Prosodic salience and the emergence of new decisions : On the prosody of approval in Finnish workplace interaction

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# Prosodic salience and the emergence of new decisions: On approving responses to proposals in Finnish workplace interaction

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## Abstract

When participants in joint decision-making approve each other's proposals they typically make *action declarations* (''yea, let's take it'') and/or *positive evaluations* (''yea, that's good''). This paper focuses on the prosodic features of such 'approval turns'. Drawing on video-recordings of Finnish workplace interactions, I consider the interactional import of three prosodic patterns. Approval turns that are delivered with a (1) *dynamic prosody* (increased loudness, excessive pitch movement) establish new decisions, no matter whether the turns are action declarations or positive evaluations. In contrast, approval turns with a (2) *flat prosody* (decreased loudness, minimal pitch movement) do not—alone—suffice for new decisions to emerge. However, when speakers signal their approval with a (3) *flat-stylized prosody* (stylized figure, embedded in flat prosodic features), new decisions emerge just like with dynamic approval turns. I argue that the similarity of the sequential consequences of the dynamic and flat-stylized approval turns is related to the fact that in both cases the speakers display a clear emotional stance toward the matter at hand—even though the ''valences'' of these stances differ from each other. The paper seeks to elucidate the impact of prosodic events in joint decision-making, and the role of emotion as an interactional resource.
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## 1. Introduction

Proposals and approvals make up a central part of collaborative decision-making in all kinds of environments: every time a joint decision is established—be it on what movie to watch during the weekend or whether to buy a new copy machine for the company—it is someone's proposal that has been approved. But how do participants involved in joint decision-making recognize that at a certain moment of interaction someone's proposal has been approved? This is no insignificant matter, which is obvious by the number of quarrels and fights caused by misunderstandings in this respect. Neither is this a straightforward matter, which is apparent by the frequent use of mundane artifacts, such as a gavel, to secure that in matters of major importance participants know the exact moment at which a decision has been reached (cf. Heath and Luff, 2010).

Knowledge about the precise point in time at which a new decision emerges is important for two reasons. First, participants need to grasp the content of the decision that from that particular moment onwards should guide their future actions. During the process that participants go through when they turn an initial proposal into a final arrangement the proposal might have gone through several modifications. The participants need, therefore, to have a

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common understanding on what is the last and binding version of the proposal—the one to which they commit themselves. Second, participants also need to manage their current interaction. The proposer needs to know that his proposal has been approved in order to refrain from pursuing it any further. And, of course, the other participants also need to know when it is acceptable for them to initiate a new topic, for example, a new decision-making sequence.

In large-scale organizational meetings, it is the task of the chairperson, often by using a gavel, to mark the exact moment of the emergence of a new decision and to manage the flow of interaction: to facilitate the closing down of talk on one agenda item and introduce talk on the next item on the agenda (cf. Pomerantz and Denvir, 2007). But how do participants manage these matters in more informal settings? How can a person display his/her approval of someone's proposal in a way that also signals the emergence of a new decision and marks the decision-making sequence as closed? And, more specifically, what is the role of different prosodic ways of displaying approval, when considered in relation to the most typical lexical formats of approving responses to proposals? These are the questions to be addressed in this paper.

My data consist of 10 h of video-recorded Finnish conversations in workplace meetings ($n$ = 15), in which church officials are planning their joint work tasks. In these encounters, they decide on the details of the upcoming church events, church hymns, choir songs, their placement in the liturgy, and so on. At the end of these encounters, participants are indeed supposed to have a common understanding of what they have decided—in order to avoid confusion in the masses, weddings, and funerals the following weekend.

The data were collected in seven congregations in the regions of several bishoprics of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland. The meetings were dyads ($n$ = 13) or triads ($n$ = 2), with 15 different pastors and 10 different cantors. The data were transcribed according to the conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (Schegloff, 2007:265–269). The methodology of the data analysis is anchored in the sociological tradition of Conversation Analysis (CA) (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007) and the linguistic tradition of analyzing prosody in naturally occurring conversations (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 1996; Ford and Couper-Kuhlen, 2004).

This paper is based on a data collection of 297 decision-making sequences. In what follows, I will focus on those 187 sequences (60%), in which the initial proposal is approved. On the remaining 110 occasions, the proposals are turned down, ignored, or treated as some other actions.

## 2. Approving a proposal

A 'proposal', as understood in this paper, implies that at least two participants get involved in the process of decision-making (cf. Charles et al., 1997:685–687). In this respect, proposals are different from what we might call 'pieces of advice'—actions in which the person with the ultimate responsibility to decide whether or not to acquiesce in the future action recommended by his co-participant is the recipient (cf. Charles et al., 1997; Elwyn et al., 2000; Vehviläinen, 2003). Hence, proposals call for participants to establish decisions *jointly* in the interaction then and there (cf. Houtkoop, 1987). This means that the recipient needs to display a commitment to the proposed future action (see also Huisman, 2001:70). Consequently, proposals are often approved through turns that can be characterized as *action declarations*, such as "yea, let's take it", "yea, let's do it like that", or "yea, let's definitely leave it out".

On the other hand, it has been shown that the mere action-declaring line of action is not all that is involved in decision-making sequences. Because every proposal involves at least an implicit positive evaluation of some future state of affairs, these evaluations make relevant the recipient's agreement with these first speaker's views (Stevanovic, submitted for publication; cf. Pomerantz, 1984a). Indeed, another way in which recipients frequently approve their co-participants' proposals is to produce *positive evaluations*, such as "yea, that's great", "yea, this is good" or "yea, it's splendid".

So, there seems to be two different kinds of 'approval turns': action declarations and positive evaluations. As for the lexical content and structure of these turns, they typically have the following formats:

(1)    "yea" (*joo, nii*)[1] + action declaration (e.g., *let's take it*)
(2)    "yea" (*joo, nii*) + positive evaluation (e.g., *this is good*)

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[1] In this paper I will not focus on the potential differences between the Finnish response particles *joo* and *nii*, both of which can be translated in English as "yea". While *joo* and *nii* are certainly not to be regarded as perfectly interchangeable (see Sorjonen, 2001), my data indicates that, as a part of an approving response to a proposal, the interactional import of the choice between *joo and nii* can be overruled by the prosodic delivery of the particle and the approval turn as a whole. Nevertheless, when delivered exactly with the same kind of prosody, it can be assumed—and my data also support this assumption—that *joo*'s "proposal-approving" function is stronger than that of *nii*.

Table 1
Prosodic patterns of the approval turns ($n$ = 187).

| Pitch contour | Cases | % |
|---|---|---|
| Dynamic | 91 | 49 |
| Flat | 35 | 19 |
| Flat-stylized | 25 | 13 |
| Ambiguous | 36 | 19 |
| Total | 187 | 100 |

But what is, then, needed for the participants to be able to take it that a new decision is established and the decision-making sequence closed? Does the recipient need to make both an action declaration and a positive evaluation, or will just one or the other do? This is an empirical question, and one that is discussed in this paper.

In the following, I will consider the above-mentioned approval turns in more detail. I will demonstrate how second speakers, by modifying the *prosodic* delivery of their approval turns, can alter the extent to which these turns signal the emergence of a new decision and implicate sequence closure. These turns have, therefore, been subjected to a more detailed auditory and acoustic analysis, in which I have used a signal analysis software package PRAAT. All the pitch contours produced by PRAAT have been manually checked. The pitch contours that are presented in this paper are plotted on a logarithmic scale. The plots are, however, scaled in Hertz for ease of reference, and besides, with respect to the minimum and maximum of individual speakers' pitch ranges, defined on the basis of representative samples of approximately 2 min of each speaker's talk.[2]

In my analysis I have also taken into consideration my auditory perceptions of intensity (loudness) in the turns at talk under scrutiny. The visual images of PRAAT intensity contours, however, were regarded as unreliable because the distance between the speaker and the video-camera microphone varied from case to case and from speaker to speaker. Furthermore, participants constantly made all kinds of noises other than talk: clicked their pens, browsed through their books and papers, and rattled their coffee cups—all things that show in the intensity contours.

In what follows I will first describe the ways in which approval turns are commonly produced prosodically. Thereafter, I will consider the role that these prosodic patterns play when employed in connection with approving responses to proposals in the latter part of decision-making sequences.

## 3. Prosody of approval

The approval turns of my data collection are delivered with different kinds of prosodic features, from the diversity of which I have identified three reoccurring patterns. Each of them has a distinctive pitch contour, but also other prosodic parameters (loudness, duration of silences) are involved. Together, these three patterns cover over 80% of my data collection (151 cases). The remaining cases are ambiguous: they present a mixture of the features of these three patterns.

First, about half of the approval turns in my data (91 cases; see Table 1) have following prosodic features: a wide pitch span that covers almost the whole of the speaker's range, pitch contour with excessive pitch movement, strong accents, increased loudness, and minimal distance (max. 0.2 s silence) between the initial ''yea''-particle(s) and the subsequent part of the turn (see Fig. 1). The constellation of these prosodic features will be referred to as a 'dynamic prosody'.

Second, in 35 instances (see Table 1), the approval turns are delivered with prosodic features that appear to be opposite to those delivered with a dynamic prosody: a relatively narrow pitch span (less than 6 semitones), pitch contour with no salient pitch movement, no accents, and relatively long silences (0.2–1.5 s) between the initial ''yea'' particle(s) and the rest of the turn (see Fig. 2). I will call the cluster of these prosodic features a 'flat prosody'.

Third, in 25 decision-making sequences (see Table 1), the approval turns have a curious combination of flat and salient prosodic features (see Fig. 3). On the one hand, these turns are spoken with a soft voice and the silences after the turn-initial ''yea'' particle(s) can be very long (more than 1.5 s). The ''yea'' particles are also spoken with a rather narrow pitch span (less than 4 semitones). On the other hand, the subsequent parts of these turns have a specific stylized pitch contour with a relatively high tone on an unstressed syllable (note the pitch on the word *se* (''that'') in Fig. 3). This element of

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[2] The process of defining the speakers' ranges involved (1) manual correction of the pitch plots produced by PRAAT, (2) removal of the creaky tones in the lower part of the speakers' ranges, and (3) unvoicing of all sounds that were *not* produced (vocally) by the speaker in question. After these procedures, I interpreted the minimum and maximum pitch values given by PRAAT as representing the baseline and the topline of each speaker's range.
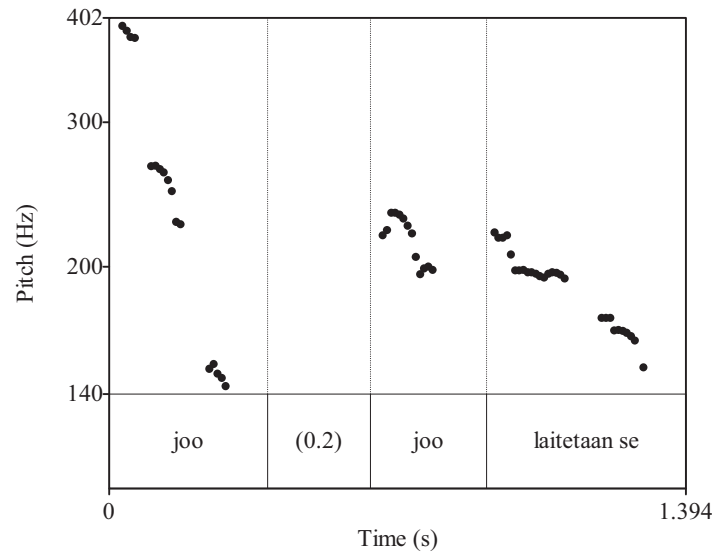
Fig. 1. Dynamic pitch contour (*yea. (.) yea (.) let's take it.*).
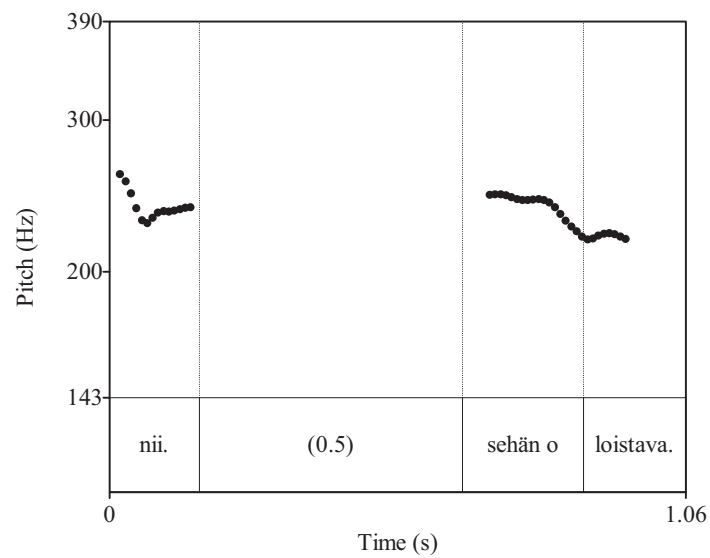


Fig. 2. Flat pitch contour (*yea. (0.5) it is splendid.*).



Fig. 3. Flat-stylized pitch contour (*yea, (2.8) let's take it.*).

stylization is the most distinctive feature of this category—something that cannot be found elsewhere in my data collection. I will refer to this prosodic pattern as a 'flat-stylized prosody'.

Next, I will consider the above-mentioned prosodic patterns one at a time, with the aim of clarifying their interactional import as a part of an approving response to a proposal. I seek to elucidate the extent to which the sequential consequences of one single approval turn are dependent, on the one hand, on the lexical content of the turn (whether it is an action declaration or a positive evaluation), and, on the other hand, on the prosodic delivery of the turn (whether the turn is produced with a dynamic, flat, or flat-stylized prosody).

### 3.1. Dynamic prosody

In this section I will consider two instances in which approval turns are delivered with dynamic prosody. As I will demonstrate, these turns are highly influential: they establish new decisions and implicate sequence closure.

In both Extracts 1 and 2, the participants—a pastor (P) and a cantor (C)—are selecting hymns for the mass next Sunday.

In Extract 1, there are two proposals "in the air": the pastor's initial proposal (line 1) is followed by the cantor's counter proposal (line 3). After that, the pastor makes an effort to get access to the knowledge that the cantor's proposal is based on: the pastor browses her Hymnal and, after having found the hymn, reads its lyrics (lines 4–14; not shown in the transcript). Subsequently, she approves the cantor's proposal with a turn that has the lexical format of an action declaration ("yea. (.) yea (.) let's take it." lines 16–18).

```
(1)(M2PAS 11:39)
01 P:    kunnian  herraa   palvelkaa.
         HymnName
         serve the Lord of Glory

02       (0.3)

03 C:    °m mut° mut entäs      toi neljäneljäkymmentä.
         °b but° but what about that four-forty.

((11 lines removed.))

15       (3.8)
```

```
16 P: => ↑joo.
         ↑yea.

17       (.)

18 P:    joo (.) laitetaan  s[e.    ]
         PRT     put-PAS    it
         yea (.) let's take i[t.    ]
```

```
19 C:                        [.juuh]
                             [.yeah]

20       (2.6) ((P and C are writing.))

21 P:    ja  sitten ↑ehtoollista      ja,
         and then   the Lord's Supper and,
```

After the pastor's approval (lines 16–18), the participants seem to have a common understanding of having established a new decision: they (1) write the decisions down immediately after the pastor's approval turn (line 20), and (2) start a new sequence (line 21).

Extract 2 is a rather similar case. After the cantor has made his proposal (lines 1–3), the pastor starts browsing her Hymnal in order to find the hymn in question (lines 4–16; not shown in the transcript). After having found the hymn, the pastor softly reads its lyrics out loud (line 18). As soon as she has got an idea of the hymn, she displays her approval of the cantor's proposal with a turn that has the lexical format of a positive evaluation ("↑yea that's ↑good." line 20).

```
(2)(M2PAS 12:46)
01 C:    ↓ylistys↑virreks    vois     ottaav
         Praise.Hymn-TRA  0 can-COND take-INF
         as the ↓Praise ↑Hymn we could take

02       vaikka      toi  kakssataakolkytäviis
         PRT         that two.hundred.thirty.five
         for example that two-hundred-thirty-five

03       neljäs    säkeistö sitä   o  harvemmiv   veisattu,
         four-ORD verse     it-PAR be rarely-COMP sing-PPPC,
         the fourth verse that we haven't sung so often,

((13 lines removed))

17       (3.0) ((C is whistling.))

18 P:    °yhdessä:: (nyt)°
         °togethe::r (now)°

19       (1.2)
```

```
20 P:    th↑joo toi o  hyvä.
         th↑yea that's good.
```

```
21 C:    nii.
         yea. ((P and C are writing.))

22 C:    ja  tää  on
         and this is  ((C starts a new sequence.))
```

In quite the same way as in Extract 1, the participants here also seem to have a common understanding of having established a decision: they write the decision down (line 21) and start a new sequence (line 22).

From the point of view of prosody, the approval turns of Extracts 1 and 2 are strikingly similar (see Figs. 4 and 5). In both instances, the approval turn has a pitch contour with an extremely wide pitch span (16.8 semitones in Extract 1; 17.6 semitones in Extract 2). Both start with a particularly steeply falling response token *joo* ("yea"). Albeit with narrower span, the same falling pitch movement is carried on also in the subsequent parts of these turns. Besides, these utterances
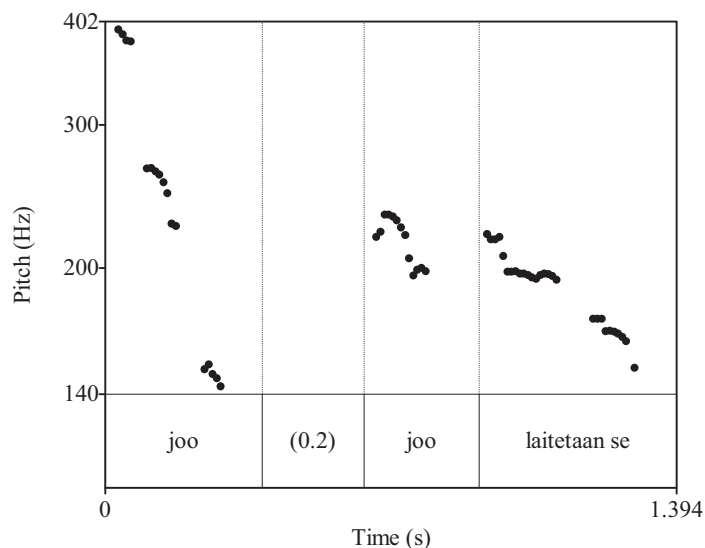


Fig. 4. Pitch contour for lines 16–18 in Extract 1 (*yea. (.) yea (.) let's take it.*).
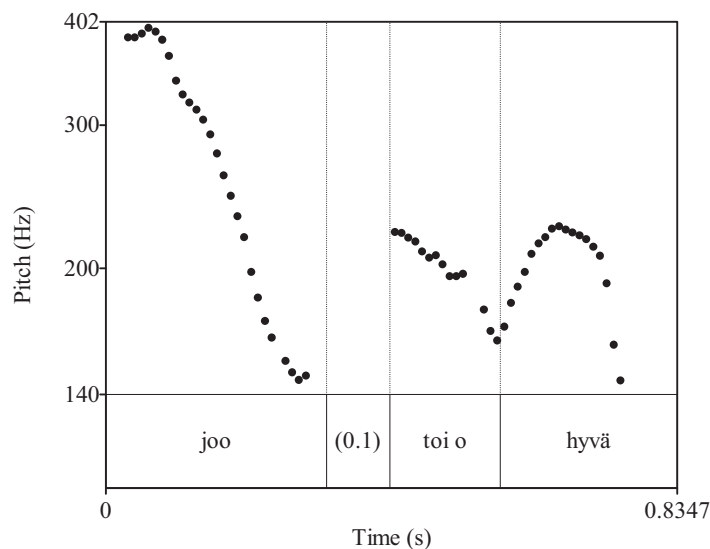
Fig. 5. Pitch contour for line 20 in Extract 2 (*yea that's good*).

contain several rather strong accents: the same syllables that carry high tones are also spoken with a louder voice. Yet another common feature of these turns is the fact that the distance between the initial ''yea''-particle(s) and the subsequent part of the turn is minimal. The approval is, so to speak, blurted out in one go.

Hence, despite the apparent lexical differences of the dynamically delivered approval turns in Extracts 1 and 2 (''yea. (.) yea (.) let's take it.'' Extract 1, lines 16–18; ''↑yea that's ↑good.'' Extract 2, line 20), they both have the same sequential consequences: the emergence of a new decision and sequence closure.

### 3.2. Flat prosody

One might argue that the sequential consequences of positive evaluations and action declarations are similar, not because of the dynamic prosodic delivery of the utterances, but simply because of the sequential context of the utterances. That this is not the case, however, is something that will be demonstrated by the analysis of the following two instances, in which a proposal is approved through a turn having a flat prosody. In contrast to the dynamic approval turns, the sequential consequences of these turns are relatively weak and ambiguous. Indeed, as I will demonstrate, flat approval turns do not—alone—suffice for new decisions to emerge. Instead, some further recipient talk is required to establish a decision. However, even after that, the decision-making sequences are not effectively brought to closure.

In Extract 3, the cantor (C) and the pastor (P) are planning a Pentecost mass. Even though Pentecost is a big feast—to quote the pastor's own words (line 1)—the pastor does not want to organize a procession—even though this would be the normal practice in the congregation in question (the pastor has referred to this convention just before the fragment). The pastor's own orientation to the delicacy of her proposal is reflected in the fact that she gives a long and detailed account for the grounds for her proposal (lines 3–20; not shown in the transcript; cf. Houtkoop, 1990) before she articulates it in line 21.

```
(3)(HM1 31:32)
01 P:    nythän  on suu- suuri juhlapyhä    tää  helluntai
         now-CLI be      big   feast.sunday this pentecost
         now it is a big feast Sunday this Pentecost

02       mutta mää_itse   en    rakastan niitä  kulkueita        ja,
         but   I   myself NEG-1 love     PL3-PAR procession-PL-PAR and,
         but I myself do not love these processions and,

((18 lines removed, during which the pastor refers to her incapability of
organizing processions appropriately, and expresses her doubts whether
certain assistants of the mass are used to walking in processions))
```

```
21 P:    nij ↑jätetäänkö  se    [pois.]
         PRT leave-PAS-Q  it     out
         so↑shall we leave it [out. ]
```

```
22 C:                                   [joo, ]
                                        [yea, ]

23            (0.2)

24 C:    joo,
         yea,

25            (1.0)

26 C:    juu jätetään   ilmam   muuta.
         PRT leave-PAS without other-PAR
         yea let's definitely leave it out.
```

```
27 P:    juu.=
         yea.=
```

```
28 P:    =et     sääk[ään] ollu  aja[tel]lus   [sitä,    ]
          NEG-2  you-CLI  be-PST think-PPC      it-PAR
         =you had not [bee]n thinking [abo]ut it [either,  ]
```

```
29 C:                   [en.]         [en.]     [en     m]ä en
                         NEG-1         NEG-1      NEG-1  I  NEG-1
                        [no.]         [no.]     [no     I ] haven't
```

```
30       mä en    mä en   [oo  ] niistä  tykänny.
         I  NEG-1 I  NEG-1 be     PL3-ELA like-PPC
         I  haven't I  ha[ven't] liked them.
```

```
31 P:                     [juu. ]
                          [yea. ]
```

```
32 P:    joo, .hh nij  jätetään      k[ulku]ep _ pois.
         PRT     PRT  leave-PAS     procession out
         yea, .hh so let's leave the p[roce]ssion out.
```

```
33 C:                                  [joo.]
                                       [yea.]
```

```
34            (0.3) ((P starts to write.))

35 C:    kyllä.
         yes.

36            (0.3)
```

```
37 P:    koska ↑sittes se om ↑mullev vierasta:, (0.4)
         PRT    then   it be I-ALL    strange-PAR
         because then it is strange for me, (0.4)
```

```
38       sen    järjestäminen ja  sit  se on niillem
         it-GEN organizing     and then it be 3PL-ALL
         to organize it and then it is strange for
```

```
39       miehillej  ja  niillel lapsillev   vierasta
         man-PL-ALL and 3PL-ALL child-PL-ALL strange-PAR
         those men and those children
```
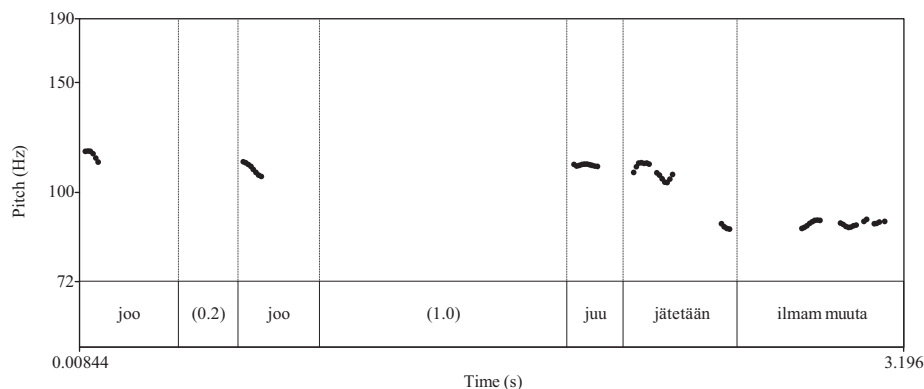
Fig. 6. Pitch contour for lines 22–26 in Extract 3 (*yea, (0.2) yea, (1.0) yea let's definitely leave it out.*).

From the point of view of lexis, the cantor's responsive action (line 26) is completely in line with the pastor's initiating action: it is an approval turn with the format ["*yea*" + action declaration]. Besides, lexically, this particular action declaration is exceptionally determined; as for the "deontic" dimension of the utterance, the phrase *ilman muuta* ("definitely") can be seen as a strong display of commitment leaving no room for second thoughts on how the decision "ought-to-be" (cf. Stevanovic and Peräkylä, in press). However, as can be seen in the further unfolding of interaction, the decision is not established immediately after the turn, but the pastor still seems to pursue a more adequate response from the cantor (line 28; cf. Pomerantz, 1984b).

Indeed, from the point of view of prosody, the cantor's turn does not appear decisive at all (see Fig. 6). The pitch span of both of the *joo* tokens in lines 22 and 24 is only one semitone. The span of the whole turn is no more than four semitones. There are no accents in the turn. Besides, there is a relatively long pause between the initial "yea" particles and the rest of the turn. Overall, the prosodic features of the turn seem to stand in direct opposition to the features of the dynamic approval turns discussed above.

While the cantor's initial approval turn was not enough to establish a decision, however, after the cantor has forcefully asserted that he has not previously "liked" processions (line 30), the pastor starts writing the decision down (line 34). Thereby, she displays her orientation to a newly-established decision. Hence, it seems that it is only after there has been *both* action-declaring and evaluating *lexis* included in the recipient's response that the first speaker can take it that a decision has been made. However, even after that, the decision-making sequence is not treated as closed. Even though the decision has been established, the pastor still goes on accounting for her proposal (lines 37–39) thus giving an impression of still "fishing" for a more "full" approval of her proposal.

Let us now consider another instance with a flat approval turn. In the episode from which the fragment is drawn, the participants are preparing a confirmation mass. In Extract 4, they try to find a suitable hymn for the Hymn of the Day—a hymn that would be both well-known and yet go well with the texts of the day. This objective is announced by the cantor (C) at the beginning of the fragment (lines 1–3).

In lines 12–17, the pastor (P) makes a proposal. It is formulated as a kind of "emergency solution": there is nothing else that the pastor "comes up with" (line 12). Subsequently, the cantor takes up the Church Manual to seek out the Bible reading that would precede the hymn in the mass and reads the text out loud (lines 4–11; not shown in the transcript). This is followed by the pastor reciting softly the closing words of the hymn that she has proposed earlier (line 32). With this co-construction, the participants in a way create a replication of the real situation in the upcoming mass and, thus, build a joint basis for their imminent decision.

```
(4)(KM2 23:48)
01 C:    #voisko    ollaj  joku semmonej joka#, (3.1)
         can-COND-Q be-INF some sort.of  that
         could it be something that, (3.1)
02       ois, (1.2) tutu:mpi     mutta ois     kuitenkin ninku
         be-COND    familiar-COMP but   be-COND however   PRT
         would be, (1.2) more familiar but would however go well with

03       tohon, (2.7) ton       #päivän#, (2.2) #teemaan#.
         that-ILL     that-GEN day-GEN          theme-ILL
         that, (2.7) theme of that, (2.2) day.

((8 lines removed.))
```

```
12 P:    ei  mul   tuum mieleem  muuta      kun tää  viissataayheksän
         NEG I-ALL come mind-ILL other-PAR PRT this five.hundred.nine
         I don't come up with anything else than this five hundred nine

13       kut tää  on tästä    ↑nuorten  osastosta jot(.)ka vois
         PRT this be this-ELA youth-GEN section    that      can-COND
         that is from this youth's section that could

14       #ollan ninkun tätä#, .hhhhh (0.5) #auta    aina
         be-INF PRT    this-PAR               help-IMP always
         be like of the kind, .hhhhh (0.5) #help always that

15       etten     ketääm pain[a#, ]
         PRT.NEG-1 anyone depress
         I  won't depress anyo[ne# ]

16 C:                          [mm,=]

17 P:    =#toisten     taakkaa    suuremmaksi tee#,=
          other-PL-GEN burden-PAR big-COMP-TRA do
         =#make others' burdens heavier#,=
```

((14 lines removed, during which the cantor browses the Church Manual and reads the next Sunday's Epistle text out loud.))

```
32 P:    °armossasi        kasvaa    olla   ihminen,°
          grace-INE-POSS-2 grow-INF be-INF human.being
         °to grow in your grace to be a human being,°

33       (0.4)

34 P:    mm.
```

```
35 C:    nii.
         yea.

36       (0.5)

37 C:    sehän  ol #loistava#.=
         it-CLI be splendid
         it's #splendid#.=
```

```
38 P:    =mm. ((C flips around a paper on the table.))

38       (1.0) ((P looks at C.))

39 C:    °otetaan se°
         take-PAS it
         °let's take it° ((P and C are gazing each other.))

40 P:    vahva teksti,
         a strong text, ((P starts to write.))

41       (0.3)

42 C:    .joo
         .yea

43       (0.2)

44 P:    ja, (1.0) ja (.) ja, (0.7) ei, (0.5) €l(h)iian
         and, (1.0) and (.) and, (0.7) not, (0.5) €t(h)oo
```

```
45          p(h)itk(h)ä€ heh [heh ] .HH
            l(h)on(h)g€  heh [heh ] .HH

46 C:                   [joo.]
                        [yea.]

47          (0.2)

48 P:    kaikki (.)  kaikki  hyvät puolet [siin]ä [joo.]
         all    (.)  all the good  sides  [to i]t [yea.]

49 C:                                     [joo,]  [.joo]:
                                          [yea,]  [.yea]:
```

The cantor's approval of the pastor's proposal (lines 35–37) has the lexical format ["yea" + positive evaluation]. Lexically, the approval turn can be regarded as an exceptionally strong positive evaluation due to its most prominent word *loistava* ("splendid"). Thereafter, in overlap with the pastor's minimal acknowledgement *mm* (line 38), the cantor makes a showy move of flipping around the paper on the table in front of her. Since the paper contains the scheme of the liturgy, the cantor's move seems to signal her readiness to move on to discuss the next item of the liturgy. However, the implications of the cantor's utterance are apparently not yet clear for the pastor: subsequently, the pastor shifts her gaze to the cantor, as if still searching for confirmation.

Similar to Extract 3, it also seems here that the prosodic delivery of the approval turn creates uncertainty regarding the interactional import of the turn (see Fig. 7). Compared to the previous extract, the token *yea* is spoken with a somewhat larger pitch span (3.7 semitones). However, the pitch span of the whole turn is still less than 4 semitones. Notably, also the word *loistava* ("splendid") is spoken without any kind of prosodic marking.

As a response to the pastor's display of hesitation (line 38), the cantor turns her head to look at the pastor and whispers "let's take it" (line 39). It is only after this action declaration that the pastor writes the decision down (line 40). So, again, it seems that there needs to be both an action declaration and a positive evaluation before the proposer can be sure that her proposal has been turned into a binding decision. However, just like in Extract 3, the first speaker still pursues the topic further. Even after the decision has been established, the pastor seems to pursue the cantor's acknowledgment of the fact that, indeed, a hymn with "all the good sides to it" has been found (line 48). Besides, through her smiley voice and laughter particles (lines 44 and 45), she invites the cantor to laugh, too (cf. Haakana, 1999:40, 41), and thus to display affiliation with the pastor's positive, even if somewhat ironic, stance toward one of the "good sides" of the hymn: its brevity.

To summarize, the flat approval turns in Extracts 3 and 4 are not enough to signal the emergence of new decisions. It is only after these turns are complemented with further recipient talk that participants orient to new decisions as having emerged; if the initial approval turn is lexically an action declaration, it needs to be complemented with a positive
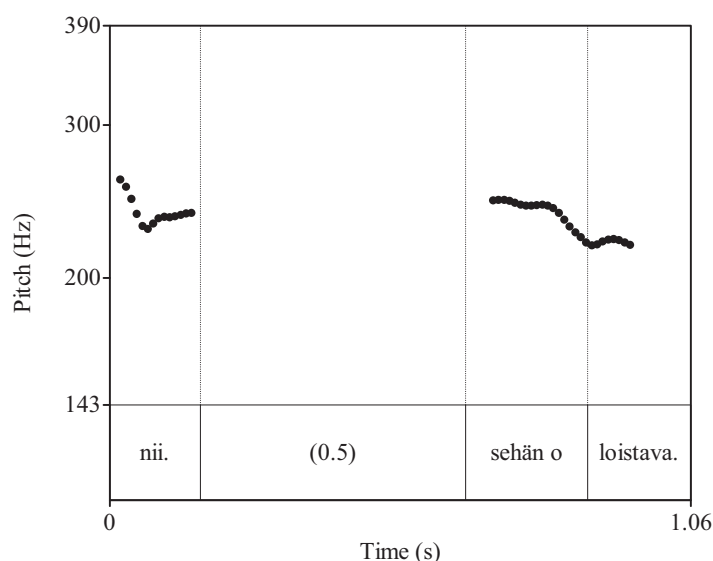


Fig. 7. Pitch contour for lines 35–37 in Extract 4 (*yea. (0.5) it is splendid.*).

evaluation, and, then again, if the approval turn is lexically a positive evaluation, it needs to be complemented with an action declaration. However, even after that, the decision-making sequences are not effectively brought to closure.

### 3.3. Flat-stylized prosody

Finally, I will consider an instance in which approval is signaled with a 'flat-stylized prosody'. In this case, the lexical format of the turn is an action declaration.[3] As I will demonstrate, the sequential implications of these kinds of approval turns are, again, similar to those that are delivered with a dynamic prosody: new decisions emerge and sequences are effectively brought to closure. However, dynamic and flat-stylized approval turns are systematically preceded by different kinds of proposals. While dynamic approval turns are typical responses to straightforward proposals (cf. Extracts 1 and 2), flat-stylized approval turns are associated with proposals that are less straightforward.

In Extract 5, the participants seem to be rather frustrated with selecting hymns. The fragment starts by the pastor lamenting on the "poorness" of all hymns (line 1). After that, the participants share the disappointment of being unable to find anything but "always just the same old hymns" (lines 5–19). Then, the pastor makes a rather unenthusiastic proposal ("then just the two-two-eight or something like that," line 21). This is followed by the pastor whispering "can't help" in line 24, which can be heard as an ultimate expression of her desperate stance toward the matter at hand.

```
(5)(M5SHLT 20:38)
01 P:    kaikki uu- virret  tuntuu huonoilta.
         all        hymn-PL feel   poor-PL-ABL
         all hymns seem to be poor

02       (0.6)

03 C:    nii.
         yea.

04       (1.0)

05 P:     pitää  ↑vaan ottaa   joku niistä  samoista, (0.3)
         0 should PRT   take-INF some PL3-ELA same-PL-ELA
         we should just take one of those hymns, (0.3)

06       [joita ennenki.         ]
          that  before
         [that we have before   ]

07 C:    [joita   aina     enne]nki.
          that    always   before
         [that we have always be]fore.

08 P:    nii lauletaan.
         PRT sing-PASS
         been singing.

09       (1.0)

10 C:    .ni[i  ]
         .ye[a  ]

11 P:       [.ni]i
            [.ye]a

12       (1.0)

13 C:    ää joka  kerta ninku sit   toivoo että
            every time  PRT   PRT 0 hope    PRT
         erm every time one hopes that
```

---

[3] In my data collection there are only a few "flat-stylized" approval turns with the lexical format of a *positive evaluation*. And, even in these cases, there are no "yea" particles at the beginning of these turns. Therefore, I decided to leave these cases out of my study.

```
14        voi että nyt löytys        joku uus semmonen,
          PRT PRT  now be.found-COND some new sort.of
          oh dear if one could now find some new sort of
```

```
15 P:     uu[s virsi, ]
          new  hymn
          a [new hymn,]
```

```
16 C:      [ahaa    elä]mys.=
            PRT      experiance
           [a heureka-ex]perience.=
```

```
17 P:     mut ↑ei o. ↑ei löydy   uutta   virttä.
          but NEG be NEG be.found new-PAR hymn-PAR
          but there ↑isn't.↑no new hymn is found.
```

```
18 C:     ei.=
          no.=
```

```
19 P:     =↑aina   vaan samat   ↓vanhat virret.
          =↑always just the same↓old    hymns.
```

```
20        (7.0)
```

```
21 P:     sitte↑vaan kakskakskaheksan €tai joku semmonen€.
          then just the two-two-eight €or something like that€.
```

```
22 C:     nii.
          yea.
```

```
23        (2.4)
```

```
24 P:     °ei auta.°
          °can't help.°
```

```
25 C:     nii,
          yea,

26        (2.0)

27 C:     tehään? niin.
          do-PASS PRT
          let's do it like that.
```

```
28        (0.7)
```

```
29 P:     niin kakskaks°kaheksan°.
          so   two-two-°eight°.
```

```
30        (2.0)
```

```
31 C:     nii.
          yea.

32        (2.8)

33 C:     otetaa?   vaan.
          take-PASS PRT
          let's take it.
```

```
34        (3.7) ((C and P are writing.))
```
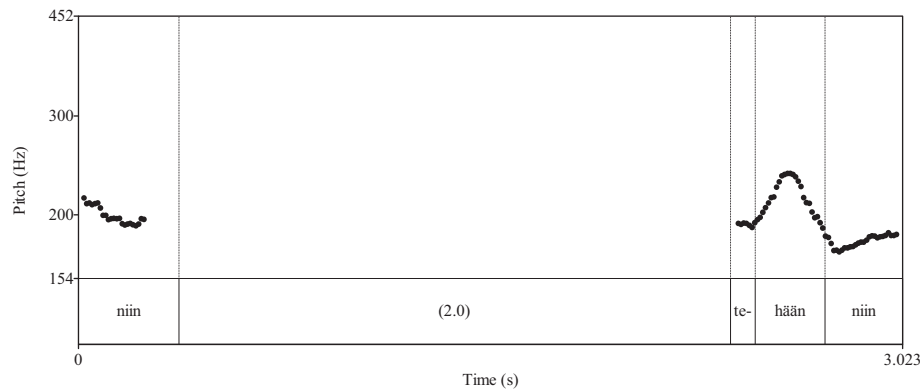
Fig. 8. Pitch contour for lines 25–27 in Extract 5 (*yea, (2.0) let's do it like that.*).

```
35 C:     no   ↑ni siinä  on ↑ne
          PRT PRT it-ESS be PL3
          o↑kay that's ↑it

36        (.)

37 C:     sitte konfirmaatio.
          then the Confirmation.
```

This particular case is exceptional in that there are actually two proposals nested in the single turn at talk by the pastor (line 21). The first proposal is more general: the participants would select ''two-two-eight or something like that'', in other words, a hymn that belongs to the category of *traditional* hymns. The other proposal, which is nonetheless implicitly involved in the pastor's turn, is more specific: the hymn would be ''two-two-eight.''

In line with these two proposals, the cantor produces two approval turns, once for each proposal. First, the cantor approves the pastor's more general proposal with an action declaration (''yea, (2.0) let's do it like that.'' lines 25–27). Thereafter, the pastor seeks to clarify whether the cantor's approval was about the hymn two-two-eight, or only about the more general category of traditional hymns. Thereby, she displays her orientation to the fact that at least her more general proposal has been approved by the cantor: the participants have agreed on selecting a *traditional hymn*. The cantor, however, treats the pastor's request for clarification as itself a proposal, namely one that suggests that the participants indeed select the hymn two-two-eight: the cantor responds with yet another approval turn (''yea, (2.8) let's take it.'' lines 31–33).

The ''yea'' particles at the beginning of the cantor's approval turns (line 68) are vocalized in the lower part of the speaker's range, with a much more level pitch contour than the initial ''yea'' particles in Extracts 1 and 2. The turns are also spoken very softly, both in terms of loudness and accentuation. Besides, in both of these approval turns, there is a long silence between the initial ''yea'' particle and the rest of the turn. In other words, these turns share many prosodic features of the previously discussed flat approval turns—with the exception that the ''flatness'' of these features is brought to the extreme.

However, the most distinguishing feature of these approval turns is the fact that, in the latter part of these turns, their pitch contours are stylized: the words *tehään* (''let's do'') *otetaa* (''let's take'') are produced with a combination of a low tone on a stressed syllable (*te-* and *o-*) and a relatively high tone on the last unstressed syllable of the foot (*-hään* and *-taa*), which gives the words a clear melodic shape. In these instances, the intervals between the low tones on the stressed syllables and the high tones on the unstressed syllables are 4 semitones (*tehään*) and 5 semitones (*otetaa*).[4] Such tone combinations are particularly salient to Finnish listeners. While feet in Finnish contain one to three syllables, the first of them is always the strong one, with the main stress falling on it. It is the stressed syllables that usually carry high tones.

After these approval turns, the participants seem to have a common understanding that they have indeed selected a hymn: they write the decision down, and after that, do not just end that particular sequence, but start planning completely another church event (*the Confirmation*, line 37). In other words, even if the prosodic delivery of these turns is anything but dynamic (see Figs. 8 and 9), the interactional import of the cantor's approval turns is similar to that of dynamic pitch contours.

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[4] Also in the other flat-stylized approval turns of my data collection, these intervals are something between 3–6 semitones.
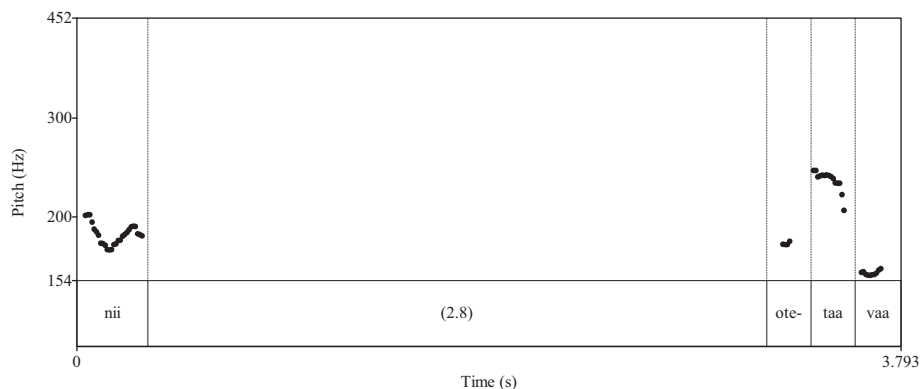
Fig. 9. Pitch contour for lines 31–33 in Extract 5 (*yea, (2.8) let's take it.*).

Table 2
Summary of the analysis of Extracts 1–5.

|  | Pitch contour | Lexical format | Decision | Sequence closure |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Extract 1 | Dynamic | Action declaration | + | + |
| Extract 2 | Dynamic | Positive evaluation | + | + |
| Extract 3 | Flat | Action declaration | − | − |
|  |  | + Positive evaluation | + | − |
| Extract 4 | Flat | Positive evaluation | − | − |
|  |  | + Action declaration | + | − |
| Extract 5 | Flat-stylized | Action declaration | + | + |

### 3.4. Summary

In this article, I have demonstrated how second speakers, by modifying the prosodic delivery of their approval turns, can fine-tune their responsive actions in terms of the extent to which these turns signal the emergence of new decisions and implicate sequence closure. These findings are summarized in Table 2.

When second speakers deliver their approval turns with a *dynamic prosody* (Extracts 1 and 2), they signal the emergence of a new decision and implicate sequence closure, irrespective of whether the lexical format of the turn is an action declaration or a positive evaluation (indicated by (+) in the relevant columns). Then again, by delivering their approval turns with a *flat prosody* (Extracts 3 and 4), second speakers do not immediately establish new decisions (indicated by (−) in the column 'decision'). It is only after these turns are supplemented with further talk (a positive evaluation or an action declaration) that new decisions emerge (indicated by (+) in the same column). But even after that, the decision-making sequences are not effectively brought to closure (indicated by (–) in the column 'sequence closure'). Paradoxically, however, when the approval turn has a *flat-stylized prosody*, the second speaker signals both the emergence of a new decision and sequence closure (indicated by (+) in the relevant columns). This surprising similarity between the sequential consequences of dynamic and flat-stylized approval turns is something I will next address.

### 4. Discussion

After having described the sequential consequences of differently produced approval turns, I will now try to account for my findings. What could be the reason for the powerful effect of dynamic and flat-stylized approval turns, on the one hand, and the vague and ambiguous interactional impact of flat approval turns, on the other? My hypothesis is that the question is about the kind of ''emotional stance'' (Svennevig, 2004) that speakers take when they display their approval of someone's proposal.

Let us start by considering dynamic approval turns. In several studies, dynamic prosodic features have been associated with displays of positive emotions: enthusiasm, fascination, admiration, etc. (see Scherer, 1986, 2003; Fernald, 1993; Bryant and Barrett, 2007; Szczepek Reed, 2006). While it is important to bear in mind that prosodic features never perform single functions, but work differently in different sequential environments (Local and Walker, 2008; Kaimaki, 2011), in this particular sequential position, however, it is easy to hear the combination of an approving lexical content and a dynamic prosody as conveying the speaker's *enthusiastic* emotional stance toward what has been

proposed—something that is capable of establishing new decisions and of bringing the decision-making to closure, no matter whether the lexical content of the utterance is an action declaration or a positive evaluation.

From this point of view, it is easy to account also for the *vague* interactional import of the *flat* approval turns: this vagueness has to do precisely with the fact that the recipient *refrains* from displaying a positive emotional stance toward what has been proposed through prosody. Indeed, even such an ''enthusiastic'' word as ''splendid'' (Extract 4) appears rather lukewarm when it is *not* spoken in a blurted-out fashion, apparently generated by the sheer ''splendidness'' of the subject matter of the proposal.

What could then account for the interactional import of flat-stylized approval turns? As demonstrated above, the sequential consequences of these turns are the same as those of dynamic approval turns. Does this mean that dynamic and flat-stylized approval turns convey exactly the same actions?

Even if dynamic and flat-stylized approval turns open up the same prospects as to what is to come *next* in the interaction (sequence closure, change of topic), arguably, these turns display quite different analyses to what has been said *earlier* in the interaction—that is, they do *not* convey exactly the same actions. This claim can be supported by two different kinds of empirical evidence:

First, *unlike* the dynamic approval turns, the flat-stylized approval turns of my data collection appear systematically in sequences in which the participants have previously alluded to the fact that no other possibilities can really come into question—even if the about-to-be-made decision were not quite optimal. The flat-stylized approval turns, in other words, are typical responses to markedly *un*enthusiastic proposals which hardly make displays of enthusiasm relevant. This was also the case in Extract 5, in which the participants were right from the outset in agreement regarding the (lack of) prospects for an inspiring decision. The proposer herself made it more than clear that her proposal was nothing radical or outstandingly innovative, but something that was dull *routine*. Since the appropriateness of the hymn for the mass could thus be regarded as self-evident (because of the routine), there was nothing that the recipient could have evaluated positively (without disaffiliating from the pastor's lamenting line of action). The only question was whether the participants continue their desperate search for more creative solutions or acquiesce before the mighty power of a routine.

Second, flat-stylized approval turns often involve lexical elements that are perfectly in line with the kind of acquiescing stance described above. The most important of them is the particle *vaan* (''just''; see Extract 5, line 33), which has been seen as a regular way to downplay the importance of what is said and mark it as a kind of ritual (Hakulinen et al., 2004:796).

Besides, we may also think about the earlier findings about the interactional functions of stylized pitch contours. Generally, stylized pitch contours communicate a relatively *distant* position toward what is being conveyed (Gumperz, 1982:34; Ogden et al., 2004); they invoke the impression that the speaker is not entirely the ''principal'' (Goffman, 1981:124–159) of what s/he is saying. In their study on a Finnish prosodic pattern that is rather similar[5] to the flat-stylized approval turns of my data-collection, Ogden et al. (2004) found that, in everyday conversations, the lexical content of the utterances carrying this kind of a prosody often consisted of an idiom which was a paraphrase of something that had been said earlier in the sequence. Therefore, these utterances were often used to imply topic closure. However, by comparing such instances from everyday conversation with equivalent instances from institutional settings, the authors found that in institutional settings these kinds of utterances were used *without* any preceding turn that the utterance in question could have been a paraphrase of. Hence, the authors concluded that this kind of prosody can be used to mark the information, conveyed in the utterance, as something that is routine for the speaker.

On the basis of what has been said above, I argue that, when second speakers approve their co-participants' proposals with flat-stylized approval turns, they display their understanding of the specific nature of the decision in question. While the ''flatness'' of the prosodic delivery conveys the impression that the second speaker is *not* particularly enthusiastic about what is going to be decided, the stylization, nevertheless, treats the decision as the only possible option. Hence, it is as if the person were saying: ''I am not enthusiastic about the decision, but that makes no difference on how the decision is going to be.'' With a flat-stylized approval turn, a second speaker may signal the emergence of the decision and implicate sequence closure, but yet refrain from evaluating the subject matter of the proposal in the enthusiastic way associated with dynamic approval turns.

Even though the displays of submission before the power of inevitable choices are apparently emotionally much more subdued (cf. Couper-Kuhlen, 2009) than the displays of enthusiasm discussed in section 3.1, we may still ask whether these kinds of approval turns also obtain their interactional power from the kind of emotional stance that is being conveyed through the prosody of these turns. Of course, there are certain difficulties if one tries to *verbalize* the emotion in question. However, one such solution is offered by Plutchik (1991), whose emotion theory encompasses, among the more ''active'' emotions of *joy*, *anger*, *sorrow*, *fear*, *disgust* and *surprise*, several inert emotions. An emotional state in which a person quietly accepts ''what is to be expected'' is something that Plutchik called *fatalism*. Indeed, this idea fits well with the submissive attitude described above. In decision-making, as a part of an approving response to a proposal, a display of

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[5] Despite certain differences as regards the relative pitch height of the tones *following* the unstressed pitch peak, the most salient aspect of both of these prosodic patterns—a high tone on an unstressed syllable—is the same.

such an emotional stance conveys the speaker's capitulation to the truth that there are facts, other than his/her personal opinions, that need to be taken into consideration as participants make their decisions.

In light of what has been stated above, it seems that the interactional import of an approval turn is related to the question whether the speaker conveys a clear emotional stance through the *prosody* of the turn. While the sequential consequences of dynamic approval turns can be ascribed to the enthusiastic stance that they convey, flat-stylized approval turns signal the fatalistic stance in which no enthusiasm is needed to establish a decision. In contrast, the sequential implications of flat approval turns are weak and ambiguous precisely because the speakers refrain from expressing their emotional stance toward the matter at hand through the immediate means provided by prosody.

## 5. Conclusions

At the beginning of this paper, I asked how participants involved in joint decision-making display their approval of their co-participants' proposals, signal the emergence of new decisions and implicate sequence closure. To respond to a proposal with a turn having an approving lexical content is not quite enough in this respect. In addition to that, approval needs to be conveyed with *prosodic salience*—the kind of "gavel" that effectively seals the new decisions. Like any gavel, prosodic salience works in retrospect: it is strongly responsive to the content of what has been said earlier in the interaction. And, on the other hand, it also works in prospect: it has implications for the deferred future actions of the participants, and more locally, it projects sequence closure and the start of a new sequence.

The intriguing capacity of prosody to secure intersubjectivity during sequential transitions is something that has been pointed out in several studies in the field of conversation analysis; prosody plays an important role in marking an utterance either as continuing what went before or as starting something new (Couper-Kuhlen, 2004; Goldberg, 1978, 2004). In a way, this view also gets support from the observations of this paper, which have emphasized the role of prosody in the management of decision-making interaction. Nevertheless, it seems that decision-making sequences are somewhat different from the kind of sequences (question-answer sequences, closing sequences, storytelling sequences, etc.) that have been previously considered from this point of view. While question–answer sequences, for example, are regularly initiated with a relatively loud voice and brought to closure by the speakers gradually reducing the volume of their utterances (Goldberg, 1978), such "fading out" is unlikely to have the same effect in decision-making sequences, in which the end-point of the sequence, the emergence of the decision, is expected to be highlighted in some way. It seems, therefore, that an interesting topic of further research would be to describe and compare the prosodic organizations of different types of sequences—something that could shed light on the most subtle ways people may negotiate the trajectories of their interactions.

In the context of joint decision-making, it seems clear that even the most subtle manipulations of prosodic events can potentially be involved in complex negotiations on the participants' social relationships. We may just imagine occasions on which the second speaker treats as routine something that is by no means routine for the first speaker. Or we may think about situations in which a strong display of enthusiasm is used to "approve" something that is not meant to be heard as a proposal at all. The insight that prosody may play a significant role in such implicit power struggles is especially important for one particular reason: as Silverstein (1976:49–50) has pointed out, the prosodic features of talk are often *beyond the metapragmatic awareness of the participants*; the prosodic features of talk are extremely seldom taken into reflexive consideration among the participants. Even though participants sometimes *do* engage in talk about certain prosodic parameters, such as loudness or speech rate, this hardly ever happens with regard to certain other prosodic parameters, such as pitch contours. Hence, what is at issue here is the kind of power that is very hard to resist.

The idea that prosodic features, along with other linguistic and non-linguistic features such as syntax, lexis, gaze, gesture and body posture, are employed by participants to accomplish social actions, is a well-acknowledged fact (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 1996; Couper-Kuhlen and Ford, 2004; Ogden, 2006; Szczepek Reed, 2006, 2009; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 2006). However, as conversation analysts have emphasized in connection with other linguistic and non-linguistic features, prosody, too, cannot be given an isolated conversational "function", for its interactional import is dependent on the other practices that are used at the same time. Therefore, in order to tease out the role that prosody, specifically, plays in the construction of social action, I constrained my analysis to two very specific lexical formats, employed in one very specific sequential position: a response to a proposal. In this way, the specific role of prosody in the emergence of new decisions could be highlighted.

But what is then the role of emotion in all this? Basically, the idea that there would be distinct prosodic features for distinct emotions (Scherer, 1986, 2003; Bryant and Barret, 2007) has been criticized by several conversation analysts. Local and Walker (2008), for example, have argued that the prosodic parameters, commonly associated with emotion, are better accounted for with reference to the management of certain interactionally relevant tasks. Thus, we are faced with the following question: if we have an utterance that is articulated with prosody that apparently conveys emotion, is the interactional import of the utterance to be attributed to the prosody of the utterance or to the emotional stance it conveys (through prosody)? What is the crucial matter that the participants orient to, prosody per se or emotional stance per se?

This obvious problem is solved, however, if we consider prosody as something that provides speakers with a *particularly effective* means to display their emotional stance toward what is being said. Indeed, it is precisely this idea that helps to account for the findings of this article: while a clearly emotional verbal expression, such as ''it's splendid'' (Extract 4), was not enough to establish a decision, a less emotional verbal expression, such as ''yea, let's take it'' (Extracts 1 and 5), was able to do that—when the *prosody* of the utterance could be heard as emotional.

Interestingly, in the cases examined in this article, the prosodic displays of emotion had the same powerful interactional import irrespective of whether the prosodic pattern in question could be associated with enthusiasm and fatalism—two emotional stances whose ''valences'' differ quite radically from each other. Arguably, this is because, in both types of cases, the speakers made absolutely clear their emotional stances toward the matters at hand.

Is the clearness of the emotional stance then more important than the valence? Even though, in this article, it has not been my main focus to consider the *relationships between* the emotional stances expressed in the first and second speakers' turns, it is obvious that this relationship is important from the point of view of what exactly is being conveyed in an approval turn. A second speaker can hardly choose freely between enthusiasm and fatalism as alternative ways of approving a proposal. Instead, the valence of his/her emotional stance should be appropriate—that is, it should align with the first speaker's ways of formulating his/her proposal. Feasibly, new decisions emerge precisely when participants ''affiliate'' with each other's emotional stances (cf. Stivers, 2008)—whatever these stances are.

Even though decision-making, in a workplace setting, is a strongly task-oriented activity involving talk about most predictable routine work tasks, however, in light of the analysis of this paper, it seems obvious that also in these encounters the question is not merely about producing desirable decisions–fast and effectively. Instead, just like in more mundane settings, in which people tell stories (cf. Stivers, 2008; Selting, 2010), report their experiences (Heritage, 2011), or complain about other people's behavior (Couper-Kuhlen, in press), people produce talk in order to get certain emotion-related needs satisfied (cf. Goffman, 1981:21). However, much more research is needed to explore the workings of emotion in the context of decision-making in different kinds of matter-of-fact settings, as well as in languages other than Finnish.

## Funding

## Acknowledgments

## Appendix A.  Transcription symbols

| | |
|---|---|
| . | pitch fall |
| ? | pitch rise |
| , | level pitch |
| ↑↓ | marked pitch movement |
| underlining | emphasis |
| - | truncation |
| [ ] | overlap |
| = | latching of turns |
| (0.5) | pause (length in tenths of a second) |
| (.) | micropause |
| : | lengthening of a sound |
| hhh | audible out-breath |
| .hhh | audible in-breath |
| (h) | within-speech aspiration, usually indicating laughter |
| # | creaky voice quality |
| € | smiley voice quality |
| ° | whisper |
| @ | other change in voice quality |
| mt, tch, krh | vocal noises |
| <word> | slow speech rate |
| >word< | fast speech rate |

## Appendix B. Glossing abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| 1, 2, 3 | person |
| PL | plural |
| GEN | genetive |
| PAR | partitive |
| ESS | essive |
| TRA | translative |
| INE | inessive |
| ELA | elative |
| ILL | illative |
| ADE | adessive |
| ABL | ablative |
| ALL | allative |
| ACC | accusative |
| COMP | comparative |
| INF | infinitive |
| COND | conditional |
| IMP | imperative |
| CLI | clitic |
| Q | question clitic |
| NEG | negation |
| PST | past tense |
| PASS | passive |
| PPC | past participle |
| PPPC | passive past participle |
| POSS | possessive suffix |

*Singular, nominative*, *active* and *present tense* are forms that have been considered unmarked. These have not been glossed.

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