"I tell you what we could do, we could say, cut it to a hundred and ninety-five, and offer you a significant discount on breakfast"

Expressing Commitment in Business Discourse:
An Empirical Analysis of Offers in Irish English Negotiations

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Thus, all the parties are aware [...] that *the way* negotiations are carried out is almost as important as what is negotiated. (KISSINGER 1969: 218 on the Vietnam negotiations; original emphasis)
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Picture 2: Participants' seating, meeting room of the Faculty of Commerce, University of Galway.................................................................338
Abbreviations

A  act, action
App. appendix
approx. approximately
BATNA Best Alternative To a Negotiated Agreement
C Contra
CA conversation analysis
CCSARP Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project
cf. confer
contd. continued
CP continuation pattern
DCT Discourse Completion Task
DR delayed response
e.g. for example
EngE English English
F Feedback
FAI Football Association of Ireland
FDCT free discourse completion task
FTA face-threatening act
Ger. German
H hearer
HA H's action-referred speech act
HS H's state-referred speech act
I 1. Initiate
2. impersonal
  i.e. that is
Ir1, Ir2, Ir3, Ir4 Irish negotiation #1, #2, #3, #4
Ir1-Ir4 subsuming all negotiations of the present study
Ir1A, Ir2A, Ir3A, Ir4A tour operator/buyer in negotiation #1, #2, #3, #4
Ir1B, Ir2B, Ir3B, Ir4B hotel manager/seller in negotiation #1, #2, #3, #4
IrE Irish English
L1 first language
L2 second language
MESOs multiple equivalent simultaneous offers
MT-GCH Neg. Simulation Munster Trips-Grand Canal Hotel Negotiation Simulation
NP noun phrase
NRN new relationship negotiation

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Writing conventions

The masculine pronouns he, his, himself, etc. will be used throughout this study as generic forms to refer to indefinite pronouns (e.g. someone), as well as to nouns such as negotiator, speaker, hearer, etc., which, of course, also include female persons. This solution was thought more practical and reader-friendly than using the text-disruptive – though politically more correct – constructions such as he/she, his/her, himself/herself, or gender-neutral pronouns (e.g. they, their).
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0 Introduction

The communication of offers is central to the bargaining process; hence an understanding of negotiation requires an understanding of concessional patterns. The study of offers and concessions has a long history. [...] Nevertheless, gaps in our understanding exist, thus a variety of extensions and modifications of current research would improve our theoretical insights on the role of offers in negotiation. (TUTZAUER 1992: 79-80)

0.1 Focus of the study

The quotation by TUTZAUER, a communication scholar rooted in a social scientific tradition, aptly summarises the intention of the present study: to fill gaps in the understanding of offers in the negotiation process. My aim is to add a linguistic perspective by shedding light on the occurrence, form, meaning, and function of offers in business negotiations, as well as on how they are elicited and responded to in this type of speech event. Simulated negotiations conducted by Irish English business professionals serve as linguistic data material.

It seems obvious to regard offers as typical elements of negotiations. However, the literature review and data analysis process reveal that the topic is much more complex than initially expected. For instance, the first working hypothesis that the phenomenon of interest would be subsumed under the term offer requires revision at an early stage: in fact, the phenomenon is called different names in the non-linguistic literature (offer, bid, proposal, concession, promise, etc.) and given different metapragmatic labels in the linguistic literature (offer, promise, guarantee, etc.). Contrary to what many how-to books on negotiation imply, it is evident from looking at the present negotiation corpus that price offers are not the only type of offer which play a major role in negotiations.

One of the first steps when approaching the topic of offers in negotiations is to arrive at a sound definition of offer which integrates speech act theoretic concepts, insights gained from non-linguistic negotiation research, as well as popular scientific approaches to offers in negotiation. Present-day monolingual English dictionaries are useful to grasp the different meanings of the lexeme offer (as noun and verb) as they occur in today's English (THE OED ONLINE 1989; OALD 2000; DCE 1995; NODE 1998; AHDEL 2003). The following key features are common to all dictionaries consulted:

a) An offer is the act of expressing one's willingness or intention to do something.

b) There is an interactional dimension involved in the utterance of offers: when offering something (a good, service, plan, etc.), the speaker (S) presents it to the hearer (H) for acceptance, refusal, or consideration. S's obligation to do something depends on H's acceptance: "To present or tender for acceptance or refusal;
to hold out (a thing) to a person to take if he or she so desires" and "To propose or express one's readiness (to do something) if the person addressed assents" (both The OED Online 1989, added emphases).\(^1\)

c) An offer may imply an exchange between S and H: S is willing to offer H something because S gets something in return. In this connection, offer can denote the amount of money (price) S is willing to pay for something, or – in the sense of making something available for sale – the price at which S is willing to sell something.

In these dictionaries, several lexemes are explicitly identified as synonyms of or terms related to offer: proffer, tender, bid, propose/proposal. Alternatively, the lexemes are used in the various definitions of offer to paraphrase its meaning (and vice versa).\(^2\) However, these words have narrower meanings than offer. They may focus on the physical act of presenting an object to somebody for acceptance or rejection (e.g. to proffer a hand), on the offering of a verbal good such as opinion or advice (e.g. to proffer an opinion), or they are used in formal contexts such as business and legal contexts (e.g. to make a 1,000 Euro bid for the vase at an auction; to bid for a contract; to bid to host the next Paralympics; to tender one's resignation; to tender an oath; a public tender for the city's newest construction project; to propose a motion or a change in law, a proposal for structural reform).

As far as a speech act theoretic definition is concerned, the dictionary definitions of offer and its related terms can only be used as a starting point. According to Kasper (1981: 98), the labels for speech acts are termini technici which may deviate from everyday usage. A first inspection of the Irish English business negotiation data shows that in order to capture all aspects which are of interest, the present study requires a definition of offer which is broader than what this brief review of dictionary definitions reveals. My definition of offer in the context of negotiations therefore subsumes related terms such as bid, proposal, concession, promise, guarantee, pledge, and statement of commitment, the most significant common denominator being their commissive illocutionary force.

Throughout the study I highlight the similarities and differences between the type of offers speakers typically make in everyday conversation and the type of offers (as defined in the present study) they make in negotiations. I distinguish between the two notions in the following way: whenever I review and discuss how offers are treated in the literature, or refer to offers which are typical of everyday conversation, the word is spelled with a lower case o (mainly in Part 1 of the thesis, the "Theoretical Framework"). From Part 2 of the thesis, called "Empirical Study", I capitalise the term Offer whenever I refer to the object of investigation of this study.

\(^1\) Other aspects of meaning such as offer of marriage or offer in the sense of give something to God are not considered here.

0.2 General context and relevance

The present investigation claims that the outcome or final decision at the end of a negotiation is the result of the interactive dealing with offers during the negotiation process. The general importance of offers, proposals, concessions, etc. and their strategic potential is recognised both by negotiation researchers, particularly in social psychology and experimental economics (e.g. RUBIN & BROWN 1975; HAMMER & YUKL 1977; ROTH & MURNIGHAN 1982; MAYNARD 1984; TUTZAUER 1992), and by authors of best-selling how-to negotiate guides (e.g. FISHER, URY & PATTON 1991; BAGULEY 2000; LEWICKI ET AL. 2003; MALHOTRA 2006), as seen in the following exemplary quotation (as well as in the introductory quote from TUTZAUER):

Concessions are central to negotiation. Without them, in fact, negotiations would not exist. If one side is not prepared to make concessions, the other side must capitulate or the negotiations will deadlock. (LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 76)

However, very few empirical studies on negotiation examine offer utterances and sequences in detail. In studies in linguistic pragmatics, offers have rarely been investigated, unlike other speech acts, like requests, apologies, complaints, or compliment responses. If researchers do analyse offers, they primarily focus on offers found in everyday conversation (e.g. WUNDERLICH 1977; HANCHER 1979; EDMONDSON 1981; MATOBA 1996; BARRON 2003). The current study seeks to contribute to filling this gap.

Offers are regarded as a particularly interesting object of study because they indicate a negotiator's willingness to give something, to make a concession, to cooperate with the other party. NEUMANN, who studies requests in negotiations, advocates a focus on such cooperative strategies:

I take it that 'requesting' would be seen as belonging to the 'older model'. Focusing on the relational side of negotiations is in line with modern negotiation theory of the Fisher/Ury school. I agree that 'positive' cooperative strategies should be focused on […]. (NEUMANN 1995: 31)

The study of offers can thus help to find out how outcomes are achieved and how decisions are made. Apart from this generic interest in offers and negotiations, the results may also be relevant to the teaching of business negotiation skills, both in a first language (L1) and second language (L2) context. PLANKEN emphasises the need for special modules on business negotiation within business communication programmes:

Analyses of skills needs among post-graduate business students have shown that the emphasis in the higher management positions they tend to end up in is on oral skills in meetings, negotiations and presentations, rather than on the written skills which have traditionally received the bulk of attention in business communication and administration programmes, and more particularly in foreign language modules. (PLANKEN 2002: 4, referring to LOUHLALA-SALMINEN 1996; MAES, ICENOGLE & WELDY 1997 and others)

The L2 teaching context is particularly relevant when it comes to intercultural business contacts. Here, speakers misunderstand each other more often than in intracultural encounters where they are more likely to share cultural background knowledge and a common communication mode (cf. MARTIN 2001; FLYNN & MORLEY 2002;
O'Reilly 2003). Misunderstandings may have severe consequences: if a negotiation goes awry, a company may suffer economic losses, and a potential long-term business relationship may be jeopardised. The business relationship between the negotiators – and hence between the companies they represent – is also negatively affected if the negotiating parties’ relationship is disturbed on a personal level. For instance, the speaker may verbally offend the other party because he violates a politeness norm which is typical of the other culture but of which he is unaware. The avoidance of intercultural miscommunication on both the business and the personal level is thus paramount to the success of international business transactions. This, however, requires intimate knowledge about the cultures of the negotiating parties.

The present study can be used to raise hypotheses about characteristics of Irish business negotiations, but the small sample size (four negotiations) inhibits any generally valid insights into typical Irish negotiation styles. The tools developed to describe offers in negotiations lay the groundwork for contrastive and more quantitatively-oriented research. They are flexible enough to allow future modifications.

0.3 Research objectives and questions

One purpose of the present study is to provide a comprehensive review of literature on offers in negotiations. The most important research objective, however, is the development of analytical tools that can be used to describe the nature of offers in business negotiations on different discourse levels. This description serves to uncover recurrent patterns on the micro level and macro level of the interactions under study.

The research is guided by three major questions: how are offers made, what are they about, and when are they made? These questions can be further explicated as follows:

(1) How can offers be defined in the context of negotiations?

(2) Which functions do offers fulfil in negotiations? To what degree are they different from the functions of offers in everyday conversation?

(3) Are there recurrent patterns in the way the Irish participants realise offers linguistically? Which conversational strategies do they prefer? How are these supported?

(4) What is the interactional structure of offer sequences? Are there any characteristic patterns in relation to what happens immediately before an offer is uttered (i.e. how are offers elicited), and to how the interlocutor responds to the offer?

(5) Are there any differences between seller and buyer behaviours?

(6) What are the overall patterns in offer-making?

Based on these linguistic findings, an attempt is made to bring attention to the strategic value of offers in a business relationship.
0.4 Methodological and theoretical approach

The present study takes an integrative approach by combining different methodologies and theories. The approach is eclectic, but not arbitrary. In fact, it is similar to LAMPI's investigation of linguistic components of negotiation strategy:

The present study is based on the concept of levels of discoursality [...]. Thus an analysis of negotiation interaction will not be enough to describe the strategy utilized; neither will concentration on illocutionary values of acts provide the required type of information. The level of propositional content must also be analyzed. (LAMPI 1986: 55)

While LAMPI analyses strategy in general, I focus on offers: how they are in fact dealt with by the Irish English negotiators, and if and how they can be used strategically.

The data observations made during the initial stages of the analytical process influence my choice of methodological/theoretical approach(es). The process is characterised by an alternation between close scrutiny of the data and the consultation of relevant literature, resulting in a linguistic pragmatic approach to negotiation discourse. Linguistic pragmatics has often been criticised for remaining too closely connected with its philosophical origins, i.e. ordinary language philosophy. Analyses are said to be restricted to single utterances isolated from the surrounding discourse, and to rely on intuited, introspective data (cf. THOMAS 1995: 199-200). However, since the 1980s there have been studies which show that particularly the second aspect of this critique no longer holds true (e.g. EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981; SCHNEIDER 1988; BLUM-KULKA, HOUSE & KASPER 1989b; BARRON 2003). The present research is a further step in this direction. It goes beyond the micro level of negotiation, i.e. the identification of individual offer utterances and the analysis of their realisations. On the macro level, interactional phenomena are taken into account, i.e. which interactional slots offers can fill, if and how this speech act is motivated by the preceding linguistic context, and how H responds to it. Hence, a holistic bottom-up approach is suggested, beginning with the definition of the smallest unit, the act, followed by the move, the exchange, the sequence, the phase, and leading to the largest unit, the whole speech event negotiation.

Within linguistic pragmatics, speech act theory is the most obvious starting-point (e.g. SEARLE 1969; WUNDERLICH 1977), but in order to study interactional aspects of offers, discourse analysis is added as a second approach (e.g. SINCLAIR & COULTHARD 1975; EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981). Lastly, concepts from conversation analysis (e.g. regarding the sequential structure of offer organisation, how interlocutors construct and coordinate their offer talk) are integrated in order to interpret some previously inexplicable discoursal features. I believe that these approaches complement each other well in the present study, despite the differing basic assumptions.³

³ Other linguistic studies giving detailed reasons for combining different approaches are, for instance, KASPER (1981: 84-85) and BUBEL (2006: 69-70). Also note LEVINSON (1983: 287), who tentatively suggests that "[t]here may well seem to be room for some kind of accommodation or even synthesis between the two positions [i.e. conversation and discourse analysis]".
0.5 Participants, data, and type of study

The corpus of the study consists of transcripts of Irish English dyadic business negotiations. Eight Irish business people took part in face-to-face intracultural negotiation simulations which were audio- and videotaped. In the analysis, only the verbal interaction is taken into account and coded according to the categories developed specifically for the present investigation. Questionnaires, which the participants filled out before and after the negotiations, serve to gather biographical and simulation-specific information.

The data can be regarded as natural discourse, even though the situation was artificial in which the data were collected (i.e. they result from a simulated setting). Naturalness is here understood in Neumann’s sense, who defines it as follows (in reference to role plays): "'Natural' here means that the speakers speak as they would in other similar situations, speaking their mother tongue or a foreign language" (Neumann 1995: 35). The recordings yield a total of approximately two hours and 15 minutes of spoken data.

The coding of the negotiation data by means of a qualitative data analysis (QDA) software programme allows taking statistical aspects into account too. The quantitative analysis is, however, restricted to the description of absolute and relative frequencies. The results are not representative in a statistical sense; the study aims at generating, not testing hypotheses. Nevertheless, the data are sufficient to reach my research objective of detecting characteristic patterns of offer-making in business negotiations. The analysis of the negotiation data is an in-depth case study and consequently qualitative in outline. Although much has been said against qualitative studies, especially in terms of representativity and generalisability (cf. Sturman 1997; Peräkylä 1997), they provide valuable research results. Martin notes:

> Whilst it remains desirable for those adopting an interpretive approach to negotiation to study a number of encounters, the detailed exploration of a single negotiation encounter is deemed to be of value for the insights which it brings to an emic understanding of interactive management in a specific setting. Given that it is the parties who create meaning on the basis of their response to the particular constellation of themes, situational considerations, and affective issues such as the interpersonal relationship between the participants, the merits of addressing each negotiation on an individual basis are apparent. (Martin 2001: 104)

In general, emphasis is laid upon quality criteria such as transparency of the research process, intersubjective verifiability of results, and an outline of the limitations of the study.

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*In the present study, the term* authentic negotiation *is equated with* naturally-occurring and real-life negotiation. *By contrast, simulated negotiation is used synonymously with* non-authentic (sometimes disparagingly called *artificial*) negotiation, *i.e. a negotiation elicited for research purposes in a controlled environment. Despite the different nature of the settings, both negotiation types yield* natural discourse or data. *
0.6 Notion of strategy

At this point it is necessary to include a few remarks on the notion of strategy. Two meanings are distinguished here. Firstly, concerning the identification of offers in the negotiation data, strategy refers to the specific way the head act is realised. The head act is the "the minimal unit which can realize [a particular speech act]" (BLUM-KULKA, HOUSE & KASPER 1989a: 275). This is the pragmalinguistic understanding of strategy held by the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP), an empirical project dealing with illocutionary acts from a cross-cultural (and interlanguage) perspective (cf., e.g. BLUM-KULKA & HOUSE 1989). EDMONDSON & HOUSE refer to it as conversational strategy:

The notion of Conversational Strategy is used here to interpret the way in which speakers make use of interactional structures in order to gain their conversational goals. However, we should be careful about assuming that a strategy is (always) a deliberate, or conscious use of language. Conventionalisation is so strong in conversational behaviour that strategies may be routinally employed. (EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981: 45)

Secondly, strategy can also have a broader meaning in the sense that the ways offers are made, elicited, and responded to are part of a superordinate negotiation strategy. This superordinate negotiation strategy serves to achieve a successful outcome. As a result, certain patterns of offer-making and eventually decision-making may emerge. To what degree these strategies are consciously planned or intended cannot be considered here; only observable features are taken into account (cf. LAMPI 1986: 9-11).

It is the second notion of strategy to which authors of negotiation manuals as well as negotiation researchers refer when discussing negotiation strategies. They further differentiate between strategy and tactic:

Although the line between strategy and tactics may seem indistinct, one major difference is that of scale, perspective, or immediacy. Tactics are short-term, adaptive moves designed to enact or pursue broad (or higher-level) strategies, which in turn provide stability, continuity, and direction for tactical behaviors. (LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 27)

Notwithstanding this existing difference between strategy and tactic, the terms are used interchangeably in the present study.

In sum, business negotiations can be seen as both a conversational activity and as a business activity (cf. LAMPI 1986: 2). Conversational strategies in the sense described above, which are employed within a negotiation, may in fact simultaneously serve as (part of) a negotiation or business strategy.

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5 Pragmalinguistics is the linguistic end of pragmatics. It is interested in "particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions" (LEECH 1983: 11), i.e. what strategies can be employed in the realisation of specific speech acts (e.g. which lexical items or syntactic structures are chosen). Hence, it refers to the relationship between the illocution (the speaker's intention) and the grammar of a particular language. By contrast, sociopragmatics is related to sociology and is concerned with who utters a specific speech act to whom in which social situation, at which stage of the discourse, how this is done and why. The distinction between pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics goes back to THOMAS (1981).
0.7 Ireland and Irish English

Investigations into negotiation have so far concentrated on the North American and Asian context (e.g. GRAHAM & ANDREWS 1987; TUNG 1996; KUMAR 1999). As far as studies of European countries are concerned, the focus has mainly been on Northern and Southern European cultures, such as Scandinavia and Spain (e.g. FANT 1993; GRINDSTED 1997; VILLEMOES 1995), although some studies examine the Dutch (e.g. LI 1999; ULIN & VERWEIJ 2000; PLANKEN 2002), German (e.g. NEUMANN 1997; HENNIG-SCHMIDT June 2002), French and British (CAMPBELL ET AL. 1988; MERK 1994; WIJST & ULIN 1995) cultures and languages too. Other countries, languages, and language varieties also seem worthy of note, if one considers the extensive – and indeed still expanding – international trade in the context of globalisation.

Until the 1980s, "Ireland was deemed an economic failure" (THE ECONOMIST 16 October 2004: 3); it had very high unemployment and inflation rates, slow growth rates as well as high public debts, to name but a few problematic areas. Today, Ireland is among the most prosperous and competitive economies within the European Union and OECD. This phenomenon has become known as the Celtic Tiger (cf., e.g. SWEENEY 1999; MAC SHARRY & WHITE 2000). The unprecedented economic success of Ireland started in the early 1990s and had its peak in the late 1990s with a 10% average GDP growth rate for the period from 1997 to 2000 (cf. ENTERPRISE IRELAND August 2006: 2). Foreign investments, which are a major factor in this success story, have increased tremendously over the past decades (cf. ENTERPRISE IRELAND August 2006: 2-3). It is therefore safe to assume that the number of intercultural business meetings and negotiations have increased, too. However, the only published research contribution on negotiations in Ireland to date is MARTIN's (2001) study of German-Irish sales negotiations.

Some might argue that English has long been recognised as the "international lingua franca of business" (PLANKEN 2002: 2), and that numerous English business communication textbooks have already been published. However, the lingua franca English cannot be treated as one homogeneous entity. Differences, especially on a pragmatic level, between the varieties of English – among them Irish English – should not be underestimated or neglected (cf. SCHNEIDER & BARRON 2008). Irish English as a language variety has been widely studied by now, but not as much as other varieties of English such as British or American English. There are still publications which do not even explicitly list Irish English as a variety of English – one example is the recently re-edited book English: One Language, Different Cultures by RONOWICZ & YALLOP (2007). Unlike New Zealand English, Irish English was not granted a separate chapter in this new edition.

There are plenty of books and articles with synopses of the characteristics of Irish English (e.g. BARRY 1982; KALLEN 1997; HICKEY 2005, 2007). They discuss exist-

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6 For instance, the economy grew in GDP terms by 5.4% in Ireland vs. 2.6% in the Euro area in 2006, cf. NATIONAL MANAGEMENT TREASURY AGENCY (March 2007: 2).
7 A comprehensive annotated bibliography of studies of Irish English is HICKEY (2002).
CHAPTER 0: Introduction

Research which covers not only all traditional areas of linguistics, from phonology and phonetics, morphology, syntax, to semantics and lexicography, but also sociolinguistic issues (e.g. language change and language politics). The studies which are quoted in these summaries approach the phenomena of interest mainly from a diachronic perspective. A much addressed issue is the controversy about whether Irish English was shaped by substratal influences of Irish or by the history and dialectal characteristics of English as the superstratum (language contact theory). The focus clearly lies on language form. Some publications specifically focus on regional and urban variants of Irish English, e.g. the English spoken in the north and south of Ireland in general and the English spoken in Dublin, Derry, or Belfast.

Since the late 1990s, the research focus of studies on Irish English has broadened to the area of pragmatics, which is the main approach chosen for the present investigation. A first up to date summary of empirical pragmatic research of Irish English is BARRON & SCHNEIDER's volume The Pragmatics of Irish English from 2005, followed by a volume on variational pragmatics which also covers Irish English (SCHNEIDER & BARRON 2008). The genres and social contexts, which are investigated from a pragmatic perspective, range from everyday conversation in the private and semi-public sphere (e.g. AMADOR MORENO 2005; BARRON 2005, 2008; CLANCY 2005; SCHNEIDER 1999, 2005, 2008; O'KEEFFE & ADOLPHS 2008), academic discourse (e.g. FARR & O'KEEFFE 2002; FARR 2003, 2005) and business discourse (e.g. MARTIN 2001, 2005; BINCHY 2005; CACCIAGUIDI-FAHY & FAHY 2005; ZILLES POHLE 2007) to mass media communication (e.g. FARR & O'KEEFFE 2002; KELLY-HOLMES 2005; O'KEEFFE 2005).

The studies make use of a wide range of data sources, including:

1. Written and spoken electronic corpora of naturally-occurring discourse (e.g. FARR & O'KEEFFE 2002; FARR 2003, 2005; BINCHY 2005; CLANCY 2005; KALLEN 2005a, 2005b; O'KEEFFE 2005; O'KEEFFE & ADOLPHS 2008), for instance the Limerick Corpus of Irish English or the Irish part of the International Corpus of English (ICE-Ireland)

2. Role plays and simulations (e.g. MARTIN 2001, 2005; BARRON 2003; ZILLES 2003, ZILLES POHLE 2007)

3. Interviews (e.g. CACCIAGUIDI-FAHY & FAHY 2005)

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8 Note that some authors used more than one type of data. For instance, MARTIN (2001, 2005) triangulated her simulation data through qualitative interviews, a review of sales training in Germany and Ireland, and pre- and post-simulation questionnaires. CACCIAGUIDI-FAHY & FAHY (2005) supplemented their interview data with postal surveys and participant observation.

9 The Limerick Corpus of Irish English consists of one million words of spoken discourse (cf. LIMERICK CORPUS OF IRISH-ENGLISH (L-CIE) s. d.; FARR, MURPHY & O'KEEFFE 2002).

10 The Irish part of the International Corpus of English (ICE-Ireland) contains one million words of spoken and written discourse in two sub-corpora; one from the Republic of Ireland, the other from Northern Ireland (cf. INTERNATIONAL CORPUS OF ENGLISH (ICE) s. d.; GREENBAUM 1996; KIRK ET AL. 2003).
Production questionnaires in various formats (e.g. SCHNEIDER 1999, 2005; SCHNEIDER & SCHNEIDER 2000; BARRON 2005, 2008)

Literary texts and/or anecdotal (ethnographic) material (e.g. AMADOR MORENO 2005; KALLEN 2005a, 2005b)

The main findings suggest that Irish English seems to be characterised by an indirect communication style, but some authors warn against "any generalization equating Irish English with indirectness" (BARRON & SCHNEIDER 2005: 9), because not all research results are 100% in line with this notion. Overall, Irish interlocutors tend to foster good interpersonal relationships, cooperation, solidarity, and group conformity. Even in competitive environments such as negotiations, their behaviour is largely non-assertive and non-confrontational. The researchers mentioned above base their results on the observation of linguistic features such as the use of hedges, discourse and politeness markers, listerhship devices, pronouns, address forms, small talk, the employment of face-maintenance and face-saving strategies, a high tolerance of silence, a preference for downgraders over upgraders as well as for indirect speech act realisation strategies.

Some of the studies described above are contrastive in outline, comparing Irish English to other languages (e.g. German: MARTIN 2001; BARRON 2003; ZILLES POHLE 2007) and varieties of English, particularly British English and US American English (e.g. SCHNEIDER 1999, 2005, 2008; SCHNEIDER & SCHNEIDER 2000; BARRON 2005, 2008; KALLEN 2005b; O’KEEFFE & ADOLPHS 2008), or contrasting different registers typical of certain genres within Irish English (e.g. FARR & O’KEEFFE 2002; KALLEN 2005b). Only with intervarietal or cross-linguistic studies is it possible to claim that the observed features are indeed distinctly Irish. As BARRON & SCHNEIDER (2005: 5) note, investigations in the area of international management, in particular human resource management, "shed […] light on Irish pragmatics on a meta-level". Among such investigations are, for instance, FLYNN & MORLEY (2002), HIPPLER (2002), O'REILLY (2003), KEATING & MARTIN (2004), MARTIN, SZABO & KEATING (2004), and O'MAHONEY (2004).

To investigate the pragmatics of Irish English is not a major research aim of the present study. The negotiation data rather 'happen to be' Irish English. Reliable evidence on the characteristics of one language or language variety can only be obtained when contrasting the results of the present study with those on other languages or varieties of English, where data are preferably collected under the same conditions. Therefore, judgements on Irish English communication styles should be exercised with caution; the results could likewise be typical of the genre *business negotiation*. Nevertheless, I refer to earlier studies working with Irish English data for comparative purposes whenever the results corroborate or contradict existing research.

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11 Cf. SCHEGLOFF & SACKS who write "that all the conversations are in 'American English' is no warrant for so characterizing them. […] That the materials are all 'American English' does not entail that they are RELEVANTLY 'American English', or relevantly in any larger or smaller domain that might be invoked to characterize them." (1982: 291, footnote 4, original emphasis).
The present study can serve as a starting-point for further, cross-cultural and cross-varietal studies.

0.8 Structure

The thesis is divided into two main parts and five chapters, each containing several sections. The first two chapters form Part 1, which is called "Theoretical Framework". The last three chapters belong to Part 2, "Empirical Study". Part 1 begins with the definition of the term negotiation and an overview of different approaches to the study of negotiation (Ch. 1), followed by an outline of the theories and methodologies relevant to the present study (Ch. 2). On the basis of the linguistic and non-linguistic literature on offers (the latter including popular scientific books on negotiation), Chapter 2 deals with the nature of this speech act. With regard to linguistic approaches, it addresses speech act theoretic features, facework and politeness aspects, offer strategies, different forms of external modification, and the interactional structure of offer sequences. The focus is on offers in everyday conversation. Chapter 3 is devoted to the research method of the present study. It includes a description of the participants' profiles, the data collection tools, and the procedures of transcribing, coding, and analysing. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the results of the study. The core of this chapter is the analytical model which emerges from the detailed analysis of the four negotiations. In order to come up with a proper understanding of the phenomenon under study, it is essential to first work out the key characteristics of offers in the context of business negotiations. Based upon that, a category system for offer realisation strategies is presented, followed by patterns in the external modification of offers, and the interactional structure of offer exchanges and sequences. Finally, two broader topic areas reflecting some of the general offer patterns detected in the data are discussed in greater detail: reciprocity and exchange, and recursive-ness. The thesis concludes with a summary of the findings, a description of the academic and practical implications and of the limitations of the study, and an outlook for future research (Ch. 5).
CHAPTER 1: Negotiations
Section 1.1: Defining negotiation

Part 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1 Negotiations

negotiate, v. To communicate or confer (with another or others) for the purpose of arranging some matter by mutual agreement; to discuss a matter with a view to some compromise or settlement.¹²

This is, in a nutshell, what can be expected to represent an everyday interpretation of the term to negotiate which most people would agree upon. It is the first, general definition which the Oxford English Dictionary (OED Online) offers its readers. Nevertheless, for a study of negotiations such as the present investigation, it is necessary to be more precise with respect to what constitutes a negotiation. This is the aim of Chapter 1. It explores, in detail, different aspects of the concept negotiation, shows how it is treated in different types of research, and how it is understood in the present study.

In Section 1.1, I first describe the general characteristics of a negotiation and then differentiate between the terms negotiation and bargaining, drawing on a body of relevant dictionaries and negotiation literature. Then one specific, discourse-oriented definition (WAGNER 1995) is presented in detail because it serves as a guideline for the present study. Finally, business negotiations are described as a specific type of negotiation on the one hand, and as a specific type of business communication on the other.

Negotiations have been studied in depth by a wide variety of disciplines (e.g. economics, business studies, social psychology, sociology and anthropology, political science, law, communication and media studies, linguistics), each of these approaching negotiations from a different perspective. This results in different – often contradictory and incompatible – research objectives, methodologies, and terminologies:

The terminological and semantic intricacies of the term negotiation mirror to a considerable extent the significant divergence of opinion amongst scholars as to how this construct should be studied. (MARTIN 2001: 26; cf. ZARTMAN 1999: 147-148 and SCHEITER 2002: 35 for similar statements)

Section 1.2 gives a concise overview of existing research approaches to negotiation, their principal aims, underlying theories, and methods (Sections 1.2.1-1.2.7). It concludes with a synopsis of the approach chosen for the present study (Section 1.2.8).

1.1 Defining negotiation

In very general terms, a negotiation is a specific form of social interaction or communicative situation. More narrowly, it is a complex dialogic speech event extending over a longer sequence of verbal exchanges, and involving two or more people or groups. This characterises the interaction as a specific type of (oral) discourse. In a negotiation, the parties discuss and argue about one or more issues of common interest. Negotiation is outcome-oriented discourse: although the negotiators have differing or conflicting views and positions, they usually pursue the same aim of bringing these views and positions together, solving potential problems and reaching an agreement (cf. the OED ONLINE's definition of to negotiate at the beginning of this chapter). This is referred to in the negotiation literature as the mixed-motive character of negotiations (competition and cooperation). Cooperatively, the negotiating parties create mutual gains – for instance, they may discuss the possibility of exchanging goods: the seller gains money and the buyer gains a product or service. Then it is a matter of competition how they distribute these gains among themselves – for instance, how much money the product or service costs. If the parties reach an agreement and succeed in solving the problems under discussion, they then tackle further decisions concerning contract conclusion and implementation procedures. Therefore, a negotiation can be labelled a strategic problem-/conflict-solving event or interactive/joint decision-making process (cf. MORLEY & STEPHENSON 1977: 23-24; WAGNER & PETERSEN 1991: 264; MARTIN 2001: 21, 24). If, however, the negotiation is broken off without reaching a final agreement because one side deems it better to opt out than to close an 'unfair' deal, the opportunity to create and distribute any gains is forfeited. In this sense it might be argued that negotiators are always better off reaching some kind of agreement than no agreement at all.

Sometimes the term negotiation is used synonymously with bargaining (e.g. by RUBIN & BROWN 1975: 2; HAMMER & YUKL 1977: 138; TUTZAUER 1992: 79; LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 3-4; also cf. WAGNER & PETERSEN 1991: 267). Frequently, however, bargaining has a narrower meaning than negotiation. It is then used to refer to buyer-seller interaction and has the connotation of haggling over prices at a market or bazaar (cf. DRUCKMAN 1977b: 26; MARTIN 2001: 22). Bargaining is said to be a less complex activity than negotiating: WAGNER & PETERSEN (1991) introduce the notion of scale in order to differentiate between bargaining (Ger. Handeln or Feilschen, WAGNER & PETERSEN 1991: 269) and negotiating. When two interactants

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13 The term speech event was coined by the ethnographer HYMES in the 1960s, who defines it as "activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech. An event may consist of a single speech act, but will often comprise several." (HYMES 1974: 52). "Every speech event involves 1. a Sender (Addressee); 2. a Receiver (Addressee); 3. a Message Form; 4. a Channel; 5. an addressee; and 7. a Setting (Scene, Situation)." (HYMES 1968: 110).

14 Cf. CHALKER & WEINER’s (1994: 118) definition of discourse as "a connected stretch of language (especially spoken language), usually bigger than a sentence, and particularly viewed as interaction between speakers or between writer and reader" and also SCHIFFRIN's (1994: 41) definition: "[D]iscourse can best be thought of as 'utterances', i.e. 'units of language production (whether spoken or written) that are inherently contextualised". 
bargain, only one scale is involved on which the value (usually a price, i.e. money) of an object, action, etc. is placed. The bargainers then try to move themselves and their partner towards the two opposing ends of this scale of values – e.g. a seller aims at fixing a high price whereas a buyer aims at achieving an agreement with a low price as a result. This one-dimensional activity is therefore called a single-strand activity (Ger. *einsträngig*, WAGNER & PETERSEN 1991: 269).\(^{15}\) In contrast to that, negotiating (Ger. *Verhandeln*, WAGNER & PETERSEN 1991: 269) is more complex because it involves two or more different scales; it is a multi-strand, or multi-dimensional activity (Ger. *mehrsträngig*, WAGNER & PETERSEN 1991: 269). Negotiators deal with different issues and objectives at the same time, connecting them during the negotiating process.\(^{16}\)

It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss all existing definitions of *negotiation* and *bargaining* in detail; nor is it possible to distinguish between and define the numerous labels coined, above all, by business scholars for specific negotiating styles, such as competitive vs. cooperative, or hard vs. soft vs. principled negotiation, to name but a few. In the following paragraphs, one further possible definition of negotiation found in the linguistic research literature is outlined in greater detail as an example.\(^{17}\) It is proposed by WAGNER in his article "What makes a discourse a negotiation?" (1995). WAGNER's approach is chosen because he represents a discourse-oriented strand of negotiation research which is deemed most suitable for the present study.

WAGNER tries to bring together two constitutive factors of negotiation, i.e. social setting and interaction, to form a unified theory of negotiation. He takes up FIRTH's (1995: 3-8) distinction between *negotiation encounter* (i.e. negotiation proper) and *negotiating activity* (i.e. an activity of social decision-making on substantive issues), but aims at interrelating the two concepts. The former refers to a meeting of two or more parties with diverging or conflicting interests at a specific type of location or setting – the event is "formally- and physically-defined" (WAGNER 1995: 9, quoting FIRTH 1991: 8). The latter refers to the parties' interactive discourse behaviour and is "interactionally defined, being contingent on the parties' mutual discourse actions" (WAGNER 1995: 9, quoting FIRTH 1991: 8).

\(^{15}\) Cf. the OED ONLINE's definition of *to bargain*: "To treat with any one as to the terms which one party is to give, and the other to accept, in a transaction between them; to try to secure the best possible terms; to haggle over terms" and "[t]o agree to terms asked and offered; to arrange terms, come to terms; to stipulate; to make or strike a bargain, *with* a person, *for* a thing" ("bargain, v." THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY, 2nd ed. 1989, OED ONLINE. Oxford University Press. http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50017622 [8 November 2006]; original emphases).

\(^{16}\) What is here defined as *bargaining* is often associated with *distributive bargaining*, whereas the present definition of negotiation is comparable to the notion of *integrative bargaining*: "Negotiation scholars use the term 'distributive bargaining' to describe simple haggling (people are 'dividing the pie') and the term 'integrative bargaining' to describe the more complex process of trading off between issues (people are 'making the pie bigger' by matching or 'integrating' their interests, priorities, and differences)." (SHELL 2006: 168).

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Section 1.1: Defining negotiation

WAGNER takes the following key elements of a Western understanding of negotiation as a starting point for his further argumentation:

a. A negotiation is the interaction of two (or more) parties, which optimise their mutual goals. Each party wants to realise its own goals in the best possible way. Neither of the two parties is able to reach its goals alone, because the goals are to some extent controlled by the other side.\(^{18}\) This means that both parties need to cooperate.

b. During the negotiation, each party modifies its own goals and coordinates them with the modified goals of the other party. In this sense, a negotiation is a strategic interaction.

c. Both parties know that the other party has goals to reach. In this sense, negotiations are exchange relations. Both parties exchange the possibility of realising their own goals. The negotiation defines the conditions for exchange [...]. (WAGNER 1995: 11, added emphasis; also cf. FIRTH 1995: 5).

Based on the above, WAGNER introduces a model for the description of four different sorts of negotiation settings and types of interaction. Two variables, goal and control, serve to distinguish them (cf. Table 1).

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

Table 1: Settings for negotiations (WAGNER 1995: 12)

WAGNER (1995: 13) highlights some major characteristics of these settings:

- An interaction is not necessarily restricted to one type of setting; the setting may change several times.
- Two negotiating parties may be engaged in more than one setting at a time.
- The negotiating parties may have differing views with regard to the type of setting they are currently involved in.

The discourse that develops from the four settings may be a negotiation proper, though not inevitably. WAGNER (1995: 14) describes type four as "the core, i.e. the most genuine kind of negotiation". Nevertheless, in his opinion, a discourse can only be called a negotiation encounter if the participants establish a relation between

\(^{18}\) Also cf. RUBIN & BROWN (1975: 3): "Bargainers need each other. They do things to and with each other. Neither can hope to satisfy his individual needs and interests without in some way taking account of the fact that his relationship with the other is one of mutuality and interdependence. Agreement cannot be reached without the consent and active involvement of both sides."
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Section 1.1: Defining Negotiation

themselves and each other's goals, interests etc., which means that they talk about the
aforementioned variables and make clear that their goals are interrelated and interde-
pendent. The setting of the negotiation is either clearly defined by the context – in
such a case there would still be some kind of talk about goals and control – or implicit-
ly and explicitly (i.e. metacommunicatively) (re)defined by the participants (cf. Wagner 1995: 14-24, 30).

Although negotiating activity may occur in negotiation encounter discourse, it is never an independent, decisive factor for defining the latter (cf. Wagner 1995: 30).

In the words of Fisher, Ury & Patton (1991: xiii), "[e]verybody negotiates something every day", whether the price of some children's toys at the flea market, one's salary in a job interview, or the route of a new motorway in a city council meeting. A police psychologist may be engaged in a hostage negotiation, prime ministers in a peace treaty negotiation, or law students in a moot court negotiation competition. The present study, however, is concerned with business negotiations in the sense of Wagner's negotiation encounters. In general, the label business negotiation describes a negotiation with the business world as a setting, which is a formal and institutional or organisational setting. Business negotiations are conducted by business practitioners, including chief executives, managers, but also ordinary employees and shop assistants. Unless a self-employed company owner negotiates himself, negotiators assume representative roles: they act on behalf of their companies (cf. Lewicki & Litterer 1985: 10; Neumann 1995: 32). The higher people are in the hierarchy, the more responsibility they have to take. Often, large sums of money are at stake, e.g. when the management of two big companies try to agree on a merger. Moreover, there is a correlation between a person's position in a company and the amount of time this person is involved in negotiations. Investigations into the behaviour of senior executives show that they spend 20%-50% of their working hours in some kind of negotiating activity (cf. Hendon, Hendon & Herbig 1996: 3; Grawert & Vliet 1999: 98; also cf. Culpin 1990: 23).

It is generally agreed that discourse in institutional or organisational contexts, hence also in business negotiations, differs from everyday conversation (cf. Neumann 1995: 32). Kasper (1993: 318) states that it is "more highly structured, routinized, and recurrent, [which is] a direct consequence of the purpose of the institution, role

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19 The most obvious interdependence may be described as that between a seller trying to receive as much money as possible in exchange for giving his product or service to the buyer (he may urgently need the money to prevent bankruptcy of his business), and a buyer trying to get – for as little money as possible – the product or service produced or provided by the seller (he may urgently need the product to be able to manufacture a car).

20 Wagner (1991: 13) admits, however, that "[a] difficulty for the analysis is that the conditions for classifying the interaction (i.e., goal and control) may not always be explicit."

distribution between actors […], and actors' goals". According to WAGNER, the main difference between negotiating activity in everyday conversation and in business settings is that people in the latter try harder to reach an agreement because otherwise they would not be able to close a deal at all; they are under much greater pressure than people in ordinary conversation (cf. WAGNER 1995: 29).

Business negotiation can be seen as a sub-genre (cf. SWALES 1990: 45-67) of business communication, or business language, or business discourse. Some researchers speak of business negotiations as the prototype of spoken business communication:

Verhandlungen, speziell Geschäftsverhandlungen, sind vermutlich die Kommunikationsform, an die man am ehesten denkt und die am häufigsten genannt wird, wenn nach mündlicher Wirtschaftskommunikation gefragt wird. (BRÜNNER 2000: 147).

[Negotiations, particularly business negotiations, are probably the mode of communication which comes to mind first and which is most often mentioned when asking about oral business communication. (translation mine)]

One aim of negotiation research is to detect specific genre conventions. Just like the language used in business meetings or annual interviews, the language spoken in business negotiations is used for the purpose of carrying out some kind of business interaction, i.e. it can also be labelled Language for Specific (or: Business) Purposes (cf. NEUMANN 1995: 48; GLÄSER 1998; BOLTEN 1998). In fact, the overall communicative purpose of the speech event negotiation is to carry out a business interaction via spoken language.

In the present discourse-oriented investigation, WAGNER's (1995) definitions of negotiation encounter and negotiating activity play a central role because WAGNER emphasises the interactive and communicative aspect of negotiation. The following illustration summarises the key points of how the concept of negotiation (encounter) is understood and used (cf. Figure 1):

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22 In this connection it should be noted that not all communication by professionals taking place within an organisation or corporation (e.g. a company) is business communication in a proper sense, because employees may well talk about private matters too. This is reflected in BRÜNNER's (2000: 8-10) distinction between cooperation-related communication (Ger. kooperationsbezogene Kommunikation) or work-related communication (Ger. Arbeitskommunikation) on the one hand and communication independent of cooperation (Ger. kooperationsunabhängiger Kommunikation), social communication (Ger. Sozialkommunikation), or homileic discourse (Ger. homileischer Diskurs) on the other (translations mine).

To sum up, a negotiation (in the sense of WAGNER’s negotiation encounter) is here defined as a complex dialogic speech event between two or more parties stretching over a longer sequence of verbal exchanges which can be divided into different phases. Negotiations take place in a formal (often institutional) setting. The interactants may assume representative roles, but they are invested with freedom of action and room for manoeuvring in a varying degree. Negotiation is a multidimensional, or multi-strand, activity because price is only one of the issues of the agenda which are under discussion. Despite their conflicting views, interests, and goals (which constitutes the competitive element in negotiations), the negotiating parties have a common interest in, or see the necessity of reaching an agreement which is acceptable to both sides. Therefore, to negotiate means to engage in outcome-oriented discourse. The negotiators employ strategies in order to solve problems and to make decisions in the end. They are aware that they depend on cooperation (this awareness may be verbalised), and that they may have to modify and adjust their ideal outcome throughout the negotiation since one party always exerts some control over the other party’s goals. This means that the outcome most often is a compromise. Their goals are interrelated so that a negotiation can be characterised as an exchange relation: the interactants make the realisation of their goals mutually possible.
CHAPTER 1: Negotiations
Section 1.2: Approaches to studying negotiation

1.2 Approaches to studying negotiation

Negotiation researchers generally introduce their publications with a classification of the different research strands. I continue in this practice at the beginning of this section, thereby mainly following Martin's (2001: 30-50) scheme of five different approaches (abstract, experimental, content analytic, ethnographic, conversation analytic/ethnomethodological approach), yet adding linguistic pragmatics as a sixth approach.24 The section then continues with a description of popular and didactic literature on negotiation (i.e. negotiation manuals and textbooks). Finally, the section ends with the outline of the approach chosen for the present study.

The six major approaches in negotiation research range from objective and quantitatively-oriented research strands, including abstract, experimental, and content analytic approaches, to subjective and qualitatively-oriented research strands, including ethnographic, ethnomethodological/conversation analytic as well as linguistic pragmatic approaches.

1.2.1 Abstract approach

Most exponents of the abstract approach are mathematicians, economists, and social scientists. They deal with game theory and bargaining theory, which offer abstract mathematical and/or economic models in an attempt to explain rationally motivated strategic behaviour in decision-making processes. They aim at predicting negotiation outcomes by manipulating particular variables while controlling others. As the game/bargaining theorists' interests lie in developing models, the scenarios of the negotiation/bargaining games25 are simplified, abstract situations which attempt to conceptualise decision-making structures in real-life negotiations. While aspects of social interaction are often neglected (although an increased interest can be observed in economics since the 1990s, cf., e.g. Rabin 1998), language issues are completely ignored, or simply not of interest. Examples of game and bargaining theoretic works on negotiation include, for instance, those by Young (1975), Roth (1985), and Brams (1990).

1.2.2 Experimental approach

The experimental approach to negotiation is mainly represented by social psychologists (e.g. Fouraker & Siegel 1963; Kelley 1966; Rubin & Brown 1975; Druckman 1977a) and economists (e.g. Smith 1982; Kagel & Roth 1995). The theoretical framework of this approach draws heavily on the abstract approach, but the difference lies in the fact that empirical data are analysed. A major interest of

25 Cf. Section 3.3.1 for a description of negotiation/bargaining games.
both disciplines is to find out which independent contextual variables, such as disclosure of certain types of information or visual accessibility of the negotiators, influence the strategic behaviour of negotiators and the type of outcome reached (cf. HAMMER & YUKL 1977: 138; ROTH & MURNIGHAN 1982). Social psychologists also investigate preconditions (e.g. power relations), processes (e.g. bargaining tactics and strategies), background factors (e.g. negotiators' personalities), and the outcomes of negotiations (e.g. degree of satisfaction with the agreement) (cf. DRUCKMAN 1977b: 18-19). Hypotheses are tested by manipulating variables and statistical procedures. The analyses are based on laboratory data gained through negotiation simulations and negotiation games. Consequently, the data are either computer-generated or result from human interaction. The latter may happen as face-to-face oral communication, or mediated written communication (i.e. often anonymous interaction of the participants, either computer-mediated or by means of slips of paper that are silently exchanged between players). For instance, the players (often assuming the roles of buyer and seller) exchange bids with the aim to reach agreement on the quantity and/or price of some commodities to be exchanged.

1.2.3 Content analysis

Content analysis, established in the 1930s, claims to allow a systematic, objective, and quantifiable analysis of the content of oral and written messages available in the form of transcripts and texts. Topics, symbols, words, or utterances are classified and coded according to predetermined categories, and their meaning and frequency are ascertained in order to find out about their effect, or about the intention of those who convey the messages. Hypotheses formulated at the beginning are then either validated or refuted by means of statistical tests. Content analysis is employed in empirical social research, particularly by social psychologists dealing with group processes, as well as in communication and media studies, sociolinguistics and marketing science. Well known content analytic schemes for negotiation communication, which ultimately all go back to BALES’s (1950) *Interaction Process Analysis (IPA)*, are those developed by WALCOTT & HOPMANN (1975), called *Bargaining Process Analysis (BPA)*, by MORLEY & STEPHENSON (1977), called *Conference Process Analysis*\(^{27}\) and the scheme by ANGELMAR & STERN (1978). These have been used and adapted by various other negotiation researchers; the BPA, for example, by PUTNAM & JONES (1982a), and ANGELMAR & STERN’s scheme by NEU (1985), NEU & GRAHAM (1995), and GRAHAM (1996). The aim of most of these studies has been to

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\(^{26}\) The term *simulation* here refers to computer-controlled simulations which model a human system of some kind, but without any involvement of human participants. By manipulating variables and investigating the effect of this manipulation on the model, conclusions are drawn about how the system functions in reality (cf., e.g. ATTESLANDER 2000: 187-189, DOOLEY 2002). Note that this notion of *simulation* corresponds to what economists and social scientists typically understand as simulations but differs from how it is used in the present study (cf. Section 3.3.3).

\(^{27}\) Cf. PUTNAM & JONES (1982b: 272-275) for a review and critique of BALES’s (1950), WALCOTT & HOPMANN’s (1975), and MORLEY & STEPHENSON’s (1977) coding schemes.
investigate the influence of particular content categories on the outcome of negotiations. Although content analysis looks directly at the verbal behaviour of interactants, it only examines what they say in a negotiation, but not how they say it, i.e. how they realise utterances linguistically, or how the negotiation process evolves interactively. Moreover, content analysis has been criticised to overlook the broader situational context of negotiations (cf. DRUCKMAN 1991: 246).

The first three approaches reflect the objective and positivistic end of the continuum (cf. MARTIN 2001: 29-40, 112). They are characterised by quantitative analyses and model assumptions bearing little resemblance to real-life negotiations. Since they narrow their focus on the explanation and prediction of outcomes, they represent "end-result research" (FIRTH 1995: 9). The ultimate purpose of such studies is to find out how to achieve more efficient results in negotiations, i.e. profit interests play a major role. If communication is of any interest, it is mostly treated as an independent variable. In sum, the fact that negotiation is a dynamic process made up of verbal interaction is neglected by researchers who represent the abstract, experimental, and content analytic approaches. FIRTH states that

[a]lthough communicative interaction is the quintessence of negotiation, there is nevertheless a veritable dearth of studies that address the discursive and interactional nature of the phenomenon, let alone reproduce and examine transcripts of recordings of negotiation. […] In the majority of existing research, language has been ignored, or relegated to the status of a manipulable independent variable […]. Where language is made the object of attention, it is most frequently subjected to the dictates and strictures of categorization and statistical analyses via inductive coding schemes […], where many of the interactional and contextual features of negotiation activity are lost. This has resulted in an impoverished view of negotiation as a cultural and interactional phenomenon. (FIRTH 1995: 8)

The following three approaches (cf. MARTIN 2001: 29-30, 40-50, 112) can be placed on the qualitatively-oriented and anti-positivistic end of the continuum. Here, communication and interactive processes play a central role, and more focus is placed on the individual and the social situation in which negotiations take place. The disadvantages are, however, that the corpora of data are much smaller than with the other approaches and that analyses depend to a large extent on the researcher's subjective interpretation. Both disadvantages may reduce generalisability of results.

1.2.4 Ethnographic approach

The ethnographic approach originates from anthropology and sociology. Its aim is to detect, describe, and compare human characteristics in different social situations and different cultures. Since language is an important constituent of any social situation, it has drawn special attention, especially since HYMES's (1968) development of the ethnography of speaking, and has been taken up in sociolinguistics. The ethnography of speaking deals with how speaking is conceptualised in a particular community or culture, i.e. it analyses language use in its sociocultural settings, societal and cultural influences on and patterns and rules of communicative behaviour (cf. PHILIPSEN 1998: 284). Of particular interest is how speakers construct context in the course of
CHAPTER 1: Negotiations
Section 1.2: Approaches to studying negotiation

their interaction. Studies are based on empirical fieldwork, which means that researchers observe their informants systematically, or conduct interviews with them, while taking field notes. The lack of sufficiently reliable and valid data is one of the criticisms raised against the ethnographic approach. In negotiation research, ethnographers try to identify universal structural patterns of the speech event negotiation which are identical or at least similar across negotiations (cf. Firth 1995: 14; Martin 2001: 41-42). This led to the identification of negotiation phases (e.g. Douglas 1957; Gulliver 1979).

1.2.5 Conversation analysis (CA)/ethnomethodology

Conversation analysis (CA) is another empirical approach to discourse.28 It was established in the 1960s by Sacks (1992), who cooperated closely with Schegloff and Jefferson. The discipline emerged from ethnomethodology, a sociological theory developed by Garfinkel (1967), and was also influenced by Goffman’s study of face-to-face interaction (1959).29 CA presupposes that social reality is being constructed by the interactants while they are engaged in any kind of verbal or non-verbal communication (cf. Brunner & Graeven 1994: 13). The interactants, while communicating, constantly interpret the social context of their actions as well as the other interactants’ utterances. They try to produce understandable and situationally appropriate utterances themselves, and attempt to coordinate their own actions with those of the other interactants (cf. Bergmann 2001: 919). CA is therefore predominantly concerned with the sequential structure and organisation of discourse (both casual and institutional); the aim is to uncover the principles and mechanisms with which speakers produce and analyse talk in interaction. Many – though not all – researchers involved in conversation analysis only accept transcripts of authentic data as a valid source of information.30 Though rooted in sociology, CA also plays an important role in linguistics (cf. Bergmann 2001: 921, 925). Foci of conversation analytic studies on negotiation are, for instance, turn-taking and feedback mechanisms (e.g. Fant 1989, 1995), the organisation of self-, other-, and task-reference (e.g. Villemoes 1995), the organisation of topicality and the production of team talk (e.g. Francis 1986), or the organisation of argumentative style and structure (e.g. Grindsted 1990, quoted in Fant 1992: 169).

28 There are some terminological problems associated with conversation analysis (a similar case is discourse analysis). What is described above refers to conversation analysis in a narrow sense, i.e. to an independent methodology. However, in the literature conversation analysis is sometimes used as a cover term for a variety of different approaches to the analysis of conversation.

29 These are the main theories that influenced CA. For more cf. Bergmann (2001: 920ff.).

30 The problem of gaining access to authentic negotiations is addressed in Section 3.3.1.
1.2.6 Linguistic pragmatics

A further research approach to negotiation, which is not explicitly mentioned by Martin (2001), is linguistic pragmatics – the "study of how utterances have meanings in situations", or the study of "the use of a language" (Leech 1983: x). At the core of pragmatics is speech act theory. Speech acts that have been investigated in the context of negotiations are, for instance, requests (e.g. Neumann 1994b, 1995, 1997), disagreements (e.g. Stalpers 1995), or advisements (e.g. Pörings 1997a, 1997b; Fant 1993). Neumann and Pörings analyse occurrence, frequency, and realisation forms of these speech acts in intercultural encounters, whereas Fant contrasts intracultural negotiations in this respect, and Stalpers does both.\(^{31}\)

Purely speech act-oriented studies on negotiation, however, can rarely be found in the literature. Most linguists interested in negotiation attempt to integrate methodological elements from different approaches, e.g. linguistic pragmatics and conversation analysis (e.g. Lampi 1986; Pörings 1998). As far as speech act realisation is concerned, the ways in which speakers perform speech acts reveal the nature of the relationship between them, e.g. if they behave in a verbally polite way. This is where face theory (Goffman 1967) and politeness theory (Leech 1983; Brown & Levinson 1987; Fraser 1990; Locher & Watts 2005; and others) come into play. Facework and politeness draw considerable attention by negotiation researchers (e.g. Pörings 1997b; Villemoes 1995; Wijst 1996; Planken 2002), not only within linguistics (e.g. in social psychology: Brown 1977 and communication studies: Ting-Toomey 1988).\(^{32}\)

Functional pragmatics, a subdiscipline of general linguistic pragmatics, also contributes to linguistic negotiation research. It is represented most notably by the Germanists Rehbein, Ehlich, and Brünner. Similar to conversation analytic methodology, a characteristic feature of their methodology is that their analyses are solely based on authentic data (cf. Brünner & Graffen 1994: 13). Functional pragmatics, which "provides a suitable basic concept for the analysis of complex, communicative structures and data" (Rehbein 1995: 100), is based on speech act theory but accounts for interactions as well as mental and observable actions (cf. Rehbein 1995: 70). Therefore, functional pragmatics also considers theories and methods from psychology and sociology (cf. Ehlich 1991: 141). The aim is to detect, describe, and reconstruct underlying speech action patterns ("sprachliche Handlungsmuster", Ehlich 1991: 132), which are then often illustrated by means of flowcharts. What we see or hear

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\(^{31}\) These studies are predominantly sociopragmatic in outline. Sociopragmatics is related to sociology and is concerned with the question of who utters a specific speech act to whom in which social situation, at which stage of the discourse, how this is done, and why. An important sociopragmatic variable is, for instance, the power relationship between interactants. In contrast to that, pragmalinguistics – being related to grammar – is interested in "particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions" (Leech 1983: 11), i.e. what strategies can be employed in the realisation of specific speech acts (e.g. which lexical items or syntactic structures are chosen). The distinction between sociopragmatics and pragmalinguistics goes back to Thomas (1981).

on the linguistic surface is but the result of S's realisation of these deep structure patterns (cf. EHLLICH 1991: 132-133). Functional pragmatic analyses of a specific type of negotiating activity (sales talk) include RHEBEIN (1995) and BRÜNNER (1994, 2000: 157-181).

Despite a general lack of true interdisciplinary cooperation, most negotiation researchers apply methods and theories which originate from more than one discipline. Good examples of this practice are NEU (1985), LAMPI (1986), OSTERKAMP (1999), and MARTIN (2001). NEU integrates elements from ethnomethodology, ethnography, and content analysis in her sociolinguistic study on negotiation. In a study on linguistic components of strategy in business negotiations, LAMPI employs concepts from both conversation analysis and discourse analysis, the latter including the Birmingham Model of Discourse by SINCLAIR & COULTHARD (1975) and its further development by EDMONDSON (1981). In his study on argumentation and decision-making in negotiations, OSTERKAMP combines, in a unique way, approaches from linguistic analysis of conversation, experimental economics (game theory) and argumentation theory. MARTIN incorporates ethnographic, conversation analytic (ethnomethodological) and sociolinguistic elements in her study of German-Irish sales negotiations (cf. MARTIN 2001: 99-126). Moreover, she takes into account findings of management and organisational as well as of intercultural communication research (cf. MARTIN 2001: 57-97), e.g. by HOFSTEDE (1980), GRAHAM (1980, 1983, 1986, 1996), or TING-TOOMEY (1985, 1988).

1.2.7 Manuals and textbooks on negotiation

Unlike the findings of the descriptive approaches mentioned so far, the recipe-like recommendations found in how-to guides and textbooks on negotiation (called "prescriptive orientations" by FIRTH 1995: 12-13) cannot be counted as a theoretical contribution to negotiation research, but offer valuable insights into the popular scientific interpretation of this speech event. The books are very popular among practising negotiators, and are often used as a basis for negotiating skills seminars. The authors are most often managers or salespersons with many years of personal negotiating experience. It is this personal experience on which most of these works are based, not empirical research, although some authors have an academic background and is it important to keep in mind that not every researcher stands for one specific research strand.

33 It is important to keep in mind that not every researcher stands for one specific research strand.
34 It is under intercultural communication research that MARTIN (2001: 84) subsumes contrastive pragmatics.
35 Among the authors with an academic background are, for instance, REARDON, professor of management and organisation at the University of Southern California, and researchers associated with the Harvard Negotiation Project initiated by FISHER and URY at Harvard Law School in 1979. Its aim is "to improve the theory, teaching, and practice of negotiation and dispute resolution" (THE HARVARD NEGOTIATION PROJECT 2006). Although based at Harvard Law School, the Harvard Negotiation Research Project (which is part of the Harvard Negotiation Project) is interdisciplinary. It involves scholars from law, psychology, economics, public policy, sociology, and anthropology. Nevertheless, in their best-selling book on negotiation, Getting to Yes. Negotiating an Agreement without Giving in (continued on next page)
quote findings from studies on negotiation. What the advice books have in common is their claim that the behaviour of the other negotiating party can be influenced to one's own advantage (cf. Scheiter 2002: 36) and that being a successful negotiator can be learned. In a distinctive style, which is characterised by the frequent use of imperatives, metaphorical expressions, comparisons and the inclusion of anecdotes, (often fabricated) case studies, and (mostly invented) text samples, they tell their readers how to behave in a certain way in order to be successful in all kinds of intracultural and intercultural negotiations. Some authors of prescriptive literature admit that communication is a vital aspect of negotiation:

Without communication there is no negotiation. (Fisher, Ury & Patton 1991: 33)

Good communication is an especially significant source of negotiating power. (Fisher, Ury & Patton 1991: 190)

[...] It may seem obvious that how negotiators communicate is as important as what they have to say. [...] Whether the intent is to command and compel, sell, persuade, or gain commitment, how parties communicate in negotiation would seem to depend on the ability of the speaker to encode thoughts properly, as well as on the ability of the listener to understand and decode the intended message(s). (Lewicki et al. 2003: 133)

[...] How you negotiate will affect both the outcome and the relationship (Lum 2004: xix, original emphasis)

[...] What negotiators actually say and do during negotiation makes all the difference in their outcomes. (Reardon 2004: ix)

Nevertheless, they only pay scant attention to actual realisations of communicative processes on a linguistic level.

### 1.2.8 Present study

Sections 1.2.1-1.2.7 yield a brief synopsis of the principal research approaches to negotiation. The present work investigates communicative aspects of negotiation with a focus on how the negotiators interactively deal with offers and related linguistic elements. It is a qualitative study supported by quantitative methods and is based on a thorough analysis of transcripts of natural spoken discourse generated by four simulated intracultural business negotiations in an Irish context. The investigation mainly belongs to the sixth approach described above, linguistic pragmatics, but uses other approaches, too. For example, speech act theory plays a major role in the definition of offers and the identification of realisation strategies. As far as the interactional structure of offer sequences is concerned, however, using speech act theory alone is not sufficient (cf. Levinson 1983: 293). Concepts from the strand of discourse analysis represented by Edmondson (1981) allow us to ascertain which interactional slot offers may fill, how and why an offer is triggered by preceding parts of the negotiation, how the other negotiating party responds to it, and how offers are modified externally. The results are substantiated by recent findings from the study from 1999, Fisher, Ury & Patton do not provide empirical evidence for their recommendations (also cf. Wagner & Petersen 1991: 264-265, who criticise the lack of terminological and conceptual clarity).
of argumentation in spoken discourse (e.g. DEPPERMANN 2006; AJMER & LAUER-BACH 2007). Some features, such as multiple offer turns, patterns of speaker interruptions and overlaps due to backchanneling, or the great variety of reactions to offers observable in the data, can be explained by insights gained from conversation analytic studies (see fifth approach above) dealing with hospitable offers, offers of assistance and gift offerings typical of everyday conversation (e.g. DAVIDSON 1984, 1990; LEVINSON 1983: 368).

The bottom-up approach to the investigation of offers and related elements in negotiations, which considers different levels of discourse from the micro level to the macro level, is based on the hierarchical concept of discourse proposed by EDMONDSON (1981). The present study avoids looking at individual offer utterances in isolation and, instead, regards offers as being embedded in the overall negotiation discourse. In fact, it is believed that their function and (strategic) value, and the interactional structure of offer sequences, can only be interpreted adequately if the internal linguistic (discourse) context as well as, to some extent, the extra-linguistic context are taken into account (cf. LEVINSON 1983: 291).

I opt for a procedure which was first systematically employed by content analysts (cf. third approach above), but which has become a standard method in qualitative research, especially in the social sciences: the computer-assisted coding of phenomena in the transcribed data (cf. KUCKARTZ 2005). Unlike in traditional content analysis, which makes use of pre-defined categories, I employ both inductive and deductive category creation strategies. The use of a special software tool supports the analysis process considerably. It guarantees easy organisation and a consistent overview of the data as well as fast accessibility to the transcript passages connected with the phenomenon in question, and therefore facilitates the detection of patterns in the data (cf. WELSH 2002: paragraphs 5-6).
2 Offers

While Chapter 1 focused on how different disciplines and approaches look at negotiation, the focus in Chapter 2 is on how the same disciplines and approaches view offers (and, as we shall see, related speech actions such as bid, proposal, suggestion, promise, commitment, and concession) within negotiations. Those writing on negotiation – whether authors of popular scientific works or researchers – unanimously agree that these elements are very important to negotiations.

Existing non-linguistic and linguistic notions of offer and related elements found in a selection of relevant literature are discussed, as are concepts such as information, power, leverage, timing, planning, anchoring, reciprocity, conditions, facework, bargaining zone and bargaining sequence, phases – catchwords frequently mentioned in connection with offers. The practical and theoretical reflections presented in this part of the thesis provide background information which is helpful in developing the analytical model for offers in business negotiations and discussing the results in the analysis chapter (Chapter 4).

2.1 Offers in the non-linguistic negotiation literature

In your negotiation a proposal is always important. It is a doorway – even when in an early, tentative form – a doorway that you and the other side must use if you are to reach agreement. (Baguley 2000: 88)

Non-linguistic studies dealing with offers (or proposals, suggestions, promises, commitments, concessions) in some detail have been found in both the popular literature on negotiation (i.e. manuals, how-to guides, as well as academic and foreign language textbooks) and research publications. The latter include ethnomethodological/conversation-analytic, experimental, and content-analytic research approaches chosen by economists, business scholars, psychologists, sociologists, and communication scholars. An overview of how they treat offers is given in the following sections.

2.1.1 Advice literature and textbooks

The current section presents how offers are treated in a sample set of manuals, how-to guides, as well as academic and foreign language textbooks on business negotiation. Of particular interest is the advice given in relation to how and when 'best' to make offers or respond to offers, or how to deal with offers in general in order to close a 'successful' deal. The reviewed sample set of prescriptive literature includes: Fisher, Ury & Patton (1991), Fleming (1997), Hodgson (1998), Linguarama (1998), Baguley (2000), Marsh (2001), Lewicki et al. (2003), Kennedy (2004),

A striking feature of these works is the unclear and inconsistent use of offer, proposal, suggestion, promise, commitment, and concession. Despite the fact that the terms are mentioned, and their importance for achieving an agreement is stressed a great number of times, hardly any of the authors explicitly point out what they are, or what the difference between them is. The terms are often used synonymously. An exception is KENNEDY (2004), whose book is devised as a glossary on negotiation, listing terms such as bid, bluff, motivation, offer, shut up in alphabetical order. However, the (pseudo-) definitions he provides generally lack logic, clarity and consistency. They are often simplistic (e.g. all he has to say about promises is: "[b]est kept", KENNEDY 2004: 169, and about concessions: "[n]ever concede anything: trade", KENNEDY 2004: 48) and tautological (e.g. "The first offer we make is not the final offer that we might make", KENNEDY 2004: 22).

The authors claim that offers can be used strategically and supply negotiators with various pieces of advice regarding useful tactics which serve to achieve a satisfying outcome. For instance, some state that it is important to make the first or opening offer (or proposal) at the 'right' time. However, the authors' recommendations remain vague; they fail to explain what exactly the 'right' time is, or how negotiators are to learn the "sense of timing" (FLEMING 1997: 63): "The 'right' time will depend upon what strategy you're following." (BAGULEY 2000: 88), "Making an offer too soon can make the other side feel railroaded."

(isher, URY, & PATTON 1991: 178). Only PATTON (2004: 5) is a bit more precise in that he recommends following the circle of value approach, which serves to "achieve both stronger deals and better relationships". One principle of this approach is to wait with the opening offer (or with the first counter-offer, if the other party has made the opening offer) until different alternatives for the solution of the problem have been explored:

To get inside the circle of value, first create a problem-solving atmosphere where it's safe to brainstorm options. This means explicitly postponing making commitments - including demands and offers - and refraining entirely from threats. (PATTON 2004: 5)

A further question repeatedly addressed is that of who should make the first offer, you or your negotiating partner? The how-to books are full of contradictory recom-

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36 There are countless negotiation manuals, guides and textbooks on the market. For instance, a search in the online bookshop of amazon.com® (www.amazon.com) in March 2007 yielded the following results for particular search terms, or string of search terms found in the book title or description (restricted to the category Business & Investing): negotiation (33,611), negotiate (28,847), "how to negotiate" (1,180), negotiation + guide (671), negotiation + manual (77). The sample of English and German books described in this section was chosen on the following basis: availability in local libraries or through inter-library loan and the listing of certain keywords in the index, e.g. offer, proposal, commitment, concession.
mandations. Some argue that one should wait for the other party to make the first move because an offer conveys important information about his position and the range of a possible final deal. GALINSKY, however, argues differently: in his opinion, a negotiator should exploit the effect that a first (price) offer can have on the negotiation outcome:

In situations of great ambiguity and uncertainty, first offers have a strong anchoring effect – they exert a strong pull throughout the rest of the negotiation. Even when people know that a particular anchor should not influence their judgments, they are often incapable of resisting its influence. As a result, they insufficiently adjust their valuations away from the anchor. (GALINSKY 2004: paragraph 5; original emphasis)

Only if one's negotiating partner is provided with much more information about the product, service or market than oneself, should one refrain from issuing the opening offer (cf. GALINSKY 2004: paragraph 12; SHELL 2006: 157-159). LUM (2004: 116), however, recommends not to "get too caught up in who makes the first offer". In her opinion, it is more important to find out about the other's needs, interests, goals, and criteria, to communicate one's own, and to develop options for a mutually beneficial outcome.

As far as the power of anchoring is concerned, LAX & SEBENIUS (2004a) are of the same opinion as GALINSKY. They refer to psychological research to provide an explanation for this phenomenon:

Cognitive psychologists have found that people systematically assess uncertain quantities in unconsciously biased ways. In particular, we tend to irrationally fixate on the first number put forth in a negotiation – the anchor – no matter how arbitrary it may be. […] Uncertainty is fundamental to the negotiation process. A clearer understanding of how you and others manage the unknown can keep you from making costly mistakes as a result of anchoring. (LAX & SEBENIUS 2004a: 9)

Therefore, negotiators can use their knowledge about anchoring in two different ways: first, "defensively" to assess the range of potential outcomes as objectively as possible and thereby to protect themselves against the other party's anchor, and second, "offensively" to influence the other party in their assessment in order to achieve a more advantageous outcome for themselves (LAX & SEBENIUS 2004a: 9-10).

The question of when the opening offer should be made and by whom is closely linked with the question of how high or low it should be. Generally, it is said that the opening offer should not start at the level that one realistically expects as an outcome (cf., e.g. LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 76 for distributive bargaining, cf. Section 1.1, Footnote 16). Accordingly, in sales negotiations the seller's first offer should contain a rather high price for the product or service in question and that of the buyer a relatively low one. GALINSKY (2004: paragraph 13) recommends that in order to exploit the anchoring effect to one's own advantage, the first offer "should be quite aggressive but not absurdly so", and LAX & SEBENIUS (2004a: 11) suggest that anchors should be flexible enough to reduce the risk of ending in deadlock. Among the reasons GALINSKY presents for making a relatively high first offer is the following:
By making an aggressive first offer and giving your opponent the opportunity to 'extract' concessions from you, you'll not only get a better outcome, but you'll also increase the other side's satisfaction. (GALINSKY 2004: paragraph 15)\(^{37}\)

A similar piece of advice is given by SHELL. In situations where a negotiation only centres around a transaction with little direct communication between the negotiating parties (e.g. a house purchase through an agent), SHELL (2006: 160) recommends making an optimistic first offer, i.e. "the highest (or lowest) number for which there is a supporting standard or argument enabling you to make a presentable case. Your opening need not be supported by your best argument, just a presentable one." If, however, the relationship (e.g. a balanced business partnership) between the negotiating parties is more important than a mere transaction, SHELL (2006: 162-163) prefers a fair opening move, i.e. "a favourable proposal supported by good, solid arguments (not just 'presentable' ones)". In general, a negotiator's alternatives to an agreement with the other party, his reservation price (i.e. the maximum price a buyer is willing to spend on something, or the minimum price a seller is willing to accept) and target price (i.e. ideal outcome) should serve as guidelines to come up with a particular opening offer value (cf. GALINSKY 2004: paragraph 17).

During the negotiation stages following the opening offer, the parties have the opportunity to approach each other by gradually making more concessions until they reach the "zone of possible agreement (ZOPA)" (LAX & SEBENIUS 2004a: 9) or "Final Offer Zone" (BAGULEY 2000: 97, 120-121) of the so-called "Bargaining Zone" (cf. Figure 2; also cf. HODGSON 1998: 43-45; LINGUARAMA 1998: 48; MARSH 2001: 317-318). The ZOPA or Final Offer Zone is the zone where the seller's and the buyer's realistic ideas about a potential outcome overlap, which would be preferred by both to reaching no agreement at all. SHELL (2006: 167-168) warns against making large concessions prematurely. As an explanation he quotes the saying "What we obtain too cheaply, we esteem too lightly", a phenomenon which he calls concession devaluation (related to the winner's curse described by LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 127). According to SHELL (2006: 169), one should employ a hard negotiation style ("start high and concede slowly") in distributive bargaining situations (e.g. haggling over a price for a car), but in integrative bargaining situations (i.e. negotiation as defined for the present study) the rule should be to "make big moves on your 'little' (less important) issues and little moves on your 'big' (most important) issues" (for distributive vs. integrative bargaining cf. Section 1.1, Footnote 16). Generally, SHELL (2006: 173) says, one's strategy and tactics depend on the type of situation, one's leverage and relative situational power, and the other party's negotiating style.

\(^{37}\) Cf. SHELL (2006: 161), who calls it the contrast principle because of the contrast between the relatively high opening offer and the final outcome.
Figure 2: The Bargaining Zone (Baguley 2000: 97)

Baguley’s illustration of the Bargaining Zone only refers to the monodimensional bargaining activity described by Wagner & Petersen (1991: 1991) (cf. Section 1.1). For the multidimensional negotiating activity, it would have to be more complex (cf. Figure 3 in Section 2.1.2 for a graphic representation).

Some authors of the textbooks and manuals reviewed in this section give examples of how to phrase offers (and proposals and so forth), as far as both wording and content are concerned.38

Ex. 1. If you order more than two thousand units, then we will give you a twenty per cent discount. (Linguarama 1998: 59)39

The most efficient way of making offers (or proposals) is supposed to be linking them with conditions as in Ex. 1: "Phrasing for proposals is crucial. The best formula is to present your proposals using a conditional approach." (Fleming 1997: 65), or: Offers "[c]an be tentative or specific but should always be conditional: if you do such

38 In so doing, the authors address issues which are very much of interest to linguists, pragmatists in particular, i.e. questions of pragmalinguistic features, including indirectness, perspective, internal and external modification (cf. Section 2.2).
CHAPTER 2: Offers
Section 2.1: Offers in the non-linguistic negotiation literature

and such, then I will do so and so" (KENNEDY 2004: 140). In his handbook on contract negotiations, MARSH (2001) paraphrases conditional proposals or offers thus:

If you could agree to X (i.e. the term which is important to me to secure), then I don't think we would have a problem with Y (i.e. the term which you want and which I am prepared, as part of an overall bargain, to trade for X) provided we can reach agreement on the other outstanding issues. (MARSH 2001: 158)

"Mak[ing] contingent concessions" is also among MALHOTRA's (2006) four concession-making strategies. Unlike KENNEDY, however, he warns against linking every concession with a condition because then "your behaviour will be seen as self-serving rather than oriented toward achieving mutual satisfaction". The other three strategies MALHOTRA advocates are: "label your concessions", "demand and define reciprocity", and "make concessions in instalments". To label one's concessions means to make unmistakably clear that one has just made a concession, and to explain that the concession is at one's own cost and of benefit to the other party. However, labelling alone may not always suffice so that a negotiator should also explicitly (but inoffensively) ask for reciprocity. Ex. 2 is a combination of the latter two strategies.

Ex. 2. This isn't easy for us, but we've made some adjustments on price to accommodate your concerns. We expect that you are now in a better position to make some changes to the project deadlines. An extra month for each milestone would help us immeasurably. (MALHOTRA 2006: paragraph 11)

MALHOTRA's final recommendation is to make concessions in instalments. According to him, research shows that people evaluate getting amount X in several instalments more positively than when they receive the same amount at once (cf. the concession devaluation phenomenon described above). Further arguments for this strategy are: a) choosing the latter would contradict people's expectation that in a negotiation one trades offers back and forth several times before the final agreement can be reached; b) it might not be necessary to grant the maximum concession one would be prepared to make in order to close a satisfying deal since the other party may already accept a minor concession; c) making several smaller concessions instead of one large concession offers the negotiator more opportunities to receive something in exchange.

In another article, MALHOTRA (2004b) advises his readers to make concessions for which no concession is expected in return in order to establish trust in the relationship with the other negotiating party. Labelling one's concessions can serve the same purpose: "A carefully crafted unilateral concession can work wonders for trust, for it conveys to the other party that you consider the relationship to be a friendly one, with the potential for mutual gain and trust over time." (MALHOTRA 2004b: 3). The concession need not be very costly or risky for the maker in order to have this effect.

A further offer strategy is suggested by HUSTED MEDVEC & GALINSKY (2005). They recommend making multiple equivalent simultaneous offers (MESOs). The authors give an example of a software company making three equivalent simultaneous offers to a business partner:
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Ex. 3. (1) a customized sales software package for $1 million with payment in 30 days;
(2) the same software for $1.15 million with payment in 20 days;
(3) the same software bundled with statistical analysis software for $1.35 million
with payment in 30 days.

(HUSTED MEDVEC & GALINSKY 2005: 4)

MESOs should be presented together, "preferably visually and side by side" (HUSTED MEDVEC & GALINSKY 2005: 4), and each of the offers should contain differently weighted components but be of equal total value to the offerer. During a negotiation several packages of MESOs can be made – the negotiator is advised to start with a relatively high value so that there is room for later concessions (cf. the discussion of the first offer and its anchoring effect above). The authors point out the following advantages of MESOs: they are said to increase the probability of achieving a desirable outcome, prevent deadlocks, signal flexibility but allow persistence at the same time, create a positive atmosphere, and make the other side feel satisfied because he can choose what he thinks is 'best' from a variety of different offers. Moreover, by making the other negotiating party choose from a selection of offers, the offerer gains important information about the other's interests and preferences. Unlike with direct questions about his priorities, the offerer does that indirectly via an assessment of the other's reactions, which allows him to adapt his next package of MESOs accordingly. Nevertheless, there are also some risks involved in making MESOs because the negotiator also reveals a lot of information about himself and his position, the other party may do cherry-picking and choose the most advantageous component of each individual offer, and MESOs can make the negotiation quite complex. Similar to MESOs is what SHELL (2006: 169) describes as package bargaining: each negotiator presents a bundle of issues which are all linked to individual offers or proposals. Step by step, the parties can then flexibly consider different combinations of these packages and make concessions on individual aspects. A final agreement is only achieved after all issues have been resolved.

BAZERMAN (2004) gives advice as to how to phrase offers and explanations and justifications of offers, which he calls framing. He argues that the way offers are presented influences people's decision-making behaviour in negotiations. When an offer is made, the implications for the other side should not be phrased in terms of losses in relation to the other's benchmark; instead, the gains should be emphasised (this is reminiscent of MALHOTRA's recommendation that one should label one's concessions, cf. MALHOTRA 2004b and MALHOTRA 2006). One and the same position may be phrased in two different ways but have opposite effects. Consider, for instance,

40 Also cf. the principle of logrolling: "Successful logrolling requires the parties to establish (or find) more than one issue in conflict; the parties then agree to trade off among these issues so that one party achieves a highly preferred outcome on the first issue and the other person achieves a highly preferred outcome on the second issue." (LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 105).

41 The concept of frame goes back to GOFFMAN (1974: 247): "Given their understanding of what it is that is going on, individuals fit their actions to this understanding and ordinarily find that the ongoing world supports this fitting. These organizational premises – sustained both in the mind and in activity – I call the frame of the activity".
BAZERMAN's example of a woman currently earning $150,000, who is about to be hired away by another company (Ex. 4). The woman has demanded $200,000.

Ex. 4.  
Option 1: The best we can offer is a $30,000 increase over your current salary.  
Option 2: You will have to shove $20,000 off of your demand for us to reach agreement.  
(BAZERMAN 2004: 10)

The mere fact that the first option sounds better than the second one – because it is positively framed – makes it likely to be more readily accepted by the woman, although both options lead to the same objective outcome of $180,000. BAZERMAN gives a psychological reason for this behaviour: people take risks when they are confronted with positively framed positions, yet avoid risks when being confronted with negatively framed positions (also cf. LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 124, 126). Similarly, SHELL (2006: 160, 163) advises his readers to provide reasonable arguments (e.g. by quoting a convincing standard of comparison) along with their offers. According to LINGUARAMA (1998: 61) and HODGSON (1998: 93-94), another promising way is to formulate offers as hypothetical questions and expressions (Ex. 5).

Ex. 5.  
What would you say if I were to invest a million dollars in the project? (LINGUARAMA 1998: 61)

Prescriptive literature also implicitly draws attention to the interactional dimension of offers (cf. Section 0.1) by giving advice as to how to elicit offers (and proposals and so forth) from the other party (cf., e.g. BAZERMAN 2004; MALHOTRA 2004b, 2006; BOHNET 2005; SHELL 2006), and how to respond to them appropriately (cf., e.g. BAGULEY 2000; HODGSON 1998; LINGUARAMA 1998; LUM 2004).

MALHOTRA says that when asking for a commitment from the other side, one should explain why one makes this particular demand (MALHOTRA 2004b: 3-4). This is important in order to show that you are trustworthy, because if left in the dark about one's intentions and motives, the person opposite may misinterpret them. Moreover, BAZERMAN's piece of advice concerning framing also applies to requests serving to elicit an offer from the other side. In Ex. 6, the second option is the preferred one.

Ex. 6.  
Option 1: What's the lowest price you'll take for your lousy firm?  
Option 2: I want to do everything possible to make you a more attractive offer, so, if you don't mind my asking, what will you do if you don't sell your firm to us?  
(BAZERMAN 2004: 11)

Asking for reciprocity in a proactive way is another way of eliciting an offer from the other side (cf. MALHOTRA 2006: paragraphs 10-13; LUM 2004: 118; already mentioned above in the context of how to 'best' make concessions). BOHNET (2005) suggests a more indirect approach. In order to make an offer appear as an intentional, sincere, and fair "act of generosity" (BOHNET 2005: 7) so that it is reciprocated on the grounds that the other negotiating party follows the norm of reciprocity, a negotiator should stick to certain principles: a) find out whether his counterpart is in a position (i.e. has the power) to make a similar offer in return, b) learn about his counterpart's view on reciprocity in general (may differ from culture to culture), c) avoid misinterpretation of one's behaviour as an act resulting from ignorance or chance, d) create a feeling of indebtedness in his counterpart, e) formulate the offer in such a way that it sounds attractive enough to be returned in kind. BOHNET makes clear that imple-
menting these principles requires careful preparation prior to the negotiation meeting. SHELL (2006: 161) argues that a high opening offer also increases the likelihood that, after the other's rejection of one's first offer, one's initial concession (which still represents a high offer value) is reciprocated. Negotiators must be aware that failing to reciprocate a concession may have negative consequences on an interpersonal level as it may signal that the Offerer's efforts to be cooperative are not really appreciated and that he as a person is not held in high esteem (cf. LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 76-77).

Advice as to how to respond to offers (and proposals and so forth) includes taking one's time to consider what the offer entails, instead of accepting or rejecting it outright or making a counter-offer (cf., e.g. HODGSON 1998: 71-72, 76). In particular, disagreements should be dealt with carefully because the offerer might feel offended. If necessary, one should ask for clarification first (cf., e.g. BAGULEY 2000: 88). In case one is still not happy with the other negotiator's offer, one could make an alternative counter-offer. These sequences of offer, clarification and discussion, and counter-offer will finally lead to an agreement (cf., e.g. LINGUARAMA 1998: 49-54). A strategy favoured by LUM (2004: 115-116), especially when one negotiates multiple issues (cf. LUM 2004: 68), is to make Tentative Agreements Contingent on the Whole (TACOWs) during the course of the negotiation:

It's important to make agreements on small and large issues as you go along – on specific issues like price, volume, delivery date, payment terms, and so on. It can be nearly impossible to come to agreement on all issues at once. The quandary is that it's often hard to make agreements on small issues when other issues loom large. To manage this challenge effectively, negotiators make Tentative Agreements Contingent on the Whole (TACOWs). This is a fancy way of saying that as you make agreements on any given issue, nothing is final until the parties see the entire agreement as a whole. (LUM 2004: 115)

If one of the negotiating parties feels that time has come to finally close the deal, LEWICKI ET AL. (2003: 83-84) suggest several tactics, among them "to Provide Alternatives", i.e. to make two or three final alternative offers of equivalent value, to "Split the Difference", i.e. to arrive at a compromise and meet in the middle, to make "Exploding Offers", i.e. to link the final offer with a very tight deadline, or to employ "Sweeteners", i.e. to make a highly attractive final concession dependent on the other's agreement to the overall deal. Under the headline "Don't Be Satisfied with an Agreement – Get a Commitment", SHELL (2006: 191) emphasises that at the end of a negotiation the parties need not only agree on the outcome but should also commit themselves to implementing their decisions. These outcomes can be sealed, for instance, by means of a handshake or written contract, depending on the degree of formality that is required (cf. SHELL 2006: 191-194).

The most significant aspect about making, eliciting and reacting to offers, proposals, suggestions, promises, commitments, and concessions is, according to prevailing theory, to prepare oneself well before the start of a negotiation. This piece of advice is given in virtually every book consulted for this review: negotiators should know at an early state what they would like to put forward as their opening offer to exploit the anchoring and adjustment effects as efficiently as possible, the least or the most they are ready to accept or to give, as well as their ideal outcome (i.e. the reservation
and target prices mentioned above). This presupposes knowledge of what they want to – and realistically can – achieve, and under which circumstances they are willing to close a deal. During the preparation or planning phase they should therefore think about and evaluate alternative courses of action they will take if the negotiation does not produce the desired outcome. FISHER, URY & PATTON (1991: 104) call the "standard against which any proposed agreement should be measured" Best Alternative To a Negotiated Agreement (BATNA). MALHOTRA points to the risk negotiators take if they do not determine their BATNAs before the start of a negotiation:

When you fail to do so, you're liable to make a costly mistake – rejecting a deal you should have accepted or accepting one you'd have been wise to reject. In negotiation, it's important to have high aspirations and to fight hard for a good outcome. But it's just as critical to establish a walkaway point that is firmly grounded in reality. (MALHOTRA 2004a: 9)

If the agreement-to-be promises less than a negotiating party's BATNA, the negotiation should be adjourned or broken off. During the course of a negotiation (which may sometimes last for several weeks, months, or even years), it might be necessary to readjust one's BATNA from time to time. Moreover, a negotiator should try to find out as much as possible about his opponent's expectations, objectives, and BATNA (cf. MALHOTRA 2004a: 10-11; LUM 2004: 81-110). All these pieces of information are important as they can be used as a source of power and leverage (cf., e.g. LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 175; SHELL 2006: 149)

The style of the prescriptive literature discussed above is very distinctive: imperatives and other syntactic markers of obligation (e.g. use of auxiliaries such as you must/should/ought to do A) make the text sound patronising at times. Additionally, some manuals, and textbooks in particular, contain exercises and worksheets. The authors tell their readers that if they follow their advice, they will be successful in any kind of negotiation – although most admit that some practice is required. For illustrative purposes, writers make use of metaphors (e.g. "the house of negotiation opportunity", REARDON 2004: 48-50; "Another Bite of the Apple' tactic", LUM 2004: 69) and comparisons (e.g. "negotiations are as varied as roller coasters", REARDON 2004: 1), and underpin their recommendations by anecdotes and (often fabricated) case studies. Some support their recommendations by quoting research results from studies in business and economic studies and psychology, but only few provide complete references. The types of recommendations are of course influenced by the negotiation styles and approaches the authors advocate, be it positional negotiation or principled (interest-based) negotiation, which are the two most widely known styles, typically associated with a collaborative (cooperative, problem-solving, win-win, joint-gain, 'expand the pie') and a competitive (win-lose, 'divide the pie') approach, respectively.

42 The term principled negotiation was coined by FISHER, URY & PATTON (1991) in their classic work Getting to Yes. Negotiating an Agreement Without Giving In, first published in 1981. It is the approach clearly favoured by most authors of negotiation advice books. The leading principles are: 1. Separate the people from the problem, 2. Focus on interests, not on positions, 3. Invent options for mutual gain, 4. Insist on using objective criteria.
The text samples (not only in foreign language textbooks such as LINGUARAMA 1998) are on the whole over-simplified; they sound stylised and artificial. It is hardly conceivable that they would occur in real-life negotiations. This assumption is supported by the results of studies which compare the language used in teaching materials to the language used in corresponding real-life situations (e.g. WILLIAMS 1988; BOXER & PICKERING 1995; NELSON 2000). The textbook examples are shown to be reduced to one-sentence utterances or very brief exchanges with neither context nor co-text, in standard English, without any of the grammatical errors, hesitations, silences, omissions, stammerings, false starts, or overlaps which are typical features of spoken language. Compared to naturally-occurring language used in authentic settings, textbook language is restricted in terms of its lexical richness and variation, word clusters, colligation, and "the semantic 'meaning world' it [i.e. Business English] is made up of" (NELSON 2000: Chapter 1). Therefore, it is questionable if the language materials presented in negotiation manuals and textbooks are adequate and sufficient for teaching (verbal) behaviour in real life negotiations.

2.1.2 Non-linguistic negotiation research

The great range of approaches to offers in negotiation research is illustrated in Section 2.1.2 by means of an exemplary selection of non-linguistic studies from sociology, social psychology, economics, business and marketing studies. The questions addressed are: what do the researchers regard as offers? what is of interest to them in connection with offers? The section concludes with a résumé of how these non-linguistic perspectives differ from the perspective taken in the present study.

The selection of studies presented in this section shows that the varied uses of offer, proposal, suggestion, promise, commitment, or concession reoccur in academic works on negotiations. Explicit definitions are generally lacking (except in TUTZAUER 1992: 68-69). When talking about offers (or proposals etc.), authors focus on a variety of different aspects: for instance, they

- regard offers as important elements which have a structural function within specific sequences of a negotiation (e.g. MAYNARD 1984; FRANCIS 1995),
- look at the utility functions attached to offers which are claimed to change during the negotiation process because negotiators influence one another interactively (e.g. TUTZAUER 1992),
- consider offers as evidence for a particular decision which is part of a strategy, which in turn leads to a particular negotiation outcome because the elements in question provoke a reaction by the other negotiating party – e.g. acceptance/agreement, rejection/disagreement, counter-offer (e.g. HAMMER & YUKL

43 The process of choosing an exemplary handful of studies was rather eclectic since the aim was not to give a state of the art overview of negotiation research in sociology, social psychology, economics, business and marketing studies, nor to present the results of the individual studies in detail.
1977; Roth & Murnighan 1982; Lim & Murnighan 1994; Blount 1995; Hennig-Schmidt, Li & Yang 2008),

− are interested in the amount and/or type of information conveyed through offers to the other party (e.g. Kelley 1966; Liebert, Smith & Hill 1968; Rubin & Brown 1975), or

− look into how the content and frequency of oral and written forms of offers, proposals, etc. influence the outcome (e.g. Angelmar & Stern 1978; Putnam & Jones 1982a).

The aforementioned unclear use of offer, proposal, commitment, etc. is evident, for instance, from the discussion of the bargaining sequence in the literature. Several researchers who adopt a conversation analytic approach claim that the bargaining sequence forms the base structure of negotiations. A good example is Maynard's (1984: 78-100, 171) study on plea bargaining. In its most simple form, the bargaining sequence consists of two turns which form an adjacency pair:

Each such sequence consists of two turns: one in which a party makes a position visible by means of a report of a preference or by means of a proposal, and a second in which the other party replies by exhibiting alignment or nonalignment with the presented position. (Maynard 1984: 171)

Maynard, a sociologist, defines proposal as an umbrella term for utterances in which negotiators "make a position visible" (Maynard 1984: 171), including offers, suggestions and asking-fors (cf. Maynard 1984: 79, 84). If an offer is linked with a condition, a negotiator also demonstrates his expectations regarding the other party's preferred behaviour. As Table 2 shows, the base structure of the Bargaining Sequence can be elaborated and extended in the following way:

| Negotiator A: | proposal, offer, preference report, or demand |
| Negotiator B: | evaluation of the proposal, offer, preference report, or demand (rather a mental process), followed by request for more information |
| Negotiator A: | disclosure of information |
| [further insertion sequences are possible] | |
| Negotiator B: | alignment (acceptance, agreement, making of concessions) or non-alignment (refusal, disagreement, making of a counter-offer, counter-proposal, counter-preference report, or counter-demand) |

Table 2: The Bargaining Sequence (adapted from Maynard 1984: 91-100 and Rubin & Brown 1975: 14)

In his study of the relationship between negotiation and decision-making, another sociologist, David Francis (1995: 55-56), takes a different view. He criticises conversation analysis for its a reductionist treatment of the Bargaining Sequence. In his opinion, the sequential character of the basic unit of negotiations has been overemphasised. In order to say that two parties negotiate over something, their differing views and interests must become apparent. A mere sequence of, for instance, pro-
posal followed by alignment does not constitute a Bargaining Sequence. The content or topic of the proposal or position report also plays a role – it has to refer to the issue under negotiation in some way or another. Besides, FRANCIS (1995: 43) points out the difficulties of determining where a Bargaining Sequence starts, since the demonstration of a position on a preferred outcome can take many different forms, both quite obvious and very indirect ones, and it can stretch over a number of utterances.

At the beginning of his article "The communication of offers in dyadic bargaining", the communication scholar TUTZAUER (1992: 68) writes: "[...] bargaining consists of a series of tentative proposals put forth by the parties. These tentative proposals are called offers." TUTZAUER then raises the question "What are the linguistic features of offers?" and points to the researcher's difficulty of identifying all offers in a negotiation because offers may not always be explicit ("overtly stated") but can likewise be implicit ("hinted at or otherwise tacitly made"). The answer to his introductory question comprises four main features:

1. Offers are mostly numerical, but not always.
2. Offers demand a response (counter-offer or acceptance or rejection).
3. Offers are "fluid", i.e. they are tentative and subject to modification and change.
4. Offers can either refer to a single or to multiple issues.

TUTZAUER (1992: 69) concludes his section on the definition of offers with the statement "Offers, then, are the basic components of bargaining." He claims that each offer, even a non-numerical one, can be assigned a utility function for each negotiator which reflects its value in quantitative terms. Negotiators' offer utilities may change during the negotiation as they are influenced by the information the negotiators gain over time (cf. TUTZAUER 1992: 70). Based on these utilities, it is possible to draw a diagram for multidimensional negotiating activity between two parties which none of the manuals, how-to guides, or textbooks had provided (cf. Section 2.1.2): the Cartesian coordinate plane (cf. Figure 3). The x-axis corresponds to the utility that negotiator A associates with a particular offer \((u_1)\), and the y-axis to the utility negotiator B attaches to the same offer \((u_2)\). Accordingly, each offer is assigned a particular point \((u_1, u_2)\) in the coordinate system. All possible offer points together form the feasible outcome set (similar to the bargaining zone in Figure 2 in Section 2.1.1, called contract zone by TUTZAUER 1992: 70). Moreover, it is possible to link each offer point with a vector which then shows in which direction and how fast internal and external factors contribute to the change of this offer (cf. TUTZAUER 1992: 75).
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Figure 3: Feasible outcome set in a Cartesian coordinate system for a two-party negotiation (based on TUTZAUER’s 1992: 71 description)

TUTZAUER (1992: 71-79) suggests three different major model types (Differential Equation Models, Iterative Dynamics, Catastrophe Theory)\(^{44}\) to describe offers within a communication framework in order to deal with the shortcomings of earlier social-psychological research. This framework is based on three premises which the models more or less adhere to:

1. The communication of offers is a process. [...] offers change over time. More importantly, however, changes in offers result from what went before; later offers are tied to earlier offers by some linkage.
2. The offer process is interactive. Interactive means that bargainers influence each other. [...] 
3. Internal and external forces drive the interactive process of making offers. [...] 

(TUTZAUER 1992: 73; original emphasis)

HAMMER & YUKL (1977) summarise experimental social-psychological research on negotiation (up to 1977) which deal with the question "to what extent and under what conditions various strategies and tactics affect bargaining outcomes" (HAMMER & YUKL 1977: 138). The authors name four frequently used offer tactics which can be combined in certain ways to implement a particular bargaining strategy (i.e. tough, moderately tough, soft, fair):

- Open with an extreme or hard initial offer (size of initial offer).
- Make relatively small concessions (size of concession).
- Make few large concessions or many small concessions (frequency and rate of concessions).

\(^{44}\) A detailed presentation of these models and their exponents is beyond the scope of this chapter.
Make a final offer at some stage of the negotiation that the other side can either accept or reject (ultimateness of final offer).

The studies quoted by HAMMER & YUKL produced partly contradictory results as to which tactic/strategy is the most effective one because there were differing assumptions about the bargainers' motives for concession-making, about how the other party reacts to a bargainer's concessions, and about what constitutes a 'fair' outcome. Also, HAMMER & YUKL show that the success of a strategy depended on the circumstances of the research design and the given bargaining situation (e.g. type of bargaining game, human vs. computer opponent, different dependent variables), which makes an objective comparison and evaluation of the above-mentioned offer tactics and strategies difficult.

Social psychologists KELLEY, RUBIN, and BROWN are, like TUTZAUER, exponents of the experimental approach to negotiation. The researchers stress that in making proposals or offers, a party conveys information to the other party with respect to what it is willing to give or accept (cf., e.g. KELLEY 1966: 60; RUBIN & BROWN 1975: 14; also cf. LIEBERT, SMITH & HILL 1968). Possessing information about the other party's intentions and goals – while disclosing as little information as necessary about one's own objectives – is vital in negotiations because it gives one an advantage over the other party. The more information one has, the more precisely one can develop one's negotiating position. However, the negotiators depend upon each other to get this information. In this information exchange process, the negotiators face two principal dilemmas: the dilemma of honesty and openness, and the dilemma of trust (cf. KELLEY 1966; RUBIN & BROWN 1975: 15). The question is, on the one hand, how sincere one is to be and how much information one should disclose, and, on the other hand, how much one can trust the other party.

The effect of (honest or dishonest) information disclosure through offers or proposals and their strategic significance for bargaining outcomes is also an area of interest in economic and management studies. It is found that participants' bargaining behaviour is influenced by variables such as the respective information condition, i.e. which pieces of information are/are not available to the bargaining parties (cf., e.g. ROTH & MURNIGHAN 1982), or time constraints (cf., e.g. LIM & MURNIGHAN 1994). Whereas ROTH & MURNIGHAN (1982) measure the frequency of agreements and disagreements with proposals as well as mean outcomes subject to the different information conditions, LIM & MURNIGHAN (1994) examine – among other things – proposal, concession and additional message frequency and concession size for different stages of the experiment in relation to the impending deadline.

Although HENNIG-SCHMIDT, LI & YANG (2008) pose the question of why advantageous offers in a specific version of the ultimatum game are sometimes rejected, 

45 The ultimatum game is a two-party game frequently used in experimental studies in game and bargaining theory. Party A suggests how to divide a good (usually some amount of money) with party B. If B accepts, A gets his demand and B gets the rest. If B rejects this division, neither of them gets anything. Advantageous offers in an ultimatum game are offers by which party A is willing to give more than 50% of the pie. In the authors' experiment, the parties had to decide simultaneously, i.e. the (continued on next page)
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the answers they provide do not relate to language issues. In a video experiment conducted in the People's Republic of China, language is only used to find out more about the (student) participants' motivations for making a particular decision. For this purpose, their verbal contributions during decision-making (in groups of three) are content-analysed. Hennig-Schmidt, Li & Yang identify as the main motives for rejecting advantageous offers: social concern (e.g. aversion against advantageous inequality), group-specific decision rules, non-expectancy of high offers, emotional, ethical, moral reasons (e.g. face damage), and aversion against unpleasant numbers.

Bllout (1995), a scholar of management and organisational behaviour, explores the reasons for offer acceptances and rejections subject to how offers are generated in an ultimatum game. The three principal alternative situations which are tested are: a) the offer is generated by an anonymous human subject that has an interest in the bargaining outcome (receives a payoff depending on the bargaining outcome), b) the offer is generated by an anonymous human subject that does not have an interest in the bargaining outcome, i.e. a third party that does not receive a payoff which directly depends on the bargaining outcome, c) the offer is produced randomly by a computer so that there are neither perceptions of intentionality nor of self-interest. Blount finds that the different situations have an observable effect on the players' expectations concerning potential offers, and that they also produce significant differences in participants' actual decision-making behaviour (acceptance vs. rejection).

Negotiation researchers who opt for the content-analytic methodology also address offers in their investigations. Their terminology resembles to some extent the utterance labels for illocutionary acts used in speech act theory (cf. Section 2.2.1), e.g. threat, warning, promise, request for information, acceptance, etc. (cf. Angelmar & Stern 1978: 95-96; Putnam & Jones 1982a: 180). In Angelmar & Stern's (1978: 94-96, 101) scheme, which comprises twelve categories altogether, a separate category offer does not exist, but offers may be subsumed under the very broadly defined category promise. Moreover, a specific type of offer, i.e. non-negotiable final offers with the implication 'take it or leave it' (cf. Fisher, Ury & Patton 1991: 147-148), belongs to their category called commitments. Putnam & Jones (1982a) base their analysis of reciprocity in negotiations on the second revised version of Walcott & Hopmann's (1975) Bargaining Process Analysis. The scheme consists of six major categories of bargaining functions (i.e. substantive, strategic, persuasive, task, affective, and procedural behaviour), further divided into 30 subordinate categories. One of the subunits of the substantive behaviour category is initiation, which "provides initial offers and advances new proposals" (Putnam & Jones 1982a: 180). This brief definition does not shed any light on which utterances would actually count as

offerees were asked to specify in advance which offers they would accept and which they would reject.

Additionally, Putnam & Jones (1982a: 180) list two categories labelled promise (which "offers rewards or sanctions if the opponent complies in a stated manner") and commitment (which "takes a firm position; indicates that a position will not be changed under any circumstances; a non-negotiable position"). These definitions largely correspond to Angelmar & Stern's (1978: 95-96) categories with the same labels.
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initiations. What it shows, however, is that offers and proposals are regarded as substantive elements of negotiations, and that, yet again, there seems to be no clear analytical distinction between the two terms. The category labelling undertaken by content analysts generally lacks coherence, and the category definitions tend to be inconsistent and imprecise (cf. Angelmar & Stern 1978; Putnam & Jones 1982a; also Neu 1985 and Neu & Graham 1995). Despite apparent similarities and overlaps between speech act theory and content analysis, Angelmar & Stern and other content analysts\(^47\) seem to be unaware of the existence of the former theory, since none of the fundamental speech act theoretic works are cited in their articles. The studies do not provide any examples of transcripts of their negotiation data, which would have been helpful for a further investigation into conceptual parallels and differences between content analysis and speech act theory.

The review of a selection of non-linguistic studies on offers, proposals and related elements in negotiations presented in this section shows that, with respect to terminology, the studies were not helpful in finding a definition of offer for the present investigation. The focus particularly of economic and psychological studies (and, to a certain extent, also of the sociological studies described above, which discuss a CA approach) lies not on the formulation of and interactional dealing with offers etc. in a linguistic pragmatic and discourse-analytic sense (i.e. conversational offer strategies), but on the informational content yielded through offers (and related elements) as well as through the responses to these elements. The aim is to find out which effects different variables have on negotiation outcomes in order to gain further insights into decision-making processes. The interactional dimension of dealing with offers is reduced to whether or not (price) offers are presented to the other party, how high or low the offers are, and whether or not they are accepted or rejected – in other words: how goods are allocated. In fact, the research designs prevailing in economic, psychological and sociological negotiation research (i.e. the abstract, experimental and content analytic approaches, cf. Sections 1.2.1-1.2.3) more or less prevent the rise of any questions about the significance of language for decision-making: the interaction between participants is mostly computer-mediated (hence anonymous) – sometimes one of the participants is substituted by a computer programmed opponent – and often consists solely of an exchange of decisions in the form of written numbers which represent a particular value such as money or a percentage of a good that is to be divided. This is partly counteracted by research conducted by some communication scholars who at least acknowledge that negotiation is a dynamic process in which negotiators interactively deal with offers, i.e. that demands for offers, responses to offers, and offers themselves are inextricably linked. But again, the way these are phrased does not play a major role. By contrast, the present study is concerned with how offers are elicited, how offers are put into words, how they are ac-

\(^47\) By that, only 'pure' content analysts are meant. Neu is a sociolinguist and well aware of speech act theory, although she calls Angelmar & Stern's scheme a bit too uncritically "speech act schema" and equals content analysis with speech act analysis (Neu 1985: 101-102). Based on Angelmar & Stern (1978), she sets up a similar inventory of functional variables for her analysis (Neu 1985: 100-120).
2.2 A linguistic approach to offers

To *offer* to do something means to say that one is willing to do it and that one will do it if the addressee says that he wants one to do it. The speaker assumes that the proposed course of events could be good for the addressee, but he doesn't take it for granted that the addressee will want it, and he leaves the addressee the freedom to decide whether or not the proposed action should take place. (WIERZBICKA 1987: 191)

As a starting point, I investigate the speech act *offer* (and, as it turned out, related commissive elements) in negotiations. Therefore, most of the literature discussed in the following sections deals with pragmatic studies. However, when it comes to the macro level of discourse, I also draw on linguistic studies which opt for a discourse analytic or conversation analytic approach.

In the present study, the *micro level* of discourse comprises the individual offer utterances (Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2), including facework and politeness issues (Section 2.2.3) and realisation strategies (Section 2.2.4). *Macro level*, as it is understood here, refers to what goes beyond the boundaries of the individual offer utterance and its immediate surroundings (i.e. supportive moves, Section 2.2.5): the interactional status of offer utterances within offer exchanges and linguistic events leading up to the offer (Section 2.2.6), and responses to offers by the addressee (Sections 2.2.6.1 and 2.2.6.2).

2.2.1 Offers as speech acts

In speech act theory, speech is considered action, or intentional behaviour. When a person makes an offer, he *does* something with words. For instance, when saying *Want some beer?* to a friend who has come for a visit in the evening, S performs the speech act *offer*.

Speech act theory is rooted in ordinary language philosophy and was developed by AUSTIN (1962) and SEARLE (1969) in the 1950s and 1960s. It was absorbed by linguists in the 1970s, which led to a paradigm shift in linguistics frequently called *pragmatic turn* (e.g. LINKE, NUSSBAUMER & PORTMANN 1996: 170). Over the years, linguists have further modified speech act theory according to their own purposes and interests. Among other things, they investigate individual speech acts in terms of their realisation strategies and the factors influencing these strategies (e.g. gender, social status, power, culture). Offers, however, are not analysed as frequently and in...
depth as other illocutionary acts, such as requests, apologies, complaints, or compliment responses. Many studies presented in this section merely mention offers in passing, especially those that deal with the identification and classification of illocutionary acts in general (e.g. Bach & Harnish 1979; Edmondson & House 1981; Fraser 1983; Rolf 1997). Studies which focus more narrowly (but mostly not exclusively) on the illocutionary act *offer* are those by Wunderlich (1977), Hancher (1979), Kasper (1981), Wierzbicka (1987), Fukushima (1987, 1990a, 1990b), Chen, Ye & Zhang (1995), Matoba (1996), Aijmer (1996), Ruiz de Zarobe (2000), Pérez Hernández (2001), Barron (2000, 2003, 2005), Bilbow (2002), and Schneider (2003). However, with the exception of Bilbow (2002), these studies deal only with hospitable offers (Ex. 7), offers of assistance (Ex. 8), or gift offerings (Ex. 9), all typical of everyday conversation:

Ex. 7. Have a drink. (Schneider 2003: 183)

Ex. 8. [...] I was wondering do you need a hand? (Barron 2003: 133; offer from the Irish English native speaker (NS) group)

Ex. 9. This handbag is for you. (Zhu, Li & Qian 2000: 94; translation of a Chinese sample exchange; Chinese transcription omitted)

These offers are different from those to be expected in negotiations and other business contexts (cf. Section 4.1).

The majority of the researchers quoted above agree on three general aspects of meaning of *offer*:

a) When making an offer, S expresses his willingness to carry out a future action A.

b) S intends that the utterance will place him under an obligation to do A.

c) A is in H's interest.

As far as the assignment of a particular illocutionary force is concerned, however, the linguists' views diverge. Traditionally, offers are said to have commissive force (cf., e.g. Searle 1975: 80; Bach & Harnish 1979: 49-51; Fraser 1983: 40; Leech 1983: 106, 217; Matoba 1996: 422; Ruiz de Zarobe 2000: 61; Bilbow 2002: 296-48 Linguists take particular interest in requests and apologies. The most widely known empirical project dealing with these illocutionary acts from a cross-cultural (and interlanguage) perspective is the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989b). Another influential work has been Trosborg's (1995) study on requests, complaints and apologies.

49 Bilbow's (2002) study is a contrastive analysis of the use of commissive speech acts, including offers, by expatriates from Western countries and local Chinese staff. The data originate from eleven authentic intercultural business meetings taking place in a large multinational airline company in Hong Kong.

50 This is also true of textbooks (cf., e.g. Blundell, Higgins & Middlemiss 1982: 185-189).

51 As has been outlined by Pérez Hernández (2001: 86-87), offers may be realised by utterances in which H is the agent (e.g. *Have another biscuit*), particularly when a transfer of goods is involved, which is, of course, also true of negotiations. However, as she (2001: 87) points out, "even in those cases in which the addressee is presented as the agent [...], it is implied that the speaker is also committed to the performance of an action."
297). SEARLE (1976: 11) defines commissives as "those illocutionary acts whose point is to commit the speaker ([...] in varying degrees) to some future course of action".\footnote{Other examples of commissives listed by SEARLE (1976: 17) are promising, pledging, vowing.}

HANCHER (1979) was the first to state explicitly that offering (as well as tendering and bidding) is a hybrid act which incorporates commissive and directive elements to equal degrees:

To offer something to someone is both to try to direct that person's behavior, and also to commit oneself to a corresponding course of behavior. In offering you wine I am trying to get you to drink wine and also committing myself to provide you with wine to drink.  

(HANCHER 1979: 6)


This is only possible because commissives and directives have the same direction of fit (world-to-words, cf. SEARLE 1976: 11), and they both only mediately affect the world, which means that a change of some state of affairs is not brought about contemporaneously with the performance of the act (unlike declaratives, cf. HANCHER 1979: 3). PÉREZ HERNÁNDEZ (2001: 90-95) raises an interesting discussion about "a cognitive continuum between the directive and commissive superordinate illocutionary categories". She argues that offers are closer to the commissive end.

Although generally agreeing with HANCHER, AIJMER (1996: 134-135) identifies offering, like suggesting and advising, as an advisory, i.e. a subtype of requests. Advisories are acts in which the predicated future action is beneficial to H. Similarly, TSUI (1994: 91, 96, 101) argues that offers constitute one of the five subclasses of requestives (i.e. initiating discourse acts which solicit non-verbal actions and which seek either compliance or non-compliance from the addressee, cf. TSUI 1994: 52-54, 90).\footnote{The other four subclasses of Requestives which TSUI (1994: 96-102) identifies are: requests for permission, requests for action, invitations, proposals. The subclasses differ with regard to the following characteristics: speaker vs. addressee vs. speaker and addressee action, and speaker vs. addressee vs. speaker and addressee benefit. Offers are said to elicit a non-verbal response by the speaker and benefit the addressee.}

The combined commissive and directive nature of offers relates to WUNDERLICH'S (1977: 42-43) notion of offers as conditional speech acts. The underlying condition of an offer is that H actually wants the action expressed in the propositional content.
to be carried out (also cf. BACH & HARNISH 1979: 51; FRASER 1983: 40; LEECH 1983: 217, 219; BROWN & LEVINSON 1987: 66; WIERZBICKA 1987: 191-192; TSUI 1994: 97; ROLF 1997: 172-173; SCHNEIDER 2003: 180; BARRON 2003: 124; BARRON 2005: 142). Any kind of offer can – but does not necessarily – take the following basic form: *If you want/wish [part of the consequence], I will do A* (adapted from WUNDERLICH 1977: 43). Some kind of reaction is expected on H's part by means of which he comments on this condition, i.e. he either accepts or rejects the offer: "Neither the offer nor the proposal call for a practical conclusion. Both demand a cognitive conclusion, or the manifestation of an intention and/or decision." (WUNDERLICH 1977: 43).

It might be said that S asks for H's willingness to cooperate with S. The conditional character of offers therefore refers to the interactional dimension of offers, which is another general feature of offers also to be found in dictionary definitions (cf. Section 0.1). The condition is usually implicit in an offer, but it can also be made explicit, e.g. in Ex. 10.

Ex. 10. I can lend you some money *if you like*. (fabricated)

S may ask for H's reaction even more directly:

Ex. 11. I could throw a party – *what do you think?* (fabricated)

The obligation under which S places himself only becomes relevant if H accepts the offer.

HANCHER (1979: 7-9) takes a slightly different point of view as far as H's involvement is concerned. Offers, which he terms "unilateral illocutionary acts", seek some response by H. If H accepts the offer and the offered good or service (the latter does not have to be expressed in words), he has performed a second illocutionary act. Together, the offer plus the acceptance constitute a "peculiarly complex illocutionary situation", which he calls a "cooperative illocutionary act", i.e. giving. Since offers

55 Interestingly, a jurisprudential definition of *offer* found in a book on English contract law (TREITEL 2003) comes very close to the speech act theoretic understanding of offers. Note the author's unconscious reference to the illocutionary value and conditional nature of the speech act *offer*, its perlocutionary effects and the consequences arising thereof, and the implications of the sincerity conditions: "An offer is an expression of willingness to contract on specified terms, made with the intention that it is to become binding as soon as it is accepted by the person to whom it is addressed. Under the objective test of agreement, an apparent intention to be bound may suffice, i.e. the alleged offeror (A) may be bound if his words or conduct are such as to induce a reasonable person to believe that he intends to be bound, even though in fact he has no such intention." (TREITEL 2003: 8). However, "a statement is not an offer if it in terms negatives the maker's intention to be bound on acceptance" (TREITEL 2003: 11).

56 HANCHER (1979: 7) categorises the acceptance as a *declaration*, but I would rather classify it as a *commissive directive*: by accepting the offer, the addressee commits himself to taking the offered good/service and makes the offerer actually perform the predicated action. If, however, the acceptance also refers to the (non-verbal) taking of the offered good, which is held out to him by the offerer, the label *declaration* is justified.
have the potential of leading to such a cooperative illocutionary act, HANCHER labels them "precooperative illocutionary acts".  

The following paragraphs address the fact that there is no sharp definitorial dividing line between offering and other actions such as promising, proposing, or suggesting, which also holds true for linguistic studies. An attempt is made to distinguish more clearly between these related speech acts.

The similarity between offers and promises results in the occasional synonymous use of the two terms (cf., e.g. SAMEK 1965: 204). SEARLE sets up conditions, or circumstances, which are "necessary and sufficient for the [illocutionary] act […] to have been successfully and non-defectively performed in the utterance of a given sentence" (SEARLE 1969: 54). He exemplifies the conditions for promises, and Barron (BARRON 2003: 126) does the same for offers (cf. Table 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Example: Promise</th>
<th>Example: Offer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Propositional content conditions:</strong></td>
<td>S expresses the proposition that p in the utterance of a sentence T.</td>
<td>S predicates a future act x of S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They specify the meaning (i.e. state of affairs) of the utterance expressed by the propositional part p of the utterance through reference and predication.</td>
<td>In expressing that p, S predicates a future act A of S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preparatory conditions:</strong></td>
<td>H would prefer S's doing A to his not doing A, and S believes H would prefer his doing A to his not doing A.</td>
<td>(a) S is able to perform x.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They relate to the circumstantial conditions which must exist prior to the utterance of T. They are indispensable for the successful performance of the illocutionary act and include S's beliefs about H's capabilities and state of mind.</td>
<td>It is not obvious to both S and H that S will do A in the normal course of events.</td>
<td>(b) H wants S to perform x.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sincerity condition:</strong></td>
<td>S intends to do A.</td>
<td>(a) S intends to do x.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This condition refers to S's state of mind. It must be fulfilled if the illocutionary act is to be performed sincerely by S. 60</td>
<td>(b) S wants H to do x.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57 Other cooperative illocutionary acts are, according to HANCHER (1979: 8), a barter, a sale, or a contract. However, the notion of cooperative illocutionary acts is deemed problematic. The phenomenon can better be accounted for in the context of interactional structure (cf. Section 2.2.6). Moreover, selling something or making a contract refers to a whole speech event.

58 Cf. WIERZBICKA’s (1987: 7-9) criticism of a general lack of clear definitions of speech acts in scholarly literature.

59 According to SEARLE (1969: 57), the most general conditions are "normal input and output conditions". They are the same for all speech acts and refer to the prerequisites for the understanding and intelligible production of utterances, excluding speech and hearing impediments as well as joke telling or play acting.

60 The sincerity condition is related to GRICE’s Maxims of Quality (GRICE 1975: 46), which are part of the general Cooperative Principle: “Under the category of Quality falls a supermaxim – ‘Try to make your contribution one that is true’ – and two more specific maxims: 1. Do not say what you believe to be false. 2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.”
CHAPTER 2: Offers

Section 2.2: A linguistic approach to offers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Example: Promise</th>
<th>Example: Offer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Essential condition:  
It specifies the intention S has when making the utterance. The condition is met if H recognises the utterance as an instance of the illocutionary act in question. | S intends that the utterance of T will place him under an obligation to do A. | Counts as:  
(a) an undertaking by S of an obligation to do x, should H want S to.  
(b) an attempt by S to get H to do x. |

Table 3: Searle’s (1969: 55-61) conditions for the successful performance of the speech act promise and Barron’s (2003: 126) conditions for the successful performance of the speech act offer as "Commissive-Directives"61; definitions of the conditions adapted from Parker & Riley 1994: 16)

The fact that Edmondson & House (1981: 136ff.) subsume offers and promises under willings supports the view that these illocutions share certain characteristics. As claimed by Edmondson & House (1981: 136), promises differ from offers only with respect to their interactional status in that offers are said to take the interactional slots of Initiates or Contras, whereas promises occur as Satisfies (cf. Section 2.2.6). However, there is a further difference between offers and promises: when making a promise, S’s obligation to perform the predicated action does not depend on H’s acceptance. On the contrary, a promise inherently implies S’s obligation to do what he commits himself to (cf. Bach & Harnish 1979: 50; Fraser 1983: 40; Leech 1983: 217, 219). In their article on promises and threats, Castelfranchi & Guerini (researchers in the area of cognitive and communication technologies) put it as follows:

The concept of goal adoption allows us to distinguish the related notions of offering and promising: an offer is intended to obtain an acceptance, a consent on the adoption (x [i.e. S] asks whether y [i.e. H] likes/wants ax), while a promise presupposes it: (x assumes that y likes/wants ax and consent). In the case of promising the consent can be derived from a precedent explicit request of y or can be presupposed, and x is ready to stop if the acceptance is not obtained or revoked. In offering, since the acceptance (of y on ax) is not presupposed, x waits for an explicit consent. An evidence is given by the fact that, when y asks for a favor, x can promise to do it, but not offer to do it. (Castelfranchi & Guerini 2006: 7)

A promise only carries commissive, no directive force. In Wunderlich’s opinion, offers are a form of "conditional promise" (Wunderlich 1977: 43).

Proposals are also very similar to offers. Following Edmondson (1981: 142) and Wierzbicka (1987: 188-189), the present study classifies utterances such as the one in Ex. 12 as proposals.

Ex. 12.  Why don't we go to the pictures? (Schneider 2003: 193) 62

The main differences between the two illocutionary acts (as they are understood here) result from the propositional content condition: by proposing something, S predicates a future act A performed jointly by H and S (which is in the interest of

61 Barron (2003: 126) also lists the conditions for offers which apply if they are not regarded as hybrid acts but only as commissives. In this case point b) of the sincerity and the essential conditions would have to be omitted.

62 Note that Schneider himself (1993: 193) and others define this type of utterance as suggestions.
both). What offers and proposals have in common is that they have both commissive and directive force. However, the directive force element is stronger than in offers. Proposals, too, are conditional speech acts because H's response as to whether or not he wants A to be done is expected, i.e. S's (and H's) obligation is dependent on a favourable response by H (cf. WUNDERLICH 1977: 43; FRASER 1983: 40\textsuperscript{63}).

Although *proposal* and *suggestion* may be used interchangeably (cf., e.g. TSUI 1994: 100; THE OED ONLINE 1989; OALD 2000) – with the exception that *proposal* is often used in more formal contexts – the present study distinguishes between the two metapragmatic terms for analytical reasons. Here, an utterance in which S predicates a future act A of H (propositional content condition) is labelled *suggestion* (again following EDMONDSON 1981: 142 and WIERZBICKA 1987: 186-187). Since the utterance counts as an attempt by S to get H to do something which is in H's – and possibly also in S's – interest (essential condition), suggestions only have directive force.\textsuperscript{64}

Examples are:

Ex. 13. I suggest you talk to your boss again about how many buses you need for the trip. (fabricated)


Suggestions in this sense are sometimes called *advice* (cf., e.g. SCHNEIDER 2003: 193).

\subsection{2.2.2 Offers in linguistic negotiation research}

In the works of linguists who deal with negotiation discourse (cf. Section 1.2.6), the unclear distinction between *proposal* and *offer* – or one of their related terms – is less clearly evident, but nevertheless present (cf., e.g. FANT 1993: 116; NEUMANN 1994b: 18). Some of those who have identified offers and related speech actions, such as proposals, promises, or concessions, as constituents of negotiation discourse stress that they are among the most central elements of negotiations (cf., e.g. FANT 1993: 116; MARRIOTT 1995b: 107-109; REHBEIN 1995: 71ff.; WAGNER 1995: 27; DANNERER 2001: 103-105; MARTIN 2001: 118, 164-216; PARAMASIVAM 2007: 102-110).\textsuperscript{65} However, none of these researchers analyses offers or related speech actions in detail, or provides precise definitions thereof. In the next paragraphs, I present

\footnote{According to FRASER (1983: 40-41), proposals are hybrid acts, falling into two classes of illocutionary acts (directives and commissives), but offers are not.}

\footnote{EDMONDSON & HOUSE (1981: 124ff.) do not distinguish between *proposals* and *suggests*. Instead, they develop two subcategories of suggests: "suggests-for-us" and "suggests-for-you". Similarly, WUNDERLICH (1977: 43) considers the following as standard forms for a proposal: "If you don't want to do anything else, then do a / let's do a".}

\footnote{The sociolinguists NEU (1985) and LAMPI (1986) make use of content analytic categories for their analysis of negotiation discourse, thus raising problems which have been addressed in Section 1.2.3. *Offers* do not appear as separate units in their inventories, only *suggests* (LAMPI 1986: 109), *recommendations, promises, commitments, and concessions* (NEU 1985: 100-120), which all bear some resemblances to offers.}
three further works which have proved to be of particular value to the present study: MARTIN (2001), SCHEITER (2002), and PLANKEN (2002).

In her qualitative study on German-Irish sales negotiations, MARTIN (2001) investigates four simulated intracultural Irish-Irish and four German-German, as well as four Irish-German intercultural negotiations for comparative purposes. She looks at linguistic and pragmatic features on the interactional level and structural features on the macro level against the background of three continua: cooperation vs. competitiveness, person- vs. task-orientation, directness vs. indirectness (cf. MARTIN 2001: 124). When discussing the structural features of negotiations, proposals play a central role: phases 4-6 (out of 7) are called "4. Request to make a proposal", "5. Discussion of the proposal by the participants", "6. Alignment/Misalignment" (MARTIN 2001: 118, 164-170). Evidently, what MARTIN understands as a proposal is a plan for an overall package deal according to the buyer's needs, which includes a range of different commodity and service offers and a price quotation for these commodities and services. She examines at what stage of the unfolding negotiation the seller's proposal is made, if and how this is done in response to the buyer's request for a proposal, how the proposal is subsequently discussed by the interactants, and in which way the buyer first rejects and, after renewed discussions which may lead to a modified proposal (potentially with gradually lowered price offers), finally accepts the proposal. MARTIN is interested in a more global interpretation of the discourse rather than in a detailed pragmalinguistic analysis of individual utterances (e.g. to identify realisation strategies for the proposal and their frequency of occurrence). In the Irish negotiations, she discovers a cyclical approach to problem-solving, especially during the phase in which a proposal is requested as well as during misalignment, although other parts of the negotiations reveal a more linear approach at times (cf. MARTIN 2001: 171). When MARTIN (2001: 172-216) addresses the three above-mentioned continua individually to find out how the negotiators manage the interaction linguistically and pragmatically, proposals and offers as well as requests for proposals/offers are also a main topic of discussion. However, the author analyses features such as face, use of hedges and mitigators, self- and other-repair, interruptions and overlaps, personal and impersonal speaker and hearer references, and nonverbal signalling, with respect to the overall discourse; she does not focus on the negotiators' dealing with proposals and offers exclusively. In the conclusion, MARTIN sums up the findings for the Irish negotiations thus: "The constants of the 'how' of negotiation remain the aforementioned co-operation, person-orientation and tendency toward indirectness", including "a pronounced concern for both negative and positive face needs" as well as a "dichotomy between co-operation on the personal level and hedging on the task level" (MARTIN 2001: 217).

66 In MARTIN's simulation, the proposal centres around the selling of fax equipment by a manufacturer of office equipment to a large food importer, but it also provides different rental and leasing options (cf. MARTIN 2001: 128).
In her article on decision-making in business negotiations, Scheiter (2002: 41)\(^{67}\) says that if the negotiating parties discuss their diverging opinions about an issue, they enter a communicative cycle (Ger. "kommunikativer Zirkel") of proposal → rejection of proposal → counter-proposal until one of them budges from his position, or until they agree on a compromise (i.e. negotiating activity in Wagner's sense, cf. Section 1.1). The compromise implies mutual concessions. When prices or price offers are negotiated, Scheiter (2002: 51) names the following as constituents of the cycle: request for price → rejection/price offer → new request for price. Superficially, Scheiter states, this may seem as a repetition of same actions. However, she points out that it is in fact a process of gaining additional knowledge or reassessing existing knowledge by engaging in linguistic/communicative action. The establishment of shared knowledge is the precondition for making decisions and thus for accepting or rejecting a final agreement or contract. This shows that Scheiter, too, attaches great importance to offers and proposals in the negotiation process.

One of the aims of Planken's study on facework and relationship management in lingua franca business negotiations\(^{68}\) is "to test the usefulness of two existing theoretical frameworks"\(^{69}\) (2002: 9), i.e. Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness theory and Stiles's (1992) Verbal Response Mode (VRM) Taxonomy. More precisely, Planken wants "to establish whether the VRM Taxonomy might be used in combination with Brown and Levinson's politeness taxonomy to investigate facework in negotiations" (Planken 2002: 61). Both of these frameworks show instances of commissive speech acts, including offers. Following Brown & Levinson (1987: 125), Planken investigates the use of offers and promises as a positive politeness strategy (belonging to the super-strategy cooperativeness of S and H) used to "emphasise closeness, group membership, and common ground between interactants" (Planken 2002: 30) and to thereby indirectly redress the face-threat of some other act (cf. Section 2.2.3). The offer/promise strategy is not among the preferred positive politeness strategies in Planken's data: only 1.4% of all positive politeness strategies in the student corpus and 3% in the professional corpus are offers or promises (Planken 2002: 94, 98).\(^{70}\) The small absolute number of offers and promises found in the data (0.8 in the student and 5.3 in the professional corpus per negotiation on average) may be due to the narrow definition of offer and promise (cf. Planken 2002: 89). Obviously, only offers/promises typical of everyday conversation but not price offers were included in this category. Moreover, Planken (2002: 52, 55) lists the number of proposals made by the negotiators in a different context, i.e. when

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\(^{67}\) She focuses on how a balancing of interests is achieved discursively in the speech action pattern buying – selling.

\(^{68}\) There was a Dutch student group conducting intracultural negotiation simulations and a professional group conducting intercultural negotiations, both in English.

\(^{69}\) The VRM taxonomy is rooted in clinical psychology. It was developed for the coding of speech produced in psychotherapy sessions but has then also been used for describing language in other contexts, among them business negotiations, e.g. by Van der Wust (1996) (cf. Planken 2002: 32).

\(^{70}\) If both positive and negative politeness strategies are taken into account, the frequency ranking of the offer/promise strategy is rank 19 out of 25 for the student and rank 15 out of 25 for the professional corpus (Planken 2002: 113).
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describing her data collection techniques. She counts 11.8 proposals made by the students and 10.3 made by the professionals per negotiation on average. However, she does not further elaborate what she defines as *proposal*. Judging from the type of simulation used (a version of the Kelley game adapted by 1996, cf. Section 3.3.1, Footnote 112), these proposals are most likely the price offers missing in the offer/promise category. STILES's (1992) VRM taxonomy "can be used to classify utterances, or more specifically illocutionary acts, in terms of literal meaning as well as pragmatic meaning." (PLANKEN 2002: 32). If compared to SEARLE's classification, commissives (among them offers) belong to the non-presumptuous VRM category *Disclosure*, along with expressives and some instances of declarations (cf. PLANKEN 2002: 41). Disclosures are the second most frequently used VRM category (of eight categories altogether, of which four are described as *presumptuous* and four as *non-presumptuous* with regard to S's intent) with roughly 24% in both corpora (PLANKEN 2002: 64, 66). 71 This is in line with the results of two other studies on negotiation using the VRM system with which PLANKEN (2002: 73-76) compares her results: HINKLE, STILES & TAYLOR (1988) and WIJST (1994). Here, the percentage for *Disclosures* in relation to the total number of VRMs is slightly lower (19% in the former and 22% in the latter study).

2.2.3 Facework and politeness 72

Let us now have a brief look at some facework and politeness issues associated with the speech act *offer*. Since the action S is willing to do when making an offer is of benefit to H (cf. EDMONDSON’s hearer-supportive maxim, 1981: 25, 30), S shows concern for H’s wants and needs, thus addressing his positive face (cf. BROWN & LEVINSON 1987: 102, 125; RUIZ DE ZAROBE 2000: 61). In the case of offering, the following of LEECH’s (1983: 132) politeness maxims apply:

  TACT MAXIM: (a) 'Minimise cost to other' / (b) 'Maximise benefit to other'

  GENEROSITY MAXIM: (a) 'Minimise benefit to self' / (b) 'Maximise cost to self'

LEECH (1983: 104-105) states that offering has a *convivial* illocutionary function, which means that the illocutionary goal coincides with the social goal. Offers are

71 Disclosures "reveal (personal) thoughts, feelings, perceptions, or intentions" of the speaker (intent or pragmatic meaning) and have the following formal characteristics (literal meaning): "declarative; 1st person singular or plural where other [i.e. hearer] is not a referent" (PLANKEN 2002: 36-37, quoting STILES 1992). Utterances (whether complete or not and including fillers and backchannelling tokens) are coded twice, once with regard to their intent and once according to their form, resulting in so-called pure modes and mixed modes (i.e. correspondence vs. non-correspondence of pragmatic and literal meaning). According to STILES, mixed modes reveal indirectness. For more information on the VRM taxonomy and classification, coding and interpretation processes and results cf. PLANKEN (2002: 32-40, 61-77, 119-137).

72 In Section 4.1.3, the term *facework* (which goes back to GOFFMAN 1967, originally published in 1955) is replaced by the more generic term *relational work* proposed by LOCHER & WATTS (LOCHER & WATTS 2005), who reject BROWN & LEVINSON’s (1987) politeness theory. BROWN & LEVINSON’s theory is based on a very specific understanding of *face*. LOCHER & WATTS’s broader notion of *face* and *facework* was deemed more appropriate in the context of negotiations.
"intrinsically courteous" (Leech 1983: 105) and involve positive politeness (also cf. Fukushima & Iwata 1987: 32, 1990a: 538, 543, 545).

Ex. 15. Come in (Brown & Levinson 1987: 69)

Ex. 16. I'll drop by sometime next week (Brown & Levinson 1987: 125)

Brown & Levinson list offers (Ex. 15) and promises (Ex. 16) as one of their 15 identified positive politeness strategies (Strategy 10) which are available to redress the potential face-threat of some other act:

In order to redress the potential threat of some FTAs, S may choose to stress his cooperation […]. He may, that is, claim that (within a certain sphere of relevance) whatever H wants, S wants for him and will help to obtain. Offers and promises are the natural outcome of choosing this strategy; even if they are false […] they demonstrate S's good intentions in satisfying H's positive-face wants. (Brown & Levinson 1987: 125; original emphasis)

However, an offer potentially leads to the offence of the offerer's own face because H's acceptance will oblige him to carry out the predicated action, which is contrary to his want of freedom (although, one might argue, this imposition is self-made), while H's rejection of the offer threatens S's positive face (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987: 233; Barron 2003: 125). On the other hand, the directive element of an offer means that H is being imposed on, and an imposition is always threatening to the addressee's negative face wants (cf. Barron 2003: 124-125, 2005: 143; Edmondson 1981: 30). Therefore, Brown & Levinson (1987: 65-66) mention offers, as well as promises, among the intrinsically face-threatening acts: H is not only expected to accept or reject the offer, but an offer may even cause him to think he is indebted to S – for instance, he might feel he is obliged to make an offer in return. In order to counterbalance the potential (negative) face threat of offers, S may choose negative politeness strategies, e.g. hedging or indirectness (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987: 70, 129-210).

### 2.2.4 Categorisation of offer realisation strategies

The present study regards (offer) strategies as "a special choice of a particular variant of language behaviors" (Matoba 1996: 415). This section focuses on offer head act strategies. A head act is "the minimal unit which can realize [a particular speech act]" (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989a: 275). The only instances found in the linguistic literature of researchers identifying coherent category systems for offer

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73 Cf. Schneider's (2003: 190) classification of an offer acceptance as a reactive directive: "Hosts are, thus, requested to perform the predicated action, i.e. to transfer the offered goods."

74 Elsewhere, Brown & Levinson (1987: 247) state that in England and the USA offers "are not very face-threatening FTAs, but [that] in Japan an offer as small as a glass of ice-water can occasion a tremendous debt, and may be accepted as heavily as a mortgage in Western society". They go on saying that in "India, Indians are often taken aback by the way in which Westerners accept offers as tokens of unrequitable metaphysical friendship instead of as coins to be punctiliously repaid. It is only in such cultures that one can express thanks by saying, in effect, 'I am humiliated, so awful is my debt.'"
head act strategies are the works by MATOBA (1996), SCHNEIDER (2003), and BAR-RON (2003, 2005). As pointed out in Section 2.2.1, however, these studies investigate only offers of assistance, hospitable offers, or gift offerings.

MATOBA (1996) examines German and Japanese offers (and requests), with a focus on referential perspective. In particular, he looks at situations in which an object is lent or given to another person. Type of commitment (explicit vs. implicit), directness/indirectness, syntactic structures (declarative, interrogative, imperative), explicit orientation (to S, H, both, or no specific person) and reference (state vs. action) serve as classification criteria for his seven categories (cf. Table 4). However, a clear definition of each category is lacking, as are general arguments why he opts for this type of classification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Examples (German)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(A) Explicit commissives</strong>&lt;br&gt; (I) Direct speech act&lt;br&gt; (1) Declaratives (SA)</td>
<td>Ich möchte Ihnen meinen Schirm anbieten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Interrogatives (SA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(II) Indirect speech act</strong>&lt;br&gt; (1) Wish interrogatives (HA)</td>
<td>Möchten Sie meinen Schirm?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(B) Implicit commissives</strong>&lt;br&gt; (1) Non-impositive imperatives (HA)</td>
<td>Nehmen Sie diesen Schirm!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Permission declaratives (HA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Intention interrogatives (HA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Hints (SS/HS/I)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Offer strategies developed by MATOBA (1996). SA = S’s action-referred speech act; HA = H’s action-referred speech act; SS = S’s state-referred speech act; HS = H’s state-referred speech act; I = impersonal.

SCHNEIDER (2003: 183-185) distinguishes three typical strategies for hospitable offers in his empirical study on diminutives:

Type 1. PREFERENCE QUESTION: AUX you V NP? (e.g. Would you like some scotch?)

Type 2. EXECUTION QUESTION: AUX I V you NP? (e.g. Can I get you a drink?)

Type 3. IMPERATIVE: Have NP. (e.g. Have a drink.)

Idiomatic constructions such as How about X? and What about X? are defined as sub-types of preference questions. 75 Whereas Preference Questions refer to the conditional aspect of offers, Execution Questions underline the commissive aspect and the Imperative the directive aspect of offers.

75 SCHNEIDER (2003: 184-185) points out that these constructions can equally be used to realise offers, suggestions, requests, and pieces of advice.
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BARRON (2003) investigates learners' developing pragmatic competence in a study abroad context, illustrated by three different speech acts: requests, offers/reoffers (offers of assistance and hospitable offers), and refusals of offers. In doing so, she compares the language use of Irish learners of German, Irish English native speakers, and German native speakers in terms of discourse structure, pragmatic routines, and internal and external modification. BARRON's data on offers and offer refusals result from a free discourse completion task (FDCT) (cf. BARRON 2003: 83-103). Discourse completion tasks (DCTs) elicit discourse in written form whereby (metapragmatic) knowledge about language use is retrieved from the participants' memory. DCTs therefore provide insights about stereotypical and socially appropriate speech behaviour but fail to provide spontaneously produced spoken language data. BARRON's coding scheme for offers (cf. BARRON 2003: 140-143 and Table 5 below), which builds on KASPER's (1981) and BLUM-KULKA, HOUSE & KASPER's (1989a) coding systems for requests, comprises eight offer strategies which belong to the superstrategies direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect offers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Examples (Irish English NS/German NS/German L2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Impositives (direct offers)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Mood derivable (utterances in which the grammatical mood of the verb signals the illocutionary force)</td>
<td>(\text{laß' mich dich ins Krankenhaus fahren.} ) (…let me bring you to hospital…)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hedged performative (utterances in which the illocutionary force is named, but in which it is also modified by hedging expressions)</td>
<td>(\text{Wenn Sie nichts dagegen haben, würde ich Ihnen gern meine Hilfe anbieten.} ) (…If you don't object, I'd like to offer you my help…)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Locution derivable (utterances in which the illocutionary force is evident from the semantic meaning of the locution)</td>
<td>(\text{Soll ich dir tragen helfen?} ) (…Shall I help you carry those?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Want statement (utterances which state the speaker's desire that the act is carried out)</td>
<td>I would like to drive you to the hospital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Suggestory formula (utterances which contain a suggestion that x is done)</td>
<td>(\text{Wie wäre es mit dir herein zu kommen um eine Tasse Kaffee zu trinken?} ) (What about you coming in and having a cup of coffee?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conventionally indirect offers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Query preparatory (utterances which question the preparatory conditions of an offer (e.g. ability, desire) as conventionalised in any specific language)</td>
<td>Can I drive you to the hospital, …?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. State preparatory (utterances which explicitly state in a conventionalised manner that the preparatory conditions of an offer (e.g. ability, desire) hold)</td>
<td>If you like I could help you?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Examples (Irish English NS/German NS/German L2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-conventionally indirect offers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Strong hint (utterances containing partial reference to objects or elements needed for the implementation of the act)</td>
<td>...Es ist noch Kaffee da. (…There's still some coffee here)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Offer strategies (coding categories) developed by BARRON (2003: 353) (original transcriptions).

However, in her analysis of the FDCT data (cf. BARRON 2003: 79-103), BARRON does not provide any results on the frequency distribution of the offer strategies used by the different speaker groups – in her own words, "the investigation at hand does not aim at a comprehensive description of how the present Irish learners of German, Irish English NS or German NS request, offer or refuse offers" (BARRON 2003: 130).

In 2005, BARRON develops a different category scheme in an article on offering in Ireland and England. The study is a comparison of British and Irish English female offer behaviour with regards to interactional structure of offer sequences, offer strategies, and external modification (again offers of assistance and hospitable offers). The data are elicited by means of the same FDCT that she uses in her 2003 study. BARRON takes SCHNEIDER's (2003) superstrategies (see above) and distinguishes several subordinate strategies based on the offer utterance she finds in her data (cf. Table 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Examples (Irish English NS/English English NS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preference strategies and conventionalised patterns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Question future act of hearer (Will you V NP?, You'll V NP?, Are you sure you won't VP?, Won't you VP?, Would you VP?)</td>
<td>...Will you have a cup of tea... (IrE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Question desire (Do/did) you want/fancy NP?, Do/did you want me VP?, Are you sure you don't want NP/VP?, NP?)</td>
<td>Are you sure you don't want to go to the hospital? (IrE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Question need (Do you need NP?)</td>
<td>Do you need a hand with that luggage? (IrE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. State need (You look like you could VP)</td>
<td>Hi, you look like you could do with some help. (IrE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Suggestory formula (How about NP?)</td>
<td>...how about a cup of tea anyway. (EngE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Question wish (Would you like/fancy NP?, Would you like me to VP?)</td>
<td>Would you like me to help you (EngE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Execution strategies and conventionalised patterns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Request permission (Let me V you)</td>
<td>Oh, let me help you with that (EngE)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Examples (Irish English NS/English English NS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. State future act of speaker (I will V you)</td>
<td>I'll help you. (EngE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Question future act of speaker (Will I VP?)</td>
<td>...Will I take you to the hospital? (IrE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. State ability (I can/could VP)</td>
<td>...I could offer some help... (Eng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Question ability (Can I V (you) (NP)?)</td>
<td>...can I give you a lift to the hospital? (EngE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. State wish (I would like/love VP)</td>
<td>I would like to drive you to the hospital. (IrE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. State speaker's obligation (I better/should VP)</td>
<td>I better drive you to the hospital. (IrE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. State willingness (I'd be happy/willing VP, I wouldn't mind VP)</td>
<td>I'd be willing to give him grinds. (IrE)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Directive strategies and conventionalised patterns**

| 15. Imperative (V NP) | ...come in and have a cuppa... (IrE) |
| 16. State permission (You can VP) | You can come in any way... (EngE) |

Table 6: Offer strategies (coding categories) developed by BARRON (BARRON 2005: 152-153) (original transcriptions).

The most frequently used strategies across all DCT situations in the Irish and the English group are the State ability (#10) and the Question wish strategy (#6) with both roughly 25% of all initial offers. Directive strategies were rarely employed (IrE 4.60%, EngE 1.70% of all initial offers). However, there are differences between the two speaker groups with regard to the use of strategies implying predication of a future act as a convention of means, i.e. Question future act of hearer (#1), State future act of speaker (#8), Question future act of speaker (#9): the Irish informants used these strategies significantly more often than the English informants (33.80% vs. 4.30% if the results for strategies #1, #8, #9 are merged, p=0.009, independent t-test). The convention of means desire (i.e. strategy Question desire, #2), however, is clearly preferred by the English (IrE 6% vs. EngE 19%, p=0.023), as is the convention of means permission (i.e. #7 Request permission and #16 State permission): IrE 0.80% vs. EngE 9.50% (p=0.017). The Irish employed the only direct offer strategy Imperative (#15) significantly more frequently (3.80%) than their counterparts, who made no use of it at all (p=0.023). BARRON (2005: 160-161) also notes differences as far as the conventionalised patterns within each offer realisation strategy are concerned. According to BARRON (2005: 165-166), the Irish speakers' linguistic behaviour regarding direct offers and offers implying predication "would seem to support

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76 All results quoted in this paragraph are taken from BARRON (2005: 154-161).
Kallen's (2005[a]) idea that hospitality is one of the pillars of Irish politeness (the other two being reciprocity and silence [in the sense of indirectness]).

In her small-scale questionnaire studies of Japanese and English speakers' performance in offering (and requesting), Fukushima (1987; 1990a; 1990b) also attempts to classify offer sequences. However, she only describes different (syntactic) realizations by listing selected examples from her data; she does not succeed in setting up a structured category system.

The examples quoted by the aforementioned authors suggest that there is a relatively small set of routinised realisations of hospitable offers, offers of assistance, and gift offerings in English (and German). Fukushima (1987: 45) writes that the speakers in her study "...tried to put the hearer at ease by using a particular phrase, often set phrases of common etiquette." (also cf. Fukushima & Iwata 1987: 43; Fukushima 1990a: 543, 1990b: 317, 321). Barron, who focuses on reoffers in her analysis, points out that the "ritual nature of reoffers is underlined by the use of pragmatic routines, such as 'Are you sure...?' and 'Go on'" (Barron 2003: 136). She follows Coulmas's (1981: 2-3) definition of pragmatic routines as "highly conventionalised prepatterned expressions whose occurrence is tied to more or less standardized communication situations." 77

2.2.5 External modification: Supportive moves

When talking about external modification, most researchers talk about supportive moves accompanying the head move realised by a particular speech act (cf. Edmondson 1981: 122-129; Faerch & Kasper 1989: 222, 237ff.; Troslborg 1995: 215-219). Supportive moves are used when S foresees a certain move or other reaction by H in response to S's head move. With the help of supportive moves S can anticipate potential objections, questions, feelings of offence, etc. on H's part. This is why the notion of "anticipatory strategy" (Edmondson 1981: 122) is associated with them. Externally modifying elements either strengthen or weaken the head move (cf. House & Kasper 1981: 168-169), and they occur in pre- or post-head position. Edmondson (1981: 122-129) divides supportive moves – which do not have the status of an independent move in interactional structure (cf. Section 2.2.6) – into


78 A move is the basic component which fills a slot in the interactional structure of discourse. It consists of an obligatory head act (cf. Section 2.2.4) plus further optional acts that may accompany the head act (supportive acts, also called gambits, cf. Edmondson & House 1981: 61-83). Like acts, moves can also be supported by further optional elements: supportive moves, which in turn may be accompanied by supportive acts (cf. Edmondson 1981: 122-129; Edmondson & House 1981: 45-48). Note that a move does not necessarily correspond to one turn at talk (cf. Edmondson & House 1981: 38). One turn can be made up of several different moves. On the other hand, a move may consist of several head acts, which is termed "additive or multiple head strategy" by Edmondson (1981: 116, 129-131). Cf. Section 2.2.6 for a more detailed description of Edmondson's (1981) and Edmondson & House's (1981) discourse model.
three main groups: *Grounder, Expander, Disarmer.* BILBOW (2002), who takes up the CCSARP framework (BLUM-KULKA, HOUSE & KASPER 1989b; cf. Section 2.2.1, Footnote 48), which in turn builds upon EDMONDSON’s model, identifies supportive moves accompanying commissive acts, including offers. BILBOW’s *Explanations* correspond to EDMONDSON’s *Grounders*, and his *Elaborations* correspond to EDMONDSON’s *Expanders*. BILBOW adds three further supportive move types: *Condition, Expression of Reservations,* and *Request for Feedback.*

BARRON (2005) studies external modification that is found in Irish English and English English hospitable offers and offers of assistance. She focuses on Grounders and *Explicit Conditionals* (different from BILBOW’s *Condition* but similar to his *Request for Feedback*). In the following, I briefly explain each of these supportive move types, followed by further examples drawn from a study by ZHU, LI & QIAN (2000).

With a Grounder, S gives reasons for making a certain move, thus justifying his behaviour (Ex. 17, 18; also cf. AIJMER 1996: 191).

Ex. 17. *…would you like me to help you with them, you seem weighed down.* (BARRON 2003: 142; offer from the Irish English NS group)

Ex. 18. *Come on in out of the cold and have a nice cup of tea. The kettle’s just boiled and I would like to hear how your family is getting on.* (BARRON 2005: 165; example from IrE speaker group)

BARRON (2005: 164) points out that by employing Grounders, speakers make use of a positive politeness strategy. In her study, the Irish English speakers used significantly more Grounders than the speakers from England (p=0.019, independent t-test). Combinations of several Grounders as in Ex. 18 only occurred in the IrE data.

BILBOW (2002: 299) finds that in sequences with commissive acts in a business context, the Grounder may contain references to preceding events (Ex. 19, where S admits a fault), technical explanations why a certain commissive act is made (Ex. 20), or a repetition of the cause for it (Ex. 21).
Ex. 19. To tell you the truth, somebody lost it. It's been found again and it will be put on as soon as we can er shoot away on a plane. (BILBOW 2002: 299)

Ex. 20. The interim solution is very simple, and the part that we will replace the current metal footrest with – would be used in the new version anyway, so what I'll do is go ahead and do a retrofit programme with the erm rubber-coated footstool. (BILBOW 2002: 299)

Ex. 21. I think we've gotta make sure that the passengers get them, and er we acknowledge that as our responsibility. (BILBOW 2002: 299)

With an Expander, S provides further information which relates to the content of the head move (Ex. 22).

Ex. 22. After the SQS, in fact we intend to issue an SQS bulletin to all the staff. I think it's a good opportunity for us to to tell the ASOs what have been done in the SQS. (BILBOW 2002: 300)

Following an offer, an Expander may also serve to present more product details. In Ex. 23, S can be said to anticipate a move by H, such as Which facilities do your buses have?.

Ex. 23. We could supply you with up to three buses. All our buses are Mercedes, top quality, with air conditioning, reclining seats, toilet, and mini bar. (fabricated)

By means of a Disarmer, S plays down a possible offence or other negative feeling of H potentially caused by a preceding or subsequent move. By 'disarming' the addressee, S defends himself (Ex. 24).

Ex. 24. I don't want to appear persistent but why can't you include the picnic in the overall price? (fabricated)

Variations of the pragmatic routine (Oh), that's kind of you but identified by BARRON (2003) to frequently precede or follow offer rejections can also be regarded as Disarmers (Ex. 25).

Ex. 25. You: …I'd be willing to give him grinds.
   New boss: That's very nice of you to offer but I don't agree with grinds. He needs to work himself.
   (BARRON 2003: 142; exchange from the Irish English NS group)

The Disarmer here serves to mitigate the inherently face-threatening nature of rejections. In BARRON's data, this particular pragmatic routine often occurs in conjunction with expressions of gratitude.

According to BILBOW, a commissive act may be conditional, depending upon timing (Ex. 26), availability (Ex. 27), or upon an action by H (Ex. 28). The Condition then functions as a supportive move accompanying the commissive speech act.

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82 However, what BILBOW identifies as a supportive move here, "I think we've gotta make sure that the passengers get them", may also be categorised as what he defines elsewhere as a type of commissive act, i.e. a Suggestory Hint in his terminology (i.e. the Obligation Statement category used in the present study, cf. Section 4.2.1.7).
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Ex. 26. **As soon as we know**, we'll let you know. (BILBOW 2002: 300)

Ex. 27. **If it's available**, we'll try to get it. (BILBOW 2002: 300)

Ex. 28. **You tell us when you've got trolleys available loaded**, // and then // we'll set up a piece of carpet at = (BILBOW 2002: 293)

With an Expression of Reservations (Ex. 29), S verbalises his doubts about the success of the offered action, thereby downgrading the illocutionary force of the offer.

Ex. 29. **I'll try to get it but I don't think we can get it**. (BILBOW 2002: 300)

By means of a Request for Feedback (Ex. 30), the last of BILBOW's supportive move types, S asks for H's opinion about his offer.

Ex. 30. **I will take it up with Bridge who's very strong on this whole thing alright? So, I will take your point up. OK? Are You happy?** (BILBOW 2002: 300)

The Request for Feedback relates to the underlying condition of offers *If you want/wish [part of the consequence], I will do A* (adapted from WUNDERLICH 1977: 43) as discussed in Section 2.2.1. The same applies to the external modification type Explicit Conditionals (Ex. 31), which has been identified by AIMER (1996: 91) and studied by BARRON (2005: 161-163). BARRON argues that the use of Explicit Conditionals (*if you like/want/need*) which accompany offers is a form of negative politeness strategy because they mitigate the directive force of the speech act by emphasising its conditionality. S makes clear that H can opt out, i.e. he is free to reject the offer. Explicit Conditionals also occur statistically significantly more often in BARRON's Irish English data than in the English English data *(p=0.02, independent t-test)*.

Ex. 31. **I'm not too bad at calculus. I can give you a hand if you like.** (BARRON 2005: 164; example from IrE speaker group)

In their study of the sequential organisation of gift offering and acceptance in Chinese, ZHU, LI & QIAN (2000: 90-93) identify different ways of realising a gift offer. Five of the seven strategies relate to the use of supportive moves accompanying the actual act of offering, which may be realised non-verbally by handing the present over. Strategy 4 ("The offer is accompanied by 'ratification' or 'excuse'", cf. Ex. 32) and Strategy 7 ("Offering more information about the gift while presenting", cf. Ex. 33) correspond to EDMONDSON & HOUSE's Grounder and Expander, respectively. Strategy 3 ("The offerer indicates that he/she is unsure about whether the gift will benefit or suit the recipient", cf. Ex. 34) is similar to BILBOW's Expression of Reservations. Two strategies introduce a new type of supportive move which may be called *Shifting of Responsibility* ("Strategy 5: The offer is made apparently on behalf*

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83 EDMONDSON & HOUSE (1981: 137) also mention the occurrence of the phrases *if you like/want* in passing. They call these tags *softeners* which make offers "more tentative".

84 Note that ZHU, LI & QIAN (2000) do not speak of *supportive moves* themselves as they work with a conversation analytic framework. They describe these strategies vaguely with "offers [...] made with a variety of additional materials in the same speaker turn" (2000: 90). The other two strategies (use of pre-exchanges) are presented in Section 2.2.6 in connection with the interactional structure of offer sequences.
of someone else", cf. Ex. 35; one might classify this as a Grounder as well) and Belittling ("Strategy 6: The offerer denigrates the gift", cf. Ex. 36). 

Ex. 32. A small present for you. I know it's your birthday tomorrow. (ZHU, LI & QIAN 2000: 91; translation of a Chinese sample exchange; Chinese transcription omitted)

Ex. 33. I was passing the market today and bought this for you. (ZHU, LI & QIAN 2000: 92; translation of a Chinese sample exchange; Chinese transcription omitted)

Ex. 34. I've bought this pullover for your baby, but I'm not sure whether it suits her or not. (ZHU, LI & QIAN 2000: 90-91; translation of a Chinese sample exchange; Chinese transcription omitted)

Ex. 35. This is something my husband asked me to bring over. (ZHU, LI & QIAN 2000: 91; translation of a Chinese sample exchange; Chinese transcription omitted)

Ex. 36. This is not worth very much. Just joining in the fun. (ZHU, LI & QIAN 2000: 92; translation of a Chinese sample exchange; Chinese transcription omitted)

ZHU, LI & QIAN say one reason why Chinese speakers employ these downgrading strategies is that they wish to be modest and non-persistent, leaving H – at least theoretically – the option of rejecting the offer although, in reality, the opposite is mostly the case.

### 2.2.6 Interactional structure of offer sequences

The following section presents the results of studies which discuss the interactional structure of offer sequences in everyday conversation (DAVIDSON 1984, 1990; ZHU, LI & QIAN 2000; KOUTLAKI 2002; SCHNEIDER 2003; BARRON 2003). Some of these investigations (BARRON 2003 and SCHNEIDER 2003), on which this section places greater emphasis than on the others, draw on the discourse model developed by EDMONDSON (1981) and EDMONDSON & HOUSE (1981). Therefore, the provision of a brief summary of this model has been deemed indispensable, particularly as EDMONDSON (1981) and EDMONDSON & HOUSE (1981) provide some examples of offer exchanges themselves.

EDMONDSON aims at developing a pragmatic discourse model for spoken language by combining philosophical (i.e. speech act-theoretic) and sociological (i.e. mainly ethnomethodological) approaches to conversation with his own thoughts (cf. EDMONDSON 1981: 1). At the core of his model, which is based on empirical data elicited through role plays, is the integration of the two concepts *illocution* and *interaction* (cf. EDMONDSON 1981: 75-188). He points out the twofold character of utterance meaning: first, an utterance conveys S's beliefs, attitudes, and intentions (utter-

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85 Interestingly, these five strategies are reminiscent of strategies for compliment response identified by, for instance, HOLMES (1988), CHEN (1993), and HERBERT (1990).

86 As far as the notion of *sequence* is concerned, TROSBOG’S (1995: 34) definition has been adopted for the present study: "A sequence is made up of several exchanges dealing with the same topic".

87 By contrast, DAVIDSON (1984, 1990) and ZHU, LI & QIAN (2000) take a conversation analytic approach, and KOUTLAKI studies offers (and expressions of thanks) from a face and politeness theory perspective.
ance as a specific speech act). This refers to the illocutionary value of that utterance. Second, it fulfills a function in relation to the linguistic context surrounding it (utterance which fills a specific interactional slot in discourse). This aspect refers to the interactional value of the utterance (also cf. EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981: 36-37).

EDMONDSON identifies different functional units of discourse, of which acts are the smallest (for his distinction between communicative, interactional, and illocutionary acts, cf. EDMONDSON 1981: 80, 136-188). Other units are move, exchange, phase, and encounter (cf. Figure 4). Several units of the same level combine to form the next higher level of discourse, e.g. acts combine to form a move, moves combine to form an exchange, and so on.

![Discourse model](graphic_representation_mine)

Figure 4: Discourse model according to EDMONDSON (1981) (graphic representation mine)

The hierarchical rank scale owes much to the discourse model developed by the Birmingham School, represented most notably by COULTHARD, SINCLAIR, and STUBBS (cf., e.g. SINCLAIR & COULTHARD 1975). A simplified version of EDMONDSON's discourse model is the foundation for his and HOUSE's (1981) pedagogic interactional grammar of English.

An exchange, the middle level of the discourse model, is made up of two or more moves produced by different speakers (cf. EDMONDSON 1981: 86-100; EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981: 38-42). According to EDMONDSON (1981: 86), an exchange is the "minimal unit of social interaction". Its defining characteristic is that it produces an outcome of some sort. This means an exchange is only finished when the preceding move is accepted, or satisfied, by the other speaker (this need not necessarily be done verbally). The basic exchange structure is, therefore, that of \textit{Initiate (I) + Satisfy (S)} (cf. Ex. 37). Instead of being satisfied, the Initiate may be followed by a \textit{Contra (C)} as in Ex. 38, a third possible move type, which is used by S in an attempt to make H withdraw the preceding Initiate. In Ex. 38, the Contra is satisfied (i.e. the rejection

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88 Cf. Footnote 78 in Section 2.2.5 for a note on the relationships between moves and acts.

89 EDMONDSON (1981: 86-100) labels the Initiate move \textit{Proffer}. His \textit{Re-Proffer}, \textit{Prime}, \textit{Reject}, and \textit{Re-Run} move types are not considered here, nor the distinction between \textit{Contra} and \textit{Counter}. The \textit{Prime}, \textit{Reject}, and \textit{Re-Run} moves "have a common feature, namely that they appear to be discourse-specific (continued on next page)
is accepted) so that the (offer) exchange I+C+S reaches an outcome. Although the outcome is a negative one, the speakers reach an understanding about the issue in question. Tokens signalling that a rejection is accepted are, for instance, no problem, oh I see, okay, alright, called rejection finalisers by Davidson (1990: 163).

Ex. 37. A: Like to come to a party at my place tonight (I)
B: Love to thanks (S)

(EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981: 39

Ex. 38. You: Shall I take one of your cases for you (I)
Girl: Oh thanks, but I'm all right. They're big all right but they're not heavy. Thanks all the same (C)
You: No problem. (S)

(BARRON 2003: 131; translation of a German sample exchange from the German NS group)


If an initial rejection of the offer is not directly accepted by the offerer, an offer exchange becomes more complex, possibly stretching over many more moves, for instance I+C1+C2+C3+C4+S in Ex. 39, in which the offer is eventually accepted, or I+C1+C2+C3+S in Ex. 40, in which the offer is eventually rejected.

Ex. 39. (Between two colleagues. B did A's share of work while A was away.) […]
A: I bought a jacket for you, by the way. You will look even smarter in it. (I)
B: Why did you spend so much money? I have lots of clothes. Things are expensive (in Hong Kong). (C1)
A: Not as expensive as you think. We need a souvenir of the visit. (C2)
B: You must have spent a lot of money. (C3)
A: Not too much. Come on, try it on. (C4)
B: Not bad. I like it very much. Thank you, then. (S)
A: As long as you like it. (Thanks minimiser)
B: Very well. (Response to thanks minimiser)

(adapted from ZHU, LI & QIAN 2000: 93; translation of a Chinese sample exchange; Chinese transcription omitted)

In the preceding example (Ex. 39), three offers occur, one as the Initiate (gift offer), the other as the second and fourth Contras of this exchange (reinforcements of the first offer).

interactional moves – their status and function is bound up with the peculiar nature of verbal interaction whereby the interaction itself may be a topic of talk.” (EDMONDSON 1981: 91).

90 EDMONDSON & HOUSE (1981) present Ex. 37, an invitation, as an example for an offer exchange.
91 Cf. Section 2.2.4 for some background information about BARRON's (2003) study.
92 Called initiative offer by SCHNEIDER (2003: 189) and BARRON (2003: 126), or original offer also by SCHNEIDER (2003: 189). Cf. also BILBOW (2002: 296), who classifies offers as "direct uninitiated commissives".
CHAPTER 2: Offers
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Ex. 40.  
You: I can go back over some of the stuff with you if you like (I)  
Friend: No, it's ok, I can do it myself if I just settle down and concentrate (C1)  
You: Yeah but it's easier revise with two. We can compare answers (C2)  
Friend: thanks, but I find it easier to revise alone (C3)  
You: Ok… (S)  
(adapted from BARRON 2003: 132; exchange from the Irish English NS group)

In Ex. 40, two offers occur, one as the Initiate (offer of assistance), the other as the second Contra of this exchange (a rephrased version of the first offer). The latter is what BARRON calls (substantive) reoffer, i.e. a "further attempt[…] on the part of the speaker to reiterate a particular initiative offer within one offer sequence" (BARRON 2003: 127). A variation of this exchange is when the initial offer (I) is replaced by an alternative offer (C2 in Ex. 41), instead of being made a second time in a slightly modified or revised version as in Ex. 40 (also cf. DAVIDSON 1990: 155-157).

Ex. 41.  
Priest: Can I drive you to the hospital? (I)  
You: No thanks. I live nearby. I feel fine. (C1)  
Priest: Can I drive you home? (C2)  
You: No thanks. It's only a two minute walk. I'll leave my bicycle at home. My dad can bring me to college. (C3)  
(adapted from BARRON 2003: 133; translation of a German sample exchange from the Irish learner group)

EDMONDS & HOUSE (1981: 137-138) point to other cases when offers have the interactional value of Contras, namely reparatory or compensatory offers made in response to a Complain (Ex. 42), as well as alternative offers made following a request (Ex. 43).

Ex. 42.  
There's a stain on the jacket you borrowed from me (I)  
All I can do is offer to get it dry-cleaned (C)  
O.k. but make sure I'll have it back by Monday (S)  
(adapted from EDMONDS & HOUSE 1981: 138)

Ex. 43.  
Have you got the OED there (I)  
Sorry it's at home. I can bring it for you tomorrow if you like (C)  
(adapted from EDMONDS & HOUSE 1981: 138)

The degree of complexity of an offer exchange also increases when an offer is first met with a silence. This leads the offerer in Ex. 44 to add "Got plenty a' room" (I contd.). Person C is probably interpreting person B's silence as a pre-rejecting silence because he expects either an acceptance or a rejection – person B may have considered the offer/invitation as inadequate or troublesome (cf. DAVIDSON 1990: 153). This assumption is confirmed by person B's weak rejection (C and C contd.).

93 BARRON's reoffers are called offer renewals by SCHNEIDER (2003: 189).
94 "It should be emphasized that the doing of some subsequent version of an invitation or offer is a display that the producer is attempting to deal with some possibly unacceptable feature of the initial version. Such a display may sometimes be required by considerations of politeness or etiquette and may actually have very little to do with whether or not the inviter or offerer cares if the invitation or offer is accepted or rejected. I want to parenthetically note that, given a silence after an invitation or offer, an inviter or offerer may of course do nothing […]" (DAVIDSON 1984: 125, footnote 3).
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Ex. 44.  
C: Well yih c'n both sta:y.  (I)  
(0.4)  (silence)  
C: Got plenty a' room,  (I contd.)  
B: Oh I-  (C)  
(.)  (silence)  
B: Oh(h)o(h)o please don't tempt me,  (C contd.)  
(adapted from DAVIDSON 1990: 154-155)

A similar case is illustrated in Ex. 45 when the interlocutor responds to the initiative offer (I) with the backchannelling token *uh huh*. CA research suggests that the offerer interprets this token as a potential pre-rejection because he continues with the invitation, i.e. he revises it, in his next turn (I contd). In the end, person B accepts the invitation a bit more clearly (although weakening his commitment by the phrase "ez far ez I kno: w").

Ex. 45.  
A: So I jus' wan' duh tell yih if you'd come we-we're inviting the kinnergarden teachers too becuz we think it's a good chance tuh get tuh know the mothers.  (I)  
B: Uh huh.=  (backchannelling token)  
A: =HH So if yer free:. (.) It's et the youth house.  (I contd.)  
B: We'll? (.) ez far ez I kno:w, (0.5) I will be.  (S)  
(adapted from DAVIDSON 1990: 157-158)

Exchanges are connected by two types of exchange linkage: coordination and subordination (cf. EDMONDSON 1981: 100-122; EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981: 42-44). Coordination occurs when two or more exchanges of the same type and with the same function follow each other. Subordinate exchanges occur before, during, or after a head exchange. Pre-exchanges and embedded pre-responding exchanges prepare the ground for the initiation of the following head exchange and for the responding move, respectively. Additionally, a pre-responding exchange may clarify, justify, or repeat the content of the preceding move. Since their outcomes are crucial with respect to the subsequent exchange or move, both pre-exchanges and pre-responding exchanges can be said to be "a TACTICAL or STRATEGIC use of conversation" (EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981: 42, original emphases). ZHU, LI & QIAN (2000: 88-90) uncover a common Chinese strategy for gift offering by which the offerer-to-be initiates a pre-exchange (or pre-sequence in the conversation-analytic terminology they employ) before actually offering his present. This may be a question or statement relating to the occasion of the offer, or a question about the interlocutor's interest in something related to the present, as in Ex. 46 ("Now, I've bought you some cakes. Eat as much as you can."").

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95 DAVIDSON (1984: 112, 1990: 157-158) regards these elements as weak agreement tokens, following POMERANTZ (1975), who calls them "sequentially weak agreement forms".

67
CHAPTER 2: Offers
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Ex. 46. (A is B’s sister-in-law. B has been ill.)
A: Have you been able to eat anything lately? (I)
B: I don't have any appetite, and can't eat anything fancy. (S)
A: Try a little bit if you can't eat a lot. Don't treat your body unfairly. (I)
B: Yes, I agree. (S)
[end of pre-sequence]
A: Now, I've bought you some cakes. Eat as much as you can. (I)
(adapted from ZHU, LI & QIAN 2000: 89; translation of a Chinese sample exchange;
Chinese transcription omitted)

Such pre-exchanges serve to introduce a new topic or a topic shift leading up to the offer. Instead of making a blunt offer which runs the risk of appearing to be out of context or being rejected straightaway, S 'puts out his feelers' to check whether or not there is a chance that H likes the gift, thus implicitly referring to the underlying condition of offers (cf. Section 2.2.1 and the status of an acceptance as the preferred or dispreferred next turn discussed in Section 2.2.6.1). A post-exchange serves to confirm and seal the outcome of the preceding exchange, or to finalise details. Pre-exchanges, post-exchanges, and pre-responding exchanges are supportive elements on the level of exchanges (supportive exchanges).

Section 2.2.6 shows how the structure of offer sequences is described in previous research on this speech act. Here, the focus is on the interactional slot that offers may fill as well as on exchanges preceding, embedded in, or following offer exchanges. The following subsections provide, again in the form of a literature overview, a more detailed description of possible responses to offers.

2.2.6.1 Responses to offers: Acceptances

Conversation analytic studies of offer sequences in everyday conversation show that – at least in the English-speaking world – acceptances as in Ex. 37 are the preferred second pair part of an adjacency pair with an offer as the first part, implying that acceptances often come unmitigated and without delay; they are unmarked (cf., e.g. LEVINSON 1983: 307, 336; DAVIDSON 1984: 105, 120; BROWN & LEVINSON 1987: 38). When H verbalises his agreement with an offer, the underlying condition of the offer is fulfilled (cf. Section 2.2.1); S is now obliged to carry out the action he offered. This is why SCHNEIDER (2003: 190) terms offer acceptances reactive directives. Directives are considered inherently face-threatening acts (cf. BROWN & LEVINSON 1987: 65-66); an acceptance hence threatens the offeree's negative face (as well as the offerer's positive face) (cf. Section 2.2.3).

Following gift offerings, hospitable offers, or offers of assistance, acceptances may be realised by yes, often accompanied by expressions of gratitude (e.g. Yes, thank you) or by the politeness marker please (cf. SCHNEIDER 2003: 186). An expression of

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96 ZHU, LI & QIAN (2000: 90) point to the resemblance of pre-offer exchanges in Chinese to English pre-request exchanges. Other strategies for gift offers identified by ZHU, LI & QIAN (2000) involve the use of supportive moves (cf. Section 2.2.5).
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gratitude (e.g. Thanks) may also occur alone.\(^{97}\) SCHNEIDER points out that the realisation forms of acceptances (and also of rejections) depend on the preceding offer realisation strategy (also cf. EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981: 109).

2.2.6.2 Responses to offers: Rejections

Offers may, of course, also be rejected (e.g. Ex. 38). Rejections are the dispreferred option for the next turn in adjacency pairs with an offer as the first turn (cf., e.g. LEVINSON 1983: 307-308, 334, 336; BROWN & LEVINSON 1987: 38).\(^{98}\) This is regarded as the reason why rejections are marked, i.e. they are delayed (e.g. by pauses, hesitations, insertion sequences, expressions of appreciation, yes, but constructions) and/or mitigated (e.g. by giving a reason for not accepting) (cf. Ex. 38: Oh thanks, but I'm all right. They're big all right but they're not heavy. Thanks all the same), thereby making the offer exchange longer and more complex than if the offer was immediately accepted (cf. SCHNEIDER 2003: 187; EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981: 109; CHEN, YE & ZHANG 1995: 130-132 for the Chinese context).\(^{99}\) The occurrence of repeated, rephrased, modified versions of the initial offer, or the presentation of alternative offers, is given as a further argument that an acceptance is the preferred outcome of an offer exchange (cf. DAVIDSON 1984: 105, 120). According to SCHNEIDER (2003: 180), it can be assumed that "speakers at least hope that hearers accept […] the offer".

BARRON defines rejections of offers, or refusals in her terminology, as

> [...] requests by the speaker for the hearer not to do a future act \(x\) which the hearer has offered to do. As such, refusals of offers can be categorised according to Searle's typology as directive speech acts. (BARRON 2003: 128, also for a table with the felicity conditions for offer refusals)

Belonging to the class of directives, rejections are face-threatening speech acts and are therefore often performed by employing negative politeness strategies (e.g. indirectness, internal and external modification, cf. BROWN & LEVINSON 1987: 65). However, the degree of threat to H's (here the offerer's) negative face associated with rejections of offers can be assumed to be lower than that associated with the rejections of requests. BARRON (2003: 128) explains this through the fact that a) offers are conditional, which means that an offer by definition leaves H the option to either

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\(^{97}\) Note that "due to cross-cultural differences, such responses may lead to misunderstandings. In a German context, thanking alone usually means 'no, thank you', whereas in Scandinavian cultures, as in Anglo-Saxon speech communities, the default reading is 'yes, please'." (SCHNEIDER 2003: 186, footnote 42). Also cf. RUBIN (1983: 14), who writes that an offer rejection in France may be realised by merci.

\(^{98}\) For Chinese this obviously does not hold true. ZHU, LI & QUIAN (2000: 94, 98) argue that offer rejections in Chinese must be regarded as the preferred second pair part (and acceptances as the dispreferred one) in adjacency pairs with a gift offer as the first turn because in their data they "are produced without any structural complexity", i.e. "without hesitation, delay or use of any of the markers and announcers of dispreferred responses". Cf. the discussion of ritual rejections below.

\(^{99}\) This may be the reason why rejections have received much more attention from researchers than acceptances.
accept or reject it, and b) offer rejections may rather be threatening to H's (here the offerer's) positive face in that S does not want H to carry out the action that the latter offered to do.

In her data, BARRON identifies six major rejection strategies, two direct ones: Performative and Non-performative statement, and four indirect ones: Statement of regret; Excuse, reason, explanation; Statement of alternative; Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (cf. BARRON 2003: 354-355). She also lists adjuncts to refusals which serve to mitigate the face-threatening aspect of rejections: Statements of positive opinion/feeling or agreement, Pause fillers, Gratitude/appreciation, Disarming comments, Request for information/clarification, and Reference to possible future request. Other classification schemes for offer rejections can be found in BEEBE, TAKAHASHI & ULISS-WELTZ (1990: 63) and CHEN, YE & ZHANG (1995: 126-130).

Rejections take the interactional slot of Contras in offer-rejection exchanges. BARRON distinguishes between initial and subsequent rejections (called refusals by BARRON). Subsequent rejections, which are often modified versions of the initial rejection (cf. DAVIDSON 1990: 164-166), can be found in Ex. 39-41 above as well as in Ex. 47 (C3, which is the fourth move in all four exchanges). Following CHEN, YE & ZHANG (1995: 151-152), BARRON further subdivides initial rejections into ritual rejections and substantive rejections. Initial substantive rejections are C1 in Ex. 40 and 41 above (i.e. the second move in both of the exchanges). Ritual rejections seem to be a culture-specific phenomenon. BARRON has found many instances in her Irish English data (but not in the German data), so one may say that this particular speech act is typical of the Irish culture (e.g. the Girl's response "No thanks, I can manage" in Ex. 47). When making a ritual rejection, S is not (yet) honest about not wanting H to perform the offered action (i.e. the sincerity condition of refusals is not met), but rather expects H to make a second offer before actually accepting or truly rejecting it (cf. BARRON 2003: 129).

Ex. 47.  You: I noticed you have two big bags, I was wondering do you need a hand? (I)  
Girl: No thanks, I can manage (C1)  
You: Are you sure? (C2)  
Girl: Yeah. Thanks anyway (C3)  
You: Alright (S)  
(adapted from BARRON 2003: 133; exchange from the Irish English NS group)

Similarly, in Ex. 47, the third move of the exchange (C2) is not a substantive reoffer as in Ex. 40 and 41 above, but a ritual reoffer, which follows the initial (ritual) refusal. Whereas the illocutionary intent of the offer is already conveyed in the initiative offer, the sincerity condition of the offer is only fulfilled after the offer has been

100 Cf. EDMONDSON & HOUSE (1981: 108-109), who classify acts by which "an Offer is 'turned down" as "Requests [for Non-Verbal Goods] Appearing as Contras".

reaffirmed (cf. CHEN, YE & ZHANG 1995: 152; BARRON 2003: 127). The prerequisite for calling a reoffer *ritual* is the occurrence of a pragmatic routine, in English for instance *Are you sure?* (cf. BARRON 2003: 127: 133). Again, there is evidence that ritual reoffers are 'typically Irish'.

Ritual offers, ritual reoffers, and ritual rejections are also found to be characteristics of other cultures: China (e.g. CHEN, YE & ZHANG 1995: 151-161; ZHU, LI & QIAN 1998: 89, 99-100; ZHU, LI & QIAN 2000: 93-94, 98-102), parts of India and Taiwan (e.g. RUBIN 1983: 16; HOLMES 1992a: 276), in Tenejapa society, a Mexican Indian tribe (e.g. BROWN & LEVINSON 1987: 233), Arab countries (e.g. RUBIN 1983: 14; HOLMES 1992a: 276), and Iran (e.g. KOUTLAKI 2002: 1744-1751). The quoted authors give culture-specific face and politeness considerations as the reason for the existence of these particular types of speech acts. Thus, ritual (re)offers and rejections fulfil an important social function in these cultures.

Interestingly, KOUTLAKI (2002: 1751-1754) states that in Iran, ritual offers and rejections do not only occur in social settings (e.g. during dinner conversations) but also in business settings, more specifically during trade exchanges. She refers to bazaars, where customers and vendors haggle over prices, i.e. they engage in bargaining activity (rather than in negotiating activity, cf. Section 1.1):

In Iran it is common for a shopkeeper to nominally refuse payment with the formulaic expression *qabeli n* (‘it is worthy of you’ [...], but this is never meant literally. Such ritual refusals serve a dual purpose: they anoint the speaker's face [Iranian concept of personality, character, honour, self-respect, social standing] because they show generosity and sincerity but they also enhance the addressee's face in that she [i.e. the informant] is presented as a person of high standing [...] through the show of *ehteram* (respect). As one of my participants said, this practice is to ensure that the customer will shop there again, even if the prices are slightly higher than elsewhere. (KOUTLAKI 2002: 1753, original emphasis)

The customer is expected to pay nevertheless, and the appropriate way of doing this is to ritually reject the vendor’s offer of not having to pay anything. The rejection, which is regarded as a face-enhancing act, is realised by various expressions of gratitude which may all be translated as *thank you*. Should vendor and customer know each other, this type of conversation may extend over a large number of moves; the excerpt KOUTLAKI (2002: 1751-1753) quotes extends over no less than 23 moves. Here, the function of ritual offers and rejections is that of maintaining a long-term business relationship by following (Iranian) norms of politeness.

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102 A more detailed overview is given in BARRON (2003: 129-130).

103 However, ZHU, LI & QIAN'S (1998: 93-95) point out that gifts are not always accepted after a series of declines and reoffers, but that they may in certain contexts be accepted straightforwardly, too. How gifts are offered and accepted depends on the relationship between the gift offerer and recipient as well as on the motive for offering the gift.
Part 2: Empirical Study

3 Research method

Chapter 3 serves to outline how the data for the present study were elicited, and how they were further edited to make them analyzable. The data were collected during a research trip to Ireland in autumn 2004. Eight Irish business people took part in dyadic face-to-face intracultural negotiation simulations, which were audio- and videotaped and subsequently transcribed. In order to ease the analysis process, the most interesting phenomena were systematically coded by means of a qualitative data analysis (QDA) software package. This allows the combination of qualitative and basic quantitative methods.

The chapter starts with a description of the participants' educational and professional backgrounds (Section 3.1). In the ensuing sections, the data collection instruments used in the present study (i.e. questionnaire and negotiation simulation) are presented. As far as the simulations are concerned, this includes a review of their use in negotiation research (Sections 3.2 and 3.3.1), a discussion of their methodological advantages and disadvantages (Section 3.3.2), and an outline of the design of negotiation simulation (Section 3.3.3). Further issues addressed are the implementation process (Section 3.3.4), general corpus characteristics (Section 3.3.6), as well as procedures for transcribing (Section 3.3.5), coding, and analysing data (Sections 3.3.7 and 3.3.8).

A major concern of this chapter is to make the research process as transparent as possible, which is in line with Steinke's (2000) appeal to adhere to certain quality factors in qualitative research. This is not yet standard practice in all research publications:


Entscheidend ist bei diesen Programmen, dass der Computer nicht die Auswertungsarbei
tbeit übernimmt (wie bei quantitativer Analyse), sondern nur die qualitativen Analyse-
schritte des Interpreten unterstützt, erleichtert und dokumentiert. Trotzdem enthalten
Computerprogramme zur Unterstützung qualitativer Analyse eine Reihe von Mög-
lichkeiten, die eine Kombination mit quantitativen Analyseschritten nahelegen. […] Sie
ermöglichen damit eine Kombination qualitativer und quantitativer Analyse durch das
Zurverfügungstellen technischer Hilfsmittel. Die Analyse gewinnt damit entscheidend
an Transparenz und an Systematik.

[What is crucial about these programs is that the computer does not assume the interpre-
tative work (as in quantitative analysis) but only supports, facilitates, and documents the
analyst's qualitative analytical steps. Nevertheless, computer programs that support
qualitative analysis contain many options which point to a possible combination with
quantitative analytical steps. […] So, by providing the technical tools, they enable a
combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis. This essentially provides the analy-
ysis with greater transparency and makes it more systematic. (translation mine)]
CHAPTER 3: Research method
Section 3.1: Participant profiles

In most published research it is unusual to find accounts of exactly how researchers analysed their data and it is partly because of this missing information that this [i.e. qualitative] research tradition has been open to allegations of 'unthorough' research practices. (WELSH 2002: paragraph 6)

In STEINKE's opinion, qualitative research requires quality factors and evaluation criteria that differ from those typical of quantitative research. However, she points out that there is no agreement among researchers conducting qualitative studies as to what constitutes such factors. She suggests the following basic criteria for data collection and analysis methods. They should be outlined by the author of a qualitative investigation: a) suitability of the chosen instruments and techniques (cf. Sections 3.1, 3.2, 3.3.2, 3.3.3); b) empirical basis of the research process and the results, i.e. the empirical data are decisive for the emerging results, not the researcher's previous theoretical knowledge and hypotheses (cf. Section 3.3.7 and Chapter 4); c) limitations of the study (cf. Section 5.2); d) intersubjective verifiability (cf. Sections 3.3.5, 3.3.7 and App. 3-8); e) density and depth of the theory (cf. Chapter 4) (cf. STEINKE 2000: 215-229). STEINKE (2000: 215) emphasises that the exact definition of these criteria are subject to the type of study, object of investigation, research questions, research methods, and pragmatic and economic conditions of the research project.

3.1 Participant profiles

The present study only allowed Irish business professionals with at least five years of work experience to take part in the simulations. All eight participants were accustomed to engaging in 'business talk' on a daily basis and were familiar with typical business procedures such as calculating and estimating prices or making monetary transactions. This investigation thus has a clear advantage over studies on negotiation for which the simulations are conducted by graduate or postgraduate students with very limited or no practical business experience (especially in studies of the experimental and content analytic approaches, e.g. KELLEY 1966; FOURAKER & SIEGEL 1963; ROTH & MURNIGHAN 1982; HENNING-SCHMIDT, LI & YANG 2008). It can be assumed that these participants encounter greater problems identifying themselves with the assigned roles and tasks.105

To ensure data comparability across the four negotiations, variables were kept constant to the largest degree possible. The aim was to restrict participants to males (to leave aside gender issues) who shared the same age range and had similar educational and employment backgrounds. Due to problems of recruiting a sufficient number of participants, time constraints during my research trip to Ireland, and the overloaded schedule of the candidates, not all criteria could be met in all cases (see below). The eight business people were chosen as the sample group for the present

105 Cf. PLANKEN (2002) who detected differences in the negotiating behaviour between business professionals (experienced negotiators) and students (inexperienced negotiators).
study because of their availability;\textsuperscript{106} two other candidates cancelled last minute. In fact, the response rate to my invitation (via a contact person in Ireland) to take part in a research project on negotiation was rather weak. Moreover, while in the simulation the negotiators were to assume the roles of negotiators who had never met face-to-face before (cf. Section 3.3.3), two out of the four negotiator constellations knew each other in real life (Ir1, Ir2). This may have had an impact on the way they deal with each other on a personal level during the simulation.

Most information used for the following two paragraphs and Table 7, in which the Irish participants are described in more detail, is taken from the post-simulation questionnaire (cf. Section 3.2 and DVD 3 Filled Post-Simulation Questionnaires). Pieces of information that were missing initially could be obtained via e-mail some time after the simulation meetings.

All participants are male Irish nationals, and their age range is 30 to 50, with the exceptions of Ir3A (25-30) and Ir3B (above 50). They come from different parts of the Republic of Ireland and are all native speakers of English. They finished school with the Leaving Certificate\textsuperscript{107}, and six of them received a Bachelor's degree in Commerce or Business Studies (except Ir1B, Ir3B). What is more, all except Ir3B hold one or more post-graduate qualifications (e.g. PhD, MBA, MBS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Employment sector</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Length of professional career (irrespective of type of occupation)</th>
<th>Previous negotiating experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ir1A</td>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>education, training, consulting</td>
<td>lecturer, consultant</td>
<td>15 years</td>
<td>limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir1B</td>
<td>45-50</td>
<td>information technology</td>
<td>project manager</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir2A</td>
<td>30-35</td>
<td>retail (clothing)</td>
<td>director/owner</td>
<td>9 years</td>
<td>limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir2B</td>
<td>30-35</td>
<td>property development</td>
<td>director</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>yes (negotiating with subcontractors for building projects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir3A</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>information technology</td>
<td>accountant</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir3B</td>
<td>Above 50</td>
<td>financial services</td>
<td>bank manager (retired), consultant</td>
<td>39 years</td>
<td>yes (with bank clients on pricing etc.; with staff on work related issues)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{106} This sampling method is called \textit{purposive sampling}, a non-probability sampling technique which selects the most easily available and accessible persons as participants in a research study belonging to the same predefined group. It is often applied in qualitative studies (cf. TROCHIM 2006).

\textsuperscript{107} The Leaving Certificate is the final examination of secondary education in the Irish education system that students take at the age of 17 or 18, cf. INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION BOARD 2006.
Table 7: Overview of participant profiles at the time of the negotiation simulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Employment sector</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Length of professional career</th>
<th>Previous negotiating experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ir4A</td>
<td>30-35</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>lecturer (previously consultant)</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir4B</td>
<td>45-50</td>
<td>financial services</td>
<td>head of financial shared services</td>
<td>29 years</td>
<td>yes (budgets, prices, salaries)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time of the recording, the participants worked in the financial services (Ir3B, Ir4B), information technology (Ir1B, Ir3A), and tertiary education (Ir1A, Ir4A) sectors, in retail (Ir2A), and property development (Ir2B). The latter two participants were self-employed, owning small Irish family businesses with less than ten employees, while four worked in large multinational companies with up to over 100,000 employees worldwide (Ir1B, Ir3A, Ir3B, Ir4B). The two participants who were lecturers at the Faculty of Commerce in a national third-level education institution also had a practical business background, either by previous (Ir4A) or concurrent occupations (Ir1A) as consultants.

The question about previous negotiating experience (cf. App. 2.5) is problematic as the answers depend on the participants' self-assessment – some may underestimate, others overestimate their own experience. Moreover, each of them defines negotiation differently. This can be inferred from the answers specifying the type of negotiating experience given in the post-simulation questionnaires, e.g. "day to day work environment" (Ir2A, DVD 3 Filled Post-Simulation Questionnaires). Most of them seem to have experience in negotiating activity as defined by Firth (1991: 8) and Wagner (1995: 9, cf. Section 1.1), but few have any experience in (real-life) negotiating encounters. Ir1A and Ir4A refer to previous experience in what can be defined as negotiating encounters, but only in a training context ("more like this", Ir1A and "part of MBS course", Ir4A, DVD 3 Filled Post-Simulation Questionnaires).

To sum up, despite certain differences with regard to type of profession, employment sector, career level, length of professional career, and negotiating experience, most participants of the present study have a similar age range, educational background and professional experience in the business sector. The participant group is homogeneous enough to allow both a) the merging of the four negotiations into one sample of the speaker group Irish male business professionals, b) the merging of the four negotiations in order to create one buyer and one seller sample, and c) the comparison of the four negotiations, whereby they are treated as separate entities.\(^\text{108}\)

\(^{108}\) This does not mean that the samples are claimed to be representative of the populations Irish male business professionals/buyers/sellers in a statistical sense.
3.2 Questionnaires

In the present study, a pre-simulation and a post-simulation questionnaire are used. The pre-simulation questionnaire consists of one single question: "What are your objectives for the negotiation?" (cf. App. 2.4). It was adapted from MARTIN (2001: App. I, 457). Since the participants could not be given the instructions one or more days prior to the simulation, they had no time to prepare for the negotiation. Instead, completing the pre-simulation questionnaire caused them to make up their minds about their aims and strategies, so they prepared themselves at least on a short-term and spontaneous basis. It certainly helped them to answer questions #18-21 in the post-simulation questionnaire (see below).

The post-simulation questionnaire serves to collect sociodemographic information on the participants as well as to gain an insight into their views and evaluations of the event. It comprises 47 questions (a mixture of open and closed questions and five-point itemised-category scales), divided into seven main parts (cf. App. 2.5): 1. "General information" (information on personal, educational and professional background and negotiating experience), 2. "Your own negotiation behaviour" (self-perception and -evaluation), 3. "Your partner's negotiation behaviour" (perception and evaluation of the negotiating partner), 4. "General aspects of the negotiation simulation" (perception of the atmosphere during the negotiation and of the negotiation process), 5. "International encounters" (personal experience in international encounters), 6. "Negotiation trainings" (previous training experience, opinion on trainings), 7. "Further comments".109 Both negotiating parties received the same questionnaire.

The questions were adapted from various questionnaires found in the relevant literature and supplemented by my own ideas. For the parts on self-perception and self-evaluation, as well as on the negotiating partner and the atmosphere, questionnaire elements from MARTIN's post-simulation questionnaires and from CAMPBELL ET AL.'s marketing research questionnaire were taken (MARTIN 2001: Appendix I, 457-459; CAMPBELL ET AL. 1988: 60). Useful suggestions for the sections "General information" and "Negotiation trainings" were found in MARTIN's qualitative interview schedule (MARTIN 2001: Appendix II, 481-486) and in two questionnaires developed by BARBARA ET AL. (1996: 71) and DIRVEN (1994: 58-65, esp. 62-65) for studies on communication patterns in the Brazilian business context, and on German managers and intercultural aspects of business communication respectively. The section "International Encounters" was devised with the help of WARTHUN's questionnaire, which she developed for a study on intercultural communication in a large German company (WARTHUN 1997: App., 1-12).

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109 The length and extensiveness of the questionnaire's design result from the fact that in its initial stages, the present project had a much broader scope: it was intended to be a cross-cultural study contrasting the use of offers in Irish English and German business negotiations. Therefore, not all information gathered with this questionnaire is ultimately relevant to the present study.
3.3 Negotiation simulations

3.3.1 Simulations in negotiation research

Getting access to authentic business negotiation data is extremely difficult, which is understandable from a corporate viewpoint because negotiations usually contain highly sensitive and confidential information. Companies, of course, have no interest in making such information public and in risking misuse. Unless the researcher is either an employee of the company and directly involved in the negotiations, or a consultant hired by a company to analyse communication processes within the company or with its trade partners, it is virtually impossible for anyone to base their research on real-life negotiations (cf. MARTIN 2001: 105-106; FANT 1992: 164). MARTIN also mentions considerable logistic problems regarding the time-span and location of a naturally-occurring negotiation and the additional ongoing communication (both oral and written) between the negotiating teams outside the negotiation meeting (cf. MARTIN 2001: 101-102). Researchers who have used authentic data are, for example, LAMPI (1986), FRANCIS (1986, 1995), MARRIOTT (1995a, 1995b), WAGNER (1995), BILMES (1995), BODEN (1995), and SCHEITER (2002), but few of them specify under which circumstances they got access to their data (LAMPI 1986: 3; 1995b: 250-251).

The most widely used data elicitation instruments in negotiation research are negotiation simulations and negotiation games. Various disciplines make use of them: economics, business and management studies (especially marketing science), computer science, psychology (especially social psychology), sociology, communication studies, and linguistics. The simulation briefs are not always included in the respective works and are often only superficially described (e.g. VILLEMOES 1995; FANT 1995; CULPAN 1990).

Across disciplines, the terms simulation and game are filled with slightly different meanings; sometimes they are used interchangeably, sometimes there is a strict definitorial distinction. According to MARTIN (2001: 106-107), "[t]he term 'game' implies a more rigid and thematically confined structure which usually obliges the participants to reach some kind of measurable outcome, most frequently in the form of profit, within clearly defined boundaries." The term game in this context derives from game theory which has a clear understanding of it: game refers to "a model of interacting decision-makers" (OSBORNE 2004: 13), who are called players. Speaking with OSBORNE (2004: 13), a (strategic) game "consists of a set of players; for each player, a set of actions; for each player, preferences over the set of action profiles [i.e. list of all the players' actions]". A classic example of a bargaining game used in

\[110\] Cf. CUNNINGHAM (1984) for an overview of simulation types (not only negotiation simulations) used in different disciplines for different purposes. She distinguishes four major categories: experimental, predictive, evaluative, and educational simulations, each comprising several sub-types.
experimental economics is the *Nash bargaining game*¹¹¹, while the *Kelley game*, developed by the social psychologist Harold H. KELLEY in the 1960s, has been frequently used for studies on negotiation in the marketing, social, and behavioural sciences.¹¹² Both games are outcome-oriented, i.e. profit-oriented. Variables are controlled to a very high degree. The range of possible actions (including offers and offer responses) and the number of moves are limited. The players' preferences are prescribed by *payoff functions* or *matrices*, sometimes called *profit-sheets*. Participants – who are assumed to act rationally throughout the experiment – conduct these games with little or no (verbal) interaction, occasionally interacting via computer. The Nash bargaining game is a *strategic game*, i.e. it is designed in such a way that the players are asked to choose their actions simultaneously ("simultaneous-move game", OSBORNE 2004: 14), i.e. they are unaware of the action chosen by the other party when deciding upon their own action. Players never deviate from their initial plan of action, should they have to make a sequence of moves. In *extensive games*, such as the *ultimatum game*¹¹³, the players' moves take place one after another. Unlike in strategic games, the players freshly decide upon their next move whenever it is their turn. The point in time when a player is to make a certain move as well as the order of moves are specified; information about the previous moves of one player may or may not be available to the other player (both are laid out in the instructions).¹¹⁴

In contrast to games as described above, simulations "provide much greater flexibility for the creation of a more authentic negotiating scenario" (MARTIN 2001: 107). Although simulations – as they are understood in the present study – also take place

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¹¹¹ In the Nash bargaining game, two players A and B demand – simultaneously – a portion of some good (usually a sum of money). If the proposal by A plus the proposal by B add up to no more than the total good, then both players get what they asked for. If the sum of the two proposals exceeds the amount of the total good, neither of them gets anything.

¹¹² The Kelley game, which centres around the negotiation on five different (unspecified) items linked to issues (also unspecified) about which labour and management representatives might negotiate (cf. KELLEY 1966: 52), was developed for a study of dilemmas in interpersonal negotiations. The Kelley game was employed by KELLEY himself and adapted by Pruitt & Lewis (1975), Graham (1983, 1986), also in linguistic-oriented studies, e.g. Neu (1985), Neu & Graham (1995), Wijst (1996), Planken (2002).

¹¹³ For a brief explanation of ultimatum games cf. Section 2.1.2, Footnote 45.

¹¹⁴ In experimental economics, the implementation of games (as indeed of all experiments) has to fulfill strict methodological criteria, for instance: a) Participants must not be lied to regarding the purpose of the experiment (though the researcher needs not reveal the exact focus of the study); b) Participants must be given real money for taking part in the experiment as an incentive in order to simulate realistic market mechanisms and to enhance their motivation. The amount of monetary payoffs should reflect their performance according to the implemented incentives; c) The researcher must be careful about providing concrete, specific context and role-relevant information in the game instructions in order to minimise framing effects (cf., e.g. Neale, Huber & Northcraft 1987; Hennig-Schmidt, Li & Yang December 2004: 7). Moreover, all materials relating to the experiment (such as design, instructions, data) must be available to the reader of a subsequent publication. While some of these criteria apply (or should apply) to linguistic studies as well, linguists are particularly reluctant about the second and third aspects – paying money is believed to have an unwanted influence on the participants' language use, and the more abstract the given context is, the more 'unnatural' their language use may become. These assumptions, however, still await systematic empirical testing.
under laboratory conditions and require some kind of structure, the outcome is not as narrowly pre-defined as in negotiation games. This leaves more scope for action on the participants' part. The study can hence focus more on aspects of language use like production, comprehension, and interaction (cf. KASPHER 2000: 316). Since I follow MARTIN in this distinction between *simulation* and *game*, only the former term is used in the present study, despite the fact that my simulation shares some features of a *game* (cf. Section 3.3.3). A *negotiation simulation* is here defined as the imitation of an encounter between two or more people who negotiate one or more issues in a particular setting (cf. the definitions of *simulation* and *(to) simulate* in the OED ONLINE).  

Negotiation simulations are not primarily a means of data elicitation. First and foremost, they are a popular and essential didactic component in language teaching and specialised negotiation training offered by communication trainers, management consultants, and business school staff (cf., e.g. JACOBS & BAUM 1987; BLOM 1991; CHRISTOPHER & SMITH 1991; JAMESON 1993; BLIESENER & BRONS-ALBERT 1994; BECKER-MROTZEK & BRÜNNER 1999; SCHMITT 1999; GROTH 2001). Although the use of simulations as an educational tool to provide learning, and the quality and theoretical foundation of communication skills seminars in general, have been widely criticised (cf., e.g. LALOUSCHEK & MENZ 1999), many researchers regard such training as a convenient opportunity for collecting data (cf., e.g. the studies by FANT 1993, 1995; GRINDSTED 1995; VILLEMOES 1995; ANDERSEN 1995; KJAERBECK 1998).

Sometimes a different term for "simulations of communicative encounters" (KASPHER 2000: 322) is used: *role-plays*. The simulation used in the present study (cf. App. 2.3) can be classified as an open mimetic-replicating role-play, meaning the participants assume identities other than their own, which are specified at the beginning of the play, along with situation and goal. The course and actual outcome of the interaction, however, depend on the participants themselves (cf. KASPHER 2000: 322-323). Some researchers regard role plays as subtypes of simulations (e.g. STINNER 2000: 271; BODENSTEIN & GEISE 1987: 12-17) or vice versa (e.g. HANS & HANS 1977: 69).

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115 Cf. Section 1.2.2, Footnote 26 for a definition of the term *simulation* as it is understood in economics and the social sciences.
116 KASPHER (2000: 322) distinguishes between spontaneous role-play, mimetic-replicating role-play, mimetic-pretending role-play, and closed and open role-play.
117 *Simulation* in the sense of *simulation game* (Ger. *Simulationsspiel*, Spiel mit Simulationscharakter) is used by these authors as an umbrella term for role plays, experimental games (Ger. *Planspiele*), and case studies.
CHAPTER 3: Research method
Section 3.3: Negotiation simulations

3.3.2 Advantages and disadvantages of simulations as a data collection instrument in negotiation research

As with every data collection instrument, simulations have both advantages and disadvantages. In this section, I first point out some drawbacks that have been repeatedly raised as a criticism against this technique. Nevertheless, simulations also offer some great advantages which should not be underestimated. This section therefore concludes with an explanation of why they are believed to be a useful data collection tool for the present study.

Problems associated with negotiation simulations include: 1) the simple fact that a simulation is a non-authentic situation, 2) the production of 'artefacts' by the participants, 3) the potential lack of participant motivation and identification with the assigned roles, and 4) the observer's paradox which affects participant behaviour.

First, because of the very character as a non-authentic situation, a simulation produces to some extent artificial participant behaviour. According to MARTIN, "[...] it is not feasible to reproduce all the facets of real-life negotiation under laboratory conditions" since

- a) [t]he participants are not dealing with real money, nor with the potential real-world consequences of failure [...],

- b) [a] simulation cannot replicate satisfactorily the organisational dimension of negotiation. [...] it is impossible to reproduce [...] the full range of activities which surround a naturally-occurring negotiation such as, for example, internal meetings with colleagues and superiors, the decision-making chain within the organisation and the various other kinds of formal and informal communication by fax, letter and telephone, and

- c) it is impossible to match the breadth and depth of product knowledge and the familiarity with company policy and decision-making structures possessed by the negotiators in a naturally-occurring negotiation (MARTIN 2001: 108-109, numbering with adaptations).

The artificiality of the situation is closely connected with the second and third drawbacks of simulations. The second shortcoming refers to the fact that the participants may misunderstand or forget aspects of the simulation instructions and of their attributed roles during the interaction, which results in so-called 'artefacts', e.g. talk about the simulation procedure or about the very fact that they act in an artificial way (cf. FANT 1992: 165-166: "meta-activity elements"; also cf. BRONS-ALBERT 1994; ROST-ROTH 1994; BLIESENER 1994). This often results from the construction of the simulation briefs, which may also guide the participants to reduce or omit relevant behaviour which can be expected to have occurred under real-life conditions (cf. LALOUSCHEK & MENZ 1999: 65). The third difficulty arising from simulations is that

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118 LALOUSCHEK & MENZ (1999: 65) call this the "Inszenierungscharakter" [fact of being similar to something which is put on stage (translation mine)] of role plays/simulations. A simulation is, according to them, a twofold interactional event: "eigenständiges Interaktionsereignis [...] innerhalb dessen ein weiteres Interaktionsereignis stattfindet" [an independent interactional event [...] within which another interactional event takes place (translation mine)]. The first interactional event is the simulation, which is 'staged' in the present study for research purposes, and is audio- and videotaped. The second event is the negotiation itself.
participants may fail to identify with their roles due to a lack of role familiarity or motivation (cf. Fant 1992: 166, 173).

Finally, it is generally known that human behaviour differs when the subjects are aware of being watched, filmed, or audiotaped – no matter whether this happens in an everyday situation or for scientific purposes. Many people simply feel uncomfortable and insecure when being observed. Labov (1972: 209) says: "We are then left with the observer's paradox: the aim of linguistic research [...] must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation." It is claimed that if speakers are aware of being observed, their language becomes more formal in style (cf. Stubbs 1983: 227), and that they tend to do or say what they think is expected of them. The latter is labelled Halo-effect (cf. Edmondson & House 1993: 35) – in negotiations, people tend to feel obliged to reach an agreement at all events (cf. Rubin & Brown 1975: 56). This aspect implies that observation affects the participants' facework. Their fear of losing face not only in front of the negotiating partner, but additionally in front of an audience (i.e. the researcher and other people with access to the recordings), is likely to put pressure on them and to influence the course and result of a negotiation (cf. Martin 2001: 100-102). The problem of the observer's paradox cannot be solved unless ethical and legal issues are ignored (cf. Schneider 1988: 119-120), i.e. recording people, analysing and publishing the data without the informants' knowledge. A compromise is described by Stubbs (1983: 224): in some situations one may record people in secret and only ask them for their consent afterwards. This procedure, however, is hardly imaginable in negotiation simulations.

Despite the disadvantages described above, simulations "provide, in the absence of access to naturally-occurring sales negotiations, a source of data which offers a close approximation to real-life negotiation interaction" (Martin 2001: 109). One clear advantage of simulations is that, like in any other experiment taking place under laboratory or quasi-laboratory conditions, variables can be controlled to a certain extent, e.g. through the deliberate choice of participants, medium, and setting (situational variables), or through the design of the simulation case with a specific negotiation topic. This guarantees consistency across negotiations, which is an indispensable precondition for data comparability (cf. Neu & Graham 1995: 259-260) and essential for the present study in order to be able to compare the four Irish English negotiation samples. Within the context of this investigation, a negotiation simulation is the most suitable data elicitation instrument at hand. Planken's justification for using simulations in her investigation applies to my study as well:

[...] the present investigation focused specifically on linguistic phenomena as and how they occur in negotiation discourse, and was not concerned explicitly with a systematic investigation of the formal and procedural aspects of the negotiation process, or the tangible outcomes of that process. The primary motive for using the simulation game as a method of data collection was not so much to simulate a near-realistic setting in which participants would arrive at a set of realistic negotiation outcomes. Instead, the simula-

119 The observer's paradox is not only relevant to observed negotiation simulations, but to any kind of observed participant behaviour (also in real-life negotiations).
Negotiation researchers who base their results on simulation data must under all circumstances refrain from making premature generalisations and assumptions about how people negotiate in real-life settings. The context and implications of data origin must always be taken into account when analysing and interpreting discourse (cf. DEPPERMANN 2001: 25). To what degree participants’ linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour in a simulation accurately reflects their behaviour in an authentic negotiation should be explored in future studies.

3.3.3 Design of the simulations for the present study

The simulation used in the present study – called Munster Trips-Grand Canal Hotel Negotiation Simulation \(^{120}\) (cf. App. 2.3) – was adapted from GROTH's (2001: 63-78) Brit Trips-Midway Hotel Negotiation Simulation, an educational simulation. GROTH's simulation case was considered the most suitable one: not overly complicated so that the participants would understand it quickly (e.g. no technical knowledge is required), but at the same time long and complex enough so that the negotiation could be expected to last about 20 to 40 minutes (cf. NEU & GRAHAM 1995: 259). Other simulations found in the research literature, such as the Kelley game (cf. KELLEY 1966; cf. Section 3.3.1, Footnote 112) or BLOUNT WHITE & NEALE's simulation (BLOUNT WHITE & NEALE 1994: 314-315), were not selected since their designs inhibit a focus on communicative aspects of the negotiation. MARTIN's sales negotiation simulation (MARTIN 2001: 127-129, App. I: 450-456, 460-466) requires considerably more preparation time than I could expect of my informants – MARTIN gave her participants two weeks to review the briefs.

The MT-GCH Neg. Simulation was developed according to several criteria for the creation of an adequate simulation. GROTH describes four convincing principles for the design of negotiation simulations which are presented here in a slightly adapted form (cf. GROTH 2001: 64-67, unless stated otherwise):

a) Develop your own simulation. It is helpful to develop a new simulation that is tailored to the participants of one's own particular study, their experience and motivation, as well as to the purpose of the study, instead of using existing simulations that may have been designed for totally different participants and analytical purposes.

b) Make the simulation realistic and feasible from the participants' point of view. The aim is to develop a scenario and roles with which the participants can identify because otherwise the simulation will not work well. GROTH suggests that one should stick to the well-known sayings Keep it simple and Small is beautiful so as not to demand too much of the participants. If the description of a scenario is too long and

\(^{120}\) Henceforth abbreviated MT-GCH Neg. Simulation.
complicated, the participants' willingness to take part and commitment may wane, leaving the results unsatisfactory (cf. also Martin 2001: 131).

c) Tell an entertaining and interesting story. In order to generate, maintain, or even increase participants' motivation and cooperation, the simulation should be appealing to them, especially if they take part on a voluntary basis. This applies to both content and style. GROTH favours settings like the travel and tourism industry, sports, etc. These sectors are not only entertaining but also do not require as much background knowledge as, for instance, a scenario set in the engineering or computer technology sector.

d) Design simulations to reflect real-world negotiations. "[... T]he simulation design endeavours to produce a negotiating scenario which replicates as far as possible the parameters of an authentic encounter [...]" (Martin 2001: 127, referring to her own simulation exercise). A general characteristic of authentic negotiations is that the negotiators have information shared by both parties as well as information known only to their own party. This should be reflected in the simulation design. Since researchers have found out that the most common type of interdependence in social exchange relationships – of which negotiations are but one example – is mixed competitive-motive and cooperative-motive interdependence, a simulation should include both elements: that of competition, i.e. to maximise one's own profit, and that of cooperation, i.e. to achieve some kind of mutually beneficial agreement (cf. Neu & Graham 1995: 260, who refer to Bonoma 1976; also cf. Druckman 1977b: 25-26; Morley & Stephenson 1977: 24; Wagner & Petersen 1991: 271; Martin 2001: 29-30). Most negotiation simulations are constructed for interaction between two parties. That does not only make sense for practical reasons in terms of design and implementation of the simulations, but the observation of dyadic interaction is generally considered sufficient.

For the present study, several aspects of GROTH's Brit Trips-Midway Hotel Negotiation Simulation were altered. With regard to the implementation procedure, the most important change is that both the general information for the two negotiating parties and the additional, confidential information for each individual party were handed out immediately before the negotiation. The participants were allocated a maximum of 20 minutes for the negotiation preparation. By contrast, GROTH's students had one hour, and he gave his students the general information material either a day or a week prior to the simulation. Whereas GROTH formed teams of two to three students to represent each party, the parties of the present simulation comprise one participant each. Moreover, GROTH's English-Norwegian (i.e. intercultural) negotiation simulation was changed into an Irish-Irish (i.e. intracultural) negotiation simulation. The names of the hotels, tour operator, football stadium, manager and soccer teams as well as all place names, dates and prices were adapted accordingly. An additional

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121 Kelley (1966: 50), referring to Siegel & Fouraker (1960), calls this the "incomplete information condition".

122 Neu & Graham (1995: 260) quote Thibaut & Kelley (1959) and Bagozzi (1978), who argue that all group interaction can be analysed as a complex series of dyadic relations.
modification was the inclusion of a table for hotel and transport prices to make it easier for the participants to make a note of and compare price offers.\textsuperscript{123}

The MT-GCH Neg. Simulation deals with the booking of hotel accommodation by the southern Irish tour operator "Munster Trips" for a group of soccer fans from Cork, who are about to travel to Dublin for an important match at "Dalymount Park" between their team, "Cork City", and a Dublin team, the "Bohemians". The Munster Trips representative negotiates with a representative of the "Grand Canal Hotel", which is located approximately 20 kilometres south of the centre of Dublin. The negotiators meet face-to-face for the first time. Prior to this meeting, there has only been telephone, fax and e-mail contact. This makes the negotiation what Charles (1996: 24) calls a "new relationship negotiation (NRN)".\textsuperscript{124} In order to make the scenario as realistic as possible, some further changes of Groth's original simulation were necessary. For example, Groth's version mentions violent soccer fans as the only reason why it is difficult for the tour operators to find a suitable hotel, but the hooligan scene is not an issue in Ireland. Therefore, the present simulation mentions as the major reason for a lack of vacancy a big concert.

The simulation briefs contain a description of the negotiators' profiles and of the scenario, as well as various instructions. The briefs provide a framework for the ensuing negotiation, which is supposed to be brought to life by the negotiators' own arguments and experience (cf. Martin 2001: 129). The reaching of an agreement is not prescribed; the negotiators are free to end the negotiation without closing any deal at all. The simulation briefs stimulate a negotiation in the sense of Wagner's and Firth's negotiation encounter (cf. Wagner 1995: 9; Firth 1995: 3-8; also cf. Section 1.1): it is clear from the briefs that the meeting between the two parties takes place at the hotel and serves to negotiate the price for accommodation and possibly transport of a group of soccer fans. Therefore, the negotiation is "formally and physically" (Wagner 1995: 9) defined as a business negotiation in an institutional setting. Besides, the participants inevitably mention how they control each other's goals and interests: the tour operator's aim is to get an offer from the hotel outside the city centre which is better than the offer from the central hotel (called "Talbot Inn"). However, time is running short, and he faces two problems: first, because of the big concert the same weekend, most hotels are already booked, and second, he has to defend his customers against the negative reputation gained by the club's soccer fans in a previous match. The hotel manager, on the other hand, has to try to attract more guests, as there have been only few bookings for the two days in question.

\textsuperscript{123} The MT-GCH Neg. Simulation had been used in a first version for a previous study (2003), and this first version had been tested in a pre-test. The current version underwent only minor changes with respect to some formulations, prices and dates.

\textsuperscript{124} Charles defines a NRN as a negotiation "[...] where the negotiators involved are not familiar with each other in their negotiator roles; neither do they have a close personal relationship, although they may have met before." In contrast to this, an old relationship negotiation (ORN) "[...] is one where one or both of the following conditions applies: the negotiators of the two companies involved have a long-standing experience of each other in their roles as negotiators, and the two companies involved also have that long-standing experience, as they have been doing satisfactory business with each other for a long time." (Charles 1996: 24).
The simulation also leaves room to "invent options for mutual gain" (FISHER, URY & PATTON 1991: 13, 58-83) as a feature of principled negotiation, e.g. the negotiators can commit themselves to an ongoing relationship. This would constitute an additional dimension apart from negotiating the hotel and bus prices. However, it is up to the participants to make use of these possibilities (cf. GROTH 2001: 68); of course, a lot depends on their creativity. The simulation implies a mixed-motive interdependence (cf. above): while the cooperative element is hinted at in the second part of the sentence "Though the price per double room is obviously the main issue to be negotiated, you are also willing to negotiate about other matters as well", the competitive element is reflected in instructions like: "...you feel that with skilful negotiation you can get a much better price than this from Munster Trips" (cf. App. 2.3).

3.3.4 Data collection procedure

The negotiation simulations took place in a meeting room of the Faculty of Commerce, National University of Ireland, Galway, in October 2004 (cf. App. 2.1). Participants did not receive any monetary payoffs as an incentive to take part in this project. Simulation protocols were used to capture general information on the setting and procedure (time, location, names of participants, duration of the simulation) as well as interesting comments by the participants and any problems encountered during the implementation (cf. DVD 1 Simulation Protocols).

The simulations were recorded with a minidisk recorder (Aiwa AM-F75) and a digital video camera (Sony DCR-TRV 900E). The camera was put on a tripod which remained in a fixed position throughout the negotiation (cf. App. 2.1). Both recording devices were connected to external, omnidirectional, noise reduction microphones (Sony ECM-R100). The minidisk recordings provided better sound quality than the video recordings, although not all background noise could be avoided. The video recordings helped to identify speakers and to interpret those pauses correctly which result from non-verbal activity. In order to ensure anonymity, all participant names were later distorted in the audio files (cf. DVD 4 Audio Files) whenever speakers referred to each other by their real names. The video recordings were only used as an aid for transcribing. The participants were promised that the videos would not be published; guaranteeing anonymity would have been difficult here.

The small size of the external microphones made them rather inconspicuous. Although the general problem of the observer's paradox still existed (cf. Section 3.3.2), judging from the post-simulation questionnaires (questions #32-#35), none of the informants felt uncomfortable being audiotaped and videotaped – with the sole exception of one Irish participant in Ir3 who refused to be videotaped altogether (being audiotaped was okay for him). A more reliable indicator than the participants' self-assessment in the questionnaire is the fact that they did not pay attention to the camera during the recordings (i.e. they did not gaze into it), nor did they often address the topic of the recording procedure (only in Ir4, T1: "are we on?"). Artefacts that did
occur refer to the artificial situation\textsuperscript{125} or result from a participant forgetting a piece of information from the simulation instructions\textsuperscript{126}.

The positioning of tables, chairs, camera, tape recorder, and microphone, a sound and picture check, and taking photos of the settings required a preparatory phase of 30 minutes on average. Altogether, the experiments (study of the instructions, negotiations, completion of questionnaires) took between 60 and 90 minutes each (cf. DVD 1 Simulation Protocols). The meetings with the participants generally began with some small talk about the participants' working lives, which created a friendly, reassuring atmosphere. Possibly, this also enhanced their motivation. A one-page information leaflet was handed out in which the researcher thanked the participants for taking part in a study in the field of Applied Linguistics and informed them about the procedure of the simulation and the approximate time involved. The focus of the study was not mentioned. In addition, the researcher's contact details were provided, should they have wished to be kept updated about the progress of the project (cf. App. 2.2).

In order to assign the participants their roles in the negotiation, a coin was tossed. The participants were then seated across from each another at a table and given the simulation briefs, the pre-simulation questionnaire, as well as a pen, a calculator, and some blank sheets of paper to take notes. Drinks and biscuits were also provided. They needed, on average, 22 minutes for the preparation, including the completion of the pre-simulation questionnaire (note that Ir3B did not complete it). The final instructions by the researcher were:

\begin{quote}
Try your best to identify with your role. Some of the aspects that may come up during your negotiations are not mentioned in the instructions. In this case please feel free to come up with your own ideas. You’re allowed to keep the instructions during the negotiation. Let me know as soon as you finish the negotiation; I’m going to wait outside. There’s a time limit of one hour. When you’re done, please do not start talking with your partner about the simulation but fill out the questionnaire first.
\end{quote}

After turning on the camera and the minidisk recorder, I left the room, which not only potentially decreased the problem of the observer's paradox, but also made it impossible to take notes during the simulation. The first aspect was considered more important. After the simulation, the participants needed between 10 and 20 minutes for the completion of the post-simulation questionnaire. Apart from the incident with Ir3B at the beginning of the simulation (see above), participants were very cooperative, and after the simulations a longer conversation about the research project usually ensued.

\textsuperscript{125} E.g. in Ir3, T18-21, where the hotel manager pretends to leave the room to speak to his reservations manager. Another example is the offer sequence in Ir2, T565-T573. The remark "I wonder would that be the German way of doing things" (T571) in reference to Ir2B's jocular offer in T565 is probably prompted by the information about the original scope of the present study provided to the participants before the simulation in the form of a leaflet (it started thus: "Thank you very much for taking part in this study on Irish and German negotiating behaviour.", cf. App. 2.2).

\textsuperscript{126} E.g. Ir1, T245: "let me just check how much the Talbot has, do you know how many rooms the Talbot has?" and Ir2, T145: "just one second, I can't, I don't know was that involving <E> ourselves </E> or was that it just <?> cork </?> […]".

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3.3.5 Transcription

3.3.5.1 Transcribing process

The recorded audio and video data were digitised and saved on a hard drive and CDs/DVDs. Four different types of software tools eased the data editing and transcribing processes:

1. Cool Edit Pro 2.0, a digital sound editor, was used to digitise and edit the audio data (i.e. to cut, paste, save selected parts of the waveforms and to distort the participants' names) and to measure pause lengths.

2. Express Scribe 3.06 is a free audio player software which assisted the transcription of the audio recordings.

3. Windows Movie Maker, a freeware video editor, was used to transfer the video data from the camera to the PC and, subsequently, to edit the files.

4. Windows Media Player, a freeware multimedia player, was used to play the video files.

Transcriptions are an extremely time-consuming activity. For a detailed description of the challenges which a researcher encounters during the transcribing process in terms of the time involved, personnel and financial costs, and for general aspects concerning the transcribing process cf., e.g. OCHS (1979), GOODWIN (1993), and EDWARDS (1993, 2001).

One has to keep in mind that every transcription is a selective process which automatically implies interpretation of the phenomena in question, and that the format of the transcript affects the reader's process of interpretation (cf. OCHS 1979: 44-47; STUBBS 1983: 227-228; EDWARDS 2001: 321; DEPPERMANN 2001: 41-42). In order to provide maximally objective and correct transcriptions, the transcripts of the present study were proofread, or rather proofheard, by a freelance translator (native speaker of British English) and an employee of an international organisation (native speaker of American English). This ensures what I would like to call intertranscriber reliability. Nevertheless, some passages remain unintelligible due to interfering background noise or indistinct speech of the participants. Transcribing errors cannot be ruled out completely.

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127 Useful information on recording and transcribing technology is provided by the following websites: DRESING & PEHL (2006) and INFORMATIONSPORTAL GESPRÄCHSFORSCHUNG (2005).
128 Cf. also DU BOIS (1991: 71): "How we transcribe doesn't just reflect our theories of language, it also shapes them, drawing our eyes to some phenomena while leaving others in shadow."
129 BETHGE (1979: 124-125) identifies several common types of transcribing errors: misunderstanding words or sounds, adding non-existent words or sounds, omitting existent words or sounds, misrepresenting the word order.
3.3.5.2 Transcription conventions


1. Define good analytical categories for which the symbols will stand.
2. Make the notational system maximally accessible with regard to learning and interpretation, e.g. by using familiar and easily learned symbols.
3. Make representations robust, e.g. by using characters and symbols which are available in all standard word processing programmes.
4. Make representations economical: keep a balance between quantity of information about the linguistic phenomena on the one hand and efficiency in transcribing and ease of reading on the other, e.g. by concentrating on the phenomena of interest.
5. Make the discourse transcription system adaptable.
6. The primary rule is: be consistent.

The transcription is fairly broad since the focus of the present analysis is on the pragmatic aspects of language and not on phonetic and prosodic qualities of the participants' speech, nor on their body language. The system of transcription formalities used for this study (cf. App. 1) is chiefly influenced by the notational system developed for the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (cf. Farr, Murphy & O'Keeffe 2002), and by the transcription and markup conventions of the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English (WSC) (cf. Hofland, Lindebjerg & Thunestvedt 1999). These two systems are suitable models because they are compatible with the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 1.3.146 and the electronic corpus analysis tool WordSmith Tools 4.0 (cf. Sections 3.3.6 and 3.3.7) used in the present study. Due to the technological restraints of the two computer programmes, all formatting of the texts (e.g. bold font and italics) as well as character sets not available in plain text files would have been lost during the data import process. Therefore, any additional information on the discourse is provided by means of tags (made up of standard character sets) enclosed in angle brackets. The tags are placed before and after the corresponding item(s) (interspersed format), e.g. <E> you </E> to indicate emphasis of the word you. Speaker turns are arranged in a vertical format, separated by line breaks.

The transcript text is set in Courier New typeface. As Courier New is a monospaced typeface (i.e. each character occupies the same amount of space on a horizontal line of text), it facilitates the exact indentation of text (to indicate overlapping speech) by means of the space character. This is particularly relevant to line breaks: using the space character is then more stable than using tabulators. Stability,

130 Other transcription systems that were considered are: Du Bois et al.'s system (1993) and GAT = Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem [Conversation-Analytic Transcription system (translation mine)] (Selting 1998).
as well as consistency, is also the reason for using paragraph numbering instead of line numbering for reference purposes; line numbers change whenever one alters the length of the line (e.g. when indenting text) or the font size. What is more, NVivo automatically applies paragraph numbering to refer to coded text passages.\footnote{131}

For the sake of confidentiality, proper names of the participants are substituted in the transcripts by fictional names with similar prosodic qualities whenever they are mentioned by the interlocutors. In order to identify texts, speakers and their roles, an unambiguous combination of capital letters and numbers is used as an abbreviation, e.g. "Ir1A", with the first letter(s) standing for the speaker group (Irish), the number for the negotiation (1-4), and the last letter for the individual speaker (tour operator representative/hotel manager).

The spelling follows British English standard orthographic rules with the exception of capitalisation: all words and acronyms are spelled with lower case letters. Numbers, including dates, are written in full. To enhance readability, only frequently occurring pronunciations and contractions deviating from standard norms are captured in the spelling.\footnote{132} They are listed in a concordance in the Appendix (cf. App. 2.6.9). The punctuation marks comma, period, and question mark do not represent conventional grammatical or semantic structures, but rather intonation features. The colon is used to mark prosodic lengthening. The transcription system is not syllable sensitive, i.e. overlaps are not marked in the middle of a word because Wordsmith Tools requires word integrity. This is why all overlaps have been moved to ensure word integrity. Pauses are treated non-technically as observable discontinuations in the flow of speech. Pauses longer than one second are timed. Many pauses, particularly the longer ones, result from the participants being engaged in non-verbal behaviour, typically activities such as reading briefs, making notes, or doing calculations. Uncertain and unintelligible passages, which result from indistinct articulation, speech overlaps, background noise, or overmodulation of the microphone, are also marked in the transcript. A complete list of transcriptional notations can be found in App. 1.

\footnote{131} The paragraphs usually correspond to speaker turns. Since a silence in between the turns of two different speakers is marked on a separate line in the present study (no matter if it is only a short gap or an absence of speech lasting several seconds, or whether or not it occurs at a transition-relevance point), the silences are automatically counted as individual paragraphs, too. Likewise, if a speaker's turn overlaps with the interlocutor's backchannelling tokens, both the speaker's talk and the backchannelling tokens are presented as several ensuing paragraphs. However, if a current speaker resumes speaking after a period of silence, both parts of his speech are treated as different parts of the same turn, to facilitate reading of the transcript. For a discussion of what may (or may not) constitute a unit called turn as well as different interpretations of silence/pause/gap cf., e.g. SACKS, SCHEGLOFF & JEFFERSON (1974: 702, 709, 720-723); GOODWIN (1981: 2-3, 15-20); LEVINSON (1983: 297, 321).

\footnote{132} These include dialectal, idiolectal and other forms characteristic of spoken language (cf. KREIDLER 1997), for instance assimilations and word reductions (e.g. putting pronounced [pʊtɪn]/[pʊtɪn] is transcribed as puttin).
3.3.6 Corpus characteristics\footnote{133}

The present corpus consists, in total, of two hours and 12:38 minutes of spoken data, which amounts to 23,509 tokens including function words and unfinished words but excluding tags and numbers (cf. Table 8).\footnote{134} The transcriptions of the negotiations start with the greeting of the participants after they have assumed their roles of negotiators. The conversations with the researcher before and after the negotiations were not transcribed. On average, 20.50\% of all turns (cf. Section 3.3.5.2, Footnote 131) are interrupted, resulting in overlapping speech,\footnote{135} and 3.21\% are part of simultaneous start-ups. A number of passages are unclear hearings (i.e. 281 words or word passages of varying length in total) or totally unintelligible (i.e. approx. 3.13\% of the estimated total number of syllables).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcript</th>
<th>\textit{Ir1-Ir4}</th>
<th>\textit{Ir1}</th>
<th>\textit{Ir2}</th>
<th>\textit{Ir3}</th>
<th>\textit{Ir4}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Length of negotiations (time)</td>
<td>2 h</td>
<td>12:38 min</td>
<td>43:40 min</td>
<td>42:33 min</td>
<td>22:34 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of paragraphs/turns</td>
<td>2,433</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File size (in bytes, i.e. characters)\footnote{136}</td>
<td>186,860</td>
<td>59,452</td>
<td>51,120</td>
<td>25,551</td>
<td>50,737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens\footnote{137}</td>
<td>23,509</td>
<td>7,914</td>
<td>6,422</td>
<td>3,410</td>
<td>5,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated total number of syllables\footnote{138} (basis: tokens used for word list) plus approx. number of unintelligible syllables</td>
<td>33,382.78</td>
<td>11,237.88</td>
<td>9,119.24</td>
<td>4,842.20</td>
<td>8,183.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of turns interrupted by A in relation to total number of turns (in %)</td>
<td>12.54</td>
<td>7.56</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>8.94</td>
<td>24.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of turns interrupted by B in relation to total number of turns (in %)</td>
<td>\textit{8.01}</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>10.59</td>
<td>10.16</td>
<td>8.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of turns interrupted by A and B in relation to total number of turns (in %)</td>
<td>20.55</td>
<td>12.14</td>
<td>16.05</td>
<td>19.11</td>
<td>33.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of turns which are part of a simultaneous start-up in relation to total number of turns (in %)</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\footnote{133} The numerical description of the corpus is not based on statistical tests. Only frequency countings were used.
\footnote{134} Most calculations of the present section were conducted with the electronic corpus analysis tool WordSmith Tools 4.0 (WordList function).
\footnote{135} Note that the notion of interruption is here used in a broad sense, including not only instances where a second speaker starts talking during a first speaker’s turn so that the first speaker stops a few words later and the second one takes the floor, but also instances where the second speaker interjects only a few words (typically backchanneling tokens) while the first speaker continues his flow of speech (i.e. holds the floor) as well as cases where the second speaker starts a longer stretch of talk simultaneously to the first speaker who does not yield the floor.
\footnote{136} Including function words, unfinished words, tags, and numbers.
\footnote{137} Including function words and unfinished words but excluding tags and numbers.
\footnote{138} This calculation is based on BRIEST’s statement (1974: 545, quoted by KREKELER 2005: 257) that words in the English language consist of 1.42 syllables on average.
Ir1 is the longest of the four negotiation simulations in terms of length of time (43:40 min), number of paragraphs/turns (807), number of tokens (7,914) as well as number of characters (59,452). The intelligibility of the audio recording is negatively affected by two external factors. First, the participants' chairs made a creaking noise throughout the negotiation, and second, the participants often clicked with their pens and rustled with their papers. Both caused static noise, which accounts for some of the 116 passages marked as uncertain and for a considerable part of the unintelligible syllables (2.79% of the estimated total number of syllables). Moreover, the MD recording is disturbed several times which also reduces intelligibility. The average speech rate of Ir1A is much faster than that of Ir1B, which at times creates problems of comprehensibility because Ir1A tends to swallow syllables.

The second longest negotiation is Ir2, only about a minute shorter than Ir1, with 623 paragraphs/turns and 6,422 tokens. The number of unclear passages (101) or unintelligible syllables (2.25% of the estimated total number of syllables) is also similar to Ir1. The pauses during which the negotiators calculate prices are considerably longer on average in this simulation than in the other simulations because in Ir2 the participants had no calculators available. Ir2B generally speaks more slowly, quietly, calmly and in a lower voice than Ir2A. The fact that Ir2A seems to speak more quietly at times is due to his leaning back in his chair, thus creating a greater distance between himself and the microphone.

Ir3 is the shortest negotiation with only 22:34 minutes, 246 paragraphs/turns and 3,410 words (tokens). Compared to the other three negotiations, the speech of Ir3A and Ir3B is comprehensible without further difficulties. They both spoke distinctly, and there is hardly any disturbing background noise. This explains the relatively low rate of unclear passages (23) and unintelligible syllables (1.43% of the estimated total number of syllables), despite the second highest rate of interruptions (19.11% interrupted turns of all turns).

The fourth negotiation, Ir4, stands out from the rest in several ways. Although it is not much longer in terms of length of time than Ir3 (23:51 min), it has more than three times as many paragraphs/turns (757), almost 1.7 times as many tokens (5,763) and twice as many characters (50,737) as Ir3. The main reason for the high number of paragraphs/turns is that there are very many overlaps, especially due to interjected backchanneling tokens such as yeah and okay which have a hearer-supportive function. These backchannels seldom make the interlocutor stop his continuous flow of words, i.e. he does not yield the floor. With 33.69% interrupted turns of all turns, Ir4...
shows by far the highest frequency of interruptions of all negotiations (i.e. 12.14% for Ir1, 16.05% for Ir2, and 19.11% for Ir3).\footnote{But note the relatively low rate of turns which are part of a competing first start in Ir4 in comparison with the other negotiations.} In particular, Ir4A interrupts Ir4B's speech extremely often (74% of all interrupted turns in comparison with 26% for Ir4B). According to the transcription conventions used in the present study, each simultaneously uttered backchannelling token is noted on a separate paragraph, and the interlocutor's continuing speech following this token starts yet on another paragraph. Interestingly, there are also quite a few instances of relatively long stretches of simultaneous speech. This seems to be a rather uncommon characteristic of spoken language, taking Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson's (1974: 706) observation into account that "occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief". It may be regarded as evidence for the occurrence of violative interruptions (cf. Levinson 1983: 299). As neither Ir4A nor Ir4B want to yield the floor, it is questionable whether they fully understand what the other is saying. The high number of tokens and characters may be due to the extremely frequent use of backchannelling tokens such as *yeah* and *okay* and of fillers such as *you know* and *I mean* if compared to the other negotiations (cf. Table 9). These observations are quite unlike what Martin (2001: 182) found in her Irish-Irish negotiation data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Filler/backchannelling token</th>
<th>Absolute frequency</th>
<th>Frequency in relation to total number of tokens\footnote{For the relative frequency calculation of <em>you know</em> and <em>I mean</em> the total number of tokens was divided by two because these fillers consist of two tokens.}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>you know</em></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.00177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>you know</em></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.00109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>you know</em></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.00351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>you know</em></td>
<td>180</td>
<td>0.01561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I mean</em></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0.00145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I mean</em></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.00031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I mean</em></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.00234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I mean</em></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.00295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>okay</em></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0.00581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>okay</em></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0.00358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>okay</em></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.00176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>okay</em></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0.00676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yeah</em></td>
<td>97</td>
<td>0.01225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yeah</em></td>
<td>155</td>
<td>0.02412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yeah</em></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.00996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yeah</em></td>
<td>308</td>
<td>0.05341</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Frequencies of the fillers *you know* and *I mean* and the backchannelling tokens *okay* and *yeah* in the four negotiations
Both participants of Ir4 speak quickly and very indistinctly. They often mumble or stammer so that many passages are incomprehensible. Also, there are quite a few recording disturbances (overmodulation). This, together with the longer stretches of simultaneous speech described above, explains the high rate of unintelligible syllables in relation to the estimated total number of syllables (5.49%), which is approximately twice as high as in Ir1 and Ir2 and even 3.8 times as high as in Ir3. Further characteristics of this negotiation are that both speakers begin sentences without 'properly' finishing them more often than in the other negotiations, and that there are almost never pauses in between turns (also unlike the other negotiations). According to SACKS, SCHEGLOFF & JEFFERSON (1974: 708), however, this feature, often called *latching*, is not uncommon.

### 3.3.7 Data coding process and procedures of analysis

In the present study, neither the generation of *categories*, nor the process of *coding* follows a strict methodology as it is understood, for instance, by exponents of grounded theory (GLASER & STRAUSS 1967; STRAUSS & CORBIN 1999). Instead, established methodological procedures of linguistic pragmatics are taken as a model (e.g. BLUM-KULKA, HOUSE & KASPER 1989b; TROSborg 1995; BARRON 2003). With respect to the notion of *category*, I adopt KUCKARTZ’s broad definition:

> Kategorie bedeutet hier – technisch gesprochen – nichts anderes als einen Begriff, ein Label, das vom Bearbeiter der Texte definiert wird, d.h. ein Wort, mehrere Wörter oder einen Kurzsatz, die nicht notwendigerweise auch im Text vorkommen müssen. […] Hier sollen sie [i.e. die Kategorien] als Werkzeuge zur Phänomenklassifizierung mit der Möglichkeit der Bildung von Unterklassen begriffen werden. (KUCKARTZ 2005: 61, 65)

[Here, category means – technically speaking – nothing other than a term, a label, which is defined by the analyst of the texts, i.e. a word, several words, or a short sentence which do not necessarily have to be mentioned in the text. […] Here, they [i.e. the categories] are to be understood as tools for classifying phenomena. They should also allow the creation of subclasses. (translation mine)]

Whereas some categories used for the present study describe pure facts (e.g. speaker), most other categories and sub-categories were taken from the literature ("theoriegeleitete Zuordnungskategorien" [theory-driven categories (translation mine)], DEPPERMANN 2001: 53). The latter were then modified based on the present data, i.e. they are partly data-driven (e.g. offer realisation strategies, interactional status of offers, and offer responses). The coding process was dynamic, which means that in the beginning, categories were regarded as preliminary entities, and that

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141 Nevertheless, I unintentionally employed some procedures similar to those suggested by grounded theory, e.g. the writing of memo-like notes and diagrams throughout the analysis process (coding included) and interpretation process (cf. KUCKARTZ 2005: 134-141; STRAUSS & CORBIN 1999: 217-241). I continually put down general ideas, coding definitions and problems, references to relevant text passages and literary quotations, intermediate results, etc. This helped to explore relationships among the different phenomena and concepts of interest. As the notes became clearer and more complex, dense, accurate, and systematic over time, they could be used as a basis for discussions in post-graduate seminars and, ultimately, for the results and discussion chapter (Chapter 4).
throughout the coding process some categories were further differentiated (e.g. creation of sub-categories), some were merged with other categories, and for some a new superordinate category was found. Category definitions were constantly reassessed and adapted accordingly. Thus, I employed a mixture of deductive and inductive category creation strategies, which seems to be the standard procedure in qualitative research (cf. KUCKARTZ 2005: 63-66, 186).

The following is a list of all coded features of the present study (cf. App. 3 for a detailed coding scheme):

1. Offer realisation strategies (Section 4.2)
2. Additional information on speech acts:
   a) Speaker
   b) Conditional dimensions of offers: contingent offer (Section 4.1.4); explicit reference to underlying condition of offers (Section 4.3.4)
   c) Incomplete or doubtful offer/request
3. Offer topics (Section 4.1.5)
4. External modifications of offers, requests, offer responses: supportive moves (Section 4.3)
5. Interactional features:
   a) Type of Request for Offer (Section 4.4.1)
   b) Realisation strategies for Specific Requests for Offer (Section 4.4.1.2)
   c) Status of offer: elicited Offer vs. non-elicited Offer (Section 4.4.2)
   d) Type of elicited Offer (Section 4.4.2.2)
   e) Continuation patterns and delayed responses (Section 4.4.3)

The qualitative research and analysis programme NVivo 1.3.146 was used for data coding. It supports, on all levels, the complex management of the different coding categories in relation to the transcripts. The most important features used for the present study are the document system, which – in the present study – contains all transcripts, and the node system, which contains all categories and their definitions. NVivo allows the direct linking of categories (called nodes) with relevant text (called coding passage) (cf. Figure 5). The nodes, or categories, can be arranged in a hierarchical fashion and edited (label, definition, properties, etc.) independently of the coding passages. New categories can be generated at any time during the coding process. The system is also flexible enough to allow, for instance, multiple coding of one text passage or renaming and merging of nodes without losing the links to the coding passages.
Various types of lists (called reports) provide the researcher with an overview of all text passages linked to a particular category, or, vice versa, which categories belong to a specific text passage. It is also possible to convert the NVivo display of a complete transcript or a selection of coding passages, with all, or only a selected group of categories (called set), into a PDF document. The categories are then visualised by so-called coding stripes, i.e. lines running up and down on the right-hand side of the page.

Other result reports include tables with statistical data (called profiles), for instance the frequency distribution of categories across the different texts (coded text passage or character counts), which can be exported to other table-handling programmes such as Microsoft Excel.

The NVivo search tool offers different types of relational search possibilities (Boolean and proximity searches for categories and words within the transcripts), including matrix searches, which establish pairwise relations between items belonging to groups of parameters. Finds from matrix searches are displayed in exportable tables. The tool proved very useful in the data analysis, i.e. to find patterns in the data and to

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142 In App. 5-7, exemplary coding extracts with coding stripes are provided with a list of coded offer utterances (including speaker, type of elicited offer, realisation strategy, topic nodes), request utterances (including speaker, request type, realisation strategy nodes) as well as continuation patterns and delayed responses across all four negotiations.
reveal relationships and connections between the individual phenomena in negotiations which are of interest to the present study.  

Upon completion of the coding process, the categories were reviewed one last time to ensure a high level of internal consistency. Last of all, random checks were performed by means of various Boolean searches to rule out as much as possible any inconsistencies regarding multiple codings of text passages. For instance, it was checked whether text passages coded as offer utterances were always linked with both a node for the speaker and a node for a realisation strategy, etc., or that an offer utterance was not coded as two different realisation strategies at the same time.

Subsequently, the data were analysed qualitatively. The qualitative analysis was supported by descriptive statistics: absolute and relative frequencies were calculated to find out how the values (individual categories) of variables (phenomena such as offer realisation strategies or topics) are distributed in the sample. The results are presented in frequency tables and diagrams. This combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (the latter being facilitated by computer programmes such as NVivo) is increasingly encouraged by linguists and social scientists (cf., e.g. SCHLOBINSKI 1996: 15-16; MAYRING 2001):

\[ [... Man gelangt] zu einer Reihe von Auswertungsge- sichtspunkten (Kategorien) und ei- ner Reihe von zugeordneten Textstellen. Wenn derart systematisch mit Kategorien ge- arbeitet wird, bietet es sich an, diese Zuordnungen als 'Daten' aufzufassen und in einem zweiten Analysegeschritt quantitativ weiterzuverarbeiten. [...] Bei einem solchen Vorge- hen, das mit Kategorien systematisch arbeitet, besteht also der erste Schritt aus qualitativen Analysen, der zweite Schritt aus quantitativen Prozeduren, die dann in einem dritten Schritt wieder interpretiert werden müssen. (MAYRING 2001: paragraph 16-17)\]

\[ [...You arrive] at a number of analytical aspects (categories) and text passages that are assigned to them. Working with categories in such a systematic way allows you to treat these assignments as 'data' and process them quantitatively in a second analytical step. [...] Hence, the first step in such a procedure, which works with a system of categories, consists of qualitative analyses followed by the second step of quantitative procedures, which then must be interpreted again (qualitatively) in a third step. (translation mine)\]

The present study does not allow any statistical tests. Although it would have been possible to perform non-parametric tests, these tests would not have had any explanatory power in relation to the research objectives of the present study because of the very small sample size of eight participants in four interactions. Generalisations based on these tests would not have been possible. Therefore, I cannot infer from my data corpus how the target population Irish male business professionals behaves in negotiations, nor can I judge whether the differences between sellers and buyers that I observe in my data sample are coincidental or correspond to the general buyer/seller behaviour in the above-mentioned population. The study is suitable to

\[143\] For more information on this software programme and its features, which go beyond the functions listed in this section, cf. QUALITATIVE SOLUTIONS AND RESEARCH (1999-2001: help menu), FRASER (1999) and RICHARDS (1999). Also cf. WELSH (2002), who compares the use of NVivo with manual techniques, based on her own experiences in conducting a qualitative study (she also addresses questions of validity and reliability), and KUCKARTZ (2005), who provides a useful overview on computer-aided analysis of qualitative data.
generate, not to test hypotheses; the results are not representative in a statistical sense. However, the data are sufficiently adequate to reach my research objective of detecting characteristic patterns of offer-making in business negotiations in an Irish English context.

3.3.8 Reasons for coding difficulties

The main reason for the coding problems relate to the identification of offers and requests for offers within the discourse, or to the boundaries of individual request, offer, and offer response utterances, is the speech act-theoretic approach on the utterance level and the type of data (cf. Aijmer 1996: 125; Fant 1993: 115). In the present study, this problem is exacerbated as the Offer and some of the Request utterances are classified according to their realisation strategy (cf. Aijmer 1996: 130-131). In certain respects, investigating offers, requests for offer, and responses to offers in naturally spoken discourse data is more difficult than in written data, which is elicited, for instance, by Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs, i.e. a specific type of questionnaire where respondents are asked to produce a particular type of speech act). Neumann faces the same problems when analysing requests in authentic and simulated intercultural German-Norwegian negotiations: 144

The requests are concealed in long texts and their illocution is often ambiguous to the observer. There are few speakers producing a lot of text. This has consequences for the workload of the researcher and the reliability of the conclusions. […] In natural data requests are difficult to isolate from the surrounding text. (Neumann 1995: 37-38)

Kasper states similarly:

Das Hauptproblem, das sich bei der Analyse von Sprechakten in empirischem Datenmaterial stellt, ist das der Identifizierung und Abgrenzung verschiedener Sprechakte. (Kasper 1981: 86)

[The main problem arising from the analysis of speech acts in empirical data material is the identification and definition of different speech acts. (translation mine)]

Bilbow (2002: 289) gives as a reason for this difficulty the usual lack of a one-to-one relationship between linguistic function and form, which complicates the analyst's task to pin down the function of an utterance (also cf. Levinson 1983: 290-291). Moreover, it is characteristic of spoken language that speakers at times do not finish their utterances and, according to Chomsky, make 'mistakes' so that their "actual performance" (Chomsky 1965: 3) often does not correspond to 'correct' grammatical standards (cf., e.g. Stenström 1994; Wilson 2000; Deppermann 2001; Schwitalla 2003). This, together with different sorts of stammerings, hesitations and false starts, makes a retrospective interpretation of utterances by the researcher sometimes impossible.

144 Neumann (1995: 37) also illustrates the advantages of what she calls natural data: "The advantage of natural data lies in the fact that people produce requests spontaneously. Provided there are valid comparable texts, we may learn more about the function and frequency of requests in different cultures and about the place of requests in the context as a whole."
Much depends on the researcher's subjective interpretation (cf. PLANKEN 2002: 58). Nevertheless, most of the coding difficulties can be overcome by developing a comprehensive coding scheme (App. 3) and establishing consistent, well-defined coding criteria (outlined in App. 4) with the aim to standardise coding decisions. Some features of spoken discourse which pose coding problems in the present study relate to the sequential structure and organisation of discourse, which are further described and discussed in Section 4.4. Conversation analysis offers some useful explanations for these phenomena.
4 Offers in business negotiations: Results and discussion

Most people understand that a negotiation is a matter of give-and-take: You have to be willing to make concessions to get concessions in return. But the process of making concessions is easier said than done. (MALHOTRA 2006: paragraph 1)

Section 2.2 shows that until today, linguistic works discussing offers in some way or another – both pragmatic, discourse analytic and conversation analytic studies – clearly focus on everyday conversation. Therefore, it is necessary to develop an analytical framework for offers in business negotiations.

What follows in Sections 4.1-4.4 is a model which can be used to study offers in business negotiations in a systematic way. The terminology, concepts, and analytical tools it offers are tailored to the needs of the present study of Irish English negotiations, but at the same time claim applicability to negotiations in other varieties of English, if not other languages. Along with the model, a modified label for what is being studied is introduced. From now on, when referring to the phenomenon under investigation, the term offer (both noun and verb) is capitalised, Offer, to indicate that it is used as a technical term whose meaning deviates from everyday usage, and that it refers to a definition specifically developed in order to meet the requirements of a study of negotiations. Similarly, the term request is capitalised whenever it refers to a Request for Offer as it is understood in this study.

The present study works with a discourse model (Figure 6) which is mainly based on the hierarchical rank scale by EDMONDSON (1981) (cf. Section 2.2.6). However, a further level between exchange and phase is introduced: sequence. The model is also influenced by the original ideas of SINCLAIR & COULTHARD (1975), COULTHARD & BRAZIL (1981), and STUBBS (1983).

![Figure 6: Discourse model suggested for the present study](image-url)
Each of the six discourse levels (act, move, exchange, sequence, phase, encounter/speech event) is addressed individually in Sections 4.1-4.4 in a bottom-up approach. Then I link the patterns detected on the different discourse levels to arrive at an overall picture of Offers in business negotiations in Section 4.5. In doing this, I follow LAMPI:

Although the various levels have to be artificially separated for analytical purposes, it should be kept in mind that a comprehensive picture of the negotiation strategy that is being implemented can only emerge through a consideration of the joint effect of all four discourse levels operating simultaneously. (LAMPI 1986: 55)

Also in analogy to LAMPI (1986: 55-56), the following questions are discussed: When is the Offer made? How is the Offer made? What is the Offer about? These questions relate to one or more of the discourse levels (cf. Figure 7).

Chapter 4 starts with a description of the key characteristics of Offers in negotiations as they are understood in this investigation (Section 4.1). These relate to the discourse level act only. Section 4.1.1 contains an overview of definitorial dimensions of Offers. In the ensuing sections (4.1.2 and 4.1.3), the pragmatic roles of the interlocutors and their relational work are outlined. Additionally, two more aspects are described which have proved relevant to the analysis of Offers in negotiations: the so-called contingency aspect and Offer topics (Sections 4.1.4 and 4.1.5). Section 4.2 describes the category system for Offer realisation strategies, and Section 4.3 deals

\[145\] Note that phases will not be dealt with in a separate chapter but will be addressed in Sections 4.1.5, 4.4.4, and 4.5.2.
with external modifications (supportive moves) of these strategies. The macro level of the negotiation discourse is analysed in Section 4.4 (interactional structure), where the discourse levels up to exchange and sequence are covered.

Since the aim of Sections 4.1-4.4 is the development of a tool set suitable to describe Offers in business negotiations and then to detect general patterns in the phenomena listed in the preceding paragraphs, the analysis of quantitative aspects focuses on relative frequency distributions of the phenomena across the four negotiations, not within each individual negotiation (although this would certainly yield interesting results too). In this context it is important to reiterate that with the present data corpus, statistical tests – which have the potential of revealing significant differences – are not possible (cf. Section 3.3.7). Throughout the study, the term significantly is therefore not used in a statistical sense but in a general sense meaning important, noticeable, obvious.

Following the presentation of the model, two broader topic areas reflecting some of the patterns detected in the data are explored in Section 4.5: a) reciprocity and exchange (Section 4.5.1), and b) recursiveness (Section 4.5.2). Here, the encounter/speech event negotiation as a whole is of main interest. Results are related to findings of studies from other disciplines as well as to the recommendations found in negotiation manuals and textbooks, both discussed in previous chapters.

**4.1 Key characteristics of Offers in the context of business negotiations**

**4.1.1 Working definition of Offer**

In the present study, the term Offer is used as an umbrella term which incorporates, apart from offer, related speech actions such as bidding, proposing, making a concession, promising, pledging, guaranteeing, making a statement of commitment, etc. The technical term Offer is therefore much broader than what speech act theoretic works define as offer (cf. Section 2.2.1) and not equivalent to an everyday interpretation of the lexeme offer. Although this solution is far from perfect as it blurs existing semantic distinctions between the different elements, it does circumvent the insoluble problem of exact differentiation between similar illocutionary acts (cf. Section 3.3.8).

As shown in Section 2.1, the related terms which are integrated with offer are used as synonyms or closely related concepts of offer in a variety of non-linguistic research approaches to negotiations and by authors of popular science handbooks. Evidently, their use of these concepts stems from everyday language usage and reflects a common sense understanding of important elements in negotiation discourse. The terms are often used inconsistently and do not necessarily correspond to distinct illocutionary acts.
Consider, for instance, the following examples:

Ex. 48.  (Ir1, T501)

<iIr1A> why don't we say <E> four </E> euro, he? […]</i>

Ex. 49.  (Ir2, T375)

<iIr2B> § i'll give </§> you the, the name of the:, - - the crowd that runs <:?:> the <:/?:> the, - bus transport, […]</i>

Ex. 50.  (Ir1, T795)

<iIr1B> §A> eh, </§A> you take it that you have the four rooms in thœ, in, in this other <§B> hotel. eh, </§B>

Ex. 51.  (Ir4, T346)

<iIr4B> i'll, i'll, i'll guarantee that the bus <§B> <X3>, - the bus will stand outside the ground, okay?</i>

Ex. 48 may be labelled by some readers as a proposal, Ex. 49 as a promise, and Ex. 50 and 51 might be put into a category called guarantee. However, all four utterances share an important characteristic which makes them of interest to the present study: they all imply – to different degrees – an expression of commitment by S. In Ex. 48, Ir1A is willing to pay four Euro for a pint of beer. Ex. 49, Ir2B commits himself to providing Ir2A the name of the bus company so that Ir2A can deal with them directly. In Ex. 50, Ir2B assures Ir2A that he will definitely get four extra rooms for his staff in a different hotel, and in Ex. 51, Ir4B assures Ir4A that the bus will definitely be waiting for the soccer fans after the match.

From a speech act theoretic perspective, the differences between offer, bid, proposal, concession, promise, pledge, guarantee, and statement of commitment can be determined by looking at

– the propositional content condition, i.e. the degree of involvement of H in the predicated future action: future act of S (offer, bid, statement of commitment, concession, promise, pledge, guarantee) vs. future act of S and H (proposal),

146 For formatting reasons, the paragraph numbers of examples taken from the present corpus are only indicated at the head of the example. For longer quoted transcript passages it is therefore advisable to consult the transcripts in the Appendix (2.6), in which each paragraph is prefixed with a paragraph number. In order to make clear which part of the utterance is currently being discussed, relevant passages may be underlined. Quotations from the transcripts within the running text are cleared of tags and repetitions, fillers, etc., and the spelling is changed according to standard orthographic rules for ease of reading, unless this information is relevant to the interpretation of the passage.

147 Cf. EDMONDSON & HOUSE (1981: 55), who distinguish between offers and promises but subsume them under the superordinate category Willing: "It would be preferable on theoretical grounds not to make this distinction between Offers and Promises […]." Also Cf. WUNDERLICH (1977: 30): "In my terminology, the designation 'conditional speech act' includes the following speech acts: to warn, to threaten, to advise, to reproach, to negotiate, to extort, to offer, to propose. […] Some of the listed speech acts can be realized by assertions of a certain kind, others by a certain kind of requests, some of them also by promises or even questions […]."

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the sincerity condition, i.e. S wants H to do something/to elicit a reaction from H (offer, bid, proposal) vs. S does not want H to do something/to elicit a reaction from H (statement of commitment, concession, promise, pledge, guarantee), and

− the essential condition, i.e. attempt by S to get H to do something/elicit a reaction by H (offer, bid, proposal) vs. no attempt by S to get H to do something/elicit a reaction by H (statement of commitment, concession, promise, pledge, guarantee).

I would like to get away from the narrow speech act theoretic approach and therefore do not elaborate further on exact speech act theoretic definitions for each of the lexical items mentioned earlier. The main problem with Searle's (1969: 57-61) conditions is that they were originally set up to analyse only simple and idealised instances of illocutionary acts, excluding elliptical utterances or utterances with elements which are irrelevant to performing the respective illocutionary act in question (cf. Searle 1969: 55-56; also Planken 2002: 41). This is exactly what poses problems in the coding and analysis of the data of the present study (cf. Section 3.3.8). A further difficulty is related to the difference between preparatory and sincerity conditions. For instance, is S's willingness to do A a sincerity condition, or does it concern the preparatory condition as well? Yet another problem related to the sincerity condition for offers in the context of negotiation is that, for tactical reasons, an offer may deliberately not be meant sincerely: "[…I]t's possible that your opponent will offer up misleading information in an attempt to get a bargaining advantage." (Galinsky 2004: paragraph 3). Typically, at the beginning of a negotiation a buyer is likely to offer only a very small amount of money for a particular product although he knows for sure that the other party will not accept it and that he will have to make further concessions before a final deal is closed.

Despite my critical attitude towards a narrow speech act theoretic approach, I continue to use the terminology and concepts where appropriate. The following assumptions form the basis of my descriptions of what offers, bids, proposals, concessions, promises, pledges, guarantees, statements of commitment, etc. have in common. The shared characteristics function as arguments to subsume the various speech elements under one superordinate label in the context of business negotiations:

(1) The common denominator of the speech actions listed above, which is of primary interest to the present study, is their commissive illocutionary force. S expresses his willingness or intention to do something (A) in the future, thereby placing himself under an obligation to H.

(2) All of the speech actions listed above are intrinsically conditional in that S's self-imposed obligation to carry out A in the future depends on H's positive uptake and, ultimately, on the closing of a deal at the end of the negotiation.148

148 Cf. Leech (1983: 217, 219) whose notion of conditional speech acts is broader than that of Wunderlich. For instance, he also includes requesting, begging, advising, recommending, suggesting, inviting, and threatening in this group (though not promising).

149 An exception are procedural Offers, which mostly refer to the immediate future and relate to a more local organisation of discourse (cf. Section 4.1.5).
Until then, S's obligation to the Offer remains hypothetical. The closing of the deal, or ratification, means that both negotiators agree on the result of the preceding discussion; they repeat (implicitly or explicitly) the – now final – acceptance and acknowledgement of the previously made offers, proposals, promises, commitments, pledges, guarantees, etc. The ones that are rejected during the course of the negotiation are not part of the final deal, and therefore S's expressed commitment does not become binding in these cases.

(3) Because of (2), all of the speech actions listed above are hybrid in that they have not only commissive but also directive illocutionary force: S tries to get H to do something, i.e. he tries to elicit a reaction from H (acceptance/acknowledgement or rejection). The addressee's uptake and his confirmation of previous acceptances/acknowledgements (relating to the directive force of the Offer) are as essential for the outcome of the negotiation as S's expressed commitment (relating to the commissive force).

The label *Offer* is preferred to the label *commissive* or *commissive act* for several reasons:

a) *Offer* does not include any commissive act per se but only those relevant to business negotiations; it must not be equated with SEARLE's (1976) class of *commisives*.

b) The label *commissive/commissive act* would neglect the directive illocutionary force implied by the phenomenon in question.

c) The starting-point for the present study was to investigate the speech act *offer* in business negotiations – only later, after analysing some of the data, did it become clear that the object of study had to be broadened to capture the peculiarities of this type of speech event. Nevertheless, the focus continues to lie on that particular speech act.

d) The term *Offer* is more readily understood than *commissive/commissive act* by non-linguists interested in a study on negotiation.

e) The shorter label *Offer* eases the flow of reading and writing (practical reason).

In the present study, the following case is also considered: S may Offer *not* to do something if this non-doing is of benefit to H.

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151 This even holds true for promises, concessions, guarantees, and pledges although they have not, in a traditional speech act theoretic sense, directive force. However, I claim that in negotiations, this is different.

152 PÉREZ HERNÁNDEZ's (2001: 90-95) claim that offers are closer to the commissive than to the directive end (cf. Section 2.2.1) may be true for offers of assistance, hospitable offers and gift offerings, but not necessarily for Offers in business negotiations.

153 Unlike BILBOW (2002).
CHAPTER 4: Offers in business negotiations: Results and discussion
Section 4.1: Key characteristics of Offers in the context of business negotiations

Ex. 52.  (Ir4, T153-T155)
<Ir4B> eh, you know, we won't, - <H> <LA> we won't </LA> try an
give a shoddy,
<Ir4A> yeah,
<Ir4B> we won't try an give a shoddy service, you know,

Ex. 53.  (Ir1, T372)
<Ir2B> […] what i can </E> do, </E> is, - <E> no </E> frills,

Ex. 54.  (Ir4, T655)
<Ir4B> […] people </E> don't </E> have to <?> nominate for </?>
<X2> <?> of, </?> havin breakfast or not,

Such negative Offers imply S's commitment to the opposite future action, which is in
the interest of H: in Ex. 52 to provide top-quality service only and in Ex. 53 to make
an Offer which comprises only basic standard features as Requested by Ir2A in T303
("strip it down to the bare bones, forget the frills"). Ex. 54 can be read as People (i.e.
the soccer fans) don't have to decide in advance whether they would like to have
breakfast or not; we leave it to the fans to decide ad hoc.

In total, 536 complete Offer utterances are identified in the present corpus, of which
420 (78.36%) are made by the hotel managers (sellers) and 116 (21.64%) by the tour
operators (buyers) (cf. Table 26 in App. 8, and App. 5 for a list of all Offer utterances
with the codings speaker, type of elicited Offer, realisation strategy, topic). In addi-
tion, 40 incomplete or doubtful Offers are counted, which are not taken into account
in any of the Offer statistics.154

Not surprisingly, the order of the four negotiations according to the absolute number
of Offers (cf. Figure 8) corresponds to their order in terms of length (both number of
turns and time; cf. Section 3.3.6, which also provides a definition of turn as used in
the present study). If one relates the absolute number of Offers to the absolute num-
ber of turns (i.e. how many per cent of all turns contain an Offer), the relative Offer
frequency in Ir1 is with 25.15% slightly above the average of 22.03%, while in Ir2, it
approximately equals the average (22.31%) (cf. Table 27 in App. 8). Ir3 is also above
average (29.67%). By contrast, the negotiators in Ir4 only make an Offer in 15.98%
of all turns.155 However, the result is quite different when looking at how many Of-
fers are made per minute (cf. Table 28 in App. 8). Here, Ir2 (3.27) and Ir3 (3.23) are
below average (4.04), whereas Ir1 is slightly above average (4.65). In Ir4, the nego-
tiators make Offers more frequently than on average (5.07). The fact that, in Ir4,
fewer turns (6.05 percentage points) contain an Offer compared to the average, al-
though there is the highest Offer frequency per minute in comparison with the other
negotiations, probably results from the large amount of overlaps and interjected

154 Of these 40, 32 are incomplete or doubtful because S starts talking about something else (self-
interruptions) or stops talking (is silent), or because the utterance could not be understood properly
(unintelligible or unclear passages), and eight because of simultaneous start-ups, or because the inter-
locutor takes the floor (sometimes resulting in simultaneous speech).

155 Note that negotiators often make multiple Offer turns.
backchannelling tokens such as yeah and okay. With regard to the Offer/minute relation it should be kept in mind that in Ir2 the pauses during which the participants calculate prices are considerably longer than in the other simulations because they did not have a calculator available (cf. the characteristics of Ir1 and Ir2 as described in Section 3.3.6). This reduces the average number of Offers per minute. Also, the speakers' different speech rates may distort the results. In sum, although the two reference parameters time and turns may not be ideal, they can nevertheless help to compare the four negotiations in terms of relative Offer frequencies.

![Absolute Offer frequencies per negotiation (n = 536)](image)

In Ir1, Ir2, and Ir4, the hotel manager makes significantly more Offers than the tour operator (in Ir2 3.48 times as many, in Ir1 4.34 times as many, and in Ir4 even 5.72 times as many) (cf. Figure 8), which is not surprising considering their roles associated with seller and buyer, respectively, and their opportunities to make Offers (cf. Section 4.1.5). Only in Ir3 is the difference between seller and buyer more balanced: the seller makes only 1.52 times as many Offers as the buyer. The hotel managers also make more Offers per minute than the tour operators across all negotiations (cf. Table 28 in App. 8), which is again different in Ir3: While the tour operators make 0.87 Offers/minute on average, Ir3A (tour operator) makes 1.28 (i.e. 0.41 more than on average), and Ir3B (hotel manager) is with 1.95 Offers/minute 1.22 Offers below the average of 3.17 Offers. This distribution is similar when looking at the Offer/turn ratio (cf. Table 27 in App. 8), but here, Ir3A is more clearly above average (11.79% in contrast to 4.77% on average for all tour operators). Ir3B is also above average, though only barely so (17.89% in contrast to 17.26% on average for all hotel managers).

156 Recall that throughout the study the term significantly is not used in a statistical but in a general sense.
A note on the term *concession*: Concessions stand somewhat apart from the other speech actions mentioned above. They are defined as a special case of Offer (or Request). By making a concession, an Offerer or Requester budges from his original position and moves towards the position of the other party; he yields in the interest of reaching an agreement. The first Offer or Request can never imply a concession. In order to make a concession, one needs a benchmark, i.e. a reference point, against which a concession can be measured, and this benchmark can be a previous Offer or Request relating to the same topic.

Ex. 55.  
Offer1: I can organise a three-course dinner for you. – Offer2: The three-course dinner includes two drinks per person. (fabricated)

Ex. 56.  
Request1: Can you organise a three-course dinner for me? – Request2: Can you get me a two-course dinner? (fabricated)

Ex. 57.  
Request1: I would prefer to get a two-course dinner with drinks included for that price. – Request1 (repeated) + Offer1: Can I get a two-course dinner then? I would pay the drinks extra. (fabricated)

Ex. 58.  
Request1: I would prefer to get a three-course dinner. – Request2 + Request3: Can I get a two-course dinner then with drinks included for the same price? (fabricated)

If Offer1 expresses S's commitment to do A, then Offer2 shows S's willingness to do A *plus* the concession (A'), i.e. through Offer2 S commits himself to more than through Offer1 (Ex. 55). Likewise, if Request1 demands A, then Request2 demands A *minus* concession (A'), i.e. through Request2 S demands less than through Request1 (Ex. 56). Alternatively, the benchmark can be a Request, but the concession may be implied in an ensuing Offer (Ex. 57). Further variations are conceivable too, for instance in Ex. 58 where a concession is implied in Request2 (two-course instead of three-course dinner) which is counterbalanced by a new Request3 (drinks included).

### 4.1.2 Pragmatic roles

The pragmatic roles of S and H in Offers uttered during negotiations differ from those in hospitable offers, offers of assistance, or gift offerings. It can be assumed that in everyday conversation, S's unselfish motives to make H feel good or to help him prevail. The predicated future action A is clearly at the cost of S and of benefit to H. In everyday conversation, offers have a social function: S acts in conformity with general rules for polite behaviour. He may intend to establish common ground and to enhance the relationship with the other person. Two examples may serve to illustrate this: by offering drinks at an evening dinner, for instance, S fulfils the social expectations associated with his role as a host, and by offering to help an elderly person cross the street, S adheres to norms of politeness, or socially appropriate behaviour, which he was taught as a child (helpfulness, friendliness). It is in the context of the social function that S might also be said to indirectly benefit from doing A – by adhering to social norms, S avoids negative consequences such as a bad reputation as a host, people talking about him negatively, etc., and maintains and improves his relationships with other people.
The nature of the speech event business negotiation, an event which is above all determined by its purpose of bringing about a business transaction, influences the specific (business) function of Offers employed in this particular context. Instead of being made to show their concern for the other's well-being, or to be polite, it is claimed that negotiators make Offers only because they expect to get something in return, usually money or the other person's commitment to do more business in the future.\(^\text{157}\) Moreover, it is important to note that the future action A is primarily at the cost of the company that S represents and in the interest of the company H represents (unless they are the company owners). In other words, in a negotiation, S benefits from the predicated action in a totally different way than in everyday conversation, because in negotiations, he usually fulfils the role as a company representative.

As HANCHER (1979: 7) observes, the directive element of Offers can be hidden behind a seemingly generous commissive act: S can formulate an Offer in a way that only S's willingness to do something in H's interest becomes obvious (in compliance with Leech's Tact Maxim 'Maximise benefit to other' and his Generosity Maxim 'Maximise cost to self'). This can undoubtedly make an Offer sound more attractive. HANCHER (1979: 7) also notes that the double nature of Offers makes "social and psychological equivocation" and therefore manipulation possible, "for it can be obvious (in a given case) that the act is commissive, but not obvious that it is directive as well". For this reason, an Offer made during a negotiation can be regarded as a strategic device. At the same time, the potential manipulation is mutual since both negotiating parties make use of this device. In the present corpus, Ex. 59-62 are good examples of these patterns of behaviour.

Ex. 59. (Ir1, T709-T714)

\[
\text{\textless IrlB\textgreater \text{let's say we do, i'd, i'd, i'll put up the four \textless \$B\textgreater people in, \textless /\$B\textgreater} \\
\text{\textless IrlA\textgreater \text{\textless /\$B\textgreater <\$B\textgreater <X4>}} \\
\text{\textless IrlB\textgreater \text{i'll put the four people up in the other hotel.}} \\
\text{\textless IrlA\textgreater \text{right. <R> we need to find some way to \textless \$A\textgreater get you \textless /\$A\textgreater} \\
\text{\textless IrlB\textgreater \text{\textless /\$A\textgreater <\$A\textgreater <P> <X3> </P>}} \\
\text{\textless IrlA\textgreater \text{more money out o these customers. </R>}}
\]

In Ex. 59, Ir1A 'rewards' Ir1B for finally making the Offer (T709-T711) which Ir1A had repeatedly Requested (T677, T684, T686, T796). Now, in T712-T714, Ir1A Offers to try to find some way to increase the revenue for Ir1B ("we need to find some way to get you more money out of these customers") – this is not as unselfish as it sounds because Ir1A would, according to his stated business strategy, probably Request a share of the additionally generated revenue, in the same way as he had done before, e.g. in T84 with respect to breakfast and bar receipts.

\(^{157}\) This, again, refers to the contingency aspect of Offers discussed in Section 4.1.4.
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Ex. 60. (Ir3, T156)

<Ir2B> [...] like maybe we could, i can, i could, <1.2> arrange a dinner, <2.6> at a very knockdown price,

Ex. 61. (Ir3, T146)

<Ir3B> [...] we've a <E> very </E> fine bar,

In Ex. 60 and 61, the speakers make strategic use of lexical upgraders\textsuperscript{158} to enhance the attractiveness of the Offer because they want to receive money in return for the dinner/bar service and food and drink. Both employ the adverb "very" which intensifies the ensuing adjective, followed by a NP: Ir2B uses the expression "knockdown price", which denotes an extremely cheap price and has a metaphorical quality: the price is so low that the Offeree is 'hit' and 'swept off his feet' by it. Ir3B says "fine bar"; fine is a word which has an inherently positive connotation. In addition, he employs a prosodic upgrader by emphasising "very".

Ex. 62. (Ir3, T111)

<Ir3B> <E> well </E> i suppose fergus, - - what we're <E> both </E> looking for here, is a win-win, eh, we're <E> both </E> in business, - eh, <E> i certainly, </E> would like to <E> fill </E> the <E> hotel, </E> all eighty, <E> double rooms, </E> - eh, an, <TIME10.0> accept the, - inconvenience of <E> relocating, </E> - eh, - eh:, existing booked guests, and that's certainly an administrative challenge for <E> me </E> but one i think that we can eh, <E> handle, </E> - eh, an on the <E> other </E> hand, - ehm, <CLICK> eh::, i think, you know, what enables <E> you, </E> to, maybe sell, - - eh::m, eh, a hundred an <E> sixty, </E> <E> tickets, </E> eh:::, as opposed to a hundred, a hundred that you're selling at the moment. - - eh, no doubt, that would be the <E> cream, </E> for <E> you, </E> if you can, ehm, <CLICK> <HH> if you can add another, sixty, - - ehm, - sixty, <1.1> fare paying, </E> - - - eh, customers <E> there, </E> if you can, if you can fill it, at a, if you can fill it at a hundred an sixty fergus,

Ir3B's behaviour in Ex. 62 is a prime example for the recommendation put forth by prescriptive literature that Offers should be framed or labelled in the right way (cf. BAZERMAN 2004; MALHOTRA 2006 and Section 2.1.1), e.g. by pointing out the benefits to H (a "win-win" situation because both are interested in filling the hotel, H will be "enable[d]" to sell 60 more tickets which "would be the cream" for H) and the cost implied for S ("accept the inconvenience", deal with "an administrative challenge").

It might be claimed that the making and discussion of Offers and counter-Offers is somehow a 'ritualised game'. Each 'player' is well aware that the other normally tries to achieve the best possible result for himself. Nevertheless, they also know they depend upon each other in order to reach an agreement. In negotiations, the main

\textsuperscript{158} Upgraders are one of the two basic sorts of internal modification. Upgraders are (optional) elements which enhance the illocutionary force of the utterance, whereas downgraders weaken it (cf. HOLMES 1984: 347-348). At the same time, these modifiers can have an effect on the utterance's perceived directness (cf. BLUM-KULKA 1987: 135). For more information on internal modification also cf., e.g., FAERCH & KASPER (1989) and TROSBORG (1995: 209-215). For an analysis of internal modification and perspective in Irish English and German business negotiations cf. ZILLES (2003).
function of Offers is to achieve an agreement in the end, which is in the interest of both H and S. The fact that the outcome of a negotiation is almost always a compromise is again reflected in the equivocal nature of Offers: the commissive element implies to commit oneself to do something at one's own cost, whereas the directive element implies to demand something of the negotiating partner. Ideally, the negotiators meet somewhere in the middle, between their ideal goals, i.e. around the centre of the Negotiating Zone in the Final Offer Zone (cf. BAGULEY 2000: 95ff. and Figure 2 in Section 2.1.1).

4.1.3 Relational work

As has been outlined in Section 2.2.3, BROWN & LEVINSON (1987: 65-66, 125) take a twofold view of offers (in everyday conversation). On the one hand, an offer can be used to redress the face threat of another act (positive politeness strategy): that means, when making an Offer in a negotiation, H (or H's company) benefits from S (or S's company) doing A, and H's positive face is addressed. On the other hand, BROWN & LEVINSON regard an offer as an inherently face-threatening act.

Ex. 63-65 are instances in which negotiation Offers are used to redress the face threat of another act. In BROWN & LEVINSON's (1987: 125) terminology, the Offers are used here as a positive politeness strategy.

Ex. 63. (Ir1, T311-T312)

<i1>Ir1B</i1> <§> i thought </§> this deal was done on the basis that they're </§B> <E> all </E> gonna sign up for the evening meal, and they're </§B> all gonna sign up for </§B> breakfast, </§B>
<i1>A</i1> <§B> <X2> but we </§B> couldn't be sure, we can't force them into kind of, two, you know we can fo=, we can catch them for the, the, the dinners and the, an, an obviously they're a captive audience for the breakfast, but you can't force guys down out of the room, you know, to have the breakfast, the, the, it's a </E> room rate, </E> breakfast is extra,

In Ex. 63, the utterance "you know we can catch them for the dinners and the [break- fast]" (T312) represents an alternative Offer to mitigate the indirect refusal of Ir1B's Request to book the breakfast for all fans as part of the deal. Furthermore, the Offer is followed by the encouraging remark "obviously they're a captive audience for the breakfast", indicating that the fans are most likely to book the breakfast on site after all. What Ir1A also provides are explanations why he refuses the Request ("we can't force them into kind of, two," , "but you can't force guys down out of the room to have the breakfast", "it's a room rate, breakfast is extra"). Ir1A then manages to convince Ir1B by giving further justifications in T316-T320 that it is unlikely that all soccer fans will sign up for breakfast, so that Ir1B would need to charge them indi-
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vidually: "but you can imagine a bunch of lads on the piss after a match that <E> gonna want breakfast". 159

Ex. 64. (Irl, T651-652)

<i>Ir1A</i> <§B> well, </§B> you open before, lunch, is it?
<i>Ir1B</i> <§B> no, </§B> the bar won't open till, well </§B> the bar </§B> will be open at twelve o'clock.

In Ex. 64, Ir1B refuses Ir1A's Request to have the bar open in the morning too ("no, the bar won't open till") but interrupts himself to rephrase this refusal (self-initiated reformulation) as an alternative Offer: "the bar will be open at twelve o'clock". He may do this to save Ir1A's negative face by using a strategy (Offer) that addresses Ir1A's positive face.

Ex. 65. (Irl, T728-T737)

<i>Ir1A</i> somewhere </i> we could bring them to, to, </i> there's a, - - - a centre, somewhere, near by or anything near by we can get a cut of the revenue off,
<i>Ir1B</i> there's a new </i> multimedia park </i> close </i> by, </i>

<i>Ir1A</i> mhm, </i>
<i>Ir1B</i> eh,

The Offer "I turn them all up in my two buses at the door" in T737 of Ex. 65 functions as a motivation for the other party to comply with Ir1A's Request – a potentially face-threatening act – to make sure he gets 20% of the revenue gained by the fans' expenses at the new multimedia park. Instances like Ex. 63-65, however, do not occur frequently in the present corpus. Apart from shedding light on the interlocutors' relational work, they are also worth looking at in the context of argumentation in business negotiations. The argumentative function of Offers is further addressed in Section 4.5.1.2.

Neither S nor H are likely to attach a high degree of face threat to Offers during negotiation for two reasons: 160

(1) Negotiators often act on behalf of another party (e.g. a company) (cf. Lewicki & Litterer 1985: 10; Lewicki et al. 2003: 49). Therefore, a negative outcome would first and foremost affect their (public) faces as employees and not so

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159 The positive remark and the explanations and justifications are regarded as instances of external modification, which is discussed in detail in Section 4.3.

160 This is also expected to apply to the interlocutors' reaction to Offers (cf. Section 4.4.3).
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much their personal (private) faces. Their professional identity is expected to outweigh their private identity in this context. This may also affect the sincerity condition of Offers. In order to close a successful deal, S does not necessarily have to be willing to make Offers (from a personal perspective) – it may simply be his job to negotiate a deal for his company, which includes the performance of Offers (cf. Pérez Hernández 2001: 89). Alternatively, it can be the other way round: a negotiator may express his willingness to commit himself on a personal/private level but may claim that he is bound by the decision of a higher authority (e.g. the CEO of his company or budget constraints imposed by the finance department) which prevents him from committing himself on a professional/business level (cf. Schatzki 1981: 89-91; Rubin & Sander 1999: 83-84; Martin 2001: 174, 179, 187-191, 211). Of course, this is not necessarily meant sincerely either, but can be used as a tactic to achieve a better deal and to mitigate either the refusal to make an Offer or the rejection of an Offer. In doing so, S adheres to his own negative face and the other's positive face wants (cf. Martin 2005: 251-252, 261, who calls it an "equivocation strategy").

(2) Despite their conflicting goals, both negotiating parties have a major common objective, i.e. to reach an agreement in the end. It is assumed that the interlocutors' claim to freedom of action and freedom from imposition, which is potentially restricted when being Offered something (cf. Section 2.2.3), is less weighty than their wish to reach a satisfactory outcome at the end of the negotiation, particularly as they expect (and hope for!) Offers to occur. This is what Charles (1996: 23) calls "status-bound expectations and obligations". Moreover, I assume that counter-Offers are not prompted by a feeling of indebtedness on the part of H, as claimed by Brown & Levinson (1987: 66), but are ultimately related to the negotiator's wish to improve his own position with regard to the prospective outcome.

Obviously, Brown & Levinson's notions of face, attendance and threat to face wants cannot be applied here. Instead, I follow Charles and use the terms professional face, face-threatening act to professional face as well as tactical (professional-face-saving) strategies:

The concepts of "Face", a Face-Threatening Act (FTA) and face saving (politeness) strategies are still used, but in order to capture the tactical and professional nature of the status and role concerns of negotiators in sales negotiations, the concepts of Professional Face, a FTA to Professional Face and Tactical (Professional-Face-Saving) Strategies are introduced. The focus on professional, rather than personal and social, face concerns aims to accommodate the tactical aspect of Buyer/Seller interaction in a professional setting. (Charles 1996: 24-25, original emphasis)

161 Charles (1996: 21-22), by referring to Goode (1960, 1973), defines status as "a social position which is institutionalised – for example, mother, physician, male, female, student, father, husband, wife" as well as buyer and seller in sales negotiations, and states that "status-bound behaviour [...] reflects the general norms which Buyers and Sellers are expected to observe by their discourse communities" (original emphases).
This re-definition also helps to better understand the peculiarities of S's and H's pragmatic roles in business negotiations (cf. Section 4.1.2).

I follow LOCHER & WATTS's (2005) line of argumentation that BROWN & LEVINSON's (1987) use of the concepts face and politeness must be broadened. Therefore, I adopt LOCHER & WATTS's (2005: 10) definition of relational work (which is preferred to the label facework): "[r]elational work refers to the 'work' individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others", including the whole range from conflictual, aggressive, impolite to harmonious, cooperative, polite and over-polite verbal and non-verbal behaviour. Appropriate or politic behaviour can be perceived as polite (positively marked relational work) or non-polite (unmarked relational work), depending on the situation and its interactants. Inappropriate or non-politic behaviour can be perceived as either impolite or as over-polite – both negatively marked relational work (cf. LOCHER & WATTS 2005: 11-12). Politeness is hence seen as a small part of relational work only.

Requesting, making, accepting, and rejecting Offers are all part of speakers' expected, situationally appropriate, non-polite behaviour in negotiations, i.e. conflict situations in which cooperation is required to arrive at a mutual agreement. Offers constitute part of speakers' cooperative relational work in that Offers are sometimes made to counterbalance an act that may be judged as inappropriate or impolite behaviour. The potential threat to interlocutors' (professional) faces, which BROWN & LEVINSON (1987: 65-67) claim to be an intrinsic characteristic of Offers, (Offer) acceptances and rejections as well as Requests (for Offers), does not necessarily lead to impolite, rude, or inappropriate behaviour in negotiations. Reducing the alleged professional face threat of these acts is therefore not as vital as it may be in other social interactions (cf. the two arguments above and STALPERS 1995). Nevertheless, mitigation is observable in the present data, for instance in the form of:

− Indirect speech act realisation strategies (cf. Sections 4.2 and 4.4.1)
− Internal modification\(^\text{164}\): lexical, phrasal, syntactic, or prosodic downgraders such as "a bit", "you know", "I mean", "actually", "probably", "I think", "just" in the Offer rejection in Ex. 66 and use of the conditional "could" in the Offer in Ex. 67, emphasis of "may" in Ex. 68 (also cf. Section 4.2.3.1 and MARTIN 2001: 207-216)

\(^{162}\) They criticise that in their politeness theory, BROWN & LEVINSON focus on the mitigation of face-threatening acts exclusively.

\(^{165}\) LOCHER & WATTS (2005: 10) define politeness "as a discursive concept arising out of interactants' perceptions and judgments of their own and others' verbal behavior [which are] set against individual normative expectations of appropriate or politic behavior. They are in other words 'marked' for each individual speaker/hearer." The authors (2005: 16) even go so far as to claim that "no linguistic expression can be taken to be inherently polite".

\(^{164}\) Cf. Footnote 158 in Section 4.1.2.
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- Perspective: e.g. use of the inclusive *we* in the Request for Offer in Ex. 69, although the action is clearly H-based (also cf. Section 4.2.3.2 and MARTIN 2001: 187-190, 196-197)\(^\text{165}\)

- External modification (cf. Section 4.3): some instances of external modification may be labelled *metaphorical language* (cf. MARTIN 2001: 197, 2005: 251), e.g. "to be honest with you" in Ex. 66, or the hotel manager making it clear that the concession is at his own cost and of benefit to the other party in Ex. 62 in Section 4.1.2

- Use of first names: "John" in the Offer rejection in Ex. 66 and "Fergus" in the Offer in Ex. 68 (also cf. MARTIN 2001: 198, 2005: 257, 260)

- Laughter, smiling, humour: e.g. the laughter accompanying the Offers in Ex. 52 in Section 4.1.1 and Ex. 195 in Section 4.3.3 (also cf. MARTIN 2001: 198)

CHARLES (1996: 35) calls these professional-face-saving strategies "tactical moves".

Ex. 66.  (Ir3, T104)

<Ir3A> <CLICK> yeah, it's still it's still a bit too <E> much

/E> john, to be honest with you. ehm, <3.9> you know i mean <?>

i i'd, to be <E> honest <E> with you, </?> i think, a lot of the

people would actually probably prefer to stay in the city centre,

- unless it was really worth their while and at <E> that <E>

price, i just think <E> don't </E> think it is, [..]

Ex. 67.  (Ir2, T147)

<Ir2B> [...] we could arrange a bus, to bring them to the match,

[...]

Ex. 68.  (Ir3, T60-T62)

<Ir3B> eh, well, i think we, <E> may </E> be in a position, to

relocate some of the existing bookings, eh, fergus, we <§B> have

a </§B>

<Ir3A> <§B> okay,

</§B>

<Ir3B> limited number of bookings, that i believe we can

relocate, without causing, significant, eh, inconvenience, to

those bookings,

Ex. 69.  (Ir4, T451-T455)

<Ir4A> [...] or we <§A> could </§A>

<Ir4B> <§A> ? but, </?> </§A>

<Ir4A> maybe a=, arrange a formal sort of thing for them, <H>

that this is part of the itinerary that there'll be, food back in

the hotel on <§A> the, </§A>

<Ir4B> <§A> yeah, </§A>

<Ir4A> the saturday evening,

If a negotiator disregards the expectations tied to his interlocutor status as a seller/buyer and a representative of his company, or the expectations related to his

\(^{165}\) Neither perspective nor internal modification is systematically coded in the present study, so figures describing their frequency of occurrence cannot be provided. Nevertheless, the two aspects are analysed qualitatively where appropriate (e.g. in Sections 4.2.3.1, 4.2.3.2, 4.4.1, and 4.4.3).
role as a business partner, Offers are likely to be perceived as threatening to professional face and do indeed involve a risk for S of behaving inappropriately or appearing impolite in the eyes of H. For instance, if a negotiator feels pressed to make a concession in the form of an Offer because the need to reach some kind of agreement is stronger than his wish not to make the Offer (possibly aggravated by time pressure), the offence to his negative (professional) face is considerably more severe (cf. BROWN 1977: 280; BROWN & LEVINSON 1987: 68). Similarly, threat to Offerer's face may occur if the receiver of a concession does not follow the norm of reciprocity:

Concession making also exposes the concession maker to some risk. If the other party does not reciprocate, the concession maker may appear to be weak. Thus, not reciprocating a concession may send a powerful message about firmness and leaves the concession maker open to feeling that his or her esteem has been damaged or reputation diminished. (LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 76)

Ex. 70-74 are good examples of utterances within Offer sequences which are open to impolite interpretation. Ir1A's repeatedly uses the religious swear word "(oh) Jeez" or "Jesus" (sometimes pronounced with extra stress, and in Ex. 72) occurring three times within the same turn) in connection with negative reactions to previous utterances by the interlocutor. In Ex. 70-73, the swear word can be found in rejections of Offers, and in Ex. 74 in a refusal of a Request for Offer. It definitely enhances the face threat implied in the utterances. In Ex. 70, the enhancement is less strong because it can be read as an expression of surprise, rather than a sign of irritation – Ir1A had obviously expected a much lower price for the meal. In Ex. 74, however, the face threat is considerably more severe due to the imperative "look" immediately following the "oh jeez". It sounds patronising as it has the connotation of come on, I want you to finally understand what I mean.

Ex. 70. (Ir1, T294-T301)

<iIr1B> eh, - - - the, the </iP> <E> carvery </E> is typically eh, - for a, <E> main, meal, </E> and a dessert, and <§B> coffee </§B>

<iIr1A> mhm, </i§B>

<iIr1B> is eh, - twelve euros,
- -
<iIr1A> jeez that's expensive,
- -
<iIr1B> not really when you consider it, tha=, tha=, that, that, there's choices there,

166 Role is defined by CHARLES (1996: 22) as "social relations which are less institutionalised, [...] For example, Buyers and Sellers can assume the roles of 'friends' or 'efficient business partners'. These roles represent situationally adapted, situated role behaviour, which reflects personal interpretations of situational requirements."

167 In case H notices S's unwillingness, H's positive face is threatened as well.

168 Jeez is a corrupted form of the pejorative Jesus.

169 In this case one may argue whether it is really only a threat to professional face.
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Ex. 71. (Ir1, T276-T278)

<Ir1B> <X1>, we sell them a buffet, and a trip to wicklow. an bring them back in <§B> for dinner. </§B>
<Ir1A> <§B> oh jeez, </§B> they've been on the bus <X2> since cork for four an a half hours, - - they don't wanna go back out in the bus again,
<Ir1B> <CLICK> - - it's a long six hours till the lunch <LAUGH>, till dinner time from twelve o'clock,

Ex. 72. (Ir1, T334-335)

<Ir1B> <CLICK> - - the <E> carvery, </E> eh::, <P> now let's see our margin, - on the <E> carvery </E> if it's twelve euros, we, <H> we'd be, <?> we're </?> typically taking, eh, one sixth of that, <1.4> sorry, what am i sayin now that's not one sixth <?> that'd be </?> about, - yeah </?> </P> it'll cost us, per <E> head, </E> - <?> typically to feed them </?> is, is, is <E> eight, </E> and we're, we're looking at, <§B> four euros, </§B>
<Ir1A> <§B> <E> jesus, </E> </§B> four euros of a margin only on that, - <E> jesus, </E> - <H> jeez </H> we'd, we'd be looking at, at, at, at, you know, we typically <R> we would be taking twenty-five per cent off something like that ourselves, an we'd bring people in on a <E> carvery </E> into a, </R> <H> on a coach stop, on the coach stop no for instance on the way up,

Ex. 73. (Ir1, T673-T674)

<Ir1B> <CLICK> i'm just <?> think=, </?> maybe some sort of a <E> happy </E> hour or something like that that <?> would go </?> well,
<Ir1A> <HX> oh jeez we don't wanna go cuttin prices now, - - <P> i mean come on </P> our business is in the cost <E> plus </E> business, i'm the cost <E> plus person, </E> <HHHHH>

Ex. 74. (Ir1, T688-T695)

<Ir1B> <E> an </E> will <E> they, </E> be, - - <E> they </E> will be paying the other, <1.4> do we count them in for the, lunch, the, the <E> carvery </E> an the dinners? at the ra=, at the rate?
<Ir1A> well, i would be payin, covering <E> their </E> costs, so, i prefer not to, - -
<Ir1B> are you covering their cost in the hotel?
<Ir1A> <HX> oh jeez look, <HX> we're talking, what i, i, you know, your, you're gonna make it a f=, a <§A> <?> fair </?> <X1> <§A>
<Ir1B> <§A> <P> <E> i'm, </E> - i'm no more than you </F> </§A> i'm trying to run the best </§B> deal for </§B>
<Ir1A> <§B> yeah, </§B>
<Ir1B> myself,

Two studies which address relational work in negotiations are MARTIN (2001) and PLANKEN (2002) (cf. Section 2.2.2). While PLANKEN investigates face concerns and rapport management in a more global approach, MARTIN focuses on the following aspects: cooperation vs. competition (win-win, hedging, turn-taking), person- vs. task-orientation (relationship with the organisation, networking and complicity,
building interpersonal solidarity), and directness vs. indirectness (negative facework: repair and other features of negative facework, indirectness during misalignment, etc.). Since relational work issues touch upon manifold linguistic aspects of negotiations on all discourse levels, it is considered too complex to be systematically coded. Nevertheless, I come back to notions such as indirectness through mitigation when presenting results on the Offer and Request realisation strategies (cf. Sections 4.2 and 4.4.1.2) as well as on the Offer response types (cf. Section 4.4.3), or I come back to the win-win approach, fraternisation, and competitiveness in the context of discussing reciprocity and exchange (cf. Section 4.5.1).

4.1.4 Contingency

Negotiators sometimes make the underlying condition of an Offer explicit by adding if you want/wish/like/want/need or a similar expression to the Offer (in pre- or post-position). S thus directly asks if H actually wants the action expressed in the propositional content to be carried out (cf. Section 2.2.1). The explicit conditions are treated as external modifications in the present study and are therefore further discussed in Section 4.3.4.

However, there is yet another dimension of the conditional character of Offers, a dimension which has the potential of enhancing their directive force. It results from the fact that negotiations typically imply reciprocity between interlocutors who depend upon each other to realise their goals (cf. Wagner 1995: 11; also cf. Section 1.1). In the two Offers such as the ones expressed by Ir3A in Ex. 75, S commits himself to two closely related future actions (making it possible for Ir3B to "avail of some repeat business from us" and "to consider it", which means to consider doing business with respect to the current potential deal and also in the future). However, the Offers are conditional in so far as the negotiating partner has to accept not only the Offered actions, but also the two Requests made in the same turn (in between the two Offers): first, an indirect Request to reduce the price: "if we could negotiate slightly on the price", and second: "if we could do it for a hundred and ninety" (counter-Offer). By making the additional comment "but absolutely no more than that", Ir3A makes clear that the price of 190 Euro is the maximum he is willing to pay (reservation price), although he immediately downgrades this statement with "I think".

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170 These Requests are implied in what is regarded here as a procedural Offer (to negotiate on the price) and a price Offer, in which S uses the inclusive we perspective because he refers to joint S- and H-actions.
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Ex. 75. (Ir3, T117)

<Ir3A> [...] an i'm sure we could, ehm, - - <SWALLOW> you could avail of some re=, - repeat business from us as well, <H> ehm, if, if, if we could, if we could just maybe negotiate slightly on the price, <HH> i mean if, if, if we could even do it for, for a hundred an, for a hundred an <E> ninety, </E> per room, <1.5> ehm, <1.2> we could consider it. <1.0> but, absolutely, no more than that i think.

Ex. 76. (Ir4, T124-T131)

<Ir4B> eh:, no, you know, i'm happy to do some bit of a deal f=, deal for you in the <§B> context </§B>
<Ir4A> <§B> yeah, </§B>
<Ir4B> of, you know, if you can guarantee me, - eh, to fill all the rooms and <§B> indeed if </§B>
<Ir4A> <§B> yeah, </§B>
<Ir4B> we can get a few more,
-
<Ir4A> <§> yeah, </§>
<Ir4B> <§> eh, </§> we might be able to give you even, eve=, even, even, even give a further discount,

In Ex. 76, Ir4B expresses his willingness to "to do some bit of a deal" for Ir4A and to potentially "even give a further discount". Here, the conditions are (for the first Offer) that Ir4A books the entire hotel and (for the second Offer) brings in more customers.

Ex. 77. (Ir1, T122)

<Ir1A> well no, i mean <?> simply </?> thing we would do is, we if we take a hundred bed nights then we'll, we will send you a hundred, by a hundred and fifteen per night, [...]

In Ex. 77, S's Offer to bring 100 fans to H's hotel for 115 Euro per night depends on his actually booking the 100 beds ("if we take a hundred bed nights").

Following Tsui (1994: 98-99; also cf. Malhotra 2006: paragraphs 14-16), this second conditional aspect of Offers has been termed contingency in order to avoid confusion with the notion of conditional speech acts in Wunderlich's (1977) sense (cf. Section 2.2.1). The label contingent Offer is henceforth used to denote an Offer linked with a condition which is mostly – but not necessarily – realised by an if-clause. In the present data, 9.33% of all Offers (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker) are contingent (cf. Table 29 in App. 8), i.e. 50 out of 536. Of these 50, 44% (22) are made by the sellers and 56% (28) by the buyers (Ir1-Ir4).

171 Unlike the condition in contingent Offers as described above, the antecedent in Wunderlich's (1977) conditional speech acts relates to one of the general preparatory conditions for offers. 172 Interestingly (and quite confusingly), in Tsui's (1994: 98) opinion, contingent offers belong to a different subclass of requestives than 'regular' offers. She classifies contingent offers as requests for actions (addressee action and speaker benefit) and not as offers (cf. Section 2.2.1), neglecting the fact that a contingent utterance is a complex entity consisting of at least two components: offer plus one or more conditions (the latter being requests in a traditional speech act theoretic sense).
BILBOW (2002: 293, 296-297) also found contingent Offers in his business meetings data corpus (he calls them *conditional offers*). The ones he quotes are not all realised by an *if*-clause, such as Ex. 26 and 28 in Section 2.2.5. Another contingent Offer (Ex. 78) is realised via two juxtaposed main clauses connected by *and (then)*, one containing the Offer, the other the condition (i.e. a Request if S refers to an action to be done by H):

Ex. 78.  

A: You tell us when you've got trolleys available loaded, // and then] we'll set up a piece of carpet at =  
B: Yeah we'll provide the trolleys] = OK, well that's a fair compromise. [...] So you'll set up the test rig and we'll provide the trolleys]. [...] 

(BILBOW 2002: 293)

There are two contingent Offers in this exchange: A's utterance "You tell us when you've got trolleys available loaded" is the condition upon which he is willing to "set up a piece of carpet". B then reverses the relation between condition and Offers from his perspective: providing the trolleys is the commitment B is prepared to do, while setting up the test rig (i.e. the piece of carpet) is the condition A has to meet. The corpus of the present study also reveals cases of contingency markers (clause connectors) other than *if* (Ex. 79-83): *(Offer) is* dependent on, *(Offer) depends on, *(Offer) is* depending on, *all my/our requirement is, then.*

Ex. 79.  

<Ir4, T39>  

so i would have to try to make arrangements, for <E> those, </E> - - dependent on how many, eh, - eh, <?> dependent on if you can, </?> give me <E> firm </E> numbers,

Ex. 80.  

<Ir3, T107>  

<Ir3A> [...] and, the additional, the additional people we cou>, we, we <E> could </E> bring on if we wanted to, but, again, eh:m, - - that depends on, on, on getting the rooms, and, and, <P> an getting it at a, </P> <HH> at a price that's, - - </SWALLOW> that's, that's profitable to us to be honest with you, [...] 

Ex. 81.  

<Ir2, T73>  

<Ir2B> if <X3> there was <E> families </E> involved it would be good, - eh, maybe, throw on a, - ehm, a small, coach, or a large one dependin on numbers, - - an from the <X1> that, cinema complex or whatever, [...] 

Ex. 82.  

<Ir1, T106>  

<Ir1A> that's very much up to you. - i mean you can decide how you want to price it, all our requirement is, <P> is that, <H> we would eh, get fifty per cent of the, </P>

173 Both utterances could likewise have been realised by means of an *if*-clause: *If you tell us when you've got trolleys available loaded we'll set up a piece of carpet and We'll provide the trolleys if you set up the test rig.*
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Ex. 83. (Ir2, T317-T319)

<i>Ir2A</i> of the hundred an sixty, let's say, let's say, excuse me, let's say i was to take up the whole hotel, use all the rooms,
<i>Ir2B</i> yeah,
<i>Ir2A</i> what are you talkin about then, for those two nights, - - what's the <E> lowest </E> room rate you can quote me,

The total number of conditions (54, Ir1-Ir4) does not correspond to the total number of contingent Offers (50, Ir1-Ir4) because several conditions may be linked to one contingent Offer (e.g. Ex. 84), and two contingent Offers may be connected to one and the same condition (e.g. Ex. 85).

Ex. 84. (Ir4, T258-263)

<i>Ir4A</i> wanna be there <E> early </E> or <§B> you </§B><X5+>, </§B><§B> we can, we <§B> can get you in an out o the ground, <E> quickly, </E> if <§B> we </§B><§B> can get you in an out o the ground, <E> quickly, </E> if </§B>
<i>Ir4B</i> <§B> you don't wanna hang <§B> around too long,

Ex. 85. (Ir1, T117)

<i>Ir1B</i> well, - - that would mean that <E> i </E> would be, if i deal directly with you i'd be taking a hundred and twenty, <1.0> and you can add the five euros to your margin,

Ex. 86. (Ir1, T274)

<i>Ir1B</i> we have a regular bus company, an they could provide buses, then we could bring them on a, - <CLICK> a trip, to, say wicklow. - for the <§B> afternoon. </§B>

It is possible to distinguish different types of contingency, depending on their proposition (proportions are calculated across all negotiations, independent of speaker):

(1) Reference to a condition based on H-action: 61.11% of all conditions (Ex. 76, 79-82, 84. These conditions are mostly Requests for Offers (25 out of the 33 H-based conditions, i.e. 75.76%).

(2) Reference to a condition based on S-action: 22.22% of all conditions (Ex. 77, 85). Ten out of the 12 S-based conditions are Offers.

(3) Reference to a condition based on joint S- and H-action: 9.26% of all conditions (Ex. 75). Four out of the five joint S- and H-based conditions are Offers.

(4) Reference to a condition based on other circumstances: 5.56% of all conditions (e.g. availability, Ex. 86), and 1.85% of all conditions are not identifiable because the utterance is interrupted.

Contingency types (2) and (4) refer to what CASTELFRANCHI & GUERINI (2007: 288) call conditional non-influencing promise where S does not attempt to get H to do something. By means of contingency types (1) and (3), however, S pursues a persuasive or dissuasive aim (cf. CASTELFRANCHI & GUERINI 2007: 291-292), i.e. S tries to
influence H to do (or to refrain from doing) A. H's doing or not doing A is in S's interest. CASTELFRANCHI & GUERINI (2007: 290) therefore call such utterances conditional-influencing promises which, along with conditional-influencing threats, can be labelled commissive requests (cf. CASTELFRANCHI & GUERINI 2007: 292). 

Unlike in the examples quoted above, the contingency aspect is often only implicit as, for instance, in price Offers:

Ex. 87. (Ir1, T70)

<Ir1B> okay. -- - <CLICK> - - fair enough, - <H> - well, we have a, a, - an off-peak rate, <1.4> eh, of a, - - - a hundred and fifteen per night. [...] 

In Ex. 87, the hotel manager is willing and intends to rent the hotel room if the tour operator wants the room and if he is prepared to pay 115 Euro a night in exchange for it.

Contingency may be regarded as a type of supportive move (cf. Section 4.3). Contingent Offers connected with H-based and joint S- and H-based actions are of special interest to the present study because these types of contingency enhance the reciprocal character of negotiations (cf. Section 4.5.1). This may be a reason why contingent offers have not been described in the context of everyday conversation, except in TSUI (1994: 98-99). CHARLES identifies contingent Offers whose condition(s) imply a Request addressed to H as a tactical strategy. In her new relationship negotiation (NRN) data (cf. Footnote 124 in Section 3.3.3), she found instances of contingent Offers uttered by buyers which served "to make any desire to buy conditional" (CHARLES 1996: 26). This can be broadened to include the seller's Offers as well in the sense of making anyone's Offer conditional. It corresponds to the general recommendation often found in how-to guides on negotiation that one should link Offers with conditions and that one should demand and define reciprocity (e.g. MALHOTRA 2006, cf. Section 2.1.1). This has indeed been identified as the standard contingency pattern in the present data (i.e. condition type (1) above).

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174 The authors point out that, strictly speaking, every conditional-influencing promise (if you do Y, I will do X) implies a threat (if you do not do Y, I will not do X), and vice versa: "[w]ithout this necessary implication, the communicative act is ineffective and meaningless" (CASTELFRANCHI & GUERINI 2007: 299). However, this does not mean that promises and threats are "one and the same social act (and even less the same speech act), with the same structure of commitments, beliefs, etc." (CASTELFRANCHI & GUERINI 2007: 300).

175 Note BECK's (1980: 97) comment when he discusses WUNDERLICH's conditional speech acts:

So könnte man sagen: Die Tiefenstruktur unserer ganzen Gesellschaft ist in diesem Sinne eine konditionale, denn die Tiefenstruktur des Geldes, des Handelns, des Tausches (worauf sie beruht) ist eine konditionale.

[So one might say: the structural essence of our society is in this sense a conditional one because the structural essence of money, of trade, of exchange (on which it is based) is a conditional one. (translation mine)]
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4.1.5 Offer topics

A major difference between offers in everyday conversations (hospitable offers, offers of assistance, gift offerings) and Offers in business negotiations is the topic, or type of predicated future action. In the present study, four major topic groups (one with two subgroups) are distinguished.176 The range of different topics of Offers in negotiations relates to the issues on the agenda, i.e. to some kind of business action (groups 1-3: Commodity or Service, Price, Relationship-Building), or to a Procedural Action (group 4).177 One must keep in mind that some of the topics are prompted by the simulation briefs (cf. App. 2.3), and that different simulation scenarios may result in different topic groups and different frequency distributions. The range of different topics within each group does not only show how the participants deal with the simulation situation, but may also be an indicator for their creativity and for how open they are for alternative, additional Offers and solutions that potentially 'expand the pie'. "Invent[ing] options for mutual gain" (FISHER, URY & PATTON 1991: 58) is one of the pillars of principled (interest-based) negotiation (cf. Section 2.1.1, Footnote 42). Negotiators should be creative, they must be good listeners, and they should be able to 'read between the lines' in order to make assumptions about the other's potential needs. Whether or not these needs were on their agenda at the beginning of the negotiation does not matter – they may be lucky to make an Offer about which the other negotiator had not previously thought, but to which he is responsive. For instance, by introducing new products or services he is willing to give, the seller can create new opportunities to increase his revenues (product/service in exchange for money).

Hospitable offers (Ex. 88 and 89), gift offers (Ex. 90), and offers of assistance (Ex. 91) may also occur during a negotiation. They always refer to the immediate future.

Ex. 88. Some coffee? (fabricated)
Ex. 89. Have a seat. (fabricated)
Ex. 90. This is for you. (fabricated)
Ex. 91. May I help you? (fabricated)

However, they cannot be considered typical of the genre business negotiation. It is assumed that if they do occur, they are rather to be found in the marginal phases of negotiation (i.e. opening and closing phases), where they serve to welcome or say goodbye to the other negotiating party and create a friendly atmosphere.178 By mak-

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176 Cf. App. 4 for specific coding criteria for Offer topics.
177 Cf. NEUMANN (1994a: 7, 1994a: 19, 1995: 46), who, in her analysis of requests in business negotiations, distinguishes between "business act now", "business act later", and "procedure". She does not call these categories topics, but subsumes them under the notion of "effect wanted".
178 The marginal phases can be regarded as separate phases which frame the negotiation proper, leading to and away from the main interaction. They fulfil both social, transitory, and discourse structuring functions (cf. SCHNEIDER 1988: 97-98; LAVER 1975: 218-234; also HENNE & REHBOCK 1995: 21-22, 262-264; SPIEGEL & SPRANZ-FOGASY 2001: 1247-1248). SCHNEIDER (1988: 98), with reference to everyday conversations, describes the function of the opening phase as follows, and this description certainly holds true for negotiations as well: the opening phase serves "to define the interactants' rela-
ing such offers, the negotiators (who assume the roles of host and guest unless the negotiation takes place in a neutral location) adhere to general norms of hospitality and politeness. Therefore, hospitable offers, gift offers, and offers of assistance support the negotiators' efforts to build a positive interpersonal relationship. The frequency and type of these offers as well as the importance attached to them probably varies from culture to culture, as various books on international business communication and business etiquette suggest (e.g. MORRISON, CONAWAY & BORDEN 1994; TANG & REISCH 1995; ROWLAND 1999). Except for the utterance "Let's go to the bar" (Ir2, T622), which may count as a hospitable offer, these types of everyday offers are not found in the present data corpus. A possible explanation is that the artificial (simulation) setting have an influence, especially on the opening and closing phases of the negotiations.

In the following sections, each topic group and its relative frequency of occurrence will be presented individually.

![Relative frequency distribution of Offer topics (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker, n = 539)](image)

Note that this calculation is based on the total number of Offer topics of n = 539 (not 536) because of three double codings (cf. App. 4.2).
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4.1.5.1 Commodity or Service

In the first group of topics, Commodity or Service, a negotiator talks about the commodities or services, product qualities, or service conditions he is willing to provide, for instance a high-quality service in Ex. 92 or a live band as evening entertainment in Ex. 93.

Ex. 92. (Ir4, T149-T151)

<Ir4B> <§A> eh:, </§A> now i haven't said <E> that, </E>
whatever price we agree with you, <§B> you know, </§B>
<Ir4A> <§B> yeah, </§B>
<Ir4B> we <E> will </E> give a four star <§B> service, </§B>

Ex. 93. (Ir2, T73)

<Ir2B> [...] i'm sure when you've a hundred people, a hundred an
four people that that they're not all going to want, the same
entertainment, so maybe we will put on a band in the, in the, the
hotel bar, - - ehm,

The terms commodity and service are here understood in a broad sense. In the present study, the sellers' expressions of commitment relate, for instance, to the provision of hotel rooms, capacity for additional soccer fans, relocation of other guests that have already booked, transport, entertainment (disco, band, leisure facilities, TV, golf, cinema), food and drink (breakfast, lunch, dinner, bar), bar opening times, (licence for) bar extension, the buyer's free decision about the time when the fans should be picked up, taking care of the guests in general, considering a (reduced) package Offer. The buyers' commitments which they are willing to make in exchange for a predicated action expressed through Offers by the sellers are included in this category too. They include, for example, guaranteeing to take a certain number of hotel rooms, bringing a certain number of customers to the hotel, making sure that the fans stay in the hotel and spend their money there (on food and drinks), paying the seller, making a deposit (without mentioning the price or percentage), or passing extra costs to the customers. Commodity or Service constitutes the largest topic group within the present corpus: almost half of the Offers belong to this group (249 out of 539, i.e. 46.20%, cf. Figure 9).

4.1.5.2 Price (Price Figure or Change in Price)

The topic group Price comprises two subtypes: Price Figure and Change in Price. The first subtype, Price Figure, is what most people associate with a 'typical' Offer in a business negotiation, and what negotiation researchers have in mind when they talk about offers: the exact amount of money a negotiator is willing to accept or give for a certain product or service (Ex. 94). A special case within this category is when S mentions the numerical value of a margin he is willing to provide to or share with the other side (Ex. 95), or when the rate of a deposit is quoted. Instead of an absolute value, speakers may mention a percentage or paraphrase a percentage as in Ex. 96 (splitting something between two people means that each side receives 50%). Price
figures also include zero, verbalised as _X is for free, X is a freebie, X is included in a price_ (Ex. 97 and 98).

Ex. 94.  (Ir3, T46)

<Ir3B> eh, well, ehm, our <E> current </E> rate, given, the demand, and there's not a, there's not a bedroom to be had in the eh, in the city, <H> <CLICK> eh, given, the demand, of the moment, eh, our, our rates are ehm, four hundred euros, for, <E> two </E> nights, eh, <H> eh, for a double room,

Ex. 95.  (Ir1, T117)

<Ir1B> [...] you can add the five euros to your margin,

Ex. 96.  (Ir1, T112-114)

<Ir1B> <$> and </$>  
<Ir1A> <$> mhm, </$>  
<Ir1B> we split that, between us?

Ex. 97.  (Ir1, T286-T288)

<Ir1B> [...] <P> <X2> <?> give them </?> free use of the leisure facilities. </P>  
<Ir1A> right,  
<Ir1B> for the afternoon,

Ex. 98.  (Ir2, T413)

<Ir2B> if we remain, if we bring down, if we say that the one night is included, it, that sorry, the dinner, <SWALLOW> for the friday night is included in the one ninety, <1.6> as a starter, - - eh, <1.2> so <X1>, they'll still pay, the one ninety, plus <X1>, maybe a small discount, - - but <E> that </E> will include the evening meal for f=, for free, it's included in that rate,

A price Offer represents an exceptional case of Offering because it actually implies _to Offer something for something_ , not _to Offer to do something (in exchange for something else)_ . However, it can be paraphrased as follows:

Ex. 99.  I, the buyer, hereby Offer you that I pay you X for good/service Y (in short: I give you X for Y).

Ex. 100.  I, the seller, hereby Offer you that I give good/service Y to you for X (in short: I give you Y for X).

The paraphrases in round brackets refer to the underlying 'deep' structure of price Offers. However, on the surface, a price Offer may also be realised by a hearer-oriented strategy (Ex. 101) or by an elliptical utterance in which just the price is mentioned (Ex. 102).

Ex. 101.  (Ir1, T77)

<Ir1B> [...] eh, - <CLICK> - <R> so, </R> - - are you happy enough with one fifteen,
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Ex. 102. (Ir1, T170-T172)

<Ir1A> [...] <CLICK> - okay, and, you, how much are the, two dinners?
- -
<Ir1B> thirty a head,

In the second subtype of this group of Offer topics (Change in Price), the negotiators may indicate their readiness to change the amount of money they are prepared to give or take (Ex. 103-105).

Ex. 103. (Ir3, T119)

<Ir3B> [...] eh, i tell you what we <E> could </E> do, - eh, <4.3> we <E> could </E> say, cut it to a hundred an ninety-five, <2.0> and offer you a significant discount on breakfast.

Ex. 104. (Ir1, T376-T378)

<Ir1B> mh, <HH> - <P> <?> we, </?> <§B> we may have to, </§B> <Ir1A> <§B> which'd be three euro, </§B> we may have to drop slightly,

Ex. 105. (Ir1, T499)

<Ir1B> so i could, <2.4> <HHH> <HXHXHX> <M> <P> let's, <X1> </P> </M> if i put the price of a pint up slightly, [...] 

Price is the second largest topic group with 35.81% (cf. Figure 9), i.e. 193 of 539 Offer topics in absolute terms. Of these 193, 93.27% are Offers which contain a price figure (i.e. 33.40% of all Offers) and 6.73% in which a negotiator Offers a change in price (i.e. 2.41% of all Offers).

4.1.5.3 Relationship-Building

Offers made by negotiators in order to build up a long-standing business relationship with their negotiating partners are the topic of the third group, called Relationship-Building:

Ex. 106. (Ir1, T80)

<Ir1A> [...] so, what we'd like to try an do is is s to come up with a <E> long-term </E> arrangement, [...] 

Ex. 107. (Ir3, T117)

<Ir3A> <HHH> and, - - - an i'm sure, we will be coming back up to dublin again, - <P> <?> it would be a </?> </P> <X5+> or, or, - - <H> whoever, ehm, - - an i'm sure we could ehm, - - <SWALLOW> you could avail of some re=, repeat business from us as well,

Expressing one's willingness to build up a long-standing business relationship is in accordance with what authors of prescriptive literature recommend as an important factor for a successful negotiation. Interpersonal relationships between negotiating parties are attributed a significant influence on the course and outcome of negotia-
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...tions, as well as on the implementation of agreements, and vice versa (cf., e.g. FISHER, URY & PATTON 1991: 17-40; McGINN 2004; PATTON 2004).

The possible range of relationship-building Offers is, of course, not as wide as with the other topic groups, so the small amount of this topic type is not really surprising: only six of the 539 Offer topics (1.11%, cf. Figure 9) belong to this category. If a negotiator mentions the possibility of extending the business relationship into the future too often, this might point to a potential conflict which he tries to solve on an interpersonal level rather than on a task level. He might not want or be able to Offer anything of more direct material value.

Offers are not the only way by which the relationship aspect between the two parties is addressed in the Irish English negotiations under study (cf. Section 4.1.3). Other examples are the emphasis on striving for a win-win solution, the attempt to build interpersonal solidarity, and other cooperative strategies, or the usage of negative politeness strategies. These aspects are taken up in Section 4.5.

4.1.5.4 Procedural Action

The fourth topic group, called Procedural Action, stands apart from the other three groups because the topics are on a different level in that they do not necessarily refer to business actions in a narrow sense. Most Offers of the procedural action group – though not all – refer to the immediate future. They describe verbal activities, some of which might be called (meta)communicative activities (Ex. 108-110), and non-verbal (sometimes mental) activities (Ex. 107 and 108) which relate to the progression of the unfolding negotiation and to administrative aspects of the potential deal. The Offer utterances contain verbs and verbal phrases such as: discuss, negotiate, talk, say, see, quote (a price), clarify, sort sth out, continue the discussion, come back to a certain detail, strive for a win-win situation, reach an agreement, do/justify the overall deal, be in the business (i.e. be ready to close the deal), wrap sth up, let the other party know sth, mention the necessity of talking to or involving a third party, get confirmation by a third party, forward a cheque, debit the customers' credit cards, Offer open book procedure, deal with a particular issue (in the sense of solving a problem), think, consider, decide, evaluate, calculate.

Ex. 108. (Ir1, T95)

<i>Ir1A</i> <CLICK> well, what we would be, saying to our, our fans is that they'll obviously have to leave cre=, credit card, eh, - deposits when they arrive in, [...]

Ex. 109. (Ir3, T117)

<i>Ir3A</i> [...] <H> ehm, if, if, if we could, if we could just maybe negotiate slightly on the price, [...]

Ex. 110. (Ir1, T759)

<i>Ir1B</i> [...] let me <E> get back to </E> him, </E> [...]

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Some of these Offers tend to be followed by verbal silence during which the Offerer carries out the predicated action, i.e. in Ex. 111 and 112 he uses the calculator and writes down numbers.

Ex. 111. (Ir1, T154)

<Ir1B> [...] we, </P> <H> <1.1> do a quick, calculation here? <23.6> okay, now, - <R> i we have a few other facilities that we could potentially, what, what about dinner, </R>

Ex. 112. (Ir3, T117)

<Ir3A> [...] - <H> a:n, if, if, if we could, if we could just maybe negotiate slightly on the price, - - <H> i mean if, if, if we could even do it for, for a hundred an, for a hundred an <E> ninety, </E> per room, <1.6> ehm, <1.3> we could consider it. </L> but, absolutely, no more than that i think.

BILBOW (2002: 297) cites two cases of Offers ("I'd better check it up" and "I must remember to do that") which he defines as "self-reminder, whereby the speaker offers to undertake an action which has been overlooked". They both fall under my procedural action topic group (also cf. other commissive utterances quoted by the same author, e.g. "[...] we'll let you know", BILBOW 2002: 300).

Procedural Offers, which make up 16.88% (i.e. 91 Offers) of the present corpus (cf. Figure 9), fulfill a discourse-structuring and/or administrative and organisational function. They can be used to introduce a new issue, set deadlines, suggest payment procedures, designate responsibilities for follow-up actions, decide on timing for a next meeting, or agree to further research individual options. With many of these Offers, a negotiator underpins his general willingness to cooperate and reach an agreement. They may hence serve to prevent the negotiation from reaching an impasse and contribute to maintaining and enhancing a good working relationship between the parties. Other Offers belonging to the same topic group are relevant to formalising the deal (e.g. to sign the contract at a later point in time, talk about how or when to implement the final decisions). Therefore, the importance of this type of Offer for negotiations should not be underestimated. Addressing and agreeing on procedural issues is generally recommended in the advice literature, but not discussed in the context of Offer-making (e.g. LUM 2004: 120).

4.1.5.5 Frequency distributions according to speaker

While the topic group Commodity or Service is equally distributed across the four negotiations when looking at tour operators and hotel managers separately (approx. 46%), there are noticeable differences with regard to the other three categories (cf. Table 10). This result can be explained by their roles as buyer and seller. Understandably, in the negotiation scenario chosen for the present study, the sellers are more proactive than the buyers in making price Offers for both individual commodities or services and whole packages (40.90% vs. 17.24%). The most frequent occasion for the buyers to make price Offers is when they measure the sellers' package Offers (especially bed and breakfast for the weekend, possibly with additional services such as dinner) against the alternative Offer by the rival hotel, and use this as a
benchmark for a counter-Offer.\textsuperscript{180} This comparison is rarely verbalised but mostly a purely mental process. The rival Offer is part of the buyers' simulation briefs but not of that of the sellers (cf. App. 2.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tour operator</th>
<th>Hotel manager</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commodity or Service</td>
<td>45.69% (53)</td>
<td>46.34% (196)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price</td>
<td>17.24% (20)</td>
<td>40.90% (173)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Price Figure)</td>
<td>(16.38%) (199)</td>
<td>(38.06%) (161)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Change in Price)</td>
<td>(0.86%) (1)</td>
<td>(2.84%) (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship-Building</td>
<td>5.17% (6)</td>
<td>0.00% (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedural Action</td>
<td>31.90% (37)</td>
<td>12.77% (54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\Sigma)</td>
<td>100.00% (n = 116)</td>
<td>100.00% (n = 423)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Relative frequency distribution of Offer topics according to speaker (Ir1-Ir4)\textsuperscript{181}

The situation is different with regard to relationship-building and procedural Offers. Here, it is the buyers who make relatively more Offers, which may be attributed to the fact that the buyer cannot Offer many different types of services or commodities (and must search for alternatives). When looking at the data, it seems that the buyers repeat the same service or commodity Offers throughout the course of the negotiation more often than the sellers, which is understandable because the hotel managers simply have a much wider range of potential items to Offer, e.g. different types of breakfast, lunch, dinner, entertainment, modes of transport, etc. By contrast, the buyers' Offers centre around booking a guaranteed number of rooms, bringing additional customers to the hotel and making sure that the fans do not spend their money elsewhere. Of course, it is more obvious for the tour operators to Offer a long-standing business relationship as they can promise to come back to the hotel with different groups of customers so that the hotel managers benefit from a predictable and dependable source of income in the future. In the present data, all Offers of this topic type are made by the tour operators (5.17% of all their Offers). Providing a sound explanation of the difference concerning procedural Offers (31.90% vs. 12.77%) proves more difficult because this category is quite heterogeneous and contains many

\textsuperscript{180} It is not necessarily the seller who sets the anchor by making the first price Offers: e.g. in Ir3 (T6), it is the tour operator who mentions his target price for the weekend at a very early stage of the negotiation.

\textsuperscript{181} Cf. Footnote 179.
formulaic Offers such as "just let me do one thing here now" (Ir1, T495) or "let's see" (Ir1, T134).

### 4.2 Category system for Offer realisation strategies

Section 4.2 aims at the development of a category system for Offer realisation strategies and is concerned with the lowest level of the discourse model, the act (cf. Figure 6), just like Section 4.1. Existing coding schemes for Offers (cf. Section 2.2.4) offer some valuable ideas, but cannot be directly applied to this study. The special context of business negotiations makes a particular category system necessary. I follow BARRON (2003) in that I also fall back on the category system for requests devised by the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (BLUM-KULKA, HOUSE & KASPER 1989a). Request strategies are considered to be the most suitable alternative because requests share similarities with Offers. However, compared to BARRON's system, the concept of grouping the strategies in the superordinate units of direct vs. conventionally indirect vs. non-conventionally indirect realisation strategies is not taken up by the present study, and the individual strategies are also somewhat different. Nevertheless, they are listed in increasing order of directness. The fact that Offers in negotiations can indeed be characterised in terms of their level of directness is hinted at by TUTZAUER (1992: 68), who distinguishes between explicit and implicit offers (cf. Section 2.1.2), as well as by BILBOW (2002: 295), who notes that "[c]ommissive speech acts also vary in terms of their levels of linguistically encoded directness." This approach poses a general problem because of the hybrid nature of Offers (cf. Sections 2.1.2 and 4.1.1): it is not possible to determine a strategy's degree of directness concerning both their directive and their commissive force. Offer strategies are classified with regard to their commissive force since it is of special interest at what stage of the discourse the negotiators commit themselves to something, i.e. when and how they make concessions on their way towards what might be called the Final Agreement Zone. As it turns out, the more indirect the strategies are, the more frequently they are hearer-oriented and the more obvious the directive force elements tend to become. At the same time, this implies that the potential threat to H's negative face increases, too. However, the correlation between indirectness in Offers and directive force or threat to H's face is no more than a tendency; it cannot be general-

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182 Cf. SEARLE (1975: 80): "[...] a study of the examples of sentences used to perform indirect commissives (especially offers and promises) shows very much the same patterns that we found in the study of directives." Also cf. KASPER (1981: 107, 113-114, 141), who categorises offers according to the same directness scale which she developed for requests. However, she does not explain the individual offer strategies in detail. KASPER only presents the frequency distribution and provides very few examples.

183 An object of further study may be to ascertain the degree of conventionalisation of the individual strategies in the context of business negotiations in Irish English (and other languages or varieties of English).

184 A first version of the present category system (which still distinguished between direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect realisation strategies) can be found in ZILLES (2003).
ised. It is also doubtful whether this makes indirect Offers appear more impolite than direct Offers.

The strategies differ with respect to the inferential process which H needs to identify the utterance as an Offer, i.e. how easy or difficult it is for H to recognise the commissive force of the utterance. This process becomes longer the more indirect a strategy is (cf. BLUM-KULKA 1987: 133-134; BLUM-KULKA, HOUSE & KASPER 1989c: 18). Directness, therefore, is not to be confused with the strength of S's commitment.

Ex. 113. (Ir4, T124-T131)

<i>Ir4B</i> eh:, no, you know, i'm happy to do some bit of a deal =, deal for you in the <s>B</s> context </s>B
<i>Ir4A</i> <s>B</s> yeah, </s>B
<i>Ir4B</i> of, you know, if you can guarantee me, - eh, to fill all the rooms [...]  

Although the commissive aspect of an utterance like the one in Ex. 113, which belongs to the strategy Willingness Statement (cf. below), can easily be interpreted by the addressee as a service or commodity Offer, S's actual commitment is not really strong because it is subject to a condition – in this case that the addressee guarantee to book the entire hotel.

In this study, seven realisation strategies are distinguished: Mood Derivable, Willingness Statement<sup>185</sup>, Action or State Reference, Possibility Statement, Preference Statement, Proposal Formula, Obligation Statement. Confirmatory Signals and Compliance Signals jointly form one additional category.<sup>186</sup> The catalogue of strategies is data-driven and by no means exhaustive.<sup>187</sup> In all likelihood, other data sets require additional and/or different strategies. The present scheme may therefore have to be refined and modified in the future. Also, it is at times difficult to determine if one strategy is more direct than another. I claim that there is no such thing as a graded directness-scale as in the CCSARP studies on requests.<sup>188</sup> Directness- indirectness should be regarded as a continuum; the exact degree of directness of a realisation strategy is not measurable as it is also influenced by internal and external modifiers.

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<sup>185</sup> Statement is used here as a neutral category label (not as a syntactic one), i.e. there may also be interrogative structures, not only declarative ones.
<sup>186</sup> Cf. App. 4.1 for specific coding criteria for Offer realisation strategies.
<sup>187</sup> A first version of the system was developed in ZILLES (2003).
<sup>188</sup> Cf. NEUMANN (1995: 44), who rejects the directness-scale altogether and only distinguishes between clear and ambiguous requests, the latter comprising conventionally indirect and non-conventionally indirect requests.
4.2.1 Main realisation strategies

The first five strategies (Mood Derivable, Willingness Statement, Action or State Reference, Possibility Statement, Preference Statement) are easily identified as Offers in the present business negotiation corpus. Their realisation shows a high degree of conventionalisation. This interpretation is supported by two types of pragmalinguistic conventions: conventions of means (i.e. reference to, assertion, or questioning of felicity conditions) and conventions of form (i.e. grammatical features, choice of wording and syntactic structure in a particular realisation strategy).\footnote{The notion of conventions of means vs. conventions of form goes back to CLARK (1979).} In the present study, the conventions of means include predication, possibility (here subsuming ability/capability and opportunity), desire, wish, and need (cf. BARRON 2005: 154).\footnote{Strategies belonging to BARRON's (2005) permission convention of means, i.e. Request permission and State permission, are interpreted differently in the present study (the former strategy would be assigned to the strategy Mood Derivable, the latter to the strategy Possibility Statement). BARRON's strategy State speaker's obligation is only partially identical with my strategy Obligation Statement. The State willingness (my Willingness Statement) is situated more on the direct end of the directness-indirectness continuum (comparable to the CCSARP's request strategy Obligation statement; cf. BLUM-KULKA, HOUSE & KASPER 1989c: 18).}

The last two strategies, Proposal Formula and Obligation Statement, are more indirect in that they could also be interpreted as other-directed (and sometimes self-directed) Requests; the utterances clearly carry directive force. The directive force element in these strategies does not, at least not exclusively, refer to the provocation of H's reaction to the Offer itself in terms of acceptance or rejection (i.e. it is not related to the underlying condition of Offers), but to a different action. Frequently, S attempts to get H to commit himself to the same action which S commits himself to by making such an Offer.\footnote{A hint, which is identified as a non-conventionally indirect request strategy in the linguistic literature (e.g. BLUM-KULKA, HOUSE & KASPER 1989b), is not an adequate Offer strategy in negotiations – S wants H to know what he means; there is no need to obscure his intention.} S's willingness to do something is not as transparent as in the preceding strategies, but it does show indirectly. The interpretation of these utterances as Offers relies on the context (defined by the setting and discourse purpose).\footnote{It might be argued that the first five strategies are characterised by a particular type of pragmatic ambiguity: pragmatic duality (cf. BLUM-KULKA 1989: 41-45), and that in the last two strategies a different kind of pragmatic ambiguity applies: pragmatic vagueness. Pragmatic duality means that the utterances can be interpreted literally (e.g. as a statement about one's ability), or as the speech act in question, or both simultaneously, whereas pragmatic vagueness means that the utterances have "multiple pragmatic forces" (BLUM-KULKA 1989: 43).}

Within most of the seven strategies, a wide range of different phrasal and syntactic structures is possible.\footnote{Cf. AIJMER (1996: 189), who observes that there is a great number of possible realisation strategies because of the "fuzzy nature of the offer".} Quite a few of them are elliptical. What is more, internal modification of Offers is a very common feature (cf. Section 4.2.3). All types of internal modifiers – syntactic, lexical, phrasal, prosodic – occur, but downgraders out-number upgraders. Choice of perspective also contributes to variation in Offers (cf.
BLUM-KULKA, HOUSE & KASPER 1989c: 19). Perspective is closely related to the
distribution of semantic roles and the syntactic structures of the utterances.

4.2.1.1 Mood Derivable (Offer)

The strategy *Mood Derivable*, here regarded as the most direct Offer strategy, is
marked by the construction *Let me V A*, thus producing utterances in which the
grammatical mood (non-impositive imperative) of the verb signals the illocutionary
force.\textsuperscript{194}

Ex. 114. (Ir1, T254)

\texttt{<Ir1B> let me, <HX> let me <?> throw </?> something at you here now, [...]

Ex. 115. (Ir1, T167)

\texttt{<Ir1A> [...] let me just look at this [...]

Ex. 116. (Ir3, T16)

\texttt{<Ir1A> [...] eh, let me check, on availability, [...]

Offers of this category very often belong to the topic group *Procedural Action*, e.g.
Ex. 115 and 116.

4.2.1.2 Willingness Statement

With the strategy *Willingness Statement*, the understanding of the illocutionary force
relies on the semantic content of the utterance, i.e. it is locution derivable. This
speaker-oriented strategy is also considered a relatively direct one because S's will-
ingness or intention to do something is one of the most important aspects of the
commissive force of an Offer. S asserts one of the sincerity conditions for the suc-
cessful performance of the illocutionary act *Offer*. He chooses words and phrases
which express willingness and related attitudes and feelings such as happiness, glad-
ness, interest, etc. The following constructions (plus variations of them) are possible:
*NP am/are/would be willing/prepared/open/happy to V A/interested in V-ing A, NP
(would) like/love to V A*.

Ex. 117. (Ir3, T80)

\texttt{<Ir3A> which would work out at a hundred an eighty, - - <CLICK>

ehm, - - hundred an eighty per night, <P> basically, per room, </P> is what i'd be prepared to pay,

Ex. 118. (Ir2, T558)

\texttt{<Ir2B> yeah. - - <?> i'm delighted to do business with you, </?>

\texttt{<LAUGH>}

\textsuperscript{194} Hospitable offers can similarly be realised by a non-impositive imperative, e.g. *Have a seat* (cf. MATOBA 1996: 425; 2003: 183-185). Such instances do not occur in the present data.
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Ex. 119. (Ir1, T108)
<iIr1B> i'm <§B> open to that, </§B>

Ex. 120. (Ir3, T151-T153)
<iIr3B> well, we'd be very happy <§B> to arrange </§B>
<iIr3A> <§B> <X2> </§B>
<iIr3B> dinner, as part of the package,

In the Willingness Statements found in the present data, S is always placed as the subject NP, either expressed through the first person singular pronoun I (Ex. 117-119) or through the exclusive or corporate we, used in the sense of I and my company (Ex. 120).

Ex. 121 is a particularly interesting case of Willingness Statement for two reasons. First, the phrase *be in favour not to have sth is certainly used not quite appropriately here (apart from being grammatically incorrect) but can most likely be interpreted as an expression of willingness in the sense of supporting or approving of a decision.

Ex. 121. (Ir4, T630-T632)
<iIr4A> <§B> eh:, and </§B> you know, like we would be in favour particularly after the last incident that, <HH> you know, just, you know, if you want, not to have the porter service, or, the, the hotel <>?> residence </?> that night, you know, <§A> <?> bar </?> </§A>
<iIr4B> </§A>
<iIr4B> yeah,
<iIr4A> that night,

Second, the tour operator (Ir4A) expresses his willingness to do without a service (i.e. the night porter service\(^{195}\)) that had been Offered by the hotel manager (Ir4B) in T615, possibly implying that he would make sure the soccer fans do not leave the hotel after the bar has closed. Thus, Ir4A phrases as an Offer what may also be interpreted as a rejection of Ir4B's Offer. The tour operator does this although he had previously signalled (T620-T626) that he would accept "the night porter and the night service" (T615) or any other measures which would serve to reduce the risk of trouble caused by the soccer fans (e.g. damage to the hotel furnishings).

4.2.1.3 Action or State Reference

The utterances of the strategy Action or State Reference express S's intentions or plans to perform A without asserting or questioning the felicity conditions willingness, ability, or opportunity. Instead, they refer to the propositional content condition (cf. SEARLE 1975: 80), i.e. the convention of means predication of a future act (cf. BARRON 2005: 155).

\(^{195}\) It is unclear what Ir4A means by "hotel residence" (maybe "residents"?). Moreover, "residence" is a doubtful hearing.
The standard pattern of Action or State Reference Offers is a declarative structure in which S (i.e. via first person singular pronoun I or exclusive we) is mentioned as the subject NP of the action: \( NP \ (will/would) \ V \ A \) (Ex. 122). However, H may also function as the subject NP (Ex. 123), as may be third parties; in Ex. 124 for instance the band that might play as part of the evening entertainment (Ex. 124 may be regarded as a sort of mediated Offer). S may also choose a formulation in which S and H both act as the subject NP (inclusive we); this choice largely depends on the type of activity (Ex. 125). Sometimes it is not clear whether S uses an inclusive or exclusive we (Ex. 126). Impersonal formulations are possible too (Ex. 127). In sum, the strategy Action or State Reference is quite heterogeneous.

Ex. 122.  (Ir1, T276)

\(<Ir1B> \ <X1>, \ we \ sell \ them \ a \ buffet, \ and \ a \ trip \ to \ wicklow. \ an \ bring \ them \ back \ in <§B> for \ dinner. </§B>\n
Ex. 123.  (Ir1, T795)

\(<Ir1B> <§A> \ eh, <§A> you \ take \ it \ that \ you \ have \ the \ four \ rooms \ in \ the, \ in, \ in \ this \ other <§B> \ hotel. \ eh, <§B>\n
Ex. 124.  (Ir2, T207)

\(<Ir2B> you, \ they'd, \ they'd \ be \ talkin \ about \ maybe \ four \ hundred \ four \ fifty, […]\n
Ex. 125.  (Ir1, T112-T114)

\(<Ir1B> <§> \ and <§> 
<Ir1A> <§> mhm, <§>
<Ir1B> we \ split \ that, \ between \ us? \n
Ex. 126.  (Ir1, T84)

\(<Ir1A> […] \ eh, \ if \ we \ encourage \ them \ to \ stay \ in \ the \ bar, - eh, \ for \ the \ two \ nights, […]\n
Instead of mentioning a future action, S may refer to a state, expressed by verbs such as include, cost, be, have sth (Ex. 127-130).

Ex. 127.  (Ir1, T70)

\(<Ir1B> […] \ an \ that \ includes \ breakfast. […]\n
Ex. 128.  (Ir2, T77)

\(<Ir2B> the \ band \ would \ usually \ cost, - maybe \ three \ hundred \ an \ fifty-four <§> hundred <§> euros \ to, \ to \ put \ on, \n
Ex. 129.  (Ir4, T657-T659)

\(<Ir4B> <§A> \ breakfast \ stuff <§A> would \ all \ be <§B> \ there, \ it'll, <§B>
<Ir4A> <§B> yeah, <§B>
<Ir4B> be \ all <§B> \ fine, \ you \ know? </§B>\n
Ex. 130.  (Ir4, T532-T534)

\(<Ir4B> […] \ we \ have, \ we \ have, \ we've, <E> two, <E> effectively \ we \ have <E> two <E> separate \ big \ screens, <§B> in <§B>
The price Offers in Ex. 127 and 128 could be paraphrased as *The breakfast that I (can/could etc.) provide is included in the price for the hotel room* and, respectively, as *I (can/could etc.) put the band on for you for 354 Euro*. Ex. 129 could be paraphrased as *We’ll provide you with all necessary breakfast things during your stay at our hotel*, and Ex. 130 is an indirect way of saying *There are two separate big (TV) screens in two different sides of the hotel that we (can/could etc.) make available for you and your group*. These examples are prototypical Offers in the context of negotiations.

In utterances which are assigned to the strategy Action or State Reference, S presents as a *fait accompli* the fact that he is willing to perform the future action. The commissive element is relatively strong in this strategy type, whereas the directive element is negligible – H's reaction does not seem to be expected. Therefore, these utterances may be regarded as *promises* in a traditional speech act theoretic sense, especially declarative utterances in the indicative such as Ex. 131 (cf. BILBOW 2002: 292-296).

Ex. 131. (Ir3, T117)

\(<Ir3A>\) [...] an i'm <E> sure, </E> we <E> will </E> be coming back up to dublin <E> again, </E> [...]\]<Ir3B>

AIJMER (1996: 189) and RUIZ DE ZAROBE (2000: 65), however, classify these utterances as offers. AIJMER describes examples like *I'll buy you a cup of tea* as offer patterns which have a "stem with a commissive rather than a directive function" (AIJMER 1996: 189).

### 4.2.1.4 Possibility Statement

In the utterances which belong to the *Possibility Statement* strategy, S asserts one of the preparatory conditions, i.e. either that S is physically and mentally capable of doing A, or that S has the opportunity to do A (cf. TROSBORG 1995: 198-199), or that S makes it possible for H to do something which is in his interest. There is a problem concerning the ambiguous meaning of the modal auxiliary *can* (cf. UNGERER ET AL. 1994: 153-155; DEPRAETER & REED 2006: 273-275, 282-284; HARRIS, MCLAUGHLIN & STILL s. d.). Therefore, there are not two different categories for expressions of capacity/ability and possibility/opportunity. Instead, Possibility Statement is supposed to subsume both.

Typical constructions are *NP can/could V A* and *NP am/are/would be able/in a position to V A* (Ex. 132-138). Alternatives are, for instance, *There is/would be the opportunity/possibility to V A* or *It's possible to V A*, or *X is V-able* (Ex. 139 and 140). Utterances containing expressions such as *it's no problem/not a huge burden to V A*, *I have no problem V-ing A*, which describe the absence of an obstacle which might prevent S from performing A, are also included in the Possibility Statement strategy (Ex. 141-143).
Ex. 132. (Ir1, T80)

<i>Ir1A</i> [...] i've got hundred and sixty customers that i can bring to you [...]

Ex. 133. (Ir2, T147)

<i>Ir2B</i> [...] we could arrange a bus, to bring them to the match, [...]

Ex. 134. (Ir4, T725)

<i>Ir4B</i> ehm, - i eh:::, <R> you can deal with me directly, </R> you <§B> know? </§B>

Ex. 135. (Ir3, T117)

<i>Ir3A</i> [...] i mean if, if, if, if we could even do it for, for a hundred an, for a hundred an <E> ninety, </E> per room, [...]

Ex. 136. (Ir1, T274)

<i>Ir1B</i> we have a regular bus company, an they could provide buses, then we could bring them on a, - <CLICK> a trip, to, say wicklow. - for the <§B> afternoon. </§B>

Ex. 137. (Ir4, T215-T217)

<i>Ir4B</i> eh, they can do what they like, they can have, they can have, - continental, they can have, - they,
<i>Ir4A</i> yeah,
<i>Ir4B</i> <H> the full irish, [...]

Ex. 138. (Ir3, T60)

<i>Ir3B</i> eh, well, i think we, <E> may </E> be in a position, to relocate some of the existing bookings, [...]

Ex. 139. (Ir3, T71)

<i>Ir3B</i> [...] there <E> may </E> be opportunities to relocate them, - ehm, <1.8> you know, <E> slightly further </E> out.

Ex. 140. (Ir2, T136)

<i>Ir2B</i> it's, - price is always negotiable, [...]

Ex. 141. (Ir2, T601)

<i>Ir2A</i> it shouldn't be a problem [...]

Ex. 142. (Ir4, T639-T641)

<i>Ir4B</i> [...] <§B> i've no </§B>
<i>Ir4A</i> <§B> signin up for, </§B>
<i>Ir4B</i> problem in terms of, in terms of <?> alcohol </?> cos i mean we have it all in, [...]

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Ex. 143. (Ir1, T8)

<Ir1A> [...] if that means that, we have to pass on some extra costs to them then, <1.2> that's, that's not, - - going to be a, huge burden from our point of view, [...] 

The subject NP can be S expressed by the pronoun I (Ex. 132 and 142) or exclusive we (Ex. 133, 135, 138), H (Ex. 134), S and H together with an inclusive we (Ex. 136), impersonal constructions (Ex. 139-141, 143), or a third party (Ex. 136-137). Through the general (impersonal) statement "price is always negotiable" in Ex. 140, S signals his general willingness to commit himself to discussing the price of a service and to possibly make concessions towards the other party in order to close the overall deal. In Ex. 136, the third party is the bus company which can transport the fans to and from the soccer match. The Offer implies that S will deal with that bus company and organise transport for the tour operator's soccer fans. Thus, S does not only potentially solve the transport issue, but at the same time provides the opportunity for an afternoon bus trip to the nearby Wicklow Mountains. He verbalises this in the second part of his turn (also a Possibility Statement) in which S and H act jointly as the subject NP (i.e. inclusive we). In Ex. 137, the third party refers to the soccer fans that H represents (cf. the principle of fraternisation discussed in Section 4.5.1.1).

4.2.1.5 Preference Statement

When using the strategy Preference Statement, S questions or asserts the hearer-based preparatory condition, i.e. that A is in H's interest, thereby referring to the antecedent of the condition which underlies all Offers, i.e. H's wish, desire, need, or expectation to have A performed (cf. Sections 2.1.1 and 4.1.1; Schneider 2003: 183, 194; Bilbow 2002: 298). In case of an interrogative structure of the utterance (Ex 144-150), H is clearly expected to respond to the Offer. Therefore, the directive element of Offers may be quite strong in this strategy type. Some of the interrogatives are idiomatic expressions such as What/How about X? What/How about V-ing A? or What if I V A? and Okay? or Right? (Ex. 147-150).

Ex. 144. (Ir1, T79)

<Ir1B> [...] eh, - <CLICK> - <R> so, </R> - - are you happy enough with one fifteen,

Ex. 145. (Ir1, T386)

<Ir1B> well, </E> would </E> there be, would there be a need for a dinner on the saturday, </E> after </E> the match,

Ex. 146. (Ir1, T160)

<Ir1B> [...] will your customers be, willing to pay, the </E> thirty </E> for dinner,

Ex. 147. (Ir1, T154)

<Ir1B> [...] </E> i we have a few other facilities that we could potentially, what, what about dinner, </E>
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Ex. 148. (Ir3, T199)

<Ir3B> how about, <1.1> meetin your price then of a <E> hundred <E> an ninety, [..]

Ex. 149. (Ir3, T66-T68)

<Ir3A> well, tell you what, - - <CLICK> what if i was to, <1.5> <E> book, eighty <E> rooms, <1.7> <Ir3B?> <CLICK> eh:m, <Ir3A> to book the entire hotel,

Ex. 150. (Ir1, T154)

<Ir1B> and <E> that <E> means, <E> we're <E> going to refund you:, eh, a fiver a head, which is, - - eight hundred over the two nights. over <§B> two <§B> <Ir1A> <§> yeah. </§B> <Ir1B> days. <1.6> okay? [..]

Ex. 151-154 are four of the few instances in the corpus where S makes a non-interrogative, i.e. declarative Preference Statement. If he does not yet have the amount of information which is required to phrase his utterance as a fait accompli (as in Ex. 153), S can only express his assumptions about H's interests and wishes (Ex. 151) or, as in Ex. 152 and 154, about the interests and wishes of H's customers, the soccer fans. This is obvious from the use of lexical, phrasal or syntactic downgraders which express uncertainty or (slight) probability, e.g. the adverbs "potentially" and "maybe" and the modal auxiliary "might" (Ex. 151 and 152), or the phrase "I seriously believe" (Ex. 154). By contrast, in Ex. 153, Ir4B knows for sure that Ir4A is looking for accommodation in a hotel in Dublin because this is the main point on their agenda already set out in T6-T30. Therefore, he can make an unmitigated assertion: "you need a place to stay".

Ex. 151. (Ir1, T65-T68)

<Ir1B> so you potentially have the need for transport, - <Ir1A> <§> yeah, </§> <Ir1B> <§> in </§> dublin town.

Ex. 152. (Ir2, T61)

<Ir2B> [...] the lads might prefer to, to go drinkin in the bar maybe,

Ex. 153. (Ir4, T73)

<Ir4B> ehm, - - eh, i'd love you to come, we need the business, <§B> you need a place to stay, <LAUGH> and, </§B>

Ex. 154. (Ir3, T146)

<Ir3B> well, eh:, i, i, i <E> seriously </E> believe that ehm, - - i seriously believe that eh, <H> eh your clients in fact, won't wish, <H> eh, to <E> explore </E> the price <E> beyond </E> eh, having a, <E> comfortable, </E> bed, eh, in a, <E> good </E> hotel, eh, with <E> transportation, to </E> an from the match,
Preference Statements are often hearer-oriented: S places H as the subject NP, such as in Ex. 144, 151, and 153. However, there are exceptions: impersonal formulations (Ex. 145) and reduced idiomatic expressions such as *What/How about X?* Here, the action itself is not mentioned, nor are S, H, or a third party as subject NP. Ex. 147 could be paraphrased as *What do you think about a dinner? Do you want me to make a dinner for the soccer fans?*. In the context of the negotiation it is clear that Ir1B Offers the commodity/service *dinner*. In the case of "Okay?" (Ex. 150), the utterance is even more elliptically reduced. Ex. 149 is similar to Ex. 148 in that it could also be phrased *What about booking eighty room, the entire hotel*, but here, S is mentioned as the NP ("What if I was to [...]"

Ex. 146, 152, and 154 differ from the other examples with respect to the subject NP. Here, it is not H himself, i.e. the tour operator in this case, but his customers who are the subject NP (in Ex. 154 of a subordinate clause). In the context of the present negotiation this is not surprising because the soccer fans are the customers of the tour operator, and in this sense he is acting on their behalf (one might say makes his money for being a mediator between the hotel manager and the end users, the group of soccer fans). In fact, when addressing the buyer with *you*, the seller often uses it as a second person plural pronoun in the sense of *you and the group of soccer fans*. For instance, in Ex. 153, "you need a place to stay" does not refer to Ir4B personally but to the group whom he is selling this trip.

**4.2.1.6 Proposal Formula**

The indirect strategy *Proposal Formula* is realised by idiomatic expressions such as *Let's V A* or *Why don't we V A*, which imply a request directed at H to do something together with S which is in S's and H's interest. S places himself under a joint obligation to do A if H complies (cf. BILBOW 2002: 298). By definition, the strategy is oriented towards S and H (inclusive *us* or *we*). Examples are:

Ex. 155. (Ir4, T478)

<Ir4A> eh:m, - <R> <M> eh let's say f=, some, you know, f=, somethin like, <P> <X2> </P> about twenty euro a head, [...]

Ex. 156. (Ir1, T262)

<Ir1B> [...] let's just sort out the, the, the coaches for a second. eh, <4.0> [...]

Ex. 157. (Ir1, T262)

<Ir1B> [...] well, - let's see now, [...]

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196 BILBOW (2002: 300) regards such *Request for Feedback* utterances as a supportive move, cf. Section 2.2.5.

197 The 'replacement' of the tour operator by the group of soccer fans also occurs in Requests for Offers (cf. Section 4.4.1), as in "obviously they want, you know, two offerings, one at eleven thirty, maybe one at twelve thirty for the game" (Ir4, T337). In Requests it might be regarded as a form of mitigation as S places the fans as the source of the imposition.
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4.2.1.7 Obligation Statement (Offer)

Utterances which are assigned to the Obligation Statement strategy contain a modal auxiliary (e.g. NP have/has to/need/needs to/must/should/ought to V A) and other phrases expressing an obligation (cf. BILBOW 2002: 298). The Obligation Statement is not directive in the sense that S exclusively tries to influence H's actions (then it would be coded as a Request for Offer/Statement of Need or Want, cf. Section 4.4.1.2), but the Request is either directed towards S or towards S and H together. When S refers to a joint S- and H-based action via an inclusive we, he does not only ask H to do something, but indirectly expresses his willingness or intention to do something as well (Ex. 159 and 160).

Ex. 159. (Ir1, T659)
<Ir1A> or, then we'll have to increase the price, for the whole weekend,

Ex. 160. (Ir1, T712-T714)
<Ir1A> right. we need to find some way to get you more money out of these customers. </R>

Obligation Statements in which S only refers to himself by using the personal pronouns I (Ex. 161) or an impersonal construction (Ex. 162: an action that can only be carried out by the seller) reveal their commissive illocutionary force more clearly.

Ex. 161. (Ir4, T67)
<Ir4B> [... ] <H> eh:m, but, you know, i, some of the u 2 guys i need to get confirmations after them [...]

Ex. 162. (Ir3, T71)
<Ir3B> [... ] <H> eh, it does in fact, raise the requirement to relocate, eh, those eh, clients who've al=, who have already booked, [...]

4.2.2 Confirmatory or Compliance Signal

For 30.67% (69 out of 225, Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker) of the Offers following a Request for Offer (cf. Section 4.4.1 and Tables 46 and 48 in App. 8), an additional strategy type has to be introduced, which stands apart from the other eight Offer realisation strategies. It is called Confirmatory or Compliance Signal and subsumes what is labelled Confirmatory Signals and Compliance Signals.

Confirmatory Signals follow a Request for Confirmation of previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (cf. Section 4.4.1.3). By confirming or clarifying a previously made Offer, or repeating a commitment, S once again expresses his willingness
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to perform the aforementioned future action, or corrects the other speaker’s misap-
prehension of the Offer. The Confirmatory Signal is realised by tokens such as yeah, 
yes, (that's) right, okay, sure (e.g. Ex. 163 and 164). The utterance may be accom-
panied by, or consist solely of a part of the proposition (ellipsis) expressed in the 
prefacing Request, for which the interlocutor is seeking confirmation (Ex. 165 and 
166).

Ex. 163. (Ir2, T402-T403)

<Ir2A> [...] you're throwin the meal in for <E> free </E> though, 
is what you're saying, 
<Ir2B> that's right,

Ex. 164. (Ir3, T164-T165)

<Ir3A> [...] <F> <E> you </E> offered </F> to pick us up, <X1> 
straight after the match, 
<Ir3B> yes,

Ex. 165. (Ir2, T367-T368)

<Ir2A> you're sayin thirty-one eight eighty for seventy-six 
rooms, 
<Ir2B> for seventy-six rooms, yeah,

Ex. 166. (Ir1, T149-T150)

<Ir1A> mh, <CLICK> and, you can give us the, the eighty rooms, 
eighty double rooms, 
<Ir1B> the eighty double rooms.

Compliance Signals are elicited through a Specific Request (cf. Section 4.4.1.2). 
They may be realised by the same tokens that are used for Confirmatory Signals (Ex. 
167-169). Also similarly, the utterance may be accompanied by, or consist solely of a 
part of the proposition (ellipsis) expressed in the preceding Request, for which the 
interlocutor is seeking compliance (Ex. 170).

Ex. 167. (Ir2, T303-T304)

<Ir2A> strip it down to the bare bones, forget the frills, 
<Ir2B> <P> <H> yeah, </H> </P>

Ex. 168. (Ir1, T69-T70)

<Ir1A> we need to bring th=, th=, the, the fans to the match, - - 
and back to the hotel. 
<Ir1B> okay. - - - <CLICK> - - fair enough, [..]

Ex. 169. (Ir3, T214-T215)

<Ir3B> and eh, breakfast would be payable by the individual, your 
individual clients. 
<Ir3A> of course, yeah, yeah.

198 These tokens can also function as a specific type of Offer response (discussed in detail in Section 
4.4.3).
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Ex. 170. (Ir1, T104-105)

plus, and then you would charge for, and we would take breakfast as well, you charge an extra. - - ten euro. </P>

ten euro for breakfast, and would that be a full irish breakfast or a continental breakfast.

Both Confirmatory and Compliance Signals are interactionally marked: by nature, they always form the second pair part of an exchange (Satisfy) and are therefore counted as elicited Offers (cf. Section 4.4.2.2). A further general characteristic is their inherent ambiguity and potential multifunctionality. They may be backchanneling signals telling the interlocutor I hear/comprehend what you're saying/I'm still listening, and/or express general agreement with a Request, leading BILBOW to the following remark:

While many initiating sequences result in promises to undertake action, they sometimes also lead to responses in which commitment is only indirectly expressed by means of commissive hints. In the corpus, such commissives are usually highly modalized and accompanied by prosodic features that indicate a speculative reaction and a low level of commitment. (BILBOW 2002: 297)

BILBOW's observation applies to the present corpus as well. According to him, the same tokens may at times belong to his category of promises (defined by him as direct initiated commissives):

By and large, promises in the corpus tend to depend upon a very restricted set of highly direct minimal utterances, including Yes, Sure, OK, Certainly and so on (and most minimally a simple nod of the head). This is not to say that all such utterances can be categorized as promises. The word utterance, Yes, for example, is notoriously ambiguous, and its illocutionary force varies from I agree/I promise to do so at one extreme, to I hear what you're saying at the other. In the many cases of ambiguity we faced, speakers' own intuitions and recollections, as well as meeting minutes were available for uncovering the intended meanings of utterances; however, it should again be reiterated that utterances seldom have single interpretations. (BILBOW 2002: 296)

However, as the procedure of relying upon speakers' own retrospective "intuitions and recollections" to determine whether such tokens are direct promises or indirect hints is thought problematic. It has been found that participants’ later accounts on their own use of language in a particular situation tend to be influenced by "retrospective inferencing" (MARTIN 2001: 130) due to memory constraints, i.e. the participants may not accurately remember relevant aspects of their behaviour and hence interpret them distortedly. Similarly, it is doubtful if meeting minutes can indeed help to disambiguate individual utterances from the corpus. I preferred to subsume all relevant utterances under the label Offer and then to classify these Offer utterances according to their realisation strategy and interactional status separately.

199 In Section 4.4.4, it will be argued that an Offer can simultaneously fulfil the function of a Satisfy and an Initiate.

200 This function may also be fulfilled by non-verbal cues, which are not transcribed in the present study. It is doubtful whether they would actually have the potential of functioning as an Offer.
4.2.3 General characteristics of Offer realisation strategies

As a summary of Section 4.2 so far, and before turning to the frequency distributions (Section 4.2.4), I would like to address three general characteristic aspects of the Offer realisation strategies which deserve special attention: internal modification (Section 4.2.3.1), perspective (Section 4.2.3.2), and elliptical Offers (Section 4.2.3.3).

4.2.3.1 Internal modification

Internal modification has the potential of influencing the degree of perceived directness of Offers (cf. BLUM-KULKA 1987: 135, footnote 4). In the Irish English negotiations, different types of lexical, phrasal, prosodic, syntactic upgrading and downgrading occur across all strategy types (cf. Section 4.1.3).

Among the lexical and phrasal downgraders are adverbs such as "just", "maybe", "slightly", "potentially" (Ex. 171-174) and fillers such as "you know" or "I mean" (Ex. 175). The intensifying adverb "really" belongs to the group of lexical/phrasal upgraders (Ex. 175). Ex. 174 and 175 also contain examples for prosodic upgrading (emphasis of "I'm", "we", "all").

Ex. 171. (Ir2, T496)

<Ir2A> <THROAT> <9.8> <P> let me just work out some things here, </P> [...] 

Ex. 172. (Ir2, T73)

<Ir2B> if <X3> there was <E> families </E> involved it would be good, - eh, maybe, throw on a, - ehm, a small, coach, or a large one dependin on numbers, - - an from the <X1> that, cinema complex or whatever, - ehm, - maybe, [...] 

Ex. 173. (Ir3, T117)

<Ir3A> [...] <H> ehm, if, if, if we could, if we could just maybe negotiate slightly on the price, [...] 

Ex. 174. (Ir1, T272)

<Ir1B> [...] now what <E> i'm, </E> what <E> i'm </E> thinking on is that, we could potentially, do a deal with them, with the bus company that <E> we </E> use, [...] 

Ex. 175. (Ir4, T181-183)

<Ir4B> you know, i mean, we would, provide breakfast <E> all </E> through the day, <§B> really, you </§B> <Ir4A> <§B> okay, </§B> 

Performative verbs and expressions such as offer or make an offer, commit oneself to sth, give, provide, guarantee, you may take it that are another form of lexical/phrasal internal modification (upgraders). In Ex. 176-178 (Action or State References and
Possibility Statement), the illocutionary force of the utterance is explicitly named, which may increase the directness of the Offer (offer sth, commit to sth, guarantee sth).

Ex. 176. (Ir3, T139)

<Ir3A> <SWALLOW> and i'm also offering you the, the chance of, again, repeat business,

Ex. 177. (Ir3, T208)

<Ir3B> [...] we would, we would require a guarantee, - - you know, of that payment, if we were to commit to eighty rooms, fergus, [...] 

Ex. 178. (Ir4, T28)

<Ir4A> [...] <H> eh, so, i mean, there <X1> wouldn't be a problem in terms of, <H> <P> <M> i think </M> </P> guaranteeing a hundred, eh plus then four officials as well, [...] 

The use of the continuous aspect, e.g. "I'm thinking" in Ex. 174 may be interpreted as a form of syntactic downgrading. However, the most frequently used syntactic downgraders, and in fact the most prominent types of internal modification in general, are conditional and modal past forms ("would" and "could") in Ex. 172-175 and Ex. 178, "did" in Ex. 179, "came" in Ex. 180) as a way of expressing modality (cf. UNGERER ET AL. 1994: 144; DEPRAETERE & REED 2006: 271; QUIRK ET AL. 1985: 232-233, 1010-1012): The conditional and modal past forms are clear evidence of the hypothetical character of S's commitment to carrying out the action predicated in the Offer.201 The utterances in Ex. 172-175 and 178 are conditional in the sense that the underlying conditions if we close this deal and/or if you want A are always implied in formulations such as I would/could/might V A. One might argue that from a syntactic perspective, the clause containing the condition(s) is omitted. In contingent Offers, however, the condition is made explicit, although in this case it is yet another dimension of condition (cf. Section 4.1.4). In Ex. 179 and 180, it is the Offer utterance itself which contains the if.

Ex. 179. (Ir2, T217)

<Ir2B> the <E> meal, <E> - eh: m, <1.2> <CLICK> <1.4> if i did the meal fo:r, half price, <1.6> usually we're talkin about maybe, - - eh: m, <CLICK> [...] 

Ex. 180. (Ir3, T147-T150)

<Ir3A> [...] i mean what if we came back to the hotel straight after the game, - - and,

201 Cf. the comprehensive, corpus-based investigation of would as a hedging device (independent of speech act type) in Irish radio phone-in conversations vs. in post-observation teacher – trainee interaction by FARR & O'KEEFFE (2002). The reason why would is used in these settings and the various functions it fulfills are different from those observed in business negotiation Offers in the present study. However, the overall function of hedging applies to all three speech situations. FARR & O'KEEFFE also found that in comparison with British and American English speakers, Irish English speakers use would more frequently.

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The overtly hypothetical Offer "If I did the meal for half price" (Ex. 179) could be expanded to mean *If I did the meal for half price, would you then consider accepting the Offer, i.e. accept the service of the meal, and would we then reach an overall agreement?*. Then, of course, this might be interpreted as a contingent Offer in the sense of *I give you the meal for half price if you agree on the rest of what we have discussed and if we can then close the deal*. In this example it is not quite clear whether Ir2B abandons the utterance to continue a different line of thought ("usually we're talking about…") after a longer pause (false start) or if he omits the main clause of the conditional sentence on purpose to leave the condition unspoken. In Ex. 180, Ir3A creates the theoretical scenario of the soccer fan group returning to the Grand Canal Hotel directly after the game ("what if we came back to the hotel straight after the game, and *<X5+> into your bar*"), implying that they will spend money on drinks in the hotel bar, which is in the hotel manager's interest. Ir3B indeed reacts positively to the Offer by making an Offer himself. He seizes the opportunity to Offer a service – hence a further source of revenue – not mentioned before: "we'd be very happy to arrange dinner as part of the package". By using the conditional *would*, he expresses that this Offer is only hypothetical.

Formulating Offers in such a way as to show that they are made under reservation and only presented for provisional acceptance during the unfolding negotiation process, falls in line with a tactic for effective negotiating identified by authors of advice literature:

Eventually, effective negotiators learn that you can share virtually any relevant thoughts with the other side, as long as you hold and express them as hypotheses, perceptions, and interpretations, rather than as statements of fact or immutable judgments. (PATTON 2004: 6)

As shown in Section 4.5.1.2, the *if* constructions also serve to argumentatively support Requests for Offers.

The overall number of internally modified Offers, especially Action or State Reference Offers, seems to be very high. Most of the Action or State Reference Offers are downgraded, which softens the presentation of the negotiator's commitment as a *fait accompli*. However, this assumption is based on random manual computations: since internal modification is not coded in the present study, an exact percentage cannot be given. Systematic (quantitative) research into the use of internal modification of Offers in business negotiations would certainly lead to interesting results but is beyond the scope of the present study (cf. ZILLES 2003 for an exploratory investigation of internal modification and perspective in Offers in business negotiations). Based on the insights gained from the present study, I would tend to interpret the use of downgraders in Offer utterances as indicative of the genre *business communication*, rather than of Irish English.
4.2.3.2 Perspective

Since perspective is located at the level of the act, it can be regarded as another form of internal modification. According to Neumann (1995: 47), choice of perspective has "strategic potential". Besides, it reveals information about the relationship between the interlocutors (cf. Fant 1995: 192-193; Neu 1985: 119-120; Martin 2001: 187-190, 196-197). In the present data, the following perspective types can be distinguished: S may choose to use a speaker-oriented formulation, a hearer-oriented one, a joint speaker- and hearer-oriented perspective, an impersonal construction, or a third-party-oriented perspective (cf. Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989c: 19; Matoba 1996: 411-413).

There are two types of speaker-reference: S can use either the personal pronoun in the first person singular, I, or the personal pronoun first person plural, we, in the sense of I and my company (called exclusive or corporate we), which refers to the negotiator's representative role (cf. Section 4.1.3). S may emphasise his affiliation with his company and/or may reject personal responsibility for any Offers and decisions. Therefore, the use of the exclusive we (as well as of impersonal formulations) is a face-saving strategy which may have a mitigating effect (cf. Fant 1995: 193; Neumann 1995: 47). Alternatively, S can opt for a formulation which is oriented both to himself and to H by employing the inclusive we, which may result in utterances resembling proposals. Aijmer (1996: 135, also cf. 175-177) states that "in [her] analysis 'proposals' involving both the speaker and the hearer result from so-called defocalization strategies or impersonalization devices and are accounted for on the dimension of politeness or modification". At times it is difficult to tell whether S intended to use the inclusive or the exclusive we, unless the type of activity requires a formulation with an inclusive we – some actions can only be performed jointly by S and H, e.g. negotiating. By using the inclusive we in cases where the activity would not necessarily require this form, negotiators may try to promote cooperation and solidarity (cf. Neu 1985: 119), as well as to stress common ground between the interlocutors, their joint decisions, and mutual interests (cf. Neumann 1995: 47; Martin 2001: 173-174, 187-190, 196-197). Moreover, the inclusive we can soften Offers (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987: 127-128). Avoiding reference to the deictic categories of S or H altogether by employing that, it, or passive constructions as impersonalising devices, may be interpreted as an even more obvious means to weaken S's personal commitment to do something since S only indirectly refers to himself (and his company). The data of the present study reveal that there is yet another way of phrasing Offers: S may neither refer to himself or to H, nor use impersonal constructions, but refer to a third party.

202 Type of perspective is not systematically coded in the present study either, but may likewise lend itself to interesting future studies.
4.2.3.3 Ellipsis

Another interesting feature of Offer utterances in the Irish English business negotiations under study is the occurrence of ellipses. 18.10% of the Offers (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker) counted in the present corpus are elliptical, i.e. certain sentence parts are missing which, in a traditional grammatical sense, would be required syntactically, thus producing "linguistic gaps" (WILSON 2000: 7). In Ex. 181-184, the Offer utterances lack the subject NP and/or object NP, and sometimes also the predicate. Elliptical Offers occur in five of the eight realisation strategies: Willingness Statement (only in one out of twelve Offers, i.e. 8.33%), Possibility Statement (ten out of 106, i.e. 9.43%), Action or State Reference (53 out of 273, i.e. 19.41%), Preference Statement (eight out of 27, i.e. 29.63%), and Confirmatory or Compliance Signal (25 out of 69, i.e. 36.23%) (cf. Table 30 in App. 8). The elliptical utterances can (if they are embedded into relevant context) nevertheless be regarded as functionally complete and therefore as a feature which is in compliance with the rules of a grammar of spoken language:

One of the most pervasive characteristics of human speech, one which seems to cut across all varieties, is the elimination of redundant linguistic items. Speakers avoid needless repetition by replacing non-first occurrences of identical sequences with a pro-form [...], or with nothing at all (zero anaphora) [...]. (LEVIN 1986: 1)  


In the present data, it is possible to distinguish between three different cases where the Offer is not a syntactically complete sentence. The first and most common case is when an Offer constitutes the second part of the adjacency pair question – answer (i.e. an elicited Offer, cf. Section 4.4.2.2), which is a form of intersentential ellipsis (cf. WILSON 2000: 45-51). The questions often begin with how, how much, what, where, etc. (Ex. 181 and 182). S leaves out those parts of speech that had appeared in (the) previous utterance(s) and which would now distract from the elements that carry the essential semantic meaning (anaphoric reference). This poses no problem

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203 Ten of the 97 elliptical Offers are debatable borderline cases which will, however, not be discussed further here.

204 Cf. the different standpoints of those treating ellipses as utterances from which obligatory sentence parts are omitted, and those regarding them as utterances with an autonomous status (cf. ORTNER 1987: 102ff., quoted by SCHWITALLA 2003: 102, footnote 5).


206 Strictly speaking, all Confirmatory or Compliance Signals can be classified as ellipses, i.e. including tokens such as yeah, yes, (that's) right, okay, sure which stand alone as in Ex. 181a. WILSON (2000: 46) labels such examples maximal ellipsis which "occurs when a rejoinder omits the whole preceding sentence. Maximal ellipsis entails minimal response."

Ex. 181a. (Ir3, T164-T165)

```
<Ir3A> a few beers, an, <HH> - but, <F> <E> you </E> offered </F> to pick us up, <X1> straight after the match,
<Ir3B> yes,
```
to the understanding as long as S and H still remember what had been said before. In other words, only the *rheume* is realised verbally, i.e. new information is provided about something that is already known (*theme*): the understanding of elliptical Offers is based on the mere mentioning of *what* is being Offered (commodity, service, price). This type of ellipsis, which does not only occur in question – answer sequences, is called *analepsis* by some researchers (e.g. SCHWITALLA 2003: 101-106).

Ex. 181. (Ir1, T170-T172)

<Ir1A> [...] <CLICK> - okay, and, you, how much are the, two dinners?
- -
<Ir1B> thirty a head,

Ex. 182. (Ir1, T196-T198)

<Ir1A> so you're charging me, how much for the room?
- -
<Ir1B> one fifteen for the room,

The elliptical Offers in Ex. 181 and 182 can be read as minimal versions of *The two dinners are 30 Euro a head and I'm charging you one 115 Euro for the room.* The question words "how much" relate to the information the questioner is looking for so that the questionee simply needs to fill this semantic gap with a *contextual rejoinder* (cf. WILSON 2000: 48); everything else is recoverable from the linguistic context and therefore not obligatory. Indeed, if S would repeat each element already mentioned before in order to produce a 'grammatically well-formed' sentence, he would violate one of Grice's conversational maxims, the Maxim of Quantity, and in a way also the Maxim of Relevance, as solely the new piece(s) of information which the questioner is asking for are truly relevant (GRICE 1975: 45-46). By making use of ellipsis, S avoids redundancy (cf. DCE 1995: 1099).

The second case of elliptical Offer occurrence is when it is placed within a co-ordinate or subordinate structure which is syntactically dependent on another Offer or other utterance (Ex. 183). These forms of (mostly) *intrasentential ellipsis* are called *subordination reduction* and *co-ordination reduction*, respectively (cf. WILSON 2000: 41-44, 85-103).

Ex. 183. (Ir1, T276)

<Ir1B> <X1>, we sell them a buffet, and a trip to wicklow. an bring them back in <§B> for dinner. </§B>

In Ex. 183, three Offers are enumerated: the first Offer is "we sell them a buffet", the second Offer "[we sell them] a trip to Wicklow", and the third one "[we] bring them back in for dinner" (cf. App. 4 for coding criteria for Offers).

207 WILSON (2000: 85) points out that intersentential co-ordination reduction also exists but is not as common as intrasentential co-ordination reduction.
Ex. 184 is an example for the third case of elliptical Offers, although one might argue that this is merely an 'ellipsis' from the transcriber's standpoint and not necessarily from the interlocutor's perspective: the Offer contains unintelligible passage(s), but the co-text and extralinguistic context nevertheless enable the transcriber to understand the utterance (i.e. the rheme is still understandable). That H also understands it as an Offer is obvious from his reaction (e.g. he acknowledges the Offer with "yeah" in T47, which signals that his question from T45 has been satisfactorily answered).

Ex. 184. (Ir2, T45- T47)

<Ir2A> an your rack rate is, <E> what, </E> probably more like you know a hundred an twenty, a hundred an thirty, that kind o thing is it or <§A> even higher, </§A> 
<Ir2B> <§A> <X4> </§A> <?> come to </?> a hundred an twenty-five, 
<Ir2A> yeah,

Elliptical Offers seem to be typical of business negotiations, although they also occur in everyday conversations (cf. SCHNEIDER 2003: 182, who quotes hospitable offers such as Cigarette?, Tea?, Cheese sandwich?). A potential explanation for the relatively frequent occurrence of elliptical Offers in business negotiations is that in this type of speech event very many Offers occur so that some (especially price Offers: 28.33%, cf. Table 31 in App. 8) are reduced to their minimally required elements for ease of speaking.

All ellipsis types described in this Section are ellipses where the gaps can be filled by means of the linguistic context, i.e. a "grammatical connection' constitutes a cohesive tie between a structural gap and some adjacent text" (WILSON 2000: 38, referring to GUNTER 1963: 143). According to WILSON's (2000: 18) working definition of ellipsis, this constitutes only one of three cases of ellipsis, the second being "structural gaps that can be related to […] other potential syntactic forms", and the last one is where those gaps are related to "the situational context". This situational context, the very nature of the speech event, however, is what further reduces the danger of misunderstanding an elliptical Offer: the negotiation encounter is "formally and physically defined" (WAGNER 1995: 9), and Offers are expected to occur.

### 4.2.4 Frequency distributions

The three most prevalent Offer realisation strategies in the present corpus are Action or State Reference, Possibility Statement, and Confirmatory or Compliance Signal. Together, they make up 83.58% of all strategies. Action or State Reference is by far the most preferred strategy: more than half of all Offers belong to this strategy type, i.e. 273 out of 536 (cf. Figure 10 and App. 8, Table 32). A possible explanation for the high percentage is that it is a very heterogeneous category. On the other hand, the result corresponds to BARRON'S (2005: 155) observation in her Irish English student data, where the participants used strategies implying predication of a future act as a convention of means (among them State future act of speaker, which comes close to my Action or State Reference strategy) for 33.80% of all initial offers (cf. Section 2.2.4). When compared to her English English data (only 4.30%), this seems to be a
characteristic feature of Irish English. The second most frequently employed realisation strategy in my data is the Possibility Statement with 19.78% (106). Again, this echoes BARRON’s (2005: 158) results: her State ability strategy makes up 24.80% of all initial offers, which makes it the most frequently used individual strategy in her data.208 As has been pointed out in Section 4.2.2, Confirmatory or Compliance Signals differ from the seven main strategies in that they are interactionally marked, whereas the main strategies may occur in different interactional slots (cf. Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.4). The high proportion of Confirmatory or Compliance Signals of 12.87% (69) of all Offers may be due to their intrinsic ambiguity and multifunctionality. The remaining strategies share 16.42% and range between five and two percent each: Preference Statement (5.04%, i.e. 27), Proposal Formula (3.54%, i.e. 19), Mood Derivable and Obligation Statement (each 2.80%, i.e. 15), and Willingness Statement (2.24%, i.e. 12).

![Relative frequency distribution of Offer realisation strategies (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker, n = 536)](image)

The relative frequency distribution suggests that the eight Irish English participants of the present study prefer strategies placed in the middle of the directness continuum, avoiding those which are very direct or very indirect.

By and large, the strategies are distributed similarly across the two roles, tour operator/buyer and hotel manager/seller (cf. Table 11). The only exceptions in terms of higher relative frequency concern strategies #1 and #5: The buyers make 3.17 times

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208 Note that not all the Offer utterances counted as Possibility Statement in my study would necessarily fall into BARRON’s State ability strategy. Some of these utterances would fall into her State permission and Question ability strategies.
as many Mood Derivables as the sellers, and the sellers make 2.21 times more Preference Statements than the buyers. There is no apparent explanation for this behaviour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tour operator</th>
<th>Hotel manager</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mood Derivable</td>
<td>6.03% (7)</td>
<td>1.90% (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willingness Statement</td>
<td>2.59% (3)</td>
<td>2.14% (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action or State Reference</td>
<td>43.97% (51)</td>
<td>52.86% (222)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility Statement</td>
<td>22.41% (26)</td>
<td>19.05% (80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preference Statement</td>
<td>2.59% (3)</td>
<td>5.71% (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposal Formula</td>
<td>4.31% (5)</td>
<td>3.33% (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligation Statement</td>
<td>3.45% (4)</td>
<td>2.62% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmatory or Compliance Signal</td>
<td>14.66% (17)</td>
<td>12.38% (52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∑</td>
<td>100.00% (n = 116)</td>
<td>100.00% (n = 420)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Relative frequency distribution of Offer realisation strategies according to speaker (Ir1-Ir4)

It seems that the different topics tend to correlate with specific realisation strategies, but the present corpus does not allow any statistical tests which could corroborate this (cf. Section 3.3.7). However, it is worth noting that for some topics only a limited number of different strategies are chosen, namely Price Figure, Change in Price, and Relationship-Building (cf. Tables 33 and 34 in App. 8 for the relationship between Offer topics and realisation strategies). Regarding the latter two, this may be due to the fact that, of these topic groups, only a total of 13 and of six out of 539 Offer topics occur in the data, respectively; the range of different strategies can hence not be expected to be as wide as in the other topic groups. Commodity or Service and Procedural Action are the only topic groups for which the speakers make use of all eight Offer realisation strategies. Some strategies seem to be perfectly suitable – at least in Irish English – to express a certain Offer topic type, but not others, whereas for other Offer topic types different relationships with realisation strategies exist.
4.3 External modification

Moving to the next level of the discourse model (cf. Figure 6 in Chapter 4), Offers are looked upon as filling a particular interactional move slot (cf. Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.4 for more details). Section 4.3 deals with the supportive moves which may accompany, and thus strengthen or weaken, the Offer head move. Based upon what is said about external modification in Section 2.2.5, five categories of external modifiers and their frequencies of occurrence are described: Grounders, Expanders, Disarmers, Explicit Conditions, and Excluders. The first three are taken from EDMONDSON (1981: 122-129) and Explicit Conditions from BARRON (2005: 161-163). The new category Excluder shares similarities with BILBOW's category Expression of Reservations (2002). External modifiers can be positioned before, after, or in the middle of the head act.

The notion of external modification adopted in the present study is broader than the one found in the literature. It goes beyond EDMONDSON's (1981) notion of anticipatory strategy in that S may not only predict a certain move by H in response to S's head move, but may respond to an actual move by H. I also advocate a less strict separation between head move and supportive move in order to allow a more flexible approach that acknowledges that utterances or utterance parts have multiple functions (cf. App. 4 for specific coding criteria). Moreover, a supportive move may comprise longer stretches of talk extending over many turns.

![Figure 11: Average number of external modifier types per Offer (Ir1-Ir4)](image)

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209 Cf. App. 4.4 for specific coding criteria for external modifiers.
Across the four negotiations, 296 external modifiers are counted, i.e. on average, there are 0.5522 modifiers per Offer (independent of speaker, cf. Figure 11). Counting 296 external modifiers which accompany an Offer does not mean that 296 of the 536 Offers in total are modified once, nor that 240 are not modified at all. Some Offers are accompanied by more than one external modifier so that the overall number of unmodified Offers is larger than 240. A combination of different modifier types is also possible. Moreover, it is not necessarily clear which Offer utterance a supportive move exactly refers to; this applies particularly to multiple Offer turns.

Of the 296 external modifiers, 80.07% (237) are made by the hotel managers and 19.93% (59) by the tour operators, which is not surprising considering the absolute Offer distribution across the four negotiations (420 vs. 116). While the average number of Grounders and Expanders per Offer made by the hotel managers is higher than that of the tour operators, it is the other way round with Excluders and Explicit Conditions. As far as Disarmers are concerned, the average number per Offer is roughly the same for hotel managers and tour operators. It must be taken into account that the absolute number of Disarmers, Excluders, and Explicit Conditions is very small. Overall, the hotel managers/sellers make slightly more external modifiers per Offer on average than the tour operators/buyers (cf. Figure 11 and Tables 11-13 in App. 8).

### 4.3.1 Grounder

By means of a Grounder S explains, justifies or defends his current move. Grounders contain one or several reasons why the Offer is as it is (e.g. not higher and not lower), which at times serves to make the Offer more attractive.

In Ex. 185, the hotel manager explains why there is the need to "check on availability" (procedural Offer): at the weekend of the soccer match there is another big event in Dublin, the U2 concert, so hotel rooms are likely to be scarce ("as you know it's an <E> extremely busy </E> weekend in Dublin at the moment, we've got the <X3> U2 concert"). Later, in T46, the procedural Offer plus its accompanying Grounder turn out to be arguments for a relatively high rate for a double room. The example also shows that Grounders in mid-position are likewise possible (embedding). The price Offer in T46 is interrupted ("our current rate") to insert the supportive move which takes up the earlier scarcity argument (which, by the way, is a popular marketing strategy) again: "given the demand, and there's not a bedroom to be had in the city, given the demand of the moment". After that, the Offer is restarted again ("our rates are 400 Euros for two nights for a double room").

Ex. 185. (Ir3, T16, T45-T46)

<Ir3B> yeah, <H> ehm, well, actually, - - eh, let me check, on availability, as you know it's a, - - an <E> extremely busy <E> weekend </E> and eh, </?> in dublin at the moment, we've <§B> got the <X3>, the u 2 concert, </§B> [...]
<Ir3A> what ehm, what are the <E> rates </E> for that?
<Ir3B> eh:, well, ehm, our <E> current </E> rate, given, the demand, and there's not a, there's not a bedroom to be had in the eh, in the city, <H> <CLICK> eh, given, the demand, of the
moment, eh, our, our rates are ehm, four hundred euros, for, <E> two </E> nights, eh, <H> eh, for a double room,

Ex. 186. (Ir4, T702-T710)

<i4rA> <§B> we'll put a, a cutoff date an, </§B> eh, in about, eh, probably five days time because </§A> usually, </§A>
<i4rB> <§A> yeah, </§A>
<i4rA> because they're anxious now to,
<i4rB> yeah, okay,
<i4rA> to know in terms of, eh, <E> when </E> they're actually,
<i4rB> okay,
<i4rA> eh, you know what is the, the arrangements, eh, up in dublin for that weekend, so, <H> eh, an, and that, so </X3>, in about five days time, you know, <§A> <X2> </§A>
<i4rB> <§A> yeah, </§A>
<i4rA> sign off in terms of, <H> that [...]

Ex. 187. (Ir1, T80)

<i1rA> [...] what we'd like to try an do is is s to come up with a <E> long-term </E> arrangement, <§> cos we'll be coming back to dublin, [...] 

BARRON (2005: 164) points out that Grounders count as a politeness strategy which addresses H's positive face wants. In the present corpus, 116 out of the 296 supportive moves are Grounders, which amounts to 39.19% (cf. Table 38 in App. 8). There are hence 0.2164 Grounders per Offer on average (cf. Figure 11; Table 35 in App. 8). Offers and Grounders are often linked via conjunctions expressing a causal relationship such as because/cos, since, or as (Ex. 186, Ex. 187).

4.3.2 Expander

The most frequent external modifier is the Expander (157 out of 296, i.e. 53.04%, cf. Table 38 in App. 8), which provides a semantic explication of or additional information on the Offer (cf. DEPPERMANN 2006: 14). On average, one Offer is accompanied by 0.2929 Expanders (cf. Figure 11; Table 35 in App. 8). In Ex. 188, the hotel manager adds as further information to his Offer of organising a licence that this is a "late licence" which leaves the bar open until about "two or three in the morning". In Ex. 189, the tour operator specifies his price Offer after a silence of more than a second by saying "per room".

Ex. 188. (Ir2, T418)

<i2rB> [...] - - eh:m, i'll get the <E> licence, </E> - - sorted for the friday night, a late licence, - <P> <?> to, </?> two or three in the mornin, whatever, whatever is, <1.2> [...] 

Ex. 189. (Ir3, T78)

<i3rA> <§A> <F> okay, </§A> well i suppose based, </F> - based on the ehm, - - <CLICK> - - <E> based </E> on, the <?> ac=, </?> the additional cost of, of getting from the hotel, into town, ehm, and back again, - - i <E> couldn't </E> really pay anything, anything more than, - say three sixty, for the weekend, <1.1> per room,
CHAPTER 4: Offers in business negotiations: Results and discussion
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Ex. 190. (Ir2, T199-T214)

<Ir2A> an, if you're offering, a meal, in the hotel on the friday
night an putting on some entertainment, - again, <1.9> costwise,
what are you talking about,
<Ir2B> like,
<Ir2A> for the,
<Ir2B> what <E>x</E> i </E> would do, <2.1> ehm, <1.4> it'd usually be
four hundred euros, for a band, they're pretty good bands, -
ehm, kind of a pr= ehm, - -

<Ir2A> <THROAT>
<Ir2B> you, they'd, they'd be talkin about maybe four hundred
four fifty, ehm, i'll be talking about maybe throwin <E> that
<</E> in, - - if we could,
<Ir2A> a freebie,
<Ir2B> a freebie yeah, <§B> tryin, </§B>
<Ir2A> <§B> okay, </§B>
<Ir2B> try an keep the lads around,
- -
<Ir2A> on the fridays night,
<Ir2B> on the fridays night. - ehm,

The prices the hotel manager quotes in Ex. 190 for the band as evening entertainment
are clearly Offers. However, in the first Offer he makes clear that this is open to dis-
cussion ("it'd usually be 400 Euros for a band", T202), and in the second that it is not
his own Offer but what the band itself demands ("they'd be talking about maybe 400,
450", T207). Referring to a third party or rival's Offer is recommended by LAX &
SEBENIUS (2004a: 11), who call it anchoring with a flexible (but extreme) offer. An
anchor in a negotiation is the benchmark against which all following Offers, de-
mands, etc. are measured (cf. Sections 2.1.1 and 4.5.1.1). Here, it is flexible because
it leaves room for further concessions in the sense that the actual price can be any-
thing below the third party's or rival's Offer.210 In the present study, this strategy is
coded as the supportive move Expander. In the current example, the hotel manager
eventually Offers the service (band) for free. Interestingly, the first price quote for
the band that Ir2B made in T77 is considerably lower ("the band would usually cost,
maybe 354 Euros to put on"), which Ir2A does not seem to notice.211 Ir2B might
raise the price on purpose, so his concession to Offer the band as a "freebie" sounds
even greater. He succeeds in portraying himself as generous, although his Offer is
highly hedged by the word "maybe", the expression "I'll be talking about" and the

210 Another flexible anchor type can be set by quoting a price range instead of an exact price figure
(cf. LAX & SEBENIUS 2004a: 11).
211 His willingness to waive the cost for the band is not yet explicit at this stage. Rather, he refers to
the possibility of including the cost in an overall package price ("we'll say <X2> it in the overall up",
T85).
fact that it is a contingent Offer ("if we could try and keep the lads around", T207-T211).

Ex. 191. (Irl, T157)

($) we (?) can ($>) offer you ($) dinner, - - at say, we'd ($) normally ($) charge thirty euros but we could do a deal for twenty?

A tactic very similar to the one displayed in Ex. 190 can be found in the other negotiations too (e.g. Ex. 191), particularly when the hotel manager refers to his rack rates or other standard service prices (cf. COLLIS 20 March 1992): we usually do it for X Euro, followed by concessions such as but for you we could do it for Y Euro.

Expanders and Grounders help to explain multiple Offer turns better. Very often, S begins his turn with a very general Offer, which serves as a kind of introductory Offer, which is then followed by more specific 'sub'-Offers. In Ex. 192 for instance, the first Offer is a procedural Offer ("I can give you a firm number at this stage"). The second Offer counts as a commodity or service Offer ("that we would take the 160 rooms"). As it directly relates to the first one, one may argue that it functions as an Expander. Similarly, in Ex. 193, S first generally states that "there's a number of things" he can do, only to go on saying what exactly he can do: "I mean we can do full sit-down dinner in the dining room" (here we have two commodity or service Offers) (also cf. Ex. 191).

Ex. 192. (Irl, T41)

($) i can give you a firm numbers at this stage, that we would take, eh, a hundred and, the hundred and ($) sixty rooms. ($)

Ex. 193. (Irl, T465-T71)

($) yeah, eh we can, we can, i mean we can, we, there's a number o things we can do i mean we ($) can, ($) ($)($)Yeah, ($)

($) we can do full,

($) we can, yeah,

($) sit-down dinner in ($) the ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($) ($)($)
Apart from Expander-Offers, Offers may also be accompanied by Grounder-Offers. In Ex. 194, the Offer "so we can show them what we have <?> up <?>" (T528-T532) is modified by a pre-positioned Grounder which is an Offers itself. It explains why it is possible to show the football match on TV\textsuperscript{212}, no matter what time it will be broadcast ("but I mean we can record stuff or whatever"). The Grounder-Offer "effectively we have <E> two </E> separate big screens in kind of two different sides of the hotel" (T532-T534) provides the reason for making the Offer that "all the people [i.e. most probably the soccer fans] can go to one place" (T538), which in turn provides the opportunity to keep the soccer fans together, allowing the other hotel guests to watch TV undisturbed.

In the present negotiation corpus, 22.95\% (123 out of 536) of all Offers are accompanied by either a Grounder or an Expander which simultaneously function as Offers or as part of Offers themselves. Syntactically, Offers and Expander-Offers or Grounder-Offers are often connected via subordination (Ex. 192, Ex. 194).

### 4.3.3 Disarmer

Five Offers out of 536 are accompanied by a Disarmer; the relation between Offer and Disarmer is therefore 1 : 0.0093 (cf. Figure 11; Table 35 in App. 8). The proportion of Disarmers in relation to all external modifiers is 1.69\% (cf. Table 38 in App. 8). By means of a Disarmer S forewarns the Offeree of what he is going to say (negative politeness strategy). He plays down a possible offence or other negative feeling which he expects the other to have upon hearing the Offer.

In Ex. 195, the hotel manager expects the tour operator to consider the normal room rate of 150 Euro per person per night as too high, so he initiates the Offer via a Disarmer, part of which is a non-verbal cue, namely laughter: "<LAUGH> I know i probably shock you".

Ex. 195. (Ir4, T133-T140)

\begin{quote}
\begin{verbatim}
<Ir4B> eh:m, <H> you know, <LA> the, the, <LAUGH> i know i probably shock you but the normal rate we have, is twice that, <LA> you know, <Ir4A> yeah, <Ir4B> it's about a hundred and fifty, <E> per person, </E> </§B> <E> per </E> </§B> <Ir4A> <§B>
yeah, </§B>
\end{verbatim}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{212} The football match is a match of the fifth round of the FAI (i.e. Football Association of Ireland) cup, as the hotel manager notes in T520. This piece of information was not provided by the simulation briefs (cf. App. 2.3) but was invented by the participant in the course of the negotiation simulation.
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Ex. 196. (Ir4, T226-T238)

The hotel manager in Ex. 196 is afraid that the tour operator may feel offended if he Offers him transportation, because organising transport is one of the core businesses of the Munster Trips representative. He assumes that his Offer to transport the soccer fans to the match and back implies a potential threat to the tour operator's positive professional face, so he disarms the interlocutor by acknowledging that the other is "in the travel business" himself and that he may have his "own contacts" in Dublin. Seemingly, the hotel manager does not want to impinge on the tour operator's want for freedom of action, but he nevertheless makes the transport Offer: "we have a couple of people who we normally use" (T234, T236). The Offer is then further modified by two Grounders. The first provides a reason why he collaborates with a transport company ("because we're out of town", T234), and the other one ("which are very reliable", T236-T238) serves to point out the good quality of the service.

4.3.4 Explicit Condition

Negotiators sometimes make the underlying condition of Offers explicit (cf. Section 2.2.1), as in Ex. 197 ("if you wanna do that") and Ex. 198 ("if the lads wanted to"), by asking the interlocutors directly if they (or the people they represent, here: the soccer fans) are interested in having the action carried out at all.

Ex. 197. (Ir4, T226)
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Ex. 198. (Ir2, T57)

<Ir2B> [...] there is a new, multimedia park openin up in the in the general area, - - <P> ehm, you know you have cinemas an that kind o thing so if the lads wanted to, </P> [...] 

These supportive moves are called Explicit Conditions. Only four of these precede or follow an Offer in the present corpus so that on average, one Offer is supported by 0.0075 Explicit Conditions (cf. Figure 11; Table 35 in App. 8). In relation to the other modifier types, Explicit Conditions only make up 1.35% (cf. Table 38 in App. 8). They seem to be more characteristic of the hospitable offers, offers of assistance, or gift offerings typically found in everyday conversation (cf. BARRON 2005: 161-163). They tend to weaken the directive force of the Offer by underlining its conditionality, which is why Barron regards them as a negative politeness strategy.

BARRON states that Explicit Conditions only cooccur with execution strategies (cf. Table 6 in Section 2.2.4). This is in line with the findings of the present study. Here, Explicit Conditions accompany Offers of the following strategies: Action or State Reference (Ex. 198), Possibility Statement (Ex. 197, Ex. 199), and Willingness Statement (Ex. 200).

Ex. 199. (Ir4, T266-T275)

<Ir4B> we can get you in very early in the day, <Ir4A> okay, <Ir4B> eh:, an pick you up, a few hours <§B> after the match, </§B> <Ir4A> whatever, kind o, <§B> <X3> <§> suits </§> <§B> whatever ki=, <§B> ki, wha=, </§B> <Ir4B> whatever kind o suits you really, <§B> <§A> yeah, </§A> that night,

Ex. 200. (Ir4, T630-T622)

<Ir4A> <§B> eh:, and </§B> you know, like we would be in favour particularly after the last incident that, <HH> you know, just, you know, if you want, not to have the porter service, or, the, the hotel <§> residence </§> that night, you know, <§A> <§> bar </§> </§A> 

<Ir4B> <§A> yeah, </§A> 
<Ir4A> that night,

213 The external modifier Explicit Condition is not to be confused with the contingency aspect of Offers discussed in Section 4.1.4. Strictly speaking, the conditions in contingent Offers are also supportive moves. However, because of their very specific meaning to negotiations (which is different from the other supportive moves discussed in the present section), they are dealt with separately.
4.3.5 Excluder

The Excluder is another external modifier which reduces the illocutionary force of the Offer, this time its commissive force. It occurs 14 times in the present corpus and makes up 4.73% of all modifiers (cf. Table 38 in App. 8). On average, there are 0.0261 Excluders per Offer (cf. Figure 11; Table 35 in App. 8).

Excluders restrict the Offer in a certain way, they express reservations the Offeree may have with regards to the Offer, or they make clear that the Offer describes the most S is willing to give or the least he is willing to accept. In Ex. 201, for instance, the tour operator modifies his counter-price Offer of 190 Euro for a double room per night by stating that it is his bottom line ("but absolutely no more than that I think"). In Ex. 202, the hotel manager finally complies with the tour operator's price suggestion of 190 Euro (made in T117 and repeated several times later), but says that breakfast has to be paid extra. By contrast, the transportation service is included in the price. Ir3B adds that this concession (190 Euro for accommodation and transport) is his absolute bottom line (reservation price): "and I will think, Fergus, that that is really as low as I can go".

Ex. 201. (Ir3, T117)

<Ir3A> [...] i mean if, if, if, if we could even do it for, for a hundred an, for a hundred an <E> ninety, </E> per room, <1.5> ehm, <1.2> we could consider it. <1.0> but, absolutely, no more than that i think.

Ex. 202. (Ir3, T199)

<Ir3B> how about, <1.1> meetin your price then of a <E> hundred </E> an ninety, - but without breakfast. <1.3> <L> and ehm, <1.5> without breakfast, and eh, we will provide the transportation. - - eh, an <E> 1 </E> will think, fergus, that that, - is, - - <E> really, </E> as <E> low </E> as i can go. </L>

Ex. 203. (Ir4, T55-T67)

<Ir4A> [...] <H> eh, i, i know it's a big, it's a big, it's a <E> really </E> weekend, ehm, - in dublin, - ehm, ehm, u 2 are playing, <Ir4B> <P> yeah, </P> <Ir4A> <§B> yeah, </§B> <Ir4B> eh, as well, and, eh, a lot of the <X3> are quite packed, an indeed i we have some, you know, - we have quite a number of rooms already <§B> gone </§B> actually, <§B> eh, </§B> <Ir4A> <§B> yeah, </§B> <Ir4B> with, with people going to the country, who just couldn't get, <§B> ehm, </§B> <Ir4A> <§B> yeah, </§B> <Ir4B> couldn't get rooms in, <§B> eh, </§B> <Ir4A> <§B> yeah, </§B> <Ir4B> eh, in city centre, <X1> city centre hotels so we have kind of have a bit of an overflow, <Ir4A> yeah,

214 The Offer "we could consider it", which is contingent upon the condition of getting the hotel rooms for 190 Euro per night, here means to consider closing the current deal and doing further business in the future. Also cf. the discussion of this example in Section 4.1.4.
Before and after making the two procedural Offers in T65-T67 in Ex. 203 ("we're delighted to have the business you know" and "we're right here to have the business you know"), the tour operator elaborates on the reservations he has about actually doing business with Munster Trips: he is concerned that he might not be able to accommodate all the soccer fans in his hotel because he already has quite a number of guests, and hotel space is very limited in Dublin during this weekend due to the U2 concert. However, he is confident that everything will turn out fine, as he does not expect all the U2 fans who have reserved rooms at his hotel to confirm their bookings.

As it turned out during the process of analysing Offer sequences, supportive moves are not necessarily realised in close proximity to the head moves they are supporting. It is therefore worthwhile to expand the notion of supportive moves to include longer stretches of talk. I agree with Aijmer (1996: 170) when she says that supportive moves "can have considerable length and are only loosely attached to the stem". They can in fact expand into a lengthy pre-responding exchange or post-exchange, for instance when the interlocutor first responds to the supportive move rather than to the Offer itself. Obviously, supporting elements can be found not only on the level of move but also on the levels of exchange and sequence. It also turned out that supportive moves in negotiations have great argumentative potential. This is explored further in Section 4.5.1.2.
4.4 Interactional structure of Offer sequences

The aim of Section 4.4 is to describe characteristic patterns of Offer exchanges and sequences in business negotiations (cf. Figure 6 in Chapter 4). Of particular interest to the present study is if and how an Offer is triggered by the preceding linguistic context, and how and when the interlocutor reacts to it – in other words, which interactional slot Offers take, and which elements follow them.

If Offers are not triggered by the preceding linguistic context, they are non-elicited Offers; if they are, they are elicited Offers. Elicited Offers are prompted by a Request for Offer, of which three different types are distinguished in the present study (cf. Section 4.4.1). Accordingly, there are three types of elicited Offers, which are described, along with non-elicited Offers, in Section 4.4.2. Section 4.4.3 deals with what follows the Offer utterances (called continuation pattern). Unless the Offerer goes on talking directly after making the Offer, the continuation pattern is an Offer response, which may be delayed, i.e. it occurs shortly after the first continuation pattern type or even several turns later. Six major Offer responses are identified in the present data which are placed on a continuum between positive and negative reactions. In Section 4.4.4, which presents the overall patterning of Offer sequences, it is shown that Offers can take the interactional slots of Initiate, Re-Initiate, Contra, and Satisfy.

The present study defines exchange according to EDMONDSON (1981: 86) as the "minimal unit of social interaction" (cf. Section 2.2.6). Exchanges produce an outcome of some sort, which means that an exchange is only finished when a preceding move is accepted, or satisfied, by the other speaker. The exchange types presented by EDMONDSON (1981) and EDMONDSON & HOUSE (1981) are idealised structures. Exchange structures in natural spoken discourse can become very complex, which makes it rather difficult to describe them. Moreover, spoken discourse is characterised by false starts, repetitions, unfinished sentences, silences, and sudden topic changes. Exchanges do not always have clear-cut boundaries, and sometimes they are incomplete due to the lack of a Satisfy move (or of an equivalent non-verbal cue) at the end (cf. STUBBS 1983: 132). A speaker may leave an exchange incomplete on purpose, e.g. if he does not want to talk about a particular subject matter, or is not (yet) prepared to commit himself to something (for instance, to accepting an Offer) so that he changes the topic, just signals that he has heard the other speaker, or remains silent altogether. If an Offer is only met with a backchannelling token or with silence by the interlocutor, the person who has performed the Offer can either accept the other's non-commitment silently and go on talking about something different, or he can produce a second, possibly reformulated version of the initial Offer, which gives the other person a second chance to clearly accept or reject it (cf. DAVIDSON 1984: 103-107).

All in all, the discourse model found in EDMONDSON (1981) and EDMONDSON & HOUSE (1981) is not a sufficiently valuable analytical tool for achieving sound results on the exchange and sequence levels in the present study (cf. ZILLES 2003). Nevertheless, in order to be able to describe existing structures, EDMONDSON'S
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(1981) and EDMONDSON & HOUSE’s (1981) terminology for move types is adopted as a starting point. Especially as far as the response patterns following Offers are concerned, the move inventory needs to be modified to meet the needs of the investigation.

A problem connected to the notion of sequence is that of how to determine its exact beginning and ending. In the present study, a sequence consists of several exchanges belonging to one topic. However, topic is "a notion which […] is very difficult to pin down" (BROWN & YULE 1983: 68). The question is whether it is really necessary to determine the exact boundaries for analytical purposes at all. To regard a sequence as a vague entity on a level between exchange and phase rather reflects the reality that, in spoken discourse, a clear separation between individual topics (and hence sequences) is not always possible.

In the present study, a phase is regarded as the largest component of a speech event (HYMES 1968). Phases are made up of several sequences.215 I adopt the definition of phase suggested by SPIEGEL & SPRANZ-FOGASY (2001).216 Focusing on conversation analytic categories, they define phases as


[ […] complex units within conversations […] which constitute essential action or a group of topics, should imply a logical interaction order and are differentiated internally. Depending on the type of verbal exchange, there are specific procedural forms of conversation and hence specific phases of a conversation. (translation mine)]

I now come to the different types of Requests for Offer.

4.4.1 Requests for Offer

Within speech act theory, requests have been defined as directive acts (cf. Searle 1976: 11) or impositive acts (cf. Leech 1983: 106). Searle’s conditions for the successful performance of the speech act request are illustrated in Table 12.

215 Note that this notion of phase differs from that by EDMONDSON (1981: 80, 169). In his work, phases are made up of several exchanges (cf. Figure 4 in Section 2.2.6). However, he concedes that “it might be necessary in fact to introduce a further rank in interactional structure between the Exchange and the Phase, which one might wish to call Transaction.” (EDMONDSON 1981: 190).

216 A comprehensive overview of the terminology relating to the concept of phase and of various research approaches to it is presented by the same authors (SPIEGEL & SPRANZ-FOGASY 2001: 1241-1247). In negotiation literature, there are also other labels for phase, viz. stage, episode (NEU 1985: 4, 7), or step (FLEMING 1997: v).
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Propositional content condition</th>
<th>Future act A of H.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory conditions</td>
<td>1. H is able to do A. S believes H is able to do A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. It is not obvious to both S and H that H will do A in the normal course of events of his own accord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sincerity condition</td>
<td>S wants H to do A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essential condition</td>
<td>Counts as an attempt to get H to do A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: SEARLE’s (1969: 66) conditions for the successful performance of the speech act request

In requests S tries to get H to do A; A is of benefit to S and at the cost of H (cf. LEECH 1983: 107). Requests are therefore considered as inherently face-threatening acts, i.e. threatening to the addressee's negative-face wants (cf. BROWN & LEVINSON 1987: 65-66), so they can be expected to be frequently redressed by means of negative politeness strategies (e.g. indirect realisation strategies, internal and external mitigation, inclusive we perspective).

In analogy to the broad definition of Offer in the present study, the definition of request (henceforth also capitalised: Request) is also broad, including related speech actions such as suggesting, advising, asking, demanding, wishing, expressing need or desire, claiming, appealing, calling, inquiring, warning, threatening, etc. Here, the main aspect of Requests is that S tries to get H perform a verbal act: S tries to elicit a commitment from H to some future action.

In total, 309 complete Request for Offer utterances are counted in the present corpus. The order of the four negotiations according to the absolute number of Request utterances does not quite correspond to their order in terms of length (number of turns and time) (cf. Section 3.3.6, also for a definition of turn as used in the present study): Ir2 contains seven more Requests than Ir1 although the negotiation is slightly shorter. That there is virtually no difference between Ir3 and Ir4 is in accordance with their length in terms of minutes (both approx. 23 minutes, cf. Section 3.3.6).

Ir1 stands out with regard to the relative number of Requests. Considerably more Requests are made per minute (2.98) than in the other negotiations, especially in comparison with Ir3 (1.82) and Ir4 (1.76), but also in relation to Ir2 (2.26) (cf. Table 41 in App. 8). Interestingly, the negotiators in Ir4 make the most Offers/minute (cf. Section 4.1.1) but the least Requests/minute compared to the other negotiations.

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217 Cf. BILBOW (2002: 292): "The following examples illustrate the wide range of speech acts that initiate commissive speech acts in the corpus. The range includes requests, statements of need, suggestions, plans, queries and offers (and combinations of these). It should be noted however that, just as with commissives, initiating speech acts also defy clear categorization." It is important to note that the example he provides for an offer functioning as an initiating speech act is a contingent offer. In the present study, the condition of a contingent Offer is regarded as a Request.

218 The Request/turn ratio yields again different results (cf. Table 40 in App. 8) for the same reasons as described in connection with the Offer/turn ratio (cf. Section 4.1.1).
As could be expected on the basis of the Offer distribution (cf. Section 4.1.1), the tour operators make more Requests for Offers than the hotel managers (77.35% vs. 22.65% across the four negotiations) (cf. Table 39 in App. 8). By far the greatest difference between the two is in Ir1 (6.65 times as many Requests), followed by Ir2 (3 times as many), then by Ir3 (1.93 as many) and Ir4 (1.8 times as many) (cf. Figure 12; Table 39 in App. 8). It is Ir1A who is responsible for the large absolute and relative number of Requests in Ir1. His Request per minute rate (2.59) is significantly above average in comparison with the other tour operators (Ir2A: 1.69, Ir3A: 1.20, Ir4A: 1.13 Requests/minute; cf. Table 41 in App. 8). By contrast, Ir1B’s rate (0.39) is clearly below average compared to the other hotel managers (Ir2: 0.56, Ir3: 0.62, Ir4: 0.63 Requests/minute). The importance of Offers vs. Requests for Offer in negotiations is further discussed in Section 4.5.1.1.

The present data suggests that three different types of Requests for Offer should be differentiated. Their labels are: Open Request for Offer (OR), Specific Request for Offer (SR), and Request for Confirmation of previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (RCCC). Furthermore, for SRs, ten different realisation strategies have been identified (cf. App. 6 for a list of all Request utterances with the codings speaker, Request type, SR realisation strategy).

### 4.4.1.1 Open Requests for Offer (OR)

In an Open Request for Offer, S asks for some good/service/price etc. (X) which he does not specify. Although, for this reason, ORs can be rather vague and indirect with regard to the Offer Requested, the general type of Requested commissive verbal good is clear, e.g. whether it is a good, a service, or a price. Prototypically, the OR reads *What can you commit yourself to?* ORs have an interrogative sentence structure
typically beginning with the interrogative pronoun *What...*, or other question words, such as *How...*, *When...*.

Ex. 204. (Ir2, T30)

<Ir2A> but eh:::m, <R> i just wanted to see what prices you're you were talking about if we were looking for a, </R> - - let's say hundred an four people,

Ex. 205. (Ir3, T4)

<Ir3A> [...] what, what's your, what's the best deal you can do for me.

Ex. 206. (Ir3, T77)

<Ir3B> what sort of, what, what sort of <E> offer </E> i mean, just a starting-point on your pricing,

Ex. 207. (Ir2, T312)

<Ir2A> so i could increase a <E> lot </E> more than a hundred, so what's your, <HH> ho=, how cou=, how low can you go,

In Ex. 204, for instance, Ir2A is asking Ir2B to make a price Offer for hotel accommodation for a group of 104 people. While in Ex. 205 the tour operator asks for "the best deal" regarding the price for accommodation in the Grand Canal Hotel that the hotel manager can do for him, it is the hotel manager in Ex. 206 who tries to find out about the tour operator's benchmark. In Ex. 207, Ir2A wants to know what the lowest price is that Ir2B can quote: the OR "how low can you go" is a self-initiated reformulation; initially, Ir2A seems to have planned something like *what's your lowest price offer*.

Ex. 208. (Ir1, T96)

<Ir1B> [...] what about, - eh, - - general area damage, <1.0> bar, - - dining room, et cetera, how do we, how would we recover damage there, - - in that event.

Ex. 209. (Ir4, T699)

<Ir4B> <§A> yeah, </§A> when do you think you <?> will </?> have an indication because i mean i'll, <§B> i'll </§B> i, i, <?> obviously i hold </§B>

Ex. 204-207 are all price Offers. In fact, 51.16% (22 out of 43) of the ORs are Requests for price Offers. Ex. 208 and 209, however, demonstrate that S may also Request a service Offer (a commitment to a certain course of action in case of damage to the hotel's public areas) or a procedural Offer (a commitment to a certain point in time when the tour operator is ready to tell him exactly how many fans will come to the hotel).

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219 What leads up to the OR in Ex. 206 is discussed in Section 4.4.3.6 (Ex. 306).
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Ex. 210.  (Ir1, T423)

<Ir1A> mh okay, <3.1> yeah we're going to lose out now on the dinner, how many dinners are we reckonin we had? ehm, we were getting how much off the dinner? how much are you giving me off the dinner?
<Ir1B> you're getting te=, you're making ten off the dinner an i was getting twenty,

ORs are suitable to elicit a first Offer of a specific topic category from the other party (especially the first price Offer), but this is not always the case, as Ex. 210 illustrates: the information Ir1A is Requesting here (his share of the dinner revenue) had been provided some time before (cf. T160-T193). Hence, there are two possible reasons for making a second Open Request: a) Ir1A had forgotten this piece of information in the meantime; b) Ir1A knows exactly what he had been Offered before but tries to get a better quote this time. While a) implies a pragmatic (in a non-linguistic sense of the word) reason, b) points to a strategic use of the OR.

Ex. 211.  (Ir1, T388)

<Ir1A> eh:, <1.3> anything we'd get out o them yeah, - how can we, best <?> form </?> that so we do get <?> them in </?> for dinner,

Ex. 211 is an example for a Request for a commodity or service Offer: Ir1A Requests a commitment by Ir1B to do his share in convincing the fans to have dinner in the hotel (Ir1A wants to receive a certain percentage of the margin).

Ex. 212.  (Ir1, T451-T465)

<Ir1A> <F> but how are we going to do on the <E> bar, </E> friday night, you reckon, </F>
[...]
<Ir1A> [...] what's that giving you on bar receipts,

In Ex. 212, Ir1A wants to know which margin Ir1B can Offer him on the bar receipts (T451). A few turns later (T465), he repeats the Request more indirectly by asking Ir1B about the revenues he expects on bar receipts (implying that he will ask for his 50% share as he had done previously, according to his overall business strategy).

Open Requests do not reveal a great deal about S's interests and objectives. Therefore, they are a way of eliciting information (i.e. interests and objectives) from the other side without disclosing much information about oneself. The issue of information exchange is further discussed in Section 4.5.1.2.

4.4.1.2 Specific Requests for Offer (SR)

In a Specific Request for Offer, the service/good/price etc. (X) which S asks for is specified in the Request. The underlying form of a SR is I want you to commit yourself to A.
Ex. 213. (Ir4, T449-T465)

\(<Ir4A> s=, \text{so, in terms of maybe just eh, some, food or, - can we, you know, let's say, maybe a, something maybe f=, on a, saturday night maybe after the match } <\S A> \text{maybe, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4B> <\S A> \text{yeah, } <\S A> \text{yeah, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4A> \text{could you do a, a } <\S A> \text{deal } <\S A> \text{in terms of, - ehm, you know, } <\S A> \text{assuming let's say } <\S A> \text{that, } - <\H> <E> \text{eighty } <\S E> \text{of them, will be, for, for dinner or we } <\S A> \text{could } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4B> <\S A> \text{but, } <\S A> <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4A> \text{maybe a=, arrange a formal sort of thing for them, } <\H> <\S A> \text{that this is part of the itinerary that there'll be, food back in the hotel on } <\S A> \text{the, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4B> <\S A> \text{yeah, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4A> \text{the saturday evening, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4B> \text{yeah, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4A> \text{eh, an, an then, an then there's the bar, o=, open until, - you know, whatever time you, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4B> \text{yeah, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4A> \text{you know, whatever the licensing laws are, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4B> \text{yeah, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4A> \text{these, } <\S A> \text{days, } <\S A> \text{days, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4B> <\S A> \text{yeah, } <\S A> \text{yeah, } <\S B> \text{yeah, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir4A> <\S B> \text{a:n, } <\S B>
\n\(<Ir4B> \text{yeah, eh we can, we can, i mean we can, we, there's a number o things we can do [...}

In Ex. 213, Ir4A makes four successive SRs, three about a dinner (which become increasingly more specific) and one about the hotel bar. He first Requests food to be provided after the soccer match on Saturday evening (T449), then a deal for a dinner for 80 soccer fans (T451), followed by a Request for a formal dinner as part of the fans' itinerary (T451-T455), and finally the tour operator Requests the bar to be available during regular opening times (T457-T461). Ir4B responds to these SRs by means of the Compliance Signal yeah (cf. Section 4.2.2) in T450, T454, T456, T458, T460, T462, and T465, before he announces his more comprehensive and specific Offer regarding the dinner in T465-T471 by the general Offer "I mean there's a number of things we can do" (T465).

Ex. 214. (Ir1, T283-T289)

\(<Ir1A> \text{eh:m, - and then, we have, what we'd hope you guys would do is, is, is, you could manage some maybe entertainment, before dinner, - so, we get them in an we have lunch } <X 1> \text{and they get settled in in the afternoon, - - the } <\S A> \text{eh, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir1B> <\S A> \text{we= } <\S A> \text{we } <E> \text{do, } <\S E> \text{we } <E> \text{do } <\S E> \text{have the, the eh, } <\S B> <X 4> \text{, well } <\S E> \text{we'd have } <\S E> \text{the } <\S E>
\n\(<Ir1A> <\S B> \text{X2} \text{x saving things like that, } <\S B>
\n\(<Ir1B> \text{leisure facilities, } <P> <X 2> \text{give them } <\S E> \text{free use of the leisure facilities. } <P>
\n\(<Ir1A> \text{right, } <\S B>
\n\(<Ir1B> \text{for the afternoon, } <\S A>
\n\(<Ir1A> \text{okay,
In T283 of Ex. 214, Ir1A specifically Requests Ir1B to Offer some entertainment for the soccer fans before dinner (“what we'd hope you guys would do is, you could manage some maybe entertainment before dinner”). In response, Ir1B makes a service Offer, namely that leisure facilities are available in the hotel (“we do have the, we'd have the leisure facilities”), which is followed in T286-T288 by a price Offer (“give them free use of the leisure facilities for the afternoon”). Although T283 is regarded as a SR for Offer (and not an OR), the (positive) answer leaves room for more specification in terms of which type of entertainment is Offered (in T285 Ir1A seems to give an example for the type of entertainment he has in mind: "sports and things like that")\textsuperscript{220}. Similar examples can be found in Ir1, T573, T576, and T603.

The ten realisation strategies for (Specific) Request utterances (head acts) used in this study is based upon the system developed by the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989c: 18), with some minor adaptations: some labels are slightly changed (Obligation Statement to Statement of Obligation, Suggestory Formula to Suggestory Utterance, Want Statement to Statement of Need or Want), one strategy (Hedged Performative) is subsumed under another one (Performative) and two new strategies are added (Statement of Expectation and Threat). The following list is arranged in order of increasing directness, as in the scheme of the CCSARP. It is further distinguished between direct (Threat, Mood Derivable, Performative, Statement of Need or Want, Statement of Expectation) and non-conventionally indirect (Strong Hint, Mild Hint) Request strategies (cf. Blum-Kulka 1987, 1989 for a more detailed description of these three superordinate categories).\textsuperscript{221}

1) Mild Hint

Mild Hints are utterances that make no reference to the Request proper (or any of its elements) but are interpretable by H as Requests via the linguistic and non-linguistic contexts. The lack of transparency is intentional.

Ex. 215. (Ir2, T447)

\begin{verbatim}
<Ir2B> say it's fine there might be, availability <E> now </E>
but, ehm, as it, - - comes nearer an nearer to the, the u 2
concert, - an the matches, - - many hotels will, <E> will </E>
get booked up. [...] 
\end{verbatim}

In Ex. 215, Ir2B indirectly Requests Ir2A's commitment to book the rooms at the Grand Canal Hotel as soon as possible, by alluding to the impending scarcity of hotel rooms in Dublin due to the concert that coincides with the soccer match.

\textsuperscript{220} This utterance is not totally clear; it might be a separate Request (for sports facilities) or an Expander of the Request in T283. It is coded as doubtful Request (cf. App. 4).

\textsuperscript{221} Cf. App. 4 for coding criteria for Request for Offer realisation strategies.
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2) Strong Hint

Strong Hints are utterances containing partial reference to the object or element required to carry out the act. Again, the lack of transparency is intentional.

Ex. 216.  (Ir3, T107)

<Ir3A> [...] and, the additional, the additional people we cou-, we, we <E> could </E> bring on if we wanted to, but, again, eh:m, - - that depends on, on, on getting the rooms, and, and, <P> an getting it at a, </P> <HH> at a price that's, - - <SWALLOW> that's, that's profitable to us to be honest with you, [...] 

Ir3A's contingent Offer in Ex. 216 ("the additional people we could bring on if we wanted to") implies two indirect Requests: first, that the rooms be available ("that depends on getting the rooms") and second, that they be available at a good price ("getting it at a price that's profitable to us").

3) Query Preparatory

Query Preparatories are utterances which question one of the preparatory conditions (e.g. ability, possibility, willingness, availability) by means of formulations such as Can/Could/Would you V A? Do you have X? Is X available?.

Ex. 217.  (Ir1, T508)

<Ir1A> [...] can you organise a disco, [...] 

Ex. 218.  (Ir2, T121)

<Ir2A> <$> that would, </$> so, i:, what i'm sayin to you is, - - - can you do <E> better </E> than that, an a <E> lot </E> better than that, [...] 

Ex. 219.  (Ir1, T260)

<Ir1A> do you want to do something on the, the buffet lunch? 

Ex. 220.  (Ir2, T54)

<Ir2A> sorry i can't remember from our faxes back an forth earlier on, - - ehm, - - - eh any particular facilities do you have a, <R> you know <R> with that i </R> should i be aware is there a <E> gym </E> or swimmin pool or anythin like that you know i <E> can't</E> i <F> <E> can't </E> </F> remember offhand from what we were talking about earlier on, </R>

In Ex. 217-220, the tour operators Request the organisation of a disco, a better price, a buffet lunch, and entertainment facilities such as a gym or a swimming pool.

4) Suggestory Utterance

Suggestory Utterances are utterances which contain a suggestion that H should do A, for instance to provide a specific service or product, thereby asserting one of the preparatory conditions (e.g. ability, possibility, willingness, availability), as in Ex. 221. Prototypical phrases are How/What about X? How/What about V-ing A?, Why don't you V A? You can/could V A.
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Ex. 221. (Ir1, T508)

<Ir1A> [...] <F> how about the disco, </F> [...] 

This strategy type may include Requests which represent a condition linked to one or several Offers as in Ex. 223-225. The conditional form shows that S suggests that the other party should do action A1 because then he would put himself under an obligation to perform the action A2 specified in the contingent Offer (but note the difference to Ex. 222 which is not a condition linked to an Offer, despite the if).

Ex. 222. (Ir4, T335)

<Ir1A> <§B> <X1>, </§B> and, <H> eh, you know if we can build, you know, and build it into the price of just the, the accommodation as well.

Ex. 223. (Ir3, T221)

<Ir3A> [...] if <?> we've, </?> if you brought it down to one eighty-two, <3.4> if you brought it down to one eighty-two, </R> <1.4> i think i could just about, <1.3> <HHH> just about eh, <HX> just about, - justify it,

Ex. 224. (Ir1, T271)

<Ir1A> you see dary i think the best <M> <X1> <?> process you know </?> </M> is if we keep these guys in your hotel, and you can give us a reasonable, cut of what you're going to make out of them on friday and saturday night, then we're, <§A> we're in the business and we get some money </§A>

Ex. 225. (Ir1, T84)

<Ir1A> well what we'd like to try an do obviously is, is, you know, we, we're sensitive to the fact that <E> you, </E> - in, in this situation, you're including breakfast there now if you were to say, <E> not </E> to include breakfast, but give us a percentage of the breakfast receipts, -- on top of that. -- and as well as that get a, percentage of your bar, [...]

Ex. 225 is regarded as a suggestion because its function is to help Ir1B to get going, i.e. to finally make an acceptable Offer after several indirect Requests by Ir1A in the preceding turns (T75, T77, T80-T82) with which he had tried to elicit an Offer compatible with his overall business strategy of "maximis[ing] total revenues" (T75). Since Ir1A was then obviously not happy with Ir1B's ensuing Offer (T79-T80) – revealing to him that Ir1B had not yet understood his intention properly – an unambiguous Request in the form of a suggestion is now required ("now if you were to say, <E> not </E> to include breakfast, but give us a percentage of the breakfast receipts on top of that. And as well as that get a, percentage of your bar"). The hypothetical quoting of Ir1B, initiated by the subjunctive utterance "if you were to say" makes the coding of this particular utterance difficult.

5) Statement of Expectation

Statements of Expectation are utterances which state S's expectation that H carry out the act (e.g. I presume that A).
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Ex. 226. (Ir2, T351)

\textit{(Ir2A)} [...] \textit{CLICK} eh by the way i presume you have, - a late bar an all that,

Ex. 227. (Ir4, T31)

\textit{(Ir4B)} [...] your, </M> </?> the four officials <?> will </?> keep the hundred </$B> under control, <?> they will? </?> \textit{LAUGH} </$B>

Ex. 228. (Ir1, T308)

\textit{(Ir1A)} now you'd be charging them for the </E> carvery, </E> cos </R> obviously not everybody's going to sign up for lunch, and not everyobody's going to sign up for breakfast an all o that, </R> [...]

In the examples quoted here, S expects H to have a late bar (Ex. 226), to make sure that the four accompanying tour operator staff members will keep the fans under control (Ex. 227), and to charge the customers for the carvery individually (Ex. 228).

6) Statement of Need or Want

Statements of Need or Want are utterances which state S's desire, wish, interest, or need that H carry out A, or expresses his intention or feeling towards the proposition he expresses (e.g. \textit{I want, I would like/love..., I wish..., I prefer..., I appreciate..., I need..., My interest is to..., I'm looking for...}).

Ex. 229. (Ir3, T4)

\textit{(Ir3A)} §eh::m, </§> - \textit{CLICK} <1.0> the reason i'm calling <E> is, </E> - - it's related to, the upcoming, football game, on the, seventeenth of april next. - <H> ehm, <H> <E> basically </E> what i want to do i want to bring, ehm, - - <CLICK> <1.5> i want to bring a hundred, people, - - <SWALLOW> so i'll be looking for fifty-two rooms, double rooms, <1.1> for, the nights, of, - - friday, and saturday, that weekend, friday the sixteenth and saturday the seventeenth. [...]

Ex. 230. (Ir1, T25)

\textit{(Ir1A)} [...] our interest <X1> is maximisin the number of people that come here [...]

Ex. 231. (Ir4, T73)

\textit{(Ir4B)} ehm, - - eh, i'd love you to come, we need the business, [...]

The Requests contained in Ex. 229-231 are: Ir3A wants to bring 100 people to Dublin and therefore requires 52 double rooms for two nights (Ex. 229), Ir1A expresses his wish to bring as many people as possible, implying that he needs a sufficient number of rooms (Ex. 230), and Ir4B wants Ir4A to come to the hotel because he needs the business (Ex. 231).

7) Statement of Obligation (Request)

Statements of Obligation are utterances which state the obligation of H to carry out the act or in which S makes clear that it is H's responsibility to do something. The
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Illocutionary force is directly derivable from the semantic meaning of the utterance (e.g. You should/have to/must V A).

Ex. 232. (Ir1, T748)

\(<\text{Ir1B}>\) but you may have to \(<\text{E}>\) give \(<\text{E}>\) a little for \(<\text{E}>\) me \(<\text{E}>\)
to get some as \(<\text{E}>\) well, \(<\text{E}>\)

Ex. 233. (Ir3, T214)

\(<\text{Ir3B}>\) and eh, breakfast would be payable by the individual, your
individual clients.

Ex. 234. (Ir1, T430)

\(<\text{Ir1A}>\) […] \(<\text{H}>\) and it's up to \(<\text{E}>\) you \(<\text{E}>\) really to try and
maximise how much they spend.

In Ex. 232, Ir1B refers explicitly to the norm of reciprocity (cf. Section 2.1.1) he
expects to apply in the current business negotiation, reminding Ir1A that he must
give him something in order to receive something in return. In Ex. 233, the hotel
manager points out that the breakfast will have to be paid directly by the soccer fans,
and the tour operator in Ex. 234 says that it is in the hotel manager's responsibility to
come up with further ideas as to how to increase the total revenue.

8) Performative

Performatives are utterances in which the use of a performative verb or expression
signals its illocutionary force as a Request (e.g. request, ask, demand, beg).

Ex. 235. (Ir1, T128)

\(<\text{Ir1A}>\) yeah, - \(<\text{R}>\) obviously you'll be taking in cash receipts
that morning, typically what we do is we ask that the hotel would
put our fans in a separate area for breakfast so this would be a,
a once-off kind of mini function if you like. […]

In Ex. 235, S highly mitigates the strong directive force expressed by the use of the
performative verb ask by a) the conditional "would" and b) the generalising expres-
sion "typically what we do": Ir1A states that a separate breakfast area for the soccer
fans is his company's general requirement and thereby avoids directly addressing
Ir1B. Nevertheless, Ir1A expects Ir1B to follow this Request too. This will then fa-
cilitate compliance with the first Request (Statement of Expectation) to "take[e] in
cash receipts" directly from the soccer fans instead of adding the breakfast to the
overall price package.

Ex. 236. (Ir1, T106)

\(<\text{Ir1A}>\) that's very much up to you. - i mean you can decide how
you want to price it, all our requirement is, \(<\text{P}>\) is that, \(<\text{H}>\) we
would eh, get fifty per cent of the, \(<\text{P}>\)

In Ex. 236, Ir1A states his requirement to get 50% of the revenue.
9) Mood Derivable (Request)

Mood-derivable Requests, or imperatives, are utterances in which the grammatical mood of the verb signals its illocutionary force as a Request (e.g. \( V A! \)).

Ex. 237. (Ir3, T145)

\(<Ir3A> <§B> so therefore give it, </§B> give it at an all-in cost, it's not gonna cost you anything either, </Ir3A>\)

In Ex. 237, Ir3A Requests a package price, and he supports his Request by the explanation "it's not gonna cost you anything either".

10) Threat

The most direct – and most face-threatening – way of realising a Specific Request is to threaten H: \( If \ you \ do \ not \ do \ A^{1a} [do \ A^{1b}], \ then \ I \ will \ do \ A^{2}, \) whereby \( A^{1a} \) is the action which is in S's interest and which S wants H to carry out \( [A^{1b} \) is the action which is in H's interest but which S does not want H to carry out as it is against his interest], and \( A^{2} \) is the action which is against H's interest and which S commits himself to carry out in case H does not comply to S's Request (cf. CASTELFRANCHI & GUERINI 2007: 290, 303-304). Strictly speaking, the first part of this threat pattern is the Request proper (S wants H to do \( A^{1a} \) [to do something other than \( A^{1b} \)]), and the second part (the consequence for, or 'punishment' of H, which actually makes it a threat) can be regarded as external modification (cf. GIBBONS, BRADAC & BUSCH 1992: 161).

Ex. 238. (Ir2, T127)

\(<Ir2A> i=, \ if \ there's <E> no, <E> <1.6> if \ there's \ no \ budging, - - on, - - \ a \ price \ of \ three \ hundred \ an \ eighty \ euros, <3.0> i=, i=, i=, it's \ a \ no-brainer \ for \ me, \ for \ our \ company, <Ir2B> yes, <Ir2A> w:=, <E> we </E> have, already \ got \ a \ hotel, \ quoting \ a better \ rate, \ as \ it's \ in \ the \ centre \ o town,\)\)

Ex. 239. (Ir2, T319-321)

\(<Ir2A> wha=, \ what \ are \ you \ talkin \ about \ then, \ for \ those \ two nights, - - what's \ the \ <E> lowest \ </E> room \ rate \ you \ can \ quote \ me, <2.2> an i'm <E> not </E> really \ one \ for, - - there's \ a price, no, back again an then another one, i'm \ tryin \ to \ be upfront \ with \ you \ that, <H> at \ the \ end \ of \ the \ day \ i've \ got \ a \ very \ good \ rate, \ an \ location \ is <E> very </E> important \ to \ me, - so you'd \ wanna \ a <L> <E> f:airly \ low </E> </L> </L> </L> ball\)\)

222 Unclear hearing, but possibly a slightly incorrect use of lowball, i.e. "(of an estimate, bid, etc.) deceptively or unrealistically low" (NODE 1998: 1095).
better quote me a really low room rate because if not, I won’t be interested in your offer and will rather choose the city centre hotel for which I already have a very good price quote and which is in a much more suitable location.

Threats are most counter-productive in creating a friendly atmosphere at the negotiating table (cf. Patton 2004: 5). According to Locher & Watts (2005), threats can be considered negatively marked relational work and are therefore most likely to be perceived as inappropriate or impolite realisations of a Request, also in negotiations. Ir2A tries to minimise the face-threat in Ex. 238. He hesitates in the directive part of the Request, then there is a silence of three seconds before he phrases the consequence of non-compliance with the request. Moreover, he stammers several times and adds "our company" although the utterance would have been complete with the pronoun "me". Possibly, he wants to divert responsibility in case he really opts for the rival hotel in the city centre instead of making business with Ir2B.

Only three unmistakable threats are identified in the present corpus, all in Ir2. Nevertheless, Ir2A and Ir2B succeed in reaching an agreement in the end.

### 4.4.1.3 Requests for Confirmation of Previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (RCCC)

In general, Requests for Confirmation of previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification are paraphrasable as *Do you [really] commit yourself to A?*. As in Specific Requests, the service/good/price etc. A which S asks for is specified in the utterance. However, the RCCC always refers to an Offer made at an earlier stage of the negotiation, i.e. they are utterance-anaphoric (cf. Purver 2004: 15). S may, within one RCCC, Request confirmation, repeated commitment, or clarification with regard to several different previous Offers at the same time. While S clearly expects an answer (implying a commissive element) to his ORs and SRs, this is not necessarily the case with RCCCs. S sometimes prompts for a response (confirmation, repeated commitment, clarification) rather unintentionally.

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223 BILBOW (2002: 297) in his business meeting data has also observed what is here labelled RCCCs: "It is not uncommon for offers, once made, to be checked by hearers using confirming sequences, starting with so...and followed by repetition or paraphrase."

224 PURVER (2004) is the author of a comprehensive work on clarification requests in which he aims at shedding light on their occurrence, form, meaning, on how they are elicited and responded to in dialogue in order to establish a grammar of clarification and to improve computational dialogue systems.

225 Although Ex. 240a looks, from a syntactic perspective (especially because of the question tag), like a Request for confirmation, it does not count as an RCCC but as a Specific Request (Statement of Expectation) because an Offer regarding the opening hours of the bar before lunch had not occurred earlier.

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Ex. 240a. (Ir1, T651-652)

```
<Ir1A> <§B> well, </§B> you open before, lunch, is it?
<Ir1B> <P> n:o, <X1> the bar won't open: till, well </P> the <E> bar </E> will be open at twelve o'clock. 
```

Therefore, Ir1A cannot ask for confirmation of a previous Offer or for a repeated commitment but indirectly Requests that the bar be open in the morning too ("you open before lunch, is it?").
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Ex. 240. (Ir2, T400- T417)

<Ir2B> <§A> <LAUGH> </§A> <2.0> we're talking of one <E> ninety, </E> an, say, a meal is worth, thirty, so, that's down to one, <1.5> your room now is your bed an breakfast rate will be down to one, sixity, - - eh:m, if we did it for <E> one fifty </E> plus, <2.3> if we did it for one fifty a head plus, plus the evening meal, <1.1> plus the two breakfasts, -

<Ir2A> <THROAT> <2.9> one <L> <P> fifty per head, </P> </L> <1.8> an we <X3> stayed </?> <X3> an we, well, one, what we're <E> really </E> talking about <E> one, </E> <1.5> you're throwin the meal in for <E> free </E> though, is what you're saying, <Ir2B> that's right, <Ir2A> <E> if </E> <P> you do it for the <X1>, if we take up the one fifty <E> offer, </E> if we say, - -

<Ir2B> <E> yes, </E>
<Ir2A> yeah, <6.8> sorry i'm not quite with you there now but you <E> are </E> going to charge, <1.9> you're saying <§A> okay, </§A>
<Ir2B> <§A> <1.8> no, </§A> <1.9> ?? </§A>
<Ir2A> you can have the whole, the use of the hotel for the two nights, for one fifty a head, <1.2> you've just, eh:, slightly deviated from what you're saying about the meal, that's just what's caas, catching me, <Ir2B> yeah, <Ir2A> are you charging <E> us </E> for the meal, or are you sayin, forget about the meal, we'll then charge the individuals directly, or what? <1.9>
<Ir2B> if we remain, if we bring down, if we say that the one night is included, it, that sorry, the dinner, <SWALLOW> for the friday night is included in the one ninety, <1.6> as a starter, - - eh, <1.2> so <X1>, they'll still pay, the one ninety, plus <X1>, maybe a small discount, - - but <E> that </E> will include the evening meal for <E> free, it's included in that rate, <1.0>
<Ir2A> yeah, yeah, <§A> yeah i think </§A>
<Ir2B> <§A> eh, </§A> <X2> <§A>
<Ir2A> now i know <?> what you're talking about, <1?> <§A> yeah, yeah, <§A>

Ir2A's first RCCC in Ex. 240 occurs in T402 ("one fifty per head"). It echoes one of the Offers made by Ir2B in T400, but leaves out the relevant addition that the 150 Euro exclude the dinner and the two breakfasts. While this RCCC may still have been interpreted as a self-clarification by Ir2B and therefore as an utterance that does not require a reaction (it is followed by a silence of 1.8 seconds), the next complete RCCC ("you're throwin the meal in for <E> free </E> though, is what you're saying")226 is unmistakably addressed to Ir2B. Accordingly, Ir2B responds by confirming the Request ("that's right"). Ir2A then develops the scenario of (hypothetically)

226 It is a reformulation of the unfinished RCCC "what we're <E> really </E> talking about <E> one, </E>".
accepting Ir2B's Offer, but he stops talking before finishing the utterance: "<F> <E> if </E> </F> you do it for the <X1>, if we take up the one fifty <E> offer, </E> if we say" (T404). However, Ir2A has still not understood Ir2B's previous Offers; he admits his confusion after a long pause of 6.8 seconds ("sorry I'm not quite with you there now"), followed by a renewed RCCC: "you are going to charge, you're saying, okay, you can have the whole, the use of the hotel for the two nights for 150 Euro a head" (T407-T409). Since no response follows Ir2A's RCCC, he points out that Ir2B had contradicted himself: "you've just slightly deviated from what you're saying about the meal, that's just what's catching me". This is why Ir2A again Requests clarification in T411 with respect to which price Ir2B had Offered for which package of services/commodities ("are you charging <E> us </E> for the meal, or are you saying, forget about the meal, we'll then charge the individuals directly, or what?"). Actually, Ir2B does not only contradict himself with regard to the "meal", but also with regard to the breakfasts: he had not mentioned a separate price for breakfast in the earlier stages of the negotiation; instead, he had always been talking about a bed and breakfast rate. Therefore, Ir2B's lengthy clarification in T413 could be regarded as an other-initiated self-repair. Judging from Ir2A's reply ("now I know what you're talking about", T417), one can tell that Ir2B has answered his RCCC to his satisfaction (although the reply is mitigated by "I think" in T415).

In Ex. 240, it is true what Purver (2004: 15) writes about clarification requests: "they all show that some sort of (partial) breakdown in communication has occurred". I claim that this is not necessarily the case with all RCCCs in business negotiations, particularly as Requests for clarification as studied by Purver are not always easily distinguishable from Requests for Confirmation or Repeated Commitment.

Ex. 241. (Ir2, T476-478)

<Ir2A> you leave it at one ninety, <§A> <E> not at </E> </§A>
<Ir2B> <§A> <X1> </§A>
<Ir2A> one eigh, not even <?> a few quid off, </?>

Some RCCCs may not only serve to get a confirmation or renewed commitment or to clarify an unclear point, but can at the same time be an indirect attempt to elicit an Offer from H which is better than the one H had made at an earlier stage. This points to a strategic use of RCCCs. In Ex. 241, for instance, Ir2A is hoping to get "a few quid" knocked off the initial 190 Euro Offer.

What is more, RCCCs fulfil a recapitulating function in summary phases, as is illustrated in Ex. 242 (also cf. Section 4.5.2).

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227 By making a clarification request, S is claimed to give negative feedback on different levels of understanding (grounding) the utterance in question. In reference to Allwood (2000), Purver (2004: 23-24) lists three types: perception level, understanding level, and attitudinal level (acceptance/rejection). In the present study, the focus is on clarification requests which work on the understanding and attitudinal level and on those which repeat part of the proposition of the previous utterance (Offer).
Ex. 242. (Ir4, T106-T123)

\(<Ir4B>\) eh, that's our concern, ehm, just that I <X1>, on the price, eh, eh, eh, eh, a hundred an fifty, a hundred an sixty <§B> is what <§B>
\(<Ir4A>\) <§B> ? yeah, <§B> <§B>
\(<Ir4B>\) you have <X3> ? yourself, <§B> the price for two nights? 
\(<Ir4A>\) for, well, per, well, yeah, per, per, yeah, per double room, eh, per night, <P> i think that's the, <P> <H> we're looking at, <HH> but <§B> again <E> it's the, 
\(<Ir4B>\) per double room, per <§B> night, <§B>
\(<Ir4A>\) <§B> night, <§B> per night, yeah, 
\(<Ir4B>\) so that's, seventy-five or eighty <E> per person, <§B>
\(<§B>\) is, <§B>
\(<Ir4A>\) <§B> yes, <§B>
\(<Ir4B>\) 
\(<Ir4A>\) is what, 
\(<Ir4A>\) yeah, 
\(<Ir4B>\) you have in your head yeah, <H> yeah i mean that's, that's, <LAUGH>
\(<Ir4A>\) yeah, 
\(<Ir4B>\) <X5+> <H> that's eh:, that's, that's significantly below, ehm, <§B> eh, <§B>
\(<Ir4A>\) <§B> <P> okay, <P> <§B>
\(<Ir4B>\) what, we <LA> would normally charge, <LA> <§B> you know, <§B>
\(<§B>\)
\(<Ir4A>\) <§B> right,
\(<§B>\)

In Ex. 242, Ir4B seeks confirmation/repeated commitment from Ir4A in three steps. First, Ir4B Requests confirmation that the price that Ir4A had quoted was 150 or 160 Euro for two nights ("just that I, on the price, 150, 160, is what you have <§B> yourself, <§B> the price for two nights?"). Ir4B here refers back to Ir4A's price Offer at the very beginning of the negotiation: "I'm looking at a price range of about, maybe starting up <X1> like a hundred and fifty, maybe <§B> two <§B> hundred and sixty Euro" (T6). Ir4A confirms this, but reformulates it slightly: "yeah, per double room per night" – most likely he means the price is for two persons in a double room for one night, whereas Ir4B might have referred to the price for one person in a double room for two nights, which both come out as the same price figure. Second, Ir4B Requests confirmation for this new piece of information by echoing it ("per double room, per night", T109), and the Offer is again confirmed by Ir4A ("per night, yeah", T110). Third, Ir4B goes on Requesting confirmation for his calculation of the price per person: "so that's 75 or 80 per person, is what you have in your head" (T112-T118), and this is also confirmed by Ir4A ("yes" in T113 and twice "yeah" in T116 and T119). In this example, the RCCCs serve to help Ir4B come to a clear under-

228 The fact that Ir4B quotes two alternative prices in the RCCC is probably due to Ir4A's unintelligible secondly mentioned price. Having listened to the audio files several times, I would say that it sounds like 260 rather than 160, but as 260 does not really make sense, Ir4B may have corrected this slip of the tongue without mentioning it.
standing of Ir4A's price expectations for hotel accommodation. Ir4A's confirmation of what Ir4B had suspected is the basis for Ir4B's decision-making: he concludes the summary phase by rejecting Ir4A's earlier price Offer in T118-T120, downgraded with laughter accompanying the rejection ("I mean that's, that's <LAUGH> significantly below what we would normally charge"). Interestingly, Ir4B does not seem interested in clarifying which of the two alternative price quotes is actually valid now – possibly because both are below his reservation price.

An important indication supporting the correctness of coding an utterance as an RCCC is that they are almost always followed by a response which clearly has a confirming or clarifying function, so it can be assumed that the utterances have been interpreted as such by the interlocutor. Moreover, it is likely that the Requester had expected some kind of confirming response, which is at times obvious from an acceptance or rejection token by the Requester (cf. Purver 2004: 62 and Section 4.4.3). Nevertheless, some of the utterances coded as RCCCs remain ambiguous (e.g. Ir1B's "two 80-seaters" in T756 of Ex. 243 and Ir3B's "three sixty" in T79 of Ex. 244). It is not clear a) whether S actually intended them to be an RCCC or rather a simple statement (repetition/echo of a previous Offer, cf. Section 4.4.3), and/or b) how the addressee interprets them. Purver (2004: 314) also found that many clarification requests are not answered in his data.229

Ex. 243. (Ir1, T751-T757)

<Ir1B> <?> we're talkin </?> about </E> three </E> buses i hope,

-<Ir1A> eh:m,

<Ir1B> <?> fifty seaters, </?>

<Ir1A> <E> two, </E> two </E> eighty </E> seaters,

<Ir1B> two </E> eighty </E> <§B> seaters, </§B>

<Ir1A> <§B> yeah, </§B> i'll try an push for
two eighty seaters.

Ex. 244. (Ir3, T78-T80)

<Ir3A> <§A> <F> okay, </§A> well i suppose based, </F> - based on
the ehm, - - <CLICK> - - <E> based </E> on, the <}? ac=, </?>
the additional cost of, of getting from the hotel, into town,
ehm, and back again, - - i <E> couldn't </E> really pay anything,
anything more than, - say three sixty, for the weekend, <1.1> per
room,

<Ir3B> three sixty,

<Ir3A> which would work out at a hundred an eighty, - - <CLICK>
ehm, - - hundred an eighty per night, <F> basically, per room,
</F> is what i'd be prepared to pay,

229 Of the 406 clarification requests taken into account for his study of CR responses, 39% are not explicitly responded to (17% if one takes out possible answers which are marked <unclear> or where the requester continues without waiting for a response) (cf. Purver 2004: 112). These results refer to Purver's investigation of a 150,000 word sub-portion of a 10 million word sub-corpus of English dialogue transcripts from the British National Corpus (BNC) (cf. Purver 2004: 56-57).
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Ex. 245.  (Ir2, T195)

<Ir2A> you, you, you were also talking about possibly, <?> tryin to keep </?> us in, the hotel on the night, which is <F> <E> fine </E> with <E> us </E> </F> i mean, the, the lads can go on the tear on saturday night an it's their own tough if they don't get the bus <E> back, </E>

The inherent ambiguity of RCCCs is also evident in examples where the RCCC ("you were also talking about possibly trying to keep us in the hotel on the night") is immediately followed by a further utterance of same S, as in Ex. 245. The brief breathing pause after "night" (the comma indicating continuing contour class) constitutes a turn transitional relevance point (TRP) after which Ir2B would have had the opportunity to confirm Ir2A's (alleged) RCCC, but fails to do so. The RCCC here mainly serves to make the reference of his agreement clear ("which is fine with us"). In the RCCC, Ir2A refers to some earlier Offer utterances by Ir2B— he actually re-formulates them, or rather, reinterprets them: Ir2B had not explicitly stated his intention to keep the fan group in the hotel but had Offered a dinner at a good price as well as a band for evening entertainment afterwards (Ex. 246).

Ex. 246.  (Ir2, T156-T159)

<Ir2B> ehm, would you be interested in havin a <E> meal </E> in the hotel friday night, <1.7> or would you see yourselves goin into town, <2.4> like maybe we could, i can, i could, <1.2> arrange a dinner, <2.6> at a very knockdown price, <3.9>
<Ir2A> go on, keep talking,
<Ir2B> ehm, maybe if we had a dinner <L> on the friday </L> night, <H> - ehm - - <CLICK> <1.6> maybe a band afterwards, [...]

RCCCs have also been found by PLANKEN, especially in her professional corpus (32.33 instances per negotiation on average). She categorises them as BROWN & LEVINSON's (1987) positive politeness strategy Seek agreement:

The professional negotiators, for example, would frame proposals, through repetition, from the perspective of the other, resulting in outputs such as 'So what you are basically saying is that you would like to see a higher price for the backpacks, is that right?' (PLANKEN 2002: 98, original emphasis)

4.4.1.4 Frequency distributions

Let us now turn to the relative frequency distributions of the three Request for Offer types in the Irish English negotiation data under study. Figure 13 shows that, across all four negotiations and independent of speaker, more than half of the Requests for

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230 Such examples make up 11.03% of all clarification request responses in PURVER's (2004: 113) BNC data.

231 The term turn transition relevance point or place (TRP) goes back to SACKS, SCHEGLOFF & JEFFERSON (1974). It refers to the point or place where a turn can be regarded as complete and where the turn-taking rules described by the same authors are applied.
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Offer are Specific Requests (55.34%). Slightly less than a third are Requests for Confirmation of previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (30.74%), and the remaining 13.92% are Open Requests (for the distributions according to tour operator/buyer and hotel manager/seller cf. Table 42 in App. 8).

When looking at the distribution of direct (Threat, Mood Derivable, Performative, Statement of Obligation, Statement of Need or Want, Statement of Expectation), conventionally indirect (Suggestory Utterance, Query Preparatory) and non-conventionally indirect (Strong Hint, Mild Hint) Specific Request realisation strategies across all four negotiations, the high proportion of direct strategies (54.84%) and the comparatively low proportion of conventionally indirect SRs (36.29%) for the tour operators are striking (cf. Figure 14). This contrasts from the findings of studies investigating (general) requests in everyday conversation in the private sphere (cf., e.g. BLUM-KULKA 1989: 47; BLUM-KULKA & HOUSE 1989: 125-130; TROSborg 1995: 225). With 29.79% direct SRs and 63.83% conventionally indirect SRs, the hotel managers are more in line with the results of these studies. With regard to non-conventionally indirect SRs, tour operators and hotel managers do not differ greatly (8.87% and 6.38%). The overall high proportion of direct SR realisation strategies (47.95%, independent of speaker) is assumed to be a characteristic of the genre business negotiation, rather than of the variety Irish English. Not only Offers are expected to occur in negotiations, but also Requests. Negotiators need to make unambiguously clear what they want; the results suggest that this is especially true of the buyers (here: the tour operators). Nevertheless, mitigation is observable on the level of internal modification (use of conditionals, lexical and phrasal downgraders, etc.) and external modification (cf. MARTIN 2001: 175-181). Similar results regarding direct vs. indirect requests have been found in studies on e-mail communication in business contexts (KANKAANRANTA 2005: 377-399) and academic contexts (HO 2007).
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Although, overall, the direct SR realisation strategies prevail, the most frequently occurring strategy is the Suggestory Utterance (50 out of 171, i.e. 29.24%, cf. Figure 15), which pertains to the conventionally indirect strategies. It is closely followed by the direct Statement of Need or Want (43, i.e. 25.15%). The Query Preparatory scores 14.62% (25), the Statement of Expectation 10.53% (18), and the Strong Hint 7.60% (13). The other strategies (Threat, Mood Derivable, Performative, Statement of Obligation, and Mild Hint) make up 12.85% (22) of the data and roughly range between 5% and 0.60% each.

Figure 14: Relative frequency distribution of superordinate categories for Specific Request strategies (Ir1-Ir4, tour operator: n = 124, hotel manager: n = 47, total: n = 171)
In Barron’s (2008: 46) discourse completion task (DCT) data elicited from 27 female Irish English students (average age: 16.2), the Query Preparatory, with an average occurrence rate of 89.83% (i.e. across the three everyday situations studied), is by far the most frequently used of the nine request realisation strategies distinguished by the author. In the present corpus, the Query Preparatory is only the third most frequent strategy (14.62%).
## Chapter 4: Offers in Business Negotiations: Results and Discussion

### Section 4.4: Interactional Structure of Offer Sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tour operator</th>
<th>Hotel manager</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Performative</strong></td>
<td>3.23% (4)</td>
<td>2.13% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mood Derivable</strong></td>
<td>5.65% (7)</td>
<td>4.26% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Threat</strong></td>
<td>2.42% (3)</td>
<td>0.00% (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>∑</strong></td>
<td>100.00% (n = 124)</td>
<td>100.00% (n = 47)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Relative frequency distribution of Specific Request strategies according to speaker (Ir1-Ir4, tour operator: n = 124, hotel manager: n = 47)

The most noticeable differences with respect to speaker role (cf. Table 13) are that, across the four negotiations, the hotel managers use considerably more Suggestory Utterances and Statements of Obligation than the tour operators (2.64 times relatively more). By contrast, the tour operators employ – relatively seen – 2.08 times as many Strong Hints and 6.44 times as many Statements of Expectation as the hotel managers. Threats are only made by the tour operator in Ir2 (3), and Mild Hints only by the hotel manager in Ir2 (1).

### 4.4.2 Non-elicited vs. Elicited Offers

Linguistic literature on offers in everyday conversation has found that hospitable offers, gift offers, and offers of assistance take the interactional slot of *Initiates (I)* and sometimes of *Contrasts (C)* (cf. Section 2.2.6). This holds true of Offers in negotiations too: the Offers of "a good breakfast" and of "full use of all the facilities in the hotel" in T53 of Ex. 247 constitute an initiating move.

Ex. 247. (Ir2, T45-T53)

<Ir2A> an your rack rate is, <E> what, </E> probably more like you know a hundred an twenty, a hundred an thirty, that kind o thing is it or <§A> even higher, </§A>

<Ir2B> <§A> <X4> </§A> <?> come to </?> a hundred an twenty-five,

<Ir2A> yeah,

<1.2>

<Ir2B> eh::m, <CLICK>

<1.8>

<Ir2A> eh::m,

<2.7>

<Ir2B> so we'd be doin a good deal on <E> that, </E> - ehm, - <X3> a good breakfast on, on, both mornings, - saturday an sunday morning, - - eh::m, <3.6> you'd have f::ull <R> use of all the facilities in the hotel, </R>

In the Irish English business negotiations, an Offer functions as a Contra (plus, as argued in Section 4.4.4, at the same time as an Initiate) if it occurs under one of two set of circumstances: first, if it is an alternative Offer following a Specific Request...
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for Offer (T346 in Ex. 248). The action predicated in an alternative Offer does not, or not exactly, correspond to the action asked for in the SR.

Ex. 248. (Ir4, T343-346)

<Ir4A> <§B> an then, maybe get them out, </§B> and back, - <H> in one piece, </§A> <LAUGH> </§A>
<Ir4B> <§A> yeah, </§A> <LAUGH> well i can't guarantee </§B> i </§B> get you </§B>, </§B>
<Ir4A> <§B> yeah, </§B>
<Ir4B> i'll, i'll, i'll guarantee that the bus </§B> <X3>, - the bus will stand outside the ground, okay? [...]

Second, an Offer may be a Contra also when a counter-Offer is made in response to an Offer by the other party. In Ex. 249, the counter-Offer by Ir3B ("we <E> could </E> say, cut it to a 195, <2.0> and offer you a significant discount on breakfast. <1.6> we'd take breakfast down from <E> twenty </E> Euros per person, <H> eh, to say, - <E> twelve </E> Euros per person. <3.8> how about that? - for an offer?", T119) are preceded by an explicit rejection: "well 190 would be cutting it very fine for us" (also functioning as a Contra).

Ex. 249. (Ir3, T117-T119)

<Ir3A> [...] - - an i'm sure we could, ehm, - - <SWALLOW> you could avail of some re=, - repeat business from us as well, <H> ehm, if, if, if we could, if we could just maybe negotiate slightly on the price, <HH> i mean if, if, if we could even do it for, for a hundred an, for a hundred an <E> ninety, </E> per room, <1.5> ehm, <1.2> we could consider it. <1.0> but, absolutely, no more than that i think.
<2.2>
<Ir3B> well a hundred an ninety would be be cuttin it very f::=, fine for us eh:, fergus, if we were to eh, - - to provide transportation as <E> well, </E> - - eh, i tell you what we <E> could </E> do, - eh, <4.3> we <E> could </E> say, cut it to a hundred an ninety-five, <2.0> and offer you a significant discount on breakfast. <1.6> we'd take breakfast down from <E> twenty </E> euros per person, <H> eh, to say, - <E> twelve </E> euros per person. <3.8> how about that? - for an offer?

There need not always be a rejection before these Offer(s). Rather, the Offers and counter-Offer(s) may occur in direct succession (Ex. 250), e.g. when two negotiators haggle over prices at a flea market (cf. the definition of bargaining in Section 1.1).

Ex. 250. A: A dinner for a hundred people would cost you 1,800 Euro, including hors d'oeuvre and dessert. Drinks have to be paid extra. (I: Offer)
B: 1,500. (C: Counter-Offer)
A: No, no, really, I can't go below 1,700. (C: Offer rejection; Counter-Offer)
B: 1,600? (C: Counter-Offer)
A: 1,700, and we'll include a glass of champagne as an aperitif. (C: Counter-Offer; Offer)
B: Ok. (S)
(fabricated)

It is assumed that reparatory or compensatory offers made in response to a complaint (cf. Ex. 42 in Section 2.2.6), which also fill the interactional slot of Contras, do not constitute characteristic elements of Offer exchanges and sequences in negotiations. No instances of this Offer type are found in the present corpus.
The data of the present investigation reveal that Offers in negotiations also occur as Satisfies (S). One negotiating party may ask – more or less directly – the other party to make or confirm or repeat an Offer, as in Ex. 251: Ir3A asks Ir3B in T33-T35 to arrange alternative accommodation for some of the soccer fans, and Ir3B answers with a Confirmatory or Compliance Signal. In this case, the Request for Offer takes the interactional slot of an Initiate, and the Offer that of a Satisfy.\footnote{Cf. the categorisation of promises as Satisfies by EDMONDSON & HOUSE's (1981: 139) and as "direct initiated speech acts" by BILBOW (2002: 295-296).}

Ex. 251. (Ir3, T33-T36)

\begin{verbatim}
<Ir3A> oh you could arrange, for some of the, some of <$A> the
<?> people </?><$A>
<Ir3B> <$A> yeah,<$A>
</$A>
<Ir3A> to stay, nearby.
<Ir3B> yeah.
\end{verbatim}

Offers as Initiates have been categorised as non-elicited Offers whereas Offers as Contras or Satisfies (although the latter are always Initiates too) have been assigned to the category elicited Offers, which may also be labelled reactive Offers. Nevertheless, the concept of elicitedness is primarily a content-related concept rather than an interactional concept. The distinction between non-elicited and elicited Offers is further elaborated in the following sections.

4.4.2.1 Non-elicited Offers

If an Offer is not triggered by the preceding linguistic context, i.e. the interlocutor does not make a Request for a commissive verbal good, it is non-elicited. BILBOW notes: "Some commissive speech acts are expressed as a result of no apparent initiation, i.e., they are not in an obvious adjacency pair arrangement with a preceding utterance." (BILBOW 2002: 296).

Ex. 252. (Ir3, T138-T141)

\begin{verbatim}
<Ir3B> well fergus,
<Ir3A> <$SWALLOW> and i'm also offering you the, the chance of,
again, repeat business, as i said we'd be up in dublin, on a, on
a cold night in january playin, - <$HH> playin football matches
when ehm, - - it'll be very hard to fill hotel rooms, <$P> i can,
</P>
<Ir3B> well, <$B> fergus, </B>
<Ir3A> <$B> i can tell </B> you,
\end{verbatim}

In Ex. 252, the negotiators had already been talking about the price for the double rooms for quite a while. They both issued Offers and counter-Offers, conceding a little to the other side on their way but still not sufficiently to reach agreement. In the course of their discussion, both produced several arguments in favour of their respective positions. In T139 (Ex. 252), Ir3A Offers once again to build up a longer lasting
business relationship ("I'm also offering you the chance of repeat business"), which is intended to serve as an incentive for Ir3B to lower the price further.

Non-elicitedness does not mean that non-elicited Offers 'come out of the blue' and do not relate in any way to the preceding discourse, or are not motivated at all by the preceding linguistic context. There may well be a relationship to the topic about which the negotiators currently talk (Ex. 253). For instance, the Offer "so I would have to try to make arrangements for those" in Ex. 254 is not elicited, nevertheless, it relates to Ir1A's Request for more hotel rooms ("we're keen to bring as many people as possible", T6 and similarly in T8, T12, and T25). The making of arrangements, however, is not specifically asked for by A.

Ex. 253. (Ir1, T36-T39)
<Ir1B> now i <E> do </E> have some bookings, at the moment.
<Ir1A> mh.
- -
<Ir1B> so i would have to try to make arrangements, for <E> those, </E> - - dependent on how many, eh, - eh, <?> dependent on if you can, </?> give me <E> firm </E> numbers,

Ex. 254. (Ir1, T99)
<Ir1B> [...] <CLICK> <E> so, </E> if we say, a hundred and fifteen, <2.4> and we're including breakfast there,

Non-elicitedness also does not mean that an Offer is made for the first time in the negotiation. The Offers "so, if we say 115" and "we're including breakfast there" in Ex. 254 are reOffers that had been previously made in T70, T76, and T79 (cf. Section 4.5.2), but are still regarded as non-elicited.

4.4.2.2 Elicited Offers

If one reverts to speech act theoretic concepts, one of the preparatory conditions of the speech act offer is: S assumes that H would prefer his doing A to his not doing A, but he does not know for sure whether H wants A carried out or not, which refers to the conditional nature of offers (not only in business negotiations). When one talks about most elicited Offers, this condition has to be rephrased slightly. If a party complies with the other's Request for a specific Offer, it is rather obvious that the Offeree wants the predicated action to be carried out by the Offerer. However, whether or not he will accept the Offer in the context of the overall deal is not yet clear at this point.

Clear-cut criteria for elicitedness pose some difficulties regarding coding: for instance, does an Offer have to express compliance with the Request in which A is specified (SR) to count as elicited? I argue that this is not the case: the addressee may also make an alternative Offer as in T381 in Ex. 255, which follows a Request for Confirmation of previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (RCCC) (T380), or in T346 in Ex. 248 in Section 4.4.2, which follows a SR. It is also possible that the elicited Offer is a reiteration of the same Offer made previously which did not satisfy the Requester. The price offer "so, if we say, 115" in T99 in Ex. 256, for instance, is the 3rd repetition (after T76 and T79) following Ir1A's Request to "maxi-
mise total revenues" in T75. This Request is repeated (in slightly differing formulations) in T77, T80, T80-T82, and T84.

Ex. 255. (Ir2, T380-T82)

<Ir2A> <P> oh, yeah, you’re still referring to including the hotel in <?> or, </P> in the bus into town, yeah? </P>
<Ir2B> <R> i’ll let you deal with them directly. </R>
<Ir2A> okay,

Ex. 256. (Ir1, T75-T99)

<Ir1A> <P> mh, </P> <1.1> as i said, w=, <E> our </E> basic strategy is we pass on, full costs to the client, - ehm, - plus the twen=, plus our margin, which, runs anywhere from twenty to twenty-five per cent. - - so, <E> our </E> objective is to maximise total revenues.
[…]
<Ir1B> [...] eh, </P> - - <CLICK> <E> so, </E> if we say, a hundred and fifteen, <2.4> and we’re including breakfast there,

Another, more challenging question is: do elicited Offers have to follow the Request in the next turn, or can the Request have occurred several turns before? Where should one draw the boundary? LEVINSON writes:

Numerous levels of embedding are not at all infrequent, with the consequence that, say, a question and its answer may be many utterances apart; nevertheless the relevance of the answer is merely held in abeyance while preliminaries are sorted out, and insertion sequences are thus restricted in content to the sorting out of such preliminaries. (LEVINSON 1983: 305)

He continues later on:

What we need here is the distinction [...] between turn location – i.e. the sheer sequential locus of a turn in a sequence by count after some initial turn – and position, the response to some prior but not necessarily adjacent turn. Thus a second part of an adjacency pair separated from its first part by a two-turn insertion sequence will be in fourth turn but second position. (LEVINSON 1983: 348; original emphases)

In the present corpus, several instances are found where S does not immediately respond to a Request for Offer. There may be shorter or longer pre-responding exchanges (insertion sequences in CA terminology) before an Offer is finally made. Ex. 257 illustrates a case where the addressee of the Request for Offer asks for clarification of the Request before committing himself to an action (single pre-responding exchange). In T696, Ir1A once again repeats his Request for two double rooms for his staff (for free) in the Grand Canal Hotel’s sister hotel ("come on you can throw in a couple, two nights <X4>, two rooms from <X1>") – he had already made the same Request in T677, T684, and T686, but so far, Ir1B has not complied.

Ex. 257. (Ir1, T696-T711)

<Ir1A> yeah, what are you, what are <E> you </E> lookin at <X2> out o this, in terms of total revenue, eh:m, - - you're lookin at a revenue about <TIME40.0> sixty grand for the weekend out of this; - - <CLICK> <P> come on you can throw in a couple, two, <E> two </E> nights <X4>, <E> two </E> rooms from <X1>, <7.1> ?< ? i mean i'll have to </P> <4.6> <X1> two nice rooms, in the other hotel, </P>
Ir1A's fourth Request in T696 is first met with a long silence (more than 7 seconds) by Ir1B, after which Ir1A rephrases the Request again: "I mean I'll have to to two nice rooms, in the other hotel". Ir1B's reaction in T697 suggests that the reason for not responding to the Request is his confusion because of what Ir1A had said immediately before the Request about Ir1B's revenue with regard to the weekend in question: "you're looking at a revenue of about 60 grand [i.e. 60,000] for the weekend out of this" (T696). This was supposed to serve as an argument that Ir1B should Offer the two additional rooms for free. In T697, Ir1B asks, "60 grand?", and then points out that by his calculation, he comes to a different result ("my figures don't add up to 60 grand, - - my figures add up to 46,700"). Ir1B's figure is lower because, as he emphasises in T700, one has to deduct his costs from the total revenue (e.g. the amount he has to return to Ir1A, i.e. the revenue share on which Ir1A insists). In the end, they obviously agree that 42,000 is Ir1B's revenue; it is in fact Ir1A who provides this figure in T704, and Ir1B agrees with this suggestion ("yeah."). The pre-responding exchange concludes in T707 with Ir1A's finalisers "okay. – right.". After a short pause (T708), and despite the correction of figures in the pre-responding exchange, Ir1B finally complies with Ir1A's Request by making the following (elicited) Offer in T711 (after several self-initiated reformulations in T709): "I'll put the four people up in the other hotel". Thereby, he Satisfies the Offer exchange begun in T696. Speaking with Levinson, the second part of the adjacency pair Request for Offer – Offer is in the 14th turn (for the notion of turn in the present study cf. Footnote 131 in Section 3.3.5.2) but in the second position. The

Note that the correctness of neither calculation could be confirmed. However, for the present study it is not relevant if, objectively, the participants miscalculated prices. Rather, it is of interest how they deal with misunderstandings and differences of opinion, and how they achieve agreement.
tour operator is clearly the 'winner' of this sequence; he has conceded nothing to the hotel manager, who complies without even trying to ask for some kind of concession from the other's side, i.e. a compensation for the additional costs that had not been part of his original calculations and which served as a justification for refusing the tour operator's Request initially. The tour operator seems to sense that he has just negotiated a very profitable – and possibly unfair – deal since he now generously Offers to try to find some way to increase the revenue for the hotel manager in T712-T714 (cf. the discussion of Ex. 59 in Section 4.1.2).

Interestingly, this Offer exchange forms the last exchange of a series of juxtaposed and subordinate (embedded) exchanges which make up the Offer sequence T677-T712. The sequence centres the single Request by Ir1A for two double rooms in the other hotel for his staff for free. As mentioned above, this Request is made four times altogether, the first time in T677 (Ex. 258).

Ex. 258. (Ir1, T677-T695)

<Ir1A> <E> you </E> tell me what the market can bear, - - <?> i need </?> twenty-five per cent of it, <2.6> <SWALLOW> <?> while we’re at it, </?> i need the room for a couple of, eh, - - some staff, you said you have a <E> sister </E> hotel where you're gonna move some o your people, - can <E> you, </E> get me, a couple o rooms in there for <E> my </E> people,<n1.8>

<Ir1B> no, you didn't in, you didn't notify me o this, <X1> you said a hundred an sixty, - that's,<n1.8>

<Ir1A> yeah,<n1.8>

<Ir1B> that's cutting my cost now straight <E> away, </E> <1.6> sorry, it's eh, it's <E> increasin </E> my cost straight away, <n§B> four </n§B>

<Ir1A> <n§B> mh, </n§B><n§B>

<Ir1B> people,<n1.8>

<Ir1A> i'm just looking for two rooms, you know,<n1.8>

<Ir1B> <E> four </E> people,<n1.8>

<Ir1A> yeah, i'm just looking for two room nights, <3.3> i'll be up myself actually,<n1.3>

<Ir1B> <E> an </E> will <E> they, </E> <E> be, </E> be, - - <E> they </E> will be paying the other, <1.4> do we count them in for the, lunch, the, the <E> carvery </E> an the dinners? at the rate?<n1.8>

<Ir1A> well, i would be payin, covering <E> their </E> costs, so, i prefer not to,<n1.3>

<Ir1B> are you covering their cost in the hotel?<n1.8>

<Ir1A> <HX> oh jeez look, <HX> we're talking, what i, i, you know, you're, you're gonna make it a f=, a <n§A> <?> fair </n§A><nX1> </n§A>

<Ir1B> <n§A> <F> <E> i'm, </E> i'm no more than you </F> <n§A> i'm trying to run the best <n§B> deal for </n§B>

<Ir1A> yeah, </n§B><n§B>

<Ir1B> myself,
In categorical terms, the pattern of the Offer sequence T677-T712 (Ex. 258 and 257) is as follows (the different exchanges are numbered, and the exchange levels are indicated by means of indentation):

T677  Ir1A  1.  **Request for Offer (1st)**
T678  1.  1.8 seconds silence
T679  Ir1B  1.  refusal of Request for Offer; justification of doing so (1st)
T680  Ir1A  1.  acknowledgement of refusal (backchannelling)
T681-T683 Ir1B  1.  justification of refusal of Request for Offer (2nd)
T682  Ir1A  1.  acknowledgement of justification of refusal (backchannelling)
T684  Ir1A  2.  **Request for Offer (2nd)**
T685  Ir1B  2.  verbalised realisation of consequences of Request for Offer
T686  Ir1A  2.  confirmation; **Request for Offer (3rd)**
T687  2.  1.3 seconds silence
T688  Ir1B  2a.  request(s) for clarification (1st)
T689  Ir1A  2a.  clarification
T690  2a.  brief silence
T691  Ir1B  2a.  request for clarification (2nd)
T692  Ir1A  2.  justification of Request for Offer (1st)
T693-T695 Ir1B  2.  justification of refusal
T696  Ir1A  2.  justification of Request for Offer (2nd); 3.  **Request for Offer (4th)**
T697  Ir1B  3a.  request for clarification; correction (1st)
T698  3a.  brief silence
T699  Ir1A  3a.  request for confirmation
T700  Ir1B  3a.  correction (2nd)
T701  3a.  brief silence
T702  Ir1A  3a.  agreement
T703  Ir1B  3a.  correction (3rd)
T704  Ir1A  3a.  support of correction
T705  3a.  brief silence
T706  Ir1B  3a.  agreement with support of correction
T707  Ir1A  3a.  finaliser
T708  3a.  brief silence
T709-T711 Ir1B  3.  **Offer (elicited)**
T712  Ir1A  3.  acknowledgement/acceptance of the Offer

A further example where there is a great gap between the Request for Offer and the Offer itself is Ex. 259. The Offer to "put the price of a pint up slightly" in T499 relates to the Request "to try and maximise how much they spend" in T430. Unlike in Ex. 258 and 257, the Request is only made once here.

Ex. 259.  (Ir1, T430-T499)

<Ir1A> [...] - ehm, now what we make need, or what <E> i </E> need to make sure is that, you know, that <E> we, </E> maintain our twenty-five per cent of what these customers spend. our basic, eh, requirement is that we get twenty-five per cent of whatever they spend, <H> and it's up to <E> you </E> really to try and maximise how much they spend.
The total number of elicited Offers (225) in the present corpus does not correspond to the total number of Requests for Offers (309). It is not possible to derive the number of elicited Offers from the number of Requests for Offers for several reasons:

1. A response to the Request may never occur because the Request is not understood as such or deliberately ignored. Alternatively, the response may be very evasive (topic shift or change, silence; cf. Bilbow 2002: 292), as in Ex. 260 and Ex. 261, or the response utterance remains unfinished (e.g. T428 in Ex. 262).

Ex. 260. (Ir1, T96-T97)

<Ir1B> [...] what about, - eh, - - general area damage, <1.0> bar, - - dining room, et cetera, how do we, how would we recover damage there, - - in that event.
<Ir1A> <CLICK> we <X1>, we really would hope that there <E> wouldn't </E> be damage obviously, and that, you guys, i mean we don't see a need for security <M> or anything like that, </M> <H> partly i think <X2> the problem last time i wasn't </E> here </E> the last time when it happened, - part o the problem i think was with the other fans, and that obviously isn't something that's going to arise, <H> there was no problem in fact with the </E> accommodation </E> the last time, there was no incident and there's never been an incident before,

Ex. 261. (Ir2, T517)

<Ir2A> and the <E> band </E> is obviously as well <P> that you were referring to. yeah, </P> <5.5> [...] 234

Ex. 262. (Ir1, T426-T430)

<Ir1A> <H> yeah i'm going to </E> lose </E> now, on the, that dinner, so, what am i getting if they're in the <E> bar, </E> - - cos i'm now down to, <HHH> you see my, my <?> reckoning </?> so far is right, <E> we </E> take, let me, let me give you what i have, eh:m, <1.2>
<Ir1B> well, what we <E> could </E> do is, <L> we could, </L> <1.5> rather than <E> give </E> well, - - <P> i'm just thinking of, <2.9>
<Ir1A> <H> see i'm getting fif=, eh if, if they <E> all </E> have breakfast i'm getting about fifteen hundred euro off you, [...] 235

2. The Request may be refused (Ex. 263 and 264). 235 Request refusals are often mitigated by means of external modification (typically justifications, e.g. T450-

234 In the previous utterances, Ir2A and Ir2B had been talking about what Ir2B would be giving for free.
235 As the focus of this study is on Offers, refusals of Requests for Offer are not coded or otherwise counted.
T454 in Ex. 264 or T679-T681 in 258). Note that some refusals are followed by an alternative Offer (T28-T31 in Ex. 265).

Ex. 263.  (Ir3, T126-T127)

<Ir3A> so the hundred, hold on now the <LA> hun= <X1>, </LA> hundred an ninety-five doesn't include breakfast?
<Ir3B> oh no.

Ex. 264.  (Ir2, T449-T456)

<Ir2B> <H> <CLICK> possibly you could, you could, sell a <E> different </E> tour, - - ehm, there's twenty, <H> - - - based on, your <E> original </E> numbers there, you were taking up fifty, f::our rooms, eh:, that leaves twenty, six rooms i think, left in the hotel, - that's, a coach load o people, - maybe you could sell, - - a:, different tour, golfing tour, <1.4> <P> ehm, </P> 
<Ir2A> considering there's such a, the, the, the demand is <E> there for </E> the match i wouldn't <§A> even </§A> 
<Ir2B> <§A> <P> <H> yeah, </H> </P> <§A> 
<Ir2A> bother mixin them, it's not worth the hassle <§A> for <E> yourselves, </E> or for <E> ourselves, </E> a nice </§A> 
<Ir2B> <§A> <P> <X5+> </P> yeah, </§A> 
<Ir2A> quiet angling crowd an a rowdy, <H> a <LA> rowdy football crowd, </LA> <§A> i wouldn't </§A> 
<Ir2B> <§A> yeah, </§A> 
<Ir2A> even bother mixing them, 

Ex. 265.  (Ir3, T23-T31)

<Ir3A> we're looking for, fifty-two.
<Ir3B> yeah,
<Ir3A> fifty-two. <§A> <X2> </§A> 
<Ir3B> <§A> fifty-two </§A> eh, - double rooms?
<Ir3A> <CLICK> that's right.
<Ir3B> yeah. <H> eh:, we <E> haven't quite </E> got <E> fifty-two, </E> ehm, fergus, eh, would you eh, - - would you accept a, - fewer number if we could ehm, <1.2>
<Ir3A> <CLICK> <E> n:o, </E> i would <§A> <X4>, </§A> 
<Ir3B> <§A> arrange, location, </§A> elsewhere? eh, nearby?

(3) Several Requests within one speaker's turn may be responded to by one Offer utterance (in T432 of Ex. 266 the Confirmatory or Compliance Signal "right").

Ex. 266.  (Ir1, T430-T432)

<Ir1A> […] ehm, now what we make need, or what <E> i </E> need to make sure is that, you know, that <E> we, </E> maintain our twenty-five per cent of what these customers spend. our basic, eh, requirement is that we get twenty-five per cent of whatever they spend, <H> and it's up to <E> you </E> really to try and maximise how much they spend.

-<Ir1B> right. - - eh, - so:, i'm just thinking on the <E> first </E> night we have them for, <HH> - eh, dinner,
(4) One Request may be followed by several individual offers. In Ex. 267, Ir1B's SR for "firm numbers" is responded to by Ir1A with two Offers: "I can give you a firm numbers at this stage" and "that we would take 160 rooms".

Ex. 267. (Ir1, T39-T41)

<Ir1B> so i would have to try to make arrangements, for <E> those, </E> - - dependent on how many, eh, - eh, <?> dependent on if you can, </?> give me <E> firm </E> numbers,

<Ir1A> i can give you a firm numbers at this stage, that we would take, eh, a hundred an, the hundred and <P> sixty rooms. </P>

Delaying the response to a Request for Offer, not reacting to the Request at all, or answering with an ambiguous Confirmatory or Compliance Signal, are avoidance strategies by which S circumvents making an immediate commitment.

In the following paragraphs, different types of elicited Offers are analysed in greater detail. An elicited Offer follows one of the three types of Requests for Offer described in Section 4.4.1 (cf. Figure 16).

![Diagram](image)

Figure 16: Interactional structure of sequences containing an elicited Offer

Therefore, there are also three different types of elicited Offer to be found in the present corpus, which are named Response to Open Request for Offer (Response to OR), Response to Specific Request for Offer (Response to SR), and Response to Request
for Confirmation of previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (Response to RCCC). Figure 17 illustrates their relative frequency distribution.

![Figure 17: Relative frequency distribution of elicited Offer types (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker, n = 225)](image)

The continuation patterns which follow elicited (and non-elicited) Offers are presented in Section 4.4.3.

4.4.2.2.1 Response to Open Request for Offer (Response to OR)

In Responses to OR, the good/service/price etc. A which the interlocutor had requested is described. The underlying structure can be put as *I commit myself to A*. Responses to OR make up 10.67% (24) of all 225 elicited Offers (cf. Figure 17). They are realised as one of the major seven Offer realisation strategies identified in Section 4.2.1.

Ex. 268. (Ir2, T30-T43)

```
<Ir2A> but eh:::m, <R> i just wanted to see what prices you're you were talking about if we were looking for a, </R> -- let's say hundred an four people,  
<Ir2B> okay,  
<Ir2A> <THROAT>  
<Ir2B> ehm, <CLICK> - - <L> <P> let me see now, </P> </L> <SNIFF> <H> ehm,  
<Ir2A> <R> i suppose <M> what <?> we were talking about, </?>  
</M> </R>  
<2.7>  
<Ir2B> would be, <HX> eh:m, <1.9> the, an offer rate, a low, it wouldn't be a f=, our rack rate now, <1.8> what we'd give, - <?>
```

236 For the distributions according to tour operator/buyer and hotel manager/seller cf. Table 47 in App. 8. For the relation between topic group and type of elicited Offer as well as between realisation strategy and type of elicited Offer, cf. Tables 45 and 46 in App 8. These statistics are not discussed further here.
to a kind of a tour operators <M> just like yourselves, </M> </?>
<M> would be, ehm, - - somethin in the region of ninety-five a head, - - ehm,
<Ir2A> <P> mhm, </P>
<Ir2B> <E> per </E> night, so, that'd be, hundred an ninety, per room,
<Ir2A> <COUGH> okay,
<Ir2B> an, - <CLICK> - - an then for the two nights that'd be, - - that would be, three hundred an eighty in total for the,
<Ir2B> yeah,
<Ir2B> for the room, so it'd be hundred an ninety, - <E> each, </E> for the,

In Ex. 268, the tour operator Ir2A makes an OR for a price Offer from the hotel manager Ir2B ("I just wanted to see what prices you were talking about if we were looking for let's say hundred and four people", T30). After some hesitation markers in T31 and T33 ("let me see now" is coded as a non-elicited procedural Offer) and 2.7 seconds of silence after the tour operator's unfinished clarification remark in T34, the hotel manager responds to the OR: he makes an Action or State Reference Offer ("what we'd give to a kind of a tour operator just like yourselves would be something in the region of 95 a head, per night, so that'd be 190 per room, and then for the two nights that would be 380 in total for the room, so it's be 190 each for the", T36-T43).

4.4.2.2.2 Response to Specific Request for Offer (Response to SR)

Of the 225 elicited Offers in the present corpus 128 (56.89%) are Responses to SR (cf. Figure 17). A Response to SR may be realised as one of the major seven Offer realisation strategies in which (part of) the content expressed in the Specific Request is repeated and/or further elaborated (Possibility Statement in Ex. 269: "we can organise a bar extension easily enough")237, or by Compliance Signals which have the capacity of expressing compliance with the Request ("yeah" T336, T338-T340 in Ex. 270) (cf. Section 4.2.2). Generally, a Response to SR can be paraphrased as Okay, I comply with your request to commit myself to A.

Ex. 269. (Ir1, T508-T511)

<Ir1A> [...] <2.4> <P> how about the disco, </P> - - can you organise a disco, - <CLICK> bar </E> extension, </E>
<1.1>
<Ir1B> eh, we can organise a bar </E> extension, </E> - easily enough, i mean, we don't necessarily have to have a disco, typically, <HH> eh, <X1> we're on the fringes of dublin here we would, we haven't built up our clientele yet for a </E> disco, </E>
<Ir1A> right,

237 Note that the first and second SR in T508 ("how about the disco", "can you organise a disco") are refused by Ir1B ("I mean we don't necessarily have to have a disco").
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Section 4.4: Interactional structure of Offer sequences

4.4.2.2.3 Response to Request for Confirmation of previous Offer / Repeated Commitment / Clarification (Response to RCCC)

32.44% (73) of the 225 elicited Offers are Responses to RCCC (cf. Figure 17). The general structure of a Response to RCCC can be read Yes, I [really] commit myself to A. Most of the Offers following an RCCC (57.53%, i.e. 42 out of 73) fall into the realisation strategy type Confirmatory Signal (cf. Table 48 in App. 8). By confirming a previously made Offer, S once again expresses his commitment to the future action referred to by the other speaker in the RCCC. In Ex. 271, Ir4A does that three times (T107-T109, T111, T113-T119) in response to three RCCCs by Ir4B (T106-T108, T110, T112-T118).

Ex. 271. (Ir4, T106-T119)

<i>Ir4B</i> eh, that's our concern, ehm, just that i <X1>, on, on the price, eh, eh, eh, eh, a hundred an fifty, a hundred an sixty <§B> is what </§B>
<i>Ir4A</i> <§B> <|> yeah, <|> </§B>
<i>Ir4B</i> you have <X3> <|> yourself, <|> the price for two nights?
<i>Ir4A</i> for, well, per, well, yeah, per, per, yeah, per double room, eh, per night, <P> i think that's the, </P> <H> we're looking at, </H> but <E> again </E> it's the,
<i>Ir4B</i> per double room, per <§B> night, </§B>
<i>Ir4A</i> <§B> night, </§B> per night, yeah,
<i>Ir4B</i> so that's, seventy-five or eighty <E> per person, </E> <§B> is, </§B>
<i>Ir4A</i> <§B> yes, </§B>
<i>Ir4B</i> is what,
<i>Ir4A</i> yeah,
<i>Ir4B</i> you have in your head yeah, <H> yeah i mean that's, that's, </H> <LAUGH>
<i>Ir4A</i> yeah,

Ex. 272. (Ir1, T751-T755)

<i>Ir1B</i> <|> we're talkin <|> about <E> three </E> buses i hope,
<i>Ir1A</i> ehm,
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<Ir1B> ? fifty seaters, ?
<Ir1A> <E> two, </E> two <E> eighty </E> seaters,

Ex. 273. (Ir3, T77-T80)

<Ir3B> what sort of, what, what sort of <E> offer </E> i mean, just a starting-point on your pricing, i'm sensitive that you're a, a, an opera-<H> organising these special, types of, <$>A? </?><</H><E> based on, the</E> additional cost of, of getting from the hotel, into town, ehm, and back again, - - i <E> couldn't </E> really pay anything, anything more than, - say three sixty, for the weekend, <1.1> per room,
<Ir3B> three sixty,
<Ir3A> which would work out at a hundred an eighty, - - <CLICK> ehm, - - hundred an eighty per night, <P> basically, per room,
<Ir3B> is what i'd be prepared to pay,

It should be kept in mind that this Offer type is not always a Confirmatory Signal, cf., e.g. Ex. 272, which is an Action or State Reference (ellipsis) realisation strategy (Ir1A cannot confirm that he is coming with three 52-seater buses; he corrects Ir1B by stating that he is coming with two 80-seater buses, T755), or Ex. 273, which is a Willingness Statement (Ir3A converts the 360 Euro per room for two nights into 180 Euro per room per night, thereby confirming Ir3B's Request in T77 and repeating his own Offer made in T78).

4.4.2.3 Frequency distributions of elicited vs. non-elicited Offers

As can be expected on the basis of the total number of Requests for Offers (309) in relation to the total number of Offers (536), there are more non-elicited Offers (311, i.e. 58.02%) than elicited Offers (225, i.e. 41.98%) across the four negotiations (cf. Figure 18). The distribution for buyers and sellers does not differ greatly (cf. Table 43 in App. 8).

![Figure 18: Relative frequency distribution of elicited vs. non-elicited Offers (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker, n = 536)](199)
In Bilbow's (2002) meeting data it is the other way round: direct initiated speech acts (promises) plus indirect initiated speech acts (commissive hints) make up approximately 60% of all commissive speech acts; direct uninitiated speech acts (offers) and indirect uninitiated speech acts (suggestory hints) approximately 40%.

Further research would have to explore the reason for this difference – it might be rooted in different genre conventions or depend upon the specific meeting and negotiation scenarios/topics under study. In negotiations, the high number of non-elicited Offers may be explained by the general and mutual expectation that Offers must occur in a negotiation (cf. Section 4.1.3).

In general, the number of non-elicited Offers is an indication of how proactive a negotiator is, how much he wants, of his own accord, to make concessions towards the other party. It also shows his skill in anticipating the other side's Requests for Offer. He knows well that the other side will sooner or later make Requests for certain Offers, in the present scenario e.g. for the number and type of hotel rooms and price (tour operator) or for the number of hotel rooms to be booked (hotel manager). In this respect, making non-elicited Offers may be strategic because it makes a negotiator seem more generous. Moreover, a negotiator may wish to make the overall deal look more attractive by offering new or additional services, here for example a band for free as evening entertainment. Making further concessions not specifically solicited by the other negotiating party can therefore enhance the probability that a deal is closed at all. The negotiator then seeks to make the pie bigger, which is a characteristic of a principled negotiation style (cf. Section 2.1.1, Footnote 42, and Section 4.1.5).

Whether an Offer is elicited or not may have to do with the Offer topic. When looking at the relation between topic groups and elicitedness (cf. Table 14), all topic groups except one (Relationship-Building) display the same general ratio of elicited vs. non-elicited Offers: most commodity or service and procedural action Offers are non-elicited, as are all of the six relationship-building Offers. A noteworthy discrepancy is that between elicited and non-elicited Offers in the procedural action topic group. Only 23 out of the 91 procedural action Offers (i.e. 25.27%, Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker) follow a Request for Offer. The other 68 are often triggered by what I would like to call procedural necessity, i.e., for instance, the necessity to calculate a price, have a look at one's note, talk to a third party, or sum something up. With price Offers, interestingly, the distribution of elicited vs. non-elicited Offers is just the reverse; over 60% are elicited. This may be because price is often the most sensitive piece of information. Understandably, negotiators (especially sellers) are hesitant to divulge this information without being asked.

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238 As has been said before, Bilbow (2002) classifies commissive speech acts in terms of their lexico-grammatical realisation; he combines the directness dimension (direct vs. indirect) and the interactive dimension (initiated vs. uninitiated).

239 It should be noted that almost 22% of all non-elicited Offers belong to the procedural action topic group (cf. Table 45 in App. 8). Nevertheless, if one takes procedural Offers out of the statistics in Figure 16, the distribution of elicited vs. non-elicited Offers only changes slightly: 45.76% vs. 54.24%.
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Section 4.4: Interactional structure of Offer sequences

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<th>Elicited</th>
<th>Non-elicited</th>
<th>∑</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commodity or Service</td>
<td>34.94%</td>
<td>65.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price Figure</td>
<td>61.11%</td>
<td>38.89%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Change in Price</td>
<td>61.54%</td>
<td>38.46%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relationship-Building</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedural Action</td>
<td>25.27%</td>
<td>74.73%</td>
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<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>42.30%</td>
<td>57.70%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Relative frequency distribution of elicited vs. non-elicited Offers for each Offer topic group (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker)

Although only Confirmatory or Compliance Signals are marked interactionally, i.e. they are by definition elicited (cf. Section 4.2.2), all other realisation strategies show a clear tendency to occur in an initiating position in negotiation discourse (cf. Table 15). Almost 95% of all Proposal Formulas and Obligation Statements are non-elicited, 80% of all Mood Derivables and 75% of all Willingness Statements, and between roughly 61% and 67% of all Action or State References, Possibility Statements, and Preference Statements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elicited</th>
<th>Non-elicited</th>
<th>∑</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mood Derivable</td>
<td>20.00%</td>
<td>80.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willingness Statement</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
<td>75.00%</td>
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<td>Action or State Reference</td>
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<td>Possibility Statement</td>
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<td>Preference Statement</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
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<td>Proposal Formula</td>
<td>5.26%</td>
<td>94.74%</td>
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<td>Obligation Statement</td>
<td>6.67%</td>
<td>93.33%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Confirmatory or Compliance Signal</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>41.98%</td>
<td>58.02%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Relative frequency distribution of elicited vs. non-elicited Offers for each Offer realisation strategy (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker)

4.4.3 Continuation patterns and delayed responses

As repeatedly mentioned in earlier sections (especially in Section 4.1.1), an Offer is a hybrid speech act which has both commissive and directive illocutionary force. The latter is what the present section deals with: the reaction that S tries to get from H. Whatever occurs after an Offer has been made is part of the Offer sequence (cf. Figure 16 for elicited Offers). Reactions to Offers are particularly important elements with regard to reaching a final agreement at the end of a negotiation.

Note that this calculation is based on the total number of Offer topics of n = 539 (not 536) because of three double codings (cf. App. 4.2).
The term *continuation pattern (CP)* is chosen as a superordinate category for any pattern that immediately follows the Offer utterance. It originates from Ajmer (1996: 142) who uses it to describe patterns (responses) following requests. In the present study, one of the continuation patterns does not have the status of an Offer response. *Response* here means that the Offeree actually shows a reaction (or lack of a reaction) to the Offer. The non-response pattern is labelled *Continue* and denotes cases where the Offerer holds the floor by continuing to talk after the first turn transitional relevance point (TRP) or opportunity/action space within a turn constructional unit (TCU). The interlocutor does not seize the floor or does not get the chance to do so (cf. the turn-taking rules in Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 704). Since continuation patterns exclude the addressee's responses to Offers which occur in the turn following the Offerer's continued speech, after a longer pause, or several turns later (e.g. after a longer embedded exchange or several embedded exchanges), I decided to code these instances under a different superordinate category: *delayed responses (DR)* (cf. App. 4.4 for more detailed information on coding criteria). Possible reasons why the interlocutor does not respond immediately is that he is engaged in a non-verbal activity (e.g. reading notes, doing calculations) while the other makes the Offer, or that he wants to think over what the Offer entails before responding (e.g. to evaluate the cost-benefit ratio if it is a commodity or service or price Offer, cf. Scheiter 2002: 44).

A total number of 732 continuation patterns and delayed responses have been observed in the four negotiations under study. Of these, 193 (i.e. 26.37%) represent Continues. When looking at CPs alone, the proportion of Continues is, of course, even higher: 34.10% (193 out of 566), or 36.01% (193 out of 536) if one takes out the 30 CP double codings (cf. App. 4.4). Only about every second Offer in the data is immediately responded to by the addressee (536 Offers vs. 248 immediate Response utterances). However, the Offers followed by a Continue or a Pause are sometimes responded to at a later stage (DRs). Also, one Offer sometimes entails several different responses.

There are six major types of Offer response in the present corpus: *Acceptance, Back-channelling Token, Echo, Further Inquiry/Request, Ignore, Rejection*. These reac-

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241 Cf. Footnote 131 in Section 3.3.5.2. Davidson (1984: 117) notes that what occurs after "[…] a possible completion point may be providing the inviter or offerer with a monitor space in which he or she can examine what happens or what does not happen there for its acceptance/rejection implicativeness". If the desired reaction by the listener does not occur after the monitor space either, the speaker may go on repeating the old or making a new or modified Offer and thereby provide a renewed opportunity for a response. The monitor space can consist of so-called tag-positioned components to avoid a silence, or of prosodic lengthening of a potentially final component which may be followed by a short pause, possibly filled with laughter or audible breathing (cf. Davidson 1984: 117-123, referring to Jefferson 1973). The terms *opportunity space* and *action space* are used by Lerner (1991: 450, 453). They refer to the "systematic opportunity for talk by another participant before a possible completion has been reached" (Lerner 1991: 442). I here employ the terms in a broader sense than Lerner who describes ongoing turn-constuctional units which lead the other speaker to produce an anticipatory completion at a projectable preliminary completion place, e.g. in the 'if x – then y' format (Lerner 1991: 453).

242 566 CPs minus 30 double codings, 193 Continues, and 95 Pauses.
tions form a continuum between positive reactions on the one side and negative reactions on the other (cf. Figure 19).

![Figure 19: Continuum of Offer responses](image_url)

In addition, there are eight utterances which do not fit into any of these categories. They are coded as Other. Three of the response types are further divided into subtypes: Acceptance into Clear Acceptance and Tentative/Implied Acceptance, Ignore into Pause and Topic Shift, and Rejection into Clear Rejection and Tentative/Implied Rejection. There are no clear-cut dividing lines between adjacent Offer response categories on the continuum. For instance, depending on the context, the Backchannelling Token okay may be interpreted as a Tentative/Implied Acceptance, and the negative evaluation that's expensive (generally coded as a Tentative/Implied Rejection) may function as a Clear Rejection. All Offer response types and subtypes except Pause can occur either immediately after the Offer or in a delayed position. The relative frequency distribution of major strategies of observed Offer responses (whether directly following the Offer utterance or delayed) is illustrated in Figure 20.

The following sections present the different Offer response types in more detail. However, I would first like to make a few more remarks on the continuation pattern Continue.

### 4.4.3.1 Continue

A close examination of the Offers followed by a Continue reveals that two general cases can be distinguished. First, and this is in line with CA findings on offers in everyday conversation, Offers constitute the first part of an adjacency pair. An answer (preferably a positive one, i.e. an acceptance) is expected by the Offerer – the principle of conditional relevance applies here (cf. SCHEGLOFF 1972: 364). If in this case the addressee fails to show a (verbal) reaction, S may interpret this absence of response as an indicator that the Offer will most likely be rejected (cf. RUBIN

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243 The principle of conditional relevance is in fact very similar to the Birmingham School of Discourse's concept of continuous classification (SINCLAIR & COULTHARD 1975: 120), which has it that "each utterance is classified or interpreted in the light of the structural predictions, if any, set up by the preceding utterance" (STUBBS 1983: 135-136).
1983: 12; Davidson 1984: 116, 1990: 159; Section 2.2.6; also cf. Stalpers 1995: 286-288). Consequently, S may be prompted to make a new Offer or an Offer which specifies or modifies the first one, or to argumentatively support the first Offer. In Ex. 274, the first Offer in T147 is "we could arrange a bus to bring them to the match", followed by the next Offer, "and let them stay around town then for a couple of hours", which provides additional information on Ir2B's transport plan (the hesitation before "stay" can be interpreted as a monitor space). Yet again, Ir2A does not respond so Ir2B goes on to make a third Offer: "and then get them back by eleven o'clock, <1.2> at twelve o'clock". It includes a self-repair with regard to the time the fans ought to be transported back to the hotel. Ir2B may extend the time span they could stay in the city centre to make the Offer more attractive for Ir2A. The first Offer by Ir3B in Ex. 275 is "well, I would take it down to a hundred and, - - eh, eighty-five", followed by a silence longer than one second (CP = Pause, cf. Section 4.4.3.6) and then a second Offer ("with breakfast at an additional twelve"). When Ir3A still does not respond after a short silence, he expands the Offer via "Euros" – an addition not necessarily required to understand the Offer. After another short silence, he adds a Grounder: "and I believe that twelve Euros will not be an issue with the majority of your travelling clients". The way the data is coded allows providing some figures of the proportion of these two Continue constellations: 39.38% of all Continues (76 out of 193, Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker) are subsequent Offer utterances. The same proportion of Continues are subsequent Grounders, Expanders, or Excluders relating to the Offer in question (cf. Sections 4.3.1, 4.3.2, 4.3.5).

Ex. 274. (Ir2, T147)

<Ir2B> [...] we could arrange a bus, to bring them to the match, an arr=, an let them, - - stay around town then for a couple o hours, an then get them back by, - eleven o'clock, <1.2> at twelve o'clock, -- before they're too, - - - <?> inebriated, </?> - - eh, <$B> <X5> <LAUGH> </$B>

Ex. 275. (Ir3, T204)

<Ir3B> [...] well, i would take it down to a hundred and, - - eh, eighty-five. <1.5> <E> with </E> breakfast, at an additional twelve. - - euros. - - an <E> i, believe, </E> that that twelve euros will <E> not </E> be an issue, <1.2> eh:, with, - - the majority, - - eh of your travelling, - - clients.

244 Cf. Davidson (1984: 107): "[... ] what I am terming 'subsequent version' may come from different classes of objects. There are several ways of doing subsequent versions, such as adding more components, providing inducements, or giving reasons for acceptance, but these different sorts of objects nonetheless can be grouped together because they have in common the following features: (1) they display that the inviter or offerer is attempting to deal with some trouble with or inadequacy of the initial version, where this trouble or inadequacy may be adversely affecting the acceptability of the invitation or offer, and (2) they provide a next place for a response, such as – but not necessarily – acceptance or rejection".

245 The short silence after "and" is to be understood as an indication that S is still making up his mind regarding the price reduction.

246 Note that Offers may function as external modifiers at the same time. Here, 49 out of 193 (25.39%) Continues (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker) are both Offer utterances and external modifiers.

204
Second, some Offers do not seem to require a response by the interlocutor, or at least not an immediate one. Good examples are certain procedural Offers (especially metacommunicative Offers) which refer to the progression of the unfolding negotiation (e.g. twice "let's see" and "we need to do this figure right now" in Ex. 276), or contingent Offers where the condition follows the Offer (e.g. the condition based on S-action "if we wanted to" in Ex. 277). The latter make up 12.44% of all Continues (24 out of 193, Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker). Alternatively, S may have planned from the outset to revise or justify his first Offer move and therefore does not expect H to answer at the first possible completion point anyway. However, this is very difficult to determine from the transcripts.

Ex. 276.  (Ir1, T134)

<Ir1B> but we could always work out a cost of, - a hundred an, - eh, - - <CLICK> - - let's see, your, <X1> if you take your <?> fiver off the chart, </?> eh, if, <P> let's see we need to do this figure right now, </P> if we're sayin it's a hundred an twenty-five, <SWALLOW> - for break=, for, for the, - rooms and breakfast,

Ex. 277.  (Ir3, T107)

<Ir3A> […] eh, we've, we've taken a hundred bookings so we've, we've, we've need for fifty, fifty-two rooms, and we, we can certainly get </E> that </E> and, the additional, the additional people we cou=, we, we </E> could </E> bring on if we wanted to, […]

4.4.3.2 Acceptance

15.40% of all observed Offer responses (83 out of 539) are Acceptances (cf. Figure 20). The vast majority of these (84.35%, 70 out of 83) are coded as Tentative/Implicit Acceptances and only 15.65% (13 out of 83) as Clear Acceptances. It is often very difficult to objectively distinguish Clear Acceptances from Tentative Acceptances. Ambiguity must be acknowledged as an inherent characteristic of Offer responses on the positive end of the continuum, ranging from expressions of general agreement with whatever the interlocutor communicates via the Offer, to positive evaluations of the Offer – possibly functioning as Implicit or Tentative Acceptances – and unequivocal Acceptances. Unlike Rejections (cf. Section 4.4.3.7), most Acceptances occur without delay (cf. Section 2.2.6.1), i.e. 61.45% (cf. Table 49 in App. 8; also cf. DAVIDSON 1990: 158).
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Section 4.4: Interactional structure of Offer sequences

SCHNEIDER (2003: 190) holds that Acceptances are reactive directives because if the Offeree verbalises his agreement with an Offer, the underlying condition of the Offer is fulfilled (cf. Section 2.2.1), and the Offerer is now obliged to carry out the action predicated in the Offer. I claim that Acceptances could likewise be called reactive commissives in the sense of I commit myself to accepting your offer and to giving something in exchange for it, e.g. a certain service, money, or repeat business.

Offerers often acknowledge Acceptances via backchannelling tokens such as okay or yeah. These tokens are called acceptance finalisers, in analogy to DAVIDSON's (1990: 163) rejection finalisers. An example is the "okay" in T227 of Ex. 278 following the Acceptance of the previously discussed issues (summarised by the same speaker Ir1A in his RCCC in T223-T225): "<E> i </E> think we can, we can handle that, you know? </R>".

Ex. 278.  (Ir1, T223-227)

<Ir1A> [...] <H> so that's one fifty-five, so that's, ehm, - that's, - eh, <M> evening meal, </M> - breakfast, and, sharing a room, for one fifty-five, <R> in dublin </R> at </§A> at </§A>
<Ir1B> </§A> yeah. </§A>
<Ir1A> the peak season <X3> night of the u 2 concert <E> i </E> think we can, we can handle that, you know? </R>
- -
<Ir1B> okay, now, i have, <L> we can supply you with, <E> buses, </E> </L>
The acceptance finaliser by Ir1B serves to ratify Ir1A’s Acceptance of the previous Offers as well as to repeat his own agreement. Another function is to bring this Offer sequence (here also a complete phase, namely a Summary phase, cf. Section 4.5.2) to a close and hence to prepare the ground for a topic change, i.e. the renewed Offer of transport to and from the soccer match in T227 (previous Offers of transport cf. T65-T68, T70). A further example is the "great" in Ex. 281.

A major difference between Offers in business negotiations and offers in everyday conversation is that the former are not accepted with expressions of gratitude, at least not in the present corpus. Consequently, there are no thank minimisers either. This is a result of the specific function of Offers in business negotiations and their implied exchange character (cf. Section 4.5.1 for a detailed discussion).

Looking at the negotiation discourse as a whole, one may argue that a definite Acceptance is only possible towards the end of a negotiation, i.e. it is marked by its macro-position. The final commitment to future actions – at least in the case of service or commodity and price Offers and Offers of a long-standing business relationship – only takes place when the deal is closed (cf. Section 4.1.1). This applies both to the making of Offers and to their acceptance by the interlocutor. Typically, the verbal expression of the interactants' final commitment is accompanied and/or followed by non-verbal gestures. Such ritualised ways of sealing a deal can be observed in the four negotiations: In Ir1 and Ir4, the participants shake hands while at the same time having eye contact and nodding slightly. The participants in Ir2A and Ir2B do not shake hands but look and nod at each other in agreement.

In a real-life negotiation, more formal actions would have to follow, e.g. a written contract to legally bind the parties to their commitments and to specify measures to enforce the agreement. A contract can be defined, in the words of the law scholar TREITEL (2003: 1), as "[…] an agreement giving rise to obligations which are enforced or recognised by law":

> The first requisite of a contract is that the parties should have reached agreement. Generally speaking, an agreement is made when one party accepts an offer made by the other. Further requirements are that the agreement must be certain and final […]. (TREITEL 2003: 8)

This has led some researchers to identify this follow-up and implementation of the outcome as a further negotiation phase following the closing phase of the negotiation proper (cf., e.g. GULLIVER 1979: 82, quoted in MARTIN 2001: 42; SAUNDERS 1999: 69). It may take several meetings of the negotiating parties before a final agreement is reached and a contract is signed.

Some phrases and exchanges in the final stages of the four Irish English negotiations are indicative of constituting or leading up to a clear, final acceptance/commitment (Ex. 279-281).

247 Cf. SHELL (2006: 191): "The goal of all negotiations is to secure commitment, not merely agreement".

248 Ir3 could not be checked as this simulation could not be video-taped (cf. Section 3.3.4).
Ex. 279.  (Ir1, T791) [as a conclusion of the last Summary phase]

<Ir1B> <CLICK> <H> eh, are you comfortable enough with that?

Ex. 280.  (Ir3, T234)

<Ir3B> eh, <2.2> <?> are you prepared </?> to do a deal on that

[...]

Ex. 281.  (Ir4, T743-T747)

<Ir4B> eh, <§B> i think we can </§B>
<Ir4A> <§B> okay, </§B>
<Ir4B> do business on that,
<Ir4A> great,
<Ir4B> <P> on that=, on that basis, yeah, yeah, <§B> yeah, </P>
</§B>

Clear Acceptance

Examples for clear, unambiguous Acceptances are Ex. 282 ("I'm happy enough with that"), Ex. 283 ("oh yeah", pronounced with additional stress), and Ex. 284 ("<E> I certainly, </E> would like to </E> fill </E> the </E> hotel, </E> all eighty, </E> double rooms, </E>"; note the many stresses). The second and third examples are delayed responses.

Ex. 282.  (Ir1, T791-T792)

<Ir1B> <CLICK> <H> eh, are you comfortable enough with that?
<Ir1A> i'm happy enough with that, [...

Ex. 283.  (Ir2, T537-T539)

<Ir2B> <?> well are you goin </> for the <E> meal? </E> <1.2>
for, at the one seventy?
<1.8>
<Ir2A> <F> <E> oh yeah </E> </F> [...]

Ex. 284.  (Ir3, T107-T111)

<Ir3A> [... eh, we've, we've taken a hundred bookings so we've
we've, we need for fifty, fifty-two rooms, and we, we can
certainly get <E> that </E> and, the additional, the additional
people we cou=, we, we <E> could </E> bring on if we wanted to,

249 In this context it is interesting to quote what the law scholar TREITEL writes with reference to English contract law: "An acceptance is a final and unqualified expression of assent to the terms of an offer. [...]" (TREITEL 2003: 16) and "An offer may be accepted by conduct, e.g. by supplying or despatching goods in response to an offer to buy them, or by beginning to render services in response to an offer in the form of a request for them. Similarly, an offer to supply goods (made by sending them to the offeree) can be accepted by using them. Conduct will, however, only have this effect if the offeree did the act with the intention (ascertained in accordance with the objective principle) of accepting the offer." (TREITEL 2003: 18). Note that in the first part of the second quotation the notion of what an offer and what an acceptance is, is turned around compared to how the terms are used in the present study. TREITEL's use of the terms implicitly confirms the definition of Acceptances as reactive commissives. Obviously, Offers and Acceptances do not always have to be verbalised. What TREITEL takes as an acceptance refers to both the linguistic cooperation and the material cooperation addressed in Section 4.5.1.
but, again, eh:m, - - that depends on, on, on getting the rooms, and, and, <P> an getting it at a, </P> <HH> at a price that's, - - <SWALLOW> that's, that's profitable to us to be honest with you, </HH> <§A> and, </§A> 

In Ex. 282 and 283, both Clear Acceptances are answers to yes/no questions (Preference Statement Offer). The *oh yeah* in Ex. 283 is not a Backchannelling Token (cf. Section 4.4.3.3).

Tentative/Implicit Acceptance

Tentative/Implicit Acceptances are hypothetical, provisional, sometimes equivocal Acceptances. They include positive evaluations, i.e. tokens such as *(that is) good, perfect, grand, great, fine, attractive* (called appreciation tokens *A* *IJMER* 1996: 194 and engagement tokens by *O'KEEFFE & ADOLPHS* 2008: 84, 87-88), which are sometimes intensified by upgraders such as *very* or *extremely* or by additional prosodic stress (Ex. 285). Although they are coded in the present study as Tentative/Implicit Acceptance, they have the potential for functioning as a Clear Acceptance, depending on their position.

Ex. 285. *(Ir3, T204-T206)*

Particularly in the final stages of a negotiation, Tentative/Implicit Acceptances hint at a potential willingness to a more definite commitment in the near future, or at least at a positive attitude towards a final acceptance (e.g. *Ir1, T796: "Good. That's perfect", T800 and T803: "Perfect").

Interestingly, an Acceptance can be implied in a Request which signals that, generally, the offeree has no objections against the Offer, or that he evaluates it positively, but without clearly accepting it.

Ex. 286. *(Ir1, T119-T120)*
In Ex. 286, the Request by Ir1B that the check which Ir1A is willing to forward should also include the margin on the breakfast can be interpreted as a Tentative/Implicit Acceptance of Ir1A's Offer in T119. Similarly, an Offer may function as a Tentative/Implicit Acceptance of the interlocutor's Offer.

Ex. 287. (Ir3, T164-T168)

<Ir3A> a few beers, an, <HH> - but, <E> you </E> offered </F> to pick us up, <X1> straight after the match,
<Ir3B> yes,
<Ir3A> if we take it up on that, an <§A> not, </§A>
<Ir3B> <§A> <?> yes, </?> </§A>
<Ir3A> an hour, two hours, three hours after the match, if we will stay out at your hotel, […]

In T166-T168 of Ex. 287, for instance, Ir3A's Tentative/Implicit Acceptance "if we take it up on that, and not an hour, two hours, three hours after the match, if we will stay out at your hotel" of Ir3B's Offer "yes" (Response to RCCC, Confirmatory or Compliance Signal) contains the non-elicited Offer "if we will stay out at your hotel".

Accepting an Offer tentatively/implicitly instead of unequivocally provides the Offeree with the opportunity to attend to the Offerer's positive (professional) face wants without clearly committing himself. It is therefore a professional face-saving strategy, as far as both the other's and his own professional face are concerned. It can be regarded as an evasive strategy which leaves the door open for the Offeree who can postpone his final decision and thereby gain time.

4.4.3.3 Backchannelling Token

Another, even more non-committal response than a Tentative/Implicit Acceptance is a Backchannelling Token. With 37.48% (202 out of 539) of all observed Offer responses, Backchannelling Tokens are the most frequently occurring type of Offer response (cf. Figure 20). In the literature, different labels are being used: e.g. *accompaniment signal* (KENDON 1967), *backchannel* (YNGVE 1970), *acknowledge act* (SINCLAIR & COULTHARD 1975), *minimal response* (ZIMMERMAN & WEST 1975; FELLEGY 1995), *listener response* (e.g. ROGER, BULL & SMYTH 1988), *response token* (SILVERMAN 1998; GARDNER 2001; O'KEEFFE & ADOLPHS 2008). There is no unanimity among researchers concerning which tokens fall under these generic categories and which do not, and the numerous definitions for these terms overlap.

The tokens found in the present data include the non-word vocalisations *mh, ehm, mhm, oh*, and laughter (Ex. 288), as well as the lexicalised items *yeah, yes, okay, right, alright, absolutely, exactly, well, sure.*

251 Non-verbal cues (e.g. head nods) are not considered.
Ex. 288. (Ir4, T536-T541)

<Ir4B> eh, so, §B> you know, </§B>
<Ir4A> §B> yeah, </§B>
<Ir4B> all the §X2> §B> people can go to one place, </§B>
<Ir4A> §B> <LAUGH> </§B> <LAUGH>
<Ir4B> §X3>, §B> eh:, you know, </§B>
<Ir4A> §B> §X3>, that's great, </§B>

Yeah is by far the most frequent token (cf. Table 16). This corresponds with O’KEEFFE & ADOLPHS’s (2008: 78) findings in their study of response tokens in two corpora of spoken Irish English and British English (casual conversations). According to GARDNER (2001: 35), it is even "the most common response token of any kind in ordinary conversation in English", a finding which is based on his analysis of conversational corpora of Australian, US American, and British English. Interestingly, okay, well, yes, alright, absolutely, exactly are not among the tokens which occur more than five times in O’KEEFFE & ADOLPHS's spoken Irish English data (but some of them occurred in their British English data).252

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Backchannelling Token</th>
<th>Frequency of occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yeah</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okay</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhm</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehm, eh:m, eh::m</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alright</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;LAUGH&gt;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sure</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutely</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exactly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Absolute frequency of occurrence of the Offer response Backchannelling Token in the present corpus (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker, n = 299)253

252 O’KEEFFE & ADOLPHS (2008: 77-78) do not, however, investigate vocalisations such as mh or mhm, nor response tokens which precede another utterance within the same turn. Their engagement tokens (e.g. excellent) are coded as Tentative/Implicit Acceptances in the present study if they display a positive evaluation of the Offer.

253 The total number of individual tokens (299) is larger than the total number of Offer responses coded as Backchannelling Token (202) because one Offer response may consist of a cluster of two or more tokens.
An interesting characteristic of Backchannelling Tokens is that they tend to be ambiguous and variable; they can fulfil multiple functions at the same time (cf. Gardner 2001: 8 and Section 4.2.2). The following functions listed by O’Keeffe & Adolphs (2008) and Gardner (2001) could be identified in the Irish English negotiation data:

- Signal for the success of a sensory perception process: active listening, demonstration of one's attention, and thereby acknowledgement of the Offer utterance (T155 in Ex. 289)
- Signal for the success of a cognitive process: comprehension of the contents of the Offer utterance (T155 in Ex. 289 and Ex. 290 where it is made explicit)
- Maintenance of the flow of talk, especially if pronounced with level pitch: encouragement of the Offerer to keep the floor (T155 in Ex. 289)
- Hesitation in order to hold the floor before another utterance is made, especially if pronounced with level pitch (T149 in Ex. 291)
- (Weak) agreement with the Offer (cf. Davidson 1990: 157-158), especially if pronounced with falling pitch (Ex. 292 and Ex. 293)
- Signal of a topic boundary or closure, especially if pronounced with falling pitch: mutual understanding that common ground has been established on a certain matter and that the speakers can begin with the next conversational activity (Ex. 292)


Ex. 289. (Ir2, T154-T159)

<iIr2B> <§> <X2> <?> things </?> </§> would, would, - would they be, interested, - say f=, ehm, - okay, saturday we’d take them up <?> to </?> the <TIME10.0> match, they're down early friday, <Ir2A> yeah,
<iIr2B> ehm, would you be interested in havin a <E> meal </E> in the hotel friday night, <1.7> or would you see yourselves goin

254 In one textbook on negotiation, acknowledgement is recommended as a way of active listening. The authors also point to the inherent ambiguity of these tokens: “These responses are sufficient to keep communicators sending messages, but a sender may misinterpret them as the receiver's agreement with his or her position, rather than as simple acknowledgments of receipt of the message.” (Lewicki et al. 2003: 139).

255 Cf. the law scholar Treitel's distinction between acceptance and acknowledgement: "An acceptance is a final and unqualified expression of assent to the terms of an offer. The objective test of agreement applies to an acceptance no less than to an offer. On this test, a mere acknowledgment of an offer would not be an acceptance, nor would a person to whom an offer to sell goods had been made accept it merely by replying that it was his 'intention to place an order' or by asking for an invoice. The mere acknowledgment of an offer, in the sense of a communication stating simply that the offer had been received, would likewise not be an acceptance. But an 'acknowledgement' may by its express terms or, in a particular context by implication, contain a statement that the sender agreed to the terms of the offer and that he was therefore accepting it […]" (Treitel 2003: 16-17).

256 A more detailed analysis of the prosodic qualities of Backchannelling Tokens in negotiations would be an interesting subject for further studies and would yield deeper insights into their various functions.
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Section 4.4: Interactional structure of Offer sequences

Ex. 290.  (Ir2, T413-T417)

<Ir2B> if we remain, if we bring down, if we say that the one night is included, it, that sorry, the dinner, <SWALLOW> for the friday night is included in the one ninety, <1.6> as a starter, - - eh, <1.2> so <X1>, they'll still pay, the one ninety, plus <X1>, maybe a small discount, - - but <E> that </E> will include the evening meal for f=, for free, it's included in that rate, <1.0>
<Ir2A> yeah, yeah, <§A> yeah i think </§A>
<Ir2B> <§A> eh, <X2> </§A>
<Ir2A> now i know ? what you're talking about, </?> <§A> yeah, yeah, </§A>

Ex. 291.  (Ir1, T148-T151)

<Ir1B> okay. - - fair enough. <2.3> now, - how are, how are the, let's say we're, we're agreein on, that a hundred an twenty-five per night.
<Ir1A> mh, <CLICK> and, you can give us the, the eighty rooms, eighty double rooms,
<Ir1B> the eighty double rooms.
<Ir1A> mh okay.

Ex. 292.  (Ir1, T564-T571)

<Ir1B> eh:, - - <?> we go=, you gonna get a </?> euro each, of, that,
<Ir1A> yeah.
<Ir1B> for that.
<Ir1A> yeah. <CLICK> - - <E> okay. </E>
<8.4>

<Ir1?> okay.<4.6>
<Ir1B> so, do you have any other, requirements?

Ex. 293.  (Ir3, T191-T192)

<Ir3B> that's true, - - <CLICK> ehm, <1.0> </?> as i said fergus, i mean, - - we're <E> both </E> in business, <1.0> and eh, i suppose what we're <E> both </E> looking for here is a, a <E> win-win </E> situation.
<Ir3A> absolutely, <§A> yeah, </§A>

Backchannelling Tokens may occur alone within a turn, but not necessarily. If they do, S wants to "keep the conversation going" (O'KEEFFE & ADOLPHS 2008: 73) without taking the floor himself. Ex. 289 is of particular interest in this context. Ir2A, the
tour operator, successfully signals in T155 that he wants the hotel manager, Ir2B, to continue to talk, by using the token *yeah*. Ir2B hence makes a further Offer. His insecurity as to the other's attitude towards the Offers is noticeable because he waits for feedback which Ir2A does not provide. This results in a longer pause, followed by an alternative suggestion, another pause, another Offer followed by a long silence again, and so on. It becomes obvious that his Offers are not yet deemed sufficient by Ir2A in T158 when Ir2A explicitly asks Ir2B to "go on", to "keep talking".

Sometimes S combines two or more different tokens (T151 in Ex. 291, Ex. 293, Ex. 294), or reduplicates one and the same several times (Ex. 294 and 295), possibly to emphasise his (weak) agreement, or to keep the floor a little longer if he needs more time to think about what else to say, or how to put it. Backchannelling Tokens may also precede other Offer responses such as Tentative/Implicit Acceptances (Ex. 295), Echoes (Ex. 296), or Further Inquiries/Requests (Ex. 294), resulting in double codings (cf. App. 4.4).

Ex. 294. (Ir4, T28-T31)

```
<Ir4A> <§B> you see but </§B> there is also a waiting list of fifty, more, <H> eh, so, i mean, there <X1> wouldn't be a problem in terms of, <P> <M> i think </M> </P> guaranteeing a hundred, eh plus then four officials as well, <>? that we ca=, can </>? you know, <§A> with the </§A>
<Ir4B> <§A> right, </§A>
<Ir4A> party as well, so,
<Ir4B> right, <>? <M> yeah, alright, your, </M> </?> the four officials <>? will </?> keep the hundred <§B> under control, </?>
```

Ex. 295. (Ir4, T35-T37)

```
<Ir4A> of fans, and, ehm, <H> obviously, maybe, from the hotel in terms of covering yourselves as maybe looking for, <H> ehm, you know, a higher deposit or, or whatever it is, to </§A> cover, against, </§A>
<Ir4B> <§A> right, </§A> right, </§A>
<Ir4A> any potential damage, or </§A> whatever, </§A>
<Ir4B> <§A> <P> right, </§A> right, </P> - - that's great mark, yeah well, <?> it isn't, </?> you know, we have had the <X1> email conversations and </§B> so on, </§B>
```

Ex. 296. (Ir1, T27-T28)

```
<Ir1B> okay, well, straight away we have a slight problem that I've only, a hundred and sixty, - ro=, eh, spaces, that's eighty rooms, eighty double rooms,
<Ir1A> <P> okay, you've got eighty double rooms, right what we </P>
<§A> can </§A>
```

Ex. 297. (Ir1, T189-T194)

```
<Ir1A> so that's thirty, and we're getting that, - eh, for, <P> yeah, okay. - - <H> eh, <2.4> yeah, that's, </M> </P> that's coming out at four six eight 0, - mh okay, <H> and then we have obviously our, we, we have our standard margin on the room,
```

Ex. 298. (Ir1, T280-T281)

```
<Ir1B> yeah.
```
If the interlocutor interprets the occurrence of a Backchannelling Token as a potential pre-rejection, he may – just as when the addressee completely fails to respond – repeat or modify the initial Offer (cf. DAVIDSON 1984: 109-110, 1990: 157-158; GARDNER 2001: 14-15). This is illustrated in Ex. 297 when the tour operator, after a pause of almost three seconds, only responds with the Backchannelling Token "mh, okay" (followed by "eh:" after another silence) to the hotel managers Offer in T191 (Confirmatory Signal). This makes the hotel manager explain his Offer further in T194. He reformulates his utterance several times until he finally (after several longer pauses) says what the package price would be, and how much of that the tour operator would get.

4.4.3.4 Echo

An Echo describes an Offeree's repetition or paraphrase of the Offer utterance or of a part thereof (T325 in Ex. 298 and T63 in Ex. 299). Echoes make up 4.64% (25 out of 539) of all observed Offer responses (cf. Figure 20).

Ex. 298. (Ir2, T324-T325)

<Ir2A> if i take over your hotel, <§A> yeah? </§A>
<Ir2B> if you could <§A> take over the hotel,

Ex. 299. (Ir3, T62-T63)

<Ir3B> limited number of bookings, that i believe we can relocate, without causing, significant, eh, inconvenience, to those bookings,
<Ir3A> these are, are existing <§A> bookings, okay, <X1> </§A>

An Echo is an ambiguous, vague, and rather neutral response. Echoes can be regarded as a specific form of acknowledgement of the other speaker's previous statement, similar to Backchannelling Tokens. They serve to avoid accepting or rejecting the Offer, to buy time, to signal understanding, to find out if the Offer has been understood correctly, or to seek renewed confirmation. In the latter two cases, the Echo functions simultaneously as an RCCC which possibly elicits another Offer (cf.

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257 Note that some researchers, for instance DUNCAN & FISKE (1977), subsume tokens which fall under my Echo category (as well as some types of Further Inquiries) under backchannels or other generic labels.

258 LEWICKI ET AL. (2003: 139) recommend restating or paraphrasing as another way of active listening during a negotiation.
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BILBOW 2002: 297). This applies to nine of the 25 Echoes found in the present corpus, for instance twice in Ex. 300.

Ex. 300. (Ir1, T41-T44)

<i>Ir1A</i> I can give you a firm numbers at this stage, that we would take, eh, a hundred and, the hundred and <P> sixty rooms. </P>
<i>Ir1B</i> a hundred and sixty rooms.
<i>Ir1A</i> that's right, a hundred and sixty, <>?> the <</>?> bed nights, so, <>?> that <</>?> the eighty rooms, - for both o the nights,
<i>Ir1B</i> right. <2.3> for both nights.
<i>Ir1A</i> <P> yeah. </P>

4.4.3.5 Further Inquiry/Request

14.29% of all observed Offer responses (77 out of 539) are Further Inquiries/Requests (cf. Figure 20). By means of a Further Inquiry/Request, the Offeree tries to elicit more information about the Offer, to check if there has been a misunderstanding, or to get clarification. Further Inquiries/Requests initiate pre-responding exchanges (insertion sequences in CA terminology), although a Satisfy may never, or not until many turns later, occur to terminate the exchange. Just like Tentative/Implicit Acceptances, Backchannelling Tokens and Echoes, Further Inquiries/Requests are reactions by which the Offeree can delay a more definite response without completely ignoring the Offer. It can, therefore, be used as a professional face-saving strategy.

Some Further Inquiries/Requests function as RCCCs (37 out of 77) and hence possibly elicit a further Offer, as in T237-T239 ("you're on the 6.20, and you're on the 15, - - 6.20 for the coach, 15 for the meal") and T241 ("and a bottle of wine on top of that") in Ex. 301.

Ex. 301. (Ir2, T234-T244)

<i>Ir2B</i> <§A> so if we talked, eh:m, </§A> <H> eh::, - - - you're talkin about, <§B> <P> <X2> </P> </§B> <§B>
<i>Ir2A</i> <§B> <X2> one nine=, </§B> one ninety, yeah,
<i>Ir2B</i> so it's one ninety per person,
<i>Ir2A</i> you're on the six twenty, an you're on the fifteen, - - six twenty for the coach, fifteen for the:, for the:, for <§A>
<i>Ir2B</i> the:, for the, <§A>
<i>Ir2B</i> for the dinner, <§A>
<i>Ir2A</i> for the meal,
<i>Ir2B</i> yeah,
<i>Ir2A</i> an a bottle o wine on top o that, well,
<i>Ir2B</i> which, <§B> <M> <X3> </M> that's, <X4> - that'd be thrown</§B>
<i>Ir2A</i> <§B> per room <X4> bottle o wine <X4> </§B>
<i>Ir2B</i> in for free,
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Ex. 302. (Ir3, T95-T104)

<Ir3B> we could ehm, <2.3> <?> bus <</?> out <E> all </E> of your people, <1.5> eh:, <E> directly </E> to the match, from the hotel foyer, and, eh, <E> directly </E> back <E> to the hotel, <H> eh, immediately after the eh, the match <E> ends, </E>
-<Ir3A><CLICK> okay, now what would that work out as, - - what could you do <§A> that for, </§A>
<Ir3B> <§A> well, </F> </§A> - - let's look at an all-in price, <1.2> ehm, <6.3> eh, if we talked about, eh, <12.5> if we talked about eh, <2.6> a hundred and - ninety-seven, - - euros <E> fifty, </E>
<5.7> <Ir3A> eh, for which, eh,<-
-<Ir3B> if we talked about a hundred an ninety-seven euros <E> fifty, </E> <3.7> in respect of <E> eighty </E> rooms, - - eh, and, - - eh, where, we would provide, a, <E> coach </E> transfer, from the <E> hotel </E> foyer, - eh <E> to </E> the match, - - eh, and, return afterwards, - - eh:, to the hotel.
<1.0> <Ir3A><CLICK> yeah, it's still it's still a bit too <E> much </E> john, to be honest with you. ehm, <3.9> you know i mean <?> i i'd, to be <E> honest </E> with you, </?> i think, a lot of the people would actually probably prefer to stay in the city centre, - unless it was really worth their while and at <E> that </E> price, i just think <E> don't </E> think it is, <§A> a:nd, </§A>

According to PARAMASIVAM (2007: 103), clarification requests may "car[y] the notion of disagreement", which is observable in Ex. 302. In T95, Ir3B makes a service Offer which is acknowledged by Ir3A in T97 via "okay". Ir3A then further inquires about the price for the service. Based on the information yielded by Ir3B in T98-T102, Ir3A rejects the service for this particular price in T104. This does not necessarily mean that he rejects the service itself, but that he is not willing to pay so much for it. In the end, however, the tour operator turns down the transport Offer in hopes of getting a lower price. He and the hotel manager finally agree on a price of 182 Euro for one double room per night, without breakfast and without transport (T221-T228).

4.4.3.6 Ignore

In 19.48% of all observed Offer responses (105 out of 539), the Offeree shows no reaction towards the Offer at all (cf. Figure 20). However, unlike with the continuation pattern Continue (cf. Section 4.4.3.1), where the addressee only has a very brief opportunity to respond after the first TRP (usually while S makes a micropause to take a breath), the addressee ignores the Offer in one of two different ways: a) although there would be ample opportunity to take the floor because the Offerer does not hold it, the addressee does not take it either; b) the Offeree takes the floor but shifts or changes the topic, i.e. his response does not (directly) relate to the previous Offer. The interlocutor may perceive this as a threat to his professional face.
As mentioned before, studies on offers in everyday conversation have found that the absence of a response may be interpreted by the interlocutor as a rejection, or as heralding a rejection (cf. Rubin 1983: 12; cf. Davidson 1984: 116, 1990: 159), which may prompt the Offerer to repeat or rephrase his Offer or to make a new one (cf. Ex. 289).

Other studies suggest that if the addressee fails to respond to an offer, this may be regarded as impolite behaviour:

[…]T] he addressee's freedom to accept or reject the offer is not so constrained. Since he is the only beneficiary of the action, he is free to decide whether he wants the speaker to carry out the specified action or not. Nevertheless, he is invariably expected to reject or accept the offer. Ignoring the speaker's offer by not responding to it would also count as a violation of the convention of politeness […]. An offer which meets no response may be interpreted as lack of concern for the speaker on the part of the addressee, which would create a negative state of affairs for the speaker, and count as an instance of impolite behaviour on the addressee's part. (Pérez Hernández 2001: 88)

In the present study, no evidence for an interpretation of Ignores as impolite reactions could be found. This supports the assumption that the genre negotiation follows a different set of politeness rules than everyday conversation (cf. Section 4.1.3). Rather, Ignores are the most obvious way of avoiding a direct acceptance or rejection of the Offer (cf. Bilbow 2002: 292) and can, if consciously made, be seen as a tactical means, i.e. as an evasion strategy (cf. Schatzki 1981: 82).

Pause

When neither Offerer nor Offeree takes the floor after a silence of more than one second, the response is coded as a Pause. Most of the Ignores are Pauses (95 out of 105, i.e. 90.48%). In Ex. 303, the tour operator does not respond to the hotel manager's Offer of four rooms for the accompanying staff for free ("that'd be two extra rooms so it'd be fifty-four rooms, - - which'd be free"), which prompts him to rephrase it twice with added emphasis ("<E> your four rooms </E> would be <E> free, </E>"), "the four rooms for the staff"). However, Ir2A still does not respond. After a silence of more than five seconds, he instead makes an RCCC which refers to an earlier price Offer, although he indirectly takes Ir2B's latest Offer from T246 into account.

Ex. 303. (Ir2, T246-T248)

218
In the present corpus, Pauses occur for a variety of reasons, including the avoidance of an outright Offer acceptance or rejection, mental processes (i.e. evaluation of the Offer) but also activities such as skimming through notes or calculating prices. Since non-verbal behaviour is not transcribed in the present study, the occurrence of Pauses should not be over-interpreted here.

**Topic Shift or Change**

The remaining 9.52% of all Ignores (ten out of 105) are Topic Shifts/Changes. In none of these ten instances does the communication between the negotiating parties break down when the Offeree shifts or changes a topic in response to an Offer, instead of stating his negative (Rejection), positive (Acceptance), inquiring (Further Inquiry/Request), or neutral (Backchannelling Token, Echo) attitude. This is interesting, because with Topic Shifts/Changes, the principle of local coherence, which says that a preceding utterance forms the frame of reference for the utterance which follows immediately (cf. LEVINSON 1983: 314-315), may be overruled.

In Ex. 304, the hotel manager (Ir1B) does not immediately respond to the tour operator's (Ir1A) Offer to "encourage them [i.e. the fans] to stay in the bar for the two nights" (T84), so Ir1A adds two Grounders to support his Offer: "cos the football match is on the Friday night, that they could watch", and "that would obviously increase <E> your </E> bar receipts". Still, Ir1B only signals that he has heard or understood Ir1A via a Backchannelling Token ("mhm", T85). Then he introduces a new topic: the hooligan troubles that occurred after the last match between the Bohemians and Cork City in an FAI Cup match when several dozens of Cork City fans were arrested after they had gone on a rampage in downtown Dublin. The hotel manager is obviously concerned about having potential trouble makers in his hotel bar. The reason, however, why he hesitates to accept Ir1A's Offer and brings up the negative aspect of the group of soccer fans is that the Offer is contingent upon a Request for Offer ("if you were to say, <E> not </E> to include breakfast, but give us a percentage of the breakfast receipts on top of that. And as well as that get a percentage of your bar [receipts]"). Accepting the Offer would imply accepting the Request as well.

Ex. 304. (Ir1, T84-T94)

<Ir1A> well what we'd like to try and do obviously is is, you know, we're sensitive to the fact that <E> you, </E> - in, in this situation, you're including breakfast there now if you were to say, <E> not </E> to include breakfast, but give us a percentage of the breakfast receipts, - - on top of that. - - and as well as that get a percentage of your bar, - eh, if we encourage them to stay in the bar, - eh, for the two nights, and we'd arrange, - cos the football match is you know on the friday night, that they could watch. - - ehm, that that would make sense. that would obviously increase <E> your </E> bar receipts.

---

259 Ir1A probably refers to another soccer match the fans could watch on the television in the hotel bar.

260 This topic is prompted by the simulation brief (cf. App. 2.3).
<Ir1B> mhm, - eh we have a slight concern. - - in that, eh, the last time, - - these fans came to dublin. - - they, - - ran out of control. - - went on a rampage in dublin.

<Ir1A> mhm,

<Ir1B> eh, - - although the match was fine but those, arrests made, - eh, i'm just worried about my property,

<1.0>

<Ir1A> right.

<Ir1B> and the potential of damage, eh, - - to a, to $B$ the,

<$/B$>

<Ir1A> $B$ mhm,

<$/B$>

<Ir1B> to the, eh hotel,

<Ir1A> <H> yeah, </H>

<Ir1B> eh, - how would your company feel about puttin a, a refundable deposit, down, eh, to cover any potential damage.

Ex. 305. (Ir3, T59-T70)

<Ir3A> $A$ we $/A$ wouldn't be able to, $H$ eh, if i was to, <1.6> <CLICK> <E> how $/E$ many rooms do you $E$ have $/E$ in your hotel,

<Ir3B> eh, well, i think we, $E$ may $/E$ be in a position, to relocate some of the existing bookings, eh, fergus, we $B$ have a $/B$

<Ir3A> $B$ okay,

<$/B$>

<Ir3B> limited number of bookings, that i believe we can relocate, without causing, significant, eh, inconvenience, to those bookings,

<Ir3A> these are, are existing $A$ bookings, okay, <X1> $/A$

<Ir3B> $A$ the $E$ existing $/E$ bookings, $/A$ which we $E$ may $/E$ be in a position to $E$ relocate, $/E$

-<Ir3A> well, tell you what, - - <CLICK> what if i was to, <1.5> $E$ book, eighty $/E$ rooms, <1.7>

<Ir3B?> <CLICK> eh:m,

<Ir3A> to book the entire hotel, $A$ would you $/A$

<Ir3B> $A$ well, $/A$

<Ir3A> be able to do me a better deal,

In some cases of Top Shift/Change, S goes back to what he himself had said before (self-coherence). In T66-T68 of Ex. 305, for instance, Ir3A does not respond to Ir3B's Offer of relocating existing bookings (T64) but makes an Offer himself: "well, tell you what, what if I was to book eighty rooms". Most likely the tour operator here takes up the Offer he started to make in T59 without finishing the utterance ("if I was to") – he interrupted himself and asked about the number of rooms available in the hotel. Thereby he initiated an insertion sequence at the end of which he had all the information he needed to finish off his Offer utterance. His intention to request the information on the number of available rooms is obvious from what follows this Offer, which turns out to be a contingent Offer linked to a Request for "a better deal" (T68-T70).
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4.4.3.7 Rejection

By making a Rejection in response to an Offer, S expresses his disagreement with one of the interlocutor's previous utterances. Disagreements result from misunderstandings, or from a lack of understanding (often due to a lack of information) and/or dissent. In her study on disagreements in negotiations, STALPERS notes:

In the case of a misunderstanding, the sharing of common ground is erroneously assumed by the participants. In the case of dissent, participants are aware of the fact that they do not share common ground with respect to a particular matter, because of a difference of opinion. The distinction between the two in empirical data is not always clear. [...] Apparently, the two kinds of disturbances [...] are close to each other, sometimes even to the extent that it looks as if this ambiguity can be exploited by the conversationalists. (STALPERS 1995: 276, 277)

Rejections make up 7.24% of all observed Offer responses (39 out of 539) in the present corpus, which is 8.16 percentage points less than Acceptances (cf. Figure 20). This result is not surprising if one takes into account that a Rejection is more final than an Acceptance; it is easier to reject an Offer which had been accepted tentatively at an earlier stage of the negotiation than to accept an Offer which had already been rejected beforehand. However, exceptions are possible if the Offeree gains more relevant information about the Offer which makes him change his opinion (cf. the discussion of the self-corrections displayed in Ex. 311 and 314 below and in Ex. 240 in Section 4.4.1.3; also cf. Section 4.5.1.2).

As with Clear and Tentative/Implicit Acceptances, it is difficult to define the boundary between Clear and Tentative/Implicit Rejections. Negative responses cover a range of utterances, from careful statements of disagreement, negative evaluations of the Offer to outright negations of the other's statement. The difference between the frequency of tentative or implicit and unambiguous response codings is rather negligible in this small corpus: there are only slightly more Tentative/Implicit Rejections (53.87%, 21 out of 39) than Clear Rejections (46.13%, 18 out of 39).

Most Offer Rejections found in the present data are mitigated in one way or another, which is evidence for their dispreferred status as the second part of the adjacency pair Offer – response (cf. Section 2.2.6.2; STALPERS 1995: 277-280; MARTIN 2001: 209-216; PARAMASIVAM 2007: 102-110). Most obvious is that 84.62% of all Rejections (33 out of 39, cf. Table 49 in App. 8) are delayed, i.e. they are structurally marked. For instance, Ir2B's Offer in T147 of Ex. 306 (which is also discussed in Section 4.4.3.1) is clearly rejected by Ir2A in T148, but only after several pauses, hesitators ("eh"), and the tag-positioned component "before they're too inebriated" (Grounder) by the Offerer.

261 An interesting parallel from a (British) legal perspective can be found in TREITEL (2003: 43): "An offer is terminated by rejection. An attempt to accept an offer on new terms, not contained in the offer, may be a rejection of the offer accompanied by a counter-offer. An offeree who makes such an attempt cannot later accept the original offer."

262 However, Rejections may also be intensified by means of upgraders such as religious swear words (cf. Ex. 70-74 in Section 4.1.3).

263 Also cf. the discussion of Ex. 311 and Ex. 313.
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Ex. 306. (Ir2, T147-T148)

<Ir2B> [...] we could arrange a bus, to bring them to the match, an arr=, an let them, - - stay around town then for a couple o hours, an then get them back by, - eleven o'clock, <1.2> at twelve o'clock, - - before they're too, - - - <?> inebriated,
</?/- - eh, <§B> <X5> <LAUGH> </§B>
<Ir2A> <§B> you know yourself, i'm not tryin to get a,
</§B> <LA> tryin to get a crowd of a hundred lads out of a pub to round them up never mind to <?> getting their </?/> bus, </LA>

Offer Rejections are also often mitigated by means of internal modification, choice of perspective, or supportive moves. In Ex. 307 and Ex. 308, the tour operator refers to his customers, the group of soccer fans, and their potential interests in order to reject the hotel manager's Offers, possibly to deflect responsibility and save professional face (cf. Section 4.1.3).

Ex. 307. (Ir3, T46-T54)

<Ir3B> eh:, well, ehm, our <E> current </E> rate, given, the demand, and there's not a, there's not a bedroom to be had in the eh, in the city, <H> <CLICK> eh, given, the demand, of the moment, eh, our, our rates are ehm, four hundred euros, for, <E> two </E> nights, eh, <H> eh, for a double room,
- -
<Ir3A> mh,
<2.3>
<Ir3B> <H> eh, - - now as you know, we're not very long open, eh, we have a, - - a very <E> fine </E> reputation, <H> eh, we <E> don't generally, </E> eh, cater, for, ehm, <E> city-based </E> events, ehm, eh, we're more, ehm, eh, a <E> business hotel, </E> eh, and also, eh you know, offering, ehm, some, ehm, <E> tourism, </E> ehm opportunities, you know, <§B> we're very close to the </§B>
<Ir3A> <§B> mh, - - mhm, </§B>
<Ir3B> wicklow <E> mountains, </E> <§B> eh, </§B>
<Ir3A> <§B> well, </§B> i suppose john, the only thing is, my people have, <E> no </E> interest in the wicklow mountains. ehm, an i suppose, for <E> four </E> hundred euros, to be honest with you, - - we could probably, <1.6> go into town for that.
<Ir3B> yeah,

Ex. 308. (Ir3, T102-T104)

<Ir3B> if we talked about a hundred an ninety-seven euros <E> fifty, </E> <3.7> in respect of <E> eighty </E> rooms, - - eh, and, - - eh, where, we would provide, a, <E> coach </E> transfer, from the <E> hotel </E> foyer, - eh <E> to </E> the match, - - eh, and, return afterwards, - - eh:, to the hotel.
<1.0>
<Ir3A> <CLICK> yeah, it's still it's still a bit too <E> much </E> john, to be honest with you. ehm, <3.9> you know i mean <?> i i'd, to be <E> honest </E> with you, </?/> i think, a lot of the

264 PARAMASIVAM (2007: 110) argues with BROWN & LEVINSON (1987) that these are solidarity politeness strategies used to redress the power displayed via disagreements, which are inherently face-threatening acts. I, however, tend to avoid the concept of politeness in this context and prefer to use the more neutral term relational work, following my argumentation in Section 4.1.3.
people would actually probably prefer to stay in the city centre, - unless it was really worth their while and at <E> that </E> price, i just think <E> don't </E> think it is, <§A>a:nd, </§A>

In T53 of Ex. 307, the tour operator rejects the hotel manager's Offer of 400 Euro for two nights in a double room (T46) after a short pause and a Backchannelling Token (T47-T48), followed by a longer pause (T49) and the hotel manager's lengthy praise of his Offer (T50-T52, acknowledged by the other via the response tokens "mhm"). The hotel manager makes two Rejection utterances. In the first, he claims that his customers do not value all of the hotel's advantages pointed out by the hotel manager ("well, I suppose John, the only thing is, my people have <E> no </E> interest in the Wicklow Mountains"), which implies their disapproval of the quoted price for accommodation. As the hotel manager does not react to the Rejection, the tour operator goes on with a further Rejection: "ehm, and I suppose, for <E> four </E> hundred Euros, to be honest with you, - - we could probably, <1.6> go into town for that". Mitigation here includes the starter "well", the hedging expression "I suppose", and the Disarmer "to be honest with you". Ex. 308 also contains two Rejections. The straightforward Rejection "it's still a bit too <E> much </E> John" in T104 is supported by a second, more tentative rejective response ("I think a lot of the people would actually probably prefer to stay in the city centre") after the hotel manager fails to respond to the first Rejection. It is highly mitigated by the Disarmer "to be honest with you" (uttered twice) and the internal modifiers "you know", "I mean", "actually", and "probably".

STALPERS (1995: 281) points out that despite the apparent high absolute frequency of mitigation strategies employed in accompaniment with Offer Rejections in business negotiations (an observation also made by PARAMASIVAM 2007: 111), everyday conversations seem to display an even greater amount. This confirms my assumption raised in Section 4.1.3:

[...]In business talk, disagreement is not seen as an act which needs to be formulated with a lot of precaution. In other words, in business talk, participants are less afraid of possible negative effects disagreement could have on the relationship with their partners. A reason for this might be that business talk is less personal than casual conversation and that, therefore, chances to hurt or offend the partner are small. [...] The low degree of mitigation found in business talk (with regard to disagreement acts) could also indicate that politeness requirements are more relaxed in business talk than in casual conversation. That is to say, the speakers give priority to the conversational maxim of demanding clearness to that of demanding politeness (Lakoff 1973). (STALPERS 1995: 281)

If an Offer is rejected, the Offerer may (or may not) accept this Rejection. Tokens signalling that a Rejection has been accepted (called rejection finaliser, DAVIDSON 1990: 163; cf. Section 2.2.6) are, for instance, "yeah" in T54 in Ex. 307 or "right" in T123 of Ex. 310. Thus, the speakers reach a common understanding about the issue in question although the outcome of the Offer exchange or sequence is a negative one. If the Offerer does not verbalise his acceptance of the Rejection (possibly resulting in a longer pause) or makes only a weak disagreement, the rejecter may interpret these reactions as disagreement-implicative (i.e. the Offerer does not take the Rejection as final and may repeat or argumentatively support the Offer). Consequently, the
rejector may decide to rephrase his Rejection, or to provide arguments in support of it (cf. DAVIDSON 1990: 166-176).

In the present data, ritual Offer rejections as described by BARRON (2003: 129-130; cf. Section 2.2.6.2) are not found. Most likely, these ritual refusals are a typical feature of Irish English everyday conversations but not of negotiations. In negotiations, Offers are refused because the Offeree hopes to get a different or better Offer from the other party, and not for politeness reasons. The type of ritual Offer rejections observed by KOUTLAKI (2002: 1751-1754) in bazaar trade exchanges in Iran, are also not found in this study.

Tentative/Implicit Rejection

By means of a Tentative/Implicit Rejection, the Offeree rejects the Offer indirectly; he expresses disagreement or reservation over the Offer, or evaluates it negatively. In Ex. 309, Ir1A responds to Ir1B's Offer (T294-T296) with a negative comment ("that's expensive", T299), intensified by the religious swear word "jeez" (cf. Section 4.1.3). In Ex. 310, Ir4B raises objections against Ir4A's elicited Offer ("yes"/"yeah" in T113-T119, which is a Response to the RCCC in T112-T118) by saying "that's significantly below what we would normally charge" (T120-T122).

Ex. 309. (Ir1, T294-T299)

<Ir1B> eh, - - - the, the </P> <E> carvery </E> is typically eh, - for a, </E> main, meal, </P> and a dessert, and </S>B> coffee</S>B>

<Ir1A> <S>B> mhm, </S>B> -

<Ir1B> is eh, - twelve euros,

<Ir1A> jeez that's expensive,

Ex. 310. (Ir4, T112-123)

<Ir4B> so that's, seventy-five or eighty </E> per person, </E> <S>B> is, </S>B>

<Ir4A> <S>B> yes, </S>B> -

<Ir4B> is what,

<Ir4A> yeah,

<Ir4B> you have in your head yeah, </H> yeah i mean that's, that's, </LAUGH>

<Ir4A> yeah,

<Ir4B> <X5+> </H> that's eh:, that's, that's significantly below, ehm, </S>B> eh, </S>B>

<Ir4A> <S>B> okay, </P> </S>B>

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265 According to STALPERS (1995: 278), being indirect is yet another form of mitigation, and according to PARAMASIVAM (2007: 110), it is a deference politeness strategy.
Ex. 311 is a good example for the possibility of change of attitude towards the Offer – here the development from Echo, Pause, Tentative/Implicit Rejection (delayed) to Clear Acceptance with regard to the type of breakfast Offered by the hotel manager. In T207, Ir1A repeats Ir1B's elicited Offer of T205 (Echo), which is again understood by Ir1B as an RCCC and consequently confirmed in T208 (elicited Offer: Response to RCCC). This Offer is met with silence by Ir1A (T209), followed by his delayed Tentative/Implicit Rejection ("but you'd mentioned that you'd do full Irish there a minute ago", T210). Ir1B feels the need to defend himself but does not finish the utterance (T211-T213). What follows then is a subordinate exchange in which Ir1A Requests a confirmation of the price for the breakfast in T214. Ir1B's positive answer in T216, i.e. two elicited Offers (Responses to RCCC), is backchannelled by Ir1A in T217. Finally, by T219, Ir1A has reconsidered his initial dismissive attitude and accepts the Offer of a continental breakfast: "realistically we'd have to give them a continental, yeah" (T219-T221).

Ex. 311. (Ir1, T203-T223)
As already observed in connection with Acceptances, rejection-implicative utterances can have multiple functions. Consider Ex. 312, for instance.

Ex. 312. (Ir1, T499-T501)

\(<\text{Ir1B}>\) so i could, \(<2.4>\) \(<\text{HHH}>\) \(<\text{HXHXHX}>\) \(<\text{M}>\) \(<\text{P}>\) let's, \(<\text{X1}>\) \(</\text{P}>\)
\(</\text{M}>\) if i put the price of a pint up slightly, - say, three eighty, \(<1.1>\) the dr=, they're chargin almost four euros in central dublin for it and that's what they would have been payin last \(<??>\) year \(</??>\) when they were up an,
-
\(<\text{Ir1A}>\) why don't we say \(<\text{E}>\) four \(</\text{E}>\) euro, he?

Ir1A's Tentative/Implicit Rejection "why don't we say four Euro" in Ex. 312 is, at the same time, a non-elicited (counter-)Offer (more detailed information on Ir1A's unusual price objectives in Section 4.5.1.1).

Clear Rejection

Ex. 313 and Ex. 314 contain Clear Rejections. Ex. 313 shows that developments from a hesitant reaction to Tentative/Implicit Rejection and finally Clear Rejection occur too. The first reaction of the tour operator (Ir3A) towards the hotel manager's (Ir3B) elicited Offer of "400 Euros for two nights for a double room" (T46) is a Backchannelling Token (T48), followed by silence (T49). This is interpreted by Ir3B as rejection-implicative, so he provides arguments in favour of the Grand Canal Hotel (T50-T52). Nevertheless, Ir3A reveals his dissatisfaction with the stated price: "I suppose John, the only thing is, my people have \(<\text{E}>\) no \(</\text{E}>\) interest in the Wicklow Mountains. And I suppose, for \(<\text{E}>\) four \(</\text{E}>\) hundred Euros, to be honest with you, - - we could probably, \(<1.6>\) go into town for that". In order to back up these Tentative/Implicit Rejection utterances, he refers to the additional cost for transport required if the group stays in the Grand Canal Hotel (T55). Surprisingly, Ir3B concedes this point to Ir3B (T56). Possibly encouraged by Ir3B's agreement, Ir3A makes a Clear Rejection in T57: "To be honest with you, for four hundred euros I wouldn't be able to do that".

Ex. 313. (Ir3, T45-T57)

\(<\text{Ir3A}>\) what ehm, what are the \(<\text{E}>\) rates \(</\text{E}>\) for that?
\(<\text{Ir3B}>\) eh:, well, ehm, our \(<\text{E}>\) current \(</\text{E}>\) rate, given, the demand, and there's not a, there's not a bedroom to be had in the eh, in the city, \(<\text{H}>\) \(<\text{CLICK}>\) ehm, given, the demand, of the moment, eh, our, our rates are ehm, four hundred euros, for, \(<\text{E}>\) two \(</\text{E}>\) nights, eh, \(<\text{H}>\) ehm, for a double room, - -
\(<\text{Ir3A}>\) mh,
\(<2.3>\)

\(<\text{Ir3B}>\) \(<\text{H}>\) ehm, - - now as you know, we're not very long open, eh, we have a, - - a very \(<\text{E}>\) fine \(</\text{E}>\) reputation, \(<\text{H}>\) ehm, we \(<\text{E}>\) don't generally, \(</\text{E}>\) eh, cater, for, ehm, \(<\text{E}>\) city-based \(</\text{E}>\) events, ehm, eh, we're more, ehm, eh, a \(<\text{E}>\) business hotel, \(</\text{E}>\) eh, and also, eh you know, offering, ehm, some, ehm, \(<\text{E}>\) tourism,
ehm opportunities, you know, we're very close to the

we're very close to the

mhm, - - mhm,

wicklow mountains, eh, eh,

well, i suppose, for four hundred euros, to be honest with you,
we could probably, go into town for that.

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does not provide the core part of the condition but stops talking ("would you accept a fewer number if we could ehm"). After a pause of 1.2 seconds Ir1A then takes the floor and rejects the Offer outright ("<E> no, </E> I would", T30); the rest of the utterance is unintelligible because Ir1B's speech overlaps: he provides the rest of the condition ("arrange location elsewhere nearby?"). This is new information for Ir1A, which he Requests confirmation for in T33-T35 (RCCC). In terms of Offer responses, Ir1A's RCCC simultaneously functions as a (delayed) Further Inquiry. Based on the new piece of information, confirmed by the Offerer in T34-T36, Ir1A revises his initial evaluation of the Offer and changes it into a conditional Acceptance which consists of two utterances: "that wouldn't be a problem, no, if the price was right" (T37-T39) and "ideally, I suppose I'd like to have everybody together but it's not a huge thing" (T41-T43).

Ex. 315. (Ir1, T134-T147)

\(<\text{Ir1B}\> but we could always work out a cost of, - a hundred an, -
\(<\text{Ir1A}\> eh, - - \langle\text{CLICK}\> - - let's see, your, \langle\text{X1}\> if you take your <?>
fiver off the chart, </?> eh, if, \langle\text{P}\> let's see we need to do
\(<\text{Ir1B}\> this figure right now, </?> if we're sayin it's a hundred an
twenty-five, \langle\text{SWALLOW}\> - for break=, for, for the, - rooms and
\(<\text{Ir1A}\> breakfast,
\(<\text{Ir1B}\> mhm,
\(<\text{Ir1B}\> of which, fiver, a, a, a fiver per head of that is yours,
\(<\text{Ir1A}\> mhm,
\(<\text{Ir1B}\> so if we say we charge a hundred an twenty, \langle\$B\> which
\(<\text{Ir1A}\> \langle\$B\> mhm,
\(<\text{Ir1B}\> \langle\$B\> we charge our customers a hundred an twenty-five,
\(<\text{Ir1A}\> \langle\text{CLICK}\>
\(<\text{Ir1A}\> \langle\$\> eh:, </$>
\(<\text{Ir1B}\> \langle\$\> an </$> ?> they puttin </?> the room rate down at a
\(<\text{Ir1A}\> \langle\$B\> ten, </$B>
\(<\text{Ir1A}\> \langle\$B\> we, </$B> we'd prefer you to rebid us, the, the, the
breakfast.
\(<\text{Ir1B}\> okay. - - fair enough. […]

Once again, multiple utterance functions can be observed. For instance, the Request for (modified) Offer "we'd prefer you to rebid us, the, the, the breakfast" in T147 of Ex. 315 in response to the inclusive Offer of bed and breakfast also functions as a delayed Clear Rejection.

4.4.4 Interactional patterning: An overview

In the present section, I explore how the functional elements on the act level, which have been identified as constituents of Offer sequences in Sections 4.2, 4.4.1, and 4.4.3, relate to the next higher level on the hierarchical discourse rank scale, i.e. interactional move slots (cf. introduction to Chapter 4). I also demonstrate which types
of interactional patterns emerge and comment on the difference between Offer exchanges/sequences in business negotiations and everyday conversation.

The inventory of moves used here is based on the discourse models proposed in SINCLAIR & COULTHARD (1975), EDMONDSON (1981), COULTHARD & BRAZIL (1981), and STUBBS (1983). In the present study, five move types are distinguished: Initiate (I), Re-Initiate (Re-I), Satisfy (S), Contra (C), Feedback (F).²⁶⁷ Initiate, Satisfy, and Contra are labels used by EDMONDSON (1981), and the move Re-Initiate is described by STUBBS (1983: 140) as "non-initial and predicting, but not predicted". The move Feedback can be traced back to SINCLAIR & COULTHARD (1975: 21), who employ the term for optional evaluative reactions to moves of the Satisfy type, for instance in three-part exchanges of initiation (question) – response (answer) – feedback between teachers and students.²⁶⁸ What COULTHARD & BRAZIL note on the optional nature of this move in pupil – teacher interactions applies to many Offer exchanges between two negotiators too:

On the one hand the follow-up move is, as defined optional, on the other it is so important that "if it does not occur we feel confident in saying that the teacher has deliberately withheld it for some strategic purpose" (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975, p. 51). [...] In some case one participant initiates by offering a piece of information and then wants to know, minimally, that it has been understood and hopefully accepted and agreed with – in such cases, as the IR [i.e. Initiate – Response] structure makes clear, the acknowledging move is socially required. In other cases the information is elicited and then the reason for its occurrence and its interpretation should not be problematic, so an acknowledging move is not essential though it often occurs – a fact captured by the observation that in such cases it occupies the follow-up slot. (COULTHARD & BRAZIL 1981: 98, 99)

The definition of the Feedback is broadened in the present study to include moves which acknowledge the receipt of an Initiate, Re-Initiate, or Contra move.²⁶⁹

In Table 17, an overview of these move types is given, including short definitions and the functional elements which can fill the interactional slots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Move type</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Functional elements of Offer sequences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initiate (I)</td>
<td>Initiates an exchange.</td>
<td>Request for Offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Offer (elicited or non-elicited)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Further Inquiry/Request</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Echo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-Initiate (Re-I)</td>
<td>Presents the contents of the original Initiate again (possibly in a slightly modified form); follows a Satisfy move.</td>
<td>Request for Offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Offer (elicited or non-elicited)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁶⁷ The aim is to restrict the number of different moves for the sake of clarity, unlike in EDMONDSON (1981: 86-100), who distinguishes a total of eight move types whose definitions are not all straightforward and clear.

²⁶⁸ Also cf. COULTHARD & BRAZIL (1981: 89, 97), who prefer the label follow-up, and STUBBS (1983: 135-140).

²⁶⁹ It would be interesting for further studies to find out whether the Feedback occurs more often after an elicited or a non-elicited Offer (cf. COULTHARD & BRAZIL 1981: 99).
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Move type</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfy (S)</td>
<td>Terminates an exchange by producing an outcome.</td>
<td>Offer (elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Acceptance</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rejection finaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contra (C)</td>
<td>Tries to make H withdraw or modify the preceding move.</td>
<td>Request for Offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Offer (elicited or non-elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rejection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Potentially rejection-implicative elements:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ignore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Further Inquiry/Request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Echo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Backchannelling Token</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feedback (F)</td>
<td>Acknowledges a Satisfy move (optional follow-up) or acknowledges or repeats an Initiate, Re-Initiate, or Contra move.</td>
<td>Backchannelling Token</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Echo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Acceptance finaliser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Move types distinguished in the present study

Resulting from Sections 4.4.1-4.4.3, several prototypical and idealised Offer exchange and sequence patterns emerge, of which twelve are shown below.  

**Type 1)**

S1: Offer (non-elicited)                      Initiate
S2: → Acceptance                          Satisfy
S1: → Acceptance Finaliser               Feedback

**Type 2)**

S1: Offer (non-elicited)                      Initiate
S2: → Echo                                  Feedback AND Initiate
S1: → (repetition of) Offer                Satisfy/Re-Initiate
S2: → Acceptance                            Satisfy

**Type 3)**

S1: Offer (non-elicited)                      Initiate
S2: → Backchannelling Token                Feedback
S1: → (repetition of) Offer                Re-Initiate
S2: → Backchannelling Token                Feedback
S1: → (modified) Offer                       Re-Initiate
S2: → Acceptance                            Satisfy

270 Cf. STUBBS (1983: 134-135) for a defence of an idealising approach to the development of a model of exchange structure.
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Type 4)
S1: Request for Offer  
    Initiate
S2: → Offer (elicited)  
    Satisfy/Initiate
S1: → Pause  
    –
S2: → (repetition of or modified) Offer  
    Re-Initiate
S1: → Rejection  
    Contra

Type 5)
S1: Request for Offer  
    Initiate
S2: → Offer (elicited)  
    Satisfy/Initiate
S1: → Acceptance  
    Satisfy

Type 6)
S1: Request for Offer  
    Initiate
S2: → alternative Offer (elicited)  
    Contra/Initiate
S1: → Acceptance  
    Satisfy

Type 7)
S1: Request for Offer  
    Initiate
S2: → Offer (elicited)  
    Satisfy/Initiate
S1: → Rejection  
    Contra
S2: → Rejection Finaliser  
    Satisfy\textsuperscript{271}

Type 8)
S1: Offer (non-elicited)  
    Initiate
S2: → Rejection  
    Contra
S1: → Offer (non-elicited)  
    Contra/Re-Initiate
S2: → Rejection  
    Contra
S2: → Rejection Finaliser  
    Satisfy

Type 9)
S1: Request for Offer  
    Initiate
S2: → Offer (elicited)  
    Satisfy/Initiate
S1: → Rejection  
    Contra
S2: → Rejection Finaliser AND Offer (non-elicited)  
    Satisfy AND Re-Initiate

\textsuperscript{271} One may argue that in cases where a Satisfy occurs although the negotiators have not mutually agreed on the Offer as such yet (i.e. Offer as Satisfy following a Request for Offer, or as in Type 7 Rejection Finaliser as Satisfy), the outcome is local or exchange-internal (cf. EDMONDSON 1981: 89, 170).
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Section 4.4: Interactional structure of Offer sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 10</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1:</td>
<td>→ Rejection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2:</td>
<td>→ Rejection Finaliser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**S2: Etc. Ω**

| S1:     | → Acceptance | Satisfy |

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 11</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1:</td>
<td>Request for Offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2:</td>
<td>→ Offer (elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1:</td>
<td>→ Rejection AND Request for (new or modified) Offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2:</td>
<td>→ (Rejection Finaliser AND) new or modified Offer (elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1:</td>
<td>→ Rejection AND counter-Offer (non-elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2:</td>
<td>Etc. Ω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1:</td>
<td>→ Rejection</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Type 12</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1:</td>
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<td>S2:</td>
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<tr>
<td>S1:</td>
<td>→ Rejection</td>
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<tr>
<td>S2:</td>
<td>→ Request for counter-Offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1:</td>
<td>→ counter-Offer (elicited)</td>
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<td>→ Rejection AND Request for (new or modified) Offer</td>
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<tr>
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<td>→ Rejection Finaliser AND new or modified Offer (elicited)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>→ Rejection AND counter-Offer (non-elicited)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

272 The symbol Ω indicates that the same pattern can be repeated several times.
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Types 8-12 (and their possible variations and combinations) correspond to what SCHEITER (2002: 41) has termed communicative cycle in which the Offer is negotiated (cf. Section 4.5.1.2). Offer sequences are also reminiscent of the bargaining sequence described in Section 2.1.2. Actually, it could be claimed that in negotiations an Offer sequence represents a special instance of the prototypical bargaining sequence. Of course, in the corpus, Offer exchanges and sequences tend to be more heterogeneous and complex than these twelve prototypical patterns. For instance, the eliciting Request may occur many turns before the (elicited) Offer. Also, the individual moves are often supported by external modifiers (cf. Section 4.3), and Offers are not dealt with in a linear fashion, i.e. they may be repeated, modified, or temporarily set aside to be renegotiated later, or abandoned for good (cf. Section 4.5.2).

Table 17 and the prototypical Offer exchanges and sequences illustrate that different speech actions can fulfil one and the same function on the level of interactional move, and that one particular speech action can fill different interactional move slots. The negotiation data of the present study show that exchange structure parts such as I+F or I+S/I, which have been ruled out by STUBBS (1983: 136), do occur in naturally spoken discourse and must therefore be incorporated into the present discourse model. Whether or not these exchanges are ‘well-formed’ is a different question.

KASPER (1981: 97-98) says that it is irrelevant to the classification of a speech act as an initiating act whether or not it is itself elicited. She classifies offers as initiating acts. However, she does not address the question of which interactional slot elicited offers take. I claim that an elicited Offer has a twofold interactional value: it functions as Initiate and as Satisfy or Contra at the same time.

As an Initiate, the Offer initiates a certain type of continuation pattern; as a Satisfy, it follows a Request for Offer, and it functions as a Contra if it is an alternative Offer not equivalent to

273 This is in line with the conversation analytic notion of offers as first pair parts of the adjacency pair offer – acceptance/rejection, cf. Section 2.2.6.
274 Cf. STUBBS’s (1983: 136-140) respond-initiate (R/I) move type which had been first suggested by COULTHARD & BRAZIL (1981: 97-98). According to them, the R/I move is "both predicted like a response and also predicting like an initiation".
275 In EDMONDSON’s (1981: 93-94) system, a Request for Offer would be categorised as a Prime, but only if the Request is, in my terminology, an Open Request for Offer: "If the content of the requested communicative act is specific, then we may say that to 'request' this communicative act is in terms of interactional structure no different in kind from a 'request' for a packet of cigarettes. However if the 'request' for a communicative act does not express a specific content, then when the requested communicative act is produced, its status in the conversation is so to speak a matter of negotiation between the conversing parties. In other words, the 'request' in the latter case may be functioning as a Prime in discourse structure." The ensuing Offer would then be a Satisfy and Proffer at the same time: "The move which Satisfies a Prime is itself a Proffer […]" (also cf. EDMONDSON & HOUSE 1981: 112-113).
the one Requested. In negotiations, all three functions are equally important. Offers have the potential to close one exchange (or to extend it by contraing the preceding move) and to simultaneously initiate the next exchange. Similarly, Requests for Offer always fill the slot of an Initiate, but they may, additionally, function as a Contra if they follow an Offer or a Rejection. In some rare cases (as in Ir3, T21-T31), a Request for Offer functions as both an Initiate and a Satisfy.

Obviously, multifunctionality is a characteristic feature of discourse. Coherence and mutual understanding are locally managed, or collaboratively constructed, by the interlocutors (cf. LEVINSON 1983: 315). COULTHARD & BRAZIL note:

> The absence of a deterministic relationship between form and function makes it possible for virtually any imaginable rejoinder to have coherence given the shared background of understanding of the participants […]. (COULTHARD & BRAZIL 1981: 84)

In the present data, severe communication breakdowns cannot be observed. Nevertheless, as the various possible Offer responses demonstrate, it could be said that the responses display different degrees of relevance to the Offer (cf. Section 4.4.3). Although an Offer generates constraints with respect to the next element to follow, the type of element is not really predictable. (Clear) Acceptances and (Clear) Rejections are the preferred and dispreferred second pair parts of the adjacency pair Offer – response. They reveal a clear attitude towards the Offer. Backchannelling Tokens, Echoes, Further Inquiries/Requests, and Ignores seem to be less relevant responses to an Offer. Interestingly, however, the latter group makes up 77.36% of all observed Offer responses in the corpus. This is reminiscent of the results of SCHULZE's (1985) study on politeness in English discourse. In his sales talk data, only a small percentage (approx. 3%-5%) of interactive speech actions is of a direct nature, i.e. bald on record (cf. BROWN & LEVINSON 1987). The vast majority of speech actions are marked by strategic vagueness (SCHULZE 1985: 222, referring to LEECH's 1980: 87-88 strategic indeterminacy). They always imply the possibility, in some way or other, for either S or H to opt out or to do something beyond the speech action in question. The degree of commitment associated with these speech actions is thus reduced (cf. SCHULZE 1985: 222, 226).

However, whereas SCHULZE (1985: 226-231) interprets strategic vagueness as part of interactants' relational/face work, its function is different in negotiations. The different degrees of relevance of Offer responses can be exploited strategically in negotiations (and possibly many other types of discourse) in the following ways. On the most basic level, Backchannelling Tokens, Echoes, and Further Inquiries/Requests are reactions by which the Offeree signals that he has heard the Offer but avoids making a clear statement. They serve to buy time before a more definite answer is given. In addition, Further Inquiries as well as Echoes (if they function as RCCCs)

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276 It is worth discussing whether a Pause constitutes a move, or whether it only marks the absence of a move. The interactional move slot that Topic Shifts/Changes may fill depends on the functional element with which the speaker shifts or changes the topic.

277 SCHULZE (1985: 227) notes that in legal or scientific texts vagueness is expected to be as limited as possible.
initiate subordinate (pre-responding) exchanges which serve to gain more information on the Offer (and more time), seek confirmation, or clarify potential misunderstandings. Even Pauses do not cause a discoursal conflict among the participants. The Offerer may be aware that the other side needs time to think, evaluate, or calculate before responding. However, Backchannelling Tokens, Echoes, Further Inquiries/Requests, and Ignores may be interpreted by the Offeree as implying or leading to a Rejection. In this case, the Offer is mostly renegotiated and/or modified, either in the immediately ensuing exchange(s) or at a later stage of the negotiation (cf. Section 4.5.2).

What can be concluded from the results of the present study is that Offer sequences in business negotiations are much more heterogeneous and complex in terms of length and variation than sequences of hospitable offers, offers of assistance, and gift offers in everyday language. There, the number of moves seems to be limited. In her study on English English and Irish English offer sequences, BARRON (2005: 131-133) identifies no Offer sequences of more than five moves. The structure of "complex exchanges" in her data is: **Initiate – n(Contra) – Satisfy (n > 1)** (BARRON 2005: 132-133). Offer sequences in business negotiations are longer because Offers are often re-negotiated throughout the negotiation; negotiators may start discussing another issue before taking up discussions on an earlier Offer again. This leads to a much larger number of turns and moves in which the initial Offer may be repeated or slightly modified (cf. Section 4.5.2).278

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278 Procedural Offers, however, are an exception. Interlocutors tend to deal with those immediately.
4.5  Global aspects of the Irish English business negotiations

To conclude the results chapter, I discuss two particularly interesting, more global aspects of the Offers that can be observed in the Irish English data: reciprocity and exchange (Section 4.5.1), and recursiveness (Section 4.5.2). Section 4.5.1 consists of one section about the exchange of goods and services (Section 4.5.1.1) and one about the exchange of information and the role of argumentation (Section 4.5.1.2). Reciprocity and exchange as well as recursiveness can be observed on more than one discourse level. Furthermore, it is shown that these phenomena are inextricably interwoven. The terminology, concepts, and analytical tools developed in Sections 4.1.-4.4 for the creation of the Offer communication model are taken as a basis for the discussion. The patterns detected on each of the six discourse levels (act, move, exchange, sequence, phase, encounter/speech event) are linked in order to come to a comprehensive understanding of Offers in business negotiations.

When discussing the two global patterns, the main focus is on those negotiations in which they can be illustrated particularly well. For reciprocity and the exchange of goods and services, this is mainly Ir1. For reciprocity, the exchange of information, and the role of argumentation, it is Ir2 and Ir3. Ir2 and Ir4 are used when discussing recursiveness. Nevertheless, comparisons may be drawn to the other negotiations, for instance to raise assumptions about the reasons for striking differences between the four negotiations.

### 4.5.1 Reciprocity and exchange

Traditional negotiation literature from psychology and sociology has defined negotiations as mixed-motive situations combining a motive for competition and one for cooperation (e.g. Druckman 1977b: 25-26; Morley & Stephenson 1977: 24; also cf. Section 1.1). Despite their conflicting views and goals (which constitutes the competitive element in negotiations), the negotiating parties are willing to enter into a constructive dialogue; they have a common interest in reaching an agreement which is acceptable to both sides. They are aware that they depend on cooperation, and that they may have to adjust their ideal outcome throughout the negotiation since one party always exerts some control over the other party's goals. This means that both sides must make concessions, and the outcome is most often a compromise. Their goals are interrelated, so a negotiation can be characterised as an exchange relation: the interactants make the realisation of their goals mutually possible (cf. Wagner 1995: 11). Therefore, the negotiating parties need to find a balance between demanding and receiving on the one hand, and giving and committing on the other.

Section 4.5.1 attempts to illustrate how this principle is reflected on a linguistic level, namely in the way negotiators elicit, make, and respond to speech elements which express, in one way or another, their commitment to do something. Unlike offers in everyday conversation, which are made to show one's concern for the other's well-being or to be polite, Offers in business negotiations have a totally different function. It is claimed that the primary purpose of making Offers in negotiations is to receive
something with economic value in return, such as a product or service (buyer) or money (seller), or the other person's commitment to do more business in the future.

Scheiter (2002: 38-42) aptly explains that the exchange character of negotiation is twofold. On the one hand, there is an exchange of information (linguistic cooperation), and on the other, a verbally anticipated – and during the negotiation process still hypothetical – exchange of goods and services (material cooperation). In order to negotiate something, interlocutors must engage in linguistic cooperation: they communicate pieces of information which convey their reasons for holding certain positions and the conditions under which they might be willing to budge from these positions, i.e. professional knowledge about each other's cost-benefit-ratio (e.g. relation between product/service and price) and other preference systems resulting from the negotiators' needs (e.g. interest in establishing a long-standing business relationship). Another aspect of the linguistic cooperation is that negotiators verbally anticipate future actions which relate to material cooperation, e.g. the actual provision of the goods and services Offered, discussed, and specified, and payment of the price agreed upon during the negotiation. In the present negotiation scenario, this may imply that, on the day of the soccer match, buses will be there to pick up the fans, and the money will probably have been transferred to the hotel's bank account prior to that. Offers, Requests for Offers, and responses to Offers play a central role in both the linguistic and the material cooperation in negotiations.

4.5.1.1 Exchange of goods and services

We've defined negotiation as an exchange between people for the purpose of fulfilling their needs. What exactly does that mean? It means that every negotiation is a trade. You give something to get something in return. If I have apples and you have oranges and we each want some of each other's fruit, then we'll sit down and negotiate a deal, each of us doing some giving and some getting. This give-get exchange, as I call it, is the activating force behind each and every negotiation. (Schatzki 1981: 18)

Offers are the most important means of expressing one's willingness to do something in the future. In making Offers, negotiators verbally anticipate the provision of services and goods, payment of money, etc., thereby increasing the chances to ratify a deal in the end. This refers to the 'giving' aspect typical of negotiations (commissive act). Negotiators also Request Offers from the other party, which refers to the equally typical 'demanding' aspect of negotiations (directive act). Interactants make the realisation of their goals mutually possible. Therefore, the negotiating parties need to find a balance between demanding and getting on the one hand, and giving and committing themselves on the other, all the while paying attention to their relational work in order to maintain professional face. Martin notes:
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The process of give and take in respect of seeking and granting concessions, which mirrors the dynamic between competitiveness and co-operation, is tied up with the notion of face and the belief that both parties should be able to leave the negotiation feeling satisfied with their achievements and with face intact. (MARTIN 2001: 180)

Offers and Requests for Offer are complementary activities. Ex. 316 and Ex. 317 illustrate that the negotiators themselves sometimes make their reciprocal relationship explicit. They are aware that they depend upon each other to get what they want – they both give and take.

Ex. 316. (Ir4, T73)

<Ir4B> ehm, - - eh, i'd love you to come, we need the business, <§B> you need a place to stay, <LAUGH> [...] Ex. 317. (Ir1, T748)

<Ir1B> but you may have to <E> give </E> a little for <E> me </E> to get some as <E> well, </E>

The interrelatedness of the two aspects 'giving' and 'demanding' is all the more obvious in a special type of Offer: contingent Offers, in which an Offer is directly linked with a Request for Offer (cf. Section 4.1.4). In this case, the condition must be based on an action by H or an action to be performed jointly by S and H (as in Ex. 318). It is what CASTELFRANCHI & GUERINI refer to as conditional-influencing promise:

[T]he condition expresses what y [H] has to 'adopt': the goal of x [S], x is proposing an 'exchange' of reciprocal 'adoption': 'if you adopt my goal (ay) I will adopt your goal (ax). (CASTELFRANCHI & GUERINI 2007: 290)

Ex. 318 shows that the way Offers and Requests are linked can at times produce highly interesting and complex patterns.

Ex. 318. (Ir3, T73-T76)

<Ir3B> ehm, - - <HH> - - <E> can </E> you <E> talk </E> about eighty rooms eh, <E> hypothetically, </E> if we could eh, offer? eighty rooms? fergus?
<Ir3A> <E> again, </E> if the price was <E> right, </E> bear in mind i'd have to, - - i'd have to, <E> bus, </E> bus these people into town as well, an that's gonna, as i said that's gonna, - - that's gonna set me back as well,
<Ir3B> mhm,
<Ir3A> ehm, - - - but yeah, i mean again if, if, if you could do it for, if you could do it for something,

In T73, Ir3B's Request that Ir3A book 80 rooms is followed by his Offer to provide 80 hotel rooms, which he would only provide if Ir3A actually books them. Therefore, the Request can be read as the (H-based) condition linked to the Offer.279 By saying "again, if the price was right" (T74), Ir3A then implicitly complies with Ir3B's Request (so this utterance can be interpreted as an Offer such as yes, hypothetically, I could bring more fans to Dublin so that I would indeed book 80 rooms). At the same

279 At the same time, the Offer can be understood as the condition for the Request (similar in Ir3, T208: "[...] we would, we would require a guarantee, - - you know, of that payment, if we were to commit to eighty rooms, fergus, [...]".

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time, Ir3A's utterance in T74 is a Request for a better Offer, which functions as the (H-based) condition of the implicit Offer. Ir3A then gives a reason why the price has to be better: staying in the Grand Canal Hotel, which is situated several miles from the city centre, means he has to cover additional costs for transport. In T76, Ir3A again expresses his compliance ("ehm, - - - but yeah") with Ir3B's request from T73, but it is again linked with the Request for a better Offer: "I mean again if you could do it for something".

From the seller's (hotel manager's) point of view, the cooperative exchange relation is as follows: I request something from you and am also willing to do something for you and therefore for your customers, the soccer fans, which is, ultimately, in the interest of my company, the Grand Canal Hotel.

From the buyer's (tour operator's) perspective in the present negotiation scenario, the exchange relation can be phrased as: I request something from you and am also willing to do something for you which is, ultimately, in the interest of my customers, the soccer fans, and in the interest of my company, Munster Trips. The two parties thus engage in a reciprocal relationship where the soccer fans form an outside, third party (cf. Figure 21).

![Figure 21: Give-and-take relationship constellation between hotel manager (seller) and tour operator (buyer), and the role of the group of soccer fans](image)

In this particular negotiation scenario, the buyer has a twofold representative role: first, he represents his company (Munster Trips), and second, he represents his customers, the group of soccer fans. In the latter sense, one might say he makes his money by being a mediator between the hotel manager and the end users, the fans (cf. Section 4.1.3). The perception of his role is made explicit in Ir2 (Ex. 319), by both the hotel manager in his Open Request for Offer (T438), and by the tour operator in his evasive, non-committal answer (T439-T441):

Ex. 319.  (Ir2, T438-T441)

```plaintext
<Ir2B> […] or, above, what, price, will your, <4.0> <B> what, </B> price would your clients be willing to pay, <21.8> given the weekend that’s in it,
<21.8> given the weekend that’s in it,
<21.8> given the weekend that’s in it,
<Ir2A> <H> ?> is there eh a, </?> i'm just tryin thinking, i'm trying to </?> put myself in the </?> <L> <E> shoes, <B> - - not, </L> not only a, obviously <E> ourselves </B> wanna make,
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The negotiators in the four Irish English negotiations all display a principled negotiating style (cf. Footnote 42 in Section 2.1.1), some to a greater, and others to a lesser extent. They strive for, or at least claim to strive for a win-win situation. This approach has also been observed by Martin (2001: 173-175) in her Irish data (and to a certain degree also in her German data, cf. Martin 2001: 238-246). In this context, Martin (2001: 173) points to the frequent use of the inclusive *we* (cf. Section 4.2.3.2). In the present data, Ir1B, Ir3A, and Ir3B seem to have consciously applied the win-win dimension as a strategic device: they wrote "win-win" as an answer to question #23 of the post-simulation questionnaire ("Did you consciously apply specific negotiating strategies during the simulation? (e.g. 'win-win negotiating', 'principled negotiation', 'position bargaining')? If so, which one(s)?"; cf. DVD 3 Filled Post-Simulation Questionnaires). Some of the participants may have learned the principled/interest-based negotiating style as common practice on the job, and some may have learned it in negotiation trainings (e.g. Ir1A, Ir1B, Ir2A, Ir3B, Ir4A, and Ir4B; cf. question #45 of the post-simulation questionnaires, DVD 3 Filled Post-Simulation Questionnaires). For example, in Ir3 (Ex. 320), the hotel manager (Ir3B) is not yet willing to reduce the price for hotel accommodation and to accept the tour operator's (Ir3A) counter-price Offer from T78 ("I couldn't really pay anything more than 360 for the weekend per room") or to comply with his general Request for a "price that's profitable" to him (T107).

Ex. 320. (Ir3, T111)

Ir3B introduces the notion of win-win as an argument which he claims to be both their business strategy ("I suppose what we're both looking for here is a win-win"). He makes clear that both of them have sound reasons for their respective positions and that both will have to budge from their initial position to achieve an agreement, i.e. to make a deal which is satisfying to both of them (both want to make business). A compromise is necessary, which in Ir3B's eyes means that Ir3A has to be willing to pay more than he Offers in T78. But in exchange for that, Ir3B himself "accept[s] the

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This is also found by Martin (2001: 173-175) in her Irish-Irish negotiations. Other cooperative or solidarity moves which have been identified by Martin (2001: 193-199), and which can also be observed in the data of the present study, are: use of the inclusive *we*, confirmation checks (e.g. *you know*), empathy markers (e.g. *I see*, *I understand*), references to shared knowledge and other phatic markers (e.g. *as you know yourself*), use of first names, humour, smiling, and laughter (also cf. Sections 4.1.3)
inconvenience of relocating existing booked guests" which will be "an administrative challenge". A similar example is Ex. 59, an example which is also addressed in Section 4.1.2. Here, the tour operator Offers to try to find some way to increase the revenue for the hotel manager, i.e. to 'expand the pie' ("we need to find some way to get you more money out of these customers"), as a 'reward' for the hotel manager for finally making the Requested Offer to put the four Munster Trip staff in another hotel for free.

Ex. 321. (Ir2, T121-T123)

<iIr2A> §> that would, </§> so, i:, what i'm sayin to you is, - - - can you do </E> better </E> than that, an a </E> lot </E> better than that, - - </E> if </E> you were looking for our business, </H> and, that, that's without being stronger or heavy-handed, </H> i </E> should </E> also say to you since we haven't dealt, </E> with </E> each other in the past, </H> we </E> do, </E> we don't just specialise in football trips, - we do, </L> golfing trips, angling trips, </L> etcetera,

<iIr2B> X2>

<iIr2A> so, i'm not looking at this, i=, in, in the, in the short term, or a, or a one-off, i am thinkin of, </H> business down the line that we can start to, - </E> possibly, </E> - ehm, - </CLICK> deal with each other, - - what at the end o the day both for yourselves an ourselves, - - </H> ehm, </L> price is eh, is eh, is the main </E> concern, </E> now what's a happy medium, </H> - - of, where you're happy with, the business that you're getting, - - </CLICK> and the, the money that you're making </E> on </E> that, - - a=, a=, and ourselves,

In Ex. 321, the tour operator (Ir2A) alludes to the possibility of a long-standing business relationship, an Offer which he uses as an incentive for getting a better bed and breakfast rate. He continues with an unfinished utterance that refers to the win-win situation he wants to emphasise: "what at the end o the day both for yourselves and ourselves, - - </H> ehm" (may be finished with be of benefit). Ir2A then Requests a price Offer from the hotel manager which shows that he is willing to make a concession ("happy medium") and which benefits both of them ("where you're happy with, the business that you're getting, and the money that you're making on that, and ourselves\textsuperscript{281}\).\textsuperscript{282}

A very special type of cooperation can be observed in Ir1. Ir1A, the tour operator, endeavours to build solidarity with Ir1B, the hotel manager, putting the soccer fans in a different role than in the other negotiations. Ir1A implicitly claims that there is no competition between them, i.e. that their goals and interests are the same. Ir1A's attempt to (over)emphasise the cooperative aspect in negotiations may be called fraternisation. The reciprocal relation Ir1A tries to establish can be described, from

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{281} The "and ourselves" is ambiguous: it may refer to the money the hotel manager is making on the business and on Munster Trips in general, or to the fact that not only the hotel manager is "happy with" the price Offer but also the tour operator.

\textsuperscript{282} MARTIN observes a similar behaviour in her data, but the third party is a higher authority in this case: "[B]uyers seek to create complicity with the sellers as a means of dealing with a third-party, namely their board" (MARTIN 2005: 261; also cf. Martin 2001: 174, 187-193). Quoting a higher authority offers to a representative negotiator what RUBIN & SANDER (1999: 83-84) call "tactical flexibility" (cf. Section 4.1.3).}
the perspective of both buyer and seller, as follows: *I request something and am also willing to do something for you. Hence, we together do something for our (joint) customers, the soccer fans, although it is, first and foremost, to our mutual benefit (i.e. we get maximum profit) and at the cost of our (joint) customers* (cf. Figure 22). In other words: if they collaborate closely, they will be successful. The tour operator's Offer, "we need to find some way to get you more money out of these customers" (Ir1, T712-T714), is a telling example of this approach.

What makes this particular relationship between the negotiators so interesting to the present study is its effect on Offer sequences. The tour operator's view of this relationship is evident from various linguistic phenomena on the utterance level (act). One of them is Ir1A's frequent explicit reference to joint actions, which results in a noticeably higher proportion of Proposal Formulas (7.39%, i.e. 15 out of 203) compared to the other negotiations (less than 1.50%) (cf. Table 32 in App. 8). In other Offer realisation strategies, too, Ir1A often employs the personal pronoun *we*. While in some cases it is clearly the inclusive and not the exclusive *we*, it remains ambiguous in others (cf. Section 4.2.3.2). The inclusive *we* is occasionally employed by Ir1A even for actions that can only be done by Ir1B, so what is in fact a Request sounds more like an Offer. This is seen in Ex. 322 where they talk about the breakfast. The tour operator makes a Request for Confirmation of previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (RCCC) using the personal pronoun *we* ("are we charging ten Euro, are we?", T214), although it is the hotel manager who ultimately sets the price and charges the soccer fans (or they may be charged by the tour operator, depending on the payment procedures the parties agree upon). Similarly, in T217-T223, Ir1A phrases his acceptance of Ir1B's Offer of a continental breakfast as if it was provided by him too: "realistically we'd have to give them a continental". Of course, if one considers the tour operator's role as a mediator between the hotel and the group of soccer fans, one may argue that in buying the service(s) from the hotel directly, he does indeed provide the services (e.g. breakfast) to the fans. Nevertheless, it remains the hotel manager's responsibility to make sure the breakfast is served.
As a consequence of the redefinition of the classical buyer-seller relationship displayed in the other negotiations, the general assumption that buyers try to elicit low price Offers from the other negotiating party is turned upside down in Ir1. The hotel manager's repeated attempts to make the deal look attractive to the tour operator by reducing prices and making special Offers does not work: in Ex. 326, for instance, Ir1A rejects Ir1B's Offer of a happy hour in the bar. The tour operator wants to bring as many people as possible (Ex. 323) and to negotiate as many services and commodities as possible for as high a price as possible.283 The reason for this is that he will put his own margin of 20%-25% on top of these costs, i.e. the more fans, services, commodities, and costs, the higher the profit margin for Munster Trips. Ir1A declares this to be his "basic strategy" (Ex. 324, also cf. 325).

Ex. 324. (Ir1, T75)

<i1><i1A> <p> mh, </p> <1.1> as i said, w=, </i1B> our </i1E> basic strategy is we pass on, full costs to the client, - ehm, - plus the twen=, plus our margin, which, runs anywhere from twenty to twenty-five per cent. - - so, </i1B> our </i1E> objective is to maximise total revenues.</i1>

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283 However, there is one negative evaluation by Ir1A of a price Offer for a carvery lunch: "jeez that's expensive" (T299).
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Ex. 325. (Ir1, T189)

<Ir1A> so that's thirty, and we're getting that, - eh, for, <P> yeah, okay. - - <H> eh, <2.4> yeah, that's, <X1>, <P> that's coming out at four six eight 0, - mh okay, <H> and then we have obviously our, we, we have our standard margin on the room,

Ex. 326. (Ir1, T673-T674)

<Ir1B> <CLICK> i'm just <?> think=, </?> maybe some sort of a <E> happy </E> hour or something like that that that ?<P> would go </ ?> well,
<Ir1A> oh jeez we don't wanna go cuttin prices now, - - <P> i mean come on </P> our business is in the cost <E> plus </E> business, i'm the cost <E> plus person, </E> <HHHHH>

At other points in the negotiation Ir1A states a second but similar business strategy: receiving a fixed share (25%, 50%) of the revenues of additional services such as breakfast, dinner, bar (cf., e.g. Ex. 327-331). In terms of finding additional revenues, Ir1A is very persistent; throughout the negotiation, particularly towards the end, he asks Ir1B repeatedly (e.g. Ex. 331-333).

Ex. 327. (Ir1, T101)

<Ir1A> [...] - and that we would then share those breakfast receipts. fifty fifty.

Ex. 328. (Ir1, T157-T158)

<Ir1B> <§> we <?> can </§> offer you </?> dinner, - - at say, we'd <E> normally </E> charge thirty euros but we could do a deal for twenty? <3.1> a standard, chicken, eh, <3.1> ba=, no <§B> bacon, </?> </§B>
<Ir1A> <$B> yeah, that's </$B> obviously somethin again, ehm, - an again, eh, the arrangement there would be that you could, eh, obviously, <P> that we would split the margin, and you would refund us a margin, </P>

Ex. 329. (Ir1, T271)

<Ir1A> you see dary i think the best <M> <X1> <?> process you know </?> </M> is if we keep these guys in your hotel, and you can give us a reasonable, cut of what you're going to make out of them on friday and saturday night, then we're, <§A> we're in the business and we get some money </§A>

Ex. 330. (Ir1, T480)

<Ir1A> [...] an we get twenty-five per cent of <?> all whatever </P> our customers' drink, </P>

Ex. 331. (Ir1, T573-T576)

<Ir1A> yeah, can, if <E> i, </E> if, can we, is there any incentive that we can offer them to stay on? <HH> for a third night? - - <R> or come up earlier? they hardly come up earlier but they might stay on for the sunday night would they? </R> <1.7>
<Ir1B> <E> you </E> tell <E> me </E> now these are people, th= eh: it, it depends on </E> your:\, </E> 

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Ir1A even gets almost aggressive at times when Ir1B does not comply with his general Request to maximise total revenues (first expressed in T75, cf. Ex. 324). This explains his reluctant response to Ir1B's first price Offer for bed and breakfast and transport in T70 ("we have an off-peak rate of 115 per night [...], and that includes breakfast. <1.4> and I could potentially throw in <X1> coaches to the game?"): Ir1A only answers with silence and backchannelling tokens before implicitly rejecting this Offer in T75 (cf. Ex. 324). Despite repeated Requests by Ir1A to increase overall revenues (e.g. by excluding the breakfast rate from the package) in T77, T80, T80-T82, and T84, Ir1B repeats the price Offer in T79 and T99. This makes Ir1A become impatient: in T101, his response to the renewed Offer sounds defiant, making clear that Ir1B is free to decide not to include breakfast in the overall price, which would, after all, also be in his interest (Ex. 334).

Ir1B does not signal his willingness to comply until T108-T114, after a short clarification exchange followed by Ir1A's renewed emphasis on his aim to get 50% of the breakfast receipts (T105-T106). This is just one example of Ir1B's lack of cooperation with regard to Ir1A's business strategy outlined above; other instances where Ir1B forfeits the opportunity to make more money are illustrated by Ex. 336, or Ex.
326 and Ex. 328. This is quite surprising because Ir1A's manoeuvres are in accordance with a conventional seller objective: increasing one's revenues by selling one's products and services for as high a price as possible. Ir1A also repeatedly stresses the fact that this is clearly in the interest of Ir1B. Ir1A's occasional impatient and assertive behaviour may result from the fact that he regards his Requests not only as inherent to the 'demanding' aspect of negotiations but also – as the Requests imply an advantage for Ir1B – as inherent to the 'giving' aspect. Therefore, Ir1A's professional face may be damaged because the other party does not reciprocate (cf. the violation of the norm of reciprocity mentioned in Section 4.1.3). A possible explanation for Ir1B's reluctance is that Ir1A's fraternising negotiating behaviour, i.e. Offer and Request behaviour in particular, is not consistent with his expectations of what buyers 'typically' do. To him, Ir1A's behaviour may seem paradoxical; he might be too surprised to fully grasp what is going on.

Ex. 336. (Ir1, T414-T421)

<Ir1A> mhm, - - would we get a second dinner?
- -
<Ir1B> <CLICK> - - i'd say typically most of those probably wouldn't want a <E> dinner, </E>
- -
<Ir1A> mhm,
<Ir1B> but what we could <E> do </E> is, we could provide, to <E> get </E> them back, we <§B> provide, </§B>
<Ir1A> <§B> mhm, </§B>
<Ir1B> fingerfood in the bar, free of charge,

On the other hand, Ir1B sometimes seems to understand and accept Ir1A's business strategy. In T272 of Ex. 337, Ir1B expresses his agreement with Ir1A, thereby tentatively accepting the other's contingent Offers ("keep these guys in your hotel" and "then we're in the business", T271) as well as complying with Ir1A's Request for Offer, i.e. his condition, which aims at increasing revenues and getting his share of them ("give us a reasonable cut of what you're going to make out of them on Friday and Saturday night"). In Ex. 338, Ir1B takes up Ir1A's frequent use of the inclusive we when referring to actions that will actually be done by only one of them. It shows that he has to some extent accepted the solidarity relationship, or fraternisation ambitions, of the tour operator. In Ex. 339, Ir1B actively takes up his negotiating partner's objective to split the margin for the first time, here with regard to the price for transportation. Towards the end of the negotiation, Ir1B seems to have gained more self-confidence, as he insists (though defensively) on getting "the best deal for myself",

284 Anticipating what may be brought forward by the other side to support their stance is a technique recommended in the negotiation literature: "[…] a proactive negotiator will take special care to anticipate and prepare a response to the meta-anchors it expects the other side to drop." (LAX & SEBENIUS 2004b: 11).
285 Nevertheless, Ir1B is concerned about encouraging the fans to drink a lot because there had been problems with hooligan fans after one of the last games of the Cork City team (cf., e.g. Ir1, T394-T397), a problem which is downplayed by Ir1A (cf., e.g., T395: "come on now, you can control how much they're going to drink, you have security, come on […]").
which serves as a justification for his refusal of Ir1A's Request for two free double rooms in the other hotel for his staff (cf. Ex. 340, also discussed in Section 4.4.2). 286

Ex. 337. (Ir1, T271-T272)

<Ir1A> you see dary i think the best <M> <X1> <?> process you know </?> </M> is if we keep these guys in your hotel, and you can give us a reasonable, cut of what you're going to make out of them on friday and saturday night, then we're, <§A> we're in the business and we get some money </§A>

<Ir1B> absolutely, </E> i <X1>, that, </§A> that is music to </E> my </E> ears,

Ex. 338. (Ir1, T276)

<Ir1B> <X1>, we sell them a buffet, and a trip to wicklow. an bring them back in </§B> for dinner. </§B>

Ex. 339. (Ir1, T553)

<Ir1B> let's do this half an half deal again,

Ex. 340. (Ir1, T693-T695)

<Ir1B> <§A> <F> <E> i'm, </E> - i'm no more than you </F> </§A> i'm trying to run the best </§B> deal for </§B>

<Ir1A> <§B> yeah, </§B>

<Ir1B> myself,

By verbalising his "business model" (T25, T576, T746) at a very early stage of the negotiation (beginning in T8, cf. Ex. 323 and 360), Ir1A sets a clear benchmark against which all of his and Ir1B's subsequent Offers, Requests for Offers, responses to Offers, etc. are measured. This technique is called anchoring in the negotiation literature. Based on his responses to questions #23 and #24 of the post-simulation questionnaire (cf. DVD 3 Filled Post-Simulation Questionnaires) about applied negotiating and linguistic strategies, it becomes clear that Ir1A uses this technique deliberately. In fact, Ir1A's business model, in particular his general principle to increase overall revenues and his attempt to establish the strong solidarity relationship with Ir1B, can be interpreted as a meta-anchor, whose use is suggested by LAX & SEBENIUS:

[...]Meta-anchoring, another technique negotiators can use to anchor talks successfully but at a higher level of abstraction, when the very nature as well as the location of the ZOPA is uncertain. Over the years, we've observed that many negotiators successfully anchor in the early stages of talks by focusing not on a numerical figure, such as a price or financial terms, but on an animating metaphor – a conceptualization of the nature of the problem the negotiation is meant to resolve. Such meta-anchors can influence the terms of discussion or the face of the issue. (LAX & SEBENIUS 2004b: 9; original emphasis)

Superficially, Ir1A's behaviour could be interpreted as principled/interest-based negotiation par excellence. Nevertheless, it is more than doubtful that the tour opera-

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286 As the tour operator would have to cover the costs himself for his accompanying staff, he is not interested in increasing the revenues in this case.
tor's motives for building a fraternising relationship with the hotel manager are purely altruistic. Rather, it points to a sense of responsibility towards the fans which is different from the one displayed in the behaviour of the other tour operators in Ir2, Ir3, and Ir4. Ir1A clearly aims at maximising his profits, even if this means a higher price for the soccer fans. Of course, he needs to be careful not to raise the prices too much, as this might keep them from confirming their bookings. These considerations open up a whole new discussion about negotiations and ethics, which has also been addressed by authors of both advice and research literature on negotiation (cf., e.g. MENKEL-MEADOW & WHEELER 2004; REARDON 2004: 81-97), but which cannot be pursued further here.

Ir1A's business objectives contradict his stated intention that he wants to "have an open book with [his] clients" and to "negotiate the best deal [he] can for them" (Ex. 341).

Ex. 341. (Ir1, T25)

<Ir1A> [...] our interest <X1> is maximising the number of people that come here cos the, our, our business model is essentially, - we have an open book with our clients, ehm, - - we, negotiate <P> the best deal we can for them. and then we put our profit margin on top of that. </P>

Also, throughout the negotiation, Ir1A repeatedly talks about what the fans want or do not want, how they will behave, etc., taking their (assumed) wishes as a basis for his suggestions. Thus it seems as if he were indeed acting in the fans' interest. Taking his overall objective into account, however, these statements seem almost hypocritical. Alternatively, it might actually be yet another strategic device aiming at a profitable economic outcome of the negotiation: it is not possible to tell whether what he claims to be the fans' wishes really reflects what they want, as the simulation briefs do not yield such information. Additionally, it could be a professional face-saving strategy by which the tour operator hides behind a third party not present at the negotiation table in order to disclaim personal responsibility for his decisions and/or to diminish the face threat associated with the refusal to make an Offer or the rejection of an Offer (cf. Section 4.1.3).

All things considered, one might argue that, ideally, there is reciprocity on equal terms. The negotiating parties succeed in balancing their interests and adjusting their positions in such a way that a final agreement is possible. This often involves making compromises on both sides. In all four negotiations under study, the parties finally make the decision to accept the final agreement and to actually express their agreement verbally in order to close the deal. Therefore, all negotiators engage in a reciprocal relationship showing elements of both cooperation and competition. I claim that the outcome of a negotiation is always the result of the interactive give-and-take dealing with Offers during the negotiation process. Balanced interests and adjusted positions do not, however, automatically imply that the negotiating parties win and lose equally, or that the negotiation is fair per se. Very often, one side is more power-

287 This may explain his negative evaluation of the price Offer for the carvery lunch, cf. Footnote 283.
ful than the other for different reasons. The negotiation situation may be asymmetric because of the market type (buyer's vs. seller's market) or other circumstances.

For instance, a negotiator representing an insolvent company which is to be sold is, of course, in a very weak position compared to a negotiator representing a thriving enterprise. In the negotiation simulation scenario chosen for the present study, power is distributed relatively equally (cf. App. 2.3). Nevertheless, personality factors also play a role. Some negotiators are by nature or have learned to be more proactive (and possibly more confrontational and aggressive) than others. Although the results of the present investigation point to a generally higher proportion of Requests for Offers made by the buyers than by the sellers, the differences between the negotiations suggest that it also has to do with the negotiating style of a person, e.g. soft vs. tough negotiating. This is particularly evident in Ir1 where the tour operator makes more than six times as many Requests for Offers as the hotel manager, almost doubling the proportions of the other negotiations (cf. Section 4.4.1). Moreover, the tour operator's proactiveness in Ir1 is evident from the relation between elicited vs. non-elicited Offers: 71.05% of his Offers (i.e. 27 out of 38) are non-elicited (cf. Table 44 in App. 8). The results for the hotel manager are fairly evenly distributed (50.30% non-elicited Offers, i.e. 83 out of 165). Ir1A clearly dominates the whole negotiation. He is more straightforward than Ir1B and shows signs of impatience and irritation at times (cf. his use of religious swear words discussed in Section 4.1.3). Right from the beginning, he advocates his "business model" and sticks to it throughout the meeting. He makes concessions, but only if they still fit his business strategy. In this respect, the competitive aspect is very strong for Ir1A, despite his determined attempt at fraternisation, which he uses to emphasise his shared goals and interests with Ir1B. By contrast, Ir1B is much more defensive. The number of Requests he makes per minute is below average when compared to the other hotel managers (cf. Table 41 in App. 8).

In order to accurately measure the relative success of a negotiator in terms of economic losses and gains, however, more quantitatively-oriented studies are needed.

In conclusion, different reciprocal relationships are possible in negotiations. It is not always the case that the buyer aims at low and the seller at high prices. Rather, different cooperative strategies are available to the negotiators which manifest themselves in the speakers' Offer behaviour on the utterance and interactional levels of discourse. How the strategies are actually exploited depends on various factors such as the negotiation scenario, power relations, personality, or acquired negotiating styles. What is discussed in this section ties in closely with the aspects of relational work in negotiations addressed in Section 4.1.3 and discussed in greater detail by Martin (2001), Planken (2002), and others. The present section also shows that, under certain circumstances (here, the special cooperative relationship between the negotiators in Ir1), the dividing line between Offers (the 'giving' or 'committing oneself' aspect) and Requests (the 'demanding' aspect) is blurred.

The next section deals with how decisions are influenced by arguments accompanying Offers, Requests for Offers, and responses to Offers. Here, the exchange character of negotiations briefly mentioned at the beginning of the present section – exchange of information – is taken up again.
4.5.1.2 Exchange of information and the role of argumentation

Negotiation represents the exchange of information through language that coordinates and manages meaning. [...] As such, language is the primary mechanism through which bargaining is conducted; hence, it should become a central construct for negotiation research. Our basic claim is that language has its own unique force in the negotiation process and that understanding the role of language is critical to a complete understanding of negotiation. (GIBBONS, BRADAC & BUSCH 1992: 156)

They say perspective is everything. In negotiations, this might literally be true. Learn how to frame your position so that your opponent is inclined to be in your favour. (BAZERMAN 2004: 9)

Having dealt with the exchange of goods and services in the previous section, i.e. how negotiators use language to anticipate material cooperation, the present section addresses another aspect of how language is used to achieve cooperation: the exchange of information and the role of argumentation in this process. The first main part of this section provides an outline of the general process of information exchange in negotiations and explains how the interlocutors' basis of decision-making is subject to ongoing changes, thereby constantly influencing their negotiating behaviour. Then I explain the relationship of information and power. In this context I interpret behaviours such as withholding information, avoiding commitments, and evasion, in relation to Offer sequences. In the second major part of this section, I claim that moves in Offer sequences also fulfil a persuasive function, apart from playing an important role in the information exchange process. I also tentatively equate supportive moves with arguments. The quantitative use of arguments/supportive moves is compared across the negotiations, speaker groups, and speech acts. In conclusion, I show how negotiators (in their roles as buyers or sellers) can exploit the other's information and/or knowledge deficit in order to strengthen their respective positions via arguments. In doing so, I compare my findings against the general buyer and seller tactics developed by CHARLES (1996).

At the beginning of a negotiation, the interlocutors are 'equipped' with conflicting interests, preferences, expectations, objectives, and also with differing pieces of information about the interests, preferences, expectations, and objectives of the other party. This is the starting point for making initial decisions about what (and what not) to tell and ask the other side during the next stages of the negotiation. However, it is a dynamic process during which the basis of decision-making constantly changes by acquiring new and corroborative pieces of information that modify their existing knowledge (cf. GULLIVER 1979: 179; MARTIN 2001: 41-42; SCHEITTER 2002: 41-42; LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 73-74). Each new piece of information is mentally evaluated against the background of the negotiators' individual cost-benefit calculations (often noticeable through the occurrence of silences, slowed speech rate, rejected turn allocations) and their BATNAs (Best Alternatives To a Negotiated Agreement). This
evaluation may then be verbalised (cf. SCHEITER 2002: 44-45); it may, for instance, be a concession, or a confirmation or justification of one's prior position.

Offers (as well as Requests for Offers and Offer responses) are a suitable means of conveying relevant information – a fact which is repeatedly stated in handbooks of negotiation, e.g. by LEWICKI ET AL.:

Opening offers, opening stances, and initial concessions are elements at the beginning of negotiations that parties can use to communicate how they intend to negotiate. […] The pattern of concessions a negotiator makes contains valuable information, but it is not always easy to interpret. (LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 75, 77)

Repeatedly following the sequence, or communicative cycle\textsuperscript{288} of Request for Offer → Offer → Rejection → new or modified Offer → Acceptance (and its variations), can be regarded as the most dense process of information exchange within a negotiation (cf. Figure 23). During that process, supportive moves accompany these head moves. The supportive moves, especially justifications and the provision of additional information, which are regarded as arguments later in this section, convey the reasons for holding certain positions and the conditions under which negotiators might budge from these positions. Each move contributes to the other interlocutor's increase in knowledge, which then shapes the basis for making new decisions regarding his own next reply. This is a mental process. At the end of such a cycle, the negotiating parties may achieve a mutual agreement, either on one minor aspect during the negotiation or on a final, overall deal at the end. Alternatively, they may reintroduce this aspect for a renewed discussion later (possibly on the basis of additional shared knowledge), or dismiss it altogether. The recurrence of Offers, Request for Offers, Offer responses, and accompanying supportive moves is further addressed in the section on recursiveness (cf. Section 4.5.2).

\textsuperscript{288} Cf. SCHEITER (2002: 41), TUTZAUER (1992: 76), and Section 4.4.4.
Ex. 342 shows how a negotiator’s original position is changed after acquiring additional knowledge provided by the other party.

Ex. 342. (Ir3, T28-T45)

<Ir3B> yeah. <H> eh:, we <E> haven't quite </E> got </E> fifty-two, </E> ehm, fergus, eh, would you eh, - - would you accept a, - fewer number if we could ehm,  
<1.2>
<Ir3A> <CLICK> <E> n:o, </E> i would </§A> <X4>, </§A> 
<Ir3B> </§A> arrange, location, </§A> elsewhere? eh, nearby?  
<1.4>
<Ir3A> oh you could arrange, for some of the, some of </§A> the </§A> people </?/> </§A>  
<Ir3B> </§A> yeah,  
<§A>  
<Ir3A> to stay, nearby.  
<Ir3B> yeah.  
<Ir3A> eh, that wouldn't be a problem, no, </§A> </?> if the, if the, </?/> </§A>  
<Ir3B> </§A> would it not, yeah, </§A>  
<Ir3A> if the price was right,  
<Ir3B> yeah,  
<Ir3A> ehm, </E> ideally, </E> - - ideally i suppose i'd like to </E> have </E> everybody together but it's </§A> not, </§A>  
<Ir3B> </§A> would you,
CHAPTER 4: Offers in business negotiations: Results and discussion
Section 4.5: Global aspects of the Irish English business negotiations

The hotel manager (Ir3B) informs the tour operator (Ir3A) that, due to other reservations, he is not able to offer 52 hotel rooms to Munster Trips but only "a fewer number" (T28). He continues the Offer utterance "would you accept a fewer number" by turning it into a contingent Offer ("if we could"). However, as he stops talking after the hesitation marker "ehm", it is not clear what the condition refers to. Based on the information that less than 52 rooms are available, Ir3A now emphatically rejects Ir2B's Offer after a pause of more than a second: ":o (T30). Ir3A goes on saying "I would", but the rest of his utterance is unintelligible because Ir3B interrupts him, providing the missing part of the condition. It turns out that it is a further Offer, i.e. a condition based on S-action (cf. Section 4.1.4): "if we could arrange location elsewhere? eh, nearby?" (T31). What follows is another pause of 1.4 seconds during which one can assume that Ir2A reevaluates the initial Offer of a limited number of rooms (mental process). His next move in T33-T35 reveals that the potential transfer of some of the fans to an alternative hotel is a piece of information previously unknown to him. To make sure he understood correctly, he makes a Request for Confirmation of Previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (RCCC). Based upon Ir3B's confirmation that he can indeed arrange accommodation for the rest of the people in a hotel near the Grand Canal Hotel (T34-T36), Ir3A readjusts his original position and now accepts the Offer implicitly by saying "that wouldn't be a problem, no" (T37) and "it's not a huge thing" (T41-T43). However, his acceptance is conditional upon getting the "right" price (T37-T39), and he makes clear that this is not his ideal solution (T41).

Information means power in negotiations (cf. LEWICKI ET AL. 2003: 175; SHELL 2006: 149). Whenever one makes an Offer (especially if this Offer implies a concession), one discloses information about one's position. In doing so, one runs the risk of one's generosity not being reciprocated by the other negotiator or even being misused to the other's own advantage (cf. MALHOTRA 2004b: 1). MALHOTRA emphasises that, for this reason, trust is of paramount importance to a negotiation whose outcome is to be beneficial and satisfying for both sides. Due to the relation between information and power, it is understandable that negotiators withhold information while trying to elicit information from the other party (cf. MARTIN 2001: 169). Social psychologists have broached the issue by stating that negotiators face two principal dilemmas, the dilemma of honesty and openness, and the dilemma of trust (cf. KELLEY

289 MALHOTRA (2004b: 2-4) lists six strategies which are supposed to help to convince the other negotiating party of your trustworthiness: you should 1. try to adopt the other's style of speaking, which requires a thorough preparation in terms of understanding the other's market-specific terminology, business approach, culture, history, etc.; 2. communicate your good reputation; 3. make clear that the other depends on you by stressing a) the benefits he obtains when he closes a deal with you and b) the disadvantages he has if no agreement is achieved; 4. make unilateral concessions which are not too costly for you; 5. label one's concessions; 6. explain one's demands.
1966; RUBIN & BROWN 1975: 15; also cf. Section 2.1.2). In the negotiation data of the present study, this is observable in connection with Open Requests for Offers (OR), Offers, and Offer responses. By means of an Open Request, such as in Ex. 343 and Ex. 344, a negotiator specifically asks the interlocutor to provide some pieces of information concerning his willingness to commit himself to a future action (cf. Section 4.4.1). The range of possible answers is wide. Unlike with Specific Requests for Offer (SRs) and Requests for Confirmation of Previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (RCCCs), the Requester gives no indication as to his own preferences and expectations. In T347 of Ex. 343, the tour operator wants to know which share of the lunch revenues he gets. He repeats the OR several turns later (T361) as the hotel manager did not answer his question. The OR is directly followed by a very direct Specific Request utterance (Mood Derivable) to underline his persistence in getting an answer. ORs are a suitable means of carefully determining the other's Offer zone, especially at the beginning of a negotiation (as in T74 and T77 in Ex. 344).

Ex. 343. (Ir1, T347, T361)

<P> mhm, </P> so what can you do for me on the lunch, 
[...] <P> [...] so what are you giving me on the lunch, come on, give me something on the lunch here,

Ex. 344. (Ir3, T73-T78)

eh:m, - - <HH> - - <E> can </E> you </E> talk </E> about eighty rooms eh, <E> hypothetically, </E> if we could eh, offer? eighty rooms? fergus? <E> again, </E> if the price was <E> right, </E> bear in mind i'd have to, - - i'd have to, <E> bus, </E> bus these people into town as well, an that's gonna, as i said that's gonna, - - that's gonna set me back as well, <E> again if, if, if you could do it for, if you could do something, what sort of, what, what sort of <E> offer </E> i mean, just a starting-point on your pricing, i'm sensitive that you're a, a tour operator eh, <E> organising these special, types of, </E> of </E> offer? of </E> </E> 

<iR3A> §A> okay, </iR3A> well i suppose based, </iR3A> based on the ehm, - - <CLICK> - - <E> based </E> on, the <iR3A> ac, </iR3A> the additional cost of, of getting from the hotel, into town, ehm, and back again, - - i <E> couldn't </E> really pay anything, anything more than, - say three sixty, for the weekend, <iR3A> per room,

Negotiators employ many different strategies in order to avoid making an Offer, i.e. not to commit themselves to a future action. In Ir3 (Ex. 344), neither of the two negotiators wants to make the first alternative (counter-)Offer after the hotel manager's first price Offer of 400 Euro for a double room for two nights (T46) had been rejected by the tour operator (Ir3A) in T53 and T57. Ir3A's rejection was supported by several Disarmers and Grounders, mainly referring to the unfavourable location of the Grand Canal Hotel. In T73, the hotel manager (Ir3B) asks whether Ir3A can commit himself to booking 80 rooms in the hotel. Ir3A's response to this Request for Offer contains contingent Offers (T74 and T76) which imply that he would be will-
ing to book the 80 rooms on the condition of getting them for a lower price than the one initially quoted by Ir3B. Ir3A takes the availability of the 80 rooms for granted – unlike Ir3B, who phrased the availability as a condition for Ir3A's booking them ("if we could offer 80 rooms", T73). However, Ir3A does not make a precise counter-price Offer. Neither does Ir3B renew the Offer in his response to Ir3A's Requests for a better Offer. Instead, Ir3B makes another Open Request: "what sort of offer I mean, just a starting-point on your pricing" (T77), which is downgraded by means of a Disarmer. Obviously, at this stage of the negotiation neither of them is willing to yield any information concerning their preferred price. Rather, they try to elicit this very piece of information from the other side. They might be afraid of losing power. Finally, in T78, Ir3A makes a counter-Offer after several hesitations and a prepositioned Grounder. It sounds like his final Offer, but by the end of the negotiation he will have further budged from this position.

More examples of avoiding commitment in the present data can be found throughout Ir2. On the way to the final agreement, the hotel manager (Ir2B) employs many different evasion strategies when it comes to reacting to the tour manager's (Ir2A) repeated Requests for a lower price Offer for accommodation.290 A variety of other aspects are negotiated 'in between' as well, but Ir2A repeatedly comes back to his initial Request. He is quite insistent and uses the Requests as conditions linked to his own Offers. Ir2B makes a first price Offer very early in the negotiation, in T36-T46 (190 Euro for two nights per person). As it turns out, this very first price Offer of the negotiation "exert[s] a strong pull throughout the rest of the negotiation" (GALINSKY 2004: paragraph 5; cf. Section 2.1.1). No matter what else Ir2B Offers in the course of the negotiation, Ir2A always comes back to this original price Offer which he wishes to be reduced. This is outlined in some detail in the following paragraphs.

Ir2A does not directly respond to Ir2B's Offer utterances from T36-T46 but makes a Further Inquiry (RCCC), followed by backchannelling tokens and silences by both negotiators. Then the discussion turns to other aspects such as breakfast, entertainment facilities, the bar, the hotel and its furnishing, the size of the fan group, and the type of fans (T53-T98). Then, from T99 onwards, Ir2A prepares his Rejection of the initial price Offer via supportive moves (Grounders). He argues that there is no long-standing business relationship with Ir2B yet and that there are rival hotels in Dublin which are located closer to the city centre (which would save transport costs) and which have already Offered a better rate. As Ex. 345 illustrates, the Tentative/Implicit Rejection in T118 ("there's a lot better out there than that price") is followed by a Clear Rejection, which simultaneously function as a Request for a lower Offer: "what I'm saying to you is, can you do <E> better </E> than that, and a <E> lot </E> better than that" (T121). This Request is also supported by post-positioned external modifiers (Disarmer and Grounder). Ir2B's response is not intelligible, and Ir2A quickly continues to Offer a long-standing business relationship which serves to enhance the attractiveness of lowering the overall price. This becomes clear from the

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290 Cf. MARTIN (2001: 168) who notes that "sellers try to avoid being drawn into an immediate lowering of their price".
second Request for Offer and its Grounder in the same turn (T123): "price is the main concern, now what's a happy medium where you're happy with, the business that you're getting and the money that you're making on that, and ourselves". By using this formulation, Ir2A stresses that he is interested in cooperation and a win-win solution. Again, Ir2B does not respond (only a backchannelling token following a short silence, T124-T126).

Ex. 345. (Ir2, T118-T138)

so, cuttin to the chase? initially, there's a lot better out there, than that price. By using this formulation, Ir2A stresses that he is interested in cooperation and a win-win solution. Again, Ir2B does not respond (only a backchannelling token following a short silence, T124-T126).
What follows in T127 by Ir1A is the most direct Request realisation strategy type observed in the present corpus, a Threat (cf. Section 4.4.1.2): "if there's no budging on a price of 380 Euros, it's a no-brainer for me, for our company". Despite this unmistakable statement, all that Ir2B has to say is "yes" (T128), "yeah" (T130), and "yes" (T132) after several of Ir2A's post-positioned Grounders. This prompts Ir2A to Request a better price Offer once again in T133: "so, given that, is there anything better you can offer us". Now Ir2B responds with a very vague and evasive Offer which reveals his general willingness to talk about price: "price is always negotiable" (T136). He seems to realise that he needs to take the floor for a change. However, he still does not want to issue a lower price Offer. Instead, he brings the hooligan problem into play (which functions as an argument for not reducing the price), turning the obvious disadvantage of the hotel's location into an advantage (in the city centre the danger is greater that the fans drink more and thus cause problems in the hotel) (T136-T147). A further evasion strategy by Ir2B is that he Offers additional services in the ensuing parts of Ir2 (T147-T273): transport to and from the match, a dinner on Friday night, a bottle of house wine per room, a band, single rooms for the four accompanying Munster Trips staff, and a game of golf as entertainment plus transport to the golf course on Friday afternoon. Ir2B is willing to Offer these services for special prices, if not as freebies (e.g. the band, the additional rooms, and all meals for the staff). At first, Ir2A seems to be very interested and even accepts some of the Offers (i.e. that the fans would be kept in the hotel, T195-T197). However, in the end, Ir2A seems to reconsider the overall package price and is still not happy. Therefore, Ir2A rejects all the additional services and supports his decision with several Grounders, for instance the amount of potential customers he would be bringing to the Grand Canal Hotel or to the rival hotel, where he would get a much better rate (Ex. 346).

Ex. 346. (Ir2, T274-T291)

<iIr2A> <L> i'll <E> have </E> to be </L> eh, eh, eh, i'll be honest with you, <L> you're still not, - tempting me, </L> 
- -
<iIr2B> <P> <H> yeah, </H> </P>
<iIr2A> <CLICK> at the end o the day i'm, go on, i have, - - over a hundred people here, </CLICK>
<iIr2B> yeah, 
<iIr2A> if they <E> want </E> a game o golf, - - off with them, let them organise it themselves, <§A> they're </§A>
<iIr2B> <§A> yeah, </§A>
<iIr2A> booking the trip with <E> us, </E> - - for, to see a, to see a <E> match, </E> 
-
<iIr2B> <§> yes, </§>
<iIr2A> <§> let </§> <LA> them off if they wanna play a golf, </LA> i'm not gonna, <H> ehm, <c.6> <E> charge </E> people, eighty people <E> more, </E> because twenty people <E> might </E> want to, might fancy a game o golf, 
<iIr2B> yes, 
<iIr2A> eh:m, <c.1> an even at the rate you're quoting me there of, - - okay, <E> four, </E> for the four staff, for free, of two hundred and eleven, <c.2> <WH> at the end of the day it still boils </WH> down to me of location, location, location, i can get
a <E> lot </E> better deal than that, <E> in </E> the centre o
town, people can go the match, if they <E> want </E> to, some
people might even be interested in goin, to:, u <E> 2, <E> i know
that contradicts what i'm sayin about the golf, <H> <§A>
but <§A>

<Ir2B> <§A> yes,
<§A>
<Ir2A> they're in the <E> centre </E> o town, they can do, <E>
what </E> the hell they want, an they don't have any worries
about taxis or anything like that,
<Ir2B> yeah,
<Ir2A> eh:m,
<1.3>

Having acknowledged Ir2A's Rejection via backchannelling tokens, Ir2B responds in
a way similar to how he reacted to Ir2A's Rejection in T136ff. (Ex. 347). He raises a
potential weakness of the tour operator's position: the scarcity of hotel rooms on that
weekend because of the U2 concert (T292). Ir2A, however, defends his position in a
very self-confident way. He claims that the rival hotel's Offer is guaranteed so all he
has to do is to accept it via telephone (which he can do any minute) (T293-T295),
and that the rival hotel Offers a price which is "a lot better than 211" (T301). One has
to keep in mind that these claims do not necessarily have to be true but that this may
be a negotiating tactic (cf. Section 4.1.1). Indeed, the price quoted by the rival hotel
"Talbot Inn" indicated in the simulation briefs (200 Euro per person for two nights)
is higher than what he now claims it to be (cf. App. 2.3). It is a very efficient tactic,
which puts pressure on Ir2B as the claims imply an indirect threat. Obviously, this
reaction makes Ir2B very insecure: he stammers when asking Ir2A about the rival
hotel's Offer details (T302). Ir2A does not reveal any details – he is aware that the
true price Offer of the rival hotel is not better. This once again shows that holding
back certain pieces of information, while revealing others, is an important source of
negotiating power.

Ex. 347. (Ir2, T292-T302)

<Ir2B> now the fact that the u 2 concert is on, is there, - is
there much availability <§B> left, </E> <P> i'd imagine that a lot
of the hotels are actually booked <§B> up, at this stage, </P>
</§B>
<Ir2A> <§B> i have no problem </§B> at
the moment, i have it <E> guaranteed, </E> - </> waiting on the
phone call to see whether i'm taking that it's there, </?/> i've
to ring them back an say,
<Ir2B> yeah,
<Ir2A> yea or nay <E> on </E> it,
<Ir2B> <P> <H> yeah, </H> </P>
<Ir2A> i have, <TIME20.0>
<Ir2B> an what kind o price is he,
<1.1>
<Ir2B> <§> is he </> talking to it, </?> - - - <LAUGH> </§>
<Ir2A> <§> a lot better than two hundred an eleven, </§> <LA> a
lot better than two hundred an eleven, </LA>
<Ir2B> give me, give me, a ballpark figure, - - is he, is he
offerin the same, is he offerin meals, at half price, or, <H> is
there any <E> frills </E> thrown in, - - or is he just, - like
maybe, you don't want any o the, the fr=, the frills thrown in,
maybe it's a, just a <E> bulk </E> standard,
Instead, Ir2A initiates the next conglomerate of Requests for a better price Offer (Ex. 348). This time, he links his Request with the Offer to increase the number of soccer fans and to book the entire hotel. In T319, his increasing impatience with Ir2B and with Ir2B's unwillingness to reduce the initial price quote becomes evident – once again, Ir2A opts for the most direct and face-threatening type of Request for Offer, a Threat (cf. Section 4.4.1.2).

Ex. 348.  (Ir2, T303-T325)

<iIr2A><i strip it down to the bare bones, forget the frills,<i</i>
<iIr2B><iP> <H> yeah, </H> </P>
<iIr2A><i what would be your best, room rate, - for me, for my, - - hundred people? you’re already, okay, let's say we throw in <i> you can still </i> talkin, let's say we still throw in the four for free, whatever we end up doin, <H>
<iIr2B><i> yeah,<i
<iIr2A><i> so, <E> hundred </E> people, with </E> a possibility, - - <HH> i won't say, <E> double </E> it but i could <X1>, - the <E> way </E> it's lookin i could <E> possibly </E> add on another, - - jeez i could have another <E> fifty, seventy </E> people on top o that, -
<iIr2B><i> <§> <X2> </§>
<iIr2A><i> depending </i> on the best rate i can get with, the particular hotel,
<iIr2B><i> yes.
<iIr2A><i> so i could increase a <E> lot </E> more than a hundred, so what's your, <HH> ho=, how cou=, how low can you go,
<iIr2B><i> <i> well </i> you know we've, we've eighty rooms,
<iIr2A><i> mhm,
<iIr2B><i> you're looking,
<iIr2A><i> of the hundred an sixty, let's say, let's say, excuse me, let's say i was to take up the whole hotel, use all the rooms,
<iIr2B><i> yeah,<i
<iIr2A><i> wha=, what are you talkin about then, for those two nights, - - what's the <E> lowest </E> room rate, you can quote me, -, an i'm <E> not </E> really one for, - - there's a price, no, back again an then another one, i'm tryin to be upfront with you that, <E> at the end of the day i've got a very good rate, an location is <E> very </E> important to me, - so you'd wanna a <L> <E> f:airly low </E> </L> ball them </E> - to <§A> even </§A>
<iIr2B><i> <§A> yeah, </§A>
<iIr2A><i pique my interest,<i
<iIr2B><iP> <H> yeah, </H> </P>
<iIr2A><iP> 1.1 <H> eh:mm, - - if <E> you? </E> 2.0 if you, <i> could book, the eighty rooms,
<iIr2B><iP> 2.5
<iIr2A><i if i take over your hotel, <§A> yeah? </§A>
<iIr2B><iP> <§A> if you could </§A> take over the hotel, <1.0> ehm, - - obviously i'd need a bit of a deposit,

To avoid a direct response to Ir2A's Request, Ir2B Requests that, if Ir2A books the entire hotel, Ir2A would also have to provide a deposit and make sure to "keep an eye on the crowd yourselves" (T339). Next, the two negotiators address other issues such as the possibility of organising a late bar on Saturday night (T351-T352) and
the four extra rooms for the Munster Trips staff, which Ir2B again offers for free (T355). Moreover, Ir2B offers to exclude all the "frills" (T372) and to offer only "pure bulk standard" (T383), which means "bottom line bed and breakfast" (T386), as had been requested by Ir2A in T303 (cf. Section 4.1.1). Ir2B also offers to provide any relevant information (such as contact details of the bus company), which will allow Ir2A to organize any additional services by himself (T375-T381).

The first time Ir2B actually budges from his initial price is not until T388 where he makes an offer linked to the condition that the fans will definitely stay in the hotel on the Friday night to increase revenues (contingent offers) (Ex. 349). As he does not give an exact price figure but only indicates that he might change the price ("I can do much better on the price", T388), Ir2A repeats his request by choosing a very direct realisation strategy for the open request (imperative): "go on, show the price" (T389), followed by further open requests in T395 (after an RCCC plus response) and T399. Ir2B tries to restrict his budging to offering freebies (e.g. dinner, house wine, band, transport, late bar licence) and expressing his willingness to grant a discount. He also still avoids mentioning the exact new price for the overall package and sticks to the 190 Euro quote (T396-T418).

Ex. 349. (Ir2, T388-T400, T413-T418)

<Ir2B> <P> yeah, </P> <H> eh:m, - - <CLICK> - what i </E> would </E> like to do is if we can </E> get </E> the people to stay on friday night an </P> get the dinner, <2.9> if, if, if, - if i could </E> arrange </E> that, - - or if </E> you </E> could arrange that, i, i can do, much better on the price, - - cos it, <H> you know yourself the people stay </E> around, </P> they'll drink in the <E> bar, </E> they love wine with their dinner, ehm,

<Ir2A> <H> so, - - go on, show the price, - so now you're talking about,

- <Ir2A> <$ per person, </>
<Ir2B> <$ so if i </>
<Ir2A> <E> two </E> nights accommodation, - <E> two </E> breakfasts, an <E> one </E> evening meal,
<Ir2B> <P> one evening meal. </P>
<Ir2A> what price are you talking about per head,
<Ir2B> i'll throw that evening meal i= in for free. <2.9> so they'll get, for <$B> X3 </>
<Ir2A> <$ oh yeah, you're </> still sticking to your one ninety, rate, is it?
<Ir2B> eh:m, - - <SWALLOW> <CLICK> <B> see the idea is, </>
<Ir2B> <$B> we're talking of one </E> ninety, </E> an, say, a meal is worth, thirty, so, that's down to one, <1.5> your room now is your bed an breakfast rate will be down to one, </E> si= sixty, - - ehm, if we did it for </E> one fifty </E> plus, <2.3> if we did it for one fifty a head plus, plus the evening meal, <1.1> plus the two breakfasts,
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After discussing how certain it is that Ir2A can fill all hotel rooms (T418-T432), Ir2B opts for a new strategy: he makes several Open Requests for a counter-Offer (Ex. 350). Interestingly, the tour operator does not want to answer this delicate price question either. MARTIN observes similar buyer/seller behaviour in her Irish data:

> As noted in our discussion on misalignment, the sellers evidently wish to postpone any move to price cutting before other alternatives have been explored, whilst the buyers, for their part, also demonstrate evasiveness in their readiness to commit themselves to an agreement. The combination of stressing co-operation on the personal level and hedging on the task level [...] is potentially one of the features which distinguishes the Irish intracultural negotiations and reinforces the underlying competitiveness and game-like quality of the interactions. [...] They bounce the price issue back and forth without wishing to commit themselves to a figure, whilst appeals on a personal level become increasingly prominent. (MARTIN 2001: 175, 178)

The Mild Hint in T447 is a further – very indirect – way of Requesting a commitment from Ir2A (Ex. 351). The short silence in T434 and the long silences in T438 and T447 provide evidence for this, as does the fact that Ir2A shifts the topic (thus avoiding an answer) by saying that he tries to imagine what his customers may prefer (T439-T445). Obviously, both negotiators are aware that whoever makes a price Offer first is in a weaker position than the other.

Ex. 350. (Ir2, T433-T438)

<iR2B> if we remain, if we bring down, if we say that the one night is included, it, that sorry, the dinner, <SWALLOW> for the friday night is included in the one ninety, <1.6> as a starter, - - eh, <1.2> so <X1>, they'll still pay, the one ninety, plus <X1>, maybe a small discount, - - but <E> that </E> will include the evening meal for f=, for free, it's included in that rate, <1.0>
<iR2A> yeah, yeah, <§A> yeah i think </§A>
<iR2B> <§A> eh, <X2> </§A>
<iR2A> now i know <:?> what you're talking about, </:?> <§A> yeah, yeah, </§A>
<iR2B> <§A> </§A> their bed an breakfast, - eh, i'll, i'll put a <E> band </E> in as well for the friday night, <1.1> i'll give, i'll give you, - - <E> dinner, </E> plus a bottle of house wine, <3.8> on the friday night, and the band, <2.5> and i'd organise the, - - i'd organise the bus, on the saturday, - - for free, <3.2> <E> leaving </E> at whatever time you want, and coming back at, <R> <M> twelve or one in the morning, whatever, </M> </R> - - eh:m, i'll get the <E> licence, </E> -- sorted for the friday night, a late licence, - - <P> </P> ? to, </:?> two or three in the mornin, whatever, whatever is, <1.2> ehm, - - an i'll <E> cut </E> that one ninety, </P> […]

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Ex. 350. (Ir2, T433-T438)

<iR2B> i suppose <:?> i'd </:?> asked you the question, what prices <M> do you have in mind </M> yourself?
<iR2A> <H> <P> yeah, </P> </H>
<iR2B> i'm doin all the talking about, </§B> </§B>
<iR2A> <§B> yeah, </§B>
<iR2B> <§B> price but, <1.1> give me <E> some </E> kind of idea of where, - - - where we're going to, <5.4> what could <E> you, </E> make a profit on, - a handy, a <E> nice </E> profit, <3.3> or, above, what, price, will your, <4.0> what, </E> price would your clients be willing to pay, <:?> i suppose, </:?> <21.8> given the weekend that's in it,
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Ex. 351. (Ir2, T447)

<Ir2B> say it's fine there might be, availability <E> now </E> but, ehm, as it, - - comes nearer an nearer to the, the u 2 concert, - - an the matches, - - many hotels will, <E> will </E> get booked up. <5.3> <HH> like, <§B> possibly, </§B> after rejecting Ir2B's idea of selling an alternative tour to a different group of customers (T449-T456), Ir2A comes back to price issues by making Requests for Confirmation of Previous Offers/Repeated Commitments/Clarifications (RCCCs). Ir2B provides confirmation and clarification and also repeats his general willingness to cut the price of 190 Euro for the package including accommodation, breakfast, evening meal, and transport (T463-T494). His attempt to elicit from Ir2A the price quoted by the rival hotel is, again, not successful (T485-T488). Next, Ir2A prepares his renewed Request for a lower price Offer as well as his counter-price Offer in T510-T517 by arguing that not all people will actually take the meal (T496-T509). Ir2B would thus be making money on a service which the fans would not use. Ir2A's counter-Offer is 170 Euro per person for two nights bed and breakfast, dinner, transport, and band (which contradicts his earlier Request to "forget the frills" in T303). He makes clear that he would directly close the deal if Ir2B accepted this counter-Offer ("I <E> shake </E> on that right now", T510). In exchange for getting a lower rate he commits himself to booking the entire hotel (Ex. 352).

Ex. 352. (Ir2, T510-T522)

<Ir2A> so what i would say to you is, - - <CLICK> if you could, - - <HH> <1.9> an offer of something like, <3.9> what you have quoted there, - - the <E> two </E> nights, two breakfasts, a meal, <1.8> and, <§> transportin, </§> on the day of the match, and a pick up, if they're there for <X2>, whatever, two in the morning, we decide that again, <H> <E> for </E> - - a hundred an seventy euro per person, <2.7> 1, <E> shake </E> on that right now, with the: <TIME35.0> <3.1> stipulation that, - as i've <E> said </E> to you, eh we will take over the full hotel with that <E> for </E> for <E> that </E> that, <X1>, arrangement, <H> to <E> have </E> it as low, as that one seventy, - - that that's based on i was filling your f= hotel, - - entirely, <§A> your </§A> eighty rooms, eh, okay, you're throwin in the <E> four </E> free, <E> so filling in <§A> your </§A> seventy-six rooms.

<Ir2B> <§A> okay, </§A> hundred and seventy-six rooms.

<Ir2A> <P> yeah, </P> okay, </P> and the <E> band </E> is obviously as well <P> that you were referring to. yeah, </P> <5.5> so just have, think about that, have a biscuit, <18.9> bear in mind as i, <1.0> as i said </E> now </E> george, <1.8> there is <E> every likelihood, </E> <2.8> that you're getting thirty euro a head, - - - for a meal, - - of which over <E> half </E> the people may not end up <?> availing of </E> that, <E> that's, </E> as much in the air to <E> me </E> as it is to you, i don't know <X5> the girls </X5> followin </E> that one,

<Ir2B> mhm,

<Ir2A> <E> that's </E> but you know yourself, crowd o guys up, <H> some o them are just <X2>, <?> the, they're, they're not </?>, they're taking
it as the price <?> is being, </?> oh, it's a hundred an seventy
for the weekend, there's a meal included, <E> half </E> them may
not even bother, <R> they <?> may be going </?> into town coming
at one o'clock in the afternoon an take car o themselves for the
evening. </R>

<R> yeah. <15.3> i'll, <8.8> i'll, i'll, - - put the <E> band
</E> on anyways, on the friday night, - - i'll agree the one
seventy, - - i'll put a band on the friday night anyways, <2.2>
<CLICK> <E> hopefully, </E> <M> some of your guests, </M> - will
</E> stay </E> <§B> <X5+> </§B>

At first, Ir2B only responds to Ir2A's Offers via Backchannelling Tokens (T513, T515, T518, T520, T522). Other than that, he remains silent (note the several shorter and longer silences in T516, T517, T522), which prompts Ir2A to further back his Requests and Offers with post-positioned supportive moves. Not until T522 does Ir2B finally comply and Offer a lower price. His Offer utterances are characterised by stammering and hesitation, which shows how reluctant he is to commit himself. Ir2B's utterances "it won't cost me a lot" (T530) and "there's a possibility that the income I get there would more than cover the band" (T532) are moves supporting Ir2B's Offers (Grounders), however, not with the function of making the Offer more attractive to Ir2A. Rather, it seems as though the hotel manager is trying to convince himself that Offering the whole package for 170 Euro is the right thing for him to do. He might want to communicate to Ir2A that it does not hurt him to include the extras, which could be interpreted as an attempt to save face. In fact, however, Ir2B's face might be damaged as it is likely that he considers this concession as a defeat. The fact that Ir2B 'voluntarily' includes the dinner and the band in the Offer indicates a misunderstanding on his side, because Ir2A had Requested this to be part of the package in T510-T517. This is pointed out by Ir2A in T539: "sorry, maybe we're not being <E> clear </E> with ea ch other, I'd presume, yeah, that's in it", followed by further moves which serve not only to support his Acceptance of Ir2B's Offer but also to emphasise how Ir2B will benefit from the deal (T541-T554).291

In the next stages of the negotiation the tour operator and the hotel manager wrap up the deal. Statements such as "I'm delighted to do business with you" (T558) and "yeah I think so I am ready for it" (T563) can be counted as their final expression of mutual agreement and verbal acceptance of the overall deal. Following that, they briefly discuss a humorous but illegal suggestion made by Ir2A (T565-T754; also cf. Section 3.3.4, Footnote 125), sum up the deal once again (T580-T585), and agree on a deposit to be paid by Ir2A as well as on other procedural issues (T586-T617), before stating their final commitment and indicating that their deal will be sealed in a less formal way in the bar (Ex. 353).

Ex. 353.  (Ir2, T617-T623)

<i2A> [...] okay?
<i1.1>
<i2B> that's fine.
<i2A> pleasure doin business <$A> with you, </$A>

291 The passage from T532-T555 constitutes a Summary phase discussed in Section 4.5.2 (cf. Ex. 370).
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Ir2B's almost stubborn unwillingness to reduce his initial price quote stands in stark contrast to his openness at the beginning of the negotiation when he makes several non-elicited Offers (Ex. 354). In the other negotiations, Offers of this type are made at a much later stage where they can be used strategically as wild cards by the hotel managers to negotiate a higher overall price.

Ex. 354. (Ir2, T53, T57, T61)

This behaviour does not give a very professional impression, which is surprising, since in real life Ir2B has previous negotiating experience and is the director of a small company (cf. Table 7 in Section 3.1). It seems as though he would like to give an overview of the whole range of subjects they may discuss in the course of the negotiations, without noticing that he thus forfeits negotiation power prematurely. Maybe Ir2B realises this when Ir2A continually Requests a lower price Offer, so instead of discussing the price anew, he avoids making a new quote altogether. The tour manager's 'information policy' is quite different and more efficient: he releases pieces of information gradually. He does not lay all his cards on the table at once, but strategically waits for the right moment. In this way he is more skilled in treating negotiation as a 'strategic game'.

The third area where one can observe that negotiators conceal their true opinion or position is Offer responses. As pointed out in Sections 4.4.3 and 4.4.4, five of the nine Offer response types, subcategories included (i.e. Backchannelling Tokens, Echoes, Further Inquiries/Requests, Pauses and Topic Shifts/Changes), are ambiguous reactions open to multiple interpretations and can be regarded as 'less relevant' responses to an Offer utterance than Acceptances or Rejections. They make up 77.36% of all observed Offer responses in the corpus. If one includes Tentative/Implicit Acceptances and Tentative/Implicit Rejections in this group too, the proportion even rises to 94.25% – only 5.75% of all observed Offer responses convey S's position clearly and unmistakably. I believe that this result is indicative of negotiation discourse in general and not just a characteristic of Irish English, although this assumption needs to be tested further. Just like the evasion strategies
mentioned earlier, evasive Offer responses are also a potential source of power. While at the same time, at least in the case of Further Inquiries and Echoes (if the latter function as RCCCs), relevant information about the Offeree's assessment of the Offer is withheld, additional information and/or a confirmation of existing pieces of information are elicited. However, the responder must be careful not to deadlock the negotiation. A negotiator should therefore not take too much time or demand too much information before he is willing to give a more definite answer. Backchanneling Tokens, Echoes, Further Inquiries/Requests, and Ignores (Pauses and Topic Shift/Change) may be interpreted by the Offerer as implying or leading to a Rejection. If Rejections or potential pre-Rejections reflect a negotiator's dominating reaction to the other party's Offers, the negotiation is likely to fail, especially if he does not provide convincing arguments for his position or budge from his initial positions in any other way, for instance by making concessions. The same applies to the exclusive use of evasion strategies (not only with regard to Offer responses).

Not only on the level of goods and services (cf. Section 4.5.1.1) but also on the level of information is it important to maintain the balance between demanding and giving if the negotiating parties' common objective is to close a deal which satisfies both sides. Negotiators cannot only Request information about the others' positions, preferences, expectations, and objectives in order to increase their own knowledge; they must also be willing to reveal information about themselves. Again, this means they must balance the cooperative and competitive elements inherent in a negotiation, and yet again, the relationship between the negotiating parties must be reciprocal. The negotiators in the present corpus manage quite well to keep the negotiation going and to reach an agreement in the end, even though some of them "wheel[…] and deal[…] in [a] roundabout way" (Ir2, T463) (cf. Section 4.5.2).

My account so far has demonstrated the importance of both head moves and supportive moves (external modification) in Offer sequences with regard to information sharing and justifying and explaining one's negotiating position. On the one hand, they disclose information about S (his positions, preferences, and so on). They have an epistemic function in that they supply knowledge to H (cf. Keough 1992: 110). On the other hand, they serve to influence (in less fair negotiations even to manipulate) H's decision-making behaviour, to get H to do what S wants, so that they may finally reach an outcome which is beneficial to S (and, ideally, also to H). One might therefore claim that, in the context of negotiations, all of these moves inherently carry directive illocutionary force. I therefore disagree with Tutzauer, and say that Offers are made to persuade and to inform.

*Interactive* means that bargainers influence each other. [...]A] bargainer makes an offer not to inform but to persuade. The essence of bargaining, it seems, is the way bargainers shape each other's behaviours via their offers. (Tutzauer 1992: 73; original emphasis)

Persuasion and information exchange/disclosure are both interactive and dynamic processes (cf. Virtanen & Halmari 2005: 7). A negotiator's verbal (and non-verbal) reactions to the other party's moves in the ongoing discourse determine if and when this negotiator discloses his information, and by which means he will try to persuade the other. Negotiators' strategies need to be constantly adapted because – as stated at the beginning of this section – the basis of their decision-making changes.
What makes the two above-mentioned processes so interesting in negotiations is the fact that both parties want and need to disclose relevant information and that both try to persuade the other; the persuasion works "in opposite directions" (BÜLOW-MÖLLER 2005: 54). In speech act-theoretic terms, the result of these processes are perlocutionary effects (cf. JUCKER 1997: 97, quoted by VIRTANEN & HALMARI 2005: 7): with regards to the disclosure of information, the information is processed cognitively and interpreted as additional or revived knowledge by H, and with regards to persuasion, H is indeed persuaded.

As shown in this section, the informative and persuasive functions apply to Offer sequences as a whole. It underlines their significance to the communicative goal of business negotiations as outcome-oriented discourse: to bring the negotiators' differing views and positions together, to solve potential problems, and to reach an agreement, which is the precondition for a business transaction (cf. Section 1.1). TUTZAUER (1992: 81) raises the assumption "that offers overshadow the impact of any other type of communication in bargaining, but this assumption needs to be tested". Although the present study cannot give any statistically tested evidence, his claim can be confirmed if one phrases it slightly differently: Offer sequences (consisting of Offers, Requests for Offers, Offer responses, and external modification accompanying Offer, Request, or response) overshadow the impact of any other type of communication in negotiation. This is true both qualitatively and quantitatively. If one isolates the parts of the negotiation that do not belong to Offer sequences, not much is left: only approximately 25% of all characters (including tags) in the Irish negotiations are not coded as Offer, Request, Response to Offers, or external modification (Ir1-Ir4). In other words: approximately three quarters of the negotiations under study are devoted to Offer communication. With regard to Offers alone, 22.03% of all turns contain an Offer utterance on average (Ir1-Ir4, independent of speaker, cf. Table 27 in App. 8).

The role which Offer sequences play in negotiations ties in neatly with the recommendations brought forth by authors of advice literature to "frame" (BAZERMAN 2004) one's Offers and to "label" one's concessions (MALHOTRA 2004b: 3), for instance by emphasising that what one is willing to do is at one's cost and of benefit to the other (cf. Section 4.1.2). A good example from the present corpus for this strategy is Ex. 355, which has already been discussed in the context of negotiators' pragmatic roles (cf. Section 4.1.2).

Ex. 355. (Ir3, T111)

<i>Ir3B</i> <E> well </E> i suppose fergus, - - what we're <E> both </E> looking for here, is a win-win, eh, we're <E> both </E> in business, - eh, <E> i certainly, </E> would like to <E> fill </E> the <E> hotel, </E> all eighty, <E> double rooms, </E> - eh, an, <TIME10.0> accept the, - inconvenience of </E> relocating, <E> - </E> - eh:, existing booked guests, and that's certainly an administrative challenge for <E> me </E> but one i think that we can eh, <E> handle, </E> - eh, an on the <E> other </E> hand, - ehm, <CLICK> eh:, i think, you know, what enables <E> you, </E> to, maybe sell, - - eh:m, eh, a hundred an <E> sixty, </E> <E> tickets, </E> eh::, as opposed to a hundred, a hundred that you're selling at the moment. - - eh, no doubt, that would be the <E> cream, </E> for <E> you, </E> if you can, ehm, <CLICK> <HH> if you can add another, sixty, - - ehm, - sixty, <1.1> ?>
The hotel manager (Ir3B) defends his initial price offer (made in T98-T102) by pointing out the tour operator's benefits (a "win-win" situation, Ir3A's opportunity to sell 160 tickets instead of only 100) and his own costs ("accept the inconvenience", deal with "an administrative challenge").

A further piece of advice often found in the negotiation literature is to explain why one makes a particular request for offer (MALHOTRA 2004b: 3-4) (cf. Section 2.1.1). In Ex. 356, the tour operator initiates a series of request utterances by stating a reason for doing so: "the reason I'm calling is, - - it's related to the upcoming football game on the 17th of April next". It is basically a brief summary of the purpose of the meeting with the hotel manager.

By framing or labelling his moves, a negotiator creates common ground (cf. BÜLOW-MÖLLER 2005: 41-47). He increases the likelihood of his motives and intentions being understood, possibly of creating trust too, and may thus succeed in persuading the other party to comply with the request. Supportive moves therefore have a strong strategic potential in negotiation discourse; they have argumentative power. In the following, I look at supportive moves in the context of argumentation and tentatively equate them with *arguments*. As pointed out in Section 4.3, the present understanding of supportive move goes beyond EDMONDSON's (1981: 122-129) concept of *anticipatory strategy*. Anticipating a certain move by H in response to his head move is not the only reason why S makes a supportive move; likewise, he may react to an actual move by H. Supportive moves, or arguments, may therefore comprise longer stretches of talk which extend over many turns and do not necessarily occur in close proximity to the head move. SPRANZ-FOGASY writes:

> Argumentieren kann [...] in einem Spektrum vom kleinen Nebensätzchen bis hin zur stundenlangen Diskussion realisiert werden. (SPRANZ-FOGASY 2006: 38)

[Arguing can involve everything from a short phrase to a discussion lasting for hours. (translation mine)]

There is no agreement among argumentation researchers as to what exactly argumentation is. Depending on the discipline (e.g. philosophy, rhetoric, linguistics), different...
definitions are suggested. They are not discussed here. In the present study, the term argumentation includes speech actions such as defending one's position, justifying and explaining a move, providing additional (neutral) pieces of information, elaborating, raising objections, drawing a conclusion, warning against and playing down a possible offence, making conditions of Offers explicit, etc. (cf. DEPPERMANN 2006: 14 and Section 4.3). They all strengthen S's position.

SPRANZ-FOGASY (2006: 32-33) lists five steps of a basic type of argumentative sequence: 1) Action causing disagreement, 2) Action marking disagreement, 3) Action elaborating on disagreement (positions), 4) Acceptance, 5) Ratification. In a negotiation, such an idealised argumentative sequence corresponds to an Offer sequence pattern of the following kind: Offer → Rejection → Argument (e.g. Grounder or Expander) → Acceptance → Acceptance Finaliser. In reality, of course, such sequences are longer and more complicated (cf. Section 4.4.4 and SPRANZ-FOGASY 2006: 34-36). DEPPERMANN (2006: 12) criticises the general lack of empirical studies based on authentic data in current argumentation research. He and others point out that identifying argumentation in spoken discourse is difficult; formal elements which are defined as constitutive indicators of argumentation in many argumentation theories (e.g. premises and conclusions) are often only implicit (cf. DEPPERMANN 2006: 14-17; SPRANZ-FOGASY 2006: 28). Formal linguistic surface indicators of argumentation are also rare. They are optional and only function as such if viewed within the linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts (cf. DEPPERMANN 2006: 16-17). The following are among the indicators which could be identified in Offer sequences in the present corpus of business negotiations:

- Conditional conjunction if as a marker for Explicit Conditions of Offers (cf. Section 4.3.4)
- Causal conjunctions because and since (e.g. when used to initiate a Grounder as in Ex. 357 to support an Offer)
- Conclusive conjunctions so and therefore (e.g. in conjunction with a Grounder accompanying a Request for Offer as in Ex. 358 and Ex. 359)
- Adversative conjunction but (e.g. when used to connect a Disarmer with the head move as in Ex. 360, or to raise an objection as in Ex. 361)

293 The understanding of argumentation to be found in recent studies on (German) everyday conversation (cf. DEPPERMANN & HARTUNG 2006) differs from the classic understanding of argumentation in written discourse, especially as far as the traditional field of formal logic is concerned.

294 Unlike SCHEITER (2002: 53, referring to MARQUARD 1994 and TRAUTMANN 1994), I do not distinguish between non-argumentative reasoning (Ger. nicht-argumentatives Begründen, i.e. S fills H's assumed knowledge deficit) and argumentative reasoning (Ger. argumentatives Begründen, i.e. S assumes that H has all knowledge elements required for his understanding S but that H does not take all of these elements into account during his current decision-making process), or arguing in a narrow sense. SCHEITER (2002: 35, 53) is of the opinion that the latter is not typical of decision-making in negotiations.
− Internal modifiers: e.g. nouns and adjectives with a positive connotation and adverbs and prosodic means with an enhancing function (upgraders) in conjunction with Offers as in Ex. 361-363 (cf. Section 4.2.3.1)

Ex. 357. (Ir4, T588)

<Ir4A><§B>y</§B>yeah, - yeah, but i <§B>d</§B>on't <X2>in terms of, ehm, maybe, - <R>we need to talk, maybe in the, eh, over the next eh, <R><H>few days in terms of what, - excess capacity, because i mean that would mean us, puttin on another, <H>coach, you know, to, to come up from cork, so, <H>eh, eh, [...]

Ex. 358. (Ir2, T129-T135)

<Ir2A>w:=, <E>we</E> have, already got a hotel, quoting a better rate, an it's in the centre o town, <H>an i'm thinkin of a hundred <X2>, and <X1> their main concern is, <§A>great with the</§A> hotel in the centre o town, we can hop in a bus, an we're over, or we can take a walk, an we're into temple bar or whatever, or a bus for the match,
<Ir2B><P><H>yeah</H>, <H></P><Ir2A><§B>offer us</§B>, <§B>...</§B>

Ex. 359. (Ir3, T144-T145)

<Ir3B><LAUGH><LA>and, and i</LA> <E>suppose </E>what i'm suggesting <E>to </E>you is that ehm, <H>the, the <E>question</E> of eh, <E>breakfast </E>at a, twelve euros won't arise, <H>eh i, i</H> <E>seriously, </E>believe, <§B><§B><§A>X3</§A></§B></§B>
<Ir3A><§B>so therefore give it, </§B><§B>give it at an all-in cost, it's not gonna cost you anything either,

Ex. 360. (Ir1, T6-T8)

<Ir1A>[...]<E>just</E> that in terms of, of, <E>we're</E> keen to bring as many people as possible. <P>we, we know it's an expensive weekend, we know it's going to be, a difficult weekend to find capacity, <§A>but</§A>, <§A><§A></§A>
<Ir1B><§A>mhm</§A>, <§A></§A>
<Ir1A>i suppose what <E>we're</E> trying to do is maximise the number of people that can come up for the occasion, [...]

Ex. 361. (Ir3, T132-T136)

<Ir3B>well i, well as you know, fergus, we're not every, we're not every hotel, we're, - <X1>a new property, beautifully appointed,
<Ir3A>i know <§A><E>that</E>, <§A></§A>
<Ir3B><§A>euh</§A>, <§A></§A>
<Ir3A>but ag=, <LA>again, again, </LA>my, my clients aren't going to be interested in, in walking, walking your gardens or, - <HH>euh, they're interested in, <1.5>euh, - - convenience, and, and, and price.
Ex. 362.  (Ir3, T111)  

\(<Ir3B>[…] \text{eh, no doubt, that would be the } <E> \text{cream, } </E> \text{for } <E> \text{you, } </E>[…]\)

Ex. 363.  (Ir3, T146)  

\(<Ir3B>[…] \text{we've a } <E> \text{very } </E> \text{fine } <E> \text{bar, - eh, and, eh, - - } <E> \text{lovely, } </E> \text{facilities, for, ehm, } <E> \text{celebration } </E> \text{of the, of the } <E> \text{victory, } </E> \text{eh on the evening of the match. - eh, an i } <E> \text{don't } </E> \text{think that breakfast, } <H> \text{eh really, eh, will } <E> \text{add } </E> \text{cost, } <1.1> \text{eh, so eh,}\)

Reducing the detection of argumentation to these formal surface criteria, however, neglects other important content-based yet potentially less obvious indicators of argumentative structures in negotiations.

Let us now turn to a comparative analysis of the use of arguments. I am particularly interested in the following three questions: 1) In which of the four negotiations do interlocutors engage most in argumentative work?, 2) Which speech act – Offer, Request for Offer, Offer response – is most often supported argumentatively?, and 3) Who uses more arguments on average, the hotel managers (sellers), or the tour operators (buyers)? Figure 24 provides the answer to question 1: in total, Ir3 displays the highest frequency of overall argumentative utterances/supportive moves (also cf. Table 35 in App. 8). On average, there are 0.4894 external modifiers per speech act in Ir3, in contrast to 0.3828 in Ir4, 0.3333 in Ir2, and 0.2352 in Ir1.  

![Figure 24: Average number of external modifier types per Offer, Request for Offer, Offer response](image)

Interestingly, Ir3 also has by far the highest relative frequency occurrence of contingent Offers: 20.55%, i.e. 15 out of 73, in contrast to 6.40% (13 out of 203) in Ir1, 9.35% (13 out of 139) in Ir2, and 7.44% (9 out of 121) in Ir4 (cf. Section 4.1.4 and Table 29 in App. 8).

Note that Offer responses do not include Continues (cf. Section 4.4.3).
Only with regard to moves supporting Offers is Ir3 (0.6986) outnumbered by one of the other negotiations, namely Ir4 (0.8347). The average number of external modifiers accompanying Requests for Offer in Ir3 is, with 0.4390, only slightly higher than in Ir2 (0.4063). However, the difference between Ir3 and the other negotiations is clearly evident with respect to moves which support Offer responses: there are 0.3108 supportive moves per response on average, followed by Ir2 with 0.1069. Ir4's very high frequency of supportive moves per Offer stands in stark contrast to the relatively low number of modifiers in connection with Requests for Offers (0.2143) and especially with Offer responses, which are virtually non-existent (0.0079).

The negotiators in Ir3 do not only quantitatively employ more arguments than the interlocutors in the other negotiations, but they also make the most of their arguments in qualitative terms. Since the simulation briefs were the same for all four negotiations, the arguments used by the negotiators resemble each other, but the interlocutors in Ir3 exploit their strategic potential best. The two negotiators release pieces of information which strengthen their own position at the right moment, i.e. whenever one of them sees the necessity to steer the negotiation in the direction of their own (personal) objective. They fill the other's perceived or actual knowledge/information deficit gradually, step by step. When one of them provides an argument in favour of his position, the other very often refutes it immediately with a counter-argument and adds additional arguments which strengthen his own position. This frequently leads the other to do the same. For instance, when Ir3A does not respond to Ir3B's price Offer (400 Euro) in T46, Ir3B seems to interpret the silence as a possible pre-rejection as he starts to back his Offer with arguments: he points out that the Grand Canal is a new business hotel with a good reputation which offers tourism opportunities due to its proximity to the Wicklow Mountains (Ex. 364). Ir3B rebuts these arguments by arguing that his customers "have no interest in the Wicklow Mountains" and that for 400 Euro they "could probably go into town". Ir3A thereby indirectly rejects the price Offer (cf. Section 4.4.3.7).

Ex. 364. (Ir3, T50-T56)

\textbf{Ir3B}: \textit{eh, -- now as you know, we're not very long open, eh, we have a, -- a very \textit{fine} \textbf{E} reputation, \textit{eh}, we \textit{E} don't generally, \textbf{E} eh, cater, for, ehm, \textbf{E} city-based \textbf{E} events, ehm, eh, we're more, ehm, eh, a \textit{business hotel, \textit{eh}}, ehm, and also, ehm, you know, offering, ehm, some, ehm, \textit{tourism, \textit{ehm opportunities, you know, \textit{eh}}, we're very close to the \textit{eh}} \textbf{B} }

\textbf{Ir3A}: \textbf{mhm, \textit{eh}}, \textit{\textbf{B}} \textbf{mhmm, -- mhm, \textit{eh}}, \textbf{B}

\textbf{Ir3B}: \textit{wicklow \textit{E} mountains, \textit{\textbf{E}}} \textbf{eh}, \textbf{E} \textit{\textit{eh}}

\textbf{Ir3A}: \textbf{well, \textit{\textbf{B}} i suppose john, the only thing is, my people have, \textit{\textbf{E}} no \textit{\textbf{E}} interest in the wicklow mountains. ehm, an i suppose, for \textit{\textbf{E}} four \textit{\textbf{E}}

\footnote{Unlike in Ir1 (cf. Section 4.5.1.1), the negotiators' goals in Ir3 correspond to the goals normally associated with buyer and seller: the buyer (Ir3A) tries to negotiate a low price and the seller (Ir3B) a high price.}

\footnote{As shown earlier in this section, the tour operator in Ir2 is also more avid in his argumentative work than the hotel manager.
CHAPTER 4: Offers in business negotiations: Results and discussion
Section 4.5: Global aspects of the Irish English business negotiations

In T55, Ir3A skilfully turns the advantage of the hotel emphasised by Ir3B into a disadvantage: not only is the location close to the Wicklow Mountains not of interest to the soccer fans, but it creates additional transportation costs. Ir3A wins this verbal battle, as Ir3B agrees in T56 ("and a significant cost given the weekend that's in it, alright, I'll accept that"). However, this does not mean that he is ready to lower the price Offer for accommodation. A similar argumentative situation occurs in Ex. 361 where Ir3B once again praises his hotel (T132) in order to strengthen a price Offer (T119) – this time the arguments are brought forth in response to Ir3A's actual Rejection (T131). Ir3A claims that the hotel's characteristics are no news to him, so Ir3B's arguments do not fill a knowledge gap in this case ("I know that", T134). However, Ir3A repeats that he does not accept this as a valid argument: "but again, my clients aren't going to be interested in walking your gardens, they're interested in convenience and price".

A particularly interesting passage in Ir3 in relation to argumentation is Ex. 365, which shows that negotiators always need to be careful about which arguments they make in a given context.

Ex. 365. (Ir3, T142-T146)

299 As pointed out with respect to Offers in Section 4.1.3, negotiators may only pretend to be bound by the interests of a third party when making a certain move. Whether or not they make this claim only for tactical reasons cannot always be ascertained by the interlocutor.
In T142, Ir3B traps himself when he remarks that probably only a few of the fans would take breakfast at all, and those taking it would not bother about the 12 Euro for which he is willing to Offer it. Ir3A retorts that if hardly anyone will make use of the breakfast, then Ir3B can include it in the package at virtually no extra cost. Nevertheless, Ir3B insists in T146 that those fans taking the breakfast would not bother about the additional costs because of all the other great services he can Offer (bar and other party facilities). They serve as further arguments supporting his position: "a comfortable bed in a good hotel with transportation to and from the match, we've a very fine bar, and lovely facilities".

Although Ir3B already budged from his initial price Offer of 400 Euro for two nights per double room in T46 twice (in T98-T102 and T119), Ir3A repeats his counterprice Offer from T117 in T172 (Ex. 366). He is only willing to pay 119 Euro for "the package", and he emphasises that this Offer already implies a considerable concession: "now bear in mind, I really wanted 180 to make it worth my while". Now Ir3B pulls his trump card as a 'joker' argument to support his own price Offer: the hooligan problems caused by Cork fans in the previous year, which in his opinion justify a higher price as a security deposit (T174). Ir2B waited to raise this strong argument until the moment when it becomes clear to him that the tour operator is going to insist on a lower price. Looking at Ir2 as a whole, this occurs in the third quarter of the negotiation (in relation to the overall number of turns in each negotiations) – unlike in the other negotiations, where the hotel managers mention the hooligan troubles in the first quarter of the negotiation. In T175 Ir2A agrees with Ir2B that what happened the year before in the city centre "was a bit of an embarrassment" (T174) but rejects any personal responsibility: "I can assure you they weren't travelling with us" (T177). He also points out that the problem is (at least partly) alleviated because he will book the whole hotel, and he defends his customers: "we have got the whole hotel booked out, John, you see, you've alleviated that, or, certainly partly [...] I can assure you my clients are not the hotel trashing" (T179-T181). However, he admits that "a singsong could break out at two or three o'clock in the morning" (T183).
last played in the, in the fa i, cup eh, in, - two thousand an three, that certainly was an bit of an embarrassment in the city centre,

\(<Ir3A>\) absolutely, yeah, \(<$A>\) absolutely, \(<?>\) and \(<?>\) \(<X1>\) but \(<$/A>\)

\(<Ir3B>\) \(<$A>\) and eh:, \(</$A>\)

\(<Ir3A>\) \(<R>\) i can assure you they weren't, they weren't, they weren't travelling with \(<E>\) us, \(</E>\) \(<R>\)

\(<Ir3B>\) \(<E>\) no, \(</E>\) but, you know yourself, ehm, - eh:, there's always a risk factor, eh, when you get a hundred an, - plus, fans, together, \(<?>\) i am, \(<?>\) \(<$B>\) and, \(</$B>\)

\(<Ir3A>\) \(<$B>\) we have \(<$/B>\) got the \(<E>\) whole, \(</E>\) hotel booked out john you see, you've, you've, you've alleviated that,

\(<Ir3B>\) \(<E>\) well, \(</E>\)

\(<Ir3A>\) or, certainly partly, i mean \(<X1>\), i, i, i can assure you \(<E>\) my \(</E>\) clients are not the, - hotel trashing, \(<$A>\) \(<X5>\) \(<$/A>\)

\(<Ir3B>\) \(<$A>\) \(<E>\) ah, yes, \(</E>\) an i know that, \(<$/A>\) i mean, i, i, i, i'm \(<E>\) aware \(</E>\) of that, eh, \(<$B>\) \(<?>\) i'm aware of that, fergus, \(<?>\) \(<$/B>\)

\(<Ir3A>\) \(<$B>\) but certainly i mean \(<$/B>\) a s=, a singsong could break out at two or three o'clock in the morning \(<R>\) but again if you've got the whole hotel booked up, i don't \(<P>\) \(<X3>\) \(<?>\) should provide a \(<?/>\) problem. \(</P>\) \(<R>\)

\(<Ir3B>\) yes. and i mean i, i'm not casting any aspersions on your clients but, one must, you know, one can never be certain unfortunately any more in life, - - eh, particularly when, you know, - - some of these people have \(<X1>\), more than, half a dozen, \(<H>\) pints of guinness, \(<LAUGH>\)

\(<Ir3A>\) \(<LAUGH>\)

\(<Ir3B>\) \(<LA>\) you know, \(<LAUGH>\) a=, after, \(<LAUGH>\) after winning their match, \(</LA>\)

\(<Ir3A>\) well if they \(<E>\) do, \(</E>\) john, it'll be you that'll have sold them, so you know you're,

\(<Ir3B>\) that's true, \(<X1>\) that's true,

\(<Ir3A>\) you're, you're quids in,

\(<Ir3B>\) that's true, [...]

Ir2B seems to sense that claiming that the tour operators' customers potentially belong to this violent fan group implies a threat to the other's face. Therefore, he mitigates his claim by saying "I'm not casting any aspersions on your clients" and justifying his concern with a common explanation "but [...] one can never be certain unfortunately any more in life, particularly when some of these people have more than half a dozen pints of Guinness, you know, after winning their match", which is interrupted by laughter (T184-T186). Predicting that the Cork team wins the match counts as a further means to redress the damage to Ir3A's face (positive face wants). In T188-T190, Ir3A skilfully turns Ir3B's arguments in favour of his price Offer (hooligan troubles because of excess drinking) into an argument in favour of his own Request for a lower price Offer: he remarks that Ir3B will benefit from the fans drinking a lot, as this will increase his revenues: "well if they \(<E>\) do, \(</E>\) John, it'll be you that'll have sold them, so you know you're quids in". Ir3B must admit that he is right (T189-T191). Obviously, he realises that neither of them is willing to yield, so he ends this argumentative sequence by reiterating that they are both "looking for a win-
win situation” (Ex. 367), thus making clear that they both have to be open to compromise (cf. Ex. 320 in Section 4.5.1.1). He makes the first step and complies with Ir3A’s Request for a lower price Offer (T199). Although he makes clear that this is his final Offer, it will not be, since Ir3A is still not ready to close the deal (T200ff.).

Ex. 367. (Ir3, T191- T199)

<Ir3B> that's true, - - <CLICK> ehm, <1.7> well </1.7> as i said fergus, i mean, - - we're <E> both </E> in business, <1.0> and ehm, i suppose what we're <E> both </E> looking for here is a, a <E> win-win </E> situation.

<Ir3A> absolutely, <§A> yeah, </§A>

<Ir3B> <§A> eh:, </§A> a <E> win </E> for your firm, eh:::, a <E> win </E> for, eh, my, eh, - - <E> business, </E> an indeed, a win, for, cork, <§B> <L> and eh, </L> <§B>

<Ir3A> <§B> <P> <LAUGH> </P> <§B>

<Ir3B> in the match.

<Ir3B> how about, <1.1> meetin your price then of a <E> hundred </E> an ninety, - but without breakfast. <1.3> <L> and eh, </L> <1.5> without breakfast, and eh, we will provide the transportation. - - eh, an <E> i </E> will think, fergus, that that, - is, - - <E> really, </E> as <E> low </E> as i can go. </L>

Question 2 relates to which speech act is most often externally modified across all four negotiations. The answer is: Offers, followed by Requests for Offer and Offer responses (cf. Figure 25 and Table 35 in App. 8). This is surprising as Requests are more face-threatening than Offers, so one would expect them to be more heavily supported in order to downgrade the threat to professional face.
While the average number of Grounders per Offer (0.2164) and Requests for Offer (0.2136) is roughly the same, the most striking difference is with regard to Expanders: on average, there are 3.77 times as many Expanders per Offer (0.2929) as per Request for Offer (0.0777). With Disarmers it is the other way round; this type of external modifier accompanies Requests for Offers (0.0453) more often than Offers (0.0093). Offer responses are externally modified with the lowest frequency. Offers and Requests have approximately three times as many Grounders on average as Offer responses (0.0724). With regard to Expanders, there are almost 23 times as many per Offer and four times as many per Request for Offer as per Offer response (0.0130). The average number of Disarmers (0.0111) which support Offer responses is similar to the number of Disarmers that accompany Offers. Accordingly, the relative frequency distribution of supportive move types is as follows (cf. Table 38 in App. 8): Grounders make up 39.19% of all Offer supporting moves, 63.46% of all Request supporting moves, and up to 75.00% of all Offer response supporting moves. More than every second Offer supporting move is an Expander (53.04%), but this type of external modifier only amounts to 23.08% in connection with Requests for Offer and 13.46% with Offer responses. The proportion of Disarmers is 1.69% with Offers, 13.46% with Requests for Offer, and 11.54% with Offer responses. Excluders and Explicit Conditions are Offer-specific supportive move types but only make up 4.73% and 1.35% of Offer supporting moves, respectively (cf. Sections 4.3.4 and 4.3.5).

Note that Offer responses do not include Continues (cf. Section 4.4.3).
Interlocutors start to engage in argumentative behaviour whenever there is a perceived or actual deficit in information/knowledge which obstructs the pursuit of the superordinate discoursal goal (cf. SPRANZ-FOGASY 2006: 31). In the case of an Offer – response adjacency pair, for instance, the Offerer may interpret the absence of an Acceptance as a lack of information/knowledge on the Offeree's part which would be required a) to persuade the Offeree into accepting the Offer and thus b) to come a step closer to reaching a final agreement and closing a deal. The general purpose of arguments in business negotiations is to achieve this superordinate goal under the most favourable conditions for oneself. In the present study, the primary function of arguments in connection with Offers is to enhance their attractiveness to the other party. S provides reasons why the Offer is a good Offer and why H should accept it. Judging from the relative frequency distribution of supportive move types (cf. cf. Table 38 in App. 8), Expanders are particularly useful for this purpose. The aim is to get H to accept S's Offer (directive component of the Offer, cf. Section 2.2.1). The main function of arguments in connection with Requests for Offer is to soften the imposition of this speech act and thus to increase the likelihood that H will comply. As with Offers, the aim is a persuasive one. Here, Grounders, which provide explanations for S's position, are more suitable than Expanders or Disarmers. With regard to Offer responses, the function of arguments depends on the type of response they accompany. Supporting an Acceptance can serve to save S's own negative face while supporting a Rejection can, additionally, serve to save H's negative face (T53 and T55 of Ex. 364). As far as Rejections are concerned, the arguments often ultimately help to support S's Request for a better Offer, so their function is again persuasive. In sum, these results reveal that the functions of supportive moves in business negotiations are more diverse than the functions they have in everyday conversation (cf. Section 2.2.5). Mitigation of a potential threat to the other's (professional) face seems to be a subordinate function of supportive moves in negotiations. Supportive moves are part of interlocutors' relational work (cf. Section 4.1.3), but not (or at least not primarily) politeness strategies. More importantly, they serve to make one's position understandable and acceptable. They function as an information tool and, if put in the context of argumentation, as a strategic persuasion tool. This supports my claim that supportive moves in negotiations can (generally) be equated with arguments.

Finally, the answer to question 3, whether the hotel managers (sellers) or the tour operators (buyers) use more arguments on average, is provided by Figure 26. In the present study, the hotel managers (sellers) modify Offers relatively more often than the tour operators (buyers) on average. However, the tour operators (buyers) employ relatively more supportive moves, or arguments (almost twice as many), in conjunction with Requests for Offer and Offer responses.

---

302 Some Offer responses cannot be modified externally, e.g. Backchannelling Tokens and Ignores.

303 BÜLOW-MÖLLER (2006: 31) claims that “well-worn notions of politeness will […] have to be redefined as self-serving attempts to build up one's own face.” She distinguishes between S's competence face (“which the hearer recognizes by a show of respect”) and solidarity face (“recognized by the hearer's display of trust and liking”).
A possible explanation for this result is that, with Offers, more is at stake for sellers than for buyers, while it is the other way round with Requests for Offer and Offer responses. Both groups may therefore deem it necessary to support the speech actions which are most important to them via arguments.

Many argumentation models are based upon the idealised assumption that interactants argue without any time pressure, have no conflicting interests, and that there is a balance between them in terms of turn-taking rights and knowledge (cf. Deppermann 2006: 21-23). However, the present negotiation shows that this does not hold true in natural spoken discourse. As laid out in the negotiation simulation briefs (which attempt to mirror an authentic negotiation situation), the interactants have (partly) conflicting goals and differing knowledge deficits (cf. Section 3.3.3 and App. 2.3). In the current negotiation situation, for instance, the tour operator (buyer) has a knowledge lead with respect to any alternative Offers made by the hotel manager's competitors or about his own customers' (i.e. soccer fans) preferences. The hotel manager (seller), by contrast, knows more about service costs and the effort required to provide the service, e.g. amount of organisation and time involved (cf. Scheiter 2002: 45, 48-51). Both parties can exploit the other's actual or perceived knowledge deficit in order to support their respective positions via arguments. Alternatively, the interlocutors may 'remind' the other party of any knowledge elements which they think the other does not take into account during their current decision-making process (Scheiter's argumentative reasoning, cf. Footnote 294).

Note that Offer responses do not include Continues (cf. Section 4.4.3).
The arguments put forth by the hotel managers and tour operators in connection with Offers, Requests for Offers, and Offer responses are in many ways reminiscent of CHARLES's (1996) general seller and buyer tactics. This points to the strategic value of Offers and Offer sequences as a whole (although not all of the tactics necessarily relate to arguments used in Offer sequences). The tactics describe a negotiator's behaviour on an abstract level, independent of a specific negotiation scenario. The arguments used by the negotiators to realise the tactics in a specific negotiation situation differ in terms of content and linguistic means employed. The analysis in the present section reveals how conversational (linguistic) strategies can serve to realise a superordinate negotiation or business strategy (cf. Section 0.6). Some of the general negotiating tactics detected in the present negotiation corpus are listed in Table 18.

Unlike Charles, I distinguish between Offerer's negotiating tactics and Offeree's negotiating tactics because the roles seller and buyer cannot be solely associated with either Offering or being Offered a product or service, as Sections 4.1-4.4 show.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offerer's negotiating tactics</th>
<th>Offeree's negotiating tactics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Point out good service/product: say good things about oneself/one's own company by emphasising positive aspects (e.g. good qualities, good price-performance ratio, special price, special service) of the product(s)/service(s) to be sold</td>
<td>• Emphasise trustworthiness: say good things about oneself/one's own company by bringing out one's trustworthiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ hotel manager: general advantageous characteristics of the Grand Canal Hotel, such as its proximity to mountain area and specific entertainment options (e.g. T121 of Ex. 345, T132 of Ex. 361)</td>
<td>→ tour operator: assurance of non-violent customers (e.g. T177 and T181 of Ex. 366)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Offer extras: say good things about oneself/one's own company by Offering additional/extra services (possibly for free), thereby displaying selflessness and generosity</td>
<td>• Play down Offerer's product(s)/service(s): emphasise problems involved in taking product(s)/service(s) from Offerer or point out negative aspects or disadvantages of the Offerer's product(s)/service(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ hotel manager: Offering additional meals and entertainment options as freebies (T396, T413, T418 of Ex. 349); tour operator: Additional amount of customers he could bring so that hotel is fully booked (e.g. T277 of Ex. 346), T307, T312, T317 of Ex. 348, T510 of Ex. 352)</td>
<td>→ tour operator: disadvantageous location of Grand Canal Hotel resulting in fewer entertainment options and additional transport costs (e.g. T129 of Ex. 345, T286 of Ex. 346, T55 of Ex. 364)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Mention problems: mention problems involved in Offering service(s)/product(s) to Offeree, thereby playing down Offeree's chances of getting what he asks for</td>
<td>• Play down Offerer's product(s)/service(s): praise Offerer's rivals and their product(s)/service(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ hotel manager: hooligan troubles in previous years (e.g. T138 of Ex. 345, T174 of Ex. 345)</td>
<td>→ tour operator: rival hotel's better Offer (e.g. T129 of Ex. 345, T286 of Ex. 346)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bond with Offerer, i.e. develop a positive relationship: refer to the possibility of a long-term business relationship and therefore future business for the Offerer</td>
<td>• Bond with Offerer, i.e. develop a positive relationship: refer to the possibility of a long-term business relationship and therefore future business for the Offerer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ tour operator: advantages of a long-standing business relationship (e.g. T123 of Ex. 345)</td>
<td>→ tour operator: advantages of a long-standing business relationship (e.g. T123 of Ex. 345)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

305 A more comprehensive list of tactics can be found in App. 9. The list is based on the inventory of general buyer and seller tactics proposed by CHARLES (1996), which I modified and expanded. Unlike CHARLES, however, I do not distinguish between new relationship negotiations (NRN) and old relationship negotiations (ORN) here, nor do I claim that all tactics are relevant to negotiations taking place in a buyer's market only.
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Offerer's negotiating tactics

Offeree's negotiating tactics

| 366) | • Play down/negate problems: play down or negate problems mentioned by Offerer
|      | → tour operator: playing down hooligan troubles (e.g. T177 and T179-T181 of Ex. 366) |

Table 18: Selection of Offerer's and Offeree's general negotiating tactics

Which of the tactics is used and when is determined by the specific negotiation situation, the power distribution, the relationship between the negotiators, the type of market they are in, the topic the negotiators are currently discussing and at what stage of the negotiation, and their personal negotiating style.

To sum up the preceding analysis of argumentation in negotiations, one can say that argumentation is a competitive activity, but if both negotiating parties are willing to consider each other's arguments in a fair and objective manner, it leads to cooperative behaviour. Locally, one negotiator may succeed in convincing the other of his position with regard to a single issue. The conditions under which a deal is closed in the end can be regarded as a measure for the overall relative success of the negotiators and, leaving pre-existing power relations aside, for the persuasive power of their respective arguments. This can be observed, for instance, in Ir1. In Ir1, the tour operator (Ir1A) aims to establish a strong solidarity relationship, here called *fraternisation relationship*, with the hotel manager (Ir1B) (cf. Section 4.5.1.1). He manages to disclose information and place arguments in favour of this aim in such a way that Ir1B finally gives in. The final outcome of the negotiation shows that Ir1A gets what he aimed for, i.e. a substantial profit margin on all services Offered by Ir1B (see Ir1, T676-T800). However, whether or not Ir1B is really convinced that Ir1A's approach is also in his interest cannot be ascertained from the data. Ir1 is a good example for how a negotiating strategy can manifest itself through a certain argumentative pattern.

Argumentation can be seen as a means of conflict resolution and problem solving, and as such as a constitutive procedural element of negotiation discourse. However, so far it has been largely neglected in economic and psychological studies on negotiations (cf. Section 1.2), and only few have tackled this topic from a linguistic perspective (e.g. OSTERKAMP 1999; OSTERKAMP, KINDT & ALBERS 2000; SCHEITER 2002; BÜLOW-MÖLLER 2005). In her synoptical article on argumentation in negotiations, communication scholar KEOUGH (1992: 110) fosters the study of "negotiators as arguers". The present investigation contributes to this goal. It is a description of what happens in the four negotiations under study, not a recommendation for successful argumentative strategies. Since only a few aspects of this broad topic can be addressed here, further investigations are worthwhile. Future research should aim to

306 Interestingly, BÜLOW-MÖLLER (2006) demonstrates that overt persuasive behaviour can be counter-productive in negotiations in that it can be an indicator for deadlock. This is not the case in the four Irish English negotiations analysed in the present study.
develop a coherent model of argumentation in negotiations which integrates the different concepts and perspectives from linguistics, rhetoric, logic, and business studies.

To conclude Section 4.5.1, it can be said that reciprocity and the balance between cooperative and competitive elements are dominating characteristics of a business negotiation which aims to accommodate both sides. This becomes evident with regard to a) the exchange of goods and services and b) the exchange of information and arguments. In both cases, language is used to achieve the goal. Another major characteristic of negotiations, recursiveness, is addressed in the next section.

4.5.2  Recursiveness

Recursiveness has been identified as a characteristic feature of negotiation discourse in the literature, where it is sometimes also referred to as repetition or cyclicality (cf., e.g. GULLIVER 1979: 82, quoted in MARTIN 2001: 42, 164-172; NEU 1985: 45, 132; WAGNER & PETERSEN 1991: 273; ANDERSEN 1995; REHBEIN 1995: 70, 82; DANNERER 2001: 93). The present study corroborates this observation, particularly in relation to Offer communication. Elements on all discourse levels, from act to phase, recur in an identical or slightly modified form throughout the negotiation discourse: Offers, Requests for Offer, and Offer responses are repeated (as far as realisation strategy, wording, and content are concerned), as are supportive moves (arguments) and whole cycles of Offer sequences and negotiation phases. ANDERSEN\textsuperscript{307} points out that

\begin{quote}
[\(\text{t}\)he repetitions can be seen to operate in the constant interplay between violating the maxims of quantity and manner and adhering to the maxim of relation (cf. Grice 1975). I thus assume that the interactants in this simulated setting generally observe the cooperative principle itself, i.e., that they have accepted the context of the negotiation simulation and are orderly, rational language users. (ANDERSEN 1995: 224)
\end{quote}

The present section explores the reasons why recursiveness is constitutive of negotiation discourse and which functions it fulfills.

The speech event \textit{negotiation} proceeds through a range of different phases. Before illustrating the phenomenon of recursiveness on the level of phase (cf. Figure 6 in Chapter 4), a few words about the phase model used in the present study. It is the same as the one I described in more detail in ZILLES (2003).\textsuperscript{308} The model distin-
guishes three main phases of negotiation discourse: opening, core, and closing. The core phase is further subdivided into a chain of four parts, or subphases (cf. HENNE & REHBOCK 1995: 186-187). It usually begins with the presentation of general facts and the disclosure of important pieces of information, interspersed with requests for clarification (subphase 1: Exchange of Information). At the beginning of the negotiation, the facts and pieces of information may include statements about the purpose of the meeting, a list of the issues which are to be negotiated, as well as remarks about the negotiators' expectations. Consequently, the negotiators become aware of their diverging goals and conflicting interests. Later on, the negotiators also exchange information regarding more specific aspects about the issues of the agenda, thus revealing more about their (then possibly modified) objectives and expectations.

The second subphase, Negotiating Activity, is the centre of the negotiation and prepares the ground for a final settlement: the negotiators make Offers with the aim of reaching an agreement. REHBEN (1995: 71) writes: "The seller enters the [negotiation] pattern by making an Offer." (also cf. SHELL 2006: 157). The negotiators discuss these Offers, ask for clarification and specification as well as for alternative Offers, make counter-Offers, and back these by arguments and counter-arguments (cf. the Bargaining Sequence described in Section 2.1.2). At this stage of the discourse, the interlocutors may have achieved agreement, for the time being, about individual aspects of the issues under negotiation. These aspects are summarised in the third subphase, Summary, which typically occurs right before the final deal is closed by mutual agreement on all or selected points (subphase 4: Making the Deal).

In the fourth subphase the negotiators may also talk about how to implement their decisions. Additionally, they may confirm the deal by shaking hands, or ratify it by signing a contract. If, however, they do not achieve an overall agreement, they may decide to adjourn or break off the negotiation (Adjournment or Break-off).

The process of negotiation is not linear but cyclical. The components which constitute the phases and subphases do not necessarily follow one another in a fixed chronological order, and the same is true for the process within phases. However, the

maximum of nine (e.g. NEU 1985: 132-137, 192, 211-214) different phases of negotiation. HOLMES (1992b) gives a comprehensive overview of various prescriptive and descriptive models, dating from the 1950s up to the early 1990s, which generally reveal a tripartite structure: initiation phases, problem-solving phases, and resolution phases. Some authors, especially of prescriptive negotiation literature, add as a first, distinct part the preparation phase (preceding the opening phase of the negotiation proper) in which the negotiators gather information on their negotiating partner, his company, the issues under negotiation (possibly specific products or services), and think about objectives, negotiating strategies, arguments, etc. (cf., e.g. WAGNER & PETERSEN 1991: 272-273; LINGUARAMA 1998: 5; FLEMING 1997: 1-23).

Another valuable approach towards a prototypical negotiation pattern (Ger. Muster Verhandeln) is presented by BRÜNNER (2000: 154-156) in the form of a detailed flow chart revealing both interactional and mental processes (typical of functional pragmatics). It was developed for didactic purposes in communication trainings. Somewhat simplified phase models of negotiation – which are not always identified as models – can be found in manuals on negotiation (e.g. FLEMING 1997: v; LINGUARAMA 1998: 5; MULHOLLAND 1991: 44-47) as well as in social psychology and marketing research (cf. NEU 1985: 7, 44-45, who quotes several authors; MARTIN 2001: 42).

For a brief description of the opening and closing phases (marginal phases) see Footnote 178 in Section 4.1.5.
fact that negotiation discourse can be characterised as non-linear does not mean that the (sub)phases and their elements occur at random. There is some logical order – for instance, the opening and closing phases have fixed positions, and the deal will not be closed before the negotiators’ Offers have been discussed. In order to exemplify recursiveness on the level of phase, the occurrences of the Summary phase in Ir2 and Ir4 are presented in the following.

In Ir2, six Summaries could be identified (cf. Table 19). Four of them are discussed in some detail below. The Summary phase does not only occur at the end of the negotiation, before the fourth typical subphase Making the Deal, but at more or less regular intervals right from the beginning of the meeting. The Ir2 negotiators initiate a Summary whenever they have discussed many different smaller issues and need an overview where previous Offers are confirmed and/or clarified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary</th>
<th>Transcript reference</th>
<th>Timing (total: 42:33 min)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summary (1)</td>
<td>T167-T194</td>
<td>11:08 min - 12:17 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary (2)</td>
<td>T234-T246/T252</td>
<td>15:15 min - 17:27 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary (3)</td>
<td>T407-T418</td>
<td>26:42 min - 28:11 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary (4)</td>
<td>T463-T494</td>
<td>31:22 min - 32:37 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary (5)</td>
<td>T532-T555</td>
<td>37:31 min - 38:19 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary (6)</td>
<td>T580-T586</td>
<td>39:56 min - 40:26 min</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Summary phase pattern in Ir2

The first Summary in Ir2 runs from T167 to T194 in the first third of the negotiation, starting at 11:08 min of the total 42:33 min (Ex. 368). Shortly before, they had discussed transport to and from the soccer match. Transport is an issue because of the long distance between the Grand Canal Hotel and Dalymount Park or the city centre. To counterbalance this major disadvantage of the hotel (cf. T113-T115), the hotel manager Offers to "arrange a bus" (T147) which would bring the fans to the match and pick them up again in the city centre later that night. However, the tour operator rejects this Offer: "you know yourself, I'm not trying to get a crowd of a hundred lads out of a pub to round them up never mind to <!?> getting their <!?> bus […] I'd say you have a fat chance in hell" (T148-T150). This prompts Ir2B to Offer the pick-up after the match as an option only (T159). The price for the bus would be 6.20 Euro per person (T166). Ir2A then considers the overall deal (accommodation and transport) because he needs to tell his customers, the fans, what his Offer is based on. He needs to remember the details of the package Offered by Ir2B so far. Therefore, he starts a Summary by repeating these details and asking for confirmation to check if he remembers correctly. Most of what he lists is confirmed (e.g. T168, T172, T189), and his counter-Offer of paying a rounded down price is accepted (T175-T180). Ir2B corrects him only once (T186-T187). Based on this information update, Ir2A calculates the total price, which is also confirmed by Ir2B (T191-T194). This concludes the Summary, as Ir2A initiates a topic change in T195 and explores further options for the Friday night (e.g. dinner, entertainment), going back to Ir2B's Offers in T154-T159 which were not addressed in the Summary. Ir2A does not yet accept or reject...
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the accommodation plus transport Offer package. The only hint that he is not totally disinclined to accept it is his remark in the same turn: "the lads can go on the tear on Saturday night and it's their own tough if they don't get the bus back" (T195).

Ex. 368. (Ir2, T167-T194)

The details of the package, now including Ir2B's Offers relating to the Friday night options (dinner, bottle of wine), are recapitulated again in the second Summary (Ex. 369), which occurs at 15:15 min, only three minutes after the end of the first Summary. The frequent longer pauses shortly before the Summary are evidence of the interlocutors' need for a renewed overview. From T221-T231, there are five pauses which take up more than 47 seconds altogether (ranging from one to almost 25 sec-
During these pauses they engage in non-verbal activities, here mainly calculating and evaluating prices. In T246, the Summary phase seems to end when Ir2A fails to acknowledge Ir2B's package price Offer ("you're talking about two eleven twenty"). After more than ten seconds of silence Ir2B resumes the Negotiating Activity phase by making two new Offers: "what I could do is, your four staff, instead of doubling them up I could give them a room each" and "your four rooms would be free". After a pause of five seconds, however, Ir2A extends the Summary on the basis of these new Offers in T248. He makes a Request for Confirmation of previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (RCCC) because he needs some clarification as to the number of people on which the package price is based. Ir2B repeats the package price in T250, which is acknowledged by Ir2A in T252. This marks the end of the Summary phase because Ir2B shifts the topic in T254.

Ex. 369. (Ir2, T234-T252)

<Ir2B> <§A> so if we talked, eh:mm, </§A> <H> eh::, - - - you're talkin about, </§B> <P> <X2> </P> </§B>
<Ir2A> <§B> <X2> one nine=, </§B> one ninety, yeah,
<Ir2B> so it's one ninety per person,
<Ir2A> you're on the six twenty, an you're on the fifteen, - - six twenty for the coach, fifteen for the::, for the:, for </§A>
the::, for the, </§A>
<Ir2B> for the dinner, </§A>
<Ir2A> for the meal,
<Ir2B> yeah,
<Ir2A> an a bottle o wine on top o that, well,
<Ir2B> which, </§B> <M> <X3> </M> that's, </X4> - that'd be thrown </§B>
<Ir2A> </§B> per room </X4> bottle o wine </X4> </§B>
<Ir2B> in for free,
<Ir2A> yeah, </§A> yeah, </§A>
<Ir2B> <§A> <P> <H> yeah, </H> </P> </§A> - - so:, eh:mm,
<4.7> you're talkin about two eleven twenty, - - eh, <1.1> i,
<1.0> <P> <CLICK> <CLICK> <CLICK> <CLICK> <CLICK> </P> <H> what i could do </E> is, your four, your four </E> staff, </E>
instead of, doublin them up, i could, give them eh a room each,
<3.9> so that'd be, - - that'd be </E> two </E> extra rooms so it'd be fifty-four rooms, - - which'd be free, </E> </E> your four rooms </E> would be, would be </E> free, </E> <2.9> the four rooms for the, for the staff,
<5.1>
<Ir2A> so the one ninety you're initially quotin me was based on a hundred an four people, - - </CLICK> now we're saying, eh:mm, <1.1>
<CLICK> - - based on a hundred people, </CLICK> <1.5> eh: we're talking about, - - </CLICK> what now, </CLICK> <4.1> <P> calculator would be a </X1>, </P> <LAUGH> <THROAT>

310 After a particularly long pause, Ir2A apologises by saying "sorry now I was just going through numbers myself" (T228). Since in Ir2 the participants had no calculators available, the pauses during which they calculate prices are considerably longer on average compared to the other simulations (cf. Section 3.3.6).

311 This is again an example of the Offerer interpreting the absence of a response as an indicator that the Offer will most likely be rejected, prompting him to make a new Offer or an Offer which specifies or modifies the first one (cf. Section 4.4.3.1).
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In conclusion, the detailed analysis of the first two Summaries in Ir2 shows that, in Summary phases, the interlocutors ask for and give confirmation and clarification of certain issues so they can recapitulate in a concise manner what they have negotiated so far. RCCCs and Confirmatory Signals are hence typical elements of Summaries. New Offers are not made, but previous ones are repeated. The recursiveness is therefore twofold: the phase itself is repeated, and the elements therein also constitute repetitions (recursiveness on the level of act; see below). A Summary brings the two parties to the same level as far as their shared knowledge and information is concerned. Misunderstandings can be cleared up. It serves to ensure that all parties are aware of the current status of their Offer discussions. It is possible that negotiators provisionally accept the Offers mentioned in a Summary, though not necessarily.

On the one hand, a Summary may mark a topic boundary where the interlocutors finish off one topic and shift or change to the next one. On the other, a Summary provides a good opportunity for the negotiators to modify certain aspects of an Offer. A result of a Summary phase may be the negotiators' realisation that one or several Offers need to be renegotiated in the ensuing discourse. The negotiators then start another Negotiating Activity phase (cf. HODGSON 1998: 81). It makes sense to have more than one Summary in a long and complex negotiation because this type of phase has an important discourse structuring function.

The last Summary phase in a negotiation, which occurs shortly before their final commitment, has a more global function. It is a final wrap-up of the different aspects of the overall package. The negotiating parties want to make sure that they are both fully aware of all the relevant details of the deal they are about to strike. Ex. 370 is such a Summary. Having evaded Ir2A's repeated Requests for a lower price Offer for the overall package for a long time, Ir2B had finally given in and complied in T522 (cf. Section 4.5.1.2). Shortly after, Ir2B repeats his compliance ("I'll agree to one seventy", T532) and summarises what this agreement on the price Offer implies. The Summary forms the basis for their final expression of mutual agreement and verbal acceptance of the overall deal in T557-T559 and (after a long pause) once again in T563.

Ex. 370. (Ir2, T532-T563)

<Ir2B> there's eh, <H> - - there's a possibility that, <1.9> eh:m, the income i get there <M> would, - more than <M> cover the band, ehm, <4.5> <R> i'll agree to one seventy. </R> - - - an i'll put on, - - - the buses into town on saturday, back saturday night, - - a:nd, - - <SNIFF> <2.0> <P> what else have we agreed, </P> - and the,
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Interestingly, in Ir2 there are two concluding Summaries. The Summary in T580-T586 (Ex. 371) follows a humorous diversion initiated by Ir2B's jocular Offer in T565: “I <E> could </E> offer you the one ninety, and give you <LA> a thousand euros <LA> <LAUGH> for <?> yourselves,”. This second final Summary is basically a concise repetition of the previous one. It serves to consolidate their mutual agreement. Afterwards, the negotiators address some administrative, procedural issues (deposit, deadlines) until they bring the negotiation to an end by expressing their final commitment and indicating that their deal will be sealed in a less formal way in the bar (cf. Ex. 353 in Section 4.5.1.2).

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312 This is a kind of artefact (cf. Footnote 125 in Section 3.3.4).
Ex. 371. (Ir2, T580-T586)

<iIr2A> so we're sayin, <H> one seventy, </E> 1.7</i>
<iTIME40.01> per double room, 2.1 per night.</i>
<i.9>
<iIr2B> that's </i><X1>,</i>
<i§> will </i> include a meal</i>
<i§> on the friday night. it'll include, the coach </i>
<iE> transfer, </i> on the saturday, <E> to </E> the game, an a</i>
<iE> pick up, late saturday night whatever, and there'll also be a </i>
<iE> band available </i> in the hotel, on that, </i>
<i§A> friday</i>
<i§A> night. </i>
<i§A> that's right.</i>
<i§A> if they avail of the meal, </i> great, if</i>
<i§A> they don't, well, - that's money in your back pocket because they</i>
<i§A> didn't avail a meal that was included in the price.</i>
<iIr2B> yeah. […]

A Summary may be triggered by a remark about a lack of understanding. An example is the third Summary phase in Ir2 when Ir2A says: "sorry I'm not quite with you there now" (Ir2, T407). The introductory quotation of the present section likewise initiates a Summary, namely the fourth. Here, Ir2A indirectly refers to the fact that the negotiation is characterised by recursiveness: he states that they approach the issues on their agenda in an indirect, non-linear, even complicated way ("with the wheeling and dealing in the roundabout way we're going on things", Ir2, T463). It may also happen, as in Ex. 372, that a negotiator explicitly requests a Summary from the other party.

Ex. 372. (Ir1, T767-T768)

<iIr1A> i got, i gonna have to go for the train soon, can w=,
do you wanna wrap up just generally what we're talking about, in</i>
<i§A> </i> in general what we're talkin about, we're talkin about […]

The frequent occurrence of the Summary phase in Ir2 stands in stark contrast to its unique occurrence in Ir4. In Ir4, it could only be found once, relatively early in the negotiation (Ex. 373). 313

Ex. 373. (Ir4, T106-T119)

<iIr4B> ehm, just that i </i> on, on the price, eh, eh, eh, eh,
a hundred an fifty, a hundred an sixty </i> is what <i§B>
<i§B> yeah, </i>
<i§B> you have </i> yourself, </i> the price for two nights?
<iIr4A> for, well, per, well, yeah, per, per, yeah, per double</i>
<iIr4B> room, eh, per night, </i> i think that's the, </i>
<i§> we're looking at, </i> but </i> again </i> it's the,

313 Note that with respect to other discourse elements, recursiveness is prominent in Ir4: e.g. repetition of Offer utterances (cf. below) or repeated hesitations and fillers (cf. Section 3.3.6).
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What precedes this brief Summary is a long stretch of arguments (T75-T106) by Ir4B. The arguments centre around the hooligan troubles which may prove an obstacle to closing a deal. The hooligan troubles are a major concern of the hotel manager, who brings up this topic several times before and after this instance too (e.g. T31-T37, T43-T55, T392-T448, T617-T634). As it turns out, these arguments here serve to support Ir4B's Tentative/Implicit Rejection ("that's significantly below what we would normally charge, you know", T120-T122) of Ir4A's price Offer made at the very beginning of the negotiation ("I'm looking at a price range of about, maybe starting up X1 like 150, maybe <?> 260 </?> Euro", T6). However, before rejecting the Offer, Ir4B makes several RCCCs with regard to Ir4A's price expectations. By initiating this Summary, he redirects the discussion to the topic of price and assures himself that he remembered the other's price Offer correctly, before rejecting it.

The final but most essential Summary phase is missing in Ir4. Instead, the negotiators merely address administrative issues in the final part of the negotiation (e.g. the necessity of confirming the number of soccer fans coming to the hotel, the number of those who want to have dinner, the deadline for the confirmation, how they can communicate with each other regarding this matter, T641-T742). Only once is there a hint of a Summary phase (T711-T723) when Ir4B enumerates some of the Offers, but it differs from the final Summary phases in the other negotiations as the interlocutors do not list all details of their agreement, in particular, they do not repeat prices. In a way, the lack of the final Summary is almost expected in this negotiation, since the discourse is not well structured and the negotiators' flow of talk is often disrupted. They often speak quickly and very indistinctly, mumble or stammer so that many passages are incomprehensible. Therefore, they do not seem to understand one another at times but to talk at cross-purposes. There are many overlaps, often resulting in long stretches of simultaneous speech. As noted in Section 3.3.6, Ir4 shows by far the highest frequency of interruptions of all negotiations (33.69% interrupted turns of all turns). Among other things, additional Summary phases may have helped these interlocutors approach their agenda more systematically, and to make
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sure that they are both aware what has been said about the issues already addressed.\(^\text{314}\)

On the level of individual Offer utterance (discourse level of act, cf. Figure 6 in Chapter 4), recursiveness is observable in the following ways:

a) An Offer is literally repeated.

b) An Offer is rephrased (possibly realised by a different realisation strategy or internal modification) but has the same content (three Offers in Ex. 374 and four in Ex. 375).

Ex. 374. (Ir4, T39, T67)

\(<\text{Ir4B}>\text{ehm, } <\text{H}> - \text{eh:}, \text{we'd be delighted to do business with you,}\)
\(\text{[...]}
\(\text{[...]}
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{we } <\text{LA}> \text{we } <\text{LAUGH}> <\text{R}> \text{we're delighted to have the}\)
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{business an we're right here to have the business you know, </R>}
\(\text{[...]}\)

Ex. 375. (Ir4, T554-T581)

\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{yeah, } <\text{E}>\)
\(<\text{Ir4A}> \text{<X1>}
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{i mean, normally for,}\)
\(<\text{Ir4A}> \text{<E> for that, </E> for a } <\text{§A}> <\text{?}> \text{group </?> } <\text{§A}>\)
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{<§A> for a group </§A> of a}\)
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{hundred, } <\text{§B}> \text{comin, </§B>}
\(<\text{Ir4A}> \text{<§B> okay, </§B>}
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{comin from, from a, travel, } <\text{§B}> \text{agency </§B>}
\(<\text{Ir4A}> \text{<§B> <X2> </§B>}
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{like yourselves,}\)
\(<\text{Ir4A}> \text{yeah,}\)
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{eh, the four officials } <\text{X1}> <\text{§B}> \text{is free, </§B>}
\(<\text{Ir4A}> <\text{§B> yeah, </§B>}
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{and they're free for everything } <\text{§B> really, </§B>}
\(<\text{Ir4A}> <\text{§B> okay, </§B>}
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{you know?}\)
\(<\text{Ir4A}> \text{yeah,}\)
\(<\text{Ir4B}> <\text{?}> \text{i'll be just as lookin at </?> chargin a hundred}\)
\(<\text{Ir4A}> \text{okay,}\)
\(<\text{Ir4B}> \text{eh, you know, } <\text{§B> other </§B>}
\(<\text{Ir4A}> <\text{§B> yeah, </§B>}

\(^\text{314}\) According to their own judgements elicited through the post-simulation questionnaires (cf. DVD 3 Filled Post-Simulation Questionnaires), the negotiators themselves did not perceive these characteristics as noteworthy or problematic. On the contrary, they assessed the atmosphere as "positive", "frank", "polite", and "accommodating" and did not think that the negotiation could have reached an impasse or broken down at any stage. They were satisfied with both their performance and the agreement and indicated that they had not been self-interested but eager to solve a mutual problem. Only Ir4B felt that Ir4A was somewhere in the middle between interested in solving a mutual problem and self-interested.
c) An Offer belongs to the same realisation strategy type, but its content is different (three Possibility Statement Offers in Ex. 376).

Ex. 376. (Ir4, T538-T532)

<i4b> if needs be, i mean, maybe nearer the time we can, we can, we can check the time is but i mean we can record stuff or whatever so </i> we can, </i>
<i4a> okay, </i>
<i4b> we can show them </i>
<i4a> great, </i>
<i4b> what we have </i>

-d) The Offer refers to the same point on the agenda (same Offer topic), but its content is modified, e.g. by making the Offer more specific through the provision of additional details (four increasingly specific commodity or service Offers plus one price Offer in Ex. 377).

Ex. 377. (Ir1, T290-T297)

<i1b> eh, - and if </i> we, </i> - - eh, we give them a br=, eh:, the buffet, - - eh, but we usually do </i> carveries </i> </i>
<i1a> mh okay, </i>
<i1b> so there'd be, there's a standard </i> carvery, </i> </i>
<i1a> okay, </i>
<i1b> eh, - - - the, the </i> is typically eh, - for a, </i> main, meal, </i> and a dessert, and </i> coffee </i>
<i1a> mhm, </i>
<i1b> is eh, - twelve euros, </i>

The repetitions may take place in close proximity with the first Offer (e.g. Ex. 375) or at a later stage of the negotiation (e.g. Ex. 374), possibly in a different negotiation phase. If the repetition occurs within the same Offer exchange or sequence, the Offer fills the interactional slot of a Re-Initiate (plus at the same times an additional slot if it is an elicited Offer, cf. Section 4.4.4). Sometimes, the negotiators make the recursiveness explicit (Ex. 378 and 379).

Ex. 378. (Ir1, T510)

<i2a> i, </i> on that right now, with the:, </i> stipulation that, - as i've </i> to you, eh we will take over the full hotel with that </i> for </i> that, </i> arrangement,
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Observations based on the present Irish English negotiation data support my claim that negotiators repeat Offers for the following reasons, depending on the type of recurring Offer:

- A negotiator knows or assumes that the other party did not hear the Offer (types a) and b)).

- The addressee's reaction to the previous Offer was a Rejection or was interpreted as rejection-implicative by the Offerer. The addressee may have ignored the Offer or reacted only via a Backchannelling Token, Echo, or Further Inquiry/Request (cf. Section 4.4.3). By repeating the Offer, the negotiator tries to elicit an Acceptance from the addressee (types a), b), d)).$^{315}$

- A negotiator hopes that the other party now evaluates the same Offer differently, as he has gained additional knowledge with respect to the overall situation (importance of information exchange, cf. Section 4.5.1.2) (types a) and b)).

- A negotiator responds to the other party's RCCC$^{316}$ (types a) and b)).

- In order to comply with the other's Request for Offer or his expectation to reciprocate an Offer, and to keep the negotiation going, a negotiator wants to say something without making a further concession. The Offerer consolidates his position and gains time before having to commit himself to something new (types a) and b)).$^{317}$

- A negotiator wants to emphasise his commitment, possibly to get the other to make a concession (types a) and b)). An example is Ex. 374) where Ir4B signals that he is definitely interested in a deal with Ir4A despite the problems mentioned (hooligan troubles, scarcity of hotel rooms).

- A negotiator wants to enhance the attractiveness of the overall deal by repeating what he deems a 'good' Offer (types a) and b)).

- A negotiator favours a particular realisation strategy (type c)).

Literal repetitions are rare. Recursiveness of type d) seems to be the most important one. It refers to the procedural nature of negotiations. Negotiators modify their Offers over time, and often this implies a concession (cf. Section 4.1.1). Offers are changed until an agreement is achieved. TUTZAUER (1992: 68) says that Offers are therefore "fluid". He also notes that the Offer development is not random but evolves

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$^{315}$ Cf. Section 2.2.6 and Footnote 244 in Section 4.4.3.1.

$^{316}$ As illustrated in Section 4.4.1.3, RCCCs refer to an Offer made at an earlier stage of the negotiation. In Summary phases (see above), they fulfil a recapitulating function.

$^{317}$ This refers to the importance of how much information is disclosed by one party vs. by the other party (information as power, cf. Section 4.5.1.2).
from what has happened in the preceding parts of the negotiation. Hence, it is safe to
say that the outcome or final decision at the end of a negotiation is the result of the
interactive dealing with Offers:

The communication of offers is a process: [..O]ffers change over time. More impor-
tantly, however, changes in offers result from what went before; later offers are tied to
earlier offers by some linkage. [...] The offer process is interactive. Interactive means
that bargainers influence each other. [...] To argue that offers are interactive and proc-
essual, however, is merely descriptive not explanatory. Indeed, what makes a bargainer
concede at all? Obviously, certain forces impinge on a bargainer, which results in a
change of offer. These forces might arise from factors internal to the negotiation, for
example, time pressures, the negotiator's arguments, or reciprocity norms, or they might
arise from external factors, for example, constituent pressure, economic hardship, or al-
ternatives to a negotiated agreement. What is important is that the forces motivate a bar-
gainer to change his or her offer. They serve as a heuristic with which to postulate and
investigate various models of offers and concessions." (TUTZAUER 1992: 73)

It has been mentioned in previous Sections that other elements of negotiation dis-
course are also frequently repeated for strategic reasons: Offer exchanges and se-
quences (cf. Sections 4.4.4 and 4.5.1.2, especially Figure 23) and, on the act level,
Requests for Offers and Offer responses318 (cf. Sections 4.4.1, 4.4.3, 4.5.1.2). Argu-
ments, too, are re-initiated and modified. As shown in detail in Section 4.5.1.2, a
negotiator provides renewed or modified pieces of information to make his position
understandable and acceptable, as well as to underline the attractiveness of the Offer.

The occurrence of elliptical Offer utterances demonstrates that the negotiators avoid
repetition if it is not necessary (cf. Section 4.2.3.3). Therefore, I support ANDERSEN's
(1995: 239) claim that if negotiators do repeat elements, this is functional. Recur-
siveness is typical of negotiations mainly because the negotiators' basis of decision-
making constantly changes (cf. Section 4.5.1.2, especially Figure 23 and the detailed
discussion of the decision-making process in Ir2). It is vital for negotiators to repeat
earlier elements of negotiation discourse – be it an individual Offer, a Request, an
argument, or a whole Offer exchange or sequence – since there is a chance that the
other party evaluates this same element differently when hearing it a second or third
time. By this time, unanswered questions may have been answered, concessions
made, or objectives readjusted. The overall function of recursiveness is to achieve or
to come as close as possible to one's negotiation goal. In this sense one might say
that the redundancy, which results from recursiveness, is strategic.319 A second rea-
son why recursiveness is a characteristic phenomenon of negotiations, particularly
when many different major and minor issues are being discussed, is that the repeti-
tion of elements serves to support the interlocutors' memories and to structure the

318 Note that the Offer response Echo is itself a repetition of (part of) the other party's Offer (cf. Sec-
tion 4.4.3.4).
319 Reinitiated Offers in negotiations do not have a ritual function (unlike in Irish English everyday
conversations, cf. BARRON 2003: 133-136 and Section 2.2.4).
discourse (recapitulating function). In fact, I would say that it is not only typical but constitutive of the genre *negotiation discourse*. Nevertheless, the degree of recursiveness may be culture-specific. MARTIN (2001: 169) observed a stronger "sense of recursiveness" among the Irish participants in her study who "thereby produce a more cyclical approach to problem solving" than the German participants.
5 Conclusions

Perhaps the most important communications in bargaining session are those that convey the disputants' offers and counteroffers. Although other types of communication, for example, threats and promises, arguments and counterguments, or other message strategies, undoubtedly influence the course of the negotiation, it is likely that offers exert the most profound effect on the process. The nature, timing, and pattern of offers, and the concessions they elicit, constitute the very essence of bargaining and negotiation. Indeed, it can be argued that if there are no offers, there is no bargaining. One might even define bargaining as the exchange of offers. Consequently, the bid/counterbid process must assume a central place in any theory of bargaining and negotiation. (Tutzauer 1992: 67; original emphasis)

5.1 Summary

Having introduced the present thesis with a quotation by the communication scholar Tutzauer, yet another of his statements is well suited to conclude it. The present study confirms that "offers exert the most profound effect on the process" (Tutzauer 1992: 67). They are central to negotiation discourse, both quantitatively and qualitatively: three quarters of the four Irish English negotiations under study are devoted to the communication of Offers (including Requests for Offers, Offer responses, and supportive moves). On average, over 20% of all turns contain an Offer. The study of Offers also demonstrates that negotiation is a non-linear, interactive, and dynamic process. The basis of decision-making constantly changes because the negotiators acquire new and corroborative pieces of information that modify their existing knowledge. Offers are not static. On the contrary, they are adapted by the negotiators in the unfolding discourse with the aim of reaching an agreement which is acceptable to both sides.

The present study analyses Offers on all discourse levels: from the individual utterance on the level of act, supportive moves accompanying Offers, Offer exchanges and sequences, to Offer occurrences on the level of phase. Thus, a model emerges which can be used to describe the nature of Offers in business negotiations, independent of the type of negotiation scenario or culture of the participants. Based on the results of earlier literature on offers in everyday conversation and in negotiations, a comprehensive range of aspects related to Offers is highlighted: pragmatic roles of the negotiators, their relational work, the contingency aspect of Offers, Offer topics, and Offer realisation strategies. The analysis of the interactional structure of Offer exchanges and sequences, including a detailed look at elicited vs. non-elicited Offers, Requests for Offers, and Offer responses, uncovers further interesting patterns. The study hence fills some of the gaps in the understanding of Offer communication,
adding a linguistic perspective to the existing findings which are mainly rooted in business studies and economics, sociology, psychology, and communication studies.

As outlined in the Introduction, the research is guided by the following questions:

1. How can Offers be defined in the context of negotiations?
2. Which functions do Offers fulfil in negotiations? To what degree are they different from the functions of offers in everyday conversation?
3. Are there recurrent patterns in the way the Irish participants realise Offers linguistically? Which conversational strategies do they prefer? How are these supported?
4. What is the interactional structure of Offer sequences? Are there any characteristic patterns in relation to what happens immediately before an Offer is uttered (i.e. how are Offers elicited), and to how the interlocutor responds to the Offer?
5. Are there any differences between seller and buyer behaviours?
6. What are the overall patterns in Offer-making?

In the following, the main findings of the present study are summarised. The research questions serve to structure the section.

How can Offers be defined in the context of negotiations?

*Offer* is here viewed as an umbrella term which incorporates, apart from *offer*, related speech actions such as *bidding, proposing, making a concession, promising, pledging, guaranteeing, making a statement of commitment*, etc. The definition of *Offer* integrates speech act theoretic concepts, insights gained from non-linguistic negotiation research and from popular scientific approaches. Three main features characterise Offers in this sense. First, Offers have commissive illocutionary force: S expresses his willingness or intention to do something in the future, thereby placing himself under an obligation to H. Second, Offers are intrinsically conditional in that S's self-imposed obligation to carry out A in the future depends on H's positive uptake and, ultimately, on the closing of a deal at the end of the negotiation. Until then, S's obligation to the Offer remains hypothetical. Third, Offers are hybrid in that they have not only commissive but also directive illocutionary force: S tries to get H to do something, i.e. he tries to elicit a reaction from H. The present definition also includes cases where S Offers not to do something if this non-doing is of benefit to H.

Which functions do Offers in negotiations fulfil? To what degree are they different from the functions of offers in everyday conversation?

Typical offers in everyday conversation are hospitable offers, gift offers, and offers of assistance. They have a primarily social function because they are made to show one's concern for the other's well-being or to be polite. An offer can redress the face threat of another act (positive politeness strategy). At the same time, however, an offer is an inherently face-threatening act since the directive element of an offer means that H is being imposed on. An offer can even create a feeling of indebtedness
in H. In order to counterbalance the (negative) face threat of offers, S may choose negative politeness strategies, e.g. hedging or indirectness.

The present study suggests that Offers in business negotiations are different. Neither S nor H are likely to attach a high degree of face threat to Offers during negotiation for two reasons: first, negotiators often represent another party (e.g. a company). Second, notwithstanding their conflicting negotiation goals, both negotiating parties have a common objective, namely to reach an agreement in the end. If there is a face threat, it is a threat to the negotiator's professional face. Making (as well as requesting, accepting, and rejecting) Offers is part of speakers' expected and situationally appropriate behaviour in negotiations, i.e. conflict situations in which cooperation is required to arrive at a mutual agreement. Their primary function is to receive something with economic value in return, such as a product or service or money, or the other party's commitment to do more business in the future. Therefore, the directive element of Offers has a special significance in negotiations. Apart from that, Offers in business negotiations can fulfil multiple other functions at the same time, some of which are closely related to each other:

- Negotiators make Offers to disclose information about their own positions and preferences.
- Offers serve to persuade the other party to close a deal under conditions which are as favourable as possible to the Offerer.\(^{320}\)
- Offers can be used as a relational strategy to redress the threat to interlocutor's professional face caused by another speech act (e.g. Request for Offer, refusal of Request for other Offer).
- An Offer can be used as an argument to support another Offer or as an incentive for the other party to more readily comply with the Offerer's Request for Offer.
- Following the norm of reciprocity, an Offer can be a 'reward' for an Offer made by the interlocutor.
- An Offer can function as a Rejection of an Offer made by the interlocutor.
- An Offer can fulfil the function of a condition (based on S-action) of a contingent Offer.
- Some Offers have a discourse-structuring or metacommunicative function.

All of these functions point to the strategic value of Offers in business negotiation discourse, in the sense of conversational and/or business or negotiation strategy.

\(^{320}\) As is shown in the present study, this also applies to other elements of Offer sequences such as Requests for Offers, Offer responses, and supportive moves.
Are there recurrent patterns in the way the Irish participants realise Offers linguistically? Which conversational strategies do they prefer? How are these supported?

Also in other respects, the current definition of Offer goes beyond the narrow definition implied in many negotiation manuals and non-linguistic research studies. Manuals and non-linguistic studies often restrict the concept to price offers. The present negotiation data, however, reveal four different topic groups: Commodity or Service, Price (Price Figure and Change in Price), Relationship-Building, and Procedural Action. Commodity or service Offers plus price Offers make up the bulk of the data (approx. 82%). By contrast, relationship-building Offers are negligible in the negotiations under study (approx. 1%). This is not really surprising because the possible range of relationship-building Offers is, of course, not as wide as with the other topic groups. The proportion of approx. 17% for procedural Offers is noteworthy. While the first three groups relate to issues on the agenda, procedural action Offers do not necessarily refer to business actions in a narrow sense. Rather, they fulfil a discourse-structuring and/or administrative and organisational function. With many of these Offers, a negotiator underpins his general willingness to cooperate and reach an agreement. Since procedural action Offers have the potential of preventing the negotiation from reaching an impasse and of contributing to a good working relationship between the parties, their importance in negotiations should not be underestimated.

This study distinguishes between seven main realisation strategies, plus one additional category, Confirmatory or Compliance Signal (e.g. "yeah"), which stands apart from the main strategies for various reasons (the main reason being its interactional markedness). Within most of these strategies, a wide range of different phrasal and syntactic structures is possible. Moreover, many Offers are elliptical. However, for all ellipses found in the present corpus, the linguistic gap can be filled by means of the linguistic and/or situational context, which reduces the danger of misunderstanding. Apart from the Confirmatory or Compliance Signals strategy, the most typical Offer realisation strategies in the four Irish English negotiations are Action or State Reference (e.g. "that includes breakfast", Ir1, T70) and Possibility Statement (e.g. "we could arrange a bus to bring them to the match", Ir2, T147). The three strategies together make up more than four fifths of all Offer utterances, with Action or State Reference being the most popular (over 50%). This result suggests that the eight Irish English participants of the present study prefer strategies placed in the middle of the directness continuum, avoiding those which are very direct or very indirect.

Because of the low degree of (professional) face threat associated with Offers in negotiations, reducing the threat is not as vital as it may be in other social interactions. Notwithstanding, mitigation occurs on the level of internal and external modification. In the four Irish English negotiations, speakers use different types of lexical, phrasal, prosodic, and syntactic upgrading and downgrading across all Offer realisation strategies. Downgraders outnumber upgraders. The most frequently used types of internal modification are conditional and modal past forms. These downgraders are evidence of the hypothetical character of S's commitment to carry out the action predicated in the Offer. Conditional and modal past forms emphasise that Offers are made under reservation and only presented for provisional acceptance during the
unfolding negotiation process. The overall number of internally modified Offers (especially Action or State Reference Offers) seems to be very high. Most of the Action or State Reference Offers are downgraded, which softens the presentation of the negotiator's commitment as a *fait accompli*. Exact percentage cannot be given because internal modification is not coded. Upgraders and downgraders can be employed strategically by the negotiators, as can the type of perspective chosen for the Offer (speaker-oriented, hearer-oriented, joint speaker- and hearer-oriented, third-party-oriented, or impersonal perspective). The perspective reveals interesting information about the relationship between the interlocutors. For instance, a negotiator may want to emphasise his affiliation with his company (exclusive/corporate *we*), weaken his personal commitment and responsibility (exclusive/corporate *we*, impersonal formulations), or stress common ground with the other party and promote cooperation and solidarity (inclusive *we*).

The present study describes five categories of external modifiers in connection with Offers. Supportive moves are part of interlocutors' relational work. They serve to explain, justify, defend an Offer (Grounders), to provide additional information on the Offer (Expanders), to forewarn the addressee (Disarmers), to make the underlying condition of Offers explicit (Explicit Conditions), and to limit the Offer in a certain way (Excluders). In sum, negotiators try to make their position understandable and acceptable. Supportive moves function as an information tool and, if put in the context of argumentation, as a strategic persuasion tool. Supportive moves are therefore tentatively equated with arguments in the present study. What is more, I favour a less strict separation between head move and supportive move in order to allow a more flexible approach that acknowledges that utterances or utterance parts have multiple functions. The data also indicate that supportive moves are not always realised in close proximity to the head moves they are supporting. It is therefore worthwhile to expand the notion of supportive moves to include longer stretches of talk extending over several turns. The functions of supportive moves in business negotiations are more diverse than the functions they fulfil in everyday conversation.

In the four negotiations under study, Expanders are the most frequent external modifier type in connection with Offers (more than 50%), followed by Grounders (almost 40%). The proportion of the other supportive move types ranges between almost 5% for Excluders and less than 2% for both Disarmers and Explicit Conditions. In comparison with Requests for Offers and Offer responses, Offers are more often externally modified across all four negotiations. This is surprising since Requests are more face-threatening than Offers, so one would expect them to be more heavily supported in order to downgrade the threat to professional face. In the present study, the main function of making supportive moves/arguments in connection with Offers is the enhancement of their attractiveness to the other party. S provides reasons why the Offer is a good Offer and why H should accept it. Obviously, Expanders are particularly useful for this purpose.
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What is the interactional structure of Offer sequences? Are there any characteristic patterns in relation to what happens immediately before an Offer is uttered (i.e. how are Offers elicited), and to how the interlocutor responds to the Offer?

Offer exchanges and sequences in negotiations tend to be more heterogeneous and complex in terms of length and variation than in everyday conversation. Nevertheless, prototypical Offer exchange and sequence patterns can be identified. In the present study, five move types are distinguished: Initiate (I), Re-Initiate (Re-I), Satisfy (S), Contra (C), and Feedback (F). Each of these five interactional move slots can be filled by different speech actions (Request for Offer, Offer, Offer response, Acceptance or Rejection finaliser). On the other hand, one particular speech action can fill different interactional move slots – sometimes even several at the same time (multi-functionality).

Offers which are prompted by a Request for Offer are elicited Offers; Offers which are not triggered by the preceding linguistic context are non-elicited Offers. In the present study, the ratio between elicited and non-elicited Offers is roughly 42% to 58%. In negotiations, the high number of non-elicited Offers may be explained by the mutual expectation that Offers must occur in a negotiation. The number of non-elicited Offers can be an indicator of a negotiator's proactiveness and his skill in anticipating the other side's Requests for Offer. Making further concessions not specifically solicited by the other negotiating party can be a strategy, i.e. to appear more generous. Moreover, a negotiator may wish to make the overall deal look more attractive by offering new or additional services. The Offer topic possibly influences whether an Offer is elicited or not: most commodity or service Offers and procedural action Offers, as well as all relationship-building Offers are non-elicited, whereas price Offers tend to be elicited. Possibly, this is because price is one of the most sensitive pieces of information in a negotiation. Understandably, negotiators (especially sellers) are hesitant to divulge this information without being asked.

In the present study, three different types of Request for Offer are distinguished: OR = Open Request for Offer (What can you commit yourself to?), SR = Specific Request for Offer (I want you to commit yourself to A), and RCCC = Request for Confirmation of previous Offer/Repeated Commitment/Clarification (Do you [really] commit yourself to A?). Across all four negotiations and independent of speaker, more than half of the Requests for Offer are SRs. RCCCs make up less than a third and ORs less than 15% of all Offer Requests. Accordingly, three different types of elicited Offers are distinguished: Response to OR (I commit myself to A), Response to SR (Okay, I comply with your request to commit myself to A), and Response to RCCC (Yes, I [really] commit myself to A). Their frequency of occurrence roughly corresponds to the frequency of the three Request for Offer types.

Furthermore, for SRs, ten different realisation strategies are identified, which can be grouped into direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect strategies. Almost 50% of the SR strategies fall into the direct category group. Conventionally indirect strategies amount to more than 40% and non-conventionally indirect strategies to approx. 8% of all SR strategies. This result stands in striking contrast to the findings of previous studies investigating general requests in everyday conversa-
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Where most request strategies belong to the conventionally indirect group. Interestingly, similar results regarding direct vs. indirect requests have been found in studies on e-mail communication in business and academic contexts. A possible explanation for the present findings is that negotiators need to make unambiguously clear what they want in order to achieve their negotiation goal. There is a reduced need to mitigate face threat by means of indirect realisation strategies because buyers and sellers expect Requests for Offers to occur. Both parties seem to attach a lower degree of (professional) face threat to Offers in negotiation than in everyday conversation. On the other hand, the face threat is often mitigated by internal and external modification.

Six major Offer responses are identified in the present data (three are further divided into subtypes). They are placed on a continuum between positive and negative reactions. Offer responses can immediately follow the Offer utterance or occur in a delayed position (in the turn following the Offerer's continued speech, after a longer pause, or several turns later). Only about 50% of the Offers in the data are immediately responded to by the Offeree. An Offer generates constraints with respect to the next element to follow, but the type of element is not predictable. (Clear) Acceptances and (Clear) Rejections are the preferred and dispreferred second pair parts of the adjacency pair Offer – response, both in everyday conversation and negotiation. Unlike Acceptances, most Rejections are mitigated in one way or another. For instance, approx. 85% occur with delay. Acceptances and Rejections reveal an unmistakable attitude toward the Offer. However, they only make up a small portion of the Offer responses in the present corpus. Most responses are rather vague or even ambiguous.

**Are there any differences between seller and buyer behaviours?**

Offer-making is not exclusively tied to the seller role, nor is Request for Offer-making exclusively associated with the buyer role. However, differences with regard to relative frequency distributions and realisation strategy and topic preferences in the four Irish English negotiations can be observed. Of the 536 complete Offer utterances identified in the present corpus, around 78% are made by the hotel managers/sellers. The distribution is the other way round with regard to Requests for Offers. Here, the tour operators/buyers make roughly 77% of the 309 Request for Offer utterances. Not surprisingly, the sellers make more price Offers than the buyers (40.90% vs. 17.24%). The buyers, however, make relatively more relationship-building and procedural Offers, while the topic group Commodity or Service is equally distributed among the two roles. By and large, the Offer realisation strategies are distributed similarly across the two roles tour operator/buyer and hotel manager/seller, with two exceptions (Mood Derivables and Preference Statements). A sound explanation for this behaviour remains obscure. As far as external modification is concerned, the hotel managers/sellers make slightly more external modifiers per Offer on average than the tour operators/buyers, whereas the latter employ relatively more supportive moves, or arguments (almost twice as many), in conjunction with Requests for Offer and Offer responses. A possible explanation is that with Offers more is at stake for sellers than for buyers, while it is the other way round with
Requests for Offer and Offer responses, so that both groups feel it is necessary to support via arguments those speech actions which are most important to them.

When comparing hotel managers/sellers and tour operators/buyers with regard to their use of elicited vs. non-elicited Offers, they do not differ greatly. The same is true for the distribution of non-conventionally indirect SRs. However, direct and conventionally indirect SR strategies are inversely distributed for the two groups: the tour operators prefer direct SR strategies (over 50%), whereas the hotel managers favour conventionally indirect SR strategies (over 60%). The fact that negotiators need to be very clear about their expectations is obviously particularly true of the tour operators/buyers.

What are the overall patterns in Offer-making?

The most prominent global patterns investigated in the present study are reciprocity and exchange. These phenomena can be observed on more than one discourse level. A common thread that runs through the observations is the juxtaposition between cooperation and competition, the two defining motives of negotiation. Despite their conflicting views and goals, the negotiating parties are willing to work together: they have a common interest in reaching an agreement which is acceptable to both sides. They are aware that they depend on cooperation, and that they may have to adjust their ideal outcome throughout the negotiation since one party always exerts some control over the other party's goals. This means that both sides must make concessions, and that the outcome is most often a compromise. Their goals are interrelated, so a negotiation can be characterised as an exchange relation: the interactants make the realisation of their goals mutually possible. Therefore, the negotiating parties need to find a balance between demanding and receiving on the one hand, and giving and committing on the other. Both motives are reflected in the negotiators' language use, namely in the way negotiators elicit, make, and respond to speech elements which express, in one way or another, their commitment to do something. Language is used to establish cooperation (and make exchange possible) and to express competitiveness.

Cooperation and competition inextricably refer to the negotiators' relational work, including a wide range of antipodal behavioural patterns such as solidarity and fostering of good interpersonal relationships vs. rivalry and task focus; assertive and confrontational vs. conciliatory behaviour; directness vs. indirectness, evasion, and concealment; commitment vs. non-commitment, etc. In several respects, the present study confirms the findings of previous investigations of Irish English language use: the negotiators place great emphasis on cooperation, and they frequently employ indirect, evasive, and non-confrontational strategies.

The present data corpus shows that the negotiators make use of different cooperative strategies which manifest themselves in the speakers' Offer behaviour on the utterance and interactional levels of discourse. In which way the strategies are actually exploited depends on various factors such as the negotiation scenario, power relations, personality, and acquired negotiating styles. The negotiators in the four Irish English negotiations all display a principled/interest-based negotiating style, some to
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a greater, and others to a lesser extent. They strive for, or at least claim to strive for a win-win situation. However, it is not always the case that the buyer aims at low and the seller at high prices. In one of the negotiations, a very special type of cooperation can be observed, which is here called fraternisation. The tour operator aims to build solidarity with Ir1B, the hotel manager, putting the soccer fans in a different role than in the other negotiations. The tour operator implicitly claims that there is no competition between them, i.e. that their goals and interests are the same. He tries to persuade the hotel manager that whatever they do, they do it to their mutual benefit and at the cost of their joint customers, the soccer fans.

Indirectness is evident, for instance, from the negotiators' preference for conventionally indirect Offer realisation strategies and the frequent use of downgrading internal and external modifiers. The avoidance of commitment and other evasion strategies is observable in connection with Open Requests for Offers (ORs), Offers, and Offer responses. Open Requests are an ideal means to elicit information from the other party without revealing much about one's own objectives and expectations. Specific price Offers are often delayed indefinitely, as are answers to the other party's repeated Requests for a (better) Offer. The result for evasive Offer responses is particularly striking: only around 23% of all observed Offer responses are Acceptances or Rejections (only approx. 6% Clear Acceptances or Clear Rejections), which means that around 77% are marked by strategic vagueness (94% if one includes Tentative/Implicit Acceptances and Tentative/Implicit Rejections). What is more, many responses occur with delay and are accompanied by supportive moves (especially negative reactions).

In other respects, however, all negotiators in the present study engage in a reciprocal relationship displaying elements of competition, not only of cooperation. In fact, on a deeper level, some of the cooperative strategies (especially the fraternisation relationship constellation) are evidence of strong competitiveness. I can support Martin's observation that

[…] it is through the dislike of directness that the intrinsic competitiveness in sales negotiation becomes obvious, insofar as the parties are often more likely to manoeuvre around an issue rather than confronting it head-on and to reassert their willingness to co-operate rather than providing a direct answer. Thus, the ability to read between the lines to interpret the implicit agenda of the negotiators constitutes an important component of Irish intracultural negotiation as evinced by the simulations. (Martin 2001: 217)

One gets the impression that the negotiators try to be assertive without appearing emphatic. Moreover, the negotiators are at times direct and confrontational, and assertive. They are focused on the task, pursue their goals, and clearly state their intentions. This finds expression through

- a high proportion of direct SR realisation strategies,
- signs of irritation (e.g. religious swearwords),
- signs of impatience (e.g. negotiator prompts the other party to continue talking and to finally make a (better) Offer), and
signs of persistence: (e.g. negotiator presses the other party to make concessions),

persuasion by means of argumentative strategies.

The question that remains is which of the features observed in the present data represent a 'typically Irish' communication style. Lacking comparative data, this question cannot be conclusively answered. However, several arguments support my claim that the findings may be indicative of the genre business negotiation as such. On the one hand, the use of direct strategies can be explained by the fact that, as mentioned above, negotiators need to make unambiguously clear what they want to achieve their negotiation goal. Occasional signs of impatience or even irritation are understandable if the other party delays an answer, commitment, etc. beyond the limit which is acceptable to the first party.

On the other hand, the analysis of the present data indicates that indirect, evasive, non-committal behaviour in Offer communication is a strategy which allows a negotiator to hold onto information (without appearing as uncooperative because the negotiator does say something), which means to have power. The use of mitigation can be attributed to the provisional nature of commitments in business negotiations. First, the Offerer's obligation to carry out a future action depends on the Offeree's acceptance of the Offer. Second, S's commitment remains hypothetical until a deal is closed at the end of the negotiation. Third, during the negotiation the future action is in most cases merely verbally anticipated (linguistic cooperation). The actual provision of goods and services takes place later (material cooperation). Indirect, evasive strategies leave the door open to postpone one's final decision and thereby to gain time. They imply the possibility, in some way or other, to opt out. Argumentation is a competitive activity, but if both negotiating parties are willing to consider each other's arguments in a fair and objective manner, it leads to cooperative behaviour. It is a means of conflict resolution and problem solving, and as such another characteristic of business negotiations.

The second global aspect of business negotiations which is investigated here is recursiveness. Elements on all discourse levels, from act to phase, recur in an identical or slightly modified form throughout the negotiation discourse: Offers, Requests for Offer, and Offer responses are repeated (with regard to realisation strategy, wording, content), as are supportive moves/arguments and whole cycles of Offer exchanges, sequences, and negotiation phases.

Recursiveness is characteristic of negotiations for two reasons: first, the negotiators' basis of decision-making constantly changes. Repeating earlier elements of negotiation discourse increases the chance that upon hearing it a second or third time, the other party evaluates this same element differently. Second, the repetition of elements serves to support the interlocutors' memories and to structure the discourse. In conclusion, redundancy in negotiations is strategic and therefore functional.
5.2 Academic and practical implications

In Section 5.2, academic and practical implications of the present study are addressed.

The investigation follows a recent trend of intermethodological research, which is invaluable for gaining new insights into oral discourse structures in a business context. Combining methods from pragmatics, discourse and conversation analysis, and enriching them with findings from economic, business, sociological, psychological, and communication studies proves to be expedient. General negotiation characteristics listed by exponents of non-linguistic disciplines (e.g. significance of information available to negotiating parties, recursiveness, exchange relation, cooperation vs. competition) are reflected on the linguistic level. Moreover, although the present investigation is not interested in measurable negotiation outcomes, it corroborates that the way Offers are elicited, made, and responded to has a significant influence on a negotiation's outcome. The results of the present study are hence of value to future linguistic and non-linguistic studies on negotiation.

The study also has some practical implications. For instance, foreign business people working in Ireland or doing business with Irish companies may be interested in examples of how outcomes are achieved and decisions made in negotiations by speakers of Irish English. As learners of English they are likely to have been taught only British or American English. Language and communication trainers can draw on the Offer model to systematically teach the different facets of Offer communication strategies on different discourse levels in both a first language (L1) and a second language (L2) teaching context. Moreover, they can use it as a guideline to measure student performance in a negotiation skills course. The study can also be of use to illustrate individual phenomena on the basis of empirical data (examples from transcripts), thus raising negotiators' awareness with regard to linguistic strategies, e.g. how to recognise contingent Offers, how to know when the other party asks for reciprocity or tries to avoid commitment. This would enable them to see through their opponents' strategies more easily and to act accordingly. Last but not least, instructors can implement their own negotiation simulations on the basis of the present negotiation scenario and compare the negotiations with those of the present investigation.

5.3 Limitations and outlook

Section 5.2 gives an overview of the limitations of the study and presents potential future research topics.

One of the methodological limitations of the present study relates to the partly inconsistent profiles of the participants. Because of difficulties related to the recruitment of a sufficient number of participants, it was not possible to keep all variables constant. Two participants in particular do not quite fit into the scheme: at the time of the simulation, Ir3B and Ir4B could look back upon long careers of 29 years (Ir4B) and 39 years (Ir3B) of extensive professional experience, while the professional careers
of the other participants ranged between six (Ir3A) and 15 years (Ir1A). What sets Ir3B apart from the others, Ir4B included, is that he – being in his 60s – was already retired, and his formal education was restricted to the Leaving Certificate. Analysing educational and professional differences and their effects on the negotiators' Offer communication could be an interesting object of investigation in future studies. In the present study, however, it is not permissible to establish general correlations between negotiating styles and educational or professional backgrounds because the amount of data does not allow such generalisations.

A weakness in speech act theory, which is used to define Offers and to identify Offer and Request for Offer realisation strategies, is that it requires a (sometimes artificial) division of the discourse into more or less discrete segments. It is a process of decontextualisation (cf. KUCKARTZ 2005: 65-66). Drawing the boundary between segments is sometimes difficult, even using specific criteria. I counterbalance this drawback by integrating other approaches such as discourse and conversation analysis to arrive at a more holistic view of Offers in their sequential environment across all discourse levels.

This leads us to a further difficulty: the disadvantages of coding linguistic data. Segmenting is a prerequisite for coding (and counting) individual phenomena. Hence, a subjective slant is inherent in the results, especially numerical results. Coding objectivity can be enhanced by testing intercoder reliability (consistency), an option not available to the present research project. Nevertheless, not even a high degree of intercoder reliability can guarantee the validity of results. In the present study, a high level of internal consistency is ensured by continual coding checks and a critical review of category definitions throughout the coding process. Moreover, the patterns detected on the different discourse levels, which have "to be artificially separated for analytical purposes" (LAMPI 1986: 55), are linked to arrive at an overall picture of Offers in business negotiations. This endeavour is supported by using qualitative research and analysis software so that it is possible at any stage during the analysis to switch back and forth between categories and coded text passages embedded in the whole negotiation.

Some features of Offers, Requests for Offers, and Offer responses, such as internal modification, perspective, syntactic structures, and argumentation receive only marginal attention, but would definitely lend themselves to interesting future studies. The same applies to potential correlations between the type of Request for Offer and ensuing Offer realisation strategy, or between the Offer realisation strategy and the Offer response type. Such studies would require an even more complex data coding system than the one developed for the present study. An analysis of negotiators' non-verbal communication would also yield rich results complementing those of the present study.

The present data provide descriptions of characteristic patterns in Offer-making in business negotiations. The results are suitable to generate hypotheses about the behaviour of the target population Irish male business professionals in negotiations and about typical buyer/seller behaviour in this population. However, due to the case study approach, it is not possible to draw any general conclusions. The data are not
representative in a statistical sense. In particular, this is true for interpretations of frequency distributions.

As mentioned earlier, the present investigation uncovers, on a linguistic level, Offer phenomena described by non-linguistic negotiation researchers, and also some of those aspects pointed out by authors of popular scientific literature (e.g. anchoring, TACOW = Tentative Agreement Contingent on the Whole). However, the study can neither confirm nor refute the success of the outlined Offer strategies and tactics. An answer to this question calls for interdisciplinary empirical research, namely collaboration between linguists and researchers representing the more quantitatively-oriented approaches mentioned above. Therefore, joint research projects should be fostered which are capable of collecting and statistically analysing larger data corpora. Such quantitative studies could then also be used – if they likewise gather data in an Irish context – to verify the numerical results of the present study and to determine ‘typical’ patterns in Irish English negotiations. What is more, further studies need to be conducted on the basis of authentic data to find out whether the current Offer communication model, which is based on simulated data, holds true also for naturally-occurring negotiations.

Furthermore, the present study lays the groundwork for future cross-cultural and intercultural\(^{321}\) studies comparing Offer communication behaviours across different languages and language varieties. Similar to MARTIN’s œuvre (2001), it could be explored how the results of such studies are consistent with the findings of large-scale cultural surveys (e.g. HALL 1981, 1990; HOFSTEDE 1980; HOUSE 2004) which develop classifications of national and corporate cultures. In fact, only with intervarietal or cross-linguistic studies will it be possible to claim that the observed features are indeed distinctly Irish. The model developed in the present study is flexible enough for future modifications if required.

Finally, I would like to give the following concluding recommendation to negotiators, adapting the words from BAGULEY (2000: 88): in your negotiation Offers are always important. They open doors that you and your negotiating partner must use if you want to reach agreement.

\(^{321}\) Cross-cultural here denotes contrastive studies which compare two or more cultures with the aim of identifying differences or similarities between them, whereas intercultural refers to studies that analyse data of two or more individuals with different cultural backgrounds who interact with each other.
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