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Table of contents

Abstract

Exerting influence is essential in social life but how to exert influence over and lead others is a complex but intriguing question. Although the dynamic and procedural nature of leadership construction has drawn increasing attention in recent years, investigations on how interactional practices may be employed in order to emerge as a leader in non-hierarchal settings remain lacking. The present research aims to explore how emerging leadership is constructed through interactions in the Chinese context. In particular, this study emphasizes three aspects: interactional processes of micro-level emerging leadership construction, interactional strategies to construct emerging leadership, and interactional predictors of leadership emergence. The study adopts the combined methods of leaderless group discussion and follow-up interviews to collect data on actual leadership emergence practices and participants' perceptions of emerging leadership construction. Conversation analysis was applied to reveal the processes and strategies by which emerging leadership is constructed. To identify predictors of leadership emergence, statistical analysis of data on participants' interactional strategies and perceived leadership was conducted. It was found that emerging leadership is collaboratively constructed by participants claiming, negotiating and granting leadership positions in agenda-related proposal sequences and decision-making sequences. Six possible responses to negotiate leadership claims were also identified. Interactional strategies in terms of turn-taking, linguistic formats, prosodic cues and nonverbal behaviors were found to facilitate the construction of

emerging leadership in two manners, namely, domineering and facilitative. Participants' reports in follow-up interviews also aligned with the findings about leadership processes and leadership strategies found in the interactional data. In addition, the results of correlation analysis and mediation tests suggested that both how much participants say and what they say predict leadership emergence, but what participants say is the root cause of how much they say being predictive of leadership emergence. The present study has both theoretical and practical implications, as it advances the understanding of interactional patterns, strategies, and predictors of leadership emergence, and it offers interactional guideline for leadership training and practices.

Tables and figures

Transcription conventions

[ ]	Overlap and simultaneous talk
=	Latching
-	Abrupt cut-off
(.)	Micropause
(2.0)	Pause more than ca. 1 sec. Duration
:, ::, :::	Segmental lengthening
haha hehe	Laugh syllables
£ £	Stretch of talk with suppressed laughter
(( ))	Description of nonverbal aspects of the talk
UPPER CASE	Loud sound
<u>Underlining</u>	Extra strong stress
° °	Quiet talk
?	Rising intonation
,	Level intonation
.	Falling intonation
↑	Shift to high pitch
↓	Shift to low pitch
> <	Speeded up stretch of talk
< >	Slowed down stretch of talk
( )	Inaudible utterance that cannot be transcribed

Glossing conventions

1SG	First person singular
1PL	First person plural
2SG	Second person singular
2PL	Second person plural
3SG	Third person singular
3PL	Third person plural
CL	Classifier
PT	Particle
NEG	Negator
PRF	Perfective aspect marker

1. Introduction

Leadership is about gaining power and exerting influence over others. In social life, exerting influence is crucial, but what is the secret key to leadership? An array of particular personalities, such as extroversion, have been found to be the 'inborn' leadership qualities (Ensari, Riggio, Christian, & Carslaw, 2011). However, as leadership involves decidedly complex interactions among participants, people are also eager to know 'how to become leaders' and 'how to construct leadership'.

Five years ago when I was teaching in college, many students asked me how to become leaders in their groups. They wanted to know what they should do at micro-level to construct leadership if they were not, in others' eyes, 'born leaders' with certain personality traits. I still remember the sadness in the eyes of a girl who failed in a group interview in which the interviewees were required to compete for leadership. She also raised a question that I could not stop thinking about: can leadership be acquired through practice?

Interestingly, the question of 'how to emerge as a leader through interaction' has not yet been adequately investigated. While much research has focused on psychological predictors of leadership emergence, such as personality and cognitive abilities (Taggar, Hackett, & Saha, 1999; Türetgen, Unsal, & Erdem, 2008), only a small number of

investigations have been conducted on how leaders emerge through interactional

strategies, and these have reported that the frequency with which a participant takes

speakership predicts leadership emergence (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Maricchiolo,

Livi, Bonaiuto, & Gnisci, 2011). Such findings highlight the importance of how much

people speak, but the question remains: does what people say influence leadership

emergence? Indeed, without detailed discursive analysis of what participants say and

how they interact with each other, it is not possible to answer the question of how

leaders emerge in interaction.

In recent years, an increasing amount of research has adopted a 'discursive lens' to

investigate leadership in interaction (e.g., Asmuß, 2008; Barske, 2009; Clifton, 2006;

Fairhurst, 2009; Holmes, 2007; Holmes, Schnurr, Chan, & Chiles, 2003; Niina, 2007;

Samra-Fredericks, 2003; Svennevig, 2008). Discursive studies of leadership argue that

leadership is dynamically achieved by the moment-by-moment negotiations of the

participants in the interaction (Fairhurst, 2007, 2010). Micro-analysis of authentic

natural interaction in leadership practices has been conducted to explicate the

procedural and dynamic nature of leadership practices (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000a;

Clifton, 2006; Cunliffe & Eriksen, 2011). However, such studies have focused

primarily on constructing 'leadership' in business settings in which the formal roles of

'leaders' and 'followers' are predetermined (e.g., Holmes, 2005; Holmes & Stubbe,

2003; Wodak, Kwon, & Clarke, 2011). Research on how leaders emerge in non-

hierarchical settings remains lacking. Indeed, Bolden and Gosling (2006) call for investigations of leadership practices performed by members 'outside formal leadership roles' (p.159).

Against this background, the present research aims to investigate how participants emerge as leaders through interaction in small groups. Rather than examining designated leadership in general, this study specifically concentrates on the discursive construction of emerging leadership in the context of task-oriented groups. Specificically, the present study focuses on providing answers to three interrelated questions: 1) What are the processes of emerging leadership construction at micro-level; 2) What are the specific interactional strategies employed by participants to claim and negotiate leadership in the afore-mentioned processes; and 3) Does what participants say matter in leadership emergence in addition to how much they say? It is hoped that the discursive findings of interactional processes and strategies that construct emerging leadership might provide a more comprehensive view of leadership interaction as well as helping people exert influence and practice leadership skillfully.

The first question above focuses on the general interactional processes of emerging leadership construction in small groups. The answer to this first question serves as a foundation for further investigation related to the remaining two questions which are concerned with different manners of emerging leadership construction and the

discursive predictors of leadership emergence, respectively. Building on the knowledge about leadership construction processes gained by addressing question one, the second question focuses on the multimodal interactional strategies participants employ to enact leadership in different ways in such leadership processes. Based on the findings on leadership processes and strategies gained by addressing the first two questions, the third question aims to determine which interactional strategies predict leadership emergence, with statistical analysis and perception studies. Specifically, the third question is addressed by examining the correlation between interactional strategies employed by participants and the extent to which they are perceived as emerging leaders.

This research has the potential to contribute to the body of knowledge on both leadership and interactional analysis. Firstly, it fills certain gaps in the filed of interactional studies of leadership by conducting a fine-grained analysis with mixed research methods on emerging leadership in task-oriented, small-group, face-to-face interaction in the Chinese context. Secondly, it advances our knowledge on leadership, highlighting the view of leadership as an interpersonal and communicative process. Complementary to the previous research, which approaches leadership as an innate quality of designated leaders, this study suggests that emerging leadership is constructed by collaboration of all the participants in small group interaction. Thirdly, the study explores a particular application of interactional analysis, and empirically

demonstrates the usefulness of interactional analytical methods in analyzing interactions at micro-level.

Regarding the structure of this dissertation, related literature on leadership and leadership emergence is reviewed in Chapter 2 which begins with a definition of leadership and a summary of diverse approaches in leadership research. The chapter then concentrates on two streams of psychological studies, namely, charismatic/transformational leadership and leader-member exchange theory, as well as on recent studies of discursive leadership in terms of two aspects, namely, leadership processes and leadership discursive strategies. Following this，research on leadership emergence is reviewed in terms of psychological and discursive predictors of leadership emergence. To conclude Chapter 2, gaps detected in previous studies of leadership emergence and discursive leadership construction are discussed. Chapter 3 sets out the research questions for the present study and elaborates on the research methods and analytical framework for the present study. Chapter 4 reports on the emerging leadership construction processes enacted by the collaboration among the participants. Chapter 5 identifies the interactional strategies employed to construct leadership in two distinct ways: the domineering and facilitative manners of leadership construction. Chapter 6 reports the findings on what interactional practices matter for participants' leadership emergence by determining the correlations between participants' interactional strategies and their perceived leadership. In addition,

participants' perceptions regarding what matters in constructing emerging leadership

are reported in order to triangulate the findings from the interactional data. Finally,

Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation with a summary of the findings, their implications

and directions for future studies of leadership in interaction.

2. Literature overview of leadership and leadership emergence

This chapter presents an overview of the literature on leadership and leadership emergence. The definition of leadership and approaches to the study of leadership are reviewed first. The second section reviews earlier findings on critical research questions such as what makes a person a good leader, how leadership is constructed and what predictors of leadership emergence have been found. Finally, gaps in the research on discursive aspects of leadership emergence are identified.

2.1. Leadership

2.1.1. Definition

What is leadership? As an essential but decidedly complex concept in social interaction, leadership has been defined from various perspectives. From the psychological perspective, leadership is perceived as a set of individual attributes of heroic leaders who are appointed by organizations (Northhouse, 2001). For example, Bolden and Gosling (2006) summarize the definition of leadership as 'a set of traits, qualities and behaviours possessed by the leader that encourage the participation, development, and commitment of others within the organization' (p.155).

In contrast, an emergent stream of leadership studies takes a discursive perspective that conceptualizes leadership as a procedural achievement of moment-by-moment

negotiations of interactants in leadership practices (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010; Fairhurst, 2007). Studies of discursive leadership aim to capture the elusive concept of 'leadership' by locating it in concrete interactional mechanisms such as turn-taking and sequence organization (Asmuß & Svennevig, 2009; Clifton, 2009; Du-Babcock, 2006). Due to the complexity of leadership, Fairhurst (2008) claims that looking for a general, universal definition of leadership is 'futile' (p.511). Yet a working definition is vital for interactional studies of leadership, as it is imperative to define what is to be regarded as leadership.

Many scholars have contributed working definitions of leadership. For instance, Fairhurst (2005) defines leadership in terms of its goals, which are to 'complete a task', to 'maintain work relationships' and to 'coordinate behavior' (p. 174). Nielsen (2009) suggests that 'leadership can be defined as creating direction, framework and meaning' (p. 45). Some researchers regard leadership as a process of influencing decision-making (Clifton, 2009; Larsson & Lundholm, 2010; Wodak et al., 2011), while in some studies, leadership is regarded as a process of facilitating on-going business interactions (Pomerantz & Denvir, 2007; Svennevig, 2008). Some other scholars discuss leadership construction in the process of conflict management (Holmes & Marra, 2004; Nielsen, 2009). In spite of the diversity of working definitions, such scholars generally highlight two actions typical of leaders —agenda-setting and decision-making. In 'agenda-setting', the prominent participants select topics to

discuss and control where the discussion goes. In 'decision making', such participants have the final say on solutions to the problems raised regarding each topic. While both of these actions are about exerting influence on a group's behavior, agenda-setting focuses more on what to discuss as the next topic, and decision-making is more concerned with the solution for a current problem to be solved. Although conflict management is also essential in constructing leadership, I do not include it as a separate action, as conflict management can basically be categorized into two types, namely, solving conflicts by resetting agendas and managing conflicts by imposing decisions. Therefore, the working definition for leadership in discursive studies may be summarized as—a process in which interactants set agendas and make decisions.

2.1.2. Diverse approaches to investigating leadership

As is clear from the various definitions of leadership above, leadership is so complex that it requires investigation from multiple angles. Psychological examinations of leadership have been recognized as the mainstream of research in this field for the last century (Avolio, Walumbwa, & Weber, 2009). Based on the assumption that leadership entails personal qualities possessed by designated leaders, the majority of psychological studies aim to answer two questions: 'what makes a leader a leader?' and 'why is a leader a leader?' (Brunell et al., 2008; Dorfman & Howell, 1997; House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004; Platow, Knippenberg, Haslam, Knippenberg, & Spears, 2006; Proctor-Thomson, 2001; Schriesheim & Cogliser, 2009).

Although an increasing number of psychological studies of leadership have started to pay attention to leadership processes, the psychological approach is limited in its methodological capacity to investigate the micro-level interaction, that is, what people say, what they mean and how they use what they say to construct leadership.

In order to answer the question of how leadership is constructed in micro-level interactions, discursive researchers have postulated a new paradigm which is termed 'discursive leadership' (Fairhurst, 2007). Discursive studies of leadership aim to conduct detailed discourse analysis of leadership construction in real-life practices. This discursive approach is currently drawing ever more attention as a 'legitimate alternative' to psychological leadership studies (Barge & Fairhurst, 2008, p. 227).

Although the current study focuses on providing an answer to the 'how' question, it is also helpful to review the previous psychological studies of leadership, in order to obtain a more holistic picture of how the field of leadership has developed. In sections 2.2 and 2.3 below, the psychological approach and the discursive approach, respectively, are reviewed.

2.2.   What makes a person a leader?

In this section, two streams of psychological leadership research are reviewed: the predominant charismatic/transformational leadership theory and the more recent

leader-member exchange (LMX) theory. A charismatic/transformational leadership

approach aims to reveal the qualities of good leaders, whereas LMX theory highlights

the quality of communication as the key to effective leadership.

2.2.1. Charismatic/ transformational leadership

Psychological studies of leadership gained momentum with the establishment of

charismatic leadership and transformational theory in the late 1970s. Although

charismatic leadership and transformational leadership are found to overlap in terms of

their theoretical components (Conger, 2011; Rowold & Heinitz, 2007), and are often

used interchangeably by academics, charismatic leadership focuses more on leaders'

personal traits whereas transformational leadership emphasizes their relationships with

their subordinates.

Charismatic leadership was first proposed by Max Weber (1947), but enjoyed little

attention among psychological scholars until House (1977) postulated charismatic

leadership theory. House (1977) argues that charismatic leaders resort to their inborn

'charisma' to influence their followers. He introduces four personal traits —the

'charisma' that is innate to charismatic leaders, namely dominance, the desire to

influence, self-confidence, and strong moral values. He believes that a leader's

charisma can stimulate behavioral traits and followers' positive reactions. In general,

he views charisma as the ultimate source of and reason for the effective performance of

excellent leaders.

Transformational leadership theory was initially developed based on a theoretical conceptualization of charismatic leadership. By investigating charismatic leadership from a more affective perspective, Burns (1978) established transformational leadership theory, which focuses on the exchange relation between charismatic leaders and followers. He identifies two kinds of leadership, namely, transformational leadership and transactional leadership. Transformational/charismatic leaders allow followers to achieve personal or emotional goals while pursuing organizational goals. On contrast, transactional leaders are concerned only with achieving the organizational goals, overlooking the personal needs of followers. Thus, transformational leaders with charisma care more about followers' emotional and spiritual needs. Compared to transactional leaders, who highlight only the material goals of their followers, leaders with charisma can more highly motivate followers to perform 'beyond expectation' (Northhouse, 2012, p. 180).

Following Burns' initial work on transformational leadership, many researchers have explored this concept, developing various models of transformational leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1994; Bass & Riggio, 2006; Conger & Kanungo, 1998). For example, Bass and his colleague Avolio (Bass & Avolio, 1994; Bass, 1985) established the full range leadership model: a behavioral component model comprising five general competences

for transformational leaders, namely inspirational motivation, idealized influence, idealized influence behavior, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration. However, the five competences are decidedly general in that they do not provide detailed descriptions of leaders' behaviors. For example, the model does not specify what behaviors of leaders might be regarded as endowing them with 'inspirational motivation'.

Previous studies have also investigated the effectiveness of transformational leadership and charismatic leadership, some reporting that transformational leaders with innate charisma are rated as more effective by their followers (cf. Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993; Yukl, 1999). A substantial number of studies have found that transformational leadership is positively correlated with increased effectiveness of organizations (e.g., Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996; Nemanich & Keller, 2007). Aside from these, some researchers argue that to be optimally effectiveness, leaders should adopt both transformational and transactional leadership behaviors (e.g., Bass, 1985; Rowold & Heinitz, 2007).

2.2.2. Leader-member exchange theory

In addition to investigating personal traits and qualities of effective leaders, recent leadership studies have begun to explore the effects of leader-member relations on leadership effectiveness. LMX theory is built upon empirical findings that leaders and

followers report differentiated interactions and relations on the basis of the dyadic unit. This theory maintains that effective leadership is achieved by effective communication between leaders and followers.

Unlike the transformational/charismatic theory, which is concerned primarily with the individual attributes of leaders and followers, LMX theory focuses on the quality of leader-follower relations, measured in terms of self-reported perceptions of leaders and followers, respectively. Graen and Uhl-bien (1995) identify three dimensions of leader-follower relations, namely mutual trust, respect and obligation. Liden and Maslyn (1998) propose that the leader-follower exchange is constructed of four components, namely contribution, loyalty, affect, and professional respect.

There is a considerable body of research on factors that influence the quality of leader-follower exchanges, such as personality, frequency and form of communication (e.g., Kacmar, Witt, Zivnuska, & Gully, 2003). For instance, Zhang, Waldman and Wang (2012) explain that proactive personalities of both followers and leaders affect their ratings of LMX relations in the initial stages of leader-follower interaction; however, in later phases, the quality of the dyadic interaction between a leader and a follower becomes the most crucial influencing factor for ratings of LMX quality.

Clearly, LMX theory advances the knowledge on leadership from a different

perspective than does transformational/charismatic theory. However, LMX theory is not without challenges. Some scholars challenge the claim that the theory focuses on the leader-follower interaction. Indeed, LMX empirical studies rely heavily on the individual perceptions of leaders and followers to measure the quality of their relations, while ignoring the exchange process. LMX theory does not substantially explore the micro-level interaction of leaders and followers in practice.

To sum up, such studies of leadership have made remarkable contributions to the advancement of the field. Firstly, they have advanced the understanding of leadership by providing answers to the pivotal 'what' and 'why' questions regarding leadership (Chia, 2004). Personalities and communication qualities have been found to influence the effectiveness of leadership. Furthermore, they have depicted leadership from a macro perspective in an effort to provide a 'general theory' (Yukl, 1994, p. 19) of leadership.

Despite these merits, however, this approach to leadership leaves certain issues unattended. The most fundamental problem is that the dynamic process by which people interact and communicate in leadership practices has not been sufficiently explored. Even LMX theory, which explores the quality of communication between leaders and followers, does not substantially explore the micro-level interactions of leader and followers in real-life practice. Yukl (1999) argues that the factorial and

correlational studies of leadership are inadequate to provide a holistic and dynamic

picture of leadership practices.

Moreover, the models of leadership styles do not describe the specific behaviors of

each leadership styles. For example, in the transformational leadership model,

transformational leaders are generally defined as performing idealized influencing

behavior, but specific strategies are not described. Thus, what transformational leaders

say and do in practice remains unclear.

To conclude, previous psychological studies have preferred 'scientific detachment over

practical engagement, the general over the contextual, and the quantitative over the

qualitative' (Whittington, 2004, p. 62). Recognizing both the merits and shortcomings

of psychological studies of leadership, leadership scholars consistently exert efforts to

interpret leadership from other perspectives that might complement existing theories

and fill research gaps. Thus, certain emergent perspectives, like discursive leadership

theory, have begun to receive more attention in recent decades.

2.3. How is leadership constructed?

Discursive leadership studies aim to reveal the processes and interactional strategies

participants employ to construct leadership on a moment-by-moment basis in practices

where communication, language, and discourse play pivotal roles (Raelin, 2011). As

Pondy (1978) points out, 'leadership is a language game' (p. 88); and discursive leadership concerns itself with 'how these games take shape' (Kelly, 2008, p. 769).

In response to advocates for a 'linguistic turn' in organizational research (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000; Clifton, 2006), more research attention has been paid to leadership discourse. A growing number of discursive studies have emerged to investigate micro leadership interaction. Influential journals in business communication and discourse research have published a number of special issues reporting research findings on leadership interactions. For example, the *Journal of Business Communication* published a special issue on 'Meeting Talk' (Asmuß & Svennevig, 2009) containing six articles that present micro-analysis of interactions in meetings. *Discourse Studies* launched an issue entitled 'Interaction in Workplace Meetings' (Svennevig, 2012) presenting a series of articles exploring micro social interaction by conversation analysis (CA). Indeed, as mainstream psychological research on leadership has not examined real-life leadership practices in terms of micro social interaction, discursive research, with its unique power for interpreting lived experiences in leadership interactions, serves to complement the psychological research on leadership. The following two sections review and comment on discursive studies of leadership processes and strategies, respectively.

2.3.1. Leadership construction processes

Discursive leadership research has focused predominantly on conducting micro-level investigation of leadership construction process. Such studies have mainly adopted two ways to describe and analyze the discursive processes of leadership construction.

One way in which researchers analyze leadership construction processes is to describe episodes of leadership activities, such as sense-making and decision-making. For instance, Larsson and Lundholm (2010) explore everyday work practices in a bank and describe the stepwise sense-making regarding certain issues by which leaders and followers interact to construct leadership. Nielsen (2009) report on a fine grained analysis of meaning interpretation in business meetings, showing that managers' interpretations of meanings are often challenged, and leadership is continuously negotiated by followers. Another study (Choi & Schnurr, 2013) examines the process of achieving consensus in research team meetings in which different members emerge at different moments as informal leaders. It was found that the meeting participants collaborated with each other to construct leadership in the process of inviting explanation, ratifying others' suggestions and decisions and so on. In a similar vein, Schnurr and Chan (2011) describe in detail the process by which two leaders construct and negotiate leadership when disagreeing with each other. When one leader claims a leadership position, the other leader negotiates the positioning in a mitigated manner by employing interactional strategies, such as pro-forma agreement, hedges, and tone

softeners.

While describing leadership processes in related activities, researchers have also identified discursive strategies that leaders adopt to construct leadership. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) propose five key linguistic devices employed by leaders to 'frame' the concurrent situations, namely, metaphor, jargon, contrast, pin and stories. Similarly, leaders are found to use three discursive strategies—sense-making, positioning and play—to construct their leadership (Barge & Fairhurst, 2008). In exploring mentors' discursive strategies in 'doing' leadership, Holmes (2005) also identifies five strategies adopted by effective leaders, namely, procedural, corrective, approving, advising and indirect coaching.

Although a number of discursive strategies are identified by which leaders claim leadership, only a few studies have examined, in depth the responses that negotiate leadership claims. For instance, Larsson and Lundholm (2013) report that to successfully construct leadership in interaction, it is important for followers to contribute suggestions rather than merely comply with the leader. By contributing suggestions solicited by leaders, followers implement the leaders' instructions, fully endorsing the leaders' leadership position. In contrast, agreeing with but not implementing a leaders' instructions indicates 'superficial compliance' by which followers negotiate the leaders' leadership position (Larsson & Lundholm, 2013, p.

1123).

In sum, earlier discursive leadership studies have frequently investigated leadership processes in terms of two leadership activities, namely decision-making and sense-making, whereas the processes of agenda-setting has seldom been explored. A reason may be that the leadership practices examined by such studies are with designated leaders and written agendas prepared beforehand, making the interactional needs for setting an agenda less strong than that for making decisions. It is to be expected that in a context in which there is no designated leaders and no written agendas, leadership construction processes will emerge in both decision-making and agenda-setting activities. Although discursive studies examining episodes of activities describe the step-by-step construction and negotiation, generalizations regarding patterns of construction or negotiation are not offered, and related linguistic formats and multimodal resources are not explored in depth.

Another way to reveal leadership construction processes is to focus on the organization of sequences related to leadership practices, such as formulation-decision sequences, assessment sequences, and proposal sequences. Exploring the organization of certain sequences related to leadership construction, this line of research explicates how each step of leadership construction takes shape within the sequence organization.

Clifton (2006) explicates how interactants in meetings 'talk' themselves 'into being' leaders by means of a formulation-decision sequence. Formulation refers to the reiteration of the current situation or previously discussed topic. Clifton (2006) reports that formulations were found to facilitate leaders in 'fixing meaning' and to eliminate all other possible understandings among team members in workplace meetings. Later, Clifton (2009) identifies formulations and co-constructions as serving to influence decision-making. Formulations can be used to diminish others' opinions and secure the closure of the topic in progress. 'Co-construction' refers to the co-completion of a turn by multiple group members. 'Co-construction' can be employed to team up and claim epistemic authority over decision-making.

A detailed analysis was also conducted by Clifton (2012) on how interactants use assessment sequences to construct leadership in making decisions in staff meetings. In the process described, leaders employed first-position assessment to claim high epistemic status towards a prior idea or decision, whereas the others could also claim equal epistemic authority by co-constructing the assessment, or challenge the prior claim by upgrading the assessment.

In addition, Asmuß et al. (2012) investigated proposal sequences with multimodal resources in a workplace meeting between a CEO and his HR manager. They note that participants negotiated their roles in interaction and their entitlement to make proposals

by responding to proposals with immediate acceptance, post expansion to clarify a prior proposals, or re-modification of a prior proposal.

Among the three sequences—proposal, decision-making and assessment—the first two sequences are specifically related to leadership actions, namely agenda-setting and decision-making, while the assessment sequence is a more generically recurring event in ordinary conversations in which leadership construction is not prominent. Section 2.3.1.1 and 2.3.1.2 below review findings on two important sequences in leadership construction processes, namely proposal and decision-making sequences.

2.3.1.1. The proposal sequence in agenda-setting processes

The proposal sequence has been found to be frequently employed in making attempts to set the agenda for discussions. A 'proposal' is different from a 'request' or a 'directive', in that a proposal suggests that all participants conduct a collective future action, whereas a request and directive only makes a suggestion for the recipients to follow, and speakers do not shoulder the responsibility of following the suggestion. Houtkoop-Steenstra (1987) identifies two types of proposals in terms of the time at which they are in effect: an 'immediate proposal' suggests an instant action immediately following its utterance, while a 'remote proposal' attempts to implement a proposal in the near future. In leaderless group discussions, the proposal made to set an agenda is expected to take effect immediately after it is uttered; therefore, the

immediate proposal is the focus of the present analysis of how the participants

construct and negotiate leadership in interaction. In an immediate proposal sequence,

the proposal makes acceptance or rejection relevant in the very next turn (Houtkoop-

Steenstra, 1987; Maynard, 1984). The preferred response to a proposal is acceptance

rather than rejection (Houtkoop-steenstra, 1987). Thus, in this study, I frame the

immediate proposal as the agenda-related proposal as it refers to the immediate action

of negotiating what topic to be talked about.

Invesigating business meeting interaction, Asmuß, Oshima and Asmuss (2012) report

that for proposals that make suggestions regarding the next topic, the acceptance is

formatted as the immediate implementation of the suggested action. Thus, the simplest

sequence organization for agenda-related sequences is the minimal adjacency pair

[proposal + immediate implementation], by which leadership is smoothly constructed

by the first speaker claiming and the second speaker granting leadership.

2.3.1.2. The decision-making sequence in decision-making processes

'Decision-making' is defined in previous interactional research (Clifton, 2009;

Huisman, 2001) as having other participants commit to future actions. The difference

between 'decision-making' and 'agenda-setting' lies in how distant the future action is:

'decision-making' entails actions after the discussion, whereas for 'agenda-setting'

entails the immediate next topic. This distinction indicates that 'decision-making' is

constructed by multiple participants through interaction. This definition also indicates that 'decision-making' is a procedural achievement 'embedded' within sequences in workplace practices (Alby, 2006).

According to previous studies, a formulation sequence is one of the main sequential resources that participants employ to influence decision-making. Clifton defines a 'formulation' as 'characterizing a state of affairs that has already been described or negotiated in whole or in part in the preceding talk' (Clifton, 2006, p. 210). An example is when a designated leader says something like, 'Okay, we've agreed to do birch Ply[1]' (Clifton, 2006, p. 213). Heritage and Watson (1979) pioneered the exploration of formulation sequences by identifying 'formulation-decision' pairs in news interviews. They find that s formulation makes confirmation or disconfirmation, which they referred generally as the 'decision', relevant in the next turn. In addition, the formulation indicates the closure of the current topic as well as the sequence closure.

More recent discursive leadership research has identified two forms of formulation sequence on the basis of the formulation-decision pair in the decision-making process. The first kind is the same as the formulation-decision pair, which includes a formulation and agreement/disagreement. This form is used in decision-making

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[1] Birch Ply is a kind of sheet manufactured from layers of birch wood for furniture and floors. The context was a discussion of deciding which material to use for indoor floors.

processes in which the formulation is hearable as the decision and is agreed to by the recipients (Clifton, 2009). The on-going topic is closed with the agreement from the recipients and a shift to the next topic is expected.

An extended sequence based on the above basic sequence is [formulation+agreement/ disagreement+decision confirmation] (Clifton, 2006) in which the formulation reiterates the discussed solution regarding the topic while the decision confirmation fixes it as the group discussion. This format is different from the first format in that the decision suggested in the formulation is confirmed in the third turn of the sequence. The format of the decision confirmation could be verbal repetition of the decision or the hand movement of writing it down. With this sequence, leadership is enacted by 'fixing the reality and having it endorsed by the other participants' (Clifton, 2006, p. 211). As these two actions display a speaker's claim of entitlement to have the final say on the discussed topic, Clifton (2006) suggests that emerging leaders could construct their leadership by voicing a formulation and decision confirmation.

The decision-making sequences reported in previous discursive studies can be generalized in terms of the following organization: [decision announcement+agreement+decision confirmation], in which a decision announcement takes the form of a formulation, and decision confirmation can either be verbal confirmation or nonverbal behavior of writing down the decision.

While studies describing leadership processes in leadership activities seldom highlight followers' responses to leaders' leadership claims, the research applying sequence organization to the analysis of leadership construction processes, takes each participants' reaction into consideration. For example, in an assessment sequence, the first position assessment claims the leadership position in terms of higher epistemic right, which makes agreement or second position assessment relevant in the next turn. Other interactants therefore take the next turn to respond to the leadership claim, either accepting or negotiating it. Thus, the interactional process can be more clearly demonstrated by applying the machinery of sequence organization.

To conclude, leadership construction processes have been analyzed in terms of leadership activities like sense-making and decision-making, and by applying sequence organization to typical sequences, such as proposal sequences and decision-making sequences. In comparison, research applying sequence organization demonstrates the step-by-step processes in more detail by emphasizing what both leaders and followers say. However, there remain several gaps to be filled. Firstly, previous studies have primarily investigated leadership construction in hierarchical settings in which leadership roles are pre-assigned, yet how emerging leadership is constructed in non-hierarchical settings is not thoroughly explored. Further work is expected to apply sequence organization to the examination of emerging leadership construction

processes. Secondly, although many studies have claimed that leadership is collaboratively constructed, responses to and negotiation of leadership claims by co-participants have been highlighted only in a few studies. Thirdly, the collaboration process by which interactants in leadership practices claim and negotiate leadership in multiple rounds of negotiations has not been adequately investigated.

2.3.2. Discursive strategies in constructing different leadership styles

In addition to describing general leadership processes, discursive researchers have further identified different leadership styles enacted by discursive strategies employed to construct leadership.

Janet Holmes and her colleagues (Holmes, 2005; Holmes, Schnurr, & Marra, 2007) have contributed a series of works on interactional strategies that enact different ways of leadership construction. Discourse strategies such as using questions to involve mentees to participate and giving encouraging suggestions to the mentees, have been reported to facilitate the construction of transformational leadership styles when leaders mentor their subordinates (Holmes, 2005). In addition, different discourse strategies in meetings have been found to contribute to the construction of two distinct leadership styles—the 'democratic' and the 'domineering' leadership styles (Holmes, Schnurr, & Marra, 2007). A domineering leader controls meeting structure by deciding on the agenda and the problem solution, whereas a democratic leader engages other

participants in the discussion and provides opportunities for others to contribute to and influence the agenda and decisions.

Two styles 'egalitarian' and 'domineering' leadership have been studied in terms of discursive strategies by Wodak, Kwon, & Clarke (2011) in business meetings. They identify five discursive strategies of leaders in achieving group consensus, and suggest that the ways in which leaders employ the strategies can affect the kind of leadership they construct. Linguistic devices like collective pronouns, questions soliciting ideas from others, and positive assessments are associated with a more egalitarian leadership style; whereas resources like direct disagreement, declarative instruction, and reformulations of prior discussion reinforce the construction of a more hierarchical and domineering leadership style.

In two studies comparing the leadership styles of Hong Kong and Australian managers in decision-making meetings, Yeung (1998; 2003) reports that Hong Kong leaders adopt a more interpersonal approach to engage other interactants. In contrast, Australian managers employ interactional strategies that emphasize hierarchy and power. Before making final decisions, both Hong Kong and Australian leaders initiate questions towards their subordinates in meetings. However, Hong Kong leaders employ 'bipolar questions' like 'Is it a good idea or not?' (Yeung, 1998, p. 93) to engage subordinates into discussing the topic, whereas Australian leaders use 'leading

questions' that imply followers to provide the desired answer and 'probing questions' such as 'Any thing else?' to close the decision making sequence (Yeung, 2003, p. 55).

As a respected CA scholar, Pomerantz, and her colleague (Pomerantz & Denvir, 2007) report on a study of how leadership may be constructed in a facilitative manner. They describe the facilitative manner of enacting a chairperson's role when the chairperson is collaborating with other members in a meeting to perform certain leadership actions, such as making decisions based on consensus and sanctioning group members' behaviors. They show that the chairperson employ mitigation devices such as prefacing and hedges to reduce the domineering-ness of the utterances and use questions to engage and invite comments from other participants. In line with the above research, Baraldi (2013) reports that strategies such as positive evaluation, asking for further explanation and checking understanding are also essential for constructing such facilitative leadership.

To summarize, although each of the above studies focused on different episodes and strategies, they all agree on the existence of two distinct leadership styles, namely a more hierarchical, domineering style and a more interpersonal, facilitative style. Discursive strategies of constructing the domineering leadership style include direct disagreement, declarative instruction, and reformulations of prior discussion. On the other hand, the discursive strategies of constructing the facilitative leadership style

include mitigation devices (e.g., prefacing and hedges), questions inviting contribution, positive evaluation and the use of collective nouns.

However, there are thus far few reports of interactional strategies employed in multimodal channels, such as prosodic cues and gestures. Furthermore, it has not yet been ascertained which of the two contrastive styles is more frequently employed by leaders, and under which scenarios. Last but not the least, the ways in which emerging leadership is constructed and the interactional strategies enacting the different ways of construction in non-hierarchical settings remain largely unexplored.

2.4.   Leadership emergence

As stated in sections 2.2 and 2.3, discursive studies of emerging leadership construction is lacking. This section reviews previous studies that focus primarily on the predictors of the emergence of leaders in non-hierarchical settings.

Studies of leadership emergence predominantly adopt the leaderless group discussion (LGD) as an investigative method (Bass, 1954, 1949, 1981). In an LGD, a group of participants is given a problem-solving task to accomplish by means of discussion within a certain time frame. None of the participants is pre-designated as the leader of the group, and ususally all the participants share similar backgrounds to ensure that their approximately equal status at onset of the discussion. In the discussion, informal

leaders mainly rely on interactional resources to lead the group and accomplish the task

(Bass, 1954), thereby emerging as leaders.

2.4.1. Psychological predictors of leadership emergence

As research on leadership emergence is derived from the psychological tradition, it

focuses primarily on psychological predictors like personality. In a meta-analytical

review of 45 empirical studies of leadership emergence, authoritarian and extraverted

features of personality are reported as the most essential influencing factors of

leadership emergence (Ensari et al., 2011). A study measuring participants' personal

traits and correlating these with their perceptions of leader emergence (Brunell et al.,

2008), reveals that narcissism is also a strong psychological predictor of leader

emergence in LGDs. In addition to personality, Taggar et al. (1999) report that

cognitive ability also serves as a primary predictor of leaders' emergence in LGDs.

2.4.2. Discursive predictors of leadership emergence

However, research on leadership emergence has paid little attention to the interaction

and communication processes by which group members emerge as leaders. There are

few empirical studies focusing on how group members employ interactional resources

to construct emerging leadership in LGDs.

One of the very few studies to do so was conducted by Maricchiolo, Livi, Bonaiuto,

and Gnisci (2011), who investigated the verbal and visuospatial behaviors employed by participants to persuade others and thereby emerge as leaders in LGDs. Maricchiolo et al.(2011) report that the number of turns taken in the discussion is the main predictor of leader emergence. As for nonverbal cues, among participants who were not verbally dominant, the frequency of hand gestures, such as pointing to objects talked about, and making gestural stress, are reported to increase their perceived influence in LGDs. However, Maricchiolo et al.(2011) do not report on what the speakers say in terms of linguistic formats and sequence organization, neither do they provide reasons why speakers who take the floor most frequently are perceived as leaders.

Reporting on an experimental study of power dynamics in small groups required to solve mathematical problems, Anderson and Kilduff (2009) mention that the emergence of leaders was highly correlated with the frequencies with which participants provided answers and information, but was not related to the accuracy of the answers they provided, suggesting that leadership emergence is related to how much participants speak, and less to how competent they are in completing the required task.

In summary, studies of leadership emergence have mainly investigated psychological predictors, whereas research on participants' discursive strategies, which could predict leadership emergence, remains insufficient. Although a few studies have reported on

the frequencies of taking the floor in predicting leadership emergence (e.g., Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Maricchiolo et al., 2011), they have not provided an explanation or reasons why dominant speakers are more likely to emerge as leaders. Is it really the case that only how much participants speak matters, while what they say does not? Further research on what interactants say, and whether what they say matters, is needed. Lastly, unlike leadership studies of formal leaders in organizational settings that specify different leadership styles, studies of emerging leadership and leadership emergence have not yet identified divergent ways in which participants construct emerging leadership.

2.5. Research gaps

In the above overview of research on leadership and leadership emergence reveals it as an intriguing but complex concept, with leadership being investigated from a diverse range of approaches. Increasing attention has been paid to discursive studies of leadership construction that address the question of how leadership is constructed in interaction. Studies of leadership emergence have also begun to explore the discursive predictors of participants' emergence as leaders. However, there remain certain discernable gaps in the research in terms of micro-level discursive studies of leadership emergence.

To begin with, the discursive research on leadership emergence is far from sufficient.

Studies of leadership emergence have primarily focused on predictors of the emergence of leaders, rarely analyzing the dynamic processes of emerging leadership construction. Further research is expected to explore how participants collaborate to claim and negotiate emerging leadership sequentially in non-hierarchical settings. Specifically, participants' responses in negotiating emerging leadership, as well as turns that claim emerging leadership, should be emphasized. Detailed investigation of multi-round negotiation processes is also lacking.

Secondly, discursive studies of distinct ways in which emerging leadership is constructed and the corresponding interactional strategies in leadership emergence, remain inadequate. Although some discursive studies have identified leadership styles in organizational settings, a thorough examination of corresponding interactional strategies of each leadership style in non-hierarchical settings is expected.

Furthermore, the exploration of discursive predictors of leadership emergence remains lacking. While the majority of leadership emergence research has investigated psychological predictors, only few studies have explored discursive predictors. Although leadership emergence is reported to be associated with the number of turns participants take in group interactions, further explanation for why dominant speakers are more likely to emerge as leaders is required. More detailed examinations may reveal whether or not interactional factors, such as what participants say and how they

say it, predict leadership emergence.

Another gap in the research lies in the lack of multimodal analysis of interaction, including the analysis of vocal forms, prosodic cues and nonverbal behaviors in discursive leadership studies. For example, studies of leadership that have relied on audio recordings have scarecely integrated multimodal channels, such as embodied actions and prosodic contours in the microanalysis of interactions. Fairhurst and Grant (2010) advocate that researchers should conduct multimodal studies of interactions representing leadership practices. Likewise, Maricchiolo et al. (2011) suggest integrating nonverbal and verbal behaviors when investigating leadership interactions. Echoing these calls for multimodal studies, *Discourse Studies* (2012) published a series of papers on multimodal analysis of micro-level interactions in leadership practices. While this emerging body of multimodal research is encouraging, further research is needed to explore how non-verbal resources facilitate emerging leadership construction.

Finally, discursive leadership construction in the Asian context has not yet been sufficiently investigated. Most discursive leadership studies have been conducted in western contexts among speakers of languages such as English, German, Danish and Swedish (e.g., Barske, 2009; Nielsen, 2009; Vine, Holmes, Marra, Pfeifer, & Jackson, 2008), and the existing body of discursive leadership literature does not contain much research on leadership construction in Asian settings. To the best of my knowledge,

there have been a few empirical studies of leadership in micro-level interactions in

Hong Kong settings (Choi & Schnurr, 2013; Yeung, 1998). As China is undergoing

unprecedented rapid economic growth, Mandarin Chinese is increasingly gaining

ground in international business meetings and negotiations. Further investigation on

leadership practices in Chinese settings is needed in order to provide more insights on

leadership construction in various cultural contexts.

In summary, the gaps the present research aims to fill include those of insufficient

investigation of the dynamic negotiation process in constructing emerging leadership,

inadequate information on various discursive strategies by which distinct leadership

styles are constructed, the lack of attention to discursive predictors of leadership

emergence, the lesser-studied multimodal channels such as prosodic cues and

nonverbal behaviors in leadership emergence, and the lack of research on discursive

leadership construction in the Chinese context.

3. Methodology and analytical framework

This chapter elaborates on the research questions, research methods, and analytical framework of the present study. This lays the foundation for the later detailed analysis of the data , which comprise group interactions and follow-up interviews.

3.1. Research questions

The previous chapter pointed out a number of research gaps, including a lack of discursive studies of leadership emergence in Chinese settings, inadequate investigation of sequential negotiation processes in constructing emerging leadership, and insufficient research on multimodal interactional strategies in constructing emerging leadership in distinct manners.

In response to these gaps, I postulate the central research question for the present study as follows: 'how do interactants construct emerging leadership in Chinese group interaction?'.

More specifically, this broad 'how' question can be unpacked into the following three questions:

1) How do participants claim and negotiate emerging leadership sequentially in processes?

2) What interactional strategies do participants employ to construct emerging

leadership in different manners?

3) What are the interactional predictors of leadership emergence, according to participants' perceptions and statistical analysis?

3.2. Methods and data

Due to the complexity of leadership emergence and practice , this research adopts a combination of methods to address the three research questions posed above. As the focus is on the discursive construction of emerging leadership, interactional data on leadership emergence practices are needed for discursive observation and analysis. However, such interactional data in isolation may be insufficient to explain interactants' perceptions regarding how leaders emerge in the interaction, as perceptions of who the emerging leaders were in an interaction and what made these leaders emerge may vary from one particiant to another. The complexity of leadership as an interpretation-rich concept and a lived experience requires multiple data sources to supply supportive evidence. Vine et al., (2008) advocate the employment of participants' self-report data to triangulate the analysis of the interactional data in discursive leadership studies. Ladegaard (2011) and Spencer-Oatey (2011) further suggest that follow-up interview data, together with the recorded conversational interaction data, may be more beneficial in providing fine-grained microanalysis of talk-in-interaction. Therefore, the present study employed video recordings of leadership emergence practices and conducted follow-up interviews with interaction

participants, thus collecting both interactional and interview data. The video recordings of participants' interactions allow detailed examination of actual performance in the process of constructing leadership, while the follow-up interview data reveals participants' perceptions of leadership emergence in the recorded interactions.

3.2.1. Leaderless group discussion

As reviewed in section 2.3, a specific type of informal meeting, namely the LGD (Bass, 1954, 1949, 1981), is conducive to exploring leadership emergence. Contrary to formal meetings, in which official leaders hierarchically assume greater power, in an LGD, group members begin with approximately equal status and have to rely on the talk-in-interaction to 'do' or enact leadership so as to emerge as informal leaders. Therefore, this study employed LGDs to investigate the processes of leadership emergence.

The task designed for the LGDs was a problem-solving task that required participants to plan a cultural event, namely a 'Chinese Night' to introduce Chinese culture to international students at their university, in a 30 to 40-minute discussion.

This task ensured that every participant had equal access to the topic, and the topic did not favor one gender over the other. If a particular gender had easier access to or s more interest in the assigned topic, the emergence of leadership might be significantly

affected (Türetgen, et al., 2008). For example, the topic of 'how to plan a wedding' favors females, who would likely dominate such a discussion, as it would appeal more to women than men (Ritter & Yoder, 2004). Furthermore, the topic of Chinese culture also avoided assigning epistemic authority to certain types of participants. For instance, a topic such as 'how to open a bakery ' would allow participants with more experience in or knowledge of business, entrepreneurship, finance, or baking skills to obtain higher experience-based entitlement to lead the discussion. As all participants were native Chinese speakers from China, they had approximately similar epistemic access to the topic of Chinese culture.

More importantly, as the task was to plan a student social event at the university—the sort of task that most college students may have joined or experienced—it was arguably relatively close to real college life, and would therefore not require, the participants, either implicitly or explicitly, to assume different social roles in the discussion, as would be required in role-playing tasks, for example, which are severely criticized among scholars who adopt a CA approach to the micro-analysis of interactions (Liddicoat, 2011).

The present study also did not provide an incentive for participants to compete, as incentives have been shown to potentially influence leader emergence, and different type of incentive may result in different group dynamics (Lips & Keener, 2007).

Furthermore, the participants may be more inclined to report themselves as leaders in the follow-up interviews if they believe this will earn them a reward. Therefore, no incentives were offered for participants to compete for a reward, as it may have affected both the interaction process and the interview results.

3.2.2. Follow-up interviews

The predominant method employed by previous studies to collect participants' ideas on leadership emergence invloves questionnaires requiring participants to rate one another's leadership performances in terms of scales (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Brunell et al., 2008; Dal Forno & Merlone, 2006; Taggar et al., 1999). However, scaled questionnaires with closed questions stress who the leader(s) is/are, and do not probe into participants' perceptions of how the leaders emerged and why they rated one another in a particular way. After comparing data from questionnaire-based surveys with interview data, Bolden and Gosling (2006) argue that self-report data from follow-up interviews are enlightening in delineating a clearer picture of leadership in actual practices. Hence, the present study included follow-up interviews with open-ended questions in order to explore participants' perceptions of how informal leaders emerged from the talk-in-interaction, and what made them do so.

In addition, because the interviews were about leadership emergence, I took pains to avoid misleading terms, such as '领导者(leader)' and '追随者(followers)' in the

phrasing of the interview questions, as these might have pre-ascribed categories to group members. Instead, the verb '领导 (to lead)' was employed to highlight leadership actions, rather than categorical attributions.

The interview protocol was comprised of seven questions. Participants were required to rank each group member in terms of their leadership, from leading the most to leading the least. The question was worded as follows: '请按照领导讨论的不同程度，把组员排序(领导讨论最多到领导讨论最少的) (Please rank each group member according to the extent that they lead the group discussion (from the one leading the most to the one leading the least).)' Participants were also asked to point out specific behaviors they perceived as having helped the emerging leaders construct leadership, as in this question '这个人/这些人是怎么领导讨论的？能指出具体的地方么？比如语言，动作，手势等等？ (Can you identify how this person/ these persons led the discussion, such as through language, movement or gesture?)'. (See Appendix 3 for details on the interview protocol.)

3.2.3. Participants

Although LGDs are pervasively conducted in corporate settings, the present study arranged LGDs in an educational setting. Admittedly, the corporate context is highly relevant for studies of leadership; however, the non-corporate context is also an important arena for leadership practices. Allan, Gordan, and Iverson (2006), in a

review of studies of leadership in higher educational settings, argue that the investigation of leadership in higher educational contexts could enrich academic understanding of leadership practices. A later empirical study also demonstrates that research on leadership in higher educational contexts is valuable for expanding the scope of studies of leadership (Berkelaar, Williams, & Linvill, 2009). Furthermore, as students in higher educational settings are going to be practitioners in various corporate contexts, studying the interactions in which their leadership emerges may enlighten the research field regarding the leadership practices of practitioners to-be. Carroll, Levy and Richmond (2008) contend that leadership is not only associated with top management, as middle and lower level employees also practice leadership in interactions. Given that college graduates are expected initially to join corporations as middle or low-level employees, the interactions in which they construct emerging leadership in higher educational contexts are of particular significance for understanding their leadership behaviors later in the workplaces.

This study therefor explores the interactional mechanisms involved in leadership emergence in higher education settings with undergraduate Mandarin Chinese-speaking students as participants. A total of 32 participants (16 male, 16 female) in two universities in Mid-eastern China were randomly invited to participate in the research project by taking part in one of the eight LGDs. To avoid possible influences of participants' background and relational history on their patterns of interaction, I invited

students of similar age (Mean=21.3), who attended the same university but barely

knew each other to form the discussion groups. According to previous psychological

research on leader emergence, psychological factors such as participants' personality,

family situations, and life experiences may have a great influence on who emerge as a

group's leader. However, the focus of this study is on the interactional strategies and

resources people employ to emerge as group leaders. The influence of such factors is

therefore only discussed if they were made relevant by the participants in the

interaction.

3.2.4. Data collection procedure

As mentioned above, eight LGDs, each involving four participants (two female, two

male) were organized at two universities in two big cities in China, namely Wuhan and

Shanghai. Participants were required to sign consent forms (see Appendix 2) and also

to complete personal information forms, before the discussion.

Before each discussion, I informed the participants that the purpose of the study was to

investigate the relationship between interaction and grammar. The purpose of

investigating emerging leadership was disclosed to the participants at the end of

follow-up interviews. This was in an effort to ensure that the interactions were as

natural as possible and to avoid participants becoming extremely competitive in order

to position themselves purposefully as leaders, as that may have affected the whole

interaction processes and dynamics.

I then explained the discussion task to the participants orally (see Appendix 1 for the brief explanation). No detailed guidelines or leading questions were provided, so as to avoid setting a pre-defined agenda, and to leave more room for the participants to negotiate the discussion agenda. Each participant was provided a piece of blank paper in case they wanted to take notes.

All group discussions were video-recorded in order to keep track of the vocal and visuospatial channels for later multimodal analysis. Each discussion was approximately 30 to 40 minutes. The total length of the video recordings of the eight discussions was 5.2 hours. As in this study aimed to identify recurring patterns of interactional processes and strategies on a micro level, this five-hour corpus was considered adequate for the relevant interactional processes and strategies to reappear with satisfactory frequency.

After each discussion was completed, I held an individual face-to face-interview of approximately five to eight minutes with each participant. The total length of interview recordings was four hours.

Although the present research is not concerned with psychological factors, such as the

personality traits and beliefs that made leaders emerge, the impact of factors related to the discussion arrangement that may have eschewed the process by which leadership was constructed had to be minimized. Research has shown that factors like the proportion of participants of different genders, seating arrangements and group size are all influential in leadership emergence (Bass, 1954; Brunell et al., 2008; Ensari, Riggio, Christian, & Carslaw, 2011; Kent & Moss, 1994; Taggar, Hackett, & Saha, 1999; Türetgen, Unsal, & Erdem, 2008). Therefore, the discussions were organized in the following manner to filter out the possible effects of factors other than the interaction itself that could have potentially impacted the emergence of leadership. As mentioned above, each LGD invloved two male and two female participants to balance out the gender effect. The participants were randomly seated at a table in a discussion room, avoiding the tendency for those sitting in the middle to be treated as leaders. In addition, I ensured that the participants were barely acquainted with one another before the discussion in order to eliminate the possibility of pre-established power asymmetry.

The seating and camera settings were arranged in one of the two configurations shown in Fig. 3.1 and 3.2.
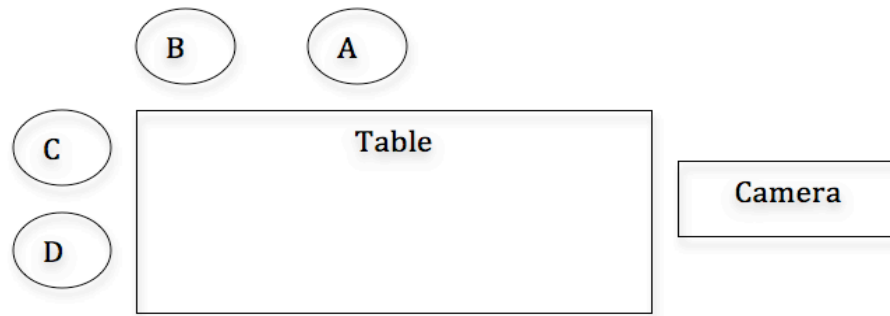
Figure 3.1 Set-up for HUST1-HUST4
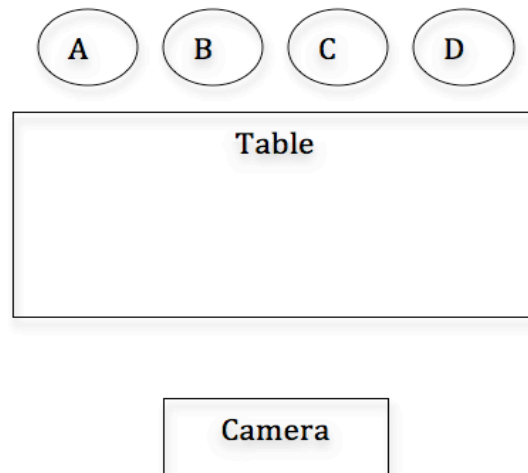
Figure 3.2 Set-up for SH1-SH4

The experimental setting and the presence of the camera in front of the participants may, however, have impacted on their behaviors, especially in the first several minutes. To reduce the effects of the 'participant-observer paradox' (Duranti, 1997, p. 118), I left the room with the camera rolling once the participants were starting to discuss. The influence of the presence of the camera was regarded as not relevant to the interpretation of the interaction unless it was intentionally 'treated as relevant by participants' (Kent, 2011, p. 40). In the current data, there was only one instance in which the camera was made relevant, when participants pointed to the camera while asking an intruding student to leave.

3.3. Bottom-up analytical framework

In order to address the first two research questions, the main analysis rests on the interactional data. CA was employed to conduct a bottom-up analysis of the interactional data, as this theoretically echoes the conceptualization of leadership advocated by recent discursive research, and is empirically advantageous in revealing recurring patterns in interaction. The analysis of the interview data was based on detailed examination of participants' responses to specific questions. To identify the interactional predictors of leadership emergence, analysis of the correlation between certain interactional strategies and leadership emergence was conducted. A coding system was adopted to evaluate the relative assertiveness of a given utterance. In addition, mediation tests were conducted to determine why dominant speakers are more likely to be perceived as emerging leaders.

3.3.1. Conversation analysis of interactional data

CA is rooted in the ethnomethodological tradition of Erving Goffman (1955, 1983) and Harold Garfinkel (1967), holding a position that social interaction is a form of social life and is achieved in an incremental manner. Under the influence of these two scholars, Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson established CA as an independent theory and methodology (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Sacks, 1992). CA aims to unveil the hidden structures and processes in the talk-in-interaction

of everyday practices. Turn-taking organization and sequence organization are two main machanisms upon which CA focuses its analysis.

Turn-taking organization is one of the rudiments of talk-in-interaction. The basic unit of a turn is turn-constructional unit (TCU), which can be recognized grammatically, prosodically and interactionally (cf. Schegloff, 2007, p. 3-4). Classic works on turn-taking organization report a number of recurring rules in conversation (Sacks et al., 1974; Sacks, 1992). Firstly, only one speaker talks at a time. Some overlapping may occur, but this is only temporary. Secondly, change of speakership may occur when a TCU is about to reach its possible completion. That position is called a transition-relevant place (TRP), meaning that a transition to the next speaker is potentially possible at that point. Speaker transition occurs when another participant initiates an utterance at the TRP. Otherwise, the transition will not occur. Thirdly, there are three possibilities for turn-allocation. The current speaker can self-select to be the next speaker; if the current speaker does not select him/herself, he/she could choose another speaker to take the next turn; if the current speaker neither self-selects nor selects another speaker, another speaker could self-select to talk next. Generally, turn-taking organization is observed as 'locally managed', 'party-administered' and 'interactionally controlled', meaning that turn-taking recurs at TRPs on a turn-by-turn basis and is co-monitored by the present speaker and the other participants to achieve interactional goals (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, 1974, p. 725).

Sequence organization is the second type of essential mechanism in talk-in-interaction.

According to Schegloff (2007, p. 2), sequence organization entails 'the organization of

courses of action enacted through turns-at-talk—coherent, orderly, meaningful

successions or 'sequences' of actions or 'moves''. That is, conversation progresses in

sequences in which the first turn makes the next turn relevant, and when the next turn

is uttered, likewise, it projects the next turn. An adjacency pair is a fundamental

concept in understanding sequence. An adjacency pair is composed of two turns

uttered by different speakers in adjacent positions—the first pair part and second pair

part. The second pair part is normatively responsive to the first pair part. For example,

a greeting is expected in response to a greeting, an answer in response to a question. In

other words, adjacency pairs are type-specific in that the first pair part 'makes a limited

set of possible second pair parts' (Schegloff, 2007, p. 16).

An adjacency pair can be expanded in any of three positions—pre-expansion, insert

expansion, and post expansion. Pre-expansion proffers preliminary sequences or

utterances just prior to the base adjacency pair. The pre-sequences are normatively

designed for the hearers to project specific types of adjacency pairs, for instance, a pre-

offer, pre-invitation, pre-announcement, or pre-telling. In insert expansion, sequences

are placed between the base first pair part and the base second pair part. Although the

insert sequence defers the base second pair part in form, it is oriented toward

reinforcing the base second pair part. Post expansion is positioned after the base

second pair part in order to close the sequence. The minimal unit of post expansion is the sequence-closing thirds (SCTs), indicating the closure of the sequence. For example, linguistic forms such as 'oh', 'okay', 'I see', and assessments are all frequently used as SCTs in interaction.

Preference organization is also an important concept in sequence organization. In adjacency pairs, if the second pair part enables or supports the on-going of the action at the moment, it is preferred; otherwise, it is dispreferred. In this regard, although agreement is socially preferred on most occasions, agreement to a self-deprecation of a prior speaker is dispreferred as it fails to support the speaker according to social convention (Pomerantz, 1984). Hence, rather than referring to psychological liking, preference organization is a kind of 'structural relationship of sequence parts' (Schegloff, 2007, p. 61). Pomerantz (1984) illustrates on the basis of agreement and disagreement in assessment sequences that preferred second pair parts share similar sequential structural patterns—short, direct, and uttered immediately after a preceding turn—whereas the disprefered second pair part is most often mitigated, explained with accounts, and delayed in position.

In fact, even before leadership scholars began to pay attention to the micro conversation analytical research on leadership practices, CA researchers had investigated the sequence organization of institutional conversations in the workplace

(Drew & Heritage, 1992). Boden (1994) proposes studying talk-in-interaction in meetings—a crucial arena for leadership practices.

In addition, as reviewed in section 2.3.1, previous discursive studies of leadership have demonstrated the advantages of using sequence organization to analyze leadership processes. For instance, Clifton (2006) conducted a fine grained conversation analysis of interactional machineries interactants employed in business meetings. Svennevig (2008) analyzed several extracts from leadership practices to show that CA could provide empirical evidence for various ways of 'doing' leadership, and effectively reflect the context of social interactions.

The analytical framework for the interactional data in the present study therefore adopts conversation analysis. Specifically, to address the research question on leadership processes, the discursive analysis concentrates on sequence organization. Fairhurst and Uhl-Bien (2012) point out that for studies using CA to investigate leadership, 'agenda setting and decision making' are two focal aspects (p. 1048). Therefore, the conversation analysis of leadership construction processes in this study also focuses on the actions of agenda-setting and decision-making, which are enacted with proposal sequences and decision-making sequences. The present conversation analysis aims to reveal the sequences of how speakers propose agendas and announce decisions, and how they respond to and negotiate with one another.

To address the second research question on interactional strategies that enact different manners of constructing leadership, the analysis focused on multimodal channels. These channels were grouped into vocal and visuospatial modalities as suggested by Sidnell and Stivers (2005). The vocal modality includes sequential arrangements, linguistic constructions and prosodic contours, whereas the visuospatial modality includes facial expressions, gestures, body postures, and head movements. In terms of the sequential aspect, the turn-taking mechanism was the focus, specifically to determine whether speakers cuts off a prior speaker's turn, speeds up speaking rate to compete with others to take a turn or whether speakers indicate possible turn completions for others to take the next turn. In terms of linguistic resources, the linguistic formats of relevant utterances and mitigation makers were carefully examined.

To analyze the prosodic features of key utterances essential in leadership construction, such as utterances of proposals that initiate agendas or those of decision announcements that close decision-making sequences, the computer program PRAAT was used to measure pitch (fundamental frequency), loudness (intensity) and tempo (speech rate). Following Stadler's (2007) way of analyzing the prosodic features of disagreement, the means and ranges of these three features were calculated to allow further analysis and comparison between neutral utterances and key utterances for leadership construction. In analyzing the prosodic features of key utterances, it is

important to note that features of neutral utterances of the same speaker were used as the baseline. In terms of what was regarded as a significant difference in the three above mentioned features, I again followed Stadler's (2007) criteria, namely a 5%-7% difference in pitch (p. 182), 1DB difference in loudness (p. 179) and a 15% difference in tempo (p. 182).

The data were transcribed in accordance with the transcription conventions of CA (Jefferson, 2004) and multimodal studies (Stadler, 2007). The first four lines of an utterance transcription provide the original utterance in Mandarin Chinese, the Chinese *Pinyin*, the English word-by-word gloss, and the English translation. The fifth to seventh lines, respectively, present information on the three multimodal channels, namely, eye gaze, hand gestures, and head movements. If there was no change in the given channels during the speakers' utterance, the relevant line is absent from the transcript. An example transcription is given below.

Example 1

```
1    Amy:    →   不过   好   贵              啊   我   觉得
                 buguo hao  gui             a   wo  juede
                 But   very expensive       PT  1SG think
                 (but it's very expensive, in my opinion)
        Gaze      |···Gazing at the script···||···divert gaze to Fay···|
2    Kate:   →   呵呵
                 hehe
                 (laughter)
        Gaze      |···Gazing at Amy···|
```

3.3.2. Analytical method of interview data

With regard to the interview data, which was gathered to complement the interactional

data, the analysis is based on the content of the participants' responses to each of the interview questions. Answers were coded in terms of participants' ratings of one another's leadership and multimodal interactional strategies that led to leaders' emergence in their discussions. This analysis was also bottom-up in that no theoretical assumptions were made prior to the analysis of the interview data itself, and the strategies were generalized on the basis of participants' report of specific actions.

The qualitative analysis of the interview data concentrated on two themes, namely, participants' perceptions of what counts as 'leading' and the multimodal resources that help construct leadership. Firstly, it was critical for the present study to collect participants' views on how they perceived 'leading' in their group interactions. Secondly, the participants' perceptions allowed triangulation with the discursive findings based on the interactional data. Although the participants were not themselves linguistic researchers familiar with specific linguistic terminology, their perceptions of how they and others used multimodal resources to construct leadership in their groups may provide more evidence regarding leadership construction and negotiation.

The analysis of the interview data involved three steps. The first step was to analyze each individual interview and extract the given participant's perceptions of the emerging leadership they experienced in the group interactions and the multimodal resources in constructing leadership. In the second step, the four interviews from each

group discussion were analyzed together in order to identify the group's perceptions of leadership and the multimodal resources used in each group. The third step was to combine all the interview data and calculate the recurring frequencies of interactional strategies perceived as effective to construct leadership emergence. The interactional strategies reported most frequently as constructing emerging leadership were identified.

3.3.3. Statistical analysis of interactional predictors of leadership emergence

In order to address the third research question—what are the interactional predictors of leadership emergence in small groups—quantitative analysis was conducted of the interactional practices and leadership emergence.

In the follow-up interviews, each participant was asked to rank the four participants in the group in terms of the extent to which they led the group. To quantify the evaluation of leadership emergence, these rankings were converted to a leadership score for each participant. For each participant's ratings, the participant rated the most leader-like was assigned a score of 4, the second most leader-like 3, the third most leader-like 2, and the least leader-like 1. Thus, the leadership scores for an individual participant could be anything from 4(1×4) to 16(4×4). For example, Han[2] in SH_G1 was rated as the second most leader-like by himself and as the most leader-like by all three groupmates, giving him a leadership score of 3×1+4×3=15.

---

[2] I used pseudonyms to maintain the anonymity of the participants.

The interactional data were then reexamined in terms of each participant's total number of turns, number of proposal-making turns, decision-announcement turns, and number of proposal and decision-announcement turns that got affiliated. Correlation analysis and mediation tests were conducted on the above-examined interactional practices and leadership emergence scores using SPSS.

In addition, this study also explores whether manners of constructing leadership influence leadership emergence. As the previous discursive studies have shown that leadership construction occurs in two manners, domineering vs. facilitative, the current study expected similar findings for emerging leadership construction.

To evaluate the relative domineering-ness of individual utterances, each proposals, and decision announcements was coded in terms of assertiveness according to a multimodal coding system. The domineering-ness values of the relevant utterances of each participant were added, yielding a sum score of domineering-ness for each participant.

To code the level of assertiveness of individual utterances, the present study adopted the coding system developed by Stadler (2011), which provides a set of criteria by which to determine the explicitness of an utterance (see Fig. 3.3).

Coding category	Explicitness of category	Assigned value
Autonomy	Autonomous	2
	Moderately autonomous	1
	Not autonomous	0
Syntax-function correlation	Does correlate	1
	Does not correlate	0
Reference	Does refer to prior utterance	1
	Does not refer to prior utterance	0
Structural indication	Five indicators	5
	Four indicators	4
	Three indicators	3
	Two indicators	2
	One indicator	1
	Zero indication	0

Figure 3.3 Coding system of explicitness (Stadler, 2011, p.40)

The coding system was revised for coding utterances used for making proposals and announcing decisions. The more explicitly the proposal and decision announcement was delivered, the more domineeringly the speaker was regarded as claiming the leadership position.

In Stadler's (2011) coding system, 'autonomy' refers to whether the interpretation of the utterance relies on the context, and the 'syntax-function correlation' entails whether or not the syntactic structure of the utterance corresponds to the function the utterance realizes. For example, the syntactic structure for disagreement with a prior turn would be 'statement with negation'. If the disagreement were delivered in an interrogative format, the structure and the function would not be correlated. 'Structural indication' entails the number of indicators of explicitness, such as interruption and discourse markers. 'Reference' is concerned with whether or not the current utterance mentions the prior utterance. This category was designed specifically for coding disagreement, as there must be something in the prior utterance to be disagreed with, whether or not it

is pointed out in the disagreement. Therefore, the current coding system excluded reference as a coding category.

Building on Stadler's (2011) coding system above, the analysis in this study coded for the domineering-ness of proposals and decision announcements in multimodal channels. The modified system contained four coding categories: autonomy, syntax-function correlation, structural indication, and multimodal indication (see Table 3.1). 'Autonomy' indicates whether the proposal/decision announcement would still be interpreted as such without the context. For instance, '我觉得还有很多细节问题 (I think there are still some specific problems)' could be interpreted as a pure statement of the current situation, but not as a proposal, if the context were not considered, and so would be categorized as 'not autonomous'. For the 'syntax-function correlation' code, the proposal had to correspond to the format of an imperative and the decision announcement to the format of a statement. As for 'structural indication', domineering and facilitative indicators were drawn from the discursive findings of Chapter 5, according to which the indicators of domineering-ness were found to be 1) holding onto speakership; 2) lack of discourse markers of mitigation like hedges, sound stretches and repair; and 3) deontic modal verbs. The facilitative indicators were found to be 1) distributing speakership, and 2) discourse markers of mitigation, such as sound stretches and repairs. For the last coding category 'multimodal indication', the domineering multimodal indicators reported in Chapter 5 included assertive prosodic

cues and nonverbal cues, whereas the facilitative multimodal indicators were softening

prosodic cues and nonverbal movements (see Chapter 5 for detailed analysis and

examples).

Coding category	Explicitness of category	Assigned value
Autonomy	Autonomous	2
	Moderately autonomous	1
	Not Autonomous	0
Syntax-function correlation	Does correlate	1
	Does not correlate	0
Structural indication	Three domineering indicators	3
	Two domineering indicators	2
	One domineering indicator	1
	Zero domineering indicator	0
	One facilitative indicator	-1
	Two facilitative indicators	-2
Multimodal indication	Two domineering indicators	2
	One domineering indicator	1
	Zero domineering indicator	0
	One facilitative indicator	-1
	Two facilitative indicator	-2

Table 3.1 Coding system for domineering-ness of utterances in the current study

Table 3.2 presents an application of the coding system for a proposal.

Prior utterance	太好了！那咱们活动方式就定了，Oh yeah！呵呵 (Great! So our event's format is decided, oh yeah! hehe)		
Proposal	嗯，然后，正好说到这个活动，你说到这个人力物力， <u>咱们就直接说外联吧</u> (hm, then, happened to talk about this, you said about man power and material, LET'S then DIRECTLY TALK about sponsors)		
	Value		
Autonomy	Autonomous	Yes (+2)	2
	Moderately autonomous		
	Not Autonomous		
Syntax-function correlation	Does correlate	Yes (+1)	1
	Does not correlate		
Structural indication	holding onto speakership	Yes (+1)	0
	mitigators	Yes (-1)	
Multimodal indication	Higher pitch and intensity	Yes (+1)	0
	Mutual gaze	Yes (-1)	
Total			3

Table 3.2 Application of the current coding system

Each participant's utterances of proposals and decision announcements were coded to generate a domineering-ness score for each utterance. These scores were added for each participant to generate an overall score reflecting the domineering-ness of each participant's utterances. Correlation analysis was conducted with these scores and the leadership scores for the participants using SPSS.

4. Collaborative processes of emerging leadership construction

In this chapter, I present the analysis of sequence organization to examine the processes in which leadership was constructed in the LGDs by means of collaboration among prominent participants who claimed leadership positions and those who granted or negotiated leadership claims. First, I illustrate the basic leadership processes entialing little negotiation with two types of sequences: the agenda-related proposal sequence and the decision-making sequence. I then present six possible ways in which participants in the current corpus negotiated leadership claims in such sequences. Following this, multi-round negotiation processes constructed with agenda-related proposal and decision-making sequences are described. Finally, a discussion of the findings is provided and a general pattern of the leadership construction process is summarized on the basis of the present data analysis.

All eight of the group discussions in this study displayed an over-arching pattern for topic development in which the participants collaborated to first set an agenda by initiating a topic to discuss, and then implemented the agenda by discussing the proposed topic, finally making a decision on the topic (see Fig.4.1). This topic development structure aligns with prior research findings (Fairhurst & Cooren, 2004; Larsson & Lundholm, 2013) that frame the structure as a 'template that specifies how episodes are to be initiated, fulfilled and sanctioned' (Larsson & Lundholm, 2013, p.

1106). In the topic development structure found in the current data, the episodes were

initiated by proposals to discuss a certain topic, fulfilled by suggestions on the

proposed topic, and sanctioned by a decision made on the discussed topic. After a

decision on the topic was made, one or more of the participants initiated proposals for

the next topic, which in turn started another round of topic development. The phase of

setting the agenda was realized by the participants initiating a topic. The phase of

implementing the agenda was enacted by participants discussing the proposed topic,

and the last phase of making a decision was realized by participants making a decision

on the discussed topic.
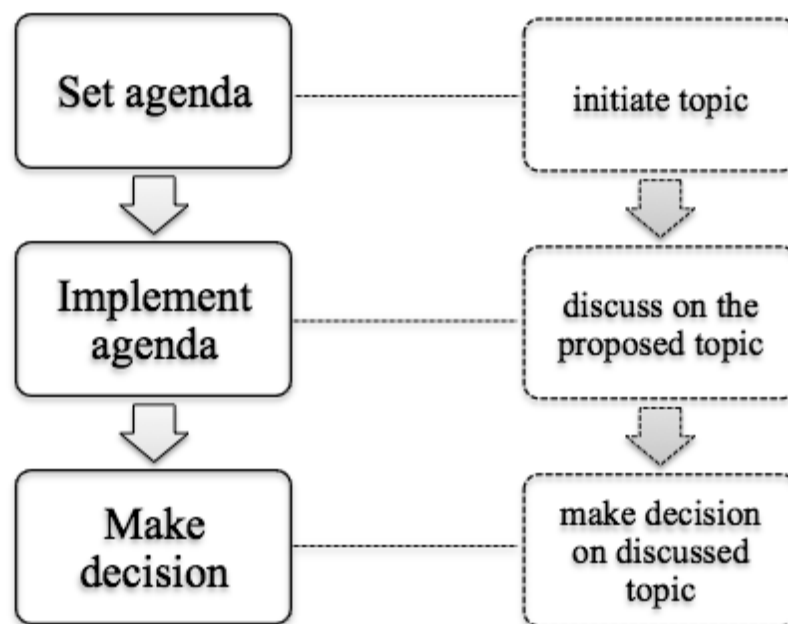
Figure 4.1 Structure of basic unit in topic development

As discussed in Chapter 2, the working definition of leadership in this research

highlights two actions: agenda-setting, by which discussion on a new topic is initiate,

and decision-making, by which agreement on the discussed topic is achieved. In other

words, agenda-setting is more about what topic to be discussed in the immediate

discussion context, whereas decision-making is concerned more with what solutions are agreed upon to be executed at the event after the discussion. In examining the data, I found that participants did indeed claim, negotiate and grant leadership mainly in agenda-setting and decision-making phases in the course of topic development.

Two basic sequences were identified in the current study as critical for achieving the two leadership actions: the agenda-related proposal sequence and the decision-making sequence. Agenda-setting and decision-making in the present data were accomplished in two ways: the basic processes with little negotiation, and extended processes with negotiations expanding the relevant sequences. Co-participants either granted or negotiated leadership claims sequentially in the interaction, but given the non-hierarchical setting, leadership claims were most often negotiated. A total of 159 agenda-related proposal sequences and 164 decision-making sequences were identified in the eight group interactions.

4.1. Basic leadership construction processes

In the present corpus, basic leadership construction processes with little negotiation were found to occur within minimal proposal sequences and minimal decision-making sequences. In the basic processes, leadership was constructed in two steps: first, leadership was claimed by a participant making a proposal and/or decision announcements; the second step entailed the leadership claims being granted by other

participants, who implemented the proposal or agreed with the decision announcement.

The following sections demonstrates with detailed examples how leadership was

claimed and granted by means of the basic proposal and basic decision-making

sequences.

4.1.1. Basic processes with agenda-related proposal sequences

As reviewed in Chapter 2, a miminal adjaciency pair of an agenda-related proposal

sequence takes the form of [proposal+implementation]. In this basic sequence, the first

speaker delivers an agenda-realted proposal, making a suggestion regarding the

direction of the discussion, claiming a leadership position to control the agenda, while

the other participants implement the proposal to show affiliation with the first speaker,

endorsing the leadership position claimed by the proposal maker.

The example in Extract 4.1 below shows clearly how leadership is claimed and granted

without negotiation in two proposal sequences with a [proposal+implementation]

organization. This extract happened at the very beginning of a group discussion

invloving Ming, Chao, Cui and Jing.

Extract 4.1_'come, discuss!'

```
1    Ming:  ➔   来   吧(...)讨论      吧, 中国      之    夜:
                 lai ba(…) taolun  ba,zhongguo zhi   ye:
                 Come PT(…)discuss PT,China   –PT    Night:
                 (Let's start, Let's discuss, Chinese Night:)
2    Chao:  ➔   =活动        地点
                 =huodong didian
                 =Event     location
                 (=event location)
3    Cui:       =云南:  园:
```

```
=Yunnan: yuan:
=Yunnan: Garden:
(Yunan Garden)
```

In line 1, Ming initiates an agenda-related proposal with two short imperatives in the

form of [verb+sentence final particle *ba*], asking the participants to start discussing. In

Mandarin Chinese, imperatives request others to behave as suggested by the person

who utters the imperative; in addition, the sentence final particle *ba* solicits affiliation

from the recipients (Li & Thompson, 1989). By doing this, Ming displays his claim of

entitlement to mobilize the group. Following this, he continues to utter the keywords of

the discussion, 'Chinese Night', which points out the next topic to be discussed. This

kind of short citation of listed topic keywords has been found to be a typical way in

which chairpersons advances a discussion (Svennevig, 2012). In this context, the

statement of the keywords facilitates Ming's assertion of high entitlement to lead the

group in initiating discussion.

The other participants seem to treat Ming's claim of leadership as unproblematic, as

seen in line 2 where Chao responds to the proposal without any transition gap between

the previous utterance and his own turn (a behavior known as 'latching').. He cites the

keywords of the proposed topic in the same format as Ming did. In doing so, he first

implements Ming's initial proposal by starting the discussion, specifically on the

question of the event location, acknowledging Ming's claim of leadership, and at the

same time, he makes the implementation hearable as a proposal that suggests the team

discuss the topic of event location, by which he claims his own entitlement to influence

the discussion agenda.

In the next turn, Cui responds to Chao's proposal by latching to contribute a concrete idea. This is, again, an implementation of the previous proposal of next topic made by Chao, showing acceptance of Chao's entitlement claimed in line 2. Cui's latching indicates that she ratifies Chao's claim without hesitation.

As described above, both Ming's and Chao's leadership are claimed and granted without much negotiation through the minimal adjacent pair [proposal+implementation].

4.1.2.   Basic processes with decision-making sequences

As described in Chapter 2, the miminal adjaciency pair for a decision-making sequence takes the organization of [decision announcement+decision confirmation]. In this basic sequence, the first speaker delivers a decision announcement suggesting that the group reach an agreement or decision to close the on-going topic, which claims a leadership position to make a decision; while the other participants agree to the decision announcement by confirming the decision and thus endorsing the leadership position claimed by the decision announcer.

Aside from the formulation sequence reviewed in section 2.3.1.2, another type of

decision-making sequence occured in the present data, namely [suggestion+agreement/disagreement+ writing]. In such a sequence, a suggestion differs from a formulation in that a suggestion proposes a solution for the first time, whereas a formulation restates a solution discussed in a prior stretch of talk. Additionally, unlike a formulation, a suggestion is not categorically bound to an authorized leader; on the contrary, any participants may offer a suggestion. Whether or not the suggestion initiates a decision-making process depends on how the recipients react to it. If the recipients agree to the suggestion and write it down as a decision, they orient to this suggestion as opening a decision-making process and writing down the suggestion marks the closure of the process. Clifton (2009) reports that only a chairperson can 'retrospectively orient to' the prior talk as doing decision-making (p. 61). In the present data, however, the action of writing down a suggestion as a decision actually indexed the orientation toward the suggestion as opening a decision-making process.

In a decision-making sequence taking formulation and suggestion as its decision announcement, the sequence approaches its end when the formulation is agreed upon or the suggestion is written down. However, if there is disagreement on the formulation/suggestion, further turns may be required to expand the sequence until agreement is achieved. Thus, in the current corpus, the basic general organization of the decision-making process was of the structure [decision

announcement+agreement/disagreement+ decision confirmation], in which a decision

announcement takes the forms of a formulation or suggestion, and decision

confirmation includes re-statement of the decision or writing it down.

The two extracts presented below (Extracts 4.2, and 4.3) illustrate the above-mentioned

basic decision-making sequence in which leadership is claimed and granted with little

negotiation.

In the stretch of talk prior to Extract 4.2, the group was discussing how large the site

for the event should be, and every participant gave their opinion.

Extract 4.2 HUST_G3_ 'as large as a playground'

```
 69  Wen:   那 这样      的话，     场地      基本上        就是：：    像
             na zheyang dehua,changdi jibenshang jiushi::   xiang
             then like this, site     basically  is::       like
             操场          那么 大
             caochang    name da
             playground that  big
             (If like what we said, the site basically is:: as
             large as a playground)
 70  Qi:    对
             dui
             right
             (right)
 71  Wen:   ((Writing))
```

In line 69, Wen initiates a formulation, summarizing what the group agreed upon

regarding the size of the site. He starts his turn by indicating that the formulation to

follow is based on what the group has agreed upon, and then delivers the formulation

in the form of a statement. By initiating this formulation, Wen claims a leadership

position by announcing a decision for the group. Immediately after that, Qi agrees with

Wen's formulation, granting Wen's claim of leadership. In the third turn, Wen writes it

down to confirm it as the group decision. This action of writing further consolidates

Wen's leadership construction, so that the announced decision is not only agreed on by

the group but also recorded as the group decision.

Prior to Extract 4.3, the group was discussing the name of one particular program at

the event.

Extract 4.3 SH_G3 'Can!'

```
563   Che:  展望   中国   新 未来？
            Zhanwang zhongguo xin weilai?
            Prospect  China    new future?
            (Prospects for the future of China?)
564   Jia:  行！
            Xing!
            Can!
            (Can!)
565   Jia:  ((Writing))
```

In line 563, Che suggests an idea for the name, '展望中国新未来 (Prospects for the

future of China)' in the form of a question. This is not a formulation as the idea is new

to the group. Furthermore, the suggestion is delivered in an interrogative format,

indexing Che's uncertainty and inviting feedback from the recipients. Unlike a

formulation, which displays a speaker's claim of entitlement to announce a decision,

this suggestion does not act as a claim to leadership. In the two lines that follow, Jia

agrees with Che's suggestion and writes it down as the group decision, orienting Che's

suggestion as a decision announcement that she agrees with and confirms. As

mentioned above, only a leader could retrospectively orient to a suggestion as a

decision announcement (Clifton, 2009); by doing so, Jia claims and confirms her

leadership position.

To sum up, in basic leadership construction processes, no matter which type, , participants need to collaborate in two steps, involving the initiation of a leadership claim and the granting of the leadership claim. While previous studies emphasize leadership initiatives, the data reviewed in this section indicates that leadership construction is not via a unidirectional effort, but a collaborative process involving all participants.

4.2. Negotiation processes in constructing emerging leadership

As found in the basic leadership processes, to initiate leadership claims, participants make agenda-related proposals and decision announcements. Responses like the implementation of a proposal and agreement with a decision announcement are employed to grant the prior speakers' leadership claims. However, in leadership practices, leadership construction processes often occur through negotiation. Section 4.2.1 illustrates six types of responses by which leadership claims are negotiated in the present corpus, and sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 further depict how negotiation processes are enacted by initiatives to claim leadership and multiple rounds of negotiation.

4.2.1. Negotiating leadership claims through responses

In the present corpus, six types of responses were identified as serving to negotiate prior speakers' leadership claims, namely positive assessment, co-construction, silence,

negative assessment, question, and new proposal/decision announcement (see Table 4.1). It is worthy of note that among the six kinds of responses,discussed and illustrated in A to F below, three negotiate both the leadership claim and the next topic/the decision, whereas three actually agree with the prior agenda and decision, but negotiate the leadership claim of the speaker who delivered the agenda-related proposals/decision announcement.

Responses	Negotiate leadership claim	Negotiate agenda/ decision
Positive assessment	yes	no
Co-construction	yes	no
Silence	yes	no
Negative assessment	yes	yes
Question	yes	yes
New proposal/ Decision announcement	yes	yes

Table 4.1 Types of responses by which leadership claims are negotiated

A. Positive assessment

Instead of short and straightforward agreement utterances, such as 'Okay', participants sometimes showed their agreement or disagreement by offering an assessment of a decision announcement. In addition, participants sometimes responded to an agenda-related proposal with an assessment rather than simply implementing the proposal.

Extract 4.4 occurs after Jia has summarized the preceding discussion on the modules that the event should contain. Jia's summary made either agreement or disagreement relevant in the next turn. However, Cha jumped in at line 270 without responding to Jia's summary; rather, he proposes another topic to discuss.

Extract 4.4 SH_G3 'rich and broad'

```
270 Cha:    我觉得    我们    该    确定    一下    中国        文化
             wojuede   women  gai  queding  yixia  zhongguo wenhua
             1SG think 1PL should decide once Chinese culture
             到底      有    哪    几个        方面
             daodi    you   na    jige        fangmian
             actually has which some-CL   aspects
             (I think  we  should decide  on  how  many  aspects
             Chinese culture has)
271 Jia: ➔  中华        文化    博  大精深 ，    源远流长
             zhonghua wenhua bo dajingshen, yuanyuanliuchang
             Chinese        culture rich  and  broad,  has  long
             tradition
             (Chinese  culture  is  so  rich  and  broad,  and  has
             long tradition)
```

Cha begins the proposal in line 270 with an '我觉得 (I think)' construction that indicates disagreement and disaffiliation with Jia's prior summary (Lim, 2011). He then continues by suggesting they talk about the aspects of Chinese culture to be introduced at the event, employing the deontic modal verb '该(should)', which implies the high authority the speaker asserts (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012).

Rather than implementing Cha's proposal, Jia in the next turn (line 271) provides a positive assessment that Chinese culture is very rich, which explains the need for the group to select certain aspects of Chinese culture to introduce. By providing an explanation for the prior proposal in the form of an assessment, Jia agrees with the proposed agenda. In addition, the positive assessment displays Jia's independent epistemic access to the proposed agenda (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), asserting her own entitlement to make the decision.

B. Co-construction

Similar to positive assessment, despite agreeing with the proposed agenda and decision, the co-construction of a proposal/decision announcement enacts a speaker's claim of epistemic independence, negotiating the leadership position made by the first proposal maker. Extract 4.5 unfolds when Wen and Qi are trying to decide where to show movies at the 'Chinese Night' event.

Extract 4.5_HUST_G3 'if like what we said'

```
73  Wen:    这 样      的 话    电 影    可以 专 门      放    在 一 个
            zheyang dehua dianying keyi zhuanmen fang zai yige
            this-PT say   movies  could specially put at one-CL
            区域, 在 游 园 会     的 某 个 位置-
            quyu,zai youyuanhui  de  mouge weizhi-
            zone, at garden party PT   some  location-
            (If like what we said, the movies could be put in
            one special zone, in the garden party's some area)
74  Qi:  ➜ =某个  区域, 一个  区域 搞  一个  特色
            =mouge  quyu, yige  quyu gao yige     tese
            =some-CL zone, one-CL zone make one-CL feature
            (=some zone, one feature for each zone)
```

In line 73, Wen formulates the discussed solution regarding where at the event to put present movies introducing Chinese culture. The initial part of his formulation '这样的话 (If like what we said)', indicates that the formulation being announced is based on the prior group discussion. The formulation makes agreement or disagreement relevant in the next turn.

However, Qi co-constructs Wen's formulation by latching in line 74, first highlighting the keywords '某个区域(some area)', then adding on a more specific explanation for the decision, which is to present movies on a particular aspect of Chinese culture in a

particular zone (line 74). By giving a further detailed explanation, in addition to the prior formulation sequentially contributed by herself and Wen, Qi claims her independent epistemic access to a decision formulation and her own right to make a decision announcement.

C. Silence

Rather than direct rejection, responding to a proposal or decision announcement with silence projects problems accepting the agenda or decision without explicitly launching an objection. It negotiates the agenda and leadership claimed by the speaker of the prior proposal/decision in a relatively mild manner.

Before the beginning of Extract 4.6, Hon and Lee were arguing over what songs should be included in the programs for various parts of the event. Hon launched a strong disagreement in an aggressive manner with a rhetorical question uttered with high pitch. Faced with Hon's aggressive challenge, Lee ultimately gives up and avoids eye contact with Hon.

Extract 4.6 SH_Group3 'Then ancient time and modern'

```
518 Hon:  那   古代  现代，(3.7)     现代    的   话，  还  可以
          Na  gudai xiandai, (3.7) xiandai de hua, hai keyi
          Then ancient modern,(3.7)modern PT say,also could
          穿- 我们   中国的        民歌     不 是    很  有
          chuan-women zhongguode minge    bu shi  hen you
          wear- 1PL   China-PT   folksong NEG be very have
          特色            吗？ 外国-                反正
          tese          ma?  Waiguo-            fanzheng
          Characteristics PT? Foreign country-   anyway
```

```
外国          是(…)   没有      那种,  中国      的
waiguo      shi(…) meiyou  nazhong, zhongguo de
foreign country be (…) no      that kind, China-PT
那种          特色!
nazhong      tese!
That kind of characteristics!
(then   about   ancient,   modern   culture,(3.7)in
performance  introducing  modern  culture,  also  can
wear- Our Chinese folk songs are unique, aren't
they? Foreign countries- anyway the foreign
countries (..) do not have that kind of Chinese
characteristics!)
```
519   ➔ (4.3)

After a period of silence, in line 518, Hon initiates a proposal suggesting that the

participants discuss modern China by bringing up the keyword of the next topic,

namely '现代 (modern)'. This kind of short proposal formatted as a keyword has been

found to be typical in enacting a leader's agenda control in business meetings in which

the agenda is in written form and available to all participants (Svennevig, 2012). In this

excerpt, by using this keyword-formatted proposal, Hon orients to the agenda as

already established in the prior discussion. After a long silence of about four seconds,

in which no one else follows up, Hon implements this topic with the suggestion of

including Chinese folk songs to show modern Chinese culture. The suggestion is

designed in an interrogative format followed by a justification. In this turn, Hon opens

a new topic, positioning herself as the one who controls the discussion agenda.

However, nobody takes the floor after Hon's agenda-setting turn, indicating possible

issues in continuing to implement the proposed agenda. Furthermore, in the time that

Hon is delivering this turn and in the silence that follows in line 519, the other three

participants have no eye contact with Hon, instead looking at Ma, who is writing down

the outline of the plan (see Fig. 4.2). By remaining silent and avoiding eye contact with

Hon, the other group members resist Hon's positioning and the agenda she sets.

Figure 4.2 Hon: '我们中国的民歌不是很有特色吗 (Our Chinese folk songs are unique, aren't they?)'

D. Negative assessment

Negative assessment of a proposed idea acts to reject the proposed agenda and deny

the proposer's claim to leadership, rather claiming the assessor's high entitlement to

comment on and judge the proposal.

In the stretch of talk that unfolded before Extract 4.7, Wan first makes a suggestion to

include a Chinese dance called '飞天' (Flying Goddess) in the planned event, but Che

rejects this idea.

Extract 4.7 SH_G2 'too many dances like this!'

```
488 Wan:     就是   标 上      一个，   我 觉得，  因为   这个
             jiushi biaoshang yige,  wo juede, yinwei  zhege
             Just  label up one-CL, 1SG think, because this-CL
             特别   有   中国        特色，        飞天
             tebie you   zhongguo    tese,        feitian
```

```
                especiallyhave Chinese   charateristics, feitian
           这 个     舞    我 特别      喜欢
           zhege    wu    wo tebie     xihuan
           this-CL dance 1SG  especially like
           (just NOTE it DOWN, I think, because this
           especially embodies Chinese culture, Flying
           Goddess, I like this dance very much)
489 Jia:  ➔ 中国      的 舞   多了    去了，什么    胡旋 舞,
           zhongguo de wu    duole   qule, shenme huxuan wu,
           Chin -PT dance many-PT go-PT,  some Huxuan Dance,
           乱七八糟      的 多了     去了
           luanqibazao de duole    qule
           many messy  -CL many-PT go-PT
           (There are TOO MANY Chinese dances, like Huxuan
           dance, TOO MANY dances like this)
```

In line 488, Wan modifies her prior suggestion in such a way as to require only taking note of the '飞天' (Flying Goddess) dance. She then gives two reasons for her suggestion: first, the dance represents Chinese characteristics; and second, she personally likes it. Wan tries to turn her own idea into a group decision, by which she claims her entitlement to exert influence on decision-making.

However, Jia in the next turn (line 489) rejects Wan's suggestion by offering the negative assessment that '飞天' (Flying Goddess) is not sufficiently enough to be considered. Specifically, Jia asserts that there are too many dances like '飞天' (Flying Goddess) that can represent Chinese culture, suggesting that this dance is not sufficiently special to be listed as a decision. In so doing, Jia rejects both Wan's idea and her attempt to claim leadership.

E. Question

Questions can be employed to elicit clarification or justification of a proposed agenda or decision, demanding accountability of the agenda/decision. Such a question

challenges the proposal or decision announcement, as well as the leadership position

asserted by its proposer.

In the stretch of talk preceding Extract 4.8, the group digressed from the topic of event

location and started discussing aspects of culture to be introduced at the event.

Extract 4.8 SH_G1 'pick three places?'

```
41 Lin:       咱们    就    范围    小点,    挑    三个    地方
              Zanmen jiu  fanwei xiaodian, tiao sange  defang
              1PL    simply range  smaller, pick three-CL place
              吧!
              ba
              PT
              (let's narrow it down, pick three places to talk
              about)
42 Han:   ➜   挑三个地方?
              Tiao sange defang?
              Pick three-CL place?
              (pick three places?)
```

In line 41, Lin suggests going back to the original topic of the event location. This

proposal is delivered in the form of an imperative construction with the sentence final

particle *ba* that solicits affiliation from the recipients (Li & Thompson, 1989). With

this proposal, Lin positions herself as entitled to request others to follow her proposal.

However, rather than implementing the proposal, Han initiates a question asking for

clarification or justification of the agenda, problematizing both the proposed agenda

and Lin's leadership claim. In addition, this question makes an account or explanation

relevant in the next turn; by providing such an account, the original proposer Lin

accepts that the agenda must be accountable (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012), thus

downgrading her claimed entitlement.

F. New proposal/decision announcement

This section focuses on occasions when a new proposal/decision announcement is delivered immediately following an initial proposal/decision announcement. By delivering a new proposal/decision announcement, the speaker launches another sequence that ignores the initial proposal/decision announcement. This claims the speaker's entitlement to lead and overlooks the leadership position claimed by the first speaker.

Before Extract 4.9 unfolds, a decision had been achieved by Lu making a decision-announcement and the others agreeing on it.

Extract 4.9 HUST_G4 'you first decide on the fourth part!'

```
196  Lu:        =然后     活动     内容-    我觉得    可能    还要
                =ranhou  huodong neirong- wojuede  keneng haiyao
                =then event    content-1SG think   maybe still need
                再      充实        一下      是吧？
                zai chongshi    yixia     shiba?
                Again fill       once      be-PT?
                (then about event's content I think maybe still
                needs discussing more in detail, right? )
197  Le:  ➔    你     先     把     这    第四部          搞定       吧
                ni    xian  ba    zhe  disibu         gaoding    ba
                you first have this fourth part       nailed     PT
                (You first decide on this the fourth part!)
```

After a short pause, Lu initiates a proposal formatted in keywords. She then delivers a specific proposal in the form of a statement with a tag question '是吧' (Right?/Don't you guys think so?), soliciting favorable responses from the recipients, which limits their contingency (Asmuß, Oshima, & Asmuss, 2012, p. 74). In seeking affiliation from among the other participants, Lu frames her statement in such a way as to set the preferred next turn as a favorable response. In doing so, Lu claims the leadership position to direct the agenda.

In the next turn, Le rejects Lu's proposal directly, offering another proposal in the form of an imperative with the particle *ba*. Immediately after Lu's turn, and without any mitigation by means of a pause, delay, or pro-forma agreement, Le directly interrupts and rejects her idea. This shows that Le regards his rejection and his own new proposal as non-problematic (Pomerantz, 1984), regarding himself as entitled to reject Lu's agenda and to propose his own. In Le's turn, the second person pronoun '你' (you) occurs in the turn initial position, signaling Lu's proposal as an individual idea that does not involve the group as a whole. In addition, the '你' (you) also helps to locate Lu as the recipient of the proposal, which makes the proposal sound more like a directive. In this way, Le overlooks Lu's claim to entitlement to set the agenda, and simultaneously asserts his authority over Lu. Thus, Le claims his leadership by offering a new proposal against the prior one.

To conclude, in order to negotiate leadership claims, participants can agree with an agenda or decision announcement, reject it, or remain silent. In particular, responses like positive assessment and co-construction of a prior proposal/decision announcement acknowledge the prior speaker's leadership claims, but simultaneously claim the current speakers' independent epistemic access to the proposed agenda. Silence is a special case, in that it projects a possible future problem in granting a leadership claim, but does not claim the leadership position. On the other hand,

responses such as question, negative assessment, and a new proposal either challenge or deny a prior speaker's leadership claims and assert the speakers' entitlement to influence the agenda and decision.

The present data also reveal that different forms of response display different degrees of entitlement to negotiate in terms of a prior leadership position. Among the six types of responses, positive assessment and co-construction reflect the lowest entitlement to negotiate, silence lies in the middle, negative assessment displays the second highest and a new proposal/decision announcement the highest entitlement to negotiate prior leadership claims.

4.2.2. Multiple negotiations in stepwise agenda-setting

Of course, leadership construction practices do not always involve only one negotiation; rather, they often entail several rounds of negotiation. This section illustrates multiple negotiations of leadership construction in the process of stepwise agenda negotiation.

Extract 4.10 demonstrates five rounds of negotiation among group members in the process of agenda-setting. It reveals that one participant, in a stepwise manner, negotiates the prior set agenda by means of interactional devices such as assessment, use of the collective pronoun '我们' (we), definition of the group task, and proposals

in the form of assessments and questions, while the other participants try to co-construct the agenda but ultimately affiliate with the prominent participant. The stepwise agenda negotiation process is depicted in the diagram in Fig. 4.3.
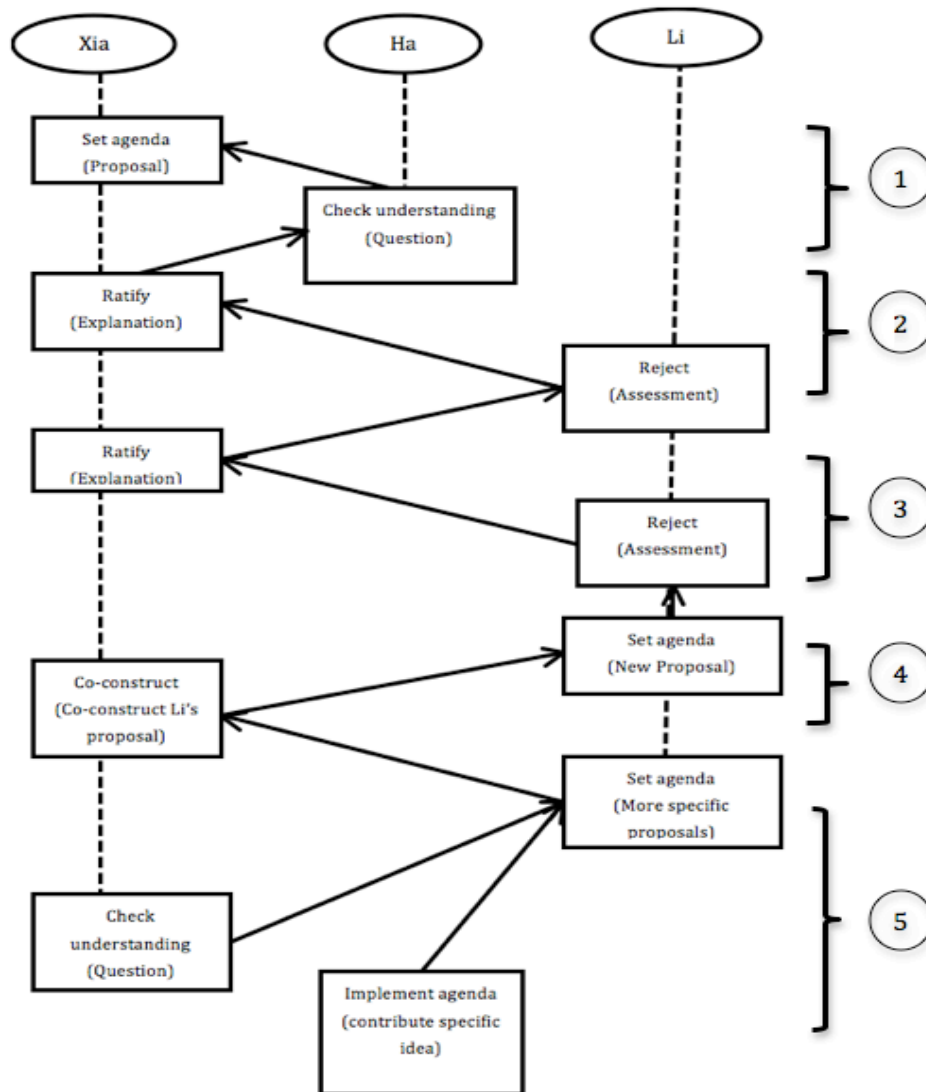
Figure 4.3 Negotiation process of agenda-setting in Extract 4.10

As the negotiation unfolded over a long stretch of talk, I present the five rounds of the negotiation one by one in Extracts 4.10 (a) to (e). In the talk preceding this extract, the group was discussing possible themes for the event.

Extract 4.10(a) (HUST_2012/12_Group1)

41 Xia: ➔ 我– 我 突 然 想 到 一 个 **好 主 意,**

wo- wo turan   xiangdao   yige   hao zhuyi
1SG-1SG suddenly think of   one-PT   good idea,
就 是 <u>中 国 之 夜</u>，((clear throat))
jiushi zhongguo zhiye, ((clear throat))
that is China-PT Night, ((clear throat))
然 后 ∘我觉-∘ 就 是 有 一 个 时 间 就 是
ranhou ∘wojue-∘ jiushi you yige shijian   jiushi
then ∘1SG think-∘ that is have one-CL time that is
<u>最 好</u> 的 时 间，我-我 突 然 想 到 就 是
zuihao de shijian, wo- wo turan xiangdao   jiushi
<u>best</u> PT time, 1SG-1SG suddenly think of that is
<u>元 旦</u> ∘吧∘，最 近 不 是 元 旦 快 来 了
yuandan ∘ba∘, zuijin bushi   yuandan   kuai laile
New Year PT, recently not is New Year soon come-PT
么，然 后 元 旦 国 庆 都 是 中 国
me, ranhou yuandan guoqing   doushi   zhongguo
PT, then   New Year National Day both are   China
非 常 有 特 色   的，然 后 就 是
feichang you tese   de , ranhou   jiushi
very   have characteristics PT, then   that is
(.)最 能 体 现 中 国 文 化 就 是 元 旦
(.)zui neng tixianzhongguo wenhua   jiushi yuandan
(.)best can show Chinese culture that is New Year
或 者 是 ∘国 庆∘是 吧，就- 就 一 天 晚 上
huozhe shi ∘guoqing∘shi ba jiu- jiuyitian wanshang
or   is ∘National Day∘ be PT, just-just one night
((turning to Ha))
 (I-I suddenly think of one good idea, that is
about Chinese Night ((clear throat)), then∘I feel-
∘ that is, one time is the best time for it, I- I
suddenly think of New Year, now New Year is
coming, and New Year and National Day have a lot
Chinese characteristics and that is (.) the
occasions which best embody Chinese culture are
New Year or ∘ National Day∘ is it? Just just one
night) ((turning to Ha))

42 Ha: ➜ 春 节   嘛，你 说 的 是 春 节
chunjie   ma, ni shuode shi chunjie
Spring Festival PT, you say-PT is Spring Festival
是 吧?
Shi ba?
be PT?
 (It's Spring Festival, you were saying about
Spring festival, right?)

43 Xia: 对，   =就 是- 你 看 现 在 <u>圣 诞 都</u>
dui,   =jiushi- ni kan xianzai <u>shengdan dou</u>
right,=that is-   you see now <u>Christmas already</u>
过 了，然 后: <u>中 国 之 夜</u>
guo le, ranhou: <u>zhongguo zhiye</u>
pass PRF, then: China-PT Night
(yes, =that is- you look, now Christmas has
already passed, then Chinese Night)

44 Li: ➜ 不 [是]-
bu [shi]-
NEG [be]-
 (No-)

45 Xia: [这] 就 ∘中 国 特 色∘，   第 一 个
[zhe] jiu∘ zhongguo tese∘   diyige
[This]just∘Chinese Characteristics∘, the first

```
                    日 期 的 话    第一 个    第 一-
                    riqi de hua diyige    diyi-
                    date PT say the first the first-
                    ([this] just reflects ∘Chinese characteristics∘,
                    (it's) the first (nearest) date the first one the
                    first)
46  Li:   ➔  =嗯, 你 这 是 一 个 很 好 的 提议,
             =hm,ni zhe shi yige hen hao de tiyi,
             =hm, 2SG this is one-CL very good-PT proposal,
             嗯:, 但是 >我 觉 得 < 我 们 不 应 该(.)就 是
             hmm,danshi >wo juede< women bu yinggai (.)jiushi
             en: but  >1SG think< 2PL  NEG should (.)that is
             不 应 该 把 这个, 这个, 这个 (..)
             bu yinggai ba zhege, zhege, zhege (..)
             NEG should  make this-CL, this-CL, this-CL (..)
             中 国 之 夜 这 个 话- 主 题 局 限 于
             zhongguo zhi ye zhege  hua- zhuti juxian yu
             China   -PT Night this-CL top- theme limit  to
             就 是 我 们 目前 的, 我 们-我 们 可 以 £假想,
             jiushi women muqian de,women-womenkeyi £jiaxiang,
             that is 1PL current-PT, 1PL- 1PL  can £ imagine,
             假 想 £ 我 们- 呵呵((gazing at Xia))
             jiaxiang£ women- hehe((gazing at Xia))
             imagine£ 1PL-   hehe ((gazing at Xia))
             (=yes, your proposal is VERY GOOD, hm:, but I
             think we should not(.) that is should not limit
             this theme Chinese Night to the current
             occasions, we- we could £IMAGINE, IMAGINE£ we-
             hehe)((gazing at Xia))

47  Xia:   £这 肯 定, 我 就 是 说£-
           £zhe kending, wo jiu shi shuo£-
           £this for sure, 1SG just be say£
            (£This is for sure, I am just saying£-)
```

In line 41, Xia takes up the turn and talks about the time of the event, shifting the topic

away from themes for the event, which two other participants were talking about. He

structures his turn in a way that acknowledges the contingency of shifting the topic and

at the same time attempts to secure the agenda he proposes, as reflected by 1) his use

of the first person pronoun '我' (I), which highlights his subjective stance, rather than a

stance shared by the whole group; 2) the statement '突然想到一个好主意' (suddenly

think of a good idea), which indicates the sudden onset of the idea and offers a reason

for an abrupt topic shift; 3) the self-implementation after the statement-formatted

proposal, suggesting that the event be held on '元旦' (New Year), without giving co-

participants an opportunity to reject the proposal; and 4) the prolonged account immediately following the self-implementation, which further secures the redirection of the agenda.

As for prosodic cues, Xia delivers the proposal with significantly elevated pitch and intensity (at 159.13HZ, reflecting a 14.38% increase from that of the proposal, which was 139.12HZ; and at 50.56DB, indicating a 4.46DB increase from that of the proposal, which was 46.10DB).

Eventually, at the end of his turn, Xia turns to Ha to seek affiliation. It is interesting to see the proposal-making and proposal implementation occur in the same turn, and to consider all the extra work the participant does in order to secure the direction in which he is leading the discussion, such as offering an explanation for the suggested agenda and using body movements to seek affiliation.

Let us now consider how Xia's co-participants react in response to his redirection. In line 42, Ha responds to Xia's solicitation with a tag-question '你说的是春节是吧' (You were talking about spring festival, right?), by which he checks his understanding. It is also worth noting here that Ha's understanding of 'the best time' is '春节' (spring festival) rather than '元旦' (New Year) as Xia suggested. This misunderstanding may have been caused by the fact that Ha is from a minority ethnic group in Xinjiang

province and not quite familiar with the term '元旦' (New Year). In this turn, Ha attempts to follow Xia's agenda by talking about the timing of the event.

In response to Ha's follow-up, Xia offers the affirming '对' (Right), latching and explaining further why New Year would be the best time. His utterance of '对' (Right) is very quiet and quick, seemingly more of an acknowledgment of Ha's uptake and following of Xia's agenda than a confirmation of the fact that '春节' (spring festival) is he is referring to.

Following this, in line 44, Li interrupts Xia's turn and utters a short '不是' (No), which overlaps Xia's ongoing account of New Year as the best time. The delivery of '不是' (No) is quite decisive, and at its overlap with Xia's utterance, Li stops and waits for Xia's turn to reach a possible completion. This signals the first round of negotiation regarding the agenda, in which Xia redirects the agenda to another topic, Ha follows, and Li initiates a rejection, but does not persist.

In line 46, Li takes up the turn by latching. Following her disagreement expressed in line 44, she negotiates with Xia's suggestion of the best time with a 'pro-forma agreement' (Schegloff, 2007, p. 69). In the first part of her turn, she gives a positive assessment of Xia's proposal with '很好' (Very good), but follows this immediately with her expression of disagreement, prefaced by the delaying '嗯' (hm) and the

disagreement markers '但是' (but) and '我觉得' (I think) (Lim, 2011). Her disagreement is then presented in the form of an assessment of the group task '我们不应该把中国之夜这个主题局限于现在的' (We should not limit the event to current/recent occasions) and '我们可以假想' (We could imagine). It is also noticeable that with the plural first person pronoun '我们' (we), Li claims to take the perspective of the group rather than the individual approach Xia expressed with his use of '我 *wo*' (I) in line 41. Additionally, although the linguistic form of the disagreement is forceful and straightforward, Li delivers it with many self-repairs and laughter at the end of the turn, which helps to mitigate the straightforwardness of her disagreement. In this negotiation, by assessing another's proposal and using the collective pronoun '我们' (we) to define what the group may or may not do, Li positions herself as one who has the right to evaluate others' proposals and speak for the group. On the other hand, she tries to reduce the sharpness of her negotiation with mitigation devices such as pro-forma agreement, self-repair, and laughter. Challenged by Li's straightforward but mitigated negotiation of his agenda, Xia in line 47 gives full credit to Li's turn by saying '这肯定' (This is for sure), but then sticks to his own agenda by continuing to explain why he made the suggestion with '我就是说' (What I am just saying). This turn is delivered with laughter in response to Li's laughter.

At this point, Li cuts off Xia's ratification and continues to negotiate with Xia for the third time, as demonstrated in lines 48 to 51 of Extract 4.10(b) where Li first provides

her assessment regarding the timing of the event, and then proposes postponing the

discussion of timing.

Extract 4.10(b) (HUST_2012/12_Group1_02:54-05:03)

```
48  Li:    =因为   我 们- 不  一 定     就 是 说 我们- 我 们
           =yinwei women-bu yingding jiushi shuo women- women
           =because 1PL- NEG  must  that is say 1PL-  1PL
           最 近 要-  要   举 办 ，  这 个  时    间-   我
           zuijin yao- yao juban, geige shijian-  wo
           recent need- need organize, this-CL time-  1SG
           觉 得  时   间  这 个    跟  地点     都 是(.)
           juede shijian zhege  gen didian  doushi (.)
           think time    this-CL and location all are(.)
           非常      灵   活  的
           feichang linghuo de
           very     flexible -PT
           (=because we- we do not have to, that is to say
           we-we hold the event recently, the TIME- I think
           the TIME and location are (.) both VERY FLEXIBLE)
49  Xia:   嗯
           hm
50  Li:  ➔ =非 常    灵 活 的，  就 是 到 时- 到- 一 会儿
           =feichang linghuode,jiu shi dao shi- dao- yihuier
           = very flexible- PT, that is  at time- at- later
           到  最  后，    到   最 后
           dao zuihou, dao zuihou
           at  last,    at  last
           (VERY FLEXIBLE, that is, after that- after that,
           later when our discussion approaches THE END, to
           THE END )
51  Xia:  ➔ =最  后- 最 后   确   定 时  间
           =zuihou- zuihou queding    shijian
           =last-  last  decide on   time
            (at the end- at the end (of the discussion)
           decide on time)((looking at Li's paper and begin
           to write))
```

In line 49, Li begins to account for her prior assessment of what the group should and

should not do. Li's account is also formatted as an assessment, again defining the task

for the group and assessing the timing of the event as '非常灵活的' (very flexible). Li

also uses the collective pronoun '我们' (we) to speak from the group's perspective. In

line 50, Xia acknowledges Li's assessment with the minimal response '嗯' (hm), after

which Li (line 51) continues to reiterate the keywords of her assessment at the end of

her prior turn ('非常灵活' (very flexible)), and then begins to make an agenda-related

proposal in a mitigated manner, as reflected by 1) her self-repair from '到时' (when the time comes) to '到一会儿' (after a while), and of '到最后' (at the end); and 2) her incomplete proposal, with no utterance regarding the central issue of '时间' (time)—the matter she suggests should be discussed at the end. Although the proposal is delivered in a mitigated manner, in terms of prosodic cues, it is delivered with a significantly higher pitch and intensity[3] than her account in line 49 (with a pitch of 261.77HZ as opposed to 248.81HZ and an intensity of 50.62DB as opposed to 48.10DB).

How does Xia react to Li's proposal? Xia reiterates Li's proposal and completes it by adding the keyword '时间' (time). In the meantime, he is looking at Li's notes and picking up his pen to write down notes (see Figs. 4.4 and 4.5). By doing so, Xia co-constructs the proposal to postpone the discussion about timing to the end of the session, indicating that he understands and agrees with this proposal. Xia also summarizes the previous discussion by means of this proposal and attempts to confirm it as the decision by writing down the agenda. By co-constructing the agenda and summarizing the decision, Xia displays his epistemic access to the agenda, as well as his right to announce the decision.

---

[3] Pitch difference: 5.2%; intensity difference: 2.52DB.

Figure 4.4 Line 50, Li '到最后(to the end)'

Figure 4.5 Line 51, Xia: '最后-最后确定时间(at the end- at the end (of the discussion) decide on time)'

In this round of the negotiation, it can be observed that Li delivers her negotiation and proposal in an elaborated but mitigated manner whereas Xia attempts to claim equal epistemic access to the agenda by co-constructing Li's proposal.

Will Li acknowledge or accept Xia's claim in Extract 4.10(c) below? Li initiates another turn to negotiate Xia's co-construction of the proposal in line 52.

Extract 4.10(c) (HUST_2012/12_Group1_02:54-05:03)

```
 52 Li:    ➔ =最后  再  去  确  定，因  为  我  们  三 十 分 钟
              =zuihou zaiqu queding, yinwei womensanshi fenzhong
              =last  then go decide, because 1PL  thirty minutes
              讨  论  时  间  可  能：不  够-     我  们  的
```

```
                    taolun shijian keneng: bu  gou-    women  de
                    discuss time      maybe: NEG enough- 1PL —PT
                    重 点   就   是  先  把 那 个 活 动 形 式
                    zhongdian jiu shi xian ba na  ge huodong xingshi
                    emphasis  just is first make that-CL event  format
                    给   弄    出 来
                    gei nong  chulai
                    give make  out
                    (At the end then decide on time, because THIRTY
                    MINUTES discussion time that we have may not be:
                    enough- our EMPHASIS then is to first come out
                    with the EVENT'S FORMAT)
  53 Xia:          嗯 ((still writing))
                    hm ((still writing))
  54 Ha:           ◦活  动   形   式◦
                    ◦huodong    xingshi◦
                    ◦event       format◦
                    ◦(event format) ◦
```

Latching, Li reiterates the proposal '最后再去确定' (at the end then to decide (about

the timing of the event)). Reclaiming this proposal, she denies Xia's turn as the

decision-making turn and simultaneously orients toward regarding her own proposal as

the final decision. In order to secure this as a decision, she continues to explain why

the discussion regarding timing should be settled at the end of the discussion. She then

cuts off the accounts and makes another proposal regarding the current direction of the

discussion in the form of an assessment-like statement '我们的重点就是先把那个活

动形式给弄出来' (Our focus is to first come up with the event format). This proposal

is domineering in terms of form, as reflected by 1) the use of '我们' (we), by which Li

claims to speak on behalf of the group; and 2) the assessment '重点就是' (focus is), by

which the speaker assumes the right to frame and define the situation for the whole

group. Despite its domineering nature of this statement form, the proposal is not as

explicit as something like 'Let's discuss the event format', to which immediate

implementation of the proposal would be the preferred response. Although

implementation of the proposed action is an option for the next turn, this form of

proposal also makes agreement or disagreement relevant in the next turn.

Line 52 shows Li's fourth step in negotiating with Xia. In this turn, she takes back ownership of the proposal in lines 50 and 51 and then makes another proposal for the discussion agenda. If the preceding three steps of the negotiation (in lines 46, 48, and 50) are regarded as attempts to direct the discussion away from what Xia suggests, this step for the first time points out the agenda Li is attempting to set up, even though the proposal is neither explicit nor specific.

Li's proposal does not receive immediate implementation in lines 53 and 54, in which Xia acknowledges the proposal with a short '嗯' (hm) and Ha murmurs the keyword '活动形式' (event format) in a way that suggests he is trying to reframe his mind to adjust to the newly proposed agenda.

Li responds to Ha's turn and introduces the proposal explicitly in the following turns (lines 55 to 65 in Extract 4.10(d)).

Extract 4.10(d) (HUST_2012/12_Group1_02:54-05:03)

```
55 Li:   ➔ 对, 活  动  形  [式      ]
             dui, huodong xing[shi]
             yes, event   for[mat]
              (Yes, event for[mat])
56 Ha:       [详     ]细  的
             [xiang ] xi de
             [det]ailed    -PT
                              ([det]ailed)
57 Li:   ➔ 比 如      说,   那 个: Chinese culture,中    国
             biruo   shuo, na ge: Chinese culture, zhongguo
             for example say,that-CL: Chinese culture,  China
             [ 文    化]
```

```
                [wenhua]
                [culture]
                (for  example,  that:  Chinese  culture,  Chinese
                [culture])
58 Xia:         [中    国] 文 化
                [zhongguo] wenhua
                China        culture
                ([Chinese] culture)
59 Ha:          对
                dui
                yes
                (yes)
60 Xia:         嗯
                hm
61 Li:     ➔   中    国 文 化    那 我 们 到 底          要    向
                zhongguo wenhua na  women  dao di     yao xiang
                China      culture then 1PL   eventually should to
                留 学 生                 介 绍   哪些  中    国
                liuxuesheng           jieshao  naxie zhongguo
                International students introduce which China
                文    化?
                wenhua?
                Culture?
                (CHINESE  CULTURE,  then  we,  EVENTUALLY,  should
                 introduce  to  the  interactional  students  WHAT KIND
                 of CHINESE CULTURE?)
62 Xia:         嗯:
                hmm
63              (0.9)
64 Xia:         然 后 我 们 讨 论 中 国   文 化 现 在     是 吧?
                ranhou women taolun zhongguo wenhuaxianzaishi ba?
                Then  1PL   discuss China   culture now   be PT?
                ((hands rubbing his face))
                (Then,    we    discuss    Chinese    culture    now,
                 right?)((hands rubbing his face))
65 Ha:          就 是,  我 是 这 么    的, 就 是    有
                jiu shi wo  shi zheme xiang  de, jiu shi   you
                that is,1SG be  this   think PT,that is  have
                一 个 舞 台
                yige wutai
                one-CL stage
                (that is, I think like this, that is to set up one
                 stage)
```

Here, Li takes the floor and confirms the keywords '活动形式 (event format)', as well

as the proposal itself. In line 57, Ha continues to try to understand the agenda, saying

'详细的 (detailed)'. Li immediately responds to Ha's turn with an interpretation of the

event format. Her turn is overlapped by Xia's in line 59 and then acknowledged by Ha

and Xia in lines 60 and 61. Finally, she makes a specific proposal in the form of a wh-

question in line 62. In this turn, Li specifies the event format in terms of aspects of

Chinese culture, and in the next turn makes concrete suggestions on which aspects should be considered relevant. Thus far, in the fifth step, Li finally makes clear the specific agenda she would like to set for the discussion.

The agenda proposed by Li, however, still does not receive immediate implementation. Xia utters a long '嗯::' (hmm), indicating that he is thinking. Then there is a noticeable 0.9 second silence when nobody takes up the turn. In line 65, Xia says '然后我们讨论中国文化现在是吧' (Then we discuss Chinese culture, now, is it?). On the surface, this takes the form of a question; however, in terms of nonverbal cues, the speaker is rubbing his face with his hands while speaking, not orienting toward any answer. Hence, this turn reformulates the current topic of the discussion, and Xia is hereby attempting to adjust to the new direction. Finally, Ha contributes a specific idea on the event format in line 66, which implements Li's proposal and moves the discussion in the direction proposed by Li's agenda.

To summarize, in terms of sequential steps, negotiations in leadership construction can be enacted by inserted expansion and post expansion of proposal sequences. Three patterns of step-wise negotiations can be generalized from the present data:

1) If the agenda-related proposal is not granted immediate implementation, the proposal maker provides an account or justification for the proposal that expands the agenda-related proposal sequence (see Extracts 4.10(a) and 4.10(b)).

2) After rejection or negotiation of a prior proposal, another agenda-related proposal is initiated to set a new agenda (see Extract 4.10(c)) which opens a new proposal sequence.

3) A more specific agenda is provided to expand the proposal sequence when a co-participant expresses problems with following the general agenda first proposed (see Extract 4.10(d)).

The interactional devices for constructing leadership in Extract 4.10(a)(b)(d)(d) were shown to be: 1) latching and turns to negotiate with prior turns, cutting off another participant's negotiation; 2) assessment of what should and should not be done in the task; 3) explanation of the group's collective perspective by using the first person pronoun plural '我们' (we); 4) proposal in the form of a statement defining the focus of the task; 5) wh-question formatted proposal that invites co-participants' contribution; and 6) significantly increased pitch and intensity when delivering agenda-related proposals.

Co-participants' negotiation is then enacted by certain interactional devices, namely 1) co-constructing the agenda-related proposal to claim equal epistemic access; 2) reiterating the proposal that has been co-constructed by others and giving it additional justification; and 3) laughter to reduce the forcefulness of the negotiation.

It can also be deduced from the description of the negotiations that how a participant says something, in addition to what they say, also matters for leadership construction. Specifically, different manners of delivering proposals and negotiations express different degrees of entitlement to leadership positions. For example, Li positions herself as the one with the highest authority to define the task for the group, assessing agendas proposed by co-participants and asking others to follow her own proposed agenda. In contrast, although Xia also initiates a topic and implements the agenda by himself, he structures his turn with no hesitation markers or mitigations that imply the agenda is not well grounded or is negotiable. More detailed analysis and discussion of these two different manners of emerging leadership construction will be presented in Chapter 5.

4.2.3. Multiple negotiations in collective decision-making

Leadership can also be constructed through multiple negotiations in the collective decision-making process. Extract 4.11 illustrates how one participant invites others to contribute, rejects others' decision announcements, and constructs a decision on the basis of group consensus, collaboratively achieved by the group members, who first negotiate and then affiliate with the prominent participant's positioning as decision-maker.

In this decision-making process, Jia first initiates a question soliciting contributions

from the others on the name of event module 1. After a noticeable silence, Wan provides a decision-like response, indicating the obviousness of the decision, as they have already discussed the topic. However, Jia immediately rejects the decision with an assessment in an interrogative format. The other group members then fall in to contribute ideas, with Che formulating a name using adjectives '绚丽多彩' (colorful and vibrant) and '中国文化' (Chinese culture), and Jin stressing '古代' (ancient). Realizing the omission of '古' (ancient) in his formulation, Che then adds it to his formulation of the name, to which Jin and Wan show their alignment by means of reiteration. Finally, Jia announces the decision after a short silence, adding the word '追溯' (trace back) to the formulation of the name. At the same time, Jia writes down the name with no orientation toward any response. The other group members then demonstrate their alignment with the positive assessment '可以' (can).

The collective decision-making process is represented in the diagram in Fig. 4.6.
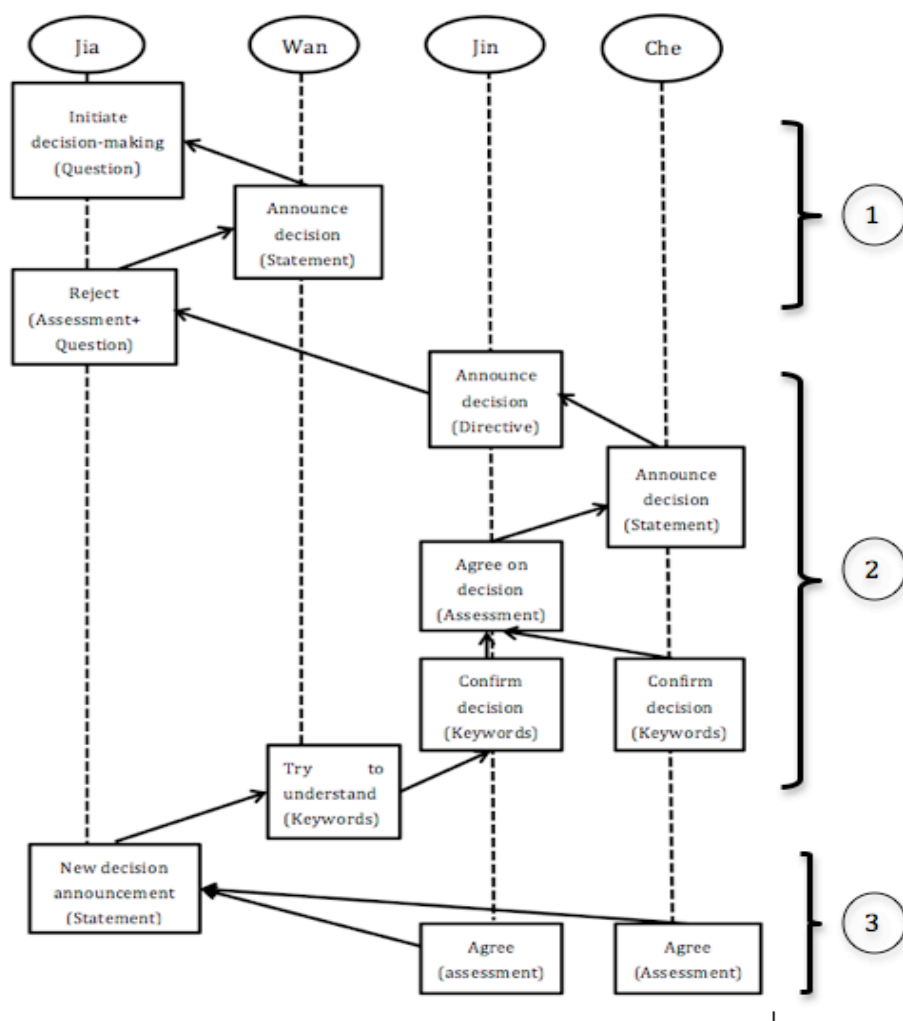
Figure 4. 6 Negotiation process of decision-making in Extract 4.11

The extract begins as the group is attempting to reach a decision on the content of component 1 of the event they are planning. One of the participants suggests that they had already reached consensus by asking Jia to write down the content of module 1.

Extract 4.11(a) SH_G3 'Ancient Chinese culture'

```
341 Jia:  ➔ 那::  我们    这个     [模块的]，    模块  一   叫  啥？
              Na:: women zhege  [mokuai de], mokuai yi jiao sha?
              Then:: 1PL this-CL module-PT,module one call what?
              (then:: for our this[module]，what should be the
              name for module one?)
342 Wan:                            [主题]
                                    [zhuti]
                                    [theme]
                                    ([theme])
343         (0.2)
```

```
344 Wan:  ➔  武术-      就是      汉唐      历史       回顾       °啊°
              wushu-  jiushi   HanTang lishi     huigu     °a°
              Kongfu- that is  HanTang history retrospect °PT°
              (martial arts- that is Retrospect of Han and Tang
              dynasty)
```

In line 341, rather than following the other participant's suggestion, Jia proposes discussing the name of module 1 in the format of a question. This interrogative-formatted proposal invites the other members to contribute by increasing the relevance of their ideas as answers in the next turn. In doing so, Jia rejects the other participants' positioning of her as a note taker; on the contrary, she positions herself as coordinator of the group in making a decision based on the co-participants' opinions.

In the next turn, however, there is a noticeable silence that projects problems with the contribution of ideas, during which Che raises his head and frowns, posing as if thinking very hard. While Che's nonverbal behavior suggests that he is attempting to implement Jia's proposal, Wan falls in, providing an answer with the sentence final particle '啊(a)' (line 344), which in In Mandarin Chinese, shows that the prior suggestion or idea is not appearing for the first time; but has been mentioned and should be known by the recipients (Wu, 2004). Responding with an idea about the name in this turn shows that Wan affiliates with Jia's call to talk about the module name; however, the particle '啊(a)' indexes Wan's orientation to the name she proposed as the decision, which was reached in the preceding talk. Indicating that the consensus has been achieved about the name, Wan also diminishes the necessity of discussing the module name proposed by Jia.

How do Jia and the other participants respond to Wan's positioning and decision-like

announcement in Extract 4.11(b)?

Extract 4.11(b) SH_G3 'Ancient Chinese culture'

```
345  Jia:     会 不 会 太 狭隘 了，只 要      汉唐   么?
                Hui bu hui tai xiaai le, zhi yao    HanTang me?
                Be-NEG-BE  too narrow PT,only include HanTang PT?
                (Isn't this too limited? only include Han and
                Tang dynasty?)
346  Jin:     =直接 写， 就 古代 [中国]-
                =zhijie xie,  jiu  gudai  [zhongguo]-
                =direct  write,just  ancient [China]-
                (=Simply write, just ancient [China]-)
347  Che:  ➔                    =[绚丽]-绚丽
                                    =[xuanli]-xuanli
                                    =[gorgeous]-gorgeous
                多彩  的 [中国]  [文化]
                duocai  de [zhongguo] [wenhua]
                colorful-PT [China]  [culture]
                (                    =[gorgeous]—gorgeous and
                colorful [Chinese] [culture])
348  Jin:  ➔     [对] [古代]， 对
                  [dui], [gudai],  dui
                  [right] [ancient], right
                  ( [right]  [ancient], right )
```

According to the sequence organization of the decision-making sequence, the

formulation of a decision makes disagreement or an agreement with the decision

relevant in the next turn (Clifton, 2009; Huisman, 2001). While agreement projects

closure of the current topic, the disagreement 'directly challenges the formulator's

competence' (Clifton, 2006, p. 210) in making the formulation of the decision. In line

345 of this extract, Jia disagrees with the formulation in the form of an interrogative,

suggesting that the formulation is too narrow. On the one hand, this rejects Wan's

formulation of her decision as the group consensus, challenging her ability to

summarize the preceding talk. On the other hand, it refuses to close the topic, as

suggested by Wan's formulation, rather inviting other group members to join in and

evaluate the prior formulation. Employing the interrogative formatted assessment, Jia again coordinates the other group members in contributing and preferably affiliating with her rejection of the decision formulated by Wan.

The others immediately join the discussion and provide their formulations of the module name. Instead of evaluating Wan's formulation, Jin and Che align with Jia by contributing alternative suggestions. In line 346, Jin reformulates the name with the word '古代(ancient)', which he orients to as a decision by directing Jia to write it down. However, in the next line, Che wins the overlap with Jin by finally taking the floor. Che then delivers his formulation of the name with an adjective '绚丽多彩[4] (colorful and dazzling)' describing the Chinese culture as colorful, rich, and vibrant. In the next turn, Jin agrees with Che's formulation, and adds a missing keyword to it, namely '古代 (ancient)'.

Extract 4.11(c) SH_G3 'Ancient Chinese culture'

```
349   Che:    ➔   [中国        古    文化]
                   [zhongguo gu wenhua]
                   [China ancient culture]
                   ([Ancient Chinese culture])
350   Jin:    ➔   [中国        古    文化]
                   [zhongguo gu wenhua]
                   [China ancient culture]
                   ([Ancient Chinese culture])
351   Wan:    ➔   °古        文化°
                   °gu       wenhua°
                   °ancient culture°
                   (°ancient culture°)
352               (3.1)
353   Jia:    ➔   追溯        古    文化      吧
                   zhuisu     gu    wenhua   ba
                   track back ancient culture PT
                   (say, trace back ancient culture)
```

---

[4] Note: '绚丽多彩 *xuanliduocai*' is a single adjective in Chinese that includes both colorful and dazzling in meaning.

```
        Gesture      |---Writing---|
354   Jin:     ➜    嗯, [可以]
                     hm,[keyi]
                     hm, [can]
                     (hm, [can])
355   Che:     ➜       [可以]可以
                        [keyi] keyi
                        ([can], can)
```

In lines 349 and 350, Che and Jin overlap with each other, both repairing the name with '中国 (Chinese)' '古 (ancient)' and '文化 (culture)'. In this way, Che and Jin collaborate to incrementally construct and revise the name formulation. Wan then also follows up to show agreement with the formulation by reiterating the keywords '古文化 (ancient culture)'. At this moment, three of the group members have agreed upon the co-constructed formulation of the module name.

After a period of silence, Jia, who is writing notes, reformulates the name by adding another word—'追溯 (trace back)'—to the agreed-upon formulation '古文化 (ancient culture)'. Rather than agreeing with the group consensus by reiterating it or assessing it positively, Jia reformulates the group consensus with the final particle '吧 (ba)', which solicits agreement from the recipients. At the same time, she continues to write (See Fig. 4.7), not orienting to this suggestion as negotiable.

Figure 4.7 Line 353, Jia: '追溯古文化吧(say, trace back ancient culture)'

Jia's turn functions in three ways. Firstly, it shows Jia's agreement with the group consensus on '古文化 (ancient culture)', aligning with the other participants. Secondly, adding new elements to the group consensus demonstrates Jia's independent epistemic access to the consensus. Thirdly, it serves as a decision announcement that eliminates the possibility of taking the prior formulation as a decision. In this extract, if Jia had not added new ideas to the group consensus, a decision would then have been reached by the time Jia showed agreement. However, Jia postulates another formulation, reinitiating a decision-making sequence that starts with a decision announcement (line 353) and ends with a decision confirmation (lines 354 to 355). In doing so, Jia displays her right to make the final decision for the group. After this, Che and Jin both immediately provide confirmation of the decision, which, together with Jia's action of writing it down, ends the decision-making sequence.

The leadership construction process is evident from the above data analysis. In the process of the decision being incrementally achieved by the collaboration among the

group participants, Jia positions herself as the group coordinator and decision-maker, by inviting others' contribution, assessing suggestions, reformulating the name agreed upon by the group members as the decision announcement and closing the topic by writing down the decision based on group consensus. The other group members negotiate with her positioning and contribute ideas to incrementally construct and revise the name formulation, finally endorse Jia by affiliating with her reformulation of the group consensus as the decision.

In terms of sequence organization, leadership negotiations are enacted by a series of decision-making sequences. Two patterns recurred in the present data:

1) After rejection of a prior decision announcement, another attempt to announce a decision immediately follows, which opens another decision-making sequence.

2) A new decision announcement is inserted after other decision announcements to negotiate leadership claims.

The essential devices for constructing leadership in the decision-making process in the present data included 1) wh-question-formatted proposals asking for group members' contributions; 2) re-initiation of decision announcements that make decision confirmation relevant in the next turn; 3) writing down the decision as the completion of a decision-making sequence, confirming it nonverbally and terminating further negotiations on the decision; and 4) increase in pitch and intensity when announcing a

decision.

The devices employed by co-participants to negotiate decision included 1) negative assessment to reject a prior decision announcement; 2) positive assessment to agree with a prior decision announcement; and 3)yes-no question-formatted assessments of a prior suggestion soliciting evaluation from other members (as seen in line 345).

4.3. Discussion and summary

Adding to the previous understanding that in order to construct leadership, participants should take the initiative, for example by initiating proposals (Asmuß et al., 2012), assessments (Clifton, 2012), formulations, and co-constructions (Clifton, 2006), this chapter further identifies types of responses by which a leadership claim of a prior speaker is negotiated in a non-hierarchical setting. In addition to presenting basic sequences and single-round negotiations, this chapter has illustrated complex and multi-round negotiation processes, which show that without collaboration, emerging leadership construction is not possible.

This chapter provides a comprehensive presentation of various types and the general pattern of emerging leadership construction processes. It addresses research question 1 regarding how participants interact in emerging leadership construction processes, and advances our knowledge of emerging leadership construction in three particular ways.

Firstly, to construct emerging leadership in a task-oriented group discussion, participants take the initiative to make agenda-related proposals and announce decisions for the group. When participants initiate the above actions to claim leadership, other participants can either grant leadership or respond in one of six possible ways to negotiate leadership.

The basic sequences of [proposal+immediate implementation] and [decision announcement+agreement/disagreement+decision confirmation] were found in the current study to be crucial for smooth leadership construction, which is supported by previous studies of discursive leadership construction in the workplace (Asmuß et al., 2012; Clifton, 2006). Additionally, this study indicates that suggestion may also be employed as a form of decision announcement, if the suggestion is agreed upon and written down by other group members. This might be due to the approximately equal status of the participants, any one of whom may potentially contribute valuable ideas and become endorsed to construct leadership on a moment-by-moment basis.

To negotiate leadership construction, participants were found to employ six types of responses. Participants can respond with a positive assessment and co-construction that agrees with the proposed agenda or decision, but claim their own access to the proposed agenda and decision. Keeping silent is another way to negotiate a leadership

claim without rejecting the prior proposal and decision announcement. In addition, participants can use negative assessments and questions to reject the prior proposal or decision announcement, as well as the leadership position claimed by the proposal maker and decision announcer. Participants can also initiate a new proposal or decision announcement to claim their own leadership position, ignoring the prior proposal or decision announcement as well as the prior leadership claim. While responses such as co-constructions (Clifton, 2009) and new proposals (Asmuß et al., 2012) have been reported in previous works, the present study shows that assessments, silence, and questions are also often employed to respond to agenda-related proposals and decision-announcements. Moreover, this study suggests that the responses can also take combined forms, such as [assessment+question] (as in line 345 of Extract 4.11) and [assessment+new proposal] (as in line 52 of Extract 4.10), to negotiate the prior leadership claim and the proposal/decision announcement.

It is notable that the ways of delivering a proposal/decision announcement and negotiation also display the entitlement to claim and negotiate a leadership position. Detailed examination of the relevant discursive strategies will be undertaken in Chapter 5.

Secondly, in addition to basic processes that involve two steps of leadership construction, namely claiming and granting leadership, leadership construction can

take several rounds of negotiation. In the negotiation process, responses such as assessments, questions, and new proposals/decision announcements are frequently employed.

In terms of sequence organization, inserted expansion and post expansion of agenda-related proposal sequences and decision-making sequences are often employed to negotiate. The expansions frequently follow one of four patterns:

1) After rejection or negotiation of a prior proposal/decision announcement, another agenda-related proposal/decision announcement is immediately initiated to open a new proposal/decision announcement sequence.

2) If the agenda-related proposal is not granted immediate implementation, the proposal maker provides an account or a justification for the proposal that expands the agenda-related proposal sequence;

3) A more specific agenda is provided to expand the proposal sequence when a co-participant exhibits a problem in following the general agenda first proposed (see Extract 4.10(d)).

4) A new decision announcement is inserted after a decision announcement to negotiate leadership claims.

Thirdly, whether or not a participants' emerging leadership is constructed in an episode depends on whether other participants endorse his/her proposals/decision

announcements. Thus, successful construction of emerging leadership relies on the collaboration of all participants. Although these negotiation processes have been reported by certain previous studies in hierarchical settings (e.g., Larsson & Lundholm, 2010; Lindström, 2005; Nielsen, 2009; Schnurr, 2009), the collaboration in the present non-hierarchal setting is more prominent, and the processes more complex, than in contexts with designated leaders. The general patterns of leadership construction processes may be summarized as in Fig. 4.8.
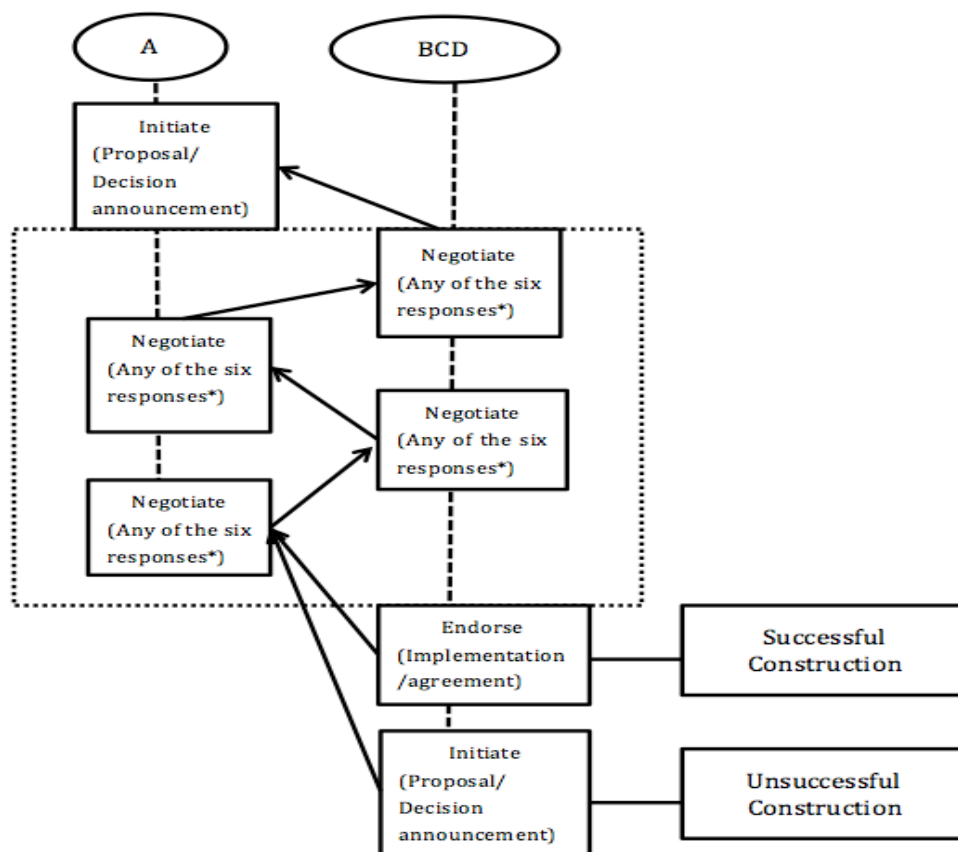
Figure 4. 8 Process of successful and unsuccessful leadership construction[5]

As can be observed in Fig. 4.8, whether or not one's leadership is constructed successfully depends crucially on how one's co-participants react to one's actions of

---

[5] *The six types of responses refer to the responses to negotiate leadership claims discussed in section 4.2.1.

controlling the agenda and making decisions, as explained in 1) to 3) below.

1) If the other group members do not affiliate with the participant who takes the initiative, the participant whose proposal/decision announcement is negotiated will most likely continue to take actions to solicit affiliation from them. The participant will either give a justification for the agenda or decision or launch another agenda-related proposal or decision announcement.

2) The other participants, of course, have the interactional resources to negotiate. They can adopt any one or a combination of the six types of responses that can help negotiate a leadership claim.

3) The process can involve one or more rounds of negotiation, and ends either with participants granting the leadership claims of one or more co-participants, or with one or more participants opening another negotiation process.

Specifically, participants can employ a number of interactional devices for constructing leadership, as demonstrated in this chapter, including 1) latching and holding onto turns to negotiate with a prior turn, cutting off other participants' negotiation; 2) using a wh-question-formatted proposal that invites co-participants' contributions; 3) using a proposal in the form of a statement that defines the focus of the task; 4) giving an assessment of the task and other participants' suggestions; 5) giving an account from the group's collective perspective by using the first person pronoun plural pronoun '我 们' (we); 6) using significantly increased pitch and intensity when delivering an agenda-related proposal or decision announcement; and 7) writing down decisions as a

completion of the decision-making sequence, confirming the decision nonverbally and terminating further negotiation on the decision.

The interactional devices to negotiate leadership demonstrated in this chapter include 1) six types of responses to proposals and decision announcements; 2) reiteration of prior proposals or decision announcements to re-claim leadership positions; and 3) using laughter to reduce the forcefulness of negotiations.

However, these identified strategies are not representative of all eight groups in this study, and the discussion of interactional strategies by which leadership may be constructed in two different ways will be extended in a more comprehensive and holistic manner in Chapter 5, where the frequency of occurrence of interactional strategies is also discussed.

5. Two manners of 'doing' leadership: Domineering vs. Facilitative

While Chapter 4 focused on recurrent patterns and processes in constructing leadership, as well as interactional strategies to claim and negotiate leadership in general, in this chapter I will further investigate more specifically two distinct ways of constructing emerging leadership—domineering vs. facilitative—and the relevant interactional strategies.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a total of 323 sequences in which leadership was constructed and negotiated were found in the present data, including 159 proposal sequences and 164 decision-making sequences.

The detailed analysis reported in this chapter was conducted by extracting the 323 sequences in which emerging leadership was constructed, and examining the proposal and decision announcement turns within each sequence according to the multimodal aspects summarized in section 3.3.1. Firstly, the turns were analyzed to determine how speakers took turns, for example, in terms of the presence of speed-ups and cut-offs. Secondly, the linguistic formats of proposals and decision announcements were identified and categorized, such as imperatives, statements, and questions. Thirdly, the prosodic features and contours of each proposal and decision announcement were

analyzed with PRAAT to identify common features of utterances by which leadership is claimed. Lastly, the nonverbal behaviors of speakers when delivering proposals and decision announcements were examined, including hand gestures, eye gaze, and body movements.

Careful examination of the aspects described above led to the identification of two recurrent manners of emerging leadership construction in the present Chinese LGDs, namely a domineering and a facilitative manner, as predicted in section 2.3.2. The two approaches diverge in terms of turn-taking, linguistic, prosodic, and nonverbal cues employed by the participants (see Table 5.1). The frequency with which each strategy was employed in the present data is shown in Table 5.1.

With regard to turn-taking and linguistic resources used to construct leadership in the two ways, it is not difficult to distinguish the differences, such as retaining as opposed to distributing speakership and using an imperative as opposed to a question format. However, the use of different prosodic and nonverbal cues is not as straightforward to distinguish, as is clear from the table. The reason for this is that speakers maintain certain baselines and normative positions in terms of prosodic cues and nonverbal behaviors, which remain static in the absence of a particular interactional need. For example, when examining gestures accompanying the delivery of proposals and decision announcements, I found that emphatic gestures were used recurrently to

increase the assertiveness of the utterance, but other than this, participants kept their

hands on the table without any particular movement, and there were no gestures found

to reduce the assertiveness of an utterance. The same situation applied to the use of

higher pitch and higher intensity, and a flat contour as opposed to a smiley voice and

laughter.

Interactional strategies to construct leadership				
	In a **domineering** manner		In a **facilitative** manner	
Overall	**Rely on themselves**		**Engage co-participants**	
	Strategy	*Frequency*	*Strategy*	*Frequency*
Turn-taking	Holding speakership to themselves	105	Distributing speakership to co-participants	76
Linguistic	Imperative-formatted proposal	113	Question-formatted proposal	55
	Statement-formatted decision announcement	79	Question-formatted decision announcement	50
	Assess suggestion and define task with deontic modal verbs	36	Assess suggestion and decision announcement with question	24
	Deliver negotiation without mitigation	125	Mitigate with hedges, sound stretches, offering accounts or 'pro-forma agreement'	59
Prosodic	Higher pitch; higher intensity; flat prosodic contour	189	Smiley voice; laughter	40
Nonverbal	Avoidance of mutual gaze at turn completion point	26	Gaze to invite participation	48
	Emphatic gesture	65		

Table 5.1 Interactional strategies to construct leadership in two distinct manners and their recurring frequencies

In general, in constructing leadership in a domineering manner, the present participants

utilized their own authority and dominance to control agendas, assess ideas, and

impose decisions. They retained speakership and dominated the discussion, offered

negative assessments of others' ideas without mitigation, and instructed the group with

short imperatives that signaled their high entitlement and their co-participants' low

contingency to negotiate (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Lindström, 2005). They also adopted emphatic gestures to show assertiveness, and avoided mutual eye contact when making decisions/proposals or negotiating with others to avoid further negotiation.

In contrast, when constructing leadership in a facilitative manner, participants engaged other group members in the discussion and made use of others' participation to negotiate agendas and make decisions. Unlike the domineering approach, which imposes decisions and proposals, participants adopting a facilitative approach drew support the others' participation. They gave the floor to others to contribute, and used questions to inquire about co-participants' assessments of and suggestions regarding the ongoing topic. In terms of nonverbal cues, they employed eye gaze to select next speakers and encourage their involvement. In addition, they used laughter to reduce the sharpness of their assessments.

The frequency of occurrence of each interactional strategy is also indicated in Table 5.1. It can be observed that domineering strategies overweigh facilitative strategies in terms of frequency. Taking all proposal and decision-making sequences involving all participants into account, the ratio of domineering to facilitative strategies is almost 2:1 (738:352), implying that, in comparison to facilitative strategies, domineering strategies were more frequently employed by these participants when constructing emerging leadership. This result suggests that the domineering approach is the

predominant way in the participants constructed leadership, whereas the facilitative manner was less frequently used. This finding for the current group interactions does not echo the findings of leadership styles in previous discursive studies, which tend to report that transformational and transactional leadership styles should be balanced to be more effective (Holmes & Marra, 2006; Holmes, 2007). The predominance of the domineering approach found in this study may be due to the context of the LGD, in which participants had to use domineering strategies to compete with others and emerge as leaders.

The following two sections illustrate the domineering and facilitative way of enacting leadership on the basis of examples from the present data.

5.1. 'Doing' leadership in a domineering manner

This section presents detailed examples turn-taking practices, linguistic formats, prosodic cues, and nonverbal behaviors participants employed to initiate and negotiate leadership construction in a domineering manner in the LGDs recorded for the present study.

5.1.1. Hold onto speakership

When participants negotiated decisions or proposals, they latched to take turns to justify these, without responding to others' explanation. They also did not signal possible turn completion for others to take the next turn to argue. Extract 5.1

demonstrates how one participant retains speakership while assessing a co-participant's suggestion in a decision-making process.

Prior to Extract 5.1, the group was in disagreement on whether or not to include a museum of martial arts in a PowerPoint presentation at the event. Wan insisted that the museum should be included on the slides, while the others disagreed.

Extract 5.1 SH_G2 'it is not'

```
514  Che:  ➔ 就    像        以前    他们   做    那    种->     就     比如
             jiu xiang yiqian tamen zuo nazhong->    jiu biru
             just like before 3PL make that-CL->that for example
             说    像-<    要   大气    一点   的 ppt，懂    不-
             shuo xiang-< yao daqi    yidian  de ppt, dong bu-
             say  like-<need generic a little-PT ppt, know NEG-
             [就 是]  从    古    到    今，  就  感觉     那种：
             [jiu shi] cong gu  dao jin,  jiu ganjue nazhong:
             [that is] from ancient to modern,just feel that-PT
             (just like what they did before->for example like-<
             need a more generic PPT, understand-[that is] from
             ancient time to modern, feel like that kind:)
515  Wan:     [对啊]
             [dui a]
             [right PT]

             ([right])
516  Che:  ➔ =不   是   说   [一定    要   具体]   到   某    一个
             =bu  shi  shuo [yiding yao juti]    dao mou   yige
             =NEG be  say  [must   need sepcify] to some  one-CL
             点，  不    是   要   具体      到   某   一个   点
             dian,bu   shi yao juti      dao mou  yige dian
             point,NEG be need specify to some one-CL point
             (it does not have to specify one location, it is
             not to specify one location)
517  Wan:                     [就  是    一定]-
                             [jiu shi yiding]-
                             [that is must]-
                             ([that is must]-)
518  Wan:     =对  有   一 个-  有   一  个-  我 的  意思 是   说
             =dui you yi ge-  you yi ge-  wo de yisi shi shuo
             =yeshave one-CL-have one-CL- 1SG PT meaning be say
             有    一个::    就是 简历  [类似   一个   简历   的
             you  yi ge:: jiushi jianli [leisi yige   jianli de
             have one-CL:: that is outline[like one-CL outline PT
             东西]
             dongxi]
             thing]
             (=yes, have one-have one-what I mean is having one::
             that  is,    the     outline,[something  like    an
```

```
                    outline        ])
519 Che: →                              =[比如      说    你
                                        =[biru      shuo ni
                                        =[for example  say 2SG
        可以   来    一  个] 故宫      大    背景-     大
        keyi lai  yi  ge] gugong      da beijing-    da
        can come one-CL]Imperial Palace big background- big
        背景         下    可以  来   一个     照片
        beijing      xia  keyi lai  yige    zhaopian
        background under can come one-CL picture
                                        ([for   example,   you
        can put up a ] background- a background of  the
        Imperial Palace, put up a photo of it )
520 Wan:  对  对  对, [就是      这    种]
        dui dui dui,[jushi zhezhong]
        yes yes yes,[that is this-CL]
        (yes yes yes, [that is the kind])
521 Che:           [这          种]- 这种    东西    嘛
                   [zhe      zhong]-zhezhong dongxi ma
                   [this      -CL]- this-CL  things PT
                     ([this kind]-this kind of things)
522 Che:  不 一定   说    要 具体   到  某   一个   点,   你
        bu yiding shuo yao juti  dao mou  yige  dian, ni
        NEG must say   need specify to some one-CL point, 2SG
        加- 前面     你 写      一下,   就   放   个 VCR  就
        jia- qianmian ni xie   yixia,  jiu fang ge VCR jiu
        add-in front 2SG write  once, just put CL VCR that
        关于   中国       文化
        guanyu zhongguo wenhua
        about  China     culture
         (does not mean need to specify to one location, you
        add-in the prior section, you write it down, play a
        VCR about Chinese culture)
```

To hold onto speakership, participants often cut off the prior speaker's turn, speeding up to take a turn with no noticeable possible turn completion for others to take the floor, as described here. After acknowledging Wan's suggestion, Che in line 514 frames what the PowerPoint slides should look like, positioning himself as the prominent member who interprets and defines the task (Nielsen, 2009). In the next turn, Che rejects Wan's idea by assessing and reiterating that there is no need to mention specific places in the slides (line 516). Having heard Che's assertive negotiation, Wan negotiates in line 518 with an explanation for her suggestion. However, Che interrupts Wan's elaboration in line 519, overlapping with Wan. His turn is not in response to

Wan's prior turn; on the contrary, Che offers an example of a picture that should be included in the slides, as a continuation of his prior turn. Following this, Wan finally expresses agreement with '对对对' (yes yes yes), and Che does not stop upon hearing Wan's acceptance, rather continuing to reiterate that there is no need to point out specific places in the slides. Furthermore, Che directs Jia to write down his formulation regarding the content of the slides (line 522). In conducting the negotiation in lines 514 and 516, Che retains speakership by not signaling a possible turn completion for Wan to join in, as he does by successfully interrupting Wan in line 519, continuing his turn and ignoring Wan's utterances after she attempts to take the floor. In this way, Che eliminates the possible trajectories of negotiation that may have ensued had Wan gotten the floor.

As can be observed in the above extract, by retaining speakership, a participant like Che eliminates others' chances to negotiate, imposing his assessments and decisions, and ignoring others' contingency to disagree.

5.1.2. Imperative-formatted agenda-related proposal

In constructing leadership in a domineering manner, participants often employ imperatives to make an instruction-like proposal. In Mandarin Chinese, imperatives mainly take one of two forms, namely the 'do X' form and the 'do+particle *ba*' form. 'Do X' imperatives in Mandarin Chinese function similarly to those in English,

displaying a speaker's claim to high entitlement to make requests or proposals and recipients' low contingency to negotiate (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Lindström, 2005). Similarly, 'do+particle *ba*' imperatives also highlight the speaker's high entitlement and recipients' low contingency. However, because the particle *ba* solicits a favorable response from recipients (Han, 1995), it awards recipients a higher contingency than does a 'do X' imperative. In this regard, although both forms are instruction-like in nature, 'do X' imperatives express a speakers' entitlement to make a proposal and get it implemented more strongly than 'do+particle *ba*' imperatives. Extracts 5.2 and 5.3 illustrate proposals formatted in these tow imperative structures.

Prior to Extract 5.2, the group was negotiating about what should be included in the discussion. While one participant suggested writing down some details, Han strongly disagreed by asserting that there was no need to include such details. He further asserted that the group need only write down a general outline. Immediately following this, Han in line 24 proposes a topic to discuss, redirecting the group to resume the topic being discussed before the negotiation.

Extract 5.2 SH_G1 'We think again'

```
273 Han:  ➔   现在       就是    建筑,         >然后<      我们
              xianzai jiushi jianzhu,      >ranhou< women
              now    that is architecture, >then<    1PL
              再  想    一下      还    有    哪     一 些:
              zai xiang yixia     hai  you  na     yixie:
              more think one time still have which  some:
              我们  ↑(.)  中国      还    有    哪些     比较(.)
              women↑(.) zhongguo hai  you  naxie bijiao(.)
              1PL  ↑(.) China    still have which relative (.)
              有名     的    建筑          [哪     个     省]
              youming de jianzhu        [na    ge sheng]
              FAMOUS  PT architecture   [which CL province]
```

132

```
                         (now it is about architecture, >then< we think
                         again   about   what:   we↑(.)CHINA   has   what
                         relatively (.) FAMOUS architectures [in which
                         province])
274 Chu:                                         [北京四合院]
                                                 [Beijing Siheyuan⁶]
                                                 [Beijing courtyard house]
                                                             ([Beijing
         Siheyuan])
```

At the beginning of this proposal-making turn, Han returns to the prior topic about architecture by formulating the proposed topic as known and agreed upon by the other group members. Rather than suggesting the group discuss this topic by means of a suggestion like 'Shall we talk about architecture' or 'Let's talk about architecture', his proposal is formatted in terms of a statement that signals the topic as the ongoing one. It affords low contingency for other group members to disagree. In addition, Han rushes on (Schegloff, 1998, p. 241) to launch a further proposal, urging the group to think about other famous examples of architecture in addition to those already mentioned. This proposal is in the form of an imperative with the straightforward 'do-construction' and the plural first person pronoun '我们' (we) to select the whole group as the recipients of the proposal, obliging them to implement the proposal. Furthermore, a question is embedded in the imperative-formatted proposal, which helps to increase the relevance of an answer in the next turn. This turn therefore clearly demonstrates how a proposal can be framed as an agreed-upon agenda and be skillfully formatted as an imperative to reinforce the likelihood of its implementation.

In the talk preceding Extract 5.3, the group was struggling to reach agreement on what

---

⁶ 北京四合院 *Beijing Siheyuan* is a kind of traditional courtyard houses in Beijing.

time to hold the event, so one of the participants proposed leaving the time undecided

and moving on to discuss the event's content first. However, Yi and Le immediately

rejected this proposal. Yi continued to talk about holding the event close to New Year,

while Le asserted that there was no need to talk about New Year.

Extract 5.3 HUST_G4 'go on +*ba*'

```
319 Yi:       不   是   一定   要   说   跟着   元旦   一起
              bu shi yiding yao shuo genzhe yuandan  yiqi
              NEG be must   need  say follow New Year together
              (it does not mean (we) have to hold it at New
              Year)
320 Le:     ➔ =往      下   走   吧
              =wang    xia  zou ba
              =toward down go  PT
              (=go to the next (topic))
    Gaze      |-gazing at his notes-|

    Gesture   |-------writing-------|
```

Le in this extract adopts the 'do+particle *ba*' imperative to initiate a proposal by which

he also rejects the prior negotiation. In line 319, Yi attempts to explain to Le the reason

why he is suggesting New Year, justifying the content of his prior turn about time. Le,

however, rushes on to propose discussing the next topic, completely ignoring Yi's

justification. The proposal is delivered in form of a short imperative construction with

final particle *ba* '往下走吧' (go to the next+particle *ba*). The sentence final particle *ba*

in Mandarin Chinese is usually used in imperative sentences to give commands or

advice (Chao, 1968; Han, 1995). In this turn, the particle *ba* in this short form of an

imperative also urges the co-participants to implement the proposal. In addition, while

uttering this proposal, Le is writing his notes with his eyes on the paper. As discussed

in Chapter 4, writing down notes is usually employed after a decision announcement to

indicate that it a final decision. On this occasion, interestingly, this action signals the

proposal as a decision that is not negotiable. The short imperative format with *ba* and the action of noting it down index the assertiveness of the proposal, leaving little contingency for the recipients to negotiate.

As seen in the above descriptions of the data, imperative-formatted proposals help participants to claim a leadership position by asserting a proposal as a group decision, leaving little room for others to negotiate..

5.1.3. Statement-formatted decision announcement

In delivering a decision announcement in an assertive manner, participants adopt short statement forms to impose the decision, allowing no contingency for recipients to negotiate. Of course, utterances delivered in a statement form do not necessarily correlate with a domineering manner of leadership construction. The linguistic form of a statement is just one of the parameters indicating the domineering-ness of an utterance. There are other multimodal parameters to consider as well, such as the prosodic contour of the statement, its pitch, and the presence of prefaces or hedges. The degree of domineering-ness of a statement-formatted decision announcement may be determined by applying the coding scheme introduced in Chapter 3. Extract 5.4 demonstrates how one participant uses a short statement to announce a decision. This stretch of talk unfolded when the group was discussing the performances to be included in the 'Chinese night' cultural event.

Extract 5.4 'Singing with dancing!'

```
490   Jia:          好   就    这样,          歌伴舞!
                    Hao jiu zheyang,     gebanwu!
                    Okay  just like this, SINGING WITH DANCING!
                    (okay, just like this, SINGING WITH DANCING!)
      Gesture       |---writing---|
491   Wan:    →     你  可以 把    节目       写   上     去 啊, 因为
                    你
                    ni keyi ba jiemu     xie shang qu a , yinwei
                    ni
                    2SG can take program write  up    go  PT,
                    because 2SG
                    这    个: (.)太-  太   笼统
                    zhe  ge: (.)tai- tai longtong
                    this-CL: (.)too- too general
                    (you can write down the PROGRAMS, because
                    yours this: (.)is too-too general)
```

In line 490, Jia announces a decision regarding the performance as '歌伴舞' (singing with dancing). In the turn initial position, Jia places the discourse maker '好 hao' (Okay), which projects a summary or the closure of the prior discussion. Then she adds '就这样 jiu zheyang' (just like this), further projecting a decision announcement. This utterance also urges others to agree with the up-coming announcement. Finally, at the end of this turn, the name of the performance is announced with prosodic stress. In the meantime, Jia does not have eye contact with the others; rather, she writes down the name on her notes, which, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, signals the decision announcement as being treated and confirmed as a decision. In doing so, Jia further reduces the contingency of recipients to negotiate. Indeed, when Wan rejects Jia's decision announcement in the next turn, she also employs an assertive format—a directive—to claim higher entitlement than the high entitlement Jia claims in line 490.

As can be seen from this extract, a short statement with prosodic stress can be used to enhance the assertiveness of a decision announcement.

5.1.4. Assess suggestions and define the task with deontic modal verbs

When When assessing others' suggestions and defining a task, speakers may use modal verbs such as '要 *yao*' (want) and '用 *yong*' (need) to 'establish what is obligatory, permissible or forbidden' to complete the discussion task (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012, p. 299). Such modal verbs are called 'deontic modal verbs' (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Deontic modal verbs are essential for displaying a speakers' deontic right to make decisions on future collective actions. Curl and Drew (2008) also report that, in comparison to *I wonder*-conditioned requests, modal verbs index higher entitlement to make a request and project lower contingency for the recipients. In general, deontic modal verbs may be used to increase the assertiveness of an utterance by which others' suggestions or behaviors are sanctioned. In the current data, three modal verbs were used in making assessments and defining group tasks, namely '要 *yao*' (want) '用 *yong*' (need), and '该/应该 *gai/yinggai*' (should). This section analyzes two examples with '要 *yao*' (want) and '用 *yong*' (need). The modal verbs '要 *yao*' (want) and '用 *yong*' (need) in Mandarin Chinese can express a speaker's 'complete and unproblematic access' to the topic being discussed (Kendrick, 2010, p. 82).

Extract 5.5 demonstrates how the deontic modal verbs '要 *yao*' (want) and '用 *yong*' (need) are used continuously in making assessments of suggestions and interpreting the group's task. Before Extract 5.5 occurred, Lin and Han were collaborating to move the

agenda forward. In this extract, Han directly rejects Lin's attempt to discuss details that

he assesses as having '不用 *buyong*' (no need), and formulates the gist of the

discussion three times with '要 *yao*' (want) in response to Shi's suggestion.

Extract 5.5 SH_G1 'No need No need No need'

```
261  Shi:     应-      应该    写    什么,      参:观:     中国
              ying- yinggai xie  shenme,  can: guan: zhongguo
              should- should write something, visit::   China
              历史      °什么°
              lishi shenme
              history something
              (should-should  write  something,  visit:::Chinese
              history and °so on°)
262  Han:  ➔ ↑这  个   是  不  用   写,  反正      我们     现在
              ↑zhe ge shi bu yong xie,fanzheng women xianzai
              this-CL be NEG need write, anyway   1PL    now
              要    的  就是        主要       内容
              yao de jiushi  zhuyao    neirong
              want PT just is main      content
              (↑This is NO NEED TO WRITE DOWN, anyway what we
              WANT is the MAIN CONTENT)
263  Lin:     对
              dui
              right
              (right)
264  Han:  ➔ =就  是  到底          要  带   他们  去  哪    一些
              =jiushi daodi       yao dai tamen qu na  yixie
              =that is eventually need take them go where some
              地方,       这  个  就  是    最     °主要        的°
              defang, zhe ge jiu shi zui  °zhuyao      de°
              place, this-CL that is most °important   PT°
               (=that is EVENTUALLY to take them to WHICH
              places, this is the most °important°)
265  Lin:     =你  说   的((turning to Shi)) 那  应该    是    开-
              =ni shuo de((turning to Shi))na yinggai shi kai-
              =2SG sayPT((turning to Shi))that should be open-
              是: 开场白              对   吧?
              shi: kaichangbai      dui ba?
              be: opening remarks right PT?
              (what  you  were  saying  is -is: the  opening
              remarks, right?)
266  Han:     =[那  些]-
              =[naxie]-
              =[those]-
              =([those])
267  Shi:      [不    是]目录              的  话,  如果   写   一个
              [bu shi] mulu             de hua, ruguo xie yige
              [NEG be]table of contents PT say,if write one-CL
              就    写      北京    的  话   °不就°
              jiu xie    Beijing de hua °bujiu°
              just write Beijing PT say °NEG just°
              ([no], in the TABLE OF CONTENTS, if we write only
              one and only about Beijing, °isn't it-°)
```

```
268  Han:  ➔  =>不 用 不   用<,    这 些 都 不   用-  我们
               =>bu yong bu  yong<, zhexie dou bu   yong- women
               =>NEG need NEG need<, these all NEG need- 1PL
               都  不  用 去 管  啦, 反正    我们  就  写=
               dou bu  yong qu guan la, fanzheng women jiu xie=
               all NEG need take care PT,anyway 1PL just write=
               (>No need, No need<, these all NO NEED- we DON'T
               NEED to think about all of these, anyway we
               simply write down=)
269  Han:     =带 他们 去 哪里  玩 [就  好   啦] 带 他们   去
               =dai tamen qu nali wan [jiu hao la] dai tamen qu
               =take 3PL go where play[that okay PT]take 3SG go
               哪里  参观    就 行 啦
               nali canguan jiu xing la
               where visit just okay PT
               (=where to take them to play [then it's Okay]
               where to take them to visit, that's enough)
270  Lin:                                    [ 对    ]
                                              [dui   ]
                                              [right ]
                                                  ([right  ])
```

In line 8, Shi rushes through and cuts Lin off with a suggestion to write down a particular detail. In response to this, Han denies the suggestion with a negative evaluation formatted in terms of the negation of the modal verb '用 *yong*' (need) which expresses obligation. He also supports his evaluation by adding a formulation of the gist of the discussion, framed as '我们现在要的' (what we now want) (line 262). The modal verb '要 *yao*' (want) in Chinese is usually used to indicate that the interlocutor is willing to do something or desires to obtain something. It is noticeable that Han employs the personal reference '我们 *women*' (we) to indicate that he is taking on the collective perspective (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007) of the whole group. In fact, because all the group members have relatively equal status to begin with, none has the entitlement to define the group's obligation or desires according to their individual perceptions. Therefore, by using the modal verbs '用 *yong*' (need) and '要 *yao*' (want), Han judges others' idea as illegitimate to be included in the discussion and formulates a personal interpretation of the task from the group perspective. In so doing, Han

positions himself as the one who evaluates and speaks for the group.

Not responding to Lin's immediate agreement to his prior turn (line 263), Han continues to explain the gist of the discussion, pointing out the specific task to be done (line 264). At the same time, Lin turns to Shi and asks about her prior turn, giving her an opportunity to clarify herself, and also a possible trajectory to discuss what Shi suggested. Shi then explains her idea in the following turn, but Han interrupts to deliver another rejection (line 268).

Terminating the possible trajectory that two of the group members may have taken, Han's repeated rejection in line 268 takes a more domineering form than his first rejection (line 262). Firstly, he uses '不用不用 *buyong buyong*' (no need, no need) at the turn initial position, where this form of repetition expresses his attitude towards Shi's suggestion, considering certain details as 'unnecessary', and that they 'should be halted' (Stivers, 2004, p. 260). While Han's first rejection only evaluates Shi's suggestion, this turn-initial repetition facilitates Han's judgment of Shi's action as illegitimate and suggests that Shi stops it. Then, Han continues to deny the need to talk about details mentioned in prior turns with '不用 *buyong*' (no need)—the negation of modal verb '用 *yong*' (need)—and the reference to '这些都 *zhexie dou*' (all of these), which not only refers to Shi's suggestion, but also the details brought up by Lin in line 265. In this turn, Han rejects Shi's and Lin's attempts, as well as the potential

trajectory leading to such discussion. In addition to assessing other group members' ideas, Han regulates their actions and the direction of the discussion.

As discussed above, deontic modal verbs help speakers to assert higher or equal epistemic access to a prior suggestion and to task requirements. Furthermore, by employing deontic modal verbs in assessment, speakers claim their higher deontic right to mobilize and regulate the group discussion.

5.1.5. Deliver negotiation without mitigation

When a group member initiates a proposal or decision-making sequence to claim leadership, other participants may refuse to comply by disagreeing or bringing up another proposal or decision announcement. Disagreement and noncompliance are regarded as dis-preferred actions, which are usually marked by mitigations, delays, or pro-forma agreement (Pomerantz, 1984). However, some participants deliver their rejection or negotiation without mitigation, signaling the disagreement as not problematic, thereby claiming a higher deontic right than others to influence the agenda or decisions. Extract 5.6 exemplifies the assertiveness some participants display by means of rejections delivered in straightforward manner. Prior to this extract, a decision had been reached by Lu making a decision-announcement and others agreeing to it.

Extract 5.6_HUST_G4 'you first do this'

```
196  Lu：     然后   活动      内容-    我 觉得   可能   还要    再
              Ranhou huodong neirong- wojuede kenenghaiyao zai
              Then event   content-1SG think maybe  need   more
              充实        一下     是吧？
```

```
                         chongshi    yixia    shiba?
                         enrich      once     be-PT?
                         (then  about  event's  content-   I  think  maybe
                         still needs discussing more in detail, right? )
         Gaze            |-gazing at notes----||----gazing at Le&Yi------
                         --------|
197  Le:      ➔  你    先    把    这    第四部          搞定      吧
                 ni    xian  ba    zhe   disibu         gaoding   ba
                 you   first make  this  fourth part    settled   PT
                 (You first decide on this the fourth part! )
         Gaze            |-------gazing at notes, writing----------|
```

After a short pause, Lu in line 196 initiates a proposal formatted with the keyword '活动内容' (event's format). She then specifies the proposal with an assessment-like statement after explaining the reason for making the proposal. This assessment-like statement of the proposal is delivered in a mitigated manner, marked by the individual reference '我' (I), which signals the proposal as a personal opinion, together with the modal verb '可能' (maybe), which displays the speaker's uncertainty regarding the proposal. Formulating the proposal as a statement of a personal idea, which does not oblige the whole group to enact it, Lu leaves more room for recipients to negotiate on the proposal, thus awarding them high contingency. Accordingly, Lu's deontic right to make an agenda-related proposal for the group to act upon is expressed as lower than would be the case with an imperative. Interestingly, immediately after the statement, Lu continues with a tag question '是吧' (Right?/Don't you guys think so?), attempting to solicit favorable responses from the recipients, which, in contrast, limits their contingency (Asmuß, Oshima, & Asmuss, 2012). By seeking affiliation from the recipients, Lu makes a favorable answer relevant, indeed referred, in the next turn.

However, in the next turn, Le explicitly rejects Lu's proposal, using another proposal

in the form of an imperative with the particle *ba*. Immediately after Lu's turn, rather than mitigating with a pause, delay, or pro-forma agreement, Le directly joins in to reject Lu's idea. This shows that Le regards his rejection and counter-proposal as non-problematic (Pomerantz, 1984), treating himself as entitled to reject Lu's agenda and suggest his own. In Le's turn, the second person pronoun '你' (you) is positioned in the turn initial position, echoing the use of '我' (I) in Lu's proposal. By singling out Lu as '你' (you), this signals Lu's proposal as an individual idea, which does not involve the group as a whole. In addition, '你' (you) also helps to locate Lu as the recipient of the proposal, allowing it to be heard more like a directive.

In sum, rejecting others' attempts to control agendas and decisions directly without mitigation displays a speaker's higher entitlement to negotiate, by which the speaker indicates that rejection and negotiation are non-problematic.

5.1.6. Forceful prosodic cues

With regard to vocal cues that display hierarchical power in speech, prior research has led to discrepant findings. Ko, Sadler, and Galinsky (2015) report on both experimental and real world settings, in which the typical vocal features of Prime Minister and other leaders include a higher pitch with less variation and more varied intensity. In contrast, a lower pitch has also been reported to make people feel more powerful (Stel, et al., 2012).

In the current corpus, participants are observed to use forceful prosodic cues when delivering an agenda-related proposal or decision-making turn to display their deontic right to take the initiative of influencing the group. The prosodic cues that strengthen the assertiveness of utterances include increased pitch, greater intensity, and a flat prosodic contour. According to the criterion stated in Chapter 3, a pitch increase of 5% to 7% in comparison to a previous relevant utterance is regarded as significant. In terms of intensity, an increase of 1DB is regarded as significant.

Among all forms of agenda-related proposals and decision announcements, imperatives and statements take a flat prosodic contour, as seen for the statement-formatted decision announcement in Fig. 5.1.
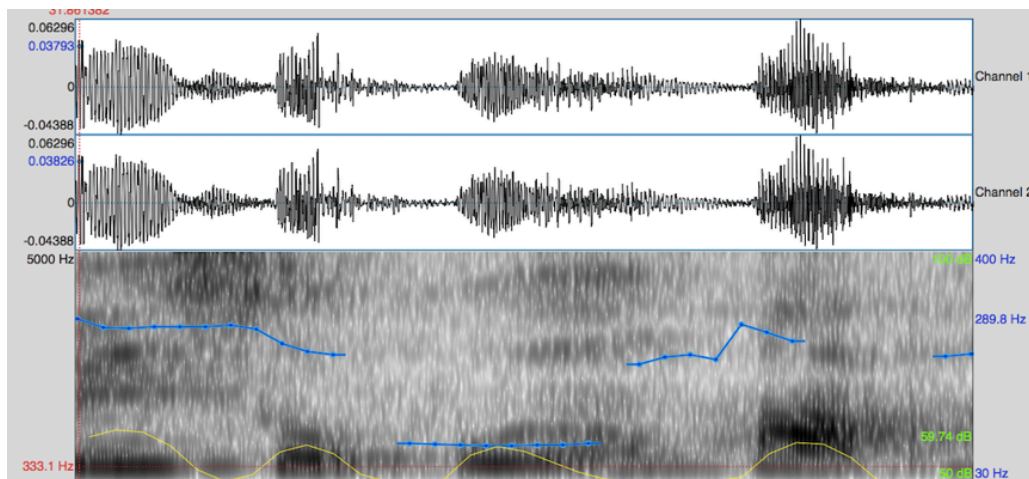

Figure 5.1 Jia：'追溯古文化吧(say, trace back ancient culture)'

In addition, forceful prosodic cues are more prominent when participants are negotiating agendas and decisions. Sometimes, even with linguistic forms like interrogatives, which are less assertive than imperatives and statements, the prosodic

cues can be very forceful, strengthening the domineering-ness of the utterance. Extract

5.7 demonstrates how a participant uses a question with increased pitch and intensity

as well as a flat prosodic contour to negotiate with another participants' rejection of his

initial proposal.

Prior to Extract 5.7, the group members were arguing about whether or not they should

discuss the size of the event, and they failed to convince each other. Bin suggested

leaving the topic undecided for the moment and moving on to discuss location, which

was agreed with by Yin and Hu.

Extract 5.7_HUST_G2 'eventually who?'

```
 80 Lei:    →    到底    谁:    给  他们  介绍    中国  文化？
                 daodi  shui: gei tamen jieshao zhongguo wenhua?
                 Eventuallywho give 3PL introduce China culture?
                 (eventually WHO: INTRODUCE Chinese culture to
                 them?)
 81              (1.1)

 82 Hu:     我  觉得   主要  把  活动   形式   先   确定
            wo  juede zhuyao ba  huodong xingshi xian queding
            1SG think mainly make event   format first decide
            了吧
            le ba
            PT PT
            (I  think mainly first decide on  the  event's
            format-PT)
 83 Lei:    →    先:   不  用:考虑  ((waving hands))(.9)    我们
                 xian: bu yong: kaolu ((waving hands))(.9) women
                 first:NEG need: think ((waving hands))(.9)  1PL
                 先  找   哪些   人   来  给  他们  宣传
                 xian zhao naxie ren  lai gei tamen xuanchuan
                 first find which people come give 3PL publicize
                 中国     文化？
                 zhongguo wenhua?
                 China    culture?
                 (First: NO NEED: to consider ((waving hands))
                 (.9) We First find whom to publicize Chinese
                 culture to them?)
```

In line 80, Lei joins in with a question-formatted proposal, trying to re-direct the

discussion into talking about another topic—the personnel arrangement. This proposal

is delivered with no delay and no mitigation, indicating that Lei regards it as not

projecting any future interactional problems (Pomerantz, 1984). In terms of prosody,

the question is uttered with a relatively high pitch (132.35HZ) and intensity (40.68DB),

with stress on '谁' (who), urging the recipients to provide an answer. In addition, the

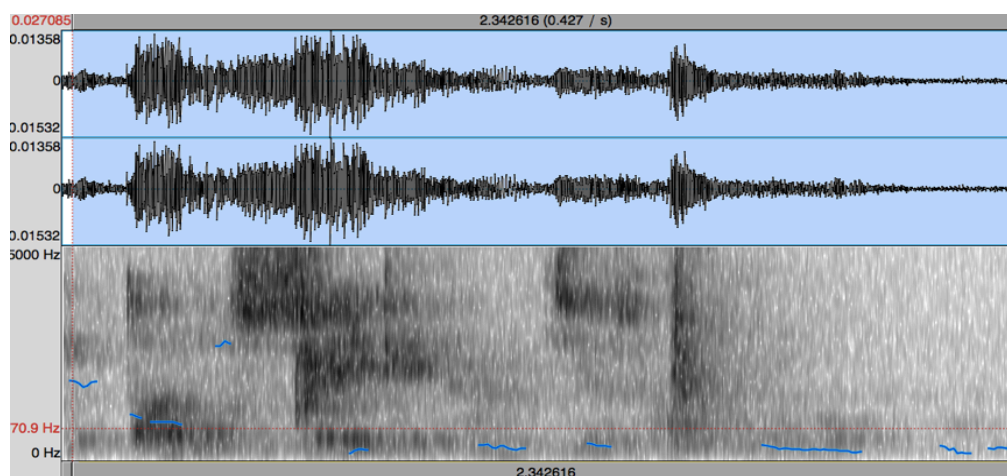prosodic contour of this proposal, as seen in Fig. 5.2, is flat at the end.

Figure 5.2 Prosodic contour of Line 80, Lei: '到底谁：给他们介绍中国文化？
(eventually WHO: INTRODUCE Chinese culture to them?)' (Average
pitch=132.35HZ; average intensity=40.68DB)

However, the other group members do not accept Lei's agenda. After his proposal,

there is a 1.1 second silence, projecting possible rejection or negotiation. In line 82, Hu

makes a proposal in the format of an imperative with the particle *ba* to reject Lei's

proposal. Lei then responds to Hu's rejection with a marked disagreement in line 83.

He stresses the words '不用' (no need) and emphasizes his verbal disagreement with

hand waving. His explicit rejection on Hu's proposal claims his right to assess

another's proposal regarding the agenda. In addition, Lei reiterates his proposal more

explicitly in the same interrogative format, pointing out the recipient of the proposal

'我们' (we) and the suggested action '找' (find). This is also delivered with higher

pitch (147.83HZ) and intensity (44.51DB) than Lei's first proposal in line 18. In particular, the average pitch of the utterance rises by 11.7% and the intensity by 3.83DB from that of the previous proposal. These increases in pitch and intensity are both significant according to the above-stated criterion. Furthermore, the prosodic contour is flat towards the end of the question-formatted proposal, as seen in Fig. 5.3.
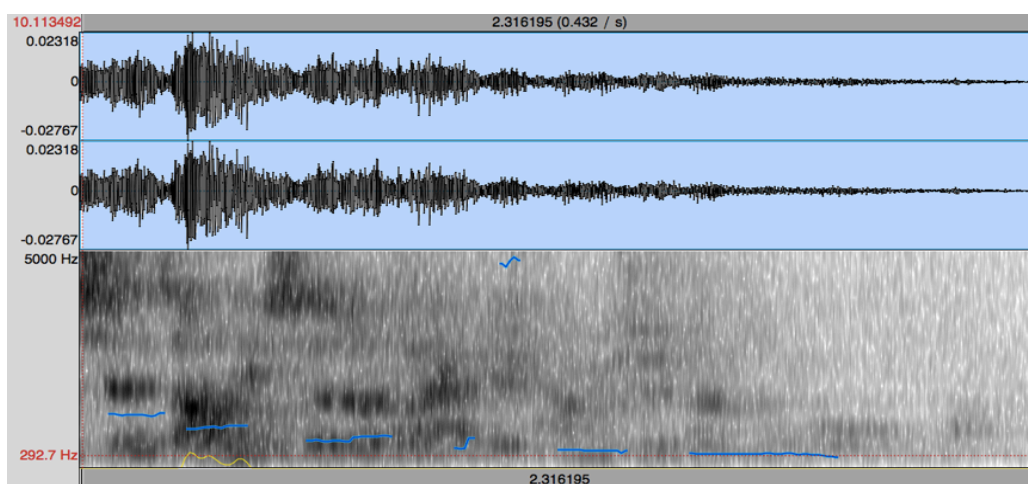

Figure 5.3 Prosodic contour of Line 83, Lei: '我们先找哪些人来给他们宣传中国文化？(We first find whom to publicize Chinese culture to them?)' (Average pitch =147.83HZ; average intensity =44.51DB)

As demonstrated above, increasing the pitch and intensity, as well as adopting a flat prosodic contour, can enhance the assertiveness of an utterance. Although statement and imperative formats are delivered with flat or falling contours by default, the fact that question-formatted proposals also employ flat or falling final contours suggest that a flat contour is also important to modulate the assertiveness of an utterance.

5.1.7. Assertive nonverbal behaviors

While participants are negotiating with others, they may use assertive nonverbal behaviors to display thei right to influence agendas and decisions. Nonverbal behaviors

that help increase assertiveness in the present data include avoiding eye contact to

disaffiliate with others, writing down personal suggestions as group decisions, pointing

at notes or into the air to express emphasis, and so on.

Extract 5.8 demonstrates how the avoidance of eye contact with the rest of the group

and writing down the agenda are designed to increase the assertiveness of an agenda-

related proposal. In this example, Le rejects Yi's suggestion by ignoring his

explanation and making an instruction-like proposal to move agenda forward. While he

is making the proposal, he avoids eye contact with the rest of the group, looking at his

own notes and making notes on the next topic.

Prior to Extract 5.8, the group was unable to reach a decision on what time to hold the

'Chinese night' event. While Yi talked about the practicality of setting the date for the

event around the New Year, Le asserted that the group need not think about the

particular time. Responding to Le's assessment, Yi provided a justification for his

talking about New Year, which Le again assessed as unnecessary.

Extract 5.8_HUST_G2 'move on!'

```
319 Yi:          不  是   一定   要   说   跟着   元旦      一起
                 bu shi yiding yao shuo genzhe yuandan    yiqi
                 NEG be must need  say follow  New Year together
                 (it does not mean (we) have to hold it at New
                 Year)
320 Le:     ➔    =往      下   走  吧
                 =wang   xia  zou ba
                 =toward down go  PT
                 (=go to the next (topic))
    Gaze         |-gazing at his notes-|

    Gesture      |-------writing-------|
```

In line 319, Yi continues to negotiate by further explaining his rationale. Interestingly, although Yi is negotiating with Le's assessment here, he is gazing at Lu while delivering his explanation. Yi's gaze at Lu solicits a response from Lu, inviting her to participate in the discussion (Rossano & Planck, 2013). At the same time, Le avoids looking at Yi, who is speaking; instead, he fixes his gaze on his notes. According to previous findings about the function of gaze in interaction, diverting one's gaze from the speaker is used to disengage from the current participation framework (Rossano & Planck, 2013). By looking at the notes rather than the speaker, Le indicates that he is not willing to pursue this topic with Yi any longer.

Latching, Le in line 320 proposes discussing the next topic, completely ignoring Yi's justification in the prior turn. The proposal is delivered in the form of a short imperative construction '往下走吧' (move on+particle *ba*). Contrary to the general practice of moving one's gaze from the previous speaker to the current speaker at turn initiation (Goodwin, 1980), Le does not raise his head to gaze at Yi, from whom he takes the turn, indexing problems in affiliating with Yi's stance. Moreover, Le does not look at the other participants either, not soliciting a response from any of them, nor selecting the next speaker. This indicates that Le regards this proposal as not open to negotiation. It is heard by the recipients as a directive requiring implementation as the relevant next action. In addition, while uttering this proposal, Le is writing notes, signaling his proposal as the agreed-upon agenda to be implemented (see Fig. 5.4).

Figure 5.4 Line 319 Le: '=往下走吧 (=go to the next PT)'

Extract 5.9 demonstrates how waving and emphatic gestures, like tapping on one's notes, are used when a participant is sanctioning anothers' suggestion or interpreting the task.

Extract 5.9_SH_G1 'what we want is'

```
261 Han:  →    ↑这  个  是  不  用  写,      反正    我们   现
               在
               ↑zhe ge shi bu   yong  xie,   fanzheng women
               xianzai
               this-CL be NEG need write, anyway  1PL   now
               要  的 就是      主要    内容
               yao de jiushi  zhuyao   neirong
               want PT just is main     content
               (↑This is NO NEED TO WRITE DOWN, anyway what we
               WANT is the MAIN CONTENT)
```

In the talk preceding Extract 5.9, one participant made a suggestion regarding things to include in the written plan of the event. In line 261, Han directly rejects this suggestion by offering an assessment of first the suggestion and then the task. Han is observed to wave the pen in his right hand while delivering the stressed negative assessment '不用写' (no need to write down) (Fig 5.5). The waving of the pen is an alternative form of hand waving hand, which displays Han's disagreement with the prior suggestion (Stadler, 2007) and his certainty in rejecting it.

Figure 5.5 Line 261: Han: '↑这个是不用写 (NO NEED TO WRITE this DOWN)'

Figure 5.6 Line 261: Han: '就是**主要内容**(is the MAIN CONTENT)'

Later in this turn, when interpreting the task requirement as writing the '主要内容' (main content) of the plan, Han taps on the notes (Fig 5.6), which may be categorized as another form of pointing (Schegloff, 1984, p. 282). Although not well documented, pointing at a printed agenda is often used in meetings to introduce a topic on the agenda (Scheuer, 2014; Svennevig, 2012). In this discussion, although no prior agenda was given to the participants, each had a piece of blank paper to take notes on decisions and agendas in the process of the discussion. Thus, the notes taken are

regarded as representing group decisions and agendas agreed upon by the group in the preceding stretches of the discussion. By pointing at the notes, Han signals his interpretation of the task as being related to what the group has decided and agreed upon. Simultaneously, Han diverts gaze from the other participants toward his notes. Han's downward gaze at the notes on prior decisions signals the notes as a resource to support his statement of the group task. The nonverbal behavior of tapping on and gazing at the notes expresses Han's assertive assessment of both the suggestion and the group task.

As observed in these extracts, nonverbal behaviors are also essential in increasing the domineering-ness of utterances. Participants may purposefully avoid eye contact to reject another's leadership claims. Participants may also write down their personal opinion as the group decision, asserting their primacy to making decisions. In addition, participants often employ emphatic gestures, such as tapping and waving hands, for purposes of emphasis.

5.2. 'Doing' leadership in a facilitative manner

This section presents a fine-grained micro-level analysis of extracts in terms of turn-taking strategies, linguistic formats, prosodic cues, and nonverbal behaviors employed by participants to initiate and negotiate leadership construction in facilitative ways.

5.2.1. Distribute speakership

When a group is making a decision, rather than retaining speakership to make an assessment of a suggestion, a participant may also distribute speakership to other participants by soliciting their ideas after expressing his/her stance.

As Extract 5.10 unfolds, Li and Xia were negotiating about a decision on the event's format. Specifically, Li initiated a question about the decision on the event's format, projecting closure of a decision-making sequence. Xia then responded to the question as if the decision had been made in the preceding talk. However, Li did not signal Xia's answer as the agreed-upon decision, requesting clarification from Xia and soliciting other group members' assessment on the decision suggested by Xia. In response, Xia provided another suggestion. This is the point at which Extract 5.10 starts.

Extract 5.10_HUST_G1_ 'you?'

```
489                 (1.5)
490  Li:    ➔      我   觉得     可以
                   wo juede  keyi
                   1SG think okay
                   (I think it is Okay)
491                 (1.5)
492  Li:    ➔      ((turning to Cao))你呢？
                   (turning to Cao)) ni ne?
                   (turning to Cao)) 2SG PT?
                   ((turning to Cao) (you?)
493                 (2.1)
494  Li:    ➔      你们     还   有   没   有   更好  的 (0.9)更好      的
                   nimen hai you mei you genghao de(0.9) genghao de
                   2PL still have-NEG-have better-PT(0.9) better-PT
                   想法？
                   xiangfa?
                   idea?
                   (Do you have other better (0.9) better ideas?)
```

After a noticeable silence in line 489, which projects problems in agreeing with Xia's idea, Li evaluates Xia's idea from her personal perspective, saying '我觉得可以' (I think it is okay). According to Lim (2011), '我觉得' (I think) functions as a 'joint assessment initiator' when used together with an assessment (p. 292). Indeed, after this turn, Li turns to Cao to inquire about her assessment with a clear reference '你呢' (you?) (line 492). This question is noticeably short, with only the second person reference '你' (you) and final particle '呢 ne'. This also indicates that this question is initiated on the basis of Li's evaluation, which can be understood as 'Given that I think this idea is okay, what do you think?' In the next turn, Cao does not take the floor. Another period of silence again projects problems in assessing the idea.

In line 494, Li turns to Ha and Xia to invite them to contribute. Rather than inquiring about the evaluation of the prior idea again, Li asks if they have other or better ideas, seeking alternatives to Xia's suggestion. By pointing out that the requested ideas are attributed to '你' (you [singular]) and '你们' (you [plural]), Li delimits the ideas she is requesting as the other participants' personal ideas, avoiding possible interpretation of those ideas as decisions. In this way, Li positions herself as someone who is entitled to require contributions from the rest of the group, and also ensures that such opinions are not regarded as decisions. By soliciting assessments and opinions from the other participants, Li distributes speakership to the rest of the group to negotiate with Xia's suggestion.

Unlike constructing leadership in a domineering manner by retaining speakership, as described in section 5.1.1, participants can construct leadership in a facilitative manner by distributing speakership to others so as to obtain support and endorsement from them.

5.2.2. Wh-question-formatted agenda-related proposal

When directing the discussion agenda, in contrast to an instruction-like proposal in the form of an imperative, which urges the group on to the next topic, some participants adopt an interrogative to make an agenda-related proposal that solicits answers that would by default implement the agenda. However, as mentioned above, utterances delivered as interrogatives are not necessarily associated with a facilitative manner of leadership construction. The interrogative linguistic form is only one parameter by which to determine how facilitative an utterance is. Other parameters include multimodal channels, such as prosodic contour, pitch, and hand gestures. If an interrogative is delivered with domineering prosodic cues, with a flat or falling contour, higher pitch, and/or emphatic hand gestures, it may not be regarded as facilitative. Extract 5.11 shows how Lu uses a wh-question to mobilize Mei to follow her agenda, thus negotiating with the agenda suggested by Yi.

In the preceding stretch of talk, Yi proposed discussing issues other than those suggested by Lu. Lu agreed by assessing Yi's proposal as correct, and co-constructed

Yi's proposal by repeating its keywords. However, Yi was not satisfied with Lu's co-construction of his proposal, by which Lu claimed ownership of the proposal. Yi continued to reiterate the proposal in the form of a wh-question. This is when Extract 5.11 begins.

Extract 5.11_HUST_G4 'what do you mean?'

```
417  Lu:       ➔  嗯：行，    想    想，     咱-  再-
                   hm: xing, xiang xiang, zan- zai-
                   hm: okay, think think, 1PL- then
                   (hm: okay, think think about it, we-then-)
     Gaze          |---------gazing at her notes-----------|
     Gesture        |-taping on head-| |-puts down pen-|
418                (2.1)

419  Lu:       ➔  学，你  刚  说  的  是   学，你  刚    说  的
                   Xue, ni gang shuo de shi  xue, ni gang   shuo de
                   Study,2SG just say-PT is study, 2SG just say-PT
                   学    是   指?
                   xue  shi zhi?
                   study be refer to?
                   (STUDY, you just said STUDY, Study you said
                   refers to?)
420  Mei:          像      中国       文字      的 东西
                   xiang zhongguo wenzi     de dongxi
                   like  China     character —PT thing
                   (things like Chinese characters)
```

In line 417, line 417, Lu responds to Yi's reiteration by first agreeing to implement his proposal with '行' (Okay) and then proposing a more specific action '想想' (think think) that is in line with Yi's proposal. Lu also taps her head and puts down her pen to demonstrate that she is really thinking hard about other issues proposed by Yi. Lu then delivers another incomplete proposal with the inclusive first person plural pronoun '咱' (we [inclusive]), asking the group to act as has been proposed. In this turn, Lu first agrees with Yi's reiterated proposal and then proposes her own suggestion to move the agenda forward. This turn signals Lu as the one who mobilizes the group without challenging Yi's right to make a proposal or control the agenda.

The interesting following development occurs after about two seconds of silence, when Lu takes the floor again in line 419 to offer a wh-question formatted proposal that would lead to a return to a prior topic that was cut off by Yi's proposal. This question uses the second person pronoun '你' (you). Together with eye gaze, Lu specifically selects Mei as the next speaker to answer the wh-question about '学' (studying), which Mei had suggested introducing at the event in an earlier turn. By doing so, Lu ignores the prior agenda originally proposed by Yi, and redirects the discussion agenda to another topic. Thereby, Lu signals herself as the one who controls the agenda by opening a new direction for the discussion regardless of the prior one. Lu employs the question format to engage Mei and increase the relevance of the answer in the next turn. Mei joins in to answer the question and discuss the suggested topic, which implements the agenda proposed by Lu. By involving another participant in the new topic, Lu actually uses co-participants' engagement to negotiate with the agenda originally proposed by Yi.

In addition to employing imperative-formatted proposals that enhance the assertiveness of utterances, participants can use questions to increase the relevance of recipients' responses, thereby mobilizing others to implement a proposed agenda, endorsing the speakers' leadership claims.

5.2.3. Decision announcement with tag question

When announcing decisions, in contrast to the use of deontic modal verbs and assessments, participants can also use tag-questions to solicit opinions and agreement from others. Extract 5.12 demonstrates an occasion on which a participant used a tag-question in a decision announcement turn to seek consensus from other group members. In the preceding talk, Che had suggested deciding on what performances to include at the event.

Extract 5.12_SH_G3 'Say Beijing Opera, okay?'

```
447  Jia:    ➔  那 个    京剧              吧， 行     吧？
                 Na ge   jingju           ba, xing ba?
                 That-CL Beijing opera PT, Okay PT?
                 (Say Beijing Opera, is this okay?)
448  Che:        京剧             肯定      要    的
                 jingju          kending yao  de
                 Beijing Opera must     have PT
                 (Beijing Opera is the must-have)
449  Jia:        沙家浜⁷，          呵呵呵呵
                 shangjiabang, hehehehe
                 (Shajiabang, hehehehe)
```

Responding to this, Jia in line 447 announces a decision based on the prior discussion, together with a tag-question '行吧?' (Is this okay?) at the turn termination, which 'mobilizes support' (Heritage, 2012, p. 14) for the decision announcement she asserted. In addition, the particle '吧 *ba*' used in the tag question further mitigates the assertiveness of the decision announcement by 'disclaiming complete and unproblematic access' to the decision (Kendrick, 2010, p. 213). In so doing, rather than reinforcing a decision by assertion, Jia delivers the decision announcement with a tag question, seeking other members' agreement on the decision announced, mitigating her

---

⁷ 沙家浜 *Shajiabang* is a famous Beijing Opera show.

assertiveness.

In the next turn, Che provides support for the decision by assessing the suggested performance, the Beijing Opera, as a must-have at the event. On the one hand, Che affiliates with Jia's suggested decision; on the other hand, he displays his right to make an assessment of the decision announcement. Jia then continues to name of a specific show of the Beijing Opera, claiming her independent epistemic access to the decision.

In sum, question-formatted decision announcements, particularly tag-questions with a decision statement, may be used to check others' consensus on an announced decision. Such forms imply the speakers' orientation toward the decision announcement as non-problematic, but also allow room for others to respond and negotiate.

5.2.4. Assess suggestions and decision announcements with question

When performing leadership actions, such as assessing others' suggestions and decision announcements, in addition to the use of deontic modal verbs described in section 5.1.4, participants can employ questions that reduce the sharpness of their assessments. Extract 5.13 illustrates how one participant deploys a rhetorical question to deliver an assessment of another participant's suggestion.

Prior to Extract 5.13, Li invited the other participants to contribute ideas in addition to

the one suggested by Xia, rejecting Xia's decision-like suggestion and delaying the

closure of the decision-making sequence.

Extract 5.13_HUST_G1 'that's all?'

```
493  Ha:              那 个： 节目：    就-  就  这  形式    吧
                      na  ge:  jiemu:    jiu- jiu  zhe xingshi ba
                      that-CL: program:  just-just this format PT
                      (then:  the  program  just-just  adopts  this
                      format)
494  Li:        ➔    £就  这    就    完  啦£？  哈哈哈
                      £jiu zhe   jiu   wan  la£    hahaha
                      £just this just finish PT£ hahaha
                       (£that's all£? hahaha)
           gaze        |--gazing at the table--|
           Body        |--lean forwards and backwards--|
           movement
```

In line 493, Ha takes up the turn in response to Li's invitation. However, he does not

contribute ideas; on the contrary, Ha suggests making Xia's prior suggestion a group

decision, which suggests that more ideas are not necessary. This suggestion negotiates

with Li's invitation for more ideas. It is worthy of note that Ha's turn is delivered in a

mitigated manner, with sound stretches which Schegloff (1979, p. 237) identifies as

'common preindications of a repair', as well as a self-repair and the final particle '吧

ba', which solicits agreement.

Challenged by Ha's suggestion, Li reinitiates the invitation for others' opinions, while

retaining her own opinion, in a facilitative manner with an interrogative and a burst of

laughter (line 494). Firstly, rather than directly disagreeing with Ha's suggestion, Li

uses an interrogative to indicate her disaffiliation, which makes others' evaluations of

Ha's suggestion relevant in the next turn. The rhetorical question '这就完啦?' (Is this

just all?) invites others' evaluations of Ha's suggestion, and more importantly implies

that the speaker holds the position that Xia's suggestion is not sufficient to be regarded as a group decision. On the other hand, she uses laughter as a 'offense-remedial device' to reduce the offensiveness of her disagreement (Jefferson et al., 1977, p. 20). Furthermore, it is worthy of note that, while laughing, Li looks at the table and leans forward and backward. Li hereby signals the question and laughter as generic, with no particular recipient, rather than targeted towards Ha.

As is clear from this extract, questions can be used to imply speakers' assessments of prior suggestions and decision announcements. In comparison to assessments with deontic modal verbs, question-formatted assessments are less assertive and allow higher contingency for others to negotiate.

5.2.5. Deliver negotiation with mitigation

When negotiating with another member's attempt to control the agenda or a decision, participants may also use interactional strategies like hedges, sound stretches, and repairs to mitigate their challenge. The following extract illustrates how a participant rejects another's agenda-related proposal with such mitigations.

Before Extract 5.14 starts, the group was discussing the forms of performance to be included at the event, and Hao and Yu agreed on demonstrations of how traditional Chinese games were played.

Extract 5.14_SH_G4 'feel like'

```
92   Hao:        还    有    什么    没    有    做    上    呢?
                 Hai   you shenme mei you zuo shang ne ?
                 Still have what NEG have make up   PT?
                 (anything else that has not been included?)
93   Luo:   →    感觉    这    些    东西    的    话    可能    都    有点:
                 ganjue zhexie dongxide hua keneng dou you dian:
                 feel   these thing—PT say maybe all have some:
                 太    肤浅    了,    你 [得]-    得    弄
                 tai fuqian    le,    ni [dei]-   dei    nong
                 too superficial PT,2SG [have to]- have to make
                 一些::    更-    更    有    深度    的    一些
                 yixie::  geng-geng you shendu de yixie
                 some::  more-more have depth-PT  some
                  (feel  like  these  things  might  be  all  a
                 little:: too superficial, you[have to]- have to
                 present some:: something more-more in depth)
94   Hao:                                     [对]
                                              [dui]
                                              [right]
                                              ([right])
```

In line 92, Hao initiates an interrogative formatted proposal to move the agenda forward and away from discussing. Luo then comes in in line 93 to negotiate with the decision made in the prior talk. In Luo's turn, a reason is first provided for the upcoming proposal, which is to show the audience performances that present the depth of Chinese culture. The account is in the form of a negative assessment, but delivered with tokens of mitigation. Firstly, '感觉 *ganjue*' (feel like) indicates that the assessment is from Luo's subjective perspective, which leaves room for others to negotiate on the basis of their own judgments. Secondly, the modal verb '可能 *keneng*' (might be), emphasizing possibility, and the adverb '点 *dian*' (a little), reduce the certainty of the assessment. Following the account, the proposal is also delivered in a mitigated manner, with repairs and sound stretches, showing Luo's hesitation and care in choosing his words.

In comparison to negotiation delivered directly without mitigation markers, negotiation with mitigation devices like self-repairs and sound stretches, as described in the above extract, show speakers' orientation to the negotiation as socially problematic. It thus reduces the degree of domineering-ness of the negotiation.

5.2.6. Softening prosodic cues

When delivering an agenda-related proposal with a straightforward linguistic format, such as an imperative or instruction, participants may use softening prosodic cues like a smiley voice to downplay the domineering-ness. Although this is touched upon in many studies (e.g., Drew, Raymond, & Weinberg, 2006; Kurhila, 2001; Schegloff, 1996; Schnurr, 2008, 2009), the use of a smiley voice has not yet enjoyed in-depth analysis (Haakana, 2010). A smiley voice in Schegloff's (1996) seminal work refers to a kind of 'partially articulated facial expression' (p. 102), but as it is more prominently presented in the vocal channel, it is categorized as a type of voice quality in more recent publications (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013). In the existing body of work on the use of a smiley voice, it is found to index non-seriousness (Glenn, 2003) as well as amusement, affiliation, and friendliness (Haakana, 2010). In general, a smiley voice accompanying an utterance functions to work on the relationships among the interactants. In business meeting scenarios, Schnurr (2009) also points out that a smiley voice helps to ease the relational tension when a leader poses challenges to another members.

In a similar vein, in the following extract, it is demonstrated that a smiley voice softens

the assertive tone of an imperative formatted proposal in a discussion of agendas,

accordingly mitigating the degree of domineering-ness. The immediate context for

Extract 5.15 is that the discussion was interrupted by a student coming in to check

what was going on in the room, as he had heard the participants' voices in the corridor.

The group stopped their discussion and explained briefly that they were in the middle

of a group discussion that was being recorded. The student then left the room. Extract

5.15 starts when the interrupting student had just left.

Extract 5.15_SH_G4 (11:55-12:01)

```
                     (A student comes in and interrupts)
145                  (Zhi, Hao and Yu exchange gazes and smile)
146  Zhi:   ➔  £小    插曲，    然后    我们    继续£
                 £xiao chaqu, ranhou women jixu£
                 £little interruption, then 1PL continue£
                 (£a small interruption, then we continue£)
147  Hao:      反正       她   会   切   掉   的
                 fanzheng ta  hui qie diao de
                 anyway   3SG will cut off PT
                 (after  all  she(the  researcher)  will  cut  off
                 (this part))
148  Zhi:   ➔  £我们    继续£    呵呵呵呵
                 £women jixu£    hehehehe
                 £1PL continue£ hehehehe
                 (£we continue£, hehehehe)
```

In line 145, three of the participants look and smile at each other, showing their shared

orientation to the interruption as amusing but also awkward. After they withdraw their

gaze from one another, Zhi initiates a proposal to resume the discussion in line 146.

She first provides an account for the upcoming proposal by framing the interruption as

minor, and then delivers the proposal in form of a *do*-imperative. It is notable that,

despite the assertiveness of the instruction-like proposal in claiming the speaker's right

to influence the agenda (see section 5.1.2), this turn is delivered in a smiley voice that

mitigates its assertiveness (Schnurr, 2009).

However, Zhi's proposal to resume the discussion is not implemented immediately in the next turn. Rather, Hao adds another account for Zhi's proposal, claiming his independent access to the proposed agenda. In response to Hao's claim, Zhi reiterates her proposal with a smiley voice and laughter to further solicit implementation of the proposal. The smiley voice used in delivering this proposal on the one hand softens its assertiveness, and on the other hand, reduces the sharpness of the negotiation of the right to direct the discussion agenda.

Although forceful prosodic cues, such as higher pitch and intensity, are predominantly used in making proposals and decision announcements, as is clear in Table 5.1, a smiley voice can be adopted when delivering a proposal or decision announcement in an assertive linguistic form to ease the tension caused by the speaker's leadership claim.

Another way to reduce the assertiveness of an utterance is to add laughter. Extract 5.16 illustrates how laughter is used to mitigate the action of sanctioning group behavior.

In the talk preceding Extract 5.16, Lu proposed discussing how to require each participating class in the university to give a certain type of performance. Mei immediately expressed her disagreement with the idea of assigning particular

performances to classes. Yi then joined in, suggesting holding the event as a garden

party rather than a stage show. After Lu expressed her concern about a garden party, Yi

changed the suggestion to a garden party with a stage show. In response, Lu agreed

with the idea, assessing it as very good in line 571.

Extract 5.16_HUST_G4 'digress again, hehehe'

```
571  Lu:       嗯，   对    对    对，   这  个   很      好
               hm, dui    dui   dui,   zhe ge  hen     hao
               hm, right right right, this-CL very good
               (hm, right right right, this is very good)
572            (3.1)

573  Lu:   ➔  怎么   我们   又        跑题     了  呵呵呵
               zenme women you    paoti    le hehehe
               how    1PL   again  digress PRF hehehe
               (How come we digress again, hehehe)
     Gaze      |--------gazing at notes-------------|

574  Yi:       [呵     呵]
               ([he   he])

575  Mei:      [对了      我]-对于   那 个 招       人  上，   我
               [duile wo]- duiyu na ge zhao   ren shang,  wo
               [well 1SG]-about that-CL recruit people up, 1SG
               还    是        建议-
               hai  shi jianyi-
               still be suggest
               ([well,    I]-about   the   recruitment   of
               participants, I still suggest-)
```

There is a noticeable silence for about three seconds, when all the participants are

gazing at their notes (line 572), which indicates the closure of the prior topic. As

discussed in Chapter 4, the closure of a topic projects the launch of a new topic in the

next turn. However, in this case, Lu inserts an assessment as to the group behavior,

which she formulates as '跑题' (digress), implying her orientation to the prior topic as

not appropriate. This assessment also projects the initiation of a new topic that helps to

pull the discussion back on the right track. As the assessment is on the group behavior,

it is relatively face threatening to the other participants. It is clearly noticeable that Lu

adds laughter at the end of her assessment. Laughter in assessment talk has been found to indicate the delicacy or awkwardness of the moment (Osvaldsson, 2004). In this sensitive situation in which the whole group is being criticized as digressing, Lu's laughter helps to reduce the sharpness of her assessment and make it more acceptable to the other participants. In addition, she does not look at any particular group mate; rather, she gazes down at her notes (Fig. 5.7), not selecting any particular recipients as being laughed at, nor inviting joint laughter. In doing so, she refrains from nonverbally attributing the responsibility for digressing any other participant.

Figure 5.7 Line 573: Lu: '怎么我们又跑题了呵呵呵(how come we digress again, hehehe)'

In the next turn, Yi, who initiated the new topic in the preceding talk, responds to Lu's laughter with further laughter (line 574), demonstrating his understanding of Lu's assessment and easing the awkwardness of the situation (Helena & Tuija, 2009; Jefferson et al., 1977).

5.2.7. Mitigating nonverbal behaviors

When making proposals or sanctioning group behaviors, some participants make use of nonverbal resources like eye gaze to mitigate the straightforwardness of their proposals or assessments. Extract 5.17 shows how one participant employs gaze to engage other co-participants when he is moving the discussion agenda forward.

Extract 5.17 was extracted at the beginning of a group interaction. At the very beginning of the interaction, Bin picks up his pen to write down the event's name, as well as the aim of the event, and he also frames the purpose of the event according to his understanding of the task requirements. Bin then holds onto his turn with 'hm::', but does not say anything further for three seconds, during which no other participant takes over the turn. After this noticeable silence, Lei chimes in to move the agenda forward (line 12).

Extract 5.17_HUST_G2 'where to start?'

```
12 Lei:     ➔   从哪里开£始呢£？
                Cong nali kai£shi ne£?
                from where st£art PT£?
                (Where to £start from£?)
   Gaze          |--gazing at Hu--|

13               (.9)

14 Lei:          £琴      棋     书        画⁸£?     呵呵
                 £qin     qi    shu       hua£?    hehe
                 £lute-playing,chess,calligraphy,painting£?hehe
                 (£LUTE-PLAYING,     CHESS,     CALLIGRAPHY,
                 PAINTING£?hehe)
```

---

8 琴棋书画(*Qinqishuhua*): Lute-playing, chess, calligraphy and painting are regarded as the four arts in traditional Chinese culture.

```
Gaze              |----------gazing at Bin & Hu----------------
                  -|
Body                                        |-leaning aside-|
movement
```

In line 12, Lei makes a proposal suggesting the group discuss the details of the event

planning. He structures his turn in the form of a wh-question delivered in a smiley

voice. The wh-question allows higher contingency among the recipients. The smiley

voice at the end of the utterance further reduces the seriousness and increases the

friendliness of the utterance. Moreover, when Lei is delivering the final part of the

proposal, he gazes at Hu, which helps to include Hu in the participation framework

(Fig. 5.8).

Figure 5.8 Line 12: Lei: '从哪里开£始呢£？(Where to £start from£?)'

However, Hu does not immediately follow up, but leaves a noticeable silence, which

projects potential problems in following the agenda Lei has proposed.

Lei in line 14 then implements his prior proposal by contributing an idea in an

interrogative tone. While delivering the idea formatted as a question, Lei gazes at Bin

and Hu, engaging them in the on-going participation framework (Fig. 5.9). What is

interesting to note is that, even when Lei is laughing, he still maintains his gaze on Hu and Bin (Fig. 5.10), inviting them to join his laughter (Jefferson, 1979), which functions as a 'treatment of a problematic face-threatening issue' (Helena & Tuija, 2009, p. 106), in which Lei is implementing his own proposal when no other members take a turn to implement it. Indeed, the two participants Lei is gazing at reciprocate by gazing back and responding to his laughter by smiling, which implies their understanding of the problematic situation and 'unduly affiliative display' (Glenn, 2003, p. 59).

Figure 5.9 Line 14: Lei: '£琴棋书画£? (£lute-playing, chess, calligraphy, painting£?)'

Figure 5.10 Line 14: Lei: '呵呵(hehe)'

This extract shows that a gaze to secure the next speaker can reduce the assertiveness a speaker displays in delivering proposals, decision announcements, or assessments.

5.3. Discussion and summary

This chapter provides insights into three aspects addressing research question 2 about what specific interactional strategies are employed to construct emerging leadership in domineering and facilitative manners.

Firstly, this chapter depicted two distinct manners of emerging leadership construction by means of a detailed bottom-up analysis. The two manners, namely domineering and Facilitative, are in line with previous findings on styles of leadership construction (Baraldi, 2013; J Holmes et al., 2007; A. Pomerantz & Denvir, 2007; Wodak et al., 2011; Yeung, 2003; Yeung, 1998). This chapter suggests that when enacting emerging leadership in a domineering way, participants rely on their own interactional resources to reinforce their influence on others. In contrast, when leading in a facilitative manner, participants mobilize others' engagement and make use of others' resources to achieve 'consensus', which is, however, sometimes perfunctory, as the ideas being confirmed as agendas or decisions are still those of the prominent participants.

These two manners of leadership construction, domineering and facilitative, identified in the current corpus are also supported by previous research findings on two different

styles of leadership, namely transactional and transformational leadership (Bass, 1996; Diaz-Saenz, 2011). In terms of definition, transactional leadership is more task-driven and more oriented to the transactional goal of the group, whereas transformational leadership also considers the relational goal of the group, which is to maintain a relatively good relationship among group members. In the present data, participants adopting a domineering manner emphasize the task more, with little focus on interpersonal relationships. In contrast, when participants construct leadership in a facilitative manner, they are aware of the relationship goal of the group, striving to save everyone's face and shaping a harmonious team atmosphere in addition to accomplishing the task. However, it is worth mentioning here that although these two approaches to leadership construction are distinct, they are not fixed for any given participant. For this reason, I do not refer to a 'transformational style' or 'transactional style'; instead, I refer to a 'facilitative manner' and a 'domineering manner'. In this regard, an individual participant may adopt a certain manner of leadership construction for one turn or moment, but use both a facilitative and a domineering approach throughout the interaction as a whole. The two manners of leadership construction are emergent moment by moment and shaped by the immediate context in the interaction.

Secondly, compared with previous studies of interactional strategies of leadership construction, which primarily discussed linguistic forms (e.g., Baraldi, 2013; A. Pomerantz & Denvir, 2007; Yeung, 2003), this chapter also identifies leadership

construction strategies in other modalities, such as turn-taking, prosodic cues, and nonverbal behaviors. Having identified such interactional strategies, this chapter offers micro-level guidelines regarding practices by which people may emerge as leaders in different manners. Readers will not only know what to say to emerge as a leader of a group, but also how to say it, including how to take turns and how to display entitlement to lead by means of prosody and nonverbal behaviors.

The identified strategies could also help solve common misunderstandings about leadership that may lead to errors when people practice leadership. For example, as low pitch is regarded as a prosodic cue demonstrating power (Anderson & Klofstad, 2012; Stel et al., 2012), people may try lowering their voice to show assertiveness in interactions. However, according to the findings reported in this chapter, a higher pitch is more often adopted in successful leadership construction. The current findings echo with a recent study of pitch and power, which reports that people with authority use higher pitch to negotiate (Ko et al., 2015). The discrepancy may be due to the focus of the current study on changes in pitch of the same participant, whereas other studies might compare pitch differences among individuals. The current findings on pitch changes may be more useful to people who wish to modulate their pitch in order to display more authority. In this way, people could benefit from the present identification of specific strategies in constructing leadership.

These findings also provide options for people to choose when performing leadership actions. For example, some people may be used to adopting an assertive manner to exert leadership, without realizing that facilitative strategies can also help to construct leadership. This chapter provides more choices for such people to practice different styles.

Thirdly, in addition to specific descriptions of leadership construction strategies, this chapter also reports on the frequency with which each strategy is used, suggesting that a domineering manner is adopted more often than a facilitative manner in constructing emerging leadership. In contrast to previous findings that leaders need to attend to relationships with subordinates and also to transactional tasks (Holmes & Marra, 2006; Holmes, 2007), this finding shows that to emerge as a leaders in a non-hierarchical setting, participants need to behave more assertively.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that it is not easy to decide whether a particular utterance is domineering or facilitative, as a number of strategies are often applied simultaneously in proposal and decision-making sequences, as can be observed from the extracts presented in this chapter. For example, a proposal in the form of a directive might be delivered with a smiley voice and mitigations. Similarly, an interrogative-formatted proposal may be uttered in a decisive and domineering tone. Whether a turn is domineering or facilitative should depend on the sum effect of all the strategies

employed in its delivery, depending on which one is most prominent. Therefore, different degrees of facilitative-ness and domineering-ness can be observed in the individual delivery of turns related to agenda-setting and decision-making.

In order to investigate the degrees of domineering-ness and facilitative-ness of the individual delivery of utterances in relevant turns, I adopt a coding system to quantify the degree of these aspects. This coding system was developed according to Stadler's (2011) seminal coding system on the explicitness of disagreement (see section 3.4.1). Applying this coding system, each relevant utterance was assigned a score in terms of its explicitness, which in this study reflects its degree of domineering-ness. The degree of relative domineering-ness and facilitative-ness of particular utterances was quantified by applying the multimodal coding system, as is clear in Chapters 3 and 6.

6. Interactional predictors of leadership emergence: Perceptual and statistical findings

As the previous two chapters analyzed emerging leadership construction processes and interactional strategies employed to enact two distinct manners of leadership construction, in this chapter, I triangulate these findings by examining participants' reported perceptions of leadership emergence, and analyzing statistically the effects of interactional strategies on leadership emergence. In the first section, participants' perceptions of interactional strategies that could help construct emerging leadership are reported. Statistical findings are presented in the second and third sections.

6.1. Participants' perceptions of leadership construction

As mentioned above, participants were asked in the follow-up interviews for their perceptions of who led the group and of the interactional strategies facilitating leadership construction. Analysis of the interview scripts identified seven interactional strategies, namely setting the agenda, initiating discussion, emphatic gesture, taking notes, affirmative prosody, number of turns, and coordinating the group, most frequently reported by participants as being essential in constructing leadership (see Table 6.1).

No.	Interactional Strategies	Frequency of being reported in interviews
1	Setting agenda	31
2	Initiating discussion	23

3	Emphatic gestures	15
4	Taking notes	11
5	Affirmative prosody	11
6	Number of turns taken	10
7	Coordinate group	8

Table 6.1 Frequency of top seven interactional strategies reported in follow-up interviews

This echoes with the findings for the interactional data and the statistical analysis, which show that interactional skills like successful turn taking turn holding, initiating the agenda, and using forceful prosodic cues and emphatic gestures are crucial for leadership emergence.

Setting the discussion agenda was perceived as the most essential factor. Nineteen participants across the eight groups stated that setting the agenda was critical for participants to construct emerging leadership. Some reported that emerging leaders articulated a clear idea for the discussion agenda, such as '她一开始就明确了我们要讨论哪几个部分' (She, in the very beginning, set up the sections we need to discuss) (Yi in HUST_G4), '他在讲提纲吧，讲提纲就起到了很好的作用，让其他人去细想' (He was stating the discussion agenda, stating agenda functions well to have others think about it) (Yin in HUST_G2), and '但是整个排版布局我能给他布出来。比较有大局观' (But I can set up the agenda and outline. (I) had an overall planning of the discussion) (Che in SH_G3). In addition, some emphasized that emerging leaders encouraged other group members to follow the proposed agenda, reporting that '她先说然后怎么搞，跟我们一起讨论' (She first said how to do it and then had us discuss

together) (Ha in HUST_G1), '试图在诱导我们朝他想的那个方向，帮他的想法去完善' (He tried to have us think about the direction he proposed, helping him to improve his idea) (Lei in HUST_G2), '他就是提出一个大纲，然后我们细化' (He proposed an agenda and then we discussed the details) (Ha in SH_G1), and '他就是提一些建议……我们就会围绕他的来讲一下' (He proposed some ideas……we then discussed what he proposed) (Luo in SH_G4).

They also pointed out the specific interactional linguistic forms they experienced in the discussion, for example, Mei in HUST_G4 recounted how the emerging leader moved the agenda forward with imperatives and modal verbs: '我们每次结束了她总会提出:' 我们现在该讨论什么了' (Every time we closed a topic, she always said, 'We now need to discuss about bla bla'). Furthermore, Qi in HUST_G3 elaborated on how the emerging leader used questions to engage others so as to move the agenda forward: '他会写一个活动目的，然后问我们，你们觉得活动目的是什么，就是这样，他定主题，我们来说' (He would write down 'The purpose of the event', and then ask us, 'What do you think is the purpose of the event?' In this way, he set up the topic, and we discussed it). The clearest statement on the importance of proposing the agenda in constructing emerging leadership was made by Yin in HUST_G2: '主持大局，这个事情朝哪个方向发展控制起来才叫领导' (Taking charge of the overall discussion and controlling the direction of the discussion, only by doing these can one be called the leader).

178

The second important factor was identified as taking the initiative to open either the discussion or a topic. Sixteen participants across seven groups rated the participants who initiated the group interactions as emerging leaders. In addition to explaining that the emerging leaders '最先开口' (spoke at the very beginning) and were '第一个开口' (the first to speak), participants also linked taking the initiative to controlling the discussion direction. Li in HUST_G1 reported that '在大家不知所措的情况下，他首先发言，然后给大家指引了一个方向' (When all the group members didn't know what to do, he spoke first, setting up a direction for the group). Lei in HUST_G2 also reported that '从一开始就进行了，把他的想法说出来，把我们大家这样联合起来的一种讨论' (From the very beginning of the discussion, he spoke out about his idea and united the group in discussion).

The third most often reported strategy was the use of emphatic gestures. Eleven participants in seven groups described the gestures of the emerging leaders, such as pointing at notes or tapping them with a pen ('拿笔敲敲指指' (tapping and pointing with pen)) and using a chopping hand motion ('比较顿一下' (stop hand motion in the air), as well as a hand wave ('具体有时候挥一下' (sometimes wave hand)). Participants also reported their ideas about the functions of the gestures as showing emphasis or drawing attention. Xia in HUST_G1 reported that using such gestures was '心中感觉就是说表达这件事是对的' (to express I feel right about this thing that I articulated), and Lu in HUST_G4 reported that the purpose of a gesture was '为了表现

179

某一种决心啊，比较强势' (to express a resolution, very aggressive). Furthermore, Bin in HUST_G2 stated that a gesture was to '吸引坐我左边和右边的同学的注意力，就是你们都往这里来看的意思' (draw the attention of the members to me, meaning 'You guys, look at me!').

Ten participants in five groups also reported prosody as essential in constructing emerging leadership. Generally, the emerging leaders' prosodic contour was described as '坚定' (affirmative) and '强势' (aggressive), as seen in the reports of Yi in HUST_G4 and Lei in HUST_G2. Specifically, four participants pointed out high intensity ('声音比较大' (it's louder)) as the typical prosodic feature of the emerging leaders. Some participants also mentioned the high speaking rate of the emerging leaders in their groups, as in '比较急' (fast) (Cao in HUST_G1) and '说话比较快' (speaks fast) (Yi in HUST_G4).

Another important interactional strategy reported in the interviews was the action of taking notes. Ten participants mentioned that writing down the agenda or decisions is essential for emerging leadership construction. Mei in HUST_G4 reported that the emerging leader in her group wrote down the agenda of the discussion '我看他是先把这五个部分写在纸上，我们就是通过这五个部分展开讨论的' (I noticed that he first wrote down the five parts of the discussion on notes, we then were discussing the five parts). Wen, who was voted as one of the emerging leaders in HUST_G3, stated

that he wrote down group decisions after obtaining agreement from the other group members: '在确定了他们反馈的信息的时候进行书写' ((I) wrote down (the decision) after getting their feedback).

As for the number of turns taken, nine participants reported that they perceived the participants who spoke the most in the discussion as the emerging leaders. They described them as '说话方面占据主导权' (dominating speakership), '比较活跃' (very active), and '比较健谈' (very talkative). However, in SH_G3, two of the participants pointed out that although one participant spoke a lot, they did not perceive her as the emerging leader because her suggestions were most often rejected by the other three group members. This aligns with the findings in Chapter 4 that successful leadership construction requires one's leadership claims to be supported and granted by other participants.

The last factor identified for emerging leadership was to coordinate the group, for example by asking questions, selecting the next speaker, and assessing others' ideas. Participants in HUST_G4 described how the emerging leader initiated questions: '他也会说：你怎么看这种话，引导暗示别人去回答去思考' (He would also say, 'What do you think', suggesting others should answer and think about it). The emerging leader also indicated who should speak next: '有暗示谁来发言什么的' (He implied who spoke next), and evaluated others' suggestions: '我们提出建议，她会说很好，

别人说什么前面说什么，她会说很好，这个也可以，很有那种跟别人有合作的那种感觉' (When we gave suggestions, she would say 'Very good', when others said something, she would say 'Very good', 'This is also okay', she is very cooperative in this way).

The next question concerns the participants' perceptions of why certain people did not emerge as leaders. The most often cited reason, mentioned by nine participants, was that they did not speak much in the discussion, meaning that they did not take many turns: '他搭不上什么话' (He could not take turns to respond) (Lin in SH_G1) and '话不是很多' (have few words) (Lee in SH_G2). Another central cause reported by seven participants was that participants who did not emerge as leaders contributed only specific ideas for topics proposed by the emerging leaders, but no proposals or decision announcements. Hon in SH_G2 said that those who did not emerge as leaders were only responsible for contributing suggestions '我们只是负责提供意见的' (We are just responsible for providing suggestions). This also implies that they did not plan the overall agenda for the discussion, as pointed out by Zhi in SH_G4, who reported that they did not have an overall agenda in mind: '没有一个大局概念' (without an overall planning of agenda). For instance, Yu in SH_G4 evaluated one of the participants whom he perceived as not emerging as a leader a follows: '(她)总是跟着别人的思维走' ((she) always follows others' thoughts). This finding also echoes the findings in Chapter 3 that people claim leadership mainly through making agenda-related

proposals and decision announcements. Participants who do not initiate proposals or decision announcements are not perceived as leaders.

Aside from these two reasons, some participants mentioned a lack of initiative and other's endorsement as reasons for participants failing to construct emerging leadership. Lu in HUST_G4 commented on one participant as following the others' lead: '她一直都是在跟随别人的看法' (She was always following the others' idea). Chu in SH_G1, who was rated by her group mates as the one who led the group the least, complained in the interview that the other participants did not listen to her: '我说的他们都没听进去' (They did not listen to any of what I said). These reports also correspond to the discursive findings in Chapter 3 that to construct leadership successfully, participants need to first initiate proposals or decision announcements to claim leadership positions, and also need others' endorsement of their leadership claims.

In terms of the participants' perceptions of how some emerged as leaders and others not, there was agreement on essential strategies like setting the agenda, initiating the discussion, using particular prosody and gestures, and obtaining endorsement. It is also worth noting that the frequency of turns taken in the whole interaction affects leadership, as this is distinct from the other factors, which focus on micro actions enacted by language. According to the participants, taking many turns is important to emerge as a group leader; however, merely speaking a lot does not necessarily

guarantee a participant's emergence. For example, in the case of Wan in SH_G3, although she retained speakership for quite long, the other participants did not perceive her as an emerging leader because she did not get sufficient endorsement from the co-participants. However, if a participant takes few turns to speak up in a discussion, s/he is unlikely to be perceived as an emerging leader. This shows that to emerge as a leader, speaking up is not enough; factors such as speaking in an appropriate way and speaking to enact appropriate actions are also essential.

On the basis of these findings, what matters in emerging leadership construction? In summary, how much one talks, such as the number of turns taken, and the manner in which one talks, such as prosody and gesture, as well as the actions enacted, such as setting the agenda, are all essential for leadership emergence according to the present participants' perceptions.

6.2. Interactional predictors of leadership emergence

The The micro-level CA analysis in Chapter 4 and participants' perceptions reported in section 6.1 have shown that leadership construction is related to the participant's initiative in making proposals and announcing decisions, as well as the endorsement of these proposals and decisions. To test these findings from another perspective, the correlation between participants' frequency of use of four relevant interactional strategies and perceptions regarding their emerging leadership, were statistically

analyzed. The relevant interactional strategies were those by which participants took the initiative to claim leadership, specifically the frequency with which they made proposals and announcements; the frequency with which their leadership claims were granted; and the frequency with which they took speakership.

As the qualitative findings show that leadership construction is a collaborative process in which participants' leadership claims are granted by others, the frequency with which participants' leadership claim were granted is expected to mediate the link between the frequency of initiating a leadership claim and leadership emergence. Therefore, I also conducted mediation analyses, taking the frequency with which participants initiated proposals/decision announcements and the frequency with which their leadership claims were granted as mediators. If the frequency of proposals/decision announcements was found to mediate the effect of speakership frequency on leadership emergence, it would indicate that the reason people who speak the most emerge as the leader is that they initiate proposals/decision announcements the most frequently. If the results show that the frequency of leadership claim endorsement mediates the effect, it would suggest that the reason for participants who initiate leadership more claims being perceived as more leader-like is due to the fact that their leadership claims are more frequently granted.

In preparing the statistical data, I first calculated each participant's leadership

emergence score according to the ratings of their leadership in the follow-up interview.

Table 6.2 presents each participant's leadership score.

Group	Participant	Leadership emergence score
HUST_G1	Cao	4
	Li	16
	Ha	7
	Xia	10
HUST_G2	Bin	16
	Lei	10
	Yin	7
	Hu	4
HUST_G3	Wen	14
	Ke	10
	Qi	10
	Fan	4
HUST_G4	Yi	7
	Le	12
	Mei	5
	Lu	16
SH_G1	Han	15
	Shi	5
	Lin	13
	Chu	7
SH_G2	Hon	7
	Gua	14
	Ma	5
	Lee	14
SH_G3	Wan	7
	Jia	12
	Che	9
	Jin	12
SH_G4	Zhi	5
	Yu	7
	Hao	16
	Luo	12

Table 6.2 Leadership emergence scores of 32 participants in eight groups

I then reexamined the interactional data and counted each participant's total number of

turns, number of proposal making turns, number of decision announcement turns, and

number of proposal/decision announcement turns that were endorsed or supported.

A Spearman's correlation analysis was conducted on the data in SPSS, obtaining the correlation between leadership scores and total number of turns; leadership scores and the number of proposal turns; leadership scores and number of decision announcement turns; and leadership scores and the number turns endorsed. In addition, as a mediator, the number of proposal and decision announcement turns endorsed was subjected to a mediation test model developed by Preacher and Hayes (2008).

The results echo remarkably with the findings of the micro-level analysis, which suggest that leadership construction is related to whether a participant takes the initiative to make proposals and announce decisions, and to whether the proposals and the decision announcements are endorsed. The results of the correlation analysis and mediation test are reported in 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, respectively.

6.2.1. Significant correlations

Significant correlations were found between leadership scores and number of turns ($p<0.001$), between leadership scores and number of proposal turns ($p<0.001$), between leadership scores and number of decision announcement turns ($p<0.001$), and between leadership scores and number of proposal and decision announcement turns endorsed ($p<0.001$). These correlations imply that participants' leadership emergence can be predicted by how much they speak, how frequently they initiate proposals and decision

announcements, and how often their proposals and decision announcements are endorsed by others. The detailed correlation coefficients are given in Table 6.3.

Correlations		
	Leadership emergence scores	
Number of Turns	Correlation Coefficient	.629[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	32
Number of Proposal Turns	Correlation Coefficient	.635[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	32
Number of decision announcement Turns	Correlation Coefficient	.699[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	32
Number of proposal & decision announcement turns that get granted	Correlation Coefficient	.757[**][9]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	32

Table 6.3 Correlation coefficients of four interactional strategies and leadership emergence

Supported by previous findings that how much participants speak is correlated with leadership emergence (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Maricchiolo et al., 2011), these correlations add new insights on leadership emergence by revealing the importance of what participants say.

With regard to the correlation coefficients, that between leadership emergence and number of turns (r=0.63) was lower than that between leadership emergence and number of proposal turns (r=0.64) and decision announcement turns (r=0.70).[10] This implies that the frequency of initiating proposals and decision announcements matters more than merely taking the floor, although both were significantly related to leadership emergence.

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[9] ** means correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

[10] Generally, to compare correlation coefficients of different samples, they should be converted by z-transformation, but in this study, the sample is the same, so there is no need to convert the coefficients to z.

Similarly, the strength of the correlation between leadership emergence and the number of proposal/decision announcement turns endorsed (r=0.76) was stronger than that between leadership emergence and number of proposal turns (r=0.64) and decision announcement turns (r=0.70). This indicates that obtaining affiliation from other participants matters more in emerging as a leader than offering proposals and decision announcements.

6.2.2. Mediation effects of what people say on leadership emergence

A mediation test was conducted to determine more precisely why the number of turns taken by participants predicts leadership emergence. This test took a participant's frequency of proposals and decision announcements as the mediator. The total number of proposals and decision announcements was added as the mediator of the number of turns taken and leadership emergence scores.

The results of the mediation test show a mediation effect of the frequency of proposals and decision announcements on the link between the number of turns and leadership emergence (see Fig. 6.1)..
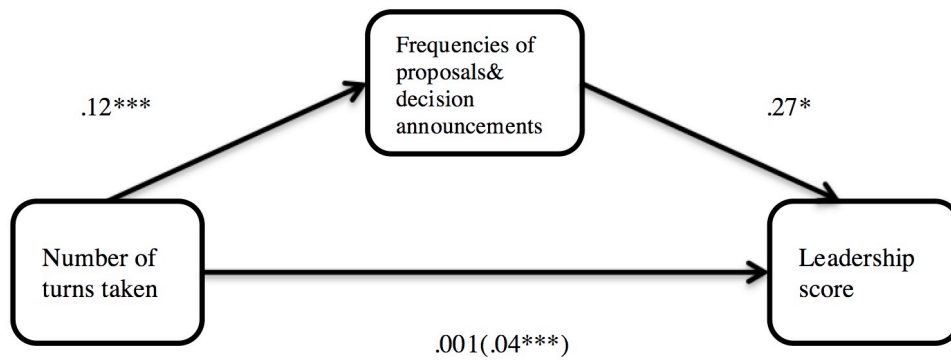
Figure 6.1 Meditation by frequencies of proposals and decision announcements between number of turns taken and leadership emergence scores
(*, correlation is significant at the 0.05 level; **. correlation is significant at the 0.01 level; ***, correlation is significant at the 0.001 level)

This effect implies that the reason why the number of turns predicts leadership emergence is due to the fact that proposals and decision announcements are frequently offered. This effect also explains why how much people say can predict leadership emergence. According to the mediation test results, people initiate proposals and decision announcements when they take turns. If a participant took many turns but did not offer proposals or decision announcements, s/he would not be perceived as an emerging leader. This idea is also supported by the participants' reports of their perceptions of leadership emergence, with regard to which one participant reported that even though some participants spoke a lot, they were not regarded as leaders because they did not initiate turns that controlled the discussion. This finding furthers our understanding of the influence of what participants say: the reason why how much people speak in an interaction predicts leadership emergence lies in the fact that they take speakership to initiate proposals and decision announcements.

A mediation test was also conducted to determine more precisely why a participant's frequency of proposals and decision announcements correlated with leadership emergence, taking the number of proposals and decision announcements endorsed as the mediator. The number of proposals and decision announcements endorsed was added as the mediator of the frequency of initiating proposals and leadership emergence scores, and also of the frequency of initiating decision announcements and leadership emergence scores.

Results of these mediation tests show that the number of proposals and decision announcements endorsed mediated the link between the frequency of initiating proposals and leadership emergence scores (see Fig. 6.2), and also that between the frequency of initiating decisions and leadership emergence scores (see Fig. 6.3).
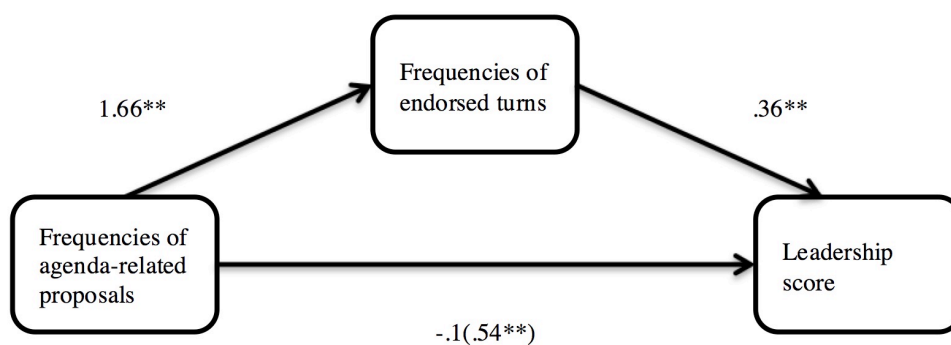
Figure 6.2 Meditation by frequencies of endorsed turns between frequencies initiating agenda-related proposals and leadership emergence scores
(*, correlation is significant at the 0.05 level; **. correlation is significant at the 0.01 level; ***, correlation is significant at the 0.001 level)
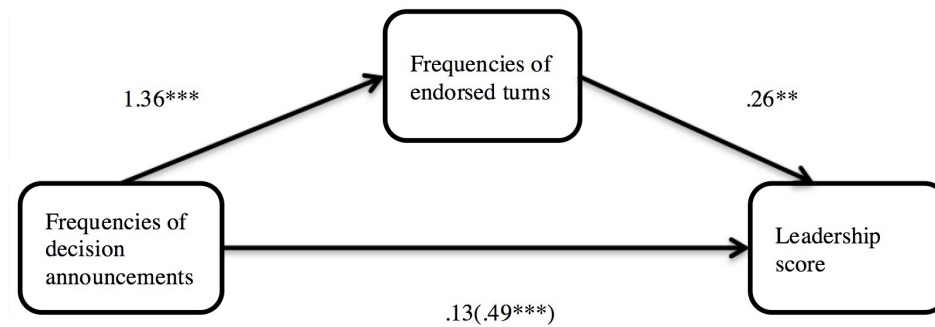
Figure 6.3 Meditation by frequencies of endorsed turns between frequencies initiating decision announcements and leadership emergence scores

(*, correlation is significant at the 0.05 level; **. correlation is significant at the 0.01 level; ***, correlation is significant at the 0.001 level)

This means that the correlation between the number of proposals and leadership scores would be insignificant if none of the proposals were implemented. Likewise, the link between the number of decision announcements and leadership scores would not be significant if none of the decision announcements were endorsed. In other words, the links between the number of proposals and decision announcements and leadership emergence are only significant when such proposals and decision announcements are supported or endorsed by others. This also explains the reason why the frequency of offering proposals and decision announcements predicts leadership emergence. It is because the proposals and decision announcements are frequently endorsed.

To summarize, the correlation analysis showed that the four relevant interactional strategies identified in the micro-level analysis in Chapter 4 exert significant influence

on to leadership emergence. The mediation effects further suggest that leadership construction should be collaboratively achieved by initiating leadership actions like making proposals and decision announcements and getting these granted. These findings also advance the understanding of predictors of leadership emergence, providing statistical evidence that what people say, such as initiating proposals and decision announcements and getting these endorsed, is more critical than how much they say for leadership emergence in an interaction.

6.3. Domineering or facilitative, which matters more?

In order to determine whether participants constructed emerging leadership with more domineering or more facilitative approaches, each participant's proposals, decision announcements, and negotiations were coded according to the multimodal coding system for the relative domineering-ness of individual utterances developed in Chapter 3. The domineering-ness value of each relevant utterance was then added for each participant. For instance, Li in HUST_G1 delivered a total of 38 proposals and decision announcements. The domineering-ness value of each utterance was coded and the codes added together to generate a sum value of the domineering-ness of all the utterances.

Following this, the domineering-ness values and leadership scores of each participant were subjected to a Spearman's correlation analysis in SPSS. The results are shown in

the Table 6.4.

Correlation		
		Leadership emergence score
Sum value of domineering-ness	Correlation Coefficient	.750**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	32

Table 6.4 Correlation coefficient of domineering-ness and leadership emergence

The results indicate that the domineering-ness value of relevant utterances was significantly correlated with participants' leadership scores (p<0.001; r=.75). This indicates that the more domineering strategies a participant adopted, the higher his/her perceived leadership score was. This may be interpreted as suggesting that the employment of domineering strategies is indicative of the extent to which a participant is perceived as an emerging leader. This statistical result echoes the micro-analysis findings in Chapter 5, which suggest that domineering strategies are more frequently adopted in constructing emerging leadership than are facilitative strategies.

6.4. Discussion and summary

While Chapters 4 and 5 focus on micro-level interaction and strategies within a CA framework, this chapter investigated how participants emerged as leaders from a larger perspective. This chapter explored the interactional predictors for leadership emergence in the eight groups by analyzing participants' perceptions of leadership construction and by conducting statistical analyses of the correlation between interactional strategies and leadership emergence.

The critical interactional predictors of leadership emergence were the number of turns taken, the number of turns initiating a proposal/decision announcement, and the number of proposal/decision announcement turns endorsed, as well as domineering strategies in initiating proposals/decision announcements.

The results are encouraging in that they echo the discursive findings reported in Chapters 4 and 5. In this chapter, it was found that participants' leadership claims need to be granted by co-participants in order for them to emerge as leaders, that participants' perceptions of the most important strategies for leadership emergence are identical to those found in the discursive analysis, and that domineering strategies are significantly related to leadership emergence.

In addition, the results of the mediation analyses further reveal the reason why how much participants say predicts leadership emergence. It was found out that the reason why dominant speakers emerge as leaders is that they take turns most frequently to make proposals and decision announcements. In addition, the reason why more proposals and decision announcements lead to being perceived as an emerging leader is that such proposals and decision announcements are more frequently endorsed or supported.

These results advance our understanding of the function of interactional strategies in

leadership emergence. In previous studies, the number of turns participants take has been reported to correlate with leadership emergence (e.g., Anderson & Kilduff, 2009). The present findings show that what people say and how they say it are the primary predictors of and fundamental reasons for leadership emergence. To emerge as leaders, participants do need to speak frequently, and more importantly, they need to take these turns to initiate proposals/decision announcements, rather than implementing, agreeing, or contributing specific ideas, and they need to get co-participants to grant their proposals/decision announcements. Moreover, delivering proposals/decision announcements in a more domineering manner appears to have facilitated leadership emergence in the context of this research.

However, the finding that in the current context, domineering strategies were more frequently adopted contradicts the findings of a previous study reporting Hong Kong managers' preference for facilitative strategies (Yeung, 1998; 2003). There are two possible ways to understand this discrepancy. First, unlike previous studies that analyzed pre-designated leaders' leadership strategies, this study was concerned with how leaders emerge in non-hierarchical settings. The group discussions in this project were organized without pre-designated leaders, with all participants approximately equal in status to begin with. The participants had only language and interactional resources with which to compete for leadership positions. Furthermore, they barely knew each other, and also understood that they might not meet each other again after

the discussion. Therefore, they may have made use of domineering strategies to assert their entitlement, regarding face-work and relational work as secondary in importance. An alternative interpretation of the discrepant findings is that with equal status at the outset, participants tended to use more facilitative strategies to claim leadership at the very beginning of a discussion, but, after being endorsed by others several times, they claimed and negotiated leadership in a more assertive manner, knowing that others were highly likely to agree or affiliate with them again.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the findings on emerging leadership construction in this non-hierarchical setting are not valuable for leadership construction in workplace practices. The interactional strategies and processes by which leadership is constructed also work in organizational contexts, although they may be more prominent and accessible to observation and analysis in non-hierarchical settings.

Furthermore, it cannot be concluded that participants in Chinese settings emerge as leaders using more assertive strategies than participants in other cultural contexts. Further investigation in other cultural settings is required for purposes of comparison, in order to determine whether or not leadership emergence in Chinese settings tends to utilize more assertive strategies than in other cultures.

7. Conclusion

Recent developments in leadership research have observed a turn to discursive, micro-level analysis of leadership interaction. Yet, discursive studies of emerging leadership construction in interaction remain lacking, especially in Chinese settings. Knowledge regarding detailed interactional strategies and processes is needed to help people exert influence and perform leadership. The present research aimed to explore interactional processes and strategies that help to construct emerging leadership in LGDs in the Chinese context. Three research questions were postulated to investigate 1) the interactional processes of emerging leadership construction; 2) the interactional strategies that enable two distinct manners of emerging leadership construction; and 3) the interactional predictors of leadership emergence.

To address these three research questions, 32 participants were recruited to form eight groups, each of which was required to discuss and achieve consensus on an event-planning task in an LGD. The LGDs were video-recorded and each participant was interviewed about his/her perceptions of who had led the group and how. The current corpus contained a total of more than five hours of group interactional data and 32 interview transcripts.

In terms of methodology, combined analytical methods were adopted to tackle the research questions. CA was used to conduct a bottom-up analysis of the interactional data, in order to identify the interactional processes of emerging leadership construction, as well as the interactional strategies that participants used to construct leadership in two different ways, namely domineering and facilitative. A multimodal coding system was developed to quantify the relative degree of domineering-ness and facilitative-ness. Statistical analyses were conducted to reveal the correlations between the adoption of interactional strategies and leadership emergence. In addition, interview data were analyzed to aggregate participants' perceptions regarding the performance of each in terms of leadership, as well as their perceptions of what interactional strategies were crucial for participants to emerge as leaders.

7.1. Discussion of key findings

Chapter 4, Chapters 4, 5, and 6 reported the key findings of this study. First, Chapter 4 laid the foundation for the overall analysis by describing the general processes of emerging leadership construction. Building on the general patterns of processes described in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 zoomed in to investigate specific strategies of two distinct manners of leadership construction. Finally, Chapter 6 triangulated the discursive findings from Chapters 4 and 5 by studying perceptions and conducting statistical analyses. These findings of the interactional analysis, perceptions, and

statistical analysis largely support each other, strengthening the creditability of each

analysis and the triangulation research design.

The key findings addressing the three research questions are summarized below.

1) How do participants claim and negotiate emerging leadership sequentially in
interaction processes?

Micro-level analysis found that emerging leadership construction is a collaborative

process. Claiming a leadership position, some participants initiate agenda-related

proposals and decision announcements. Other participants may grant a leadership

claim by implementing proposals or agreeing with or confirming decision

announcements. They may, on the other hand, negotiate a leadership claim by

responding in one of six possible ways, namely positive assessment, co-construction,

silence, negative assessment, questioning, and a new proposal/decision announcement.

Each type of response negotiates with the prior leadership claim with a different degree

of entitlement. The negotiation may take several rounds, each of which is enacted by

inserted or post expansion of proposal/decision-making sequences, before a leadership

claim is finally granted. If one participant's leadership claim has not been granted

when another participants initiates a new proposal or decision announcement to again

claim a leadership position, the leadership construction of the prior participant is not successful.

2) What interactional strategies do participants employ to construct emerging leadership in different ways?

Interactional strategies for each manner of emerging leadership construction were identified according to four categories, namely turn-taking, linguistic, prosodic, and nonverbal. Detailed examination using CA demonstrates how the interactional strategies were used to construct domineering or facilitative approaches. For constructing leadership in a domineering way, the following strategies are found to be critical: retaining speakership; imperative-formatted proposals; statement-formatted decision announcements; assessing suggestions and defining tasks with deontic modal verbs; delivering negotiation without mitigation; higher pitch, higher intensity, and a flat/falling prosodic contour; avoiding mutual gaze at turn completion points; and emphatic gestures. In contrast, the following strategies are identified as recurring in constructing leadership in a facilitative manner: distributing speakership to co-participants; wh-question-formatted proposals; tag question-formatted decision announcements; assessing suggestions and decision announcements with questions; mitigating with hedges, sound stretches, accounts or 'pro-forma agreement', smiley voice, gaze to invite others' participation, and laughter to reduce the sharpness of utterances. The frequency of occurrence of domineering strategies is about twice that

of facilitative strategies, suggesting that participants construct leadership in a domineering manner more frequently than in a facilitative manner.

3) What are the interactional predictors of leadership emergence according to participants' perceptions and statistical analyses?

Participants' perceptions of essential interactional strategies for leaders to emerge were found to echo the prior findings in the interactional data. Seven key interactional strategies were identified in the follow-up interviews, namely setting the agenda and initiating the discussion with a proposal, emphatic gestures and taking notes, affirmative prosody, number of turns taken, and coordinating the group with assessments and questions.

Statistical analyses of the data on relevant strategies and perceived leadership scores also resonate with the findings of the prior micro-level analyses. Significant correlations were found between leadership emergence and the frequency of proposals/decision announcements, frequency of granting of leadership claims, and frequency of taking speakership. These significant correlations suggest that taking the initiative to claim a leadership position by making proposals or decision announcements is critical for participants to construct emerging leadership. In addition, mediation analyses revealed that whether participants emerge as leaders depends more heavily on how frequently their leadership claims are endorsed than how frequently

they initiate such leadership claims. In terms of which manner influences leadership emergence more, analysis of the correlation between the domineering-ness of participants' utterances and their perceived leadership emergence shows that the adoption of a domineering manner is highly related to leadership emergence.

These findings contribute to advancing the current knowledge on how people emerge as leaders through interactional practices in a number of ways. Firstly, participants make agenda-related proposals and decision announcements to claim a leadership position. They also negotiate leadership claims with others using six types of responses and their combinations. These findings provide the first systematic report on responses to leadership claims. Sequentially, participants negotiate leadership positioning by inserting or expanding proposal and decision-making sequences with justification, re-iteration, and new proposals/decision announcements. The present study provides a detailed in-depth analysis of the collaboration and negotiation processes in leadership construction, which were found to be more complex and subtle, probably due to the non-hierarchical setting in which the present participants competed for a leadership position. This study also abstracts the general pattern and processes of leadership construction in a series of flowcharts. The pattern presented in the charts clearly shows that, ultimately, to successfully construct emerging leadership, participants need to obtain others' endorsement of their claim to a leadership position.

Secondly, how participants speak is influential in that different forms of response and different verbal and nonverbal behaviors in delivering utterances display different degrees of entitlement to lead. This study presents substantial micro-level details regarding what people do to construct leadership in different ways, contributing knowledge on specific multimodal strategies and different manners of leadership construction. While some of the strategies are resonant with previous findings, for example that cutting off and latching are domineering strategies by which to take the floor, others contrast with common understanding. For instance, the present participants increased their pitch when taking the initiative to claim leadership.

Thirdly, in addition to describing what and how people say to construct leadership, this study proposes that what people say and how they say it matters more for leadership emergence in LGDs than how much people speak. The finding supplements previous research, which asserts that how much participants speak in discussions predicts leadership emergence regardless of what they say (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009).

Lastly, this research, conducted in the Chinese context, lays the foundation for cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies of leadership construction in Chinese settings and other cultures. For example, it was found that to make proposals, the Mandarin-speaking participants used the particle *ba*, tag-questions, and modal verbs to modulate the degree of a leadership claim. With these findings in Mandarin, future work could

compare linguistic forms used to construct emerging leadership in other languages. As for cultural particularities, I observed in the current Chinese setting that the leadership construction processes may have taken longer, and the domineering approach was more closely related to leader emergence, suggesting that participants adopted more domineering strategies to emerge as leaders. However, without studies of parallel non-hierarchal settings in other cultural contexts, I cannot conclude that these observations are unique to the Chinese culture. On the contrary, I tend to think they are due to the non-hierarchical setting.

Despite the contributions of this study, it inevitably has a number of limitations. Firstly, the sample size was not ideal as it investigated only eight group discussions among 32 participants. Secondly, the interactional data may be less natural than ordinary everyday conversations. As the research focused on the effects of interactional strategies on leadership emergence, the research design aimed to eliminate influencing factors other than interactional strategies by organizing LGDs with a careful task design.

7.2. Implications and future directions

This This research contributes one more empirical discursive study to the existing body of leadership research. This study explored leadership emergence from a discursive

perspective to investigate the micro leadership construction processes in terms of domineering and facilitative interactional strategies in leaderless group interactions.

This study is among the first few to employ combined methods to triangulate the data on emerging leadership construction from different angles. Rather than relying on a single data source and method, this study adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods, using micro-level CA, statistical correlation analysis, and an analysis of participants' perceptions reported in follow-up interviews. In addition, this study applied CA to leadership practices in a non-hierarchical setting. The fact that the perceptual and statistical findings resonate with those of CA, proves once again the unique analytical power and advantage of CA in analyzing micro-level interaction.

This research is one of the first discursive explorations of emerging leadership construction in Chinese settings. It identified specific linguistic forms of interactional strategies in Mandarin Chinese, such as imperatives with the particle *ba* in making proposals, and tag-questions in announcing decisions.

This study advances the current understanding of leadership construction processes and crucial interactional strategies to construct leadership in two ways, namely domineering and facilitative. Although previous research findings revealed that achieving a balance between a transformational leadership style, which attends to more relational goals of subordinates, and the transactional leadership style, which is more

assertive, would be the most effective (Holmes, 2007; Holmes & Marra, 2006), this study found that to construct emerging leadership in group discussions, domineering strategies worked better than a facilitative approach in the current context. Nevertheless, due to the non-hierarchical setting, it is not necessarily true that in real world business contexts domineering leadership is more effective. More research is required to investigate this issue.

As for practical implications, note that the current results regarding leadership negotiation processes are based on informal small group non-hierarchical interactions, and thereof have limited application to institutional or professional settings in which leaders are pre-designated. Nevertheless, the findings about micro-level interactional strategies, such as tag-questions, emphatic gestures, increased pitch, and the smiley voice could apply to all types of leadership practices.

This study has practical implications for leadership training and the formulation of recruitment strategies. On the one hand, although the findings relate to a non-hierarchical setting, the micro interactional strategies of leadership construction identified could offer people more knowledge on what to say and how to say it when they intend to construct and practice leadership. Moreover, as people tend to have a fixed way of performing leadership, they might not be aware of the different manners of leadership construction. The findings on such different manners may provide people

more options when they practice leadership. The findings could be utilized to develop course materials in business schools and training organizations. The course material could present the interactional strategies and provide corresponding exercises for students to practice and improve their leadership performances.

Moreover, studying emerging leadership practices in the higher educational context could benefit employers in formulating recruitment strategies based on interactants' leadership performance in small group interaction. Based on the findings of this study on interactional processes and strategies, employers could better select employees according to their interactional strategies in LGDs rather than the employers' personal preferences. Such practices could help employers to standardize their recruitment strategies and decisions regarding whom they should hire.

As for future work, several directions could be further explored. Firstly, combined analytical methods could be adopted in future work on leadership construction, giving a full picture of discursive leadership from different angles. Secondly, comparative studies of discursive leadership construction and strategies in different cultures could be conducted to enrich the understanding of discursive leadership. Finally, investigations of discursive leadership construction processes and strategies could also be conducted in intercultural business interactions in which interactants come from different cultural backgrounds and may perform leadership practices differently.

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Appendices

1. Brief information of research purpose and task

本研究主要针对语言互动和语法结构相关性，下面请大家参与一个讨论，我们学校要组织一个"中国之夜"活动，向外国留学生介绍中国文化，请你们计划一下这个活动，讨论出一个详细可行的活动计划，时间为三十分钟。

(This research mainly investigates the interrelation between interaction and grammar. I would like to invite you to participate in a group discussion. Our university is going to organize a cultural event 'Chinese Night' to introduce Chinese culture to international students. Please discuss and develop a detailed and plausible plan for this event in 30 minutes.)

2. Consent form

NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO ACT AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Title of Project: Interaction and Grammar

Principle Investigator: K.K. Luke, Linguistics & Multilingual Studies, HSS

Co-investigator: Stefanie Stadler, Linguistics & Multilingual Studies, HSS

Dong Shujing, Linguistics & Multilingual Studies, HSS

Professor K.K. Luke, Assistant Professor Stefanie Stadler, Ms. Dong Shujing of the Division of LMS, School of Humanities and Social Sciences are conducting research to find out more about the interrelationship between interaction and grammar.

You have been asked to take part because you are a speaker of Chinese. There are approximately 40 participants in the study.

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to audio-record your conversation on phone or video-record your conversation. You will be passed the necessary recording devices and can record as and when it is convenient for you, since the purpose of this data collection is to capture naturally occurring interaction.

Participation in this study does not involve any foreseeable risk.

In consideration of your time, you will receive $10 per hour for participating in this research.

The reading and recording will bring no direct benefit to you. However, the investigators will learn more about interrelationship between the organization of syntax and social actions in respective languages and the knowledge gained may help others in the future.

Dong Shujing or research assistant has explained this study to you and answered your questions. If you have questions or research-related problems, you may reach Dong Shujing at 8502-9037, sdong1@e.ntu.edu.sg, of School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University, 14 Nanyang Drive, Singapore 637332.

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to

participate or withdraw at any time without penalty. At any point in time, you may request to delete the recordings. Research records will be kept completely confidential to the extent allowed by law.

You have received a copy of this consent document to keep.

Based on the foregoing, you agree to participate.

Subject's Signature   Witness   Date

3. Interview Protocol for follow-up interviews

Question 1. 你觉得你们中有没有人领导了刚才的讨论？

(Do you think there is or are somebody who was leading the group discussion?)

Question 2.   有的话，是谁呢？

(If yes, who is the person?/ who are the persons?)

Question 3. 没有的话，为什么呢？

(If no, why not?)

Question 4. 这个人/这些人是怎么领导讨论的？能指出具体的地方么？比如语言,动作,手势等等？

(Can you identify how this person/ these persons lead the discussion, such as through language, movement or gesture?)

Question 5.　　其他人呢？为什么他们没有领导这个讨论呢？能指出具体的地方么？比如语言，动作，手势等等

(What about the other participants, why do you think they did not lead? Can you explain why in their language, movements or gestures?)

Question 6.　　请按照领导讨论的不同程度, 把组员排序（领导讨论最多的到领导讨论最少的）

(Please rank each group members in sequence according to the extent that they were leading the group discussion.)

Question 7.　　为什么这么排呢？能指出具体的地方么？比如语言，动作，手势等等？

(Why do you rank them in this order? Can you explain it from the group members' language, movements, gesture, etc.?)