TEAMWORK AS AN INTERACTIONAL RESOURCE

A CASE STUDY OF A SELLER - BUYER NEGOTIATION

A Licenciate Thesis
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April 2000
ABSTRACT

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This study investigates how Sellers sell: how they use the interactional potential of working as a team when trying to close a deal with Buyers in a Client negotiation. Teamwork in the study refers to instances where the Sellers support each other’s utterances by continuing with a previous topic or a related supportive topic. The focus of the analysis was on why, when, how, and with whom the Sellers team up when trying to realise the goals that they had set for themselves in a company-internal meeting, which took place the previous day. The realisation of other goals was also inspected, as well as the Sellers' teaming up with the Buyers, the focus there being on instances where the Sellers work with the Buyers against a member of the Selling team. The main empirical data consists of one Client negotiation, while the Sellers' internal meeting and participant interviews served as background information.

The study was motivated by practical concerns. The aim was to gain knowledge about selling as a speech event: some of the regularities that define it and the norms that constrain it, in order to transmit that knowledge into teaching Business English as part of a larger field of research, namely that of English for Specific Purposes. The methodology of the study builds on concepts developed mainly in interactional sociolinguistics. They were integrated into the taxonomic discourse-analytical model of analysis by Edmondson (1981) and Edmondson and House (1981), which was used as a tool in the analysis.

The Sellers team up with each other regularly throughout the Client negotiation, where teamwork is used in all types of interactional moves: initiating, satisfying and rejecting moves. The 'core' of the Client negotiation consists of a technical part and a commercial part: the Sellers' teamwork in them differs firstly, because the Buyers behave differently when discussing technical and commercial items of agenda; secondly, because the Sellers had set themselves different goals regarding technical and commercial items of agenda; and thirdly, because the Sellers all have their own area of expertise, which is reflected in the way they team up. Concerning who is to team up with whom, besides the Sellers' different need for information - as some of them represent the parent company, while others a network company of the same company group, the nature of the Sellers' relationships has a bearing on how they team up. The Sellers occasionally team up with the Buyers against their own team, the purpose there being one of control: the Sellers especially try to control their project leader, who sometimes seems keen on closing a deal at any cost. Other purposes for teamwork were the pursuit of goals, and control of interaction, e.g. trying to keep a Seller turn going. Teamwork is also used as an efficient means in order to avoid fatigue as the Sellers take turns in leading. Sometimes their reasons for teamwork are not informative but interpersonal, and reflect their personal relationships. When carrying out interactional work together with the Buyers, the participants' professional roles and their general positions within their respective companies have a bearing on who is to work together with whom across the opposing sides. Finally, the findings should be related to the stage of the negotiation process during which the Client negotiation took place.

Keywords: interactional sociolinguistics, English for Specific Purposes, Business English, business negotiations, the negotiation process, Sellers, teamwork
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1 INTRODUCTION

Language is considered an important tool in many professions, including the domain of business, where meetings and conferences have an important function in the pursuit of business missions. The ability to communicate efficiently is a vital asset in institutional settings. No-one will deny that English is an international business language. Although a great number of working Finns live in different member countries of the European Union, in Africa, in Asia, and in America as ex-patriates, doing business abroad, and although most of them study and speak the local language of the country where they have been posted, few conduct serious business negotiations in it. They prefer to use English, if they can, and some of them see English as a 'code' with no specific culture attached to it.

In the past, in discussions about what makes a sales negotiation successful, a 'stereotypical' reaction from a 'stereotypical' Finnish salesperson tended to be "a good product". In other words, no matter how bad your sales technique, if you had a good product, it would always sell, at least if the customer needed the product in question very badly. Today, however, the customer has an increasing amount of choice, and will no doubt prefer an agreeable business connection to a disagreeable one. As international business is becoming increasingly competitive, it is of vital importance to understand the key elements that influence the outcome of a business negotiation. No doubt, the merchandise is one of them, but communication is certainly another. Research in the field of Business English covers both written and oral uses of the language. The rapid expansion of international business in recent years has led to a growth of interest in Business English from practising business people, students, teachers and researchers. The type of business event which is drawing an increasing amount of attention is sales interaction, as negotiations and meetings are felt to be very challenging by non-native speakers of English. As the material under observation in the present study is an example of Business English, a brief description of the larger framework of the field of research, i.e. that of English for Specific Purposes, is given in section 1.1.

1.1 English for Specific Purposes

English for Specific Purposes (ESP) is a component of applied linguistic research, but besides applied linguistics, it draws from other disciplines, such as cross-cultural communication studies, sociology, rhetorical studies, and research in human resource management, for example (Dudley-Evans & St John 1998:17-18). The main aim of teaching ESP is to equip learners with the necessary tools for effective communication within the workplace. The whole activity rests on a needs analysis of what types of communication particular domains require, and research in the field aims at uncovering their characteristic features.
English for Specific Purposes is generally divided into two main areas: English for Occupational Purposes and English for Academic Purposes. Business English falls under the first-mentioned category, and is currently an area of great interest within ESP. However, Business English is hard to define in linguistic terms, as the language used to communicate within a company differs greatly from the language used between companies, while the language companies use to communicate with the public represents yet a third type (Pickett 1986:16). To continue the list, the language used within a company by a team negotiating a contract to build a power plant and by a team in charge of installing it could also be different. The choice of language will be affected by the purpose of the interaction, the professional relationships pertaining between participants, and the topics covered (Dudley-Evans & St John 1998:6-55).

Discourse and genre studies have a growing influence on ESP. Genre analysis can be seen as part of discourse analysis (DA), where DA is a global umbrella term. The results of applied discourse analysis help to make statements about how texts work. However, a general danger of such studies is that in considering the findings, the influence of the business context in which, for example, a negotiation takes place is ignored. Genre analysis focuses on the regularities of structure of different text types, i.e. genres. The same danger lies here, but the results of genre analysis can always be related to the relevant discourse community. A discourse community can be defined by a list of characteristics (Swales 1990:24-27), but some scholars find the view of discourse community as a 'virtual' concept (Miller 1994) more useful; it relates to how speakers producing a particular genre are affected by the expectations of that genre. Sociological considerations of the context in which a professional activity takes place should not be ignored. As knowledge about genres can be used strategically when participating in professional activities, there is tension between existent genres and the changes in business contexts which necessitate changing the models of genres (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995, Dudley-Evans & St John 1998:87-93).

1.2 Aim of the present study

The initial aim of the present study was motivated by practical concerns; the intention was to look at how Sellers sell, that is, what interactional strategies Sellers use when meeting a Client in a business negotiation, in order to transmit that knowledge into language teaching. With a polyadic negotiation consisting of two opposing sides which are represented by several participants, this proved very difficult. It soon became evident that the interactional structure of such a multi-party negotiation is very complex, and that the nature of this structure would have to be understood before insight could be gained into the interactional strategies that build upon it. Hence, the aim of the study came to be the clarification of how Sellers use the potential of working as a team in a competitive two-party Seller-Buyer negotiation. Group organisations
have been studied extensively within psychology (e.g. Stein 1975, Bradford 1978) and psychiatry (e.g. Colman & Geller 1985), and text books are published concerning, for example, when it is useful to use groups for problem-solving in business and administration (e.g. Charpentier 1979). Although such literature provides information about patterns of communication in organisations, a more detailed description of some of the linguistic features of communication within groups is provided by researchers in the field of conversation analysis (CA) (see 2.3 below). As the data of the present study concern not only a Buyer-Seller negotiation, but also a company-internal meeting of a Sales team, which gives the opportunity to inspect goal-directed speech behaviour when the goals are known, a linguistic analysis of the data is performed with the hope that it will reveal new insight into what linguistic devices a Sales team uses when pursuing goals together.

The study is based on the following working hypotheses: Firstly, the Sellers are taken to be a team. They call themselves a sales team and this is not questioned in the study. However, how coherently they behave as a team is of interest for the purpose of the study. Secondly, business discourse can be fully understood only in the light of its business context (see Charles 1994, see 2.1.1 below). The use of participant interviews for gathering information about the background of the affair in general, and the particular business relationship is deemed essential in the effort to achieve the aim of the study.

In chapter 2 the theoretical framework of the study is presented with an overview of relevant approaches and models in the field of speech behaviour in general, and business negotiations in particular. In chapter 3 the data and methodology are reviewed. Chapter 4 contains a description of the general principles of the analytical approach used (4.1). This leads to the description of the empirical analysis of the data. In chapter 5 the findings of the study are summarised with a discussion of some of the problems encountered in the analysis. Tentative directions for further research are also suggested.
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Business negotiations: concepts and approaches

2.1.1 Basic concepts

Negotiation as a term is sometimes seen as extending to all areas of social life, as human interaction is claimed to mean endless negotiation of meanings, outcomes and roles. In the context of interactionally oriented language research, meanings of utterances, their interpretations, turn-taking, code, etc. are seen as negotiable phenomena (Firth 1995; see also Goodwin & Duranti 1992, Kendon 1992, Bilmes 1992, Dore & McDermott 1982, Streek 1983, Gumperz 1982b, Fairclough 1992, Heller 1982). The word 'negotiation' with its Latin roots, 'neg otium' meaning 'not leisure', refers to business, and originally to haggling in the sale of goods in the marketplace. In its present meaning of professional language use, it embraces a wide range of issues and settings from a collective discussion in the workplace to international diplomacy (Bell 1995:42-43).

In commercial, industrial and diplomatic negotiations, negotiation activity is seen as a means of 'corporate conflict resolution' (Firth 1995:4-7). In business negotiations in particular, 'negotiation activity coalesces with the event' (Firth 1995:4-7). Their characteristic features include the fact that participants engage in them on others' behalf, and that they are arranged on the basis of pre-defined tasks, often expressed in written agendas. They may also be summarised in minutes and reports. Business negotiation commonly occurs in offices, committee rooms, and on the telephone. Thus the participants meet in an attempt to accommodate differences in interests 'in order to make mutually acceptable decisions on substantive matters' (Firth 1995:4-7). Although the matters to be covered in a negotiation are often predefined, they may be re-specified during the interaction itself, as disagreements and conflicts often arise. The participants seem to have a common understanding of what a negotiation event entails in terms of typical negotiational behaviour and an awareness of the fact that the outcome of a negotiation is dependent on their contributions. According to Firth, the discourse process as such with its implicit features also influences the outcome of a negotiation (Firth 1995:4-7,10-11).

Business professionals regard different types of communicative events as business negotiations. Firth (1991:8), in defining what counts as a negotiation and what does not, distinguishes between 'negotiation encounter' and 'negotiating activity'. He defines a negotiation encounter as a 'physically defined single-location encounter' which involves parties with conflicting wants and needs, whereas negotiating activity is defined interactionally, depending on the discourse actions of the opposing parties. They may or may not be related;
negotiating activity may occur outside a negotiation encounter, and not all negotiation encounters contain negotiating activity.

Wagner (1995:10-36) defines a negotiation in a way which unifies setting and interaction. Members of a speech community, e.g. business professionals, have tacit knowledge about how to carry out functions in order to reach goals in an event; this has been referred to by such terms as 'language game' (Wittgenstein 1958), 'activity type' (Levinson 1979) and 'speech event' (Hymes 1972) (see also Tannen 1979, Goffman 1981). The tokens of such knowledge are observable in interaction. If the participants in a negotiation make their goals explicit by verbally referring to them, and if an external observer finds the opposing parties' goals interrelated, the communicative event can be called a negotiation. Negotiating activity, i.e. 'a conversational activity in which speakers may engage when proposals are not accepted', may be part of the discourse of a negotiation, but its occurrence is not decisive as regards whether a communicative event counts as a negotiation or not (Wagner 1995:29). Charles (1994:38-39,46; 1995:172) points out the importance of seeing a negotiation encounter as one step in the process of a business relationship, rather than viewing it alone as a separate, independent entity. According to her, the outcome of a negotiation process, which consists of several negotiations, is determined by the overall business relationship rather than any one individual negotiation event.

Institutional interaction, of which business negotiations are one example, is constrained by various institutional and situational factors and inferential frames which are characteristic of particular institutions (Drew and Heritage 1992:21). Although the interactional practices in institutional settings are similar to those used in ordinary everyday conversations, the task-orientation of institutional interaction can constrain them (Heritage 1997). Institutional discourse has been found to differ from ordinary conversation because of its turn-taking system, to the extent that meetings, where the issues to be discussed are constrained by an agenda, are not considered 'conversations' (Hakulinen 1997:33). In addition, turns are often multi-unit turns in conversations which represent a genre other than that of ordinary unplanned interaction (Hakulinen 1997:54-55).

Levinson (1992:69-97) relates activity type to culturally recognised activities which are 'goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with constraints on participants, setting' and on the 'kinds of allowable contributions', e.g. a football game, a job interview, a legal interrogation. Although such events constrain participants' behaviour, participants may also shape the event through their use of language (Thomas 1995:189). Such social events range from highly formal, often fully predesigned activities, e.g. a church service, to informal activities, e.g. a chance meeting on the street. The structure of an activity involves its division into parts which may feature pre-structured sequences with norms concerning the allocation of
turns, etc. These structural elements are functionally adapted to the goal of the activity type. As there are constraints as to what counts as an allowable contribution to a particular activity, there are corresponding expectations about the functions of an utterance at a certain point in the process of the activity. Knowing what will count as allowable contributions is part of an individual's communicative competence (Hymes 1962), on the reception side of which are rules of inference which are also activity-specific. According to Levinson (1992:77-97) not all activity types are deeply cooperative; the degree of cooperation is related to the nature of the activity. He states that there could be interesting relations between Grice's (1975) maxims of quantity, quality, manner and relevance and different kinds of activities, 'of a sort where some of the maxims are selectively relaxed to varying degrees in activities of specific types' (Levinson 1992:77). Some research suggests that the genre of a conversation has a bearing on what is considered a 'preferred' contribution by the participants. For example, in a debate, an opposing argument may be preferred over a conceding statement (Berg and Mäntynen 1992:163-165, see also Halonen 1996:189). Due to the fact that common patterns and regularities have been detected in negotiations between opposing parties, irrespective of issues of dispute and context (Gulliver 1979:64-65), some researchers (Firth 1990:34) have started inspecting whether a specific 'socio-pragmatic framework for negotiations' or particular 'maxims of negotiating interaction' could be discovered.

Charles (1994:35) argues that 'the business community within which negotiations are created and used forms a discourse community', as defined by Swales (1990:24). Swales distinguishes a 'socio-rhetorical discourse community' from a 'sociolinguistic speech community' (as defined by Hymes 1962). He claims that the determinants of linguistic behaviour for a socio-rhetorical discourse community are functional, as opposed to being social for a sociolinguistic speech community. A discourse community, e.g. a business community, is made up of people who get together in order to 'pursue objectives that are prior to those of socialization and solidarity, even if these latter should consequently occur' (Charles 1994:35).

Business negotiations can involve just two participants, e.g. a Seller and a Buyer. Alternatively, opposing sides may be represented by several participants. According to Londén (1997:73), polyads have been found to differ from dyads in several ways. The discourse as a whole, as well as the structure of individual turns has been found to reflect the fact that interaction is taking place between more than two participants (Londén 1997:64). Participants are not as closely linked in a polyad as they are in a dyad, as they can remain silent over long stretches of talk (Simmel 1950). The interactional structure of a polyad is more complicated than that of a dyad such that, for instance, the conditions of coherence are different; several discoursal threads are woven together simultaneously (Linell 1990:42). There are problems in the management of a polyad which do not exist in dyadic interaction: firstly, there are problems relating to utterances that have been addressed to others or are about others (see Londén
1997:73); secondly, maintaining a single conversational arena and preventing conversational fragmentation in a polyad with more than three participants can be problematic (Parker 1984:45, Lerner 1987:166-200); thirdly, turn-taking has specific features in a polyad, e.g. turns are shorter, and overlapping beginnings are common as participants have to compete for turns (Londén 1997:73). In a polyadic conversation, where two or more participants share knowledge which is not known by all participants, teaming up becomes a possibility (Parker 1984:45, Lerner 1987:166-200, Francis 1986, Öberg 1995, Kangasharju 1998). Teamwork is not always cooperative, however, and can sometimes lead to competition about the correct version of a story, or the correctness of a piece of information (Londén 1997:71).

Asymmetry is a central feature of verbal interaction, even its prerequisite. Should there be no asymmetry regarding the knowledge the interlocutors share, there would hardly be any need to communicate, at least in an institutional context. The interesting point is whether the interlocutors orient to such asymmetry, and if they do, how it is done (Linell & Luckmann 1991:4,8).

There are different dimensions to interactional asymmetry. Institutional interaction may be governed by 'omnirelevant asymmetries between participants' in terms of, for example, participation in interaction (Drew & Heritage 1992:49). Charles (1994:246) describes how the differing rights and obligations of Sellers and Buyers are demonstrated in their discourse in her business negotiation data. According to her, such rights and obligations, like the power linked to them, are not static, but are linked to the business relationship and develop with it.

Charles (1994) found that in her data, the decisive factor influencing Buyers' and Sellers' discourse, i.e. their rhetoric, was whether their business relationship was new or old. In a new business relationship, in the 'core' part of a negotiation (macrostructural D-element, Charles 1994:202), Sellers are found to praise their company, express empathy towards Buyers' problems in the deal, generalise any problems Buyers bring up about the Sellers' company or products, and show solidarity with possible rivals. Buyers in a similar situation are seen to play down Sellers and their products, and to refer to their interest in them only tentatively. In an old, established business relationship their rhetoric changes significantly, as both Buyers and Sellers now, at least on the surface, see themselves less as two opposing sides, and more as partners solving mutual problems together (Charles 1994:201-202, Dudley-Evans & St John 1996:10-11).

Charles also launches the concept of 'professional face', as according to her result, the negotiators in her data manage their interpersonal relations differently from what would be expected in view of the politeness theory launched by Brown & Levinson (1978).
Yli-Jokiipi (1994:52-53) has found in her research on the effect of the business context on the power relationship between Sellers and Buyers that in the three different transactional stages of the buying and selling process (pre-deal, on-deal, post-deal), each stage has its own genre. Each genre is normally manifested in relevant written documents which are designed by either Sellers or Buyers. Buyers have more power in the pre-deal and post-deal stages, but in the on-deal stage Sellers and Buyers discuss such matters as payment and shipping arrangements on a more equal footing (+P). Her conclusions are summarised below (Yli-Jokiipi 1994:53):

Table 1  
Effect of the business context on power relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transactional stage</th>
<th>Situation type</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Writer role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pre-deal</td>
<td>inquiry</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>buyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>request for quotation</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>buyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>offer</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>seller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quotation</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>seller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on-deal</td>
<td>order</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>buyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acceptance of order</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>seller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shipping</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>buyer / seller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>payment arrangement</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>buyer / seller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-deal</td>
<td>reminder</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>seller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>complaint</td>
<td>+P</td>
<td>buyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjustment</td>
<td>-P</td>
<td>seller</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As clearly shown in the table above, according to Yli-Jokiipi's results, such pre-deal documents as offers reflect Buyers' power. It could be assumed that, should this be the case, the discussion concerning such documents would also show Buyers' domination.

2.1.2 Overview of main research approaches to business negotiations

There are at least three different groups of people who share an interest in business negotiations: practising business negotiators who wish to evaluate and improve their negotiation skills, students of business communication who are training to become effective negotiators, and researchers of communication, to whom business negotiations represent an interesting example of verbal communication. The interest in business negotiations of these groups reflects different motivations. The literature covering a training standpoint on business negotiations offers generalisations formed on the basis of collected and combined experiences (see e.g. Fisher & Ury 1981). It attempts to provide practical advice about how a practising or future negotiator
can achieve better results in negotiations, and thus has an economic motivation. Lampi (1986:22) points out that such work, although anecdotal in nature, influences negotiation training schemes, and thus future negotiation styles. Researchers of communication with an academic motivation attempt to go deeper: to look at business negotiations from a distance in order to conceptualise them as a specific type of verbal interaction, and to provide insight into the structural characteristics of negotiations (Ehlich & Wagner 1995:1-2, Firth 1995:7).

Most of the theories on negotiations as professional, problem-solving encounters originate in fields such as economics, game and bargaining theory (models of decision-making), political science, anthropology (methods of conflict resolution), and social psychology (variables affecting negotiators' behaviour). Firth (1995:11) divides the research into five different orientations: prescriptive (with a training perspective, see Fisher & Ury 1981), abstract, ethnographic, experimental, and discourse. Business studies have traditionally been goal-oriented with their main focus on the output of a negotiation rather than its process. Economics-based bargaining models (e.g. Zeuthen 1930, Rubin and Brown 1975) and game theories (e.g. von Neumann & Morgenstern 1944) represent the abstract orientation of negotiation research. A rationalistic view of the negotiator as a 'player' characterises game theory, the aim being reaching a theoretical framework which helps to predict the resulting outcomes of negotiating activity. The player is assumed to behave rationally according to logical principles in trying to resolve a conflict in a win-lose scenario. Bargaining models differ from game theory in that the aim is to formulate problems in real-world terms, e.g. buyer-seller bargaining, their focus being on 'mixed-motive' rather than win-lose situations. Expectations about others' behaviour, personal dispositions, and a person's rate of learning are seen as important factors influencing the situations, and they thus introduce a dynamic element into bargaining models. Game and bargaining theorists have been criticised for rigidness, as the variables influencing the situations and thus the outcomes of negotiations are predicted and determined before the activities of negotiating and bargaining begin (Firth 1995:13-14).

Ethnographically oriented negotiation research relies on field observations and post-negotiation interviews, and involves the description of cases of negotiations (Douglas 1957, Schelling 1960, Ikle 1964, Druckman 1973, Zartman 1975, Gulliver 1979, 1988, Maynard 1984, Stein 1989). Douglas, whose field-based case studies of negotiations (1957, 1962) were the first in which transcribed recordings were used, built his research on the assumption that negotiation events have generalisable similarities. They proceed through phases that are ordered and specifiable. Negotiations are seen by many researchers (e.g. Schelling 1960) as a movement towards order, where order is achieved through a jointly undertaken process of coming together. Some researchers see negotiations progressing through interaction sequences. According to Maynard (1984), the most basic sequence is the proposal - alignment/nonalignment sequence. He found that in plea bargaining negotiations, following a
proposal, the opponent has three choices: s/he can either unilaterally align herself/himself, or nonalign herself/himself, which results in one party conceding, or seek a compromise. According to Ikle's (1964) findings, the negotiator also faces a tripartite choice pattern: s/he can either accept the opponent's proposal, or discontinue negotiating without agreement, or try to improve available terms through bargaining. Similarly, according to Pruitt's (1981) Strategic Choice Model, a negotiator can aim at agreement by conceding unilaterally, or engaging in competitive behaviour, or by adopting coordination strategies. The criticism voiced about ethnographically oriented research concerns its tendency to ignore observable phenomena (Firth 1995:15-16).

Experimental negotiation research covers the study of simulated negotiations. Simulated situations enable manipulation of the research in order to study the cause and effect relationships between dependent and independent variables. Most experimental negotiation research is carried out by social psychologists, for whom negotiations are an important focus of study. Negotiations have real-world importance, as they represent a situation where a conflict between individual needs and those of a group occurs. However, a laboratory setting lacks realism, as simulated negotiations do not have a real past. In addition, important features of real-life encounters are missing, e.g. corporate responsibility and accountability (Firth 1995:16-18).

Negotiation research with a discourse orientation emerged in the 1980s with the aim of uncovering the interactional bases of negotiation activity (see Lampi 1986, Stalpers 1992, 1993, Fant 1989, Grindsted 1989, Ulijn & Gorter 1989, Firth 1991, Charles 1994, Öberg 1995; see also contributions in Grindsted & Wagner 1992; Firth 1995; Ehlich & Wagner 1995). The present study represents this orientation and analyses transcribed text in the tradition of interactional sociolinguistics. Firth divides the work into two categories, namely 'coding schemes' and 'transcript analyses'. Coding models (see Putnam and Jones 1982, Putnam and Poole 1987, Putnam and Roloff 1992 for reviews) are constructed with the view that discourse can be broken down into phases and units, e.g. Bales's model (1950), Morley and Stephenson's (1977) Conference Process Analysis (CPA), and Hopmann and Walcott's (1977) Bargaining Process Analysis (BPA). Criticism has been voiced about the attempt to use a static framework to analyse actions which are determined as the discourse emerges. Research has shown that the meanings and functions of utterances are determined by their placement in the discourse context and possibly revised by subsequent utterances. Transcript analyses of negotiation discourse have mainly been carried out by interactional sociolinguists and conversation analysts whose main interest is 'the individual's competent social membership, a membership that is accomplished interactionally through locally ordered discourse practices' (Firth 1995:18-24). The analyst concentrates on features of interaction that the participants themselves make relevant. Aspects of the discourse become describable, as participants make them salient in their management of the interactive process (Firth 1995:18-24, Wagner 1995:8).
2.2 Analysing spoken discourse: approaches and models

The aim of this chapter is to give a review of the current linguistic research which has had a bearing on the research methodology used in the present study. The analysis of discourse behaviour in interactive events features two major trends: firstly, analysing how speakers manage discourse with respect to their goals and their cultural backgrounds (e.g. Labov & Fanshel 1977, Gumperz 1982a, Schiffrin 1984, Tannen 1984), and secondly, attempting to discover rules for the management of turn-taking, closings, and corrections, often with an intent to contribute to a larger sociological theory (e.g. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974, Schenkein 1978) (see Fasold 1990:65-66).

The first trend, discourse analysis (DA) developed as a result of the interest of linguists to understand how meaning is attached to utterances. This led to the need to go beyond sentence-level syntax, and look at language in context: the relationship between language and the textual context as well as the social situation in which it is used, with new goals for research and with new terminology (Larsen-Freeman 1980:1, McCarthy 1991:5).

Most of us take part in different types of spoken interaction daily; face-to-face service encounters in shops, formal meetings at the workplace, phone calls to friends or administrators. All these situations have their own conventions, due to the different purposes and settings, which we have to follow if we wish the conversation to flow efficiently. Accordingly, we take on different roles, and for example open and close a conversation differently. A discourse analyst will try to account for these factors with a set of descriptive labels different to the ones used by grammarians. A grammarian is concerned with the formal properties of an utterance, while a discourse analyst looks at its functional properties with an interest in the purpose of an utterance (McCarthy 1991:8).

The term 'discourse analysis' does not entail a coherent set of theories. Rather, it describes the object of study, and embraces such disciplines as linguistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, literature, rhetoric, philology, speech communication, and philosophy (Tannen 1989:6-8). Although it has traditionally been seen as having language above the sentence as its object of study, structural descriptions characterise discourse at several levels of analysis and in terms of many different units, categories and schematic patterns (van Dijk 1985:4). Structural analyses also focus on the way different units function in relation to each other. However, identifying such structural constituents of discourse has often proved problematic (Schiffrin 1994:23). According to Brown and Yule (1983:1), a discourse analyst studies language use. Such a functionalist definition of discourse includes within its scope not only language use
above the sentence, but all language use, including phonological variation and sentence-sized units (Schiffrin 1994:31).

The term 'structural-functional' is sometimes used to describe the approaches within discourse analysis which share a common orientation to discourse in that they seek to describe conversation as a hierarchically organised level of language (see Eggins & Slade 1997). These approaches include those of i.a. Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), Coulthard & Montgomery (1981), Labov and Fanshell (1977), Stubbs (1983), Edmondson (1981) and Edmondson and House (1981), who all use a taxonomic approach in order to construct a model of spoken interaction (for their main underlying assumptions, see Levinson 1983:289). However, in attempting to view discourse as a series of limited sets of actions, most models of DA run into difficulties (Piirainen-Marsh 1992).

The other trend in analysing discourse behaviour in interactive events is conversation analysis (CA), which originated from the sociological research tradition. Scholars in the field study social actions constituted in and through talk, with an interest in both verbal and paralinguistic features of talk (sound quality, pauses, gaps, restarts). It provides its own terminology and way of theorising. CA-oriented research has shown that conversation is structured in a systematic way, and that the systematic structures evident in conversational behaviour are social structures which are present in everyday activities (Pomerantz & Fehr 1997:64-65, Schiffrin 1994:232, Fairclough 1989:11-12, see also Sacks 1984:21-27).

The ideology and methodology of CA have been criticised for the lack of attention paid to the external context of social institutions and societies, the reason being that the inclusion of external social or culture-specific factors is seen to tend to bias the results of the analysis. Viewing language as a 'skilled social practice existing in a social vacuum' is seen by several researchers as a serious shortcoming (Fairclough 1989:12; see also Labov & Fanshell 1977:73, and Piirainen-Marsh 1992 for a thorough critical review).

In the ethnographic approach to communication the use of language is related to social and cultural values (Fasold 1990:39). Both social and contextual constraints have been found to have a central place in the organisation of conversation, so ignoring them in the analysis of conversational behaviour would need to be carefully methodologically founded (cf. CA above, see Halliday 1961, Hymes 1964, Firth 1964 for origins of contextual study of language). According to Saville-Troike (1982:3-4):

The ethnography of communication takes language first and foremost as a socially situated cultural form, while recognizing the necessity to analyze the code itself and the cognitive processes of its speakers and hearers. To accept a lesser scope for linguistic description is to risk reducing it to triviality, and to deny any possibility of understanding how language lives in the minds and on the tongues of its users.
Ethnography of communication was launched by Hymes in the 1960s with speech community as a central concept (Hymes 1964). It refers to 'a group of people who share the same rules and patterns for what to say, and when and how to say it' (Fasold 1990:62). According to Saville-Troike (1982), people belong to several speech communities simultaneously, so speech communities should be understood as overlapping, with some of the smaller ones being included in the bigger ones, and with some being separate from others. Hymes sees context as constraining the way people speak in certain speech events, and proposes the following units of interaction as the focus of ethnographic study: situation (physical or abstract setting), participants (speakers, hearers, audience), ends (outcomes or individual goals), act sequence (form and content of messages), key (tone or manner), instrumentalities (channels, modes, forms of speech), norms (of interaction and interpretation), and genres (e.g. advertisement or lecture) (Thomas 1995:188). The data are collected by participant-observation and introspection. Participant-observation requires that the researcher attempts to find a role to play as a marginal member of the community s/he studies in order to gain an intimate feel for the group values and patterns of speech of the community. Through introspection, the researcher aims at making explicit the rules and values unconsciously absorbed in a particular community (Fasold 1990:63).

Fasold (1990:62,64) points out that ethnography of communication is sometimes criticised for the lack of interest in building a theory of human communication that would have generality over all societies. The complexity of human culture has been put forward as one possible reason for the lack of generally applicable theoretical models. The methods of participant observation and introspection are also accused of being 'insufficiently rigorous'. According to ethnographers of communication, unnatural laboratory style research would destroy the side of communication in which they are most interested. According to Nunan (1992:59), the reliability of ethnographic research can be enhanced through explicitness about the methods used in data collection and analysis.

All linguistic descriptions of conversational structure owe much to the notion of the illocutionary force of speech acts (Austin 1962, Searle 1969, 1976). Although the idea of a finite set of illocutionary acts has been found questionable, and the identification of illocutionary acts can be problematic, the illocutionary act is still considered by researchers from a range of theoretical backgrounds as the basic unit of discourse analysis (Eggin & Slade 1997:40).

In order to account for the sequential characteristics of linguistic activity, researchers have attempted to go beyond the traditional analysis of speech acts with its focus on single isolated utterances. Global speech acts, which are interpreted as a unit, explain the organisation of individual speech acts in a coherent conversation. They may be performed together by the

In the present study, discourse analysis provides the tools for inspecting the interactional structure of the data, while concepts from speech act theory are used in order to define the illocutionary point of utterances. Although DA-based taxonomic models of analysis are not unproblematic when applied to authentic conversational data, such a model has been chosen as a basis for analysis in the present study. The intention is to describe the data roughly, keeping the categories open for modification, should they require it. Conversation analysis is not reverted to as a research method, because a 'context-free' approach was not seen to suit the present negotiation material. However, some terminology is borrowed from CA when the DA-based model used as a basis, namely that of Edmondson (1981) and Edmondson and House (1981), is found insufficient for description of the present data. Conversation analysis and discourse analysis are not regarded as categorically distinct research approaches, despite their different theoretical backgrounds, although it may be useful to keep them separate for some research purposes. Rather, they are seen as complementary approaches, which, although they focus on different aspects of speech behaviour, continue to influence one another. Ethnographic information about the business affair in question has been collected throughout the present research project. It is believed that this will prevent the possible distortion of the findings that a context-omitting approach could entail. Below, the DA-based model used as a basis for the analysis is briefly reviewed.

2.2.1 Edmondson's model

In attempting to create an 'interactional grammar', Edmondson (1981), and Edmondson and House (1981), argue that global organisation of spoken interaction is describable in structural terms, similarly to syntax. In their integrative model of illocutionary functions and interactional structure, the hierarchy is represented by acts, moves, exchanges, phases, encounters, in which units of the lowest rank are defined functionally, and higher-rank units in terms of possible combinations of lower-rank units. The structure of conversational exchanges is seen to consist of minimally two interactional moves, an initiating and a satisfying move, which together produce an outcome. Should the initiating move be rejected, the rejecting move, a Contra or a Counter, will itself need to be satisfied before an outcome can be reached. The exchange structure is seen as rule-governed, as the possible combinations of moves are limited in type.

Exchanges can be linked with one another in order to produce conversational phases with subordinated pre-exchanges, pre-responding exchanges and post-exchanges. A pre-exchange is initiated by the same speaker who initiates the next head-exchange to which the outcome of the
pre-exchange is a necessary condition; hence it demonstrates the strategic use of language. With a pre-responding exchange, a speaker checks on the conditions which make a satisfying move either possible or impossible; chaining is also possible. A pre-responding exchange is embedded inside a head exchange and differs from a pre-exchange in the way it is placed. Unlike the pre-exchange, it does not occur after a satisfying move. In a post-exchange, the outcome of the previous exchange is reaffirmed, or the details of its outcome are checked on. Exchanges, both subordinated and head exchanges, can also be coordinated (Edmondson 1981:100-109; Edmondson & House 1981:42-44).

All communication requires cooperation. Comprehension in conversation involves both speakers and listeners, i.e. a speaker is expected to make herself/himself understood, while a listener should show understanding of what the speaker has just said. Should difficulties arise, hearer-supportive behaviour (see 3.3 for the cooperative principle) includes allowing the speaker to self-correct herself/himself. Thus the most common types of corrective exchange start with a check on what the speaker has either said, or is in the process of saying, with requests for confirmation, or repeat - expressed through different linguistic means, e.g. an apology with a distinctive intonation contour or an Uptaker appearing alone. Corrective work is carried out in the middle of other on-going talk as embedded exchanges (Edmondson 1981:216-217).

Edmondson (1981:7,115,129), and Edmondson and House (1981:45-46), integrate the notion of conversational strategy into their model of conversational behaviour as a means used in order to achieve goals while at the same time attending to the 'face' of participants, which is defined as the positive social value a person claims for herself/himself (Goffman 1955:319,324). They identify four distinct supportive moves, namely Grounders, Expanders, Disarmers and Sweeteners, which are not part of the basic interactional structure, but can be explained through anticipation: supportive moves are brought about by anticipation of subordinate exchange elements to which a speaker reacts before they have been produced. A Grounder gives grounds for the move it supports, a Sweetener removes a possible objection which could be taken up by the requestee, a Disarmer anticipates an offence, and an Expander gives more information.

Edmondson (1981:6,109) defines a move as the smallest element through which a conversation is developed, either through linguistic or non-linguistic means, e.g. a nod as an answer to a question like "Is it five o'clock yet?" constitutes a move. In a multiple head move, more than one illocutionary point is expressed within one interactional slot, and it is impossible to find a head move - supportive move relation between the illocutions. Thus, multiple head moves are related to conversational strategy; speakers manipulate the interactional structure in conversational behaviour in order to achieve goals (see below extract 33, lines 35, 43-45). The practice involves conventionalisation, and hence hearers use interpretative strategies through which the
strategies used by speakers may be detected within a particular language community. Chained exchanges of the same type may also be reorganised into a single exchange, but this does not necessarily involve strategic behaviour.

Table 2 below shows in a simplistic form the structure of a head-exchange in Edmondson's model. Only the initiating and satisfying moves are compulsory. Optional embedded exchanges are written in lower case. Supportive moves and illocutionary functions have been omitted: according to Edmondson, supportive moves do not enter into the structure of an exchange. The table is followed by an illustrative example. The numbers in the table refer to lines of text in the example.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
<th>Structure of a head-exchange in Edmondson's model (1981)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pre-exchange (1-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INITIATE (3) - (CONTRA / COUNTER) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pre-responding exchange (4-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>correction exchange (6-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- SATISFY (9)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>post-exchange (10-11)</td>
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</table>

Example 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lines</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A: Are you doing anything special tomorrow night?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>B: No, I don't think so.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A: Fancy going to the cinema?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>B: What film do you have in mind?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A: Häät.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>B: Sorry?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>A: Häät, you know, the film about the hoodlums in southern Ostrobothnia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>B: Oh yeah, why not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Meet you outside Andorra then.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>B: Great, see you there.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conversational phases or episodes are coherent sequences of illocutionary acts whose organisation is represented by a three-part opening-core-closing structure. Opening and closing phases are seen as featuring types of talk specifically peculiar to them, while the core of a conversation may consist of one or more of the following types of talk: small talk, business talk, patch-up talk, argumentative talk. One type of talk may be included in another, or may lead into another, and corrective work may appear anywhere. Business talk is defined as talk through which speakers orient towards a goal, a plan, or a decision which concerns the future; the goal of argumentative talk is towards agreement on a matter through the expression of
individual points of view; small talk is phatic but otherwise resembles argumentative talk; patch-up talk takes place after an offence (Edmondson & House 1981:199-200).

Hierarchical approaches to analysing conversation have been criticised for several reasons. Firstly, they are accused of prescriptiveness, of characterising exchanges as particular combinations of moves (Taylor and Cameron 1987:68-73). The hierarchical character of such models is also found inappropriate for the description of language use, which is an unpredictable form of human behaviour (Levinson 1983:294, see also Mey 1993:194-195). In view of the criticism, caution has been taken in this study in adopting a taxonomic model as a basis for analysing authentic speech material. The model has been adopted in order to form an analytical 'backbone' for the data. The categories are seen as open and may be modified when necessary, for example, in naming the illocutionary points of actions, an approximate illocutionary point is aimed at with the help of the names of standard illocutionary verbs, as several interpretations are seen as possible and are sometimes suggested (see below extract 2, line 9).
3. THE PRESENT STUDY

3.1 Data

The research corpus of the study consists of two authentic business meetings: a business negotiation (Client negotiation) between a team of businessmen who represent a Buying company (three representatives) and another team representing a Selling company (four representatives), and an internal meeting of the Selling team which preceded the Buyer-Seller negotiation by 24 hours (Sellers' internal meeting). Initially, the decision to use authentic research material in the study had a simple practical motivation: one of the prime reasons for undertaking the present study was the wish to gain experience of real business environments in order to transmit it into business language training. As the business affair to which the researcher could gain access was a Finnish-British affair, it could potentially offer an interesting view on cross-cultural communication. A further motivation for collecting authentic data from a real-life business situation with a real past was the wish to avoid the possible distortions that may arise from analysing simulated research material.

The two meetings were recorded in England in January 1996. Both lasted for approximately eight hours, and together total 16 hours of tape-recorded data. They took place within 48 hours. The researcher was present at both meetings as an observer, while tape-recording them. The participants were native speakers of British English, except for one Seller, who is a Finnish businessman with several years' experience of managing business relations in English. The second meeting, the Client negotiation, represents the main data of the study, while the first, the Sellers' internal meeting is referred to in order to gain knowledge of the Sellers' aims and intentions when preparing to meet the Buyers the following day.

After a careful inspection of the material, four extracts from the Client negotiation, covering four distinct items of agenda, were chosen for detailed linguistic analysis. They were chosen because they represent the two parts of the 'core' of the negotiation, technical and commercial. Extracts from the Sellers' internal meeting covering the same items were transcribed and inspected more generally in order to gain background information. The Client negotiation is the fifth meeting in the negotiation process between the Sellers and potential Buyers, which has so far lasted for two years. The Sellers have sent their Offer to the Buyers who now make their 'move' in the negotiation process. Both sides have clear tasks. The Buyers have called the meeting, designed its agenda, and expect answers to their questions about certain technical details concerning the Sellers' product. They also express their position concerning the commercial conditions of a potential contract as expressed in the Sellers' Offer. The Sellers are to provide the information requested in the technical part of the negotiation. In the commercial part, they can either approve the Buyers' position or express a need for further negotiation. The
Sellers enter the negotiation with a clear outcome in their minds: they are eager to close a deal. They emphasise the fact that they see the 'project' (as these complicated industrial installations, which are taylor-made to a customer's needs, are called) as a partnership and want to help the Buyers in order to get the project 'flying'. Yet, as it is clear to both Sellers and Buyers that there is incompatibility in the aims of the two parties, strategic behaviour can be expected on both sides.

The research material is authentic business negotiation material. The negotiations were recorded in England in January 1996, the first being a company-internal meeting of a Sales team and the second a meeting of the same Sales team with a Client. In spoken language, information concerning what talk is about, and how it is to be chunked, is also signalled through prosody, gesture, etc. The present data was not video-recorded, and thus offers a somewhat limited view of the character of spoken discourse. Although prosodic features have not been recorded in the transcription of the data in a detailed manner, prosody has been decisive when assigning functions to utterances in the course of the analysis.

Different data collection methods serve different research purposes. In order to avoid the potential distortions that may arise from analysing simulated research material, the decision was made to collect authentic data. However, it is recognised that although the material under focus in the present study represents real-life interaction, its naturalness may be affected by the researcher's presence and by the fact that the participants in the two meetings were aware of their conversation being taped. This may have had an effect on the type of language used. Consequently, the data provides a limited representation of the phenomenon to be examined.

Business negotiations represent 'one of the fields of verbal interaction to which it is most difficult for a non-participant, an analyst, to gain access' (Ehlich & Wagner 1995:1-2). The difficulty of obtaining permission from businesses to record authentic business negotiations has had an influence on the size of the corpus to be studied. The study is a descriptive case study in nature and cannot be used as a basis for in-depth generalisations. The tendencies revealed should, therefore, be checked in further research with larger corpuses.

In addition to the recorded conversational data, background information about the participants' ages, positions within the Selling and Buying companies, the degree of familiarity with each other (Sellers), years of service within the Selling company, etc. was obtained in an informal interview with the Sellers after the meeting. The Finnish participant also gave detailed information in a questionnaire about his experience in negotiating in English, and years of studies of the English language. Information was also collected about the background of the business relationship obtaining between the two companies and about the Finnish subject's view of the nature and successfulness of the negotiation under scrutiny. An ethnographic
approach has been maintained throughout the present study in that informal interviews have been held at regular intervals with the Finnish participant in order to check the researcher's interpretations against the views of the Sellers. Charles (1994:46) urges negotiation researchers to make use of the business context of negotiations, as, according to her, 'the outcome of the negotiating activity is determined by the overall negotiating relationship rather than any one individual negotiation event'. An overall description of the two meetings that form the data of the present study is given in sections 3.1.3 and 3.1.4. This is done according to Hymes's (1962) checklist for the description of a speech event, with inclusions suggested by Thomas (1995) for the description of Levinson's (1979) activity type. Both encounters are referred to as 'meetings', but only the Client negotiation is considered to represent a 'business negotiation' (see Wagner 1995, Firth 1995). Although the Sellers express, mainly jokingly, in their internal meeting a discrepancy in the goals of the Selling Parent Company (represented by Pekka) and the Selling Network Company (represented by other Sellers) regarding the deal, the rivalry within the company group is not taken up as an explicit topic of conversation. Such matters as the commission granted by the parent company to the network company in the potential deal are to be discussed elsewhere.

3.1.1 Subjects

The data is derived from two recorded business meetings, the first, the Sellers' internal meeting, involving five participants (excluding the researcher), four native speakers of English, who represent the UK-based Network Company of a Finnish international company, and one non-native speaker whose native language is Finnish, and who represents the Finnish Parent Company. The second meeting, the Client negotiation, involves seven participants (excluding the researcher), three of whom, the Sellers, are the same as in the first meeting, the other four representing the potential Client.

3.1.2 Recording and transcription

The two meetings were recorded in January 1996. A general written transcription was made of the two eight-hour-long meetings. After listening to the recordings, and after careful inspection of the sixteen hours of transcribed material, four extracts representing four different agenda items were chosen for detailed transcription and analysis. They were chosen on the following grounds: they are clearly identified topics of conversation in both meetings, which made it possible to observe the Sellers' behaviour in two situations. In their internal meeting, the Sellers openly discuss the problems related to the agenda items, and their intentions regarding them in the future Client negotiation. They plan for a certain mode of action concerning the agenda items of the technical part of the negotiation: they prepare answers to possible questions from the Buyers. In the commercial part of the negotiation, they plan for a more thought-out line of
argumentation as a defense to the 'take-outs', and the price reduction they entail, they expect the Buyers to be looking for.

3.1.3 Sellers' company-internal meeting

An overall description of the two meetings that form the data of the study is given below. In order to be systematic, this is done according to Hymes's (1962) checklist for the description of a speech event (see 2.1), with inclusions suggested by Thomas (1995) for the description of Levinson's (1979) activity type (see 2.1.1). Both encounters are referred to as 'meetings', but only the Client negotiation is considered to represent a 'business negotiation' (see Wagner 1995, Firth 1995).

Genre (type of speech event)
The meeting is a company-internal business meeting of a sales team.

Ends (outcome or goal)
The Selling team meets in order to up-date its Offer. The Sellers want to make sure that the Selling Parent Company and the Selling Network Company, which belong to the same company group, agree on what is going to be offered to the potential customer the next day, and at what price. They also plan strategically what to reply to possible questions from the Buyers. The Sellers express their eagerness to close a deal.

Participants (speakers, hearers, audience)
Andy 25-35 years, project manager, applications engineer, six months with the UK-based Selling Network Company
David 35-45 years, sales manager, five years with the UK-based Selling Network Company, head of Sales team, chairman of meeting, powerful
John 45-55 years, area sales manager, two years with the UK-based Selling Network Company
Pekka 40-50 years, area sales manager, project manager, five years with the Finnish Selling Parent Company, powerful
Terry 55-65 years, managing director, 25 years with the UK-based Selling Network Company, powerful
Wendy secretary
Taina linguist
Institutional participants (organisations, companies)
The Selling Parent Company, which manufactures engines and sells them to the Selling Network Company, which in turn sells them to the Buyers.

Seating arrangement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Andy</th>
<th>John</th>
<th>Terry</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pekka</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taina</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Location
The meeting took place in a conference room at the premises of the UK-based Selling Network Company in England.

Time
The meeting took place 10th January 1996, and it lasted for eight hours.

Instrumentalities (channels, modes, forms of speech)
The meeting is carried out at one location (for a brief moment in two separate rooms) as a spoken polyadic face-to-face interaction, but written documents are referred to (Specification for the project, Offer / Scope of Supply, agenda of Client negotiation). Portable telephones are used to check technical details with the Selling Parent Company in Finland.

Structure of meeting
The meeting begins slowly with participants arriving at different times. There are no introductions (except that the researcher is introduced) as the participants already know each other. There is small talk until finally the arrival of the chairman, David, gets the meeting under way. The structure of the meeting is loose and topics are re-cycled several times, although the meeting proceeds mostly according to the agenda to be followed in the Client negotiation the next day (see below). The meeting is split in two once, when Andy and David leave the room in order to discuss matters related to a possible maintenance agreement with their superior, Terry. It is also closed without much ado.
Situation (physical or abstract setting)
The Sellers' internal meeting has a clear function: up-dating the Offer to be presented to a potential customer the following day. Several written suggestions have been sent to the Buyers, and now the Sellers are checking their Scope of Supply in order to make sure that the Selling Parent Company and the Selling Network Company agree on what is to be supplied to the Buyers, and at what cost. The value of the possible contract is two million Pounds Sterling and it has been in preparation for the past two years. Pekka, the only Finnish participant, represents the interests of the Selling Parent Company. There are competitors in the field, so the deal is not yet settled.

The Finnish participant has been in touch with the personnel of the UK-based Selling Network Company during the past five years (Terry), normally at least once a month. The Finnish negotiator initiated the present meeting. No formal written agenda was designed for the meeting, but the agenda designed by the Buyers for the negotiation taking place the following day is referred to as a general framework. Terry is present at the meeting only very briefly, but he splits it up for a while in order to advise David and Andy in a separate meeting about the maintenance agreement to be offered to the Buyers by the Selling Network Company. Meanwhile Pekka and John continue working with the revision of the Offer. David will not be present in the negotiation with the customer the next day although he heads the UK-based Sales team; the Sellers want to avoid the confusion that an excess of participants could entail.

Key (tone or manner)
After the meeting, in an informal interview, the participants described it as typical of a company-internal meeting within the company group, containing 'business and fun'. There are plenty of jokes about the potential deal, about the problems involved in it, and about Buyer-Seller relations. Some of the jokes are about the relations obtaining between the Selling parent company and the Selling Network Company. Although no negotiation about, for example, the amount of commission to be had by the Selling network company in the deal takes place here, the clashing interests of the two companies occasionally give rise to ironic, even bitter statements by the British participants to Pekka. The meeting is interrupted for an hour by the whole team going out for a relaxed lunch at a local pub. Although some general work-related topics are discussed during lunch, for example changes in personnel within the company group, points about the present affair are not brought up.

Allowable contributions (see 2.1.1)
Only business-related matters are covered within the meeting. Even the topics covered during small talk phases are mostly work-oriented, e.g. flight conditions, airline comparisons, similarly to topics covered during lunch at the pub. Only at the very beginning, when just John and Pekka are present, do they talk about motorbikes, a common interest as both are intending
to buy one. The amount of commission granted to the Selling network company by the Selling parent company seems a taboo topic here, as well as parent company - network company relations within the company group.

Degree of adherence to Gricean maxims (see 2.1.1 & 3.3)
Participants talk openly about problems involved in the affair, and hence seem to be acting according to the maxims of quantity, quality, relevance and manner defined by Grice (1975) (see extracts 1, 9, 17, 32).

Degree of adherence to interpersonal maxims (see 2.1.1)
Representatives of the Selling Network Company, the 'weaker' party, jokingly threaten the 'positive face' (Brown and Levinson 1978) of Pekka, the participant who represents the Selling Parent Company, by complaining about the ample amount of profit to be gained by the Selling Parent Company in the present affair, and about the small amount of commission to be granted to the Selling Network Company.

Turn-taking and topic control
David, the head of the UK-based sales team, who chairs the meeting, controls the informal agenda of the meeting and thus the main topics to be covered. He also allocates turns to other participants by asking their opinions about the topics that are discussed. Generally speaking, turn-taking is relatively free, and topics are introduced by all participants.

3.1.4 Client negotiation

Genre (type of speech event)
The meeting is a Buyer-Seller business negotiation.

Ends (outcome or goal)
The aim of the negotiation is to give detailed information about the content of the Sellers' Offer, and its Scope of Supply. The Offer is being compared to a Model Form 1 (MF1) for conditions of engineering contracts in Great Britain. At the beginning of the negotiation, the Buyers state progress in the negotiation process as their aim. The Sellers are eager to close a deal forthwith, but they are unaware of the fact that the participants of the Buying team are not entitled to sign a deal, and this has to be done at a higher level. On the Sellers' side, the Finnish negotiator (Pekka) has the authority to do this.
Participants

Sellers

Andy  25-35 years, project manager, applications engineer, six months with the UK-based Selling Network Company.

John  45-55 years, area sales manager, two years with the UK-based Selling Network Company, leader of project, represents the UK-based Selling Network Company, powerful

Pekka  40-50 years, area sales manager, project manager, five years with the Finnish Selling Parent Company, powerful

Taina  linguist

Buyers

Geoff  45-55 years, mechanical engineer, subcontractor to the Buying Engineering Company when needed in different projects

Les  25-35 years, project engineer, interim project manager, represents parent company of the Buying Engineering Company, powerful

Mike  40-50 years, project leader, recently joined the Buying Engineering Company

Sam  40-50 years, deputy managing director, project manager, leader of the project, represents the Buying Engineering Company, powerful

Institutional participants (organisations, companies)
The Selling Parent Company, which is the manufacturer of the engines to be sold for power production, sells the engines to the Selling Network Company which then sells them to the Buyers. The Buying Engineering Company (BEC) is the contractor, and its Buying parent company the purchaser in the deal. The purchaser will also operate the future power plant.

Seating arrangement

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Location
The negotiation took place at a conference room at the Buyers' premises in England.

Time
The negotiation took place 11th January 1996, the day following the Sellers' internal meeting, at the Buyers' premises in England.

Instrumentalities (channels, modes, forms of speech)
The meeting is carried out at one location as spoken polyadic face-to-face interaction, but written documents are referred to (Specification of the project, Offer / Scope of Supply, agenda of negotiation). Portable telephones are used to check technical details at the Selling Parent Company in Finland.

Structure of meeting
The meeting is carried out according to an agenda that has been designed by the Buyers, and approved by the Sellers. It begins with introductions but is really opened only after Sam, the leader of the project on the Buyers' side, arrives slightly delayed. Sam acts as the chairman and takes care that all the items of the agenda are treated. The opening and closing rituals are carried out meticulously, and the topics that are discussed clearly mark off the different parts of the meeting. They are given below:

OPENING
CORE
  Technical part: Sellers' Offer / the extent of Sellers' Scope of Supply
  Commercial part: commercial conditions of the potential contract
CLOSING

Situation (physical or abstract setting)
The affair is a complicated industrial installation; the project consists of building a power plant. The potential Buyers are responsible for engineering the installation (Buying Engineering Company) and act as subcontractors to their own parent company (Buying Parent Company), whose representative also takes part in the Client negotiation (Les). The value of the possible contract is approximately two million Pounds Sterling and so far it has been in preparation for two years. The Buyers have not committed themselves to any supplier yet, so there are competitors in the field. The deal is to be closed soon as the Buyers are working with a tight schedule.

The Sellers have been in touch with their potential customer for two years, with five meetings altogether. The potential Buyers have visited the premises of the Selling Parent Company in Finland once. The Sellers feel somewhat irritated by the fact that the composition of the Buying
team has changed several times: yet again there will be one person present at the meeting who has joined the Buyers' company very recently and hence knows little about the present project. The meeting was initiated by the Buyers who want to react to the written versions of the Sellers' Offer they have received; now it is their turn to make a 'move' in the negotiation process.

**Key** (tone or manner)
The agenda of the meeting is run through very efficiently, and even during the breaks for coffee and lunch that interrupt it, the participants stay in the conference room. The meeting is dominated by the Buyers, with Buyer Sam chairing it. Although the two opposing sides openly disagree about some issues, especially in the commercial part of the negotiation, there is plenty of joking, with jokes mainly being initiated by the Sellers. In the technical part of the Client negotiation the Sellers appear to be 'negotiating around problems'; in Francis's terms 'manoeuvring' (Francis 1995:3). In the commercial part they are 'negotiating over problems', 'bargaining' (Francis 1995:3). The Sellers allow the Buyers' domination at this point, possibly due to the fact that the Buyers have not yet committed themselves to the deal, so deference at this stage in the negotiation process has strategic grounds (see Charles 1994).

**Allowable contributions** (see 2.1.1)
Similarly to the Sellers' internal meeting, in the Client negotiation only issues about the present affair or other general business-related matters are discussed, even during small talk phases. The Sellers' margin is a taboo topic in Buyer-Seller negotiations according to the Finnish specialist informant, and it is not even mentioned here. The Sellers certainly seem more careful about the topics they bring up and joke about in the Client negotiation when compared with their discussion of similar issues in their internal meeting.

**Degree of adherence to Gricean maxims** (see 2.1.1)
The Gricean maxims of quantity and quality seem more relaxed in the Client negotiation than in the Sellers' internal meeting. The Sellers allow themselves the liberty of giving the kind of information that serves their purposes, and only as much of it as they see fit at this stage of the project (see Firth 1990:34).

**Degree of adherence to interpersonal maxims** (see 2.1.1)
The Sellers and Buyers seem to have a different amount of interactional freedom regarding 'politeness' behaviour (Brown & Levinson 1978). Although the Sellers carefully look after their own interests, they let the Buyers' have the upper hand in the negotiation. Even in the commercial part of the Client negotiation, where they allow themselves more freedom than in the technical part, they are careful not to upset the Buyers unduly. (see Charles 1994)
**Turn-taking and topic control**

The agenda of the meeting was designed by the Buyers, as they have also called the meeting. It is their turn to make a 'move' in the negotiation process. In the course of the negotiation they react to the Offer that the Sellers have made on the basis of the Specification which contains all the details of the project. The Buyers control the meeting: they decide about main issues to be discussed and the chair, Sam, gives the floor to the Sellers for the duration of the technical part. It is mainly he, though, who decides when enough has been said on topics. The Buyers also decide when to have breaks.

### 3.2 Methodology

The research approach of the study is phenomenological, which means that a qualitative research method is adopted, coupled with an ethnographic orientation. According to the phenomenological position, the people whose activities are under scrutiny and the worlds of which they are a part are seen as co-constituted; they do not exist independently (Maykut & Morehouse 1994:3). Participant interviews form an important part of the study: they have been of invaluable importance in providing information about the background and the final conclusion of the Client negotiation. This has aided the researcher in forming a complete picture of the whole negotiation process, an understanding of which is needed in order to understand the current two meetings. Understanding what is going on in the meetings in terms of goal-oriented strategic interactional behaviour has been difficult due to the complicated technical nature of the subject matter discussed. Consultations with specialist informants (from the Selling team) have been very useful, although the information gained has been treated with caution, as participants may lack objectivity in giving their interpretations of the situation.

Within the field of linguistic research, the study adheres to the sociolinguistic tradition of language study with a discourse orientation. Sociolinguistic research is motivated by converging scientific and practical needs. It is needed 'for the sake of an adequate theory of language', which in turn contributes to an understanding of successful practice of language use (Fasold 1990:194). The aim is to identify and analyse 'the ways of speaking in a community, together with the conditions and meanings of their use' (Fasold 1990:199).

The present study thus adopts a combination of etic and emic approaches. A structural-functional description of the data is undertaken through a DA-based model with the hope that insight can be gained into the ways the Sellers use the interactional potential of teamwork in a competitive Buyer-Seller negotiation, where at least some of the goals the Sellers set out to attain are known. Background information about the situational context, such as participants' positions within respective companies, their professional roles within the present affair (e.g. project leader), the stage of the negotiation process, and thus the business relationship obtaining
between Buyers and Sellers, and Sellers' goals and motivations (cf. Sellers' internal meeting) is heavily relied on. The ethnographic orientation with participant interviews is adopted in order to strengthen the validity of interpretations; it is estimated that the difficult technical content of the data requires a technical expert's interpretation of what goes on in the meetings regarding the pursuit of the Sellers' goals. The researcher was also present in the Client negotiation and the Sellers' internal meeting as an observer while recording them. Rather than merely searching for answers to how teamwork is used from a structural point of view, the study also sets out to discover why it is used the way it is.

The data of the study differs from the research material used in other studies that have been conducted in the field (reviewed in 3.3 below). It is hoped that competitive Seller-Buyer negotiation data with reliable background information about the Sellers' real intentions will yield new insight into the way teamwork can be used strategically in order to pursue goals. The linguistic tools used in the analysis are described in more detail below (4.1).

3.3 Teamwork: points of departure for the present study

Cooperation is a necessary element in all conversation deemed to be successful. When communicating with each other, interlocuters work on the basis of 'intersubjectivity' (Schutz 1970): they assume a certain similarity in their experiences and an interchangeability of views (Hakulinen 1996:13). Grice (1975), in defining the 'cooperative principle' notes that people in general 'observe certain regularities in interaction'. In order to explain those that govern the 'generation and interpretation of conversational implicature', he proposed the maxims of quantity (informativeness), quality (truthfulness), relation (relevance) and manner (unambiguity) (Thomas 1995:63-64). Performing communicative actions is often more than issuing a single utterance. Dialogue is a dynamic, interactive achievement of conversationalists. It is the result of a collective effort, during which the participants jointly accomplish an action. The collective work manifests itself at several levels of discourse, e.g. in certain types of dialogue, a speaker's utterances are completed by listeners; a speaker may even encourage this by leaving a slot open in the interactional structure for another interlocuter to fill in. Alternatively, a speaker may carry out a verbal action on her/his own, but in doing so be strongly influenced by the feedback, both verbal and non-verbal of her/his interlocuters. She may, for example, make unplanned additions or change the illocutionary force of her/his utterance due to disapproving body language on the part of the interlocuters (Linell 1986:121-125).

Francis (1986:62-77), in his analysis of the social organisation of negotiation, has discovered that team organisation in institutional settings such as industrial negotiations 'can occasion specific kinds of negotiation sequences'. He identifies different ways of signalling membership
to a negotiating team in his data on industrial wage dispute negotiations. He describes four
different types of interactional work through which teams are realised, namely 'team passing',
'team assist', 'team takeover' and 'team movement'. Through such interactional work, team
members co-produce their party's case. Team passing involves expansion of the paired
structure of actions as a speaker to whom a turn has been addressed passes it to a co-member of
her/his team. Through team assist a speaker contributes to the utterance of a co-team member
without the intention of disrupting the structure of the sequence. In a team takeover a speaker in
producing an alternative response takes the floor from a co-team member, which may make the
utterer the recipient of any subsequent utterances from the opposing side. Team movement is
'an instance of collaborative indirect action' where co-members of a team direct their talk to one
another in the presence of an opposing party and in doing so intentionally perform an action vis-à-
vis the opposing side, but do this indirectly.

Öberg (1995:61-85), in investigating a negotiation continuum of three business meetings, found
that teamwork in her data was a successful parameter in defining at what stage in the negotiation
process negotiators found themselves. The criteria for identifying teamwork were content,
structure and proximity. The negotiation process opened with plenty of monologue and
teamwork within opposing parties, and the closer to the end of the process, i.e. the closer the
closing of a deal, the more instances of teamwork across opposing teams could be recorded.
According to Öberg her results support the findings of Donohue, Diez and Stahle (1983): the
negotiators in her data manage the three communicative dimensions in negotiations identified by
the above-mentioned researchers, namely those of argumentation, information management and
relational development, through teamwork. After the explicit business goals of a negotiation are
reached, the more implicit sub-goals are foregrounded, which is demonstrated by a gradual
transformation of teamwork within one party into teamwork across the two opposing parties.
Unfortunately, Öberg provides a scarce amount of empirical evidence for her claim, which does
not allow an in-depth consideration of the point she makes.

Kangasharju (1998:278-284), in her longitudinal study of a continuum of multi-person
administrative negotiations, found that in her data the tasks accomplished through teamwork are
the following: erroneous statements are corrected collectively, categorical stance-takings are
moderated or controlled as a team, decisions are pursued efficiently as a team, and teams are
formed in order to display solidarity which may even override other factual goals. Teaming up
is done through the resources provided by previous speakers' turns which are either repeated,
elaborated on, or completed cooperatively. She also undertakes an extensive analysis of
minimal response particles or minimal agreement tokens, which she finds carry out different
tasks depending on the sequential environment in which they are uttered: they are found to
perform different functions if they are used in order to respond to a turn by a co-member of a
team, compared with those expressed to react to a turn uttered by an interlocuter representing the
opposing team. She also found them to carry different meanings in disagreements compared with those expressed in agreements.

3.3.1 Implications of previous research

In the research reviewed above, the scholars describe the types of teamwork that could be identified in their data with the methodology provided by conversation analysis. They also detect purposes for the use of teamwork. Francis (1986) identifies four types of teamwork negotiation sequences through which speakers signal membership to their party and together produce their case in industrial wage dispute negotiations. According to Öberg (1995) teamwork is used in her business negotiation data not only to pursue participants' business goals, but also to manage their relational development. Kangasharju (1998) found that in her multi-party negotiation material, which represents a less competitive situation than Francis's and Öberg's data, alignments in disagreeing talk occur when speakers wish to moderate categorical opinions or rectify statements they find to be false. Decisions are also pursued as a team. Furthermore, she found that expressing solidarity was an important reason for a speaker to align with another in disagreements.

In the negotiation material of the present study, Sellers and Buyers need to cooperate in order to accomplish the tasks of the Client negotiation as they are defined in the agenda of the meeting. The empirical part of the study will attempt to reveal whether similar interactional work as found by the above-mentioned scholars is also found here. It will also try to uncover whether at least some of this is specific to either ‘authentic’ or ‘unauthentic’ (Linell 1990, 4.1 below) group discussions, with the data of the present study representing the latter. The aim of the present study is to try to uncover how the Sellers use the fact that they work as a team as an interactional resource when attempting, not only to complete the tasks of the Client negotiation together with the Buyers, but also to realise their ‘hidden agenda’ as described in the Sellers’ internal meeting. It is of interest to inspect where the Sellers cooperate and how. Instances of lack of team coherence will also be looked at with a focus on how, where and why such behaviour occurs. Rather than merely searching for answers to how teamwork is used from a structural point of view, the study also sets out to discover why it is used the way it is. The data of the study differs from the material used in the research reviewed above in that the Sellers' internal meeting provides information about the goals the Sellers set out to realise when facing a potential customer. It is hoped that competitive Seller-Buyer negotiation data with reliable background information about the Sellers' real intentions will yield new insight into teamwork as an interactional resource.
3.4 Research questions

The main aim of the present study is to describe the ways the Sellers use the interactional potential of negotiating as a team in a competitive Seller - Buyer negotiation (Client negotiation; see 3.1.4 for a description) in order to pursue the goals they set for themselves in their internal meeting (see 3.1.3 for a description) the previous day. Additionally, other features demonstrating the Sellers' general cooperation within their team, with the Buyers, and particularly their collaboration with the Buyers against their own team will also be observed.

Both the Selling and Buying teams are represented by several participants; there were three Sellers and four Buyers taking part. Sellers were chosen as the object of study due to the fact that access could be gained to their internal meeting. A detailed analysis is provided of four items of agenda from the Client negotiation: two from the technical part (1. engine cooling radiator, 2. engine protection system), and two from the commercial part of the negotiation (3. payment terms, 4. price). The study sets out to describe the interactional structure of the four sequences in the hope that it will reveal new insight into the strategic use of linguistic devices to pursue goals. The items were chosen on the basis of the background information that could be gained about the Sellers' goals regarding them: they all involve strategic planning in the Sellers' internal meeting, i.e. an explicit description of planned modes of action.

There are grounds for considering teamwork strategic activity in the present data. Why do Sellers and Buyers negotiate as teams in the first place? Surely companies do not fly out business people to distant lands for the sake of conviviality. According to the information gained in participant interviews, there are clear reasons for why negotiating as a team is preferred in the case of the present business affair (see 3.1.4). Although the participants consider the value of the potential deal small - the initial deal is valued at two million Pounds Sterling - potentially more orders would be forthcoming. The task at hand is demanding, so mistakes are to be avoided, and teamwork is seen as an efficient means to do just that. Negotiating alone is felt to be tiring and thus dangerous, because a tired negotiator makes mistakes easily, for example, by overlooking an important detail. Also, while one negotiator holds the floor, his team members can observe the development of the negotiation and plan ahead as they work their way together towards a desired goal.

The main research questions are: 1. What kind of Seller teamwork can be identified in Client negotiation? 2. What kind of Seller - Buyer teamwork (Sellers cooperating with Buyers) can be found in Client negotiation, with an emphasis on instances where Sellers team up with Buyers against their own team? The main aims have been broken down to the following empirical research questions:
1. Structural description of the four agenda items: is teamwork used similarly in initiations, rejections and satisfying responses in an exchange?

2. Description of illocutionary point: what types of illocution call for teamwork?

3. Do the types of goal (technical part: 'avoidance goals': 1. engine cooling radiator: avoid discussion of unwanted topic, 2. engine protection system: prevent unwanted questions; commercial part: 'achievement goals': 3. payment terms: improve terms by demanding an up-front payment, 4. price: hold present price level or increase price) the Sellers have set for themselves in their internal meeting regarding the agenda items have an influence on the amount and type of teamwork?

4. Does the part of the negotiation in which the item of agenda is embedded (technical or commercial), have an influence on the amount and type of teamwork?

5. Who teams up with whom within the Selling team and against whom from the Buying team? Do professional power-related roles have a bearing?

6. What purpose does Seller teamwork serve in relation to the goals set in the Sellers' internal meeting, and in relation to other goals, conscious or unconscious, arising from the situation?

In chapter 5, when discussing the findings of the study, the answers to these questions will be presented in the order given above.
4 EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

The results of the analysis of four items of agenda from the Client negotiation will be presented in this chapter. These agenda items were chosen as they represent the two main parts of the core of the negotiation, namely technical (1. engine cooling radiator, 2. engine protection system) and commercial (3. payment terms, 4. price; see 4.1). They were also extensively discussed in the Sellers' internal meeting, and thus detailed information could be gained about the Sellers' intentions regarding them. The focus is on the Sellers' use of teamwork as an interactional resource locally, at the level of a single move, turn (when a turn is defined as a single contribution to the on-going discussion by one or several speakers belonging to the same team, either Selling or Buying), exchange or adjacent exchanges which treat the same topic or related topics. Seller cooperation at a more global level, across several topics, and throughout the whole sequence of one agenda item, will also be considered, e.g. in connection with recycled topics. Finally, the lack of Seller teamwork is inspected.

In sections 4.2 and 4.3, I seek to identify the interactional types of teamwork resorted to by the Sellers in the light of the model of analysis presented by Edmondson (1981) and Edmondson and House (1981). Attention is also focused on the types of function (illocutionary point) expressed through teamwork. Further, an attempt is made to examine whether the part of negotiation, technical or commercial, or the type of goal the Sellers intend to realise regarding the item of agenda, have a bearing on the type and amount of teamwork. The possible influence of professional roles on how the Sellers team up is also inspected.

All of the text that makes up the four agenda items that were chosen for analysis has been analysed. This was deemed necessary as analysing isolated bits of text provided only fragmentary information about teamwork, rather than the whole picture, i.e. detailed information about the linguistic components that make up different occurrences of teamwork at the local level of a move, turn and exchange or adjacent exchanges involving one topic or related topics, and a more global level involving longer stretches of talk about or across several topics. The four items of agenda are analysed and described as they unroll. In order to present the results of the analysis, the text is given in extracts according to what seemed practical from the point of view of teamwork; if teamwork appears within one topic, that topic is presented as one extract. If several adjacent topics involve teamwork, they are given together as one extract. Sometimes, however, a new extract is introduced although the same topic continues if a new aspect of it is being introduced. Often this means that it is presented by the opposing side.

The order of presentation is as follows: firstly, a verbal description of the events in the extract to be analysed; secondly, the text extract itself with the lines of text which contribute to teamwork having been underlined; thirdly, the linguistic analysis of the extract, again with the parts
forming an occurrence of teamwork underlined (embedded exchanges are indented); fourthly, a summary of the different occurrences of teamwork in the extract. Sometimes, if general observations about teamwork are made, these are not provided as summaries after text extracts. Although minimum feedback responses are not an object of study in the research, in the analysis, the speakers who respond to an on-going topic with these recipient tokens are indicated through the use of square brackets (as opposed to main speakers who are indicated by use of ordinary brackets), as the phenomenon of backchannelling sometimes reveals information about who is going to support whom.

4.1 General principles of the analytical approach used

As pointed out in section 3.4, the main object of study is the Sellers' use of teamwork as an interactional resource. Teamwork in the present study refers to instances of cooperation where two or more speakers align their speech with what has been said before their contribution, either immediately before it or in the course of an earlier treatment of the same issue. This means either continuing with a previous topic or starting a new related, supportive topic. Other, more general forms of cooperation are also inspected (see 3.4). Additionally, the lack of team-internal coherence is considered.

The Sellers' team has three members. The Buyers' team is initially composed of four members, but Geoff, being an independent consultant, takes part only in the technical part of the Client negotiation and even there does not participate in the treatment of all issues, so the Buyers, too, are represented by only three participants in the commercial part. There is cooperation within both teams and across teams in both directions, Sellers aligning their speech with Buyers, and Buyers aligning theirs with Sellers - the latter especially in the technical part of Client negotiation. However, Seller teamwork has been chosen as the main object of study, as the information gained in the Sellers' internal meeting about the goals they attempt to realise when facing the Buyers, gives a solid background for the study of teamwork in the realisation of those goals. Sellers teaming up with Buyers is also looked at with emphasis on instances where Sellers align their speech with Buyers against their own team members. However, for practical reasons, Buyers teaming up with Sellers is not investigated, the aim being to limit the study to a manageable size.

The main data of the study, Client negotiation, comprises three main phases: 1. an opening, where the participants are introduced and the agenda of the meeting is briefly run through, 2. a core (see Edmondson & House 1981), where the points of the agenda are discussed in detail, and 3. a closing, where the participants take up necessary future actions to be undertaken in order to further the negotiation process, and finally bid farewell. The core of Client negotiation is divided into a technical part and a commercial part, according to whether the issues discussed
are technical - about the product or the power plant where the engine is to be installed, or commercial - about money. According to participant interviews, discussion about technical features typically takes place first as it has a bearing on the commercial conditions - to be discussed later. The Sellers' internal meeting, which serves as background information in the study, follows loosely the structure of Client negotiation.

Detailed analysis is carried out on four items of agenda from the Client negotiation. They were chosen on the basis of the information that could be gained in the Sellers' internal meeting about their goals (see 3.1.3), and due to the fact that they represent the two different parts of the core phase of Client negotiation (technical and commercial). They are analysed for their topical content, and their interactional structure (levels of exchange, turn and move) using the model developed by Edmondson (1981) and Edmondson and House (1981) as a starting point (see 2.2.1). The model was chosen as a tool for analysis as it emphasises the reaching of outcomes in interaction. In business negotiations, opposing parties meet in order to close a deal, or at least to proceed in the process of negotiation towards closing a deal. In order to do business, agreements have to be reached (see Wagner 1995:29).

The analysis departs from Edmondson's model when its units and terminology do not seem sufficient for description of the present data. Firstly, Edmondson's model is a model of conversation taking place between two participants, and hence a turn is defined as 'the opportunity by a speaker to "take the floor", and ... what is said during the time for which the role of the speaker is held' (Edmondson 1981:7). Linell (1990), in designing a suitable coding system for describing the interactional structure of group discussions, makes the distinction between 'authentic' ('äkta') and 'unauthentic' ('oäkta') group discussions. As regards authentic group discussions, he refers to situations where the floor can be taken freely by anyone. An unauthentic polyadic conversation refers to conversations with a more complicated participation framework, e.g. a Seller-Buyer negotiation, where two opposing companies are represented by several participants. Such discourse represents a dyadically organised group discussion, as participants belonging to the same team act as spokespersons for the same company, and at least mostly attempt to speak 'with one voice'. Thus, Edmondson's model was deemed suitable as a tool of analysis with slight modifications to the definitions of some of the categories used. They are described below.

In analysing the present data, a turn is defined as a single contribution to the on-going discussion by one or several speakers belonging to the same team, either the Selling or Buying team. A change of turn is then realised when the opposing team takes the floor. According to Edmondson (1981) and Edmondson and House (1981), supportive moves are within-turn moves which do not enter into the basic interactional structure of an exchange. In the data of the present study a supportive move to a head move can be produced even by another speaker as
long as he belongs to the same team. Regarding illocutionary functions of utterances, rather than use tightly defined categories, an approximate illocutionary point for utterances is given, using English illocutionary verbs, with sometimes an alternative interpretation, if no single illocutionary point can be decided on.

A basic structural analysis (initiate - (reject) - satisfy) has been conducted of the moves which make up the exchanges. Moves such as Contra and Counter (Edmonston & House 1981) have been replaced by a general term 'reject' for a move which responds to an initiation but does not satisfy it. Identification of moves and exchanges proved sometimes difficult on the basis of the chosen model. Eggins and Slade (1997) give grammatical criteria for their recognition, which were helpful in the analysis, although the authors apply them to the study of casual conversation. They refer to Martin's (1992:40) definition of a move as 'a clause which selects independently for mood' (declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamative). Hence, clauses which 'take the mood of a clause to which they are linked' generally do not function as separate moves, the most common reason being that such a clause is grammatically dependent upon or subordinated to a main clause. According to Eggins & Slade (1997:187-188), the following three combinations of clauses often constitute a single move:

a/ Dependent clauses and the main clause on which they depend...
b/ Embedded clauses... a clause operating within another clause, e.g. as a post-modification...
c/ Quoting or reporting clauses, both direct and indirect. Where one clause involves a verb of thinking or saying and the next or previous clause includes what was said or thought, the two function together as a single move, as again such clauses are grammatically dependent.

Eggins and Slade (1997:188) argue further that prosodic criteria must be included in identifying moves, as rhythm and intonation interact with grammatical structures in order to signal move boundaries. In defining the conversational exchange, they state (1997:222) that

An exchange can be defined as a sequence of moves concerned with negotiating a proposition stated or implied in an initiating move. An exchange can be identified as beginning with an opening move, and continuing until another opening move occurs. The general structure of the conversational exchange is therefore one opening move followed by all related continuing and sustaining moves.

The interactional structure of the agenda items has been analysed on a general level; getting a general picture of it has been considered sufficient for the attainment of the objectives of the study. Hence, some minor exchanges have been omitted from the analysis. Similarly, not all embedded exchanges have been identified. The largest unit in the detailed interactional analysis is one agenda item. The exchanges under one topic are looked at together as one extract if this seems practical from the point of view of teamwork. Exchanges are numbered topically; a new topic is given a new number. They have been classified for their hierarchical structure only if they are adjacent; if a topic is recycled at a later stage, the exchange is given a new number
instead of the number the same topic carried earlier. Also, a new subordinate initiating move has been given a new number for the sake of clarity, even if it does not form a complete exchange, i.e. no satisfying move is forthcoming. Some terminology has been adopted from conversation analysis (CA) (e.g. insertion exchange) in cases where a suitable term could not be found for the description of the present data in the model of analysis used.

Table 3 below shows the focus of analysis in the Client negotiation. The Sellers' internal meeting is shown in parentheses, as it serves as background information to the extracts that have been chosen for analysis from the Client negotiation. The four extracts represent the two main parts of the core of the meeting, the technical and the commercial. The area sectioned off by a dotted line in the table gives the names of the agenda items that have undergone systematic linguistic analysis at the levels of topic, exchange, turn and move.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negotiation encounter:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Client negotiation</td>
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<td>(Sellers' internal meeting: background information)</td>
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**Part of core of meeting:**

A. technical

B. commercial

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item of agenda</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. 1. engine cooling radiator</td>
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<td>2. engine protection system</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. 3. payment terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Move</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Client negotiation was initiated by the Buyers, and the agenda was drawn up by them, it is understandable that they introduce most of the topics (see Yli-Jokipii 1994:53; see 2.1.1).
When the Sellers introduce topics, they are mostly produced as reactions to the Buyers' topics. In topic identification, considerations of content are emphasised rather than form; for example pronominal reference is not reliable for identifying topics in connection with the present data, as speakers refer to written documents while speaking (Scope of Supply, Offer, Model Form 1 for engineering contracts) and use, for example, demonstrative pronouns to refer to a new topic as they simultaneously point it out on a technical drawing (i.e. exophoric references). A typical feature of the present data is that the agenda of the meeting supplies general topic frameworks which are fixed beforehand, and topics related to them are developed in the process of talking. Some elements of such speakers' topics do not become topics of conversation as they are not taken up by other participants (see Brown and Yule 1983:88, Shuy 1993).

4.2 Technical part of Client negotiation

The technical part of the Client negotiation takes place before the commercial part as it influences the latter. In the present data, the technical part is lengthy and takes up most of the time of the eight-hour-long negotiation. The main issues covered here are scope of the Sellers' supply, technical questions, and programme of project (timetable). It consists of Sellers presenting their Scope of Supply to Buyers, as Buyer Sam, project leader on the Buyers' side has assigned the task to Seller John, who acts in the equivalent role on the Sellers' side. John leads the discussion, and according to participant interviews, it is expected of other team members that they let the project leader lead, and follow his line unless there is a particular reason not to do so.

Although John leads the discussion by introducing agenda items, the Buyers seem to have the upper hand here: an item of agenda and the topics that come under it are discussed as long as the Buyers want, and the Sellers accommodate. Buyers, for example, allow themselves to interrupt Sellers in order to continue discussion about an issue that they do not consider closed. Sellers do not interrupt Buyers in the technical part of the Client negotiation. The Sellers' lead also often changes to Buyers leading the discussion as they start 'bombarding' the Sellers with detailed technical questions about the Sellers' product. At this stage in the negotiation process, and during the technical part of the present negotiation, it seems that such submissive behaviour is expected of them (Charles 1994, see 2.1.1). However, they have more indirect ways of influencing the progress of the meeting. As their main aim regarding the structure of the negotiation is to prolong the technical part, so that the Buyers will have as little time as possible for discussing 'take-outs' and their influence on general price level, they produce lengthy elaborations about technical details in order to push the threatening item of agenda, namely, price to the very end of the meeting. Teamwork is a useful tool there as Sellers can hold the floor efficiently through it. Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.3 present the two individual items of agenda that were chosen for detailed analysis from the technical part of the Client negotiation. Analysis
of the use of teamwork in the technical part of the Client negotiation is summarised in sections 4.2.2, 4.2.4 and 4.2.5.

4.2.1 Engine cooling radiator

Sellers' internal meeting

As a starting point for the analysis, let us first look at how the Sellers plan to treat the agenda item *engine cooling radiator* when they are to face their potential customers the next day. The issue is extensively discussed in the Sellers' internal meeting (extract 1 below), which took place 24 hours before the Client negotiation. The Sellers have not been able to make final decisions concerning the design of an appropriate cooling apparatus for the engine, as the Buyers have not provided them with necessary technical details about the circumstances in which the engine is to be used, regarding, for example, noise requirements (extract 1, lines 119-123 and 132-140). The Sellers also foresee another problem: there might be a shortage of space as the Buyers have planned to have a parking lot near to where the cooling radiator is to be placed. It is possible that the Sellers' cooling equipment will not fit there (extract 1, lines 10-14). The Sellers opt for an avoidance strategy; they do not want to discuss the matter yet (extract 1, lines 1-9).

The Sellers' internal meeting serves several ends: besides planning a strategy for how to present issues to the Buyers, the Sellers also need to be able to see eye to eye in order to be convincing when facing their potential customers. Here is how they do it. The extract below is long, but it is provided almost in full in order to avoid the potential confusion caused by presenting isolated fragments as examples. It also allows the reader to get a picture of the type of strategic planning that takes place in the Sellers' internal meeting. To facilitate reading, the lines containing the most important information have been written in bold.

Extract 1: Sellers' internal meeting, technical part, "engine cooling radiator"

SELLERS: Pekka (SP), David (SD), John (SJ), Andy (SA)

1      SD    have they seen have 've AHS got any indication of this sizing now * I would suggest then  
2      SJ    tomorrow you don't even m-mention it if they ask for the size of the radiator   
3      SD    no  
4      SJ    er we don't have it  
5      SJ    we need to check [it   
6      SP    yeah]  
7      SD    yeah * because that (will) just blow our credibility  
8      SP    yeah  
9      SD    it's outrageous ***  

... (part of discussion has been omitted)

10     SD    have you has Pekka seen that layout drawing that (settled) part of the layout drawing  
11     SA    he's seen that one that's sent (routine)
just pull that out because there is er a restriction on space available on this
side * so the size of the radiators is gonna be a * a big consideration ** here we
have * the proposed er engine * block (-) of power house

(part of discussion has been omitted)

do we also have somewhere in all of this um a definite statement on noise
requirement
ye- yeah we have if you go to the
I don't need it but
[yeah
obviously] the radiator will have to be designed to * [cater
(but it)]
for that [but (actually)
can't can't be that bad] 'cause I mean we're right next to the airport so I wouldn't 've thought
noise is [(-- concern) (--)]
the only requirement that it] has to be inside the building below [85
(of course)]
and we have a er deviation [from that
that's what] (I've said on) (-- * we've told them here the noise level of diesel's more than 85 in
the in the housing * which they've asked for
(you said it's)
we said it's 105 and cannot be reduced * the reduction should be made by thickening the walls of
buildings or something
yeah * but is there an outside noise requirement because it'll be next to the sea you get all sorts
of strange effects with the noise bouncing off the
an' the waves crashing
as far as I understood there isn't n- any * noise limitations
as Andy
er [th-there is things on noise
pointed out it's next] to the airport * perhaps it's not so important
there is noise
this is] running 24 [hours a day
okay this is the er [there is this er
(airport) (--)]
in and out
night time
inside and outside
(south) this is the airport 'cause it's prob- i-it's probably * impossible to do a noise survey 'cause
you'd have to do it noise survey over 24 hours * and now (--)] [(because there's gonna be)
[airplanes coming
(it sui-) it suited me with the night line) perhaps the price (--)]
ok okay it all depends I can't see it being much of a (-) really when we're near an airport but all
being well we should have quite a reasonable noise (-) * but
if you ask for 85 in the engine room it doesn't (-) well ha ha
that would be mighty nice for (-) operators (--]) it's quiet * 'cause people are gonna be working
in there all day every day **
not in the engine room it's it's separated it's a separate control [room
well]
it's a separate work[(shop)
noise within the building to 85 dBa and outside to 75
well uh (AMAZED)
75 you were [saying
oh]
Andy (LAUGHS)
so it's no problem for us
yeah that's no problem
75
oh that's [that's all right
outside where]
outside where * we'll go take the measurements er in England because [(--)
[that's a (-) design (--)]
but we can do the measurements in Finland
yeah stand on the coast of Liverpool and point it (LAUGHS) no I can't (hear any noise over
there)
let's just see if it's most specific *
75 because it's er [it
(-)]
may be difficult if it's measured in certain points where you have the * air inlet or something or
mm
just above the r- cooling radiators
well now the I mean the thing to quote is 75 dBA in free (-) conditions and then we (-) well
you're not (-) conditions we can't measure there ha
I would think by this stage there's somewhere a clear statement on * noise
mm
but anyway if it's said like that i- it's 75 it's er it means that it can't be a
problem * whatever it happens to be *
(no)
[it]
that's [showing
I wouldn't]
that they haven't (really) concentrated on it
I wouldn't be so bold if it's 75 at one metre from * any of our equipment * i-
it's at least a consideration isn't it *
75 I mean that that [(--)]
(at) 70 75 dBAS * 75 dBA at what
yeah at 1 metre from
I would no at what it doesn't say * (it will be at) (--) (from anywhere)
well no
well that's my point it doesn't say
[yeah]
it actually could be * if it is for example at 1 metre then it's a
consideration
yeah
isn't [it
yeah]
it's a consideration at 3
but you know er [then it's only
(yeah)]
a question of
I just add that this 75 at 3 is a European standard for for this * this type of equipment I believe
mhhm
so maybe that's what they're playing at 75 at [3
but you know] * then it's also a question that they can't measure it * outside one metre outside
the building because we are not supplying the building * they should in you know have noise
insulation in the building
what is this
it's only in the r- the cooling radiators and perhaps the air intake and
mm
if we are supplying the noise attenuation
the radiator's the big impact

... (part of discussion has been omitted)
well we need to know their external noise requirement before you confirm the
radiator design an' price
yeah *
so we can't give them the size yet
yeah * because the noise requirement has a huge impact on size
yeah (we know) *
and also we have to fix what's the [er highest temperature we have to be able
they're they're gonna ask (-) what noise do we get from that one]
to run with full power ** because I've I've understood there isn't any * fixed er you know er
temperature where * when we are able to * run with full power * when we should able to be
As extract 1 shows, the Sellers still have disagreeing views here about how much noise their equipment causes (extract 1, lines 81-123). The Sellers openly express their discontent about not having received all the necessary information from the Buyers (extract 1, lines 81, 96-98, 132-140). The issue is to be taken up with the Buyers in the Client negotiation, but there it is done differently. The item of agenda is closed with an ironic joke about the general unprofessionalism of professional meetings. This type of ironic joking is typical of the Sellers' talk in their internal meeting. However, such a style of joking does not take place in the Client negotiation.

Let us now look at how the Sellers' plans regarding the *engine cooling radiator* become realised in the Client negotiation (extracts 2-8).

**Client negotiation**

In the Client negotiation, the Sellers change their style of speaking. They discuss some issues more tentatively than they do in the Sellers' internal meeting, for example when complaining about the missing information on noise requirements, the topic is introduced with a hedge (see below extract 5, line 113). Some issues are not taken up at all here: the Sellers do not discuss any weaknesses in their product, nor their intentions when facing the Buyers. Their goal of not yet discussing the size of the cooling radiator as planned in their internal meeting, is realised by denying knowledge of the size, coupled with taking up defensive topics which have a bearing on the design of the system. When the Buyers recycle the topic, the Sellers finally agree to provide the necessary information, but implicitly put the blame on the Buyers for the present state of
affairs; they cannot provide the necessary information about the size, as information about noise requirements and ambient temperature conditions is missing from the Buyers.

A detailed analysis of Sellers' interactional behaviour with a focus on its cooperative aspect and the lack of it during the discussion of agenda item *engine cooling radiator* in the Client negotiation is given below (extracts 2-8). The whole item of agenda has been analysed (cf. 4.1 regarding presentation). The text to be analysed is given first with a verbal description about the events in the extract; then a linguistic analysis of the structure and functions of utterances (the analysis in extract 2 begins at line 6, as this is where the Buyers take up the Sellers' introduction of a new item of agenda), with the relevant lines of speech and parts of analysis underlined. Finally, a summary of the use of teamwork is provided after each of the four items of agenda analysed in the study.

The agenda item *engine cooling radiator* consists of seven topics (three Buyer-initiated topics and four Seller-initiated topics), of which three are recycled (two by Buyers, one by Sellers). For the sake of clarity, the basic interactional structure of the sequence with main exchanges and illocutionary points (supportive moves, embedded pre-exchanges, pre-responding exchanges and post-exchanges have been omitted) is given in section 4.2.2. The summary is useful in helping to get a general picture of the whole item of agenda; for example, it clearly shows Buyers' domination - they act in the role of 'questioner', while the Sellers have the role of 'respondent'. It may be useful for the reader to refer to it while reading through the detailed analysis of different realisations of teamwork in the sequence in order to not 'lose sight of the woods for the trees'.

The agenda item *engine cooling radiator* is introduced by Buyer John who has some difficulty in getting it established as Buyer Sam keeps talking about a previous topic. Buyer Les finally takes up John's introduction with a question about the issue the Sellers have planned to avoid answering, namely, the size of the radiator. Seller John tries to avoid it by changing the subject: he answers Les's question very quickly with almost a whisper as he denies knowledge of the size, and then rushes on to produce a reaction to a post-exchange Buyer Sam has just started about a previous topic. John acts as planned by denying knowledge of the size of the system. However, he does it in such an abrupt manner, that Seller Pekka feels the need to take the floor. He produces a comment about the necessity to first discuss matters which have a bearing on the size of the radiator, and thus introduces a Seller-interest topic.
Extract 2: Client negotiation, technical part, engine cooling radiator

SELLERS: John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Les (BL), Mike (BM)

TOPICS: size of engine cooling radiator, temperature criteria

1. SJ  so we've got a cooling radiator in
2. BS  we've got to watch we've got to watch the cranes in doing that
3. BM  mm
4. BS  I think it might be possible *
5. SJ  the cooling radiator's down in the (-) an' (---) all the heat
6. BL  right what size is is the cooling radiator for the engine
7. SJ  mm I don't know we could tie that with double heads couldn't we
8. BS  it's [here
9. SP  yeah] we we have to discuss about the * also about the er temperatures when the
10.   engine has to be able to run
11. BL  yeah
12. BM  mm-hm
13. SP  an' what's the let's say the highest temperature [in the
14. BMW  right]
15. SP  summertime
16. BM  yeah
17. SP  and er which we should which the engine should give the full power
18. BL  [right
19. BM  right] yeah

Analysis of extract 2 (lines 6-19)

**TOPIC: size of cooling radiator**
Exchange 1: initiate - reject
6 REQUEST for information {about size of system} (BL)
7 NON-COMPLIANCE (denies knowledge) (SJ)
7 post-exchange (to a previous topic sequence) (SJ)
2 TOPIC: temperature criteria
Exchange 1.1: initiate - satisfy
9 INFORM {of necessity to discuss temperature criteria} / COUNTER-REQUEST for information (future
17 action) (SP)
18-19 ACCEPT (future action) (BL, BM)

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 7+9-17
Topic: size of cooling radiator & temperature criteria
Type: non-compliance + counter-request for information
Purpose: John responds clumsily, Pekka takes over in order to continue Sellers' turn
Who talks: Sellers John and Pekka
To whom: Buyer Les (and Mike)

Buyer Les acknowledges the fact that the technical details which have a bearing on the design of the radiator will have to be discussed, but he does not react by providing the requested information. It is most likely that he does not know the exact figures at this stage of the project. He does act cooperatively, though, by continuing the topic Pekka has introduced, and produces a counter-request for information about the temperature conditions required in the Sellers'
engine. Seller Pekka starts providing this information, but does it in rather a longwinded manner, which leads to Buyer Les interrupting him with a clarification question (extract 3, line 31). Here Seller Andy takes the floor and answers Buyer Les on Pekka's behalf. The rest of the topic sequence is carried out with a series of short requests for confirmation or clarification which seems a more efficient way of getting information from Seller Pekka who has resumed his turn-at-talk (extract 3, line 41).

Extract 3: Client negotiation, technical part, engine cooling radiator

SELLERS: Pekka (SP), Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Les (BL), Geoff (BG)

TOPIC: temperature criteria

20 BL what's] what's (the) minimum cooling water temperature which you need * f- for
21 SP lube oil cooling or
22 BL I think it's for the er if we want to have the full power without derating it's er the
23 SP turbo charger second phase
24 SP okay
25 SP it's something like er the water must be 35 or 40
26 SJ yeah
27 SP so it means * ten degrees temperature difference
28 BM yes
29 SP it has to be 25 30 * so if we are having a tem- er let's say the er ambient
30 BL temperature's above 30 then er we have to derate [a-
31 SA s- so] the cooling water needs to be at 35
32 SA no the co- that's what the oil needs to be [at so
33 BL okay]
34 SA you need] [(--]
35 SA you're looking around
36 SA (--)]
37 BG 25
38 SA 25
39 SP yeah
40 BL 25
41 SP yeah
42 BL maximum
43 SP yeah okay we can go higher but then it's er always more costly
44 BL mm-[hm
45 SP let's] say if we're able to have 25 an' then derate the engine if it's
46 BL [mm-hm
47 SP during] the summertime if you absolutely need to run an'
48 BM mm
49 SP then we're able to derate an' keep the price of the radiators
50 BL okay co- could I ask [(---)

Analysis of extract 3

TOPIC: temperature criteria
Exchange 2: initiate - satisfy
20-21 REQUEST for information {about temperature of lube oil cooling} (BL)
22 INFORM (SP) [BL, BM] [SJ]
32 corrective exchange: REQUEST for clarification {about cooling water temperature} (BL)
32 REJECT (SA) [BL]
The Buyers continue by taking up the possibility of an alternative cooling system, which Seller John first indirectly rejects. He is ready to consider such a system, though, with alternative cooling water, and is supported by Seller Pekka (extract 4, lines 63-65). Buyer Mike rejects the Sellers' proposal, however, and is supported by Buyer Geoff who provides grounding for it. Seller Andy accepts Geoff's Grounder by expanding on it, and thus turns against his own team (Seller John). Seller Pekka elaborates on why sea water is normally a feasible solution. Throughout this Seller John remains silent. He starts giving lishternship cues only after a team-internal consultation where the negotiation is split up into two separate dyads (extract 4, lines 82-87); both Sellers and Buyers hold a short team consultation, from which the Buyers emerge with yet another rejection of Seller John's proposal (extract 4, lines 88-92). Having been deserted by co-team member Andy, and facing even Pekka's hesitant acceptance of the Buyers' rejection (extract 4, lines 73-80), John has no option but to give in, which he does together with Pekka. Thus the speakers who initiated the proposal also accept their defeat together.

Extract 4: Client negotiation, technical part, engine cooling radiator

SELLERS: John (SJ), Pekka (SP), Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Les (BL), Mike (BM), Geoff (BG), Sam (BS)

TOPICS: evaporative cooling system, sea water for evaporative cooling

59    BL    would it be possible to use an evaporative type cooling system a small
60    evap          type cooling [system
61    SJ    you'd use a lot of water ** that's the only thing * the other alternative we thought
62    about was sea water
63    SP    [that
64    BM    [no]
65    SP    could be the best way (an' the cheapest)
66    SJ    you can't
67    BM    [it's a bit
68    BG    [(-)
69    BL    no if we] * if we had [an evaporative
you'd have problems with the return temperatures
maybe yeah yeah yeah would go up (to) six degrees say
they would go up six
because er normally you take or all the heat to the space heating an' an' [to the
mm-hm]
steam system
yeah
[so it's more or less having or something like
[(-)]
[(-)]
less than a megawatt
yeah
(SA & SJ AND BM & BG SPEAK SIMULTANEOUSLY)
[(-)]
[(-)]
Yeah (fit was (---)
we're looking for a self-contained flow of * we're not looking for a secondary
cooling system involving sea water (---)
mum
okay
air cooling of one sort or another for excess heat
yeah

Analysis of extract 4

**TOPIC: evaporative cooling system**
Exchange 3: initiate - reject
PROPOSE {evaporative cooling system} (BL)
REJECT / INFORM {of excessive use of water} (SJ)
**TOPIC: sea water for evaporative cooling**
Exchange 3.1: initiate - reject - satisfy
PROPOSE {to use sea water} (SJ)
Expander, INFORM (SP)
REJECT (BM)
corrective exchange: REQUEST for confirmation (SJ)
CONFIRM (incomplete) (BM)
(?) (incomplete as interrupted by Geoff) (BL)
Grounder: INFORM {of difficulties} (BG)
ACCEPT (accept Geoff's Grounder) (SA)
Expander: INFORM {of figures} (supports BG's Grounder) (SA)
Expander: INFORM {of figures} (repeat) (BG)
INFORM {of temperatures in connection with space heating} (SP) [BL, BM]
eMBEDDED TEAM EXCHANGES:
(Sellers and Buyers discuss the issue among themselves)
(team consultation) (mostly inaudible)
REJECT / INFORM {sea water is not acceptable} (BM) [SJ]
ACCEPT {sea water is not a solution} (SJ, SP)

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 61-62+63-65
Topic: sea water for evaporative cooling
Type: a supportive move to a head move which initiates a proposal
Purpose: pursue a goal: 'sell them sea water' as stated in Sellers' internal meeting
Who talks: Seller John initiates, Pekka supports
To whom: Buyer Les
Summary of Sellers teaming up with Buyers against their own team

Location: lines 64+70+71 (+73-80)
Topic: sea water for evaporative cooling
Type: Buyers' rejecting move + Sellers' preliminary accepting move + supportive moves to Buyers' rejecting move to co-member's proposal
Purpose: control activities of co-members of Selling team
To whom: Seller John

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 82-87
Topic: sea water for evaporative cooling
Type: embedded team consultation
Purpose: restore team-internal harmony
Who talks: Sellers Andy and John

The Sellers avoided answering the Buyers' question about the size of their cooling system in exchanges 1 and 1.1, but the Buyers insist. The matter of the size of the Sellers' cooling system is important to them, so Buyer Les repeats his request for information about the size of the radiator, this time as a future action to be undertaken by the Sellers. Here Sellers Pekka and John accept the matter together (extract 5, lines 99-100). The Sellers work together here locally (within an exchange or across adjacent linked exchanges) and globally (throughout the whole item of agenda, and when a topic is recycled). When the Buyers inquire about the size of the Sellers' radiator, a topic which is threatening to the Sellers as there could be a problem trying to fit the Sellers' system to the place assigned for cooling in the Buyers' power plant, the Sellers try to avoid discussing it at this stage in the negotiation process, and emphasise the importance of the issues which have a bearing on the design of the system, through producing their own topics as counter-requests for information. When Buyer Les asks about the size of the system for the first time, Seller John tries to ignore it, and Pekka helps him out by 'counter-attacking' (extract 2, lines 7-17). When Les later repeats the issue, Sellers Pekka and John act together in accepting the need to check the size of their system and to inform the Buyers of it (extract 5, lines 99-100). There is continuity in teamwork; John and Pekka reacted initially to the Buyers' initiation together, and the same team holds until the matter is closed.
After Sellers Pekka and John have accepted Buyer Les's request for information, Seller Andy produces a counter-request for information - he repeats Pekka's action in exchange 1.1. He is implying that the Buyers will first have to provide the Sellers with the information they need for the design of the cooling apparatus, before the Sellers can provide the Buyers with details about the size of the system. Seller teamwork in extract 5 seems to serve a 'fighting' purpose: when one Seller gives in, another member of the team 'attacks'. This is the only time in the course of the present agenda item when all three Sellers cooperate at the local level; this could be due to the gravity of the matter.

Buyer Les rejects Seller Andy's counter-request for information (extract 5, line 108), which is immediately rejected by Sellers Andy and John together (extract 5, lines 111-112). The reason for teaming up here could be solidarity and/or the need to be persuasive. John's rejection overlaps with Andy's speech and John also continues to hold the floor with a supportive move and a complaint about a missing data sheet. He prepared for this in the Sellers' internal meeting (extract 5, lines 132-139).

Buyer Sam attempts to reject the Sellers' complaint but Seller John counter-attacks by repeating it (extract 5, line 125). Sam is put in a difficult position in which he tries to defend himself with a justification which seems irrelevant. Nevertheless, John accepts it and forgives. However, his team is not willing to let the Buyers off the hook so easily; Seller Pekka reminds the Buyers of the necessity to provide the requested information before the Sellers can decide about engine type and appropriate cooling apparatus.

Seller teamwork is functional over larger chunks of talk in extracts 2 and 5. When Buyer Les asks about the size of the cooling system for the first time, it is Seller Pekka who counter-reacts with a request for information about the technical details which have a bearing on the design of the system (extract 2, lines 9-17). When Les later repeats his request, it is Seller Andy who requests the same information from the Buyers (extract 5, lines 101-107). As there is still no exact information forthcoming from the Buyers, Seller Pekka repeats yet again that the Sellers need to know the requested details (extract 5, lines 131-143).

Extract 5: Client negotiation, technical part, engine cooling radiator

SELLERS: John (SJ), Pekka (SP), Andy (SA)  
BUYERS: Les (BL), Sam (BS)  

TOPICS: size of cooling radiator (re-cycled), temperature criteria (re-cycled), noise criteria, missing data sheet

94 BL I think we need to check the size [of the  
95 BM mm]  
96 BL of this radiator it could [be  
97 SJ yeah]
98  BL   substantial and er it could be quite an issue as well
99  SP   [yeah
100 SJ   yeah]
101 SA   well that the- these two questions they're really that that you you've raised
102       yourself is the size depends on [noise
103 BL   yes]
104 SA   criteria so so what is the noise criteria an' also what designed temperatures does
105       the radiator need to [be
106 SL   yeah]
107 SA   designed to operate at
108 BL   well there's a Spec (-) since 72 dBA at 1 metre
109 BM   yes
110 SA   mm well
111 SJ   no it [doesn't
112 SA   it doesn't ha
113 SJ   I the the thing I w- I meant to raise is when we got the original Spec from PEL *
114       er first the data sheets which we never received * there's reference to noise in
115       there of 85 an' 75 85 in the buildings
116 BM   mm
117 SJ   but it doesn't tell you where you measure it you know
118 BL   okay
119 SJ   is it outside is it a metre from the chimney or [(-
120 BS   well] (-) it's quite clear here auxiliary equipment within the powerhouse 85 dBA at
121       one metre
122 SJ   mm-hm
123 BS   excluding the engine location (it says) * aux- auxiliary equipment outside the
124       building 75 dBA at one metre
125 SJ   well we've not had that
126 BS   no
127 SA   [[LAUGHS]]
128 BS   but i- it's] our (-) design that Shorts have accepted
129 SJ   all right [well that's what we need to know ha ha
130       (LAUGHTER)]
131 SP   but anyway the the size of the radiator is
132 BS   [sound level at one metre from the building that's the 75
133 SP   you know let's say] the biggest influence is the er
134 BS   (-)
135 SP   outside temperature
136 BL   yeah
137 SP   what we the (-) temperature and the noise
138 BL   mm-hm
139 SP   whether the (amplitude) is 1500 rpm
140 BL   okay
141 SP   lower or do we have to go to really low
142 BL   yeah [well
143 SP   speeds]

Analysis of extract 5

**TOPIC:** size of engine cooling radiator (recycled)

Exchange 4: re-initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for information (about size of cooling system) (future action) (repeated) (BL)
Grounder (BL) [BM] [SJ]

99-100 ACCEPT' (future action to check the size of cooling radiator) (SP, SJ)

**TOPIC:** temperature and noise criteria (partly recycled)

Exchange 5: re-initiate - reject - reject - (exchange 5.1) - re-initiate - satisfy

101-7 COUNTER-REQUEST for information (about temperature criteria and noise requirements) (SA) [BL]
REJECT / INFORM {Specification contains required information} (BL) [BM]

111-12 REJECT (SA, SJ)

Expander: INFORM {Specification incomplete} (SJ)
TOPIC: missing data sheet
Exchange 5.1: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - satisfy
COMPLAIN {data sheet never sent to Seller} (SJ) [BL, BM?]
REJECT / INFORM {about noise level} (Sam) [SJ]
COMPLAIN {data sheet never sent to Seller} (SJ) [BS]
JUSTIFY {design approved by Owner} (BS)
129 FORGIVE (SJ)
(laughter)
131-37 COUNTER-REQUEST for information {about temperature criteria} (SP)
139-43 Expander INFORM {of importance to choice of engine} (SP) [BL]
ACCEPT {necessity to provide requested information} (BL)

Summary of Seller teamwork
Location: lines 99-100
Topic: size of cooling radiator
Type: a satisfying move: accept
Purpose: bear responsibility together / supportive Seller behaviour: express solidarity
Who talks: Sellers Pekka and John
To whom: Buyer Les

Summary of Seller teamwork
Location: lines 7+9-17; 99-100
Topic: size of engine cooling radiator
Type: 1. a non-compliant response + counter-request; 2. a satisfying response
Purpose: pursue a goal: avoid a threatening question / bear responsibility together
Who talks: Sellers John and Pekka
To whom: Buyer Les

Summary of Seller teamwork
Location: lines 99-100+101-107
Topics: size of cooling radiator, temperature and noise criteria
Type: an accepting move + counter-request for information
Purpose: controlling function: if someone gives in too easily, others step in to look after their company's interests
Who talks: Sellers Pekka, John and Andy
To whom: Buyer Les

Summary of Seller teamwork
Location: lines 111+112
Topic: temperature and noise criteria
Type: Sellers Andy and John together reject Buyer Les's rejection of Andy's request
Purpose: bear responsibility together: two are more forceful, persuasive than one / supportive Seller behaviour: express solidarity
Who talks: Sellers Andy and John
To whom: Buyer Les
Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 129+131-143
Topics: missing data sheet, temperature and noise criteria
Type: Seller John accepts Buyers' justification; Seller Pekka counter-requests for information
Purpose: controlling function: if someone gives in, others 'fight on'
Who talks: Sellers John and Pekka
To whom: Buyers Sam and Les

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 101-107+131-143
Topic: temperature and noise criteria
Type: Seller Andy counter-requests for information, Seller Pekka repeats it and himself
Purpose: pursue a goal together: more information needed - 'talk with one voice'
Who talks: Sellers Andy and Pekka
To whom: Buyers Les and Sam

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 9-17+101-107+131-143
Topic: temperature criteria
Type: counter-requests to Buyer-initiated requests
Purpose: pursue a goal: more information needed
Who talks: Sellers Pekka and Andy
To whom: Les and Sam

Buyer Les continues by repeating his earlier proposal for an alternative cooling system. Seller John rejected it earlier (extract 4, line 61), and is not very keen on it here either. He begins by rejecting Buyer Les's Grounder: he corrects Les's understanding about how the Sellers' engines are used in hot climates, and continues by rejecting the proposal itself by producing an Expander for his rejection (extract 6, line 149). He looks for support in his own team, by addressing Seller Pekka with a request for confirmation. However, what could have become an instance of supporting teamwork turns against John. Pekka contradicts his statement, which leads to Buyer Les repeating his proposal. Having failed in his effort at rejecting the Buyers' proposal, due to disloyal Seller behaviour, Seller John starts on a more cooperative path and takes up the problematic issue of water (which brought down Buyer Les's earlier proposal for evaporative cooling in extract 4, on line 61) in a pre-responding exchange (extract 6, line 156). Les has an answer ready, though, and thus manages to keep his proposal going.

Seller Andy now joins John with two more pre-responding initiations which lead to Seller Pekka beginning to openly support Les's proposal, by accepting Buyer Sam's Expander, and continuing to do so in a series of supportive moves produced cooperatively with Buyers (lines 178, 192, 197, extract 6). The current topic is finally closed by Buyer Mike repeating yet again Les's original proposal and by Seller Pekka accepting it. This time John does not join him, which could be due to Pekka's disloyal behaviour.
Extract 6: Client negotiation, technical part, engine cooling radiator

SELLERS: John (SJ), Pekka (SP), Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Les (BL), Sam (BS), Geoff (BG), Mike (BM)

TOPIC: evaporative cooling system (re-cycled)

142 BL yeah [well]
143 SP speeds]
144 BL could you consider using evaporative cooling 'cause I guess that say if you put a
145 plant in maybe in Indonesia or somewhere * er you can't get down to
146 30 degrees C unless you use [evaporative (-)]
147 SJ no we'll have a derate normally
148 BL right
149 SJ we don't use [a lot of evaporative * coolers do we
150 BS [ha ha they (-) these people don't they ha ha
151 BL [ha ha
152 SP well er we use both depending of the * of the of the systems and the]
153 BL I would imagine it more cost-effective
154 SP yeah]
155 BL uhm so would it be possible to look [at that
156 SJ what] what about water though are you gonna use (-)
157 BL we would supply you with with er treated water for it * we would treat the water
158 [(-]
159 SJ [ok]
160 SA so you would prefer cooling tower type arrangements
161 BL yeah [actually
162 SP yeah]
163 BL or a closed [system
164 SA yeah]
165 BL of [evaporative
166 SJ yeah] *
167 BL coolers something like that
168 BS (BS STARTS A SEPARATE DYAD WITH BM OR BG)
169 BL an' that has the advantage it's it's much more forgiving than if you transfer (-]}
170 SJ? mm]
171 BS (INAUDIBLE SIMULTANEOUS SPEECH: BS SPEAKS)
172 SA but then again uhm what're what are your temperature criteria [for the
173 BL well you can get better temperatures of this [type
174 SA (-]
175 BL [of system
176 SP yeah]
177 BS because [that's (-] (BS SPEAKS TO BG)
178 SP [because of the temperature difference yes]
179 BG (-]
180 BS (-]
181 BM uhm
182 BL the the wet bulb is seventeen
183 BM okay
184 BS is it
185 BL so
186 SP mm
187 BL that gives an extra six [degrees
188 BM [yes
189 SJ yeah]
190 SA [so we'll
191 BS [(-]
192 SP 'cause normally you need in in radiators you need at least ten degrees]
193 BS (SJ & BS START A SEPARATE DYAD)
Analysis of extract 6

**TOPIC: evaporative cooling system (recycled)**

Exchange 6: re-initiate - reject - re-initiate - satisfy

**PROPOSE (evaporative cooling system) (BL)**

Grounder: **INFORM** (of reasons to proposal) (BL)

**REJECT** (rejects Grounder) (SJ)

Expander: **INFORM** (about derating the engine in hot climates) (SJ) [BL]

embedded team exchange: Buyers joke (BS)

**149 Expander:** **INFORM** (Sellers do not use evaporative coolers) (SJ)

**149 embedded team exchange:** REQUEST for confirmation (about use of evaporative coolers) (team)

**149 consultation (SJ)**

**152 REJECT / INFORM (Sellers do use evaporative coolers) (SP)**

Grounder: **INFORM** (of cost-effectiveness) (BL)

**PROPOSE (evaporative cooling system) (BL)**

**pre-responding exchange:** REQUEST for information (about water) (SJ)

**INFORM (BL) [SJ]**

**160 pre-responding exchange:** REQUEST for confirmation (about Buyer's preferences) (SA)

**CONFIRM (BL) [SP, SJ, SA]**

(negotiation breaks in two: BS speaks to BM / BG?)

Expander: **INFORM** (of advantages of evaporative cooling) (BL) [SP]

**172 pre-responding exchange:** REQUEST for information (about temperature criteria) (SA)

**NON-COMPLIANCE / Expander:** **INFORM** (of advantages of evaporative cooling) (BL) [SP]

Expander: **INFORM (?) (BS)**

**178 ACCEPT (accept BS's Expander) (SP)**

Expander: **INFORM (of advantages of evaporative cooling) (SP)**

(two inaudible turns: BS and BG)

Expander: **INFORM (of details of advantages) (BL) [BM, BS] [SP, SJ]**

**192 Expander:** INFORM (of disadvantages of other systems) (continues BL's turn) (SP)

(negotiation breaks up into two separate dyads: SP and BL; SJ and BS)

Expander (continues SP's argument) (BL)

**197 Expander (continues BL's argument) (SP) [BL]**

PROPOSE (evaporative cooling system) (BM)

REQUEST for information (about cost involved) (BM)

ACCEPT (to inspect the possibility of evaporative cooling) (future action) (SP)

---

Summary of Sellers teaming up with Buyers against own team

**Location:** lines 149, 152, 178, 192, 197

**Topic:** evaporative cooling system

**Type:** 1. request for confirmation; 2. rejecting response, 3. supportive moves in collaboration with Buyers

**Purpose:** controlling function: Seller Pekka controls John who is not up-to-date on this point about Sellers' product

**Who talks:** Buyers Sam and Les, Seller Pekka

**To whom:** Seller John
In extract 7 Buyer Les starts winding down the item of agenda by inquiring about minor details, such as the qualities of cooling water. Pekka, as an expert on the Sellers' engines, is the respondent here, but he has difficulties with one word in his response which Seller Andy corrects. Pekka accepts Andy's correction and continues his informing move without a hitch. Correction exchanges within a team are carried out in this material as if they were 'self-corrections' without any modification, although they are 'other-corrections': the speakers are spokesmen for the same company and seem to speak 'with one voice'.

Extract 7: Client negotiation, technical part, engine cooling radiator

SELLERS: Pekka (SP), Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Les (BL)

**TOPIC:** qualities of cooling water

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>BL</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>SP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>y- your cooling water contains er (ethlene) glycol or some antifreeze</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>erm * in this case I I would say it has to be glycol-based</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>yeah okay * any other treatment any water softener or * [corrosion (-)</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>mm normally we have these inhibits</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td></td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>okay *</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>it's er * but er whenever you have minus degrees you have to have also some</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>glycol</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>BL [you</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>SP have to use them ***</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>SA mm **</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>BM (CLEARS THROAT)</td>
<td>inhibitors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of extract 7

**TOPIC:** qualities of cooling water

Exchange 7: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for information (about cooling water) (BL)
INFORM (SP)
Exchange 8: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for information (about water softeners) (BL)
INFORM (SP)
208 corrective exchange: INFORM (correct word) (SA)
In extract 8 Seller Andy begins closing the item by summarising the result of the discussion; he wants to verify that he has understood correctly the technical details which will have a bearing on the design of the radiator. Buyers Sam and Les join him with a correction and additional information. The whole sequence is closed by Buyer Sam. Although John is the leader of the present project on the Sellers' side, it is Andy who summarises the result of the discussion here. The Sellers thus share the responsibility for the successfulness of the discussion not only locally but also globally, throughout the whole item of agenda.

**Extract 8: Client negotiation, technical part, engine cooling radiator**

SELLERS: Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Les (BL)

**TOPIC: result of negotiation**

221 A so can I just (-) on on the design of this we're looking for 70 dBA at one metre
222 S 70 [5
223 L [75
224 A that's right] 70 75 at one metre
225 S outside yes
226 A an' if it is a radiator aircooler we are looking at 23 degrees (-) as maximum
227 ambient temperature with 17 degrees C wet bulb on a cooling tower (-)
228 [evaporative type system
229 L those] are maximum design (-) which will be exceeded for a small per cent of the
230 time
231 M mm ***
232 A but as far as design an' operating systems that's that's what we design [(-)
233 L this is a (--)]
234 P yeah ***
235 S so that's the radiator
236 M mm-hm

Analysis of extract 8

**TOPIC: result of negotiation**
Exchange 12: initiate - reject - satisfy - re-initiate - satisfy
SUMMARISE {result of negotiation} (SA)
REJECT / INFORM {of correct version of summary} (BS, BL)
ACCEPT (repeat) (SA)
SUMMARISE (continue) (SA)
ACCEPT / INFORM (add information to summary) (BS)
SUMMARISE (continue) (SA)
ACCEPT / INFORM (add information to summary) {of additional features to requirements} (BL) [BM]
corrective exchange: REQUEST for confirmation {about suitability of summarised figures for
design of cooling system} (SA)
CONFIRM {?} (BL) [P]

4.2.2 Summary

A summary of how teamwork is used by the Sellers in connection with the agenda item engine
cooling radiator is presented in this section. The order of presentation follows the empirical
research questions laid out in section 3.4. A simplified version of the interactional exchanges
and illocutionary points that make up the sequence is given below. For the sake of clarity,
supportive moves, embedded post-exchanges and pre-responding exchanges have been omitted
here. The number of occurrences of teamwork is marked in parentheses after each topic or
exchange.

Client negotiation: summary of interactional structure of engine cooling radiator:

lines

TOPIC: size of engine cooling radiator (1)
6-7  Exchange 1: initiate - reject
REQUEST for information {about size of system} (Buyers)
NON-COMPLIANCE (denies knowledge) (Sellers)

TOPIC: temperature criteria
9-19  Exchange 1.1: initiate - satisfy
INFORM {of necessity to discuss temperature criteria} / COUNTER-REQUEST for
information (future action) (Sellers)
ACCEPT (future action) (Buyers)

TOPIC: temperature criteria (1)
20-50  Exchange 2: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for information {about temperature of lube oil cooling} (Buyers)
INFORM (Sellers)

TOPIC: evaporative cooling system
59-61  Exchange 3: initiate - reject
PROPOSE ( evaporative cooling system) (Buyers)
REJECT / INFORM {of excessive use of water} (Sellers)

TOPIC: sea water for evaporative cooling (3 + 1 against own team)
61-93  Exchange 3.1: initiate - reject - satisfy
PROPOSE {to use sea water} (Sellers)
REJECT (Buyers)
ACCEPT {sea water is not a solution} (Sellers)

TOPIC: size of engine cooling radiator (re-cycled) (1)
94-100  Exchange 4: re-initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for information {about size of cooling system} (future action) (Buyers)
ACCEPT (future action to check the size of cooling radiator) (Sellers)

TOPIC: temperature and noise criteria (partly re-cycled) (2)
101-12  Exchange 5: re-initiate - reject - reject - (5.1: initiate-reject-re-initiate-reject-satisfy) - re-initiate - satisfy
COUNTER-REQUEST for information {about temperature criteria and noise requirements} (Sellers)
REJECT / INFORM {Specification contains required information} (Buyers)
REJECT (Sellers)

**TOPIC:** missing data sheet (1)

113-30 Exchange 5.1: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - satisfy

COMPLAIN {data sheet never sent to Seller} (Sellers)

REJECT / INFORM {about noise level} (Buyers)

COMPLAIN {data sheet never sent to Seller} (Sellers)

JUSTIFY {design approved by Owner} (Buyers)

FORGIVE (Sellers)

131-43 COUNTER-REQUEST for information {about temperature criteria and noise requirements} (Sellers)

ACCEPT {necessity to provide requested information} (Buyers)

**TOPIC:** evaporative cooling system (re-cycled) (1 +1 against own team)

144-04 Exchange 6: re-initiate - reject - re-initiate - satisfy

PROPOSE {evaporative cooling system} (Buyers)

REJECT (rejects Grounder) (Sellers)

PROPOSE {evaporative cooling system} (Buyers)

ACCEPT {to inspect the possibility of evaporative cooling} (future action) (Sellers)

**TOPIC:** qualities of cooling water (1)

205-06 Exchange 7: initiate - satisfy

REQUEST for information {about cooling water} (Buyers)

INFORM (Sellers)

207-19 Exchange 8: initiate - satisfy

REQUEST for information {about water softeners} (Buyers)

INFORM (Sellers)

**TOPIC:** result of negotiation

221-34 Exchange 9: initiate - reject - satisfy - re-initiate - satisfy

SUMMARISE {result of negotiation about item} (Sellers)

REJECT / INFORM {of correct version of summary} (Buyers)

ACCEPT (Sellers)

SUMMARISE {continue} (Sellers)

ACCEPT / INFORM (Buyers)

SUMMARISE {continue} (Sellers)

ACCEPT / INFORM (Buyers)

Besides making the dyadic (Buyer vs. Seller) structure of the polyadic negotiation stand out - although there are seven participants in the negotiation - the summary clearly shows how the Sellers get to introduce their topics in the sequence: the Buyers introduce the main topics, and Sellers' topics are off-springs from them.

**General**

The Sellers and Buyers work together in order to get their task done: during the technical part of the Client negotiation it means clarifying the technical details of the Sellers' engine and those of the future power plant in which the engine is to be installed, should the Buyers decide to choose the Sellers as their favourite contractor. Although the opposing sides have conflicting interests, they are also cooperating. There are instances of teamwork across opposing sides, e.g. Seller John introduces the agenda item *engine cooling radiator* - he has been assigned the task by
Buyer Sam who requests him to 'take us through the scope' - but Buyer Sam himself closes it at the very end of the sequence.

The fact that the Buyers have the upper hand at this stage in the negotiation process is clear from the way they speak. For example, they regularly start simultaneous dyads amongst themselves while the Sellers are talking (especially Buyer Sam, who is powerful, see 3.1.4) (see extract 5, line 134; extract 6, line 150). If the Buyers want to continue holding the floor, they just ignore the Sellers' attempt to start a new topic (extract 2, lines 1-4). The Sellers do not allow themselves such behaviour. Still, the opposing sides do not emphasise their conflicting interests in the technical part, but rather play them down; for example when Buyer Les recycles the important topic of the size of the cooling radiator, he expresses it as a common task that the size needs to be checked (extract 5, lines 94-98). Also, when the result of the discussion concerning the present item of agenda is summarised at the end, Seller Andy does it together with Buyers Sam and Les (extract 8). When Sellers start teaming up with Buyers in the course of the present agenda item at the local level, this generally means teaming up with the opposing side against their own team member, and thus controlling him.

Although Seller John is project leader on the Sellers' side, it is Seller Pekka who does most of the talking during the discussion about the agenda item engine cooling radiator, being an expert on the Sellers' engines. The Sellers mostly work in pairs at the local level, within a move, turn and exchange dealing with a single topic or related adjacent topics. Globally, across several topics and throughout the whole sequence, all three Sellers cooperate, e.g. although John begins introducing the Sellers' cooling apparatus, and Pekka does most of the talking while it is being discussed, it is Seller Andy who summarises the result of the negotiation towards the end of the agenda item.

By the time the participants attend the fifth negotiation, the process has lasted for two years. The written Offer (or Offers, as there have been several versions) sent by the Sellers to the Buyers prior to the meeting is a Seller 'move' in the negotiation process, and in the present negotiation, the Buyers make their 'move', i.e. act upon the Offer proposed by the Sellers. They called the meeting and designed its agenda. Thus Buyer-domination is obvious in the negotiation: the Buyers initiate most of the topics. The topics initiated by the Sellers are offshoots from the Buyers' topics, and are often produced in self-defense (e.g. extract 2, lines 7-17; extract 5, lines 99-107; extract 5, lines 131-143). Although the item of agenda starts off with the Sellers describing their radiator, it quickly changes into a Buyers' lead as they start 'bombarding' the Sellers with questions about the system. The Sellers have set themselves goals in their internal meeting regarding the item of agenda. They have not been supplied with sufficient information for the design of the cooling system by the Buyers, so the final choice of equipment is open at their end. They fear that there could be a problem to do with the size of the
system, though, and consequently want to avoid discussing the size at this point in the negotiation process. Instead they concentrate on obtaining the information that is missing (see example cited above from extract 5).

The Buyers introduce three main topics (size of cooling radiator, evaporative cooling, quality of cooling water) of which the first two are recycled as the Buyers are not satisfied with the result of their initial treatment. The Sellers introduce four topics (temperature and noise criteria, sea water used for evaporative cooling, missing data sheet, summary of result of negotiation) of which the first-mentioned is recycled several times, as it is produced in defense when the Buyers ask about the size of the Sellers' system and the Sellers imply that the fact that they are unable (and unwilling) to provide the requested information is due to missing information in the Buyers' Specification. John, as project leader on the Sellers' side, bears the main interactional responsibility in principle: he starts off the sequence and is the first to react to the Buyers' main topics. He leaves responding to questions about the technical details of the Sellers' product to Pekka, who is the expert there.

Interactional structure of teamwork

The Sellers being mainly in the role of respondents in the sequence, Seller teamwork at the local level, i.e. within a move, turn, exchange, and adjacent exchanges involving one topic or related topics, occurs in satisfying moves to the Buyers' initiations. For example, Andy helps out Pekka who has difficulties in getting his message across (extract 3, lines 22-39) by responding in his stead. When the Buyers take up the issue of the size of the cooling system the second time, Pekka and John accept together to provide the requested information (extract 5, lines 99-100). Teamwork also occurs in initiating moves, although there are not many in the technical part; John proposes the use of sea water in evaporative cooling and is supported by Pekka with an Expander (extract 4, lines 61-65). There are few rejecting moves by the Sellers in the sequence, but teamwork occurs there as well. John prepared a complaint (see extract 1, lines 132-139) in the Sellers' internal meeting about a missing data sheet in the Buyers' Specification. Prior to performing it in Client negotiation, John and Andy together reject Buyer Les's claim that the Buyers' Specification contains the necessary information about noise criteria, with which he tries to reject the Sellers' counter-request for information (extract 5, lines 111-112).

Besides local cooperation, as described above, there is cooperation at the global level, across several exchanges and topics. When John does not comply with the Buyers' initial request for information about the size of the cooling system, Pekka produces a counter-request for information. When the matter is taken up again by the Buyers, Pekka and John respond to it together. There seems to be a tendency for such 'interactional loyalty' to occur throughout the
negotiation, at least in straightforward cases where all team members agree; the Sellers who start responding to an issue together, also see it through together (extracts 1 & 5, lines 7-17+99-100). The Sellers take turns in reacting to the Buyers through the first and second treatment of the size of the cooling radiator. When bringing up a defensive topic, temperature and noise criteria, Pekka and Andy take turns in repeating them (extracts 1 & 5, lines 7-17, 101-107, 131-143).

There are three types of embedded exchanges in the present agenda item which feature teamwork: embedded team consultation in connection with the evaporative cooling system where the Sellers seem to restore team-internal harmony after Seller Andy teamed up with the Buyers against Seller John's proposal (extract 4, lines 82-87); pre-responding exchanges produced by John and Andy who take turns in producing them in connection with the second treatment of the evaporative cooling system (extract 6, lines 156-172) - here Andy joins John in order to take the matter further after Pekka has just refused to align his speech with John; and corrective exchanges: Andy replies on Pekka's behalf to a corrective clarification question forwarded by the Buyers (extract 3, lines 22-38); Andy initiates a corrective exchange when Pekka has problems with a word in his reply to the Buyers (extract 7, lines 208-210).

There appears to be no obvious pattern as to what illocutions are expressed as a team. The decisive factors regarding teaming up are more likely to be found in the general context (commercial or technical parts of the negotiation), the topic, and the goals the Sellers have set for themselves related to topics in the Sellers' internal meeting. At the local level of a single move, either an initiating, a satisfying, or a rejecting move, the illocutions of the aligning moves are either exactly the same, e.g. inform + inform to satisfy a request for information, (e.g. extract 3, lines 22-30, 34-36), or reject + reject to an initiation (e.g extract 5, lines 111-112), or at least similar in being supportive, e.g. propose + inform for an initiating move (e.g. extract 4, lines 61-65). The same applies to teamwork in embedded exchanges, e.g. request for information + request for confirmation in pre-presponding initiations (e.g. extract 6, lines 156, 160, 172). Across adjacent exchanges involving related topics, teamwork is often realised through different illocutions, e.g. non-compliance + counter-request for information + accept (extracts 2 & 5, lines 7-17, 99-100), and forgive + counter-request for information (extract 5, lines 129-143). The purpose here is to take the matter further through argumentation, rather than just support the previous speaker, which seems to be the case in the examples described above.

**Who teams up with whom**

The Sellers most often teaming up with one another here are John and Pekka. They have a long history of working together. Andy teams up regularly with either one of his team members.
Teaming up in connection with the present agenda item works mainly in pairs at the local level. It is rare that all three Sellers participate locally. There is only one incident, where all three Sellers work together at a local level, and this is in connection with the Sellers' main concern, the size of their cooling system (extract 5, lines 99-107).

It seems that the decisive factors regarding who is to team up with whom in connection with the present item of agenda are, rather than professional roles, the degree of familiarity between team members, and the type of expertise they manifest. Pekka and John know each other well and often seem to support each other for the sake of solidarity (e.g. extract 5, lines 99-100). They are also both well acquainted with the Offer, as they went through it together in the Sellers' internal meeting. Andy and Pekka team up here when discussing technical details of the engine; they even team up with the Buyers against Seller John if needed, for the sake of getting the technicalities right (extract 4, lines 64+70-80).

**Purpose of teamwork**

According to the information gained in participant interviews, team members normally let the project leader lead. It is only when the other Sellers are not satisfied with what John is doing, i.e. when he is unable to function well interactionally, or he is not being aggressive enough towards the Buyers, or the information he is disclosing is faulty from a technical engineering point of view, that the others take the lead. Pekka counter-requests for information about temperature criteria when John 'panics' and replies evadingly to the Buyers' request about the size of the cooling radiator (extract 2, lines 7-17). Andy teams up with the Buyers, and is also joined in this by Pekka, when they set out to prove that John's proposal of sea water is not a feasible solution for an evaporative cooling system (extract 4, lines 64-80). Andy considers John and Pekka's accepting response to the Buyers' repeated request for information about the size of the cooling radiator too 'lenient' and wants to remind those present yet again of the Buyers' responsibility to provide the Sellers first with information about temperature and noise criteria (extract 5, lines 99-107). Pekka repeats the same procedure when John seems to be forgiving the Buyers too easily for having neglected to send the Sellers their data sheets (extract 5, lines 129-143). Pekka contradicts the information provided by John about the use of evaporative coolers, as it is incorrect (extract 6, lines 149-152).

Besides supporting or controlling the operational leader of the project (John) as described above, the Sellers generally help each other out throughout the sequence. They pursue argumentation together in order to reach goals: Pekka and Andy cooperate in avoiding discussion about the size of the system as planned in the Sellers' internal meeting, by repeatedly counter-requesting the information they will need for the design of the system, before the size can really be discussed (extracts 2 & 5, lines 9-17, 101-107, 131-143); Pekka produces a
supportive move to John's proposal for using sea water for evaporative cooling, as planned in their internal meeting (extract 4, lines 61-65).

They also ensure that interaction flows smoothly. Pekka helps out John who responds clumsily to the Buyers (extract 2, lines 7-17). Andy helps out Pekka, who has linguistic problems twice during the present agenda item: when discussing temperature criteria in the Sellers' engine, Pekka's reply to Buyer Les is getting longwinded to such a degree that when Buyer Les asks a clarification question, Andy temporarily takes over Pekka's turn (extract 3, lines 22-38). When Buyer Les asks about the qualities of cooling water used in the Sellers' engine, Pekka has problems with a lexeme in his reply, which Andy provides in a correct form without the intention of otherwise taking the floor (extract 7, lines 208-209).

The Sellers frequently reply together by repeating the same piece of information already given by one team member. This is done especially by John and Pekka in connection with the present agenda item, but also once by John and Andy. If an accepting or a rejecting move is uttered by several team members instead of just one, this may make such a move more persuasive, or it may just demonstrate solidarity within the team. John and Pekka have several years' experience of working together, whereas Andy has only recently joined the company. According to the information gained in participant interviews, the main reason for negotiating as a team is support: several pairs of ears and eyes hear more and see better. It also helps to avoid mistakes due to tiredness, as negotiating alone can be very tiring in connection with complicated projects. Repetitive interactional behaviour may be informationally redundant, but it can be important psychologically, to both parties concerned: to Buyers it is more convincing if two or three Sellers accept or reject their proposal; to Sellers themselves, it may signal team-internal support and solidarity: 'I accept what you are doing'.

To sum up generally about the use of teamwork as an interactional resource in the sequence, when looking at the summary of the interactional structure of the item of agenda engine cooling radiator at the beginning of this section (4.2.2), it can be remarked that teamwork is used throughout the sequence. Although Buyer Sam asked eller John at the beginning of the technical part to 'take us through the scope', John in fact seldom works alone. The Sellers support each other all the way. Only at the very end of the sequence does Seller Andy summarise the outcome of the discussion together with the Buyers, but even there Seller Pekka supports him with a minimal recipient token.

The amount of teamwork used seems to reflect the nature of the interaction; if the Sellers are merely reacting to the Buyers' initiations, here mostly requests for information, by simply providing the requested information, one occurrence of teamwork suffices, but if they are more actively pursuing an issue themselves, this is reflected in teamwork as heightened activity.
4.2.3 Engine protection system

Sellers' internal meeting

The second technical item of agenda under observation in the study is the engine protection system. The Sellers try to 'weave' a coherent strategy in their internal meeting concerning how to present the matter to the Buyers. Their aim is to sell their engine protection system and related documentation software together as a package, and thus avoid paying for the software themselves. The documentation systems will be important to anyone who is responsible for maintaining the engine, and the Sellers not only wish to sell their engine to the power plant operators (represented by Buyer Les), they also want to secure a maintenance agreement with them. The Buyers could easily claim that they are not the ones who should be paying for such software. Consequently, the Sellers want to avoid 'too many questions' about the documentation systems, and they do not want to name the systems, but would prefer to talk about them on a general level.

Extract 9: Sellers' internal meeting, technical part, engine protection system

SELLERS: Pekka (SP), David (SD), John (SJ), Andy (SA)

1  SJ  the other thing the other thing I've done * partly deliberately is in in some of
2  SP  your original scopes you had * Z1 an' Z2 in it
3  SJ  yeah
4  SJ  now I've not mentioned it here * because we thought we might * play tricks with it
5  SD  (WHISTLES)
6  ...  (part of discussion has been omitted)
7  SJ  but I've not mentioned it separately here although they are aware * that we've got * Z1
8  SD  and Z2 in but I've not mentioned it if they say something (-) 'll say oh yes it's there
9  SJ  but it's part of this * PLC and all this you know
10 ...  (part of discussion has been omitted)
11  SJ  why don't we just keep it simple (-) an' say well it's now part of this
12  SD  yeah
13  SJ  if we if we highlight they're gonna ask questions [like that you see
14  SA  that's that's] what I'm saying just just tell them that there's a [there's a system (in
15  SJ  there) just if they] if they raise the question if they're clever they'll see this
16  SP  or compare this and say yes (we saw) you 'ad a standard now it's a standard
17  SD  ([laughs])
18  SJ  no I'm just don't want to raise too many questions on it
19  SD  mm
20 ...  (part of discussion has been omitted)
21  SJ  my my fear is] that as you say they will say why do we need it why should
we we we have it * you're responsible for maintenance * you should pay for it *

(part of discussion has been omitted)

SP PLC where you have this PLC without (-) you can put PLC with engine monitoring system an' then we can say it's it's a part of the PLC or whatever * [(--)]

SJ so we'll just put] PLC unit with monitoring system

SD yeah ***

SJ and if they ask we'll give them the two brochures on Z1 an' Z2

The difference between the Sellers' way of discussing issues in their internal meeting compared with how they are talked about with potential Buyers in the Client negotiation is evident. Here they openly admit to playing tricks (extract 9, lines 4-5) with the Buyers, something which is then obviously not expressed in words in the Client negotiation, but is realised as a team, when they together engage in instances of 'salestalk' in post-exchanges in order to avoid the questions they fear (e.g. extract 12 below, lines 114-126). The instances of teamwork identified in the present agenda item in the Client negotiation are discussed below in connection with extracts 10-16.

Client negotiation

A detailed description of the Sellers' interactional behaviour and the type of teamwork used when discussing the engine protection system is given in this section. In the Client negotiation, Buyer Mike introduces and closes the present agenda item, so Buyers cooperate with Sellers here; officially the task of 'taking' the negotiators 'through the scope' was assigned to Seller John by Buyer Sam, but the participants clearly see it as a mutual task. The item consists of six different topics (one is recycled), five of which are introduced by the Buyers. They want to clarify the scope of the Sellers' supply and technical details about the Sellers' product, and the Sellers provide the information in a way which suits their purposes (see extract 9 above).

Similarly to the previous agenda item, the basic interactional structure of the agenda item engine protection system is given in section 4.2.4 (p. 83), with main illocutionary points (all embedded exchanges have been omitted). The reader may either inspect it before going into the detailed analysis, in order get a general picture of the whole item, or after having studied the analysis in order to inspect the distribution of occurrences of teamwork throughout the sequence.

At the beginning of the item the Sellers present the only topic in the sequence which is initiated by them (synchronising equipment). Seller John takes up Buyer Mike's introduction of the present agenda item (extract 10, line 2). However, when he tries to continue his turn with reference to a relevant point in the Sellers' Offer, he cannot find the document (extract 10, line
3. Seller Andy jokingly accuses John of having taken his documents (extract 10, line 4). After having clarified for himself what item of agenda is being dealt with, Seller Pekka engages in the search for the missing point in their document with Buyer Les, who assists the Sellers in finding it (extract 10, lines 8-12). The Sellers start with a team-internal consultation, but soon begin to feel an obligation to explain why the document is missing. This is done as a team (extract 10, lines 13-20).

More teamwork is called for a while later; Seller John starts their turn with uptake of the agenda item (extract 10, line 2), but because he gets mixed up in his documents, Seller Pekka steps in, and tries to keep the Sellers' turn going, even without the missing document. Buyers do not respond to his contribution, however, but continue helping John who is still looking for the missing point in the Sellers' Offer (lines 23-29). Finally, thanks to the Buyers' help, it is located and John gets to make his point about synchronising equipment (extract 10, lines 30-36).

Extract 10: Client negotiation, technical part, engine protection system

SELLERS: Pekka (SP), John (SJ), Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Les (BL), Sam (BS), Mike (BM)

TOPIC: synchronising equipment

1. BM protection system *
2. JS well (we have) the protection system basically is er fo- for the engine uhm we've
3. SA let me just find it (--) *** (LEAFS THROUGH SA'S DOCUMENTS)
4. JS yeah you'll (do well) (--) (emptying mine) [ha ha
5. SA (that's right)]
6. SJ (I'm just not) an' where's mine
7. SA ha ***
8. SP what do you mean DC system *
9. BL er
10. SP oh [protection system
11. BL it's 3 point 5] protection [is it here]
12. SP no it's] not here (LEAFS THROUGH DOCUMENTS)
13. SA that that space at the bottom of the page should contain it ha
14. SJ well it was it was in * has any of you got it
15. SP no
16. BL (--)
17. BM yes ***
18. SA I haven't got any mail back (--) since yesterday so (--) ha
19. SJ well (they)ve been swapping pages yesterday
20. SA yeah I wonder if it got * lost in the e-mail yesterday
21. SP but anyway it's the these standard system of protection
22. BM (--)]
23. BL try page 24 see if that's * [what you're
24. SJ yeah]
25. BL looking for
26. SJ yeah that's it yeah * (is that all in) (LEAFS THROUGH DOCUMENTS) yeah **
27. SP yeah
28. SJ yeah [that's it
29. SP there] are the signals
yeah that's what I'm trying to say is we've we've we've put the synchronizing equipment in this panel
uh-huh
our (-) are supplying the switch gear do you want this (COUGHS)
they're in our panel or would you rather we just protected the engine an' its systems from this panel and you did your synchronizing separately
how do you feel about that Sam
I think we want the synchronising in their panel
oh yeah
because we want it in the control room not in the er [(switch room)
(--)]
downstairs
yeah
well that's what we thought so that's why we've left it in
mm-hm
yeah
that's right
okay that's all that's all I have to say then *

Analysis of extract 10

**TOPIC: synchronising equipment**
Exchange 1: initiate - satisfy
**INFORM (about protection system) (incomplete) (SJ)**
3 embedded (team) exchange: **INFORM / JOKE (about SJ taking SA's documents) (SA)**
6 **REJECT (SJ)**
6 **REQUEST (about SJ's own documents) (SJ)**
REQUEST for information {about topic} (SP)
INFORM (about topic) (SP)
INFORM {about location of topic} (BL)
REQUEST for confirmation (BL)
REJECT (SP)
13 **INFORM / JOKE {about location of topic} (SA)**
14 **EXPLAIN / JUSTIFY {the loss of document} (SJ)**
embedded exchange: REQUEST (for missing documents) (team consultation) (SJ)
REJECT (SP)
18 **EXPLAIN / JUSTIFY (SA)**
19 **EXPLAIN / JUSTIFY (SJ)**
20 **EXPLAIN / JUSTIFY (SA)**
21 Expander: **INFORM (about protection system) (SP)**
SUGGEST {where to find missing part of document} (Les) [SJ]
INFORM {about correct location} (SJ)
REQUEST for confirmation (SJ)
26 28 **CONFIRM (SJ, SP)**
29 Expander: **INFORM (of signals) (SP)**
30-35 **INFORM (about protection system) (SJ) [BL]**
35-36 **REQUEST for information (about Buyer's preference regarding synchronising) (SJ)**
embedded team exchange: REQUEST for information (team consultation) (BL)
INFORM (BS) [BL]
post-exchange: **INFORM {about Seller's foresight} (SJ) [BL] [SP]**
ACCEPT (BS)
post-exchange: **INFORM {about end of turn} (SJ)**

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 2, 21, 30-36
Topic: synchronising equipment
John begins with an initiating move, Pekka continues with a supportive move, John concludes Sellers' turn

**Purpose:** ensure flow of communication: keep a Seller turn going

**Who talks:** Sellers John and Pekka

**To whom:** Buyers Mike and Les

**Summary of Seller teamwork**

**Location:** lines 3-7, 13-14, 18-20

**Topic:** synchronising equipment

**Type:** joking and explaining moves in an embedded exchange

**Purpose:** 'face' consideration: apologise for and justify unorganised Seller behaviour on lines 3-6

**Who talks:** Sellers Andy and John

**To whom:** Buyer Les

**Summary of Seller teamwork**

**Location:** lines 26-29

**Topic:** synchronising equipment

**Type:** Pekka confirms together with John that the missing document has been located; he continues helping out John with an expanding supportive move

**Purpose:** keep a Seller turn going: locate a missing point in documents in order to initiate a topic

**Who talks:** Sellers John and Pekka

**To whom:** Buyer Les

The next three exchanges (exchanges 2, 3 and 4 in extract 11) feature topics which are closely linked to one another through content. The links are demonstrated through pronominal and lexical cohesion, and regarding links through semantic content, choices were verified in back-up interviews with a specialist informant. They are question-answer sequences, where Sellers' answers lead to new linked initiations by Buyers. Pekka and John's teamwork continues here, as they respond together to Buyer Les's question. In exchange 3, Pekka initially responds alone to Buyer Les's question, but John expands on it with a supportive move. In the following exchange Pekka and John continue responding together to Buyer Les's question, although here it is Pekka who continues the turn (with the help of Buyer Les) with supportive moves.

**Extract 11: Client negotiation, technical part, engine protection system**

SELLERS: John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Les (BL)

**TOpic: alarms and PLC**

49   BL    and er these er these alarms these are hard-wired are they or do the are they (-) are
50   SJ    they er into the PLC and (LEAFs THROUGH DOCUMENTS) through software
51   SP    * and if you get a low (air) pressure alarm
52   SJ    [the- the- they'll
53   SP    they are hard-wired yeah
54   SJ    hard-wired yeah
55   BL    [okay
56   SP    yeah] **
57   BL    so the PLC is basically monitoring is it *
er yeah it's more or less for monitoring er depending of er because certain parts of
the system er like these uhmm * er * the relaying and that kind of things
which are inside the PLC I II I've understood that they are also accepted as er as
protection [systems]
okay]
but not the software as such if it goes through the software
yeah
it has to be a primary er protection system
right
mm-hm
okay ** so I mean
all this all all this this sort of system's built into
right
as well
so the low-level oil pressure alarm isn't isn't going to go off when the PLC has a
an error in the programming
no it's a
it's a primary protection
yeah
and it doesn't matter whether the PLC is there [or not
yeah] it [still
it it will] stop the engine
right
okay
all the engine protection systems are primary
okay
protections

Analysis of extract 11

**TOPIC:** alarms and PLC

Exchange 2: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation (about wiring of alarms) (BL)

Exchange 3: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation (about PLC) (BL)
CONFIRM (SP) [BL]

Expander: INFORM {part of PLC counts as primary protection} (SP) [BL,BM] [SP]

Expander: INFORM {built-in system} (SJ) [BL]

Exchange 4: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation (about low-level oil pressure alarm and PLC) (BL)

CONFIRM (SP, SJ)

Expander: INFORM {primary protection} (SP) [SJ]

Expander: INFORM {about function of primary protection} (SP)
ACCEPT / INFORM {about function of primary protection} (incomplete as interrupted) (BL)
INFORM {about function of primary protection} (completes Les's turn) (SP) [BM]
Expander: INFORM {about engine protection systems} (SP) [BL]

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 52-54, 56
Topic: alarms and PLC
Type: confirm a request for confirmation together
Purpose: supportive Seller behaviour: express solidarity
Who talks: Sellers John and Pekka
To whom: Buyer Les
Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 58-66+70-72
Topic: alarms and PLC
Type: supportive moves produced together to Pekka's confirming move to a request for confirmation
Purpose: supportive Seller behaviour: take turns in providing info to Buyer - avoid fatigue
Who talks: Sellers John and Pekka
To whom: Buyer Les

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 75-77
Topic: alarms and PLC
Type: confirming move to a request for confirmation produced together
Purpose: supportive Seller behaviour: express solidarity
Who talks: Sellers Pekka and John
To whom: Buyer Les

The discussion continues in extract 12 with Buyer Les wanting to know about the availability of a communication link between the engine to be located in the power plant and the premises of the Selling company. According to the information gained in interviews with a specialist informant, the Sellers want to avoid commitment to such a link here, as the Buyers might request it free of charge at this point in the negotiation. Later, should the Buyers commit themselves to the deal, the Sellers will be in a stronger position, and are more likely then to persuade the Buyers to buy such accessories as a communication link. Consequently, the Sellers 'beat about the bush' here even after several re-initiations made by Buyer Les. They close the topic with a praising narration about the technological advances of their product. The Sellers perform a coordinated team effort here, with first John and then Andy avoiding to give a satisfying response to Buyer Les's question, and then John and Pekka closing it with a session of 'sales talk', praising their product.

Extract 12: Client negotiation, technical part, engine protection system

SELLERS: Andy (SA), John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Les (BL), Mike (BM)

TOPIC: communication link

89   BL  er can I just ask will you be putting your own communication system (in this) so
90   SJ  that you can (-) information to England or Finland or *
21   SJ  well we haven't [thought
92   SP  mm]
23   SJ  about that yet but that has a facility
94   SP  [yes
95   BL  okay] just I'm just thinking in terms of a maintenance agreement [(---)
96   SJ  yeah]
97  SP  [yeah
98  BL  supervision (-)] (-)
99  SA  yeah but we've got the option in there because the the unit there gives us
100 the option to do it
101 BL  okay
102 BM  with a remote down-load
103 SJ  [yeah
104 SA  yeah]
105 SJ  well we've got time to think about it 'cause we want [to put
106 BL  yeah]
107 SJ  a man on site for [twelve months anyway
108 BL  that's right yeah]
109 SJ  to help your people *
110 BL  well it's obviously which is most [cost-effective
111 SJ  yeah an' we'II we'll just play it by ear (really
112 BM  right]
113 SP  yeah
114 SJ  but if we could ring it up every morning an' see how its temperature is an'
115 SP  mm but like all the
116 SJ  (its pulses)]
117 BS  you've got auxiliary relays on th- on this panel anyway so [(-
118 SJ  yeah]
119 SP  mm like these er new engines in Finland they all have a possibility to to erm
120 monitor them from Selling Company in Sweden
121 BL  okay
122 BM  mm-hm
123 SP  so they are once in a while we noticed when we were there * they er just er we
124 noticed that the modem was started [making noise
125 BM  [ha
126 SP  an' then we noticed that they are contacting from Sweden
127 SJ  yeah
128 BL  nice
129 BM  yes remote remote operation [(room) (-)

Analysis of extract 12

**TOPIC:** communication link
Exchange 5: initiate - reject - satisfy - re-initiate - reject - satisfy - re-initiate - reject - satisfy
REQUEST for information {about availability of Sellers' communication link} (BL)
91-93 NON-COMMITMENT / INFORM {of indecision as yet} (SJ)
93 Expander: INFORM {facility exists} (SJ) [SP]
   ACCEPT (BL)
   INFORM {of possible maintenance agreement} (BL) [SJ, SP]
99-100 NON-COMMITMENT / INFORM {of option} (SA)
   ACCEPT (BL)
   ACCEPT / INFORM {about technical details of facility} (completes SA's turn) (BM) [SJ, SA]
   Grounder: EXPLAIN / JUSTIFY {present indecision} (SJ) [BL]
   INFORM {about importance of cost-effectiveness} (BL)
111 NON-COMMITMENT / INFORM {decision to be made later} (SJ)
   ACCEPT (BM) [SP]
114-16 post-exchange: INFORM {about usefulness of communication link} (SJ) [BM] [SP]
   ACCEPT / INFORM {about Seller's technical facility for a link} (BS) [SJ]
115-26 post-exchange: INFORM {about communication link in engines in Finland} (SP) [BL, BM] [SJ]
   ACCEPT (BL)
   INFORM {complete SP's turn} (BM)
The topic covered in exchanges 6, 7 and 8 (extract 13) is the control panel, which featured briefly at the beginning of the agenda item with a Seller initiation about synchronising equipment. Here the Buyers wish to know more about it, and the person who bears the main responsibility on the Sellers' side is Pekka. He answers Buyer Sam's question in exchange 6 (extract 13, line 131). In exchanges 7 and 8, John and Pekka reply together (extract 13, lines 134-135, 138-139). When John then starts a joke on his own (extract 13, line 147) and is later joined by Andy (extract 13, line 152), it is Pekka who tries to get the discussion back to serious business matters (extract 13, line 153). Buyer Sam, who heads the meeting, does not react to him (although Buyer Mike does), but continues the joke and is joined by Andy (extract 13, line 158). The joke finally ends when Buyer Sam is ready to move on to his next topic, which again is proof of Buyers' control of the basic interactional structure in the technical part of the Client negotiation.

Extract 13: Client negotiation, technical part, engine protection system

SELLERS: Andy (SA), John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Sam (BS)

TOPIC: control panel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>BS</th>
<th>SP</th>
<th>SJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 130  | BS |    |    | so you're producing one control panel here with all these different things in it *
| 131  | SP |    |    | yeah
| 132  | BS |    |    | an' you'll provide a drawing which shows what signals you need from us which
| 133  |    |    |    | should be
| 134  | SJ |    |    | yeah *
| 135  | SP |    |    | Ivys
| 136  |    |    |    | (LEAFS THROUGH DOCUMENTS)
| 137  | BS |    |    | er] synchronising signals from the switch gear I guess
| 138  | SJ |    |    | yeah
| 139  | SP |    |    | yeah
| 140  | BS |    |    | from our switch gear
| 141  | SA |    |    | (-{-})
142  SP  yes] all that stuff
143  BS  yeah ** so and the size of that panel do w- do we get that in lay-outs later on
144  SP  [yes
145  SJ  yes]
146  BS  okay **
147  SJ  only if you place the order
148   (LAUGHTER)
149  BS  we get the size of the panel after we've [placed the order
150  SJ  yeah]
151   (LAUGHTER)]
152  SA  [(--) (JOKING)
153  SP  but it's more of less going to be a (--) cabinet
154  BM  all right
155  SP  yeah
156  BS  (--) to build this huge [ha place to accommodate it all ha
157  SJ  (LAUGHS)]
158  SA  now we've got the order we'll tell you the panel's 40 metres square
159   (LAUGHTER) **
160  BS  all right * [maintenance

Analysis of extract 13

**TOPIC: control panel**

Exchange 6: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about control panel} (BS)
CONFIRM (SP)
Exchange 7: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about drawing showing Buyers' signals} (BS)
REQUEST for confirmation {about type of signals} (BS)

134-39  CONFIRM (SJ, SP)
        corrective exchange:  INFORM (of correct source of signals) (self-correction) (BS)
        CONFIRM (SP)
Exchange 8: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about size of panel} (BS)

144-45  CONFIRM (SP, SJ) [BS]

147  post-exchange: JOKE (SJ)

150     (laughter)
            REQUEST for confirmation / JOKE (BS)

152     (laughter)
8150     CONFIRM / JOKE (SJ)

153  Expander: INFORM {about size of panel} (SP) [BMI] [SP]

158     JOKE (BS)

158     (laughter)

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location:    lines 134-139, 144-145, 153
Topic:      control panel
Type:       Pekka and John answer Buyers' questions together; Pekka produces a supportive move to an
            earlier confirming move
Purpose:    supportive Seller behaviour: express solidarity; Pekka's final Expander: controlling function
Who talks:  Sellers Pekka and John
To whom:    Buyer Sam
Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 147-150+152-158
Topic: control panel
Type: joke with Buyers
Purpose: humor Buyers / release tension
Who talks: Sellers John and Andy
To whom: Buyers Mike and Sam

Exchanges 9 to 13 (extract 14) cover the Buyer-initiated topic, printers. Although Pekka does most of the work on the Sellers' side here, Seller John joins him in responding to Buyer Sam's questions in exchanges 9 and 12.

Extract 14: Client negotiation, technical part, engine protection system

SELLERS: John (JS), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Les (BL), Sam (BS)

TOPIC: printers

160 BS all right * [maintenance
161 BM so]
162 BS printer colour printer this place here * so that's all for the operator
(BL & SA START ANOTHER DYAD: INAUDIBLE)
163 SJ yeah
164 SP [yeah
165 BS yeah]
166 SP now we are nowadays we are calling them * alarm printer an' report printer [more
167 or less
168 BM mm]
169 SP be[cause that
170 BM yeah so that]
171 SP doesn't tell anything actually so it's an alarm printer an' a report printer
172 BS when you say report what does that mean
173 SP er you can get the history out of it an' that kind of things
174 BS so it has it's got a built-in data logger
(DYAD IN THE BACKGROUND ENDS)
175 SP yeah it's it's collecting data an' an' it's a * normal PL- nor- normal * PC in a way
176 [it's er able to gather
177 BS (---))] will print out every time the alarm goes off
178 SP yes
179 SJ yeah
180 SP [yeah
181 BS and] if a series of go off it prints them in the order they happened an'
182 SP well er
183 BS [with the times
184 SP if possible]
185 BS [yeah
186 SP because] er certain things are so fast that er they're able to perhaps get the first
187 one an' then all the other ones are coming in in the order what [the
188 BS i- it] it's a diagnostic [tool
189 SP yeah]
190 BS rather than
191 SP yeah
192 BS an operator's [tool
193 SP [but normally]
194 BM is this
195 SP they try to to find the first one of course
196 BL mm-hm
197 SP that like on the electrical side it's very difficult to say which one was the first
198 [because
199 BM yeah]
200 SSP the phenomena are really fast
201 BM yeah
202 SP it's very difficult to say which one was the first
203 BM yes
204 SP but normally we try to * have a selective system
205 BL mm
206 SP which can tell which was the first one because it's very important to know
207 BL yeah
208 SP in order to
209 BL f- for (-)
210 SP yeah yeah

Analysis of extract 14

**TOPIC:** printers
Exchange 9: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about availability of maintenance printers} (BS)

163-64 CONFIRM (SJ, SP) [BS]
post-exchange: INFORM {of new names} (SP) [BM]
REQUEST for clarification {of names} (BS)
CLARIFY (SP)
Exchange 10: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about data-logger} (BS)
CONFIRM (SP)
Expander (incomplete as interrupted) (SP)
Exchange 11: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about print-outs} (BS)

178-80 CONFIRM (SP, SJ)
Exchange 12: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about a series of print-outs} (BS)
CONFIRM (conditional) (SP) [BS]
Expander: INFORM {of problems} (SP)
ACCEPT / INFORM {of diagnostic quality of report printer} (continue SP's turn) (BS) [SP]
Expander: INFORM {of qualities of printer} (SP) [BL, BM]
ACCEPT / INFORM {of importance of a selective system} (continue SP's turn) (BL) [SP]

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 163-164, 178-180
Topic: printers
Type: John and Pekka respond together to Sam's requests for confirmation
Purpose: supportive Seller behaviour: express solidarity
Who talks: Sellers John and Pekka
To whom: Buyer Sam

During exchanges 13 to 16 (extract 15), Buyers and Sellers discuss again the engine monitoring system PLC which was initially covered in exchanges 2, 3 and 4. The Buyers want to know more about this programmable logic control (PLC) as a whole, and this time it is Pekka and
Andy who work together as opposed to Pekka and John in the first treatment of the topic (extract 15, lines 52-56, 58-72, 75-78). The reason for the change in speakers at this point could just be a need to change lead for a while; John has been talking almost non-stop from the beginning of the present item up to this point, and maybe needs a break.

In exchange 13 Andy completes Pekka's turns (extract 15, lines 214-217), and in exchange 14 they take turns in producing supportive moves to Pekka's confirming move to Buyer Mike's request for confirmation (extract 15, lines 217-221). Exchange 15 again features Andy and Pekka responding together to Buyer Les's initiation (extract 15, lines 223-224).

Another possible explanation as to why John cedes the floor to Andy in connection with the present topic is that it is initiated by Buyer Mike. It appears that participants with a similar background in company history (Buyer Mike and Seller Andy are both newcomers to their companies) or participants representing similar hierarchical positions in respective companies (Buyer Les and Seller Pekka) work together across teams. When Andy in exchange 16 responds alone on the Sellers' side to Les's question (together with Buyer Mike), Pekka starts a post-exchange which adds to the information that has been expressed so far on the subject; this is responded to by Buyer Les. Andy continues with a post-exchange initiation which strengthens the outcome of the previous exchange; this time it is Buyer Mike who reacts. Here Sellers Pekka and Andy take turns in responding to the Buyers (extract 15, lines 229-246).

Extract 15: Client negotiation, technical part, engine protection system

SELLERS: Pekka (SP), Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Mike (BM), Les (BL)

TOPIC: PLC

211   BM   is this so is this a * PLC * programmable logic control or actually * monitoring
212   BM   the engine with a further personal computer a PC actually taking the information
213   BM   from it or is it in fact one * a PC acting as a
214   SP   yeah * it's a
215   SA   separate
216   BM   [(I can actually see)
217   SP   separate system] an' you can s-
218   BM   right
219   SP   an' you can have all the er also the on the drawings er of the heat side too
220   BL   [so
221   SA   I think at the beginning there's a it was a standard [(-)
222   BL   so] it's just like a (round) (-) PLC or something
223   SA   yeah
224   SP   yeah
225   BL   with a (-) highway into a PC or something
226   BM   yes I think that's what it is it's basically a small P. small PLC being monitored by
227   BL   a by a PC
228   SA   yes
229   SP   an' then you have these er for example er er er Siemens or Simatic S5s
230   BL   alright that's a (-)
231  SP  yeah
232  BL  okay
233  SP  and those are doing the actual controlling an'
234  BL  yeah
235  SP  whatever this is just er you know
236  BL  well that's probably
237  SP  (-]
238  BL  probably okay
239  SP  yeah
240  SA  an' that's that's the standard (-) yeah
241  BM  yeah I see
242  SA  so basically all all we would need to do is
243  BM  right]
244  SA  install a modem into that PC
245  BM  into the PC an' you can download yeah
246  SA  an' we could talk to it as an' when we require
247  BL  okay
248  BM  right okay that's fine

Analysis of extract 15

**TOPIC: PLC**
Exchange 13: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for information {about monitoring apparatus} (BM)

214-17 **INFORM (SP, SA)**
Exchange 14: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about qualities of monitoring system} (incomplete) (BM)
CONFIRM (SP) [BM]

219 **Expander: INFORM (SP)**
221 **Expander: INFORM {of standard quality of link previously} (SA)**
Exchange 15: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about qualities of monitoring system} (BL)

223-24 **CONFIRM (SA, SP)**
Exchange 16: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about qualities of monitoring system} (BL)
CONFIRM (replies to Les on Sellers' behalf) (BM)
CONFIRM (SA)

229 **post-exchange:** INFORM {about competitor's product} (SP)
pre-responding exchange: REQUEST for confirmation (BL)
CONFIRM (SP) [BL]

233-35 **Expander: INFORM {about limitations of Sellers' system} (SP) [BL]**
ACCEPT (Sellers' system) (BL) [SP]

240 **post-exchange:**
242-44 **INFORM {of ease of instalment of communication link} (SA) [BM]**
ACCEPT / INFORM {of ease of instalment of communication link} (complete SA's turn) (BM)

246 **Expander: INFORM {of ease of instalment of communication link} (SA) [BL]**
ACCEPT (Sellers' system) (BM)
Exchange 17 (extract 16 below) closes the agenda item. The Buyers finally take up the topic that the Sellers prepared for in their internal meeting, namely that of documentation systems. Andy takes the lead here, by first producing an insertion exchange about the technical nature of the software products. The information he gives is almost a blunder as it emphasises the fact that the documentation software is separate, and it could be that the Sellers are surprised by such a direct question that they set out to avoid (see Sellers' internal meeting, extract 9). He is then joined by Pekka, and together they confirm that the documentation software will be available to the operator (extract 16, lines 258-261), as they have already included it in their pricing to the Buyers (a point which is discussed openly only in the Sellers' internal meeting; see extract 9 above, e.g. lines 22-26).

Andy and Pekka engage in 'sales talk' about how excellent and useful their documentation systems are (extract 16, lines 266-273) and thus pursue the goal of maintaining the Buyers' interest in them. When Buyer Les tries to make a remark about the usefulness of such products to the Sellers - a dangerous view to the Sellers as it might involve costs to them - a point that Pekka accepts, it is John who counter-attacks and tries to convince Les of their usefulness to the Buyers, and utter uselessness to the Sellers (extract 16, lines 275-279). The topic is important to the Sellers as they all participate in its treatment at the local level. John continues by making a joke of it all, and is here joined by Pekka (extract 16, lines 283-290). Generally, John is the one who most often initiates jokes in Client negotiation. His team members either join him as Pekka does here, or sometimes try to control him (e.g. extract 13, line 153). The purposes of joking can be manifold: the Sellers seem to be either humouring the Buyers, or attempting to restore harmony after team-internal friction.

Extract 16: Client negotiation, technical part, engine protection system

SELLERS: Andy (SA), John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Les (BL), Mike (BM)

TOPIC: documentation systems

249 BL an' would you put in this documentation system in the same PC
that is a that's a [CD
yes]
and it's it's basically it's just a CD-ROM
okay
yeah
uhm
an'
s so you would include that an' an' the operator would have [access
yeah] that [would
yes]
be for the machine yeah
yeah yeah]
[are the (-)
that's] that's yours
yes
okay that's fine
(an' already) we've seen that 'as a an excellent piece of software with video (-) of
how to do the repairs an' the maintenance [operations
mm]
quite an extensive
mm
how to replace for example like [a valve
head
a cylinder head or whatever it's it's er animated er
cyl
well this would obviously help your operator on site as [well
yes]
mm yeah
well he'll be already trained but I was thinking if your people get stuck in the
middle of the night one night they can put that in an' look it up an' see exactly
what they should be doing
mm
okay *
(LEAFS THROUGH DOCUMENTS)
an' we we could stay in bed
(LAUGHTER)
you would like that you hope
you can also play games with it
(LAUGHTER)
I was wondering about (--)
yeah
but we don't supply any games
yeah
okay **
right so we've covered PLC control panels

Analysis of extract 16

**TOPIC: documentation systems**
Exchange 17: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation (about availability of documentation systems) (BL)
insertion exchange: INFORM {of CD-ROM quality of products} (SA) [SP]
ACCEPT (BL) [SP, SA]
REQUEST for confirmation (about availability of documentation systems) (BL)
CONFRM (SA, SP) [SP]
ACCEPT (BL)
post-exchange: INFORM {of usefulness of documentation systems to Buyer} (SA, SP) [SJ] [BM]
post-exchange: ACCEPT / INFORM {of usefulness to Seller} (BL) [BM]
ACCEPT (SP)
REJECT / INFORM (SJ)
OFFER {help to Buyers} (SJ) [SP]
4.2.4 Summary

Simplification of the interactional structure of the item of agenda *engine protection system* again clearly demonstrates the dyadic character of the data: although there are seven participants here (three Sellers, four Buyers), the basic structure of the negotiation consists mainly of Buyers' initiations to which Sellers respond (see Linell 1990).

**Client negotiation: summary of interactional structure of *engine protection system***

lines

1-48  **TOPIC: synchronising equipment (3)**
Exchange 1: initiate - satisfy
INFORM {about protection system} (Sellers)
REQUEST for information {about synchronising equipment} (Sellers)
INFORM (Buyers)

49-85  **TOPIC: alarms and PLC (3)**
Exchange 2: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about wiring of alarms} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)
Exchange 3: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about PLC} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)
Exchange 4: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about low-level oil pressure alarm and PLC} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)
ACCEPT / INFORM {about function of primary protection} (incomplete as interrupted) (Buyers)
INFORM {about function of primary protection} (completes Buyer's turn) (Sellers)

89-129 **TOPIC: communication link** (2)
Exchange 5: initiate - reject - satisfy - re-initiate - reject - satisfy - re-initiate - reject - satisfy
REQUEST for information {about availability of Sellers' communication link} (Buyers)
NON-COMMITMENT / INFORM {of indecision as yet} (Sellers)
ACCEPT (Buyers)
INFORM {of possible maintenance agreement} (Buyers)
NON-COMMITMENT / INFORM {of option} (Sellers)
ACCEPT / INFORM {about technical details of facility} (completes Seller's turn) (Buyers)
INFORM {about importance of cost-effectiveness}
NON-COMMITMENT / INFORM {of decision to be made later} (Sellers)
ACCEPT (Buyers)

130-160 **TOPIC: control panel** (2)
Exchange 6: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about control panel} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)
Exchange 7: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about drawing showing Buyer's signals} (Buyers)
REQUEST for confirmation {about type of signals}
CONFIRM (Sellers)
Exchange 8: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about size of panel} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)

160-210 **TOPIC: printers** (1)
Exchange 9: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about availability of maintenance printers} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)
Exchange 10: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about data-logger} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)
Exchange 11: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about print-outs} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)
Exchange 12: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about a series of print-outs} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (conditional) (Sellers)
ACCEPT / INFORM {of diagnostic quality of report printer} (continue Seller's turn) ( Buyers)
ACCEPT / INFORM {of importance of a selective system} (continue Seller's turn) (Buyers)

211-248 **TOPIC: PLC** (1)
Exchange 13: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for information {about monitoring apparatus} (Buyers)
INFORM (Sellers)
Exchange 14: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about qualities of monitoring system} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)
Exchange 15: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about qualities of monitoring system} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)
Exchange 16: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST for confirmation {about qualities of monitoring equipment} (Buyers)
CONFIRM (Sellers)
The numbers of occurrences of teamwork are marked in parentheses after each topic. Teamwork is used amply throughout the sequence. The Sellers agreed to try to avoid 'unwanted questions' about the present item of agenda, and this seems to be reflected as heightened teamwork activity.

General

The item of agenda engine protection system is the simplest in its interactional structure, of the four items that were chosen for detailed analysis: it consists mainly of the Buyers inquiring about the technical details of the Sellers' product, and the Sellers providing the information, or as much of it as they see fit. The Client negotiation was initiated by the Buyers, and thus they appear here in the role of 'questioner'. The Sellers in the role of 'respondent' pursue their goal of preventing unwanted questions with the means that the situation allows for them, e.g. avoidance of threatening questions (see Sellers' internal meeting, extract 9) through ample talking.

All six topics in the sequence (synchronising equipment, alarms and PLC, communication link, control panel, printers, documentation systems) involve teamwork, although in connection with the only Seller-initiated topic, synchronising equipment (extract 10, lines 30-48), co-members of the Selling team help Seller John in getting his topic established, but do not pursue it together; they leave John to do that on his own. John is the leader of the project on their side and thus he is mostly the first one to react to Buyers' initiations. All the other main initiations in the sequence are by Buyers.

It was agreed in the Sellers' internal meeting to avoid detailed questions about documentation software, as the Sellers expect Buyers to pay for them, even though the programs will be a necessity to the Sellers in maintaining the engine. The item of agenda is introduced and closed by Buyer Mike, who thus cooperates with Seller John who is in principle in charge, as the role was assigned to him by Buyer Sam, the leader of the project on the Buyers' side.

The Sellers begin by Seller John taking the lead, but as he has difficulties in getting to make his point due to a mix-up in documents, other Sellers and Buyer Les help him out. Andy and John together produce apologetic explanations about the reasons for the mix-up, thus trying to maintain their 'positive face' (Brown & Levinson 1978), while Seller Pekka tries to keep the
Seller turn going (extract 10, lines 2, 21). Finally John finds his bearings, with the help of Buyer Les and Seller Pekka, and produces the only Seller initiation in the sequence. The Buyers continue with a series of questions about alarms and PLC where Pekka and John work together in providing satisfying responses and supportive moves (extract 11, lines 52-77).

The next Buyer-initiated topic is the communication link. The only rejecting move in the sequence is produced together by Sellers John and Andy (extract 12, lines 91-111), as they want to avoid giving a communication link to the Buyers free of charge, and hence they avoid giving a direct answer to the Buyers' question. After Andy and John having non-complied with respect to the Buyers' request, Sellers John and Pekka start post-exchanges where they praise the usefulness of such a link. The goal pursued here is to maintain the Buyers' interest, to the degree that they will be willing to pay for the link later. The issue is important as all three Sellers participate in it.

Pekka and John's teamwork continues in connection with the control panel, where they continue replying to the Buyers' initiation together. When John starts a joke in a post-exchange, he is joined by Seller Andy, and it is Pekka who tries to get the discussion back to business, with an Expander (extract 13, lines 130-158). He is found to be in a role where he tries to control the interaction on the Sellers' side in order to keep it serious and business-like also at the beginning of the present agenda item (see extract 10, lines 2, 12).

In connection with the Buyers' next initiation, printers, Pekka and John continue responding together, although it is Pekka who does most of the talking, and John initially just confirms together with him the Buyers' request for confirmation (extract 14, lines 163-180). The two speakers often work together, producing redundant information. Their main motivation there could be solidarity.

When the Buyers recycle their earlier topic PLC in extract 15, it is again Pekka (see extract 11, lines 52-78) who bears the main responsibility on the Sellers' side. This time he is joined by Seller Andy, who performs satisfying moves, and supportive moves to them together with Pekka. Towards the end of the topic, they take turns in initiating post-exchanges, first Pekka who is being frank about the superiority of a competing product and then Andy 'patching up' the situation by praising the ease of use of the Sellers' system.

The last topic initiated by the Buyers in connection with the present agenda item is the one the Sellers prepared for in their internal meeting, documentation systems. Here all Sellers cooperate, with first Andy and Pekka confirming together the Buyers' request for confirmation, and then initiating 'sales-talk' about the usefulness of the software to the Buyers in a post-exchange (extract 16, lines 258-273). When Pekka accepts that such software is also potentially
useful to the Sellers, Seller John hastens to reject this (extract 16, lines 275-279). The team looks after its own interests; if one Seller concedes defeat too easily in the face of a reaction from the Buyers and this has potentially negative consequences for the Sellers, others step in and 'counter-attack'. John and Pekka then close the topic by joking together, which may serve to restore harmony after contradictory Seller behaviour (extract 16, lines 283-290).

**Interactional structure of teamwork**

Due to the nature of the technical part of Client negotiation, Seller teamwork occurs mainly in moves which respond to Buyers' initiations, mostly satisfying them. There is only one rejecting move in the sequence, which is performed together by Sellers John and Andy (extract 12, lines 91-111) in connection with the topic communication link; the Sellers carefully guard their interests here by repeatedly refusing to commit themselves to providing it. The only initiating move in the sequence by the Sellers is also produced in collaboration, as John loses his bearings for a while, and Pekka helps him by maintaining the floor (extract 10, lines 2-12) until he is ready to continue. However, there are plenty of post-exchange initiations through which the Sellers provide supplementary information to the Buyers' main initiations. If they are produced together, they seem to serve the function of 'sales talk', praising the Sellers' product (see extract 12, lines 114-126; extract 15, lines 229-246; extract 16, lines 266-273). Jokes are also produced by the Sellers together as post-exchanges (extract 13, lines 147-158; extract 16, lines 283-290). Such jokes seem to mark a boundary; they are produced after the Sellers have just completed a topic which involved strategic activity. As the Sellers had agreed to try to avoid unwanted questions, it seems that such post-exchanges could serve just that end, as they are produced after topics which are 'touchy' to them.

The illocutionary points of contributions which are produced as teamwork are mostly similar in nature in the present sequence, whether the reason for teaming up is to support a team member by providing redundant information or by giving supplementary information, for example inform + inform (e.g. extract 10, lines 2, 21, 30-35; extract 13, lines 144-145), confirm + inform (e.g. extract 11, lines 52-56), joke + joke (extract 16, lines 283-290), non-commitment/inform + non-commitment/inform (extract 12, lines 91-111). When the purpose is rather to control the interaction, the adjoining illocutions can be opposite, for example accept + reject (e.g. extract 16, lines 275-277).

**Who teams up with whom**

As with engine cooling radiator of the technical part, the Seller who does most of the talking in connection with the present agenda item is Pekka, who again excels with his knowledge of the technical details of the product. The Sellers do not team up with the Buyers against their own
team in the sequence, although Seller John does once contradict an accepting move by Seller Pekka (extract 16, lines 275-277). Pekka and John are again those who most often work together as a pair on the Seller' side. Often their teaming up seems to produce redundant information for the Buyers, and possibly it serves other than informatory purposes, e.g. solidarity, as they have several years' experience in working together. Both Pekka and John regularly team up with Andy as well, the functions there being different; the pursuit of goals or humouring Buyers.

**Purpose of teamwork**

The Sellers' teamwork seems to serve several ends. Firstly, they pursue goals together. They have agreed to try to avoid unwanted questions about their documentation software. This they do through 'salestalk', by talking a lot in order to prevent the Buyers from taking a turn while discussing a touchy topic. According to the information gained in specialist informant interviews, one of the main reasons for negotiating as a team is the fact that it prevents 'negotiation fatigue', which can be dangerous, as important details can easily escape a tired negotiator. Looking at how the Sellers team up with each other in the course of the whole agenda item, it is clear that although some Sellers talk more than others, no-one is silent for long, and, for example, although the Sellers who act as a team most often are Pekka and John, Andy teams up with either one at regular intervals. This prevents one negotiator from having to bear the responsibility for the successfulness of the negotiation for long on his own. Negotiating as a team clearly also serves a controlling function. If a negotiator concedes defeat too easily to the opposing side, others step in and produce opposing illocutions (extract 16, lines 275-279).

There is plenty of supportive interactional behaviour during this item of agenda which provides either supplementary or redundant information. The supplementary information is provided in order to assist a team member to pursue a line of argumentation, a goal, whereas the redundant information is likely to serve an interpersonal purpose. The present item is treated with plenty of joking: the jokes here are always initiated by Seller John, who is then joined by either Andy or Pekka. They may serve several purposes: they mark boundaries, as they restore harmony after interactional difficulties either within or across teams, and thus could for example serve a face goal in protecting the Sellers' positive face in connection with the mix-up with documents at the beginning of the sequence. They may also ease the tension that is there throughout the negotiation between the opposing parties, who have conflicting interests.

To sum up generally as regards the item of agenda engine protection system, it can be stated that the basic interactional structure of the sequence consists mostly of straightforward initiate-satisfy exchanges, where teamwork is used locally more often than during the other technical
item of agenda under observation in the study. The fact that the Sellers had agreed to try and avoid unwanted questions could explain their verbosity here, and this is reflected as heightened teamwork activity.

4.2.5 Summary: technical part of Client negotiation

When discussing the technical items of agenda *engine cooling radiator* and *engine protection system* in the Sellers' internal meeting, the Sellers agreed on 'avoidance goals': they planned how to avoid giving to the Buyers' information about the size of their cooling system (partly because they did not have all the relevant information from the Buyers), and regarding protection systems, they wanted to prevent the Buyers from asking unwanted questions.

When avoiding to give requested information, the method the Sellers use in connection with *engine cooling radiator* is firstly to avoid replying, and secondly to ask their own questions in return. They thus manage to change an unwanted Buyer-interest topic to a Seller-interest topic. Teamwork is used to do this. On the one hand, the speakers that start reacting together to a Buyer-initiation continue to do this until the matter is closed. On the other hand, they do their interactional work 'in shifts'. If two Sellers working together are giving in to the Buyers too easily, the third member of the team steps in to defend their case. This interactional 'shift work' supports the information obtained in participant interviews about why the Sellers set out to negotiate as a team in the first place: it saves them from fatigue, which would be dangerous, as a tired negotiator can make mistakes.

When going over *engine protection system* with the Buyers, the Sellers talk a lot in order to prevent the Buyers from asking questions they want to avoid. The Buyers control the main interactional structure of the item. Although the Sellers start providing information about their engine at the beginning of each technical item, the Buyers quickly change the order of things by starting with their questions. Hence, the Sellers are left with the means of embedded exchanges for influencing the structure of interaction. They provide 'sales talk' in post-exchanges praising their product in order to keep up the Buyers' interest and avoid possible unwanted questions. Sellers do not team up with Buyers here, so their team effort is focused.

On the basis of the two technical items of agenda studied from the technical part of the Client negotiation, no clear conclusions could be reached about the possible influence of the technicality of the items on the type and amount of teamwork used. Buyers control the overall interactional structure of Client negotiation and this has a bearing on the types of interactional means Sellers have at their disposal. It seems that the technicality of the issues discussed does not directly influence the type of teamwork resorted to. It is rather reflected in other interactional features: the Sellers manage their conversation very carefully here and seem at ease with
submissive interactional behaviour, and thus avoid, for example, interrupting the Buyers unnecessarily.

It appears that the interactional means the Sellers use to pursue their goals in the technical part of the Client negotiation seem specific to the type of goal, here 'avoidance' goals. The technical part of the Client negotiation involves a certain interactional structure with certain illocutionary functions: e.g. request for information-inform sequences, and thus indirectly influences the type of teamwork used.

4.3 Commercial part of Client negotiation

The commercial part of the Client negotiation takes place after the technical part and it is a lot shorter (two hours) than the technical part (six hours including lunch). This is in the Sellers' interest as they want to spend as little time as possible at this point in the negotiation process on commercial issues, such as possible 'take-outs' and their influence on price level (see extract 32 from Sellers' internal meeting, lines 62-66).

The commercial part comprises the treatment of such issues as the conditions of contract (to be compared with Model Form 1 for engineering contracts, MF1), quality plans, maintenance and warranty contracts. Although the Buyers control the agenda of the negotiation here, similarly to the technical part of the Client negotiation, the Sellers seem to defend their positions more openly, even aggressively when discussing the commercial items of the agenda. For example, they interrupt the Buyers here, something which does not happen in the technical part (e.g. extract 18 below). Nevertheless, they are aware that this is inappropriate (see prototypical Seller behaviour in Charles 1994) as such instances always involve apologies from the Sellers. If the Buyers interrupt the Sellers, they seldom feel that an apology is needed (especially Buyer Sam). According to participant interviews, although the Sellers in principle consider the two parts of the negotiation, technical and commercial, equally important, the items of agenda covered in the commercial part, such as price and payment terms, seem more 'personally' threatening, as the discussion is directly about money, even though it is the company's money.

In sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.3 an analysis of the use of teamwork in connection with the two commercial agenda items which were chosen for analysis is presented. Sections 4.3.2, 4.3.4 and 4.3.5 summarise the results of the commercial items payment terms and price.
4.3.1 Payment terms

Sellers' internal meeting

Before going into detailed analysis of the commercial items of agenda, a look at a relevant extract from the Sellers' internal meeting reveals their intentions. The Sellers agree to be aggressive about commercial conditions in order to improve the terms of payment proposed by the Buyers in their reaction to the Sellers' original Offer. According to the terms laid out in the Buyers' proposal, the Sellers would not be getting an up-front payment, which would be an unusual situation for them (extract 17, line 2). Before deciding on a strategy, Seller John checks with Seller Pekka on how the Selling Parent Company 'feels' about the terms proposed by the Buyers (extract 17, lines 1-2). The extract given below demonstrates the style of communication used in this company-internal meeting. In order to facilitate reading, relevant points are written in bold print.

Extract 17: Sellers' internal meeting, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: Pekka (SP), David (SD), John (SJ), Andy (SA)

1 SJ no the payment terms are we are they gonna be happy with these payment terms in (snowy)
2 SA Vaasa sorry (Suomi) Vaasa * you're gonna get no money up front
3 SP I think this is um * we can accept it but it's * I find it's a little bit stupid * you
4 SA know we are getting paid every month anyway
5 SP yeah
6 SA the same thing the last we discussed * that it should be squeezed down to three days
7 SA but at least we've um
8 SJ but are you going to (insist on) the money upfront?
9 SP yes at least some
10 SJ but they're going to say well um this (is) preliminary information you
11 SA could almost have already done it
12 SP yeah yeah that's
13 SJ (?) could be
14 SP it can be considered as as this file in a way
15 SA yeah
16 SJ this one * it's pre-design
17 SP yeah so you get you get ten percent now and then we get another ten percent as soon as what
18 SJ what Terry's (-) tomorrow (LAUGHS) **
19 SD I'm a lot happier to live with these payment terms than these people (-)
20 SP (LAUGHS) yeah
21 SJ but the question (-) are we going push for something better or different * (-) or
22 SP are you again going to discuss it tomorrow
23 SA but if that's it (-) it's obviously their their
24 SJ yeah so we're we're going to have to discuss it
25 SA (-)
26 SP we can discuss because it's a * I find it very difficult because this is the normal way when
27 SJ when you're doing the umh civil works because there you don't you know nobody does
28 SA anything if you don't pay them two or three percent all the time
29 SJ ten (what happened to the) hundred and ten twenty fifty sixty ninety-five so there's five percent
30 SA outstanding *
31 SA yeah
but if we give *em a guarantee bond it's only the first there and then * but is it going
to cost us money for this bond there
oh yeah
that's quite normal
that's the Barbados trip ... (Seller John's turn continues)

Besides wanting an up-front payment, the Sellers would like to be paid in three instalments. As the project involves the military, this is justified in their opinion (extract 17, lines 27-29). The Sellers do not consider the problem of an up-front payment unsurmountable (extract 17, line 4). However, such adjectives as 'stupid' when describing the Buyers' proposal only feature in their company-internal meeting (extract 17, lines 4-5).

**Client negotiation**

In the course of this section (4.3.1), a detailed analysis of Seller teamwork, including its absence, during the treatment of payment terms (extracts 18-31) is given. The whole item has been closely analysed (see 4.1 regarding presentation). The negotiation proceeds with the Buyers laying the foundation for the discussion by giving their reaction to the Sellers' written offer, and the Sellers mostly rejecting the Buyers' proposals, after which the parties start working towards a compromise with their own initiations as a basis.

The Buyers 'call the shots' at the beginning of the discussion concerning payment by presenting their views. The Sellers try different lines of argumentation in order to improve their standing, for example by implicitly threatening to cancel the deal (extract 20). As this fails, they try to limit the Buyers' freedom of action by demanding a payment guarantee to themselves (extract 25), and a time limit to Buyers' inspection of a preliminary drawing before first payment (extract 23). As these fail, the Sellers, as a last resort, start pushing for their own 'standard' terms of payment to be the basis for a new proposal for the terms of payment (extract 27).

The agenda item payment terms is the longest and the most complex in its interactional structure of the four extracts under scrutiny in the study. The exchange structure of the present agenda item is such that there are few simple two-move (initiate-satisfy) exchanges. It consists of the treatment of three main Buyer-initiated topics (first and last payment and related bonds, reassurance of end use of materials, amount of payment on delivery), one of which is recycled (retention bond for last payment). The Sellers' topics (up-front payment, payment guarantee to Buyers, Sellers' standard terms, time limit, payment guarantee to Sellers) are spin-offs from the Buyers' topics. The fact that the Sellers introduce more topics here than the Buyers signals that they are actively trying to achieve something in the course of this item of agenda.
The basic structure of the agenda item *payment terms* is presented below in section 4.3.2 with the main topics, interactional exchanges and approximate illocutionary points. The reader may find it useful to refer to it while reading through the detailed analysis of the extract.

The item of agenda is introduced by Sellers John and Pekka together, who after their introduction await the Buyers' up-take. Seller John also closes the item by moving on to the next item (extract 31, line 392). Strangely enough, although the Sellers have just introduced the item and give the floor to the Buyers, Buyer Sam has difficulties in establishing his first topic: the Sellers interfere, first, by 'thinking aloud' and checking from their documents that the payment instalments amount to a hundred per cent (Sellers Andy and Pekka together, extract 18, lines 7, 11), and then, by starting a joke about wanting to forget about the Buyers' retention of five per cent of payment towards the end of the affair until a certain date. It is Seller Andy who starts the joke, John joins him through approving laughter, and finally Buyer Mike joins in too.

The Sellers' behaviour seems surprising; Buyer Sam is the leader of the project on the Buyers' side and he is generally treated with caution by the Sellers throughout the negotiation. In the course of the technical part of the Client negotiation, the Sellers do not interrupt the Buyers. Here, however, they boldly interrupt him. The present agenda item is a difficult one with plenty of disputing. Maybe the intention is firstly with bold interactional behaviour, i.e. interrupting, to show off their pugnacity, and secondly by joking to try to release tension and/or work up a high team spirit.

When asked about the risk involved in such behaviour (in participant interviews after the meeting), the participants stated that joking about money in a business negotiation is commonplace; everyone recognises that such talk counts as a joke, so it is harmless. Joking in the technical part of a negotiation is, according to the specialist informants, a lot more difficult, because it easily becomes an inside joke, as there is less shared knowledge about the topics that are discussed there.

The analysis of extract 18 given below begins on line 6, as this is where the Buyers take up the Sellers' introduction of the item. Introductions of items of agenda have generally been omitted from the analysis, even if they feature teamwork (extract 18, lines 1, 3). They are a type of pre-exchange (Edmondson 1980). In the analysis, instances of teamwork are underlined (as are the lines of text in the text extracts, which are being presented first). The speakers are given in brackets at the end of each line; utterers of minimum feedback in square brackets. Summaries of the instances of teamwork in each extract are given after the analysis.
Extract 18: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: John (SJ), Pekka (SP), Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM)

TOPIC: retention of last payment

1  SJ  er w- 40.1 (SHUFFLES DOCUMENTS) is my next one
2  SA  yeah
3  SP  yeah* the payments
4  SJ  yeah ***
     (SHUFFLING OF DOCUMENTS)
5  BM  mm[-hm
6  BS  (you know) we've got a problem with these [cause our rules've
7  SA  50 * 60]
8  BS  changed again since [(-)
9  BM  yeah ha ha
10 BS  I know you've got [a
11 SP  90] 95
12 SA  I (-) would like 100% of the contract price (-) (JOKE)
13 SJ  ha ha ha
14 BM  yes [ha ha right
15 SA  not 95 ha ha

Analysis of extract 18 (lines 6-15)

TOPIC: retention of last payment
Exchange 1: initiate - satisfy
INFORM {of problem with Sellers' Offer} (incomplete as interrupted) (BS)
7 INFORM? {counting percentages of payment instalments} ('thinking aloud') (SA)
     Grounders: INFORM {change of company rules} (BS) [BM]
     (laughter) (BM)
     (Sellers hinder Buyer Sam's up-take of the agenda item by starting a joke)
11 INFORM? {counting percentages of payment instalments} ('thinking aloud') (SP)
12 JOKE {about Sellers wanting to forget about retention of 5% of payment at the end of deal} (SA)
13  (laughs) (SJ)
15  ACCEPT/JOKE (laughs) (BM)
15  JOKE (SA)

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location:    lines 1-3
Topic:       agenda item: payment terms
Purpose:     supportive Seller behaviour: introduce agenda item together
Who talks:   Sellers John and Pekka
To whom:     Buyer Sam

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location:    lines 7-11
Sub-topic:   payment instalments
Purpose:     supportive Seller behaviour / show off readiness to pugnacity
Who talks:   Sellers Andy and Pekka
To whom:     Buyers?

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location:    lines 12-15
Topic:       retention of last payment
Extract 19 consists of the Buyers' proposition for the first payment (extract 19, lines 15-68) which is re-initiated twice (extract 19, lines 62-64, 66-75), and rejected by the Sellers three times (extract 19, lines 59, 63-69, 76-78). Sellers Andy and John cooperate here. The beginning of the agenda item is very much a monologue by Buyer Sam, after he has finally managed to establish his turn (extract 19, line 16). It is Seller John who is the first to respond to Sam seriously (extract 19, line 34), so the leaders of the project on both sides have it out between themselves. Seller Andy paves the way for him by either expressing the Sellers' 'readiness for combat' or by trying to relax the atmosphere (or keep up the Sellers' team spirit) with yet another joke, this time about a discount. John responds to Sam in a more serious frame of mind, first with a corrective initiation (extract 19, line 34) and then with a pre-responding request for clarification (extract 19, lines 47-48).

The Sellers reject the Buyers' first proposal for the timing of the first payment, which is done by Seller John. When the Buyers repeat their slightly modified proposal, it is Seller Andy who turns it down this time. With the Buyers' third initiation, Sellers John and Andy intensify their teamwork and reject it together.

At this point the Sellers change their strategy. The negotiation is not moving in a direction favourable to them, so they start defending their position more aggressively by referring to their 'standard' payment terms. According to the specialist informant, no such concept exists, but to pretend that it does works well for the Sellers throughout the present agenda item. The information they give to the Buyers also reveals the precarious nature of the concept of standard terms; first Andy claims that their standard terms include a ten per cent payment upon signature, while according to John it is twenty per cent.

Extract 19: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: Andy (SA), John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM), Les (BL)

TOPICS: bonds, first payment, time limit

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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>well ther- there are two principles here that've been passed down from our head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>[office</td>
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</table>
| 18| BM| oh] sorry you (~-|-)
| 19| BS| the] first is that * uhm (SOMEONE CLEARS THROAT) * we ** do not pay for |
| 20|   | goods we haven't received |
| 21| BM| mm |
| 22| BS| without a bond * an' therefore we're we will be looking for * a fairly massive |
bond before delivery for those kind of payments * uhm now in practice I don't think it's fair that we should be asking for that * for what I have to (-) everything that we subsequently (say) you is there any agreement on terms of payment (will) have to be agreed with our head office an' we might have to revert but I suggest that we need a 10 % bond from the beginning mm

an' that it carries right through until er the performance test at which (-) a er * retention bond could come into place

is that is that a discount ha (JOKE)

ha ha so that's the first

no it's 5% retention on here

yes it [is] an' an' the second thing is yes

yeah that's right a s- a smaller bond [(--) a 10 % project] bond a 5 % retention bond

an' then the second thing is that er an' it's certainly one of my principles is that we don't pay for er er money up front * on on contracts signed so er ** (SNIFFS) [we we we pay for something

(-)] (signing of this)

[no

I mean we we want you to have an incentive to produce those preliminary drawings an' get them to us

well we'll get this programme next week an' we'll get 10 % before we get the contract

an' an' I don't want submission of preliminary information (LAUGHING VOICE)

[or (have you)

oh yeah ha ha]

I want I want

yeah approval of

yeah

what your approval

yes

then you might say [I do not]

right]

approve

well let's (-) you tell us how long we've got to approve them [er

well there's a

[(-)] give us a] give us a time limit [(--) (-) because ((--) you say (-) you say

(well there's no point in you sending us a pile of rubbish is there)]

you've got five days to approve [them

no]

but at the end of the five days you say no they're not approvable

I know] you guys are a very reputable company but other people have sent us a pile of rubbish * which we can't approve an' so [(--) (CLEARS THROAT)]

we want the payment **

an' the [the cost an' the costs of producing the drawings are not 10% of the contract value

if you're gonna if you're gonna this this this this 10 %] that we (-) no but we normally ask for 20% up front an' get it

sign an order which is our standard terms of payment
Analysis of extract 19

**TOPIC: bonds**
Exchange 2: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject -
Grounder: INFORM {of head office principle: no payment for goods without bonds} (BS) [M]
INFORM {of need for a large bond} (BS)
Disarmer: APOLOGISE {for an unfair request} (BS)
INFORM {of preliminary nature of any agreement} (BS)
REQUEST {for a 10% bond at beginning of deal} (BS) [BM]
REQUEST {for a retention bond at the end} (BS)
31 pre-responding exchange: JOKE {about a discount} (SA)
   ACCEPT (laughs) (BM)
   (structures his unfinished turn) (interrupted) (BS)
34 corrective exchange: INFORM {of correct size of retention bond} (SJ)
   ACCEPT (BM, BS) [BM]
   Grounder: INFORM {head office principle 2} (BS)
   **TOPIC: first payment**
   PROPOSE {no payment of 'money up front' on signature of contract} (BS)
   Expander: INFORM {of Sam's principle} (BS)
   Grounder: INFORM {of grounds for payment} (BS)
   (SA and BM: partly inaudible speech)
   Grounder: INFORM {of need for swift delivery of preliminary drawing} (BS)
47 pre-responding exchange: REQUEST for confirmation {10% payment for submission of
48 preliminary information} (SJ)
   REJECT (BS)
   PROPOSE {payment after approval of preliminary drawings} (BS) (BM?) [SP]
   (BM? laughs)
   pre-responding exchange: REQUEST for clarification (SJ)
   CLARIFY (BS)
59 REJECT / COMPLAIN {about possible Buyer behaviour negative to Seller} (SJ) [SA]
   **TOPIC: time limit**
   PROPOSE {a time limit} (BS)
   PROPOSE {a time limit} (repeat through re-wording) (BM)
63-69 REJECT / COMPLAIN {of possible Buyer behaviour negative to Seller} (SA)
   INFORM {of reasons for request for payment after approval of drawings} (BS)
   INFORM {of cost-relation of drawings} (BL)
77 REJECT / INFORM {of Sellers' standard payment terms - 20%} (SJ)
76-78 REJECT / INFORM {of Sellers' standard terms - 10%} (SA)

Summary of Seller teamwork

| Location: | lines 31-34+47-48 |
| Topic:    | bonds |
| Type:     | 1. a pre-responding initiation which jokes; 2. a corrective initiation which informs of the right figure; 3. a pre-responding initiation |
| Purpose:  | supportive Seller behaviour / pursue a goal: aggressive about commercial conditions |
| Who talks | Sellers Andy and John |
| To whom:  | Buyers Sam and Les |

Summary of Seller teamwork

| Location: | lines 59-78 |
| Topic:    | first payment |
| Type:     | rejecting responses to Buyer initiations about conditions for first payment |
| Purpose:  | pursue a goal: aggressive about commercial conditions as planned; Sellers' standard terms |
| Who talks | Sellers John and Andy |
| To whom:  | Buyers Sam and Mike |
The Sellers rejected the Buyers' proposal for first payment through John and Andy's teamwork in exchange 2. In exchange 2.1 (extract 20), they become more openly aggressive and even Seller Pekka joins in. The matter is serious, as all three Sellers are cooperating at the local level. Andy takes the lead here and continues the Sellers' aggressive behaviour with an implicit threat about calling off the deal if there is no up-front payment. He is backed up by Seller John. When the Buyers reject the relevance of the Sellers' argument in the U.K., Seller Pekka joins his team with information about their payment terms in really precarious circumstances. As the Sellers normally team up on a pair basis, an issue which involves all three of them appears particularly important.

Extract 20: **Client negotiation**, commercial part, **payment terms**

SELLERS: Andy (SA), John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Les (BL), Sam (BS), Mike (BM)

**TOPIC:** up-front payment

78 SA an' there's a lot of people that
79 [we don't even
80 BL (--) (MUMBLES)
81 SA do business with
82 BL well I can understand that if you're dealing in [in the third world
83 SA [no no not]
84 BS (LAUGHS)]
85 SA not in this I in this country's [--]
86 SJ it's Glasgow [I (LAUGHS)
87 SP in those countries we get 100% up front]
88 BM Glasgow's the third world yeah ha ha

Analysis of extract 20

**TOPIC:** up-front payment

Exchange 2.1: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject

THREATEN {with no deal if no up-front payment} (SA)
REJECT / INFORM {of irrelevance of information / threat here} (BL)
83-85 REJECT / INFORM {of relevance of unreliability in UK} (SA)

(laughs) (BS)
86 Expander, INFORM {of exact location} (laughs) (SJ)
87 REJECT / INFORM {of company policy in developing countries} (SP)

(Seller initiates - attack Buyers' refusal to pay 'money up front')
REJECT / JOKE (BM)

Summary of Seller teamwork

Topic: up-front payment
Location: lines 83-87
Type: Andy initiates a threat; Buyers reject it; Andy re-initiates through a rejecting move, supported by John, joined by Pekka with a repeated rejection
Purpose: pursue a goal: 'money up front' with an argument about Sellers' standard terms
Who talks: Sellers Andy, John and Pekka
To whom: Buyers Les and Mike
Aggression did not get the Sellers anywhere, at least not immediately, so they attempt a more conciliatory approach. Andy acts alone here (extract 21) and in a generous vein offers a payment guarantee to the Buyers in order to obtain money up front as first payment as planned in the Sellers’ internal meeting (see extract 17 above). It is strange, however, as this is what the Buyers have been demanding all along, i.e. a bond. As to the timing of first payment, the real problem here for the Sellers, this would in principle change nothing. Andy's team members do not take part in his proposal, not even with back-channeling minimal recipient tokens. They seem to be watching him, aware that he is slightly off-track, but waiting to see whether he is getting anywhere. Naturally, the Buyers accept Seller Andy's offer.

Extract 21: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM)

TOPIC: payment guarantee to Buyers for first payment

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>what I'm saying to you if we give you * a payment w- the the way round it is that we give er a payment guarantee (---)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>what is th- is that that is a bond is it</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>[(-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>(--) that's a [bond</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>are we] are we looking at a performance bond</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>on on-demand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>on] first demand bond</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>right</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>an' you pay us 10% when you get those drawings an' you get a bond for 10 % of the value of of that you get a bond that you can walk down to the bank an' present an' you will get paid that money (--) the bank</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>[well</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>yeah]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>that's what that's what [we're asking for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>all right yeah] that's that we could we could live with that yeah I mean what what</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td>we're asking what we're yes okay yeah sorry [(-)-]</td>
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Analysis of extract 21

**TOPIC: payment guarantee for Buyers for first payment**

Exchange 2.2: initiate - satisfy

**89-90** PROPOSE (payment guarantee) (SA)

pre-responding exchange: REQUEST for clarification {of term} (BS)

CLARIFY (SA)

pre-responding exchange: REQUEST for information {about bond} (BM)

INFORM (incomplete as interrupted) (BS)

INFORM (SA) [BM]

Expander: INFORM {of bond} (SA) [BM]

ACCEPT (BS, BM)

Summary of Seller teamwork (see extract 23)
The Sellers' next turn (extract 22) shows that Seller Andy may be after something; he exploits the positive atmosphere he has managed to create by offering a payment guarantee to the Buyers (which is what they had already asked for as a bond, anyway; see extract 19 above), and starts again pushing for the Sellers' so-called 'standard' payment terms (see extract 19, lines 76-78). Here they would firstly involve a twenty per cent first payment, instead of the ten per cent which is what the Buyers are offering. He manages to establish his topic, but the Buyers are not to be fooled, and still hold on to their initial request for a ten per cent payment after approval of drawings. With his 'yes, but' strategy, of first agreeing and then disagreeing, Seller Mike manages to create a conciliatory atmosphere: he acts as if he were giving in to something, although he is in fact not. The Sellers reject Buyer Mike's counter-proposal on the basis of their 'standard' terms, where the approval of preliminary drawings does not feature; payment is done against the submission of the drawings. Andy acts alone until the Buyers make their counter-proposal, but rejects it together with John and Pekka, who support him. Their cooperation as a threesome continues here (see extract 20) as the issue is of importance to them.

Extract 22: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: Andy (SA), John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM), Les (BL)

**TOPIC: first payment**

106 SA our] our standard payment terms would be 20% with order to which you would
107 get a bond for 20 % so [until
108 BS so that]
109 SA you actually get the engine that bond is valid an' if we didn't deliver the engine
110 you'd go to the bank an' you present that bond an' [(.) you're first demanding
111 BM right * so]
112 SA you get your [money back
113 BM fine good] all right so if we bend it an' say erm we'll pay you 10% on approval of
114 drawings an' you give us the bond at that stage would you live with that
115 SA (.-) the question is there is a there is a (GROANS)
116 BL you're only talking about ten days here
117 SA no no
118 BL say ten working days
119 BM [(CLEAR THROAT)]
120 SA er we wel we have no fixed point there because approval of the drawings
121 BM mm
122 SA is not fixed [you
123 BL no] it's [it's not
124 SA (.-) oh [no no no no no
125 SJ [the submission of the drawings is fixed]
126 SP that's the submission]
127 SA (-L)
128 SJ we]
129 SA not approved

Analysis of extract 22

**TOPIC: first payment**

Exchange 2.3: initiate - reject
PROPOSE / INFORM {of bond in connection with Seller's standard terms: 20% for order+bond} (SA)
Expander: INFORM {how the bond works} (SA)
REJECT (BM)
Exchange 2.4: initiate - reject - satisfy
COUNTER-PROPOSE {10% payment on approval of drawings against a bond} (BM)
115 REJECT / INFORM (incomplete) (SA)
Disarmer: INFORM {of shortness of time span between submission and approval} (BL)
120-29 REJECT / INFORM {of conditions for approval of drawings} (incomplete as interrupted) (SA) [BM]
ACCEPT (rejection) (BL)
125 Expander: INFORM (of conditions for submission of drawings) (repeat - reword) (SJ)
126 Expander: INFORM (repeat) (SP)

Summary of Seller teamwork
Location: lines 115-129
Topic: first payment
Type: Andy: rejecting move to Buyers' proposal; John & Pekka: supportive moves
Purpose: pursue a goal: Sellers defend their own terms against Buyers' proposal their goal being an up-front payment
Who talks: Sellers Andy, John, Pekka
To whom: Buyers Mike and Les

After having supported Seller Andy's rejection of the Buyers' proposal (extract 22, line 125), Seller John takes the lead again (extract 23) by requesting a time limit for the Buyers' approval of drawings, and thus accepting defeat on the issue of up-front payment: he is trying to limit the extent of their defeat. Even if the Sellers cannot get the timing of first payment right, they at least want to restrict the Buyers' freedom of action somehow. John rejected the idea of a time limit on the Buyers inspecting preliminary drawings of the power installation when it was proposed by Buyers Sam and Mike a while earlier (extract 19, lines 62-64). Possibly, at that stage he was hoping to get closer to the Sellers' original goal (of an up-front payment), and thus rejected it then. Now, having realised the strength of the Buyers' opposition towards an up-front payment, he is willing to give in, but not for nothing; if the Sellers cannot get first payment up front, they at least want it as soon as possible by setting restrictions on the amount of time the Buyers will have at their disposal for inspecting the documents prior to approving them. They are only talking about a week or two, but in the case of a large contract, it could be financially important to them.

According to Goffman (1955), social contacts between people involve 'face-work', efforts by participants to communicate a positive image ('face') of themselves and prevent losing it. The 'face'-relatedness of the issue could further explain the matter, as according to the specialist informant, proposals are often felt to be more easily acceptable if they are initiated by co-members of your own side rather than the opposing side. The concept of 'negative face' (Brown & Levinson 1978) involves protecting your freedom of action, which could be at play here.
Surprisingly, Buyer Les rejects John's proposal, which appears to be incoherent team behaviour among the Buyers, as Buyers Sam and Mike suggested the same thing in extract 19 above. Still, Buyer Les has the last word on the Buyers' side, being the most powerful negotiator of the Buying team (despite his young age) as he represents the Buying Parent Company. Of course the Buyers' behaviour could be explained similarly to the Sellers' equivalent behaviour above.

Seller Pekka joins Seller John here: he rejects Les's rejection by informing him of the penalties which prevent the Sellers from delaying the project. The Buyers reciprocate by bringing up reasons on their side for keeping the project moving according to a set timetable, which would, according to them, make a time limit unnecessary. The matter is left open.

The Sellers take turns here in who is to lead: Seller Andy offered a payment guarantee to the Buyers on the basis of the Sellers' standard terms of payment (extract 21). As the Buyers turn down the Sellers' standard terms in connection with first payment, it is Seller John who takes the lead in trying to make the conditions for first payment more favourable to the Sellers (extract 23).

Extract 23: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

**TOPIC:** time limit

SELLERS: John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Les (BL), Mike (BM), Sam (BS)

| 130 | SJ | we would have to we'd have to put a time on it then |
| 131 | SA | [--) |
| 132 | BL | th- that] would delay the project an' it's not right for us to do that |
| 133 | BM | no but they yeah |
| 134 | SP | you know there is or incentive for us because there are heavy penalties on delay |
| 135 | BM | mm * |
| 136 | BL | an' there's an incentive for us to to get it done early so (--) |
| 137 | BS | an' we need your drawings because we've got mechanical pipework contractors |
| 138 | BL | an' others that need them |
| 139 | BL | an' approval will not be unreasonably withheld |
| 140 | BS | no |
| 141 | BL | an' I don't foresee it being a problem with a reputable [company |
| 142 | BS | I bet] it says that somewhere else in that [--) |
| 143 | BM | it does] actually yeah |

**Analysis of extract 23**

**TOPIC:** time limit

Exchange 2.5: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject -

130 PROPOSE (time limit for approval of drawings) (SJ)
REJECT / INFORM (of delay to project) (BL) [BM]
(BM hesitates as proposed time limit himself earlier with BS)
134 REJECT / INFORM {of Sellers' incentives to prevent delay} (SP) [BM]
REJECT / INFORM {of Buyers' incentives to approve drawings quickly} (Les)
In the Buyers' next turn (extract 24), Buyer Sam wants to confirm the amount of payment to be made against bonds, as the issue of who will bear the costs of the bonds will have to be settled sooner or later. Seller Andy hesitates, although he has been generously offering a payment guarantee, i.e. a bond, to the Buyers. Seller John helps him out with a handy argument that is used by both sides on many occasions during the negotiation in order to avoid commitment to an unfavourable condition: the final decision will be made by their superiors. Consequently, the Sellers need more information about the Buyers' conditions for terms in order to transmit it to a higher level within their company. However, the Buyers do not want to elaborate on the subject, but refer to MFI (Model Form 1 for terms in engineering contracts in the U.K.).

Extract 24: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

TOPICS: amount of bonds, Buyers' preferences for payment terms

SELLERS: Andy (SA), John (SJ)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM)

144 BS so what what what the way we’ve got this structured at the moment there’s 50%
145 prior to delivery of total payments an’ a further 10% on delivery what you’re
146 saying is that by the time that delivery happens we will be sitting over on-demand
147 bonds for 50% of the contract value ***
148 SA we could look again (-[-)
149 BS that’s]
150 SA these bonds cost money an’ at the moment they’re not there (---) for the initial
151 payment (---)
152 BM yeah
153 SA (---) you you [(-]
154 SJ I think what we need to do really is for you to tell us what you’re prepared to pay
I mean because this is a contract with * Selling Parent Company in Finland

yeah

an' they will have to make the decision (-)

well that I mean what we are prepared to pay is basically what is set down there

that is the that's the standard terms an' [(-)

mm-hmm]

of payment for this project

Analysis of extract 24

**TOPIC:** amount of bonds
Exchange 2.6: initiate - reject
SUMMARISE {about bonds} (SB)
REQUEST for confirmation (BS)

148-53 NON-COMPLIANCE / INFORM {of cost of bonds} (partly inaudible) (SA) [BM]

**TOPIC:** Buyers' preferences for payment terms
Exchange 2.7: initiate - satisfy

154 COUNTER-REQUEST for information {about Buyer's preferences about payment terms} (SJ) [SA1]
155-57 Expander: INFORM {Parent Co's decision} (SJ)
INFORM {of Buyer's preferences: refer to MF1} (BM) [SJ]
Expander: INFORM {of prototypical Seller behaviour} (BM)

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 148-157
Topics: amount of bonds, Buyers' preferences for payment terms
Type: Andy does not accept Buyer Sam's summary; John helps him out, and initiates a counter request for information
Purpose: supportive Seller behaviour
Who talks: Sellers Andy and John
To whom: Buyers Sam and Mike

Buyer Mike continues (extract 25) by taking up the inherent nature of divergent Seller goals and Buyer goals in a business negotiation. The Sellers, in accordance with prototypical Seller behaviour (see Charles 1994), want to play down this difference, and emphasise that they see the present affair as a 'partnership' (see also agenda item price below). Buyer Mike suggests a compromise which Seller John takes up by approving some of the terms proposed by the Buyers. He continues, however, by requesting a payment guarantee to the Sellers. The Buyers check the conditions before responding to the Sellers' request in a pre-responding exchange, and here Seller Andy joins John in replying to the Buyers.

**Extract 25:** Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: John (SJ), Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Mike (BM), Les (BL), Sam (BS)

**TOPIC:** payment guarantee to Sellers

now I appreciate you may not you you may (-) not

agree with those obviously most contractors [on principle
SA  (-)
BM  would come along an' say I want you know 100% up front but between th-
SJ  between us we've got to find some er an' there's also other conditions which er
BM  [Sam has just laid out
SJ  oh I don't think we were too unhappy with this
BM  right
SJ  er we were just
BM  but that we need to (-) it a little bit is that what you're saying
SJ  well no how are you gonna guarantee payment to us
BM  sorry how are we going to guarantee
SJ  how are you going to pay us
BL  at which stage
SA  every stage
SJ  every stage ***
BS  well [(-)]
BM  well I was gonna say yeah]
BS  find what they what the er [(-)]
BM  yeah if the er if we don't pay we don't actually er * pay when it's due then you
BM  have the right under MF 1 to er to give us 14 days' notification or whatever it is
SA  of intent to stop work
SJ  num
BM  uhm an' that's what I would expect that's what I've done to a client before (-) ha ha
BM  when I've been in your case [I've done it as well
SA  [(-)]
SJ  what we could we could be left with an engine on our hands just ready for
BM  shipment an' there's no money coming in an' we're left with an engine
BM  okay so you can sell it [then can't you
SJ  we're a big company an' [we'll sell it somewhere else but I mean
BM  ha ha yeah]
SJ  you could * [well

Analysis of extract 25

Exchange 2.8: initiate - satisfy
SUGGEST {a compromise} (BM)
Expander: INFORM {of conditions laid out by BS} (BM)
ACCEPT {some of Buyer terms} (SJ) [BM]

TOPIC: payment guarantee to Sellers
Exchange 2.9: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - satisfy
INFORM {of reluctance with some conditions} (incomplete as interrupted) (SJ)
corrective exchange: REQUEST for confirmation (BM)
REJECT (SJ)

169-71 REQUEST {for payment guarantee to Seller} (SJ)
corrective exchange: REQUEST for clarification (BM)

173 CLARIFY (SJ)
pre-responding exchange: REQUEST for information {stage} (BL)

175-76 INFORM (SA, SJ)
REJECT / INFORM {of Sellers rights under MF1} (partly inaudible) (BS)
Expander: INFORM {of details of Sellers' rights} (BM) [SJ]
Expander: INFORM {of Mike's professional background} (BM)
(inaudible) (SA)
COMPLAIN / INFORM {of potential bad consequences to Seller} (SJ)
REJECT / INFORM {of options open to Sellers} (BM)
REQUEST for confirmation (BM)
CONFIRM / ACCEPT (SJ) [BM]
(BM laughs)
COMPLAIN (incomplete as interrupted) (SJ)
Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 171-176
Topic: payment guarantee for Sellers
Type: John initiates a request; Buyers' pre-responding request for information is satisfied by Andy and John together
Purpose: pursue a goal: Sellers are trying to improve their terms / supportive Seller behaviour
Who talks: Sellers John and Andy
To whom: Buyers Mike and Les

As Seller John is not getting anywhere in his attempt to improve the conditions of payment terms (extracts 23, 25), Seller Andy takes the lead again and opts for a bolder approach and starts openly proposing the Sellers' own terms of payment as a better solution than the terms suggested in MFI. The Buyers' initial reaction is one of ridicule (extract 26, line 200) and blunt refusal (extract 26, lines 201-204).

Extract 26: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Mike (BM), Les (BL)

**TOPIC: re-word terms on the basis of Sellers' standard terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>(--) (take a step back) what I'll also do is provide you with our standard payment terms an' how they work which an' try an' fit it perhaps a bit more round your schedule here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>uhm just just as a matter of interest for you to see what do you think of those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>because I've just offered them to another customer in the UK an' he thinks our payment terms are better than the ones here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>ha ha [ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>BL</td>
<td>well] if your if your payments start at 20 % up front then there's not really much point in [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>no so I mean there's]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>BL</td>
<td>[far away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>it is be]cause you get er a bond an an [on-demand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>yeah I know] I know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>bond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>[yeah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>(--) straight back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>yes I understand that but that still means</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of extract 26 (lines 193-210)

**TOPIC: re-word terms on the basis of Sellers' standard terms**
Exchange 2.10: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject
PROPOSE {to reword terms on the basis of Sellers' standard terms} (SA)
Sweeterener: PROPOSE {to taylor-make terms to Buyer} (SA) [BM]
Grounder: INFORM {of another customer's experience} (SA)
(laughter) (BM)
Grounder: INFORM {of impossibility of 20% up front} (BL)
REJECT (BL)
Expander: (incomplete as interrupted) (BM)
REJECT / INFORM {of bond} (SA) [BM]
ACCEPT {security with bond} (BM)
REJECT {incomplete as interrupted} (BM)

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 89-100 + 171-176 + 193-209
Topic: payment guarantee for first payment + time limit + re-word terms on the basis of Sellers' standard terms
Type: Andy and John take turns in leading
Purpose: pursue a goal: Sellers are trying to improve their terms / supportive Seller behaviour
Who talks: Sellers John and Andy
To whom: Buyers Sam, Mike and Les

Seller Andy continues his bold attempt at getting the Buyers' consent to reword the payment terms on the basis of the Sellers' 'standard' terms. His earlier initiation about it faced strong opposition from the Buyers: Andy's proposal was initially rejected by Buyers Mike and Les as an unfeasible suggestion (extract 26, lines 200-210). Now (extract 27) Andy tries to prevent Buyer Sam from taking up his topic, and instead repeats his earlier proposal. This is bold interactional behaviour, which does not happen in the technical part of Client negotiation. Surprisingly, Sam agrees to it. Sam continues by offering concessions: a twenty per cent first payment. This is in accordance with the Sellers' terms regarding the amount of first payment, although timing still remains a problem.

After such a generous act, Buyer Sam immediately exploits the situation by requesting that the Sellers bear the costs involved in the bond. Andy works alone here (extract 27) until he makes a mistake; he sees Sam's offer of twenty per cent as being also an offer of up-front payment, which, according to Buyer Mike, it is not. Here Seller Pekka comes to Andy's rescue (after Andy has already acknowledged his mistake and apologised for it) by rejecting Sam's proposal.

The Sellers are reluctant to discuss the subject of first payment any further, as they now have Sam's acceptance of rewording of the payment terms. Thanks to Andy's perseverance, the Sellers have managed to increase the amount of first payment from ten per cent, which was first proposed by the Buyers, to twenty per cent, in line with their standard terms.

Extract 27: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: Andy (SA), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM)

TOPICS: first payment, cost of bond for first payment, re-word terms on the basis of Sellers' standards terms

211 BS well let's let's move it to the end of this the second thing the submission of the [er
212 BM yeah]
213 BS prel- [construction drawings
SA no c-er that's what I say] let me [(/] them
215 BM yes]
216 SA an' reword them an' [(4)---]
217 BS let's leave them an' let's an' say 20% is is the total on]
218 SA MF1
219 BS but we don't wanna be charged extra for this bond **
220 SA I'm sure if we get 20% up front we could we could live with the extra for [(the
221 bond]
222 BM yeah I don't think you're gonna get it up front [I think you're gonna get it after
223 SA yeah sorry (--]) but I say [(--)]
224 BM right okay]
225 SP because this means a lot of extra work an' extra extra er money for the bonds
226 because we are
227 BS but it's not (extra work) with respect Pekka
228 SP but I mean [(--) er
229 BS (---)]
230 SA ten ten ten an' ten whereas ours will be a one off bond an' your next payment is
231 when you get the engine [so that
232 SP an' the] engine is there
233 BS well] I [mean that- that as I say
234 SA that gives you the satisfaction of knowing that we've got that bit of metal now
235 an' [(--) pay (--)]

Analysis of extract 27

**TOPIC: first payment**
Exchange 2.11: initiate - reject -
PROPOSE {payment for submission of second lot of drawings} (BS) [BM]
NON-COMPLIANCE (SA)

**TOPIC: re-word terms on the basis of Sellers' standard terms**
Exchange 2.12: re-initiate - satisfy
PROPOSE {to reword terms} (partly inaudible) (SA) [BM]
ACCEPT (to let SA reword terms) (BS)

**TOPICS: first payment, cost of bond for first payment**
Exchange 2.13: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject -
OFFER {20% for drawings against a bond} (BS)
REQUEST {not to pay for costs involved in bonds} (BS)
pre-responding exchange: INFORM {accept extra cost with 20% payment up front} (SA)
REJECT / INFORM {no money up-front payment} (BM)
APOLOGISE (SA)
EXPLAIN / JUSTIFY (mostly inaudible) (SA)
ACCEPT (BM)

225 REJECT / INFORM {of work and cost involved in bonds}? (incomplete as interrupted by Sam) (SP)
REJECT / INFORM? (mostly inaudible) (BS)
(inaudible) (SP)

230 REJECT / INFORM {of advantages involved in Seller's standard terms re: bonds} (SA)
Expander: INFORM {of location of engine} (SP)
(Sam is interrupted)

234-5 Expander: INFORM {of location of engine} (SA)
Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 220-235
Topic: cost of bond for first payment, re-word terms on the basis of Sellers' standard terms
Type: Andy pre-responds to a Buyer initiation with too much optimism which is rejected by Buyers; Pekka takes the lead and rejects Buyers' proposal; Andy re-cycles Sellers' standard terms; Pekka supports
Purpose: supportive Seller behaviour + pursue a goal: Sellers's standard terms
Who talks: Sellers Andy and Pekka
To whom: Buyers Sam and Mike

The interactional structure of the topic first payment becomes increasingly complex towards the end of its treatment. Seller Andy has been trying to close the topic for a while after having received the Buyers' consent to reword the payment terms on the basis of the Sellers' standard terms (extract 27, line 217). Buyer Mike has been responding to him, while Buyer Sam has kept his own topic going, trying to squeeze his last condition out of the Sellers, the cost of the bond.

At the beginning of extract 28 Buyer Sam summarises the Buyers' position, consisting of their intention to pay the initial payment of twenty per cent of the contract price when the preliminary drawings have been approved by them. Seller Andy accepts this (the amount of payment) and starts a series of post-exchanges with joining contributions from both the Buying and Selling sides.

Expertise appears decisive in who is to team up with whom in the Seller teamwork. It also seems important as regards who works with whom from opposing sides. However, this seems sometimes to be overridden by professional roles. For example, project leaders sympathise with each other, and the roles the participants generally hold in their respective companies are important. Seller Andy and Buyer Mike are both newcomers to their companies, and this sometimes appears to influence their interaction; Buyer Mike keeps responding to Seller Andy throughout exchange 2.14 (extract 28), as he tries to prevent Buyer Sam, Mike's team member, from establishing his topic.

Sellers Andy, Pekka and John all take their turns in extract 28; they are keen on closing the topic. Andy keeps pushing for the Sellers' standard terms, while Pekka in his post-exchange initiation informs the Buyers' of the timetable of the project. When Sam expresses his concern about the Sellers' incentive to provide preliminary information, as there is no payment involved at that stage, Seller John counter-attacks by bringing up the Buyers' possibility to abuse the Sellers' preliminary drawings.
Extract 28: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: Andy (SA), Pekka (SP), John (SJ)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM)

TOPIC: first payment

236 BM er ok- you] you give us you
237 BS sorry our terms of payment have got to be approved by head office [but I would I
238 would
239 SA yeah (-)]
240 BS like to recommend to our head office the 20% at the end of the second lot of
241 drawings * for that that bond an’ that would be our first payment
242 SA yeh
243 BS 20]% after all the drawings are received an’ approved
244 SA because I mean on that one you don’t (--) payment till you've approved (-)
245 (shipment)
246 BM well we’ll look at that [yeah
247 SA [(--)]
248 SP yeah] because then *
249 BM yeah
250 SP I think you’re getting the papers [within the next few days
251 BM make us a proposal] on [those
252 SP yeah]
253 BM on that basis and er an’ yeah * we'll er
254 SA what it what it event- what it means to you is that up to this point you've paid 50%
255 an’ you actually keep about 30% of that in the bank for yourselves (-) definitely
256 (-) to you
257 BS so it’s (-) 20%
258 BS BM yeah [you
259 BS after] all drawings
260 BM you you you’re gonna make us er
261 BS I'm only nervous (--) what incentive have you got to give us preliminary
262 BS information (LAUGHS)
263 BM [(LAUGHS)
264 SJ (--) the way things are going] (JOKE)
265 BM yes ha
266 BS ha ha well if you’re a project manager [(-)
267 SP hey they] might use this for someone else’s engine though
268 SA yeah ha
269 SJ (-)] Selling Parent Company’s
270 BS now [these [(-]
271 BM damn (-)] ha ha [sorry

Analysis of extract 28

TOPIC: first payment
Exchange 2.14: initiate - satisfy
PROPOSE (incomplete as interrupted by BS) (BM)
Disarm: APOLOGISE (to Mike for interruption) (BS)
INFORM (a head office decision) (BS)
PROPOSE (payment of 20% after approval of all drawings) (BS) [SA]
242 ACCEPT (SA)
244-5 post-exchange: INFORM (of advantages of Sellers' standard terms) (partly inaudible) (SA) [SM]
250 post-exchange: INFORM (of intention to check terms) (BM)
254-6 post-exchange: INFORM (of advantages of Seller's standard terms) (SA)
corrective exchange: INFORM (20% for drawings) (BS)
PROPOSE (to Sellers to reword terms) (incomplete as interrupted) (BM)
In extract 27 above, Buyer Sam accepts that the Sellers may present a modified proposal for payment terms which is to be re-designed on the basis of the Sellers' standard terms. In extract 29 he exploits the fact that the Buyers have given in to the Sellers in a detail of the potential contract, and that consequently they expect to get something in return. The Buyers expect the Sellers to mark materials for them, as they feel that they will by then 'own' at least parts of an engine. The Sellers refuse this, and Seller Andy is very categorical about this, even though his initial rejection is ill-founded (extract 29, lines 275). Seller John teams up with the Buyers briefly in a corrective exchange where Andy's misconception is rectified (extract 29, lines 275-278). Nevertheless, Andy continues with his rejection unperturbed and manages to defend the Sellers' own terms even here by expanding on them as support for his rejection (extract 29, lines 279-303). The Buyers concede (extract 29, lines 302-306). After receiving initial acceptance of his rejection from the Buyers, Andy gives more details about how their terms work and is here joined by Pekka (extract 29, lines 308-319).

Extract 29: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: Andy (SA), John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM), Les (BL)

TOPIC: reassurance of end use of materials

272 BS  (-) I mean if we accept that 20% an' we're at risk on the next 30 er we would
273 need some kind of reassurance that the materials that you've purchased with our
274 money in your factory * are * marked for us
275 SA no no no you have that on-demand bond for that 20%
276 BS no we're talking about [the next 30
277 BM [for the next 30%]
278 SJ [for the next] 30 three times 10 the [contract price
279 SA then] we we we we just cannot do that **
BS  so if [Selling Company
SA  we we]
BS  goes bust
SA  we we cannot [do that
BS  a receiver] comes in an' [our engine is
SA  we we yeah]
BS  is sold off an' [we're left with nothing
SA  we cannot] we can't do (--) this is this is this is why this second option of our
BS  payment terms becomes an advantage to you because you pay 20% then you get a
SA  piece of paper that says I can have that 20% back by going to the bank [(--)
BS  but you] could come to us an' or we could be told in August that Selling Company
SA  is now in receivership an' that er your engine I'm sorry is being sold by the
BS  receiver and er all we've got is a bond for 20% an' [the project (--) absolute
SA  no no you haven't] you hav[en't paid
BL  I think]
SA  50% 'cause on our payment terms you will not pay any (-) money to us [until that
SA  engine
BS  until delivery]
SA  you have paperwork to prove that that engine is being delivered to you
BM  is [being or has been
SJ  we] [we're not talking about this (--) we're talking about (--) an'
SA  is being it's an independent certificat saying that] this engine is is now [on its way
BM  right so so so]
SA  (--[-> Selling Company
BS  (--) with the er having something to prove I think we can accept that
BM  yes [yes
BL  yes]
SJ  we'll come up [with
SA  this] this is this is [why we're capable of (--) exactly the same (--)]
BM  yeah okay yeah that's it certainly certainly sounds (reasonable)] as long as it's in
SP  independent hands [then it's
BM  yeah]
BM  beyond the er the hands of
SP  yeah
SA  yeah
SP  it's already [left the factory
BM  [the receiver
BL  yeah]
BS  [(--) are we talking about the next
SP  and it's going to (--)]
BS  40% then
BL  as long as it's not in one of [(--)

Analysis of extract 29

**TOPIC:** reassurance of end use of materials

Exchange 3: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - satisfy
Grounder: INFORM {of Buyer's risk} (BS)
REQUEST {for reassurance of end use of materials} (BS)
REJECT {of bond for 20%} (SA)
276-77 corrective exchange: INFORM {question of next 30%} (BS, BM)
278 INFORM {question of next 30%} (SJ)

REJECT (SA)
COMPLAIN / INFORM {of possible negative consequences to Buyer} (BS) [SA]
REJECT / INFORM {of advantages of Seller's standard terms: certificat} (overlapping speech) (SA)
COMPLAIN / INFORM {of possible negative consequences to Buyer} (BS)
REJECT / INFORM {of advantages of Seller's standard terms: certificat} (SA)
INFORM (complete Andy's turn) (BS)
corrective exchange: REQUEST for clarification (BM)
corrective exchange: INFORM {of irrelevant topic here}? (SJ)
CLARIFY (to Mike) (SA)
The Sellers want to close the agenda item and this seems to throw their team activity into disarray. Sellers John and Andy are together trying to prevent Buyer Sam from taking up his topic. They have already had the Buyers’ approval for a rewording of the terms of payment on the basis of their standard terms (extract 27 above, line 217), but Sam still wants to talk about the remaining instalments of payment, and takes up his topic even though the Sellers express clear hostility to discussing it (extract 30, lines 322-323). Finally, Seller John takes up Buyer Sam’s topic by rejecting his proposal (extract 30, lines 329-330). Buyer Sam re-initiates his proposal by justifying it with a joke, and strangely enough, Seller John joins him in the joke against his own rejection. He seems to be slipping, which could be due to tiredness towards the end of the negotiation. Throughout this exchange of information, Seller Andy keeps trying to prevent discussion about the present topic by starting a post-exchange, which Buyer Mike takes up (extract 30, lines 332, 334, 337, 341, 343). Seller Pekka keeps John’s initial rejection going although John himself has let go of it. He justifies it (lines 344-349), but finally seems ready to let go, as everyone else on his side is reluctant to continue discussing the subject (extract 30, line 366).
Extract 30: Client negotiation, commercial part, payment terms

SELLERS: Andy (SA), John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM)

TOPIC: amount of payment on delivery

318 BS [(--) are we talking about the next
319 SP and it's going to (--)]
320 BS 40% then
321 BL as long as it's not in one of [(--)
322 SA please let me have a look at the this is this is where we
323 SJ no we'll revamp it an' come back to you next week
324 SA (--) 
325 SP yeah
326 BS so I'm I'm gonna draft for 40% on delivery which is what we're offering ** is the
327 BS 3 by 10 plus the 10 on delivery
328 SA yeah it will it
329 SJ no we'll have to have more than that's only 60 isn't it we'll have to have more than
330 60 on delivery
331 BS well we wanted you to have a big incentive [(--)
332 SA let's have a [I'll try
333 SP yeah]
334 SA [I'll have a word with the finance people an' an'
335 BS site installation (--) a few days [from (--)]
336 SP yeah] yeah
337 SA [(an' we'll work) (working round)
338 BS (--) spanners] [(LAUGHS)
339 SJ or (--) welding (--) ha]
340 BS [(LAUGHS)
341 BM you] you use that an' the comments [we've made
342 SA yeah]
343 BM an' see if you can come up with a set of proposals that that sounds good
344 SP because when we're supplying the er engine we are supplying also all the
345 auxiliaries
346 BM [yes
347 SP so it] means more or less that er * let's say 80 90% of the of the project value is
348 BM yeah
349 SP on site
350 BM yes yeah (-)
351 SP yeah
352 BM I would an- I would agree with you there the [point
353 SP yeah]
354 BM that er * you will've supplied a lot of hardware an' that without the expertise
355 unless the expertise is then supplied to install it an' commission it * [then
356 SJ (COUGHS)]
357 BM it means an awful lot more it's gonna cost us an awful lot more [to do
358 SP yeah]
359 BM the job than it would you * so er yes you're right the hardware percentage might
360 [be there
361 SP yeah]
362 BM but er we would still need your [expertise
363 SP yeah]
364 BM to actually install it
365 SA yefah
366 SP yeah] an' that's something Andy [will examine more in detail
367 BM yeah an' yes] yeah **
368 SJ right
369 BM yeah
370 SP [mhm]
Analysis of extract 30

**TOPIC:** amount of payment on delivery

Exchange 4: initiate - reject - re-initiate - satisfy

322 pre-exchange: REQUEST for information {about next 40%} (overlapping speech with SP) (BS)
NON-COMPLIANCE / PROPOSE {to reword terms} (SA)
323 REJECT / PROPOSE {to reword terms} (SJ) [SP]

(BS & SJ work together)
PROPOSE {40% of payment on delivery} (BS)

329-30 REJECT (SJ)
Grounder: INFORM {60% by delivery is not enough} (SJ)
INFORM {of motive to proposal} (BS)
(SA and BM work together)
post-exchange: PROPOSE {Seller's terms} (interrupted) (SA) [SP]

335 Expander: EXPLAIN/JUSTIFY: (continues) (BS) [SP]

338 (BS laughs)

339 ACCEPT (justification) / INFORM (continue BS's Expander) (SJ)

340 (BS laughs)

ACCEPT (SA's proposal) / PROPOSE (BM) [SA]
(Pekka joins BS and SJ)

344-49 REJECT / INFORM (of project value on site) (SP) [BM] [SP]
ACCEPT / INFORM (of Andy's future action re: re-wording of terms) (SP) [BM] [SJ, SP?]

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 322-323
Topic: amount of payment on delivery
Type: Sellers reject Buyers' topic
Purpose: pursue a goal: have freer hands in making their new proposal for payment terms on the basis of their own terms
Who talks: Sellers Andy and John
To whom: Buyer Sam

Summary of Sellers teaming up with Buyers against their own team

Location: lines 338-340
Topic: amount of payment on delivery
Type: Seller John joins Sam in justifying Sam's proposal by completing Sam's turn together with him
Purpose: 'letting go' towards end of negotiation due to tiredness?
Who talks: Seller John
To whom: Buyer Sam

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 329-330+344-349
Topic: amount of payment on delivery
Type: Pekka supports John's rejection of Buyer Sam's proposal by providing justification for it
Purpose: controlling function: John has given in, Pekka keeps fighting
Who talks: Sellers John and Pekka
To whom: Buyers Sam and Mike

An agenda item is sometimes wound down with a minor topic (see *engine cooling radiator*). In extract 31 the Buyers take up a topic that has already been briefly touched upon at the beginning
of the sequence. Sellers Andy and John accept together the Buyers' argumentation. The agenda item is closed by Seller John who moves on to the next item on the agenda.

Extract 31: **Client negotiation**, commercial part, *payment terms*

SELLERS: John (SJ), Pekka (SP), Andy (SA)  
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM)

**TOPIC:** retention bond (re-cycled)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td></td>
<td>and our terms of payment show 5% as retention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>mm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>now we’re happy to pay that in er exchange for a [retention</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>[bond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>retention] [bond yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377</td>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>380</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>(—)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>well exactly [that's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>383</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>what it comes down to I mean you can basically it comes down you can have it if</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>384</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>you want if [you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>385</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>386</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>want it as a [bond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>387</td>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>but otherwise we’ll hang on to it until the end of the retention period</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>389</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>390</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>it’s up to you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>391</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>392</td>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>now 47.4 ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Analysis of extract 31**

**TOPIC:** retention bond  
Exchange 5: initiate - satisfy  
INFORM (of Buyers' terms concerning last payment) (BS)  
REQUEST {for a 5% retention payment bond} (repeated) (BS) [BM]  
INFORM (of name of bond) (repeat; complete BS's turn) (BM) [SJ, SP]  
(inaudible)? (SA)  
ACCEPT? (BM)  
Expander: INFORM {of last payment} (BM)

377-91 ACCEPT (SJ, SP, SA)

Summary of Seller teamwork

- **Location:** lines 377-391  
- **Topic:** retention bond  
- **Type:** accept together  
- **Purpose:** supportive Seller behaviour  
- **Who talks:** Sellers John and Pekka  
- **To whom:** Buyers Sam and Mike
4.3.2 Summary

A summary of the nature of teamwork identified in connection with the item of agenda *payment terms* is presented in this section. The order of presentation follows the research questions presented in 2.4. above. The section opens with the interactional structure of the item, which is given in a simplified form with all embedded exchanges and supportive moves omitted. This may help the reader form a picture of the item as a whole, as merely reading through the detailed analysis of text extracts gives a rather fragmentary view of the sequence. A brief description of the progression of the item of agenda is also given below.

The numbers of lines given in the left margin refer to the extracts of text in the detailed analysis of the item of agenda (extracts 17-31). The topics that become established by both parties are given. Other issues that are taken up are identified as sub-topics if they are voiced by one party only, provided that they are relevant in the identification of instances of teamwork.

*Client negotiation: summary of interactional structure of payment terms*

lines

1-15 **TOPIC: retention of last payment** (3)
Exchange 1: initiate - satisfy
INFORM {of problem with Sellers' Offer} (incomplete) (Buyers)
('thinking aloud': adding up percentage of payments) (Sellers)
INFORM/JOKE {about Sellers wanting to forget about retention of final payment} (Sellers)
ACCEPT (laughter) (Buyers)

16-78 **TOPICS: bonds, first payment, time limit** (2)
Exchange 2: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject -
INFORM {of need for a large bond} (Buyers)
INFORM {of preliminary nature of any agreement} (Buyers)
REQUEST {for a 10% bond at beginning of deal} (Buyers)
REQUEST {for a retention bond at the end} (Buyers)
PROPOSE {no payment of 'money up front' on signature of contract} (Buyers)
PROPOSE {payment after approval of preliminary drawings} (Buyers)
REJECT / COMPLAIN {about possible Buyer behaviour negative to Seller} (Sellers)
PROPOSE {a time limit} (Buyers)
REJECT / COMPLAIN {of possible Buyer behaviour negative to Seller} (Sellers)
INFORM {of reasons for request for payment after approval of drawings} (Buyers)
INFORM {of cost-relation of drawings} (Buyers)
REJECT (Sellers)

78-88 **TOPIC: up-front payment** (1)
Exchange 2.1: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject -
INFORM {of Seller's standard payment terms} (Sellers)
THREATEN {with no deal with unreliable Buyers} (Sellers)
REJECT / INFORM {of irrelevance of information / threat here} (Buyers)
REJECT / INFORM {of relevance of unreliability in UK} (Sellers)
REJECT / INFORM {of company policy in developing countries} (Sellers)
REJECT / JOKE (Buyers)
TOPIC: payment guarantee to Buyers for first payment
Exchange 2.2: initiate - satisfy
PROPOSE (payment guarantee) (Sellers)
ACCEPT (Buyers)

TOPIC: first payment (1)
Exchange 2.3: initiate - reject -
PROPOSE / INFORM {of bond in Sellers' standard terms} (Sellers)
REJECT (Buyers)
Exchange 2.4: initiate - reject - satisfy
COUNTER-PROPOSE: {10% payment on approval of drawings against a bond} (Buyers)
REJECT / INFORM {of conditions for approval of drawings} (incomplete) (Sellers)
ACCEPT (Buyers)

TOPIC: time limit (2)
Exchange 2.5: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject -
PROPOSE {time limit for approval of drawings} (Sellers)
REJECT / INFORM {of delay to project} (Buyers)
REJECT / INFORM {of Sellers' incentives to prevent delay} (Sellers)
REJECT / INFORM {of Buyers' incentives to approve drawings quickly} (Buyers)

TOPIC: amount of bonds (1)
Exchange 2.6: initiate - reject -
SUMMARISE {about bonds} (Buyers)
REQUEST for confirmation (Buyers)
NON-COMPLIANCE / INFORM {of cost of bonds} (partly inaudible) (Sellers)

TOPIC: Buyers' preferences for payment terms
Exchange 2.7: initiate - satisfy
COUNTER - REQUEST for information {about Buyers' preferences} (Sellers)
INFORM {of Buyers' preferences: refer to MF1} (Buyers)

TOPIC: payment guarantee to Sellers (1)
Exchange 2.9: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - satisfy
INFORM {of reluctance with some conditions} (incomplete as interrupted) (Sellers)
REQUEST {for payment guarantee to Sellers} (Sellers)
REJECT / INFORM {of Sellers' rights under MF1} (partly inaudible) (Buyers)
COMPLAIN / INFORM {of potential bad consequences to Seller} (Sellers)
REJECT / INFORM {of options open to Sellers} (Buyers)
REQUEST for confirmation (Buyers)
CONFIRM / ACCEPT (Sellers)
COMPLAIN (incomplete as interrupted) (Sellers)

TOPIC: re-word terms on the basis of Sellers' standard terms (1)
Exchange 2.10: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject -
PROPOSE {to reword terms on the basis of Seller's standard terms} (Sellers)
REJECT (Buyers)
REJECT / INFORM {of bond} (Sellers)
ACCEPT {security with bond} (Buyers)
REJECT {incomplete as interrupted} (Buyers)

TOPIC: first payment (1)
Exchange 2.11: initiate - reject -
PROPOSE {payment for submission of second lot of drawings}? (Buyers)
REJECT (Sellers)

TOPIC: re-word terms on the basis of Sellers' standard terms
Exchange 2.12: re-initiate - satisfy
PROPOSE {to reword terms} (partly inaudible) (Sellers)
ACCEPT {to let Andy reword terms?} (Buyers)
TOPICS: first payment; cost of bond for first payment
Exchange 2.13: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject
OFFER (20% for drawings against a bond) (Buyers)
REQUEST {not to pay for costs involved in bonds} (Buyers)
REJECT / INFORM {of work and cost involved in bonds}? (Incomplete) (Sellers)
REJECT / INFORM? (mostly inaudible) (Buyers)
REJECT / INFORM (of advantages of Sellers' standard terms re: bonds) (Sellers)

236-271 TOPIC: first payment (1)
Exchange 2.14: initiate - satisfy
INFORM {a head office decision} (Buyers)
PROPOSE {payment of 20% after approval of all drawings} (Buyers)
ACCEPT (Sellers)

272-321 TOPIC: reassurance of end use of materials (1+1 against own team)
Exchange 3: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - satisfy
REQUEST {reassurance of end use of materials} (Buyers)
REJECT / INFORM {of bond for 20%} (Sellers)
REJECT (Buyers)
COMPLAIN / INFORM {of possible negative consequences to Buyer} (Buyers)
REJECT / INFORM {of advantages of Seller's standard terms: certificate} (overlapping speech) (Sellers)
COMPLAIN / INFORM {of possible negative consequences to Buyer} (Buyers)
REJECT / INFORM {of advantages of Seller's standard terms: certificate} (Sellers)
INFORM (complete SA's turn) (Buyers)
ACCEPT {reassurance of material not needed because of certificate} (Buyers)

318-370 TOPIC: amount of payment on delivery (2+1 against own team)
Exchange 4: initiate - reject - re-initiate - satisfy
reject - re-initiate - satisfy
PROPOSE {40% of payment on delivery} (Buyers)
REJECT (Sellers)
INFORM {of motive to proposal} (Buyers)
ACCEPT (justification) / INFORM (continue BS's Expander) (Sellers)
REJECT / INFORM {of project value on site} (Sellers)
REJECT / INFORM {of Buyers' need for Seller's expertise in installation of equipment} (Buyers)
ACCEPT / INFORM {of Andy's future action re: re-wording of terms} (Sellers)

371-391 TOPIC: retention bond (1)
Exchange 5: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST {for a 5% retention payment bond} (repeated) (Buyers)
ACCEPT (Sellers)

Teamwork is resorted to by the Sellers throughout the item of agenda. It is only when Seller Andy pursues his 'own agenda' that the other Sellers leave him to work on his own. It seems that as soon as they grasp what he is after they start to team up with each other again.

General

In the Sellers' internal meeting, they agree to push for better terms. For example, the payment terms the Buyers propose involve, according to the Sellers, too many instalments; they would prefer there to be no more than three. The Sellers are also unhappy with the fact that the Buyers are not willing to pay an up-front payment upon signing the contract.
Although the Buyers (Buyer Sam) mostly maintain control over the floor, e.g. the sequence begins with the Buyers laying the foundation for discussion about payment terms, the Sellers act more assertively here than during the technical part of the negotiation. They introduce the item of agenda, but then prevent the Buyers from taking it up, by first checking aloud that the payment instalments amount to the correct percentage, and then by beginning a related joke about retention of the last payment.

The Buyers make three main initiations, namely, first and last payment including related bonds (exchanges 2 and 5), reassurance of end use of materials (exchange 3), and amount of payment on delivery (exchange 4). The Sellers manage to get their own topics introduced during exchange 2 (up-front payment, payment guarantee to Buyers, Sellers' standard terms, time limit, payment guarantee to Sellers), while Buyers' topics are being discussed, and through them attain at least partly the goals they had set for themselves. They manage to increase the amount of first payment from ten per cent to twenty, and even if they are not successful in getting an up-front payment, they get Buyers' consent to reword the terms of payment on the basis of the Sellers' 'standard' terms. They also manage to reject the Buyers' demand as regards reassurance concerning the end use of materials, again by referring to their standard terms (which include a certificate making such a reassurance unnecessary), and they reject the amount of payment proposed by the Buyers on delivery.

The present agenda item is interactionally 'messy', and thus the most complicated in its interactional structure, of the four extracts under scrutiny. The participants act in a less orderly manner than during the technical part of Client negotiation. There are several dyads going on at the same time between members of opposing parties, e.g. Seller John and Buyer Sam discuss the amount of payment on delivery while Seller Andy and Buyer Mike try to close the whole agenda item (extract 30). Although the main motivation for who works with whom across opposing sides seems to be the participants' field of expertise, such teams across opposing sides appear at times throughout the negotiation, with the speakers of the two sides teaming up with the person who is equal to them in company hierarchy, or with the person who maintains a similar professional role within the project (e.g. Sam and John who are the leaders of the present project, and Mike and Andy who are newcomers to the project and respective companies). Also, especially while discussing first payment, there are plenty of initiations which are rejected by the opposing party and left in the air, until they are taken up again and reacted to in a different manner later, after the negotiation has taken a different turn. The Sellers try to defend their demand for an up-front payment, which the Buyers systematically reject as unfeasible. They finally reach a compromise, as the Buyers agree to increase the amount of first payment, although they are still not willing to make it into an up-front payment.
Sometimes there is incoherent behaviour. For example, when discussing first payment, Buyers Sam and Mike propose a time limit on themselves in order to get their terms for a first payment accepted, but this is rejected by the Sellers (John and Andy). When the Sellers finally realise that they are not getting anywhere without concessions, they themselves (John) ask for a time limit, but this time it is the Buyers (Les) who reject it.

After Sellers John and Pekka have together introduced the agenda item, Sellers Andy and Pekka show off their alertness by checking that the payment instalments amount to the correct percentage, and in doing so prevent Buyer Sam from taking up the agenda item. Andy continues in the same vein, by introducing a related joke with John supporting him through laughter (extract 18, lines 12-15). When Sam finally manages to take the floor, and starts his monologue 'announcing' his company's policy about bonds and first payment, Sellers Andy and John continue their teamwork by taking turns in producing pre-responding and corrective exchanges as responses (extract 19, lines 31-48), before they together reject the Buyers' terms for first payment (extract 19, lines 59-78) by referring to the Sellers' standard terms of payment. Sellers continue with Andy producing an implicit threat about cancelling the deal if no up-front payment is agreed upon. As Buyers refute Sellers' claim about there being a risk in deals with no up-front payment in the U.K., Seller John supports Andy's rejection and Seller Pekka repeats it (extract 20, lines 83-87).

The situation is not progressing, however, so Seller Andy continues on his own by proposing a payment guarantee to the Buyers. He acts alone and seems to be slightly 'off-track', as this is what the bond the Buyers are requesting would act as anyway. He continues by increasing the amount of the first bond, and thus that of first payment, to a sum greater than the one proposed by the Buyers. The Buyers do not give in an inch though, but return to their earlier proposal regarding timing and amount of first payment. This the Sellers reject as a team with Andy in the lead, and John and Pekka supporting him (extract 22, lines 115-129).

Here the Sellers are beginning to accept that they will not be able to get an up-front payment, and instead start negotiating better terms for themselves for a first payment to be made upon dispatch of preliminary drawings of the power plant installation. John requests a time limit on the Buyers for approval of their documents, but this is turned down by the Buyers, whose rejection is then turned down by Seller Pekka (extract 22, lines 130-134).

At this point the Buyers want to clarify what has been proposed regarding the bonds so far in the negotiation, by producing a summary of their understanding of it. Seller Andy does not accept the Buyers' summary of the situation, and is here supported by Seller John, who produces a counter-request for information about the Buyers' terms in general (extract 24, lines 148-157). John continues to hold the floor on the Sellers' side, and inspired by the Buyers'
summary about the payment guarantee offered to the Buyers, requests a payment guarantee to the Sellers. Prior to rejecting this initiation, the Buyers produce a pre-responding exchange which is responded to by Sellers John and Andy together (extract 25, lines 171-176).

As Seller John is not getting anywhere, Seller Andy takes the lead on the Sellers' side again, and opts for a bolder approach; he starts to push for rewording of the payment terms on the basis of the Sellers' standard terms. This is initially rejected by Buyers Les and Mike, but Buyer Sam, as the leader of the project on their side, seems to feel at this point that enough has been said on the subject, and is ready to start progressing by making concessions. He is willing to increase the amount of first payment to that proposed by the Sellers, but requests that the Sellers bear the cost of the bonds. Andy misunderstands the Buyers' offer, so Pekka steps in and takes the lead in rejecting the Buyers' request. Andy quickly corrects his standing and in turn also rejects the Buyers' proposal and is supported by Pekka (extract 27, lines 220-235). Sam drops the issue of cost of bonds and repeats his earlier proposal regarding the first payment. Andy accepts this but keeps pushing for rewording the terms on the basis of the Sellers' standard terms in a post-exchange, supported by Pekka. Here Buyer Mike responds to Andy, while Sam starts a post-exchange concerning the Buyers' worry about not getting the necessary documents in time, which is responded to by Seller John. Finally, all the Sellers contribute to closing the discussion of first payment; they take turns in responding to the Buyers (extract 28, lines 242-269).

Having given in to the Sellers on an issue, the Buyers feel entitled to demand that the Sellers mark for them beforehand the materials to be used in the construction of the engine. This Seller Andy categorically refuses, initially on a false basis, which is pointed out by the Buyers together with Seller John (extract 29, lines 274-278), and then by leaning on the Sellers' standard terms. After Buyers' acceptance of his rejection, Seller Andy produces a post-exchange together with Pekka (extract 29, lines 308-319).

Although the Buyers have given their consent to the Sellers as regards rewording of the terms on the basis of the Sellers' standard terms, Buyer Sam still wants to discuss the remaining payments. Sellers Andy and John try to resist this together (extract 30, lines 322-323), but as Sam perseveres, John accepts his topic by rejecting the request. Strangely though, only a moment later, John lets go and teams up with Sam in refuting his own rejection (extract 30, lines 338-340), and it is then Seller Pekka who keeps the battle going by supporting Seller John's initial rejection (extract 30, lines 329-349).

The Buyers' final initiation in the course of the present agenda item seems a minor point, as the issue of retention of final payment has already been touched upon while discussing bonds during Buyer Sam's first initiation. It may have been taken up again just in order to calm down
the heated situation, and the Sellers all agree to give the Buyers a retention bond for the final five per cent payment (extract 31, lines 377-391).

Interactional structure of teamwork

The present item of agenda is commercial and hence the Sellers approach it more aggressively than they do the technical items. While the interactional moves performed by the Sellers in the technical part of the negotiation are mainly satisfying responses to Buyers' requests for information, here they produce more initiating and especially rejecting moves, often together as a team.

Rejecting moves are mostly performed together by two Sellers, occasionally by three, if the issue is particularly important or sensitive (see extract 20), and through these moves they try to implicitly push the goal of an up-front payment. As this fails, Seller Andy tries to put forward the idea of Sellers' standard terms and a general rewording of payment terms on this basis, which ultimately proves successful. Andy's initiations are produced alone; teamwork in initiations seems more difficult than teamwork in satisfying moves, at least as multiple head moves, as it requires a very good insight into what the other person is aiming at. There is one occurrence of such teamwork, however, where a team member supports his colleague through a supportive move (extract 20, lines 83-87). Seller teamwork in connection with an initiation also takes place when a co-member re-initiates a previous initiation (extract 23, lines 130-134).

There are also some initiating and satisfying moves performed together in embedded exchanges, e.g. a satisfying response to a pre-responding exchange (extract 25, lines 171-176), and a post-exchange initiation (extract 28, lines 242-269). There are several instances of teamwork here which are not easily classifiable structurally. They are cases where the Sellers take turns in responding to the Buyers (extract 19, lines 31-48; extract 24, lines 148-157; extract 25, lines 187-209; extract 27, lines 220-235).

The illocutions expressed in the instances identified as teamwork are similar in nature in supportive Seller behaviour, whether in order to pursue specific goals or just generally to support each other for the sake of, for example persuasiveness (inform+inform; reject/complain+reject/complain+reject/inform+reject/inform). If pursuing a goal involves changing course, and opting for a new line of reasoning, or a new proposal, it can involve combining illocutions that are different in nature (extract 23, lines 130-134; extract 24, lines 148-157; extract 25, similarly in connection with misunderstandings (extract 27, lines 220-230).
Who teams up with whom

Sellers Andy and John are the ones who bear the main interactional responsibility here with Pekka supporting them. Andy acts very assertively in rejecting the Buyers' initiations and pushing for the Sellers' standard terms, and does most of the talking on the Sellers' side. The subject matter could explain this, as payment terms concern more directly the UK-based network company, represented by Andy and John, than the Finnish parent company, represented by Pekka. John and Andy team up most often here, with Pekka occasionally teaming up with the two of them, and separately with either Andy, or John, as he watches over the parent company's interests.

Purpose of teamwork

The Sellers had set themselves the goal of being aggressive about commercial conditions and here it involves most importantly trying to obtain an up-front payment, and they generally seldom give in to the Buyers' proposals, at least not initially. Most of the discussion concerning payment terms is about first payment, and teamwork is used a lot to pursue that pre-set goal (see Sellers' internal meeting, extract 17), especially between Andy and John. When the Sellers realise that an up-front payment is not feasible, they try to improve the conditions for themselves by pursuing other goals such as requesting a payment guarantee (extract 25, lines 171-176), and they do this as a team.

Besides pursuing particular goals, teaming up clearly sometimes involves almost 'mechanical' tactics. For example, if one negotiator is in difficulties or misinterprets something, others step in in order to continue in his stead (extract 27, lines 220-228), or in order to pursue a new line of argumentation (extract 25, lines 187-193). The Sellers clearly take turns in holding the floor, and thus give each other breathing spells, time to observe the situation from the outside. They take turns in responding to the Buyers, thus giving the member of a team who stays outside the discussion for a while the possibility to plan ahead strategically, and then return to the discussion with new ideas. Supportive behaviour can also mean that team members all pursue slightly different lines of argumentation in order to close an agenda topic: together they cover the full front (extract 28, lines 242-269).

The Sellers show supportive behaviour throughout the Client negotiation, doing something together that could equally well have been done alone: they introduce the agenda item together (extract 18, lines 1-4), and satisfy a Buyer move together even in straightforward cases, where support seems unnecessary from an informational point of view (extract 31, lines 377-391). It could be motivated by interpersonal considerations.
A controlling function involves cases where one negotiator lets go, gives in too easily, and co-members interfere with a more fighting spirit (extract 30, lines 329-349). Not all Seller (nor Buyer) behaviour seems goal-oriented. Sometimes the opposing sides seem to be disputing just for the sake of argument itself, as if it were what is expected of Buyers and Sellers, to be giving each other a hard time, at least at this point in the negotiation process, i.e. reject everything first, so that when you later give in, it seems that you are being generous. This could be a 'face'-related issue (Brown & Levinson 1978), as accepting the other party's control over your actions, even in minor matters, could put your negative face under threat.

Another purpose for teaming up with co-members during the present item of agenda appears to be to show off a 'fighting spirit' or alertness at the very beginning of the agenda item (extract 18, lines 7-11, 12-15). The Sellers also try to prevent the introduction of an unwanted topic through teamwork, once they have achieved the Buyers' consent for their own action regarding rewording the terms (extract 30, lines 322-323), and thus try to hinder communication through teamwork.

4.3.3 Price

Sellers' internal meeting

The second commercial item of agenda under observation in the study is price. Similarly to the other three parts of the analysis above, let us first look at how the Sellers plan to deal with it when confronting their potential customers. They discuss the issue extensively in their internal meeting. They expect the Buyers to be looking for a reduction of price (extract 32, line 39), and consequently, as it is a threatening issue to discuss, they want to have as little time as possible for discussing it. Instead, at this stage in the negotiation process, the Sellers plan to spend a lot of time talking about less threatening items of agenda, so that price would be very briefly touched upon just before closing the Client negotiation.

The Sellers carefully prepare the arguments they want to present to the Buyers in order to attain their main goal of 'increase or hold price' (see extract 32, lines 6, 13, 30-33, 78 below), as in their written Offer, they quote a certain price level for an engine to be delivered at a certain date, after which the price starts to increase. However, should they fail to attain this, they prepare a secondary plan of lowering their price level, rather than lose the project (extract 32, line 35-38). The extract given below exemplifies the points described above. The relevant lines of text have been written bold in order to facilitate reading.
Extract 32: Sellers' internal meeting, commercial part, price

SELLERS: Terry (STE), Pekka (SP), David (SD), John (SJ), Andy (SA)

1. SD so what's the strategy [tomorrow (-) pricing John
2. STE [so are you going with you're going (-) are you (SPEAKS TO SA)]
3. SA yes]
4. STE you're going with two cars
5. SA yeah 'cause I'm gonna bring a car full of stuff back
(SD & SJ: SIMULTANEOUS INAUDIBLE SPEECH)
6. SD shouldn't we be increasing it
7. STE how's your car going
8. SA keeps going just about
9. STE you're not supposed to have that you know ha ha
10. SA I know ha ha
11. SJ yeah but the price is valid until December
12. STE (--) tax man one of these days
13. SJ for delivery in December so it's got to be inflated
14. STE but it's alright still is it
15. SJ if we don't deliver by December
16. SA it's got a noise coming that I'm not quite sure what it is
17. SJ it's (got be inflated) by a half per cent a month
18. SA [something
19. SD so strictly speaking it's not unreasonable to do, not unreasonable for us to say to say that the delivery of the 20 equipment is going to be I don't know sometime in the third or even fourth quarter [(-]
20. SJ yes]
21. SD x-month's worth of inflation
22. SJ yes but Sam knows that 'cause we've done it to him
23. SD is that already included in this latest price or is that the price that was for delivery up to December
24. SJ oh no I've kept it as it was before so he'll recognize he'll recognize the price we gave them six months ago
25. SD which was for delivery in December
26. SJ which was (-) for delivery last December
27. SA Sam Sam's got a price somewhere telling him that the engine price for delivery of December 1995 is this much thereafter this X% per month to be added

... (part of discussion has been omitted)

30. SD so at some suitable point or part-way through you need to throw that in before they start (-) some reductions
31. SA because we have a policy that attack is the best form of defense
32. SJ so say that again
33. SD before they come looking for price reductions we need to get this on the table
34. SP yeah
35. SJ yeah * but you're not suggesting me to give that away
36. SA I'm suggesting that we give that away if we have to [because
37. SD yes]
38. SA I'd sooner have it for 1.7 and give that away than

... (part of discussion has been omitted)

39. SD because I know for (-) I'm sure he's going to be looking for reductions he came out and told me so
40. SP yeah but at least we are starting with a higher price
41. SJ yeah, but you've also got to remember that** 12 months ago the price was well over 2 million * okay we've taken a little bit out but you know we've taken 50 grand's worth
42. out but we've given away over 200 grand because of the new pricing policy
43. SP an' they know that the currency exchange rate has gone down by about 20%
44. SJ an' an' then then the currency's gone about 20% adrift
SP  yeah
47  SJ  so we came down by a couple of hundred grand and despite the 90% increase
48  in the value of the pound against the Finnish mark we've maintained our
49  low-level prices
50  SD  so the price was over 2 million
51  SJ  yeah
52  SP  yeah
53  SD  it's now 1.7
54  SJ  1.8 say it's 1795 * the argument is our pricing policy's been fair and due to
55  negotiations with sub-suppliers etcetera bulk purchasing agreements and er
56  resulting in reduced pricing and the benefits of which we've passed on
57  (COUGHS IRONICALLY) that you know the whole project might not have
58  flown if you know the price (-)
59  SP  we always try our best
60  SJ  so we've done some honest engineering ***
61  SA  that's another word I'm sure you don't know the meaning of
62  (LAUGHTER)
63  SJ  (--) you're bigger than me

... (part of discussion has been omitted)

62  SJ  so I think our strategy tomorrow is to go through everything an' leave the
63  heads of agreement to the very very last so there's no time left
64  SP  yeah
65  SD  yeah
66  SJ  'cause it'll take us a while to go through the conditions of contract
... (part of discussion has been omitted)
67  SD  so what's the win strategy then gentlemen
68  SJ  well we've done it
69  SP  well actually if we look at the who was winning team in the Sales
70  Excellence it was the one who was giving the highest (deductions) in the
71  pricing (LAUGHTER)
72  SP  so if you want to be a winner that's yeah that's they gave their shirt away
73  SD  you've learned well from that workshop
74  SP  yeah so let's lower the price until we get it
... (part of discussion has been omitted)
75  SJ  an' also we need to stress that we see this as a partnership * it's not a case
76  of selling an' forgetting it which is obviously the heads of agreement but
77  it's as we've got to stress that it's as important for us that it's successful
... (part of discussion has been omitted)
78  SD  so with all that in mind uhmm * we hold or increase price ** [yeah
79  SJ  yeah]
80  SD  for both supply and maintenance contracts *
... (part of discussion has been omitted)
81  SD  bearing in mind that we want to hold or increase the price * mainly extend the programme
82  SP  we're going to be a little bit aggressive on commercial conditions
83  SD  but you know those changes what we have er what we are going to require or going to demand
84  it's er they're just minor

The Sellers claimed in participant interviews that price is not a very important issue in the present project, as in affairs such as this one, big profits are seldom made in selling the engines, but rather come from engine maintenance agreements. Still, of the four extracts under scrutiny in the study, the Sellers seem to have the most carefully thought-out plan here (extract 32, lines 41-77). The extract also again demonstrates the type of self-irony with which the business is
treated, and the typical Seller humour that comes out in all of the extracts taken from the Sellers' internal meeting (extract 32, lines 55-61). The equivalent extracts from the Client negotiation do not contain such irony.

Client negotiation

While a look at the Sellers' internal meeting highlighted their strategic planning as background information, what is presented in this section of 4.3.3 (extracts 33-35), is how they go about realising their plans in Client negotiation. A detailed analysis of Seller teamwork is given at the local level of a single move, turn or exchange and at the global level across several topics and throughout the whole agenda item of price.

The agenda topic is introduced by Buyer Sam; the Buyers are clearly more eager to discuss the matter than the Sellers. The item is the shortest of the four items chosen for close observation, so at least on that point the Sellers reach their goal; they wanted to push it as late as possible in Client negotiation in order to keep it short. Seller John as project leader outlined the Sellers' strategy in their internal meeting (extract 32, lines 41-77) concerning the issue, and he is the Seller who also does most of the talking in the Client negotiation when price is being covered.

The Buyers request two things here: a price reduction and a fixed price for a set date, instead of the Sellers' system of price going up every month until delivery. They do not like the Sellers' price escalation system, according to which, the later the deal is closed, the higher the price. The Buyers start by tentatively stating their need for a fixed price, and requesting confirmation of the Sellers' price level in connection with their price escalation system (extract 33, lines 7-27). The only topic the Sellers introduce is a 'swift deal' at the end of the item (extract 35).

The Sellers have foreseen the fact that the Buyers will try to reduce the price, and instead of reacting to the Buyers' first request for a fixed price, the Sellers act as if the Buyers had already asked for a reduction. The confirming move in response to the Buyers' request for information about the present price level is produced as a multiple head move expressing not only confirmation of the Sellers' price, which is done three times, but also providing information about the Sellers' trustworthiness as a trading partner, their enthusiasm about the deal, and their general good will towards the Buyers (extract 33, lines 28-75) (see prototypical Seller behaviour in Charles 1994).

According to Edmondson and House (1981), multiple head moves result in an additive strategy which is typical in competitive situations. Seller teamwork here takes the following form: John takes care of the confirming move (extract 33, lines 35, 46, 68) while Andy and Pekka support him through supportive moves. This is done so that Andy takes up changes in currency
exchange rates as grounds for the present price level, and John continues with an Expander, to which Andy again continues with a further joking Expander. Pekka's Grounder (extract 33, lines 69-75) at the end of the Sellers' turn continues what John said in his supportive move to the first confirming move about purchasing policies.

The sequence contains a corrective exchange (extract 33, lines 61-66) initiated by Buyer Les who wants to inquire about exchange rates in order to find out whether the Sellers' Grounder is valid. Sellers Andy, John and Pekka all hastily reply together, rejecting Les's doubts about the validity of John's point and thus defending their upright behaviour.

Extract 33: Client negotiation, commercial part, price

SELLERS: John (SJ), Andy (SA), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM)

TOPIC: price level

1 BS what about price *** we've got some take-outs that we've discussed earlier
2 SP ye[ah]
3 SJ yeah [ ]
4 BS uhm which obviously you'll look at and let us [know
data: unsound]
5 SJ yeah]
6 SP yeah [ ]
7 BS but I have to tell you I've got a sig- er a significant * difficulty with this
8 indexation * business * because we can't take the engine when you could make it
9 BM mm-hm
10 SJ mm [ ]
11 BS an' all the time * even after we've placed placed an order the price is still going
12 up
13 SJ mm [ ]
14 BS I mean we need to
15 ? (CLEARSHROAT)
16 BS we need to fix a price
17 BM mm
18 BS by perhaps * mid-February or whenever we * place our order
19 BM [mm
20 SP yeah]
21 BS mid-February is gonna be perhaps the very latest hopefully it's before that * but
22 we need to fix a price in Pound Sterling that is the price that you deliver at
23 SJ mm-hm
24 BS later in the year
25 SP yeah [ ]
26 BS uhm are you gonna are you still sticking to the fact that it's 1795
27 plus that many months [(--) towards (--)]
28 SJ well yes we I mean if you look (historically) [ ] at the project 18 months ago I
29 think we quoted something like er * well 2,16 million * an' because of the
30 purchasing policies an' things like this we reduced the price okay we took out
31 some things like the neutral air (-) [rubile but we
32 ? (CLEARSHROAT)]
33 SJ didn't take out much more than 80 thousand [pounds
34 BS mm]
35 SJ worth but we give you a 365 k reduction ** to bring it down to this 179[5
36 BS? yeah]
37 BM yeah I I think I take your point but on the other hand [(--]
38 SJ 'cause we've given you this I I want to point this out [we've
39  BM  mm]  given you this because we know that the capital cost of the equipment could
40  SJ  affect the feasibility of the (pump) fan we did some
41  BM  mm]
42  SJ  honest engineering but we're as interested in this project as you are
43  BM  right
44  SJ  we wanna be partners with you an' if we can help + so we did it that's what I'm
45  SJ  saying so this 1795 is our good will without being asked
46  SA  can I take another (-) to that also in that period we have lost 20%
47  SJ  yeah I'll show you this actually
48  SP  yeah
49  SA  on the currency
50  SJ  we had a we had our own little power plant seminar * that's what's happened to
51  the Finnmark [which is the
52  ?]  (CLEARs THROAT)
53  SJ  the blue line * it's dropped 19% * since (SIGHS) August 94 that's actually co-
54  SJ  incidental when we started talking about it all * so that * it's gone down in fact
55  SA  it's gone to 22 I think f(-)
56  SA  to use a technical term from Finland it's dropping like a cow's tail
57  (LAUGHTER)
58  SA  I think we've got to
59  SJ  [so * I mean]
60  BL  sorry] sorry that the Finnish mark is getting weaker **
61  SA  no the Finnish mark is getting stronger
62  SP  [stronger]
63  SJ  stronger]
64  BL  stronger
65  SJ  stronger * [so we've lost
66  BL  (-])
67  SJ  20% on that figure since we did it * as well an' we've mainfained it
68  SP  but it er * we were * yeah * it happened in at the same time as we ABB started
69  BM  their new generator line and we made new er volume contracts an'
70  BL  mm-mm
71  BM  mm
72  SP  and er we were able to * take care of most of the currency exchange rates
73  BM  right
74  SP  it happened in a no it couldn't have happened in a better * time

Analysis of extract 33

**TOPIC:** price level
Exchange 1: initiate - satisfy
Grounder: INFORM {of take-outs} (BS) [SP, SJ]
Grounder: INFORM {of difficulty with price escalation system} (BS) [BM] [SJ]
REQUEST {for a fixed price} (Sam) (BM) [SP, SJ]
Expander: INFORM {of time of order} (BS)
REQUEST for confirmation {of price level and price escalation} (BS)
28-33
Grounder: INFORM {of history of deal: price already reduced} (SJ)
35  CONFRM {present price level} (SJ) [BS]
REJECT? (incomplete as interrupted by SJ) (BM)
38-43
Expander: INFORM {of reasons to earlier price reduction: Sellers' integrity} (SJ) [BM]
43-45
INFORM {of Sellers' enthusiasm about the deal} (SJ)
45-46
Expander: INFORM {of reasons to present price: Sellers' good will towards Buyers} (SJ)
45
CONFRM {present price level} (SJ)
47-50
Grounder: INFORM {of losses due to changes in currency exchange rates} (SA)
48-56
Expander: INFORM {currency exchange rates} (SJ) [SP]
57
Expander: INFORM/JOK (about Finnmark) (SA)
(laughter)
corrective exchange: REQUEST for confirmation (BL)
62-66 REJECT / INFORM (SA, SP, SJ)
66-68 Grounder: INFORM {of losses due to changes in currency exchange rates} (SJ)
68 CONFIRM (maintenance of present price level) (SJ)
69-75 Grounder: INFORM {of good subcontracting deals; reason to first price reduction} (SP) [BL, BM]

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 28-75
Topic: price level
Type: supportive moves to a multiple head move which satisfies a request for confirmation
Purpose: pursue a goal set in Sellers' internal meeting: hold or increase price
Who talks: Seller John - main move; Sellers John, Andy, Pekka - supportive moves
To whom: Buyer Sam (and Mike)

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 62-66
Topic: price level
Type: Sellers Andy, John and Pekka correct Buyer's mistake together with a rejecting move which corrects and informs in a corrective exchange
Purpose: supportive Seller behaviour: express solidarity and/or persuasion
Who talks: Andy, Pekka and John
To whom: to Buyer Les

Buyer Mike takes the Buyers' action further. He first repeats Buyer Sam's initial request for a fixed date for a price and then goes on to openly request a price reduction (extract 34, lines 76-93). The Sellers do not react to the Buyers' requests at first, but instead start checking the conditions for a possible swift deal: the possible date for a deal, and the type of deal (type of commitment from Buyers) to be had at that date, and they then react to the Buyers' requests by agreeing to fix a price for the date set by the Buyers. This could be motivated by Sam's threat about competitors (extract 34, lines 95-101). Sellers John and Pekka work together here, with John producing pre-responding initiations about the conditions for a deal, and Pekka making the final accepting move which also expresses the fact that the Buyers' request for a lower price will be considered.

When Buyer Sam hastens to emphasise that a considerable change in the Sellers' escalation system is called for, John suddenly changes course. He seems ready to lower the price, should they be able to close a deal forthwith (extract 34, line 117). It seems surprising that the Sellers should give in so easily, having in their internal meeting set themselves the goal of maintaining or even increasing their price level. As the Buyers begin the treatment of price by forcefully emphasising their budget problems, the Sellers try to hold on to their goal of at least maintaining the present price level, although increasing it is never mentioned here. However, when Buyer Sam starts threatening with competitors, the Sellers let go of the goal that they had set for
themselves, and seem to opt for their secondary plan of giving up their demands in order not to risk the deal.

Extract 34: Client negotiation. commercial part, price

SELLERS: John (SJ), Pekka (SP)
BUYERS: Mike (BM), Sam (BS), Les (BL)

TOPICS: fixed price, price reduction

76 BM mm * well I mean that the point that's from our point of view sorry start again
77 SJ from our point of view there is no way that we could place an order on anything
78 BM other than a fixed-price basis
79 SJ yeah [okay
80 BM we] have got to agree on a certain price (-) a certain delivery day an' you've got to
81 SJ fix the price for that date
82 SP yeah
83 BM we can't go on an' you know [you
84 SJ yeah]
85 BM you you've got to say for delivery [on
86 SJ yeah]
87 BM such an' such a day with the order by such and such a date * er our cost will be
88 SJ this * now having said that we've still got a difficulty with that because uhm your
89 BM cost when you take into account uhm installation cost an' everything else still
90 SJ exceed our budget for this particular er project
91 SJ mm
92 BM so we are looking to you to to chop money off that cost in any case * uhm how
93 SJ much is obviously * up to yourselves ***
94 BL [our
95 BS if your] if your best price remains *1795
96 BS ? (CLEARs THROAT)
97 BS plus half a per cent a month (-) delivery
98 BL mm
99 BS then we have to accept that an' look at it an' in the [competitor
100 SP mm-hm]
101 BS environment [we're in
102 SJ but what'sî the absolute sooner you could place an order *
103 BL er 29th of January *
104 BM we can that's when we would be putting in the recommendation [to Purchaser
105 SJ that would be] an intent or
106 BL well that would be a letter [of intent to be
107 BM a letter of intent]
108 BL to be followed up by an [(-
109 BM (-)]
110 BL very soon
111 BL yeah
112 SP then I can base the pricing on that an' make a fixed price an'
113 BM (CLEARs THROAT)
114 SP try to do my best
115 BS well (then) in my calculations if it ran as far as October we'd be looking at 1.887
116 BM million which is er way outside our budget way way
117 SJ well I think we should (-) an update (-) we might do a deal **

Analysis of extract 34

TOPIC: fixed price
Exchange 2: initiate - satisfy
Grounder: INFORM {of conditions} (BM) [SJ]
REQUEST {for a fixed price} (repeated) (BM) [SP]
Expander: INFORM {about date and cost} (BM) [SJ]
Grounder: INFORM {budget problems} (BM) [SJ]
REQUEST {for a price reduction} (BM)
Disarmer (avoids coercion) (BM)
THREATEN {with competitors} (BS) [BL] [SP]

102 pre-responding exchange: REQUEST for information {about timetable for an order} (SJ)
                        INFORM (BL, BM)
105 pre-responding exchange: REQUEST for information {about form of order} (SJ)
                        INFORM (BL, BM) [BM?]
112-14 ACCEPT {to fix a date for price and review price level}{(future action)} (SP)

TOPIC: price reduction
Exchange 2.1: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST {for a price reduction} (BS)
ACCEPT {price update now} / PROPOSE {a deal now} (SJ)

Summary of Seller teamwork

Location: lines 102-114
Topic: fixed price
Type: John initiates pre-responding exchanges; Pekka replies to Buyers' requests with an accepting move
Purpose: supportive behaviour / attempt to pursue a goal?
Who talks: Sellers John and Pekka
To whom: Buyers Mike, Sam and Les

Seller John changes the Sellers' original goal of maintaining or increasing the price level: he is willing to reduce the price if a deal can be reached quickly. He acts alone here as project leader on the Sellers' side (extract 35, lines 117). Buyer Sam rejects Seller John's first proposal for a deal, as none of the participants who act as spokesmen for the Buying company are entitled to sign orders; this has to be done on a higher level in their company. Seller John keeps pushing the idea of a swift deal by proposing a deal with a Letter of Intent which normally leads to an order later on. The Buyers reject the offer again as too binding at this stage. Here Seller Pekka accepts the Buyers' rejection and Seller Andy supports him with an Expander (extract 35, lines 129-130). As his team members turn their back on him, John has, at least temporarily, to acknowledge his defeat (extract 35, lines 134).

Seller John is not easily discouraged, however, but keeps pushing his point even though he is faced with opposition from both his own and the opposing side: he now proposes a swift deal with a conditional Letter of Intent. The reaction from the opposing party is one of ridicule; laughter and an ironic joke which are supported by John's own team member, Seller Andy (extract 35, lines 142-143). This is a sign of their unprofessionalism (Mike and Andy are both newcomers to their companies), as according to the information gained in specialist informant interviews, a conditional Letter of Intent is a common solution. Buyer Les takes a more matter-of-fact approach and repeats Buyer Sam's earlier argument about company hierarchy being the key issue here. Hitches in Buyer teamwork become evident as Buyer Les has just (extract 35, lines 148-162) explained what a lengthy process they have ahead of them before a possible
order, when Buyer Sam interrupts him to inform the Sellers that a swift deal would surely be possible, should they agree to lower their price. Seller John acts alone here in agreeing to consider the possibility of a lower price (already done twice before, though more tentatively, by John and Pekka). He does not agree to let go of the Sellers’ price escalation system, however, but agrees to give one fixed price for a set date. Should an order not be forthcoming by that date, a new price would have to be negotiated (extract 35, lines 163-175).

Extract 35: Client negotiation, commercial part, price

SELLERS: John (SJ), Pekka (SP), Andy (SA)
BUYERS: Sam (BS), Mike (BM), Les (BL)

TOPIC: swift deal, price escalation system

117  SJ  well I think we should (-) an update (-) we might do a deal **
118  BS  er the order * of this magnitude has to be signed by the managing director of
119  SJ  Purchasing Company
120  SJ  mm-hm
121  BS  an' there're two other directors at (-) who will need to be involved in the decision
122  SJ  * [so whatever
123  SJ  even for an Intent]
124  BS  whatever whatever we ne- whatever we negotiate here is subject to whatever head
125  BS  office say
126  SP  yeah
127  SJ  even an Intent (for)
128  BM  even I well even in the Intent 'cause an Intent it (effectively) binds you to to
129  SP  actually I/yeah
130  SA  an Intent an Intent's [(--)]
131  BS  [but those two directors went round (--)]
132  BM  [I agree] (agreed) so we wouldn't issue I mean [(--) the law we wouldn't issue
133  BM  a Letter of Intent without
134  SJ  oh so that's it then ha ha
135  BM  any without you know without the intention to place [a contract
136  SA  that that's] why
137  SP  yeah
138  SA  the question of how how frequently (an order replaced) [(-)]
139  SP  well]
140  SJ  well how about an Intent subject to this that an' the other
141  (BM & SA LAUGH)
142  BM  yeah well that (-) a letter of a letter of sort of unintent doesn’t it [you know ha ha
143  SA  yeah]
144  SJ  no [I
145  BL  as as Sam] says there are other people involved in the desicion
146  BM  [mm
147  ?  (CLEAR THROAT)]
148  BL  and er there we've got basically two directors who have interest in the
149  engineering aspects and cost aspects plus my regional director * who'll be
150  involved in
151  BM  mm
152  BL  an' then an (analysing) director has to approve it
153  BM  mm
154  BL  er * the 29th of January is I think pretty ambitious given that we have we have
155  other bits to evaluate * an' there there is an evaluation process to go through * and
156  that [there is (--)]
157  BM  (CLEAR THROAT)]
158  BL  us * in terms of civil design * and er that's [quite (--)]
159  BS  if you can offer us] a special deal * for placing the order by the end of this month
* then I’m sure we can find the time to brainstorm [the outstanding
(--)]
issues (-) *
right okay
yeah
but we are we are [looking for the best price you can achieve
I was thinking] by the end of this week ha ha
ha ha
we need that offer in writing as soon as you possibly can
but anyway I’ll
if you can’t make a change then please say so
yeah
but er
is this [---]
well I think we could do a change but it’s gonna be to a strict deadline *
[mm
we’ll accept that]
yeah
[a strict deadline
yes yeah] if you give us a letter of intent placed by the end of this month * for
delivery *[---]
well if you make it if you make a different price offer to the one we’ve got there
then you’ll put your conditions in a writ- in a written offer * won’t you *
yeah
but can I just ask as I was out of the room * er what part of the discussion (---)

Analysis of extract 35

**TOPIC: swift deal**
Exchange 3: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - satisfy - re-initiate - reject -
117 PROPOSE {a deal now} (SJ)
   REJECT {a deal for now} / INFORM {of company hierarchy} (BS) [SJ]
   Expander: INFORM {of need for head office approval} (BS) [SP]
123 PROPOSE {a deal now with a Letter of Intent} (SJ)
128 REJECT (BM)
129 Grounder: INFORM {of binding quality of L of I} (BM)
130 ACCEPT {rejection} (SP)
132 Expander: INFORM {of features of Letter of Intent} (SA)
   (inaudible) (BS)
   Expander: INFORM {of Buyer’s integrity} (BM)
   ACCEPT {rejection} / INFORM {of defeat} {laughs} (SJ)
140 PROPOSE {a deal now with a conditional Letter of Intent} (SJ)
141 (BM and SA laugh)
142 REJECT / JOKE {about conditional Letter of Intent} (BM) [SA]
   Grounder: INFORM {of company hierarchy behind a decision} (repeated) (BL) [BM] [SJ]
   Expander: INFORM {of time constraints} (interrupted by BS) (BL)
   Exchange 3.1: initiate - satisfy
   OFFER {to close a swift deal in case of a further price reduction} (BS) [SJ, SP]
   REQUEST {for a price reduction} (BS)
   pre-responding exchange: SUGGEST {a swifter timetable} {laughs} (SJ) [BM]
   REQUEST {for a swift Offer} (BS)
   REQUEST {for a price reduction} (BS) [SP]
   ACCEPT {to review price level} (SJ)
   **TOPIC: price escalation system**
   Exchange 3.2: initiate - satisfy
   REQUEST {for a condition} (SJ) [BM]
   ACCEPT {condition} (BS) [SP]
   post-exchange: REQUEST {for an Offer by end of month} {incomplete as interrupted} (BM)
   post-exchange: REQUEST {for a new written version of Offer} (BS) [SJ]
   ACCEPT (SJ)
Summary of Sellers teaming up with Buyers against own team

Location: lines 117-133
Topic: swift deal
Type: Seller John initiates a proposal; Buyer Mike rejects it; Seller Pekka accepts rejection and Seller Andy supports him
Purpose: controlling function: John is going too far
Who talks: Sellers Pekka and Andy; Buyers Sam and Mike
To whom: Seller John

Summary of Sellers teaming up with Buyers against their own team

Location: lines 140-143
Topic: swift deal
Type: John re-initiates his proposal; Buyer Mike rejects it; Seller Andy supports Mike through laughter and listnership cues
Purpose: controlling function, though on a false premisse
Who talks: Buyer Mike; Seller Andy
To whom: Seller John

4.3.4 Summary

A summary of the use of teamwork as an interactional resource while discussing the item of agenda price is presented in this section. First the basic interactional structure with the exchanges and illocutionary points that make it up is given below. The reader may refer to it while reading through the detailed analysis presented above, or after having read it, in order to see at what point particular actions occur. It may also be helpful when reading through the progression of the activity in the sequence given below (under General). For the sake of clarity, supportive moves and embedded post-exchanges and pre-responding exchanges have been omitted. The number of occurrences of teamwork is marked in parenthesis after each topic that features teamwork.

Client negotiation: summary of interactional structure of price

lines

1-75  **TOPIC: price level (2)**
Exchange 1: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST {for a fixed price} (Buyers)
REQUEST for confirmation {of price level and price escalation} (Buyers)
CONFIRM {present price level} (Sellers)
INFORM {of Sellers' enthusiasm about the deal} (Sellers)
CONFIRM {present price level} (Sellers)
CONFIRM {maintenance of present price level} (Sellers)

76-114 **TOPIC: fixed price (1)**
Exchange 2: Initiate - satisfy
REQUEST {for a fixed price} (Buyers)
REQUEST {for a price reduction} (Buyers)
THREATEN {with competitors} (Buyers)
ACCEPT {to fix a date for price and review price level} (Sellers)

115-17 **TOPIC: price reduction**
Exchange 2.1: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST {for a price reduction} (Buyers)
ACCEPT / OFFER {of price update now} (Sellers)

117-90 **TOPIC: swift deal** (2 against own team)
Exchange 3: initiate - reject - re-initiate - reject - satisfy - re-initiate - reject -
PROPOSE {a deal now} (Sellers)
REJECT {a deal for now} / INFORM {of company hierarchy} (Buyers)
PROPOSE {a deal now with a Letter of Intent} (Sellers)
REJECT (Buyers)
ACCEPT {rejection} (Sellers)
(inaudible) (Buyers)
ACCEPT {rejection} / INFORM {of defeat} (laughs) (Sellers)
PROPOSE {a deal now with a conditional Letter of Intent} (Sellers)
REJECT / JOKE {about conditional Letter of Intent} (Buyers)

Exchange 3.1: initiate - satisfy
OFFER {to close a swift deal in case of a further price reduction} (Buyers)
REQUEST {for a price reduction} (Buyers)
ACCEPT {to review price level} (Sellers)

**TOPIC: price escalation system**
Exchange 3.2: initiate - satisfy
REQUEST {for a condition} (Sellers)
ACCEPT {condition} (Buyers)

The summary clearly shows that the Buyers are the ones in control here, at least on the surface, as they are in control of the floor, initiating topics and keeping the floor for longer stretches than the Sellers.

**General**

The Buyers initiate the item of agenda *price*. The Sellers are not very keen on discussing it; they plan in their internal meeting to push it as late as possible in the negotiation, so that there will not be much time to discuss it. Seller John does most of the talking on the Sellers' side here. He leads the Selling team's actions by first acting in accordance with what was planned in the Sellers' internal meeting (maintain present price level or increase it), but when this proves unsuccessful, he is the one who changes course and aggressively tries to 'squeeze' a deal from the Buyers. Other team members either support him (exchange 1), work actively together with him (exchange 2) or control him by teaming up with the Buyers against him when he starts pushing something which has not been planned in the Sellers' internal meeting (exchange 3). This may also be due to the fact that the others have difficulties in seeing what he is after.

During the sequence, five main topics are discussed (price level, fixed price, price reduction, swift deal, price escalation), of which the first three are initiated by the Buyers. Similarly to the
item of agenda *payment terms*, here, too, the sequence begins with a Buyer monologue, with the Buyers requesting a fixed price and explaining why.

The Buyers' first turn ends with a request for confirmation of the present price level. The Sellers respond by confirming it with a multiple head move and by extensively supporting it, just as they planned in their internal meeting. This is done together by all Sellers (extract 33, lines 28-75). Teaming up is easy when all the team members know exactly what the others are aiming at. When the Buyers check on the information the Sellers give about fluctuations in currency exchange rates as support for their price level, the Sellers again all together correct the Buyers' misconception about the state of affairs (extract 33, lines 62-66). Although the Sellers claimed in participant interviews that price is not an important issue, they all defend their cause here together. Such heightened team activity seems to indicate, however, that an important matter is at hand.

When the Buyers further pursue their cause with Buyer Mike partly repeating what Buyer Sam has just said about the need to fix a price for a certain delivery date, and partly making their wants clearer to the Sellers by openly requesting a price reduction, Seller John produces a pre-responding exchange inquiring about the date of a possible order, and Seller Pekka is the one who agrees to set a price for that date (extract 34, lines 102-114). Here Pekka tries to read John's mind in teaming up with him, but John has his own plan of action as project leader. He decides to change course and reverts to the Sellers' second plan: decrease price if necessary (see Sellers' internal meeting).

According to the information gained in interviews with the participants, other team members normally let the leader lead, and support his changes of plan. Here there are hitches though, as Seller John starts to push for a swift deal. Sellers Andy and Pekka feel that he is going too far, and start teaming up with the Buyers against John (extract 34, lines 117-133, 140-143) in an attempt to control him. Listenership cues are normally plentiful on both sides. Here they are few, which is an omen of the trouble to come; when the Sellers start reacting with recipient tokens to the Buyer turns only, the next thing they do is team up with the Buyers against their own co-member. Unfortunately, at the end, John's eagerness for a swift deal turns against him, as Buyer Sam, by exploiting John's eagerness, manages to get the Sellers to agree to a price reduction.

*Interactional structure of teamwork*

Seller teamwork occurs here in connection with *satisfying moves* (extract 33, lines 28-75; extract 34, lines 102-114) and in a *rejecting move* in a corrective exchange (extract 33, lines 62-66). The second satisfying move involves a pre-responding exchange. The *illocutions* of
combining contributions are similar in nature in supportive behaviour (reject/inform + reject/inform), where speakers provide redundant information (extract 33, lines 62-66). Similarly, in an effort to pursue a goal, they tend to be similar, for example, inform - confirm - inform - inform - inform - confirm + inform + inform + inform/joke + inform - confirm + inform (extract 33, lines 28-75; the plus sign indicates a change in speaker). In a coordinated team effort where the utterer of a joining contribution tries to fathom what his team member is after, they may be different, for example, request for information + accept (extract 34, lines 102-114).

Who teams up with whom

Of the three occurrences of teamwork in the sequence, two involve all three team members. This happens when the discussion is about the Sellers’ present price level, which they try to maintain together as agreed in their internal meeting. Pekka and John work closely together throughout the technical part of Client negotiation. They are the ones who in the Sellers’ internal meeting went through their Offer checking it point by point while Andy was absent for a while discussing problems related to a possible maintenance agreement with his superiors. Here Pekka lets John lead most of the time during the present sequence, and he supports John with plenty of minimum feedback tokens.

Purpose of teamwork

The present item of agenda is commercial. The Sellers have agreed to be aggressive about the commercial conditions of the deal and initially aim at maintaining their price level. This is done together as a coordinated team effort. When the Sellers let go of their original goal as even their present price level faces opposition from the Buyers, the amount of cooperative team work decreases. John opts for their second plan of decreasing price if they have to, and towards the end (extract 35) Sellers Pekka and Andy team up with the Buyers in order to control the efforts of their team member, John.

The Sellers pursue a specific pre-set goal in the sequence: they want to maintain their present price level, and this all three of them try to do together. John starts to push for a swift deal, and requests information in a pre-responding exchange. Pekka tries to understand what John is after, and teams up with him and ends the exchange (exchange 2) by producing a satisfying move. Pekka and John often act together by taking turns in responding to the Buyers. The purpose here is one of support, which eases the pressure on single negotiators, as things are done together. The Sellers all reject together Buyer Les's request for confirmation about the unfavourable development of the Finnmark. This would not seem necessary from an
informational point of view, but could rather be motivated by a need for persuasion or team solidarity.

4.3.5 Summary: commercial part of Client negotiation

When going over the commercial items of agenda payment terms and price in their internal meeting, the Sellers agree on 'achievement goals': they aim at improving the terms so that they would get an up-front payment, and at reducing the number of payment instalments. In connection with price, they have two plans; they initially want to maintain or increase the price, or if this fails, reduce it if they have to in order not to lose the deal.

When trying to improve the terms of the potential deal, the situation calls for plenty of rejecting moves; the Buyers give their proposal for the terms, and the Sellers spend most of their team effort on rejecting whatever the Buyers propose. When Seller Andy starts pursuing the goal of getting Buyers' acceptance for rewording the terms on the basis of the Sellers' standard terms, he works initially alone, but is soon joined by the other Sellers, who mainly support him. John and Andy change lead here several times, with the two of them making different attempts at improving the terms, and Andy being successful.

When discussing price, the Buyers make it very clear to the Sellers from the start that the price needs to be lowered, so the Sellers have to give up the hope of increasing the price level. When Seller John as project leader starts pursuing his own plan of a swift deal, his team members control him by teaming up with the Buyers.

Similarly to the technical part of the Client negotiation, the means the Sellers use here in order to reach their goals seem specific to the individual goals. The commerciality of the topics does not appear as such to influence the type nor the amount of teamwork resorted to. Although the Sellers clearly act more assertively in the commercial part of the Client negotiation in the present study, e.g., in carefully avoiding interrupting the Buyers in the technical part, but resorting to such interactional means in the commercial part - although very tentatively, the type of goals they set out to reach seem decisive in what interactional resources are resorted to in trying to reach those goals.
5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of results

The aim of present study was to investigate the interactional potential of negotiating as a team in a competitive Buyer-Seller business meeting (Client negotiation) where two opposing sides, both of which are represented by several participants, i.e. a team, pursue their own goals which are motivated by conflicting interests. More specifically, the study has focused on Seller teamwork as, due to the background data available (Sellers' internal meeting, participant interviews), it was possible to gain detailed information about the goals the Sellers set out to realise when confronting the potential Buyers. Although the Client negotiation, which contains the main data of the study, involved six native speakers and one non-native speaker of English, and although some occurrences of teamwork clearly arise from the linguistic difficulties the Finnish non-native speaker encounters in responding to the opposing side, an interlanguage perspective has not been adopted in the study. Rather, in order to elucidate the linguistic nature of teamwork in a competitive business environment, the analysis has sought to give a general structural description of the identified occurrences of Seller teamwork, and a definition of the approximate illocutionary points of such joining contributions. Additionally, the absence of cooperative Seller action has been observed.

Besides observing the purposes for which teamwork seems to be used, an attempt has also been made to shed light on the interplay between the type and amount of teamwork resorted to, and the type of goals it is used to pursue, as well as the context in which these goals occur (technical or commercial part of Client negotiation). Finally, the phenomenon of acting together with or against another speaker has been inspected from the point of view of professional power-related roles (see research questions in 2.4).

The analytical tools used in inspecting the data were adopted from the discourse-analytical models of Edmondson (1981) and Edmondson and House (1981). Instances of teamwork were analysed at the local level of a move, turn, and exchange belonging to a single topic or related adjacent topics. A global level of Seller cooperation was also considered; teamwork across several topics and throughout a whole item of agenda. In modifying the analytical categories to suit the requirements of the present data, Eggins and Slade (1995) were referred to in identifying moves, turns and exchanges.

Topics were identified from a practical point of view: in the present study a topic is an issue which is established by both parties. A minimum feedback response does not suffice for a topic to become established. The four items of agenda which were analysed for teamwork, were chosen on following grounds: they are mentioned in the agenda of the meeting as issues to be
discussed, and they are described as issues that were covered in the minutes of the meeting. The other decisive factor was the information from the Sellers' internal meeting that could be gained about the Sellers' intentions regarding the items.

The main part of the study, Client negotiation, can roughly be divided into two major sections on the basis of the issues covered, technical and commercial, both of which are represented by the extracts that were chosen for analysis. Rather than looking at the data at hand in isolation, participant interviews were used to collect information about the business context right after the Client negotiation took place, and throughout the process of analysing the data in order to check on the Sellers' motivations for particular actions. The interviews revealed important information which helped the researcher to form an in-depth understanding of both the Client negotiation and the whole negotiation process.

According to the present findings, teamwork is used in initiating, satisfying and rejecting moves. Due to the stage of the negotiation process at which the Client negotiation took place, the Sellers act mostly as respondents; the Buyers called the meeting and designed its agenda. Thus, the Sellers rarely have a chance to initiate their own topics, so the data features plenty of instances of Seller teamwork in satisfying moves, especially in the technical part of the Client negotiation.

A satisfying move produced as teamwork involves either several Sellers producing a head move together, or one Seller producing the satisfying move alone, and others supporting it with supportive moves, mostly Grounders and Expanders. The supportive moves may also be produced together with the speaker who uttered the head move. If an initiating move features teamwork, it involves a main initiation by one speaker and supportive moves produced by others, or it may also involve one Seller initiating a move, and another re-initiating it later, if the first move faced opposition (cooperation at the global level).

Similarly to initiating and satisfying moves, rejecting moves often feature teamwork. There are more rejecting moves in the commercial part of the Client negotiation than in the technical part, especially in connection with the item of agenda payment terms, where the Sellers have set themselves 'achievement goals' (the goal of rejecting the Buyers' terms for first payment and proposing their own terms, see 2.4). Here the Sellers either take turns in producing rejecting moves to a proposal by the Buyers, or they produce multiple-head rejecting moves and supportive moves to them together. In the technical part ('avoidance goals' see 2.4), rejections in connection with engine cooling radiator involve a rejecting move produced by two speakers together, this therefore being redundant information. In connection with engine protection system, the Sellers take turns in rejecting an initiation by the Buyers which is re-initiated.
Rejecting moves occasionally feature incoherent action by the Sellers. For example, one Seller accepts a Buyer initiation, while another hastily rejects it.

Embedded exchanges (pre-responding exchanges, post-exchanges, corrective exchanges, embedded team consultation exchanges) feature regularly instances of teamwork. The Sellers take turns in initiating pre-responding exchanges within an exchange, or one Seller initiates a pre-responding exchange, and another satisfies the head move. The last-mentioned case requires not only good insight about what the team as a whole is aiming at, but apparently also close acquaintance between speakers. There is only one such occurrence in the present data (see below on who teams up with whom). Post-exchanges serve as a means for persisting with the pursuit of a goal. They are also used for joking.

A typical feature of corrective exchanges in Client negotiation is that they are mostly 'other-corrections' (see Levinson 1983) but they are produced without any redressive modification. The types of teamwork in corrective exchanges include either all team members correcting a Buyer mistake together, or a Seller correcting a mistake a team member has made, or a Seller taking over a team member’s turn in responding to a corrective exchange initiated by the Buyers.

Embedded team consultation exchanges occur on occasions where team internal harmony has been disrupted, where its function appears to be to restore team internal harmony, or in situations where a Seller openly looks for support from team members, or, yet again, if one Seller finds himself in difficulties. Embedded team consultation also occurs if the Sellers for strategic reasons wish to express amongst themselves, thus indirectly, something that they want the Buyers to be aware of, although they do not want to discuss it openly with them.

The Sellers work together locally, within a move, turn or exchange relating to a single topic or adjacent related topics. In connection with the items of agenda engine cooling radiator, and payment terms, both of which contain difficult topics which require a lot of interactional work, the Sellers' local teamwork has the following characteristics: If one Seller is experiencing difficulty in responding to a Buyer initiation, another team member initiates a defensive new (related) topic. If one Seller does not comply with a Buyer initiation, another Seller produces a counter-request for information with a new related topic. If a Seller initiation fails, another Seller makes a new initiation with a new related topic.

Global teamwork, that is teamwork across several unlinked topics, involves Sellers taking turns in repeatedly initiating their own topic throughout the treatment of an agenda item. However, after having reacted together to a first initiation by Buyers, the same Sellers continue
cooperation if the topic is re-initiated by Buyers later after having discussed other topics in between.

Some instances of teamwork seem uncooperative 'on the surface'. For example, two Sellers may satisfy a Buyer initiation, e.g. a request, but a third Seller initiates a counter-request with a new topic; or one Seller accepts a Buyer justification to a complaint, while another Seller counter-requests with his own topic.

Findings regarding the role of teamwork in expressing illocutionary points are limited. The Sellers are throughout the negotiation in the role of respondents, and this is also what they prepare for in their internal meeting. They design certain plans of action as responses to possible initiations from the Buyers, rather than the expression of particular illocutionary points. It can be noted, however, that in the present data, in local cooperation (within a single topic or related adjacent topics) the illocutions of joining contributions are similar in nature if the purpose is to support the arguments of a previous speaker. If, however, the purpose of teamwork is to take over the turn from a team member who is in a difficult situation, e.g. unable to respond to a Buyer initiation, the linked illocutions may be different (e.g. non-compliance + counter-request for information), or even opposite (accept + reject) if teamwork serves a controlling function.

The Sellers had set themselves goals in their internal meeting regarding the four items of agenda. In the technical part of the Client negotiation they aim at avoiding threatening topics at this point in the negotiation process. As the interactional structure of the technical part is such that the Buyers mostly ask questions, to which the Sellers reply, this limits the resources available to the Sellers for pursuing their goals. The Sellers' avoidance goals are realised through teamwork which includes providing as much information to a request (with an informing move + supportive moves) as they see fit in connection with a Buyer-interest topic, or if the topic is touchy, they quickly counter-request for information with a Seller-interest topic. For example, when discussing engine cooling radiator, the Sellers do not wish to discuss the topic of the size of their cooling system, as they have not been able to finalise its design, due to missing technical data from the Buyers. All three Sellers engage in teamwork in order to avoid answering threatening questions about the size. Seller teamwork here proves right the information the Sellers themselves provided in participant interviews about the advantages of negotiating as a team. Often the Seller who provides the 'edge' of their argument in connection with a threatening topic is a speaker who has been silent for a while, and hence has had time to observe the development of the situation before taking part in it.

When going over engine protection system the Sellers do not want the Buyers to raise unwanted questions about their documentation software. The Buyers never ask the questions the Sellers
want to avoid about the two different software products. It is impossible to prove that this is because of the Sellers' team action; maybe the Buyers just had not studied the Offers carefully enough to be able to pose tricky questions. However, when the Buyers inquire about the availability of the software to the operator, Sellers Andy and Pekka respond together. They talk a lot here by engaging in a session of 'salestalk' about the usefulness of the software to the Buyers. When the Buyers try to contradict this, Seller John steps in to help Andy and Pekka who seem to have run out of steam. Again, it is the speaker who has remained silent for a while in the discussion who finalises the point the Sellers are trying to make.

The Sellers had set themselves more active goals for the commercial part of the Client negotiation. They agreed to be generally aggressive about the commercial conditions of the deal. The Buyers have the upper hand, as they now react to what is expressed in the Sellers' Offer about the current issues, and set a new foundation for discussion about the terms. The Sellers try to achieve their goals by initially rejecting the Buyers' proposals, and defensively proposing their own solutions as a team. In connection with payment terms the Sellers want to push for an up-front payment instead of receiving their first payment for preliminary drawings, as proposed by the Buyers. Regarding price the Sellers aim initially at increasing, or finally at least maintaining their present price level. When discussing first payment during the item of agenda payment terms, Sellers Andy and John work together at the beginning of the sequence with Pekka occasionally supporting them. The work involves initially rejecting the Buyers' proposal for first payment, and then trying to modify the terms on the basis of the Sellers' standard terms. Towards the end of the topic, Pekka takes a more active role and teams up with either John or Andy, and even takes the lead once when Andy makes a mistake.

The Sellers mainly work in pairs, except in really tight spots where all three join forces. Having agreed to be aggressive about commercial conditions lead to plenty of rejecting responses here, not only in connection with first payment, but also with other main Buyer initiations concerning payment terms. When discussing price, the Sellers do not even get to make their point about the necessity to increase their price as they had planned to do, due to the fact that their Offer is no longer valid; they are faced with strong opposition from the Buyers. They content themselves with just trying to maintain their present price level. This is done initially by all three Sellers together, and later through Pekka and John's teamwork. When John lets go of their initial goal, and expresses readiness to reduce the price if a swift deal can be reached, Pekka and Andy team up with the Buyers in order to control John's eagerness for a swift deal.

According to the information disclosed by the participants after the negotiation took place, the commercial part of a negotiation may influence the way Sellers behave, as financial matters are felt to require a more personal involvement, albeit that the question is about the company's money. On the basis of the present data, it cannot be claimed that either part of the Client
negotiation, technical or commercial, directly influences the occurrence of teamwork. Rather, the nature of teamwork changes when the participants move from the technical part to the commercial part because the Buyers change their behaviour. The Sellers then respond to this with the means that they have at their disposal, one of them being teamwork. The Sellers had set themselves active goals for the commercial part, which they pursue openly, whereas in the technical part their goals involve active avoidance of certain topics, a more passive goal. The technical and commercial parts of the Client negotiation, and their related items of agenda, influence such factors as which Seller leads the team or talks the most due to the different types of expertise they manifest (e.g. Pekka's knowledge of technical details in discussing *engine cooling radiator*), or due to the general concern they have in the matter (e.g. Andy and John in discussing *payment terms*). The pre-set goals also influence the occurrence of teamwork through the types of move they call for. For example, in connection with *payment terms* the Sellers reject together several of the Buyers' initiations, whereas in connection with *engine protection system* they work together in satisfying Buyers' initiations.

The decisive factors in who teams up with whom in Seller teamwork in the present data appear to be the type of expertise that Sellers have, their need for information, and their degree of familiarity with each other. In the technical part John and Pekka work together a lot. John is the project leader, so Pekka mostly lets him be in charge, but as Pekka is the one who has the most knowledge about the Sellers' product, he in fact does most of the talking here, especially in connection with *engine cooling radiator*. Andy also regularly joins Pekka here, but only on one occasion do they all team up together, and this seems to signal a particularly tricky spot for the Sellers. Andy and John also occasionally team up. The picture is essentially the same for *engine protection system*. John and Pekka go together through the technical part of the Sellers' Offer in their internal meeting, and hence know in detail what it contains. This is reflected in the ample amount of teamwork between them.

In the commercial part, the pattern of who teams up with whom changes. As *payment terms* concern more directly the UK-based company, represented by Andy and John, they are the ones who do most of the talking here. There is plenty of teamwork between Andy and John and occasional teamwork between Pekka and Andy. Teamwork between Pekka and John is much rarer here than in the technical part of the Client negotiation. Instances of teamwork with all three Sellers participating are more common in the commercial than the technical part, which could be due to the importance of the commercial part of a negotiation to Sellers (see 4.1.3 above). *Price* is a short extract and only features three instances of Seller teamwork. There are tendencies in it similar to those in the other item of agenda in the commercial part of the negotiation, with all three participants taking part in two of them. The third instance witnesses a high degree of familiarity between John and Pekka, as Pekka tries to read John's mind in producing his joining contribution.
This study did not set out to discuss the phenomenon of Seller-Buyer cooperation in any detail. Although it is a pre-requisite for the successfulness of Client negotiation, it has been left out in order to limit the extent of the study. Instances of Seller-Buyer teamwork where some Sellers work against a co-member of the Selling team in teaming up with the Buyers have, however, been described as an interesting disruption of Seller teamwork. The instances of such disruption in Seller teamwork are few in the data (six occurrences). Their main function appears to be to control the project leader who sometimes seems to be pushing for a deal at any cost. When the Sellers team up with the Buyers against their own team during the four items of agenda, it is mostly Andy and Pekka who thus try to control John. On one occasion John himself lets go of his own arguments and teams up with the Buyers against himself. This is towards the end of the Client negotiation, and could have occurred as a result of tiredness. Concerning who speaks with whom across opposing teams, the decisive factor seems to be technical expertise, similarly to Seller teamwork. Although no strong regularity was detected concerning professional roles in who speaks with whom, or teams up with whom across opposing sides, there seems to be a slight tendency to team up between participants who hold similar positions within their respective companies. The cases of Sellers teaming up with Buyers against their own team are not many, so the conclusions reached about such instances are tentative, but the same tendency exists there.

The present findings suggest several possible functions for Seller teamwork. The Sellers clearly pursue goals together, not only the pre-set goals as stated in their internal meeting, but also other goals that have not been so carefully planned for, but where the Sellers all 'instinctively' know what to pursue and how (see Charles 1994 prototypical Seller behaviour). For example, when discussing engine protection system, the Sellers work towards achieving their pre-set goal by producing 'sales talk' together. Also, in connection with the topic 'communication link', they support each other in order to argue convincingly. Regarding payment terms, the Sellers pursue an up-front payment together as planned. After having accepted defeat in the matter, they try to improve other details in the terms in compensation. Again, this is carried out very efficiently, as if it were planned beforehand. They also show pugnacity at the very beginning of the agenda item with common action. Price is an issue which activates all three Sellers to pursue their pre-set goal together.

The Sellers also team up with each other in order to avoid communication breakdown. In connection with engine cooling radiator and engine protection system, other Sellers help out the non-native participant who occasionally has difficulties in getting his message across. This is not a one-way procedure, however, as he in turn helps out his team members in the technical and commercial details of the affair on several occasions when they have problems in responding to the Buyers or misunderstand a Buyer's meaning. In connection with payment
terms the opposite is true, as the Sellers towards the end of its treatment try to hinder communication through teamwork when the Buyers want to carry on discussing matters the Sellers consider settled.

Occasionally, Seller teamwork serves the purpose of controlling the members of the team who seem to be letting the Buyers off too easily (engine protection system). Also, if a co-member is pushing his point too far or is clearly in the wrong, co-members team up with the Buyers, who are rejecting such behaviour (see Sellers teaming up with Buyers against their own team; engine cooling radiator). In connection with engine protection system, the controlling function involves getting the conversation back to business when co-team members start joking with the Buyers. Teaming up with Buyers also takes place in connection with engine protection system in order to correct a mistake made by a co-team member.

Seller teamwork sometimes seems to be motivated by interpersonal considerations. For example, Sellers satisfy Buyers' initiatives together with redundant responses. This is particularly common behaviour to Pekka and John, who have a long history of working together (engine cooling radiator, engine protection system). Such teamwork seems to be motivated by a strong sense of shared responsibility. Similarly, if these two speakers start responding together to a topic, they respond together again later if the topic is recycled. When discussing price, all three produce redundant responses when correcting a Buyer's misunderstanding. In such cases, the need to be persuasive when pursuing a particular goal may explain the phenomenon better than the expression of solidarity.

After a disruption in team coherence, for example after some Sellers have teamed up with Buyers against their own team, a team-internal consultation occasionally takes place right after the incident, in order to restore harmony (engine cooling radiator). The team-internal interaction in connection with, for example, engine protection system, in which the Sellers express their confusion when faced with the loss of a document, appears to serve an interpersonal consideration. They explain their bad organisation by justifying it through team-internal interaction which is clearly also directed to the Buyers' ears. Joking is also plentiful throughout Client negotiation. Often the Sellers produce jokes as a team. This may serve an interpersonal function; sometimes the Sellers appear to be humouring the Buyers.

The Sellers manifest different types of expertise in dealing with different aspects of the affair. They take turns in responding to the Buyers, and a speaker sometimes seems to opt for silence in order to let others talk until the situation requires more intensive teamwork. This could be motivated by a need to avoid 'negotiation fatigue'.

5.2 Conclusions

The present study has been concerned with describing the linguistic characteristics of teamwork in a competitive business negotiation and the ways teamwork can be exploited in order to negotiate efficiently. In a world where globalisation of the business community makes international trading an increasingly complex activity, it is important to understand the interactional features of such competitive situations: possible regularities and norms, and the limitations they set on communication, some arising from cognitive processes, while others from the situational context.

The study has demonstrated some interactional means that were put to use by a sales team. Although working in groups is not always unproblematic (see e.g. Huseman et al. 1981:413-414), as it complicates decision-making, it is clearly an asset not only to individual negotiators, but also to the companies who resort to it. While teamwork renders the task of individual negotiators less daunting, as responsibility is shared, it also protects the company's interests, as team members control one another through teamwork.

The study has sought to examine teamwork in an authentic goal-oriented setting where it was possible to obtain factual information about the intentions the participants set out to realise. This background information is an unusual element in a study based on authentic negotiation material, and it is believed to have increased the reliability of the results obtained in the study. It would be interesting to compare the results with those found in simulated situations where similar background material can be found.

Goal-oriented Seller behaviour has been inspected throughout the negotiation. The Sellers' internal meeting did not provide information on everything they attempted to do in the Client negotiation. There the present analysis has been greatly aided by participant interviews, which were resorted to because of the difficulty experienced with the technical content of the negotiation. These interviews have also been useful in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the sociological considerations of context. However, it must be borne in mind that the information gained from the participants may lack objectivity.

The model proposed by Edmondson (1981) and Edmondson and House (1981) was used as a tool in the analysis. The model was chosen on the basis of the emphasis placed on the outcome of exchanges. The approach adopted by Sinclair & Coulthard (1975, 1992) could have been another choice, as it accounts for topical coherence in a way which Edmondson's model does not. However, Edmondson's model is a dyadic model of analysis, and suited the data; as it is obvious from the summaries of the interactional structure of the four items of agenda (see 4.2.2, 4.2.4, 4.3.2, 4.3.4), Client negotiation was mostly carried out as dyadic interaction,
although there were seven participants. At times some difficulty was experienced in trying to distinguish between a satisfying move and a backchannelling cue, e.g. an Uptaker.

For practical reasons, the present study was focused only on Seller teamwork. A more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of teamwork in a competitive Seller-Buyer negotiation could be gained by including Buyer teamwork in the analysis. Inspecting the role of recipient tokens in teamwork is another feature which would complement the picture.

Having looked at the basic interactional structure of a Client negotiation, it would be interesting to inspect phenomena such as the cooperative principle (Grice 1975) and hearer-supportive behaviour in a business environment. Several scholars (e.g. Charles 1994, Firth 1995) suspect that the context of business may be reflected in the management of interpersonal relations in business negotiations in a way which differs from ordinary casual conversation.

This study has been motivated by practical considerations such as how to gain more in-depth knowledge about social interaction in a competitive business environment in order to transmit that insight into teaching Business English. Some characteristic features of a business negotiation have been revealed, and it is hoped that the field of English for Occupational Purposes benefits from them. However, the present study is a case study of one business negotiation, so the obtained results should be checked by using a corpus consisting of several, preferably shorter negotiations - considering what a time-consuming exercise detailed linguistic analysis is - in order to improve their reliability.
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APPENDIX 1  Transcription conventions

Punctuation has not been used in the transcription of the corpus data. Capital letters have been used for proper nouns or names only (real or invented names of products, companies and people).

Transcription conventions used in transcribing the data

[ ] overlapping speech
  for example:
  BM please [help yourselves
  BL [yeah]
  SA thank you]

* pause, 0-1 second
** pause, 2 seconds
*** pause, 3 seconds or more
-
  truncated speech
  for example:
  BS uhm i- it's probable
(highway)

possible transcription of unclear words
(-) (-- (---
unintelligible word / 2 words / a stretch of speech comprising 3 or more words

(LAUGHTER) transcriber's comments about the text

Transcription conventions used in the analysis

(continues) comments about the analysis or the meaning of utterances
{]} details of content of moves
(SJ) utterer of a move
[SA] utterer of a recipient token
Engine cooling radiator

1 SJ so we've got a cooling radiator in
2 BS we've got to watch we've got to watch the cranes in doing that
3 BM mm
4 BS I think it might be possible *
5 SJ the cooling radiator's down in the (-) an' (---) all the heat
6 BL right what size is is the cooling radiator for the engine
7 SJ mm I don't know we could tie that with double heads couldn't we
8 BS it's [here
9 SP yeah] we we have to discuss about the * also about the er temperatures when the
10 engine has to be able to run
11 BL yeah
12 BM mm-hm
13 SP an' what's the let's say the highest temperature [in the
14 BM right]
15 SP summertime
16 BM yeah
17 SP and er which we should which the engine should give the full power
18 BL [right
19 BM right] [yeah
20 BL what's] what's (the) minimum cooling water temperature which you need * f- for
21 lube oil cooling or
22 SP I think it's for the er if we want to have the full power without derating it's er the
23 BL turbo charger second phase
24 BL okay
25 SP it's something like er the water must be 35 or 40
26 SJ yeah
27 SP so it means * ten degrees temperature difference
28 BM yes
29 SP it has to be 25 30 * so if we are having a tem- er let's say the er ambient
30 temperatures above 30 then er we have to derate [a-
31 BL s- so] the cooling water needs to be at 35
32 SA no the co- that's what the oil needs to be [at so
33 BL okay]
34 SA you need] [(---)
35 BG (---)]
36 SA you're looking around
37 BG 25
38 SA 25
39 SP yeah
40 BL 25
41 SP yeah
42 BL maximum
43 SP yeah okay we can go higher but then it's er always more costly
44 BL mm-[hm
45 SP let's] say if we're able to have 25 an' then derate the engine if it's
46 BL [mm-hm
47 SP during] the summertime if you absolutely need to run an'
48 BM mm
49 SP then we're able to derate an' keep the price of the radiators
50 BL okay co- could I ask [(---)
51 BS (---)]
yeah

well (I won't take up this) ***

okay [well

w-]

this is a layout issue for that

? yeah

mm

would it be possible to use an evaporative type cooling system a small

 evaporative type cooling [system

you'd] use a lot of water ** that's the only thing * the other alternative we thought

about was sea water

[that

=no]

could be the best way (an' the cheapest)

you can't

[it's a bit

[---]

no if we] * if we had [an evaporative

you'd] have problems with the return temperatures

maybe yeah yeah yeah would go up (to) six degrees say

ey they would go up six

because er normally you take er all the heat to the space heating an' an' [to the

mm-hm]

steam system

yeah

[so it's more or less having er something like

[---]

(--)]

(---])

less than a megawatt

yeah

(SA & SJ AND BM & BG SPEAK SIMULTANEOUSLY)

yeah [it was (--)]

[(---)]

[(---)]

[(---)]

[mm]

[(---)]

we're looking for a self-contained flow of * we're not looking for a secondary

cooling system involving sea water (--)

mm

okay

air cooling of one sort or another for excess heat

yeah

I I think we need to to check the size [of the

mm]

of this radiator it could [be

yeah]

substantial and er it could be quite an issue as well

[yeah

yeah]

well that the- these two questions they're really that that you you've raised

yourself is the size depends on [noise

the radiator need to [be

yeah]

designed to operate at

well there's a Spec (-) since 72 dBa at 1 metre
BM  yes
110  SA  mm well
111  SJ  no it [doesn't
112  SA  it doesn't] ha
113  SJ  I the the thing I w- I meant to raise is when we got the original Spec from BC *
114   er first the data sheets which we never received * there's reference to noise in
115   there of 85 an' 75 85 in the buildings
116   ?  mm
117  SJ  but it doesn't tell you where you measure it you know
118  BL  okay
119  SJ  is it outside is it a metre from the chimney or [(-]
120  BS  well] (-) it's quite clear here auxiliary equipment within the powerhouse 85 dBa at
121   one metre
122  SJ  mm-hm
123  BS  excluding the engine location (it says) * au- auxiliary equipment outside the
124   building 75 dBa at one metre
125  SJ  well we've not had that
126  BS  no
127  SA  [(LAUGHS)]
128  BS  but i- it's] our (-) design that Shorts have accepted
129  SJ  all right [well that's what we need to know ha ha
130   (LAUGHTER)]
131  SP  but anyway the the size of the radiator is
132  BS  [sound level at one metre from the building that's the 75
133  SP  you know let's say] the biggest influence [is the er
134  BS  (--)]
135  SP  outside temperature
136  BL  yeah
137  SP  what we the (-) temperature and the noise
138  BL  mm-hm
139  SP  whether the (amplitude) is 1500 rpm
140  BL  okay
141  SP  lower or do we have to go to really low
142  BL  yeah [well
143  SP  speeds]
144  BL  could you consider using evaporative cooling 'cause I guess that say if you put a
145   plant in maybe in Indonesia or somewhere * er you can't get down to
146   30 degrees C unless you use [evaporative (--]
147  SJ  no we'll] have a derate normally
148  BL  right
149  SJ  we don't use [a lot of evaporative * coolers do we
150  BS  [ha ha (they skin these people don't they) ha ha
151  BL  [ha ha]
152  SP  well er we use both depending of the * of the of the systems and the]
153  BL  I would imagine it more cost-[effective
154  SP  yeah]
155  BL  uhm so would it be possible to look [at that
156  SJ  what] what about water though are you gonna [use (--]
157  BL  we would] supply you with with er treated water for it * we would treat the water
158   [(--]
159  SJ  [okay]
160  SA  so you] would prefer cooling tower type arrangements
161  BL  yeah [actually
162  SP  yeah]
163  BL  or a closed [system
164  SA  yeah]
165  BL  of [evaporative
166  SJ  yeah] *
coolers something like that

(BS STARTS A SEPARATE DYAD WITH BM)
an' that has the advantage it's it's much more forgiving than if you transfer (-)]

mm]

(INAUDIBLE SIMULTANEOUS SPEECH: BS SPEAKS TO BM)
but then again uhm what're what are your temperature criteria [for the
well you] can get better temperatures of this [type
(-)]

[of system

yeah]

because [that's (--)] (BS SPEAKS TO BG)

[because of the temperature difference yes]

(---)

(---)

uhm

the the wet bulb is 17

okay

is it

so

mm

that gives an extra six [degrees

[yes]

[yeah]

[so we'll

[---]

'cause normally you need in in radiators you need at least ten degrees]

(SJ & BS START A SEPARATE DYAD)

(---)

yeah

yeah

(-) a cooling tower you get maybe even five [degrees

yeah] or even less yeah

[---]

so can we can you have a look at that

[yeah

the] possibilities of those and advise us the*

costs

[yeah

the cost] involved yeah *** so

y- your cooling water contains er (ethlene) glycol or some antifreeze

erm * in this case I I would say it has to be glycol-based

yeah okay * any other treatment any water softener or * [corrosion (--)

mm] normally we have these inhibits

inhibitors

inhibitors

okay *

it's er * but er whenever you have minus degrees you have to have also some

glycol

yeah

in the water we wouldn't we would like to be without those but er in cold climates

[you

ha]

have to use them ***

mm **

(CLEARS THROAT)

so can I just (-) on on the design of this we're looking for 70 dBa at one metre

70 [5

[75]
that's right] 70 75 at one metre
outside yes
an' if it is er a radiator aircooler we are looking at 23 degrees (---) as maximum
ambient temperature with 17 degrees C wet bulb on a cooling tower (-)
[evaporative type system
those] are maximum design (-) which will be exceeded for a small per cent of the
time
but as far as design an' operating systems that's that's what we design [(-]
this is a (--)]
yeah ***
so that's the radiator
mm-hm
Engine protection system

1. BM protection system *
2. SJ well (we have) the protection system basically is er for the engine uhm we've
3. let me just find it (--) *** (LEAFs THROUGH SA'S DOCUMENTS)
4. SA yeah you'll (do well) (--) (emptying mine) [ha ha
5. ? (that's right)]
6. SJ (I'm just not) an' where's mine
7. SA ha ***
8. SP what do you mean DC system *
9. BL er
10. SP oh [protection system
11. BL it's 3 point 5 protection [(is it here)
12. SP no it's] not here (LEAFs THROUGH DOCUMENTS)
13. SA that that space at the bottom of the page should contain it ha
14. SJ well it was it was in * has any of you got it
15. SP no
16. BL (---)
17. BM yes ***
18. SA I haven't got any mail back (-) since yesterday so (---) ha
19. SJ well (they've) been swapping pages yesterday
20. SA yeah I wonder if it got * lost in the e-mail yesterday
21. SP but anyway it's the [our standard system of protection
22. BM (---)]
23. BL try page 24 see if that's * [what you're
24. SJ yeah]
25. BL looking for
26. SJ yeah that's it yeah * (is that all in) (LEAFs THROUGH DOCUMENTS) yeah **
27. SP yeah
28. SJ yeah [that's it
29. SP there] are the signals
30. SJ yeah that's what I'm trying to say is we've we've we've put the synchronizing
31. equipment in this panel
32. BL uh-huh
33. SJ our (-) are supplying the switch gear do you want this
34. BG (COUGHS)
35. SJ they're in our panel or would you rather we just protected the engine an' its
36. systems from this panel and you did your synchronising separately
37. BL how do you feel about that Sam
38. BS I think we want the synchronising in their panel
39. BL oh yeah
40. BS because we want it in the control room not in the er [(switch room)
41. BL (---)]
42. BS downstairs
43. BL yeah
44. SJ well that's what we thought so that's why we've left it in
45. BL mm-hm
46. SP yeah
47. BS that's right
48. SJ okay that's all that's all I have to say then *
49. BL and er these er these alarms these are hard-wired are they or do the are they (-) are
50. they er into the PLC and (LEAFs THROUGH DOCUMENTS) through software
51. * and if you get a low (air) pressure alarm
52. SJ [the the- they'll]
53. SP they are hard-] wired yeah
54. SJ hard-wired yeah
55. BL [okay
yeah]**
57  BL  so the PLC is basically monitoring is it *
58  SP  er yeah it's more or less for monitoring er depending of er because certain parts of
59  BL  mm-hm * er * the relaying and that kind of things
60  SP  which are inside the PLC I I've understood that they are also accepted as er as
61  BL  okay]
62  SP  protection [systems
63  BL  but not the software as such if it goes through the software
64  BL  yeah
65  SP  it has to be a primary er protection system
66  BL  right
67  BM  mm-hm
68  BL  okay ** so I mean
69  SJ  all this all this this sort of system's built into
70  BL  right
71  SJ  as well
72  BL  so the low-level oil pressure alarm isn't isn't going to go off when the PLC has a
73  SJ  no [it's a
74  SJ  no]
75  SP  it's a primary protection
76  SJ  yeah
77  SP  and it doesn't matter whether the PLC is there [or not
78  BL  yeah] it [still
79  SP  it it will] stop the engine
80  BM  [right
81  BL  okay]
82  SP  all the engine protection systems are primary
83  BL  okay
84  SP  protections
85  SJ  so I don't know if you want to * can I have those
86  SP  (--)
87  BL  er can I just ask will you be putting your own communication system (in this) so
88  SP  that you can (-) information to England or Finland or *
89  SJ  well we haven't [thought
90  SP  mm]
91  SJ  about that yet but that has a facility
92  SP  [yes
93  BL  okay] just I'm just thinking in terms of a maintenance agreement [(-)]
94  SJ  yeah]
95  SP  [yeah
96  BL  supervision (-)] [(-]
97  SA  yeah but we've] we've got the option in there because the the unit there gives us
98  SJ  the option to do it
99  BL  okay
100  BM  with a remote down-load
101  SJ  [yeah
102  SA  yeah]
103  SJ  well we've got time to think about it 'cause we want [to put
104  BL  yeah]
105  SJ  a man on site for [twelve months anyway
106  BL  that's right yeah]
107  SJ  to help your people *
108  BL  well it's obviously which is most [cost-effective
109  SJ  yeah an' we'll] we'll just play it by ear [really
110  BM  right]
111  SP  yeah
but if we could ring it up every morning an' see how its temperature is an'
mm [but like all the
(its pulses)]
you've got auxiliary relays on th- on this panel anyway so [(-)]
yeah
mm like these er new engines in Finland they all have a possibility to to erm
monitor them from Selling Company in Sweden
okay
hm
so they are once in a while we noticed when we were there * they er just er we
noticed that the modem was started [making noise
ha
then we noticed that they are contacting from Sweden
yeah
tile
yes remote remote operation [(room) (-)]
producing one control panel here with all these different things in it *
yeah
an' you'll provide a drawing which shows what signals you need from us which
should be
yeah *
[yes
(LEAFS THROUGH DOCUMENTS)
] synchronising signals from the switch gear I guess
yeah
yeah
do we get that in lay-outs later on
[yes
yeah
okay **
only if you place the order
(LAUGHTER)
we get the size of the panel after we've [placed the order
yeah]
(LAUGHTER)]
[(----) (JOKE)
but it's more of less going to be a (-) cabinet
all right
yeah
(-) to build this huge [ha place to accomodate it all ha
(LAUGHTS)]
now we've got the order we'll tell you the panel's 40 metres square
(LAUGHTER) **
all right * [maintenance
so]
printer colour printer this place here * so that's all for the operator
(BL & SA: SIMULTANEOUS SPEECH IN THE BACKGROUND AT A LOW VOICE - INAUDIBLE)
yeah
[yeah
yeah]
now we are nowadays we are calling them * alarm printer an' report printer [more
or less
mm]
be[cause that
BM: yeah so that

SP: doesn't tell anything actually so it's an alarm printer an' a report printer

BS: when you say report what does that mean

SP: er you can get the history out of it an' that kind of things

BS: so it has it's got a built-in data logger

(DYAD IN THE BACKGROUND ENDS)

SP: yeah it's it's collecting data an' it's a * normal PL- nor- normal * PC in a way

BS: [it's] er able to gather

SP: (-->) will print out every time the alarm goes off

SP: yes

SJ: yeah

SP: [yeah]

BS: and if a series of go off it prints them in the order they happened an'

SP: well er

BS: [with the times

SP: if possible]

BS: [yeah]

SP: because] er certain things are so fast that er they're able to perhaps get the first

BS: one an' then all the other ones are coming in in the order what [the

BS: i- it] it's a diagnostic [tool

SP: yeah]

BS: rather than

SP: yeah

BS: an operator's [tool

SP: [but normally]

BM: is this]

SP: they try to to find the first one of course

BL: mm-hm

SP: that like on the electrical side it's very difficult to say which one was the first one

BL: because

BM: yeah]

SP: the phenomenas are really fast

BM: yeah

SP: it's very difficult to say which one was the first

BM: yes

SP: but normally we try to * have a selective system

BL: mm

SP: which can tell which was the first one because it's very important to know

BL: yeah

SP: in order to

BL: f- for (-)

SP: yeah yeah

BM: is this so is this a * PLC * programmable logic control or actually * monitoring

BS: the engine with a further personal computer a PC actually taking the information

BL: from it or is it in fact one * a PC acting as a

SP: yeah * it's a

SA: separate

BM: [(I can actually see)

SP: separate system] an' you can s-

BM: right

SP: an' you can have all the er also the on the drawings er of the heat side too

BL: [so

SA: I think at the beginning there's a it was a standard [(]

BL: so it's just like a (round) (-) PLC or something

SA: yeah

SP: yeah

BL: with a (-) highway into a PC or something
BM: yes I think that's what it is it's basically a small PLC being monitored by a PC.
SA: yes
SP: an' then you have these er for example er er Siemens er Simatic S5s
BL: alright that's a
SP: yeah
BL: okay
SP: and those are doing the actual controlling an'
BL: yeah
SP: whatever this is just er you know
BL: well that's [probably (-)]
SP: (-)
BL: probably okay
SP: yeah
SA: an' that's that's the standard (-) yeah
BM: yeah I see
SA: so basically all all we would need to do [is]
BM: right
SA: install a modem into that PC
BM: into the PC an' you can [download yeah
SA: an' we we could] talk to it as an' when we require
BL: okay
BM: right okay that's fine
BL: an' would you put in this documentation system in the same PC
SA: that is a that's a [CD
SP: yes]
SA: an' it's or it's basically it's just a CD-ROM
BL: okay
SP: yeah
SA: uhm
SP: an'
BL: so you would include that an' an' the operator would have [access
SA: yeah] that [would
SP: yes]
SA: be [on the machine yeah
SP: yeah yeah]
BL: [are the (-)
SJ: that's] that's yours
SP: yes
BL: okay that's fine
SA: (an' already) we've seen that 'as a an excellent piece of software with video (-) of
BL: how to do the repairs an' the maintenance [operations
SJ: mm]
SA: an' quite an extensive
BM: mm
SP: how to replace for example like [a valve
SA: cylinder] head
SP: a cylinder head or whatever it's or animated er
BL: well this would obviously help your operator on site as [well
SP: yes]
BM: mm yeah
SJ: well he'll be already trained but I was thinking if your people get stuck in the
middle of the night one night they can put that in an' look it up an' see exactly
what they should be doing
SP: mm
BL: okay *
SJ: (LEAFS THROUGH DOCUMENTS)
SA: an' we we could stay in bed
284     (LAUGHTER)
285     BM you would like that you hope
286     SP you can also play games with it
287     (LAUGHTER)
288     BL I was wondering about (---)
289     BM yeah
290     SP but we don't supply any games
291     BM yeah
292     BL okay **
293     BM right so we've covered PLC control panels
Payment terms

1  SJ  er w- 40.1 (SHUFFLES DOCUMENTS) is my next one
2  SA  yeah
3  SP  yeah* the payments
4  SJ  yeah ***  
     (SHUFFLING OF DOCUMENTS)
5  BM  mm[-hm
6  BS  (you know)] we've got a problem with these ['cause our rules've
7  SA  50 * 60]
8  BS  changed again since [(-)
9  BM  yeah ha ha
10 BS  I know you've got [a
11 SP  90] 95
12 SA  I (--)) would like 100 % of the con[tract price (--)) (JOKE)
13 SJ  ha ha ha]
14 BM  yes [ha ha right
15 SA  not 95 ha] ha
16 BS  well ther- there are two principles here that've been passed down from our head
17    [office
18  BM  oh] sorry you (--)-
19  BS  the] first is that * uhm (SOMEONE CLEARS THROAT) * we ** do not pay for
20    goods we haven't received
21  BM  mm
22  BS  without a bond * an' therefore we're we will be looking for * a fairly massive
23    bond before delivery for those kind of payments * uhm now in practice I don't
24    think it's fair that we should be asking for that * for what I have to (-) everything
25    that we subsequently (say) you is there any agreement on terms of payment (will)
26    have to be agreed with our head office an' we might have to revert but I suggest
27    that we need a 10 % bond from the beginning
28  BM  mm
29  BS  an' that it carries right through until er the performance test at which (-) a er *
30  SA  is that is that discount ha (JOKE)
31  BM  ha ha
32  BS  so that's the first
33  SJ  no it's 5% retention on here
34  BM  yes it [is
35  BS  an'] an' the second thing is yes
36  BM  yeah
37  BS  that's right a s- a smaller bond [(-)
38  BM  a 10 % (project)] bond a 5 % retention bond
39  BS  an' then the second thing is that er an' it's certainly one of my principles is that we
40  BM  don't pay for er er money up front * on on contracts signed so er ** (SNIFFS) [we
41  BM  we we we pay for something
42  SA  (--) (signing of this)
43  BM  [no
44  BS  I mean we we want you to have an incentive to produce those preliminary
45  SJ  drawings an' get them to us
46  BS  well we'll get this programme next week an' we'll get 10 % before we get the
47  SA  contract
48  BS  an' an' I don't want submission of preliminary information (LAUGHING VOICE)
49  SA  [or (have you)
50  BS  oh yeah ha ha]
51  BS  I want I want
52  SP  yeah
53  BS  approval of
yeah
what your approval
yes
then you might say [I do not]
right]
approve
well let's (-) you tell us how long we've got to approve them [er
[well there's a
give us a] give us a time limit [(---)
(---)] because [(-- you say (-) you say
(well there's no point in you sending us a pile of rubbish is there)]
you've got five days to approve [them
no]
but at the end of the five days you say no they're not app[rovable
I know] you guys are a very reputable company but other people have sent us a
pile of rubbish * which we can't approve an' so [(---)
(CLEARS THROAT)]
we want the payment **
an' the [the cost an' the costs of producing the drawings are not 10% of the
contract value
if you're gonna if you're gonna this this this 10 %] [that we (-)
no but we normally ask for 20% up front] an' get it
sign an order which is our standard terms of payment an' there's a lot people that
we don't even
(-)] (MUMBLES)
do business with
well I can understand that if you're dealing in [in the third world
no no not]
(LAUGHS)]
in this country's [(--
it's Glasgow] [(LAUGHS)
in those countries we get 100% up front]
Glasgow's the third world yeah ha ha
what I'm saying to you if we give you * a payment w- the the way round it is that
we give er a payment guarantee [(--)
what is th- is that that is a bond is it
[(--)
that's a [bond
are we] are we looking at a performance bond
on on-dem[and
on] first demand bond
right
an' you pay us 10% when you get those drawings an' you get a bond for 10 % of
the value of of that you get a bond that you can walk down to the bank an'
present an' you will get paid that money (-- the bank
[well
yeah]
that's what that's what [we're asking for
all right yeah] that's that we could we could live with that yeah I mean what what
we're asking what we're yes okay yeah sorry [(--)
our] our standard payment terms would be 20% with order to which you would
get a bond for 20 % so [until
so that]
you actually get the engine that bond is valid an' if we didn't deliver the engine
you'd go to the bank an' you present that bond an' [(- you're first demanding
right * so]
you get your [money back
fine good] all right so if we bend it an' say erm we'll pay you 10% on approval of
drawings an' you give us the bond at that stage would you live with that
SA (--) the question is there is a there is a (GROANS)
BL you're only talking about ten days here
SA no no
BL say ten working days
BM [(CLEARSTHROAT)]
SA er we we] we have no fixed point there because approval of the drawings
BM mm
SA is not fixed [you
BL no] it's [it's not
SA (--) oh [no no no no
SJ the submission of the drawings is fixed]
SP that's the submission]
SA (--) we]
SJ we]
SA [not approved
SJ we would have to we'd have to put a time on it then
SA [(--) th- that] would delay the project an' it's not right for us to do that
BM mm *
SP you know there is er incentive for us because there are heavy penalties on delay
BM no but they yeah
BL an' there's an incentive for us to to get it done early so (--) 
BS an' we need your drawings because we've got mechanical pipework contractors
an' others that need them
BL an' approval will not be unreasonably withheld 
BS no
BL an' I don't foresee it being a problem with a reputable [company
BS I bet] it says that somewhere else in that [(-]
BM it does] actually yeah
BS so what what the way we've got this structured at the moment there's 50%
prior to delivery of total payments an' a further 10% on delivery what you're
saying is that by the time that delivery happens we will be sitting over on-demand
bonds for 50% of the contract value ***
SA we could look again (--) we]
BS that's]
SA these bonds cost money an' at the moment they're not there (---) for the initial
payment (--) 
BM yeah
SA (--) you you [(-]
SJ I think what we need to do really is for you to tell us what you're prepared to pay
I mean because this is a contract with * Selling Parent Company in Finland
SA yeah
SJ an' they will have to make the decision (-)
BM well that I mean what we are prepared to pay is basically what is set down there
that is the that's the standard terms an' [(-]
SJ mm-hm]
BM of payment for this project now I appreciate you may not you may (-) not
agree with those obviously most contractors [on principle
SA (--)]
BM would come along an' say I want you know 100% up front but between th-
between us we've got to find some er an' there're also other conditions which er
[Sam has just laid out
SJ oh I don't] think we were too unhappy with this
BM right
SJ er we were j[ust
BM but] that we need to (-) it a little bit is that what you're saying
well no how are you gonna guarantee payment to us

sorry how are we going to guarantee

how are you going to pay us

at which stage

every stage

every stage ***

well [(---)]

well I was gonna say yeah]

find what they what the er [(---)]

yeah if the er] if we don't pay we don't actually er * pay when it's due then you

have the right under MF 1 to er to give us 14 days' notification or whatever it is

of intent to stop work

mm

uhm an' that's what I would expect that's what I've done to a client before (-) ha ha

when I've been in your case [I've done it as well

[(---)]

what we could] we could be left with an engine on our hands just ready for

shipment an' there's no money coming in an' we're left with an engine

okay so you can sell it [then can't you

we're] a big company an' [we'll sell it somewhere else but I mean

ha ha yeah]

you could * [well

(--) (take a step back) what I'll also do is provide you with our standard payment

terms an' how they work which an' try an' fit it perhaps a bit more round your

schedule here

mm

uhm just just as a matter of interest for you to see what do you think of those

because I've just offered them to another customer in the UK an' he thinks our

payment terms are better than the ones here

ha ha [ha

well] if your if your payments start at 20 % up front then there's not really much

point in [(---)]

no so I mean there's]

[far away

it is be]cause you get er a bond an an [on-demand

yeah I know] I know

bond

[yeah

(--|--) straight back

yes I understand that but that still means

well let's let's move it to the end of this the second thing the submission of the [er

yeah]

prel - [construction drawings

no e- er that's what I say] let me [(-) them

BM

yes]

an' reword them an' [(---)]

let's leave them an' let's an' let's say 20% is is the total on]

MF1

but we don't wanna be charged extra for this bond **

I'm sure if we get 20% up front we could we could live with the extra for [(the

bond

yeah I don't think you're gonna get it up front [I think you're gonna get it after

yeah sorry (-)] but I say [(--)]

right okay]

because this means a lot of extra work an' extra extra er money for the bonds

because we are

but it's not (extra work) with respect Pekka

but I mean [(--) er
ten ten ten an' ten whereas ours will be a one off bond an' your next payment is when you get the engine [so that an' the] engine is [here] well I [mean tha- that as I say that gives you the satisfaction] of knowing that we've got that bit of metal now an' [(-)] pay [----]
er ok- you] you give us you sorry our terms of payment have got to be approved by head office [but I would would yeah [----]] like to recommend to our head office the 20% at the end of the second lot of drawings * for that that bond an' that would be our first payment ye[ah] 20% after all the drawings are received an' approved because I mean on that one you don't [----] payment till you've approved (-) (shipment) well we'll look at that [yeah [(--)] yeah] because then * yeah I think you’re getting the papers [within the next few days make us a proposal] on [those yeah] on that basis and er an' yeah * we'll er what it what it event- what it means to you is that up to this point you've paid 50% an' you actually keep about 30% of that in the bank for yourselves (--) definately to you so it's (--) 20%
you you you're gonna make us er I'm only nervous (---) what incentive have you got to give us preliminary information (LAUGHS)
(you) [(LAUGHS) the way things are going] (JOKE?)
yes ha ha ha well if you're a project manager [(--) hey they] might use this for someone else's engine though yeah [ha Selling Parent Company's now [these [(--) damn (--)] ha [sorry I mean if we accept that 20% an' we're at risk on the next 30 er we would need some kind of reassurance that the materials that you've purchased with our money in your factory * are * marked for us no no no you have that on-demand bond for that 20% no we're talking about [the next 30 [for the next 30%] for the next] 30 three times 10 the [contract price then] we we we just cannot do that ** so if [Selling Company we we] goes bust we we cannot [do that a receiver] comes in an' [our engine is we we yeah] is sold off an' [we're left with nothing
we cannot] we can't do (-- this is this is this is why this second option of our
payment terms becomes an advantage to you because you pay 20% then you get a
piece of paper that says I can have that 20% back by going to the bank [(-)
but you] could come to us an' or we could be told in August that Selling Company
is now in receivership an' that er your engine I'm sorry is being sold by the
receiver and er all we've got is a bond for 20% an' [the project (-) absolute
no no you haven't] you have it's paid
I think]
50% 'cause on our payment terms you will not pay any (-) money to us [until that
game
until delivery]
you have paperwork to prove that that engine is being delivered to you
is [being or has been
we] [we're not talking about this (-- we're talking about (-- an'
is it's an independent certificate saying that] this engine is not now [on its way
right so so so]
(-- Selling Company
with the er having something to prove I think we can accept that
yes [yes
yes]
we'll come up [with
this] this is this is [why we're capable of (-) exactly the same (--
yeah okay yeah that's it certainly certainly sounds (reasonable)] as long as it's in
independent hands [then it's
yeah]
beyond the er the hands of
yeah
yeah
it's already [left the factory
[the receiver]
yeah]
are we talking about the next
and it's going to (--]

40% then
as long as it's not in one of [(-)
please let] let me have a look at th- this is this is where [we
no] we'll revamp it an' come back to you next week
(--)
yeah
so I'm I'm gonna draft for 40% on delivery which is what we're offering ** is the
3 by 10 plus the 10 on delivery
yeah it will it
no we'll have to have more than that's only 60 isn't it we'll have to have more than
60 on delivery
well we wanted you to have a big incentive [(-)
let's have a] let's have a [I'll try
yeah]
[I'll have a word with the finance people an' an'
site installation (-) a few days] [from (--)
yeah]
[an' we'll work) (working round)
(-- spanners) [[LAUGHS]
or (-) welding (-) ha]
[LAUGHS)
you you use that an' the comments [we've made
yeah]
an' see if you can come up with a set of proposals that that sounds good
because when we're supplying the er engine we are supplying also all the
auxiliaries

346 BM [yes
347 SP so it means more or less that er * let's say 80 90% of the of the project value is
348 BM yeah
349 SP on site
350 BM yes yeah (-)
351 SP yeah
352 BM I would an- I would agree with you there the [point
353 SP yeah]
354 BM that er * you will've supplied a lot of hardware an' that without the expertise
355 unless the expertise is then supplied to install it an' commission it * [then
356 SJ (COUGHS)]
357 BM it means an awful lot more it's gonna cost us an awful lot more [to do
358 SP yeah]
359 BM the job than it would you * so er yes you're right the hardware percentage might
360 [be there
361 SP yeah]
362 BM but er we would still need your [expertise
363 SP yeah]
364 BM to actually install it
365 SA ye[ah
366 SP yeah] an' that's something Andy [will examine more in detail
367 BM yeah an' yes] yeah **
368 SJ right
369 BM yeah
370 SP [mmhm
371 BS and] er our terms of payment show 5% as retention
372 BM mm
373 BS now we're happy to pay that in er exchange for a [retention
374 SJ yeah]
375 BS [bond
376 BM retention] [bond yes
377 SJ yeah]
378 SP yeah
379 BM yeah
380 SA (--)
381 BM well exactly [that's
382 SP yeah]
383 BM what it comes down to I mean you can basically it comes down you can have it if
384 you want if [you
385 SA yeah]
386 BM want it as a [bond
387 SJ yeah]
388 BM but otherwise we'll hang on to it until the end of the retention period
389 SA yeah
390 BM it's up to you
391 SP yeah
392 SJ now 47.4 ...
Price

1. BS  what about price *** we’ve got some take-outs that we’ve discussed earlier
2. SP  ye[ah
3. SJ  yeah] *
4. BS  uhm which obviously you’ll look at and let us [know
5. SJ  yeah]
6. SP  yeah *
7. BS  but I have to tell you I’ve got a sig- er a significant * difficulty with this
8. indexation * business * because we can’t take the engine when you could make it
9. BM  mm-[hm
10. SJ  mm]
11. BS  an’ all the time * even after we’ve placed placed an order the price is still going
12. up
13. SJ  mm *
14. BS  I mean we need to
15. ?  (CLEARSTHROAT)
16. BS  we need to fix a price
17. BM  mm
18. BS  by perhaps * mid-February or whenever we * place our order
19. BM  [mm
20. SP  yeah]
21. BS  mid-February is gonna be perhaps the very latest hopefully it’s before that * but
22. we need to fix a price in Pound Sterling that is the price that you deliver at
23. SJ  mm-hm
24. BS  later in the year
25. SP  yeah *
26. BS  uhm are you gonna are you still sticking to the fact that it’s 1795
27. plus that many months [(--) towards (---)
28. SJ  well yes we I mean if if you look (historically)] at the project 18 months ago I
29. think we quoted something like er * well 2.16 million * an’ because of the
30. purchasing policies an’ things like this we reduced the price okay we took out
31. some things like the neutral air (-) [cubicle but we
32. ?  (CLEARSTHROAT)]
33. SJ  didn’t take out much more than 80 thousand [pounds
34. BS  mm]
35. SJ  worth but we give you a 365 k reduction ** to bring it down to this 179[5
36. BS?  yeah]
37. BM  yeah I I think I take your point but on the other hand [(--)
38. SJ  'cause we’ve given you this I I want to point this out [we’ve
39. BM  mm]
40. SJ  given you this because we know that the capital cost of the equipment could
41. affect the feasibility of the (pump) [an’ we did some
42. BM  mm]
43. SJ  honest engineering but we’re as interested in this project as you are
44. BM  right
45. SJ  we wanna be partners with you an’ if we can help * so we did it that’s what I’m
46. saying so this 1795 is our good will without being asked
47. SA  can I take another (-) to that also in that period we have lost 20%
48. SJ  yeah I’ll show you this actually
49. SP  yeah
50. SA  on the currency
51. SJ  we had a we had our own little power plant seminar * that’s what’s happened to
52. the Finmark [which is the
53. ?  (CLEARSTHROAT)]
54. SJ  the blue line * it’s dropped 19% * since (SIGHS) August 94 that’s actually co-
55. incidental when we started talking about it all * so that * it’s gone down in fact
it's gone to 22 I think [(-)
I think [we've got to
(so *) I mean
sorry] sorry that the Finnish mark is getting weaker **
no the Finnish mark is [getting stronger
[stronger]
[so we've lost
(-)]
20% on that figure since we did it * as well an' we've main[tailed it
but [it] er * we were * yeah * it happened in at the same time as we ABB started
their new generator line and we made new er volume contracts an'
mm-hm
mm
and er we were able to * take care of most of the currency exchange rates
right
it happened in a no it couldn't have happened in a better * time
mm * well I mean that the point that's from our point of view sorry start again
from our point of view there is no way that we could place an order on anything
other than a fixed-price basis
yeah [okay
we] have got to agree on a certain price (-) a certain delivery day an' you've got to
fix the price for that date
yeah
we can't go on an' you know [you
yeah]
you you've got to say for delivery [on
yeah]
such an' such a day with the order by such and such a date * er our cost will be
this * now having said that we've still got a difficulty with that because uhm your
cost when you take into account uhm installation cost an' everything else still
exceed our budget for this particular er project
mm
so we are looking to you to to chop money off that cost in any case * uhm how
much is obviously * up to yourselves ***
[our
if your] if your best price remains *1795
(CLEARS THROAT)
plus half a per cent a month (-) delivery
mm
then we have to accept that an' look at it an' in the [competitor
mm-hm]
environment [we're in
but what's] the absolute soonest you could place an order *
er 29th of January *
we can that's when we would be putting in the recommendation [to Purchaser
that would be] an intent or
well that would be a letter [of intent to be
a letter of intent]
to be followed up by an [(-)
(-)]
very soon
yeah
then I can base the pricing on that an' make a fixed price an'
(CLEARS THROAT)
try to do my best
well (then) in my calculations if it ran as far as October we'd be looking at 1.887
million which is er way outside our budget way way
well I think we should (-) an update (-) we might do a deal **
er the order * of this magnitude has to be signed by the managing director of
Purchasing Company
mm-hm
an' there're two other directors at (-) who will need to be involved in the decision
* [so whatever
even for an intent]
whenever whatever we ne- whatever we negotiate here is subject to whatever head
office say
yeah
even an intent [(or)
even] in well even in the intent 'cause an intent it (effectively) binds you to to
actually [yeah
an] intent an intent's [(---)
but those two directors went round (---)]
I agree] (agreed) so we wouldn't issue I I mean [(---) the law we wouldn’t issue
a letter of intent without
oh so that's it then ha ha]
any without you know without the intention to place [a contract
that that’s] why
yeah
the question of how how frequently (an order replaced) [(- -)
well]
well how about an intent subject to this that an' the other
(BM & SA LAUGH)
yeah well that (-) a letter of a letter of sort of unintent doesn’t it [you know ha ha
yeah]
no [I
as as Sam] says there are other people involved in the desicion
[mm
(? (CLEAR THROAT))
and er there we've got basically two directors who have interest in the
engineering aspects and cost aspects plus my regional director * who’ll be
involved in
mm
an' then an (analysing) director has to approve it
mm
er * the 29th of January is I think pretty ambitious given that we have we have
other bits to evaluate * an' there there is an evaluation process to go through * and
that [there is (---)
(BM (CLEAR THROAT))
us * in terms of civil design * and er that's [quite (---)
if you can offer us] a special deal * for placing the order by the end of this month
* then I'm sure we can find the time to brainstorm [the outstanding
(-)]
issues (-) *
right okay
yeah
but we are we are [looking for the best price you can achieve
I was thinking] by the end of this week ha ha
ha ha
we need that offer in writing as soon as you possibly can
but anyway I'll
if you can’t make a change then please say so
yeah
172 BS but er
173 BL is this [---]
174 SJ well I think we] could do a change but it's gonna be to a strict deadline *
175 BM [mm
176 BS we'll accept that]
177 SP yeah
178 BS [a strict deadline
179 BM yes yeah] if you give us a letter of intent placed by the end of this month * for
180 delivery * [(-)
181 BS well] if you make it if you make a different price offer to the one we’ve got there
182 then you’ll put your conditions in a wri- in a written offer * won't you *
183 SJ yeah
184 BL but can I just ask as I was out of the room * er what part of the discussion (---)
185 BM it didn’t *
186 BS we've basically got to have another look at * at the whole of the availability
187 BM clause in that document I haven’t looked at it since the ESA [was signed
188 BL mm-hm] *
189 BS and er I think I need to re- revisit the er * the clauses there
190 BL mm-hm