National cultural norms or activity type conventions? Negotiation talk and informal conversation among Swedes and Spaniards

Lars Fant

Dept. of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies
Stockholm University

1. Aim

A problematic issue in cross-cultural studies has been to determine to what extent activity type (or 'genre') conventions interact with national behavioural preferences. On the one hand, activity type conventions can be seen as more or less 'universal' and culture-independent features and, on the other hand, it can be assumed that such conventions are also, to a greater or lesser degree, influenced by 'national' values and norms. While this issue may be analysed from a sociological stance using questionnaires and interviews, or with more anthropological methods such as participant observation, it may be claimed that the greatest potential for extracting quantifiable data in this field is provided by linguistically-based conversation analysis.

The research object of this study is verbal interaction, as performed in all-Spanish conversation groups (Spanish L1 being spoken), in all-Swedish groups (Swedish L1 being spoken), and, finally, in mixed Spanish-Swedish groups, where Spanish is used both as L1 and L2. The data enables a comparison between two national cultures which both belong to the 'Western' sphere and which, to observers familiar with both cultures, stand out as significantly distinct in their set of norms, values, assumptions and practices. In order to get a picture of the influence of national cultural norms vs. general activity types in the interaction, conversation within two different activity types have been considered: negotiation talk, on the one hand, and informal argumentative talk, on the other.

More precisely, the research questions guiding this study are: (1) which divergences in verbal behaviour are attributable to cultural differences, (2) which aspects of verbal behaviour are likely to diverge between the two cultural groups within the same activity type, and (3) which culture-specific components are to be found in the norms regulating the activity types under consideration.

2. Background

Cross-cultural and intercultural studies are an interdisciplinary research field which has known its ups and downs over the past three centuries. The term 'interdisciplinary' here calls for some specification: while originally anchored in social/cultural anthropology and represented by scholars such as E.T. Hall (Hall, 1973; Hall/ Hall, 1990), cross-cultural and intercultural studies boomed within the field of sociology from the 1980's and onwards, with influential work such as that of Hofstede (1984) or Trompenaars (1993); the research area then extended successively into linguistics and discourse analysis, giving rise to more full-

fledged interdisciplinary approaches, of which Scollon/Scollon (1995) and Spencer-Oatey (2000) are representative examples. However, from the 1990's and onwards, cross-cultural and intercultural studies were subjected to an increasing amount of critique, which mainly originated in post-modern theory of social sciences (see e.g. Geertz, 1988). The common denominator of the critical approaches was the idea that the basic assumptions of so-called 'interculturalism' (Dahlén, 1997) were prevailingly essentialist, that national cultural differences were being over-generalised and over-emphasised, and that the generalisations proposed, even when scientifically defendable, were likely to become interpreted as categorisations which were not only based on prejudice but would also contribute to strengthening established prejudice. It would be no overstatement to say that cross- and intercultural studies, at the end of the 1990's, had fallen in disgrace in wide academic circles.

Under these circumstances, the perspectives and techniques of conversation analysis (CA) can be seen as a means not only for restoring the credibility of the research area but also for providing new impulses and directions. First of all, CA deals with directly observed and not only inferred data: if appropriately collected and correctly transcribed, CA shows what people actually do when they communicate with each other. Secondly, CA data, when properly decoded and tagged , will readily allow for quantification and statistical methods to be applied.

As far as contrastive CA-oriented Hispanic-Scandinavian research is concerned, a number of significant contributions to cross-cultural studies have been made over the past two decades. One group of studies focused on negotiation interaction and was conjointly carried out at Copenhagen Business School, University of Odense (later on: University of Southern Denmark) and Stockholm University. These studies were all based on data from simulated negotiations performed at seminars of negotiations skills, that took place in practically identical ways in two Scnadinavian countries (Denmark and Sweden) and three Spanish-speaking countries (Mexico, Spain and Venezuela) Publications such as Fant (1989) and (1995), Fant/Grindsted (1995a) and (1995b), Grindsted (1993) and (1995), Villemoes (1995), and Villemoes et al. (2003), can be seen as representative of this strand, to which early work by Diana Bravo (in particular Bravo, 1996) belongs. A second group of studies, which has arisen from the AKSAM project[1] initiated at Stockholm University, addresses both negotiation interaction and informal conversation and includes both cross-cultural comparison and direct observation of intercultural interaction. This strand is represented by publications such as Bravo (1998) and (1999), Gille (2001), Häggkvist (2002), or Häggkvist/Fant (2000).

3. Findings from comparative research on negotiation interaction

The contrastive studies on Spaniards and Swedes in negotiation interaction gave rise to a number of observations regarding divergences in conversational behaviour (Fant, 1989), the most important of which were the following:
  - Swedes do a lot more of verbal back-channelling ('mm', etc.) than Spaniards.
  - Gaze patterns are significantly different; in particular, Spaniards do a lot more of gazing than Swedes and seem to use gaze more as a feedback device, whereas Swedes tend to use gaze for turn-taking and turn-shifting purposes.

---

[1] AKSAM stands for 'Aktivitetstyper och samtalsstruktur hos L1- och L2-talare av spanska' ('Activity types and conversational structure in L1 and L2 users of Spanish').The project was funded by Humanistiska och samshällsvetenskapliga forskningsrådet (The Swedish Council for Research in Humanities and Social Sciences) in the years 1995-1999.

- Spaniards do much more overlapping than Swedes.
- Spaniards produce a lot more of direct speaker and hearer references ('we', 'you', 'your', etc) than Swedes, who, in turn, produce a greater number of indirect expressions where the speaker/hearer reference has to be inferred. Only in the first person singular ('I') the proportions are comparable.
- Swedes produce a higher proportion of 'cooperative' responses (i.e. both local and focal, see section 9.2.) than Spaniards.
- Swedes produce significantly more mitigating and hedging expressions than Spaniards.

The two following sequences are representative samples of the parameters considered. Both sequences have been extracted from a case of simulated negotiations named 'The fishing-boat', in which there is a buyer and a seller team and the main token of negotiation is the price of the boat. In both sequences, there are three speakers involved, and both sequences last for exactly 45 seconds.

(1) SP fishing-boat negotiation (Benito and Antonio are sellers, Jesús one of the two buyers).

A 1:   Sí, Jesus, pero tú me estás planteando que los problemas de comprar el barco a un precio o a otro precio está relacionado a si vas a perder el aparejo o no lo vas a perder. ¡Por favor!
J 1:   Son gastos, ¿no? Es que son, [es que son riesgos que pasan. El seguro,]
A 2:   [Pero no, el riesgo no está en el barco este,]
J 2:   [el seguro es mayor.] El gasóleo es mayor
A 2 cont: [está en tu trabajo.]
J 2 cont: El seguro [es mayor...]
B 1:   [Sí, pero Jesús, Jesús,] Jesús, yo todos estos costes, el incremento de costes, lo entiendo perfectamente. Vamos, vamos a [dejar cierto...]
J 3:   [No es que vayáis] a decir que porque es un barco de mayor envergadura todo va a ser beneficio.
B 2:   No no, si nadie dice [eso. Vamos a ver...]
A 3:   [Vamos a sacar un tema.] Vamos a sacar un tema ((HOLDING BENITO BACK)). Perdóname otra pregunta: ¿ a vosotros os interesa comprar el barco o no [os interesa?]
J 4:   [¡Claro! Nos]otros, si no, no [estábamos aquí.]
B 2:   [¡Que no hemos empezado] a discutir el precio!

A 1:   Yes, Jesús, but you are telling me that the problems of buying the boat at one price or another depends on whether or not you're going to lose the equipment. Oh please!
J 1:   It means costs, doesn't it? Actually, actually, these are risks that occur.
A 2:   But the risk has nothing to do with this boat, it has to do with your work.
J 2:   The insurance costs more, the insurance costs more. The gas costs more. The insurance costs more...
B 1:   Yes, but Jesús, Jesús, Jesús, I mean, all these costs, the increase in costs, I perfectly understand that. Now let's, let's make it clear...
J 3:   Don't you try to tell me that just because it's a larger boat, there will only be benefits.
B 2:   Oh no, nobody's saying that. Now let's see...
A 3:   Let's bring up a topic. Let's bring up a topic. ((HOLDING BENITO BACK)).
Excuse me if I ask another question: are you interested in buying this boat or aren't you?
J 4:   Of course. If we weren't, we wouldn't be here.
B 2:   We haven't even started discussing the price.

(2) SW fishing-boat negotiation (Martin and Niklas are sellers, Bosse one of the two buyers).

M 1: (...) och, öh, båtar i motsvarande klass dom rör sig om, ja det ligger på minst sexhundratusen för en sån båt, (0.5) [i...]

B 1: [Ja,] äh, ja för att bemöta den biten lite grann så, så den är ju utrustad för kustfiske, [som,]

M 2 [mm]

B 1 cont: som jag sa inledningsvis, och dom informationer VI har så, så är MINST sexhundratusen nog MAX sexhundratusen. (1.0)

M 3: Ja, men då ska man säga, det här du säger att den är utrustad för kustfiske, men dom JAG har jämfört med, dom är också utrustade för kustfiske. (2.0) ((LOOKING IN HIS FILES)) Faktiskt. (2.0)

N 1: Och man kan ju också ställa det i relation till, till nypriset på en sån här båt, va. Den är ju, börjar ju närma sig miljonen nu, vad jag förstår. Så att...

M 4: Över en miljon.

N 1 cont: Så att (0.5) i det perspektivet tycker jag nog att (...)

M 1: *(...) and, uh, boats of a corresponding type, they're a matter of, well, it's at least a matter of 600 000 for such a boat, in...*

B 1: *Well, uh, well in order to respond a little to that bit, then, then it's equipped for coastal fishing, as...*

M 2: *Mm.*

B 1 cont: as I said initially, and the information we've got, then, then at least 600 000 would rather be at most 600 000.

M 3: *Yes, but then one must say, what you're saying, that it's equipped for coastal fishing, but those I compared with, they're equipped for coastal fishing, too. Actually.*

N 1: *And one could also see this in relation to, to the price of a new boat of this kind, right. It's, y'know, it starts getting close to one million, now, I've understood. So...*

M 4: *More than one million.*

N 1 cont: So in that perspective, I'd rather say that (...)

It is readily observed that the Spanish speakers frequently overlap, whereas hardly any overlapping takes place among the Swedes, the two exceptions being one very short token of struggle for the floor (occurring between M 1 and A 1) and one token of verbal back-channelling (M 2), a type of move where overlap generally occurs regardless of socio-culture. In contrast, no verbal back-channelling can be found at all in the Spanish excerpt.

Furthermore, the Spanish sequence contains several direct speaker and hearer references (eight 'we's', four 'I's', six 'you's' plus several direct addresses '*Jesús*') and few indirect references, whereas the proportion is rather the inverse among the Swedes (one 'we', four 'I's', one 'you', but a lot of indirect expression such as '*in order to respond to that bit*'). Generally speaking, the indirectness of the Swedish speakers, as compared to the directness of the Spaniards, is salient also when hesitation markers such as 'uh' or common ground markers such as '*y'know*' (Swedish '*ju*') are taken into account.

Finally, although this transcription does not permit any demonstration of the gaze patterns, it was observed that the Spaniards did about twice as many seconds of direct gazing than the Swedes, and that the Swedes consistently used direct gaze to claim and to give turns while averting their gaze as soon as they had taken over the turn.

In several of the studies involved, the concrete divergences found were interpreted in terms of cultural dimensions, along scales on which Spaniards and Swedes would occupy different positions. In summary, the differential dimensions considered most significant were:

- Self-assertiveness: Spanish high vs. Swedish low (Fant, 1989).
- Autonomy: Spanish low vs. SW high (Fant, 1989; Bravo 1999).

- Affiliation: Spanish high vs. Swedish low (Fant 1989; Bravo, 1999).
- Consensus-seeking: Spanish low vs. Swedish high (Fant/Grindsted 1995a).

However, later observations, provided by studies originated in the AKSAM project (see footnote 1), have led to the questioning of the earlier findings. Among other things, it was found that Swedes do a lot more overlapping and direct speaker-hearer referencing – and, at the same time, much less mitigating – when interacting in informal conversation than in negotiations. Spaniards, on the other hand, were observed to behave in much the same way regardless of the activity type. A hypothesis that would arguably account for this fact takes its point of departure in Trompenaars' (1993) cultural dimension 'specific vs. diffuse', where private zone behaviour is contrasted with public zone behaviour. With regard to this dimension, cultures may differ in having more 'specific' (i.e. public-space-oriented), or more 'diffuse' (private-space-oriented) preferences (Fant, 1992). In semi-public activities such as business negotiations, where the participants are expected to know each other, but not to have or show intimacy, a fair guess would be that a more 'diffuse' culture such as the Spanish would prefer private-zone patterns of behaviour, whereas more 'specific' cultures such as the Swedish would apply public-zone patterns.

4. Data

In the following sections, the interaction taking place in informal talk and in negotiations will be systematically contrasted, and so will the interaction occurring in the two different national groups. The data have been drawn from two separate databases. The first database is the one established in the early 1990's in collaboration between Stockholm University and two Danish institutions of higher education. It consists of transcriptions of simulated negotiations between professional negotiators, which were video-recorded in three Spanish-speaking and two Scandinavian countries. For the current purposes, two subsets of this corpus have been studied, one consisting of 5½ hours of recordings with Spaniards negotiating in Spanish, and the other of 9 hours of recordings with Swedes negotiating in Swedish.

The second database is the corpus established within the AKSAM project (see footnote 1). It is based on video-recordings of Swedish and Spanish subjects, mainly students of business administration, who performed both activities under consideration – i.e. simulated nego-tiations and informal discussions – either in their native language, in interaction with their countrymen, or in Spanish, in mixed Spanish-Swedish groups. For the current purposes, 8 hours of transcribed conversation taking place in Spanish between Peninsular Spanish subjects will be contrasted with 4 hours of conversation taking place in Swedish among Swedish subjects, and with 8 hours of conversation taking place in mixed groups, in Spanish. All of these data belong to the activity type "informal discussion" and is carried out by university students. In addition, one simulated negotiation taking place in Spanish between a Spanish and a Swedish team of professional negotiators, has been subjected to analysis (55 minutes long).

In summary, six sets of data will be compared with the focus set on the following four:
1.   Informal talk in Spanish among native speakers (in abbreviation: *SpInf*)
2.   Negotiation talk in Spanish among native speakers (*SpNeg*)
3.   Informal talk in Swedish among native speakers (*SwInf*)
4.   Negotiation talk in Swedish among native speakers (*SwNeg*)

As a complement, the two following sets will be considered:

5.   Informal talk among native and non-native (Swedish) speakers of Spanish (*MixInf*)

6.   Negotiation talk among native and non-native (Swedish) speakers of Spanish (*MixNeg*).

5. Dimensions, parameters and starting hypotheses

The interaction taking place among and between Spaniards and Swedes in both activity types were compared with regard to a set of 'conversational dimensions'. The dimensions chosen were (1) intensity, (2) proximity, (3) competitiveness, (4) cooperativeness, and (5) self-assertiveness. For each of these, a number of operational and quantifiable parameters were selected, that presumably would reflect these dimensions. The matching of dimensions and parameters has been done on intuitive and introspective grounds, and no previous factor analysis has been carried out. Therefore, the ensuing hypotheses concerning cultural and activity-based preferences (see the end of this section) must be understood as mere working hypotheses. However, the distributional analysis can be expected to result in more well-founded inferences about the relationship between national cultural norms and activity-regulating conventions in the data.

'Conversational intensity' is taken to be the degree to which participants, generally speaking, invest energy in the conversation, which is measured as the amount of speech produced per time unit. For the present purposes, it has been operationalized as number of *turn-claiming* moves per minute (for an explanation of this term, see section 6). For obvious reasons, the figure will vary with the number of people participating in the events; however, since all our data consists of four-party conversations, this variance will cause no problem for the analysis.

'Conversational proximity' is understood as the degree to which participants will increase or decrease the distance between themselves, either in metaphorically spatial terms (considering the turn as a form of personal territory), or in discursive terms, in creating greater or lesser proximity between the *verbal references* made to the participants themselves (Grindsted, 1993). Consequently, the dimension has been operationalized in two ways: as production of *turn-claiming overlap* and as *first/second person linking* (see section 7).

'Conversational competitiveness' is taken to mean the extent to which participants compete in order to hold the floor. On the one hand, this dimension could be seen as complementary to 'cooperativeness' (see below); on the other hand, conversations that are at the same time 'cooperative' and 'competitive' can readily be imagined, as can uncommitted and not very intimate conversations that turn out to be neither one nor the other. Two parameters have been chosen that would reflect competitiveness without directly implying cooperativeness, namely *disruptive overlap* and *competitive back-channelling* (see section 8).

'Conversational cooperativeness', then, can be seen as the degree to which participants will align with their interlocutors, avoid causing them an energy loss, or help them pursue their conversational goals. This dimension has been operationalized in two parameters: the frequency of *co-constructional moves*, and the degree to which *responses* given to the interlocutor's initiatives are to be understood as simultaneously *focal and local* (Linell et al., 1988; see section 9.1).

'Conversational self-assertiveness', finally, is understood to be the degree to which speakers will underscore their individual presence in the conversation by verbal means. One parameter

chosen to indicate this is the frequency of *initiative-taking moves* produced by the participants. A different, and maybe more direct, indicator is the frequency of *direct first person references.*

As starting hypotheses, the following set is proposed in order to be tested in the upcoming sections:

1. In *intensity*, Spanish conversations will score higher than Swedish, and informal conversation will score higher than negotiation talk. Reasons: earlier findings regarding negotiation interaction have shown that Spaniards are more intensive conversationalist than Swedes; secondly, higher levels of formality can arguably be expected to yield lower intensity.
2. Also with regard to *proximity*, Spanish conversations will score higher than Swedish, and informal conversation will score higher than negotiation talk. Reasons: the same as for intensity.
3. In *competitiveness*, Spanish conversations will score higher than Swedish, and negotiation talk is expected to yield higher scores than informal conversation. Reasons: earlier findings regarding negotiation interaction clearly support the 'national' hypothesis. Furthermore, the fact that negotiating is by its very nature a more competitive kind of activity than informal talk could arguably be projected on conversational competitiveness, too, although admittedly the arguments for this second hypothesis are somewhat weaker.
4. As for *cooperativeness*, Swedish conversations are expected to score higher than Spanish, since earlier data from negotiation interaction seems to indicate this. However, when it comes to activity types, strong arguments in favour of either alternative are hard to find. Therefore, no specific working hypothesis will be suggested regarding activity types.
5. Finally, as far as *self-assertiveness* is concerned, Spanish conversations are expected to yield higher scores than Swedish, since this is what studies such as Bravo (1998) and Gille (2001) seem to suggest. As for activity types, however, it can not be immediately taken for granted that the inherent competitive nature of negotiation talk would necessarily be reflected in a higher degree of self-assertiveness, and consequently no specific working hypothesis will be suggested at this point.

6. Intensity

This dimension was operationalized as production of *turn-claiming moves per minute*, a 'turn-claiming move' being defined as any utterance intended to be acknowledged as a turn (regardless of whether it actually becomes acknowledged). In the following sequence, all moves are turn-claiming; however, *'Stina 1'* never becomes confirmed as a move since the following move, *'Hasse 1'*, addresses *'Märta 1'* and not *'Stina 1'*.

(3)   Swedish informal conversation.

Märta 1: Så folk hoppar av?
Stina 1: Det blir [knappt- dom blir knappast, vad heter det?]
Hasse 1:   [Ja, min granne hoppade av i åttan] (...) så hon jobbar på dagis och (0.3) hon är tjugofem nu och har fyra barn, tror jag. Hennes man är arbetslös och så.
Stina 2: Jamen, men jag såg, jag såg nån tjej på te-, jo men det var också på Svart-eller-vitt, det kära programmet, en tjej med en tjej som vi-

M 1:   So people quit, do they?

S 1 :   It hardly becomes- they hardly become, what do you say?

H 1 :   Well, my neighbour quit in the eighth grade (...) so she's working at a day-care centre and she's twenty-five now and has four children, I believe. Her husband is unemployed and all that.

S 2 :   Oh well, I saw, I saw some girl on te-, oh, that was also on Black-or-White, that darling programme, a girl with a girl that sho-

There are only two types of moves which clearly stand out as non-turn-claiming. One is back-channelling, represented by the bold-faced 'uhm's' of the following sequence:

(4)   *Intercultural negotiation*

Arne 1: Sólo hemos visto una que ha salido bien, no, verdad? [Tú] tienes los: tú tienes
Josefa 1:   [uhm]
Arne 2: más cifras que [yo que] ha salido: apro[bado] aunque es una una, en una (...)
Josefa 2:   [uhm]   [uhm]

A 1 :   We've got only one that's come out fine, haven't we?.
J 1 :   **Uhm.**
A 2 :   You've got the- you've got more figures than I, that have come out alright, though it's a, a, in a...
J 2 :   **Uhm. Uhm.**

The second type of non-turn-claiming moves are supportive co-constructional moves, where the speaker only intends to help the previous speaker formulate his/her turn:

(5) Swedish negotiation (part of Ex. 2 repeated)

Niklas 1: Och man kan ju också ställa det i relation till, till nypriset på en sån här båt, va.
          Den är ju, börjar ju närma sig miljonen nu, vad jag förstår. Så att...
Martin 1: **Över en miljon.**
Niklas 2: Så att (0.5) i det perspektivet tycker jag nog att (...)

N 1 :   And one could also see this in relation to, to the price of a new boat of this kind, right. It's, y'know, it starts getting close to one million, now, I've understood. So...
M 1 :   **More than one million.**
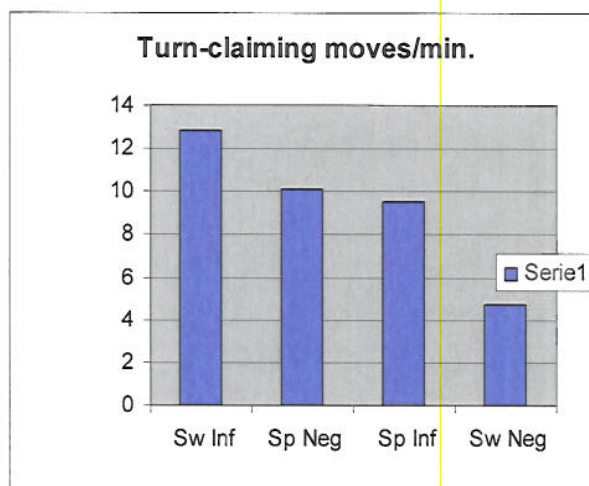N 1 :   So in that perspective, I'd rather say that (...)

Fig. 1

A comparison of the four basic sets of data yields results that are in accordance with the 'activity' hypothesis but contradict the 'national' hypothesis. While Swedish informal talk constitutes the most 'intensive' type (12.8 moves per minute), Swedish negotiation talk is found at the bottom (4.7 moves per minute). The Spanish figures, on the other hand, are practically the same for negotiations as for informal talk (10.1 moves per minute and 9.9 moves per minute, respectively). This lends support to a new interpretation: to Swedes, negotiations may represent a more formalised activity than to Spaniards.

7. Proximity

7.1. Turn-claiming overlap

This is the first parameter proposed to account for the dimension 'conversational proximity'. 'Overlap' is technically defined as 'simultaneous speech' and 'turn-claiming' is defined as in section 6 above; this is to say that only occurrences of overlapping back-channelling and overlapping co-constructional moves are considered to be 'non-turn-claiming overlap'. In the following sequence, the overlap produced by Jesús is clearly turn-claiming:

(6) *Spanish negotiation (part of Ex. 1 repeated).*

Antonio: Perdóname otra pregunta: ¿a vosotros os interesa comprar el barco o no
              [os interesa?]
Jesús: [¡**Claro! Nos**]otros, si no, no estábamos aquí.

A: *Excuse me if I ask another question: are you interested in buying this boat*
              [or aren't you?]
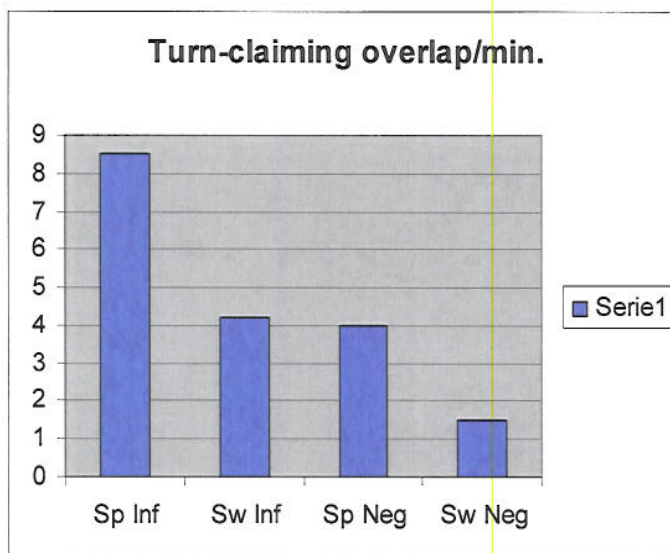J: *[Of course. If we] weren't, we wouldn't be here.*

Fig. 2

The frequencies per minute of turn-claiming overlap in the four basic sets of data are: *SpInf* 8.5, *SwInf* 4.2, *SpNeg* 4.0 and *SwNeg* 1.5. Here, both starting hypotheses appear to be confirmed, viz. that informal conversation is characterised by higher conversational proximity

than negotiation talk, and that Spaniards produce higher proximity regardless of the activity type involved.

7.2. Speaker-hearer reference linking

In Grindsted (1993), the combined reference to the speaker and the hearer of the utterance within the same clause is considered a discursive means of creating proximity between the 'interactive space' of each. The following example, where a 'we' is connected to a 'you', may serve as an illustration:

(7) *Intercultural negotiation (part of Ex. 4 repeated).*

Arne: Lo que **queremos** ((1st. pl.)) plantearos ((2nd. pl.)) es que: de no correr tanto.

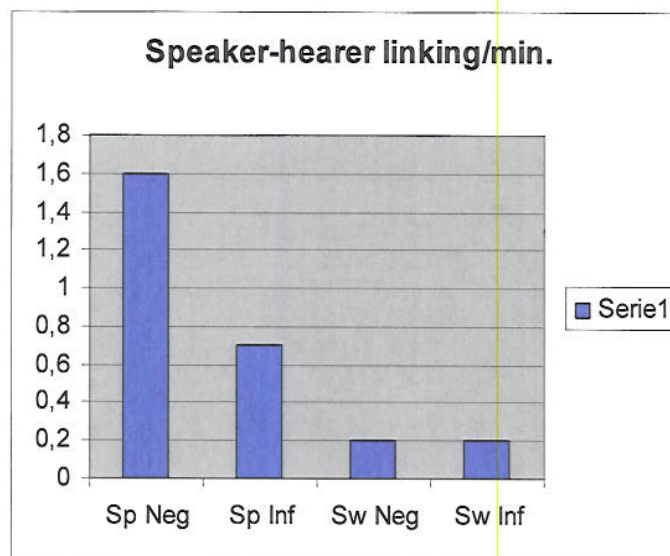A: *What we would like to ask you is that- not to run too fast.*

Fig. 3

The results in figure 3 (*SpNeg* 1.6, *SpInf* 0,7, *SwNeg* and *SwInf* 0.2 occurrences per minute) clearly indicate that speaker-hearer linking is a Spanish specialty, and particularly so in negotiation talk. However, the 'activity' hypothesis – that proximity indicators would appear more frequently in informal conversation – is here strongly contradicted. There are several plausible explanations for these results. It can hardly be denied that speaker-hearer linking is a grammatically dispreferred strategy in the Swedish language in connection with verbs of saying (i.e., Swedes would prefer to say what corresponds to 'I told' rather than 'I told you' even when 'you' is the implicit object of the clause), and those verbs are extremely frequent in both types of conversation considered. The fact that in the Spanish data, the negotiation talk figure is more than twice as high as the informal conversation figure may indicate that speaker-hearer linking is used as a bridge-building strategy made necessary by the essentially competitive nature of negotiations as an activity type.

8. Competitiveness

8.1. Disruptive turn-claiming overlap

Turn-claiming overlap (see section 7.1) can be perceived as either disruptive or not. Disruptive overlap is what occurs when the second speaker starts talking before the full content of the first speaker's turn can be predicted (which gives the first speaker the right to say 'don't interrupt me'). In the following excerpt, the bold-faced occurrences of overlap are likely to be perceived as disruptive, whereas the last occurrence ('*Claro, nosotros...*') is not.

(8) Spanish negotiation (part of Ex. 1 repeated).

Benito 1:	(…) yo todos estos costes, el incremento de costes, lo entiendo perfectamente. Vamos, vamos a [dejar cierto]
Jesús 1:	**[No es que vayáis]** a decir que porque es un barco de mayor envergadura todo va a ser beneficio.
Benito 2:	No no, si nadie dice [eso. Vamos a ver...]
Antonio 1:	**[Vamos a sacar un tema.]** Vamos a sacar un tema. Perdóname otra pregunta. ¿ a vosotros os interesa comprar el barco o no [os interesa?]
Jesús 2:	[¡Claro! Nos]otros, si no, no estábamos aquí.

B 1:	*... I mean, all these costs, the increase in costs, I perfectly understand that. Now let's, let's [make it clear...]*
J 1:	***[Don't you try to]*** *tell me that just because it's a larger boat, there will only be benefits.*
B 2:	*Oh no, nobody's saying [that. Now let's see...]*
A 1	***[Let's bring up a topic]****. Let's bring up a topic. Excuse me if I ask another question: are you interested in buying this boat or [aren't you?]*
J 2:	*[Of course. If we] weren't, we wouldn't be here.*

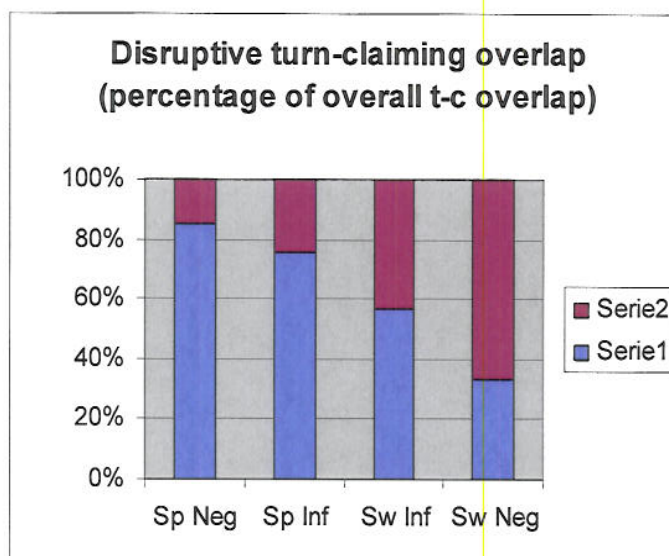**Disruptive turn-claiming overlap (percentage of overall t-c overlap)**

Fig. 4

As shown in figure 4, the highest proportion of disruptive overlap is found in Spanish negotiation talk (85%), followed by Spanish informal conversation (76%), and – quite a bit

further down on the scale – by Swedish informal conversation (57%). At the bottom end, we find Swedish negotiation talk (33%). Here, the 'national' hypothesis – that Swedes would act in a less competitive way than Spaniards – is confirmed. The 'activity' hypothesis, however, is disconfirmed, which, again, may be accounted for by the Swedes' perception of negotiations as a formal activity, where disruptive action should be avoided.

8.2. Competitive back-channelling moves

In a way similar to overlap, back-channelling moves can be subdivided into one competitive and another non-competitive variety. Typically, back-channelling moves occurring at, or close to, so-called transition-relevant points (Sacks et al, 1974) in the interlocutor's turn – i.e., at the limits between 'turn-constructional units' (Sacks et al, 1974) or 'idea units' (Linell, 1998: 165) – are interpreted as supportive (non-competitive), whereas back-channelling moves produced in the middle of the interlocutor's idea unit are perceived as a turn-claiming, and thus competitive, signal. In the following example, supportive and competitive back-channels are marked in boldface:

(9)   *Intercultural negotiation (Ex. 4 repeated)*

Arne 1: Sólo hemos visto una que ha salido bien, no, verdad? [Tú] tienes los: tú tienes
Josefa 2:   **[uhm]** ((*supportive*))
Arne 1: más cifras que [yo que] ha salido: apro[bado] aunque es una una, en una (…)
Josefa 2:   **[uhm]** ((competitive)) **[uhm]** ((*competitive*))

A 1:   *We've got only one that's come out fine, haven't we?*
J 1:   *Uhm.*
A 2:   *You've got the- you've got more figures than I, that have come out alright, though it's a, a, in a...*
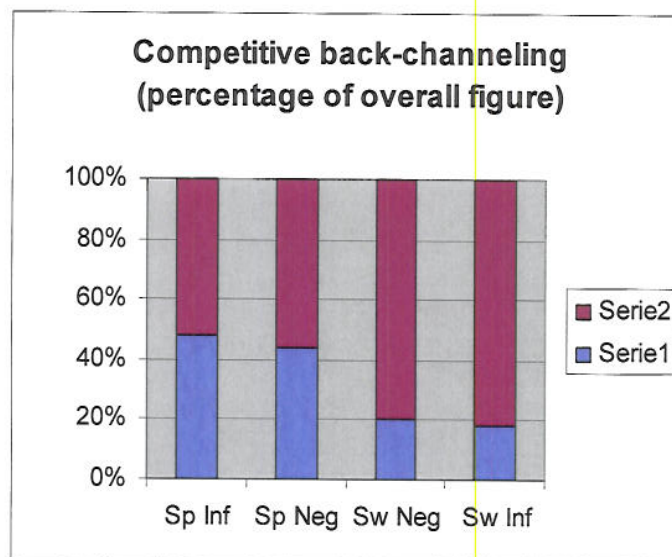*J 2:*   *Uhm. Uhm.*

Fig. 5

The analysis shows that Spanish informal talk reaches the highest proportion of competitive back-channelling (44%), closely followed by Spanish negotiation talk (42%). The Swedish

figures are considerably lower: 20% for both activity types. (Conversely, the proportion of supportive back-channelling is 80% for the Swedish talk and close to 60% for the Spanish talk.) Once again, the 'national' hypothesis seems to be confirmed, and the 'activity' hypothesis disconfirmed. A conclusion will be that the 'activity' hypothesis − that negotiation talk would be characterised by more competitive conversational behaviour − should be abandoned, since it either fails to be not operative, or predicts the opposite of what actually happens, as in the case of disruptive overlap among Swedes.

9. Cooperativeness

9.1. Focal-and-local responses

Linell et al. (1988) have proposed a system for conversation analysis in terms of initiatives and responses, which are to be understood as properties of turns rather than as segmentable moves. In fact, turns in spontaneous conversations by default possess both kinds of properties. Responses are further classified into +/- local and +/- focal. A local response addresses an immediately preceding initiative, whereas a focal response addresses the main issue of the preceding initiative. Prototypically though far from consistently, responses are both focal and local, which is to do with the fact that focal-and-local responses are more easily processed than other responses and therefore constitute a preferred option. In the following passage (Ex.3 repeated), the response properties of the four turns are signalled within double parentheses. Here Stina's turns produced are particularly interesting: her first turn is non-local, since it fails to address the immediately preceding turn, and her second turn, which is an attempt to change the subject, is neither focal nor local.

> (10) *Swedish informal conversation (Ex. 3 repeated)*
>
> Märta 1: ((*focal, local*)) Så folk hoppar av?
> Stina 1: ((*focal, non-local*)) Det blir [knappt- dom blir knappast, vad heter det?]
> Hasse 1: ((*focal, local*))   [Ja, min granne hoppade av i åttan] (…) så hon jobbar på dagis
> och   (0.3) hon är tjugofem nu och har fyra barn, tror jag. Hennes man är arbetslös och så.
> Stina 2: (*non-focal, non-local*) Jamen, men jag såg, jag såg nån tjej på te-, jo men det var också på
>   Svart-eller-vitt, det kära programmet, en tjej med en tjej som vi-
>
> M 1:   *So people quit, do they?*
> S 1:   *It hardly becomes- they hardly become, what do you say?*
> H 1:   *Well, my neighbour quit in the eighth grade (...) so she's working at a daycare centre and she's*
>   *twenty-five now and has four children, I believe. Her husband is unemployed and all that.*
> S 2:   *Oh well, I saw, I saw some girl on te-, oh, that was also on Black-or-White, that darling*
>   *programme, a girl with a girl that sho-*

For the reasons exposed above, focal-and-local responses can be seen as indicative of conversational cooperativeness. Here, the focal-and-local responses have been counted as a proportion of all turn-claiming moves (it is difficult to interpret non-turn-claiming moves as true responses; furthermore, in the data there are no occurrences of initiative-only turns, such as 'come here' or 'sit down' would be generally considered). The results appear in figure 6:
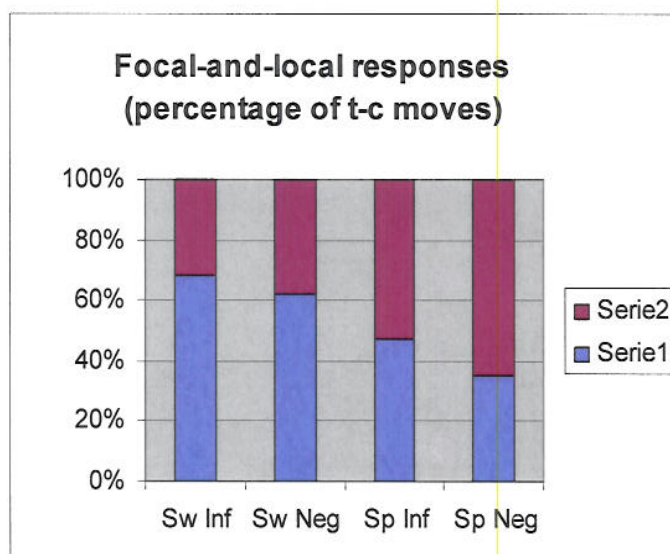
Focal-and-local responses (percentage of t-c moves)

Fig. 6

By decreasing order, the proportions of 'cooperative' responses are: *SwInf* 68%, *SwNeg* 62%, *SpInf* 47% and *SpNeg* 35%. Here, the starting hypothesis that suggested that Swedes would be more 'cooperative' than Spaniards, is confirmed. By the same token, informal conversationalists stand out as more cooperative than negotiators.

9.3 Co-constructional moves

The notion of co-constructional move has been explained in section 6 above and illustrated in Ex. 5. This kind of moves can be seen as 'cooperative' in two ways: they are 'docile' in the sense of not claiming the turn from the current speaker, and they are 'helpful' in the sense of being intended either to repair the other speaker's contribution or to add relevant material to it. Although co-constructional moves can indeed be used as an 'off-the-record' strategy for taking over the turn, this can never be their face-value interpretation.

In our data, co-constructional moves are particularly frequent in Spanish negotiation talk (2.5 per minute), though considerably less so in Spanish informal conversation (1.2 per minute) and in Swedish informal conversation (0.9 per minute). They are quite scarce in Swedish negotiation talk (0.2 per minute).
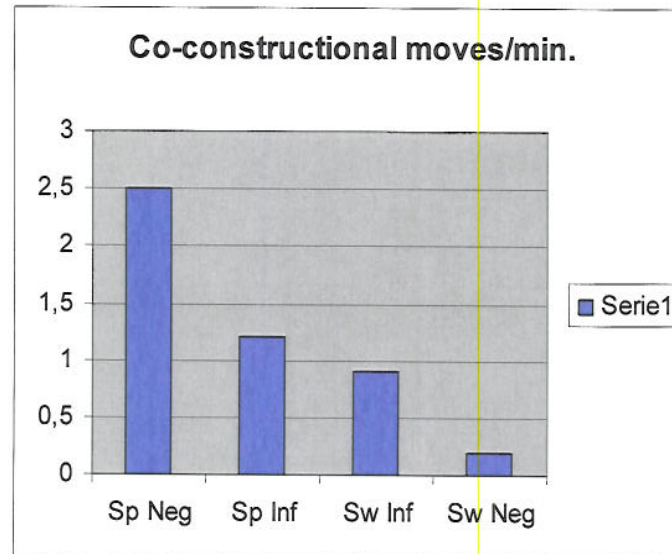
Co-constructional moves/min.

Fig. 8

The most salient result, however, is the sharp contrast between Spanish and Swedish negotiation talk. Once again, this may be interpreted as a Swedish perception of negotiations as a formal, 'public zone' activity, in which co-constructing would somehow be interpreted as intrusive action. Along with this, the fact that the Swedes, contrary to the 'national' starting hypothesis, actually get lower scores overall than the Spaniards may be interpreted as a Swedish preference for autonomy (Fant, 1989; Bravo, 1999) or 'negative politeness' (Brown/Levinson, 1987), rather than a token of low cooperativeness.

The starting hypothesis, viz. that Swedes would be more cooperative than Spaniards, is clearly disconfirmed. Would this, then, lead us to abandon co-construction as a criterion for conversational cooperativeness? If the figures for co-construction are seen in contrast with the figures presented for focal-and-local responses (section 9.1), a plausible conclusion may be that Spaniards understand cooperativeness in one sense (e.g. 'ability to pass the ball') and Swedes in another (such as 'avoiding creating obstacles').

10. Self-assertiveness

10.1. Direct speaker (first person) references
A frequent use of direct speaker references, i.e., first person pronouns such as 'I', 'my' 'we' and the like, can readily be seen as a discursive means for self-assertion. Here, it is important not to include the so-called 'inclusive we's' (Grindsted, 1993), where the hearer is included in the reference (such as *'we all agree that…'*).

In our data, Swedish negotiators show the highest frequencies of direct speaker references (9.7 tokens per minute), followed by Spanish negotiators (8.5 tokens per minute). A bit further down the scale, we find Spanish informal conversationalists (7.2 tokens per minute) and, at the bottom, Swedish informal conversationalists (5.6 tokens per minute). Clearly, the starting hypothesis - viz. that Spaniards would be more self-assertive in their conversational behaviour - is confirmed only in the context of informal conversation. On the other hand, the figures also seem to indicate that negotiators behave more self-assertively than informal

conversationalists regardless of nationality. This, in turn, could possibly raise the question whether conversational competitiveness could actually be kept distinct from self-assertiveness:
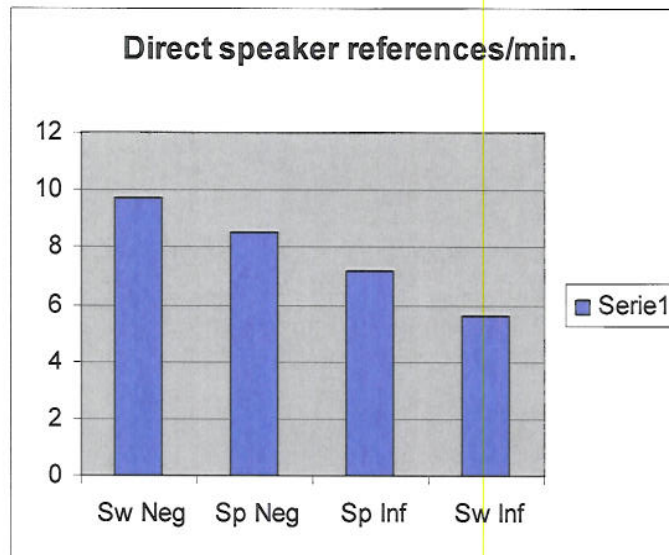

Direct speaker references/min.

Fig. 9

10.2. Initiative-taking moves

Although most turns have both initiative and response properties (Linell et al, 1988; see section 9.1), practically in every type of conversation there is a certain proportion of moves that can be perceived as responses only. The following sequence is intended to illustrate the distinction between turns that contain initiatives and those that do not:

> (11) *Swedish informal conversation (sequence immediately preceding that of Ex. 3 and 10)*

> Märta 1: ((*initiative*)) Nej, det tänkte jag också på, det, får man verkligen det?
> Hasse 1: ((*initiative*)) Ja, folk gör ju det, men man har ju skolplikt, (0.5) så jag undrar hur det där funkar.
> Stina 1: ((*non-initiative*)) Ja, jag vet inte.
> Märta 2: ((*initiative*)) Så folk hoppar av?

> M 1:   *No, I was thinking of that, too, are you really allowed to?*
> H 1:   *Well, people do, of course, but there is this school obligation, so I wonder how that works.*
> S 1:   *Well, I don't know.*
> M 2:   *So people quit, do they?*

In section 5 it was assumed that the proportion of initiative-taking moves could be an indicator of self-assertiveness: the more initiative moves speakers produce, the more they stand out as self-assertive. The starting hypothesis suggested that Spaniards would manifest a more self-assertive conversational pattern than would Swedes. However, no hypothesis was formulated regarding general activity type conventions.
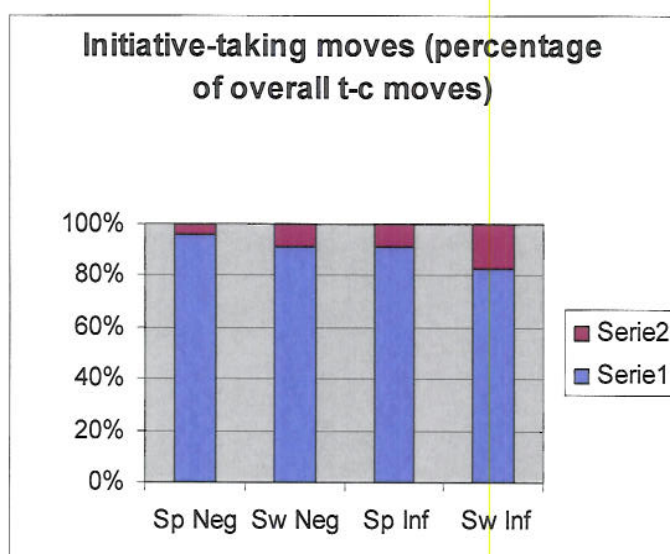
Initiative-taking moves (percentage of overall t-c moves)

Fig. 10

In the present data, Spanish negotiators get the highest scores (96%), followed by the Swedish negotiators and the Spanish informal conversationalists (both 91%). At the bottom end, we find the Swedish informal conversationalists (81%). If the scale is inverted, we can see that 19% of the turns produced in the Swedish informal conversations are non-initiative moves, a figure which stands in sharp contrast with the 4% encountered in the Spanish negotiation talk. The figures confirm the starting, 'national' hypothesis. As in the case of the parameter 'frequency of direct speaker references', however, this result also suggests that negotiation talk favours a more self-assertive conversational style than informal conversation.

11. What about the mixed groups?

In comparison with the same-culture groups, the mixed group data oppose considerable resistance to analysis due to the dramatic increase in factors likely to influence the interaction. One such factor is the asymmetry that emerges from the fact that some speakers are L1 users and others are L2 users. Not surprisingly, the L1 speakers (= Spaniards) of the current data dominate the scene by holding the floor more often and for longer time, and thereby produce a higher amount of words than their Swedish partners. This is particularly true of the informal conversations.

Another factor to be taken into account in the informal conversations is the role division that takes place between the Spanish 'hosts' and the Swedish 'guests', due to the fact that not only are the Spaniards more proficient speakers of Spanish, but also all the recordings of the mixed groups took place in Spain. This effect, among other things, implies a team split, which in a certain sense make the mixed informal conversations resemble negotiations.

The following two tables (fig. 11 and fig. 12) should therefore be read with caution. In these tables, the nine parameters selected to represent the five conversational dimensions considered in this study, appear in the left-hand column. In the following three columns, the figures resulting from the mixed, all-Spanish and all-Swedish data are presented. The rightmost column contains a standardized interpretation of these figures in terms of 'accommodation' patterns. If the figures of the mixed data are similar to e.g. the all-Spanish

data, this is interpreted as 'accommodation to Spanish patterns'. In some cases, where the figures resulting from the mixed data are more 'extreme' than any of the same-culture data, this is represented as 'over-accommodation'. These tendency statements should not be interpreted at face value, in the sense that the Swedish participants of the various dialogues actually accommodate to Spanish patterns, or vice versa, but rather that the group as a whole behaves in a way that, metaphorically speaking, agrees (or over-agrees) with what stands out as a 'national' pattern.

A few additional comments are called for. First of all, in spite of the obvious asymmetry of the mixed data resulting from the fact that all the Swedish participants speak a foreign language, a surprising degree of convergence seems to take place among the native and non-native speakers in the dialogues. This is to say that the native and non-native speakers tend to behave in a fairly analogous way with regard to the parameters under consideration. This is a general observation; more work that could account in detail for the individual patterns would be needed to support this claim, and this is an endeavour which falls far outside the scope of the current study. Secondly, since the Spaniards dominate in the mixed data – at least in the informal conversations – the quantitative measures appearing in the tables will reflect the Spanish participants' behaviour to a greater extent than the Swedish. This is noteworthy, in view of the fact, as will be commented on below, that most of the accommodation that occurs is to 'Swedish' patterns.

The *informal conversation* data, taken together, yields the following picture:

Parameter	MixInf	SpInf	SwInf	Tendency in mixed groups
'INTENSITY': turn-claiming moves/min.	9.9	9.5	12.8	Accommodation to Sp
'PROXIMITY': turn-claiming overlap/min.	3.2	8.5	4.2	Over-accommodation to Sw
'PROXIMITY': speaker-hearer-linking/min.	0.3	0.7	0.2	Accommodation to Sw
'COMPETITIVENESS': % disruptive overlap	47	76	57	Over-accommodation to Sw
'COMPETITIVENESS': % competitive back-ch.	9	44	18	Over-accommodation to Sw
'COOPERATIVENESS': % focal-local responses	54	47	68	Accommodation to Sp
'COOPERATIVENESS': co-constructional moves/min.	1.8	1.2	0.9	Over-accommodation to Sp
'SELF-ASSERTIVENESS': direct speaker ref./min	5.8	7.2	5.6	Accommodation to Sw
'SELF-ASSERTIVENESS': % initiative-taking moves	81	91	81	Accommodation to Sw

Fig 11

The picture given by the table is apparently very neat as far as accommodation patterns are concerned: in intensity and cooperativeness, the mixed groups conform to 'Spanish' preferences, whereas in proximity, competitiveness and self-assertiveness, the 'Swedish' patterns seem to prevail.

However, the different parameters need to be looked at more closely in order to complete the picture, and a few clarifying remarks are called for. Certain phenomena observed in the mixed groups are easily explained by the lower language proficiency of the L2-speaking Swedes. Thus, a lower intensity in the flow of conversation is only what could be expected in a mixed native/non-native dialogue, and the fairly low proportion focal-local responses is arguably due to a lower overall fluency, partly because of the high amount of conversational repairs. As regards the parameter 'frequency of co-constructional moves', the high figure is clearly motivated by the amount of 'scaffolding' action that both the Spanish and the Swedish participants perform in order to help Swedish participants formulate themselves adequately.

Furthermore, the Spaniards, wishing to behave 'like hosts', do a lot more of 'negative politeness work' (Brown/Levinson, 1987) than they would with their own countrymen. The politeness factor is likely to account for the low figures as regards competitive back-channelling, direct speaker references, initiative-taking moves, disruptive overlap and turn-claiming overlap overall. Generally speaking, the Spanish participants try not to impose their agenda (Fant, 2006) on their 'guests'. In a more indirect way, the same mechanism could be said to apply to speaker-hearer-linking: the conversational distance (Scollon/Scollon, 1995) established through this role division precludes a high degree of bonding, not only on the interactional but also on the discursive plane.

In conclusion, other factors than national cultural norms and general activity type conventions seem to account for salient interactive and discursive patterns in the informal conversation performed in the mixed Spanish-Swedish groups. What tendencies, then, are to be found in negotiation talk?

The figures appearing in the following table (fig.12), which gives the overall picture of the negotiation data, need be considered even more cautiously than those emerging from the informal conversation data. This is due to the fact that the column *MixNeg* consists of only one, 55 minutes long, recording, to be compared with the 5½ hours encompassed by *SpNeg* and the 9 hours of *SwNeg*.

What figure 12 tells us is, in essence, that in the mixed negotiation talk, accommodation to 'Swedish' preferences occurs along all seven interactional parameters, and accommodation to 'Spanish' preferences takes place only with regard to the two discursive parameters (frequency of speaker-hearer-linking and of direct speaker references, respectively). The latter finding probably reflects the fact that the two Swedish negotiators are very proficient speakers of Spanish. The Spanish negotiators' adaptation to Swedish interactional patterns is an interesting fact, that requires reflection and further analysis: why would Spaniards in Spain act in a 'foreign' (here: 'Swedish') way when communicating or negotiating with foreigners who have the same professional level as themselves, and, on top, manifest a near-native proficiency and fluency in the Spanish language? One answer may be that the mere fact of interacting with foreigners is sufficient to trigger accommodating reflexes in a native speaker. The Swedish negotiators are simply not 'ingroup' enough, in the eyes of their Spanish partners.

Parameter	MixNeg	SpNeg	SwNeg	Tendency in mixed groups
'INTENSITY': turn-claiming moves/min.	2.3	10.1	4.7	Over-accommodation to Sw
'PROXIMITY': turn-claiming overlap/min.	1.4	4.0	1.5	Accommodation to Sw
'PROXIMITY': speaker-hearer-linking/min.	1.3	1.6	0.2	Accommodation to Sp
'COMPETITIVENESS': % disruptive overlap	29	85	33	Accommodation to Sw
'COMPETITIVENESS': % competitive back-ch.	55	44	20	Over-accommodation to Sp
'COOPERATIVENESS': % focal-local responses	78	35	62	Over-accommodation to Sw
'COOPERATIVENESS': co-constructional moves/min.	0.4	2.5	0.2	Accommodation to Sw
'SELF-ASSERTIVENESS': direct speaker ref./min	7.2	8.5	9.7	Over-accommodation to Sp
'SELF-ASSERTIVENESS': % initiative-taking moves	83	96	91	Over-accommodation to Sw

Fig 12

12. Conclusions

As regards the cross-cultural comparison carried out between the four 'intracultural' sets of data, the initial aim was to find out in which ways the interaction and the dialogue were influenced by two fundamental factors, viz. overall national cultural preferences, on the one hand, and (more or less) universal activity-type, or 'genre' conventions, on the other. The analysis of the data showed that at least two more independent factors had to be considered in order to account for the conversational patterns encountered. One was the specific/diffuse dimension (Trompenaars, 1993), i.e. the attribution of a given activity type to a more 'public' vs. a more 'private' zone; this factor accounts for the fact that Spaniards behave so similarly, and Swedes so differently, in the two activity types considered. The second factor to be considered is what could be named the 'high- vs. low-competition' parameter and which is accountable for the fact that certain socio-cultures will consider a given activity type or 'genre' as more competitive by their nature than other socio-cultures will.

In summary, then, it may be concluded that national cultural preferences account for the higher frequencies or percentages of:
    1. Spanish speaker-hearer linking;
    2. Spanish disruptive overlap;
    3. Spanish co-constructional moves;
    4. Swedish supportive vs. Spanish competitive back-channelling.

Secondly, preferences resulting from culture-independent activity-type conventions, on the other hand, would account for:
    1. The higher percentage of focal-local responses occurring in negotiations;
    2. The lower frequency of back-channelling occurring in negotiations.

Thirdly, the analysis of the data lends strong support in favour of the view that negotiations is a more formal, 'public-zone' activity in the eyes of Swedes. This is likely to account for the fact that, for Swedes but not for Spaniards,

1. Turn-claiming overlap, in particular the disruptive variety, is dispreferred;
2. Co-constructional moves are dispreferred;
3. A lower degree of conversational intensity is preferred.

Fourthly, negotiations are judged to be a high-competition activity by Spaniards. This could account for the fact that:

1. More direct hearer references are produced by Spanish than by Swedish negotiators;
2. More competitive co-construction takes place among Spanish than among Swedish negotiators;
3. More turn-claiming overlap is produced by Spanish than by Swedish negotiators.

In addition to this, it was found that, for a number of reasons, intercultural data in this field is only partly analogous with, and therefore only indirectly comparable to, 'intracultural' data. One important factor is the asymmetry in language proficiency between L1 and L2 speakers, which triggers action (such as repairs and 'scaffolding') capable of distorting conversational patterns to a considerable extent. Another factor is the real and perceived shortage of 'shared assumptions' and 'shared world views' that is likely to occur in intercultural settings (Fan, 1994: 239-240; Fant, 2001:81). Such communicative deficiencies can be seen as accounting, at least partly, for the increased social distance perceived by the participants – a distance which, in turn, may give rise to role divisions such as that of 'hosts' vs. 'guests', which we have seen occurring in the intercultural informal conversations.

Transcription notations

sign:	meaning:
(0.5)	silence and its duration in /tenths of/ seconds
( )	inaudible passage
(…)	omitted passage
((*supportive*))	author's comment
((LAUGHING))	non-verbal action
[uhm]	overlapping speech
CAPITAL LETTERS	prominent segment
:	prolonged segment
boldface	highlighted passage
italics	English translation

References

Bravo, Diana (1996) *La risa en el regateo. Estudio sobre el estilo comunicativo de negociadores españoles y suecos.* Doctoral dissertation. Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, Stockholm University.

Bravo, Diana (1998) *Face* y rol social: Eficiencia comunicativa en encuentros entre hablantes nativos y no nativos de español. *REALE*, 9/10. 11-41.

Bravo, Diana (1999) ¿Imagen positiva vs. imagen negativa? Pragmática sociocultural y componentes de face. In: *Oralia Análisis de Discurso Oral*, Vol. 2. Madrid: Arco Libros. 155-184.

Brown, Penelope/Levinson, Stephen (1987) *Politeness: Some universals in language usage.* Cambridge: CUP.

Dahlén, Tommy (1997) *Among the Interculturalists. An Emergent Profession and its Packaging of Knowledge.* Doctoral dissertation. Dept. of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University.

Fan, S.K.C. (1994) Contact situation and language management. *Multilingua*, 13:3. 237-252.

Fant, Lars M. (1989) Cultural mismatch in conversation: Spanish and Scandinavian communicative behaviour in negotiation settings *Hermes, Journal of Linguistics,* 3. Århus: Aarhus School of Economics. 247-265.

Fant, Lars (1992) Scandinavians and Spaniards in negotiation. In: Sjögren, A./Janson, L. (eds.) *Culture and management in the field of ethnology and business administration.* Stockholm: Stockholm School of Economics, Institute of International Business. 125-153.

Fant, Lars M. (1995) Negotiation discourse and interaction in a cross-cultural perspective: The case of Sweden and Spain. In: Ehlich, K./ Wagner, J. (eds.) *The Discourse of International Negotiations.* Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 177-201.

Fant, Lars M. & Annette Grindsted (1995a) Conflict and consensus in Spanish vs. Scandinavian negotiation interaction. *Hermes, Journal of Linguistics,* 15. Århus: Aarhus School of Economics. 111-141.

Fant, Lars M. & Annette Grindsted (1995b) Responses to value mismatch in intercultural negotiation interaction. In: Text 15 (4). 561-588.

Fant, Lars (1996) Regulación conversacional en la negociación: una comparación entre pautas mexicanas y peninsulares. In: Kotschi, T./Oesterreicher , W./Zimmermann, K. (eds.) *El español hablado y la cultura oral en España e Hispanoamérica.* Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert/ Madrid: Iberoamericana. 147-183.

Fant, Lars (2001) Managing social distance in semi-structured interviews. In: Németh T., E. (ed.) *Pragmatics in 2000. Selected Papers from the 7th International Pragmatics Conference*, Vol. 2. Antwerp: International Pragmatics Association. 190-206.

Fant, Lars (2006) Rapport and identity management: a model and its application to Spanish dialogue. In: Placencia, M.E./García-Fernández, C. (eds.) *Research on Politeness in the Spanish-Speaking World.* Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum. 331-361.

Geertz, Clifford (1973) *Works and Lives: The Anthropogist as Author.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gille, Johan (2001) *Pautas argumentativas en el diálogo espontáneo. Un estudio de conversaciones intra e interculturales.* Doctoral dissertation. Dept. of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies, Stockholm University.

Grindsted, Annette (1993) La organización del espacio interactivo en negociaciones, mexicanas, españolas y danesas. *Merino*, 16. University of Odense.

Grindsted, Annette (1995) Dyadic and polyadic sequencing patterns in Spanish and Danish negotiation interaction. In: Ehlich, K./ Wagner, J. (eds.) *The Discourse of International Negotiations.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 203-221.

Hall, Edward T. (1973) *The Silent Language.* New York: Anchor Press.

Hall, Edward T./Hall, Mildred R (1990) *Understanding Cultural Differences: Germans, French and Americans.* Yarmouth: Intercultural Press.

Hofstede, Geert (1984) *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values.* Newbury Park: Sage.

Häggkvist, Cilla (2002) *"Ya hemos pasado deportes y estudios...":: La gestión temática en el diálogo intercultural.* Doctoral dissertation. Dept. of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies, Stockholm University.

Häggkvist, Cilla/ Fant, Lars (2000) El intercambio de opiniones en conversaciones intra e interculturales. In: *Oralia Análisis de Discurso Oral*, Vol. 3. Madrid: Arco Libros. 95-111.

Linell, Per (1998) *Approaching dialogue. Talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives.* Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Linell, Per/Gustavsson, Lennart/Juvonen, Päivi (1988) Interactional dominance in dyadic communication: A presentation of initiative-response analysis. *Linguistics,* 26. 415-442.

Sacks, Harvey/ Schegloff, Emanuel/Jefferson, Gail (1974) A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation. *Languag,* 50. 696-735.

Scollon, Ron/ Scollon, Suzanne W. (1995) *Intercultural Communication. A Discourse Approach.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Spencer-Oatey, Helen (ed.) (2000) *Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport through Talk across Cultures.* London/New York: Continuum.

Trompenaars, Fons (1993) *Riding the Waves of Culture.* London: Nicholas Brealey.

Villemoes, Anette (1995) Culturally determined facework priorities in Danish and Spanish business interaction. In: Ehlich, K./ Wagner, J. (eds.) *The Discourse of International Negotiations.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 291-312.

Villemoes, Anette et al. (2003) *Negociar a lo español.* Aarhus: Systime.