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# SKY 1996

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*Timo Haukioja*

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**Marja-Liisa Helasvuo**

## **A Discourse Perspective on the Grammaticization of the Partitive Case in Finnish**

### **1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>**

Finnish is often mentioned as an example of a language with a rich case marking system. Some of the cases have more semantic content, whereas others are more constrained by grammatical factors in their use (for a discussion of the distinction between grammatical and oblique cases in Finnish, see Helasvuo forthcoming a).<sup>2</sup> In this paper, I will focus on the partitive, which is an interesting borderline case between the grammatical and oblique cases. More specifically, I will look at the historical development of the partitive from a local case marker into a grammatical case in the light of its use in present-day conversational discourse.

Table 1 gives an overview of the case system with examples of the most productive cases. The table presents only singular forms; most of these cases also inflect in the plural (the accusative is an exception since there is no accusative form in the plural).

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<sup>1</sup> The very first version of this paper was presented in the SKY workshop on Discourse, grammar, and grammaticalization in Mekrijärvi, Finland, in September 1994. My warmest thanks to the participants of the workshop for stimulating comments and discussions. In addition, I would like to thank Pentti Leino, Susanna Shore and Sandra Thompson for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. I also learnt a lot from the comments by the anonymous referees of the SKY yearbook, for which I am grateful.

<sup>2</sup> By oblique cases I mean cases other than grammatical (see e.g. Nichols 1983). This term includes the local cases as well as a few others which are not so frequent. Oblique cases other than the local ones will not be discussed in this paper.

	Case form	Case ending	Singular	
			ex.	translation
I	Nominative	-∅	<i>talo</i>	a/the house
	Accusative	- <i>n</i>	<i>talon</i>	a/the house
	(Acc of pers. pron.	- <i>t</i>	<i>minut</i>	me)
	Partitive	-( <i>t</i> ) <i>A</i>	<i>taloa</i>	(of) a/the house
II	Genitive	- <i>n</i>	<i>talon</i>	of a/the house
	Essive	- <i>nA</i>	<i>talona</i>	as/for a/the house
	Translative	- <i>ksI</i>	<i>taloksi</i>	into (a/the) house
	Inessive	- <i>ssA</i>	<i>talossa</i>	in(side) the house
	Elative	- <i>stA</i>	<i>talosta</i>	from in(side) the house
	Illative	- <i>Vn</i> , - <i>hVn</i> , - <i>seen</i>	<i>taloon</i>	into (a/the) house
	Adessive	- <i>llA</i>	<i>talolla</i>	by/on/near a/the house
	Ablative	- <i>ltA</i>	<i>talolta</i>	from the house
	Allative	- <i>lle</i>	<i>talolle</i>	to the house

Table 1. The Finnish case system.

Thus, Finnish has 8 local cases (given under II in table 1), and 3-4 cases that have been grammaticized to a greater extent (I; the genitive is somewhat problematic in this respect but will not be discussed here; for discussion, see Laitinen 1992, Laitinen - Vilkuna 1993). The nominative has no ending either in the singular or in the plural. In the nominative plural, however, there is a plural marker *-t* to code number.<sup>3</sup> There is a special accusative marking for personal pronouns and the personal interrogative pronoun *kuka / ken* 'who' (*kene-t* 'whom') both in the plural and in the singular, but other pronouns and nouns do not inflect in the plural accusative.

Originally, the partitive was used in locative expressions to indicate movement away from something. This locative meaning has been lost to a great extent; it can only be found in some adverbs (e.g. *koto-a* 'home-PTV; from home', see ex. 1). Instead, the partitive codes grammatical relations in the core of the clause. In other words, a case that used to mark NPs with adverbial function is now being used mainly to code NPs in the

<sup>3</sup> The same plural marker is used in 3rd person plural verb forms.

object role (ex. 2a), in the predicate nominal role (ex. 2b), as "subjects" of existential clauses (ex. 2c; see Helasvuo 1996), or even as subjects of intransitive clauses (ex. 2d). (Abbreviations used in the glosses are explained in the appendix. The partitive NPs under discussion are given in bold.)

- (1) Lähdi-n **koto-a**.  
 went-1SG home-PTV  
 'I went away from home.'
- (2a) me alettiin teke-en **lumi-luola-a** sii-hen kinokse-en.  
 we started make-INF snow-cave-PTV it-ILL snow-ILL  
 'We started to make a cave in the snow.'
- (2b) oli-ks ne **norjalais-i-a**.  
 were-Q they Norwegian-PL-PTV  
 'Were they Norwegian?'
- (2c) siel oli **tämmös-i-ä** **lautas-i-a** ja **tarjottim-i-i**.  
 there were this kind of-PL-PTV plate-PL-PTV and tray-PL-PTV  
 '(On the market), there were these kinds of plates and trays (for sale).'
- (2d) siin tapahtu siin isä-ssä **jo-ta-i** **pehmenemis-tä**  
 it+INE happened it+INE father-INE some-PTV-PRON softening-PTV  
 loppu-a kohti.  
 end-PTV toward

'There was perhaps some softening in the father towards the end (of the play).'

Many researchers have assumed that the expansion of the partitive to the syntactic roles in the clause core started off in the object and proceeded to predicate nominals and intransitive subjects (cf. e.g. Ikonen 1972). This order of expansion is supported by the relative frequencies of partitive NPs in respective syntactic roles in spoken data from modern Finnish: the partitive is most frequent in the object role and least frequent in the intransitive subject role. There are also severe restrictions with respect to the verbs that allow for partitive marking of intransitive subjects, and the partitive is unlikely as a possible case marker for transitive subjects (in my data, there were no

examples; for (constructed) examples, see Huumo and Perko 1993).

This paper will follow the development of the partitive from Proto-Uralic down to modern Finnish. I will discuss the development with respect to the case system as a whole in order to point to system-internal pressures for the changes in the use of the partitive. Also discussed are system-external pressures for changes, such as the discourse need to introduce new referents and track them. I will also show that the different functions the partitive serves in the modern data have a common denominator, namely, low transitivity. But first, I will describe my data.

## 2. Data

The data for this study come from 6 conversations between 2-6 speakers of Finnish. The conversations have been audiotaped, and I have chosen one excerpt from each conversation for closer analysis. The excerpts are 5-8 min long each, totalling approx. 40 min of audiotapes, which I have transcribed and coded. The examples presented in this paper come from this corpus, with the exception of examples 7 and 12b.

There were almost 1800 NPs in the data, and of these 266 were in the partitive. All NPs were coded for syntactic function, and also, for several features of information flow which were designed to capture relevant characteristics of the use of partitive NPs in managing information in discourse. Features to be coded included the following:

*\*activation cost:* A referent was coded as new, if the NP referred to a referent which was not mentioned in the discourse or which was not present at the moment of speaking.

*\*semantic class:* Referents were coded for humanness vs. non-humanness.

*\*tracking*: An NP was coded as tracking if the referent was mentioned more than one time during the discourse (Durie 1994 uses the term *trackable* for referents of this kind; see also Tao 1996).

With respect to the features chosen for coding, there were no observable differences between speakers in the use of the partitive.

The database represents the use of the partitive in one genre of spoken interaction, namely, informal everyday conversation. This choice of data reflects the underlying assumption that everyday conversation is the most natural habitat of language use where grammaticization patterns are most readily observable. I hope that this study opens up perspectives for the study of the use of the partitive in other genres.

### 3. From local to grammatical case

This section outlines the development of the partitive from a local case into a grammatical case. First, I will describe the Uralic case system, especially the marking of the object. I will then discuss different proposals concerning the development of the partitive. I will attempt to relate the proposed developments to the dynamics of the case system and clause structure.

#### 3.1. About the Uralic case system

It is generally assumed that even in the Uralic protolanguage there was a case marking system with six cases, namely the nominative (no ending), the genitive (*\*-n*), and the accusative (*\*-m*) and three local cases, namely the locative (*-nA*), the lative (*\*-n, -k*), and the separative (*-tA*; see e.g. Korhonen 1991). The local cases exhibited a tripartite system that was similar to the modern system (see table 1 above): the locative situated something in a location, the lative indicated movement towards something, and the separative indicated movement away from something. Of these three, the lative is no longer productive in

modern Finnish, whereas the locative has developed a more abstract locative meaning, and is now called the "essive" in Finnish linguistics (see table 1). As was mentioned above, the separative has almost lost its locative meaning; instead, it has been transformed into the partitive.

It has been assumed that originally there was a distinction between the nominative and the accusative in the object role based on definiteness: the accusative was used only for definite singular NPs and the nominative for all other object NPs (table 2; Setälä 1884, Itkonen 1972: 183).

Singular		Plural
<u>Definite</u>	<u>Indefinite</u>	<u>Def + Indef</u>
Accusative	Nominative	Nominative

Table 2. Object marking in the Uralic protolanguage (Itkonen 1972).

From a different viewpoint we could say that only definite singular objects had object marking, and all other objects were unmarked. The same principle also applies to the modern language with respect to the plural: there is no accusative form in the plural. In the singular, however, the object marking system has undergone several changes, mainly because the partitive has entered the system for object marking on a par with the nominative and the accusative.

Thus, in the Uralic protolanguage the partitive was purely a local case, whereas NPs in the core roles, i.e. subjects and objects, were in the nominative. The only exceptions were definite singular objects which were given accusative marking.

### 3.2. The expansion of the partitive

This section concerns the development of the partitive into a grammatical case. The partitive has many functions; inter alia, it can be used to express quantification and aspectual distinctions. Broadly speaking, the different functions fall into two catego-

ries, (i) those pertaining to the reference being made with the NP (e.g., by quantifying the referent), and (ii) those that influence the interpretation of the clause as a whole (e.g., aspect). I will show, however, that the different functions of the partitive have a common denominator, namely, low transitivity (Hopper - Thompson 1980). Low transitivity can be seen as an index of the role of the partitive as a case marker that shares features with both the core cases and the obliques. This will be discussed in section 4 on the basis of an analysis of modern conversational Finnish.

### 3.2.1. Partitive and the referent of the NP

This section focuses on those functions of the partitive pertaining to the reference of the partitive NP. In the Uralic proto-language, object marking was based on the interpretation of the object NP as definite (accusative marking) or indefinite (nominative). Features of the referent of the object NP were also relevant when the partitive started to develop into an object marking case: its use was dependent on whether the referent of the object was interpreted as being partially affected. Later on, the partitive started to express open quantification.

Itkonen (1972) has suggested that the expansion of the partitive started in the Volga-Finnic period in connection with certain verbs. The partitive started to be used as an argument of some verbs that meant some kind of separation, taking away a part of something or willingness to take away. Included were verbs such as 'to take', 'to eat', and more abstract ones, such as 'to be afraid of sthing', 'to be ashamed of sthing'. Itkonen's claim is supported by data from the Volgan languages Mordvin and Mari, where the equivalents of these verbs take a separative (partitive) argument. Itkonen, like many others, assumes that the partitive was used in these cases to indicate partial affectedness of the object. Itkonen leaves open the question of possible motivations for the reinterpretation of the separative argument. We could assume that when taking something from a location

we infer that the location continues to exist, and likewise, when we take something from a substance it is inferred that the substance is not emptied. This kind of inferencing could have facilitated the interpretation of the partitive as referring to a partially affected referent. But why was the partitive argument reanalyzed as an object?

Leino (1996) approaches the development of the partitive by looking at the meaning potential of the elative in present-day written data. His hypothesis is that the on-going grammaticization processes that can be seen in the elative at present are parallel to those concerning the partitive that took place starting in the Volga-Finnic period. Reminiscent of the development of the partitive, the elative is a local case that has lost its locative meaning in some contexts and is more constrained by grammatical factors in its use. For example, some verbs require an elative argument in their rection (verbal government; e.g. *pitää suklaa-sta* 'like chocolate-ELA'). From a cognitive linguistic perspective, Leino proposes that in constructions where the object (landmark) is not specified the source takes up characteristics of the object. Leino gives the following as an example:

- (3) Aio-t-ko                    kaiva-a    siitä?  
       be going to-2SG-Q dig-INF it+ELA  
       'Are you going to dig from there?'

In (3), the object of digging is not specified. Instead, the source expression *siitä* 'from there' becomes more salient. According to Leino, this opens up the possibility of semantic restructuring, where the source takes up characteristics typical of objects. Leino proposes that a parallel development has taken place in the case of the partitive. (Leino 1996.) Syntactically, this would mean that in the absence of an object, the locative NP (the partitive/separative or the elative) lends itself for reanalysis as an object.

It is important to note that Leino's proposal applies to all verbs irrespective of verb type, whereas Itkonen assumes that the development started off in connection with certain verbs that

indicate separation. However, the two approaches do not exclude each other: the verbs mentioned by Itkonen allow for Leino's suggestion that restructuration has taken place: omission of object makes the source expression become more object-like, thus instigating the restructuration process.

Both Itkonen and Leino look at the grammaticization of the partitive from the viewpoint of the restructuration of verbal argument structure. However, it was not only that the argument structure contained potential for change, but also that the dynamics of the case system itself called for considerable reorganization of the system. The case system was in a state of a flux during the Volga-Finnic period: The system was extended to include two new local cases, the inessive and the elative (see e.g. Hakulinen 1979: 103). The elative took over the more concrete sense of the partitive (separative). Phonologically the elative suffix consisted of the old partitive ending *-ta* or *-tä* and a lative *-s*, yielding *-sta* or *-stä*, thus enforcing a locative interpretation for the partitive. This may have strengthened a more abstract interpretation of the old partitive.

Interestingly enough, in the course of the grammaticization process, as the partitive became more abstract - and more grammatical - the ending eroded phonologically. Namely, in late Proto-Finnic, i.e. after the partitive had entered the object marking system, it started to take part in the suffixal gradation system. In certain contexts, the *-t-* of the original *-tA*-ending was lenited and became a dental spirant *-δ*. Later on, the spirant was weakened and lost. Through this change, the partitive became less like other local cases and more like the grammatical cases: in principle, the local case endings add an extra syllable to the word, whereas the endings for the grammatical cases do not (see table 1 above).<sup>4</sup> In an interesting way, the partitive morphologically presents an intermediate case between the grammatical and the oblique cases: in the partitive, the case ending

<sup>4</sup> There are exceptions here: although historically the illative case ending has always added an extra syllable to the word stem, this need not be so in modern Finnish (cf. e.g. *ta-lo-hon* > *ta-loon* 'to the house').

sometimes does add a syllable (e.g. *talo-a* 'house-PTV'), but sometimes it does not (e.g. *kala-a* 'fish-PTV').

Itkonen assumes that in the early stages of its grammaticalization process, the partitive was used in connection with certain verbs to express partial affectness of the object. Larjavaara (1991) takes this to have provided a basis for the development of a semantic opposition of part (expressed by the partitive) vs. whole (nominative & accusative).<sup>5</sup> Consider table 3:

Singular		Plural	
Part	Whole	Part	Whole
Partitive	Acc/Nom	Partitive	Nominative

Table 3. Object marking in Proto-Finnic (cf. Larjavaara 1991).

Larjavaara does not discuss the possible consequences of this change for the old opposition between the nominative and the accusative based on definiteness (accusative for definite singular referents and nominative for all others). It seems to me that the two oppositions are close enough to create confusion in the system, although it may have been possible to maintain a separate marking - the accusative - for definite singular NPs side by side with a new marking - the partitive - for NPs referring to partially affected referents. However, more pressure for changes in the division of labor between the nominative and the accusative was soon to be created as the quantificational distinctions expressed by the partitive developed further.

The use of partitive NPs to indicate partial affectedness of the object was gradually extended to include more verbs. Furthermore, there was a gradual shift from partial quantification to open quantification. Examples 4a and 4b illustrate this.

<sup>5</sup> Larjavaara (1991) discusses the partitive as opposed to the "accusative". He includes under the heading "accusative" both morphological accusative (ending *-n*, former *-m*) and nominative (no ending; Larjavaara 1991: 403-404). This is in line with the received view on object marking in Finnish linguistics (cf. e.g. Hakulinen - Karlsson 1979, Leino 1991).

- (4a) *koita to-ta räkä-ä.*  
 try+IMP+2SG that-PTV snot-PTV  
 'Try (some of) that shrimp (cheese).' (lit. *that snot*; cf. Swedish *räka* 'shrimp')
- (4b) *sä oo-t teh-ny kaikk-i-i taide-hankinto-i.*  
 you be-2SG make-PCP all-PL-PTV art-purchase-PL+PTV  
 'You have made all (kinds of) art investments.'

In example 4a the object NP *tota räkää* 'that shrimp (cheese)-PTV' allows for a partial interpretation, which is claimed to have been the only interpretation at some point in the development of the partitive. In contrast, the object NP in 4b *kaikkii taidehankintoi* 'all (kinds of) art investments-PTV' can only be interpreted as a case of open quantification: the number of investments (or purchases) is left open. Larjavaara (1991: 401-402) assumes that the shift from partial to open quantification started in connection with NPs referring to some substance (cf. ex. 3a above) in the following fashion:

away from a substance > part of a substance > open quantity of a substance

Only later on did the use of the partitive spread to NPs referring to entities (cf. ex. 4b).<sup>6</sup>

As the use of the partitive expanded, the semantic opposition between the nominative and the accusative based on definiteness was shaken. The object marking system underwent a restructuring process. In Proto-Finnic, there were interesting phonological changes which are very likely to have had an impact on the restructuring process. Namely, word-final *-m* became *-n*. This change made the former accusative ending *-m* coalesce with the genitive ending *-n*. After this change, there have been no formal grounds to distinguish the accusative from

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<sup>6</sup> Leino (1996) does not discuss the interpretation of the partitive as conveying partial affectedness of the referent of the NP. However, it seems that he does not assume that partial affectedness was ever part of the meaning potential of the partitive. Instead, his proposal applies to verbs irrespective of whether they imply partial affectedness of their arguments or not.

the genitive; only syntactic distribution keeps them apart (in principle, the accusative is a marker of verbal arguments, whereas the genitive marks adnominal modifiers).<sup>7</sup> In the end, the distinction between the nominative and the accusative was no longer semantic but rather, it was based on morphosyntactic criteria, such as the existence of an overt NP subject. In modern Finnish, the nominative and the accusative are, for the most part, in complementary distribution and regulated by morpho-syntactic criteria (see table 4; for further discussion, see Helasvuo forthcoming b.) This is illustrated in table 4. (In the table,  $\emptyset$  indicates zero ending, and the grey areas indicate that the given case marking is not available as a choice in the context, e.g., nominative case is not available for object marking if there is an NP subject in the clause.)

	Singular			Plural		
	Part	Acc	Nom	Part	Acc	Nom
Personal pronouns	-A	-t		-tä	-t	
Other pronouns and nouns						
-in clauses with an NP subj	-(t)A	-n		-(t)A		$\emptyset$
-in clauses without an NP subj	-(t)A		$\emptyset$	-(t)A		$\emptyset$

Table 4. Object marking in Finnish (a rough outline).

Note, however, that personal pronouns behave differently in this respect: they have adopted a special accusative marker *-t* (this is a recent development which is not followed in all dialects of Finnish, see Laitinen 1992).

To summarize, the partitive started to develop into a grammatical case from the old separative during the Volga-Finnic period. It has been assumed that it was first used only in connection with certain verbs which had a general meaning of

<sup>7</sup> In recent years, several scholars have suggested that there are no grounds for distinguishing the accusative from the genitive in the modern language, but instead, both should be called the genitive (see e.g. Shore 1992, Nemvalts 1994). According to this view, only personal pronouns inflect in the accusative.

'taking away a part of something' either in a concrete sense (e.g. the verb 'to eat') or in a more abstract sense (e.g. 'to be afraid'). Except for these few verbs that allowed for the partitive, objects were marked either with the nominative or the accusative. Gradually, the partitive started to spread to other contexts too. By early Proto-Finnic, an opposition of part vs. whole was developed where the partitive carried the partial interpretation, and the nominative and the accusative expressed a whole. This opposition provided a basis for the later development of the partitive as a marker of open quantification. With this development, the distinction between the nominative and the accusative was no longer based on definiteness, but rather, syntactic features of the whole clause. The object marking system as a whole became more oriented towards features of the clause.

### 3.2.2. Partitive and the clause

In this section, I will discuss how the partitive came to express aspectual distinctions. Also discussed is the use of the partitive in clauses with negative polarity.

Larjavaara (1991) proposes that aspectual distinctions in connection with the partitive started to develop in past tense clauses which expressed partial quantification. According to him, in such clauses the action was terminated, but it still did not cover the domain of the object referent and thus was not carried to an end with respect to the object. As a next step in the development of aspect, the use of the partitive was extended to progressive clauses, and gradually, the partitive was grammaticized as a marker of imperfective aspect. Ex. 5 shows how the accusative vs. partitive distinction works to express perfective and imperfective aspect.

- (5) *hän ..sirpi-n pist-i to-ta naru-n pää-hän,*  
 he sickle-ACC put-PST+3SG that-PTV rope-GEN end-ILL

*ja hän vet-i pitkin pohja-a si-tä sitte perä-ssä.*<sup>8</sup>  
 and he pull-PST+3SG along bottom-PTV it-PTV then behind-INE

'He put a sickle in the end of a rope and then pulled it along the bottom (of the sea) behind (himself) (in order to cut weeds).'

In ex. 5 line 1, the clause expresses punctual action which is terminated and therefore, the object *sirpin* 'sickle-ACC' is in the accusative. In contrast, the clause in line 2 expresses progressive activity which is extended through time, and accordingly, the object *sitä* 'it-PTV' stands in the partitive. The end point of the action is not in focus; the activity is. Note also that the referent of the object *sitä* 'it-PTV' in line 2 is not highly individuated, since it can refer either to the sickle or to the whole construction with both the sickle and the rope.

Heinämäki (1983, 1994) discusses aspect in Finnish in terms of object marking. She focuses on the accusative; according to her, accusative marking can be used to set a bound to the activity or state described by the verb, thus making it telic. In ex. 5, the accusative marking of the NP *sirpin* 'sickle-ACC' (line 1) sets a bound, whereas no such bound is set in the clause in line 2.

With some verbs which are inherently imperfective, and thus, low in transitivity (e.g. *tarkoittaa* 'to mean', *ajatella* 'to think', *odottaa* 'to wait'), there is no alternation in the object case marking, but the partitive has become obligatory (ex. 6).

- (6) *kyl mä Narjus-ta-ki vähä ihmettele-n*  
 yes I N.-PTV-CLITIC a little wonder-1SG  
 'Sure I am somewhat amazed at Narjus.'

In ex. 6, the verb *ihmetellä* 'to wonder' can only take a partitive object. Although these verbs are inherently imperfective (often

<sup>8</sup> *Tota* 'that-PTV' is a partitive form of the demonstrative 'that'. In example 5 line 1, however, *tota* is being used as a particle: it appears in a crystallized form (the partitive) irrespective of the syntax of the rest of the clause.

called "irresultative" in Finnish linguistics), the imperfectivity can be cancelled with an adverbial phrase that sets a bound to the activity (Heinämäki 1983). Consider the following example (from Heinämäki 1983):

- (7) *Lapsi odotti itsensä kipeäksi*  
 child waited herself-ACC ill-TRA  
 'The child was so full of expectation that she made herself ill.'

In ex. 7, the adverbial *kipeäksi* 'ill-TRA' sets a bound to the activity of waiting, and thus, makes the accusative marking of the object possible. Without the bounding adverbial, the accusative would not be acceptable.<sup>9</sup>

Clauses with imperfective aspect focus on the process of the action instead of the completion. In negative clauses the focus is even further away from the completion of the process, as either the process itself or the existence of its participants are negated. Given this link to imperfectivity, it is not surprising that the partitive has become grammaticized as an object marker in negative clauses (see ex. 8).

- (8) *e-n mä oo huomannu ero-o.*  
 NEG-1SG I be+INF notice-PCP difference-PTV  
 'I haven't noticed any difference.'

The object NP *eroo* 'difference-PTV' is in the partitive because it is under the scope of the negation verb *en*.

Of the three object cases, the partitive is the one that invites most inferences on the speaker's stance towards what is being said. It can be used if the speaker is dubious about the existence of the object referent (ex. 9; 9 is the line preceding ex. 8). It

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<sup>9</sup>The interplay of the object marking and other bounding adverbials has inspired many researchers (see especially Heinämäki 1983, Leino 1991). However, these speculations have little to do with the grammaticization phenomena discussed here, since it is rare to find cases in actual data where an independent adverbial phrase "cancels" the interpretation of the activity expressed by the object and the verb.

can also be used in requests in order to be polite (ex. 10). (See Yli-Vakkuri 1986.)

- (9) *oo-t sä muute huomannu siin mi-tä-än*  
 be-2SG you by the way notice-PCP there some-PTV-PRON

*ero-o.*  
 difference-PTV

'By the way, have you noticed any difference there?'

- (10) *anna-t sä si-tä salaatti-kulho-a.*  
 give-2SG you it-PTV salad-bowl-PTV  
 'Could you pass the saladbowl?'

To summarize, the partitive is grammaticizing as a marker of imperfective aspect. With some verbs of inherent low transitivity ("irresultative verbs" in Finnish linguistics), the partitive has become the only possible object marking. The partitive has also been grammaticized to mark object NPs which are under the scope of negation. There is a common denominator in all of these grammaticization processes, namely, low transitivity. The ways in which the partitive is associated with low transitivity is the topic of the next section.

### 3.2.3. Partitive and transitivity

Transitivity has traditionally been considered a feature of the verb: a verb is transitive if it takes two arguments, an agent (subject) and a patient (object). According to this view, clauses with partitive objects are no different from clauses with nominative or accusative objects in terms of transitivity. In Finnish linguistics, there is a rich literature on some problematic verbs that sometimes take an object and sometimes do not ("transitive-intransitive" verbs, Penttilä 1963: 539-540; see also discussion in Leino 1991: 21-36). However, there is an alternative view which sees transitivity more as a feature of the whole clause than a characteristic of an individual verb (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980). In this section, I will discuss the different

functions of the partitive in terms of the scalar notion of transitivity as proposed by Hopper and Thompson. I will show that clauses with partitive objects lack most of the features associated with high transitivity and instead, exhibit low transitivity.

In their paper on transitivity in grammar and discourse (1980), Hopper and Thompson propose that transitivity could be best characterized in terms of different components which concern the participants and the aspect of the clause, and volitionality and punctuality of action. Instead of a binary notion of transitivity, they propose a scale of transitivity in which the highest ranking is given to clauses with two participants in which the action is telic, punctual and volitional, the clause is affirmative and the transitive agent (A) is high in potency and the object is totally affected and highly individuated.

Hopper and Thompson (1980) identify affectedness and individuation of object as indicators of the degree of transitivity expressed by a clause. With their capacity to express open quantification, partitive NPs exhibit low transitivity. Partitive NPs are often mass nouns or they refer to inanimates, and thus, they are less individuated than are objects in the accusative or nominative case (see ex. 4 above and discussion in section 4 below). Partitive objects may join the verb to form a predicate phrase where the object is still a separate NP but it is not referential but predicating (ex. 11a and b). We can refer to it as a predicating NP.

(11a) *kerro terveis-i-i.*  
 tell+IMP+2SG greeting-PL-PTV  
 'Say hello (to your husband).'

(11b) *si-lle piä-ä anta-a virikke-i-tä.*  
 it-ALL must-3SG give-INF stimulus-PL-PTV  
 'One must give stimuli to it (the cat).'

In 11a and b, the objects *terveisii* 'greetings-PTV' and *virikkeitä* 'stimuli-PTV' are serving predicating rather than referring functions. Clauses containing predicating NPs tend to exhibit

low transitivity, since predicating NPs are less individuated than referential ones.

As discussed above, the partitive has come to be used as a marker of imperfective aspect, which is also a feature associated with low transitivity. Moreover, it has been grammaticized as a marker of object or intransitive subject under the scope of negation (see ex. 8 above). Hopper and Thompson (1980) identify affirmative clauses with high transitivity, whereas negative clauses exhibit low transitivity.

To sum up, the partitive has come to be used in clauses expressing imperfective aspect or negation. Often enough the referent of the partitive NP is only partially affected and not highly individuated. Thus, the partitive has become strongly associated with low transitivity as it has been grammaticized into a case marker of the core roles.

#### **4. What are partitive NPs used for in modern conversational Finnish?**

In an interesting way, the partitive carries a record of its history in the diverse functions it can serve in discourse. Some partitive NPs still function as adverbials, while the majority serve in the core roles (mainly as objects). In this section, I will discuss the following questions: (i) what kind of work partitive NPs do in discourse, (ii) what kind of referents they bring into discourse, and (iii) how the referents are treated thereafter. I will show that in its discourse profile, the partitive still shares some features that are more typical of the local cases than of the core cases.

Partitive NPs serve in a variety of syntactic functions in modern conversational data. Almost half of them function as objects, whereas others serve as predicate nominals, free NPs, or even as intransitive subjects (see examples in 2 above). Some function as the core NP in presentational constructions (the so-called "existential subject" in Finnish linguistics, see ex. 2c

above).<sup>10</sup> Some partitive NPs still serve adverbial functions indicating source location (see ex. 1 above). This is, of course, the oldest layer in the use of the partitive. There are also some adverbials of time and measurement which have a partitive vs. accusative alternation which is sensitive to similar distinctions as the object case marking (negative vs. affirmative, open vs. bounded). Consider the following examples (12b is a fabricated example).

(12a) *siin vaan koko aja-n seiso-tt-i-in ja*  
 there only all time-ACC stand-PSS-PST-PERS and

*puhu-tt-i-in.*  
 talk-PSS-PST-PERS

'There [in a play] they were just standing and talking all the time.'

(12b) *ei siin koko aika-a seiso-ttu ja*  
 NEG+3SG there all time-PTV stand-PSS+PCP and

*puhu-ttu.*  
 talk-PSS+PCP

'They weren't just standing and talking all the time there.'<sup>11</sup>

The time adverbial *koko ajan* 'all the time-ACC' in 12a is in the accusative because the clause is affirmative, but in 12b, which is a constructed variant of 12a, the time adverbial has to be in the partitive since it is negated. This usage has counterparts in other languages: inter alia in Obolo (Benue-Congo), oblique NPs are distinguished from core NPs with the use of prepositions, but

<sup>10</sup> Of the 266 partitive NPs in my data, 47.4 % were objects, 13.9 % presentational NPs (so-called "existential subjects"), 8.3 % predicate nominals, 8.3 % free NPs, 4.5 % intransitive subjects, 4.1 % adverbials.

<sup>11</sup> The Finnish passive is different from the Indo-European passives: it implies a personal agent which is left unspecified (for discussion, see Shore 1988). In the present and past tense, which are simple (not periphrastic) passive forms, there is a suffix (glossed as PERS in 12a) besides the passive marker which appears in the same morphotactic slot as the personal endings in the active forms (cf. ex. 10 *anna-t* 'give-2SG'). It has been called "the 4th person" (Tuomikoski 1971).

certain time and measurement adverbials may appear without a preposition - as if they were core NPs - to indicate more complete coverage or more thorough effect of the process described by the verb (Helasvuo 1992). Note also that in the English translations of examples 12a and b, the time adverbial *all the time* is not marked with a preposition although oblique NPs usually are marked in English.

Among the core roles subject and object, the object role is clearly the slot for non-human referents, whereas the subject role typically accommodates human referents. This can clearly be seen in my Finnish data, where almost all transitive subjects are human (over 90 %), while less than half of intransitive subjects and only 6 % of objects are human (see Helasvuo forthcoming b for details). Moreover, there is evidence from other languages that the low percentage of human referents might be characteristic of the object role even in more general terms (see Du Bois 1987 for Sacapultec, Herring 1989 for Tamil, Ashby and Bentivoglio 1993 for French and Spanish, Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1994 for Japanese, Kärkkäinen 1996 for English).

Given the fact that almost half of the partitive NPs function as objects in Finnish, we could hypothesize that the tendency for preferring non-human referents shows up in the discourse profile for partitive NPs. This indeed is the case, as can be seen in table 5.

Case of NP and sem. class	Human		Total N
	N	%	
Nom	421	42,7	987
Acc	3	4,3	69
Ptv	13	4,9	266
Genitive	15	31,2	48
Locative	94	22,1	426
Total	125	15,5	809

Table 5. The distribution of human referents across cases.

In table 5, I have combined all NPs irrespective of their syntactic function. We can see that both partitive and accusative NPs have very few human referents, whereas over 40 % of nominative NPs are human.

If we look at how new mentions are distributed across cases, we can see that the nominative stands out as the case with the fewest new mentions (around 26 % of nominative NPs refer to new referents), whereas all the other cases contain more than 40 % new mentions. The results are given as table 6 (see Helasvuo forthcoming a).

Case of NP and distr. of new	New		Total
	N	%	N
Nom	258	26,1	987
Acc	33	47,8	69
Ptv	130	48,9	266
Genitive	22	45,8	48
Locative	186	43,7	426
Total	629	35,0	1796

Table 6. The distribution of new mentions across cases.

In Helasvuo (forthcoming a) I show that one of the main differences between the core and oblique cases in Finnish lies in the way in which they are used to keep track of referents that have been brought into the discourse (Durie 1994 reports on similar findings based on Acehnese conversational data). I claim that the core cases are the ones used for introducing participants that will be tracked in the discourse, whereas only a few of the referents that are introduced using a locative NP are ever mentioned again. Fewer than 10 % of the referents that had been introduced with a locative NP were mentioned again. In other words, participants that were somehow central to the discourse were introduced in the core cases. I would like to further specify this claim here. Table 7 shows the case of the initial mention and the number of further mentions of the referents.

Case of new mention	Further mentioned		Total of new
	N	%	N
Nom	112	43,4	258
Acc	10	30,3	33
Ptv	19	14,6	130
Locative	18	9,7	186
Total	159	26,2	607

Table 7. The distribution of further mentions across cases with which the initial mention was made.

In table 7 we can see that if a referent is introduced using a nominative NP, it is quite likely to be mentioned again (43 %), whereas those referents that are introduced using the accusative case are less likely to be mentioned again (30 %). The local cases rank lowest here: fewer than 10 % of referents first mentioned in a local case were mentioned again. Interestingly enough, the partitive is very close to the local cases here as fewer than 15 % of the referents introduced with a partitive NP were tracked.

It is important to note that this applies not only to partitive NPs functioning as objects but also to the so-called existential "subjects". Although the Finnish existential constructions (constructions with a locative NP + *olla* 'to be' + NP<sub>nom/plv</sub>) are used for introducing new referents, the referents are usually not mentioned again (for more discussion see Helasvuo 1996).

Example 13 serves to illustrate these findings. The excerpt comes from a telephone conversation between mother and daughter. The mother explains what she has been doing during the day:

(13)

- 1 *sit mäi käv-i-n pankki-asio-i-ta-ni*  
 then I go-PST-1SG bank-matter-PL-PTV-1SGPX
- 2 *hoita-ma-s ja,*  
 take care-INF-INE and

- 3 *käv-i-n posti-s ja,*  
go-PST-1SG post office-INE and
- 4 ... (1.2) *ja tota, ... (2.0) ö kampaaja-l,*  
and er hairdresser-ADE
- 5 *mu-n tukka leikat-t-i-i ja,*  
I-GEN hair cut-PSS-PST-PERS and
- 6 ... (1.7) *ja tota, mi-tä-s mä sit muu-t te-i-n.*  
and er what-PTV-CLITIC I then else-PTV do-PST-1SG
- 7 ... (1.5) *ha-i-n ö, yhm, .. pölynimuri-in se-n,*  
look for-PST-1SG vacuumcleaner-ILL it-ACC
- 8 .. (0.3) *poisto-ilman-suodatin-t ja,*  
exhaust-air-filter-PTV and
- 9 ... (1.3) *pöly-pusse-i ja,*  
dust-bag-PL+PTV and

'Then I went to take care of some banking matters, I went to the post office and er... to the hairdresser's, my hair was cut and, and er, what else did I do. I fetched / looked for an air filter for the vacuum cleaner and, dust bags and ...'

Throughout the whole passage, the topic is what the speaker had been doing during the day. The emphasis is on the activities described, not the results. The speaker uses transitive verbs (line 2 *hoitaa* 'take care of', line 5 *leikata* 'cut', line 6 *tehdä* 'do', line 7 *hakea* 'fetch/look for') with objects that are mainly in the partitive (line 1 *pankkiasioitani* 'my banking matters-PTV', line 6 *mitäs muuta* 'what else-PTV', line 8 *poistoilmansuodatinta* 'air filter-PTV', line 9 *pölypussei* 'dust bags-PTV'). Note that these objects are referring to entities that are not specific. On lines 1-2, the construction *käydä hoitamassa pankkiasioita* 'go to take care of banking matters-PTV' is used to refer to activities that are normally done in a bank without naming anything specifically. Similarly, *käydä postissa* 'go to the post office' (line 3) and (*käydä kampaajalla* 'go to the hairdresser's' (line 4) refer to activities that normally take place at a post office or at the hairdresser's. In the example, the only nominative object is on

line 5 *mun tukka* 'my hair' which refers to a body part of the speaker. The hesitation on line 7-8 is interesting from the point of view of the distinction between the partitive and the accusative: the speaker uses the verb *hakea* which can be understood either as referring to an action with an endpoint (which could be translated with 'fetch') or as referring to an ongoing activity ('look for'). The accusative form of the pronoun 'it' *sen* (line 7) picks out the perfective reading of the verb. This is, however, changed on line 8 when the speaker continues with a partitive NP *poistoilmansuodatinta* 'air filter-PTV'. The partitive object forces an imperfective interpretation where the activity is being in focus and not the result. Note that none of the partitive objects become tracked, and, interestingly enough, the same is true of the locative adverbials too (line 3 *postis* 'in a/the post office', line 4 *kampaajal* 'at the hairdresser's', line 7 *pölynmuriin* 'for the vacuum cleaner').

The question that I would like to address here is: what does this tell about the discourse use of the partitive? The partitive accommodates mainly non-human referents. It is quite often used for introducing new referents, but these referents do not get tracked and therefore, they are not central to the discourse. We could claim that human referents in general are more central to our communication, and thus exhibit higher continuity in discourse (cf. articles in Givón 1983). But this claim does not explain an interesting difference between the accusative and the partitive: both accusative and partitive have very low percentages for mentions of human referents (cf. table 5). Nevertheless, referents that have been introduced with an accusative NP are much more likely to be mentioned again than the ones that are first mentioned with a partitive NP (cf. table 7). A possible explanation for this is transitivity: as shown in section 3.2.3., the partitive has become strongly associated with low transitivity. Partitive NPs refer to referents that are less individuated and less affected than are referents of accusative NPs. In clauses containing partitive objects, the referents of the objects are not in focus but the processes are. It is only natural,

then, that partitive NPs are not very likely to be tracked. In this respect, the partitive still shows characteristics that are more typical of oblique cases than the core cases.

## 5. Conclusions

The development of grammatical cases from oblique ones has been attested in many languages. Inter alia, the development of the Finnish partitive case has a counterpart in French where the preposition *de* developed from a locative item into a marker of partial object. In the course of the grammaticization process of the partitive, there has been erosion in the phonological substance of the partitive ending. This phonological erosion was compensated by pragmatic strengthening.

The old Finno-Ugric object marking system with different markings for definite and indefinite objects was based on the semantics of the referent of the object NP. When the partitive entered into the system, there was a gradual shift in focus towards clausal features such as aspect and negative polarity, and, ultimately, to the expression of the speaker's subjective point of view (e.g. expression of the speaker's commitment or politeness).

In the course of the grammaticization process, the partitive became strongly associated with low transitivity. Accordingly, the referents of the partitive NPs are not highly individuated and only partially affected. In clauses with negative polarity or with verbs of inherent low transitivity, the partitive has become obligatory.

In sum, referents of partitive NPs are usually not in focus, but rather, it is the process expressed by the clause that is central to the discourse. I have shown that referents that are introduced with a partitive NP are not very likely to be mentioned again. This is a feature that the partitive still has in common with the oblique cases, whereas it does show alignment with the other core cases in some other features (for example, it is sensitive to the scope of negation). Thus, the partitive carries

a record of its history in the ways it is used in modern discourse.

## Appendix: Form Glosses

### Nominal markings

PTV partitive; ACC accusative; GEN genitive; TRA translative; INE inessive; ILL illative; ADE adessive; ALL allative; PRON latter part of a discontinuous pronominal form (e.g. in *mi-tä-än* the *än* is glossed as PRON)

### Verbal markings

PST past tense; 1SG 1st person singular marking; 3PL 3rd person plural marking; NEG negation verb; INF infinitival form; IMP imperative; PSS passive; PERS personal ending in the passive; PCP participle

### Others

PL plural; PX possessive suffix; Q question clitic; - (minus sign) shows morpheme boundary; + (plus sign) distinguishes glosses of fused morphemes

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## On the semantic function of domain instrumentals

### 1. Introduction

This paper discusses nonprototypical uses of Finnish instrumental<sup>1</sup> adverbials from the point of view of the *causal order hypothesis* proposed by Croft (1991). The basic assumption of the hypothesis is that elements with different semantic roles and syntactic functions can be arranged linearly in a "causation chain", based on the causal relations prevailing between them. In the causation chain, element A precedes element B if A transmits a force to B. For instance syntactic subjects (who indicate agents) prototypically precede objects (who indicate patients) in the causation chain. However, it should be kept in mind that the causal order of participants is not always reflected in actual word order.

In the causal order hypothesis, an *instrument* is "an entity that is intermediate in the causal chain between the subject (initiator) and the direct object (final affected entity)" (Croft 1991:178). In its prototypical function, an instrument thus transmits a force from the agent to the patient. Instrumentals that I regard as nonprototypical, or "domain instrumentals" (for the term, see Verhagen 1986: 150), deviate from prototypical ones in indicating instruments that are not used by any

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<sup>1</sup> A terminological distinction is assumed between *instrument* (an extralinguistic entity) and *instrumental* (a linguistic expression referring to an instrument). What I have in mind when talking about prototypical vs. nonprototypical uses of instrumentals is that different semantic and syntactic contexts superimpose different readings to instrumental adverbials.

participant of the predicated relation. There are at least two different types of domain instrumentals. The first type consists of instruments that are used by an external, outside agent, whose existence they implicate (e.g. in a sentence with an inanimate, non-agentive subject like *The rope cut with a knife* where the instrumental implicates an agent who uses the knife). The second type consists of examples where the instrument is not used at all and the instrumental rather sets up a frame or mental space of its hypothetical use (in the sense of Fauconnier 1985). In the following discussion, these two subgroups of domain instrumentals are referred to as *cause instrumentals* and *conditional instrumentals*, respectively.

An indication of the special syntactic status of domain instrumentals is that they can sometimes remain outside the scope of negation - a feature that distinguishes them from prototypical instrumentals (see section 2.2.1). Another peculiarity of domain instrumentals is that unlike prototypical instrumentals they allow the occurrence of other instrumentals in the sentence (see section 3). In my view, this justifies their classification as clause-modifying adverbials rather than verb modifiers (like prototypical instrumentals are). In Croft's (1991) terminology, domain instrumentals correspond best to the semantic role *cause*, which is "an event (action or state) that causally immediately precedes the event sequence denoted by the main verb". The syntactic status of domain instrumentals as setting adverbials can thus be seen as a reflection of their semantic function as domain markers.

## 2. Instrumentals in a causation chain

In this section I propose a classification of Finnish instrumentals based on their status in the causation chain. I show how the relation between the instrumental and the verb may vary and how instrumentals may gain properties of a setting adverbial. Different uses of instrumentals are divided into three main groups: 1) prototypical instrumentals, 2) cause instrumentals, and 3) conditional instrumentals. It is argued that in the causation chain, cause and conditional instrumentals (as opposed to prototypical ones) precede all other elements of the clause nucleus.

### 2.1. Prototypical instrumentals

The function of prototypical instrumentals corresponds to the paradigmatic case of causation, which is "an object A colliding with an object B and making it move in a way it would not otherwise have moved" (E. Itkonen 1983:19). In the causation chain (Croft 1991: Ch. 5), the instrumental is situated between the agent and the patient; it indicates an instrument that is used volitionally by the agent in performing the action described by the verb. The instrument is an "object which plays a role in bringing a process about, but which is not the motivating force, the cause, or the instigator" (Chafe 1970:152). Examples of Finnish prototypical instrumentals (where the instrumental is in the adessive case) are given in (1) and (2):

- (1) Äiti söi puuroa lusikalla.  
 Mother eat+PST+3SG porridge+PAR spoon+ADE  
 'Mother was eating porridge with a spoon'.
- (2) Elmeri löi kiveä vasaralla.  
 name hit+PST+3SG stone+PAR hammer+ADE  
 'Elmeri hit the stone with a hammer'.

However, even among instrumentals classified here as prototypical there are several types that do not perfectly

correspond to the strictest definition but which are nevertheless clearly instrumental in nature. One such type are the instrumentals which introduce vehicles, i.e. entities in physical motion, containing other entities within them. Vehicles often have a double function as instruments and containers, and sometimes the sentences are ambiguous between the locative and instrumental readings. Ambiguities may also arise between volitional and non-volitional readings, and hence the subjects can have either the role 'agent' or 'theme'. The subjects of the examples discussed here are animate nouns, thus leaving room for a volitional interpretation (see examples 3 and 4; for a discussion on inanimate subjects, see 2.2.1.):

(3) Poika meni veneellä saareen.  
 boy go+PST+3SG boat+ADE island+ILL  
 'The boy went by boat to the island'.

(4) Isä saapui bussilla.  
 father arrive+PST+3SG bus+ADE  
 'Father arrived by bus'.

The verbs of (3) and (4) do not directly indicate a transmission of force between entities; they merely report the occurrence of motion. The boy and the father can thus be interpreted either as controlling the action of 'going' and 'arriving' (i.e. they are causing the motion of the vehicles themselves) or not (they are merely sitting in the vehicles, and someone or something else is causing their motion).

In examples like (3) and (4), the interpretation of the adessive-case elements as either instrumentals or locatives does not change the understood spatial relation between them and the subject (i.e. with both readings, the boy is sitting in the boat and the father in the bus). However, true ambiguities may arise if the instrumental and locative readings preclude one another. In these cases, word order may affect the interpretation: in (5) and (6), the noun *saha* is ambiguous between the meanings 'saw' and 'sawmill', and, consequently, the adessive-case adverbial *sahalla* can mean either 'with the saw' (instrument) or 'at the sawmill'

(location) (see also Huumo 1995a, 1995b). In the clause-final position the adverbial most naturally receives the instrumental reading (5), but in the clause-initial position the locative reading is the primary one (6).

- (5) Eero löi Kallea  
 name hit+PST+3SG name+PAR  
 sahalla.  
 saw+ADE / sawmill+ADE  
 'Eero hit Kalle with the saw [OR: at the sawmill]'.  
 (6) Sahalla Eero löi Kallea  
 Saw+ADE / sawmill+ADE name hit+PST+3SG name+PAR  
 'At the sawmill [OR: with the saw], Eero hit Kalle'.

Another type of less prototypical instrumentals is the one where the instrument is not volitionally used by the referent of the subject to cause the process denoted by the verb, but where the referent of the subject is itself affected in some way, as in (7)-(9):

- (7) Pekka joutui autollaan kolariin.  
 name end-up+PST car+ADE+3PX accident+ILL  
 'Pekka got into an accident with [in] his car'.  
 (8) Isä sai rahalla nojatuolin.  
 Father get+PST+3SG money+ADE armchair+ACC  
 'Father got an armchair for [the] money'.  
 (9) Olen pysynyt elossa lääkehoidolla.  
 Be+1SG stay+PRTC alive medical-treatment+ADE  
 'I have stayed alive with [the] medical treatment'.

In (7) Pekka is using the instrument (i.e. driving the car), but he is not volitionally using it to have the accident. In (8) father uses the money to buy the armchair, but the main information is that the amount of money was enough to buy the chair; this sufficiency is not under father's control. Sentence (9) is ambiguous between the reading where the speaker has actively used medical treatment to stay alive (here the interpretation

would be close to that of a prototypical instrument), and the reading where s/he was a passive object of the treatment (s/he might have been unconscious during the treatment, for example). In the latter case the instrumental introduces a cause rather than an instrument, as is usually the case with inanimate subjects.

## 2.2. Nonprototypical instrumentals

The uses of instrumentals I regard as nonprototypical are those where the referent of the subject is in no sense using the instrument to achieve or cause something (cf. T. Itkonen 1974: 381; 1975: 32-33); the instrument is either used by someone else (who is not introduced in the sentence), or it is not actually used at all, and the sentence merely describes a consequence of its hypothetical use, or, as Verhagen (1986, 150) puts it, "[the domain instrumental] define[s] a 'domain of interpretation', in which the rest of the sentence is said to be valid, without claims to 'the rest of the world'". In these examples, the instrument is thus not transmitting a force from the referent of the subject to another entity, but is transmitting a force "from outside" into the process.

### 2.2.1. Instrumentals indicating cause

"Cause instrumentals" indicate instruments that cannot be understood to be used by the referent of the subject but only by an external agent. They indicate that using the instrument has as its consequence the whole process introduced in the sentence.<sup>2</sup> In these examples, the subject may have the role of a patient, and is affected in some way; it may also be inanimate (see below). The action of the subject is nonvolitional. The force may be transmitted from outside entities to the referent of the subject.

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<sup>2</sup> It is also worth mentioning that instrumental cases quite often acquire the function of expressing cause, cf. Blake (1994: 29).

Examples are given in (10) and (11).

(10) Viidellä markalla Olli suutelee käärmettä.  
 Five+ADE mark+ADE name kiss+3SG snake+PAR  
 'For five marks, Olli will kiss a snake'.

(11) Tuolla puvulla saat selkääsi  
 That+ADE suit+ADE get+2SG 'back'+ILL+2PX

kadulla.  
 street+ADE

'With that suit, you will get beat up on the street'.

In these examples the adverbial with the adessive case is not instrumental in the same sense as prototypical instrumentals discussed in section 2.1. Its syntactic connection with the nucleus can also be seen as weaker than in prototypical cases. In (10), giving Olli five marks will have the consequence that he kisses a snake; the money is, of course, not an instrument of 'kissing'. In addition, the sentence implicates an external agent, i.e. the one who gives the money. In (11), wearing the suit will have the consequence that the wearer will get beat up on the street.

There are some syntactic properties that distinguish cause instrumentals from prototypical instrumentals. For example, the cause instrumental seems to be able to remain outside the scope of negation in examples like (12):

(12) [Pampersilla eron huomaa].

Niillä Reetan iho ei tunnu  
 They+ADE name+GEN skin NEG+3SG feel

nihkeältä.  
 clammy+ABL

'With Pampers you see the difference. With [= when using] them, Reetta's [a baby] skin does not feel clammy'. [A TV commercial]

In sentences containing prototypical instrumentals, the negative form denies the use of the instrument (e.g. *Father did not hit the*

*stone with a hammer* = either no hitting occurred at all, or father did hit the stone but not with the hammer), or at least the particular action indicated by the verb is denied, although there may remain an implication that the instrument was used in some other action (e.g. *With that hammer, father did not hit a STONE but a brick*). In (12), however, the instrumental *niillä* indicates a cause which has the consequence that the baby's skin does not feel clammy. The use of the instrument is not denied here. Quite the opposite: using it brings about the consequence that a given (undesirable) state of affairs does not occur. Semantically the instrumental thus takes a whole (negative) proposition under its scope.

The most curious subtype of cause-instrumentals is the following, which might perhaps be called "anti-instrumental" because of its semantic function in the sentences:

- (13) Reaganin älynlahjoilla                      Neuvostoliitto  
 name+GEN intellectual-power+PL+ADE      Soviet-Union

vielä voittaa      kylmän      sodan.  
 yet win+3SG cold+ACC war+ACC

'[Considering] Reagan's intellectual powers, the Soviet Union is probably going to win the Cold War'.

- (14) Tällä      linnoituksella ja asearsenaalilla *kukaan*  
 this+ADE fortress+ADE and arsenal+ADE (no)body

ei              voi komennella      minua!  
 NEG+3SG can order-about+INF I+PAR

'With this fortress and arsenal, nobody can order me about'.

In (13), the phrase *Reaganin älynlahjoilla* does not introduce any instrument which might be used by the Soviet Union to win the Cold War, but rather a condition which makes it possible for the Soviet Union to win (i.e. Reagan's low intelligence). Example (14) comes from the cartoon "Calvin and Hobbes", where it was uttered by Calvin who was sitting in his new (snow-)fortress. In the predication, the fortress and arsenal thus protect the speaker

from getting ordered about; they are not used by the referent of the subject.

Note also the opposite inferences about Reagan's talents following from (13) and (15):

- (15) Reaganin älynlahjoilla Yhdysvallat  
 name+GEN intellectual-power+PL+ADE United-States

vielä voittaa kylmän sodan.  
 yet win+3SG cold+ACC war+ACC

'With Reagan's intellectual powers, the United States is going to win the Cold War'.

The instrumental of (15) has a more typical reading than that of (13); in (15), Reagan's intellectual powers are reported to be the instrument that the USA can use to win the Cold War. The inference here must of course be such that his intelligence is high.

The most prototypical occasion where instrumentals receive the cause reading are sentences with inanimate subjects. When an instrumental occurs in such a sentence, the interpretation is highly likely to be such that the instrument precedes the subject in the causation chain, i.e. the subject is a patient and not an agent, and the instrumental implies the existence of an (animate) agent using it. As Chafe (1970: 154) has pointed out, the verbs in these predications are interpreted as simple processes (events), not actions. See (16) and (17):

- (16) Värikynillä piirroksesta tuli  
 Crayon+PL+ADE drawing+ELA become+PST+3SG

kaunis.  
 beautiful

'With the crayons, the drawing became beautiful'.

- (17) Hyvillä työkaluilla talo valmistuu  
 Good+PL+ADE tool+PL+ADE house complete+3SG

nopeasti.  
 quickly

'With good tools, the house will go up quickly'.

Sentences (16) and (17) indicate that some entity comes into existence or undergoes a change as a consequence of the use of the instrument. In (16) the crayons are reported to have been used in drawing the picture, but the agent who actually drew it is not mentioned; the sentence merely describes the consequence of the use of the crayons. Similarly, in (17) it is the good tools that make possible the quick completion of a house. The situation in these sentences with inanimate subjects resembles very much that in the sentences with non-agentive animate subjects: the actual agent is left unmentioned and the verbs of the sentences usually do not describe actions but events. In other words, the sentences represent the situation from the point of view of the patient or theme, not from that of an agent.

### 2.2.2. Instrumentals expressing condition

The type of instrumental with the loosest connection to the nucleus is probably the one where the instrumental phrase merely introduces a condition making it possible for a (hypothetical) event or state to occur. The instrumental introduces the scene or setting of the use of its referent, and the rest of the sentence offers a predication with regard to the consequence of this use. The relation between the instrumental and the rest of the predication is not causal but rather conditional: the instrument does not physically cause the event but its use is a condition for the event to occur. Examples are given in (18) - (21):

- (18) Suomalaisella miehistöllä Estonia olisi  
 Finnish+ADE crew+ADE name be+COND+3SG

ohjattu lähtösatamaan.  
 steer+PASS+PARTIC port-of-departure+ILL

'With a Finnish crew, the *Estonia* [the car ferry which sank in the Baltic in 1994] would have been taken [back] to its port of departure'. [A newspaper interview]

- (19) Pyörällä se tunneli on ihan kiva.  
 Bike+ADE it tunnel be+3SG quite nice  
 '[When you go] by bike, that tunnel is OK' [Spontaneous discourse].

- (20) [Kai ne ajattelee, että] veneellä kukaan ei  
 [Probably they think that] boat+ADE (no)body NEG+3SG

jää sinne alle.  
 get there under

'[They probably think that] by boat, nobody gets run over'  
 [Spontaneous discourse; the speaker is trying to explain why islanders rather take the boat than the car when drunk-driving].

- (21) Bussilla et tarvitse parkkipaikkaa.  
 Bus+ADE NEG+2SG need parking-place+PAR  
 '[Going] by bus, you don't need a parking place' [An advertisement].

Sentence (18) introduces a hypothetical situation whereby the (mainly Estonian) crew of the car ferry were actually Finnish. In (19), a hypothetical situation of riding a bike through the tunnel is being described; within this frame, the tunnel is assigned the property of being OK. In (20), the speaker assumes that drunk-drivers prefer boats to cars because in the frame of using the boat other people are not in the danger of getting run over. In (21) taking the bus is indicated to have the consequence that one does not have to worry about parking problems.

These examples differ from those with cause-instrumentals in that here the instrumental phrase does not introduce merely an entity used to bring about some effect, but rather a condition for the whole hypothetical situation to exist. These cases also differ from the cause-type in that they do not implicate an outside agent for the predication. For example (21) does not

implicate an agent who uses the bus in order to cause an effect on some other entity; rather, the sentence claims that the addressee would benefit in a hypothetical situation where s/he took the bus.

### 3. Several instrumentals in the same clause?

A further indicator of the loose relation between cause and condition instrumentals and the rest of the predications is the fact that in some cases another instrumental element may occur in these sentences, as in (22)-(24):

(22) Tällä lipulla saat kahvin  
This+ADE ticket+ADE get+2SG coffee+ACC

ja pullan kymppiä.  
and coffee-bread+ACC ten+ADE

'With this ticket you [can] get a [cup of] coffee and a coffee-bread for ten marks'.

(23) [Liikenneturvallisuus ei ole kuitenkaan heikentynyt,...]

sillä uusilla menetelmillä ja  
since new+PL+ADE method+PL+ADE and

uusilla välineillä sama tulos  
new+PL+ADE equipment+PL+ADE same result

saadaan nyt pienemmällä suolamäärillä.  
obtain+PASS now less+PL+ADE salt-amount+PL+ADE

'[Traffic safety has not, however, declined,] because with the new methods and the new equipment the same result is now obtained with less salt' [A newspaper article on winter traffic conditions].

Proper instrumentals do not usually allow such constructions, see (24)-(25):

- (24) \*Moukarilla Pekka löi kiveä  
Sledge-hammer+ADE name hit+PST+3SG stone+PAR

vasaralla.  
hammer+ADE

- (25) \*Kanootilla Pekka meni veneellä saareen.  
Canoe+ADE name go+PST+3SG boat+ADE island+ILL

Only if the first instrumental clearly sets up a frame for the use of the subsequently introduced instrument, two prototypical instrumentals are marginally allowed in the same clause, as shown by example (26):

- (26) [IS kertoi eilen kevään muotivillitykseksi muodostuneista ilmapistooleista,]

joilla 10-15-vuotiaat lapset ampuvat  
REL+PL+ADE 10-to-15-year-old+PL child+PL shoot+3PL

toisiaan ja ohikulkijoita  
each-other+PL+PAR and passer-by+PL+PAR

kovilla muovikuula-ammuksilla  
hard+PL+ADE plastic-bullet+PL+ADE

'[Yesterday IS (a newspaper) told about the craze of the spring, airpistols] which 10 to 15 year-old children use for shooting at one another and at passers-by with hard plastic bullets' [Ilta-Sanomat 21.4.1995].

In (26), using airpistols is the dominating frame that includes the subordinated frame of using the bullets within its scope. In this sense, (26) is different from both (24) and (25), where a similar hierarchical relationship cannot be attested.

This possibility of adding another instrumental to the sentence is a clear indicator of a change in the syntactic status of the adverbial, since a clause can typically contain several setting adverbials but not several verb-modifiers of one type (if they are not coordinated) (see also Blake 1994, 72). Thus the semantic relations in sentences like (22), (23), and (26) are such that the rest of the sentence gives a predication about the frame

where the initial instrument is used, and introducing the other instrument does not lead to any contradiction.

#### 4. The position of instrumentals in the "causal chain"

In Croft's (1991) causal order hypothesis sentence structure is studied from the point of view of the causal relations between the entities introduced in the sentence. A prototypical transitive clause introduces a causal relation, typically that of the volitional transmission of force from the (referent of the) subject to the (referent of the) object. This causal process between the entities is indicated by the verb. Entities with different semantic roles have different positions in the causal chain; the basic division, according to Croft, is one between 'antecedent' and 'subsequent' roles, defined with respect to the object in the causal chain (but not necessarily in a "surface" syntactic structure; i.e. the actual ordering of the elements may differ from their causal order).

The position of an entity in the causal chain can be defined as follows: "X precedes Y and Y follows X in a causal chain if and only if there exists a causal segment of the causal chain such that X is the initiator and Y is the endpoint" (Croft 1991:177). Typical antecedent roles include 'means', 'manner' and 'instrument', which precede the object in the chain; typical subsequent roles include 'result', 'benefactive' and 'malefactive', which follow the object. The antecedent roles are further divided into groups according to their relation to the subject. 'Cause' and 'passive agent' are therefore positioned before the subject in the causal chain, and 'comitative' is in the same linear position with the subject; 'means', 'manner' and 'instrument' occur between the subject and the object.

The thematic role 'instrument' in this system is defined as "an entity that is intermediate in the causal chain between the subject (initiator) and the direct object (final affected entity)" (Croft 1991:178). This definition corresponds best to the prototypical instruments in section 3.1. Cause and condition

instrumentals do not accurately meet this definition: in sentences with these types of instrumentals, the processes are not volitional actions but rather events. The position of these instrumentals in the causal chain is likewise not clear. For example in sentence (11) the instrumental ('that suit') does not introduce an entity "intermediate between the initiator and the final affected entity". These instrumentals correspond more closely to Croft's (1991:179) definition of 'cause' than to that of the instrument. In Croft's system, a cause is "an event (action or state) that causally immediately precedes the event sequence denoted by the main verb: for example, *He did it out of love, He died from an overdose / the auto accident*". Of course, the 'suit' of (11) is not the direct physical cause of the effect 'you will get beat up on the street'. The causality expressed in (11) is one where the speaker considers it likely that some property of the hearer's suit will evoke anger in other persons, and that among these persons there will be somebody who will perform a violent action towards the wearer of such a suit. The causation of the violent action by the suit is thus indirect and involves intentional factors. However, this is not to deny that the relation is causal; cf. E. Itkonen (1983: Ch. 2).

In the examples with inanimate subjects in section 2.2.1. the instrumentals also bear a causal relation to the rest of the sentence as a whole, and as the subjects of these sentences are not agents but themes or patients, the interpretation is such that the instrumental implies an animate agent of the process who is not present in the actual clause. These instrumentals are thus separated from the nuclear predication in the sense that they do not introduce instruments used to accomplish the activity denoted by the verb. In other words, in (16) the crayons are not the instrument of 'becoming', nor are the good tools in (17) the instrument of 'being completed'. In the causation chain, these instrumentals thus precede the subjects of the sentences, as there is no agent indicated. If the agent were present in these sentences, the instrumentals would occur between the agent and the theme/patient in the causal chain, as they do in prototypical

transitive clauses. This fact distinguishes these cases from the type with an animate subject where the cause-instrument precedes the whole nucleus, including the agent of the action (as in the Reagan examples and in the suit examples above).

On the other hand, the causal ordering of the cause-instrumental and the implicated agent may vary: in (16) the causal relations are interpreted to mean that the implicit agent uses the crayons to draw the picture and thus precedes the crayons in the causal chain: (IMPLICATED) AGENT > INSTRUMENT > PATIENT. In this sense the causation is quite prototypical, except that the agent is left unmentioned and the element with the semantic function of patient is promoted to the syntactic function of subject. In the example with the suit, on the other hand, the suit causally precedes even the agent who performs the assault of the wearer of the suit, since the suit is not an instrument of assault but the reason for it. The relation thus proceeds as follows: "INSTRUMENT" > (IMPLICATED) AGENT > PATIENT.

Of the three types of instrumentals represented above, condition instrumentals have the loosest causal connection with the nucleus, since they do not introduce causes but conditions. This fact leaves them totally outside the causal chain, just like other setting adverbials.

The positions in the causal chain of these different types of instrumental can be summarized as follows (> = precedes in the causal chain; # = is outside the chain and the verb segment; in the semantic description, parentheses indicate the non-occurrence or optionality of the element in the actual clause structure; in the description, zero (0) indicates non-occurrence in the examples; cf. also Croft 1991: 185):

1) Prototypical instrumental:

semantics:	AGENT >	INSTRUMENT >	PATIENT
syntax:	SUBJECT -	ADVERBIAL -	OBJECT
	'Father hit the stone with a hammer.'		

## 2) Cause instrumental used by an implicated agent:

semantics: (AGENT) > INSTRUMENT > PATIENT > ...  
 syntax: 0 - ADVERBIAL - SUBJECT - ...  
 'With the crayons, the picture became beautiful.'

## 3) Cause instrumental not used by an implicated agent:

semantics: INSTRUMENT > (AGENT) > PATIENT  
 syntax: ADVERBIAL - 0 - SUBJ - ...  
 'With that suit, you are going to get beat up on the street.'

## 4) Conditional instrumental:

semantics: INSTRUMENT # PROCESS  
 syntax: ADVERBIAL - ...  
 '[Going] by bus, you don't need a parking place'.

## 5. Conclusion

Above it has been argued that Finnish domain instrumentals can be distinguished from prototypical instrumentals in their syntactic and semantic behavior. Syntactically, prototypical instrumentals are verb-modifiers who often occur in a postverbal position, are under the scope of negation, and do not allow other instrumentals in the same clause (if they are not coordinated). Semantically, prototypical instrumentals are situated between the agent and the patient in the causation chain.

In contrary, domain instrumentals stand outside the clause nucleus and resemble setting adverbials. In this paper, their autonomous syntactic status was demonstrated by showing that they typically occur in a sentence-initial position, are able to remain outside the scope of negation, and sometimes allow the occurrence of another instrumental adverbial in the same clause. Their semantic status was studied from the point of view of the causal order hypothesis, and it was shown that in the causation chain introduced in the sentence, domain instrumentals either precede other entities introduced in the sentence (though they may implicate an outside agent who uses them and thus precedes them causally), or do not participate in the causal relation at all

but rather indicate a mental space or frame of their hypothetical use.

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## Is There a 'Computational Paradigm' within Linguistics?

The advent of computers has considerably changed the landscape of linguistics, as shown by the increasing number of publications and conferences devoted solely to computational linguistics. The emergence of this subdiscipline is not due to the fact that a heretofore neglected realm of linguistic phenomena would finally have attained the recognition that it deserves (as has happened e.g. with neurolinguistics or pidgin-and-creole studies). If this were the case, then computational linguistics would simply occupy one more or less well-defined subdomain within the overall field of linguistics. However, computational linguistics purports to investigate those *same* phenomena (roughly: sentences and texts) that have been investigated since the inception of linguistics. The question now has to be asked whether this new way of seeing differs from the old one sufficiently much to justify speaking of a *paradigmatic shift* (cf. Winograd 1983: 13–22).

Before proceeding any farther, however, I have to answer a possible objection. It is sometimes claimed that a given theoretical framework, whether or not we choose to call it a 'paradigm', literally *constitutes* its own data. As can be seen from the preceding paragraph, I do not share this view. (This entails that in my opinion Saussure asserted only a half-truth in claiming that "c'est le point de vue qui crée l'objet".) There is always an *atheoretical* (or pretheoretical) level at which it makes perfect sense to speak of *different* theories (or 'paradigms') dealing with the *same* data. In practice no one has ever doubted this, even if in one's philosophical moments one might feel

of the different frameworks (cf. Itkonen 1991: 325–328). For instance, it would be perverse to deny that one and the same set of sentences may be analyzed in dissimilar ways by representatives of different schools.

Now let us see whether there is any justification for speaking of a computational paradigm. In presenting my argument, I shall make use of a very simple artificial language  $L$ , namely a language whose sentences are of the form  $(ab)^n$ . (This is, in the present context, the 'same data' which the different types of description have to come to grips with.) I do not think, however, that the simplicity of my example undermines my argument. That is, I do not think that making the example increasingly more complex would at any point bring about a *qualitative* change in the mutual relations between the types of descriptions that I shall discuss.

Already in the 'pre-computational' days linguists made use of rewriting rules. Thus, when we have to present a grammar for  $L$  within the framework of mainstream, non-computational linguistics, it looks like this:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{I) } r_1: S &\rightarrow abS \\ r_2: S &\rightarrow ab \end{aligned}$$

A sentence like  $ababab$  is generated in three steps, namely by applying the rule  $r_1$  twice, and then by applying the rule  $r_2$  (cf. figure 1).

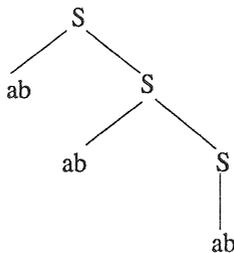


Figure 1.

An even older formalism for describing  $L$  is provided by predicate logic (plus the notion of set-membership). In this case the grammar contains one universally quantified implication and one singular statement:

$$\text{II) } \forall x (x \in S \supset abx \in S) \\ ab \in S$$

The sentence  $ababab$  (or, more precisely, the truth that  $ababab$  is a sentence) is generated by two joint applications of Universal Instantiation and Modus Ponens:

$$\forall x (x \in S \supset abx \in S) \\ ab \in S$$


---

$$abab \in S$$

$$\forall x (x \in S \supset abx \in S) \\ abab \in S$$


---

$$ababab \in S$$

The grammars I and II are tested in the same way, namely by finding out whether they generate *all* and *only* sentences of  $L$ . These two aspects correspond to the notions of *completeness* and *soundness*, as they are used in the theory of logic. On the one hand, we have a sentence of  $L$ , and we ask whether it is generated by our grammar. If the answer is 'yes' every time we ask this question, the grammar generates *all* sentences of  $L$ , and is therefore complete. On the other hand, we have our grammar, and we ask whether what it generates is a sentence of  $L$ . If the answer is 'yes' every time we ask this question, our grammar generates *only* sentences of  $L$ , and is therefore sound. (It is of no consequence that  $L$  happens to be so simple as to

make, in reality, any questioning superfluous.) The notions (or viewpoints) of soundness and completeness correspond to the notions of 'prediction' and 'explanation', as they are used in the philosophy of the natural sciences (cf. Itkonen 1978: 4–9, 254–253).

All natural-language grammars are tested as to their soundness and completeness, with the qualification that an additional criterion is constituted by the 'adequacy' of the structural descriptions (whatever concrete interpretation is given to this difficult notion). A natural-language grammar is concerned with the (intuitive) correctness of sentences while an axiomatization of formal logic is concerned with the (intuitive) validity of formulae. But apart from this difference, they are tested exactly in the same way. It is crucially important to understand that, apart from such simple cases as propositional or predicate logic, a logical axiomatization is falsified if it, although *provably* sound and complete, fails to be *intuitively* sound and/or complete, i.e. if it generates intuitively non-valid formulae and/or fails to generate intuitively valid formulae. In this respect, axiomatizations of natural sciences differ from either grammatical or logical axiomatizations. They purport to generate all and only *empirically true* sentences (of the relevant domain), but empirical truth, unlike intuitive correctness or intuitive validity, is a property which cannot be assigned to a sentence just by inspecting it (cf. Itkonen 1978: 276–287).

Next, we shall consider a computational grammar of *L*. I submit that computers are taken to have inaugurated a new era in linguistics, mainly because they seem to enable us to have *dynamic* descriptions, where we previously had only *static* descriptions. Previously we investigated linguistic *structures*; but now we investigate linguistic *processes*, more precisely processes of speaking and understanding. (Notice that since cognitive-computational processes apply to structures—and are indeed represented as just successions of structures—, it would be more accurate to speak of 'structures-and-processes', rather than of just 'processes'.) As a consequence, it is particularly important to determine the extent to which this idea of a

'dynamic turn' is justified.

I shall choose PROLOG as the language in which the computational grammar of  $L$  is couched. The grammar contains one 'rule' and one 'fact':

III)       $s(ab(X)):-s(X).$   
              $s(ab).$

As inputs, the grammar may be given two types of 'questions', exemplified here by  $A$  and  $B$ :<sup>1</sup>

A) ?  $s(ab(ab(ab)))$ .  
 B) ?  $s(X)$ .

In response to  $A$ , the grammar produces the output 'yes.' (which means that  $ababab$  has the property of being a sentence). In response to  $B$ , it produces the following output:

$X = ab;$   
 $X = ab(ab);$   
 $X = ab(ab(ab));$   
 ....

It is clear that  $A$  and  $B$  exemplify sentence-recognition and sentence-generation, respectively. They may be considered as loose analogues of the corresponding psychological processes.

A comparison of the grammars I, II, and III reveals both similarities and dissimilarities. On the one hand, the structure of the grammar III is exactly the same as that of the grammar II (and, by implication, that of the grammar I). On the other, in the case of the grammars I and II, it is the grammarian (or the logician) *himself* who has to perform the tasks of sentence-generation and sentence-recognition, whereas in the case of the grammar III, the grammarian needs only to give the input in

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<sup>1</sup> I disregard the questions involving the 'anonymous variable' ( $\_$ ).

form of the relevant questions; after this, it is the grammar which performs the tasks of sentence-generation and sentence-recognition.

It seems clear to me that, from the viewpoint of actual descriptive practice, the dissimilarities are outweighed by the similarities. Writing the grammar III is an undertaking qualitatively similar to writing the grammars I and II. Of course, the grammar III contains the idea of a *machine* which performs the tasks assigned to it, but from the viewpoint of the grammarian this idea remains *hidden*. The affinity with mainstream linguistics is enhanced by the fact that the PROLOG notation may be replaced by the rewriting notation, resulting in the 'definite clause grammar' (cf. Pereira & Shieber 1987: 70–79).

Finally, we shall consider a grammar which is literally a *machine*. I have chosen the Turing machine for this purpose. This choice may need some justification.

First, Turing machines are normally regarded as *abstract* machines defining mathematical functions; but it is also possible to regard them as machines in the literal sense of the word. In fact, it is quite convenient to illustrate the notion of *causality* with the aid of a (concrete) Turing machine. On this interpretation, the symbol which the machine reads at  $t$  is an *external cause*, while the state in which the machine is at  $t$  is an *internal cause*. The combination of these two causes brings about one *internal effect*, namely the state in which the machine is at  $t+1$ , and two *external effects*, namely the symbol which, having been printed in lieu of the earlier symbol, will be on the tape at  $t+1$ , and the movement either to the left or to the right (or, perhaps, the halting) which the machine will have performed at  $t+1$  (cf. Itkonen 1983: 22, 287–288).

Second, the language  $L$  is so simple that it could also be described by a finite-state machine. At present, however, I am not interested in conceptual parsimony, but rather in conceptual clarity; and, as I just noted, the Turing machine is well suited to illustrate the functioning of a causal process.

Third, the grammar which I am about to present handles

only the aspect of sentence-recognition (cf. table 1).

IV)	$q_0$	$q_1$	$q_2$
A	R		
a	$q_1, R$	$q_2, R$	R
b	$q_2, R$	$q_0, R$	R
B	1, stop	0, stop	0, stop

Table 1.

In the 'machine-table' (see table 1) the column outside the rectangle contains the 'external causes', i.e. the symbols on the tape, whereas the row outside the rectangle contains the 'internal causes', i.e. the machine-states. The effects of these pairs of causes are located inside the rectangle, in such a way that non-changes are not explicitly mentioned. For instance, the machine starts in  $q_0$ , reading A. As a result, it replaces A by A (i.e. leaves it unchanged), enters  $q_0$  (i.e. remains in it), and moves one step to the right.— The only new symbols that are printed (in lieu of B) are 1 and 0, which mean 'yes' and 'no', respectively.

Let us see how the grammar IV recognizes that *ababab* is a sentence, whereas *abbaba*, *aababa*, and *a* are not sentences (cf. table 2).

When there is a correct sentence on the tape, the machine moves from A to B, while alternating between  $q_0$  and  $q_1$ , replaces B by 1, and stops. When the machine encounters an error, i.e. when it reads either *b* in  $q_0$  or *a* in  $q_1$ , it enters  $q_2$ , remains in it until it reaches B, replaces B by 0, and stops. The sentence *a*, which entails reading B in  $q_1$ , constitutes an error type of its own.

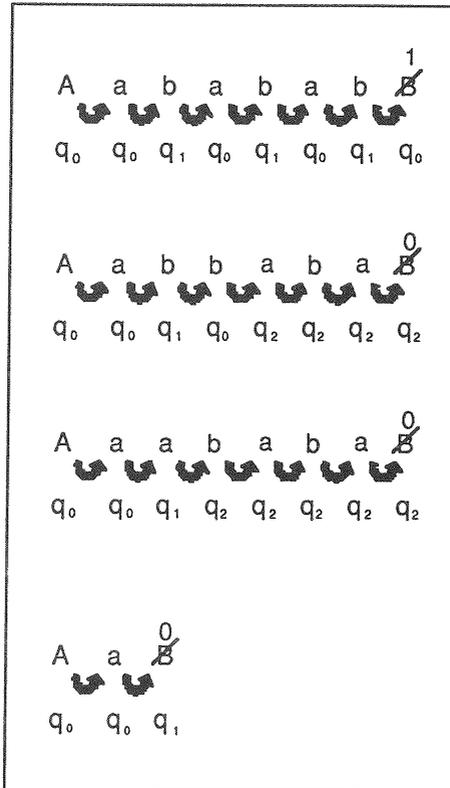


Table 2.

When we compare the grammar IV to the other three grammars, we finally discover a genuine dissimilarity. The grammar IV is dynamic, in the sense of describing a temporal process; it incorporates the notion of *change of state*. By contrast, the grammars I, II, and III describe static, atemporal structures; any processes, whether they are performed by the grammarian or by the computer, remain hidden. To put it in a nutshell, I claim that the notion of a computational *paradigm* in

linguistics is justified only to the extent that computer-based descriptions resemble the grammar IV.

Once I have stated my basic claim, I must immediately qualify it somewhat. It is quite clear that PROLOG programming *implicitly* contains the idea of a process. Answering a question means either *proving* the sentence asked (as in 'understanding') or *proving* the sentences resulting from replacing the variable(s) in the sentence asked by constants (as in 'production'); and this happens by *searching* and *finding* facts that qualify as instantiations of the bodies of rules (i.e. of the antecedent clauses of universal implications). The programmer knows that rules are read from top to bottom and that conjunctions in the bodies of rules are read from left to right; and observing the correct order may make the difference between a program that works and one that does not. This knowledge may, however, be incorporated into the grammatical conventions. Therefore it still remains the case that it is possible to practice PROLOG-based grammatical description without having any very clear notion of the computational processes involved.

The point that I have made here rather informally has been made quite explicitly, and at a more general level, by Petre & Winder (1990). They discuss the difference between *declarative* and *imperative* computer languages, which roughly corresponds to the difference between our grammars III and IV. A declarative language specifies *what* is the problem to be solved, without indicating *how* it is solved. Because "declaration, by nature, excludes algorithm" (p. 176), the solution of the *how*-question is deferred to the language implementation. Imperative languages, by contrast, still reflect the basic machine operations: as a set of instructions, they *show* the process of computation. Between pure types of imperative and declarative languages there are intermediate types, i.e. declarative languages with an "expression of algorithmic intent". Now it is precisely Petre & Winder's (1990) claim that the 'imperative vs. declarative' distinction should be thought of as a *continuum*; and they proceed to place various programming languages on it. For instance, FORTRAN is a typical imperative language; LISP is

situated exactly at the 'imperative vs. declarative' divide; PROLOG lies somewhere between LISP and typical declarative languages. Peter & Winder reach this conclusion: "The basic difference between programming styles lies in the hiding of the computational model" (p. 180). This entails, interestingly enough, that it is questionable whether PROLOG-based descriptions should be considered as part of *computational* linguistics at all.

Thus, whether or not computers have brought about a change of perspective within linguistics, is a *matter of degree*, and this in a *twofold* sense. First, one language (e.g. PROLOG) may be more 'conservative' than another (e.g. LISP). Second, even within one and the same language the grammarian may be more or less aware of the (more or less) hidden computational process. I submit that the *gradual* nature of this change of perspective does not agree too well with the way that paradigmatic shifts are generally conceived of. More precisely, some computer linguists (i.e. those operating with languages close to the imperative end of the continuum) may have experienced a genuine paradigmatic shift in their way of thinking, but others may not.

I shall conclude this paper with a few remarks of a more general nature, relating the preceding results to questions of language use and pragmatics. First, the distinction between declarative and imperative languages is analogous to that between logical, set-theoretic semantics and algorithmic or procedural semantics. In Itkonen (1983: 149–151, 311–313) I argued that, in terms of psychological import, algorithmic models are more informative than logical ones; and this conclusion may now be generalized so as to apply to the distinction between imperative and declarative languages.

Second, algorithmic *semantics* is a misnomer to the extent that the computational processes are meant to be even rough analogues of *cognitive* processes, simply because this amounts to committing the psychologistic fallacy (*op. cit.* p. 313). That this fallacy is nearly ubiquitous in today's cognitive science, does nothing to lessen its objectionable character. This also means

that any comparison between Turing and Wittgenstein (see e.g. Leiber 1991: 81–88) is misconceived, unless the processes that the machine performs are thought of as (embedded in) *public* actions governed by *socially* valid norms.

Third, Leiber's (1991: Ch.10) attempt to align Chomsky with Turing and Wittgenstein is misconceived *tout court*. In addition to the fact that he is interested in mental structure, not in mental process (cf. Jackendoff 1987: 38–39), Chomsky has consistently denied the relevance of behavioral, public criteria, thus explicitly opposing the Wittgensteinian position (cf. Itkonen 1983: 227–233, 243–248).

It is often said that computers may simulate processes of any kind, whether physical, psychological, or social. It should be clearly understood, however, that computers may be, and typically are, quite unable to simulate those surroundings and/or accompaniments which, to a large extent, constitute a process as what it is. Therefore a program alone is seldom enough.

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Ritva Laury

**Pronouns and adverbs, figure and ground:  
The local case forms and locative forms of the Finnish  
demonstratives in spoken discourse**

**1. Introduction**

Finnish has a large variety of forms available for speaking about where something is located. This is particularly so for the demonstratives, which have special locative forms in addition to case forms in the six local cases. The purpose of this paper<sup>1</sup> is to examine the use of the local case forms and locative forms of the demonstratives in spoken Finnish in order to determine, first, what light the actual use of these forms may shed on the question of their lexical category as either demonstrative pronouns or adverbs, and, secondly, how speakers make the choice between the different forms.

**2. Data**

The data for the paper consist of ordinary conversations and spoken narratives recorded in Finland between the late 1930s and mid-1990s. The earlier narratives were recorded on disks and later transferred onto tapes; the later narratives were tape-recorded. There are altogether fifteen narratives from different dialectal areas; both eastern and western dialects are represented. The eight conversations were tape-recorded between 1958 and 1991. One of the conversations is from a pre-arranged meeting; all the rest are naturally occurring conversations between friends

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<sup>1</sup> The paper is a slightly revised and expanded version of a part of Ch.3 of my 1995 University of California, Santa Barbara dissertation (Laury 1995).

and family members. Some of the narratives were spontaneously produced in the course of conversation, while others were elicited (for further details concerning the data, see Laury 1995).

### 3. The demonstratives and their forms

Finnish has three demonstratives, *tämä* 'this', *tuo* 'that' and *se* 'it; that; the'. As can be seen from the glosses, *tämä* is approximately equivalent to the English *this*. However, neither *tuo* nor *se* correspond directly to any English demonstrative. Traditionally, the meanings of the Finnish demonstratives have been thought to be based on concrete distance (see Larjavaara 1990: 93-190), but recent studies which have focused on their use in spoken discourse have suggested that social and interactive factors have at least as much to do with a speaker's choice of demonstratives than do concrete spatial factors (Seppänen 1995; Laury 1995; 1996). Based on their use in spoken discourse, the meanings of the demonstratives can be characterized as follows: use of *tämä* implies that the speaker considers the referent to be within his or her own (socially defined) sphere, while *tuo* is used for referents outside the speaker's sphere; the use of *se*, in turn, implies that the referent is within the addressee's sphere (Laury 1995: 56-57).

Just like the English demonstratives, the Finnish demonstratives can be used both independently (without a head noun) and as determiners. And unlike the English demonstratives, which can only be used independently for human referents in presentational clauses of the type *This is my mother*, the Finnish demonstratives can be used independently for human referents in all clause types.

All three demonstratives have forms for all the Finnish cases in the singular and the plural, and, as noted above, there are also special locative forms for each demonstrative. The table below shows the Finnish demonstrative forms that concern us in this paper: the local (internal and external) case forms and locative forms for all three demonstratives. In addition to the singular

forms given in the table, the demonstratives have plural forms in the internal and external local cases marked by the initial consonant *n-* instead of the singular *t-* and *s-*, and the plural *-i-* (compare the plural *näissä* 'in these' with the singular *tässä* 'in this; here'). The locatives lack plural forms.

<i>Tämä</i>		
Internal cases	External cases	Locatives
<i>tässä</i> INESSIVE	<i>tällä</i> ADESSIVE	<i>täällä</i> ADESSIVE
<i>tästä</i> ELATIVE	<i>tältä</i> ABLATIVE	<i>täältä</i> ABLATIVE
<i>tähän</i> ILLATIVE	<i>tälle</i> ALLATIVE	<i>tänne</i> LATIVE
<i>Tuo</i>		
Internal cases	External cases	Locative
<i>tuossa</i> INESSIVE	<i>tuolla</i> ADESSIVE	<i>tuolla</i> ADESSIVE
<i>tuosta</i> ELATIVE	<i>tuolta</i> ABLATIVE	<i>tuolta</i> ABLATIVE
<i>tuohon</i> ILLATIVE	<i>tuolle</i> ALLATIVE	<i>tuonne</i> LATIVE
<i>Se</i>		
<i>siinä</i> INESSIVE	<i>sillä</i> ADESSIVE	<i>siellä</i> ADESSIVE
<i>siitä</i> ELATIVE	<i>siltä</i> ABLATIVE	<i>sieltä</i> ABLATIVE
<i>siihen</i> ILLATIVE	<i>sille</i> ALLATIVE	<i>sinne</i> LATIVE

Table 1. Local case forms and locative forms of the Finnish demonstratives (standard Finnish).

As can be seen, for all three demonstratives, the internal case forms have case markers which distinguish them from both the external case forms and the locatives. However, the locative forms and the external case forms have identical case markers for the adessive (*-llä*) and ablative case (*-ltä*). For *tämä* and *se*, the locative forms are distinguished from the external case forms by the (respectively) long (*ää*) and diphthongized (*ie*) stem vowels which contrast with the simple (short) vowels (*ä/i*) in the external case forms.

For *tuo*, the external case forms are identical to the locative case forms in the adessive and ablative for the standard Finnish usage given in the table; however, in many spoken varieties (in all the dialects I am familiar with), the paradigm matches the paradigms for the other two demonstratives, as the external case

forms have simple vowels (*tolla, tolta, tolle*) and thus are, in a sense, more regular.

The lative (locative) form case marker *-nne* is distinct from the allative marker *-lle*, and the lative forms for *tämä* and *se* have simple (short) stem vowels. The standard Finnish lative form for *tuo* has a diphthongized vowel, as can be seen in the table, but for spoken Finnish, the paradigm matches the paradigms for the other two demonstratives here as well, as the spoken form has a simple vowel (*tonne*).

As can be seen, while there is some overlap in the morphology of the standard Finnish local case forms and the locative forms of the demonstratives, in spoken Finnish the paradigms are entirely distinct. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the syntactic and semantic differences in the use of these forms in spoken Finnish.

#### 4. Spatial and extended use of the local case forms and locatives

We might reasonably assume that the basic function of the local cases, and therefore also the basic function of the local case forms and locative forms of the demonstratives, would be to express spatial relations.<sup>2</sup> However, in Finnish, and in the Uralic family of languages in general, there has been a persistent trend for local cases to be grammaticized into expressing non-local concepts such as possession and instrumentality (Alhoniemi 1969; Korhonen 1991; Huumo 1995a; for crosslinguistic manifestations of this tendency see Heine et al 1991).

When constructions expressing local concepts are extended into new domains, the earlier uses and the newer, extended (grammaticized) uses may exist simultaneously in the language

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<sup>2</sup> I do not mean to imply that social meanings always develop from concrete meanings in grammaticization processes - in fact, they do not (see, for example, Hakulinen and Seppänen 1992; Laury 1996). However, there is good historical evidence that in the development of Finnish oblique cases into grammatical uses the local meanings were the earlier ones.

(Heine et al 1991: 151-152), resulting in what Campbell and Harris have called 'syntactic doublets' (1996). This is so with the Finnish local cases. As Huumo (1995b) shows, it is quite possible to construct sentences with two different uses of the same lexical item with the same case marker, where one of the uses is interpreted as a local, adverbial use while the other use receives a novel, say, possessive or instrumental interpretation. However, even though speakers find both the local and extended uses grammatical and are able to construct system sentences exhibiting both types of uses, it is still quite possible that one type of use is more frequent in actual speech production in context, while the other type is less frequent or cannot even be found in spoken data. This appears to be so for the external local case forms of the Finnish demonstratives. My database contained no uses of independent (non-determiner) external case (adessive, ablative, or allative) forms of the demonstratives to refer to locations. Although it is probably not ungrammatical to use these forms to refer to locations, such uses appear to be at least very rare. There were also no determiner uses of the external case forms with noun phrases which would have referred to locations, although such uses are quite possible to imagine and surely occur (for example, *tällä pöydällä* TÄMÄ-ADE pöytä-ADE 'on this table').

In contrast, there were numerous examples in my data of the use of the external local case forms of the demonstratives for non-local (abstract) concepts. The following example shows the use of the adessive form of *se*, *sillä*, for a possessor.

- (1) V: ... 'Onks *sillä* luistimet.  
 be-Q-PTCL SE-ADE skate-PL  
 Does s/he have skates? [PLAYMOBL]

Example (1) is taken from a conversation between two children while they are making inventory of a set of toys consisting of dolls and their winter sports equipment in order to determine what equipment each doll comes with. V is asking whether a particular doll, the referent of *sillä* 's/he (possessive)', has skates.

The adessive form is also used for instruments in my data, as shown in the next example. This example comes from the same conversation as example (1).

- (2) V: 'Mä leikin **tällä**.  
 1SG play-1SG TÄMÄ-ADE  
 I'll play with this one.

[PLAYMOBL]

In this example, V is choosing a doll to play with. The NP referring to the doll, *tällä* 'with this', is the adessive form of the demonstrative *tämä*.

The causee in causative constructions is expressed with the adessive case also, as shown in the following example from a conversation between several teachers of Finnish. The speaker is telling about having his students listen to a recording of a certain book.

- (3) ..^mä oon 'kuunteluttanu **näillä**,  
 1SG be-1SG hear-FREQ-CAUS-P.PTC TÄMÄ-PL-ADE  
 I have made these (students) listen,

... (1.2) tämmöst ^kymmenen pientä neekeripoikaa.  
 TÄMÄ-ADJ-PAR ten little-PAR negro-boy-PAR  
 to this "Ten little niggers".

[OPET]

In example (3), *näillä* 'these (students)', the plural adessive form of *tämä*, stands for the causees of the causative action the speaker is reporting having performed.

The allative case forms of the demonstratives code recipients. In example (4), also taken from the teachers' conversation, the speaker is suggesting that students should not be offered violent reading materials.

- (4) .. niin ^ei väkivaltaa **niille**.  
 so NEG violence-PAR SE-PL-ALL  
 So, no violence for them.

[OPET]

Like the external local cases, the internal local cases have also been extended into certain non-local uses. For example, the relative case is used for the source concept or state, or entity undergoing a change with verbs of becoming and transformation, as shown in the following example, which comes from a conversation recorded while two speakers were preparing fresh salted salmon. One of the speakers had just said that she added sugar to the marinade.

- (5) ... Muute **siit** tulee kovaa.  
 otherwise SE-ELA come-3SG hard- PAR  
 Otherwise it comes out hard.

[SUOLALOH]

In this example, *siit(ä)*<sup>3</sup> 'it' the relative form of *se*, stands for the salmon which, it is claimed, will become hard if sugar is not added.

There are numerous examples in my data of the use of the external local case forms of the demonstratives to code possessors, instruments, causees and recipients, as illustrated above in examples (1)-(4), and examples of the use of the internal local case forms to code non-local concepts can also be found, as shown by example (5). However, as I have noted above, my data contained no examples of the use of the external local case forms of the demonstratives to refer to locations.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, my data abound in examples of the use of the internal case forms and the locative forms of the demonstratives to code locations.

Examples (6)-(8) below are examples of the use of the internal local case forms of the demonstratives to point to

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<sup>3</sup> As can be seen here, and in many other examples in this paper, the demonstratives are often shortened in actual use by speakers so that the final vowel or the second syllable are dropped.

<sup>4</sup> Since both the external case forms and the locative forms involve the same case markers, it is not surprising that a functional differentiation has developed. For the internal case forms, the possibility does not exist. I thank the SKY anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

locations. In example (6), the speaker is reporting thoughts she had while cooking on an old stove in a building where her family lived when she was a young child.

(6) ... 'Äiti teki täs ruokaa ja,  
 mother make- PST TÄMÄ-INE food-PAR and  
 Mother cooked here and,

.. monet 'muut <P sen jälkeen P>.  
 many-PL other-PL SE-GEN after  
 many others after that.

[OMPELU]

In the first line of example (6), the inessive form *täs(sä)* 'here' refers to the place where the speaker was cooking at the time when she reported having these thoughts. In the next example, taken from the same conversation as examples (1) and (2), the children's grandmother is pointing out the location of a small ski pole.

(7) .. Toss on ^sauva.  
 TUO-INE is pole  
 There's a pole.

.. Älä hukkaa sitä.  
 NEG.2SG.IMP lose SE-PAR  
 Don't lose it.

[PLAYMOBL]

In this example, the inessive form of *tuo*, *toss(a)* 'there' stands for the place where the pole is to be found.

In example (8), also from the PLAYMOBL conversation, one of the children is concerned that her playmate has unfairly appropriated a pair of small skates because she has put them in a pile together with her doll's belongings.

(8) Miks sä otit,  
 why 2SG take-PST-2SG  
 Why did you take

^lasten luistimet siihe.  
 child-PL-GEN skate-PL SE-ILL  
 the children's skates there.

[PLAYMOBL]

In the second line of this example, *siihe(n)* 'there', the illative form of *se*, stands for the place where the addressee of the utterance has put the skates.

Examples (6)-(8) above showed how speakers of Finnish use the internal case forms of the demonstratives to say where something is located. Examples (9)-(11) below show that the locative forms of the demonstratives are also used for a similar purpose.

Example (9) below comes from the PLAYMOBL conversation. The speaker is in the process of unpacking toys from a box.

- (9) **Tääll** on 'kummallekin näille  
 TÄMÄ.LOC-ADE is both-ADE-also TÄMÄ-PL-ALL  
 näköjään ^sukset  
 apparently ski-PL

Looks like (there) are skis for both of these in here.

[PLAYMOBL]

In this example, *tääll(ä)*, 'here', the locative (adessive) form of *tämä* refers to the box where the toys the child is unpacking are located.

In the next example, taken from a dinnertable conversation, the speaker uses a locative form of *tuo* in a turn illustrating what she considers typical eating behaviour for young children.

- (10) M: ... Sit `leipä <H ^viskataan tonne H>.  
 then bread throw-PASS-PERS TUO.LOC.LAT  
 Then the bread gets thrown over there.

[SNAPSI]

In example (10), speaker M is using the lative locative form *tonne* 'there' to refer to a non-explicit location where a

hypothetical child would throw a piece of bread after licking off the topping.

The previous example as well as the next one illustrate the obvious fact that what is referred to as a location does not have to be a 'place' in a concrete sense. In example (11) below, one of the Finnish teachers is commenting on the violent nature of biblical stories.

- (11) joku <sup>^R=aamattu</sup> <A esimerkiks ni A>  
 some Bible example-TRA so  
 Take the Bible for example,

**sielhän** on <sup>^kaikkein ... %</sup> % kavalimmat petokset  
 SE.LOC-ADE-PTCL is all-SUP foul-SUP-PL fraud-PL

esitely.  
 present-P.PTC

all the foulest frauds are presented in there.

[OPET]

Here, the speaker uses *siel(lä)* 'there', the adessive locative form of *se*, to talk about the Bible as a location where foul frauds are presented.

We have seen that in the spoken data examined for this study, both the external and internal local case forms of the demonstratives have extended, non-local uses, while both the internal local case forms and locative forms of the demonstratives are used for referring to locations. In contrast, external local case forms of the demonstratives are not used for locations in these data. How have these uses of the demonstratives been reflected in Finnish grammarians' categorization of the forms?

## 5. Demonstratives or adverbs?

Traditionally, both the internal case forms and the locative forms of the demonstratives have been considered adverbs (Ahlman

1933; Airila 1940).<sup>5</sup> Several contemporary accounts have also taken this approach. Thus Auli Hakulinen and Fred Karlsson (1979: 84) include both *tuolla* (a locative form) and *tässä* (an internal case form) in a list of pronominal adverbs, and likewise Östman (1995) calls both the internal case series and the locative series demonstrative adverbs. On the other hand, Lauri Hakulinen (1979: 51; 59; 127) includes only locative forms in his discussions of demonstrative adverbs. Likewise, Karlsson's (1982) reference grammar includes only case forms (internal and external) in the list of demonstratives (141) and lists the locative forms separately as adverbs of place (210).

None of the scholars mentioned in the previous paragraph discusses what factors led to classification of the case forms and locative forms as adverbs or demonstratives. The lexical category question is, however, taken up explicitly by Larjavaara (1990: 117), who directly challenges the traditional classification, and suggests that there are "no morphological and syntactic criteria" (1990: 123) which would support the classification of the internal case forms of the demonstratives as adverbs.

Larjavaara does not explain what the morphological and syntactic criteria might be that would support the classification of forms as adverbs. Such criteria are indeed difficult to come by. Schachter (1985: 20) notes that "the label adverb is often applied to several different sets of words in a language, sets that do not necessarily have as much in common with one another, either notionally or grammatically, as, say, the subclasses of nouns or verbs that may occur in a language", and that "there are no categorizations that are common to the entire class". Typically, adverbs are defined in terms of what they lack; thus Anderson (1985: 200) notes that adverbs manifest "inflectional poverty" and "do not normally manifest agreement". Schachter also notes

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<sup>5</sup> There seems to be tacit agreement among Finnish linguists that the external case forms of the demonstratives are not adverbs; none of the linguists who have discussed demonstrative adverbs include any external case forms in their lists or discussions. My data confirm this insight, insofar as the external case forms are not used to refer to locations.

that adverbs "function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns" (1985: 20).

Unless the locative forms are considered part of the demonstrative paradigm, they do manifest inflectional poverty in that they lack forms for all the other cases except for the external local cases (adessive, ablative, and (al)lative). Further, even if the locative forms are considered part of the demonstrative paradigm, they still lack the plural forms which both the internal and external case forms of the demonstratives have. Therefore, by morphological criteria, the locative forms are more adverbial than both the external and internal local case forms of the demonstratives, which have full paradigms in both singular and plural.

The locative forms are also adverbial in nature in that they sometimes do not agree with the head of the noun phrase which they precede in either case or number, although nominal attributes ordinarily, with very few exceptions, agree in both case and number with the head in a Finnish NP. There are many examples in my data where the locative demonstrative has a different case form from the following noun (phrase). Consider the following example, where the speaker is discussing her recent, slightly odd visit to a doctor's office.

- (12) ja    <sup>^</sup>sit se 'sanos et,  
       and then SE say-PST COMP  
       And then he said,
- 'joo et et,  
 PTCL COMP COMP  
 yeah,
- .. katotaas           sinne       <sup>^</sup>kurkkuu,  
 look-PASS-PTCL SE.LOC-LAT throat-ILL  
 let's look at that throat,

[LAAKR]

As can be seen, the locative form *sinne* in the last line of the example is in the lative case, whereas the following noun *kurkkuu* 'throat' is in the illative case.

Another, similar example comes from the OPET conversation. This is shown in example (13) below.

- (13) jos aatellaan,  
if think-PASS-PERS  
if we think,

mennään ihan tonne j- juuriin.  
go-PASS-PERS quite TUO.LOC-LAT FOOT-PL-ILL  
(if we) go right there to the roots,

[OPET]

In this example, the locative form of *tuo* fails to agree with the following noun *juuriin* 'to the roots' in both case and number. The locative form is morphologically singular (recall that the locative demonstratives lack plural forms), and is in the locative case, while the following noun is plural and in the illative case.

Since the locative demonstratives sometimes fail to agree in either case or number with the noun phrases they precede, it seems reasonable to assume that they are indeed adverbs, and that they do not function as modifiers of the noun which follows, or at least that they are less closely associated with the noun phrase which they precede than the external case forms of the demonstratives, which always agree in case with the noun phrase they precede.

However, contrary to what Larjavaara's (1990) claim implies, the internal case forms of the demonstratives also sometimes behave syntactically like the locative forms of the demonstratives with respect to agreement, and thus might also be classified as adverbs, or at least can be said to manifest adverb-like syntactic behavior. There are many examples in my data where an internal case form of the demonstrative is followed by a noun phrase in an external case form. Consider the following example:

- (14) Mut pane tähä,  
but put.2SG.IMP TAMÄ-ILL  
But put (it) here,

.. ^vasemmalle puolelle  
 left-ALL side-ALL  
 on the left side

[SUOLALOH]

In this example, the internal case form of the demonstrative *tähä* 'into this; hither' in the first line does not agree with the external case form of the noun phrase *vasemmalle puolelle* 'onto the left side' in the second line. Besides the lack of agreement, the fact that the demonstrative is separated from the noun phrase it precedes by an intonation unit boundary and a pause<sup>6</sup> adds to the impression that the demonstrative is not a part of the noun phrase, but rather external to it.

Furthermore, internal case forms of the demonstratives can also appear immediately before the noun phrase, and still not agree in case with them, as shown in example (15) below:

- (15) ... Ja siin ^puuhellalla,  
 and SE-INE wood-stove-ADE  
 and on the wood stove,  
  
 .. kerran ni,  
 once so  
 one time,  
  
 ... mää illalla ^paistoin.  
 1SG evening-ADE fry-PST-1SG  
 I was frying (mushrooms) at night

[OMPELU]

In this example the inessive form of *se, siin*, does not agree in case with the following adessive case noun *puuhellalla* 'on the wood stove'.

<sup>6</sup> I am not suggesting here that the relationship between syntactic and intonational closure is one-to-one; it is not (see, for example, Tao (1996); Helasvuo (1992) for Finnish). Nevertheless, the fact that the demonstrative and the oblique NP are separated by an intonational boundary as well as a pause gives the impression that, in some sense, they are separate units to the speaker.

So far, we have seen that the internal case forms and the locative forms of the demonstratives appear to be more adverbial than the external case forms of the demonstratives. In my data, the external case forms of the demonstratives are only used for semantic roles which are closely associated with the verb, such as possessors and instruments, while both the internal case forms and the locative forms are used for more adverbial concepts, namely locations. However, the internal case forms are also used for non-locative concepts, while the locative forms are only used to code locations.

Secondly, the locative demonstratives exhibit inflectional poverty in that they have no plural forms, and thus are morphologically more adverbial than the external and internal forms of the demonstratives. Thirdly, when used prenominaly, the external case forms of the demonstratives always agree with the head noun. In contrast, this is not always true of the internal case forms and the locative forms; they are syntactically more adverbial than the external case forms in that they do not always agree in case with the head of the noun phrase they precede.

Thus, the locative demonstratives and the internal case forms, at least in some of their uses, might be said to be external to the noun phrase in a way similar to the English demonstrative adverbs in expressions like *here in the U.S.*, *there in the kitchen*<sup>7</sup> where the demonstrative adverbs are external to the prepositional phrase they precede.

However, the Finnish demonstratives are more closely bound to the noun phrase they precede by virtue of the nature of Finnish morphology; there is no intervening material between the noun phrase and the demonstrative which precedes it, while in the English examples given above, the preposition and the determiner intervene between the demonstrative adverb and the noun. Further, even the locative forms and the internal case forms of the demonstratives, when used for locations, always

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<sup>7</sup> I thank Wally Chafe for pointing out this parallel to me.

agree in directionality with the noun phrase they precede; that is, there were no cases where, for example, an ablative demonstrative (the 'from' type) would have preceded an illative noun (the 'into' type).

These data indicate that the local case forms of the Finnish demonstratives cannot be unambiguously placed into the categories of 'pronouns' and 'adverbs'. Instead, to better reflect their behaviour in discourse, they could be arranged on a cline where on the left, we have the external case forms which are not adverbial either semantically, morphologically or syntactically, with the internal case forms, which are used semantically both in adverbial and non-adverbial fashion, are not adverbs morphologically, but exhibit adverb-like syntactic behaviour, in the middle, and finally on the right, the locative forms which are adverbial both semantically, morphologically and syntactically, as shown in the figure below.

External case forms	Internal case forms	Locative forms
<i>tällä/välillä/tälle</i>	<i>tässä/tästä/tähän</i>	<i>täällä/täältä/tänne</i>
<i>tolla/tolta/tolle</i>	<i>tossalla/tostalta/tohon</i>	<i>tuolla/tuolta/tonne</i>
<i>sillä/siltä/sille</i>	<i>siinä/siitä/siihen</i>	<i>siellä/sieltä/sinne</i>

<< LESS ADVERBIAL << >> MORE ADVERBIAL >>

Table 2. The local case forms of the Finnish demonstratives (spoken forms) and the locative demonstratives arranged on a cline of adverbiality.

This section established that both the internal case forms and the locative forms of the demonstratives are used adverbially, in the sense that they form a looser bond with the noun phrase which they precede in terms of agreement than the external case forms of the demonstratives. Put together with the discussion in the previous section which showed that both the external case forms and the internal case forms (but not the locative forms) have grammaticized uses for non-local concepts, while both the internal case forms and the locative forms (but not the external

case forms) are used to speak about locations, we can now arrange the forms in question on a continuum of adverbiality.

The fact that the forms discussed here can not be unambiguously delegated to the classes of either pronouns or adverbs lends support to the suggestion of Hopper and Thompson (1984) that lexical categories should be viewed as abstract prototypes instead of discrete categories. These data are in accordance with Hopper and Thompson's observation that syntactic and morphological trappings characteristic of a particular lexical category accrue to linguistic items to the degree that the item is used for the function typical of that category. We see here that the external case forms, which are not used to speak about locations, lack the morphological and syntactic characteristics typical of adverbs, while the locative forms, which have only locative uses, are also the most adverbial. And the internal case forms, which have both the extended and locative uses are ambiguous morphologically and syntactically as well.

The next section concerns the differences between these two ways to refer to locations in Finnish.

## 6. Ways to talk about locations

Given that both the internal local case forms of the demonstratives and the locative demonstratives are used to talk about locations, how do speakers make the choice between them?

This topic has received quite a bit of attention in Finnish linguistics. Beyond the lexical category dispute, there has also been a rather wide variety of descriptions as to how the internal case forms differ from the locative forms.<sup>8</sup> It has been suggested

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<sup>8</sup> This discussion has intersected with the wider question of the difference between the external and internal case marking in general, where the difference between the internal case forms and the locative forms of the demonstratives has been seen as a manifestation of this more general distinction. Such a suggestion has been made explicitly by Östman (1995) and is also implied by Hakulinen and Karlsson (1979:208). However, the distinction cannot be merely a consequence of the semantics of the case

that the difference resides in the exactness of reference, where the locative forms would be less exact than the internal case forms of the demonstratives (Siitonen 1979; Hakulinen and Karlsson 1979: 208). In contrast, Itkonen (1966: 421) proposes that the referents of the internal case forms are proximal, while the referents of the locative forms are distal. It has also been suggested that the area referred to by the internal case forms is bounded, while the area referred to by the locative forms is unbounded (Östman 1995); Östman also suggests that visibility could be a factor in the choice between the forms, so that the internal case forms would be associated with visibility, while the external case forms would include the possibility of non-visibility. Lehtinen (1967) has proposed that the size of the area is crucial, so that smaller areas would be referred to with the internal case forms, while the locative forms would refer to comparatively larger areas. On the other hand, Larjavaara calls the distinction 'areal opposition' (1990: 117-125) and indicates that the internal case forms situate a referent in a particular place within an area, while the locative forms refer to location within the bounds of an area.

In my opinion, all the views Finnish scholars have proposed on this topic are essentially correct. I regard them all as manifestations of a more comprehensive distinction which involves the conceptualization and linguistic expression of scenes in terms of figure and ground (Talmy 1978; 1983).

I suggest that speakers of Finnish use the internal case forms of the demonstratives for referents which are conceptualized as figures, while the locative forms are used for referents conceptualized as the ground. Accordingly, in keeping with Talmy's characterization of the properties of relatively figure-like vs. ground-like referents (1983: 230-231), further developed by

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markers, since the demonstratives also have external case forms distinct from the locative forms, and the external case forms of the demonstratives do not make reference to locations, as has been discussed above.

Hanks (1992: 60-66), the referents (locations) expressed by the internal case forms of the demonstratives in Finnish tend to be relatively more foregrounded, more referential, smaller, geometrically simpler (point-like), more salient, anticipated, and proximal, and thus more likely to be visible than those expressed by the locative forms, whose referents (locations) will be relatively more backgrounded, less referential, larger, geometrically complex (with extent, shape, dimensionality), less salient, recalled, and distal, and thus less likely to be visible than the referents expressed by the internal case forms.

These characteristics cluster, so that a particular referent coded with an internal case form of the demonstrative may have several figure-like properties. They are also defeasible; a referent may lack some of the figure-like properties discussed above, and still be coded with an internal case form of the demonstratives.

The choice between the demonstrative forms does not have as much to do with the inherent, objective characteristics of the referent as it has to do with how a particular referent is conceptualized. Thus even an objectively bounded referent can be referred to with a locative form, as long as it is conceptualized as ground. In the following excerpt, part of which we have already seen as example (9) above, a child is taking new toys out of the box they came in.

(16) Hei,  
PTCL  
Hey,

.. <sup>^</sup>tääll                    on,  
TÄMÄ.LOC-ADE is  
In here (there) are,

... Tääll                    on 'kummallekki näille  
TÄMÄ.LOC-ADE is both-ADE-also TÄMÄ-PL-ALL

näköjään <sup>^</sup>sukset.  
apparently ski- PL

Looks like (there) are skis for both of these in here.

[PLAYMOBL]

The two uses of the adessive locative form *täällä(ä)* 'in here' in the second and third line of the example stand for the box from which the speaker is retrieving the toys. Consider that the speaker is not, as such, using the form to talk about the box as an object, but rather to talk about where the toys are. The box forms the ground, within which the toys are located. Thus, although the box is, of course, inherently a bounded space, it can be expressed with a locative form. Here, the box is relatively more backgrounded, less salient, less referential, and larger than the more foregrounded, more salient, more referential and smaller toys which emerge from it.

The fact that it is the conceptualization of a particular referent at a particular point in discourse, rather than the inherent qualities of a referent, which determines the forms used is revealed when we observe that speakers can switch to a locative form when the role of the referent in the discourse changes.

This is shown in the following example, also from the PLAYMOBL conversation. After the children have unpacked the toys from the boxes, their grandmother inquires whether the children have kept the boxes. One of the children assures her that the boxes have been kept, along with the plastic bags inside the boxes.

- (17) Ja <sup>^</sup>pussitki on leikattu,  
and bag-PL-PTCL is cut-P.PTC  
And even the bags have been cut,

<sup>^</sup>sillee että sinne voi ..<P laittaa P>.  
SE.MANN COMP SE.LOC-LAT can put-1 INF  
so that (you) can put (them) in there.

[PLAYMOBL]

Although the speaker refers to the bags in line 87 with a lexical noun *pussitki* 'even the bags' in a way that is clearly figure-like

and referential, in the next line<sup>9</sup> she uses a locative form, *sinne* 'in there' for the bags. Consider that in the first line, the noun phrase referring to the bags is plural; the locative demonstrative in the next line appears to have the same referent, but now the bags, coded with a locative form which fails to express a number distinction, are conceptualized as ground, a container where the toys may be placed.

However, the locations expressed by the internal case forms of the demonstratives can also be objectively more simple geometrically, or more point-like, and thus more exact than locations expressed by the locative forms, which are comparatively more complex, with extent and dimensionality, and thus less exact. This is shown in the next example, taken from a narrative where the speaker is describing the scene in an apartment where she had left a tap open:

- (18) A: ...Siel oli sillee että tota,  
 SE.LOC-ADE be-PST SE-MANN COMP TUO-PAR  
 It was (laid out) so that um,  
  
 .. mm,  
 um,  
  
 .. parketti alko sitte niinku,  
 parquet begin.PST then so-as  
 (a) parquet (floor) began then like,  
  
 ... Oli muovimatto keittiössä sit alko  
 be-PST plastic-carpet kitchen-INE then begin.PST  
  
 parketti.  
 parquet  
  
 There was a vinyl floor in the kitchen and then (a) parquet  
 (floor) began.

<sup>9</sup> In the interest of clarity, I have omitted one line, where another speaker is overlapping with the speaker whose utterance we are concerned with here.

B: .. Joo.  
 PTCL  
 Yeah.

A: .. Niin se oli niinku just **siihen** niinku,  
 so SE be-PST so-as just SE-ILL so-as  
 So it had like just there like,

se vesi oli just tullu **siihen**  
 SE water be-PST just come-P.PTC SE-ILL  
 The water had just come

**parketin reunaan.**  
 parquet-GEN edge-ILL  
 to the edge of the parquet.

... Et se %%,  
 COMP SE  
 So that it,

.. jos se ois <X siinä X> vallan kauan ollu vielä,  
 if SE be-COND SE-INE very long be-P.PTC still  
 if it had been there for a very long still,

ni se ois menny **sinne parketille.**  
 so SE be-COND go-P.PTC SE.LOC-LAT parquet-ALL  
 it would have gone onto the parquet.

[VESI]

The forms in which we are interested here are the bolded portions in A's second turn. Compare the use of the illative (internal case) form *siihen* 'there' in the first line of her turn and the prenominal use of the same form in *siihen parketin reunaan*<sup>10</sup> 'to the edge of the parquet' in the next line with the use of the locative form in *sinne parketille* 'onto the parquet' in the last line. The location at

<sup>10</sup> This phrase is a good example of the difficulties of distinguishing between the adverbial vs. the determiner uses of the prenominal demonstratives. The demonstrative is in an internal case form (the type that some scholars consider adverbs, while others claim they are just case forms, and not adverbs) and it agrees with the case of the rightmost member of the phrase *reunaan* 'to the edge'. We would have to determine whether the demonstrative is in fact showing case agreement or whether it is external to the phrase and just happens to have the same case.

the edge of the parquet is more exact and more geometrically simple (an edge being a line) than the suggested potential location on the parquet (the floor being a two-dimensional expanse); also, the latter expression leaves the part of the floor the water would have covered entirely open.

But I would still like to stress that what determines the speaker's choice between the locative forms and the case forms of the demonstratives is a matter of the speaker's viewpoint and ultimately the way the scene is conceptualized.

An example which clearly shows the effect of the speaker's shifting viewpoint on the choice of demonstrative form, as well as illustrating rather nicely the conceptual distinctions which these forms encode, is the following example, which comes from a narrative from the 1930s. The narrator is telling about a fox hunt. He is following the tracks of a fox in the woods, and it occurs to him that the fox may be at a wallow he is already familiar with.

(19) ... ja muistin,  
and remember-PST-1SG  
and I remembered,

... heill on siel toises pääs vuorta,  
3 PL HUM-ADE is SE.LOC-ADE other-INE head-INE mountain-PAR  
they have at the other end of the mountain,

... sellai kivi,  
such rock  
this rock,

jossa mie olin joskus nähny,  
REL-INE 1SG be-PST-1SG sometime see- P.PTC  
where I had seen in the past,

ketun makauksen ja,  
fox-GEN wallow-ACC and  
a foxwallow and,

... väläht mielehe että,  
flash.PST mind-ILL COMP  
(it) came to (my) mind that

- ... annas nyt olla,  
let.IMP now be-1INF  
let's see,
- ... sehän onki siel kiven pääl.  
SE-PTCL be-PTCL SE.LOC-ADE rock-GEN top-ADE  
it must be on top of the rock.
- ... Rupeen tarkkaamaan sit kiveä mut,  
start-1SG look.for-3INF-ILL SE-PAR rock-PAR but  
I start looking for the rock but,
- ... siell on niin lujaa mettää,  
SE. LOC-ADE is so fast-PAR forest-PAR  
the forest is so thick there,
- .. ei sit tahtonu näkyä sielt mut,  
NEG.3SG SE-PAR want-P.PTC look-1INF SE.LOC- ABL but  
it was hard to see it from there but,
- .. oli vähän niinku,  
be-PST a.little so-as  
(it) was a little as if,
- siin ois ollu jotakii siin kiven päällä  
SE-INE be-COND be-P.PTC something SE-INE rock-GEN top-ADE  
as if there had been something on top of the rock
- ... (I moved closer along the mountaintop and)
- .. näky että siin ol niinku kettu ois istunu  
look.PST COMP SE-INE be-PST so-as fox be-COND sit-P.PTC  
looked as if a fox were sitting there
- .. siin kiven päällä.  
se-INE rock-GEN top-ADE  
on top of the rock.

[KETTU]

In this example, the speaker first introduces a particular rock with a (formally indefinite) noun phrase *sellai kivi*, and reports his recollection that it is located on the other side of the mountain, *siel toises pääs vuorta*. The latter expression, preceded by the

locative form *siel*, has several ground-like properties; it is recalled, remote (the speaker is not on that side of the mountain), geometrically complex, and not visible at this point. In referring to the assumed location of the fox, the speaker again uses a locative form of *se, siel*, this time with the postpositional phrase *kiven pääl*<sup>11</sup> This location also has ground-like qualities, in that at this point in the story, it is recalled, remote (on the other side of the mountain), and thus not visible.

Observe that in the next bolded mention of the top of the rock, the speaker switches to an internal case form of *se*. This reflects the change in the speaker's reported perspective. At this point, the rock is visible, closer to the speaker, and anticipated, no longer recalled, as it was when the earlier mention was made; these are figure-like qualities, which, as I have claimed, are associated with the use of the internal case forms of the demonstratives. Thus it is the speaker's conceptualization of the referent, and not the inherent qualities of the referent, which determine the particular demonstrative form used for it.

## 7. Conclusion

This article concerned the categoriality and function of the local case forms and locative-adverbial forms of the Finnish demonstratives. I have suggested that the forms in question cannot be unambiguously assigned to the categories of pronouns

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<sup>11</sup> That the locative forms and the internal case forms of the demonstratives can occur with postpositional phrases is another manifestation of their adverbiality. Postpositional phrases cannot take determiners; it would be ungrammatical to say *sillä kiven päällä* if one meant 'on the top of the rock', where the adessive form of *se, sillä*, would agree in case with the postposition *päällä* 'on top', although, as we can see, a locative preposed form can be used. On the other hand, prepositions can take determiners, and so it would not be ungrammatical to say *siin toises pääs vuorta* 'at the other end of the mountain', where the inessive form of *se, siin*, would agree with the preposition *pääs* 'at the end' (which also has an attribute *toises* 'another-INE', which is impossible with postpositions (Hakulinen and Karlsson 1979:154)).

and adverbs, but rather form a continuum with the external case forms being the least adverbial semantically, morphologically and syntactically, while the locative forms are the most adverb-like, with internal case forms in the middle. Both the internal case forms and the locative forms are used to speak about locations, while in these data, the external case forms are not used for locations.

These findings indicate that lexical categories are not discrete boxes into which linguistic items can be neatly sorted. Instead, as suggested by Hopper and Thompson (1984), they can be more profitably viewed as abstract prototypes. The closer the use of an item is to the prototype, the more morphological and syntactic characteristics typical of that category it acquires.

I have also proposed that a speaker's choice between the internal case forms and the locative forms of the demonstratives depends on whether the speaker is conceptualizing a particular location as a figure or as ground. In the spoken data discussed here, more figure-like locations are coded with the internal case forms of the demonstratives, while more ground-like locations are coded with the locative-adverbial forms. This explanation has the advantage that it offers a general conceptual distinction as a basis for the choice, while also being entirely compatible with all the earlier accounts, none of which alone can explain the full range of actual uses.

## Appendix 1: Form Glosses

ABE – abessive; ABL – ablative; ACC – accusative; ADE – adessive; ADJ – adjective; ALL – allative; CAUS – causative affix; COND – conditional; COMP – complementizer; ELA – elative; ESS – essive; FREQ – iterative; GEN – genitive; HUM – human; ILL – illative; IMP – imperative; INE – inessive; INF – infinitive; LAT – lative; LOC – locative; MANN – manner; NEG – negation verb; NOM – nominative; PAR – partitive; PASS – passive; PERS – personal ending in the passive; PL – plural; PST – past tense; PTC – participle; PTCL – particle; Q – question clitic; REL – relativizer; SG – singular; SUP – superlative; TRA – translative

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## **Face and the Organization of Intercultural Interaction**

### **1. Introduction**

The concepts of face and face-work have been highly influential in the study of discourse in recent years. They have been used to describe and explain a broad range of phenomena which are associated with the social and interpersonal aspects of human communication (see e.g. Brown and Levinson 1987, Kasper 1990, 1994, Tracy 1990, Ting-Toomey 1994). In spite of recent criticism in the politeness literature, the theory of face and politeness put forward by Brown and Levinson (1978/ 1987) remains the most comprehensive account of the principles underlying these phenomena and has been successfully used to account for aspects of language use which would otherwise be difficult to describe. While the framework developed by Brown and Levinson is by no means universally accepted and a number of alternative approaches are now available (e.g. Leech 1983, Fraser 1990, Lakoff 1973, 1989, Penman 1990, Watts 1989, 1992), the face-oriented approach captures features of language use which are fundamental to both the linguistic encoding of politeness and its interactional motivations in a convincing way. Because of the universal as well as culture-specific features of communication which politeness theory attempts to describe, it has particular relevance to the study of intercultural communication.

This paper uses Brown and Levinson's politeness framework as a starting point for developing a pragmatically oriented approach for analysing interactionally problematic and potentially face-threatening events. The approach outlined below extends the analysis of facework beyond strategies of speech act production towards patterns of interaction and discourse

organization. A sample of data from a naturally occurring discourse event will be analysed to illustrate the analytic framework and show its relevance to the study of interaction, with particular reference to intercultural and non-native contexts.<sup>1</sup> This task involves using relevant concepts and analytic distinctions developed in previous research and weaving them into a framework which is dynamic and flexible enough to be put to use in the analysis of conversational interaction. In this respect the paper is an attempt to answer recent calls for more studies which examine politeness from a discourse perspective taking into account the dynamic, situated character of interaction (see e.g. Brown and Levinson 1987, Held 1992, Kasper 1990, 1994). A central goal of the paper is to consider what aspects of language use and discourse need to be described if we are to uncover how politeness operates in ongoing interaction in intercultural contexts, reflecting and monitoring the participants' rights and obligations, their interpersonal relations and the negotiation of discursual activities.

In arguing for an analytic approach which is pragmatic in orientation, this paper takes the perspective of language users and the contexts in which they operate. This means paying systematic attention to the communicative needs or goals of speakers and the linguistic resources which are used in pursuing and negotiating these goals<sup>2</sup>, and relating these to the activities which are interactively constructed in specific contexts. The challenge for any new approach describing aspects of face-work lies in the ability to take account of and conceptualize notions such as goals, strategies, face-threat or face-work as interactive phenomena. In this paper I outline one way of approaching this task from a pragmatic and interactional perspective.

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<sup>1</sup> The terms intercultural and non-native interaction are used here to refer to encounters involving participants from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, including second/ foreign language learners.

<sup>2</sup> I use the term goal in a complex and dynamic sense: goals are not static or predetermined, but context-dependent and negotiable in the interactive process (see Craig 1990, Hopper and Drummond 1990).

An attempt to combine the study of micro-level linguistic/pragmatic aspects of discourse with the study of more global and interactional patterns of organization requires an interdisciplinary approach. The analytic approach presented below draws from the study of pragmatic aspects of second language use (see e.g. Kasper 1981, Kärkkäinen & Raudaskoski 1987, Nyyssönen 1990, Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993) and the study of intercultural or non-native (NNS) interaction in pragmatics and interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz 1982, 1992, Clyne, Ball & Neil 1991, Shea 1993, 1994). It also builds upon the study of social interaction from two perspectives: the 'face' framework proposed by Goffman (1967) and further developed by Brown and Levinson (1987) and conversation analysis (e.g. Levinson 1983, Atkinson and Heritage 1984, Heritage 1989, Drew and Heritage 1992, Psathas 1995).

## **2. Politeness in Discourse: Some Basic Assumptions**

Goffman (1967:5) defines face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact". In this paper, face is understood as a primarily social and interpersonal concept, "located in the flow of events" (Goffman 1967:7, see also Mao 1994:453-454) rather than belonging to the individual, the 'self'. Mutual orientation to face and the mutually recognized need to preserve face are fundamental to social interaction and they are displayed in language use in regular, recurrent ways.

The linguistic enactment of face-work, generally referred to as linguistic politeness, is thus an interactional phenomenon which is reflected in patterns of linguistic action and conversational organization. Participants regularly choose to formulate and construct problematic, or face-threatening, activities in cautious or indirect ways. In addition to avoiding or mitigating potentially problematic actions, participants pay attention to the social and interpersonal aspect of talk by

engaging in positive, mutually supportive face-work. Theory of face and politeness describes the linguistic means through which participants display their concern for their own and their interlocutor's autonomy (negative face) and need for approval or involvement (positive face).

In pragmatics politeness is associated with the selection of socially appropriate means for expressing speaker intentions and achieving communicative goals (Leech 1983, Brown and Levinson 1987, Kasper 1990, Watts, Ide and Ehlich 1992, Thomas 1995). Politeness is generally seen as revealed in utterance-level realizations of different speech acts: the assumption is that impolite or face-threatening speech acts must be mitigated by means of various linguistic strategies. Politeness strategies, then, have the combined function of facilitating the communication of impolite or face-threatening messages, and communicating the speaker's polite intention, i.e. his/her awareness of the fragility of face and desire to protect it.

As empirical findings of politeness research have accumulated, Brown and Levinson's theory has been increasingly criticized. Some (see e.g. Kasper 1990, Ide 1989, 1993, Held 1992, 1993) have argued that its focus on goal-oriented, rational and intentional behaviour and its reported overemphasis on potential conflict have been claimed to represent a misguided view of the fundamental organization of social interaction. Others have criticized it for ethnocentric assumptions about the complex forces underlying social behaviour (see Janney and Arndt 1993 for a discussion of the universality debate). Recent research has shown that the most basic assumptions on which the theory is built should be re-examined in the light of evidence from cross-cultural research. It has been argued that the concept of face, for example, may be interpreted in different ways in different cultures and social groups (Matsumoto 1988, 1989, Mao 1994). Similarly, the notion of politeness itself appears to invoke different assumptions about social action in different cultures (see e.g. Hill et al. 1986).

While the extensive findings of cross-cultural research have been highly significant in showing the limitations of the early models of politeness and increasing our understanding of the ways in which politeness operates in the context of broad cultural frameworks, they do not mean that the study of politeness as a global interactional strategy which transcends cultural boundaries should be abandoned. Rather, as Watts, Ide and Ehlich (1992:3) point out, we need to distinguish between the study of politeness as it is understood in the normative framework of specific sociocultural groups (first-order politeness) from the study of politeness within a theory of social behaviour and language usage (second order politeness). Only when this distinction is acknowledged can we begin to make sense of the role of politeness in interaction.

The distinction is of particular importance in the study of intercultural communication. While ethnographic information concerning the cultural norms of particular groups may give insight into the participants' communicative style, even detailed mappings of 'first-order', culture-specific views of politeness do not account for what goes on interaction across cultural borders. Although culturally informed expectations may underlie some aspects of behaviour, actual contact encounters are constrained by numerous other contextual features which cannot be explained by reference to the participants' cultural background. The participants (as well as the analyst) are faced with the task of coping with an 'intercultural' situation where resources may not be shared. They have to manage interaction and accomplish various communicative activities in contexts where their own cultural presuppositions may not be valid and where interpersonal relations may be more vulnerable than in interaction between cultural members. To account for the ways in which orientation to face and politeness is manifested in these kinds of situation, it is necessary to examine politeness as a 'second-order' phenomenon, i.e. as a global interactional strategy and resource. This paper will argue that such an approach can ultimately be developed by using the face-oriented

theory of politeness as a starting point and extending it with concepts which describe the endogenous organization of talk and aspects of social activities or events.

In order to overcome the shortcomings of the politeness model, the approach below departs from it in several respects. First, instead of focusing on utterance-level speech act strategies, a dynamic, emergent view of conversational interaction is adopted in which linguistic action is viewed in terms of the negotiation of complex goals and seen as manifest in interactively constructed activities. Secondly, the theory is not viewed as an account of universals in social language use, but rather taken to present "a set of base-line hypotheses" for exploring politeness in different sociocultural contexts (Janney and Arndt 1993:38). Thirdly, the concept of face-work is adopted to cover all linguistic and interactional displays of orientation to one's own and/or the interlocutor's face, and the concept of politeness restricted to other-directed face-work which is geared towards protecting or maintaining face.

In this paper Brown and Levinson's framework is adapted and extended for examining interaction in intercultural contexts, where participants may have different expectations about appropriate situated use of language and where their linguistic and sociocultural resources are not shared. In its attempt to adapt the framework for the analysis of such interaction, the present study builds on the following central assumptions based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) work: (i) politeness is best viewed as a global strategy of interaction which is manifest at various levels of language use; (ii) politeness is context-dependent and negotiable; (iii) politeness is reflected in the dimension of directness/ indirectness (or illocutionary opacity/transparency) in language use; and (iv) through indirectness, politeness is linked to basic processes of interaction, such as cooperation and the negotiation of intersubjective meaning (Held 1993).

### 3. The Context of Intercultural/ NNS-interaction

In conversations between people from different ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds the participants cannot rely on the same type of shared knowledge as speakers with shared membership in a culture or group. *Asymmetries* at various levels of language use (Linell and Luckman 1991) shape the way in which the participants construct and organize interaction. The participants may not only have unequal access to the language used, but also different expectations and assumptions of relevant situational and sociocultural patterns of communicative behaviour. For this reason the interpretive resources which they rely on may be fundamentally different (Gumperz 1982, 1992). Further, lack of shared knowledge and resources may restrict the interactants' ability to participate in conversation and make it difficult for them to get their goals or topics accepted as relevant in the context. Lack of control over appropriate linguistic and interactional routines, for example, may make it more difficult for non-native speakers to negotiate a satisfactory relationship with their interlocutors (Kasper 1981, 1989a, 1989b, Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1990). Similarly, unfamiliarity with situational and sociocultural features relevant in the communicative event may cause pragmatic failure and lead to misunderstanding, embarrassment or offense (Gumperz 1982, Thomas 1983).

Studies of interaction between native and non-native speakers have long noted an increased need to negotiate unshared meaning in such contexts (Long 1983, Varonis and Gass 1985, Gass and Varonis 1991). The efforts to make meanings more explicit by both native and non-native speakers have given rise to a hypothesis that a principle of 'clarity' (Kasper 1989a, Garcia 1993) or 'mutual intelligibility' (Clyne et al. 1991) operates in NNS discourse and explains many of its characteristic features. However, some recent studies point to very different kinds of principles in operation in NNS contexts. It has been noted, for example, that errors, misunderstandings

and partial understandings frequently go unattended and the participants simply carry on without acknowledging any trouble (Firth 1994, Kalin 1995). There are several possible explanations for this phenomenon. First, it has been suggested (Anderson 1988, Aston 1993) that participants in intercultural and second language interaction operate under specific sets of expectation which are typical of these contexts, some form of NNS-specific frame in which 'errors' and problems of understanding are a normal feature of interaction.

Secondly, it has been argued (e.g. Weizman 1993) that there is an increased element of risk in this type of interaction: the interpersonal relationship between the participants may be more vulnerable in NNS and intercultural contexts due to the asymmetries arising from unshared linguistic and sociocultural resources. The interpersonal needs of protecting face may thus be in conflict with the need to establish mutual understanding through explicitness and clarity of communication. For example, while explicit correction of errors or negotiation and repair of misunderstanding may be useful in increasing mutual intelligibility, it may also increase the asymmetry of the context and may, in some contexts, amount to face-threat. Thus, mutual attention to the interpersonal dimension of interaction is often of vital importance and may have an important role in explaining some of the peculiarities of intercultural and NNS discourse.

The interpersonal dimension of language use has been explored in a number of fields. Studies in contrastive and intercultural pragmatics, contrastive discourse analysis and interlanguage pragmatics (see e.g. Kasper 1981, 1989a, 1989b, Thomas 1983, Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989, Clyne, Ball & Neil 1991, Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993) have identified differences and similarities in the linguistic action patterns and discourse strategies between different cultures and languages and between native and non-native speakers. Studies in interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz 1982, 1992, Erickson and Schulz 1982, Fiksdal 1990), on the other hand, have shown how culture-dependent features of interactive style

may lead to miscommunication and communicative breakdown. Finally, research on discourse organization and negotiation of meaning in contexts involving non-native speakers (e.g. Faerch and Kasper 1982, Day et al. 1984, Kalin 1995) have demonstrated how interpersonal features play a role in the ways in which problems of communication are dealt with and meanings are negotiated in such contexts

While it is clear that different background and resources add to the asymmetry of intercultural and non-native interaction, it is also important to recognize that differences do not always lead to problems nor do they always explain problems which do occur. Recent research has shown that diverging patterns of interaction and language use may be treated as a normal feature of communication and may even be an additional resource which the participants can draw upon in their attempt to negotiate meanings and support or maintain their interpersonal relationship (Anderson 1988, Aston 1993, Piirainen-Marsh 1995, 1996).

In order to deal with the specific constraints and conditions of intercultural and second language interaction it is necessary to employ an analytic approach which is sensitive to asymmetries in the participants' background and their linguistic and interactional resources. It is not enough, however, to treat these as external situational features which constrain and/or explain language use. Rather, they should be seen as emergent and evolving in the interactive context as they are oriented to and made relevant by the participants themselves (see Linell and Luckman 1991, Drew 1991).

In sum, the negotiation of shared meaning and construction of discourse in intercultural contexts is shaped by various asymmetries which arise from the context. The process of negotiation, like all human interaction, may be extremely complex and reflect efforts to seek mutual understanding and shared perspective on the basis of which it is possible to participate in social activities and develop interpersonal relationships. The description of such negotiation requires a

multifaceted approach, in which attention is paid to aspects of language use and patterns of interaction through which conversations proceed and develop. The analytic approach proposed below is an attempt to approach the politeness dimension of communication from a dynamic perspective which takes into account the constraints and resources of intercultural contexts.

#### 4. Beyond Speech Acts in the Analysis of Politeness

Since the early speech act oriented studies, the focus of analysis in politeness research has shifted from utterance-level linguistic realization patterns for different speech act functions to larger units of linguistic action. Held (1993:182) argues that utterances should be analysed (i) *formally* (i.e. in terms of the linguistic forms which signal a particular strategy), (ii) *structurally* (i.e. in terms of structural phases where strategies occur), (iii) *functionally* (i.e. the face-supportive or protective function of an utterance within a pragmatic framework) and (iv) *interactively* (i.e. the place of a strategy in relation to the sequence and organization of turns). While this approach extends the scope of analysis to interactive aspects of speech acts, it is not clear how a structural analysis can be combined with a sequential one in actual interaction. Evidence from conversation analytic studies has shown, however, that functions or purposes of utterances are not the property of any utterance complex, but are interactively defined and open to negotiation by the participants.

Some attempts have also been made to approach speech acts as parts of verbal exchanges or speech events. In studies using ethnographic methods of data collection (e.g. Wolfson 1989, Herbert 1989, 1991, Boxer 1993) samples of naturally occurring speech acts have been collected and analysed with respect to their contexts of occurrence. However, these studies present a limited view of extended linguistic action. Rather than taking a truly ethnographic perspective and examining situated

speech activities, they seem to concentrate on a small number of speech acts which are easy to identify and isolate from their context for detailed analysis.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, problems such as possible ambiguity or indeterminacy of utterances and negotiability of meaning and force in the sequential context of interaction are overlooked.

However, speech acts in politeness work have also been studied in detail by conversation analysts as interactional actions in sequential contexts. Work on invitation sequences (Davidson 1984), requests (Wootton 1981), compliments (Pomerantz 1978, 1984), questions and the seeking of information (Schegloff 1984), offers (Drew 1984) and proposals (Houtkoop 1987), for example, has explicated the intricate ways in which actions are handled cooperatively by the participants in the interactive process. While speech act studies have examined the relationship between the function, form and structure of similar actions, conversation analysts have sought to identify the recurrent sequential patterns (e.g. adjacency pairs or triplets and action chains, see Pomerantz 1978, Houtkoop 1987) in which they become manifest in conversation.

In contrast to the utterance level analysis of speech act studies, the focus of attention in conversation analysis is on the coordination of conversational turns in the management of these actions. The focus also differs from the speech act approach in its orientation: while the speech act approach is primarily concerned with the speaker's choice of strategies in displaying concern for the hearer's face, conversation analysts focus on the ways that actions derive their interpretations primarily from the joint turn-by-turn management of discourse.

On the basis of insights gained mainly in conversation analysis (see e.g. Atkinson & Heritage 1984, Levinson 1983, Heritage 1989), Brown and Levinson (1987:38-42) draw attention to some areas of conversational organization in which politeness may play a central part. They identify close

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<sup>3</sup> This may in part explain why some speech acts have received little attention in research.

similarities between various patterns of conversational organization and findings in politeness research. They further propose that not only may patterns of interaction be motivated by politeness, but also deviations from recurrent patterns can be seen in terms of face-threat. Thus, violations of turn-taking rules and sequencing patterns can be related to politeness and face. This observation has special significance in the study of talk in intercultural and NNS contexts: it is in these types of encounter that different norms of interaction come into contact, and, as studies in interactional sociolinguistics have shown, it is when the participants, from their own sociocultural perspective, perceive some aspect of each other's behaviour as deviant or inappropriate that problems and misunderstandings are most likely to occur.

In addition to the locally constructed interactional order, also more global aspects of conversational organization have been related to politeness. The most obvious connections can be seen in conversations in which some interactionally problematic topics are dealt with, as in 'troubles' talk (Jefferson and Lee 1981, Jefferson 1988), remedial interchanges (Owen 1983) and arguments or conflict talk (Grimshaw 1990). Consideration for one's conversational partner and the mutual orientation to face can be seen to motivate the ways in which problematic topics are introduced and closed and the ways in which the participants' relationship is negotiated in the course of talk. Jefferson (1988), for example, discusses the deference shown by conversational partners to the 'troubles' topic, and to each other, in a delicate pattern through which the topic is developed and interpersonal relations dynamically adjusted in line with the organizational developments of the sequence.

An even broader discourse perspective to analysing the politeness dimension is seen in studies which relate politeness behaviour to discourse domain. Studies of institutional interaction, such as courtroom, therapeutic, academic or media discourse (e.g. Labov and Fanshell 1977, Lakoff 1989, Fiksdal 1990, Penman 1990, see also Drew and Heritage 1992) have

drawn attention to the ways in which situational and institutional contexts may constrain and restrict the options and strategies available to the participants. They have also shown how interpersonal concerns play a role in the organization of interactional activities. The ways in which the global situation frame and the organization of discourse shape politeness behaviour remain a primary focus of current work in politeness research.

In brief, recent attempts to extend the study of the politeness dimension of language use towards aspects of interaction, features of speech events and discourse domains, have highlighted the need to adopt a dynamic, multidimensional approach to analysis. In addition to describing the speakers' choices at utterance-level, such an approach must be able to identify the ways in which these choices are produced, interpreted and negotiated in an interactive context. It must also pay attention to more global aspects of discourse, the topics and activities which are dealt with and the ways in which these are managed, and the contextual constraints which affect the process.

## **5. Towards an Analytical Framework**

### **5.1. A Pragmatic Approach**

The speech-act orientation of previous research raises the question of how to combine description of utterance-level linguistic politeness strategies with an analysis of the turn-by-turn interactive organization of conversation. The framework presented below draws from the results of research in intercultural pragmatics, interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis in an attempt to focus on those aspects of interaction which are foregrounded in the process of constructing discourse while managing potentially problematic activities.

The approach is pragmatic in that it focuses on the language users and their situated choices of language use from the resources available. It is thus acknowledged that speakers have various goals in interaction, which they pursue through language, and that some of the language used in the negotiation of goals can be described with reference to strategies of face-work. In this respect the work builds on Brown and Levinson's (1978/ 1987) theory of politeness. A dynamic view of goals is adopted: while the speakers' goals may be shared, overlapping or unshared in the context of interaction, they are complex, context-dependent and negotiable (Craig 1990, Penman 1990). In other words, any one utterance may reflect multiple goals, relating to both the illocutionary point which is intended and considerations of face. Goals are also emergent, that is, they are adjusted and renegotiated in the course of the interaction and may evolve as a result of the negotiation process (Hopper & Drummond 1990).

Some of the goals relevant to the participants in an encounter are made recognizable to other participants and are thus observable in the interaction through linguistic and conversational action. Goals are observable both at the level of *conversational content*, in other words the topics which are talked about (e.g. talking about a party) and the activities engaged in (e.g. inviting interlocutor to the party) and *form*, in other words the language used in utterances at the level of individual turns, and the sequencing of turns in negotiating actions and responses. Content and form in conversation are inseparable, however: the language and structuring of turns cannot be studied without paying attention to the topic and activity in progress. Thus, the meaning and significance of any utterance cannot be determined without the study of its circumstances of use, i.e. its context.

Linguistic action is described in three dimensions. At the most local level the focus is on the (i) *pragmatic acts* which utterances can be said to perform in context, in other words the meaning and force they can be seen to derive in the process of

interaction. Beyond the local level, (ii) the *sequences* or *chains* of action which a particular utterance can be seen to belong to are identified and described. At the global level the description seeks to identify (iii) the *activities* which the interactants engage in through organizing and sequencing actions in particular ways in a conversational encounter.

Pragmatic acts are distinct from speech acts in that they are not utterances with a single identifiable force, but may be conveyed in pieces of discourse ranging from individual utterances to longer stretches of interaction, or may be performed nonverbally (Thomas 1991, Mey 1993). Pragmatic acts thus derive their meaning and force from complex contextual sources which include the speaker's goals or intentions and the hearer's interpretations, the immediately preceding and subsequent discourse and situational constraints. Pragmatic acts and their interpretations are constructed and negotiated in the process of discourse. An act has interactional consequences and affects the organization of the conversational sequence in which it is embedded: it generally projects some form of a response, and often restricts the type of response to some extent. In this way utterances are placed in the interactive context of conversational sequences or action chains. Finally, discourse or speech activities (see Levinson 1979, Gumperz 1982) can be seen to unfold in longer stretches of discourse which manifest particular patterns of action, have a particular (topical) focus and are typically framed by identifiable linguistic and interactional practices. Politeness considerations can be seen to enter into the organization of the conversational event both locally and globally, through all three dimensions. They motivate the ways in which utterances and their responses are formulated and woven into specific types of action patterns or chains and hence shape the activity which emerges over sequences of discourse.

## 5.2. The Framework

The analytic framework outlined here seeks to capture the dynamics of face-work by adopting a multilevel pragmatic approach in which the management of face-threat is described in relation to conversational content and form at different levels of organization. It seeks to describe what the participants say and do when they are negotiating a potentially face-threatening activity (e.g. dealing with a request or a complaint) and how they orient to and participate in the activity by making use of different conversational and linguistic resources. In this context the term conversational *activity* (Levinson 1979, Gumperz 1982, Goodwin and Goodwin 1992) is adopted to refer to the conversational events and acts that the participants engage in when making, for example, an invitation, request or complaint. Activities are defined as goal-defined, socially constructed, bounded events with constraints on the participants' contributions and typical organizational patterns.

The description focuses on both local and global aspects of discourse. At the local level conversational contributions (utterances, turns) are considered in relation to immediately preceding and (anticipated and actual) subsequent contributions. Description at the global level covers phenomena which are realized in longer stretches of talk, such as sequences, activities and topics. The negotiation of a face-threatening activity is described at three levels of organization: the levels of individual actions and turns, conversational sequences and the potentially problematic encounter. At the microlevel of conversational turns and utterances, the focus is on the goals associated with a particular activity (e.g. making a request), the linguistic choices which can be seen to realize these goals and the ways in which the linguistic strategies interact with turn-taking. The second level consists of the sequences in which the face-threatening activity is negotiated, for instance a stretch of talk where a request is made and responded to. The third level of overall organization involves the study of the patterns of action and

development of topics in the course of the whole encounter. At this level attention is paid to the ways in which different organizational patterns reflect the negotiation of contextual assumptions, e.g. the purpose and goals of the conversation and the participants' relationship.

These three levels, although by no means distinct or independent, provide a useful starting point in the analysis: they enable a systematic focus on a range of conversational phenomena which have different scope in the interactive context and they make it possible to link the description of linguistic patterns with other patterns of organization. However, many interactional phenomena clearly extend beyond any one of the three levels of organization, or may operate and be displayed simultaneously at all three levels. Possible interactional asymmetries arising from the participants' different access to linguistic and sociocultural knowledge, for example, constrain patterns of conversational participation and may lead to difficulties and problems of communication at any level. There may be asymmetries in the ways that individual utterances are produced and interpreted, or in the ways that conversational activities or topics are developed. Thus the three levels of analysis necessarily merge in actual description of data and an important aspect of analysis is to relate the observations on the local level to those which emerge at higher levels of organization.

Below a sample of data is presented for closer examination. The data come from a set of interactions recorded during consultation sessions for foreign students at a Finnish University.<sup>4</sup> The data excerpt will be discussed and commented on in the following sections in order to show how the analytic concepts and distinctions in the present framework can be applied to data from actual interactions.

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<sup>4</sup> I gratefully acknowledge the help of the following students with obtaining the data: Leena Hakamäki, Jessica Münzt and Veera Koskinen.

## Excerpt 1

A= Advisor

S= Student

- 1 S: ask you on behalf of my friend  
 2 A: yes  
 3 S: because she is not able to come right now  
 4 A: yeah  
 5 S: and (.) eeh [we're]  
 6 A: [is she] studying here [at ]  
 7 S: [ye]:s [she's]  
 8 A: [okay]  
 9 S: studies ( ) (.) one girl from Bangladesh  
 10 A: Bangladesh? [yes eeh ]  
 11 S: [yeah ( ) ] (.)  
 12 A: El Ella Rulalaila (.) [yes]  
 13 S: [yes]  
 14 A: yes  
 15 S: eeh eeh and we are taking with some man- courses (.) management  
 16 a trip a trip to Helsinki=  
 17 A: = yes  
 18 S: and eeh we are taking the train so eeh I would like to ask you eeh  
 19 now that we have our students card do we need to go to the eeh=  
 20 A: =railway station (.) o:h  
 21 S: yes with eeh an extra photograph for?  
 22 A: no no if you have the student card it's enough (.) you'll get the  
 23 discount with the card (.)  
 24 S: a:h mm  
 25 A: you just go to the person (.) there and (.) they give you the discount  
 26 S: yes  
 27 A: so it's only if you don't have the student card you must eeh take a  
 28 certificate from us [and ]  
 29 S: [yeah ]  
 30 A: (.) one photo (.) [bec]ause  
 31 S: [ehm]  
 32 A: they'll give you (.) a card of their own (.)  
 33 S: hmm  
 34 A: but in this case it's not needed  
 35 S: yeah (.) thank you so ve [ry much]  
 36 A: [so:] does R. have the student card already?

### **5.2.1. Linguistic and Interactional Realization of Goals**

This section describes the microlevel linguistic and interactional resources with which face-threatening action can be expressed and the way these strategies can be seen to operate in the interactive context of conversation. Relevant units of analysis here are the conversational utterances and turns in which the participants recognizably orient to some face-threatening activity at a particular point in discourse. At this level of analysis, attention must be paid to the ways in which the speakers introduce a particular activity into the conversation as a relevant topic and how they make their goals recognizable (or accessible) and acceptable to the interlocutor through various linguistic strategies (Aston 1988). The concepts and analytic distinctions described at the lowest level of analysis are summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1. The realization and negotiation of goals.

<b>MAKING GOALS ACCESSIBLE</b>
Types of Pragmatic Act (e.g. request, invitation, complaint)
Signals for Identification a. linguistic devices indicating goal (e.g. speech act verb) b. sequential clues (e.g. preceding utterance anticipates a request) c. contextual signals (e.g. gestures, objects or artefacts)
<b>MAKING GOALS ACCEPTABLE</b>
Types of Strategy a. minimizing strategies - weaken (mitigate) force of utterance - typically (but not exclusively) to avoid face-threat (e.g. negative politeness) b. maximizing strategies - strengthen (aggravate) force of utterance - typically (but not exclusively) to enhance face-support (e.g. positive politeness)
Types of Modification a. internal - verbal/ linguistic choices (lexical, syntactic, semantic) - level of directness (e.g. direct, conventionally/non-conventionally indirect) - non-verbal cues b. external - preparatory and/or supportive utterances
Orientation to Face Support, protect or aggravate - hearer's positive face / negative face - speaker's positive face / negative face
<b>NEGOTIATION OF GOALS</b>
Discourse Regulation Other Monitoring Patterns of Turn-taking and Participation

As Table 1 shows, utterances and groups of utterances (utterance complex) can be analysed in relation to three dimensions. First, it is necessary to examine the ways in which the participants make potentially face-threatening goals accessible or transparent to the interlocutor at a particular point in interaction. In pragmatic terms, this level of analysis aims to capture the types of act (e.g. request, invitation) which occur and the linguistic and interactional means with which they are signalled (e.g. linguistic signalling devices such as a speech act verb). An act can be made transparent through specific verbal strategies, in other words linguistic (lexical, syntactic, semantic) choices, and through the use of non-verbal means (tone of voice, prosody, gestures, etc.). In some cases a particular goal is not made linguistically explicit at all, but is implied and inferred through various contextual signals, such as nonverbal resources available in the situational context and sequential aspects of the organization of talk (e.g. through preparatory utterances).

In Excerpt 1 the student is asking the advisor a practical question to do with rail travel and thus seeking advice on a matter relevant to her. She makes her goal explicit to the advisor linguistically by using the verb 'ask' (lines 1 and 18) and using the syntactic formula for a question (*now that we have our student card do we need to go to*, lines 18-19). However, it is not the linguistic signals which define the activity in this context. In order to capture more of what is going on it is necessary to examine other aspects of the interactional context. We can note, for example, that the question in line 19 is anticipated and projected with preparatory utterances. The utterance in line 1 already indicates to the hearer that the speaker has a specific question in mind. The student's turns in lines 15-16 and 18 mark a more explicit move towards the actual question by giving background information on the topic and focus of the question (taking the train, student card) and thus setting the scene for the actual question. The student's utterances here can thus be described as serving a preparatory function.

The second dimension of analysis at this level relates to the ways in which the current goal is made acceptable to the interlocutor. These include strategies for modifying the strength or force of utterances so that they might be received as less face-threatening. The types of strategies available can be described in terms of the ways that they either minimize or maximize the pragmatic force (Held 1993) of the utterance, in other words either mitigate or aggravate the strength with which for example a request or a complaint is expressed. In Excerpt 1 the strategies used in the formulation of the question serve to minimize the force of the utterance: the student expresses her question in a mitigated and extended form rather than stating it bluntly.

In addition to identifying the type of strategy, it is also important to consider the means for modifying the force of the utterance. Following Faerch and Kasper (1989), two types of modification are distinguished: internal and external modification. Internal modification refers to the ways in which the illocutionary force of an utterance may be modified (mitigated or aggravated) through lexical and syntactic devices within an utterance. External modification, on the other hand, refers to modification by means of supportive moves adjacent to the utterance. Here particular attention must be paid to the linguistic choices made by the participants and the level of directness of utterances. Directness is perceived as the degree of illocutionary transparency associated with an utterance, i.e. the relative ease of identifying its illocutionary point or goal (cf. Blum-Kulka 1987: 133, see also Leech 1983: 38). A distinction is made between conventional and non-conventional types of indirectness (see Searle 1975, Blum-Kulka 1987). Both internal and external modification can be identified in the student's turns in Excerpt 1. Internally the student's request for information/advice is modified with the conventionally indirect form *would like to ask*. The rising intonation used in the question itself may also serve as a mitigating strategy. External modification is

provided in the preparatory utterance immediately preceding the question.

In analysing the directness of utterances in their interactive contexts it is not possible to employ the discrete categories set up in some recent models (cf. Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989). When utterances are embedded in the turn-by-turn organization of discourse and derive their meaning and force in this context, directness must be understood as a relative and context-dependent feature of utterances. Thus, it is more important to examine the combined effect of the linguistic and other means used in formulating utterances than to identify the number and distribution of discrete linguistic strategies. In Excerpt 1 it is interesting to consider the advisor's turn in line 20. This turn occurs in the middle of the student's question: in formulating her question the student hesitates (*go to the eeh*, line 19), thus signalling a word-search or some such hitch in her utterance. The advisor responds to this immediately by offering interactional assistance (*railway station*, line 20), thus showing her understanding of the previous turn and cooperation in constructing the question. The question is actually completed by the student's next turn in line 21. Thus, rather than identifying the act of requesting information/ advice here as a conventionally indirect unilateral act, it is necessary to view it as a cooperatively constructed turn with a design arising from and fitting to this context.

Finally, the ways in which utterances reflect orientation to face can be identified in terms of face-work strategies. Utterances may reflect orientation to one's own or the interlocutor's positive or negative face (strategies of positive or negative politeness) and a goal of enhancing or protecting face. Utterances may also be neutral with respect to face, or overtly threaten or aggravate negative or positive face. (Brown & Levinson 1987, Penman 1990). Brown and Levinson's (1987) categories of on-record and off-record politeness provide the basic framework for this description. If the observations presented above on Excerpt 1 are placed in the face-framework,

we can observe that the student is using anticipatory and preparatory strategies which reflect orientation to the interlocutor's negative face. The student does not state her request immediately or directly on the record, but instead gives the interlocutor clues about what is to follow and thus offers options and invites cooperation from the advisor. By doing this the student in fact achieves a cooperative, mutually face-supportive way of managing the request: the advisor's face is protected through presenting the problem in non-coercive terms, the student's own face is enhanced by showing her as acting appropriately and considerately and, finally, both participants are able to display their willingness to cooperate through collaborative construction of discourse.

It is important to emphasize that the strategies for expressing goals and making them recognizable and acceptable are not mutually exclusive. They may operate within one utterance or turn or across turns of speech, as the speaker adjusts his/her language to the reactions of the interlocutor. Thus, the third dimension of utterances relevant at this level of analysis covers the ways in which the participants cooperate in bringing to focus specific goals and deal with them jointly through a reciprocal exchange of turns. In conversation, speakers are required to continually monitor each other's reactions and dynamically adjust their contributions on the basis of their assessment of current requirements. Linguistic expressions can thus be formed interactively and, as illustrated by lines 18-21 in Excerpt 1, they may emerge through cooperative action as the speakers share the means and resources for expressing and interpreting goals.

A detailed study of the distribution of conversational turns is of particular importance from the point of view of more global aspects of organization. It makes it possible to describe when and how particular activities are introduced into the conversation and to examine the participation framework which the interactants establish in the course of the conversation (see Goodwin 1986, Bublitz 1988, Goodwin and Goodwin 1992).

Some further observations can be made here about the organization of action in Excerpt 1. As can be seen in the first lines of the excerpt, the student refers to and anticipates a request for information/ advice at the beginning of the encounter.<sup>5</sup> By doing this the student establishes herself as the person responsible for the first actual topic of the encounter, and the party responsible for defining the main activity or activities to be dealt with. In this way she also orients to the institutional context of the event. The advisor, however, quickly adopts an active role in the negotiation of the activity (note the overlap in lines 6, 8, 10 and 12). She starts asking questions which seem to indicate a particular understanding of the student's first turns. Her questions (lines 3, 6 and 10) show that she has inferred from the student's first utterances that the question projected has something to do with the student's friend, and that the identity of the friend is somehow relevant to the actual question. As the subsequent turns show, this interpretation is not correct and the advisor has to readjust her understanding of the activity in question. Nevertheless, the questions show her orientation to the event as an active participant, who is taking interactional responsibility for the actions and topics negotiated. It could be argued that this type of interactional behaviour is particularly relevant in establishing the participation framework of institutional encounters. In such settings the institutional representative has knowledge and/or expertise through which s/he is expected to take an active, even dominant role in the negotiation of particular topics.

Through an analysis of turn-taking behaviour it is thus possible to observe how participants cooperate and share the responsibility for initiating topics and activities to be discussed. Similarly, patterns of turn-taking can be related to the ways in which participants negotiate interactional control. One of the speakers may, for example, noticeably inhibit the other speaker from fully participating in the activity and thus adopt a

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<sup>5</sup> The tape recorder was turned on by the advisor after seeking the student's permission for the recording.

dominant role in the interaction, which may then be reflected in the subsequent discourse and the outcome of the interaction.

This section has described the linguistic and interactional means with which face-threatening activities can be made recognizable and negotiated in the interactive context of conversation. As the sample of data illustrates, the description of the linguistic patterns and strategies extends beyond the structural or functional properties of the utterance, taking into account aspects of turn-taking and conversational participation. Through examining the negotiation of conversational turns, the production of utterances can be linked with aspects of discourse management, e.g. monitoring the interlocutor's reactions (Faerch and Kasper 1984, Kasper 1989b). In this way it is possible to capture the way in which utterances and actions are negotiated in the time-bound process of talk.

### 5.2.2. Management of Activities

Beyond the micro-level of linguistic expressions and aspects of turn-taking behaviour, it is necessary to examine the ways in which the participants engage in the negotiation and construction of conversational activities which emerge over a longer sequence of conversation in the form of action sequences or chains (Pomerantz 1978). Potentially face-threatening activities set up expectations concerning the way they should be handled, and in this way shape the organization of the conversation. They generally project some form of a response, and may also restrict the type of response to some extent. The way actions and their responses are formulated can be examined from the perspective of preference organization, or response priority (see e.g. Levinson 1983, Bilmes 1988). As conversation analysts have shown, interactants have methodical ways of organizing responses as 'preferred' or unmarked, on the one hand, and 'dispreferred' or marked, on the other hand. It has been argued (see Brown and Levinson 1987, Heritage 1989) that the different ways of responding can be seen to be related to the

need to maintain face. A face-supportive (preferred) way of accepting an invitation, for example, is generally emphatic and makes use of maximizing strategies, whereas a rejection, which can be seen as a potentially face-threatening action, is often delayed, softened and justified by, for example, giving reasons for refusing. In this way all conversational activities have interactional consequences and affect the organization of the sequences in which they are embedded.

The focus of analysis at this level is on the phase of talk which (ideally) begins with the introduction of a particular face-threatening activity to be dealt with, consists of the negotiation of the activity and its response, and ends when an outcome or a solution achieved in the negotiation and some arrangement for relevant future action is made. Such sequences are identifiable in discourse through the orientation of the speakers to the specific activity to be dealt with. The analytic distinctions used in the description of the sequential management of a potentially face-threatening activity are summarized in Table 2 below.

TABLE 2. The management of face-threatening activities.

<b>PREPARING AND FOCUSING ON THE ACTIVITY</b>	
Pre-sequences, anticipatory moves Insertion Sequences, Side sequences Orientation and negotiation of face concerns	
<b>NEGOTIATING THE RESPONSE</b>	
Sequential patterns for utterance and response Face and response priority:	
First pair parts	Second pair parts preferred/ dispreferred
e.g. request invitation offer complaint	compliance/ refusal acceptance/ refusal acceptance/ refusal denial/ admission
<b>NEGOTIATING PROBLEMS AND IMPLICATIONS</b>	
Corrective sequences e.g. meaning negotiation; 'repair' of face damage	

In the description of these sequences, attention is paid, first, to the ways in which actions are prepared with anticipatory sequences (pre-sequences), which guide the interlocutor towards a new activity in conversation, and secondly, to the ways that actions project particular types of reaction and response. In this way the analysis aims to capture the ways in which the participants negotiate interpretations of the activity in focus and pay attention to the constraints that the activity sets for subsequent discourse. An invitation, for example, projects a limited set of responses: it sets up the expectation that it is accepted or turned down, and whatever follows an invitation in discourse will probably be interpreted in the light of this expectation. Thirdly, the analysis focuses on the kinds of sequences that the actions form. It is important to find out, for example, whether and how the participants observe the structural constraint of organizing actions in pairs (e.g. request - compliance or invitation - acceptance) or whether the

sequences take more complicated forms and whether there are any observable asymmetries with respect to different participants' expectations of relevant organizational patterns. Through identifying and describing such patterns of organization in the conversation, it is possible to examine how the concept of face and face-threat interacts with the ways that the activities emerge in the process of conversation.

A more detailed sequential analysis of Excerpt 1 shows that there is some asymmetry in the way that topics and activities are understood and negotiated. While the first lines establish the type of activity to be dealt with (request for information/advice), the participants do not arrive at a shared understanding of the more specific nature of the activity until later on in the interaction. As was noted above, the student's turns opening the main topic are followed by the advisor's questions which seek to clarify a specific aspect of the topic (the identity of the student's friend) before proceeding to the actual request. The sequential pattern which emerges from the exchanges in lines 6-14 is one of insertion sequence. The main activity does not proceed until the topic raised in this sequence is negotiated and closed (lines 12-14). However, as it turns out, the advisor's understanding of the projected activity is not in line with the student's. Lines 15-21 establish the nature of the request and show that the exchanges concerning the identity of the student's friend in fact have no direct relevance for the ensuing talk.

It is noteworthy, however, that the apparent lack of shared understanding is not treated as a problem by the participants. While it is possible to trace the asymmetry to the first two turns by the student (lines 1 and 3) and the subsequent reactions to these turns by the advisor, the sequential consequences are dealt with in an orderly way and no explicit correction or meaning negotiation sequences follow. Instead, the participants quickly adjust to a new phase in the encounter and focus on the actual request when it becomes interactionally relevant (lines 18-22). Face considerations may have a role in explaining this pattern: the participants may be avoiding explicit negotiation of meaning

because such orientation to the asymmetry involved might pose a threat to a balanced participation framework and also to interpersonal relations.

Once the main request is made transparent with an explicit question, it is responded to quickly and efficiently. As was noted in section 5.2.1. the question is constructed cooperatively by the two participants (lines 18-21). In lines 22-23 the advisor gives an immediate, unmitigated response to the question. The response is thus of the preferred type: the advisor complies with the student's request for information/ advice by providing a relevant answer to her question directly and without delay. However, the activity is not treated as complete at this point. When the student responds with only minimal acknowledgements (e.g. *a:h mm*, line 24, and *yes or yeah*, lines 26, 29), the advisor elaborates her response with further explanations (lines 25, 27-28, 30, 32 and 34). The negotiation of the response thus extends until a full acceptance is provided by the student in the form of a thanking routine (*thank you so very much*, line 35). After this turn marking the end of the request sequence, the advisor turns to another topic, raising the question dealt with previously in the insertion sequence (line 36).

### 5.2.3. Overall Organization

Table 3 outlines the aspects of organization which are examined at the most global level of analysis, that of whole conversational episodes or encounters. At the most global level of analysis, the focus is on the overall development of specific conversational events. Particular attention can be paid to the exchanges at the beginning and end of the conversations, the development and negotiation of interpersonal relations and the patterns of participation and interactional control which provide the framework within which conversational topics and activities are negotiated.

TABLE 3. Global aspects of organization.

<b>CONVERSATIONAL BOUNDARIES</b>
Opening and closing sequences Boundaries of (topical) phases or episodes
<b>TOPIC DEVELOPMENT</b>
Chains of topics and activities
<b>NEGOTIATION OF CONTEXT</b>
Interpersonal relations Interactional asymmetries Patterns of control

The activities at conversational boundaries, openings and closings, are an important aspect of overall organization because they generally reflect the 'ambience' or the atmosphere in which the conversation takes place (Mey 1993: 214). They also often show the participants' attempts to coordinate contextual assumptions and thus make explicit their orientation to relevant aspects of the setting and encounter (e.g. institutional identities, goals and purposes). In opening sequences the participants create the context for further talk, make manifest their contextual assumptions regarding, for example, their mutual relationship, and negotiate an initial domain of 'common ground' on the basis of which to continue. This type of conversational cooperation is particularly important in intercultural and second language conversations where shared background may be very limited and there is a greater need to establish a common basis for further talk. Closings, on the other hand, can be seen to reflect the participants' orientation to the outcome of the preceding discourse and their possible expectations for future interaction.

Conversational topics and activities are the content of the conversation, in other words, what is talked about. At the macro-level of analysis it is possible to focus on the ways topics

develop and follow each other, and the kinds of chains which they form through various patterns of action. Topics which are face-threatening can be seen in terms of episodes in which the speakers deal with some interactional problem or trouble (cf. e.g. Jefferson 1988). By describing such episodes, it is possible to follow the process of negotiation which starts with opening up the topic, focuses on the problematic activity and deals with possible problems and/or arrangements arising from it, and finally leads to the closing of the face-threatening topic.

At the global level, attention can also be paid to the ways in which the participants negotiate contextual assumptions throughout the encounter. The development of interpersonal relations is of particular importance. The distance between the participants, for example, may shift in the course of the encounter. Similarly, various interactional asymmetries arising from the participants' different access to the language used and different background knowledge in relation to sociocultural and situational factors (e.g. institutional position and power) may result in specific patterns of interactional dominance or control, so that one participant may come out as the dominant party, and may appear to achieve her/his goals better than the other.

Further observations can be made on the ways that locally emerging asymmetries influence the development of the conversation. It is important to note that global aspects of conversational organization cannot be examined independently of the local level phenomena. Global phenomena cannot be seen simply as arising from external features of the situational context but must be examined as products of the interactive process. This means that their identification and description must be grounded in a detailed analysis of the local contexts of talk which show the participants' efforts to negotiate meanings and interpretations in real time. Thus the analysis should aim to reveal how global phenomena may become salient in the actual process of interaction and how the participants call upon them to make sense of the current activity.

To illustrate some global aspects of organization it is interesting to examine the end of the interactional event from which Excerpt 1 was taken. After some 15 minutes of talk, the participants arrive at a point where they seem to deal with the previous topic and activity as completed and proceed to bring the whole interaction to a close. Excerpt 2 below shows how the closing phase is accomplished.

## Excerpt 2

- 1 A: I'll I'll try to contact her and (.) so (well.) please drop by  
 2 S: thank you very much=  
 3 A: =well maybe=  
 4 S: tomorrow is it ( ) =  
 5 A: =well I can try yes (.) to- [tomorrow yes yeah ]  
 6 S: [ ( ) whenever suits ] [you ( ) ]  
 7 A: [yeah well] I can try  
 it  
 8 of course it depends on-on-on if-if she's there at the moment (.) but  
 9 anyway I can try even this afternoon (.) so eeh  
 10 S: thank you ve [ry  
 11 A: [yeah] but it's lunchtime [so maybe it's not worth trying  
 12 S: [yeah (.) yeah (.) yeah (.)]  
 13 A: now  
 14 S: no  
 15 A: but if you drop by ( ) tomorrow then maybe I -I know more  
 16 S: thank you very much  
 17 A: okay it's no (.) problem [((laugh))  
 18 S: [nice to see you again]  
 19 A: you too so  
 20 S: thank [you]  
 21 A: [eheh] thought that because I haven't seen you I-I-I thought  
 22 that well everything (.) it- is- appears all right because  
 23 usually [it means  
 24 S: [yes]  
 25 A: that there is something  
 26 S: [thank you so very much]  
 27 A: [laughs]  
 28 S: [laughs]

As the excerpt shows, the encounter is brought to a close through a gradual transition from the previous topic to pre-closing and closing sequences. In line 1 the advisor indicates a shift towards a closing phase by restating an earlier offer to

contact someone and inviting the student to call on her again in order to find out more information about something discussed earlier. The student responds with an expression of thanks, indicating alignment with the advisor's turn. The subsequent lines (3-16) extend and elaborate this sequence by focusing briefly on relevant details and by ratifying the action agreed upon with a further confirmation sequence (lines 15-16). In lines 16-20 the speakers again take another step towards the closing by exchanging another thanking sequence and a complimentary routine. Finally, the advisor takes up the topic of the student's calling in to see her, thus briefly returning to the topic of the student's visit, and the student responds with a further thank you. The encounter ends with shared laughter.

This excerpt shows how the closing is achieved in a context-specific, orderly and face-supportive way. While the sequence contains typical features of pre-closing and closing routines, it also reflects the institutional context of the discourse event. The advisor's offer of further assistance and cooperation becomes relevant not only as the sequentially relevant response to the previous turn, but also by virtue of her institutional identity, which sets up certain constraints for appropriate behaviour. The ways in which the offer of help is formulated and arrangements are made for future action can be described as face-supportive: they express a cooperative and helpful orientation to the hearer and her problem. In the same way the student's repeated thanking routines mark her identity as client and the recipient of assistance or expert advice. They are also face-supportive in showing appreciation of the advisor's help. Further, both participants contribute to the orderly management of the closing with quick, sometimes partially overlapping responses to each other's turns and mutually supportive turns marking agreement and cooperation (e.g. in lines 4-6 and 11-12). Even though no explicit closing routines such as 'goodbye' are employed, the participants achieve a jointly negotiated and mutually face-supportive exit from the encounter.

## 6. Concluding remarks

As research on the politeness dimension of discourse has accumulated, the inadequacy of the major theoretical approaches has become increasingly clear. While the link between politeness and linguistic action is still relevant, it is clear from empirical work on a range of settings that this link is not best described in terms of single utterances or acts and their realization under some situational constraints. What remains to be done is to show how face considerations enter into the formulation of utterances and turns in specific interactive contexts. With focus on both linguistic detail and the social process of talk, a pragmatic approach to politeness in interaction can offer both the analytic concepts and methodology to extend the focus of research in this direction.

Future investigations will have to pay increasing attention to the ways in which politeness shapes and is shaped by the process of interaction itself and the way it enters into the negotiation of series of actions and reactions in specific situational contexts. As Kasper (1994: 3210) points out, future research must uncover how the ongoing discourse constitutes, maintains and alters participants' relationship, their rights and obligations and the atmosphere in which linguistic action takes place. In order to tackle these tasks a broader theoretical and empirical basis for analysis needs to be established.

This paper has attempted to make a contribution to this effort by examining the relationship between linguistic and conversational action and the notion of face from an interactional perspective. I have proposed a set of analytical concepts and distinctions drawn from research in various relevant fields in an attempt to outline an empirically workable framework which can be used to investigate a range of communicative events in which politeness and the consideration of face is likely to be a relevant dimension to examine. The specific focus of this paper has been on interaction in settings involving asymmetries of linguistic and interactional resources,

such as intercultural contexts. In order to understand the success or failure of such interaction, it is not enough to identify routine ways of performing actions in different linguistic or cultural groups. What is needed is an approach which allows the investigation of actual encounters where different norms and practices come into contact and are subject to the demands of the time-bound process of interaction. I hope that the framework outlined here proves useful for others engaged in empirical work in the field.

## Appendix: Transcription symbols

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Overlap                                |  |
| a) beginning of overlap                   | [yes<br>[yea:h                           |
| b) end of overlap                         | I used to smoke [a lot] more<br>[I see]  |
| 2. Latching of utterances                 | studied here at least one year=<br>=yeah |
| 3. Untimed pauses<br>(less than 1 second) | (.)                                      |
| 4. Timed pauses<br>(1 second or longer)   | (no of seconds) e.g. (1)                 |
| 5. Transcriptionist doubt                 | ( )                                      |
| 6. Verbal descriptions                    | (laugh) (cough)                          |
| 7. Intonation: Rising intonation          | ?  |

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## Ways of Referring to a Knowing Co-participant in Finnish Conversation

### 1. Introduction

Participation frameworks have been discussed extensively in recent years. The analysis of participation in conversation was started by Goffman ([1979] 1981) and is carried on by C. Goodwin (1979, 1981, 1984, 1987), M. H. Goodwin (1990), Hanks (1990), and Levinson (1988) among others. This paper aims to contribute to this discussion by presenting an analysis of a case in Finnish conversation. The aim of this paper is to provide a single-case analysis of how participation frameworks are created and managed in conversation through linguistic means.<sup>1</sup>

Goffman's ([1979] 1981) main idea was that in a multi-party speech situation the notions of speaker and hearer are too crude to be useful. Instead, there is a need to describe the *footing* which each participant has in relation to a certain utterance, and thus find the participation framework for that moment of speech. "A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (Goffman 1981: 128, 137).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See Levinson (1988) and Hanks (1990, Chapter 4) for detailed discussions of Goffman's ideas.

Goffman himself concentrated more on other types of activities than speech, but he suggested that it is the linguistic matters that “open up the possibility of finding some structural basis for even the subtlest shifts in footing” (1981: 147). Thus he challenged linguists to look at speech situations in a new way, and to re-analyze the relationship between utterances and the contexts in which they are produced.

From a linguistic point of view, it is natural to start this work by challenging existing theories of the deictic elements of language. In his study of deixis in Mayan, Hanks (1990) emphasizes that pronouns are the main linguistic resources through which participation frameworks are created and maintained in conversation. According to Hanks (1990: 138, 142), pronouns bind together the current frame of situation and the narrated frame; the frames cannot be studied separately from one another, because each partly determines the other. Hanks states (1990: 148) that:

“person categories are different from participant roles, but they are always linked to these roles through reference or indexicality. Hence the use of these deictics tends to sustain an inventory of participant frames by focalizing them, engaging them as ground for further reference, or both.”

In this paper I will analyze the use of pronouns referring to participants in a specific type of speech situation: one of the participants tells a story in which a co-present person acts as a protagonist (cf. C. Goodwin 1981: 156-159, 1984; Lerner 1992). This kind of situation can be regarded as problematic for the participants because it seemingly violates the general conversational norm, formulated by Sacks, that “a speaker should, on producing the talk he does, orient to his recipient”. (Sacks [1971] 1992: 438.) One specification of that rule is that one should not “tell your recipients what you know they already know”. Saying things which the listener already knows is often regarded as a complainable event: if you tell someone a story you have told her/him before, it is likely that s/he will stop you

as soon as s/he recognizes the story and say: "You already told me that!"

However, people often find themselves in situations where they would like to tell a story to a group of listeners even though someone in the group is familiar with it. This happens very often to couples, and Sacks describes this as a feature of "spouse talk" ([1971] 1992: 437-443). However, as C. Goodwin (1981: 159) notes: "Such problems are not confined to spouses; they emerge whenever parties who have experienced an event together are jointly in a position to describe it to someone else." In these situations, the story has at least two kinds of recipients: the *knowing recipient* (see C. Goodwin 1979), who acts as a protagonist in the story and who is also a potential co-teller, and the *unknowing recipients*, to whom the story is new. The story must be designed in a way that makes it suitable for both types of recipients. In this kind of a situation the participation framework is more complex than in a prototypical situation of story-telling where the narrator is telling something which is new and unknown to all recipients.

The presence of a knowing recipient requires special orientation by all the participants, especially by the speaker and by the knowing recipient. Through detailed analyses of several complex participation frameworks, C. Goodwin has shown how delicate the methods are which participants have developed in order to deal with both knowing and unknowing recipients in conversation (see, for example, 1979, 1981: 149-166, 1984). The method I use is in principal similar to his: a detailed turn-by-turn analysis of an interesting and intricate piece of data. However, my aim is somewhat different: Goodwin focuses on the joint vocal behaviour of the teller and the recipients, and analyzes both vocal and non-vocal communicative behaviour, especially gaze, whereas I will focus mainly on the vocal behavior of the narrator. My main point is to understand the linguistic choices s/he makes.<sup>3</sup> This understanding is best

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<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, Goodwin (1984) provides an analysis of a situation which is quite parallel to the one analyzed here. He analyzes a story which is

received through a turn-by-turn analysis of the complete situation and each participant's role in it.

In the story to be analyzed below, the narrator is explicitly, with specific linguistic items, referring to the knowing recipient and marking that the latter is somehow involved in the story. Finnish has several linguistic items available which can be used for this purpose. Some examples of them are given below to orient non-Finnish readers to the phenomenon.

(1) The first-person plural pronoun *me* 'we' can refer inclusively to both the speaker and to the knowing recipient. When the referents are first introduced, the knowing recipient needs to be identified in some way, for example, by name. For this purpose a construction such as *me X:n kanssa* is often used. This construction is glossed in English "we X(GEN) with", but in normal usage this construction will always be understood to involve only the speaker and the other named individual. In the example below, Mella begins to tell about the adventures she and Henna had when the two of them were hitch-hiking in Scotland. Henna is sitting beside her.

01 Mella : **me**-häl l:iftas -i -mme **Henna**-n  
we-PRT hitch-hike-PST-PL1 lnameF-GEN

02            kanssa Lok Nessi-lle,  
              with     Loch Ness-ALL

01 Mella : **Henna and I** hitch-hiked to Loch Ness

---

told at a dinner-table when one couple is visiting another. The wife tells about a *faux pas* which her husband committed during a visit to their friends. Among other things, Goodwin analyzes in detail how the participants organize themselves in relation to each other through the telling, with special attention to how the telling-specific identities **teller**, **addressed recipient**, **nonaddressed recipient**, and **principal character** are made relevant, displayed, and differentiated from each other. He focuses on the actions of each participant in turn, and as his data are videotaped, it is possible for him to pay attention both to the vocal and the non-vocal behaviour of the participants.

(2) Addressing the knowing recipient with the second-person pronoun and/or a name:

- 01 Sanna : m:(h)uista-t-han **sä Raita** ku me  
remember-SG2-PRT you lnameF when we
- 02 ol-t-i-i (0.5) m:- m- Mäkelä-n  
be-PASS-PST-4. lname-GEN
- 03 Puu:stelli-ssa >ei-ku< mikä se-n nimi  
tavern -INE NEG-PRT what it-GEN name
- 04 ol-i, Puumala-ssa.  
be-PST placename-INE
- 01 Sanna : **you** r(h)emember **Raita** when we were (0.5)  
02 in m:- m- Mäkelän Puustelli >or< what was  
03 it called, in Puumala.

(3) Referring to the knowing recipient by name (in the third person):

- 01 Raija : No.(.) N:yt ku **Ta:rja** tul -i  
well now when lnameF come-PST-3
- 02 >millo-s se tul-i< jo  
when-PRT she come-PST-3 already
- 03 perjantai-n kot:i-i  
Friday -ESS home-ILL
- 01 Raija : Well. (.) N:ow when **Ta:rja** came home  
02 >when did she come< on Friday already

(4) Referring to the knowing recipient by the third-person pronoun *hän* or *se* 'he/she':<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Hän* is the standard third-person singular pronoun in written texts, *se* in the spoken vernacular. In written texts, *hän* only refers to human beings, and *se* only to non-human entities. In the spoken language, *se* can refer both to human and non-human entities, whereas *hän* is mainly used in reported speech.

01 Noora : **s(h)e** pud(h)ot-ti t(h)ommo-se-n  
 he drop-PST-3 that kind -ACC

02 l(h)ampu-n pöydä-l- heh heh .hh  
 lamp -ACC table-ALL

01 Noora : **h(h)e** dr(h)opped that k(h)ind of  
 02 a l(h)amp on the table heh heh .hh

(5) Referring to the knowing recipient by a proximal demonstrative pronoun *tää* (<*tämä*) 'this one':

01 Noora : =**tää** k(h)aat(h)-o äiti-n  
 this spill-PST-3 mother-GEN

02 a(h)inoa-ll(h)e pellava-l(h)iina-ll(h)e  
 only -ALL linen tablecloth -ALL

03 k(h)ah(h)vi-n  
 coffee -ACC

01 Noora : =**this one here** sp(h)ill(h)ed the  
 02 c(h)offee on mother's o(h)nly linen  
 03 t(h)ablecl(h)oth

(6) Referring to the knowing recipient by a distal demonstrative pronoun *tuo* 'that one':

01 Noora : .hh hehe se l(h)ipsaht-i po[hja-lle heh  
 it slip-PST-3 ground-ALL

02 Leena : [ai tippu  
 oh fall-PST-3

03 käde-s[tä  
 hand -ELA

04 Veijo : [mitä  
 what

05 Noora : .heeh heh heh [.heeh

06 Veijo : [toheloi-k-s **tuo**,  
 make mess-Q-PRT that

07 ( ) : (.)

08 ( ) : [joo::.  
yes

09 ( ) : [haha ha[ha

10 Veijo : [hyvä.  
good

01 Noora : .hh hehe it sl(h)ipped to the gro[und heh  
02 Leena : [oh you

03 [dropped it

04 Veijo : [what

05 Noora : .heeh heh heh [.heeh

06 Veijo : [did **that one** make a mess,  
07 (.)

08 ( ) : [yea::h

09 ( ) : [haha ha[ha

10 Veijo : [good.

When a narrator uses one of these items in her/his story, it is always a matter of choice: why does s/he use one variant rather than another one? It can be assumed that the choice of the referring item is crucial in constituting a particular kind of local conversational structure. More specifically, through the choice of the referring item, the knowing recipient can be constituted either as a recipient or as a co-teller, and simultaneously also the role of the other participants is formulated. The choice of the pronominal item can also have consequences for the way in which the story will be built up - whose point of view is presented and which events will be focused on, whether the narrator will tell it alone or together with the other participants, and what kind of second stories (cf. Sacks [1968] 1992: 3-16) will follow.

In this paper I shall present an analysis of a conversational sequence in which the knowing recipient is referred to in several different ways, and discuss the effects these different means have in that particular conversation. Through the analysis of pronouns, I shall also analyze how shifting from one speech

activity type to another changes the participation framework of the speech situation (cf. M. H. Goodwin 1990: 239-257). I shall concentrate on the interaction of the two story-tellers and only touch upon the contributions by the unknowing recipients.

## 2. The Phenomenon

The data for this study come from a conversation during a birthday party with a group of young people, six young women and one man, Veijo, who are having dinner together.<sup>5</sup> In the course of the evening, they have been telling several funny stories about what happened when somebody met the parents of his/her girlfriend / boyfriend for the first time. The narrating episode that will be discussed here is the fifth story in this series of stories. Noora is the narrator and her boyfriend, Veijo, is the principal character of the story.

The sequence, which is presented below, consists of the telling of two stories (one about spilling coffee on a tablecloth and the other about dropping a lamp) and their evaluation.

- 01 Veijo : [ä:: näytt-i-hän se-ki: kyllä (.) ehkä  
ä:: it also seemed surely (.) maybe
- 02 Raita : [ˈheh hehˈ
- 03 Veijo : se minu-n esiintymine aika railakas-ta  
that my behaviour quite wild
- 04           ˈtom[mos-taˈ PAITsi] et ʔoli< (.)  
ˈyou knowˈ Except that it ʔwa< (.)
- 05 Noora :           [nii taikka<        ]  
              yes or<

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<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, the conversation is not on videotape. Even though video would make possible a richer analysis, there is still a great deal to be found in simple audiotaped data. Lack of the visual from a video only restricts the characteristics of conversation one can focus on.

- 06 Veijo : [mu-st se ei kyl ol-lu [eka  
I think it wasn't the first
- 07 Mella : [nohh  
so hh
- 08 Noora : [↑ol-i  
it ↑was
- 09 ensi-depyytti ku kaikki aina  
the first debut 'cause everybody always
- > puhuu **su -n** ensi-de'pyyti-stä'. =**tää**  
talks about **your** first 'debut'. =**this one**
- 11 k(h)a[at(h)-o äiti-n a(h)inoa-ll(h)e  
**here** sp(h)ill(h)ed the c(h)offee on
- 12 (Leena): [( 'kuinka' )  
( 'how' )
- 13 Noora : pellava-l(h)iina-ll(h)e k(h)ah(h) [vi-n  
mother's o(h)nly linen t(h)ablecl(h)oth
- 14 Sanna : [.ihh
- 15 Noora : [he he he [he he
- 16 Sanna : [.ihhh [.ihhh
- 17 (Leena): [hih hih [hih
- 18 Raita : [hä hä hä [hä hä
- 19 Veijo : [eipäs: >jotain<  
oh no: >something<
- 20 vää[räs: e: eihä tää nii ollu ku tota ni]  
wrong: e: it wasn't so but well eh
- 21 Raita : [TAIsi? .hh tota noi käsi tärist(h)ä ]  
well I GUEss your hand was shaking
- 22 Raita : hehe[he

- 23 Leena :           [nii:[:  
                  ye::s
- 24 Veijo :                   [ei-ks tää ol-lu se juttu siis  
                              wasn't this the story uhm
- 25           (.) minä tarkota-n nyt si-tä että ku<  
              (.) I mean now the one that when<
- 26 (    ) : .h(h) [hä
- > Noora :           [ei sä te-i-t molemmat sama-l  
                              no you did both things on the
- > Noora : [visiiti-l vaik sä [e-t si-tä u [sko.  
                  same visit although you don't believe it.
- 29 Sanna : [ih[(h)                   [h(h)                   [
- 30 (    ) :           [hahaha   [
- 31 Veijo :   [e-n  
  no I
- 32           usko.  
              don't.
- 33 Sanna : .h(h)h [ha .hh
- 34 Noora :           [mei-än perhe muista-a se-n  
                              our family remembers it
- >           elä[västi.=kaikki muu-t] paitsi sinä.  
              clearly.=everybody else except you.
- 36 (    ) :           [hi hi hi hi hih                   ]
- 37 Sanna : no kerto-k(h)aa f>mimmone< se toin[enf  
                  well t(h)ell us fwhat the other onef
- 38 (Leena):   [no:  
  well:
- 39 Sanna : o(h)l-i. .h(h)  
                  w(h)as like. .h(h)

- > Noora : s(h)e pud(h)ot-ti t(h)ommose-n l(h)ampu-n  
h(h)e dr(h)opped that k(h)ind of a
- 41 [pöydä-l- heh][heh .hh [tai to-n  
l(h)amp on the tab- heh heh .hh or the
- 42 (Henna) : [hmhm hehe ] [ ]
- 43 Sanna : [↑↑ha [↑↑ha
- 44 Noora : sisä-kalu-n  
inside piece
- 45 Leena : ehheh [hehheh heh [he heh .hhh
- 46 ( ) : [ha ha ha [ha
- 47 Veijo : [n(h)ous-i-n vain ni  
I just g(h)ot up and so
- 48 pää kolaht-i lamppu-un ja [toi ritilä  
(my) head hit the lamp and that grating
- 49 ( ) : [mh h(h)
- 50 Veijo : tippu ja .h kaat[u maito-muki  
fell down and .h the milk mug turned over
- 51 Sanna : [↑.h(h) .ehh
- 52 Raita : ahha ha[h ha hah hah
- 53 Veijo : [ˈlat-ˈ ɛmaito-muki kaatu  
ˈflo-ˈ ɛthe milk mug turned over
- 54 maa-ɛ  
on the groundɛ
- 55 Sanna : hi hi .h[h .hh(h)h .h(h)h ]
- 56 Veijo : [pö- ɛpöydä-lleɛ j(h)a m(h)aito]  
ta- ɛon the tableɛ a(h)nd the
- 57 v(h)alu (.) [tota ni (.) l(h)attia-lle  
m(h)ilk was sp(h)illed (.) eh (.) on the
- 58 Sanna : [tha ha ha .ahh

- 59 Veijo : kissa-n p(h)äälle.  
fl(h)oor on the cat.
- 60 Raita : ah hah ha ha ha [ha ha
- 61 (Mella) : [ha ha=
- 62 Veijo : =.h k(h)issa [s(h)ingaht-i  
=.h the c(h)at fl(h)ew
- 63 Sanna : [.h(h)h
- 64 ((nauravat 1.2))  
((they laugh 1.2))
- > Noora : **fsä** yrit-i-t [selvästi  
**fyou** clearly tried to
- 66 Sanna : [.h(h)
- 67 Noora : [tappa-aŋ si-t(h)ä h(h)]  
killŋ h(h)er h(h)
- 68 Sanna : [↑fei oof ]t(h)ot [t(h)a h(h)]  
↑ŋcan't beŋ t(h)rue h(h)
- 69 ( ) : [eeh hehheh
- 70 Leena : [no mitä  
well what
- 71 tei-än isä ja äiti sano.  
did your father and mother say.
- 72 Mella : nauro.=  
(they) laughed.=
- 73 Raita : =ei [se mitä(h)än [heh  
=never mi(h)nd heh
- 74 ( ) : [joo ei s(h)e [mitä-  
yeah n(h)ever min-
- 75 Noora : [ftä-lle  
fthis

- 76 o-n naure-ttu kyl [tä-lle en(h)si  
surely has been laughed at this f(h)irst
- 77 (Sanna) : [.h(h)h(h)]
- 78 Noora : vis(h)iiti-lle ai(h)ka h(h)uole-ll[(h)a  
v(h)isit qui(h)te tho(h)rou(h)ghly
- 79 ( ) : [he heh
- 80 heh heh heh [.hh
- 81 Sanna : [.h(h)h[(h)h
- 82 Noora : [ei mut se ei ol-lu  
no but it wasn't the
- > ensi-vi< (.) 'siis' **sää** e-t jää-ny  
first vi< (.) 'I mean' **you** didn't stay
- 84 mei-lle ensi-visiiti-l  
at our place on the first visit
- 85 [yö-ks (--)]  
overnight
- 86 Leena : [koita to-ta rä] [kä-ä.  
try that cheese.<sup>6</sup>
- 87 Veijo : [e-n mä [oo ↑SAno-nu  
I haven't ↑SAid
- 88 Leena : [räkä-ä.  
cheese.

<sup>6</sup> Actually, Leena does not say *cheese*. The Finnish word *räkä* means literally 'snot'. The use of this word (lines 86 and 88) is a word-play. The group is having dinner, and among the dishes there is cheese which is seasoned with shrimps; it is called "shrimp-cheese". A *shrimp* is in Swedish *räka*, and the Swedish word can be seen on the package. (All products in Finland have the text both in Finnish and in Swedish; Swedish is the other official language in Finland.) The word *räka*, if pronounced in a Finnish way, sounds very similar to the Finnish word *räkä*. This word-play has been discussed at the beginning of the tape.



- 105 Leena: [ä(h) -  
m(h) -
- 106 fäiti sa-i [syyttä-ä omaa  
fmother could only blame her own
- 107 ( ): [((tyrskähtää))  
(bursts in laughter)
- 108 Leena: type[r(h)yyt(h)-tä-änf  
stup(h)idit(h)yf
- 109 [((nauravat))  
(they laugh)
- 110 Noora: pir(h)ua-kos k(h)atto  
why the d(h)evil did she l(h)ay
- 111 n(h)i[i(h)n h(h)uo(h)nos(h)t(h)i  
(the table) s(h)o p(h)oorly
- 112 [((nauravat))  
(they laugh)
- 113 Mella: [.hhhh ohh[oijaa,  
.hhhh ohhoijaa,
- 114 Sanna: [↑ii nyt mä ↑kuol[(h)e(h)-n  
↑ii now I'm gonna ↑d(h)ie
- 115 [((nau[ravat))  
(they laugh)
- 116 Noora: [fet  
fso
- 117 aatel-kaa si-tä ku mee-tte  
think of this when you make
- 118 ↓depyyte-i[-llef.  
↓debutsf.
- 119 ( ): [e(h)h
- 120 [hi hi
- 121 Henna: [nii:[.:  
ye::s

- 122 Sanna: [ei mut siis tää lamppu o-n mu-st  
no but well I think this lamp is
- 123 nyt fjotain ai:[van£ fan[t(h)ast- he heh  
now fsomething really£ fant(h)ast- he heh
- 124 ( ): [hih [
- 125 ( ): [ehh heh [hah hah
- 126 ( ): [m: [mm:]
- 127 ( ): [j(h)oo  
y(h)ea
- 128 Sanna: .h(h)h[hh
- 129 Noora: [nii mut se: et viel<  
yea but the fact that one indeed
- > pitä-ä kissa-n pääl.=sä selvästi e-t  
has to pour it on the cat.=you clearly
- 131 Noora: pitä-n(h)y [s(h)iit  
didn't l(h)ike h(h)er
- 132 Veijo: [syytö-hä m(h)ie sii-(h)e  
w(h)ell I w(h)as innocent of
- 133 ol-(h)i-n  
that
- 134 Sanna: hi hi hi
- 135 (0.3)
- 136 ( ): .hh[ihhh]hh
- 137 Henna: [voi ei.]  
oh no.
- 138 Mella: h(h)a[l(h)u- .h kissa] parka?  
d(h)id- .h poor cat?

- 139 ( ): [(voi: kauhea) ]  
(oh my God)
- 140 (.)
- 141 ( ): eh he he [he
- 142 Henna: [mut onne-ks se ol-i ↓ma:ito-o.  
but luckily it was ↓mi:l.k.

During this sequence, the narrator Noora addresses Veijo, the protagonist, by the second-person pronoun *sä* (< *sinä* 'you') nine times (lines 10, 27, 28, 35, 65, 83, 91, 95 and 130). She refers to Veijo by a proximate demonstrative pronoun *tää* (< *tämä* 'this one') twice (lines 10 and 102), and once with the pronoun *se* (line 40), which is a third-person singular pronoun in colloquial Finnish, but is also a demonstrative pronoun.

In this section, I would like to discuss the following questions: What is the contribution of this variation to the interpretation of the story? What function does each pronoun have which could not be performed by the others?

In this sequence, there are two stories which are told in intertwined fragments. First, Veijo begins to relate something about his own behaviour during his first visit to Noora's parents (lines 1-4). Then in line 4, he begins to hesitate about whether it really was his first visit or not. This is relevant, because the topic of the conversation has for a long time been "funny things that happened on the first visit to your girl- or boyfriend's home". The hesitation gives Noora an opportunity to come in with her story which is not, as it appears, the same as the one that Veijo had in mind. Noora begins a story about how Veijo spilled coffee on the tablecloth.

(7)

08 Noora : ↑ol-i        ensi-depyytti ku  
          be-PST-3 first debut     since  
          it ↑was the first debut 'cause



story about dropping a lamp and pouring milk on the cat thus elicits lines 40 through 81.

Then in line 82, Noora starts the argument again about whether this happened during the first visit or not, and in line 90 she moves on to tell the story about spilling the coffee which she had been trying to tell earlier. She tells her story and evaluates it together with the other girls in lines 90-121. Then Sanna returns to the lamp story once again, and they comment on it for a while (lines 122-142).

To sum up, this sequence presents a case where two people, a couple, have experienced something together and they have to decide how to share between them the right to tell about it to others. In this case the solution is that they correct each other and compete for the right to tell by claiming that one remembers better than the other how everything happened (cf. Sacks 1992: 443, and Lerner 1992). Thus, instead of one story being told jointly, or two separate, consecutive stories, there are two stories mixed together, interrupted by arguments.

### **3. The Analysis**

With the variation of the pronouns, Noora is involved in four types of activities. She (i) separates the knowing and the unknowing recipients, (ii) marks the speech activity type as either narrative or argumentative, (iii) turns from the here-and-now to the narrated world, and (iv) occasionally accepts the knowing recipient's right to tell what happened by offering an understanding of his story as she might upon hearing it for the first time, as one of the recipients. In the following pages, each of these activities will be analyzed separately.

### 3.1. Distinguishing between Knowing and Unknowing Recipients

As the second- and third-person pronouns give the referent a different participation status, the shift between them carries with it a change of footing. Thus, for example, when Noora changes the pronoun from *sä* 'you' to *tää* 'this one' or *se* 'he', she also changes the alignment she has towards the recipients. For Noora, there are two kinds of recipients: the knowing recipient Veijo and the girls, who do not know the events. In this section, I will discuss the ways in which this distinction is realized in conversation.

Noora's strategy in dealing with the two types of recipients is to make it very clear which party she is talking to. In fragments where the pronoun is *sä* 'you', Veijo is the addressed recipient, and the others are in a way excluded from the conversation, thus becoming mere overhearers for the moment. The overhearers can display an orientation to this kind of participation framework, as in the example below:

(8)

- 82 Noora : ei mut se ei ol-lu  
 NEG but it NEG-3 be-PST  
no but it wasn't the
- 83 ensi-vi< (.) 'siis' sää e-t jää-ny  
 first vi- so you NEG-2 stay-PST  
 first vi< (.) 'I mean' you didn't stay
- 84 mei-lle ensi-visiiti-l  
 we -ALL first visit -ALL  
 with us on the first visit
- 85 [yö-ks (--)]  
 night-TRA  
 overnight (--)
- > Leena : [koita to-ta rä] [kä-ä.  
 try-IMP-2 that-PART "shrimp-cheese"-PART  
 try that cheese.

- 87 Veijo : [e-n mä  
NEG-1 I  
I haven't
- 88 Veijo : [oo ↑Sano-nu että se [ei ol-lu<  
be say-PSTPPP that it NEG-3 be-PST  
↑SAid that it wasn't<
- >Leena : [räkä-ä. [  
"shrimp-cheese"-PART  
cheese.
- 90 Noora : [EI, (.) mut ensi  
NEG but first  
NO, (.) but on
- 91 visiiti-l sä kaado-i-t se-n  
visit -ADE you spill-PST-2 it-ACC  
the first visit **you** spilled the
- 92 ↑kahvi-n, (.) mei-'ä äiti-n (.) ainoa-lle  
coffee-ACC we-GEN mother-GEN only-ALL  
↑coffee, (.) on my mother's(.) only
- 93 pellava-liina-lle.  
linen tablecloth-ALL  
linen tablecloth.

In the segment above, overlapping Noora's turn in which she addresses Veijo, Leena displays that she belongs to the overhearers by starting to talk about the food (lines 86 and 89).

When the pronoun is *tää* 'this one' or *se* 'he', Noora explicitly designs her turn for the other girls and refers to Veijo in a way which does not invite him to join in and tell the story from his point of view. In other words, Veijo is made into an overhearer. By changing the pronoun, Noora linguistically turns towards Veijo or away from him.

In this way, Noora uses the choice of the pronoun as a resource for making the participation framework suitable for her purposes; the others mainly adapt themselves to the roles she offers them. The possibility for clear marking is due to one

basic choice which Noora has made: she has designed her story so that it is about Veijo, not about her own feelings or about something that has happened to both of them. In other words, she has produced a third-person narrative instead of using a first-person plural form.<sup>8</sup> When the focus is on Veijo, it is possible for Noora to vary between the second-person and third-person pronouns and thus manipulate the participation framework; if she had chosen the first-person form for the story, this kind of variation would not have been so readily available.

### 3.2. Marking the Speech Activity Type

Occasionally, a change of footing occurs simultaneously with a change in the speech activity type. In such cases the choice of the pronoun has to be supported by other linguistic means. The examples below illustrate this.

In examples (9), (10), and (11), where Noora refers to Veijo by a third-person pronoun, she is telling a story; the utterances are reports of past events, and they are in the past tense, which is the main tense for narratives.

(9)

-> Noora : =tää k(h)a[at(h)-o äiti-n  
           this spill-PST-3 mother-GEN  
           =**this one here** sp(h)ill(h)ed

11 (Leena) :                   [(`kuinka`)  
                                   how  
                                   (`how`)

12 Noora : a(h)inoa-ll(h)e pellava-  
           only       -ALL       linen  
           the c(h)offee on mother's

<sup>8</sup> C. Goodwin (1981: 156-159) presents an analysis of a contrasting example: the story is told in first-person plural, and the knowing recipient keeps trying to interrupt with his version of the story.

13 Noora : l(h)iina -l(h)l(h)e k(h)ah(h)vi-n  
 tablecloth -ALL coffee -ACC  
 o(h)nly linen t(h)ablecl(h)oth

(10)

-> Noora : **tää** nykä-s s(h)e-n hihhi  
 this pull-PST-3 it-ACC  
 this one pulled i(h)t off hihhi

103 n(h)äin [hihi hihi  
 thus  
 l(h)ike this hihi hihi

(11)

-> Noora : **s(h)e** pud(h)ot-ti t(h)ommoise-n  
 he drop-PST-3 that kind-ACC  
**h(h)e** dr(h)opped that k(h)ind of

41 l(h)ampu-n [pöydä-l- heh]  
 lamp-ACC table-ALL  
 a l(h)amp on the table- heh

42 (Henna) : [hmm hehe ]

43 heh .hh tai to-n sisä-kalu-n  
 or that-ACC inside-object-ACC  
 heh .hh or the inside piece

It is interesting to compare the above examples (9), (10) and (11) to examples (12), (13), and (14). Here Noora refers to Veijo with a second-person pronoun, and the examples are not in the narrative mode. Judging by the actual content, they could be regarded as reports of events. They are, however, addressed to Veijo, to whom they are in fact no news.

(12)

08 Noora : ↑ol-i ensi-depyytti ku  
 be-PST-3 first debut since  
 it ↑was the first debut 'cause

-> kaikki aina puhuu **su -n** ensi-  
 everyone always talk-3 you-GEN first  
 everybody always talks about **your** first

10 de'pyyti-stä'  
 debut -ELA  
 'debut'.

## (13)

-> Noora : ei **sä** te-i-t molemmat sama-l  
 NEG you do-PST-2 both same-ADE  
no **you** did both things on the same

-> Noora : [visiiti-l vaik **sä** [e-t si-tä  
 visit-ADE though you NEG-SG2 it-PART  
 visit although **you** don't

29 Sanna : [ih[(h) .h(h)

30 ( ) : [hahaha

31 Noora : u [sko.  
 believe  
 believe it.

32 Veijo : [e-n usko.  
 NEG-1 believe  
no I don't.

33 Sanna : .h(h)h [ha .hh

34 Noora : [mei-än perhe muista-a se-n  
 we-GEN family remember-3 it-ACC  
our family remembers it

-> elävästi.=kaikki muu-t paitsi **sinä**.  
 vividly everyone else-PL except you  
clearly.=everybody else except **you**.

## (14)

82 Noora : ei mut se ei ol-lu  
 NEG but it NEG-3 be-PST  
no but it wasn't the

- > ensi-vi< (.) 'siis' **sää** e-t jää-ny  
 first vi- so you NEG-2 stay-PST  
 first vi< (.) 'I mean' **you** didn't stay
- 84 mei-lle ensi-visiiti-l  
 we -ALL first visit -ALL  
 with us on the first visit
- 85 [yö-ks (--) ]  
 night-TRA  
 overnight (--)
- 86 Leena : [koita to-ta rä] [kä-ä.  
 try-IMP-2 that-PART "shrimp-cheese"-PART  
 try that cheese.
- 87 Veijo : [e-n mä  
 NEG-1 I  
 I haven't
- 88 Veijo : [oo ↑Sano-nu että se [ei ol-lu<  
 be say-PPC that it NEG-3 be-PST  
 ↑SAid that it wasn't<
- >Leena : [räkä-ä. [  
 "shrimp-cheese"-PART  
 cheese.
- 90 Noora : [EI, (.) mut ensi  
 NEG but first  
 NO, (.) but on
- > visiiti-l **sä** kaado-i-t se-n  
 visit -ADE you spill-PST-2 it-ACC  
 the first visit **you** spilled the
- 92 ↑kahvi-n, (.) mei-'ä äiti-n (.) ainoa-lle  
 coffee-ACC we-GEN mother-GEN only-ALL  
 ↑coffee, (.) on my mother's(.) only
- 93 pellava-liina-lle.  
 linen tablecloth-ALL  
 linen tablecloth.

In examples (12), (13) and (14), we find several linguistic devices that are used to mark a change in the speech activity type. In examples (12) and (13), the tense changes from the past to the present (in lines 8 and 27, verbs are in the past tense, whereas in lines 9 and 28-34 they are in the present tense), and in example (14) Veijo's contribution (lines 87-88) is in the perfect tense. Noora also uses items such as *ei* 'no' (line 27), *ei mut* 'no but' (line 82) and *vaik sä et sitä usko* 'although you don't believe it' (lines 28 and 31) to deny something that Veijo has previously said. In addition, the verb-initial word order of Noora's utterance in example (12) is contrastive; this contrastiveness is further marked with very high intonation in the beginning of the utterance. The second-person pronoun works together with these other elements in marking the utterances as argumentative.<sup>9</sup> This marking indicates a change in speech activity.

Argument as a participation structure is very different from story-telling. While a story expands the participation framework so that recipients have the opportunity to participate in the story-telling and evaluate the events in the story, an argument typically restricts participation in the sequence to a small set of participants, often only to two speakers (cf. M. H. Goodwin 1990: 241, 244).

The change in speech activity type does not need to be abrupt. This is illustrated in the following pair of examples. Both examples are attempts at initiating the story about the spilling of the coffee. At first, Noora begins by saying:

(15)

08 Noora : ↑ol-i            ensi-depyytti ku  
              be-PST-3 first debut    since  
              it ↑was the first debut 'cause

<sup>9</sup> The terms "argumentative" and "argument" are not used here in a text-analytic sense, but rather as descriptions of a speech activity in which speakers argue over something.

09 kaikki aina puhuu su -n ensi-  
 everyone always talk-3 you-GEN first  
 everybody always talks about your first

-> de'pyyti-stä'.=tää k(h)a[at(h)-o  
 debut -ELA this spill-PST-3  
 'debut'.=this one here sp(h)ill(h)ed

11 (Leena) : [ ('kuinka')  
 how  
 ('how')

12 Noora : äiti-n a(h)inoa-ll(h)e pellava-  
 mother-GEN only -ALL linen  
 the c(h)offee on mother's o(h)nly linen

13 Noora : l(h)iina -l(h)l(h)e k(h)ah(h)vi-n  
 tablecloth -ALL coffee -ACC  
 t(h)ablecl(h)oth

When she begins the story for a second time, she says:

(16)

90 Noora : [EI, (.) mut ensi  
 NEG but first  
 NO, (.) but on

-> visiiti-l sä kaado-i-t se-n  
 visit -ADE you spill-PST-2 it-ACC  
 the first visit you spilled the

92 ↑kahvi-n, (.) mei-'ä äiti-n (.) ainoa-lle  
 coffee-ACC we-GEN mother-GEN only-ALL  
 ↑coffee, (.) on my mother's(.) only

93 pellava-liina[-lle.  
 linen tablecloth-ALL  
 linen tablecloth.

94 Sanna : [ä(h)ä .h[h .hi

-> Noora : [>su-1 ol-i< (.)  
 you-ADE be-PST  
 >you had< (.)



the second version Noora begins her story again, this time in an argumentative mode (lines 90-93). She prolongs the argument, which was going on in lines 82-89, by choosing a pronoun which still keeps Veijo as her addressed recipient, by using an argumentative preface *ei* 'no' and by changing the word *kahvin* 'coffee' into the form *sen kahvin* 'the coffee' which indicates that the referent is known.<sup>10</sup>

The content of this utterance *ei, (.) mut ensivisiitil sä kaadoit sen kahvin meiän äitin ainoalle pellavaliinalle* - 'no but on the first visit you spilled the coffee on my mother's only linen tablecloth' is narrative in the same way as in example (15) where the utterance functions as a beginning of a story and leads on to the details. The entire utterance has two faces: its form is argumentative, linking back to the on-going debate and thus making the turn locally relevant; but the content consists of a narrated event and the utterance projects for continuation and thus gives the speaker an opportunity to continue with the story. The change in speech activity type is made gradually. This design seems to be effective for the beginning of a story; the other participants assume the role of story recipients which Noora is offering them, and they show their appreciation for the story (lines 89-91, 94-98, 101-105).

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<sup>10</sup> This point is lost in translation. In example (15) Noora says *kahvi-n* (ACC), which means 'the particular cup of coffee you were drinking then'; the form stands in contrast to partitive form *kahvi-a* (PART), which could be just any (amount of) coffee. In example (16) *se-n kahvi-n* (PRONOUN-ACC coffee-ACC) does not merely indicate that the referent is known. For Veijo it is a reminder of the situation, 'the coffee that you remember', and thereby a prolongation of the argument. For the girls it refers to the fact that the same coffee has been mentioned earlier in this discussion.

The pronoun *se* is the same pronoun as the one that Noora uses to refer to Veijo in example (11), but it is used here as a kind of definite article. For the article-like use of *se* see Laury (1995).



12 Noora : äiti-n a(h)inoa-ll(h)e pellava-  
 mother-GEN only -ALL linen  
 the c(h)offee on mother's o(h)nly linen

13 Noora : l(h)iina -l(h)l(h)e k(h)ah(h)vi-n  
 tablecloth -ALL coffee -ACC  
 t(h)ablecl(h)oth

(18)

94 Sanna : [ä(h)ä .h[h .hi

95 Noora : [ >su-l ol-i< (.)  
 you-ADE be-PST  
 >you had< (.)

96 ↑tässä ol-i lautasliina ↑typerästi  
 here be-PST napkin stupidly  
 ↑there was a napkin here ↑stupidly

97 Noora : kyllä laite-ttu kahvi -kup[i-n ja  
 surely set-PPPC coffee cup-GEN and  
 enough set between the cup and

98 Sanna : [.ih(h)

99 Noora : ta- (.) tassi-n fväliinf  
 saucer-GEN between  
 the sa-(.) the saucer

100 Leena: ni[in-pä nii[n joo.  
 well-PRT well yes  
 very well yeah.

101 ( ): [j(h)o(h)o [  
 yes  
 y(h)es

-> Noora : [**tää** nykä-s s(h)e-n  
 this pull-PST-3 it-ACC  
**this one** pulled i(h)t off

103 hihhi n(h)äin hihi hihi  
 thus  
 hihhi l(h)ike this hihi hihi

(19)

37 Sanna : no kerto-k(h)aa f>mimmone< se toin[en<sub>f</sub>  
 well tell-IMP-PL2 what kind it other  
 well t(h)ell us fwhat the other one<sub>f</sub>

38 (Leena) : [no:  
 PRT  
 well

39 Sanna : o(h)l-i. .h(h)  
 be-PST-3  
 w(h)as like. .h(h)

-> Noora : s(h)e pud(h)ot-ti t(h)ommose-n  
 he drop-PST-3 that kind-ACC  
 h(h)e dr(h)opped that k(h)ind of

41 l(h)ampu-n [pöydä-l- heh]  
 lamp-ACC table-ALL  
 a l(h)amp on the table- heh

42 (Henna) : [hmhm hehe ]

43 heh .hh tai to-n sisä-kalu-n  
 or that-ACC inside-object-ACC  
 heh .hh or the inside piece

Were Veijo absent, Noora probably would mention his name and afterwards constantly refer to him with the third-person singular pronoun *se* ('he', literally 'it'). Yet she once refers to him with the pronoun *se* and twice with the pronoun *tää* (<*tämä* 'this' or 'this one'). How can we account for the use of *tää* here?

According to Laury (1995: 84), speakers use *tämä* to present to their addressees referents which they consider to be in their own sphere, while *se* is reserved for those referents which the speaker considers to be in the addressee's current sphere. (See also Laury, this volume.) After having just spoken to Veijo in a mode which gives Veijo the role of an addressed recipient and excludes the other participants to the role of mere

overhearers (see the previous chapter), it is natural that Noora considers Veijo as belonging to her sphere. Furthermore, when referring to the participants of an on-going conversation, *tämä* is mainly used to refer to a participant who has been the speaker of the previous turn or of some other recent turn (Seppänen 1995: 77). Thus the reference is identifiable to the other participants through Veijo's former participant roles, as a speaker and as Noora's addressed recipient. By using the pronoun *tää* 'this one' Noora pays attention to the roles Veijo has as a participant in the world of the situation where the story is being told.

In examples (17) and (18), where Noora uses the pronoun *tää* 'this one', she is just turning from argument to narrative. In (17), the previous utterance (lines 8-10: *oli ensidepyytti ku kaikki aina puhuu sun ensidepyytistä* 'it was the first debut because everybody always talks about your first debut') is part of an argument. Noora claims the right to tell the story because she thinks she remembers the facts better than does Veijo. Immediately after making that claim, Noora turns to the story (line 10). In (18), Noora starts out in line 95 in the argumentative mode, using the second-person pronoun (*sul oli* 'you had'), but switches back to the narrative mode by replacing the personal pronoun with the demonstrative *tässä* 'here'. In what follows, she uses *tää* 'this one' to refer to Veijo (line 102). In both cases, Noora takes the initiative to change the point of view from the here-and-now to the narrated world, in the middle of her own turn.

In example (19), where Noora uses *se* 's/he', the sequential position of the utterance is different. Noora is responding to Sanna, who has asked both Veijo and Noora to tell them "the other story" (line 37). Sanna has already interrupted the argument and indicated a transition to the narrated world. When Noora begins, the audience is prepared to hear a story; she has moved to the narrated world without any effort of her own.

As I see it, *tää* ('this one') falls between *sä* ('you') and *se* ('s/he'). *Sä* only refers to someone who is present in the time of telling; *se* mainly refers to someone who belongs to the narrated time of action, and *tää* can refer to both. In other words, *tää* can act as a subject in narrative clauses or utterances. In fact, this is how Noora is using it: *tää kaato* 'this one spilled' and *tää nykäs* 'this one pulled it off'. In this way *tää* refers to the protagonist of the narrated world. At the same time, however, it indicates that the person referred to is present in the here-and-now, a participant in the world of the situation in which the story is being told. Thus, the pronoun *tää* 'this one' provides a means to orient the audience to a shift in footing from the here-and-now to the narrated world, because *tää* can be used to refer to both these worlds. If, on the other hand, the change of footing has already taken place in co-operation with other participants, it is possible to use the pronoun *se*, which places the referent only in the narrated world and ignores the here-and-now.

### 3.4. *Sä* in Displaying Understanding of the Story

In addition to argumentative sequences, Noora uses the second-person pronoun *sä* when she offers an appreciation of Veijo's story. According to Sacks ([1971] 1992: 422), a common feature of the sequential organization of storytelling is that stories told in conversation have, on their completion, a recipient or a series of recipients offering an appreciation of the story. In other words, after a story has been told, a sequential position occurs that enables the recipients to display their understanding of it and/or to affiliate to it by showing its particular relevance to them. (Cf. also Sacks 1978: 261.) I will argue here that, in this sequential position, *sä* has a different effect on the participation framework of the moment than in the argumentative sequences: here the effect is that Noora avoids taking the position of a co-teller of the story and displays her

orientation as a story recipient. Examples (20) and (21) illustrate this:

(20)

62 Veijo : =.h k(h)issa [s(h)ing<sup>h</sup>aht-i  
           cat          fly-PST-3  
           =.h the c(h)at fl(h)ew

63 Sanna :                               [.h(h)h

64               ((nauravat 1.2))  
                   ((they laugh 1.2))

-> Noora : **£sä** yrit-i-t [selvästi  
           you try-PST-2 clearly  
           **£you** clearly tried to

66 Sanna :                               [.h(h)

67 Noora : [tappa-a£ si-t(h)ä h(h)]  
           kill-INF it-PART  
           kill£ h(h)er h(h)

68 Sanna : [↑£ei           oo£               ]t(h)ot[t(h)a h(h)  
           NEG-3   be               true  
           ↑£can't be£ t(h)rue h(h)

69 (    ) :   [eeh hehheh

70 Leena :   [no   mitä  
   well what  
   well what

71               tei-än    isä       ja   äiti   sano.  
           youPL-GEN father and mother say-PST-3  
           did your father and mother say.

In example (20), Veijo has finished his story, the dropping of the lamp, in line 62. This has caused the recipients to burst out laughing, and Noora's subsequent utterance (line 65), which contains the second person pronoun, is the first comment on the story. Noora is accusing Veijo of causing harm to the cat; but the accusation is too absurd to be taken seriously, and it is

produced with a smiling voice. Noora's utterance offers an appreciation of Veijo's story by escalating the humour in it.

The situation in example (21) is quite similar to that in (20):

## (21)

121 Sanna: ei mut siis tää lamppu o-n mu-st nyt  
 NEG but well this lamp be-3 I-ELA now  
 no but well I think this lamp is now

122 fjotain ai:[vanɛ fan[t(h)ast- he heh  
 something really fantastic  
 ɛsomething reallyɛ fant(h)ast- he heh

123 ( ): [hih [

124 ( ): [ehh heh [hah hah

125 ( ): [m: [mm:]

126 ( ): [j(h)oo  
 yeah  
 y(h)ea

127 Sanna: .h(h)h[hh

128 Noora: [nii mut se: et viel<  
 yeah but it that even  
 yea but the fact that one indeed

-> pitä-ä k<sub>i</sub>ssa-n pääl.=sä selvästi e-t  
 must-3 cat-GEN over you clearly NEG-2  
 has to pour it on the cat.=you clearly

130 Noora: pitä-n(h)y [s(h)iit  
 like-PST it  
 didn't l(h)ike h(h)er

131 Veijo: [syytö-hä m(h)ie sii-(h)e  
 innocent-PRT I it-ILL  
 w(h)ell I w(h)as innocent of

- 132           ol-(h) i-n  
              be-PST-1  
              that
- 133 Sanna: hi hi hi
- 134           (0.3)
- 135 (    ): .hh[↑ihhh ]hh
- 136 Henna:       [voi ei.]  
                  oh NEG  
                  oh no.
- 137 Mella: h(h)a[l(h)u- .h kissa] parka?  
              want-                   cat    poor  
              d(h)id- .h poor   cat?

Example (21) is in a situation where, after Noora's story has been dealt with, Sanna returns to Veijo's story and produces an evaluation of it (lines 122-123). Noora escalates the evaluation in her turn (lines 129-131), and repeats her previous accusation to Veijo for bad intentions towards the cat, laughing while she speaks.

Noora's utterances are interpretations of Veijo's intentions towards the cat. Because Noora has been present at the time of action in Veijo's story, it would have been possible for her to make the interpretation while she was watching the dropping of the lamp. Thus, if she had said "he clearly tried to kill her" and "he clearly didn't like her", she would have been reporting to the other girls an interpretation which she made at the time she was witnessing the events; that is, she would have assumed another narrator voice beside Veijo's. Now when she says "you tried" and "you didn't like her", she is offering an understanding of his story as a recipient; the second-person pronoun works as a device for marking the utterance as an interpretation which Noora has made on the basis of what she has just heard, not what she had witnessed herself. She thus

takes her place as one among the recipients and accepts Veijo as the narrator.

The second person pronoun *sä* 'you' in this sequential position is interpreted by the participants in a different way than it is when it is used to contradict or to develop some other kind of argumentative statement. Noora's addressing Veijo does not prevent the other girls from dealing with the story and offering their own understandings of it, as can be seen in lines 68-71 and 134-138 in the examples. Here the second-person pronoun does not have the effect of making the non-addressed recipients as mere overhearers, as it did in the argumentative sequences. Instead, it shows that at this point Noora does not act as a co-teller of Veijo's story, but rather, she acts as one of the recipients by producing a turn which offers an appreciation of the story like the other girls' turns do - they are all together dealing with Veijo's story and offering understandings of it.

After a story has been told, the difference between the knowing and the unknowing recipients is smaller than in the beginning. Noora and Veijo still have a special position in the participation framework, but all the recipients have some kind of access to the events since they have heard the report. All are able to evaluate them according to what they have heard.

#### 4. Conclusions

To sum up, the pronouns *sä* 'you', *tää* 'this one', and *se* 'she/he', which refer to the co-participating protagonist of a story, may be interpreted in this conversation in the following ways:

(i) The second-person singular pronoun *sä* 'you' occurs as a means of building an argumentative sequence (examples 12, 13, and 14); **or** as a means for the knowing recipient to relax her position as a knowing recipient and offer an appreciation of the story here and now (examples 20 and 21). In any case, it indicates that the person referred to is relevant at the time of telling rather than at the time of the events of the story.

(ii) The demonstrative pronoun *tää* 'this one' occurs when the speaker is making a transition from the here-and-now to the narrated world; it indicates that the person referred to belongs to both. As the speaker is orienting to this transition, she manipulates her choice of pronouns for the unknowing recipients. Thus, the pronoun *tää* marks the referent as being a ratified participant without being an addressee.

(iii) The third-person singular pronoun *se* 's/he' indicates that the speaker is orienting to the narrated world and is ignoring the here-and-now.

From these interpretations, I would like to draw the following wider conclusions: the choice of a pronoun is an important resource for creating the participation framework and defining the roles in it. Through the choice of pronoun the speaker can mark a change in the speech activity and a movement between different layers of time and place. The same pronoun can receive very different interpretations according to the sequential position of the turn in which it occurs; the use of pronouns needs to be studied in accordance with a turn-by-turn analysis of what is happening in the conversation.

## Appendix 1: Transcription Conventions

- . Falling intonation
  - , Falling intonation weaker than that indicated by a period
  - ? Rising intonation
- If the intonation is level, there is no symbol.

Marked rising and falling shifts in intonation are indicated by upward (↑) and downward (↓) pointing arrows immediately prior to the rise or fall.

Emphasis is indicated by underlining.

Capital letters indicate an utterance, or a part thereof, that is spoken louder than the surrounding talk.

- ◦ Degree signs indicate a passage of talk which is quieter than the surrounding talk.
- : Lengthening of the sound
- < An angle bracket indicates a halting, abrupt cutoff.
- h The letter h (or several of them) indicates an audible aspiration.
- .h A period + the letter h (or several of them) indicates an audible inhalation.
- (h) A parenthesized h indicates that the word is pronounced with laugh.
- £ £ Smile voice.
- > < Talk inside is done with a faster pace than the surrounding talk.
- (0.5) Silences timed in tenths of a second.
- (. ) A micropause less than two tenths of a second.
- = No silence between two adjacent utterances.
- [ Utterances starting simultaneously are linked together with a single left-hand bracket. The same sign also indicates the beginning of overlapping talk.
- ] The point where overlapping utterances stop overlapping is marked with a single right-hand bracket.
- ( ) Items enclosed within single parentheses are in doubt.
- (( )) Double parentheses are used to enclose a comment by the transcriptionist, e.g. ((laughter))

## Appendix 2: Form Glosses

N.B. The following forms have been treated as unmarked forms, not indicated in the glossing: nominative case, active voice, present tense, singular.

Abbreviations used in the glosses:

- 1 first person ending
- 2 second person ending
- 3 third person ending
- 4 passive person ending

## Case endings:

ACC accusative; ADE adessive; ALL allative; ELA elative; ESS essive; GEN genitive; ILL illative; INE inessive; PAR partitive; TRA translative.

## Other abbreviations:

IMP imperative; INF infinitive; NEG negation; PASS passive; PL plural; PPC past participle; PPPC passive past participle; PRT particle; PST past tense; Q interrogative; InameF 1st name, female; Lname last name.

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