4 Concluding remarks

As stated throughout this study, my aim was to understand how Brazilian and German business people conceptualize and act out business negotiations. My findings – despite being non-exhaustive – show relations between conceptual and pragmatic aspects of ‘business negotiations’ and highlight some of the theoretical issues pointed to within this work, such as the importance of the integration of key concepts in the fields of WE and ELF and the relevance of the prior and the actual situational contexts in the study of culture.

119 An exception is the study of motion verbs that has given rise to a famous distinction in linguistic literature between verb-framed and satellite-framed verbs (e.g., Batoréo and Ferrari 2016).

120 Several guidelines and occasional papers on this topic can be found on the website of the ‘Language in the Workplace project,’ headed by Janet Holmes at Wellington University in New Zealand.

All in all, I hope this work sheds light on the importance of integrated approaches that overcome disciplinary (semantics vs. pragmatics; business studies vs. linguistics) and practical boundaries (basic vs. applied research; description vs. prescription) and motivates further research, from a linguistic perspective, into the business world.

Appendix I: Interview script (main study)

Interviewer: Before we start, are there any questions you would like to ask me?

Part I – Questions

1. What kinds of negotiations do you usually participate in?

Please consider the most common type of negotiation you take part in so as to answer the following questions.

2. What is ‘success’ in business negotiations?
3. Do you prepare yourself beforehand for negotiations? If yes, how?
4. What is the role of small talk in negotiations?
5. What is ‘respect’ in a negotiation environment?
6. What is ‘conflict’ in business negotiations?
7. How differently would you say you act/feel in a negotiation:
 - with people who are older / younger than you?
 - with somebody from the same / opposite sex?
 - with people you know / people you meet for the first time?
8. How can people show to you they are cooperating?
9. To the topic of making concessions, how open to making concessions are you? How do you feel when you are asked for concessions which you are not allowed to make?
10. What makes a good negotiator? Is being a good negotiator more a matter of ‘intuition’ or a matter of professional experience?
11. How well would you say you negotiate? Why?

Part II – interviewee completes sentences

Examples:

A teenager could say: To go to school is like . . . to go to jail!

A friendship is like . . . a bridge over troubled water

– Complete with one or more words:

1. A negotiation is like a _____
2. If I am a selling a product or an idea, the buyer is to me like a _____
3. If I am buying a product or an idea, the seller is to me like a _____

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4. A good result in a negotiation is like _____
5. A bad result in a negotiation is like _____
6. To cooperate in a negotiation is like _____
7. A cooperative counterpart in a negotiation is like _____
8. A nonsupportive counterpart in a negotiation is like _____
9. A conflict in a negotiation is like a _____
10. Closing an important deal after a negotiation is like _____

Part III – General impressions

For Brazilians: What are your impressions of Brazilians as business negotiators?

For Germans: What are your impressions of Germans as business negotiators?

Appendix II: Interview script and procedures (case study)

Research-based consultancy – Interview script and procedures

1. Consent Form and Participant Data form
2. Explanations

As you know, my interest is in business communication between the German headquarter and the Brazilians offices of *HC-Comp*. But before I start asking more specific questions on how communication between these offices happens, I would like to ask you some general questions on the topic of business negotiations. Only after that will I proceed to ask more specific questions in relation to the German and Brazilian offices.

This interview will be divided into 5 parts, each part revolving around a theme. The last part is actually a questionnaire. I will make sure the interview+questionnaire last no longer than 1 hour and 15 minutes.

Part 1: Business negotiations: Values and practices (20 minutes)

1. What kind of business negotiation are you involved in? Please pick one type to base your following answers on.
2. Which are the characteristics of successful / non-successful (bad) negotiations?
3. What is your idea of respect in a business negotiation? How do you show and expect to be shown respect in a business negotiation? Can you give me examples of disrespectful behaviors in negotiations?
4. What is your reaction to conflicts in negotiations? How do you solve conflicts? How do you feel in conflict situations?
5. To the topic of cooperation, how can people show to you they are cooperating?

Part 2: Communicating with Brazil (20 minutes)

1. How often do you communicate with your Brazilian peers? Through which means of communication?
2. What is your general picture of Brazilians in both written and spoken business communication? What communication characteristics have you noticed among your Brazilian peers?
3. Do you experience any specific difficulties when communicating with your Brazilian peers? If yes, which?

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4. Are there any cases of misunderstanding you remember in communication with your Brazilian peers?
5. Do you use any communication strategies in your communication with your Brazilian peers?
6. Concerning the use of English, which is a second language for both Brazilians and Germans, what difficulties do you associate with it? What measures could be taken so as to reduce these difficulties?

Part 3: Means of communication (10 min)

1. In this study, the main focus will be on e-mails and telcos (webex). Can you tell me a little bit about these both means of internal communication at the company? I mean, why and in which situations you prefer to use e-mails and also why and in which situations you prefer to have a telco?
2. What aspects would you say influence your linguistic choices when you are either writing an e-mail or having a telco?

Part 4: Read the following e-mail samples (10 min)

1. What differences can you see when you compare these e-mails?
2. Which of those e-mails would you prefer to receive? Why?
3. Which of those e-mails are you more likely to write? Why?

Part 5: OCAI questionnaire (10 min)

You can be assured that these results will not be taken separately. That is why you will not be asked to sign the questionnaire. They will be used to see if there are aspects which are different in the organizational culture in Brazil and Germany.

When you finish responding, you yourself can put the questionnaire in the envelope.

Important: Permission to analyze telcos (5 min)

As I had mentioned, the whole study will be based on three types of data: e-mails, interviews, and telcos. It is very important to mention that no names will be mentioned in the analysis. Even names of people and companies that appear in the e-mails will be protected.

The aim of my analysis is to check the most common linguistic/communicational characteristics ‘Brazilian English’ revolves around and the same with ‘German English’ – or, maybe to come to the conclusion there are no such

identifiable characteristics and therefore no ‘Brazilian English’ and ‘German English’, but a common Lingua Franca English.

I would like to take the chance of being here today personally talking to you to ask you for permission to have access to a telco you participate in (with your Brazilian colleagues). The same confidentiality measures will be attended to for Telcos, that is, no names and no other identifying information will be disclosed.

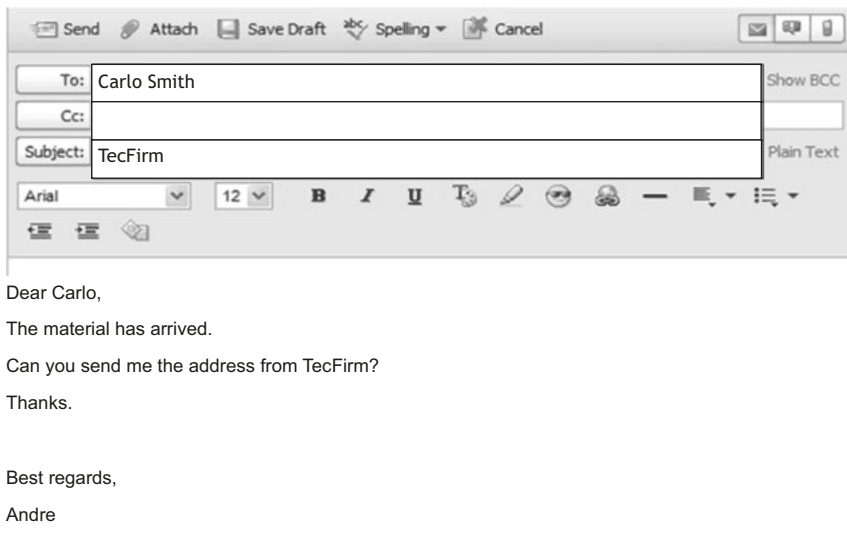
Just for you to have an example, my interest is on aspects such; how greetings are performed; how turns are divided, and so on. There is no interest on the real content of the interaction.

It would be great if you could give me permission to analyze not only the e-mails and interviews, but also the telcos.

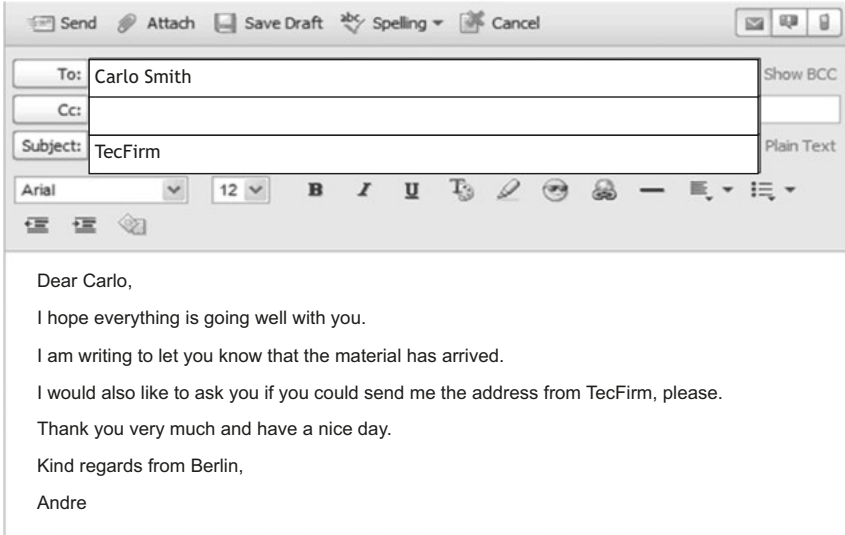
Appendix III: Simulated e-mails addressed in the interviews (case study)

Background: Andre and Carlo work at the same company (but in different cities), are acquainted with each other and communicate constantly. In the company's hierarchy, they are in the same position.

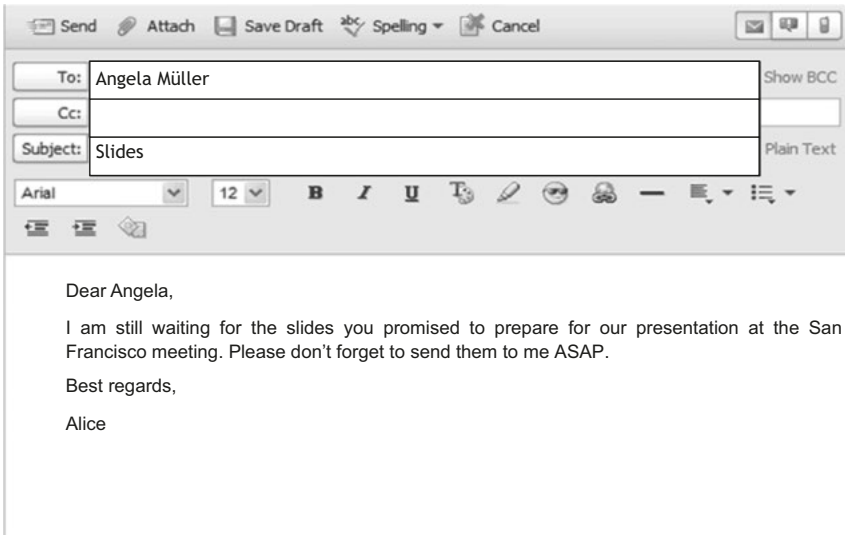
Carlo had sent some marketing material to Andre via post and it has just arrived at Andre's office. Andre is now supposed to hand this material personally in at TecFirm.

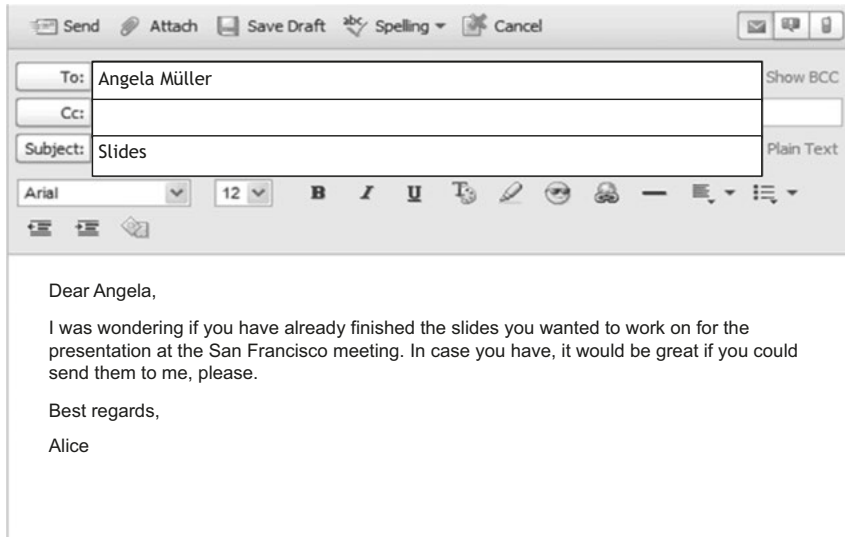


<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110630466-007>



Background: Angela and Alice are co-workers. They occupy similar positions and work at different offices of the same company. Angela had promised to send slides for a presentation they are preparing together and which is supposed to be presented at a meeting in San Francisco in 2 weeks.





Appendix IV: Report with preliminary results (case study)

Research-based consultancy work: Communication between Germany and Brazil at HC-comp

Researcher: Milene Mendes de Oliveira

Universität Potsdam

August, 2016

Outline

- Interview results
 - Insights on general business communication
 - Success
 - Respect
 - Conflict
 - Cooperation
 - Communication with Brazil: General impressions from the headquarters
 - Communication with Germany: General impressions from the Brazilian branch
 - Level of English
 - Improving the level of English: suggestions
 - Analysis of simulated e-mails
- Preliminary analysis of REAL e-mails
 - Number of words and moves
 - Information giving and information request
 - Greetings and wishes
 - Openings and closings

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Insights on general business communication

Ideas and keywords on success, respect, conflict, and cooperation in business communication

Success in business communication

Germans

- Clear/objective information (3x)
- Getting the culture right (3x)
- Listening (2x)
- Win-win
- Outcome-related
- Understanding
- Building bridges between parties
- Overcoming the sales x service competition
- Personal contact
- Preparation

Brazilians

- Transparency (not hiding information) (2x)
- Giving information
- Following agreements
- Active participation in problem-solving
- Trust
- Flexibility
- Alignment of objectives (HQ and Brazilian branch)
- Showing needs

Success in business communication

German interviewee: "Successful communication should be based on facts and clear information. Objectivity is important."

Brazilian interviewee: "Flexibility associated with strategic topics combined with the company's objectives are success factors."

Respect in business communication

Germans

- Understanding problems and limitations (4x)
- Politeness (2x)
- Listening (2x)
- Following deadlines/agreements
- To consider the counterpart's standpoint and background
- To adapt to the counterpart's style
- 'Digesting' the other party's opinions (not necessarily agreeing, but at least considering them)
- Objectivity
- Culture-related
- Show you have time
- Trust your counterpart

Brazilians

- Doing things 'the right way' (no 'jeitinho brasileiro')
- Following deadlines/agreements
- Sharing information
- Showing trustworthiness
- Patient-oriented thinking
- Listening
- Valuing the other party's problem
- Structure for commonly planned actions + flexibility
- Compromise
- Truth

Respect in business communication

Respect being associated, by both sides, with 'meeting deadlines':

German interviewee: "That is different from branch to branch. For us, we have a deadline when information needs to be reported, but we always have the same companies or branches not reporting before the deadline. And the reactions of the companies are very very different. Some branches react 5 minutes later when I write them and some others 2 weeks later!"

Brazilian interviewee: "Sometimes we cannot do things within the deadline, but we can still do them. We just have to explain to them [headquarters] and inform them the reason why we can't give them the information on the day they would like to receive it. So I always try to align very closely the activities that I have to do with them, so I can avoid misunderstandings and things like that."

Conflict in business communication

Germans

- Normal
- Healthy
- Important (allowing for different views)
- Culture-related
- Shouldn't get personal (2x)
- Shouldn't be ignored
- Based on different goals (2x)
- Differences in priorities
- Misunderstanding of facts
- Sometimes requires escalation to be solved
- Demands patience

Brazilians

- Based on different goals
- Should be avoided
- Culture-related
- Resulting from uneven sharing of information
- Service x sale competition
- Arising from lack of interest from the counterpart
- No local thinking from HQ (2x)
- Lack of flexibility
- Demands patience

Conflict in business communication

Brazilian interviewee: “I prefer to avoid conflicts... I try to find another way and try to do things in a calm way.”

German interviewee: “Conflict is part of the daily work. It happens due to priority of tasks, misunderstandings of facts. My target is that we have the same understanding for the definition of the facts. When this happens, most conflicts are gone.”

Cooperation in business communication

Germans

- To have a common goal
- Same understanding of the target
- Giving feedback enhances cooperation
- Paying attention
- Listening
- (made possible through) description of roles and responsibilities
- Giving clear and additional information
- Making yourself available for answering questions
- Preparing well for meetings
- Doing joint actions instead of giving orders
- Offering extra information
- CC-ing managers in some e-mails enhances cooperation

Brazilians

- Quick answers to inquiries
- Flow in communication
- Professionalism
- Both parties going in the same direction
- Exchange of information
- Seeing things from the counterpart's perspective

Cooperation in business communication

German interviewee: “The best cooperation happens when the roles and responsibilities are clearly described. Colleagues work with different projects, time-pressure, priorities. . . It can happen sometimes that people work too much, actually more than necessary, or sometimes less, because they do not know exactly what their roles and responsibilities are.”

Brazilian interviewee: “If there are projects in the future, a good way to show cooperation is to anticipate the region’s needs and requirements based on past project experiences.”

Communication with Brazil: General impressions from the headquarters

Communication with Brazil

General impressions from the headquarters:

- Really motivated
- Keen to make projects successful
- Showing respect is decisive
- Hierarchy plays a big role in Brazil
- More formal than other Latin Americans; not so structured as Europeans;
- Emotional
- Private connections are important
- Getting personal advantages is important
- Sometimes, they seem not to read e-mails through and do not respond to all inquiries/topics, just part of them.
- Vague e-mail communication sometimes
- Chilly and friendly (not so 'bad-tempered' as other south Americans)
- Criticism is avoided
- Writing short and objective e-mails
- Difficulty to schedule meetings (timezone differences, not possible to schedule through internal outlook system) (2x)
- Difficulty to carry out online meetings due to technical problems
- More relaxed (2x)
- They laugh more than Germans (and this is nice)
- Sometimes feedback has to be requested more than once
- Trying to adapt to German culture (with punctuality, for example)
- Due to local difficulties, some projects do not go ahead

Communication with Brazil: German views

“When it comes to certain projects, they [the Brazilian team] are really motivated and keen to make it successful. What is really important for them is respect – that both parties respect each other and that a good working atmosphere exists.”

“It’s more or less the cliché, let’s say... Standard clichés, like Germans are more punctual and Brazilians not. Sometimes I am waiting 10 minutes and then they arrive, very relaxed... but I know that. But at the same time, they also try to adapt a little bit. It’s just better weather, so it’s okay if they are more relaxed. I am also a bit more relaxed than the standard German, so it’s not a problem.”

Communication with Brazil: German views

“Sometimes they [Brazilians] want something, they want to go on with a project, but after a while they recognize they have to approve this from the top management to see if they will get the budget for it. Because budget is always a topic in Brazil – and it is completely understandable. So, what happens is that they say: ‘may be we have to wait a few weeks and see if we really have the signature, then we can go on.’”

“General complaints about Brazilare: people just want information, they ask for more and for more and it never gets anywhere. Unfortunately, some people set their minds already and think that if they have to talk to Brazilians, things are not going to happen or will be delayed.”

Communication with Brazil: German views

“It seems that we care a lot more about deadlines than our colleagues. It happens a lot that we need feedback for something till a certain date and nothing happens on the right date. To me, it is okay if they tell me I can’t give you this feedback till this date, but only two weeks after that. Or just tell me ‘I’m sorry, I don’t have the time, can’t help you there’. But sometimes it just never happens.”

Communication with Germany: General impressions from the Brazilian branch

Communication with Germany: Brazilian views

General impressions from the Brazilian branch

- Very polite
- Seeing things straight
- A bit square
- Logical
- Transparent, clear (2x)
- Direct (2x)
- Straight to the point
- Inflexible
- Not thinking locally
- Have difficulties to understand Brazilian concerns
- Giving quick e-mail answers that do not address the topic being discussed (2x)

Communication with Germany: Brazilian views

“If a German asks a question, to continue the conversation in a good way, first you have to answer exactly what they are asking. If you are talking, for instance, with Latin Americans, they are more disorganized and they are more flexible when they are talking.”

“They are clear... Latin American people are more friendly and Germans are ‘right to the point’. This is a big difference... How they organize their thinking is also different. This is good. Latin Americans need to learn how to structure their thinking from Germans.”

Communication with Germany: Brazilian views

“They are direct. But the problem [with some people in the HQ] is not with being direct, but being inflexible. When I ask if they can do something and they can’t do it and they only say ‘no’, this gives the impression they are being inflexible. If they say: ‘not now, but we can try to look for a solution for that in the future’, then it’s much better and we have the impression they are concerned about our problems.”

“Lack of information, knowledge and open mind in most cases starts to generate conflicts, because they [German team] have some expectations on what we are doing in Latin America based on their EU culture. Not only in terms of procedures, but also in terms of timing.”

“In some cases we have a solution [for problems arising between HQ and Brazilian branch], but in other cases this does not happen because of agendas or because some of the people cannot participate [in a meeting], are not interested and even do not answer. Here, again, it is a matter of respect. For some of them, we are not important enough to spend some minutes with.”

Communication with Germany: Brazilian views

“Germans are more direct than us and sometimes they are more sincere. Even when we are in meetings, for instance. Sometimes, they say things we would never say because it would be kind of offensive. And for them it’s normal. This is something we learn it is okay, because it is their culture.”

Level of English

Level of English

Germans

- Half of the German team reported they have no difficulties talking to the Brazilian branch.
- The other half reported having had difficulties in communication due to English level of some people in the Brazilian branch.

Brazilians

- In general, Brazilians reported that both sides have difficulties in communication, but on the level of technical or business English, communication can be successful.
- Two people reported having bigger difficulties with phone calls and webex sessions where connection is problematic.

Level of English

German interviewee: “Most of the colleagues [in Brazil] can speak English quite well, but some of them have difficulties, especially on the phone. And it seems that there is some thing that prevents them from saying ‘I can’t understand it, can you say that again?’”

Brazilian interviewee: “It’s difficult, because when you don’t know the language well, you don’t get to communicate properly. But it is intimidating if you are in a group where people know more than you.”

Improving the level of English: suggestions

Germans

- Practice, practice, practice – by calling colleagues more often, for instance
- English class or ‘discussion evenings’ in English, or going to a restaurant regularly and speaking English there
- Hiring an English native-speaker
- Each team having at least one person who is fluent in English

Brazilians

- Self-learning
- Having employees more fluent in English in each project (so that they help their colleagues)
- Paying attention to non-verbal language during communication
- Living abroad for sometime
- Counting on the boss for help
- Hiring native English speakers
- Never stop learning

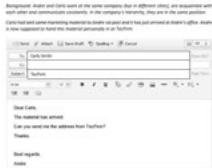
Improving the level of English: suggestions

German interviewee: “My suggestion: ‘speak more often! Just call me and don’t spend one hour to write an e-mail’... That is what I also experienced, I felt my English was not really good and I guess I improved it a lot just by using it.”

Brazilian interviewee: “Most people stop working on their English as soon as they are able to convey their ideas in English and do not care about improving it anymore. I believe people should invest their time not only on being able to get by in English but on becoming very good communicators.”

Analysis of simulated e-mails

1



2



- Most Brazilians prefer the second one (Braz. Interviewee: “This sentence, ‘I hope everything is going well with you’, brings people closer.”)
- Most Germans would prefer something in-between (Ger. Interviewee: “Number 1 is too short; number 2 is too friendly.”)
- Both groups, however, emphasize it depends on the relationship, e-mail frequency between both parties, etc and say they could change their style depending on these factors.

Analysis of simulated e-mails

1



2



Most Brazilians and Germans prefer email 2, but some report not having a problem with 1 (if they know Angela well, or if it is the second reminder, etc).

Almost half of the Germans highlighted the acronym ASAP is quite unfriendly/impolite.

And now the preliminary analysis of REAL e-mails...

Number of words and moves

Average number of words per e-mail: headquarters – 100.53; Brazil – 80

Average number of 'moves' per e-mail: headquarters – 10.83; Brazil – 8.22

```

718881
71888821 Hello RE Opening
71888822 Welcome back! Closing
71888823 I already send you the final agenda with ours inputs (follow attached again). (increased) information giving
71888824 Regarding the information that you asked me I will send you back until January 27th. Promise
71888825 So, next week I will be out of the office. Information giving
71888826 so let's schedule a video or call during the week if to finalize the format. Suggestion
71888827 all the best! Closing
71888828 SE Signature
    
```

Brazilian e-mail with 'moves' classification (on the right) / RE = receiver / SE = Sender See explanation below.

} moves

A move is the 'intention' of each sentence (e.g., apology, complaint, information giving, information request, etc.). However, one sentence can have more than one move (e.g., the sentence 'Thank you and best regards' has a 'thanking' move and a 'closing' move).

```

88881 Hi RE Opening
88882 I am pleased to see that you are already in the REB again. Closing
88883 You better have to be ready. Closing
88884 We are not sure if we can have a meeting and you have to be ready. Closing
88885 If there is no change of date possible, we will stay with the original meeting and REB and will look for the right opportunity. Information giving
88886 We will keep you informed. Information giving
88887 Regarding the agenda, we will continue to work on the agenda and we will keep you informed. Information giving
88888 I already send you the final agenda with our inputs (follow attached again). Information giving
88889 Also, please let me know if you have any questions regarding the agenda or if you need any other information. Information giving
88890 This can be signed directly to get more information in REB2 mode. Information giving
88891 Best regards from REB. Closing
    
```

German e-mail with 'moves' classification / RE = receiver / SE = Sender / Words in capital letters replace names and places that have been omitted due to confidentiality measures.


So...

Contrary to what you might think...

Brazilians DO NOT write longer e-mails than Germans! 

Now, take a look at these interview excerpts:

German interviewee: “Sometimes I have the feeling they [Brazilian colleagues] don't really read my e-mails. Sometimes I send an e-mail with 3 questions and I just get an answer for I.”

 This might be related to the fact that Brazilians are used to e-mails with fewer ‘moves’.

However,

two Brazilians reported having the same problem with the HQ:

Brazilian interviewee: “Sometimes they don’t have time to read e-mails and when they do it, they do it really quickly, and they understand what they want. And they answer what they want and also quickly because they want to solve the problem quickly.”

Brazilian interviewee: “Sometimes people see the e-mail and answer something completely differently. It happened more than once.”

So...

It seems everybody – Germans and Brazilians - should be careful not only when writing by also when responding attentively to e-mails!

Structure is appreciated. . .

And this is what a Brazilian interviewee said about the 'German way to structure e-mails', which he appreciates:

"My colleagues in the headquarters are very transparent, clear, direct. I like it. They have a different form to write e-mail: they use a lot of topics, bullet points. They say 'I have questions for you'.. and then they divide them in topics."

Information giving and information request

'Information giving' moves

- Brazilian corpus – 29.3%
- German corpus – 44.6%

'Information request' moves

- Brazilian corpus – 7.8%
- German corpus – 5.7%

Interestingly, one group of 'information request' moves could be set apart from the rest; that describing 'urgent information request.' In this case, the Brazilian e-mails showed 9 occurrences while only 1 could be identified in the German e-mails. This type of request is usually accompanied by expressions such as 'maximum next week', 'as soon as possible' or the acronym ASAP.

FR002	Dear Mr.	Closing
FR002	How are you doing?	Greeting
FR002	I hope you well.	Greeting
FR002	Who are sending the editable (over the link) in English about TOPIC, like as the file attached.	Request information request
FR002	Could you send for edit the material in English asap please?	Request information request
FR002	Who have this category because we have an event that we will use this material, but before we need translate it.	Explanation
FR002	Please see the your attention.	Greeting
FR002	Best regards,	Closing
FR002	SE	Signature

As shown in slide 28, Germans tend NOT to be the greatest fans of ASAP...

So, try to be careful there, Brazilians! 📧

Greetings and wishes

The 'going straight into business' tendency of the German oral business communication already identified in previous studies seems to have an equivalent also in written communication, where informational moves, in the beginning, tend to be favored in contrast with greetings and wishes. However, Germans tend to be more consistent expressing their wishes towards the other party at the end of their e-mails than their Brazilian counterparts.

FR002	Hi Mr.	Closing
FR002	I'm starting with table of work of a process for me.	Information giving
FR002	Regarding the case for service to our case.	Information giving
FR002	I'm coming in FR002 and also in FR002.	Information giving
FR002	How is important that I also in total when he sufficient.	Information giving
FR002	I'll be you know.	Promise
FR002	Have a kind regard.	Wishes
FR002	Kind regards,	Closing
FR002	SE	Signature

Wishes in a German e-mail

FR002	hello SE,	Closing
FR002	I hope you are well.	Greeting
FR002	Please before my answer to read.	Information giving
FR002	So, I'm free to complete with your needs, ideas and other points.	Information giving
FR002	Because that, I would like to use this opportunity to tell you a preview of table of agenda for Mexico, considering my answer before.	Request
FR002	Also, as I'm answering you right now, we can discuss more about this on Friday.	Suggestion
FR002	As best.	Closing
FR002	SE	Signature

Greetings in a Brazilian e-mail

And now... should Germans adapt to the Brazilian style or Brazilians adapt to the German style???

Neither! Sometimes it is enough to know how certain things are conventionalized in a culture. This cultural background might prevent us from making deeper personal assumptions and assessments (e.g., 's/he is so unfriendly!') and might help us interpret actions more objectively.

As you will see in the next point (openings), 'cultural adaptation' tends to happen anyway, even when we are not very conscious of it...

Openings

88.7% of Brazilian e-mails have openings (hi, hello, dear, etc)

91.3% of German e-mails have openings

Type of closing opening	German e-mails	Brazilian e-mails
Starting with 'dear'	39.3%	55.3%
Starting with 'hi, hello, hola'	53.6%	40.4%
Others (e.g., good morning + name; name only, etc.)	7.1%	4.3%

Once 'dear' is usually recognized as more formal than 'hi' or 'hello', the interpretation here could be that senders try to adapt to the receiver's culture. In several interviews with research participants from Germany, Brazilian informality and more relaxed style were mentioned. Thus, the use of 'hi' and 'hello' might be an attempt from Germans to comprise to this style.

Closings

68.9% of Brazilian e-mails have closings (Best regards, Kind regards, etc)

92.4% of German e-mails have closings

60.6% of Brazilian e-mails without a closing have ‘thanking’ as the move preceding the signature

TEXT1	Closing
TEXT2	Apologies
TEXT3	Feedback giving
TEXT4	Information giving
TEXT5	Signature
TEXT6	Information giving
TEXT7	Information giving
TEXT8	Promise
TEXT9	Information request
TEXT10	Thanking
TEXT11	Signature

So, ‘thankyou’, for Brazilians, seems to work as a closing move as well.

And speaking of ‘closings’...

Good-bye!

Thank you for your attention!

Appendix V: Informed consent (main study)

TERM OF INFORMED CONSENT

Dear participant,

You are being invited to participate in a PhD research project on the topic of negotiations. The project is under my responsibility. The research aims at analyzing how negotiations are acted out and understood by negotiators. Your collaboration involves participating in an interview conducted by the researcher and/or allowing the researcher to record (a) meeting(s)/teleconference(s) you will be taking part in.

The results will be used for academic purposes only. You are not obliged to participate in the research. You are allowed to give up participating in the research at any time. When data about the study is published, your name will not be disclosed. Thus, I guarantee anonymity for all participants. The results will be available to all participants as soon as data analysis is finalized.

In case you have any questions regarding the procedures adopted in the research, you can contact the responsible researcher under the contact information provided below.

If you feel sufficiently clarified, I request the courtesy to sign your agreement in the space below:

I, (your name), agree to participate in this research project.

.....

Signature

Please, write down your e-mail address:

.....

Researcher's contact information:

Name: Milene Mendes de Oliveira

Address: Department of English and American Studies

University of Potsdam

Haus 19 – Am Neuen Palais 10

14469 Potsdam – Germany

Thank you for your participation!

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110630466-009>

Appendix VI: Informed consent (case study)

RESEARCH-BASED CONSULTANCY WORK
COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GERMAN AND BRAZILIAN OFFICES OF A
HEALTHCARE COMPANY
General information

About the project

The research-based consultancy work is part of a PhD research project being conducted at the University of Potsdam, more specifically at the Department Of English and American Studies. For this project I have already collected data from workers from different companies and sectors.

I have been analyzing a number of aspects of workplace interaction including how people use talk to get things done at work, and also if and how culture influences the way people use English to communicate with their peers overseas.

What will I (the researcher) do?

I want to identify strategies used by people who communicate internally with their peers from the other country. To do this I need to find out how people actually talk to each other as they go about their work. To work out the best way of capturing an accurate picture of your communication, I will spend time finding out about your communication and workplace, analyzing e-mails exchanged by employees, and interviewing a number of volunteers (with the approval of your employer). If you agree, we will also record one or more teleconferences you have with your colleagues overseas.

I will then take the recordings away, transcribe them, and analyze the communication patterns. (I will replace real names with pseudonyms to protect your identity). Afterwards, I will give you a summary of the results, and check whether you or your participating colleagues would like any other sort of feedback, such as a workshop. You are free to withdraw from participating in the research at any stage of the process.

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110630466-010>

What will the data be used for?

The information, e-mails, and recordings we collect from you will be used only for these purposes: (i) research; (ii) publications and presentations based on this research; and (iii) evaluation and development of workplace communication.

Who will have access to the data?

All information collected as part of this project will be stored securely by myself, the researcher. Only me and possibly also other authorized researchers from the *Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* will have access to this material. We will not play any recordings to other staff or managers in your organization, or put them to any commercial use without your express permission.

Additional information

1. *Some specific examples of potential benefits*

- Identification of excellent communication skills has consistently proved beneficial to people in workplaces where this type of research-based consultancy work has been applied before.
- Analysis of interactional procedures often identifies what really works, as well as areas where things could be improved: eg. making people feel welcome and included, making sure people feel heard, making explicit what happens next and who takes responsibility, the importance of social elements, etc.
- Analysis of how people obtain cooperation, how a group reaches decisions, how a manager expresses criticism etc. can raise awareness of the skills involved and provide a basis for discussion, reflection, and improvement.
- I can offer a workshop or seminar based on our findings for all the staff.

2. *Confidentiality issues*

- Identities of participants will be carefully protected. I am going to change references of any kind, eg. to names, concepts, or places, which could be identifying.
- Material is locked away and real names are never used in any material.

3. **Feedback to researcher**

- Those who participate will be given the opportunity to talk to me afterwards in order to give me some feedback on the experience.

If you agree with the abovementioned information and consent to participate in the study, please check the box and sign below:

() I give permission for audio/video recordings of my talk at work (through interviews and teleconferences) as well as for the analysis of e-mails previously selected by myself for the study. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed without my permission under any circumstances.

Full name _____

Place and date: _____ **Signature:** _____

Researcher
Milene Mendes de Oliveira, M.A.

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