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LANGUAGE STRATEGIES IN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS: NEW PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATION AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

BY

ELENA POLIAKOVA

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Of

Doctor of Philosophy

In the Robinson College of Business

Of

Georgia State University

GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY
ROBINSON COLLEGE OF BUSINESS
2020

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ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the *Elena Poliakova's* Dissertation Committee. It has been approved and accepted by all members of that committee, and it has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Business Administration in the J. Mack Robinson College of Business of Georgia State University.

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DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

Dr. Leigh Anne Liu (Chair)
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ABSTRACT

LANGUAGE STRATEGIES IN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS: NEW PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATION AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

BY

ELENA POLIAKOVA

11/29/2020

Committee Chair: Dr. Leigh Anne Liu

Major Academic Unit: Marketing

With the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 — when negotiations have been almost exclusively carried out in online settings — there is a growing need for research which addresses this new norm. This dissertation explores how linguistic cues can corroborate or challenge the established measures in negotiation and conflict management research. The overarching objective is to study the interdependence of language and culture in the presence of technology within the domain of international negotiations and conflict resolution.

The first essay of the dissertation addresses the anomalies regarding the use of the two major negotiation strategies identified by prior research – questions and answers (Q&A) and substantiation and offers (S&O) – and their effectiveness across cultures. I triangulate between cognitive methods utilized in negotiations research (mental model convergence, fixed-pie bias), linguistic cues (words with positive and negative connotations), and language style matching (LSM), a novel analysis in international buyer-seller negotiations. Based on an online negotiation simulation between representatives of a high-context (Hong Kong Chinese) and low-context (U.S.) communication culture (total sample size is 300) and subsequent linguistic analysis of the transcripts, the essay questions the notion of normative strategy; shows the conditions when the strategies have an integrative versus distributive character; identifies cognitive mechanisms which explain why S&O might be more beneficial than Q&A in a high-context communication culture; and clarifies in which cultural contexts the index of language style matching reflects a deeper, cognitive simmilarity and in which an automatic process.

The second essay is a systematic literature review of studies about language in international conflict management research. The essay emphasizes a positive potential of a conflict and suggests how it can be achieved linguistically in an intercultural environment. It shows how language can give a dynamic process to conflict management. Unlike the static view of conflict, the proposed theoretical framework underscores the importance of poly-contextual behavior, i.e., how the behavior changes across contexts. By focusing on the multilingualism, the essay further disentangles language and culture, which are often mixed together. The essay suggests short term and long term strategies for a dynamic conflict de-escalation in the domain of international business.

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Introduction

Globalization, immigration flows, business alliances, competitive international marketplaces, and other forces sensitize people to each others' differences and make conflict management an imperative (Tjosvold, 2008) in intercultural settings. Unlike cultural differences, which have long been part of international business (IB) research agenda, language until quite recently remained a "forgotten" issue (Brannen & Mughan, 2016; Marschan, Welch & Welch, 1997). Since late 1990s, the role of language has become increasingly important in IB research (see Brannen, Piekkari & Tietze, 2014; Luo & Shenkar, 2006). This tendency can be explained by 1) globalization resulting in increased interaction between individuals speaking different languages, and 2) proliferation of electronic communication which heightens the importance of verbal communication over non-verbal (Ghauri & Usunier, 2003). With online communication containing fewer social cues than off-line, language naturally commands a higher significance (Brett et al., 2007).

With the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020–when negotiations worldwide have been almost exclusively carried out in online settings–there is a growing need for research which addresses this new norm. The two essays of my dissertation focus on this important topic by exploring how linguistic cues can be used to corroborate or challenge the established measures in negotiation and conflict management research.

Motivation of Research

Prior to starting my doctoral program, I lived in four countries working in the areas of marketing, advertising, and higher education. The positions I held during this time required participating in negotiations with foreign partners and clients, translating apps from Italian into Russian, adapting German advertising campaigns to the Russian target markets or explaining the

cultural nuances to my students. All of these experiences led me to the revelation of how important cultural differences are and the criticality of the language used in reflecting the way one thinks. In this respect, two issues should be mentioned upfront.

First is the profound impact of technology and the internet on how people produce, process and communicate information. Increasing prevalence of computer-mediated communication (CMC) and the subsequent diminishing importance of social cues is generally associated with the reduction of cultural and social normative pressures on the communicators (Friedman and Belkin, 2013). Furthermore, the impact of technology on communication seems to differ across cultures. For example, Rosette, Brett, Barsness, & Lytle (2012) showed that the use of e-negotiations shifted the behaviors of Chinese negotiators more than those of U.S. negotiators. In this dissertation, I delve deeper into these topics by focusing on the impact of CMC on negotiation and conflict management across different cultures.

Second, many concepts and approaches in international business research originate from Western theory and practice and, thus, cannot automatically be applied in other cultural settings. In this dissertation, I draw on the linguistics and communication methods to examine how approaches in negotiation can be applied in the emic and etic contexts of different cultures. I adopt a dynamic constructivist view of cultural influence which investigates the effects of culture on individual cognition and behavior through activating knowledge structures via contextual cues (e.g., Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000; Morris and Fu, 2001). For example, it is with this reasoning that the first essay is rooted in the theory of communication context proposed by Edward Hall (1959) as it examines negotiation, a communicative exchange in which contextual cues play a key role (Liu et al., 2012).

Significance of Research

There is an increasing call for interdisciplinary collaboration in the realm of international business research. I respond to this call by integrating theories from linguistics, communication, and psychology to gain a more profound understanding of language strategies in international business. The two essays here provide an interdisciplinary lens to international negotiation and conflict resolution research. My professional experience and degrees in Linguistics (Ph.D.) and International Business (expected Ph.D.) provide me with the right set of interdisciplinary knowledge and skills necessary to study language processing and its effects on negotiation dynamics and outcomes.

Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of this dissertation is threefold: 1) to explore how negotiation dynamics and outcomes vary across cultures and are reflected in the negotiators' languages (essay 1), 2) to integrate the theories and methods from linguistics, communication and adjacent areas of inquiry to inform international conflict resolution research (essay 2), and 3) to investigate the formation and use of the cognitive mechanisms which help negotiators from different cultures achieve negotiation success (essays 1 and 2). The overarching objective of this research is to study the interdependence of language and culture in the presence of technology within the domain of international negotiations and conflict resolution.

Contributions of Research

Each essay aims to contribute to theoretical, methodological, and managerial advancements. In both essays, the analysis of language used by negotiators can provide a better understanding of their cognition and decision patterns. Since language reflects cognition, by examining language use, I can peer into negotiators' thinking and decision patterns in cross-

cultural negotiations and potentially offer ideas for using language as a negotiation strategy for mutual gains. The language perspective will shed more light on which negotiation strategies are universal, and which are culturally specific.

Methodologically, I use language style matching (LSM) – a novel approach I introduce to international conflict resolution research from the communications and linguistics disciplines – to determine if a strategy has an integrative or distributive character. Some studies argue that convergence of language styles reflects similarity of mental representations, while others posit that people match with their interlocutors subconsciously and unintentionally regardless of the cognitive similarity. I use established cognitive measures to shed light on this question. I calculate LSM scores with the text analysis program Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) and with a formula established in prior LSM research.

In the integrative review (essay 2), I propose a metaphor as a new technique to capture mental models. The subjectivity and situational dependence of mental models make it challenging to study them empirically and a metaphor can be used as a proxy for a negotiator's mental model as a more parsimonious measure. The study bridges several research streams by proposing that the theory of mental models, the theory of metaphors, and the theory of communication context can be used to illuminate the cognitive mechanisms which help negotiators from different countries achieve negotiations success and to uncover how these mechanisms are formed.

Dissertation Structure

This dissertation consists of two essays, which are structured as follows:

Essay 1. Language Style Matching and Negotiation Strategies: New Prospects for Cognitive Processes in Cross-Cultural Buyer-Seller Negotiations

The first essay of my dissertation addresses the anomalies regarding the use of the two major negotiation strategies identified by prior research – questions and answers (Q&A) and substantiation and offers (S&O) – and their effectiveness across cultures. Based on an online negotiation simulation between representatives of a high-context (Hong Kong Chinese) and low-context (U.S.) culture and subsequent linguistic analysis of the transcripts, the essay shows the conditions when these strategies have an integrative versus distributive character and why S&O can be preferable in high-context communication cultures. Also, in contrast to other scholars who classify cultures as S&O- or Q&A- prototypical, I propose that a normative strategy is better operationalized as a proportion of Q&A to S&O and that S&O predominates across cultures in computer-mediated communication. The sample consists of 300 students from the U.S. and Hong Kong who participated in a simulation which entailed negotiating a brochure printing contract.

Essay 2. Language Strategies in International Business Conflict Management: An Integrated Review and Agenda for Dynamic Conflict De-Escalation

The second essay of the dissertation is a systematic literature review of studies about language and verbal communication in international conflict management research. It identifies the similarities and differences in theoretical and methodological approaches, provides an exhaustive categorization of research streams and an integrative framework, and suggests future research directions. I propose a theoretical framework, which shows how language and verbal communication can facilitate or impede a transition from a dysfunctional to constructive conflict.

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Essay 1: Language Style Matching and Negotiation Strategies: New Prospects for Cognitive Processes in Cross-Cultural Buyer-Seller Negotiations

Abstract

Negotiations research identifies two major strategies: questions and answers (Q&A) and substantiation and offers (S&O). Recent studies have indicated some anomalies regarding the use of these strategies and their effectiveness across cultures. Also, while the effectiveness of Q&A has been widely acknowledged, less is known about when S&O and indirect information exchange can be an effective tactic. To address these gaps, the study explores if and under what conditions these strategies have an integrative versus distributive character. Some scholars proposed that S&O, compared to Q&A, is a more effective strategy in a high-context communication culture (Adair et al., 2001, 2007), a contention that this research examines by also considering cognitive mechanisms. Specifically, the study investigates inter- and intra-cultural negotiations between a high-context (Hong Kong Chinese) and low-context (U.S.) communication culture conducted via instant messenger and explore whether computer-mediated communication (CMC) can shift patterns established in prior research. I triangulate between cognitive methods utilized in negotiations research (mental model convergence, fixed-pie bias), linguistic cues (words with positive and negative connotations), and language style matching (LSM), a novel analysis in the domain of international buyer-seller negotiations. I calculate LSM scores with the text analysis program Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) and a formula established in prior LSM research. I employ a software and code the transcripts manually in order to reduce the experimenter bias. As a result, I diagnose in which conditions LSM captures a deeper cognitive similarity of the negotiators, and in which a throughtless, automatic

conversion. Based on my analysis, I suggest operationalizing a normative strategy as a proportion of Q&A and S&O to facilitate comparisons across cultures.

Keywords: culture, online negotiations, negotiation strategy, language style matching

Introduction

An increasing necessity to conduct business in a global landscape makes intercultural negotiations a routine in many firms. The cross-disciplinary findings show that negotiation motives and behavior, including communication norms, vary across national cultures, and intercultural and intracultural interactions can have different pathways of reaching agreements (Adair, Brett, and Okumura, 2001; Brett and Okumura, 1998; Liu, Chua, & Stahl, 2010). For example, participants of intercultural negotiations may experience asymmetrical communication (Liu, Chua, & Stahl, 2010), show different motivations for consensus (Liu, Friedman, Barry, Gelfand, & Zhang, 2012a), or prefer different negotiation strategies (for review see Brett, Gunia, & Teucher, 2017). The question of why functionally equivalent, but conceptually different,negotiation behaviors characterize different cultures (Adair et al., 2001) remains unanswered. To address it, this study examines the nature and meaning of negotiation strategies in different cultures. It also investigates potential cognitive mechanisms underlying the shift in the use of negotiation strategies in an intercultural versus an intracultural context.

In their review paper, Brett, Gunia, and Teucher (2017) point at some unexplained patterns and anomalies in the research of the use and effectiveness of negotiation strategies. In this essay, I consider potential reasons which might have led to these anomalies. Following the dominant trend in business negotiations (reliance on computer-mediated communication, CMC) and the most recent negotiation studies (e.g. Lügger et al., 2015; Rosette et al., 2012), I focus on electronic negotiations in this paper. I use methods triangulation to study negotiators' perception of strategies as integrative or distributive and cognitive mechanisms underlying the use of strategies in a low- versus high-context communication culture and inter- versus intracultural context. First, I analyze negotiators' cognitive representations (mental models) and beliefs

(fixed-pie bias) as established in prior literature (e.g. Bazerman, Curhan, Moore, & Valley, 2000; Liu, Friedman, & Hong, 2012; Liu, Liu & Zhang, 2016). Second, I use language style matching (LSM) – a novel approach I introduce to international conflict resolution research from the communications and linguistics disciplines. Some studies argue that convergence of language styles reflects similarity of mental representations, while others posit that people match with their interlocutors subconsciously and unintentionally regardless of the cognitive similarity. I consider both points of view and use negotiators' cognitive representations to shed light on this question.

In this essay, I advance a culture-by-context approach to negotiation (see Gelfand et al., 2013). In their book on negotiation as a social process, Kramer and Messick (1995) define context as "social and organizational environments within which phenomena are … inevitably embedded" (p. 11). In this essay, I focus specifically on the cultural context. Following prior research on negotiation strategies (e.g., Adair, Okumura, & Brett, 2001; Graham, 1985; Lügger , Geiger, Neun, & Backhaus, 2015), I contrast a low-context (U.S.) and a high-context communication culture (Hong Kong Chinese) and examine the settings when both cultures meet at a negotiation table. An intracultural context refers to the setting when negotiators interact with the representatives of the same national culture, while an intercultural context describes one when they encounter representatives of a different national culture.

Structure of the paper.

First, I provide a review of the negotiation strategies identified in prior research, trace the evolution of the concepts and their operationalization. I note how different approaches to the operationalization of strategies and roles they play across national cultures might lead to the 'anomalies' mentioned in Brett and colleagues' (2017) review paper. The general assumption is

that questions and answers (Q&A) is an integrative strategy aligned with negotiators' cooperative orientation while substantiation and offer (S&O) is a distributive strategy aligned with negotiators' competitive orientation. I examine the prior literature that has challenged this assumption or suggested alternative views. Second, I question the notion of normative, or prototypical strategy – an assumption that some national cultures use more Q&A than S&O and vice versa. Third, I investigate potential cognitive mechanisms which help to explore in which cultural conditions S&O is a distributive vs. an integrative strategy and why. Fourth, I investigate whether an index of language style matching (LSM) reflects a deeper cognitive similarity between the negotiators as opposed to a throughtless, automatic conversion. The methods section describs the methodology, measures and procedures of the study. The findings are presented in the results section and the discussion section provides explanations of the identified patterns, major contributions and limitationsof the study along with future research directions.

Theory and Hypothesis Development

Negotiation scholars have for a long time studied negotiation strategies – sets of actively- or passively-chosen, goal-directed behaviors (Weingart, Thompson, Bazerman, & Carroll, 1990) – and their effectiveness in different cultures. While, in general, only two types of strategies have been consistently identified, their conceptualization, definition, and operationalizations have been somewhat different (for a review and evolution of the terms, operationalizations, and theoretical explanations see tables 1 and 2).

----INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE-----

----INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE-----

Most often these two strategies are referred to as integrative and distributive, following the seminal work of Walton and McKersie (1965). An integrative strategy leads to value creation, while a distributive one leads to value claiming. An integrative strategy often presupposes that parties share information about each others' interests and priorities (Aslani et al., 2016). The information sharing is often presented by questions, answers, statements identifying mutual interests and potential for an agreement (Weingart et al., 2007). Distributive strategy is aimed at persuading a counterpart to make concessions (Aslani et al., 2016). It is operationalized by such types of influence as appeals, threats, sympathy, etc. (Weingart et al., 2007). These clusters of negotiation tactics overlap with two models of communication, namely, the representational and the instrumental (Angelmar and Stern, 1978). Representational communication behaviors involve the transmission of information, while instrumental communications involve influencing another party (Graham, 1985). It should be noted that most of these terms originate from Western psychology and communications theory which might expain some discrepancies that occurred when these terms have been applied in different cultures in emic and etic contexts (for a review see Brett et al., 2017).

First, there is no consensus on the operationalization of the two strategies (see table 2). The most consistently used approach since 2011 has been questions and answers (Q&A), and substantiation and offers (S&O), established by Gunia and colleagues (2011). Questions, or interogative statements, are used to request information, and anwers contain information about preferences, priorities and interests (Weingart, et al. 2007; Weingart et al., 1990). Questions and answers usually cluster due to the norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960): individuals who ask a question should be expected to answer a similar question (Gunia et al., 2011). Substantiation and

offers (single-issue offers in particular) tend to cluster (Weingart et al., 2007) because negotiators usually justify their demands and wishes.

Normative strategy. Recent research characterizes cultures as Q&A or S&O prototypical, i.e.,identifies a normative strategy of the culture and suggests that in some countries negotiators rely on the Q&A strategy and in others on the S&O strategy to a greater extent (Brett, Guina, & Teucher, 2017). Categorizing a culture as a Q&A or S&O prototypical does not mean that negotiators use only Q&A or S&O, but that negotiators "from some cultures devote relatively more of their negotiating time to Q&A (S&O) than to S&O (Q&A)" (Brett, Guina, & Teucher, 2017: 291). Western national cultures (e.g., U.S.) were categorized as Q&A prototypical, while East Asian (e.g., Hong Kong) and Middle Eastern national cultures as S&O prototypical (Brett et al., 2017).

Q&A are often associated with high trust, and S&O – with low trust (e.g., Yao, Zhang & Brett, 2017). Sharing information openly entails some risks. By clearly stating their priotities and goals, negotiators can maximize the probability of achieving higher joint gains and building a stornger relationship, but they also make themselves more vulnerable (dilemma of openness). Sharing information indirectly makes negotiators less vulnerable. That is why Q&A is often linked to higher trust, while S&O can reflect negotiator's own competitive motives or defence against others' competitive motives (Bazerman & Neale, 1992; Fisher & Ury, 1981). Empirical research generally confirms the assumption that negotiators with high levels of trust tend to prefer Q&A (e.g. Gunia, et al., 2011; Kong, et al., 2014). At the same time, Brett and colleagues (2017) noted that East-Asians are prone to S&O strategy, despite being a high trust culture. The categorizations of cultures into Q&A- and S&O-prototypical were created by comparing

statistical difference in the studies of negotiation strategy and present mixed results (for a review see Brett et al., 2017), which call for more research.

Distributive versus integrative strategies. Before Gunia and colleagues (2011) proposed Q&A and S&O, research had provided different operationalizations for the strategies with some contradictions and overlaps (see table 2). Particularly, there is no single opinion on how to categorize an offer. For example, Natlandsmyr and Rognes (1995) categorize multi-issue offers as integrative along with trade-offs, asking for and giving information, showing awareness, and giving positive reactions. Single issue offers are categorized as distributive tactics along with threats, and negative reactions. Gunia and colleagues (2011) also contrast single issue offers and multiple-issue offers. Low-trust negotiators tend to rely to a greater extent on multiple-issue offers (Guina, 2011) because apart from their primary function, they can signal negotiator's priorities (Brett, 2007; Medvec & Galinsky, 2005). At the same time, Weingart and colleagues (1990) viewed multi-issue offers and providing information as distributive tactics. For Lügger, Geiger, Neun and Backhaus (2015), multi-issue offers are also a distribtuive tactic.

The underlying asumption of most studies is that these tactics function in a similar way in different cultures. According to Natlandsmyr and Rognes, "…single-issue offers, multiple-issue offers, suggestion of trade-offs, asking for information, and providing information are very specific signals that should carry the same meaning across language" (1995: 16). Some scholars have suggested that the meaning of some of the tactics might differ across cultures. Pruitt (1981) proposed that heuristic trial and error search via offers and counteroffers can signify indirect information exchange. Adair and colleagues (2001, 2007) suggested that offers have different functions in high- and low-context communication cultures. In high-context communication cultures (e.g., Japan) offers serve for information gathering, i.e., indirect information exchange.

In low-context communication cultures (e.g., U.S.) offers are used for information consolidation. De Dreu, Weingart, and Kwon (2000) noted that all the evidence of questions and answers being an integrative strategy and offers and persuasion being a distributive strategy come from individualistic cultures. If I explain it using Gunia and colleagues' (2011) terms, Q&A has been consistently viewed as an integrative, direct, value creating tactic, whereas the role of S&O is not as transparent and consistent across different cultural conditions.

In this essay, I address these inconsistencies and mixed results. The paper has the following purposes. First, it looks into the notions of a normative strategy and adaptation to clarify prior mixed results. Second, it explores the integrative versus distributive character of the strategies, particularly S&O, in different cultural contexts by uncovering the cognitive mechanisms of negotiators. Third, it explores whether language style matching (LSM), a measure used to predict positive outcomes of an interaction between two individuals, reflects a deeper cognitive convergence or an automatic mimicry.

Normative Strategy and Adaptation

Normative strategy

Based on prior research (Brett et al., 2017), the expected patterns should be: (1) in an intracultural condition, negotiators from a low-context culture will use more Q&A than S&O; (2) in an intracultural condition, negotiators from a high-context culture will use more S&O than Q&A; (3) in an intercultural condition, negotiators from a low-context culture will use more Q&A than negotiators from a high-context culture; (4) in an intercultural condition, negotiators from a high-context culture will use more S&O than negotiators from a low-context culture. I,

however, expect that the S&O strategy will play a central role in negotiations regardless of culture for the following reasons.

First, Q&A is aimed at understanding underlying priorities, which are later integrated into offers (Adair & Brett, 2005; Olekalns & Smith, 2003; Pruitt & Lewis, 1975; Weingart et al., 1990). Regardless of what strategy is used in the culture to gather information about other party's priorities, offers cannot be eliminated in any type of negotiations. Also, because of the predominant role of competition as opposed to cooperation in negotiations around the world, theorized and supported by prior research (Bazerman, Magliozzi, & Neale, 1985; Brett, 2014; Fukuno & Ohbuchi, 1997; Thompson & DeHarpport, 1994; Thompson & Hastie, 1990), I can expect that S&O will comprise a greater percentage of a negotiation transcript than Q&A.

Second, although some cultures were categorized as Q&A prototypical based on a number of studies, some of these studies actually showed that the S&O strategy was predominant in those cultures. For example, Lügger and colleagues (2015) concluded that integrative strategy (i.e., Q&A) is a normative strategy for German negotiators, although Germans used 27.9% distributive strategy and 23.72% integrative strategy in an intracultural condition (see Lügger et al., 2015, table 3).

Third, CMC can also contribute to the decrease of Q&A and consequently an increase of S&O. Morris and colleagues (2002) showed that email negotiators asked fewer questions and revealed less personal information to each other, which lead to the difficulties in rapport building. Also, higher spatial distance created by CMC increases the tendency of communicators to rely on abstract information in decision making (Fujita et al., 2006; Henderson et al., 2006). If Q&A presupposes more linear information processing, and S&O requires second order

information processing and abstract thinking, I can expect that negotiators will use more S&O in all the cultural conditions. Therefore,

Hypothesis 1a: Proportion of S&O used will be greater than proportion of Q&A used in a high-context communication culture.

Hypothesis 1b: Proportion of S&O used will be greater than proportion of Q&A used in a low-context communication culture.

Hypothesis 1c: Proportion of S&O used will be greater than proportion of Q&A used in the intercultral condition.

Adaptation.

Research shows that when interacting with representatives of their own culture (intracultural condition) negotiators behave in a different way than when interacting with representatives of a different culture (intercultural condition). Some studies have shown that individuals are more competitive when negotiating with people from a different culture than from their own culture. Graham (1985) found that intercultural negotiators from the U.S. and Japan tend to be less cooperative and more competitive than Japanese and U.S. intracultural negotiators. In an intercultural condition, German negotiators adapted to their Chinese counterparts by increasing the use of a competitive strategy, but continued to use cooperative strategy (Lügger , et al. 2015).

Other studies suggest that individuals are more cooperative in an intercultural than in an intracultural condition. Adler and Graham (1989) showed that in an intercultural condition, Franco Canadians used more of a problem solving approach than in an intercultural condition. At the same time, Anglo Canadians did not use less of a problem solving approach in an intercultural condition. In Adair, Okumura, and Brett's (2001) study, in an intercultural

condition, Japanese negotiators adapted to American negotiators by using more direct information exchange and less indirect information exchange. Adair and Brett (2005) showed that in an intracultural condition Japanese and Chinese negotiators used more offers and persuasion and less priority information sharing than in an intercultural condition while negotiating with Americans. American negotiators did not change their strategy.

The process when negotiators use behaviors that are more normative in the other culture and less normative in their own culture is characterized as convergence of negotiators' behavior (Brett, Shapiro, & Lytle, 1998) or adaptation (Adair, 2001). The reciprocity norm (Gouldner, 1960) and interactional synchrony (Condon, 1980) predict that both parties should adapt to each other, but research shows that the in intercultural negotiations parties do not always adapt to each other and not to the same degree (Brett et al., 2017).

The theories most frequently used to account for shifts in strategy across cultural contexts are social identity and social categorization theories, Hall's low-/ high-context communication theory, and the triangle hypothesis. Social identity and social categorization theories predict greater cooperative orientation towards the representatives of the same culture, or the in-group members. An assumption that S&O is a distributive, and a Q&A is an integrative strategy allowed scholars to use triangle hypothesis (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Kelley & Stahelski, 1970) which predicts that a cooperative individual becomes more competitive when she/ he realizes that the individual she/ he is interacting with is more competitive. When applied to negotiations, this hypothesis predicts that a cooperative negotiator becomes more competitive when encountering a competitive negotiator. Yet, this theory failed to explain negotiation outcomes in many studies (Brett et al., 2017).

Hall's (1976) theory of communication contexts predicts that in an encounter of a low- and high-context culture, direct information sharing would be a more efficient way to communicate. High-context individuals tend to have a wider repertoire of communication forms, and they can switch from indirect to direct communication to adapt their low-context counterparts. Following Hall's predictions, I expect the following patterns:

Hypothesis 2a: In the intercultural condition, negotiators from high- and low-context communication cultures will adapt to each other.

Hypothesis 2b: In the intercultural condition, negotiators from a high-context communication culture will adapt to negotiators from a low-context communication culture to a greater degree.

Distributive versus integrative character of the strategies

Negotiation outcome: objective and subjective

Research ideintifies two types of negotiation outcomes: objective (individual and joint gains) and subjective (negotiators' satisfaction). Joint gains are a measure of the value created in negotiations (Raiffa, 1982) and are operationalized as the sum of individual gains of each negotiator. Since the seminal Pruitt (1981) model, joint gains have been an established measure of economic gain and efficiency in negotiations (Aslani et al., 2016; Teucher, Brett, & Gunia, 2013). Apart from being a measure of economic success, joint gains can also positively affect the psychological outcomes, such as negotiators' satisfaction and agreement implementation (Curhan, Elfenbein, & Xu, 2006). The psychological outcomes, or "satisfaction" in this paper, refer to the attitude of negotiators to the objective outcomes of the negotiation, the process, the relationship between the partners and to how a negotiator felt about herself or himself (Curhan, Elfenbein, & Xu, 2006). In this paper, I use joint gains and satisfaction not only as a measure of

effectiveness, but also to determine which strategy has an integrative character and in which cultural condition.

The use of negotiation strategy has been associated with higher or lower joint gains depending on the culture and intra- versus inter-cultural condition. Most research shows that the information-sharing strategy (Q&A) is associated with value creation, while the substantiation and offers are associated with value claiming across cultures (Gunia, et al. 2016). This is typically explained by Q&A fostering an information exchange (Pruitt, 1981; Thompson & Hastie, 1990) and facilitating insight, "understanding of mutually beneficial tradeoffs" (Gunia et al., 2011: 774). Q&A tend to lead to a more accurate insight into counterpart's priorities than S&O (Gunia et al., 2011; Pruitt & Lewis, 1975; Thompson & Hastie, 1990). In different cultures, negotiators' insight is often positively correlated with joint gains (Adair et al., 2001; Adler & graham, 1989; Brett & Okumura, 1998; Gunia et al., 2011; Liu, 2009; Lügger et al., 2015; Natlandsmyr & Rognes, 1995; Olekalns & Smith, 2005; Thompson, 1991; Thompson & Hastie, 1990). The Q&A strategy has been consistently shown to be positively correlated with joint gains, particularly when it is applied early in negotiation process (Adair & Brett, 2005; Olekalns & Smith, 2003; Pruitt & Lewis, 1975; Weingart et al., 1990). At least for American negotiators, Q&A at the beginning of a negotiation lead to higher joint gains, while S&O at the beginning of a negotiation resulted in lower joint gains by hiding the information about potential tradeoffs (Adair et al., 2007; Kimmel et al., 1980; Pruitt, 1981; Pruitt & Lewis, 1975; Weingart et al., 1990). Therefore, I expect that:

Hypothesis 3a: S&O will have a distributive character in the intracultural American condition.

At the same time, in some cultures, high joint gains tend to be linked to the use of S&O, but not Q&A (Brett & Thompson, 2016). For example, in Brett and Okumura's (1998) study, Japanese and American negotiators reach similar levels of joint gains, but Americans rely on direct information exchange (Q&A), and Japanese rely on indirect information exchange (S&O). Adair, Weingart, and Brett (2007) showed that offers allowed Japanese to reach higher joint gains: for Japanese negotiators, early offers were associated with higher joint gains, while for American negotiators, early offers were associated with lower joint gains. Prior research on communication context and negotiation strategy suggests that negotiators from a low-context culture should rely on Q&A to achieve higher joint gains, while negotiators from a high-context culture should use S&O to achieve higher joint gains. Therefore, I expect that

Hypothesis 3b: S&O will have an integrative character in the intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition.

According to the theory of communication context (Hall, 1976), direct communication fosters understanding between the representatives of different cultures, while indirect communication might create misunderstanding since the individuals are usually not aware of the cultural cues of their counterparts. Since Q&A represents direct communication, and S&O is an instance of indirect communication, I expect that:

Hypothesis 3c: S&O will have a distributive character in the intercultural condition.

To determine the distributive or integrative character of the two strategies (Q&A and S&O) in different cultures (low- versus high-context communication) and contexts (intracultural versus intercultural), I use negotiation outcomes and the cognitive characteristics of the negotiators such as their fixed-pie bias and mental models convergence, the percentage of words

with positive and negative connotations in their transcript, which reflect the emotions expressed by the negotiators, and their index of language style matching.

Fixed-pie bias.

Defined as "the erroneous belief that the other negotiation party's interest is directly opposite to one's own" (Liu et al., 2016: 85), fixed-pie bias prevents negotiators from realizing potential integrative opportunities (De Dreu, Koole, & Steinel, 2000; Thompson & Hastie, 1990; Thompson, Neale, & Sinaceur, 2004). Prior research has established a link between negotiators' fixed-pie bias and their decreased efforts to look for an integrative outcome and achieve higher joint gains (Halevy, Chou, & Murnighan, 2012; Pinkley & Northcraft, 1994). Since negotiators tend to have fixed-pie bias at the beginning of negotiations (Thompson & DeHarpport, 1994), in my analysis, I use fixed-pie bias after the negotiation (post negotiation fixed-pie bias) as an indicator of a negotiator's distributive orientation. I propose that fixed-pie bias can be used to diagnose in what conditions Q&A and S&O have a distributive character. I expect that a higher degree of fixed-pie bias will be positively associated with the use of a distributive strategy in a particular context, i.e., a positive correlation of fixed-pie bias with Q&A will mean that Q&A is a distributive strategy in this context.

Mental model convergence.

Functionally equivalent but conceptually different negotiation behaviors in different national cultures are often explained by convergence or divergence of participants' mental models with cognitive representations helping individuals to make sense of a situation (Craik, 1943). Mental models comprise many interrelated elements of the situation perceived by the individual. Intercultural negotiations research rests on the assumption that mental models of negotiators

from different cultures are likely to be distinct from mental models of negotiators from the same culture (Liu, Friedman, & Hong, 2012).

Mental models have been frequently used in the study of the cognitive mechanisms in team and negotiation research. Since mental models represent how an individual (not a group) makes sense of a situation, they have been mainly applied at an individual, or dyadic levels of analysis in negotiations research.

Mental models are not the only structures that can be used to account for differences in in cognition in intercultural negotiations. Other cognitive structures that can be applied in negotiations research are: scripts (Abelson, 1976), schemas (Brewer & Nakamura, 1984; Fiske & Taylor, 1991), frames (Minsky, 1975), belief or knowledge structures (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). These cognitive structures have common features with mental models, but also have their distinct characteristics. Scripts emphasize event sequences and patterns that guide individuals' behavior (Schank & Abelson, 1977). Schemas and frames reflect established ways of perceiving a situation (e.g. Pinkey, 1995). Knowledge structures represent framework for organizing, retaining, and relating information in memory (Mayer, 1992). All these cognitive structures focus on the processes which help individuals sort out information in their environment. Mental models do not reflect processes, but are the snapshots of perceived relationships at a particular point of time (Liu et al., 2012). Therefore, mental models are a more established approach in variance models in intercultural negotiations research than the other cognitive structures. In this study, I focus on mental models in intercultural negotiations because I am interested in a negotiator's post-negotiation cognitive structure, but not how it evolves over time.

Similarity of mental models among social actors is beneficial for a negotiation (Swaab et al., 2002). It intensifies the feeling of coherence, predictability, and control, as well as fosters

collective efficiency and understanding (Swann et al., 1992). Sharing mental models results in a more accurate and efficient information exchange by counterparts (Van Boven & Thompson, 2003). Convergence of negotiators' mental models produces greater consensus in perceptions and results in higher levels of joint gain (Adair & Brett, 2005; Olekalns & Smith, 2005; Van Boven & Thompson, 2003). Therefore, in my analysis, I use mental model convergence as an indicator of a negotiator's integrative orientation. I suggest to use mental model convergence to diagnose in what conditions Q&A and S&O have an integrative character. I expect that a higher degree of mental model convergence will be positively associated with the use of an integrative strategy in a particular context, that is, if mental model convergence is positively correlated with Q&A, this strategy has an integrative character in this context.

Words with positive and negative emotional connotation.

Another indicator of a distributive or integrative character of Q&A and S&O in a particular context is the emotions participants feel and express during a negotiation. Following Brett and colleagues (2007), I use words with positive and negative emotional connotation identified by LIWC as proxies for positive and negative emotions. In CMC, since social cues are limited, negotiators pay more attention to words and therefore words can be helpful in diagnosing negotiators' emotions. Research shows that expression of positive emotions reflects prosocial orientation of those who express them and their willingness to cooperate (Anderson & Thompson, 2004; Frank, 1988; Fridlund, 1994; Knutson, 1996). Positive emotions are associated with higher trust, problem-solving orientation, and smoother communication (Allred, Mallozzi, Matsui, & Raia, 1997; Carnevale & Isen, 1986). Therefore, I expect a strategy that has an integrative character in a particular context to be positively associated with the percentage of words with positive emotional connotation in the corresponding transcript.

According to face negotiation theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987), negative emotions expressed in a negotiation attack a counterpart's face. Brett and colleagues (2007) found that words with negative emotional connotation were related to a lower likelihood of conflict resolution, but only for one group of disputants. Therefore, I expect a strategy that has a distributive character in a particular context to be positively associated with the percentage of words with negative emotional connotation in the corresponding transcript.

Language style matching.

One of the approaches to uncover cognitive processes and perceptions of individuals is to analyze the language they use. This claim is based on the premise that language indicates a person's worldview and reflects their cognitive processes (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002). Research in various disciplines has shown that people tend to mimic verbal and non-verbal behavior of those they interact with (e.g., Chartrand & Lakin, 2013; van Baaren, Holland, Steenaert, & van Knippenberg, 2003). Condon and Ogston (1966) came to a conclusion that synchrony was a fundamental, universal characteristic of human communication. In different contexts and with different people, individuals might act differently and use different language styles (Niederhoffer and Pennebaker, 2002).

Previous research (e.g. Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002) links LSM with Giles's Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). The theory posits that individuals adapt to communicative behavior of others to reach communication efficiency or receive social approval. The underlying assumption of CAT is that individuals can create, maintain, and decrease the social distance between themselves and the individuals they interact with (Shepard, Giles, & Le Poire, 2001).

Language style matching (LSM) is defined as a dyadic level measure of the degree to which two people in a conversation subtly match each other's speaking or writing style (Gonzales, Hancock, & Pennebaker, 2010). LSM presupposes that the words of one person covary with the words of his or her interlocutor both turn-by-turn and in the whole conversation (Cappella, 1996; Niederhofer & Pennebaker, 2002).

Research has shown that linguistic accommodation leads to a more harmonious interpretation of the conflict and generates better solutions for it (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002). A higher degree of LSM tends to correspond with a higher likelihood of consensus in negotiations (e.g. Huffaker, Swaab, & Diermeier, 2011; Ireland & Henderson, 2014; Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002). LSM is positively correlated with group cohesiveness and peaceful resolution of hostage negotiations (e.g. Gonzales, Hancock, & Pennebaker, 2010). Links have been established between LSM and cooperative outcomes, such as group cohesiveness and improved task performance (Gonzales et al., 2010), relationship stability (Ireland et al., 2011), empathy and rapport (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002), and increased trust (Swaab, Maddux, & Sinaceur, 2011). Therefore, I suggest that LSM can be used as an indicator of a negotiator's integrative orientation, such that if a strategy is positively correlated with LSM, it has an integrative character in this context.

There is no academic consensus on whether LSM reflects a deeper cognitive similarity or is a more automatic process associated with a superficial similarity of the communicators. Some research has established a link between linguistic accommodation and common knowledge. Linguistic accommodation generates "matching cognitive frameworks in which conversants adopt shared assumptions, linguistic referents, and knowledge" (Ireland & Pennebaker, 2010: 551). Matching in linguistic styles signifies that the individuals are "in harmony in the ways they

organize their psychological worlds" (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002: 339). Therefore, LSM analysis, along with implicit association test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), priming techniques, and functional MRI, continues a popular trend of investigating a real, hidden self of individuals dating back to Freud. The analysis of language, especially of function words, is considered to reflect social psychological processes people cannot hide in their speech.

If LSM reflects a deeper cognitive similarity of the two negotiators, I expect the following in line with my prior theorization about mental model convergence, fixed pie bias, and words with positive and negative emotional connotations:

Hypothesis 4a: LSM scores will be positively associated with post-negotiation mental model convergence.

Hypothesis 5a: LSM scores will be negatively associated with post-negotiation fixed pie bias.

Other research characterizes LSM as a behavior which does not presuppose interactional involvement and occurs when dyad members repeat each other's words in an automatic, thoughtless manner which might happen due to a strong emotion (see Babcock, Ta, & Ickes, 2013). In such a case, I expect no association between LSM and post-negotiation mental model convergence:

Hypothesis 4b: LSM scores will not be associated with post-negotiation mental model convergence.

Hypothesis 5b: LSM scores will not be associated with post-negotiation fixed pie bias.

Since LSM is a novel measure, I will consider both sets of predictions (although H4b and H5b are null-hypotheses) to determine in which cultural conditions LSM captures a deeper cognitive similarity of the negotiators, and in which an automatic process.

Proposed framework

—INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE—-

Methods

Sample.

Gunia and colleagues (2016) noted that many intercultural studies compared American students to international students in the U.S. whose exposure to American culture might affect the results and called for more studies when both negotiators have no experience in each other's culture. The research team collecting the data followed this recommendation. Also, Hall (1976) categorized the American as a low-context culture and the Chinese as a high-context culture. Therefore, the representatives of these two cultures were selected for the study.

Our original sample consisted of 300 students from the U.S. and Hong Kong who had not have a prior exposure to the culture of their counterpart: 52 negotiators in the intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition, 112 negotiators in the intracultural U.S. condition, and 136 negotiators in the intercultural condition. To identify negotiation strategies and LSM scores, I excluded participants, who did not provide a transcript of their negotiation, whose transcripts were partial or short (less than 100 words per negotiator) since LSM scores are not reliable if the text consists of less than 100 words. These were 4 participants in the intracultural condition, 32 participants in the intracultural U.S. condition and 42 participants in intercultural condition. I also excluded

those who did not reach an agreement, i.e., whose individual and joint gains were equal to zero. These were 2 dyads in the intracultural U.S. condition and 1 dyad in the intercultural condition. The final sample consisted of 216 participants: 48 in the intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition, 76 in the intracultural U.S. condition, and 92 in the intercultural condition. All the measures identified below were based on this sample.

The negotiations in all the three conditions were conducted in English, a native language for the U.S. participants and a second language for the Hong Kong Chinese participants. It should be underscored that Hong Kong Chinese participants were very fluent in English since both Chinese and English are the official languages of Hong Kong and since English was the language of instruction at their university. As noted by McKeown and Ladegaard (2019), English has been increasingly used in educational settings in Hong Kong, while the use of Cantonese has been restricted. This ensured that all the participants understood each other during the complex negotiation process.

Procedure and measures.

The research team collecting the data adopted an integrative negotiations task from previous studies (Gelfand & Realo, 1999; Liu et al., 2012a; Liu et al., 2016) which entails negotiating a brochure printing contract. Participants were randomly assigned a role of an employee either from the Client Services Division (a buyer) or from the Production Division (a seller). The negotiators had to reach agreement on four issues: paper quality, number of colored pages, number of copies and the billing date. Each issue had five alternative choices which would give a different amount of payoff points for each negotiator. Paper quality and number of colored pages were distributive issues, i.e., negotiators had opposite interests. Number of copies

and the billing date were integrative issues, i.e., the interests were mutually beneficial (for details see the Appendix).

Negotiation strategies.

In my analysis, I follow the Q&A and S&O operationalization of negotiation strategies since it has been the leading operationalization in this research stream since 2011. I coded the transcripts according to prior literature on negotiation strategy (e.g., Gunia et al., 2011; Kimmel et al., 1980; Weingart et al., 2004; Weingart et al., 2007). Following Gunia and colleagues (2011), my coding scheme included six categories (for details see the Appendix). I coded each speaking turn (all of one party's speech until ended by the beginning of the next party's speech) to determine whether a speaker asked a question (Q), conveyed information (A), substantiated (S) or made an offer (O). Each speaking turn in each transcript was allowed up to three codes. Other was only coded when none of the more substantive codes was appropriate; no code was assigned more than once per speaking turn; and all speaking turns received at least one code. To operationalize Q&A and S&O, I calculated the percentage code in each transcript that belonged to each category. Q&A and S&O are calculated at an individual and dyadic levels.

Satisfaction

We measured satisfaction with Curhan, Elfenbein and Xu's (2006) sixteen-item subjective value inventory (SVI). After the negotiation, participants answered 16 questions: 4 questions about "feelings about the instrumental outcome", 4 questions about "feelings about the self", 4 questions about "feelings about the process" and 4 questions about "feelings about the relationship". The response options were 1 to 7, where 1 stood for "not at all", 4 stood for "moderately", and 7 stood for "perfectly". Satisfaction is a mean value of all the 16 values and a

higher number indicates greater satisfaction of the negotiator. A dyadic level measure of satisfaction was calculated as an average of the two satisfaction scores in a dyad.

Fixed-pie bias.

We measured fixed-pie bias with the approach established in prior research (De Dreu et al., 2000; Liu et al., 2016; Thompson & Hastie, 1990). Participants were given a blank profit schedule, in which they had to estimate how much (the number of points) in their opinion the other party would get for each of the issues. Participants could use the information from their own profit schedules. Fixed-pie bias was operationalized as the sum of the absolute difference between the estimates and the real payoff points of the other party on the two integrative issues (number of copies and billing date). The score ranged from 0 to 14000 points, where 0 indicates perfect integrative perception and 14000 indicates perfect fixed-pie bias. A larger number of the score indicates a greater fixed-pie bias. The fixed-pie bias was measured twice: before and after the negotiation, and was recorded as pre-negotiation fixed-pie bias and post-negotiation fixed-pie bias. In this analysis I use only post-negotiation measures.

Measures of Mental Models.

We measured mental models with the approach suggested by prior research on mental models in negotiations (Liu et al., 2012a; Liu et al., 2016; Van Boven & Thompson, 2003). The measures of negotiators' mental models are based on paired judgements previously applied in studies on team mental models (e.g., Mathieu et al., 2000). In their pilot study, Liu and colleagues (2016) identified 11 important concepts in the same negotiation simulation and used these concepts to measure mental models. I used the same 11 concepts to measure mental models in our study. These 11 concepts represent key task issues and social–relational issues in the negotiation scenario, including (1) paper quality, (2) the quantity of brochures, (3) number of

colored pages, (4) billing date, (5) competition, (6) win–win, (7) the interests of our department, (8) the interests of our company, (9) the relationship with the other party, (10) my face, and (11) the other party's face. The paired judgement procedure presupposes that participants evaluate the pairwise correlations among the 11 concepts. These 11 concepts resulted in 55 one-on-one pairs [55=(11×10)/2]. I presented these 55 pairs to the participants in random order and asked them to evaluate how the two concepts were related on a 9-point scale, ranging from 4 (most negatively related) to +4 (most positively related) with 0 being 'no relations at all'. I mesured participants' mental models twice: before the negotiation (pre-negotiation mental model) and after the negotiation (post-negotiation mental model). In this analysis I use only post-negotiation measures.

To measure the mental model convergence between the two negotiators, we used the Quadratic Assignment Procedure (QAP) within UCINet (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002), which has been previously applied in research on mental models in negotiations (Liu et al., 2012; Liu et al., 2016). The QAP analysis generates an index of convergence and association between two networks, in my case – between mental models.

LSM measures.

LSM is typically operationalized as similarity in dyads' use of function, or style words (Ireland et al., 2011:1). Function words are frequently used, typically short words, that have little meaning outside the context of a sentence (Chung & Pennebaker, 2007). These features of function words result in them being processed rapidly and often non-consciously during language producing and processing (Segalowitz & Lane, 2004; Van Petten & Kutas, 1991). Research has shown that function words reflect psychological and social processes, e.g. cognitive complexity, emotional state, and sociability (Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010).

In the English language, there is a limited number of common function words, but they comprise the majority of words in written and oral speech (Pennebaker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003). To be more precise, the English language contains about 100,000 words, and only about 500 of them are function words, i.e., 0.05 % of the whole vocabulary. Yet, function words comprise about 55 % of all the words in spoken and written English. The following word categories are consistently used (e.g. in Ireland et al., 2011; Pennebaker, Booth, & Francis, 2007) to calculate language style matching: personal pronouns, impersonal pronouns, articles, conjunctions, prepositions, auxiliary verbs, high-frequency adverbs, negations and quantifiers – see Table 3.

—INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE—

LSM Procedure.

I excluded the scripts that contain less than 100 words per person and as a result analyzed the transcripts of 216 negotiations: 48 in the intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition, 76 in the intracultural U.S. condition, and 92 in the intercultural condition. First, I checked all the transcripts for spelling and typographical errors. To calculate LSM for each pair, I aggregated the words of each participant of a pair into a single block and saved it in a separate electronic document. I then ran each document through the LIWC program, which automatically calculates the percentage of different categories of words within a given text document (Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). These are 80 linguistic (e.g., prepositions, pronouns), thematic (e.g., money, death), and psychological (e.g., positive and negative emotion) categories (Pennebaker, Booth, &

Francis, 2007). In LIWC output, I selected the percentage of each function word category in each participant's text document. I calculated LSM scores for each dyad with the following formula:

$$\mathrm{LSM}_{\mathrm{ppron}} = 1 - ((|\mathrm{ppron}_1 - \mathrm{ppron}_2|)/(\mathrm{ppron}_1 + \mathrm{ppron}_2 + 0.0001))$$

I use personal pronouns, or ppron, as an example. 0.0001 is optionally added in the denominator to prevent empty sets that occur if the value for both texts is zero. To obtain the LSM score, I averaged LSM scores for each category. LSM scores are between 0 and 1 and a higher number signifies greater language style convergence.

Words with positive and negative connotation.

To identify words with positive and negative connotation, I turned to LIWC and selected word categories of positive and negative emotions. I used the percentage of these words in each of the scripts for further analysis.

Manual coding.

I also read the scripts to (1) identify similarities and differences of the use of negotiation strategies in the 3 conditions; (2) to evaluate the words with positive and negative connotation in each context in addition to LIWC analysis; and (3) to check if S&O has any similarities with heuristic trial and error strategy proposed by Pruitt (1981).

Other measures.

We used the 57-item Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1992) to ensure that American and Chinese participants were culturally different. With this survey, I measured ten individual-level values: self-direction, conformity, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, universalism, benevolence, tradition, and security. In the intercultural condition, the mean

differences of the seven out of ten values were statistically significant ($p<.05$), which confirms that the participants were culturally different.

Results and Discussion

Normative Strategy

To determine a prototypical strategy for a low-context U.S. and high-context Hong Kong Chinese culture and to see if and how negotiators changed their strategy in an intercultural condition, I conducted a one-way ANOVA to compare the means of S&O and Q&A for each culture in each of the three condition. There was a statistically significant difference in the use of Q&A between the three conditions $F (2, 213) = 4.794$ $p =.009$. Since I have different sample sizes, I used Levene's test to check the homogeneity assumption. Levene's test was significant, which meant that I had violated the assumptions of homogeneity of variance. Therefore, I used Welch and Games-Howell tests. Welch test was significant, which meant that there was a significant difference between the groups. The Gamews-Howell post hoc analysis indicated that in the intracultural condition U.S. negotiators used more Q&A ($M=20.29$; $SD=6.01$) than Hong Kong Chinese negotiators ($M=16.12$; $SD= 6.01$) $p= .026$. U.S. negotiators in an intracultural condition used more Q&A ($M=20.29$; $SD=6.01$) than negotiators in an intercultural condition ($M=18.00$; $SD=7.21$), $p=.066$. The difference between the use of Q&A by U.S. negotiators ($M=18.9$; $SD=8.3$) and Hong Kong Chinese negotiators ($M=17.1$; $SD=5.82$) in an intercultural condition was not statistically significant $p>.05$.

A one-way ANOVA showed a statistically significant difference in the use of S&O between the three conditions $F (2, 213) = 11.710$ $p =.000$. Since I have different sample sizes, I used Levene's test to check the homogeneity assumption. Levene's test was not significant

which showed that the variances of the dependent variable are equal for all groups. Post hoc analysis showed that in an intracultural condition, Hong Kong Chinese negotiators used more S&O (M=29.75; SD=10.32) than U.S. negotiators (M=22.41; SD=7.58) p=.000; Hong Kong Chinese negotiators in an intracultural condition used more S&O (M=29.75; SD=10.32) than negotiators in an intercultural condition (M=24.41; SD=7.72) p=.007; the difference between the use of S&O by U.S. negotiators in an intracultural condition (M=22.41; SD=7.58) and negotiators in an intercultural condition (M=24.41; SD= 7.72) was not statistically significant p >.05. The difference between the use of S&O by U.S. negotiators (M=24.3; SD=8.26) and Hong Kong Chinese negotiators (M=24.53; SD=7.23) in an intercultural condition was not statistically significant p > .05.

The results of one-way ANOVA show that both Hong Kong Chinese and U.S. participants use a greater proportion of S&O than Q&A regardless of the inter- or intracultural condition. It confirms Hypotheses 1 a, b, and c, and do not support the assumption that negotiators from some cultures use more S&O and negotiators from other cultures use more Q&A. It can be explained by the differences in the analysis. For example, in their analysis, Adair and colleagues (2001) compare 3 categories against one reference category. When compared to intracultural Japanese negotiators, U.S. negotiators use more Q&A, and this strategy is presented as a normative strategy of U.S. negotiators.

I coded the scripts manually to identify the similarities and differences of the use of S&O and Q&A in the two intracultural conditions. I identified the following patterns. Most intracultural U.S. negotiations started with a short “schmoozing” followed by Q&A followed by S&O which constitutes the major part of the script. Most intercultural Hong Kong Chinese negotiations started immediately with an S&O and after the deal was made, the parties talked

about a future relationship. U.S. negotiators mainly 'talked business', used limited substantiation and sometimes directly talked about priorities. Hong Kong Chinese negotiators never directly discussed their priorities accompanying almost every offer with substantiation which can be characterized as affective persuasion since it contains many words with positive connotation.

Adaptation: Full and Partial

In an intercultural condition compared to an intracultural condition, Hong Kong Chinese negotiators increased the use of Q&A and decreased the use of S&O by and U.S. negotiators decreased Q&A and increased S&O; this change is not statistically significant. The not significant mean difference of S&O and Q&A used by Hong Kong Chinese and U.S. intercultural negotiators indicate that Hong Kong Chinese intercultural negotiators were as likely as U.S. intercultural negotiators to use S&O and Q&O strategy.

In an intercultural context, Hong Kong Chinese negotiators adapted to U.S. norms, and U.S. negotiators partially adapted to Hong Kong Chinese norms. In the study of Adair and colleagues (2001), Japanese intercultural negotiators almost fully adopted U.S. normative strategy: the regression coefficients for Japanese intercultural and U.S. intracultural negotiators are equal. In my case, intercultural Hong Kong Chinese negotiators adjusted the use of S&O and Q&A, but did not fully adopt U.S. normative strategy. This can be related to the difference in samples. In Adair et al. (2001), the sample consists of Japanese managers who had been working in a Japanese company in the U.S. for 10 years. My sample consists of students who had not had a lot of prior exposure to the other party's culture. This corresponds with Wiess's (1994) suggestion that the party that has more exposure to and familiarity with the other party should adapt. At the same time, the U.S. negotiators also adapted to their high-context counterparts, but to a lesser degree (~2.5%).

I coded the scripts manually to identify the major patters of how Q&A and S&O are used during the negotiation in the intercultural condition. The structure of most scripts was Q&A followed by mixed Q-A-S-O followed by S&O. In the 'Q-A-S-O' phase Q was not paired with A; and S was not paired with O. The four strategies were mixed, e.g. A is paired with O; sometimes there was only substantiation, but no offer. I identified cases in which Hong Kong Chinese negotiators talked about their priorities directly, which I did not see in Hong Kong Chinese intractultural negotiations at all, e.g. "Timing and price are less important than how I present our products to a new market"; "color is not as important as quality" (quotes from two different negotiations).

Distributive versus integrative character of Q&A and S&O

Negotiation outcomes

Joint gains: correlations with Q&A and S&O at a dyadic level

I use the correlations between joint gains and the percentage of Q&A and S&O at a dyadic level to determine in which of the three cultural contexts the strategies have an integrative character. No significant correlations were found in either of the three conditions. Therefore, I cannot conclude if S&O has a distributive or integrative character in either of the cultural contexts.

Subjective outcome: correlations with Q&A and S&O at an individual level

I have measured the percentage of Q&A and S&O and subjective outcomes ("satisfaction") at both individual and dyadic level, but individual level measures suffice for this analysis since in this case dyadic level measures are a sum or an average of the individual level measures. In the intercultural and intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition, the strategies are

not significant and most of them are close to zero. Therefore, I cannot conclude if S&O has a distributive or integrative character in these cultural contexts. In the intracultural U.S. condition, S&O is negatively correlated with satisfaction (r=-.28* p=.016), which can be interpreted as S&O being a distributive strategy in this context.

Post negotiation fixed-pie bias at the individual and dyadic levels.

To determine whether Q&A and S&O have a competitive or cooperative orientation in each of the three conditions, I conducted a correlation analysis of the percentage of Q&A and S&O at an individual and dyadic levels with fixed-pie bias at the two levels correspondingly. At both levels, none of the correlations in all the three conditions was significant (see the correlation tables in the Appendix). Therefore, I cannot conclude if S&O has a distributive or integrative character in either of the cultural contexts.

Post-negotiation shared mental models (dyadic level).

To determine if Q&A and S&O have a competitive or cooperative orientation in each of the three conditions, I conducted a correlation analysis of each of the two strategies (at a dyadic level) with post-negotiation shared mental models. The correlations were not significant in all the three cultural conditions. Therefore, I cannot categorize either of the strategies as an integrative or a distributive one.

Words with positive and negative emotional connotations (individual level).

The only significant correlation was the one between S&O and words with positive emotional connotation (r=-.255*) in the intracultural U.S. condition, which suggests that S&O has a distributive character in this cultural condition.

LSM.

The only significant correlation was the one between Q&A and LSM in the intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition (r=-.411*), which characterizes Q&A as a distributive strategy in this condition. Interestingly, the correlation between S&O and LSM is positive (r=.245, p=.11), although not significant, which suggests that S&O has an integrative character in the intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition.

To identify in which cultural conditions LSM reflects deeper cognitive convergence of the negotiators, and in which an automatic process, I conducted a correlation analysis between LSM, mental model convergence, and post-negotiation fixed pie bias (all variables were measured at a dyadic level).

LSM, post-negotiation shared mental models, post-negotiation fixed pie bias

The correlations were not significant in all the three conditions (see the Correlation Table in the Appendix). However, a marginally significant (r=-.335; p=.1) correlation between post-negotiation fixed pie bias in Hong Kong Chinese intracultural condition suggests that LSM can reflect deeper cognitive convergence in this cultural context. Since the sample size in this condition at a dyadic level is small (N=24), marginally significant correlations should be also taken into account. In the intracultural U.S. and intercultural conditions, the correlations between LSM and post-negotiation fixed-pie bias are r=.27 p=.172 and r=.24 p=.117, which might be interpreted as a reflection of cognitive divergence.

Discussion

My literature review and further analysis present potential explanations of the anomalies described by Brett and colleagues (2017). One of the explanations lies in the difference in conceptualizations and operationalizations of the strategies and their roles in inter-

and intracultural contexts. It is widely assumed that questions and answers (Q&A) have an integrative and cooperative character, while substantiation and offers (S&O) have a distributive and competitive character.

Another reason might be the notion of normative/ prototypical strategy which has focused on only Q&A versus S&O component while not considering both strategies at the same time. The main focus of negotiation strategy research has been comparing cultures between each other in terms of S&O and Q&A, but not looking holistically at the percentage of S&O vs. Q&A within the same culture. I argue that such a classification can have a relativist character: the same culture can be characterized as a Q&A-prototypical culture when compared to one culture, and as an S&O-prototypical when compared to another culture. This might have led to the 'anomalies' described in Brett et al. (2017) when the same culture or type of cultures are labeled as Q&A-prototypical in some studies and S&O-prototypical in others. Also, according to the dual concern model (Pruitt and Rubin, 1986), integrative behavior must be paired with a certain amount of distributive behavior to create joint gains. Therefore, I propose that the proportion of S&O and Q&A should be simultaneously taken into account when a normative strategy is identified.

My literature review of negotiation strategies and the evolution of their conceptualization and operationalization have pointed at a necessity to investigate the nature of the most common operationalization of the strategies, Q&A and S&O. My results have shown that in the intracultural U.S. condition, S&O is a distributive strategy but it is an integrative strategy in an intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition (see Tables 4.1-6). These different functions of S&O in high versus low context communication cultures were proposed by Adair and colleagues (2001, 2007), but this study offers deeper explanation of these functions by uncovering the

cognitive mechanisms of negotiators. I found no indication of whether S&O has an integrative or a distributive character in the intercultural condition. Based on the theory of communication context, one can expect Q&A to be more effective than S&O. At the same time, indirect information exchange (S&O) might be beneficial is an intercultural condition. Negotiating with a representative of a different culture can be characterized as a more uncertain and unfamiliar situation than negotiating with a representative of your own culture. In unfamiliar and uncertain situations, negotiators tend to shift from heuristic information processing to a more complex, systematic cognitive activity to better navigate the uncertain environment (Chen & Chaiken, 1999). Following this logic, intercultural communication presupposes greater awareness and more systematic information processing by the individuals (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). Q&A resembles Pruitt's (1981) heuristic information processing and S&O a more complex systematic cognitive activity. This suggestion remains an assumption and future research can investigate whether S&O represents second order information processing and in which conditions this strategy might be beneficial in intercultural negotiations.

Few significant correlations between S&O and other variables in all the three conditions can be explained that S&O includes both multi-issue (MIOs) and single-issue offers (SIOs). In their forthcoming meta-analysis (2020), Yao, Brett, Zhang, and Ramirez-Marin note that "using MIOs facilitates joint gains, using SIOs impairs joint gains, and when researchers mix offer type, the positive effect of MIOs is canceled out by the negative effect of SIOs." My not significant results might be the case when the two types of offers cancel each other out.

Separately noted should be the words of positive and negative emotional connotations as a reflection of psychological processes in general and a tool to identify an integrative versus distributive strategies in this paper. Apart from a significant negative correlation between S&O

and words with positive emotional connotations in the intracultural U.S. condition, all other correlations were not significant. This pattern corresponds with Brett and colleague's (2007) study which did not find any significant relationship between the use of words with positive emotional connotation and the likelihood of conflict resolution.

To get a better understanding of why such patterns occur, I manually coded the scripts and identified the roles words with positive and negative emotional connotation play in each condition. In the U.S. intracultural condition, words with positive emotional connotations had two main functions: expressing politeness, such as "I appreciate", and a positive response, e.g., "great!" They were also part of set expressions, for example, "put our best foot forward". A distinct case of expressing politeness is using positive downgraders to frame a negative message very common in American English (Meyer, 2014), such as, "I think that is a great point, but again, I usually don't have the capacity to fill all our orders". While manually coding the transcript, I noticed that there are very few words with negative emotional connotation, but LIWC might show a higher percentage of these words because U.S. negotiators consistently used understatements, e.g. "not a bad idea", which has a positive connotation, but LIWC categorized is as negative. The opposite is true for the words categorized by LIWC as positive, while the whole expression has a negative connotation, e.g. "that's not a bad idea", "upfront payment though is not going to be possible". This peculiarity of American English challenges the results obtained by LIWC regarding emotional connotations.

My analysis has shown that in the intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition words with positive connotation are primarily used (1) in substantiation and are instances of affective persuasion, and (2) to praise the interlocutor. They are also used as a form of politeness and positive response, but a lot less than in the intracultural U.S. condition. There are almost no

words with negative emotional connotation, apart from those expressing politeness, e.g., “I am sorry”, “I am afraid”.

In the intercultural condition, both Hong Kong Chinese and U.S. negotiators rely mainly on factual persuasion which contains very few words with both positive and negative connotation. The speech of Hong Kong Chinese negotiators is more neutral than in the intracultural condition. An increased percentage of words with negative connotation can be explained by (1) expression of politeness: e.g., “that will not be a problem”; “regret that payment in 3 weeks cannot be changed”, “I apologize for the late contact”; (2) factual persuasion containing such words as “risk”, “poor quality”, “lose”, “time restraint”, “red tape”, “difficulties”; and (3) words that don’t have a negative emotional connotation in this context, such as “thanks… for all of your patience with …my traveling conflicts”. There are few instances of affective persuasion containing words with negative emotional connotation, for example, “it will drastically effect the schedule”; “I think you will not damage our good business relationship”, and even a threat “If you don't accept, I will not give you any business in future”. These observations suggest that words with positive emotional connotation do not always signal an integrative character and with negative connotation, a distributive character of Q&A or S&O.

The results of the study show that LSM represents a cognitive convergence in an intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition (a marginally significant negative correlation with dyad post-negotiation fixed pie bias). The results in the intracultural U.S. condition and in the intercultural condition are controversial. On the one hand, no significant correlations with mental model convergence and post-negotiation fixed pie bias suggest that LSM reflects automatic mimicry in the two cultural conditions. On the other hand, if I take into account the positive correlations (r=.23, p=.172 in the intracultural U.S. condition and r=.24 p=.117 in the

intercultural condition), I should conclude that LSM reflects cognitive divergence of the negotiators. This surprising pattern echoes the findings of Babcock and colleagues (2013) in which the dyad members who were not inclined to get involved with each other and did not have a high regard for themselves showed the highest LSM scores. Future research should explore the contexts in which LSM might be associated with a resistance of the participants of becoming involved with each other.

Also, such a difference in the meaning of LSM across the three conditions can be related to the fact that my transcripts were produced in the English language both in multicultural multilingual and mono-cultural monolingual settings. For the participants from the U.S., English is a native language, while for the participants from Hong Kong English is a lingua franca. It is widely recognized that native and foreign language are processed differently by human brain. People systematically make different choices in a foreign language compared to their mother tongue (Costa et al., 2014; Keysar, Hayakawa, & An, 2012; for reviews see, Costa, Vives, & Corey, 2017; Hayakawa, et al., 2016). Therefore, it is not surprising that my results might differ from the findings of previous LSM studies.

The contribution of this essay can be summarized in the following way. First, I have questioned the notion of normative, or prototypical strategy and suggested to consider both Q&A and S&O simultaneously as a proportion. Second, I have identified potential mechanisms of the shift of negotiators' preferences in an intercultural compared to an intracultural condition. The most common theories explaining this shift – a social identity theory, and the triangle hypothesis cannot account for all the existing findings (Gunia, Brett, & Gelfand, 2016). Developing the ideas of Pruitt (1981) and Adair and colleagues (2007), I suggest that the role of S&O, especially in offers, is multifaceted and should not be viewed only as a distributive strategy. Other roles of

this strategy should be studied in greater detail in different contexts, and attention should be paid to contexts when S&O leads to better negotiation outcomes, both objective and subjective. Third, I have uncovered the cognitive mechanisms which explain why S&O might be more beneficial than Q&A in a high-context culture. Following the situational-dynamic approach, I argue that the integrative or distributive character of the strategies is context dependent. Fourth, I have clarified in which cultural contexts the index of LSM reflects a deeper, cognitive simmilarity (intracultural Hong Hong Chinese condition) and in which an automatic process or, potentially, even cognitive divergence of the negotiators (intracultural U.S. and intercultural condition).

In terms of methodology, my study has shown that both manual and automatic analyses have their benefits and drawbacks. It is often assumed that coding the text manually, for example, with NVivo, or even using machine learning (with R or Python) can transmit some biases of the researcher. These biases can be minimized when a team of researchers conducts the analysis, but cannot be completely eliminated. Software packages, like LIWC, are considered to be more objective, but they entail other disadvantages. For instance, numerous instances of understatement, which are a typical way of expressing indirect negative feedback in American English (Meyer, 2014), were not captured by LIWC since it categorizes words based on the semantics of a single word. For example, the word ‘problem’ was categorized as a word with a negative connotation and ‘best’ – as the word with a positive connotation. While manually coding the transcripts, I realized that ‘not a problem’ which has a positive connotation, and ‘it’s not the best route to take’ which has a negative connotation. Therefore, I suggest that manual and automatic text analyses should be used simultaneously.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

One of the limitations of my study is the focus on one type of computer-mediated communication (CMC), instant messaging. In my study, CMC is an instance of social, but not temporal distance. Negotiators were communicating through an instant messenger which did not allow them to take long time to reply to the other party, as compared to, for example, an email. Type of communication used by negotiators might be another reason for the mixed results in prior studies. Research has consistently shown the difference between face-to-face and computer-mediated communication (Friedman and Belkin, 2013; Geiger, 2020). Communication theories, e.g. construal level theory, media richness theory, the social identity model of deindividuation effects (Reicher et al., 1995), and social information processing (Walther, 1992) suggest that communication media can change individual perceptions, behaviors and interaction dynamics. These theories characterize face-to-face communication as more psychologically close and rich than electronic communication. In their seminal work, Daft and Lengel (1986) emphasized the diversity of communication media in how they can tackle lack of information (uncertainty) and ambiguity of information (equivocality), the two major problems organizations face. The media is categorized as “rich” and “lean”. Rich media conveys nonverbal cues such as gestures, facial expressions, tone of voice, and allows for immediate feedback. An example of “rich” media can be a video call, and an example of “lean” media can be an email, although “richness” of media is a scale, but not a binary categorization. A negotiation is one of the tasks more affected by the absence or reduced amount of social cues (as opposed to decision-making tasks or generations of ideas) (Hollingshead et al., 1993). Since most studies on negotiation strategies were conducted in a face-to-face environment (e.g. Adair & Brett, 2005; Adair, Okumura, & Brett, 2001; Adler & Graham, 1989; Graham, 1985a; Natlandsmyr & Rognes, 1995), the patterns identified by these studies might change due to CMC. Future research can

contrast different types of CMC which are distinct on the media richness scale: email, instant messengers, calls, and video calls.

Another limitation of my study is a focus on cultural differences, but not on how a foreign versus native language might affect negotiation strategy choice and joint gains. In their seminal paper, Adler and Graham (1989) described several situations when negotiators from two different cultures negotiate with each other: they can use language of the negotiator a, language of the negotiator b, use both languages in different parts of the negotiation, use a third language, use a translator, or combine all these options. I would also add involving electronic translation as another option. So far, language of the negotiation has not been manipulated and it would be interesting to see how it affects negotiation dynamics and outcomes.

In the same vein, LSM research has primarily focused on texts produced by native English speakers. Bayram & Ta (2019) studied LSM in a multilingual setting and translated into English speeches delivered by negotiators in their mother tongues: scripts in German and French were translated manually, and other scripts (e.g. Greek, Dutch, Italian, and Romanian) were machine translated. When LSM is used, it is imperative to distinguish between texts produced by native speakers and non-native speakers, texts in the original and human or machine translated texts. I encourage future studies to explore a multilingual context of intercultural negotiations and to analyze the effect of native versus foreign language on the choice of negotiation strategies and such established negotiation variables as objective outcomes (e.g. joint and individual gains) and subjective outcomes (satisfaction). Another possible research direction is to calculate LSM scores with the website http://secretlifeofpronouns.com/exercise/synch/ which has been recently created by James Pennebaker and his team using an updated formula to calculate LSM (they

excluded quantifiers from this formula because of the low base rate). It would be valuable to compare the new LSM scores with the established ones.

In terms of negotiation strategy, one can use a new coding schema proposed by Yao and colleagues in their forthcoming paper (2020), where offers are categorized into single-issue versus multi-issue offers. Such a categorization allows to distinguish between offers as information sharing and offers as competitive behavior, one of the concerns I express in this paper.

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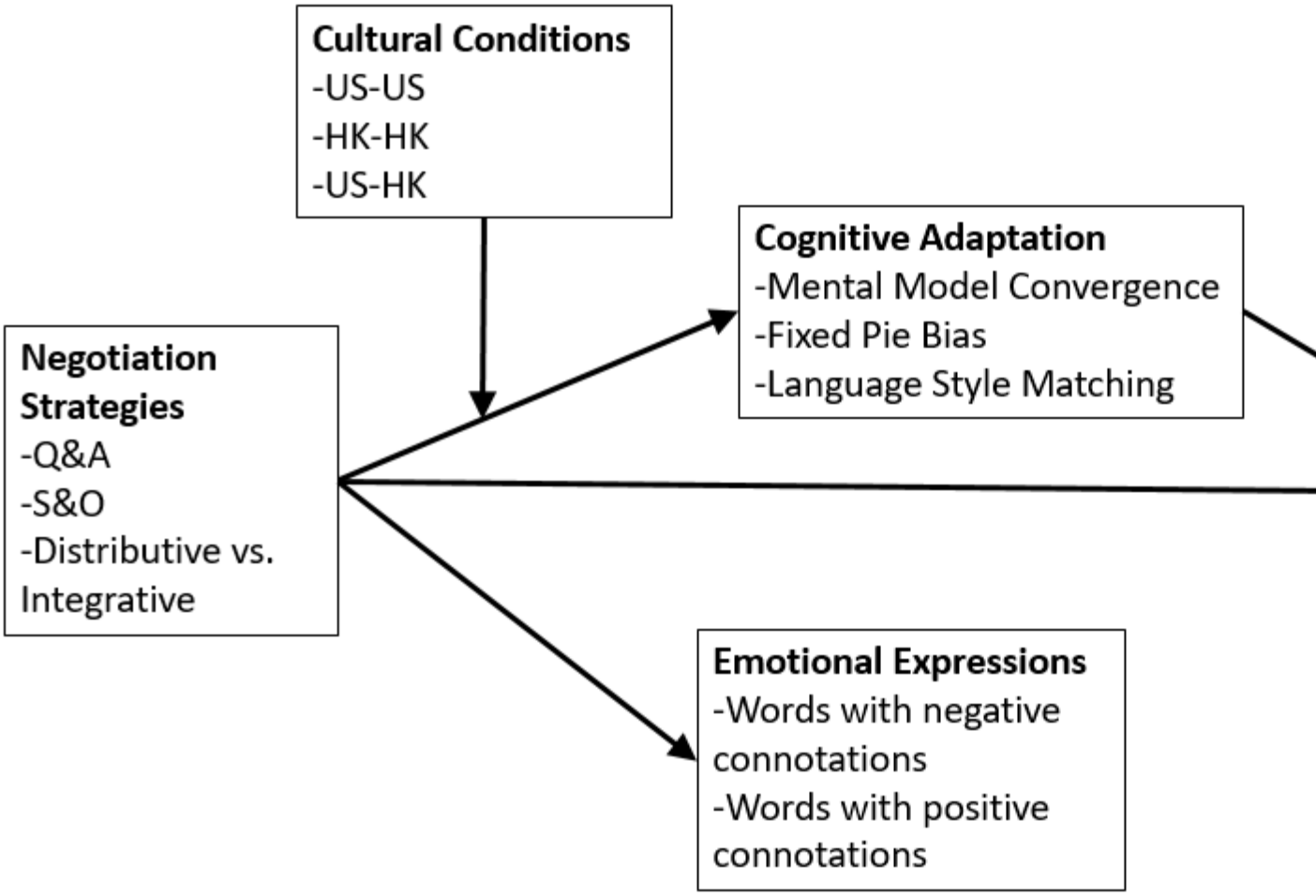
FIGURES

Figure 1. Theoretical framework



TABLES

Table 1. Negotiation strategies

Types of strategy		**Sourse**
Integrative	Distributive	"foundational negotiation theory" e.g. Lax & Sebenius, 1986; Walton & McKersie, 1965; Kong et al., 2014, Olekalns, Brett, & Weingart, 2003
Problem solving approach (PSA)		Pruitt and Lewis, 1975; Menkel-Meadow, 1984; Murray, 1986; Adler and Graham, 1986
Cooperative bargaining	Competitive bargaining	e.g. Olekalns & Smith, 2003
Representational bargaining strategies	Instrumental bargaining strategies	Angelmar and Stern, 1978; Graham, 1985
Underlying psychological mechanisms		
cooperative orientation (psychological state)	individualistic orientation (psychological state)	e.g., Rubin and Brown, 1975; Pruitt and Lewis, 1975 Williams, 1983
Problem-solving orientation	Win/lose orientation	Pruitt, 1981
Pro-social motivation Characterized by trust, positive attitudes and perceptions, constructive exchange of information, active listening, understanding one another's perspective	Egoistic motivation Characterized by persuasive arguments, positional commitments, threats, bluffs, and coercive power	see De Dreu, Weingart, Kwon, 2000

Table 2. Operationalizations of strategies and theories used in prior studies to account for differences in negotiation strategies across cultures

Article	Theoretical explanations	Operationalization of strategy	Method
Graham (1985)	Exchange theory; Representational and instrumental models of communication (Angelmar and Stern 1978); Extroversion-introversion; Individualism – collectivism	representational/instrumental strategy: "representational/instrumental dimension (RI) using three items- two from the negotiator's own questionnaire and one from his partner's"	Self-report
Adler and Graham (1989)	Similarity hypothesis (Evans, 1963); Reciprocity and synchrony; Acculturation theory; Interpersonal orientation	Cooperativeness (Problem solving approach) 5 item scale Solving a mutual problem – vs. – self-interested; Explorative – vs. – accommodating; Honest – vs. – deceptive; Informative – vs. – persuasive; Unbiased – vs. – biased	Self-report
Natlandsmyr and Rognes (1995)	Hofstede's cultural values: masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, and power distance	9 codes adapted from Weingart et al., 1990: Single issue offers, multi-issue offer, tradeoff, ask for information, showing awareness/ recognition/ concern for other; provide information; negative reaction, positive reaction, threat or warning	Coded scripts
Adair, Okumura, and Brett (2001)	Hall's theory of communication contexts: high-context negotiators adapt to low contexts negotiators. In-group collectivism	direct information exchange, indirect information exchange, influence, clarification, and procedural comments.	Coded scripts
Adair (2003)	Hall's theory of communication contexts: high-context negotiators use more indirect sequences, and low-context – direct; functional sequential model of interpersonal adaptation;	Direct integrative (preferences and priorities; direct positive and negative reactions; mutuality) Indirect integrative (single-issue offer; multi-issue offer)	Coded scripts

	anxiety uncertainty management theory of interpersonal adaptation		
Adair and Brett (2005)	Hall's (1976) theory of low/high-context communication: communicative flexibility in high-context cultures	priority information offers (single-issue and multiple-issue) affective persuasion rational influence	Coded scripts
Adair, Weingart, and Brett (2007)	theory of information exchange in negotiation (Bazerman & Neale, 1992; Pruitt, 1981) theory of cross-cultural negotiations (Adair et al., 2001)	Offers (single and multiple-issue) Information exchange	Coded scripts
Rosette, Brett, Barsness, and Lytle (2012)	Barry and Fulmer's (2004) theory of adaptive media social awareness theory	Opening offer (seller's first offer or first counteroffer in the negotiation)	Coded scripts
Gunia, Brett, Nandkeolyar, and Kamdar (2014)	Trust and tightness/ looseness	Q&A; S&O (single-issue, multi-issue; making short affirmations or negations in response to an offer); process comments; other	Coded scripts
Lügger , Geiger, Neun, and Backhaus (2015)	Interpersonal orientation (Rubin and Brown 1975) Acculturation (Berry 2005) Triangle hypothesis (Kelley and Stahelski, 1970) Dual Concern Model (Pruitt and Rubin 1986)	Distributive and integrative behavior. **Distributive:** non-concessional offers, charge fault/ derogation, threats, promise, warnings, commitments, bluffs; assert wants; command/ request for offer; personal rejection; topic change; procedural change **Integrative:** offer concessions, flexibility; approve offer; other support; additional information; questions/ extension question; opening	Coded scripts
Yao, Zhang, Brett (2017)	Trust development	Q&A, S&O, other Q&A includes affirmation of offers S&O includes asks or answers for bottom line	Self-report, Coded scripts

Table 3. Word Categories Used for Calculating Language Style Matching

Category	**Examples**
Personal pronouns	I, his, their
Impersonal pronouns	it, that, anything
Articles	a, an, the
Conjunctions	and, but, because
Prepositions	in, under, about
Auxiliary verbs	shall, be, was
High-frequency adverbs	very, rather, just
negations	no, not, never
quantifiers	much, few, lots

These Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) categories are from LIWC 2007 (Pennebaker, Booth, & Francis, 2007). These categories have been consistently used in LSM research e.g. Ireland et al. (2011) and Bayram & Ta (2019).

Table 4.1. Means, standard deviations, and correlation coefficients between variables at an individual level in the intracultural U.S. condition [a].

Variables [b]	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.Q&A	20.29	6.01						
2.S&O	22.41	7.58	-.62*					
3.Posemo	4.22	1.68	.12	-.26*				
4.Negemo	.67	.63	-.12	-.04	-.01			
5.Satisfaction	4.76	.86	.04	-.28*	.39**	.09		
6.Post fixed-pie	4921.05	5519.07	-.18	.13	-.07	.91	-.31**	

[a] Correlation coefficients presented in the lower diagonal were based on the individual level data (N= 76).
[b] "Q&A" and "S&O" refer to the percentage of the two strategies used in the text; "posemo" and "negemo" refer to the percentage of words with positive and negative connotation used in the transcript; "satisfaction" refer to the sixteen-item subjective value inventory (SVI); "post fixed-pie" refers to the variable of post-negotiation fixed-pie bias.
*p<.05. **p<.01

Table 4.2. Means, standard deviations, and correlation coefficients between variables at an individual level in the intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition [a].

Variables [b]	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.Q&A	16.12	9.74						
2.S&O	29.74	10.32	-.82**					
3.Posemo	4.69	1.52	.20	-.13				
4.Negemo	.57	.43	-.10	-.09	-.12			
5.Satisfaction	4.46	.57	.17	-.16	.18	-.30*		
6.Post fixed-pie	8395.65	5516.04	-.06	-.04	.16	-.21	.02	

[a] Correlation coefficients presented in the lower diagonal were based on the individual level data (N= 48).
[b] "Q&A" and "S&O" refer to the percentage of the two strategies used in the text; "posemo" and "negemo" refer to the percentage of words with positive and negative connotation used in the transcript; "satisfaction" refer to the sixteen-item subjective value inventory (SVI); "post fixed-pie" refers to the variable of post-negotiation fixed-pie bias.
*p<.05. **p<.01

Table 4.3. Means, standard deviations, and correlation coefficients between variables at an individual level in the intercultural condition [a].

Variables [b]	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.Q&A	18.00	7.21						
2.S&O	24.41	7.72	-.65**					
3.Posemo	4.89	1.96	-.10	-.11				
4.Negemo	.68	.55	.08	-.032	.05			
5.Satisfaction	4.77	.82	.10	-.15	.27*	.19		
6. Post fixed-pie	6786.75	6013.90	.07	.05	-.09	-.24	-.16	

[a] Correlation coefficients presented in the lower diagonal were based on the individual level data (N= 92).
[b] "Q&A" and "S&O" refer to the percentage of the two strategies used in the text; "posemo" and "negemo" refer to the percentage of words with positive and negative connotation used in the transcript; "satisfaction" refer to the sixteen-item subjective value inventory (SVI); "post fixed-pie" refers to the variable of post-negotiation fixed-pie bias.
*p<.05. **p<.01

Table 4.4. Means, standard deviations, and correlation coefficients between variables at a dyadic level in the intracultural U.S. condition [a].

Variables [b]	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.Q&A	40.83	10.08							
2.S&O	44.55	13.56	-.76**						
3.Joint gains	11500.00	1068.46	.03	-.14					
4.Satisfaction	4.76	.72	.19	-.43**	.47**				
5.LSM	.82	.06	-.11	.23	-.21	-.21			
6.Post fixed-pie	4921.05	4537.70	-.20	.23	-.65**	-.45**	.23		
7.Post-MM similarity	.26	.21	-.13	.20	-.10	-.20	.25	.09	

[a] Correlation coefficients presented in the lower diagonal were based on the dyadic-level data (N= 38).
[b] "Q&A" and "S&O" refer to the percentage of the two strategies used in the text by both negotiators (dyadic-level measure); "satisfaction" is a dyadic-level measure and is calculated as a mean of the two individual level satisfaction; "joint gains" refer to the sum of individual gains within the dyad; "post fixed-pie" refers to the variables of post-negotiation fixed-pie bias at a dyadic level; "Post-MM similarity" refers to the variable of sharedness of post-negotiation mental models.
*p<.05. **p<.01

Table 4.5. Means, standard deviations, and correlation coefficient between variables at a dyadic level in the intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition [a].

Variables [b]	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.Q&A	32.25	18.15							
2.S&O	59.27	18.70	-.90**						
3.Joint gains	11033.33	1056.52	.10	-.12					
4.Satisfaction	4.37	.61	.33	-.32	-.03				
5.LSM	.77	.09	-.42*	.25	.17	.08			
6.Post fixed-pie	8406.25	4907.10	.08	-.02	-.59**	-.04	-.34		
7.Post-MM similarity	-.0073	.21	-.33	.30	-.09	.38	-.03	-.23	

[a] Correlation coefficients presented in the lower diagonal were based on the dyadic-level data (N= 24).
[b] "Q&A" and "S&O" refer to the percentage of the two strategies used in the text by both negotiators (dyadic-level measure); "satisfaction" is a dyadic-level measure and is calculated as a mean of the two individual level satisfaction; "joint gains" refer to the sum of individual gains within the dyad; "post fixed-pie" refers to the variables of post-negotiation fixed-pie bias at a dyadic level; "Post-MM similarity" refers to the variable of sharedness of post-negotiation mental models.
*p<.05. **p<.01

Table 4.6. Means, standard deviations, and correlation coefficient between variables at a dyadic level in the intercultural condition [a].

Variables [b]	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.Q&A	35.06	13.68							
2.S&O	48.13	14.70	-.47**						
3.Joint gains	11434.78	1061.28	-.03	-.07					
4.Satisfaction	4.79	.62	-.04	.03	-.07				
5.LSM	.82	.06	.10	.03	-.19	-.10			
6.Post fixed-pie	6849.73	5008.36	-.002	.11	-.60**	-.20	-.24		
7.Post-MM similarity	.02	.18	.10	.21	.01	.13	-.16	-.09	

[a] Correlation coefficients presented in the lower diagonal were based on the dyadic-level data (N= 46).
[b] "Q&A" and "S&O" refer to the percentage of the two strategies used in the text by both negotiators (dyadic-level measure); "satisfaction" is a dyadic-level measure and is calculated as a mean of the two individual level satisfaction; "joint gains" refer to the sum of individual gains within the dyad; "post fixed-pie" refers to the variables of post-negotiation fixed-pie bias at a dyadic level; "Post-MM similarity" refers to the variable of sharedness of post-negotiation mental models.
*p<.05. **p<.01

Table 5. Hypotheses

Hypotheses		Supported or not
Hypothesis 1a	Proportion of S&O used will be greater than proportion of Q&A used in a high-context communication culture.	Supported
Hypothesis 1b	Proportion of S&O used will be greater than proportion of Q&A used in a low-context communication culture.	Supported
Hypothesis 1c	Proportion of S&O used will be greater than proportion of Q&A used in the intercultural condition.	Supported
Hypothesis 2a	In the intercultural condition, negotiators from high- and low-context communication cultures will adapt to each other.	Supported
Hypothesis 2b	In the intercultural condition, negotiators from a high-context communication culture will adapt to negotiators from a low-context communication culture to a greater degree.	Supported
Hypothesis 3a	S&O will have a distributive character in the intracultural American condition.	Partially supported
Hypothesis 3b	S&O will have an integrative character in the intracultural Hong Kong Chinese condition.	Partially supported
Hypothesis 3c	S&O will have a distributive character in the intercultural condition.	Not supported
Hypothesis 4a	LSM scores will be positively associated with post-negotiation mental model convergence.	Not supported for all 3 groups
Hypothesis 4b	LSM scores will not be associated with post-negotiation mental model convergence.	Supported for all 3 groups
Hypothesis 5a	LSM scores will be negatively associated with post-negotiation fixed-pie bias.	Supported in Hong Kong Chinese intracultural condition
Hypothesis 5b	LSM scores will not be associated with post-negotiation fixed-pie bias.	Supported in U.S. intracultural and intercultural conditions

Table 6. Results.

	Cultural conditions		
	Intracultural conditions		Intercultural condition
	US-US	HK-HK	HK-US
	1.) Distributive or integrative character of S&O?		
Post-negotiation fixed-pie bias	–[a]	–	–
Sharedness of post-negotiation mental models (dyadic level)	–	–	–
Words with positive emotional connotation (individual level)	with S&O r=-.26**	–	–
Words with negative emotional connotation (individual level)	–	–	–
LSM (dyadic level)	–	with Q&A r=-.41* with S&O r=.25	–
Satisfaction (individual level)	with S&O r= -.28*	–	–
Joint gains (dyadic level)	–	–	–
Conclusion:	**S&O has a distributive character**	**S&O has an integrative character**	**No conclusion**
	2) Does LSM reflect deeper cognitive convergence or automatic mimicry? All correlations with LSM at a dyadic level		
Sharedness of post-negotiation mental models (dyadic level)	–	–	–
Post-negotiation fixed-pie bias (dyadic level)	r=.23, p=.17	r=-.34 p=.01	r=.242, p=.18
Conclusion:	**automatic mimicry (or cognitive divergence)**	**cognitive convergence**	**automatic mimicry (or cognitive divergence)**

[a] no significant results

*p<.05. **p<.01

APPENDIX

Payoff schedule of the negotiation simulation

Two Distributive issues

Paper quality			Color Pages		
	Client Services Division (a seller)	Production Division (a buyer)		Client Services Division (a seller)	Production Division (a buyer)
Options	Points	Points	Options	Points	Points
250 g/m^2	0	2400	4 pages	0	2000
220 g/m^2	600	1800	3 pages	500	1500
200 g/m^2	1200	1200	2 pages	1000	1000
180 g/m^2	1800	600	1 page	1500	500
160 g/m^2	2400	0	0 page	2000	0

Two Integrative Issues

Copies			Billing		
	Client Services Division (a seller)	Production Division (a buyer)		Client Services Division (a seller)	Production Division (a buyer)
Options	Points	Points	Options	Points	Points
50, 000 copies	0	4000	5 weeks	0	1200
40, 000 copies	300	3000	4 weeks	1000	900
30, 000 copies	600	2000	3 weeks	2000	600
20, 000 copies	900	1000	2 weeks	3000	300
10, 000 copies	1200	0	1 week	4000	0

Negotiation Strategy Codes

Category	Definition
Questions	Asking questions about needs, priorities, preferences, interests, or tradeoffs; asking other questions about the simulation; asking clarifying questions; paraphrasing the other party's statements (implied question)
Answers	Giving information about needs, priorities, preferences, interests, or tradeoffs; giving other information about the simulation; making short affirmations or negations in response to anything but an offer
Substantiation	Attempts at cognitive influence (appeals to rationality, logic, data from the case, interests); normative influence (appeals to reciprocity, fairness, consistency, morality, norms)
Offers	Single-issue offers; multi-issue offers; making short affirmations or negations in response to an offer
Process comments	Statements about the negotiation process; questions about the negotiation process; 'schmoozing'
Other	Uncodable or anything else

Essay 2: Language Strategies in International Business Conflict Management: An Integrated Review and Agenda for Dynamic Conflict De-Escalation

"Conflict resolution is a basic human activity articulated and conducted in forms that significantly vary across cultures. Differences in approach rest on contrasting understandings of the nature of conflict and society. A good way to study these differences is through a comparative analysis of language" (Cohen, 2001).

Abstract

The aim of this systematic review is to categorize studies about language and verbal communication in international conflict management research to 1) identify the similarities and differences in theoretical and methodological approaches, 2) provide a categorization of research streams and an integrative framework, 3) identify gaps and propose future research directions, and 4) suggest managerial implications. Based on the findings from the reviewed articles, I propose the following research streams: language choice, language asymmetries, language barrier, miscommunication, conflict discourse, language in conflict framing, translation, metaphors, and particular lexical and grammatical constructions in negotiations and conflict resolution. This study contributes to current conflict management and international business literature by uncovering language-related mechanisms shaping a destructive negative conflict at a dyad, team, organization, and national culture levels, by suggesting strategies to mitigate conflict and transform it into a positive, constructive conflict. The study reviews text analysis tools from other disciplines that can be applied in conflict management research, and provides practical suggestions about how communication can be improved in international business contexts.

Keywords: constructive conflict, conflict management, negotiation, language, language asymmetries

Introduction

Conflict cuts through various areas within and outside of organizations. While dealing with conflict, people often misread each other's intentions, for example, one party might see avoiding a discussion as a way of minimizing discomfort while the other considers it as close-mindedness (Tjosvold, 2008). The difference in cultural and linguistic backgrounds can be fertile ground for such misunderstandings.

In recent years, an increasing amount of scholarly attention has been paid to verbal and non-verbal communication in conflict management and negotiations (Butts, Becker, & Boswell, 2015; Chaudhry et al., 2019; Glinow, Shapiro, & Brett, 2004; Weingart et al., 2015). Weingart, Behfar, Bendersky, Todorova and Jehn (2015) highlighted the importance of the manner, in which conflict is expressed because it influences perceptions and reactions of those involved in it and changes the process of conflict and its outcomes. The increasing role of language and verbal communication in conflict management can be explained by 1) globalization resulting in growing interaction between individuals speaking different languages, and 2) proliferation of electronic communication which leads to less emphasis on non-verbal communication and more emphasis on verbal communication (Ghauri & Usunier, 2003). In other words, online communication contains fewer social cues, and language acquires a higher significance (Brett et al., 2007).

Although conflict expression is usually defined as the verbal and nonverbal communication of opposition between individuals or groups of individuals (Laursen & Collins, 1994; Peterson, 1983; Weingart et al., 2015), in this review I focus only on verbal communication. Specifically, my focus is on verbal communication and language in intercultural settings such as when conflict unfolds between representatives of different national cultures who speak different languages or

different variants of the same language (for example, English in the U.K. and the U.S.). The main focus of this paper is not cultural context per se, but language as a reflection of culture and its effect on conflict formation and resolution.

Because of this focus, I omit such topics such as the use of silence and conversational overlap (George, Jones, & Gonzalez, 1998) and eye contact (Hawrysh & Zaichkowsky, 1990; for a review of cross-cultural variability in verbal and non-verbal communication styles see Lim, 2002). This is because my goal is not to provide an exhaustive review of the literature in different disciplines tangentially related to the topic, but to show examples of prototypical work in each domain. Since the studies are interdisciplinary, multifaceted and published in different outlets, I summarize and categorize their findings and key contributions to inform new studies in the area.

The following research questions are guiding this systematic review:

1. What theories guide research on language and verbal communication?
2. What thematic groups of research can be identified?
3. What methodology is applied to study these research questions?
4. What are the potential research gaps and which methodological approaches should be chosen to address them?
5. What are the managerial implications for international business?

Following Weingart and colleagues (2015: 236), in this paper I define conflicts as “situations where people are opposed to one another, advocating for different outcomes”. In prior research, conflict is presented by terms with various degrees of directness such as “disagreements”, “friction”, “differences of opinion”, “personality conflicts” and “tensions” (Weingart et al., 2015). For my theoretical framework, I borrow the constructs from the seminal papers by De

Dreu (2008) and Tjosvold (2008) which distinguish between a destructive negative conflict and a positive constructive conflict. Despite the common assumption that conflicts lead to negative consequences and should be avoided at any cost, conflicts can be beneficial (Tjosvold, 2008).

Task conflicts, for example, are considered to be more constructive than relationship conflicts, while conflicts which involve resource scarcity are more destructive than those based on differences in cognition (Tjosvold, 2008). Following De Dreu (2008: 7), I define positive conflict as "a conflict having primarily positive consequences".

The importance of a positive constructive conflict has been emphasized by multiple scholars. As Jeffrey Rubin said: "Rather than view negotiation as a tug of war in which each of two sides attempts to surrender as little of its aspirations as possible, the mutual gains approach regards negotiation as a puzzle to be solved" (Rubin, 1997:7). Tjosvold, Wong and Feng Chen (2014) in their review concluded that open-minded discussions and mutually beneficial relationships are crucial to resolving conflicts. In this paper, I propose a framework, which shows how language and verbal communication can smoothen or impede this transition from a negative destructive to a positive constructive conflict.

Literature search

I followed the systematic literature review methodology (Tranfield, Denyer, and Smart, 2003). The search required articles to be 1) written in English, 2) published in peer-reviewed journals from 1989 onward, and 3) focusing on conflict management and negotiations in the domain of international business. The year 1989 was selected as the baseline because of the seminal article by Adler and Graham (1989), which first talked about language as a strategy in international negotiations.

I excluded studies on topics not related to international or intercultural dimension of conflict management unless they were necessary to provide some theoretical or methodological explanations or have direct practical implications for international business. For example, the following topics were excluded: conflict management in nursing workplace (Nicotera & Mahon, 2013) and negotiation at police stations (Taylor & Thomas, 2008). Following Imai and Gelfand (2009), I included both cross-cultural, i.e., comparative, studies and works depicting different cultures in a rich, emic context. Empirical and conceptual studies have been obtained through electronic databases of Georgia State University library and google scholar. I have identified and used the following keywords and search terms in different combination: *language *verbal communication *conflict *conflict resolution *conflict management *international *international business *negotiation(s). Following Karhunen and colleagues (2018) and Patton (1990), I also conducted a snowball search for influential articles.

The selection of the relevant papers constitutes as step-wise process. First, I read the title and the abstract. Articles not related to the topic in question were excluded. I did not include any non-English articles not to limit the transparency and accessibility of my data set (Hiles, 2008; Karhunen et al., 2018). Following the most recent review on language in international business (Tenzer, Terjesen, & Harzing, 2017), I did not include monographs and book chapters, as well as master's theses or dissertations to ensure that the papers went through several round of revisions by the scholarly community. Second, articles retained for further review were analyzed and categorized in terms of theory, methodology, limitations, future research directions, and practical implications. I retained for further research the articles that fulfill the criteria.

Since most papers in the review have a conventional structure (introduction, theory, methods, research findings, limitations and future research directions, etc.), I structured my

literature review in a similar way. I also followed the structure of the most recent systematic reviews (e.g. Aguinis & Glavas, 2012; Tenzer, Terjesen & Harzing, 2017).

Review of existing literature

Theory

Studies in the area of international business and organizational conflict management with the focus on language and communication draw on theories from a number of disciplines: communication, linguistics, cross-cultural and social psychology, sociology, and anthropology to cite a few. The following theories guided the research: Ting-Toomey's Face-Negotiation theory, Hall's Communication Contexts, Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), Linguistic Relativity, Framing and Face Theories. Table 1 presents an overview of the theories applied in the reviewed studies.

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Research streams based on themes

After selecting the papers based on the research questions I have stated above, I have coded them in terms of themes. After identifying key constructs and terms, I formed the following groups to categorize the papers: language choice, language asymmetries, language barrier, miscommunication, language in conflict framing, conflict discourse, translation, metaphors, and particular lexical and grammatical constructions in conflict resolution and negotiations.

The role of language choice in conflict formation and conflict resolution

In their seminal paper, Adler and Graham (1989: 521) identified the following situations when negotiators from culture X and Y communicate with each other: "1. Language X [is] used; 2. Language Y [is] used; 3. Language X [is] used part of the time, language Y [is] used the rest, by both parties; 4. Interpreters [are] used for translations; 5. A third language, Z, [is] used; and 6. Combinations of the above". The choice of language can both cause destructive negative conflict and be a strategy for conflict management in joint ventures, MNCs or multicultural teams.

Heller (1992) suggests that language choice is a reflection of a relative value and symbolic distribution of resources across communities. This can be observed at organization, team, and dyadic levels. For example, the functional language in cooperative ventures is selected by multiple stakeholders and is considered to be a control mechanism (Root, 1994). In line with the resource dependence theory, the party whose native language is used as a functional language has more power and controls information (Luo & Shenkar, 2006). The choice of functional language tends to reflect the power distribution in the joint venture. If the local partner owns a higher equity or has a greater bargaining power, the venture tends to use local language; and if the foreign party has more power in the venture, the functional language tends to be English or another shared language (Luo & Shenkar, 2006).

Language choice can be a source of a conflict within a joint venture or an MNE. The study by Salk and Shenkar (2001) provides an illustration of this point. To ensure that none of the parties was given an advantage, a British-Italian venture was established in a third country. However, since Italians spoke some English, and the Britons did not speak Italian, English was chosen as a functional language of the venture. As a result, multiple organizational practices were adopted from the British parent because they were readily available in English. This made Italian employees feel a greater power imbalance. Working in a native language can be treated as

an equivalent of more power (Harzing & Feely, 2008). Individuals who work in their foreign language might experience a status loss, particularly when interacting with native speakers of the lingua franca (Neeley, 2013).

In extreme cases, e.g., when the individuals come from countries involved in wars or political conflicts, a wrong language choice can lead to polarization of group identities (Harzing & Feely, 2008). One of such cases, when the two parties have a postcolonial history, is analyzed in Vaara et al. (2005). After a merger of a Swedish and Finnish banks, Swedish was chosen as a corporate language which was seen as a reminder of the superiority of Swedes and inferiority of Fins. In such situations, the two parties tend to interpret the words of out-group members in a negative way and make judgements based on stereotypes.

Language asymmetries

Language asymmetries refer to "differing levels of language competence in the lingua franca across team members" (Hinds, Neeley, & Cramton, 2014: 537) and are common in cross-cultural communication. Language asymmetries can lead to different types of behavior that fuels escalatory conflict spirals. They can activate faultlines, dividing lines in a group based on demographic characteristics (Lau & Murnighan, 1998). Faultlines can be geographic-, nationality-, or language-based, etc. (Hinds, Neeley, & Cramton, 2014). Language fluency, particularly when it becomes one of the aspects of performance evaluation (Hinds et al., 2014), can result in a division into in-groups and outgroups (Hinds et al., 2014; Klitmøller et al., 2015; Kulkarni, 2015; Offermann et al., 2014).

Language asymmetry can also lead to code switching, changing the language which usually occurs at key moments in a meeting, when second language users switch to their native

language to talk between themselves (Harzing & Feely, 2008). Code switching can be a type of self-protective behavior (Harzing, & Feely, 2008). Since their knowledge of the second language is limited, they often want to compare notes before taking critical decisions. However, native speakers might be unaware of that and feel suspicious, excluded (Harzing, & Feely, 2008), and anxious (Hinds, Neeley, & Cramton, 2014). Code switching can also be used to exhibit power and make social situations more desired (Auer, 1984). This can create tension between team members (Hinds, Neeley, & Cramton, 2014) and lead to a destructive negative conflict between native and non-native speakers. Harzing and Feely (2008) argued that when parties are involved in serious conflicts, they can attribute negative intentions to words and acts of out-group members.

Apart from code-switching, language asymmetries can lead to parallel information networks and power-authority distortions (Harzing & Feely, 2008). In parallel information networks, communication channels are shaped by language capabilities, not formal position in the organization. Employees proficient in the lingua franca are unofficially in charge of information distribution, which they can use as a personal advantage. As a result, employees are officially responsible for the distribution of information in an MNC might feel powerless and suspicious. Such an asymmetry might lead to a destructive negative conflict.

Language barrier

Language asymmetry is closely related to a language barrier, a barrier to communication due to an inability or a limited ability of at least one of individuals to speak the language of the conversation. Language barrier is often experienced when at least one of communicators has to interact in a foreign language. When experiencing it, individuals tend to feel “restricted and reduced” and “apprehensive and anxious” (Neeley, Hinds & Cramton, 2012: 237). Language

barrier is not only psychologically difficult for a person experiencing it, but it can also negatively affect how others treat this person. Research shows that highly capable employees might be perceived as unintelligent because they cannot convey their professional competence through a language barrier (Brett, Behfar, & Kern, 2006; Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999a; Piekkari, 2006; Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing, 2014). This effect might be one of the main challenges in cross-cultural management (Brett et al., 2006). Members of multinational teams might also explain language-based conflicts by the personalities of their colleagues (Tenzer et al., 2014). All these might result in hostile stereotyping and conflicts (Harzing & Feely, 2008).

The mechanism of language asymmetry in multicultural teams is summarized in Table 2.

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Miscommunication

Miscommunication is another topic widely discussed in extant literature. In multilingual environment, miscommunication is one of the major sources of a destructive negative conflict. For example, Harzing and Feely (2008) showed that lack of effective communication in the case of German and Japanese MNCs promoted faulty attributions, distortion of management teams and conflict. Confusion and misattributions about team members' behavior is particularly common in geographically distributed environments (Cramton, 2002). Below I summarize the antecedents of cross-cultural miscommunication, which I categorize into two groups: linguistic and cultural.

The first group of the antecedents of miscommunication can be labeled as linguistic and includes poor language proficiency, language barrier, and so forth. When individuals are not proficient in a foreign language, they can misuse or misinterpret some words. According to Tenzer, Pudelko, and Harzing (2014), simple linguistic misunderstandings can lead to unmet expectations and negative attitude towards partners. Just one word used incorrectly can change the meaning of the whole sentence. For example, for the Japanese it might be hard to understand negations in the English language when one is expected to answer the questions "You haven't done this yet?" as with "No (I haven't)" instead of "Yes (you are right, I haven't done this yet)", a form common in Japanese (Tenzer et al., 2014). U.S. Americans might also misunderstand how "Yes" is used in Japanese. Unlike the American English, where it indicates agreement, in Japanese "yes" can signal an agreement, "I hear you", "maybe" or even "no" (Hodgson, Sano, & Graham, 2000).

However, insufficient language proficiency is not the only antecedent of misunderstandings. Language diversity presupposes that team members not only speak a variety of languages, but that they also hear in different ways (Henderson, 2005). Due to their cultural backgrounds, they use different mechanisms to interpret the message. This is particularly misleading when individuals interact in the same language. It might seem that the interlocutors share the same context, but in fact they might attribute different meanings to the same message. For example, the illusion of cultural similarity of English speaking countries (Usunier, 1993; Welch, Welch & Marschan-Piekkari, 2001) can lead to frictions in business communication and interpersonal relations, a phenomenon known as the psychic distance paradox (O'Grady & Lane, 1996).

Another group of the antecedents of misunderstandings is related to cultural differences in communication approaches (e.g., Cramton, 2001, Grinter et al., 1999, Kayworth and Leidner 2002, Krishna et al. 2004). After reviewing over twenty years of intercultural, inter-organizational research, Scollon and Scollon (1995) concluded that most miscommunication in intercultural contexts arise not from mispronunciation or grammar mistakes, but from differences in patterns of discourse. Kumar (1997) suggested that general differences in negotiation 'scripts' lead to negative consequences during intercultural commercial interactions. Harzing and Feely (2008) observed that even though managers in an MNC are usually competent in the functional language of the company, they might miss some aspects of humor, persuasion and symbolism since these require very high levels of language proficiency. Understanding the differences in discourse patterns, negotiation scripts, humor, styles of persuasion and linguistic pathways requires not only high language proficiency, but also cultural competency.

Many of the examples of cultural miscommunications registered in literature can be explained by the theory of communication context proposed by Edward Hall (1959), and recently further developed and validated by Adair, Buchan, Chen, & Liu (2016) as a model with four contextual dimensions: message, relationship, time, and space.

The message context is defined as "the cues that convey implied and inferred meaning accompanying a verbal message in communication" (Adair et al., 2016: 200). Direct (or explicit) communicators use predominantly verbal messages, while indirect (or implicit) communicators rely on nonverbal cues which contain crucial information (Adair et al., 2016; Triandis, 1972). In indirect communication, listeners proactively search for these hidden, non-verbal cues. An example of an indirect communication style is silence in a Japanese conversation which can convey five different meanings (Lebra, 1987). Misunderstandings between explicit and implicit

communicators often jeopardize success of cross-cultural business interactions (Adair et al., 2016).

The relationship context is defined as "the cues relating to the meaning associated with the nature of a relationship between two interlocutors" (Adair et al., 2016: 201) and shows the importance of personal relationships for communicators (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2011), or if work and family life are intertwined or kept apart (Adair et al., 2016).

The temporal context, or communicators' attitude to time, captures variations in temporal focus, pace of life, and time horizons (Adair et al., 2016). For example, polychronic view of time prioritizes harmony in interpersonal relationships over deadlines (Triandis, 1994). Monochronic cultures, on the contrary, put more emphasis on goal completion than relationship maintenance (Triandis, 1994). Polychronic cultures have a flexible attitude to time (e.g. "jam karet"meaning "rubber time" in Indonesian) and view time as fluid, while monochronic cultures view time as fixed commodity (Buchan, Adair, & Chen, 2015) such as, "Time is money" in American English.

The spatial context reflects communicators' attitude to physical environment, and is not confined to the distance between the interlocutors, but also includes gestures or face expression (Adair et al., 2016). For example, Requejo & Graham (2008) show that Japanese interlocutors rarely interrupt their counterparts which Brazilians do very frequently (28 interruptions in 30 minutes).

The following examples from the studies about intercultural miscommunication can be explained by Hall's theory. In the study by Hinds, Neeley and Cramton (2014), an Indian team member characterized German colleagues in the following way: "They're very frank … about things. I wouldn't say all the negative things as they would say so openly …" (p. 551). German

culture is a low context culture, while Indian culture is a high context one. Based on prior research, Morris and colleagues (1998) identified two types of misunderstanding in conflicts in joint ventures between U.S. and Asian firms. First, U.S. managers mistakenly interpret silence of their Asian counterparts as a sign of consent and do not notice indirectly expressed objections. Second, Asian managers perceive their U.S. colleagues' direct negative arguments as lacking respect or even unreasonable. The misunderstanding occurs bilaterally and can be mainly explained by the theory of communication contexts: low context communication is typical in the U.S. and high context communication is typical in East Asian cultures. Gelfand and colleagues showed that negotiators from the U.S. and Egypt had different linguistic pathways of reaching a creative agreement which can be to some extent explained by Hall's theory. U.S. negotiators preferred factual and logical persuasive tactics, which is typical of a low context communication, while Egyptian negotiators emphasized in-group and authority virtues.

Language in conflict framing

The role of framing in individual decision making process has been widely studied by scholars (Curşeu & Schruijer, 2008). Levin, Schneider, & Gaeth (1998) even consider the framing effect to be one of the most prolific areas in individual decision-making research. Due to framing effect, small changes in phrasing of decision alternatives with identical expected outcomes affect an individual's choice (Kühberger 1998; Levin, Schneider & Gaeth, 1998; Tversky and Kahneman, 1981).

The conflict framing research stream draws from framing theory. The concepts of ''conflict frames'' and ''conflict framing'' are crucial for conflict management research and have been viewed and defined differently by scholars (Brummans et al., 2008). Some research

streams (e.g. Neale & Bazerman, 1985; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981) focus on cognitive frames and knowledge schemas that affect behavior. Others envision framing as a communicative process. These two paradigms view language in a different way. In a cognitive paradigm, language is a representation, or a system of symbols utilized to reflect the inner and outer world of individuals. In the interactional paradigm, language is envisioned as an action, or a system of symbols which enacts social interaction. Framing as an interactional co-construction means that language is a substance out of which frames are made (Dewulf et al., 2009). Conflict framing has been studied in environmental disputes (Brummans et al., 2008, Gray, 2003), in work settings (Mikkelsen & Gray, 2016), and in different types of conflict resolution and negotiations (Dewulf et al., 2009). Conflict framing research predominantly studies interpersonal conflict or negotiations (e.g., Donohue, 1998; Donohue & Roberto, 1993; Donohue, Weider-Hatfield, Hamilton, & Diez, 1985; Drake & Donohue, 1996; Pinkley, 1990; Pinkley & Northcraft, 1994). Brummans and colleagues (2008) address this gap by looking at conflict framing from a collective sense-making perspective. Dewulf and colleagues (2009) point at reframing as a technique used by mediators. It is applied to establishing common ground among disputants by removing toxic language and changing the way that messages are transmitted and social accounts of the conflict are constructed (Gray, 2005; Moore, 1986).

Labels used in a workspace can be categorized as a subgroup of framing. Sheppard and Aquino (2013) motivate researchers and practitioners to be more careful and thoughtful about the language they use to reflect conflict between women at work and to avoid labels with negative connotation. For example, the term “catfight” is frequently used in media to denote conflict and competition between men. In similar vein, scholars apply the term “queen bee syndrome” to

show competition and work conflict between women. This term exaggerates the scale of same-sex conflict which is considered natural.

Translation in conflict resolution and negotiations

Another research stream is translation in conflict management in the domain of international business. Many international business scholars have acknowledged the "transformative power of translation" (Brannen et al. 2014: 501). To study cross-cultural variations in conflict resolution, Cohen (2000, 2001a, 2001b) applied semantic approach, which entails the comparison of the meaning of key terms across languages. Sometimes differences in perception of conflict can be related to differences in lexical meaning across languages. Cohen (2001b) refers to John Paul Lederach who noticed differences in the articulation of conflict in Costa Rican Spanish. In the area of Puntarenas, people avoided the word "conflict" and used "an entire repertoire of terms and phrases describing the many faces of conflict": "pleitos, lios, and enredos (fights, messes, and entanglements)". They thought that conflict was what was happening in Nicaragua and was a synonym of "civil war". These differences in meaning had an impact on individuals' cognition, and response to conflict. In his book, Lederach concluded that "language is always more than a vehicle for communication. It is also a window into how people organize both their understanding and expression of conflict, often in keeping with cultural patterns and ways of operating" (Lederach, 1996: 74-78). Cohen (2001b) also pointed at the connotation of "violence" of the word "conflict", "an encounter with arms; a fight, battle" (p. 32) and gave a reminder that this layer of meaning should be taken into account while translating the terms "conflict" and "dispute" into other languages.

Spanish is not the only language where the word ‘conflict’ differs in its connotations from the English word. In Arabic and Hebrew, there is no distinction between a structured and manageable “dispute” and an unpredictable and possibly violent “conflict” (Cohen, 2001b) The world “compromise” has a positive connotation in the west, but its Arabic translation “hal wasat” has a negative connotation because it is interpreted as a compromise over principles (Imai and Gelfand, 2009) one of which can be honor, a central value in the Arabic culture.

The articles reviewed cover only the discrepancies in meanings of the major terms in the domain of conflict management. It should be kept in mind that other words might have different connotations and even a minor inaccuracy in translation might break the deal. Von Glinow and colleagues (2004) emphasize that words expressing emotions do not always have equivalents across languages (Wierzbicka, 1992), for example, the word “fair” does not have an exact translation in Japanese (Kidder & Miller, 1991). This can impede discussions and lead to a destructive negative conflict in multinational teams.

Metaphors in negotiations and conflict management

The theory of metaphor as a figure of speech frequently appears in conflict resolution and negotiation literature and practical training. In classical theories of language, metaphor is defined as “a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express a similar concept” (Lakoff, 1993:1). However, a metaphor is not only a figure of speech, but also a mode of thought which helps humans to make sense of abstract concepts (Lakoff, 1993). Research has always looked at metaphors as a basis of language and understanding (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). An important part of human cognition and a way of relating to the world, language is very

metaphorical (Brown, 1977; Morgan, 1980, 1983). According to Morgan (1986: 12), "the use of metaphor implies a way of thinking and a way of seeing". Usually, abstract concepts are compared with concrete concepts to facilitate understanding. Lakoff (1993) illustrates a metaphor with an example of a love relationship (abstract) as a journey (concrete): "Our relationship has hit a dead-end street"; "We may have to go our separate ways". Metaphorical language is frequently used to characterize negotiations by business journalists, negotiation experts and coaches, and negotiators themselves. For example, Harvard Business Review (2013) describes emotions in negotiations in the following ways: "while some people boil over in negotiations, others freeze up", "…if you inadvertently get under a counterpart's skin, talks can go off the rails"; "negotiation is simply a matter of cool calculation". In his manual about doing business in Russia, Zhuplev (2016) gives the following recommendations concerning negotiating with Russians: "They negotiate like they play chess: They plan several moves ahead. Opponents should think of the consequences of each move before making it" (p. 151); "If you have strong cards, do not overplay them" (p. 153). These examples show how ubiquitous and diverse metaphors are in describing negotiations.

The theory of metaphor has been increasingly used in business communication research in the following contexts. Gibson and Zellmer-Bruhn (2001) apply the theory of metaphor to the study of teamwork. Morris and colleagues (2007) looked at two types of metaphors in stock market commentary: agent metaphors characterizing price change as a volitional action (i.e., "the Dow fought its way upward") and object metaphors portraying them as movements of inanimate objects ("the Dow fell through a resistance level") and found that agent metaphors appeared more frequently when the trend was steady and had a positive direction. In their conceptual paper, Cornelissen, Holt and Zundel (2011) investigated the role of metaphor and analogy in the

framing and legitimization of strategic change. They argue that metaphors are more effective in the context of substitutive (vs. additive) changes, and the effectiveness of metaphors in the framing of change depends on the degree of their cultural familiarity to stakeholders, and their relationship with prior motivation of stakeholders. Tourish and Hargie (2012) study the role of root metaphors used by four banking CEOs in in-depth interviews explaining the 2008 Banking Crisis. The metaphors used show the desire of the bankers to diminish their responsibility and inefficiency of framing public debate. The study by Liu, Adair and Bello (2015) demonstrates how metaphoric language reflects the way newly formed (international joint ventures) IJVs are managed, and variations in performance related to IJV control complexity. Two types of relational metaphors, patriarchal family and modern marriage, were found to be used to characterize IJVs. Semantic fit or misfit moderated by asymmetrical or symmetrical equity structure affected achievement of strategic goals and quality of relationship in IJVs. Landau, Nelson and Keefer (2015) investigate the divergent effects of pictorial metaphors in company logos on observers.

The literature about the use of metaphors in inter- and intra-cultural negotiations is quite limited. Most papers and book chapters have a descriptive character and often present personal anecdotes and arguments not supported by prior empirical research. Hall (1983) uses the metaphor of dance to illustrate the universality of negotiation as a phenomenon, yet the rhythms and movements are specific to the culture of the negotiators. Some studies look at the use of metaphors in texts of intercultural negotiations (Schlie & Young, 2008) and conflict resolution (Smith 2005, Smith 2009). Faure (1998) found that the Chinese prefer different metaphors when negotiating with domestic and foreign negotiators, and it affects their strategy. A metaphor “mobile welfare” is used to describe a negotiation with foreigners. It reflects their competitive

attitude and results in such tactics and making false concessions, frightening your opponents and making them feel guilty, wearing them down both psychologically and physically. A different metaphor, "joint quest," is applied when a partner is from China or a foreigner familiar with Chinese culture. This metaphor presupposes cooperative tactics, including politeness, indirect communication and rituals. Chmielecki (2013) compares the types of metaphors used by Polish, British, American, and Chinese negotiators to characterize the negotiation process and finds support to his hypothesis that Polish negotiators define and understand negotiations more similar to British and American negotiators than to the Chinese ones.

Cohen (2000, 2001b) looked at metaphors typical of specific cultures to characterize negotiations. The analysis of negotiations in English-speaking cultures (e.g., the U.S. and the U.K.) showed that negotiation is envisioned as an activity. Negotiations in the U.S. and the U.K. are characterized by non-violent tactics and effective and fair conflict resolution. Key metaphors of conflict in Costa-Rican Spanish were related to heat, feeling lost or trapped, and conflict ingrained in a network of people. The word "enredo", one of the names of conflict, stems from "fishermen's net" and reflects how conflicts are spread in close communities based on extended family relationships. According to Cohen (2000, 2001a, 2001b), the four dominant themes and metaphors in the English language are industrial relations, engineering, Christian theology, and sports and games. Many industrial metaphors are related to labor-management disputes, which presuppose that negotiations follow set rules and as a result are non-violent, fair and represent the opinion of low-power participants. The engineering metaphors depict negotiation as processes in which every problem can be solved through a rational analysis. The "good faith" metaphor and its sub themes stem from Christian theology and emphasize such values of a negotiation as honesty and commitment to a resolution of a conflict. Sports metaphors again

emphasize the idea of fairness: “fair play”, “play by the rules”, “equal playing field”. In their review, Imai and Gelfand (2009) showed how negotiation metaphors in Arabic and Hebrew are very different from those in British and American English discussed above. In the Arabic culture, negotiations are closely linked to the concepts of honor, dignity, reputation, and face. Clan rivalry is common; even minor disputes can evolve into matters of honor (Imai & Gelfand, 2009). In Hebrew, the source of metaphors in negotiation are the Bible, Judaism, and Jewish law (Cohen, 2000). Negotiation is envisioned as an ongoing intellectual duel which can never be totally resolved (Cohen, 2000).

Metaphors can also be a source of misunderstanding and conflict in multicultural teams. Gibson and Zellmer-Bruhn (2001) show such examples in their study. If some team members conceptualize their team as a battle with competitors, while others picture it as a loosely connected open community, a conflict about the functioning of the team and deliverables of its work is very likely to occur. At the same time, metaphorical assessment, when metaphors are discussed and explained, can be used to promote the understanding among member of multinational teams (Gibson & Zellmer-Bruhn, 2001).

Particular lexical and grammatical constructions in negotiations

Studying the function and meaning of words and word combinations is a growing trend in conflict resolution and negotiations research. Maddux and colleagues (2011) looked at cross-cultural variations of the effect of making an apology on re-establishing trust in negotiations and disputes. They argued that apologies are viewed as analytic mechanisms for assigning blame and re-establishing personal credibility by negotiators from individual-agency cultures (such as the United States). In collective-agency cultures (such as Japan), apologies stand for general

expressions of remorse and do not presuppose culpability. The results of a survey showed that the Japanese apologize more often and tend to apologize for what they have not done more frequently than do the Americans. The American participants envisioned apologizing as a personal blame more frequently, than did the Japanese participants. This leads to apologies for integrity violations being more effective in trust repair for Japanese, and apologies for competence violations for Americans.

Another lexical group is personal pronouns. Kern and colleagues (2012) showed that the personal pronoun 'you' diminished social distance and led to higher joint gains in intercultural negotiation dyads, but not intracultural ones. The authors characterize personal pronouns as an indicator of social awareness which can help bridge social distance. In Yoon and Yang's (2012) study, Korean students studying in the U.S. frequently used the pronoun 'you' when they negotiated with Americans and achieved better joint results than in intracultural negotiations in either culture. This trend was interpreted as a desire of Korean negotiators to adjust their behavior to their partners.

Lewis and colleagues (2018) found that when negotiators use inclusive language represented by personal pronouns we, ours and us, their partners feel greater process and relationship satisfaction under adverse circumstances (hard negotiation or harm-finding appraisal). The scholars argue that these personal pronouns is an example of "positive politeness" (Brown & Levinson, 1987), a communication pattern that reduces social distance.

Brett and colleagues (2007) found that in online trading negotiations phrases containing modal verbs ("you shouldn't", "I want", "you ought", "we must") with negative connotations and commands diminish the probability of conflict resolution because they attack partner's

'face'. At the same time, language that reflects negotiator's 'face' (such as expressing feelings and providing causal accounts) increases the probability of conflict resolution.

Fischer, McDonnell & Orasanu (2007) also found that positive emotion language and assenting (using words and phrases denoting agreement, such as, OKand yes) and acknowledging language were associated with a better group performance on a problem solving task.

Conflict discourse

Discourse analysis refers to the study of language used in conversational exchanges ("speech events") or written texts (Henderson, 2005).This type of analysis is an interdisciplinary research that bridges linguistics, literary studies, and communication. In negotiation research, it refers mainly to the impact of language and symbols on the formation of meanings, identities, and relationships (Putnam, 2010; Wilson and Putnam 1990). These meanings can appear from language patterns that individuals use during negotiations or disputes. Conflict dynamics is often envisioned as a discursive process of organizational sense-making (Kusztal, 2002). Sense-making can be defined as a retrospective process of creating sense in the evolving interaction (Weick, 1995). Giddens' idea of duality of structure (1979, 1993) was used to better explain the reciprocal connection between members' understanding and actions. Members' discourse was treated as an important link between the two. The concept of discourse connected key concepts and dimensions into a well-integrated whole. Kusztal (2002), Putnam (2010), and Sheppard and Aquino (2013) examined the hegemonic and performative role of language and symbols in conflict formation and co-development.

Differences in discourse are crucial for cross-cultural communication. After reviewing over twenty years of intercultural inter-organizational research, Scollon and Scollon (1995) concluded that most miscommunication in intercultural contexts arise from differences in patterns of discourse. When people speak a foreign language, they tend to keep using discourse strategies from their native language (Henderson, 2005). This can hinder their performance and even lead to conflicts in multilingual teams.

Discourse analytic techniques can be also used in conflict management (Maemura & Horita, 2012). These techniques explore the process which represents conflicts in dialogue. Conflict talk has a linguistic structure presented by a sequence of three consecutive contradictions in which participants mutually challenge each another (Norrick & Spitz, 2008). A conflict can be longer than the 3-turn sequence if the parties keep challenging each other (Maemura & Horita, 2012). It is important to understand all the parameters and subtleties of conflict discourse across cultures to use it as a conflict management tool in multicultural and multilingual environments.

Language Style Matching (LSM) and Latent Semantic Similarity (LSS) in negotiations and disputes

One of the ways to uncover cognitive processes and perceptions of individuals is to analyze the language they use (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002). The two major linguistic approaches to study how two individuals develop a basis for understanding each other (Babcock, Ta, & Ickes, 2014) are the index of latent semantic similarity (LSS; Landauer & Dumais, 1997; Landauer, Foltz, & Laham, 1998), and the index of language style matching (LSM; Ireland et al., 2011; Ireland & Pennebaker, 2010). The two approaches are conceptually and computationally

distinct. If LSS measures an overall semantic similarity (Babcock, Ta, & Ickes, 2014), LSM shows how two texts match in terms of function words that are used subconsciously by interlocutors (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002). Both approaches can be used to explain and predict negotiation processes and outcomes (e.g., Huffaker, Swaab & Diermeier, 2011; Ireland, & Henderson, 2014).

Language style matching (LSM) as a stream in conflict resolution and negotiations research arising from the tendency of human beings to mimic verbal and non-verbal behavior of those they interact with, which was confirmed by studies across disciplines (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Chartrand & Lakin, 2013; Lakin, Jefferis, Cheng, & Chartrand, 2003; Stel & Vonk, 2010; van Baaren, Holland, Steenaert, & Van Knippenberg, 2003). Scholars registered that individuals copy each other's facial expressions (Dimberg, Thunberg, & Elmehed, 2000), movements (Bavelas, Black, Lemery, & Jennifer, 1986), body positioning (Lakin et al., 2003), gaze (Richardson & Dale, 2005), and emotional responses (Hawk, Fischer, & van Kleef, 2011). Individuals mimic not only each other's behavior, but also language. Condon and Ogston (1966) came to a conclusion that synchrony was a fundamental, universal characteristic of human communication (Niederhoffer and Pennebaker, 2002). In different contexts and with different people, individuals might act differently and use different language styles (Niederhoffer and Pennebaker, 2002). This tendency inspired a social psychologist Kenneth Gergen (1972) to study the shifts in identity. The scholar noticed that in different letters to his friends he appeared to be a different person and he adapted his style to every interlocutor. "In one, I was morose, pouring out a philosophy of existential sorrow; in another I was a lusty realist; in a third I was a lighthearted jokester" (p. 32). Gergen's style varied depending on the recipient of the letter. This tendency was in line with the power of the situation acknowledged by social psychologists at that

time. In different situations people behave in different ways, which includes their communications style and the variety of language they use.

Previous research (e.g. Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002) links LSM with Giles's Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles & Coupland, 1991). The theory posits that individuals adapt to communicative behavior of others to reach communication efficiency or receive social approval. The underlying assumption of CAT is that individuals can create, maintain, and decrease the social distance between themselves and the individuals they interact with (Shepard, Giles, & Le Poire, 2001).

Language style matching (LSM) is defined as a dyad level measure of the degree to which two people in a conversation subtly match each other's speaking or writing style (Gonzales, Hancock, & Pennebaker, 2010; Ireland et al., 2011). LSM presupposes that the words of one person co-vary with the words of his or her interlocutor both turn-by-turn and in the whole conversation (Cappella, 1996; Niederhofer & Pennebaker, 2002). LSM analysis, along with implicit association test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), priming techniques, and functional MRI, continues a popular trend of investigating a real, hidden self of individuals, which dates back to Freud. The analysis of language, especially of function words, is considered to reflect social psychological processes people cannot hide in their speech.

Linguistic accommodation generates matching cognitive frameworks in which conversants acquire shared assumptions and knowledge (cf. Ireland & Pennebaker, 2010). Matching in linguistic styles signifies that the individuals are "in harmony in the ways they organize their psychological worlds" (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002; p. 339). Also, linguistic accommodation leads to a more harmonious interpretation of the conflict and generates better solutions to it (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002; Taylor, 2002).

Research has shown that a higher degree of language style matching corresponds to a higher likelihood of consensus in negotiations (Huffaker, Swaab, & Diermeier, 2011; Ireland & Henderson, 2014; Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002; Richardson, Taylor, Snook, Conchie, & Bennell, 2014; Rogan, 2011; Taylor & Thomas, 2008). LSM is positively correlated with group cohesiveness and peaceful resolution of hostage negotiations (Gonzales, Hancock, & Pennebaker, 2010; Taylor & Thomas, 2008). Links have been established between LSM and cooperative outcomes, e.g., group cohesiveness and improved task performance (Gonzales et al., 2010), relationship stability (Ireland et al., 2011), empathy and rapport (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002), increased trust (Swaab, Maddux, & Sinaceur, 2011), and cooperation in conflict resolution (Taylor, 2014). So far, LSM index has been predominantly used to analyze mono-cultural negotiations where participants spoke the same mother tongue. I suggest to extend LSM to cross-cultural negotiation research.

Based on the articles reviewed, I propose the theoretical framework presented in Figure 1.

—INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE—-

—INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE—-

Methodology

In this section, I review which methods are most frequently used for examining language and verbal communication in international business and organizational conflict management. I also examine the data sources of the empirical studies.

The reviewed studies used a range of qualitative and quantitative methods, and some were conceptual/ theoretical papers. Among the quantitative studies, negotiation research primarily utilizes experiments (e.g., Gelfand et al., 2015; Lewis et al., 2018; Maddux et al., 2011; Maemura & Horita, 2012). The most typical qualitative methods were: case study (e.g., Gray, 2003; Yoon & Yang, 2012), ethnography (e.g. Mikkelsen & Gray, 2016), discourse analysis (e.g. Putnam, 2010), and in depth interviews (e.g., Gibson & Zellmer-Bruhn, 2001; Tenzer et al., 2014). Case studies were particularly common in research on narrative evolution (Cobb, Laws, & Sluzki, 2014). These studies predominantly had an emic character, contextualized by different cultures and historical circumstances. The studies contributed to such research streams as narratives supporting social justice in the context of South Africa (Lerche, 2000) and reconciliation in the context of Nothern Ireland (Feldman, 1991). Some studies though had an etic, comparative character (e.g., Fisher, 2007), which identified conflict resolution strategies through the analysis of Indonesia – Malasia, Moldova – Transdniestria and Israeli – Palestinian conflicts and Peru – Ecuador Peace Process.

Review articles and meta-analyses relied on the following databases: Business Source Premier (through EBSCO), Google Scholar, Jstor, PsychArticles (through EBSCO), ScienceDirect and SpringerLink. Although most authors used primary data, some studies (Hine et al., 2009; Sokolova et al., 2005, 2006) chose for their analysis the inspire dataset, a public-domain research and teaching tool with a large data set of e-negotiations. The following software programs were used for analysis: James Pennebaker's Linguistic Inquiry Word Count (LIWC)

program (Gelfand et al., 2015; Lewis et al., 2018) and Negoisst (https://www.uni-hohenheim.de/en/organization/project/negoisst) (Schoop et al., 2014), a platform utilizing semantic web technologies. The major assumption of LIWC is that words reflect emotional states, social identity, and cognitive styles (Pennebaker, Booth, and Francis 2007). Apart from using LIWC for the analysis, Gelfand and colleagues (2015) used the virtue dictionary from moralfoundations.org and created an honor dictionary. Some studies also applied data mining techniques (e.g., Kersten & Zhang, 2003) to find rules characterizing successful e-negotiations and machine learning (e.g., Sokolova et al. 2005, 2006 based on the methodology by Manning and Schutze, 2003; Witten and Frank, 2005). These databases and programs are listed in Table 4.

—INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE—-

Choice of language in negotiation simulations

To the best of my knowledge, the language of negotiation simulations in an intercultural context has not yet been manipulated. For example, in the research stream on negotiation strategies, the languages shown in Table 5 have been chosen for a negotiation simulation.

—INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE—-

In all the cases, the language of intercultural negotiations was English. This is not surprising given that English, or “broken English” (Salacuse, 1991), is the language of

international communication and the lingua franca of the 21 century (Hülmbauer et al., 2008). Therefore, being proficient in English is a prerequisite in many countries for working in international business. Negotiators from Japan and the U.S. in the study of Adler and Graham (1989) communicated in English because Japanese negotiators posessed greater linguistic abilities than their American counterparts, which is the case in many other studies involving U.S. participants. Using English as the only language of intercultural negotiation simulations might affect negotiation processes and outcomes for the following reasons.

The first reason is an implicit power imbalance. Even when no power differences are built into a negotiation simulation, participants who negotiate in their native language (e.g., English for participants from the U.S.) have more power than participants who negotiate in their lingua franca (e.g., English for non-native speakers). Native language might be a positional advantage (Lügger et al., 2015). Although it was ensured that participants were proficient in English because of the extended time spent in the U.S. or getting their education in English (e.g., Adair et al., 2001; Rosette et al., 2012), negotiating in a lingua franca is still more challenging than negotiating in a native language. Language skills might affect adaptation: a party with inferior language skills might feel the necessity to adapt to the party with superior language skills (Lügger et al., 2015).

Second, speaking a low/ high context language might affect behavioral patterns. Because low/high context communication centers around language, it is important to understand if intercultural dyads tend to display more direct behaviors because high context negotiators adapt intentionally to their low context counterparts or because English, as a low context language, primes direct behaviors (Adair, 2003; Adair & Brett, 2005). In cross-cultural studies, language is frequently used to prime culture-based responses (Fu et al., 2007). Although it might seem

impractical to negotiate in a high context language (Adair, 2003), doing so in a simulation would be important to challenge or corroborate established theories.

Proposed Research Agenda

Proposed themes

Based on the results of the review, I suggest the following future research directions in terms of thematic gaps and appropriate methods to address them. The area of conflict discourse needs most the scholarly attention, as noted by Kusztal (2002), Putnam (2010), and Sheppard and Aquino (2013). One of the potential goals for international conflict discourse is to show how diversity affects interpretation (Henderson, 2005).

Another potential direction in cross-cultural negotiation research is the equivalence and difference of negotiation strategies across languages. Following low/ high context communication norms (Hall, 1976) and cultural similarity as a predictor of behavioral matching (Patterson, 1983), Adair (2003) expected that Eastern cultures would always adapt to Western or other low context communication cultures (e.g., China and Israel). It would be valuable to investigate if this prediction holds for other high context communication cultures. Natlandsmyr and Rognes (1995:16) suggested that “single-issue offers, multiple-issue offers, suggestion of trade-offs, asking for information, and providing information are very specific signals that should carry the same meaning across languages”. In terms of a negotiation process, it be would particularly interesting to see if reciprocation of offers will be more prevalent when a negotiation is conducted in a high-context language (Adair & Brett, 2005) such as Chinese, Russian, or Arabic.

It is often assumed that direct communication should be preferred in intercultural settings. However, the studies I have reviewed show that direct communication might be considered rude by the representatives of a high-context communication culture. Liu, Chua and Stahl (2010) also concluded that the indirect style of communication might result in frustration and some degree of discomfort on the part of a low-context communicator, while bluntness or directness might make a high context communicator feel uncomfortable. More research should be done to determine when direct vs. indirect communication is more preferable in intercultural communication to preempt, mitigate and resolve conflicts.

Researchers (e.g., Karhunen et al., 2018) pointed at a relatively narrow conceptualization of language in international management research and characterized it as one of the limitations which needs further attention. The term "language" usually refers to a national language (Harzing & Pudelko, 2013; Marschan et al., 1997), which emphasizes the importance of MNCs and limits the scope of research (Piekkari & Westney, 2017). Therefore, future studies can consider other forms and functions of language, for example, the impact of language on cooperative processes or the characteristics of contexts in which speakers of different languages depend on each other (Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing, 2014).

Another research idea, which is applicable to most themes I have reviewed, is to further separate language and culture (Henderson, 2005). Von Glinow and colleagues (2004) suggests to study emotional conflict in teams with not only cultural, but also linguistic differences and to ensure that the situations under analysis occur naturally.

In all areas of conflict management research in IB, it would be valuable to focus not only on cultural and linguistic differences, but also dynamics and the underlying mechanisms of change. Gelfand and colleagues (2015) found that linguistic processes in different ways

predicted creativity in negotiation agreements in the United States and Egypt, and called for research of the mechanisms through which these processes unfold.

Much more can be done to further investigate the role of metaphors in negotiations and conflict resolution both as a mechanism explaining potential conflicts and as a tool to foster mutual understanding. This review has shown that a metaphor in negotiations research has been primarily viewed as a figure of speech, but in line with the seminal Lakoff's (1993) paper, it can also be viewed as a mode of thought which helps humans to make sense of abstract concepts. Such an understanding of metaphors is common in business communication research as presented in Table 6.

—INSERT TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE—-

Therefore, I propose that in international negotiation and conflict resolution research, a metaphor can be used as a proxy for a mental model, a cognitive representation which helps individuals to make sense of a situation (Craik, 1943). This approach will bridge the two streams of literature: the study of mental models which accounts for the differences in intercultural negotiations and the theory of metaphor which can be used as a diagnostic tool to capture and measure the otherwise elusive and difficult-to-grasp mental models.

To summarize, below are sample research questions that can be addressed in the future:

How does high-context language affect negotiation processes (e.g., strategies, adaptation, fist offers) and outcomes (subjective and objective)?

How are negotiation processes and outcomes affected by language choice, e.g., when "Language X [is] used part of the time, language Y [is] used the rest, by both parties" or when "Interpreters [are] used for translations" (Adler and Graham, 1989: 521)?

How can linguistic processes predict conflict outcomes?

What are the disadvantages of having informal liasons in geographically dispersed teams?

How do different degrees of language proficiency of the participants affect the process of conflict resolution?

What difficulties and opportunities does each unit of language (phonetics, morphology, syntax, etc.) present for conflict resolution in multilingual environment?

How can LSM and LSS scores of the transcripts produced in a foreign and a native language predict outcomes of the negotiation and conflict resolution?

How can differences in meaning of similar concepts fuel destructive conflict?

How does the dissociation of the language strategies prevalent in the Anglo-American English-speaking cultures from those used in multicultural teams influence conflict formation and resolution in MNEs and multilingual teams?

What types of linguistic accommodation should be prioritized when shaping a positive constructive conflict in multicultural settings?

When does direct communication backfire in conflict resolution?

Proposed methods

Researchers tend to rely on existing standardized dictionaries to measure constructs to make sure that their work can be easier compared to other works in a similar research stream

(Berger et al., 2020). But there are some potential dangers in this approach which should be addressed in future research.

First, before using a standardized dictionary, scholars should think if this dictionary fits the context of their study. One of the developers of LIWC warns that the programs of this type might disregard context, idioms, or irony (Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). Berger and colleagues (2020) provide an example when sentiment is erroneously extracted from financial reports with sentiment tools developed for day-to-day language. Therefore, scholars should assess if the dictionary fits their data set, constructs and research questions.

Second, one should be careful about measuring constructs with automatic software programs (e.g., LIWC). Laubert and Parlamis (2019) used both LIWC and human coders to analyze complex emotions in email negotiations. To their surprise, the reliability scores of the results comparing human coders to LIWC were very low. In their four studies, where they compared 14 different coders and 14 different data sets, Cohen's kappa values never exceeded 0.28 on the most abstract level of emotion valence. Although LIWC has been established as a reliable text analysis tool, it should be called into question whether the software can accurately measure all types of constructs. Overall, using only one metric or method in a model can limit its robustness (Berger et al., 2020). Therefore, it is advisable to corroborate a construct with different measures. Future studies might compare different categories of LIWC with human coding to assess the agreement rates for these categories (Laubert & Parlamis, 2019).

My review has indicated that the majority of studies used LIWC for data analysis. Another future research direction is to use other software programs. In terms of methodology, studies, especially those related to group affect and emotion, can more frequently use Sentiment Analysis and Social Cognition Engine (SEANCE) developed by Crossley, Kyle, and McNamara

(2017). The engine is based on eight established word databases and some reports show that it outperformed LIWC in determining the valence of online reviews. Laubert and Parlamis (2019) suggest to use robust text analysis software (e.g., NVivo) or dictionaries with more complex emotional content (e.g., WordNet Affect) (see Gupta, Gilbert, & Fabbrizio, 2013).

Research in the domain of international negotiation and conflict management can also borrow tools and techniques for text analysis and even data sets from other business disciplines, such as marketing (for a review see Berger et al., 2020). Common software tools include WordStat (Peladeau, 2016), which requires minimal preprocessing similar to LIWC, and Python (https:// www.nltk.org/) and R (https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/ quanteda/quanteda.pdf, https://quanteda.io/), with a relatively easy-to-use procedure of the data preprocessing. Apart from LIWC, the following dictionaries can also be used: EL 2.0 (Rocklage, Rucker, and Nordgren 2018), Diction 5.0, and General Inquirer. The sentiment of the text can be extracted with Hedonometer (Dodds et al., 2011) and VADER (Hutto & Gilbert, 2014). For topic modeling, one can employ LDA (Blei, Ng & Jordan 2003) and Poisson factorization (Gopalan, Hofman & Blei 2013).

Future research methodology should find ways to take into account word order, which is not taken into consideration during the currently common “bag of words” approach (Berger et al., 2020). One of the ways to do so is to consider the context in which the entities appear in the text by using a novel set of tools of word2vec or word embedding (Mikolov et al. 2013). These programs map each word or entity to a vector of latent dimensions (an embedding vector) according to the words which surround each focal word. This allows a researcher to both extract the words and understand the similarity between words or sentences. One of the limitations of the program is that it cannot explain the relations among words. To address this limitation and to

better understand the linguistic relationship in a sentence, future research can use machine learning, e.g., natural language processing (NLP) approaches or one of linguistic agnostic approaches (e.g., deep learning) (Berger et al., 2020). One of the NLP-based tools is the Stanford Sentence and Grammatical Dependency Parser (http://nlp.stanford.edu:8080/parser/) which shows relationships of words based on their grammatical roles.

LSM and LSS research has primarily focused on texts produced by native English speakers. It is imperative to distinguish between texts produced by native speakers and non-native speakers, texts in the original and human or machine translated texts. It is widely recognized that native and foreign languages are processed differently by human brain (see for reviews, Costa, Vives, & Corey, 2017; Hayakawa, Costa, Foucart, & Keysar, 2016). For example, people systematically make different choices in a foreign language compared to their mother tongue (Costa, Foucart, Arnon, Aparici, & Apesteguia, 2014; Keysar, Hayakawa, & An, 2012). Therefore, the goal of future studies should be to examine how LSM and LSS scores of the transcripts produced in both a foreign and a native language can predict outcomes of the negotiation and conflict resolution. In addition, linguistic software programs should be designed to recognize whether the text was produced by a native or non-native language speaker and account for this in the analysis. Apart from LSM and LSS scores, other measures can be used to assess the similarity between two texts, such as similarity in topic use (Berger and Packard 2018), the Jaccard index (e.g., Toubia and Netzer 2017), and cosine similarity (for a review see Berger et al., 2020).

Qualitative research can explore new types of design. Von Glinow and colleagues (2004) suggested that more research on emotional conflict in multicultural and multilingual teams should be carried out in non-laboratory settings and analyze naturally occurring situations.

Questions and other types of verbally based research methods might be not the best approach to study emotional conflict in teams due to lack of word equivalents for some emotions across languages (Greenberg, 2001). Case studies in research on narrative evolution have mainly a descriptive and illustrative character (Cobb, Laws, & Sluzki, 2014), which provides rich data for theory building, but might limit the generalizability of the study. One of the potential research directions is to develop a design for conflict resolution, which can generate more generalizable knowledge.

Practical Implications

The studies I have reviewed have a few practical applications which I have summarized in Table 7 based on different levels of analysis: dyad, group/ team, organization, and national culture.

—INSERT TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE—-

To ensure a transition from a destructive to a constructive conflict, the following are recommended:

Dyad level

- **Be more direct in text-based negotiations**

  Laubert and Parlamis (2019) found that misinterpretation of emotions is more likely in text-based than face-to-face negotiations. One of the ways to avoid this misinterpretation is to express one's emotional state in a more direct way, e.g., "I am angry/happy/sad about that offer", instead of being indirect. It goes in

line with Edward Hall's theory of communication context which suggests that direct communication is more beneficial in intercultural context even though it might backfire.

- **Ask for emotional clarification from your counterpart in text-based negotiations**

  Laubert & Parlamis (2019) suggest to use the following phrases to ensure that one correctly understands what their partners are feeling: "I'm sensing the most recent package offer is angering you. Is that correct?" or "Am I correctly understanding that you are happy with the proposal?"

- **Communicate/ schmooze before an e-negotiation** (Hinds & Mortensen, 2005)

  Morris and colleagues (2002) established the beneficial effect of "schmoozing" before an e-mail negotiation on the process and outcomes of the negotiation. This idea might be particularly valuable in an intercultural context when negotiating with representatives of cultures putting more emphasis on relationship building.

Team level:

- **Managers should summarize and paraphrase discussion outcomes during meetings** (Tenzer, Pudelko, & Harzing, 2014)

  This will give an extra opportunity for team members who are less proficient in the lingua franca and preempt misunderstandings.

- **Native speakers should help non-native speakers with language, e.g., interpret what was said during meetings** (Neeley, Hinds, & Cramton, 2012)

- **Have informal "liaisons" who ensure that all team members are updated about the outcomes of meetings**

Hinds and Mortensen (2005) suggest that it is beneficial for a geographically dispersed team to have informal "liasons" who are responsible for making sure that all team members are aware of what had occurred in face-to-face meetings at an external site. This might be a good practice for multicultural teams experiencing language asymmetries even if they work in the same office.

- **Have a regular communication about the status of work tasks at the end of each day or week**

  This suggestion for dispersed teams (Hinds & Mortensen, 2005) can be adopted by collocated multicultural teams. This practice will facilitate the sharing of information and ensure that all team members are on the same page regardless of their proficiency in the mandated language.

- **Managers and other team members should reduce the pressure for team members to use the lingua franca in a flawless manner** (Tenzer, Pudelko, & Harzing, 2014)
- **Managers should acknowledge potential differences in conceptualizations of work terms and identify the language to discuss them** (Gibson & Zellmer-Bruhn, 2001)

  Managers should not assume that their own conceptualization of teamwork and other work processes is shared by all the members of a multicultural team, e.g., for some members teamwork might be akin to a family, while to others it resembles a competitive sport. It is important for all the team members to understand these differences in perception, and to find a solution to the potentially conflicting preferred practices.

- **Use "international English" instead of practices dominant in Anglo-American English-speaking cultures** (Henderson, 2005)

Some sociolinguists call for language standardization by developing a workable international communication standard (Pan, Scollon & Scollon, 2002). This idea is good in theory, but often results in imposing language strategies dominant in Anglo-American English-speaking cultures on all the multicultural team members (Henderson, 2005) which may lead to conflicts and have other negative consequences. The adoption of English by an MNC with a British or U.S. parent might even make the venture look as being taken over by this culture (see Salk & Shenkar, 2001).

Firms should be aware of these effects of language standardization. For example, calling your colleagues by their first names is common in Anglo-American English, but might make representatives of other cultures feel uncomfortable. Also, native English speakers tend to favor brain-storming, since it is a popular activity in their cultures and is associated with empowerment and equal participation. In reality, native English speakers tend to dominate brain-storming due to their superior language skills (Henderson, 2005) and greater familiarity with this activity.

A possible solution might be dissociating the language strategies prevalent in Anglo-American English-speaking cultures from those used in multicultural teams. The firm should strive for an “international English”, which is easily understandable by all team members (Henderson, 2005).

It should be also kept in mind that in some situations different languages can be spoken at the same time in a meeting. When team members know several overlapping languages, they can speak the language they know best and others

will understand. Such a situation is most typical of Switzerland or Scandinavian countries where several languages are spoken. However, it can be applied in other settings as well.

Dyad and team levels:

- **Increase the use of inclusive language** (Lewis, Olekalns, Smith, & Barker Caza, 2018) and **remove toxic language** (Gray, 2005; Moore, 1986)

  This technique can help during a difficult negotiation or when the counterpart seems to be paying more attention to the negative aspect of the negotiation.

- **Write positive messages and tell negative messages** (Geiger, 2014)

  Written messages can be continuously reviewed, while oral messages fade after they are pronounced. Reviewing positive messages increases satisfaction. Therefore, to increase negotiator's satisfaction, it is recommended to express positive relational messages (e.g., "You are really a very constructive negotiator") in writing, and negative relational messages (e.g., threats) in an oral form.

- **Native speakers should adapt their use of English in international contexts** (Henderson, 2005).

  When interacting with non-native speakers, native speakers should avoid local idioms and references, modify their pace of speech and in some cases accent.

Firm level

- **A firm should anticipate the challenges multilingual teams might face and the reaction of the employees to them** (Neeley, Hinds, & Cramton, 2012).

It should be kept in mind that avoiding meetings, code-switching, excluding native lingua franca speakers, asking for translators, erroneously attributing language-based friction to colleagues' personalities etc. are strategies workers might use to cope with the language asymmetry in teams. These are quite expected processes, which can be mitigated in the following ways. An MNC should:

- **Encourage empathy among team members** (Neeley, Hinds, & Cramton, 2012)

It is widely assumed that native English speakers have an advantage in multicultural English-speaking teams (Henderson, 2005). At the same time, they might experience negative emotions when faced with code-switching or avoidance by other team members. Therefore, a firm should inform its employees about language-related difficulties their coworkers might experience.

- **Create a safe communication environment** (Neeley, Hinds, & Cramton, 2012)

This can be achieved by encouraging workers to speak mandated language without being afraid of making mistakes. Non-native speakers are sometimes ashamed of not being flawless in the mandated language. In some cultures, language is an important part of professional identity. For example, language-related criteria are particularly salient in French culture and workers have a fear of being judged based on these criteria (Henderson, 2005). In order not to lose face, they might pretend they understand the discussion even if they don't.

- **Support accelerated language training** (Neeley, Hinds, & Cramton, 2012)

Language training is important not only for the employees' ability to communicate, but also to overcome what Brett and colleagues (2006) called one of the

main challenges in MNC management – an observation that a language barrier makes capable and talented employees seem unintelligent (Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing, 2014).

- **Encourage practice of the mandated language, e.g., lingua franca brown-bag lunches** (Neeley, Hinds, & Cramton, 2012)
- **Refrain from making the fluency in the mandated language a criterion for evaluating the employees' performance** (Hinds et al., 2014)

Country level

- **Be aware of the linguistic pathways of reaching an agreement in the target country**

For example, to reach a creative agreement in Egypt, one should use a language that signifies the high moral integrity, trustworthiness, honesty, and loyalty of the communicator (Gelfand and et al., 2015). One should also use words acknowledging the honor of your partner, such as their public image and strength (Gelfand and et al., 2015). These differences in linguistic pathways are closely related to cultural differences: negotiations in the United States are presented as a rational exchange where people should be separated from the task while in Egypt the person is the task (Gelfand and et al., 2015).

Multiple levels

- **Be careful with translation**: take into account connotations, context, potential lack of equivalents, so forth.

Instead of discussing conflicts, **use projective techniques, such as, cognitive sculpting, cognitive mapping, visual images.** Since discussing conflicts is not a common practice in all cultures (for examples, see Von Glinow et al., 2004), other

techniques might be more effective in facilitating understanding in multicultural and multilingual contexts.

- **Be aware of and sensitive to the national and local cultural history and local customs of the partner's country** (Von Glinow et al., 2004)

  Typical language-immersion courses and lists of courtesy behaviors tend to be insufficient for employees sent abroad to fully understand the international context in general and to manage conflicts in particular. A viable alternative is to sensitize employees to each other's cultural history while paying special attention to poly-contextual behavior (Von Glinow et al., 2004), i.e., how the behavior might change across contexts.

- **Use cutting edge technology.**

  At all the levels, it is important to keep up with the most recent technological developments and adopt them in a dynamic conflict de-escalation. For example, artificial intelligence translation with machine learning e.g., natural language processing (NLP) approaches or one of linguistic agnostic approaches (e.g., deep learning) can be utilized during intercultural negotiations and multilingual team meetings.

Conclusion

Like any scholarly work, my systematic review paper has limitations which can be addressed in future research. First, apart from seminal theory pieces, I had to exclude book chapters and monographs because they are not listed in major online databases. Future reviews can also analyze available unpublished studies, conference proceedings, and industry reports on the topic. Second, I reviewed only studies written in the English language. Here, I should

emphasize that 75 % of studies in social sciences are published in English and this trend is on the rise (Hamel, 2007). Future research can use equivalents of the search terms in French, German, Spanish, and Italian since established business journals exist in these languages (Venard, 2007). Publications in Russian, Mandarin, Hindi, Portuguese and other languages might provide additional insights, too. Reviewing publications in more languages is a potential direction for review papers. Third, I have focused on verbal communication and briefly touched upon non-verbal communication (e.g., pauses, silence) as part of high context communication. Future research can incorporate the role of nonverbal communication and paralinguistic factors, e.g., pauses, silences, tone of voice, interruptions, in international negotiations and conflict management.

In conclusion, conflict management research is offering a new way to think about conflict: as a positive and constructive process, and is calling for effective ways of transforming a negative destructive conflict into a positive constructive one. In response, I have proposed a dynamic framework of conflict de-escalation that focuses on language strategies.

The contribution of this essay is threefold. First, it emphasizes a positive potential of a conflict and suggests how it can be achieved linguistically in an intercultural environment. It provides short-term and long-term language strategies for cooperative conflict management. Second, the essay shows how language can give a dynamic process to conflict management. Unlike the static view of conflict, the proposed theoretical framework underscores the importance of poly-contextual behavior (Von Glinow et al., 2004), that is how the behavior changes across contexts. Third, by focusing on the multilingualism, the essay further disentangles language and culture, which are often mixed together. In terms of practical implications, the paper suggests short term and long term strategies for dynamic conflict de-

escalation in the domain of international business. I believe that a language perspective will help integrate prior interdisciplinary findings and provide a better understanding of the conflict processes and outcomes in the multinational, multicultural and multilingual environment which are common in today's globalized world.

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Figure 1. Theoretical framework of a dynamic conflict de-escalation

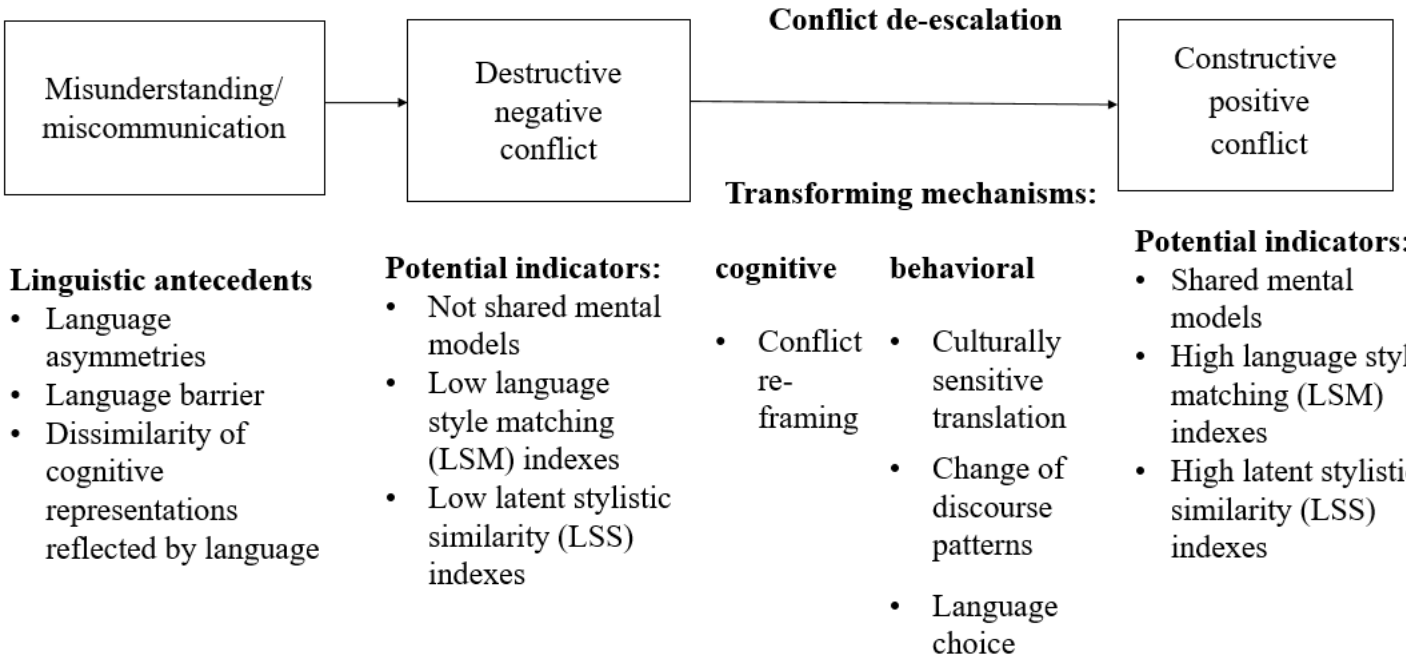

Table 1. Communication theories in conflict management research

Theory	Explanation	Examples of studies where applied
Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)	conversation partners adapt their speech and communication patterns to become "more like their interactant in a bid to decrease social distance, seek or signal approval, and thereby accommodate" (Giles, Willemyns, Gallois, & Anderson, 2007:142)	Huffaker, Swaab, & Diermeier, 2011; Ireland & Henderson, 2014; Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002; Richardson, Taylor, Snook, Conchie, & Bennell, 2014; Rogan, 2011
Anxiety/ uncertainty management (AUM) theory (Gudykunst, 2005)	Interacting with strangers evokes uncertainty and anxiety as an affective reaction to it. For effective communication, uncertainty and anxiety levels should be above the minimum and below the maximum threshold. When uncertainty and anxiety are below the minimum threshold, the communicator is over-confident. When they are above the maximum threshold, the communicator feels overwhelmed and cannot predict the behavior of the out-group counterpart.	Elsayed-Ekhouly & Buda, (1996); Gabrielidis et at. (1997); Ohbuchi, Fukushima, & Tedeschi (1999); Oetzel and Ting-Toomey (2003); Ting- Toomey and Kurogi (1998); Ting- Toomey et at., (1991)
Linguistic relativity	Language structure influences how individuals conceptualize the world around them	Cohen (2000, 2001)
Framing theory (conflict framing)	The way how an object, event, etc. is presented to individuals ("the frame") influences their choice about information processing.	Brummans et al., 2008; Dewulf et al., 2009; Gray, 2003; Mikkelsen & Gray, 2016
Face theory	An individual's public image (or "face") develops within social interaction and is protected by its owner against threats. (Goffman, 1967)	Brett (2007)
Cheap talk theory	How much information can be credibly transmitted when communication is direct and costless? When a single informed expert, who is biased, advises a decision maker, only noisy information can be transmitted credibly. The bias of the expert is correlated with the amount of information noise.	Gao et al. (2017) – make contra arguments

General Theory of Verbal Humour (Raskin 1985; Attardo 2001)	incorporates semantic, textual, narrative, and pragmatic elements of humor, to provides a broad framework that can account for various types of humorous texts	Maemura & Horita (2012)
Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969)	When a person utters something, that person is also doing something.	Schoop et al. (2014); Sokolova & Lapalme(2012)
Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas, 1985).	Communicative action is aimed at transmitting and renewing cultural knowledge through mutual understandings. It promotes action towards social integration and solidarity.	Schoop et al. (2014)

Table 2. Language asymmetry

Non-native speakers with different degrees of language proficiency	**Native speakers**
Might experience language barrier	Have more power
Might apply coping strategies (avoidance, code switching etc.	Might misinterpret the coping strategies and have negative feelings (anger, frustration, etc.)
Might be perceived as less competent	
Might be insecure about their proficiency	

Table 3. Mechanisms of destructive negative conflict formation

cultural drivers	**antecedents**	**consequences**
	Language barrier	status loss (Neeley, 2013).
		negative attitudes about members of other speech communities (Tenzer et al., 2014; Voss & Ferring, 2014).
	Language asymmetries	Grouping with fellow native speakers; code-switching; avoidance of meetings (Neeley, Hinds, & Cramton 2012).
		Conflict, performance anxiety, job insecurity, avoidance behavior, anger, frustration, exclusion (Neeley, Hinds & Cramton, 2012)
		parallel information networks, code switching, power-authority distortions (Harzing & Feely, 2008).
High vs. Low Context Communication	Differences in communication approaches	Miscommunication/ misunderstanding
Different linguistic pathways to reach agreement (Gelfand et al., 2015)		
Different linguistic representations of humor (Maemura & Horita, 2012)		

Table 4. Major data bases and programs utilized

	Examples
Data bases of studies	Business Source Premier (through EBSCO), Google Scholar, Jstor, PsychArticles (through EBSCO), ScienceDirect, SpringerLink
Data bases of secondary data	The inspire dataset
Software programs	Linguistic Inquiry Word Count (LIWC), Negoisst

Table 5. Language of a negotiation simulation in selected papers

Article	cultures	Language(s) of negotiations	Justification of language choice
Graham (1985)	U.S., Japan	All intracultural negotiations were conducted in the respective native languages (including game instructions). All cross-cultural negotiations were conducted in English	
Adler & Graham (1989)	U.S., Japan, Canada (Francophones and Anglophones)	Within-culture negotiations in their native language (English, Japanese, or French), the language of intercultural negotiations was chosen by the pair negotiating (The vast majority of the Canadian negotiators, as is true of a large percentage of the Montreal business community, is bilingual)	Language chosen by negotiators in intercultural negotiations. English was dominant
Natlandsmyr & Rognes (1995)	Mexico, Norway	Spanish and Norwegian – for intracultural negotiations; English – for intercultural negotiations	
Adair, Okumura, & Brett (2001)	U.S., Japan	English – for intercultural and U.S. intracultural negotiations Japanese – for Japanese intracultural negotiations Japanese tapes translated and transcribed.	Participants were getting their education in English
Adair (2003)	Germany, Israel, Hong-Kong, Japan, Russia, U.S.	All participants received materials in English, apart from Russians who received materials in Russian. Japanese participants in Japanese – U.S. sample received materials both in Japanese and English	Most participants were enrolled in an English language MBA program
Adair & Brett (2005)	Germany, Israel, Sweden, U.S., Hong-Komg, Japan, Russia, Thailand	For all mixed contexts – English Russian for Russians, Japanese for Japanese, English for all others	

Adair, Weingart, & Brett (2007)	U.S. and Japan	English for U.S. participants, Japanese for Japanese participants	
Liu (2009)	U.S., China	Native languages in intracultural negotiations	
Liu, Friedman, Barry, Gelfand & Zhang (2012)	U.S., China	In intracultural negotiations, participants used their native English or Chinese. The intercultural negotiations were conducted in English but the Chinese participants were given all materials in both Chinese and English to ensure thorough understanding.	
Rosette, Brett, Barsness, & Lytle (2012)	U.S., China (Hong Kong)	English	English was the language of the students' undergraduate programs
Lügger, Geiger, Neun, & Backhaus (2015)	Germany, China	English	"To guarantee comparability and eliminate any possible native language bias all negotiations had to be held in English" English is the primary foreign language taught in both countries
Yao, Zhang & Brett (2017)	China	Chinese	

Table 6. Roles of metaphor in international management research

Study	Role of metaphor
Liu et al. (2015)	"linguistic tools that convey meaning to internal and external audiences"
Morris et al. (2006)	"cognitive scientists study conventional metaphors that ordinary people use when making sense of abstract events in more concrete, familiar terms"
Gibson & Zellmer-Bruhn (2001)	"are similar to internalized behavioral outlines, or scripts, and the mental models that team members hold about team structure and process"
Smith (2005)	"can help …develop greater understanding about the thinking behind what is said"
Gelfand & McCusker (2002)	"metaphors are the basic mechanism through which humans conceptualize experience"

Table 7. Practical implications at different levels of analysis

Dyad	**Group/ team**	**Organization**	**National culture**
be more direct in text-based negotiations	summarize and paraphrase discussion outcomes during meetings (by managers or informal "liasons")	anticipate the challenges multilingual teams might face and the reaction of the employees to them; encourage empathy	be aware of linguistic pathways of reaching an agreement in the target country/ culture
ask for emotional clarification from the counterpart in text-based negotiations	native speakers should help non-native speakers with language, e.g., interpret what was said during meetings	create a safe communication environment	
communicate/ schmooze before an e-negotiation	have a regular communication about the status of work tasks at the end of each day or week	support accelerated language training	
	reduce the pressure for team members to use the lingua franca in a flawless manner	encourage practice of the mandated language, e.g., lingua franca brown-bag lunches	
	use "international English" instead of practices dominant in Anglo-American English-speaking cultures	don't make the fluency in the mandated language a criterion for evaluating the employees' performance	
acknowledge potential differences in conceptualizations of work terms and identify the language to discuss them		national and local cultural history and local customs of the partner's country should be part of the employees' training (vs. basic language training)	
increase the use of inclusive language and remove toxic language			
write positive messages and tell negative messages			

native speakers should adapt their use of English in international contexts
be careful with translation: take into account connotations
instead of talking about emotional problems, use projective techniques, e.g., cognitive sculpting, cognitive mapping, visual images

Table 8. Intercultural Negotiations: major findings and future research directions

Authors	Discipline	Main Topic	Major Findings	Unit of Analysis	Future Directions/ Implications
Tung (1982).	international relations	US-China trade negotiations	For a successful negotiation outcome with a Chinese company, it is crucial for an American company (1) to gain intercultural negotiation experience and learn from other companies, (2) to build long-term relationships with Chinese partners, (3) to know China's national policies regardless of operation industry, (4) to show genuine collaboration interest on top of cultural knowledge, (5) to adopt an appropriate attitude.	organization.	Implications are an imperative version of the findings
Salacuse (1999)	communication	intercultural negotiation	Ten factors in deal making: goal (contract – relationship); attitudes (win/lose – win/win); personal styles (informal - formal); communications (direct - indirect); time sensitivity (high - low); emotionalism (high - low); agreement form (specific - general); agreement building (bottom up – top down); team organization (one leader - consensus); risk taking (high - low).	country	No future research directions. Rules of coping with culture: 1) Learning target culture 2) Avoiding stereotypes 3) Overcoming the culture gap by relying on (a) the other side's culture (b) your own culture (c). combination of both cultures (d) a third culture.
Adair et al. (2001).	psychology	Intercultural negotiation behavior: US-Japan	(1) U.S. and Japanese negotiators displayed different negotiation behavior. (2) Japanese intercultural negotiators adjusted their behavior to U.S. norms.	individual	The antecedents of functionally equivalent but conceptually different negotiation

			(3) Intercultural negotiators, especially the Japanese, displayed more clarification effort than the intracultural ones. (4) U.S. negotiators were direct and Japanese were indirect. (4) Intercultural negotiations resulted in greater joint gains than intracultural ones.		behaviors in different cultures. Understanding of non-comparable joint gains in intra- and intercultural negotiators. The potential effect of training on interaction style convergence.
Liu et al. (2005)	psychology	Intercultural negotiation: US - China	Western-based scale (the 'Big Five') is not universal: agreeableness and extraversion are important in American negotiations, but do not effect negotiations for Chinese; harmony, face, and Ren Qing influenced Chinese negotiations, but not Americans. In distributive negotiations Americans higher in extraversion and agreeableness and Chinese high in harmony, face, and Ren Qing got lower economic gain.	individual	Potential cross-cultural differences in integrative negotiations; Effects of culture in intercultural negotiations.
Liu et al. (2010)	communication	communication in intercultural negotiations	A multidimensional conceptualization of quality of communication experience (QCE) with three dimensions - Clarity, Responsiveness, and Comfort - is proposed. Higher degree of QCE results in better negotiation outcomes. Intercultural negotiations have a lower QCE than intracultural negotiations. Positive effects of QCE are more typical of intercultural than intracultural negotiations.	individual	Estimating the level of QCE and its consequences over time by conducting multiround negotiation simulations; nomological net for the construct of QCE by looking at individual antecedents predicting QCE; potential variability of the elements, antecedents, and consequences of QCE in different cultural and

					organizational contexts
Adair et al. (2011)	psychology	shared mental models	model of emergent multiculturally shared mental models (MSMM) in multiparty negotiation.	individual	Strategies for empirical testing
Liu et al. (2012)	psychology	Intra- and intercultural negotiations	Epistemic motivation (need for closure) has a detrimental effect and social motivation (concern for face) has a positive effect on both types of negotiations, but is more typical of intercultural negotiations The effects of cultural differences are related to adaptability of the individuals' mental models defined by epistemic and social motives.	individual	The effect of consensus building on negotiation outcomes by manipulating consensus-building process. The effects of more specific mental models on negotiations. Highly individualized elements in mental models, their categorization, and relations with consensual types of elements in mental models. Role of mental models in situations with asymmetrical power.
Ingerson et al. (2015).	psychology	relational approach to negotiation	A framework distinguishing between instrumental versus relational approaches to negotiation: relationality: instrumental – weak relationality, relational – strong relationality; orientation/focus: instrument – exchange orientation, relational – communal orientation; behaviors: instrumental – telling/selling, relational – listening; outcomes: instr. – concern for self-interest, concern for justice.	individual	The subjective value inventory can be used to evaluate non-instrumental outcomes. Relational lens can be used in the analysis of underlying assumptions and the actual approaches in negotiations.

Imai & Gelfand (2009).	various disciplines[1]	culture, conflict, negotiation	Negotiation motives, behavior vary across cultures. Intercultural and intractultural interactions can have different variables. Other-regarding behaviors is found in different countries which questions the predominance of self-interest.	individual	More interdisciplinary research.
Liu et al. (2013) C	psychology	Intro- and intercultural negotiations	The positive effect of Breadth of multicultural experience on negotiation outcomes is mediated by the strength of Local identity. The positive effect of Depth of multicultural experience on negotiation outcomes is mediated by strength of Global identity. The positive relationship between Local identity and negotiation outcomes is enhanced by the intra-cultural condition. The positive relationship between Global identity and negotiation outcomes is enhanced by intercultural condition.	individual	Practical implications in personnel selection and trainings for multinational companies, study abroad programs in business schools.

[1] psychology, legal anthropology, comparative law, language and disputing, cognitive anthropology, experimental economics, primatology, communication, international relations

Table 9. Definitions of constructs

Construct	Definition	Source
Negotiations	a communicative exchange through which participants define or redefine the terms of their interdependence	cf. Liu et al., 2012
Mental model	a cognitive representation helping individuals to make sense of a situation	cf. Craik, 1943
Metaphor	a figure of speech and a mode of thought which helps humans to make sense of abstract concepts	cf. Lakoff, 1993
Communication context	the multiplicity of nonverbal, relational, spatial, and temporal cues that can be drawn upon to convey and understand meaning	cf. Adair et al., 2016
Code switching	a process when second language users, usually at key moments in a meeting, group together and start talking between themselves in their native language	cf. Harzing & Feely (2008)
Parallel information networks	information distribution through informal communication channels determined by language capabilities rather than formal position in the organization	cf. Harzing & Feely (2008)
Faultlines	dividing lines formed by the alignment of demographic characteristics across group members	cf. Lau & Murnighan (1998)
Language asymmetries	"differing levels of language competence in the lingua franca across team members"	Hinds, Neeley, & Cramton, 2014: 537
Mandated/ functional language	MNC's official language	