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Coordinated Verb Pairs in Texts



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COORDINATED VERB PAIRS IN TEXTS

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Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission
of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki in auditorium 13,
on the 16th of November, 2007, at 12 o'clock.

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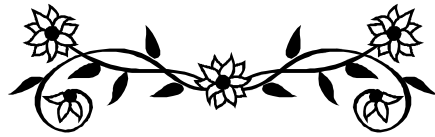
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To my parents



Abstract

This dissertation discusses the relation between lexis, grammar and textual organisation. The major premise adopted here is that grammatical structures are motivated both by semantic potential of words and by text-pragmatic demands. In other words, it is argued that grammatical structures form the interface between lexis and textual organisation, and that linguistic analysis should not concentrate on analysing grammatical structures in isolation, independent of context. From this point of view, grammatical structures are said to be ‘well-formed’ only in relation to the context they occur in.

This study is based on a corpus of three million words of recent Finnish fiction from which all the occurrences of the coordinated verb pairs ([V *ja* V] -pairs) containing one of the intransitive motion verbs *lähteä*, ‘to go’, *mennä*, ‘to go’, *päästä*, ‘to get into’, *nousta*, ‘to get up’, and *laskea*, ‘to go down’, were extracted. This set of verbs was established using methods described in earlier work by Lagus & Airola (2001, and 2005).

The quantitative analysis of the [V *ja* V] -pairs was used to carry out a qualitative analysis of individual texts. In analysing the texts, an analogy was made between musical and textual structure.

The results show among others that individual verbs specialise in different functions when occurring in coordinated verb pairs. One aspect was that those verb pairs including the verb *nousta* tend to function as markers of textual boundaries and thus reflect the organisation of narrative substance. The verb *mennä* has weakened literal meanings, but strengthened modal meanings when occurring in [V *ja* V] -pairs, and, in many cases, the verb *lähteä* in [V *ja* V] -pairs function as an aspectual marker rather than a pure verb of motion. That there is a gradient from the concrete sense of motion into more differentiated senses of a verb in [V *ja* V] -pairs alongside the structure-creating potential of the [V *ja* V] -pairs themselves suggest an ongoing grammaticalisation process of the patterns discussed.

Acknowledgements

Since writing my Master's thesis about some ten years ago, the Finnish verb *nousta*¹ which was the subject of my study, has never quit troubling me. Especially the question of why this particular verb appears so frequently in coordinated verb pairs kept re-occurring and catching my attention. As patiently as Winnie the Pooh, the bear with a very small brain, who sat down on a fallen tree trunk and began to think, I have been sitting and thinking about that fascinating little word. The result of this pondering is this dissertation.

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¹ 'to rise', 'to get up'

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Linguistic terms

ABE	abessive
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADE	adessive
ADV	adverb
ALL	allative
CLIP	clitic particle
COM	comitative
ELA	elative
ESS	essive
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
TA.INF	the first infinitive marked by the suffix <i>-a</i>
E.INF	the second infinitive marked by the suffix <i>-e</i>
MA.INF	the third infinitive marked by the suffix <i>-ma</i>
NOM	nominative
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
PCP.PAST	past participle
PL	plural
PL1	first person plural
PL2	second person plural
PL3	third person plural
PSP	postposition
PSS1	first person possessive suffix
PSS3	third person possessive suffix
PTV	partitive
SG1	first person singular
SG2	second person singular
SG3	third person singular
TRA	translative
4	fourth person passive

Other abbreviations

G-verb going-verb (*lähteä*, 'to go; to leave', *mennä*, 'to go', *päästä*,

	‘to get into’, <i>nousta</i> , ‘to get up’, and <i>laskea</i> , ‘to go down’)
GF-pair	‘going-first’ -pair: a coordinated verb pair in which the first constituent is a G-verb, e.g. [<i>nousta ja V</i>], ‘to get up and V’
GL-pair	‘going-last’ -pair: a coordinated verb pair in which the second constituent is a G-verb, e.g. [<i>V ja nousta</i>], ‘to V and get up’
PF-BOOKS	a corpus containing Finnish fictional texts (PAROLE corpus of the Finnish language)
PF-NEWS	a corpus containing Finnish newspaper prose (PAROLE corpus of the Finnish language)
C	cadence
D	conversation/discourse
N	a section of narration
S	spatial domain
T	textual transition/boundary

1 Background and research questions

This study is an experiment with one lexico-grammatical structure in Finnish: the coordinated [V *ja* V] -pairs (*ja*, ‘and’). The study rests on empirical corpus analysis: it will be shown that quantitative corpus analysis is a necessary tool to uncover lexico-syntactic patterns that otherwise fail to be noticed by traditional grammatical and lexico-semantic descriptions. However, the quantitative findings are not the ultimate goal of this study. Instead, the present aim is to develop methods for analyzing the functional properties of the grammatical patterns in texts. My working hypothesis is that grammatical patterns form the interface between lexical semantics and the structural organization of texts: on the one hand, grammatical patterns are motivated by the semantic potential of verbs implementing them, while on the other hand, they are shaped by the structural demands of texts.

Before moving on, it must be pointed out how the experimental nature of the study is reflected in the various choices made concerning the research frame. First of all, while the choice of Finnish has been partly motivated first by the fact that English still is the most heavily studied language in the discipline of corpus linguistics, and second by the fact that studies discussing typologically quite different languages can offer the most important data for the development of the field, the choice of the language is not decisive in my study. In other words, instead of Finnish, the target language could have been another language with sufficiently large corpus resources. Of course, concerning the kind of study at hand, one essential criterion is also that the researcher has sufficient competence in the language in question, so in the present study, Finnish was a suitable choice.

Since the ultimate goal of my study is methodological – to develop methods for analyzing grammatical patterns as a part of a larger textual context – it was necessary to restrict the data to some feasible number. For this reason the definition adopted here is lexically based: only those pairs of [V *ja* V] were studied in which one of the coordinated constituents belongs to a group of five intransitive motion verbs, namely *lähteä*, ‘to go’, *mennä*, ‘to go’, *päästä*, ‘to get into’, *nousta*, ‘to stand up’, and *laskea*, ‘to go down’ (see Chapter 4 for a more thorough discussion of the group of what is referred to as ‘going verbs’).

This study began as an interest on my part to find new ways to approach the lexical description of verbs. Restricting the study to argument structure only seemed to fail to account for what I considered to be certain interesting phenomena on the interface between lexical semantics and texts. For example, these were coordinated verb pairs such as [*nousta ja* V], ‘to get up and V’, or [*mennä ja* V], ‘to go and V’, which both are at least semi-lexicalised and semi-grammaticalised entities that serve as indi-

ces referring to textual boundaries as well as to cultural schemata. These verb pairs fall outside the description of the argument structure of verbs while they are still frequent in data.

While quantitative data are important, the ultimate aim here is to provide functional explanations for the patterns found. Towards this end, my study follows the functional paradigm established especially by Haiman (1983, 1985), Givón (1990, 2001), and Biber & al. (1998: 9, Biber & al. 1999, cf. Biber 1993) who emphasise the need to go beyond the quantitative patterns, and who see the relationship between quantitative data and linguistic entities as a question of language use: one has to propose functional interpretations explaining why the patterns exist.

There are several different frameworks for analysing textual organisation which, accordingly, give different conceptual tools for the analysis. I will first briefly introduce the theoretical frameworks that underlie the analyses presented in my study.

By maintaining that lexicon and grammar are co-selected, my study is linked to the work in a certain tradition in British (text) linguistics, represented especially by John Sinclair (e.g. 1991). Sinclair pushed this notion of co-selection even further by stating that not only different words, but different forms of a single lemma have different grammatical distributions (Stubbs 1996: 38). The work of Sinclair and his associates gave rise to the ‘Pattern Grammar’ or ‘linear grammar’ framework (Francis & al. 1996, 1998; Hunston & Francis 2000). This approach is especially relevant to my study since in addition to being data-driven and corpus-based, it analyses the relationship between grammatical patterns and lexical items, and notes that certain patterns have a tendency to select words of a particular meaning (Hunston & Francis 2000: 29). Furthermore, in the area of discourse and grammar studies, a central question involves explaining and motivating observed grammatical patterns. As Schegloff & al. (1996: 10) put it, the research in this area is based on the assumption that the function of language as a tool of human communication is the central motivation for grammatical patterning. Here, too, grammatical structure can be thought of as an interface between lexis and discourse, emerging dynamically as a response to the discourse needs in the course of communication. From the perspective of the receiver of a text, de Beaugrande et al. (1988: 6) make an important addition, namely that “a text does not make sense by itself, but rather by the interaction of text-presented knowledge with people’s stored knowledge of the world.” This is the standpoint that will be emphasised in my analyses in the following discussion. (Cf. e.g. Helasvuo 2001, and Schegloff et al. 1996 for a more comprehensive list of references.)

The following example will illustrate the Pattern Grammar (linear grammar) analysis introduced by Hunston and Francis (2000: 236):

I regret that he should be so stubborn.
V.....that
V.....adj.

According to the linear grammar analysis, the sentence *I regret that he should be so stubborn* splits into two patterns: first, the verb *regret* prospects either a noun or the start of a that-clause as in the example above, and second, once the verb in the that-clause has been met, the patterns of that verb take over, and the original pattern of *regret* is no longer relevant. For this reason the notion of embedding becomes unwarranted in linear grammar.

The linear grammar approach to grammatical analysis exploits probabilistic lexico-syntactic preference patterns of various lexical items. Here the starting point maintained by Hunston and Francis follows that of de Beaugrande et al. (1988: 6-7) according to which “theories and methods will have to be probabilistic rather than deterministic, that is, they will state what is *usually* the case rather than *always*.” This, in turn, seems to be a follow-up to Givón’s (1979: 28) position when he somewhat earlier states that “the discourse analyst ... may wish to discuss, not ‘rules’ but regularities.” By regularities, Givón means that what the analyst describes is based on the frequency of a particular linguistic feature in discourse. According to this approach, if the frequency of occurrence turns out to be very high, then the phenomenon described may appear to be categorical. Bybee (2001: 2) also emphasises the importance of frequency when studying structures of languages. Bybee argues that the focus on structure needs to be supplemented with a perspective that includes more than just structure, i.e. the material content or substance of language, and language use. By language **use**, she refers not only to the processing of language, but to all the social and interactional uses of language. For instance, in the domain of phonology, the frequency with which certain words, phrases, or patterns are used turns out to have an impact on phonological structure. What is important from the perspective of my study, is what Bybee states about the emergence of grammatical structure from the facts of co-occurrence in language use. As Bybee states, “words that commonly occur together – for instance verbs and their objects – begin to behave as constituents. The more commonly they co-occur, the tighter their constituency becomes.” Furthermore, Erman and Warren (1999) pay attention to the emergence of grammatical structure: they estimate that approximately 55% of the spoken and written texts they analysed consisted of prefabricated multi-word sequences. For example, Goldberg (1995, 2005), in the framework of construction grammar, also discusses different grammatical constructions, but her analysis is based more on already established constructions in English grammar, such as transitive constructions.

From the perspective of my study, the crucial point is the global structure of texts. One central point is that the recurrence of certain grammatical and lexical patterns might turn out to be important in maintaining textual structure. An example of a kind of recurrent structure is shown by the analysis of example (59). While according to some linguists, such as van Dijk (1977: 4), a linguistic theory of discourse excludes the analysis of narrative structure and the analysis of structurally recurrent patterns in texts, de Beaugrande (1980: 127) emphasises the effect of grammatical parallelism. As analogous to language, he also mentions the importance of repetition in tonal mu-

sic as a means of creating structure. According to de Beaugrande, “the effectiveness of grammatical parallelism lies in freeing attention away from parsing surface structures, so that conceptual-relational content can receive greater concentration.”¹ Later Tannen (1982) mentions that written imaginative literature builds on and elaborates aspects of spoken language among which are, for example, word repetition, and syntactic parallelism. In fact, van Dijk’s definition implies that by examining the recurrent structures in a text which are traditionally called rhetorical, we might well be able to reveal some issues relevant for the study of text types since such parallelism is “restricted to certain types of discourse in certain stylistic uses of language” (van Dijk 1977: 4).

In analyzing textual organization, I have partly followed the analogy between musical and textual structures. The theory influencing my views of musical structure is Schenker’s theory of tonal music (Schenker analysis).² Tonal³ music is distinguished by a functional relationship between the tonic (marked by the Roman numeral *I*) and the dominant (marked by the Roman numeral *V*).⁴ The tonic is the lowest and most stable note in a scale, and most melodies tend to return to it and end on it, giving the listener a sense of repose. The dominant, the fifth note in a scale, is the one melodies tend to move toward and pause there at intermediate points in the melody (Pinker 1997: 531). As Pinker (1997: 529) observes:

The building blocks of a musical idiom are its inventory of notes – roughly, the different sounds that a musical instrument is designed to emit. ... The notes differ in how *stable* they feel to a listener. Some give a feeling of finality or settledness, and are suitable endings of a composition. Others feel unstable, and when they are played the listener feels a tension that is resolved when the piece returns to a more stable note.

In virtually all tonal pieces, perfect cadences, i.e. the movement from *I* to *V* and again to *I*, are used to establish the main key, confirm any modulations⁵ and bring the music to an end. (See <http://www.schenkerguide.com/ursatz1.html>.)

¹ My analyses of texts resemble to the type of analysis introduced in de Beaugrande (1980: 126 – 131).

² See “A Guide to Schenker’s Theory of Tonal Music”

<<http://www.schenkerguide.com/basicmodel.html#bottom>>. See also Lehrdahl & Jackendoff (1996) for whose work the Schenkerian concept of *reduction* is central.

³ The word *tonic* refers to the most important note in a piece or a section of a piece of music. Music that follows that principle is called *tonal music*, whereas music that does not have one note more important than another is called *atonal music*, or literally *without tonic*. From approximately 1600 to 1915, all music in Western culture was tonal.

<http://homepage.mac.com/mmcferon/module/lectures/keysignatures1.pdf>.

⁴ In music, the dominant is the fifth degree of a scale. In music theory, the dominant chord is symbolised using the Roman numeral *V*. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominant_\(music\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominant_(music)).

⁵ In music, modulation is the process of changing from one key (tonic, or tonal center) to another, also known as a *key change*.

Mithen (2005) goes a bit further by comparing the syntactic knowledge we have both of language and music:

[T]onal knowledge is probably the closest that music comes to having a syntax – for although the rigid rules apparent in language syntax do not apply, tonal knowledge creates expectations about what pitches will follow each other, especially when a piece of music comes to its end.¹

The analogy between tonal and syntactic knowledge has also been established by the means of brain studies.² According to Mithen (2005), Maess et al. (2001) discovered that musical syntax (i.e. tonality) appears to be processed in the same areas in the brain as speech syntax, that is in Broca's area and in the equivalent area of the right hemisphere. In their experiment, the participants heard chord sequences that conformed to the rules of tonal music. After hearing a sequence, the listener created expectations about which chords should come next. What Maess et al. found was that if they included unexpected chords that did not conform to the rules of Western music, the same brain areas of the listeners that were activated before became more active. The relation between processing music and language is also discussed in Vuust et al. (2006, see also Levitin and Menon 2003) who suggest that certain brain areas "may be involved in coping with stimuli that allow for more than one interpretation both in language, vision, and audition." They also state that according to most music theoreticians, foreground/background (figure/ground) relations are the principal means by which music conveys meaning. By quoting Talmy's (2000) view that figure/ground relations are fundamental to human cognition in general and semantics in particular, they add that:

[a]ccording to this view, similar cognitive processes and strategies may thus serve music, language, and possibly other forms of communication.

These findings, according to which musical, syntactic, and semantic knowledge are at least partly processed in the same areas in brain, support my hypothesis about the analogy between musical and syntactic structures.

¹ However, Lerdahl and Jackendoff's work (1996) attempt to show that tonal music follows certain syntactic rules that can, for instance, generate quite naturally-sounding melodies.

² In cognitive neuroscience, as stated by Vuust et al. (2006), the possible colocalization of neural substrates between language and music has been a major issue.

D major:



Figure 1. The tonic and dominant in the D Major.

Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between the tonic and the dominant. The Roman numeral *I* indicates the main key, which here is D Major. The dominant – fifth above *I* – is A Major that resolves again to D major. In the following discussion, it will be shown that some coordinated [V(erb) *ja* V(erb)] -pairs function in texts as cadences function in music in that they bring a (sub)part of a text to an end. Other concepts derived from music theory and used in the analysis below, such as ‘coda’, will be explained in more detail later.

In textual analysis, the terms ‘schema’ and ‘schematization’ are used to indicate abstract models which I will use to demonstrate textual structure. The models consist of several different sequences that partly follow the system proposed by Pitkänen (2003): a) spatial domain, b) textual boundary/transition, c) conversation/discourse, d) narration/a piece of narration, e) coda, and f) cadence. The notion of ‘spatial domain’ is the setting where the state of affairs described in a text takes place. In many text segments, spatial domain is defined by implication, as for example in (52, page 70), where the place of the conversation between the mother and her daughter – i.e. the lakeside – is described by stating that the water lapped beneath the planks of a jetty. The marker of transition between two spatial domains is referred to as ‘textual boundary’. Textual elements such as ‘conversation’ and ‘narration’ are embedded and usually alternate within a spatial domain. Textual transition can often be divided in two different sequences, which are called ‘cadence’ and ‘coda’. The term cadence refers here to the different [V *ja* V] -pairs, whereas the term coda is the sequence that does not carry any new information but instead repeats the thematic material introduced earlier in a text.

The focus in this study is first to develop methods to describe textual structures shown in fictional prose, and second, to examine the role that certain coordinated [V *ja* V] -pairs have in maintaining textual organization.

To summarise, the research objectives of this study are:

- 1) to discover certain recurrent grammatical patternings systematically related to certain words by extensive corpus analysis,
- 2) to develop methods for analyzing functional properties grammatical patterns have in texts in general, and especially to provide functional explanations for the verb patterns found,
- 3) to test the feasibility of musical analogies for the analysis of textual structure,

- 4) to ponder the topic of semantic units and grammaticalisation, and
- 5) to discuss the relation between grammatical patterns and text types.

2 Outline

In Chapter 3, I will briefly discuss the motivation for the case studies. In Chapter 4, I will introduce my data and methods.

In Chapter 5, the coordinated verb sequences are discussed in general. I will also introduce some relevant issues of coordination in Finnish. In addition, the constraints for accepting a verb phrase into the data set will be elaborated in Section 5.2. The relevance of quantitative analysis for the current study will be taken into account later in the text.

In Section 5.2.5, two concepts used by Hopper (2001) will be discussed, namely *hendiadys* and *syntheton*, which resemble the serial verb constructions in verb serializing languages. The question of possible verb serialization in Finnish will be analysed later in Section 6.4.

Other issues analysed in Chapter 5 are the going-first (GF) and going-last (GL) pairs in Sections 5.2.3, and 5.2.4, respectively. The abbreviation GF-pair means a coordinated verb sequence in which the first verb is one of the G-verbs, while the abbreviation GL-pair describes the opposite order of constituents.

The textual functions of certain [*nousta ja V*], ‘to get up and V’, and [*V ja nousta*], ‘to V and get up’, pairs are examined in Chapter 6. Here a more exact description of the different meanings of *nousta* is also given. Finally, Chapter 7 discusses the findings of this study.

3 Coordinated [V ja V] -pairs

My interest in coordinated verb phrases arises primarily from data. When writing my Master's Thesis about the Finnish verb *nousta*, 'to get up' (Airola 1995), I came across a recurrent pattern in my data,¹ i.e. the coordinated verb pair [*nousta ja V*], 'to get up and V'. In addition to the lexical-semantic description, my study focused on the argument structure of *nousta*. Here a certain discrepancy arose; despite the frequency in data, the coordinated verb pairs still fell outside the scope of the traditional conception of 'argument structure.' In my current work, I again address the question of lexical description of verbs. As a broad theoretical framework, I have adopted a discourse- (text-) oriented and data-driven perspective to the grammatical patterning of verbs that does not rule out any particular pattern frequent enough to be conceived as an established structure in a certain language. This comes close to the Pattern Grammar framework in which the notion of the (*complementation*) *pattern* is used instead of resorting to argument structures. The defining features of a *pattern* as described in Hunston and Francis bear a resemblance to the approach outlined in Bybee and Hopper (2001: 3) who propose that "accounts of grammatical (and phonological) structure must take note of how frequency and repetition affect and ultimately bring form in language." Hunston and Francis (2000: 37) express this as follows:

[t]he patterns of a word can be defined as all the words and structures which are regularly associated with the word and which contribute to its meaning. A pattern can be identified if a combination of words occurs relatively frequently, if it is dependent of a particular word choice, and if there is a clear meaning associated with it.

Mithun (1988) proposes a testable hypothesis concerning the status of coordinated verbs: conceptually unitary events are expressed in single intonation units, while those consisting of conceptually distinct components are expressed in series of intonation units. According to Mithun (1988: 332), conjoined noun phrases, predicates, and clauses share the same intonation patterns: coordinated items "joined with no intonation break typically designate a single conceptual unit", while coordinated items "separated by comma intonation typically designate conceptually distinct members of some set." If this proposal by Mithun is valid, intonation could be used to disambiguate coordinated [V ja V] -pairs found in texts. An example is given in (1:1g) where it is not clear whether or not the coordinated verb pair *nousin ja kävelin*, 'I got up and walked', forms a conceptual unit. The problem of determining when one should talk about coordinated clauses the latter containing an ellipse and when about

¹ Corpus used: Suomen kuvalehti, all the issues published in 1987 (sk87). University of Helsinki Language Corpus Server (UHLCS), Department of General Linguistics, University of Helsinki <http://www.ling.helsinki.fi>. Document Type: running text. The texts are in plain text and sentence-per-line formats. Size of the corpus: 1,730,597 words, 12,520,546 characters.

coordinated sentence constituents is discussed in the Fennistic literature by scholars such as Kalliokoski (1989), Tuomikoski (1969), and Haipus (1974).

1.

(1a) Ja koko illan otin iisisti, (1b) nojasin patteriin (1c) ja odotin Lassea, (1d) kuuntelin autojen ääntelyä (1e) ja olin levoton, (1f) ja joka kerta kun bussi tai rekka sai ruudut helisemään (1g) nousin ja kävelin hetken ympärää kädet selän takana. (k-Aho.sgml.)	(1a) And all night I took it easy, (1b) I leaned on the radiator (1c), and waited for Lasse, (1d) listened to the sounds of cars (1e), and was restless (1f) and every time a bus or a truck made the window panes to rattle (1g) I got up and walked for a while in a circle hands behind my back. (Translation: R.D.) ¹
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While testing Mithun's hypothesis goes beyond the scope of the current work, it gives rise to a follow-up study. A corpus-based analysis reveals candidates for conceptually unitary events, but frequency alone does not prove that a pattern is processed as a single conceptual unit.

By examining different lexico-syntactic constructions in relation to textual organization, I shall show that the lexical description of verbs should be extended by taking into account the possible usage-based patterns verbs tend to occur in. In order to reveal the relevant usage patterns, an extensive corpus analysis is needed (cf. e.g. Charles 2006).

¹ Translations: Roderick Dixon (R.D.) and Sari Salmisuo (S.S.). If no translator is mentioned, the translations are my own.

4 Data and methods

4.1 Introduction and coding principles

Some preliminaries to my study will be discussed in this chapter. In Section 4.2, the corpora are introduced. In Section 4.3, I will introduce an experiment with the Self Organizing Map (SOM) which serves as the basis for my choice of verbs for the present study. While I have mainly used fictional prose for extracting the data, it is useful to compare some of this prose with another data set selected from another type of corpus, namely newspaper prose. This is undertaken through close examination of the verbs *lähteä*, ‘to go’, *mennä*, ‘to go’, and *nousta*, ‘to get up, to rise’. The correlation between quantitative and qualitative results will also be discussed in Section 4.4.

At this point it is important to introduce the coding principles used in this study. Only marked morphosyntactic features of a lexical element are glossed.

Finite verbs

- § Voice: in most cases, the active is unmarked and the **passive** is glossed
- § Mood: in most cases, the indicative is unmarked, whereas the **conditional**, **imperative**, and **potential** are glossed
- § Tense: the present tense is unmarked and other tenses are glossed
- § **Person** and **number** are both glossed

Non-finite verb forms

- § The **infinitival** and **participial endings** are glossed
- § Possible **case endings*** and **possessive suffixes** are glossed

Nouns

- § Number: the singular is the default value and only the **plural** is glossed
- § **All cases** are glossed
- § **All possessive suffixes** are glossed

* When used as adjectives, the participles inflect for number and case.

For the sake of brevity, in some text excerpts, I have abbreviated the text by leaving out some turns or sentences. The gaps are indicated by three dashes (– – –).

4.2 Corpora

The data for the present study are extracted from a corpus containing Finnish fictional prose (“PF-BOOKS” corpus¹). The novels in this corpus were published within a period of four years from 1994 to 1997 by WSOY and Otava. In total, 57 books by different authors are analysed (see APPENDIX 1).

In the experiment with the SOM, two corpora were used: the PF-BOOKS and the “PF-NEWS”². The PF-NEWS corpus contains texts from seven Finnish papers six of which are among the ten major newspapers in Finland.³ Four of these are regional publications that are daily newspapers, *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Aamulehti* represent the big cities in south-west Finland, *Kaleva* which is published in Oulu in northern Finland, and finally *Keskisuomalainen* published in Jyväskylä, in central Finland. Among the remaining three papers is *Iltalehti* and this represents the yellow papers, *Demari*, which is the supporter of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, and *Kaupalehti*, which is specialised in economy. The texts analysed here have been published during the period from 1990 to 1996 (see APPENDIX 2). The size of the two corpora is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The size of the PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS corpora (CSC 2001).

Sub-corpus	Total number of words
PF-NEWS (sanomalehdet)	13,639,000
PF-BOOKS (kirjat)	3,094,343
Total	16,733,343

For the present study, the occurrences of the coordinated [V *ja* V] -pairs were extracted manually from the sgml-tagged corpus by ordinary Unix-commands. In contrast, in the SOM experiment all the data were extracted automatically from the morphosyntactically tagged corpora.

¹ A sub-corpus of the PAROLE corpus of the Finnish language, CSC, Finnish IT center for science, Finland.

² A sub-corpus of the PAROLE corpus of the Finnish language, CSC, Finnish IT center for science, Finland.

³ See <http://www.sanoma.fi/toimiala/>.

4.3 Experiment with the SOM

The patterns examined in the present study are distinguished on lexical grounds. This study covers only those [V *ja* V] -pairs in which either the first or the second constituent is one of the following intransitive motion verbs: *lähteä*, ‘to go; to leave’, *mennä*, ‘to go’, *päästä*, ‘to get into’, *nousta*, ‘to get up’, and *laskea*, ‘to go down’ (see Table 2 for translations).

Table 2. Translations of the verbs *lähteä*, *mennä*, *päästä*, *nousta*, and *laskea*.

Verb	Meaning ⁽⁸⁾
<i>lähteä</i>	1 to depart 2 to go 3 to leave
<i>lähteä siitä oletuksesta, että</i> <i>lähteä liikkeelle</i>	4 to start ‘start from the assumption that’ 5 to set off ‘The bus set off.’
<i>mennä</i>	1 to depart 2 to go, to move off, to move, to repair, to withdraw
<i>päästä</i>	to get, to come into, to get into
<i>nousta</i>	1 to soar 2 to ascend 3 to rocket 4 to arise, to stand up, to get / to rise to one’s feet 5 to rise up, to move upward
<i>laskea</i>	1 to calculate 2 to descend 3 to sink, to slide

⁽⁸⁾Translations: <http://mot.kielikone.fi/mot/helyo/netmot.exe>.

As a selection criterion, I have used the results of an experiment in which the Self-Organizing Map algorithm was utilised for clustering and visualising the 25 most frequent Finnish verbs¹ (Lagus & Airola 2001, Lagus & Airola 2005, Lagus, Airola & Creutz 2002). The 25 verbs, which are divided into semantic classes, are shown in Table 3. The numbers refer to the map shown in Figure 2.

¹ However, the verb *laskea*, ‘to go down’, is not among the 25 most frequent verbs in our data. This verb is included since together with the verb *nousta*, ‘to get up’, it creates a reverse relation that we were interested in.

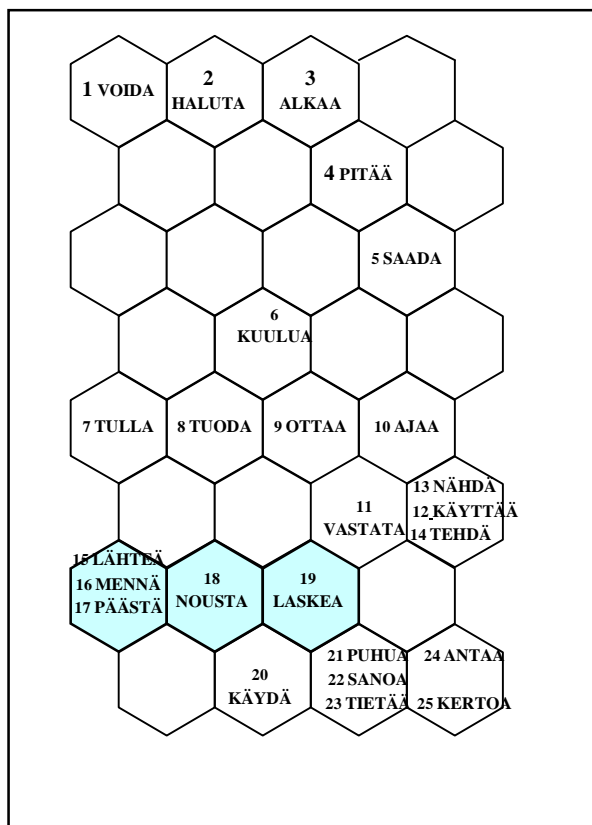
Table 3. List of 25 verbs arranged in semantic classes.

MODAL VERBS ¹	PERCEPTION VERBS	MOTION VERBS	SPEECH ACT VERBS	ACTION VERBS	COGNITIVE VERBS
1 voida 'to be able to'	6 kuulua 'to be heard'	7 tulla 'to come'	11 vastata 'to answer'	9 ottaa 'to take'	23 tietää 'to know'
2 haluta 'to want to'	13 nähdä 'to see'	8 tuoda 'to bring'	21 puhua 'to talk'	12 käyttää 'to use'	
3 alkaa 'to begin'		10 ajaa 'to drive'	22 sanoa 'to say'	14 tehdä 'to do'	
4 pitää 'must'		15 lähteä 'to go/depart'	25 kertoa 'to tell'	24 antaa 'to give'	
5 saada 'to be allowed to'		16 mennä 'to go'			
		17 päästä 'to get into'			
		18 nousta 'to rise'			
		19 laskea 'to go down'			
		20 käydä 'to walk'			

On the resulting map, the verbs *lähteä*, *mennä*, *päästä*, *nousta*, and *laskea* seem to form a cluster where the verbs *lähteä*, *mennä*, and *päästä* occupy the same unit, and the verbs *nousta* and *laskea* occupy the two nearby units (Figure 2). The group of these five verbs will henceforth be referred to as the *going*-verbs and abbreviated as **G-verbs**. In what follows, the SOM experiment is introduced in more detail.

¹ All the verbs here that take a TA.INF as a complement are included in the group of modal verbs.

Figure 2. The map of 25 verbs arranged by the SOM algorithm.



Lagus & Airola (2001) sought a feasible way to automatically obtain a semantically or functionally workable clustering of Finnish verbs. They asked whether a contextual window of only one word and a set of morphological features would be sufficient information for their analysis.

All the 25 verbs selected for that study, a total of about 500,000 samples, were extracted from the PF-NEWS and PF-BOOKS corpora. The morphological analysis of the data was conducted by the Connexor FDG, a functional dependency parser for Finnish (Tapanainen & Järvinen 1997).

To describe a verb, features were collected from a window of a single word to the right of the target word. The following morphosyntactic properties – some of which are shown in Table 4 – were included (Lagus & Airola 2005): a) a set of case endings (APPENDIX 3) (Table 4, examples 1, 2, and 3), b) adpositions, such as postpositions and prepositions (Table 4, examples 4 and 5), c) adverbs (Table 4, example 6), and d) two infinitival forms of verbs (Table 4, examples 7 and 8).

To make the table easier to read, the target verbs are underlined. The window [+1] is marked by brackets, and the features collected are printed in bold. For instance, as example (2) shows, the target verb is *lähteä*, ‘to depart’, and the morphological feature we were interested in is the relative (ELA) carried by the next word right to the target. Example (7) contains two relevant features in the window [+1], i.e. the MA-infinitive and the illative (*käy+mä+än*, ‘to visit-MA.INF-ILL’).

Table 4. Examples of the morpho-syntactic features used in the SOM experiment.

1)	...	hei+llä	saa...	<u>puhu+a</u>	[suome+a]	
PTV	they-ADE	allow-SG3		<u>speak-TA.INF</u>	[Finnish-PTV]	
	'... at their place one is allowed to speak Finnish'					
2)	Linja	<u>lähte+e</u>		[laituri- sta]	8.	
ELA	bus-NOM	<u>depart-SG3</u>		[platform-ELA]	8- NOM	
	'The bus departs from platform 8.'					
3)	mies	oli	<u>lähte+nyt</u>	[kesämöki+ ltä+än]	yksin	kala+an
ABL	man-NOM	be-PAST	<u>go-PCP.PAST</u>	[summer.cottage-ABL-PSS3]	alone	fish-ILL
	'...the man had left his summer cottage to fish alone.'					
4)	Reunanen	<u>lähte+e</u>		[tamma+ nsa]	kanssa ¹	toiveikkaa+na Kouvola+an.
PSP	Reunanen-NOM	<u>go-SG3</u>		[mare-GEN.PSS3]	with	hopeful-ESS Kouvola-ILL
	'Reunanen will go sanguine about [the horse show] in Kouvola with his mare.'					
5)	Ei+hän	tyttö	<u>pysty+nyt</u>	kunnolla	<u>kävele+mä+än</u>	[läpi] kaupungi+n
PREP	No-CLIP	girl-NOM	be.able.to- PCP.PAST	properly	<u>walk-MA.INF-ILL</u>	[through] city-GEN
	'The girl was just not able to walk properly through the city...'					
6)	Muista+tte+ko	kuinka	viime	vaale+i+ssa	tietokonee+ <u>t</u>	<u>men+i+vät</u> [rikki]...
ADV	remember-PL2-CLIP	how	last	poll-PL-INE	computer-PL.NOM	<u>go-PAST-PL3</u> [out of order]
	'Do you remember how in the last poll the computers broke down...'					
7)	minä	taida+n	<u>lähte+ä</u>	[käy+ mä+än]	Lahde+ssa.	
MA.INF	I-NOM	think-SG1	<u>go-TA.INF</u>	[visit-MA.INF-ILL]	Lahti-INE	
	'I think I'll go to visit Lahti.'					
8)	Saara	<u>halus+i</u>		[men+nä]	kahvila+sta suoraan	koti+in.
TA.INF	Saara-NOM	<u>want-PAST.SG3</u>		[go-TA.INF]	café-ELA	directly home-ILL.
	'Saara wanted to go directly home from the café.'					

References

- Examples 1, 2, 3, and 4: *Helsingin Sanomat* 1990, PF-NEWS corpus.
- Example 5: k-Haennikaainen.sgml, PF-BOOKS corpus (see APPENDIX 1).
- Example 6: *Kauppalehti Optio*, PF-NEWS corpus.
- Examples 7 and 8: k-Holappa.sgml, PF-BOOKS corpus (see APPENDIX 1).

¹ Actually, the postpositions are coded indirectly, since the obligatory complements of postpositions naturally precede their heads and thus occupy the window [+1] from which the features were collected. From this follows that we are left with the genitive that is ambiguous and produces several readings. The genitive, for example, can be the complement of a postposition as in *tamma+n kanssa*, 'with the mare', or it can be an attribute describing some properties of a noun phrase as in *musta+n tamma+n kanssa*, 'with a black mare', or it can be an attribute specifying the owner of something: *Matti+n musta+n tamma+n kanssa*, 'with Matti's black mare'.

From the perspective of the SOM system, the only information it recognises when performing the clustering of the data is whether or not the next word immediately to the right of the target word bears some of the selected features. More technically, every verb in our data was represented by a data vector x_i that described how typical each of the morphosyntactic features were concerning the word following the target verb v_i . After forming the data vectors, the verb representations were organised automatically using the SOM algorithm and by using the SOM ToolBox (Vesanto & al. 2000) for the data analysis tasks and for the visualizations. (Lagus & Airola 2005.) The resulting map is shown in Figure 2. The units occupied by the G-verbs are coloured.

In addition, the values of individual features were visualised on the map (see the coloured areas in Figure 3 - Figure 5)¹ (Lagus & Airola 2001). These maps show, for example, that the most prominent areas of the features MA.INF (Figure 5), ADV (Figure 3), and ILL (Figure 4) are found in the lower left corner of the map. When compared to Figure 2, these features seem to correlate with the group of G-verbs, especially with the verbs *lähteä*, ‘to go’, *mennä*, ‘to go’, and *päästä*, ‘to get into’.

¹ The maps in Figure 3 - Figure 5 are only indicative of the real maps produced by the SOM. In practice, the values of individual features form a continuous representation on the map. Thus there are no clear boundaries between the most prominent and the less prominent areas of a feature.

Figure 3. Adverbs

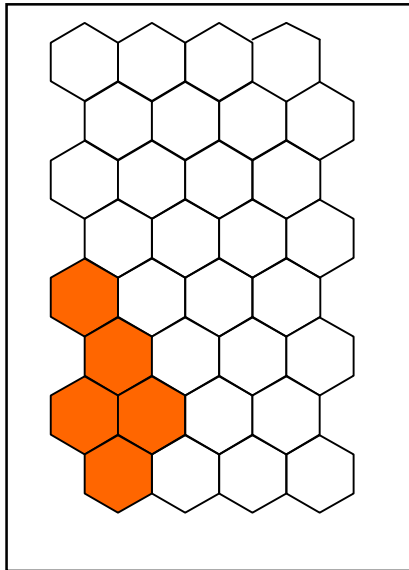


Figure 4. Illative

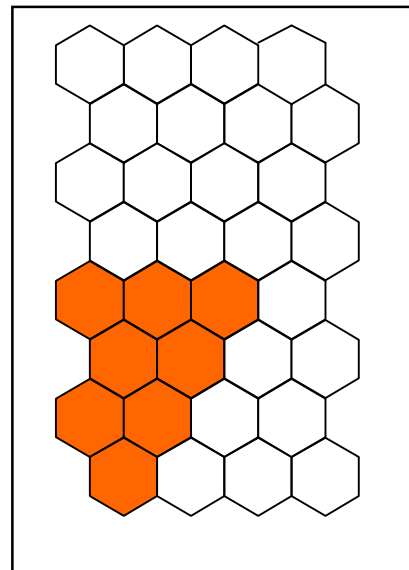
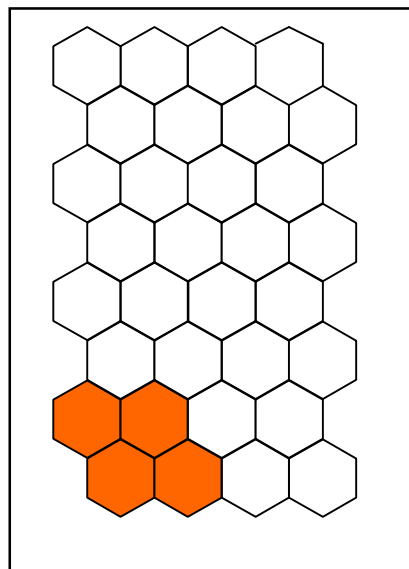


Figure 5. MA.INF



One can thus draw the conclusion based on the particular corpora used that for the verbs in question, some of their most frequently occurring complements in the position [+1] are the ones describing some kind of motion or action (MA.INF, e.g. *lähteä käymään*, ‘to go to visit’, *mennä syömään*, ‘to go to eat’), some kind of property describing the motion (ADV), or some direction or location of the motion (ILL) (see Table 4, in which the MA.INF and ILL are shown in example (7), and the ADV in example (6)).

4.4 G-verbs in the PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS corpora

My data for the present study – the occurrences of the [V *ja* V] -pairs with one of the G-verbs – are extracted from the PF-BOOKS corpus, while in the experiment with the SOM, the data were combined from the two corpora (PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS).

All the 25 verbs examined in Lagus & Airola (2001) are highly polysemous which correlates with their high frequency. In this data, e.g. the map unit occupied by the verbs *lähteä*, *mennä*, and *päästä* ('to go; to go; to get into') overlaps with the most prominent areas of the MA-infinitives, which seems to imply that the three verbs prefer a verb indicating movement or action as a complement. An example is given in (2), where the verb *lähteä*, 'to go', is modified by an infinitival form of the verb *kävellä* (*käveleh+mä+än*; walk-MA.INF-ILL). Here a certain feature of the meaning potential of the verb *lähteä* is highlighted, namely its possibility to express aspect. In (2), *lähteä* functions mainly as a marker of the beginning of a process described by its modifier, i.e. the verb *kävellä*, 'to walk.'

2.

Sieltä	mie	kivikasa+n	seasta	nouse+n	ylös
from.there	I-NOM	heap.of.stones-GEN	among	get.up-SG1	up

'From there among the heap of stones, I pick myself up

ja	lähe+n	käveleh+mä+än	kotia.
and	leave-SG1	walk-MA.INF-ILL	home.

and start walking home.' (k-Liksom.sgml, translation: R.D.)

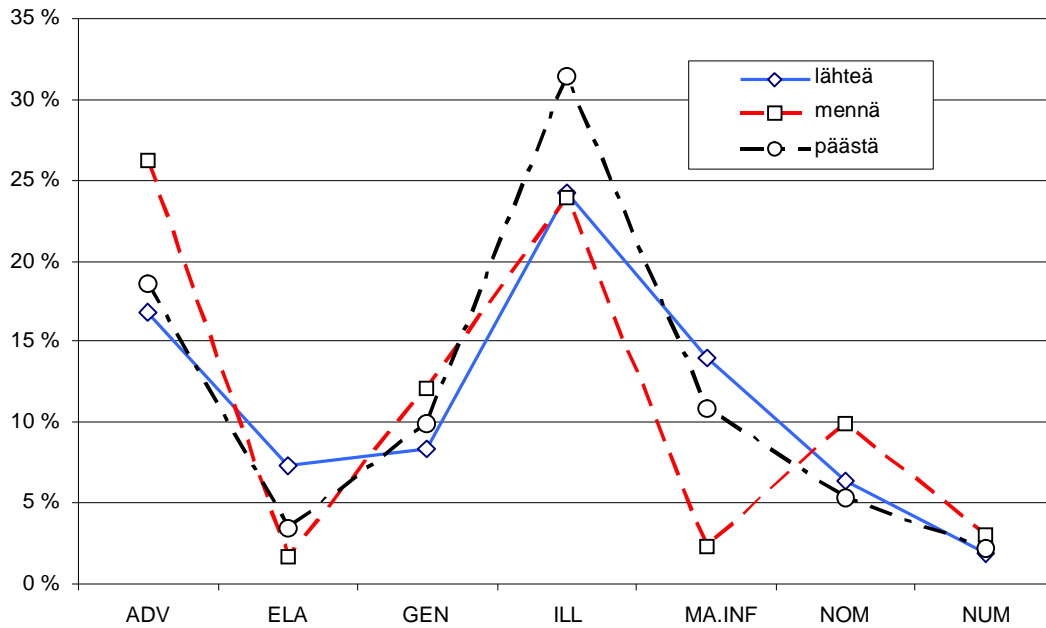
Nevertheless, when examined separately, there are considerable differences between the modifier profiles of the different G-verbs. As can be seen from Figure 6, the MA.INF expressing motion or action occurs most frequently with the verb *lähteä*, suggesting the aspectual meaning of the verb. The most frequent modifier type of the verb *mennä* is some kind of adverb that indicates, among other things, the manner of motion it describes. Concerning the verb *päästä*, this verb is most frequently modified by a noun (or some other nominal form) inflected in the illative. Thus the verb *päästä* focuses on the end point of the process it implies. For instance, in (3), the successful outcome of Emmi's intentions to get admitted to the university requires a previous process that is only suggested by the verb *päästä*, 'to get into'. This is what Fellbaum (1998) calls 'backward presupposition'. Concerning (3), in order to *get into university*, one must have applied for university first; applying for somewhere is a precondition for getting into somewhere.

3.

Emmi	pääs+i	yliopisto+on	luke+ma+an	laki+a
Emmi-NOM	get.into-PAST.SG3	university-ILL	read-MA.INF-ILL	law-PTV

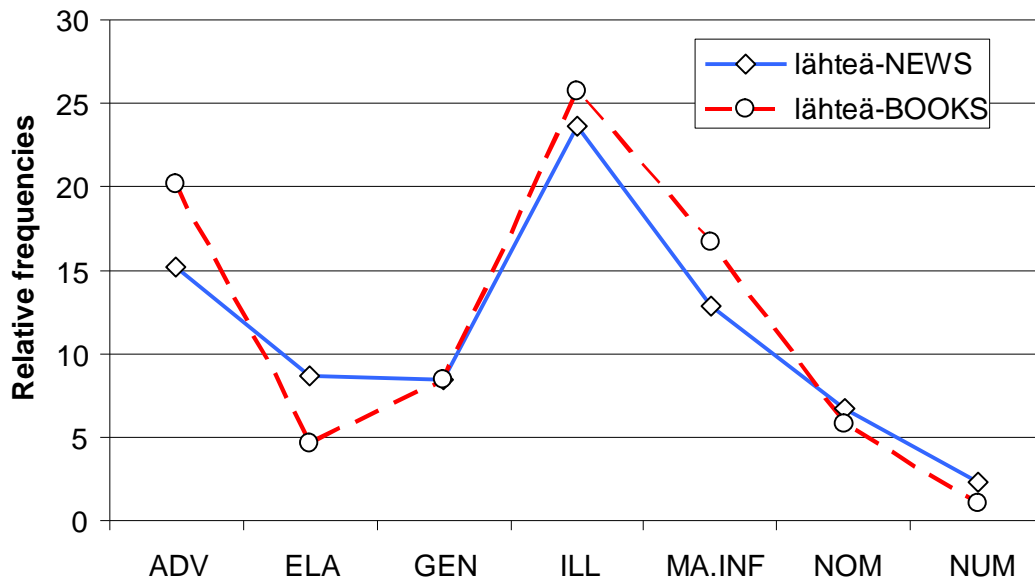
'Emmi got into university to study law.'

Figure 6. Distribution of the modifiers in the window [+1] among the verbs *lähteä*, *mennä*, and *päästä*. Data: PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS.



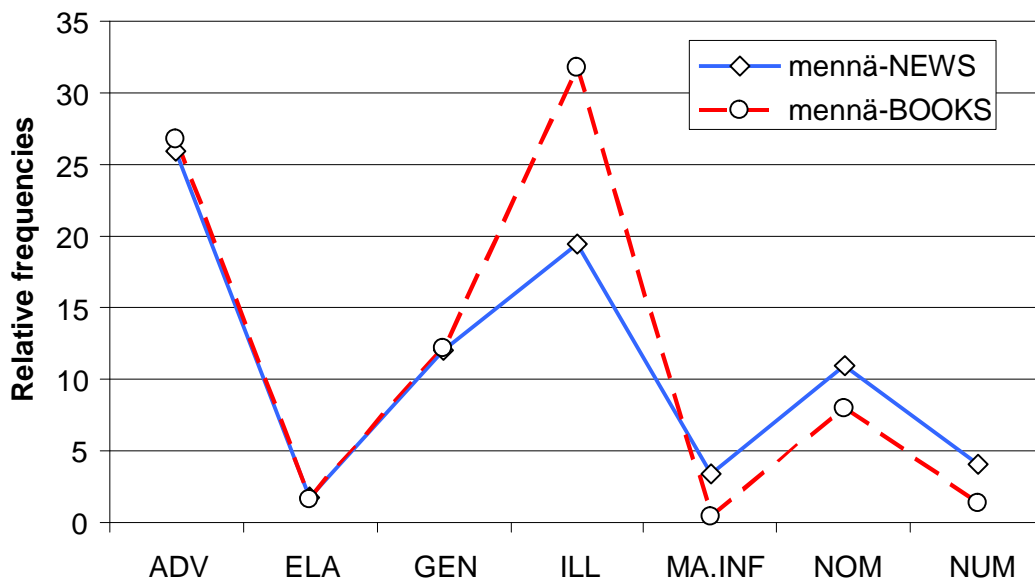
The modifier profiles of the G-verbs also show differences when extracted from the different types of corpora. Some of the most frequent modifier types of the G-verbs based on the PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS corpora are shown in Figure 7 through Figure 11. As can be seen, the differences between the two corpora are statistically significant in all the cases. The most striking differences concern the verb *nousta*. As Figure 10 shows, only the frequencies of adverbs and the nominative are nearly the same in the two corpora. In contrast, the modifier profiles of the verbs *lähteä*, ‘to go’, and *mennä*, ‘to go’ (Figure 7 and Figure 8), are quite similar in the two corpora. One exception is that the illative modifying the verb *mennä* is much more frequent in the PF-BOOKS than in the PF-NEWS corpus (see the discussion in Chapter 4.4.1). Concerning the verb *päästä*, ‘to get into’, the most interesting observation is the frequencies of the MA-infinitives between the two corpora. As Figure 9 indicates, the MA-infinitives are distinctive to newspaper prose. Finally, the most eye-catching feature in the modifier profile of the verb *laskea*, ‘to go down’, is the genitive. According to Figure 11, the genitive is distinctive to fictional prose while being the most frequent modifier type of *laskea* in general.

Figure 7. Modifiers following the verb *lähteä*. Data: PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS corpora. N = 11,047.



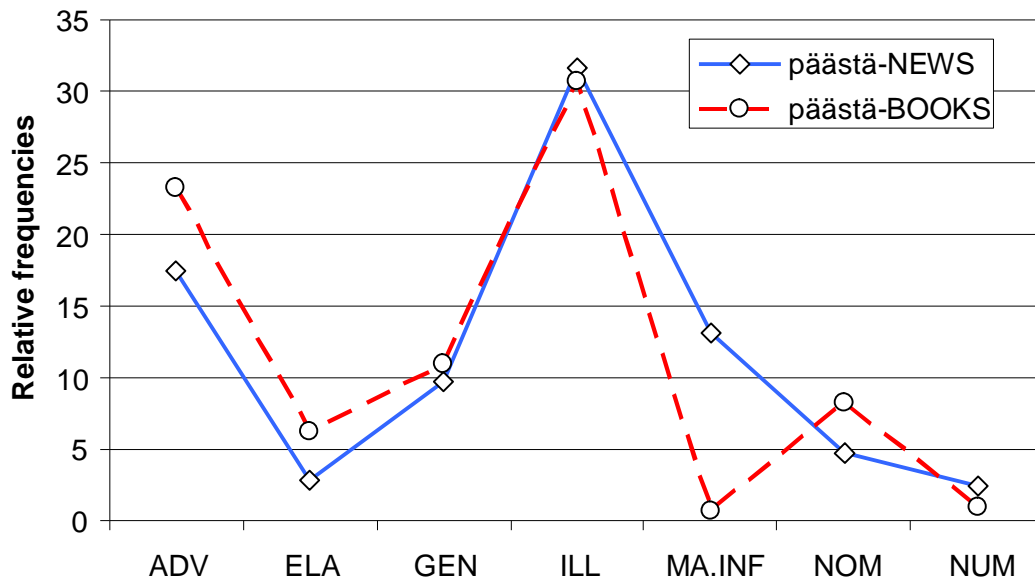
$p < 0.001$, chi squared = 114.5, df = 6 (calculated from the absolute frequencies).

Figure 8. Modifiers following the verb *mennä*. Data: PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS corpora. N = 13,142.



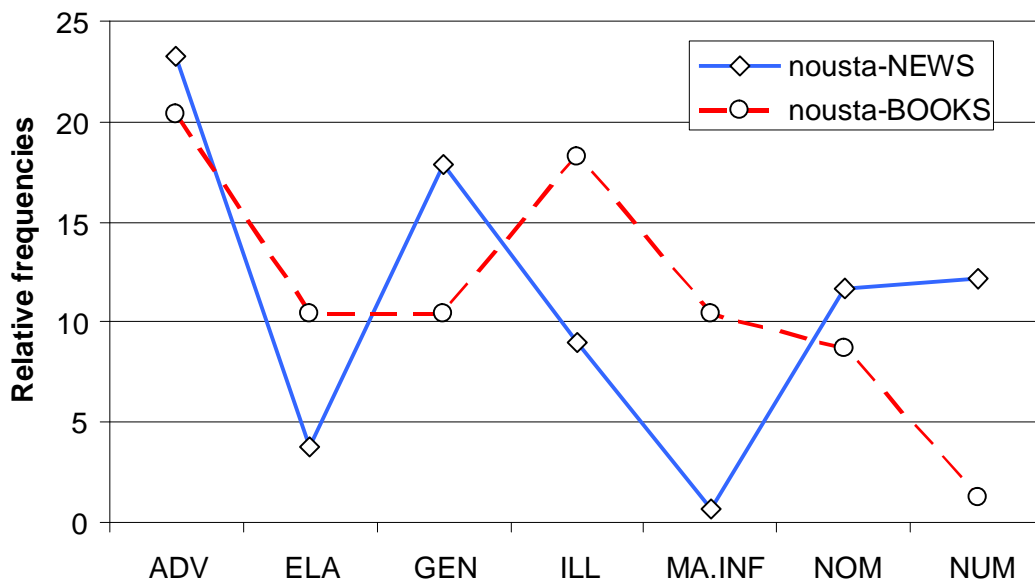
$p < 0.001$, chi squared = 312.4, df = 6.

Figure 9. Modifiers following the verb *päästä*. Data: PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS corpora. N = 13,863.



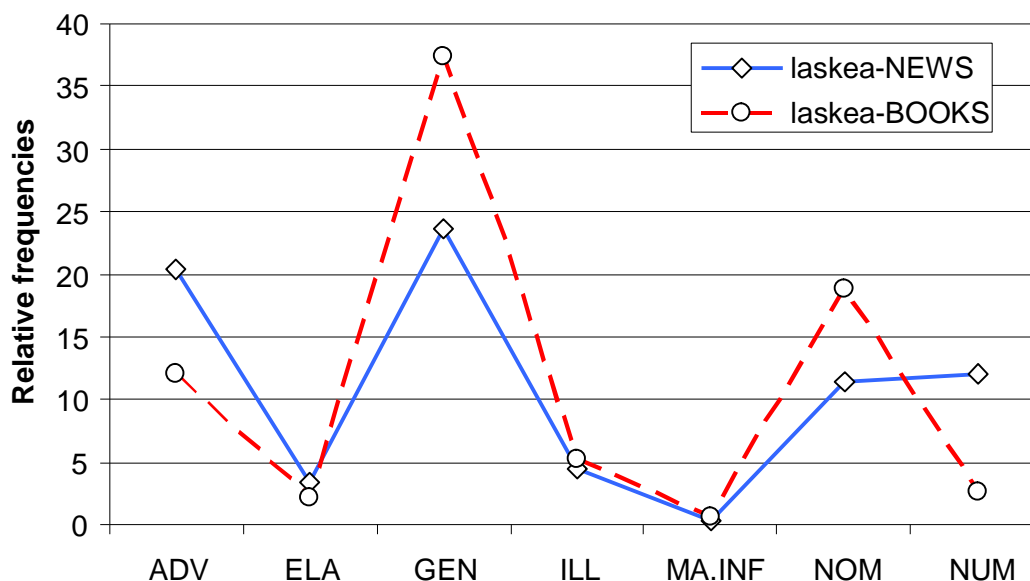
$p < 0.001$, chi squared = 479.6, df = 6.

Figure 10. Modifiers following the verb *nousta*. Data: PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS corpora. N = 7,988.



$p < 0.001$, chi squared = 885.4, df = 6.

Figure 11. Modifiers following the verb *laskea*. Data: PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS corpora. N = 4,390.



$p < 0.001$, chi squared = 163.9, df = 6.

To get an idea of the breakdown of different types of modifiers of some of the G-verbs, the verb *lähteä* will be scrutinized more closely in the analysis which follows. In general, those character strings were collected which immediately followed the verb *lähteä* in each of its occurrences in the PF-NEWS and PF-BOOKS corpus. The distribution of the character strings is shown in Table 5. On the basis of this data, the modifier types of the verb *lähteä* can be deduced. However, one has to bear in mind that the data in Table 5 are tentative only. First, the window of one word to the right excludes the other possible verb modifiers. Second, no syntactic analysis of the character strings was taken into account. Nonetheless, the comparison between the different kinds of corpora seems to be justified since the data extracted from only one type of corpus cannot be easily generalised over other types of data. For this reason, the figures concerning [V *ja* V] -pairs introduced in the present study should be seen as an estimate that will become more precise when more data is taken into account.

Table 5. The frequencies of the different types of character strings next to the right of the verb *lähteä*. The data set contains all the occurrences of the verb *lähteä* in the PF-NEWS and PF-BOOKS corpus.*

Type of the character string	<i>Lähteä</i> , all occurrences PF-NEWS**		<i>Lähteä</i> , all occurrences PF-BOOKS***	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Adverb	1,427	16.0	914	19.0
MA-infinitive in the illative	1,204	13.5	754	15.6
NP in the illative	1,039	11.6	427	8.9
NP in the elative	818	9.2	208	4.3
NP in the allative	807	9.0	295	6.1
NP in the genitive	796	8.9	384	8.0
Punctuation mark	747	8.4	872	18.1
NP in the nominative	611	6.8	264	5.5
Others	1,490	16.6	703	14.6

* The corpora were tagged automatically.

** N = 8,939.

*** N = 4,821.

As Table 5 shows, the most frequently occurring modifier type of *lähteä* in the PF-BOOKS corpus is some type of adverb, while the second most frequent character is a punctuation mark. Likewise in the PF-NEWS corpus, *lähteä* is most frequently modified by an adverb, but here the second most frequent modifier type is the MA-infinitive in the illative, with the punctuation mark being the second most uncommon character. The frequent occurrence of the punctuation mark following *lähteä* in the PF-BOOKS corpus is quite an interesting phenomenon. A good guess is that it occurs as a second constituent in coordinated verb pairs such as *hän nousi ja lähti*, ‘she got up and went’, the whole construction serving as a closing part of a sequence of a text. This hypothesis will be examined closely in the follow-up of this study.

4.4.1 Quantitative vs. qualitative differences – the verb *mennä*

The quantitative text-type differences between the two corpora also raise a question of qualitative differences. This is examined by conducting a more thorough analysis of some of the modifier types of the verbs *mennä* and *nousta* (Section 4.4.2). In what follows, the illatives modifying the verb *mennä* have been classified into fourteen categories that include e.g. functional categories such as *action* and *administration*, or words referring to more stable objects, such as *locations*, *buildings*, or *furniture* (see Table 6). In many cases, especially actions are expressed by implication. Some examples contain expressions such as *mennä lääkäriin*, ‘go to the **doctor**’, or *mennä kam-paajalle*, ‘go to the **hairstresser**’, in which cases the action is performed by the referent of the word that represents the goal of the process described by the verb *mennä*.

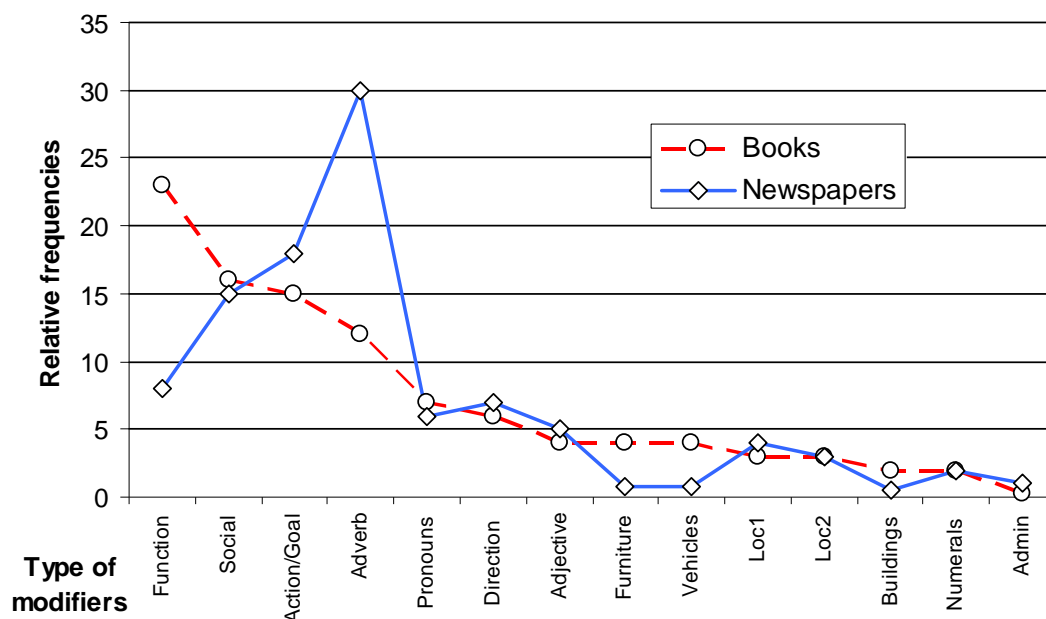
On the contrary, the referent of the noun standing for the subject of the verb *mennä* remains as a passive participant.

Table 6. Illatives modifying the verb *mennä* classified in semantic categories.*

Modifier	
Action/Goal	a) A state of affairs in which the referent of the subject noun is the passive participant of the action implied by the modifier, e.g. <i>mennä hammaslääkäriin</i> , <i>mennä kampaajalle</i> , ‘go to the <u>dentist</u> ’, ‘go to the <u>hairstresser</u> ’ b) A state of affairs in which the referent of the subject noun is the active participant of the action implied, e.g. <i>mennä huutokauppaan</i> , <i>mennä mustikkaan</i> , ‘go to the <u>auktion</u> ’, ‘go to <u>pick some blueberries</u> ’; <i>mennä kouluun</i> , <i>mennä kirjastoon</i> , ‘go to the <u>school</u> ’, ‘go to the <u>library</u> ’ (institutions)
Adjectives	Adjectives following the verb <i>mennä</i> . They often belong to the following NP as in <i>punaiseen autoon</i> , ‘to the red car’
Administration	Words referring to social, political, and juridical activities, e.g. <i>kiista meni kaupunginvaltuustoon</i> , ‘the dispute was taken to the <u>city council</u> ’
Adverbs	In addition to adverbs in general, idiomatic or partly grammaticalised expressions are also included, e.g. <i>mennä halpaan</i> , <i>mennä pieleen</i> , ‘be fooled’, ‘go awry’
Buildings	In general a building or a part of a building without any particular function, cf. the modifier type named ‘Functional places’.
Direction	Direction of the movement described by the verb <i>mennä</i> , e.g. <i>mennä itään</i> , <i>mennä suoraan</i> , ‘go to the <u>East</u> ’, ‘go <u>directly</u> ’
Functional places	A word that by definition refers to a place, building, or a part of a building that can be considered to have a specific function, e.g. <i>sauna</i> , <i>autokorjaamo</i> , <i>keittiö</i> , ‘a sauna’, ‘a car repair shop’, ‘a kitchen’
Furniture	Often a piece of furniture that implies some function or action, e.g. <i>mennä vuoteeseen</i> , <i>mennä pöytään</i> , ‘go to <u>bed</u> ’; ‘go to sit at the <u>table</u> ’
Location1	Names referring to geographical areas like towns or countries.
Location2	Words referring to more natural geographical areas, e.g. <i>järvi</i> , <i>meri</i> , <i>metsä</i> , <i>pen-saikko</i> , ‘a lake’, ‘a sea’, ‘a forest’, ‘a thicket’
Numerals	e.g. <i>mennä toiseen</i> (<i>huoneeseen</i> ym.), ‘go to the <u>second</u> (room, etc.)’
Pronouns	e.g. <i>mennä siihen</i> (<i>paikkaan</i> ym), ‘go to <u>that</u> (place, etc.)’
Social relations	Social relations as a goal of the verb <i>mennä</i> include e.g. the following utterances: <i>mennä naimisiin</i> , ‘marry’, <i>mennä kihloihin</i> , ‘become engaged to somebody’
Vehicles	e.g. <i>mennä veneeseen</i> , ‘go into the <u>boat</u> ’

*Some of the modifiers shown in Table 6 are exemplified in APPENDIX 4.

Figure 12. Distribution of the illatives following the verb *mennä*. Data: PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS. N = 2,098.



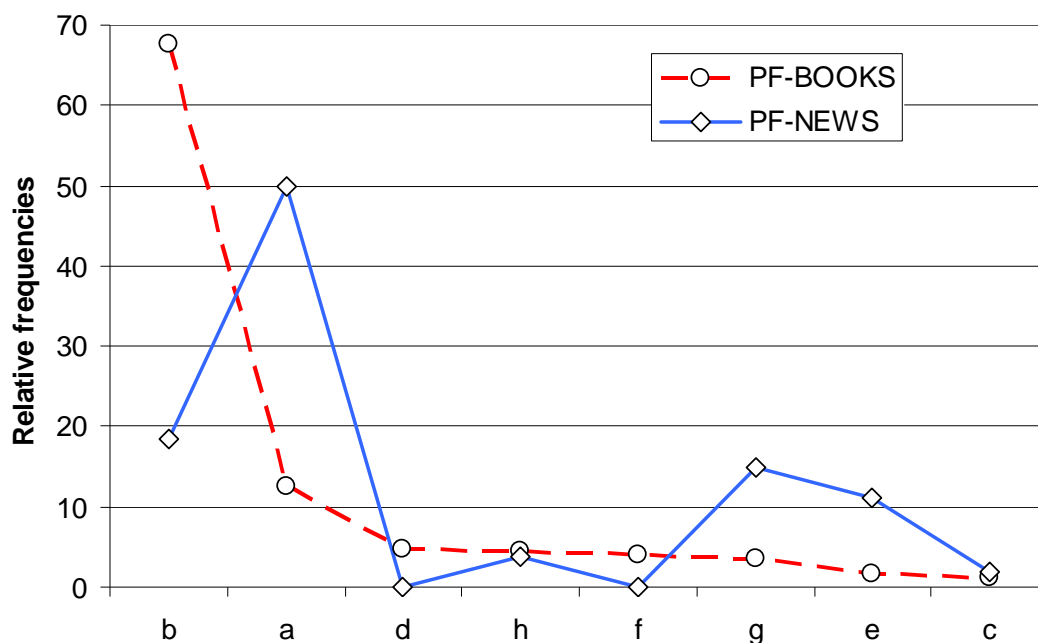
Despite the more or less impressionistic nature of the categorisation and an obvious overlap concerning the categories, Figure 12 shows that the profiles of illatives modifying the verb *mennä* in the PF-BOOKS and the PF-NEWS corpora seem to offer some distinctive features that could be utilised e.g. in automatic textual analysis or in identifying different genres. For instance, features like ‘action/goal’ and ‘adverbs’ refer positively to newspaper prose, while features like ‘buildings’, ‘furniture’, and ‘vehicles’ are almost absent in newspaper texts. In fictional texts the most distinctive feature of the illatives modifying *mennä* is the concept ‘function’ that here means some kind of ‘functional place’ such as *sauna*, ‘sauna’, *keittiö*, ‘kitchen’, or *autokorjaamo*, ‘a car repair shop’.

4.4.2 Quantitative vs. qualitative difference – the verb *nousta*

As discussed above, the differences in the frequency of different modifier types also imply qualitative differences between different types of text. This is displayed in Figure 13 where the MA-infinitives following the verb *nousta* in the two corpora are shown. The MA-infinitives are roughly classified into semantic groups including (a) activities (e.g. *nousta kättelemään*, ‘to rise to shake hands with somebody’), (b) change of position (meaning ‘to stand up’, and ‘to raise himself into a sitting position’), (c) cognitive states or processes (e.g. *nousta mieleen*, ‘to evoke’), (d) motion (e.g. ‘to get up for a walk’), (f) perception (e.g. ‘to rise to watch somebody/something’), (g) speech acts (e.g. *nousta hokemaan*, ‘to rise to say something again and again’), and (h) social actions (e.g. ‘to rise to play with somebody’). The

change of position is a strong marker of fiction, while different kinds of activities refer to newspaper prose. Furthermore, speech acts are a feature occurring mostly in newspapers.

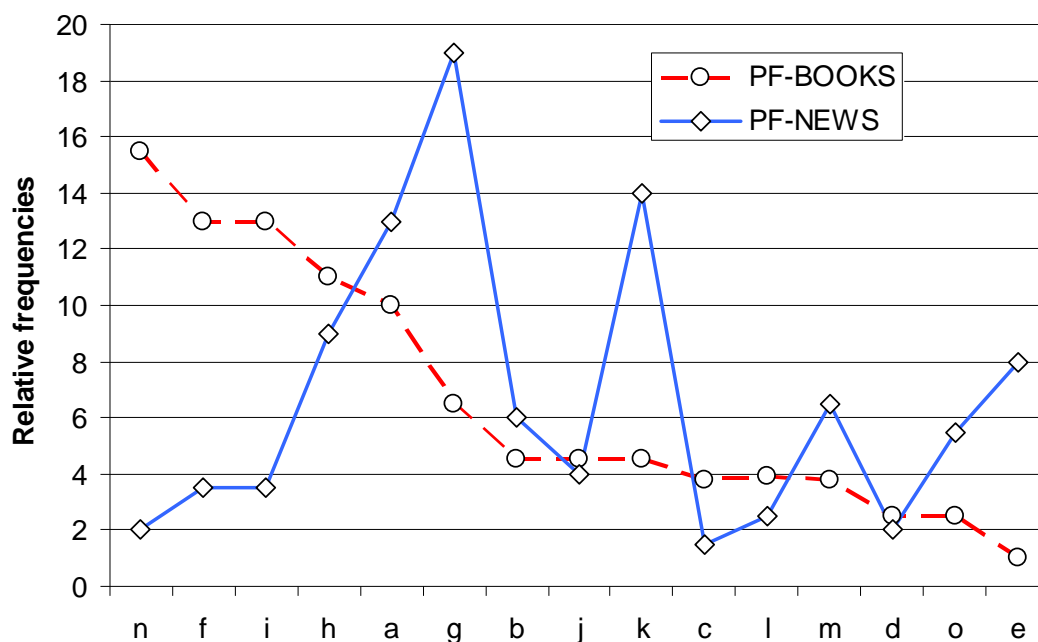
Figure 13. MA-infinitives following the verb *nousta*. Data: PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS. N = 301.



- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a = activities | e = other |
| b = change of position | f = perception |
| c = cognitive states or processes | g = speech acts |
| d = motion | h = some kind of social action |

The distribution of the illatives that modify the verb *nousta* (excluding the MA-infinitives) show even more striking differences between the two corpora (Figure 14). Body parts and orientation (change of position) (**n**) are an undisputable feature that belongs to fictional prose, while qualitative improvement (**g**) (e.g. *nousta julki-suuteen*, ‘to rise into the public eye’), numerals (**k**) (e.g. *tupakka-askin hinta nousi vitoseen*, ‘the price of a cigarette box rose to 5 marks’), institutions (**e**) (e.g. *nousta hallitukseen*, ‘to ascend to the government’), some type of boundaries (**m**) (e.g. *nousta pintaan*, ‘to surface’), and the lack of cognitive states and processes (**c**) correlate strongly with newspaper prose.

Figure 14. Illatives following the verb *nousta* in PF-BOOKS and PF-NEWS corpora. N = 764.



- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| a = adjectives | i = location (artifacts; buildings etc.) |
| b = activities | j = other |
| c = cognitive states and processes | k = numerals |
| d = direction | l = pronouns |
| e = institution | m = a kind of boundary, becoming visible |
| f = vehicles | n = body parts, orientation |
| g = qualitative improvement | o = social status |
| h = geographic location | |

What can be concluded is that different text types seem to highlight different senses of a word. For instance, in the PF-BOOKS corpus – if considered from the perspective of the modifiers in the illative – one of the three core meanings of *nousta* dominates, namely that of change of position. (See Figure 20 on page 60 for an illustration of the different senses of the verb *nousta*.) In contrast, in the PF-NEWS corpus, change of position plays only a minor role, the main senses of *nousta* being to move upwards from one point to another, as along some scale that can be either numerical, qualitative, or institutional. This obviously implies that the meanings of *nousta* in the newspaper texts are more abstract than those in fictional prose.

5 Coordinated verb sequences: introduction

The present data contains coordinated verb pairs with one of the G-verbs as the first (V₁) or the second (V₂) constituent. First, I will go through the data from the perspective of quantitative corpus analysis, and second, I will analyse the verb pairs in larger textual contexts. Section 5.2.3 presents a discussion of the [V *ja* V], ‘V and V’, -pairs that have a G-verb as a first constituent, referred to as *going-first* (GF) -pairs. In Section 5.2.4 the focus shifts to the [V *ja* V] -pairs in which the second constituent is a G-verb. From now on, these will be referred to as *going-last* (GL) -pairs. It will also be shown that the verb *nousta* has a specific role especially among the going-first -pairs and that [*nousta ja* V] -pairs turn out to play an important role in creating and maintaining textual structure.

In addition, the [*mennä ja* V] -constructions are of interest here, since they seem to be good candidates in Finnish for what Hopper (2001) calls *hendiadyses*. The term hendiadys stands for a semantic modifier-head complex that is presented as a coordinated compound. This means that a single idea is realised by two distinct constituents. The concept of hendiadyses will be discussed more thoroughly in Section 5.2.5.

In this chapter, I will also point out several linguistically interesting phenomena that will be discussed more thoroughly later in Chapter 6. Among these are the concepts of iconicity and economy, which seem to be conflicting, for instance, in the coordinated [*nousta ja* V] and [V *ja nousta*] -pairs. It will be shown that the apparent redundancy of the verb *nousta* will disappear if considered from the perspective of textual organization. Before going on to the corpus analysis, I will now briefly discuss some relevant issues of coordination in Finnish.

5.1 Coordination in Finnish

Phrase-level constituents in Finnish, such as NPs, are predominantly head-final. Furthermore, adjectival modifiers agree in number and case with their head-noun. For instance, in (4), both the determiner *tuon*, ‘that’, as well as the adjective attributes *vanha*, ‘old’, and *pieni*, ‘little’, are inflected in the inessive according to the head noun *mökki+ssä*, ‘in the cottage’ (in bold).

4.

Ystävä+ni	asu+u	[_{NP} [_{AP} tuon+ssa	vanha+ssa	piene+ssä]	mökki+ssä]].
friend-	live-SG3	that-INE	old-INE	little-INE	cottage-INE
NOM.PSS1					

‘My friend lives in that old, little cottage.’

In addition, NPs can also take complements following the head noun (in square brackets), (see e.g. 5 and 6). Relative clauses are also possible (7).

5.

Kertomus [piene+stä ankanpoikase+sta]
 story-NOM little-ELA duckling-ELA
 ‘A story about a little duckling.’

6.

Äiti+ni [rakkaus musiikki+in].
 mother-GEN.PSS1 love-NOM music-ILL
 ‘My mother’s love of music.’

7.

Ystävä+ni, [joka asu+u piene+ssä möki+ssä+än].
 Friend-NOM.PSS1 who-NOM live+SG3 little-INE cottage-INE-PSS3
 ‘My friend who lives in her little cottage.’

The clause-level basic word order is SVO. According to Hakulinen et al. (1980), subjects precede finite verbs in 61% of all the sentences in standard written prose. In theory, clause-level word order in Finnish shows great freedom. For example, in a simple sentence consisting of a subject, an object, a verb, and one or two adverbials, all permutations are grammatically possible. Nevertheless, as Vilkuna (1989) points out, word order in Finnish is not free, but discourse conditioned.

The following coordinators (coordinating conjunctions) in Finnish are possible:

<i>ja</i>	‘and’	<i>eli</i>	‘or/alias’
<i>sekä</i>	‘and’	<i>mutta</i>	‘but’
<i>tai</i>	‘or’	<i>vaan</i>	‘but’
<i>vai</i>	‘or’		

According to Haspelmath (2004: 5), three different types of coordination are usually classified on the basis of the type of the coordinator: conjunction (= conjunctive coordination, ‘and’ coordination), disjunction (= disjunctive coordination, ‘or’ coordination), and adversative coordination (‘but’ coordination). As Haspelmath adds, sometimes an additional type, causal coordination, constitutes a category. This study focuses on discussion the conjunctive coordination.

Example (8) has three coordinated NPs (in bold). The coordinating conjunctions are italicized:

8.

yllään [_{NP}valkoinen paita] ja [_{NP}puku] sekä [_{NP}solmio]
 have on [_{NP}white shirt] and [_{NP}suit] and [_{NP}tie]
 ‘had on a white shirt and a suit and tie’ (k-AitoahoP.sgml, translation: R.D.)

Example (9) shows an asyndetic coordination. Here the first three adjectives are coordinated without any conjunction, while the third and the fourth adjectives are separated by the coordinating conjunction *mutta* ‘but’.

9.

[_APunaruskea], [_Avahapintainen], [_Apyöreämuotoinen] mutta [_Ahoikkajalkainen].
 [_ARusset], [_Awax surface], [_Around shaped] but [_Aslim-legged].
 (k-AitoahoP.sgml, translation: R.D.)

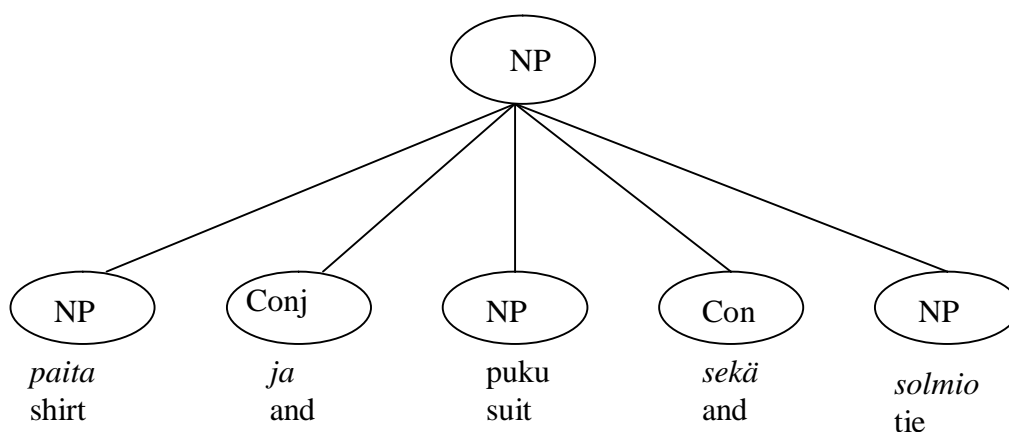
According to Vilkuna (1996), the coordinated elements usually belong to the same category. However, there are several exceptions. An example given by Vilkuna (1996: 65) coordinates a noun – here *maisteri*, ‘Master of Arts’, and an adjective – *ylpeä*, ‘proud (of)’ (in bold):

10.

Ole+n **maisteri** ja **ylpeä** sii+ttä.
 be-SG1 M.A.-NOM and proud-NOM it-ELA
 ‘I have a **Master’s degree** and I’m **proud of it.**’ (Translation: R.D.)

Vilkuna (1996) describes the syntactic structure of coordinated phrases as constructions without a head (Figure 15):

Figure 15. Illustration of coordinated constructions.



Kalliokoski (1989: 26) cites the question that Matthews (1981: 198) asks about coordination, i.e. “Coordination between what?” This question is revealing since it highlights the complex nature of coordination in natural languages.¹ The focus of the present study is on the coordinated verb pairs in which the verbs share the subject. As shown in (11), both of the coordinated verbs (in bold) agree with the subject in number and person.

11.

Makso+i+n *ja* **men+i+n** sisään.
 pay-PAST-SG1 and go-PAST-SG1 inside
 ‘I paid and went inside.’ (k-Tolonen.sgml, translation: R.D.)

Since Finnish is a pro-drop language, the first and the second person pronouns can be omitted. In (11), the number and person of the agent is identified on the basis of the verbal inflection.

Kalliokoski (1989: 36) points out that it is difficult to determine when one should consider constructions to be coordinated clauses and when coordinated sentence constituents. Tuomikoski (1969) and Haipus (1974) have likewise emphasised the difficulty in explicitly defining these two types of coordination. Haspelmath (2004) also points out the problem in distinguishing coordinated clauses from coordinated verb phrases. However, as Haspelmath mentions, some languages have as many as three different conjunction strategies for NPs, VPs, and clauses.

According to Haipus, (12) contains two coordinated finite verbs, not two coordinated clauses. This example is from Tuomikoski (1969):

12.

Vielä	viime	vuonna	hän	tä+hän	aika+an
As late as	last	year	he/she	this-ILL	time-ILL

u+i	<i>ja</i>	retkeil+i	ahkerasti	melkein	joka	päivä.
swim-PAST.SG3	and	hike-PAST.SG3	tirelessly	almost	every	day

‘This time last year he was still swimming and hiking tirelessly almost every day.’ (Translation: R.D.)

As an argument for interpreting the two verbs in (12) as coordinated, Kalliokoski (1989: 36) mentions a) that the whole sentence context functions as a shared frame for them and b), that the two verbs are semantically close. But in their corpus-linguistic work, Hakulinen et al. (1980: 10) offer a straightforward and pragmatic solution to the problem that involves the coordinated nominal constituents belonging to the same clause, while the coordinated finite verbs are always to be interpreted as being two clauses in which the subject of the second clause is elliptically deleted.

¹ See Haspelmath (ed.) 2004 for an extensive collection of articles discussing coordinating constructions from the perspective of language typology.

What presents a problem in Kalliokoski (1989: 34) is that coordination cannot be resolved on purely syntactic grounds. Instead, one needs to take into account the semantic and semantic-pragmatic relations between expressions connected by a coordinated conjunction (see Kalliokoski 1989: 19).

Whether two verbs should be interpreted as coordinated verbs or coordinated clauses is not a central issue in my work. As a first approximation, I will analyse coordinated, same-subject verb phrases as two coordinated verbs, not as two coordinated clauses with an elliptical subject. Since my main interest is the textual functions of the coordinated verb pairs, my goal in the following discussion is to show how certain coordinated verb pairs are used for textual organisation.

5.2 Why [V *ja* V] -pairs?

5.2.1 Conditions for accepting a verb pair in the dataset

The data of coordinated verb sequences is analysed from the perspective of quantitative corpus analysis. This data is extracted from the PF-BOOKS corpus (total number of words: 3,094,343), and it includes all the [V *ja* V] -sequences in which either V₁ or V₂ is one of the G-verbs. The number of G-verbs (all occurrences) in the data is 19,300, while the number of coordinated verb pairs with one of the G-verbs is 740. Thus, per one thousand G-verbs, one can expect a total of 38.2 pairs of [V *ja* V] (going-first + going-last). First, in Section 5.2.2, distribution of the GF- and GL -pairs among all the [V *and* V] -sequences in the data is discussed. Next Section 5.2.3 introduces the quantitative data describing the GF-pairs. Section 5.2.4 then introduces the data concerning the GL-pairs.

Besides the first condition that the first or the second constituent must be one of a G-verbs, the coordinated [V *ja* V] -sequences included in the data must fulfil the following condition: the verbs immediately preceding and following the conjunction *ja*, ‘and’, must be symmetrical. In other words, these verbs must have the same morphosyntactic form. Since the finite verb in Finnish agrees with the subject, by definition this condition entails that the two coordinated verbs share a subject. This is demonstrated in (13) and (14), where in (13), the subject NP *ihmishahmot*, ‘human figures’, is in the nominative plural, while in (14), the subject is in the first person singular. Accordingly, the coordinated verbs in (13) has a third person plural marker *-vat/vät*, and the verbs in (14) the first person singular marker *-n*.

13.

Ihmishahmo+t	[tul+i+vät	ja	men+i+vät]
human.figure-NOM.PL	come-PAST-PL3	and	go-PAST-PL3
‘Human figures came and went, ...’ (k-Annala.sgml, translation: R.D.)			

14.

ja (minä) [nous+i+n ja lähd+i+n] ulos.
and (I-NOM) get.up-PAST-SG1 and go-PAST-SG1 out.
'... and I got up and went out.' (Translation: R.D.)

Also included in the data are the non-finite complements of modal predicates as shown in (15) below. For these, both the coordinated verbs (in bold) are in the scope of the modal predicate *oli pakko*, 'have to', which takes the first infinitive form of a verb as a complement (the TA.INF), here *nousta ja oikoa (itseään)*, 'to get up and stretch himself out'.

15.

Nyt+kin häne+n ol+i pakko [**nous+ta** ja **oiko+a**] itseään.
now-CLIP he-GEN have.to-PAST.SG3 get.up-TA.INF and stretch- himself.out
TA.INF
'Even now he had to get up and stretch out.' (k-Tabet.sgml.)

By comparison, the coordinated verb pair in (16) does not fulfil the requirement of symmetry. The first coordinated constituent *nousta*, 'to rise up', is in the scope of the modal verb *alkaa*, 'to begin', (in bold), while the second coordinated constituent *hamusi (ilmaa)*, 'gasped for air', is a finite verb agreeing with the subject-NP *Harjunpää*. Since the verbs immediately preceding and following the coordinated conjunction *ja*, 'and', represent two morphosyntactically different verb forms, examples like (16) are excluded from the data.

16.

Harjunpää **alko+i** [nous+ta ja hamus+i] hetken ilma+a
Harjunpää-NOM begin-PAST.SG3 rise.up-TA.INF and gasp-PAST.SG3 for.awhile air-PTV
'Harjunpää began to rise up and gasped for air for awhile, ...' (k-JoensuuMY.sgml.)

In the same way, the verb pair in (17) fails to fulfil the requirement of symmetry. Here the coordinated verb chain *oli noussut ja ammensi (boolia)*, 'had gotten up and scooped (punch)', describes two both temporally and conceptually successive actions the first of which has been described to take place before some reference point in the past (pluperfect¹), while the second represents the narrative past of the story. Morphosyntactically, the first coordinated verb *noussut* is the past participle form of the verb *nousta*, 'to get up', while the second coordinated verb is the finite verb *ammensi* that agrees with the subject-NP *Annikki* as does the verb *olla*, 'to be'.

¹ In addition to two simple tenses (present and past), Finnish has two compound tenses: perfect and pluperfect. The perfect is formed with the present tense of the auxiliary verb *olla*, 'to be', inflected for person, followed by the past participle form of the main verb. The pluperfect is formed with the past tense of the auxiliary verb *olla*, 'to be', followed by the past participle: e.g.: *nouse+n*, 'I will get up'; *nous+i+n*, 'I got up'; *ole+n noussut*, 'I have gotten up'; *ol+i+n noussut*, 'I had gotten up'. (See e.g. Karlsson 1987.)

17.

Annikki oli nous+sut ja ammens+i booli+a
 Annikki-NOM be-PAST.SG3 get.up-PCP.PAST and scoop-PAST.SG3 punch-PTV

kahte+en uute+en lasi+in
 two-ILL new-ILL glass-ILL

‘Annikki had got up and scooped punch into two new glasses.’ (k-Anttila.sgml.)

The only exception to the requirement of symmetry are the clitic particles as shown in (18). Here, the clitic particle *-kin*, ‘even’ or ‘too’, is attached to the second constituent of the coordinated verb pair. Morphotactically, clitic particles are attached to verbs after the voice, mood/tense and personal suffixes, as in (19):

18.

Stenvalli+sta [pyri+tt+i+in ja pääs+t+i+in+**kin**] eroon
 Stenvall-ELA try-PASS-PAST-4 and get.rid.of.(sb)-PASS-PAST-4-CLIP(= too)

‘They tried and even got rid of Stenvall’ (k-Viinikainen.sgml.)

19.

Verb form	Stem	Voice	Mood/Tense	Person	Particle
<i>päästiinkin (eroon)</i>	<i>pääs-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>-in-</i>	<i>-kin</i>
‘they even got rid of (sb)’	get.rid.of	PASS	PAST	4	even

5.2.2 GF- and GL-pairs among [V ja V] -sequences in PF-BOOKS corpus

As shown in Table 7, there are about 7,425 coordinated verb pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus that are in accordance with the definitions discussed above. The number of verb pairs containing one of the G-verbs totals 740, the relative frequency being 10.0% of the total 7,425. From another perspective, the number of verb pairs per 1,000 verb forms is 9.5, while the ratio between the G-verbs and coordinated verb pairs with a G-verb is as high as 38.3 per 1,000 verb forms.

Table 7. Total number of verb pairs versus the total number of GF- and GL –pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus.

	Total number of verb forms	Total number of verb pairs	Verb pairs per 1,000 verb forms	GF-pairs per 1,000 G-verbs	GL-pairs per 1,000 G-verbs
All verb forms	779,319*	7,425*	9.5	-	-
G-verbs	19,301*	740**	38.3	18.9	19.5

* The data have been extracted automatically from a morphologically tagged corpus.

** The data have been extracted manually from a corpus containing unanalysed text.

Table 8 presents the most frequent first constituents among all the [V ja V] -pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus. As can be seen, the verb pair [*nousta ja V*] turns out to be the second most frequent of all the verb pairs in the ranking list. In addition, the sequences of [*mennä ja V*] are among the ten most frequent verb pairs, with the other three being ([*lähteä ja V*], [*laskea ja V*], and [*päästä ja V*]) occupying a ranking between 41 and 400.

Table 8. The most frequent first constituents in the [V ja V] -pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus. The G-verbs appear in bold print.

Order	V ₁ ja V	Translation	Freq.*	%
1	<i>sanoa ja V</i>	to say and V	896	12.1
2	<i>nousta ja V</i>	to get up and V	207	2.8
3	<i>tulla ja V</i>	to come and V	161	2.2
4	<i>kääntyä ja V</i>	to turn and V	128	1.7
5	<i>kysyä ja V</i>	to ask and V	112	1.5
6	<i>mennä ja V</i>	to go and V	105	1.5
7	<i>huutaa ja V</i>	to shout and V	88	1.2
8	<i>istua ja V</i>	to sit and V	84	1.1
9	<i>ajatella ja V</i>	to think and V	79	1.1
10	<i>nauraa ja V</i>	to laugh and V	69	1.0
...
41	<i>lähteä ja V</i>	to depart and V	20	0.3
...
205	<i>laskea ja V</i>	to go down and V	6	0.1
...
400	<i>päästä ja V</i>	to get into and V	3	0.04
...
1,749				
Σ			7,420	

*The data is extracted automatically from a morphologically tagged version of the PF-BOOKS corpus.

The figures in Table 8 represent quite well what is known as Zipf's Law (see APPENDIX 5). As Zipf's Law claims, there is a constant linkage between word frequency and word rank. This means that a word-list contains a very small number of

words that have a high frequency and, as Scott & Tribble (2006: 27) put it, “a long declining tail of words which occur infrequently, with roughly half occurring once only as hapax legomena” (items with a frequency of one). According to Scott & Tribble, this appears to be true of any word-list based on at least a few hundreds of words. Thus the very uneven distributions of items found in corpus analyses are expected.

Table 9 presents the most frequent second constituents of the pairs [V *ja* V] in the PF-BOOKS corpus. An interesting observation is that among the G-verbs, *nousta* has lost its leading position: it occupies the 20th position among all the [V *ja* V] -pairs the verbs *mennä*, ‘to go’, and *lähteä*, ‘to go; to depart’, being now among the five most frequent [V *ja* V] -pairs. The differences between the two data sets (Table 8 versus Table 9) are suggestive of the different functions of *nousta* in the two constructions.

Table 9. The most frequent second constituents in the [V *ja* V] -pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus. The G-verbs appear in bold print.

Order	V <i>ja</i> V ₂	Translation	Freq.*	%
1	V <i>ja katsoa</i>	to V and look at	147	2.0
2	V <i>ja sanoa</i>	to V and say	145	2.0
3	V <i>ja mennä</i>	to V and go	130	1.8
4	V <i>ja olla</i>	to V and be	117	1.6
5	V <i>ja lähteä</i>	to V and depart	115	1.5
6	V <i>ja alkaa</i>	to V and begin	114	1.5
7	V <i>ja ottaa</i>	to V and take	90	1.2
8	V <i>ja yrittää</i>	to V and try	79	1.1
9	V <i>ja katsella</i>	to V and watch	73	1.0
10	V <i>ja tehdä</i>	to V and make/do	67	0.9
...
20	V <i>ja nousta</i>	to V and get up	48	0.6
...
30	V <i>ja laskea</i>	to V and go down	41	0.6
...
128	V <i>ja päästä</i>	to V and get into	10	0.1
...
1884		
Σ			7,423	

*The data have been extracted automatically from a morphologically tagged corpus.

The slight discrepancies between the total sums of all the [V *ja* V] -pairs in Table 7, Table 8, and Table 9 are due to the different extracting methods. In Table 7, the data containing the coordinated verb pairs with a G-verb are extracted manually from a corpus containing unanalysed text, while in Table 8 and Table 9, all the data are extracted automatically from a morphologically tagged corpus.

5.2.3 Going first (GF) -pairs

According to Table 10, the conditional probability of a GF-pair in the PF-BOOKS corpus is 18.9/1000. The differences between the G-verbs themselves are striking: of all the GF-pairs, [*nousta ja V*] is most likely to occur, the conditional probability being as high as 84.6/1000. The corresponding figures for the verbs *lähteä*, *mennä*, *päästä*, and *laskea* are 4.8, 14.9, 0, and 5.7, respectively. The conditional probability here can be seen as indicative of the semantic and structural capacity of a verb, as for example how far a verb pair has been conventionalised or lexicalised as a part of textual organisation.

Table 10. The frequencies of the GF -pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus.* The second and third columns indicate the frequency and rank of the G-verbs (all occurrences) in the PF-BOOKS corpus.**

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Verb	Frequency	Rank	GF-pairs	Frequency***	Freq. per 1,000 occurrences****
<i>lähteä</i>	4,821	15 th	<i>lähteä ja V</i>	23	4.8
<i>mennä</i>	7,473	10 th	<i>mennä ja V</i>	111	14.9
<i>päästä</i>	3,149	29 th	<i>päästä ja V</i>	0	0
<i>nousta</i>	2,637	33 rd	<i>nousta ja V</i>	223	84.6
<i>laskea</i>	1,221	82 nd	<i>laskea ja V</i>	7	5.7
Total	19,301	-	<i>V_{going} ja V</i>	364	18.9

* The corpus was tagged automatically.

** Total number of words = 3,094,343.

*** The data is extracted manually.

**** Proportion of the GF-pairs among each G-verb

Table 11 offers another perspective on the data; for instance the probability of a [*nousta ja V*] -pair among all the GF-pairs is 613/1000. In general, the verb *nousta* covers nearly two-thirds (223/364) of all the GF-pairs, *mennä* covering about one-third (111/364), while *lähteä*, *päästä*, and *laskea* share the remaining 8.2% of the occurrences.

Table 11. Proportions of each G-verb among the total of 364 GF-pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus.

Verb sequence	Frequency*	%
<i>lähteä ja V</i>	23	6.3
<i>mennä ja V</i>	111	30.5
<i>päästä ja V</i>	0	0.0
<i>nousta ja V</i>	223	61.3
<i>laskea ja V</i>	7	1.9
Total	364	100

* The data have been extracted manually.

Examples (20) and (21) show the most frequent GF-pairs, i.e. [*nousta ja V*] and [*mennä ja V*]. These examples highlight some linguistically interesting phenom-

ena that will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapters, e.g. the function of the GF-pairs in organising textual structure, and the seeming redundancy of G-verbs in the GF-pairs. The following text is an example of the [*nousta ja V*] -pair:

20.

(1) - Ei mitään muttailua, vaimo! (2) Dwynwen pysyy isänsä kodissa kunnes on vähintään kuudentoista ja mieluummin sitäkin vanhempi. (3) Mikä hätä hänellä Hwiccessä on? (4) Itse olit kuudentoista, kun sinut kihlasin, ja joskus minusta tuntuu, ettet vieläkään ole kasvanut aikuiseksi. (5) Brychan tyyntyi mutta mulkoili vaimoaan vieläkin kulmat julmasti kurtussa. (6) - Asia on loppuun käsitelty, Hwiccen kuningatar. (7) Siinä ei ole sen enempää puimista!

(8) Hän nousi ja harppoi pitkin askelin metsään. (9) Niin Brychan teki usein, kun jokin oli nostattanut hänen mielensä ennalta arvaamattomaan kuohuun. (k-Annala.sgml.)

(1) No buts, wife! (2) Dwynwen will remain in her father's home until at least 16 and preferably older. (3) What problem(s) does she have in Hwicce? (4) You were 16 when I proposed to you, and sometimes I feel you still haven't grown up. (5) Brychan calmed down but glowered at his wife, his eyebrows still cruelly wrinkled. (6) - The matter has been dealt with, Queen of Hwicce. (7) There is nothing more to be said!

(8) He got up and strode into the wood. (9) Brychan often did so when something made him really angry. (Translation: R.D.)

This text describes a conversation between a husband and wife. The discussion is developing into a quarrel which the husband cuts short by standing up and going out. At first sight, *nousta* in the GF-pair *nousi ja harppoi*, 'got up and strode (into the wood)', (20:8) seems redundant since the action of striding into the woods already presupposes a standing position by the one performing the action. However, the whole coordinated construction functions here as well as in (21) as an iconic means to delay the telling, and in (20), it also underlines the power of Brychan's words stated in the preceding section.

In (21) (Envall 1997), a story familiar from the New Testament, namely the anecdote of "The Rich Young Man" (Mark 10) is discussed. According to this story, a man runs up to Jesus and asks: "Good teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?" The answer given by Jesus is cited in (21).

21.

(1) Jeesus katsahti häneen, rakasti häntä ja sanoi: 'Yksi sinulta puuttuu. (2) Mene ja myy kaikki, mitä sinulla on, ja anna rahat köyhille, niin sinulla on aarre taivaassa. (3) Tule sitten ja seuraa minua.' (k-Envall.sgml.)

Jesus looked at him and loved him. "One thing you lack," he said. "Go, [and] sell everything you have and give the money to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me."

(Whole Chapter: Mark 10 In context: Mark 10:20-22)¹

As in (20), the first constituent of the GF-pair in (21:2), *mene*, 'go', seems redundant at least from the perspective of our commonplace knowledge. What is more

¹ Translation: <http://www.funet.fi/pub/doc/bible/html/finnish/1992/UT.html>.

important, *mene* acquires a modal reading here by indicating, for example, persuasion (see the discussion of hendiadyses in Chapter 5.2.5).

5.2.4 Going-last (GL) -pairs

In practice, there seems to be no dependency between the frequency of the different [V *ja* V] -pairs and the position of the G-verbs. As shown in Table 10, 18.9 GF-pairs occur per 1,000 G-verbs, while among the GL-pairs, the corresponding figure is 19.5 (see Table 12).

Table 12. The frequencies of the GL-pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus. In the second and third column, the frequency and rank of the G-verbs (all occurrences) in the PF-BOOKS corpus is shown.

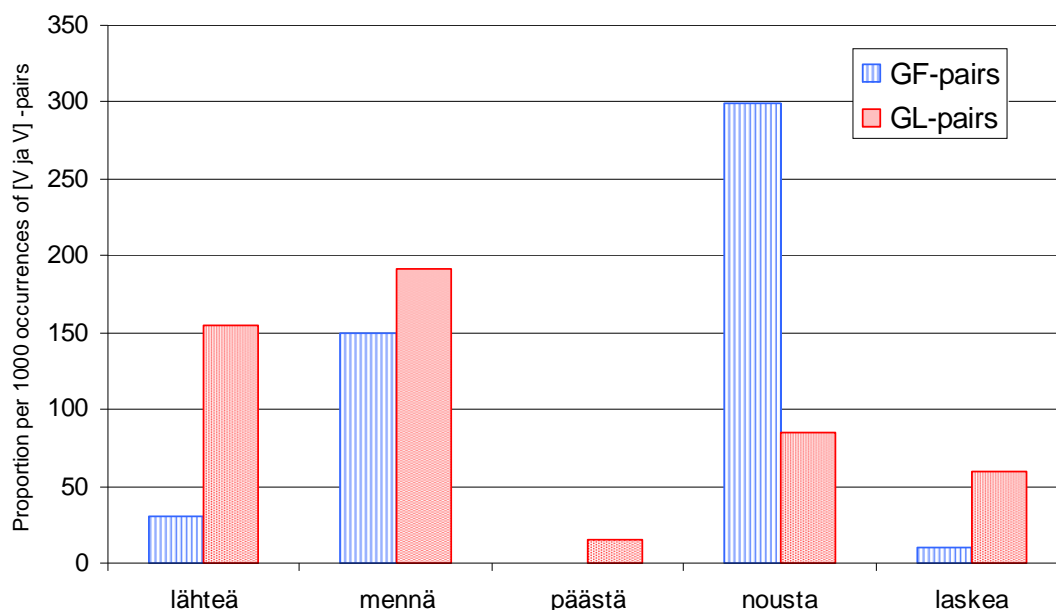
I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Verb	Freq.	Rank	GL-pair	Freq.*	Freq. per 1,000 occurrences**
<i>lähteä</i>	4,821	15 th	V <i>ja</i> <i>lähteä</i>	115	23.9
<i>mennä</i>	7,473	10 th	V <i>ja</i> <i>mennä</i>	142	19.0
<i>päästä</i>	3,149	29 th	V <i>ja</i> <i>päästä</i>	11	3.5
<i>nousta</i>	2,637	33 rd	V <i>ja</i> <i>nousta</i>	63	23.9
<i>laskea</i>	1,221	82 nd	V <i>ja</i> <i>laskea</i>	45	36.9
Total	19,301	-	V <i>ja</i> V _{going}	376	19.5

* The data have been extracted manually.

** Proportion of the GL-pairs among each G-verb.

In contrast, to the results found in Table 12, the distribution of coordinated verb pairs among the **different** G-verbs seems to depend on the order of the constituents. For example, while the frequency of the [*nousta ja* V] -pairs is as high as 209, the frequency of an inverse verb pair [V *ja nousta*] is only 63 in the same data. Instead, against 45 pairs of [V *ja laskea*], ‘V and go down’, there are 7 pairs of [*laskea ja* V], ‘go down and V’ (see Figure 16, and Table 13).

Figure 16. Dependency between the position and distribution of different G-verbs among the [V ja V] –sequences in the PF-BOOKS corpus. N = 740.



As Table 13 shows, three G-verbs seem to prefer the GL-order in coordinated verb pairs, namely *lähteä*, *päästä*, and *laskea* (the bolded cells in column VII in Table 13), while the GF-order is preferred by the verb *nousta* (the bolded cell in column VIII in Table 13). Of those five verbs, *mennä* seems to be neutral, the ratios being near the average behaviour of both the GL-pairs (56.1% vs. 50.8%) and the GF-pairs (43.9% versus 49.2%).

Table 13. The frequencies and ratio between the reverse verb pairs GL and GF in the PF-BOOKS corpus.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
	GL-pairs	Freq.	GF-pairs	Freq.	Σ	GL %	GF %
<i>lähteä</i>	V ja lähteä	115	<i>lähteä ja V</i>	23	138	83.3	16.7
<i>mennä</i>	V ja mennä	142	<i>mennä ja V</i>	111	253	56.1	43.9
<i>päästä</i>	V ja päästä	11	<i>päästä ja V</i>	0	11	100	0
<i>nousta</i>	V ja nousta	63	<i>nousta ja V</i>	223	286	22.0	78.0
<i>laskea</i>	V ja laskea	45	<i>laskea ja V</i>	7	52	86.5	13.5
	Total	376	Total	364	740	50.8	49.2

As the figures reveal, the two data sets (GF and GL-pairs) show different preference patterns in relation to the different G-verbs. Among the GF-pairs, *nousta* covers nearly two-thirds of the data, and *mennä* has a share of nearly one-third of the data (Table 11). Among the GL-pairs, *lähteä* and *mennä* both cover about one-third of the data (Table 14).

Table 14. Proportions of each G-verb among the 376 GL-pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus.

GL-pairs	Freq.*	%
V ja lähteä	115	30.6
V ja mennä	142	37.8
V ja päästä	11	2.9
V ja nousta	63	16.8
V ja laskea	45	12.0
Total	376	100

* The data have been extracted manually.

Let us now turn to a discussion of the two most frequent GL-pairs, namely the [V ja lähteä], ‘to V and leave’, and [V ja mennä], ‘to V and go’. Besides these two verbs, some interesting phenomena introduced by two other verb pairs – [anoa ja päästä], ‘to petition for and get to be’, and [sanoa ja nousta], ‘to say and get up’ – also warrant further discussion.

In (22), where the verb *lähteä* is demonstrated, a first-person singular narrator talks about his life to some mysterious ‘you’. In this text excerpt, it becomes evident that the ‘you’ he is addressing has travelled away to some unknown destination. The narrator has waited for her until the afternoon, while he already realises that the girl no longer returns.

22.

(1) Iltapäivällä tiesin jo, ettet tulisi. (2) Olin varma että olit lähtenyt kaupungista kuten edellispäivänä olit suunnitellut, istuit junassa tai jo perillä, en tiennyt missä mutta toivoin että juuri siellä minne olit halunnut. (3) Vajosin nojalleni patteria vasten ja muistin kuinka Lasse oli joskus pilailut ettei minusta mihinkään muuhun ollut kuin nojailemaan, ellei muuta niin omaa saamatomuuttani vasten, mutta enää se ei loukannut vaan pikemminkin huvitti. (4) Se ei tiennyt.

(5a) Mutta patterin edessä tuli kuuma ja nousin ja lähdin ulos, (5b) ja ulkona tuuli kalisutti rännejä ja sai valaisinpylväät huojumaan ja ihmiset pitivät hatuistaan ja takkiensa kauluksista kiinni ja lehdet lentelivät pitkin niin kuin katu olisi liikkunut. (k-Aho.sgml.)

(1) I already knew in the afternoon that you wouldn't come. (2) I was certain that you had left town just as you had planned the day before; you sat on the train or had already arrived at your destination. I didn't know where but I hoped that it was just where you had wanted to be. (3) I slumped against the radiator and remembered how Lasse had sometimes joked that I didn't have it in me to do anything but lean, if only on my inability to get anything done, but it no longer offended but rather amused me. (4) He did not know.

(5a) But it got hot in front of the radiator and I got up and went out, (5b) and outside the wind rattled the drain pipes and made the lamp posts rock, and people held onto their hats and the collars of their coats and leaves flew along as if the street was moving. (Translation: R.D.)

The verb sequence [*nousin ja lähdin ulos*], ‘I got up and went out’, describes iconically two successive events. The verb *nousta* here is redundant both textually and semantically. Textually, the previous posture of the narrator is already stated in (22:3), where he states that he sank down and rested against the radiator. Semantically, the phrase *lähteä ulos*, ‘to go out’, at least in prototypical situations, already implies the

standing position of the actor. However, while redundant, the verb *nousta* marks the boundary between the two actions, here the ending of the protagonist's slouching against the radiator and the beginning of the following action. The verb *lähteä* itself has an aspectual meaning here and it marks the beginning of some unmentioned action that is about to begin.

Example (23) describes a young seer gazing into a bowl of wine to foretell the future. While she stares into that liquid, images begin to rise up from the depths of the bowl. In (23:6), the writer uses the coordinated verb sequence [*tulla ja mennä*], 'to come and go', to describe the seer's vision of human shapes appearing and disappearing one after another.

23.

(1) Moragh vilkastui. (2) Tämän leikin hän osasi, hän oli monet kerrat ennustanut viinistä ja vedestäkin Dylänin suopealla opastuksella. (3) Isäntä oli todella ystävällinen antaessaan Moraghin näyttää parhaita puoliaan. (4) Hän kumartui maljan puoleen ja antoi katseensa liukua tumman nesteen syvyyksiin kohdistamatta sitä mihinkään erityiseen pisteeseen, kuten Dylan oli opettanut.

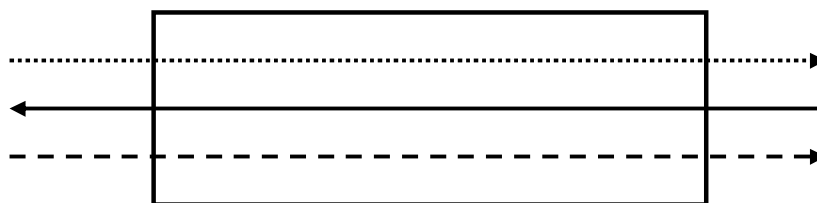
(5) Syvyyksistä alkoi nousta kuvia. (6) Ihmishahmot tulivat ja menivät, tapahtumien ketju alkoi hahmottua. (k-Annala.sgml.)

(1) Moragh was enlivened. (2) She could play this game, she had often prophesied from wine and even water with Dylan's kind guidance. (3) The host was really friendly in letting Moragh show her best side. (4) She bent over the chalice and looked into the depths of the dark liquid without focusing on any particular spot, just as Dylan had taught her.

(5) Images began to rise from the depths. (6) Human figures came and went, the chain of events began to take shape. (Translation: R.D.)

From the perspective of the observer, the expression *ihmishahmot tulivat ja menivät*, 'human figures came and went', represents a temporally unbounded series of events. This happening that appears to the seer consists of several overlapping events that may be bounded themselves but which together form an open-ended flow of activities. Metaphorically, a temporally unbounded situation can be conceptualised, for example, as a flow of activities that one watches through a window (Figure 17).

Figure 17. An illustration of a group of temporally unbounded situations.



Intuitively, the coordinated verb sequence [*tulla ja mennä*], 'to come and go', seems to be a more or less conventionalised figure of speech. Actually, [*tulla ja mennä*] covers about 22% of the data including the [V *ja mennä*] -pairs, the second more frequent verb pair being [*nousta ja mennä*], 'to get up and go' (15.9%). The next

three verb pairs on the frequency list are [*sanoa ja mennä*], 'to say and go' (9.7%), [*kääntyä ja mennä*], 'to turn round and go' (7.1%), and [*olla ja mennä*], 'to be and go' (4.4%). In addition, 40 verbs occur only once in the [*V ja mennä*] -pair (35.4%).

As stated earlier, one criteria to accept a verb pair into the data was the requirement of symmetry. Nevertheless, one exception was allowed, namely the clitic particles. Example (24) contains one of the functions of the clitic particle *-kin*:

24.

<p>(1) Kersantti Virtanen, toisen joukkueen varajohtaja, istui pitkälle penkille. (2) Vastapäätä tuli istumaan vääpeli Erkkilä. (3a) Tälle rajavääpелille oli tullut vuosi sitten riitaa erään rajakapteenin kanssa (3b) ja vääpeli anoi ja pääsikin Peuran sissikomppaniaan kolmannen joukkueen johtajaksi. (k-Lehväslaiho.sgml.)</p>	<p>(1) Sergeant Virtanen, deputy commander of the second platoon, sat on a long bench. (2) Sergeant Major Erkkilä came and sat opposite him. (3a) This sergeant major of the Border Guards had quarreled with a captain a year ago (3b) and the sergeant major had petitioned for, and got to be, the company commander of the third platoon of the Peura guerillas. (Translation: R.D.)</p>
--	--

The situation in (24:3b) is described by using the coordinated verb pair [*anoi ja pääsikin*], which is further analysed in (25) below:

25.

(3b)

ja	[raja]vääpeli	ano+i	ja
and	Sergeant.major.of.the.Border.Guards-NOM	petition.for-PAST.SG3	and
'and the Sergeant major of the Boarder Guards had petitioned for, and			
pääs+i+kin	Peura+n	sissikomppania+an	kolmanne+n
get.to.be-PAST.SG3-CLIP	Peura-GEN	guerrillas-ILL	third-GEN
got to be, the company commander of the third platoon of the Peura guerillas.'			
joukkue+en	johtaja+ksi.		
platoon-GEN	leader-TRA		

The verb pair *anoi ja pääsikin* is iconic at least in two ways; it describes the events in chronological as well as causal order. Here the meaning of the clitic particle *-kin* seems to be particularly related to the causal reading. According to Vilkuna (1984: 403), in clauses like the one occurring in (25), the clitic particle *-kin* can often be substituted by its near synonym, the adverb *myös*, 'also':

rajavääpeli anoi ja myös pääsi Peuran sissikomppaniaan kolmannen joukkueen johtajaksi
 'the Sergeant Major of the Border Guards petitioned for and **also** got to be the leader of the third platoon in the Peura guerillas'

As Vilkuna further notes, the clauses in which the *V+kin* can be paralleled by *V+myös* will easily be interpreted as clauses describing states of affairs that are highly

expected. In other words, verbs like *anoa*, ‘to petition (e.g. for a transfer)’, create expectations about the future of the one doing the applying. So, by using the coordinated verb pair [*anoi ja pääsi*] with a clitic particle *-kin* attached to V_2 , the writer anticipates the reader’s question about the outcome of Erkkilä’s application and provides the information she thinks is relevant to the reader.

In (26), another kind of communicative situation is shown: a face-to-face conversation between a study supervisor in a vocational school and the parents of one of the pupils, Kirsi. Kirsi has had some difficulties in the school, and her parents are invited to come and see Kirsi’s study supervisor, Opo. The ending of the discussion is expressed by the use of the coordinated verb pair [*sanoa ja nousta*], which is attributed to Opo.

26.

(1) - Peruskoulussa ei ollut mitään vaikeuksia, Merja sanoi. (2) - Kirsi oli aina hyväkäytöksinen.

- - -

(3) - Kirsi ei ole välittänyt varoituksista, Opo sanoi. (4) - Asuntolanhoitaja on ollut huolissaan. (5) Toivotaan, että tämä saa tytön järkiinsä. (6) Me emme voi katsoa sormien läpi, kun täällä on muitakin oppilaita.

- - -

(7) Opo nousi, laittoi silmälasit koteloon.

(8a) - Minun on ikävä kyllä nyt lähdettävä palaveriin, (8b) se [Opo] sanoi ja nousi. (9) - Toivotaan että Kirsi ajattelee asioita. (10) Se hyvästeli heidät, kiiruhti tiehensä.

(11) - Käydään siellä asuntolassa, Lasse murahti. (12) - Ei ne meistä näin vähällä pääse. (k-Haennikaeinen.sgml.)

(1) ‘There weren’t any problems in comprehensive school’, Merja said. (2) Kirsi was always well behaved.

- - -

(3) ‘Kirsi has not heeded the warnings,’ the study supervisor said. (4) ‘The person in charge of the dormitory has been worried.’ (5) ‘Let’s hope that this will bring the girl to her senses.’ (6) ‘We can’t ignore it when there are other pupils here.’

- - -

(7) The study supervisor rose and put his glasses in the case.

(8a) ‘Unfortunately, I now have to go to a meeting,’ (8b) he (the study supervisor) said and rose. (9) ‘Let’s hope Kirsi thinks about things.’ (10) He said Goodbye and hurried off.

(11) ‘Let’s go to the dormitory,’ Lasse growled. (12) ‘They won’t get rid of us so easily.’ (Translation: R.D.)

This example has an interesting discrepancy in the text: the verb pair [*sanoi ja nousi*] in (26:8b) implies that Opo is still sitting by his desk before the act of getting up. However, in the previous sentence (26:7), Opo has been said to stand up: *Opo nousi, laittoi silmälasit koteloon* ‘Opo stood up, putting his glasses into an eyeglass case.’ The question is could one interpret semantic slips such as this as being evidence for treating certain complex linguistic items as one semantic whole?

Example (26) also demonstrates some of the Lakoffian metaphors related to the canonical position of humans, such as standing. In this context, where Opo is already described as being even outwardly superior to the parents of a misbehaving schoolgirl, his action of standing up is even more significant. At this point, the standing position reflects the power to dictate the discussion and its ending. As such, the action of rising up serves as a hint to the other interlocutors that the appointment is ending.

Textually, the verb pair [*sanoa ja nousta*] functions here as a cadence. This pair marks the ending of a textual whole, in this case, the meeting between a teacher and the parents of one of his pupils. After that, the narrative changes to another scene.

5.2.5 [Mennä ja V]: hendiadyses or synthetons?

Hopper (2001: 146, 151) defines two different kinds of coordinated verb phrases. The first is a *syntheton*, which refers to “the presenting of **two or more distinct ideas** as a coordinated set.” Synthetons are not restricted to verb phrases only, but also cover examples such as *bread and wine*, or *red, white and blue*. One example of clausal synthetons given by Hopper is the phrase *turned round and went home*. In contrast, the term *hendiadys*,¹ as Hopper defines it, “names a figure of medieval rhetoric in which a semantic modifier-head complex is presented as a coordinated compound. In it, a **single conceptual idea** is realised by two distinct constituents.” Some of the examples of hendiadyses in English are *come and, go and, try and, stand there and, and sit around and* (Hopper 2001: 151). In Finnish, a good candidate for hendiadys is the [*mennä ja V*] -pair in which the verb *mennä* seems to be lexicalizing as a modal verb. This pattern is the focus in this section.

As Hopper (2001: 154) points out, all hendiadic expressions in English have a homophonous synthetonic form that indicates two events. This said, the crucial methodological question turns out to be how to distinguish the hendiadic – single event – clauses from the synthetonic clauses, the clauses with two events. This, in turn, entails the problem of identifying ‘events’. In his discussion of eventhood, Hopper (2001: 269) refers to the idealized cognitive model proposed by Croft to account for simple event, i.e. what Croft (1991: 269) calls a possible verb in natural languages.

Croft (1991) defines an event as a segment of a causal chain. Causation in turn is represented by Croft (1991: 162) as individuals acting on individuals with some notion of transmission of force determining which participant is ‘first’ in the causal order or causal chain. Accordingly, as Croft (1991: 262) argues, one of the major properties that organises the internal structure of events is causal relations (transmission of force), the other being aspect (stative versus processual). On the basis of causal structure analysis, Croft (1991: 262) identifies three common causal-aspectual event types: causative, inchoative, and stative. Each event type is exemplified below by the following sentences and their accompanying causal chains (Croft 1991: 262)²:

¹ Hendiadys, Greek *hen dia duoin* ‘one by means of two’ (Hopper 2001: 146).

² The notation used by Croft represents events by directed arcs, and participants as nodes linking these arcs (Croft 1991: 169).

Figure 18. An illustration of the intransitive motion verb *mennä*, ‘to go’.

Matti meni kotiin.
 ‘Matti went home.’

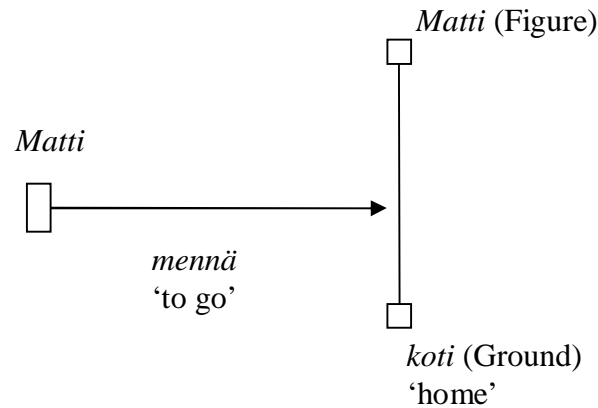
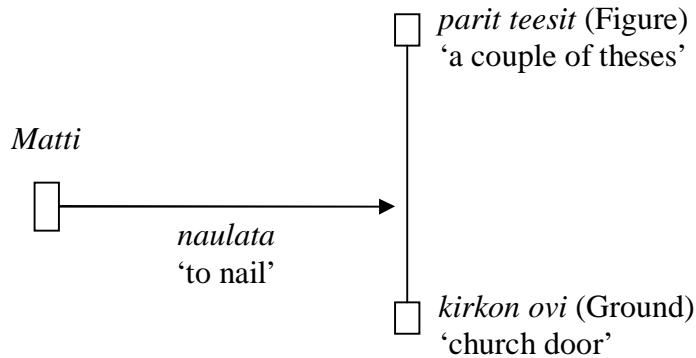


Figure 19. An illustration of the transitive motion verb *naulata*, ‘to nail’.

Matti naulasi parit teesit kirkon oveen.
 ‘Matti nailed a couple of theses on the church door.’



As mentioned earlier, Hopper (2001: 154) notes that all hendiadic expressions (at least in English) have a form that is homophonous synthetonic and it signals two events, or as he specifies, there is a gradient from simple coordination of novel clauses into hendiadic expressions and some of these appear to be grammaticalised. Similarly in my data, the coordinated [*mennä ja V*] -pairs form a continuum. At one end, some examples seem to be clear cases of synthetons, while on the other end, some verb pairs are hardly possible to interpret as synthetons. As Hopper (2001: 154) points out, the existence of indeterminacy like this – clear cases being on either side – is typical of the process of grammaticalisation. At this point it is important that I discuss some examples to clarify the status of the potential hendiadic expressions in Finnish.

In (28), the writer describes a scene in which the narrator is observing people standing in the breadline in front of the office of the Salvation Army located in the Kallio district of Helsinki. The narrator recapitulates his thoughts when watching the queue moving slowly.

The whole coordinated construction, i.e. the verb pair [*mennä ja naulata*], ‘to go and nail’ in (28:4a), functions as a non-finite complement of the verb *ajatella*, ‘to think’ (see the analysis in (27)).

27.

ajattel+i+n	men+nä	ja	naula+ta
think-PAST-SG1	go-TA.INF	and	nail-TA.INF

28.

(1) Maikkarin kuvausryhmä häipyi mutta jono ei ottanut loppuakseen. (2) Silloin tällöin pelastuslaitoksen kovaääninen hälytti väkeään, valot brankkarin edessä kirkastuivat täyteen loistoon ja tsirra ulvahti liikkeelle. (3) Kallion kirkko takanani henki sen sijaan niin jäätävää välinpitämättömyyttä että selkää kylmäsi. (4a) Ajattelin mennä ja naulata kirkon oveen parit teesit, (4b) joissa vaatisin että dörsit oli avattava ja jengi päästettävä sisälle, kun huomasin nuoren naisen livahtavan jakopisteen ovelta. (k-Vuorio.sgml.)

(1) The MTV3 camera crew disappeared but the queue kept growing. (2) Now and then the loudspeaker of the Rescue Department summoned more people, the lights in front of the fire station turned on full blast and the ambulance wailed at the traffic. (3) The Kallio church behind me oozed such icy indifference that it sent shivers down my spine. (4a) I thought I’d go and nail a couple of theses to the church door (4b) in which I would demand that the doors must be opened and the people allowed inside, when I noticed a young woman slip from the door of the free food centre. (Translation: R.D.)

Example (28:4a) contains two successive but causally unrelated events, i.e. *mennä*, ‘to go’, and *naulata*, ‘to nail’. This construction represents a clausal syntheton in which two semantically distinct ideas are presented as a coordinated set. This means here that the activity of going does not cause the activity of nailing to come about. However, from the perspective of the narrative, the verb pair [*mennä ja naulata*] is used to report an action that is especially important.

The verb pair [*mennä ja päästää*], ‘to go and let out’, in (29) produces ambiguity between the two readings so that it is possible to interpret it as a syntheton or a hendiadys:

29.

(1) ‘Vittu. Mitähän helvettiä niiden lautakunnan toopejen kaaleissa oikeen mahtaa pyöriä’, yksi Presidentin vierellä nojailevista Harrikka-miehistä murahti. (2a) ‘Vittu ne menee ja päästää Veko Hopean lomille, (2b) ja ne luulee ihan oikeesti että äijä palaa kiltisti tänne kiven sisään järsimään loppua viittä vuottaan. (3) Älykääpiöt.’ (k-Maki.sgml.)

(1) ‘Fuck. What the hell is really going on in the heads of those idiots on the Board’, one of the Harley Davidson men, leaning next to the President grumbled. (2a) ‘Fuck, they go and let Veko Hopea out on leave, (2b) and then they really think that the guy will return like a good little boy here to prison to finish the rest of his five years. (3) Morons.’ (Translation: R.D.)

However, while possible, the most natural interpretation would not be to consider *mennä* as describing a concrete process in this context. Rather, *mennä* seems to add a subjective dimension to the utterance that here expresses frustration and disregard. (Cf. Hopper 2001: 155.)

The uses of the other potential hendiadic pairs in my data resemble the one in (29:2a) and are consistent with the one discussed in (29); the [*mennä ja V*] -pairs in my data express the protagonist's negative feelings for someone (30, 31). In (30), the speaker is cursing his girlfriend for getting engaged to his best male friend and says that he is not going to accept it. In (31), the interlocutor both disapproves and laments the news he has heard about his friend.

30.

- Ja sit se petkeleen perskärpänen, vittukin ahdas ko pullonkaula perkele märisi ensin ko ränni saatana, että sua mä vaan enkä ikinä muita edes tahdo naida, sit se vetoketjuvittu menee ja kihlaa mun parhaan kaverin saatana kun mä en suostu. (k-Kyllonen.sgml.)

- 'And then that damn tagalong, pussy as tight as a bloody bottle neck, made a big bloody stink that I only ever wanted to screw you and nobody else ever, then that zipperpussy goes and gets engaged to my best friend, damn it, I'm not going to agree to it.' (Translation: R.D.)

31.

(1) "Vai on Artsin (Nuokun) stoori nyt sitten finaalisissa. (2) Täytyypä ottaa tässä pari pikaria vanhan pelimannin muistolle", (3) Skarppi murahti kulmat kurtussa.

(4) "Kyllähän se aina tiedossa oli, ettei Nuokku tule ikinä mihinkään vanhainkodin lepoon pääty-mään", (5) Jussi Vares totesi. (6a) "Mutta että mies menee ja nitkahtaa budapestilaisessa puistossa johonkin haisevaan rätiläjään [teltaan], (6b) se oli kyllä kieltämättä aika paha yllätys." (k-Maki.sgml.)

(1) "So Artsi's (Nuokku's) story is over with? (2) We'll have to have a couple of drinks in memory of the old musician", (3) Skarppi grumbled, frowning.

(4) "Yes, it was always to be expected that Nuokku would never die in an old people's home," (5) Jussi Vares said. (6a) But then for the man to go and fall for for some smelly rag heap [a tent] in a Budapest park (6b) it was without a doubt a nasty surprise." (Translation: R.D.)

In examples (29 - 31), it is hardly possible to interpret the verb *mennä* as indicating a physical act of moving. Instead, [*mennä ja V*] functions much like a modal element and intensifier that is used to report an action as being especially important.

This corresponds to what Dam-Jensen & Zethsen (2007:1609) note about lexical 'building blocks'. As they put it, the building blocks of language are often larger than traditional lexemes and, as is evident from the examples discussed above, these building blocks are often carriers of evaluation. **Evaluation** in turn, according to Dam-Jensen & Zethsen (2007:1613), covers both the cases in which speakers judge a state-of-affairs as being either certain or uncertain (modality), as well as those in which speakers evaluate a state-of-affairs as being either good or bad. Evaluation is therefore a subjective act of a speaker or writer and as a consequence, evaluation is connected to the area of pragmatic studies.

It is argued in this study that individual verbs specialise in having different functions when they occur in coordinated verb pairs. For example, the verb *mennä* has

weakened literal meanings, but strengthened modal meanings when occurring in [V *ja* V] -pairs. The verb *lähteä* in the [V *ja* V] -pairs functions in turn as an aspectual marker rather than as a pure verb of motion. The gradient from the concrete sense of motion into the more differentiated senses of a verb in [V *ja* V] -pairs alongside the structure-creating potential of the [V *ja* V] -pairs themselves suggests an on-going grammaticalisation process of the pattern previously discussed. As Hopper & Traugott (1993: 65) note, pragmatic enrichment of a linguistic item is a strong motivation for its grammaticalization. This view calls into question the approach of autonomous syntax that proposes meaning changes from structural changes

From the [*mennä ja* V] and [V *ja mennä*] -pairs, only the former seems to occur in negative contexts. In the reverse pairs, *mennä* expresses mainly concrete motion that has as its goal locations such as windows, doors, different types of rooms, public places, etc., or actions such as saying, walking, or standing.

The Finnish verb *mennä* is often mentioned as an example of a word with many negative connotations. Onnikki-Rantajääskö (2001: 207) notes in her extensive study of the Finnish state-denoting local case expressions that deictic expressions attract either negative or positive meanings depending on the position of the speaker in the deictic space. As she points out, direction away from the speaker tends to correlate with negative state-denoting expressions (32) while direction towards the speaker correlates more often with positive meanings (33).

32.

Lounas meni aivan pilalle.

‘The lunch went totally to pot.’ (PF-BOOKS)

33.

Äiti tulee varmaan kauhean iloiseksi.

‘Surely mother will be very happy.’ (PF-BOOKS)

The data that includes all the occurrences of the verb *mennä* extracted from the PF-BOOKS corpus (in total some 7,470 occurrences) show that in about 2% of the cases, the word that falls to the right of *mennä* has (according to my own intuition) a clearly negative meaning. From these, almost all form at least a semi-lexicalised collocational pattern with the verb *mennä*, for example *mennä **pieleen***, ‘to go wrong’; *mennä **hukkaan***, ‘to be wasted’; *mennä **metsään***, ‘to go/turn sour’; *mennä **ansaan***, ‘to fall into the trap’; *mennä **pilalle***, ‘to be waste, go to pot’.

That *mennä* is often associated with negative images probably reflects the highly lexicalised nature of its collocational patterns and their frequent use in colloquial speech.¹ As Sinclair (1987) puts it, since the most frequent collocates of an expression over time have come to colour the expression itself, when a certain word is uttered, we come to expect, taught by experience, as a kind of default value, some-

¹ However, this notion is based only on my intuition because I have not examined any data of spoken language for this study.

thing negative or something positive. For this reason, verbs such as *mennä* cannot be analysed in isolation – it cannot be semantically accounted for without including the influence of its most frequent co-text.

When a speaker is asked, for example, the typical uses or meanings of a word, ready-made expressions are more likely to come to a speaker's mind; the language users balance between the expressive and creative uses of language on the one hand, and routinization, or idiomatization, on the other. Speakers might very well repeat expressions they have heard before rather than find different ways of saying approximately the same thing. This is also what Zipf (1965) argues in his model that establishes a constant link between word frequency and word rank (see page 36 and APPENDIX 5). According to Zipf, this model works on two principles: one is an economy of effort, whereby speakers resort extremely often to well-known high-frequency items (a “force of Unification”), the other is the need for distinct words (a “Force of Diversification”).

Hopper (2001: 160–161) interpretes hendiadic expressions as foregrounding constructions. “[They] work to increase the bulk of the verb phrase and to delay the key verb, and thus to draw the listener's attention to that segment of discourse” (Hopper 2001: 169). This is in accordance with the iconic coding principle stated by Givón (1990: 969), i.e. that more important information will be given more coding material. Moreover, the possible hendiadic expressions (29 – 31) suggest that the unexpectedness of a situation is also coded by increasing the verb phrase.

The morphological form of the coordinated verbs seems to be one dimension that triggers the hendiadic reading of a [*mennä ja V*] ‘to go and V’ -construction. For instance, in sentences that express a speech act of ordering or requesting, [*mennä ja V*] easily acquires a hendiadic interpretation. The clauses in (34) and (35) that contain the [*mennä ja V*] -construction are interpreted as imperatives even though the verbs lack the imperative suffix. Instead, the verbs are in the indicative mood. What is crucial for the interpretation is the grammatical person, namely the second-person singular.

Example (34) describes a scene where a woman called Annette tries quite aggressively to persuade a private detective to snub another woman. The verb *mennä* functions here in both (34:3b) and (34:4) as a modal verb describing the speaker's attitude. Besides the action reading of the verb *mennä* that is also possible here, the verb pair as a whole indicates persuasion and pressure:

34.

<p>(1) 'Kuuntele nyt tämä ensin loppuun, hyvä mies!' (2) Annette sanoi kärsimättömänä. (3a) 'Kun sopiva tilaisuus ilmaantuu, (3b) niin sinä menet ja annat jollekin meidän valitsemallemme lehdelle oikein kunnon syvähaastattelun. (4) Menet ja paljastat tarvittavan määrän yhtä sun toista sontaa neidin intiimistä yksityiselämästä. (5) Me voimme yhdessä miettiä haastattelun pääkohdat...' (k-Maki.sgml.)</p>	<p>(1) 'Now, listen until I've finished, my good man!' (2) Annette said impatiently. (3a) 'When a suitable occasion arises, (3b) then you will go and give/you'll give a proper in-depth interview to some newspaper of our choice. (4) You'll reveal/you'll go and reveal the necessary amount of crap about the lady's intimate private life. (5) We can think about the main points of the interview together.' (Translation: R.D.)</p>
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In (35), the editor of a magazine gives orders to a journalist. This editor wants him to find out who is the current partner of an author called Laura Halonen. The effect of the [*mennä ja V*] -pair is still stronger due to the clitic particle *-hän* attached to the personal pronoun *sinä*, 'you', that functions as a subject in (35:3b). The construction *sinähän*, 'you are the one', refers here to the journalist, the clitic particle *-hän* emphasizing the role of him as an addressee of the speaker's orders:

35.

<p>(1) Tästä on tultava koko sarjan paras eli myyvin juttu! (2) Halonen on eronnut jo vuosia sitten, joten ajankohdainen kysymys kuuluu: kuka on mies hänen nykyisessä elämässään? (3a) Joku tyyppi sieltä on löydettävä, (3b) ja sinähän menet ja otat siitä selvän, (3c) kaiken muun ohessa tietysti. (4) Tilaa kyllä riittää, saat ainakin kaksi aukeamaa. (k-Pakkanen.sgml.)</p>	<p>(1) This has to become the best or the most selling story of the series! (2) Halonen already divorced years ago, so the topical question is: who is the man in her present life? (3a) Some guy has to be there, (3b) and you are the one going to find it out, (3c) of course, in addition to everything else. (4) There is plenty of space, you will get at least two double pages. (Translation: R.D.)</p>
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The second person pronoun *sinä*, 'you', occurring in both (34:3b) and (34:4), and (35:3b) (further analysed in (36)) is syntactically the subject but semantically an undergoer. The voice we hear in these examples is not only narrating about the future actions of his or her interlocutor, but also pressuring that person to execute the scene described:

36.

<p>(3b) ja sinä+hän mene+t ja ota+t sii+tä selvä+n and you-CLIP go-SG2 and take-SG2 it-ELA clear-GEN 'and you are the one going to find it out'</p>

The [*mennä ja V*] -pair in (37:7b) also represents morphologically the imperative mood (see the analysis in (38)). The text itself is a part of a conversation between a man and his partner.

37.

(1) - Muistan, kyllä minä muistan, Brychan mutisi. (2) - Mutta katso nyt minua, Olwen. (3) Näetkö mikä minä olen? (4) Juopporatti minä olen, laiskuri ja huoripukki, aivan kuten rakas vaimoni ilmoitti ennen lähtöään. (5) Vaimoni ja tyttäreni ovat jättäneet minut eikä minusta ole iloa yhdellekään naiselle. (6) Sinäkin olet saanut kärsiä tähteni. (7a) Jätä minut rauhaan, Olwen, (7b) mene ja etsi itsellesi toinen mies. (k-Annala.sgml.)

(1) - I remember, yes, I remember, Brychan muttered. (2) - But look at me now, Olwen. (3) Do you see what I am? (4) I'm a drunk, an idler and a whoremonger, just like my dear wife said before she left. (5) My wife and daughter have left me, and I wouldn't bring pleasure to a single woman. (6) Even you have had to suffer because of me. (7a) Leave me in peace, Olwen, (7b) go and find yourself another man. (Translation: R.D.)

The [*mennä ja V*] -pair in (37:7b) is ambiguous between two readings. It could be interpreted concretely as indicating a physical act of going away, which would be an iconic description of two successive actions. However, a hendiadic reading is also possible according to which [*mennä ja V*] is interpreted as an aspectualiser. In any case, the [*mennä ja V*] -construction functions as a foregrounding construction that highlights what the speaker considers to be important.

38.

(7b)	mene	ja	etsi	itsellesi	toinen	mies.
	go-IMP.SG2	and	find-IMP.SG2	yourself	another-NOM	man-NOM

In the examples discussed so far, the (syntactic or semantic) subjects of the *mennä ja* -constructions have represented human beings. When the hendiadic reading sounds most natural, the subject is a receiver who takes orders, or a target of some type of outburst of feelings. From this perspective, (39) is of special interest. The only possible interpretation is that [*mennä ja V*] is an intensifier since the referent of the subject-NP is an inanimate entity (see the analysis in (40)):

39.

(1) 'Elämä on rankkaa. (2) Ainoa on viime aikoina kohdannut takaisku toisensa jälkeen. (3) Talo meni ja paloi. (4) Äänihuulissakin taitaa olla jotain häikkää. (5) Ja mikä pahinta, keikkahinnat ovat olleet laskussa jo pitkään. (6) Paljastava skandaalijuttu jossakin isolevikissä paskalehdessä voisi olla se viimeinen pisara.' (k-Maki.sgml.)

(1) 'Life is hard. (2) Lately, it's just been one setback after another. (3) The house went and burnt down. (4) There might even be something wrong with the vocal cords. (5) And what's worse, the pay for a gig has been going down for a long time. (6) A revealing scandal story in some major shitty rag could be the last straw.' (Translation: R.D.)

The [*mennä ja V*] -construction found in (39:3) is unique in my data; it is the only one among the 111 occurrences in which the referent of the subject-NP is not human. While it may sound rather odd, this is not an anomaly but quite understandable in this context.

40.

(3)	Talo	men+i	ja	palo+i.
	house-NOM	go-PAST.SG3	and	burn-PAST.SG3

The context for the example (40) is that the speaker describes the difficulties of a woman called Aino. The [*mennä ja V*] -pair in (39:3) signals that the very event, i.e. the burning of her house, is focal in the sequence of unfortunate events.

A crucial feature that guides the interpretation of the [*mennä ja V*] -pairs is the morphological form of the verbs. If the verb pair represents either morphologically or semantically a speech act concerning an order or persuasion, the more obvious the hendiadic reading is. At the same time, the simple present tense of the third person singular easily suggests negative or disapproving feelings towards the protagonist of the events described. According to Hopper (2001), hendiadic expressions at least in English are a phenomenon of spoken discourse. As further evidence of Hopper's claim, in my data of written Finnish, [*mennä ja V*] seems to acquire a hendiadic reading more often in text excerpts representing the protagonists' speech.

A final point of the discussion about the [*mennä ja V*] -pairs in the latter examples concerns the information structure of example (31). The word order in (31) appears to be marked; the subordinate clause that contains the central proposition of the discourse, *mutta että mies menee ja nitkahtaa*, 'but then for the man to go and fall for', is made focal by fronting it (see the analysis in 41). This effect is even stronger since the subordinating clause begins with two subordinating conjunctions, namely *mutta*, 'but', and *että*, 'that'. The topic, *mies*, 'man', is presupposed, while the predicate phrase is a comment on the topic.¹ In this case, a synthetonic reading is hardly possible of the verb pair *menee ja nitkahtaa*, 'goes and falls for'. Rather, this verb pair adds a disapproving or astounded nuance to the speaker's voice that comments on the activities of his old friend.

41.

(6a)	Mutta	että	mies	mene+e	ja	nitkahta+a
	But	that	man-NOM	go-SG3	and	fall.for-SG3

From a stylistic point of view, the [*mennä ja V*] -construction is a phenomenon that seems to be dependent on the author. The PF-BOOKS corpus contains texts from 57 different authors. Of these, 39 have used the [*mennä ja V*] -construction at least once. On average, this means 2.8 [*mennä ja V*] -constructions per each of the 39 authors (the number of [*mennä ja V*] -constructions being 111), while in fact, about one-third of the occurrences (in total 38) comes from only four authors.

¹ According to Van Valin, Jr. & LaPolla (1997: 206), the example analysed in (31) could be called a 'focus construction.' In focus constructions, the potential hendiadic interpretation seems still to be stronger.

5.3 Summary

As the quantitative analysis in sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 reveals, the frequency of the [V *ja* V] -pairs do not seem to be dependent on the position of a G-verb in my data. However, the distribution of the **different** G-verbs seems to depend on the order of the constituents.

Besides the quantitative data, some examples of the GF and GL-pairs were discussed. In certain [V *ja* V] -pairs, such as [*lähteä ja noutaa*], ‘to go and bring’, [*mennä ja myydä*], ‘to go and sell’, and [*nousta ja harppoa*], ‘to go and stride’, the G-verb is either semantically or textually presupposed. The verb *lähteä* in the pairs of [*lähteä ja noutaa*] functions as an aspectualiser that points to the very beginning of the activities coded by the second constituents in the [*lähteä ja V*] -pairs. In the verb pair [*mennä ja myydä*], *mennä* acquires a modal reading by indicating, for instance, persuasion, while *nousta* in the [*nousta ja harppoa*] -pairs illustrates among others the metaphor ‘power is up’ (see Lakoff & Johnson 1980). When *nousta* occurs as a second constituent in the GL-pairs, it indicates a transition in the text by pointing to the end point of a previous action and by opening space for a following one.

The verb pair [*anoi ja pääsikin*], ‘to petition for and get to be’, describes a situation in both a temporally and causally iconic way. The clitic particle *-kin*, ‘also’, attached to the latter verb anticipates the reader’s unspoken question about the outcome of the situation under discussion. Example 28, [*mennä ja naulata*], ‘to go and nail’, is a model example of what Hopper calls a *syntheton*.

Section 5.2.5 contains a more thorough discussion of Hopper’s ideas about *synthetons* and *hendiadyses*. Good candidates for hendiadyses in Finnish are the pairs of [*mennä ja V*]. As mentioned by Hopper, all hendiadic expressions in English have a homophonous synthetonic form that indicates two events. In Finnish it seems that it is hardly possible to interpret certain [*mennä ja V*] -pairs as synthetons. One good example is the verb pair [*mennä ja kihlata*] in (30), repeated and further analysed in (42):

42.

sit	se	vetoketjuvittu	mene+e	ja
then	the-NOM	zipper pussy-NOM	go-SG3	and
kihla+a	mu+n	parhaa+n	kaveri+n	
engage-SG3	I-GEN	best-GEN	friend-GEN	
‘then the zipper pussy goes and gets engaged to my best friend’				

While it certainly is possible to interpret the verb pair [*menee ja kihlaa*] in (42) as two distinct events, an interpretation like this makes no sense pragmatically. The verb *mennä* functions as an intensifier that highlights the speaker’s negative feelings. According to my data, in general hendiadyses seem in Finnish to code either negative feelings or attitudes towards people or actions, or to code direct orders. When coding

a speech act of ordering or requesting, the reading of a [*mennä ja V*] -pair becomes more ambiguous; in most cases both a hendiadic or a synthetonic reading is possible. It is interesting to note that the morphological form of the coordinated verbs turns out to be one dimension that triggers the hendiadic reading of a [*mennä ja V*] -pair. This is the case especially in those examples in which the predicate is in the indicative mood and in the second person singular. There, the second person pronoun *sinä*, ‘you’, is syntactically the subject but pragmatically an undergoer. Example (35), further analysed in (36) on page 53, exemplifies the use of the second person singular in a speech act of ordering. In sum, the [*mennä ja V*] -pairs in Finnish seem to form a continuum from clear synthetons to clear hendiadic expressions that mainly express a speaker’s negative feelings.

6 Interaction between lexical semantics and texts

6.1 The meanings of the verb *nousta* ‘to get up’

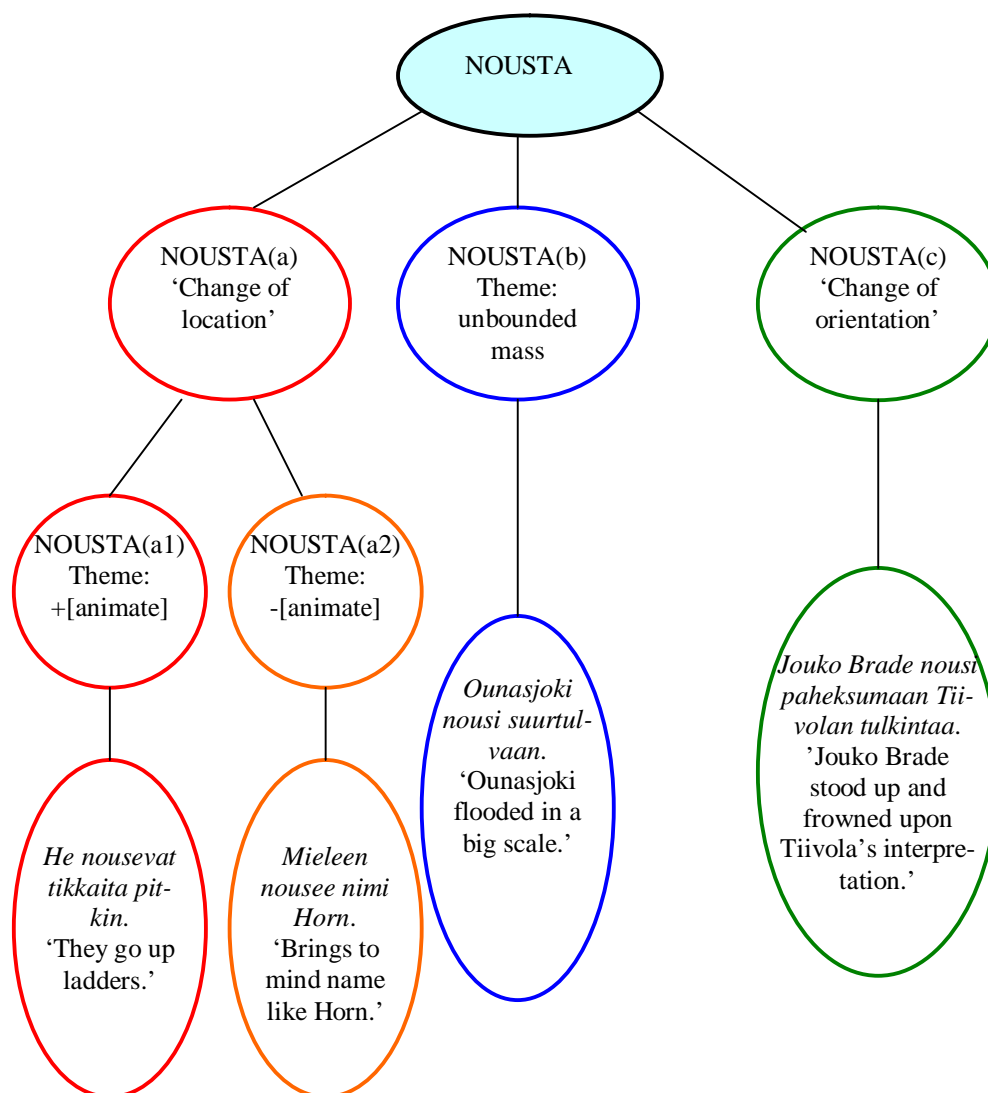
In this section, I will briefly discuss the semantic description of the verb *nousta*, ‘to rise’, from the perspective of the current study. First, the different senses of *nousta* will be introduced in the form of a schematic net based on Airola (1995). A second point is that the interaction of the lexical potential of *nousta* with our cultural knowledge will be examined in the discussion along with some text examples.

The PF-BOOKS corpus adopted in this study to extract the data consists of about 3 million words. The number of times the verb *nousta* occurs is approximately 2,630. Thus, in a random sample of one million words, one could expect to find some 670 *nousta* verbs.¹

The Dictionary of Modern Finnish, *Nykysuomen sanakirja*, lists 29 different senses for the verb *nousta*. When I studied the syntax and semantics of *nousta* in my Master’s Thesis, I arrived at 16 different senses (Airola 1995). That study was based on 700 occurrences of the verb *nousta* extracted from the corpus of *Suomen Kuvalehti* (sk-87.all). In addition, as the schematic meaning nets in Airola (1995: 77-78) show, the different senses of *nousta* can be reduced to three main meaning groups: a) the **change of location** of an animate or inanimate, physical or abstract entity (Figure 20; NOUSTA(a), NOUSTA(a1), and NOUSTA(a2)), b) the **increase of** a concrete or an abstract **mass** (NOUSTA(b)), and c) the **change of orientation** of some animate or inanimate being (NOUSTA(c)).

¹ In the PF-BOOKS corpus, the verb *nousta* is the 33rd most frequent verb. In comparison, the most frequent verb after the verb *olla*, ‘to be’, and the negation verb *ei* in the PF-BOOKS corpus is *sanoa*, ‘to say’, by 18,739 occurrences, which means 6,056 occurrences per one million words of text.

Figure 20. A simplified version of a schematic net describing the different senses of the verb *nousta*. Corpus: sk-87.all. (Translations: R.D.)



The verb *nousta* in NOUSTA(a1) represents a change in location of various animate entities, e.g. *He nousevat tikkaita pitkin* ‘They go up ladders.’ In NOUSTA(a2), the abstract entities referred to in this example and described to change location – proper names referring here to some possible minister candidates – are literally said to be ‘rising into the mind’ of the writer. In NOUSTA(b), the proper name *Ounasjoki*¹ in this example refers metonymically to its content, that is, the water that for the first time over fifty years has flooded into the surrounding land, literally: ‘the Ounasjoki River rose into the greatest flood for the first time in over fifty years.’ Finally, the ex-

¹ “Ounasjoki” is a river in northern Finland.

ample NOUSTA(c) illustrates the 'change-of-orientation' -sense of the verb *nousta*. In (43), NOUSTA(c) is repeated in a wider context:

43.

<p>(1) Kun hallintoneuvosto oli päättänyt osuuskuntaan liittymisestä, Sponsorin toimitusjohtaja Hannes Kulvik vaati saada lausua pöytäkirjaan mielipiteensä optiosodasta. (2) Tiivola ilmoitti kantanaan, ettei se ole mahdollista. (3) Silloin kokenut pörssihai, pankkiiriliike Lamy:n omistaja Jouko Brade nousi paheksumaan Tiivolan tulkintaa. (sk-87.all.)</p>	<p>(1) When the board of directors had decided to join the co-operative society, Hannes Kulvik, managing director of Sponsor, demanded that a statement be read into the minutes giving his opinion of the options war. (2) Tiivola's stance was that it was not possible. (3) Then the experienced stock market speculator, Jouko Brade, the owner of Lamy brokerage firm, rose to belittle Tiivola's interpretation. (Translation: R.D.)</p>
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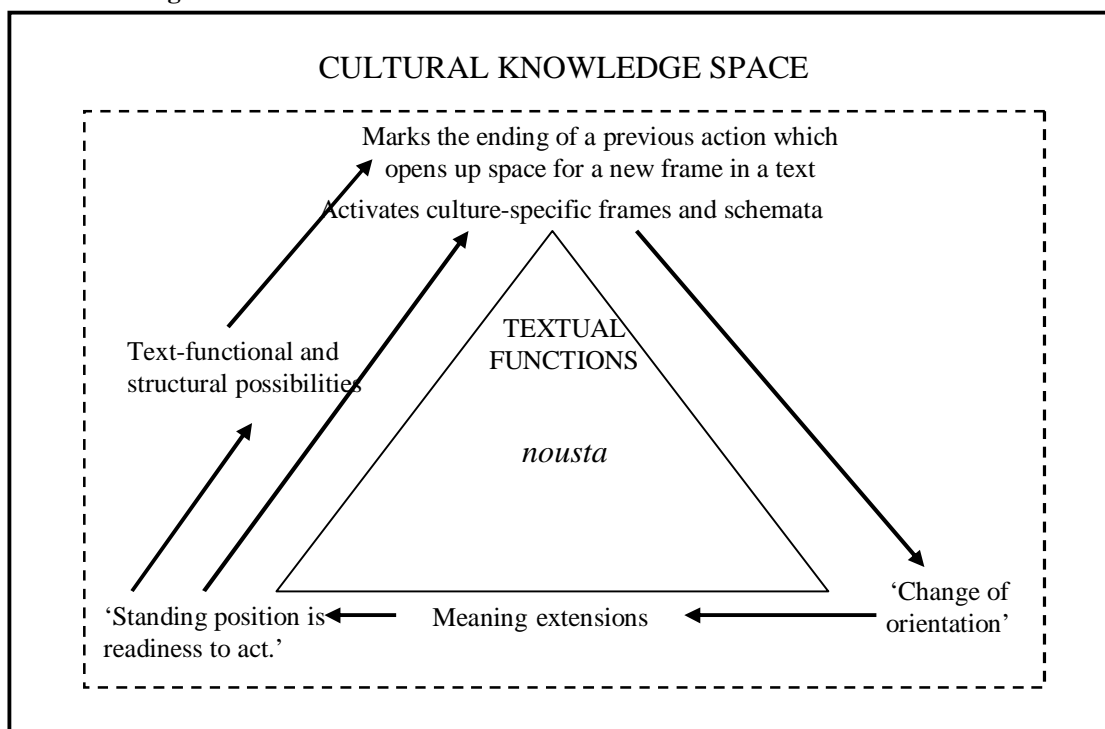
Literally, *nousta* in (43:3, further analysed in 44) indicates that Jouko Brade stands up during a meeting of the board of directors of the stock market. But, in this context, the explicit mentioning of the change of one of the participants' orientation serves to trigger a cultural schema, which we recognise on official occasions as those who want to take the floor are expected to stand up. That the Brade mentioned in (43) actually wants to take the floor is expressed by the non-finite complement of *nousta*, i.e. *paheksumaan*, 'to belittle', that specifies the reason for Brade's standing up.

44.

Jouko	Brade	nous+i	paheksu+ma+an
Jouko-NOM	Brade-NOM	rise.up-PAST.SG3	belittle-MA.INF-ILL
'Jouko Brade rose to belittle			
Tiivola+n		tulkinta+a.	
Tiivola-GEN		interpretation-PTV	
Tiivola's interpretation.			

Figure 21 illustrates how the lexical potential of the verb *nousta* interacts with our cultural knowledge and experiences through extensions of metaphorical meaning. In several contexts, a standing position can be interpreted, for example, as a readiness to act, as an index of power, or as in (43), as an index of cultural conventions (see e.g. Lakoff 1990, and Lakoff & Johnson 1980 for a thorough discussion of what is referred to as conceptual metaphors.). Moreover, on the textual level, the standing position of a protagonist may serve as an index that points to a turning point in a text where the previous action comes to an end and thereby opens space up for a new action.

Figure 21. The interaction between lexical and metaphoric meanings, textual functions and cultural knowledge: the verb *nousta*.



In the next section, the change-of-orientation -sense of the verb *nousta* is examined more thoroughly in the context of coordinated verb pairs. It will be shown that the apparent redundancy of *nousta* in the [*nousta ja V*] and [*V ja nousta*] -pairs can be motivated both by lexical-semantic and text-functional dimensions.

6.2 [*Nousta ja V*] 'to get up and V' -pairs in text

6.2.1 Introduction

This section presents an analysis of several examples of the [*nousta ja V*] -pairs. In 6.2.3, I show how the apparent redundancy of *nousta* in the [*nousta ja V*] -pairs can be explained and motivated both from semantic and textual points of view. The apparent redundancy of *nousta* in the [*nousta ja V*] -pairs have several sources. First, the change-of-orientation -sense of *nousta* forms a precondition for the (possible) following action. Or from another perspective, on the basis of some action, one can infer the necessary conditions that make the action possible, e.g. *he walked away* è he must have been in a standing position. The verb *nousta* in (45) seems to be redundant, since it is both textually and semantically presupposed:¹

¹ Hopper (2002: 150) cites R. Lakoff (1971: 148), who has noted that in an asymmetric conjunction, the first conjunct is presupposed.

45.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------|---------------|--|--------------------|
| (1) | Siinä | | istu+e+ssa+an | | hän | | rauhoittu+i... |
| | There | | sit-TE.INF-INE-PSS3 | | she | | calm.down-PAST.SG3 |
| (2) | Hän | nous+i | | ja | läht+i | | kantamuks+ine+en |
| | She | get.up-PAST.SG3 | | and | go-PAST.SG3 | | load-PL.COM-PSS3 |

kohti venettä, joka oli vedetty pitkälle hetteikön päälle. (Source unknown.)

(1) ‘While **sitting** there, she calmed down... (2) She **got up and left** with her load towards the boat, which had been hauled high up onto the quagmire.’ (Translation: R.D.)

By textually presupposed I mean that the protagonist’s orientation before the act of rising up is either explicitly stated or inferred from the previous text. Example (45:1) illustrates the first alternative by stating the protagonist’s position before rising up. On the other hand, the first verb in the coordinated [V *ja* V] -construction is semantically presupposed if the concept it refers to is included in the meaning of the second verb. For instance, in (45:2), the meaning of the verb *lähteä* already presumes the standing position of the protagonist.

Before moving on to a more thorough discussion about the redundant nature of the verb *nousta* in certain [*nousta ja* V] -pairs, I will briefly introduce my data of coordinated verb pairs with the verb *nousta* as V₁ or V₂.

6.2.2 Patterns found

The PF-BOOKS corpus contains 223 [*nousta ja* V] -pairs, which means that one can expect 80 coordinated [*nousta ja* V] -sequences per 1,000 occurrences of the verb *nousta*. The [*nousta ja* V] -pairs seem to be distinctive to fictional texts as compared to newspaper prose. As evidence, the PF-NEWS corpus has only 2.6 [*nousta ja* V] -pairs per 1,000 occurrences of *nousta*.¹

Table 15 shows the proportions of different kinds of [*nousta ja* V] -pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus based on the semantic classification of V₂s.² As Table 15 shows, over half of the occurrences of the [*nousta ja* V] -pairs has V₂ as a motion verb. The next more frequent meaning class is the verbs of communication. In total, these two classes cover about two-thirds of the V₂s in the [*nousta ja* V] -pairs, with the remaining one-third of the occurrences representing as many as 17 different meaning classes.

¹ The frequency of *nousta* verbs in the PF-NEWS corpus is 8,548, while the frequency of the [*nousta ja* V] -pairs is 22.

² The semantic classification of the V₂s in the [*nousta ja* V] -pairs is loosely based on Levin (1993).

Table 15. Frequency of the different [*nousta ja V*] -pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus. N = 223. Total number of *nousta* verbs = 2,637.

The second constituents of the [<i>nousta ja V</i>] -pairs		
VERB CLASS	Freq.	%
Motion	116	52.0
Communication	23	10.3
Aspect	14	6.3
Involving the Body	13	5.8
Change of State	12	5.4
Change of Possession	7	3.1
Contact	6	2.7
Grooming and Bodily Care	6	2.7
Putting	6	2.7
Cognitive Processing	4	1.8
Perception	4	1.8
Searching	3	1.3
Removing	2	0.9
Sound Emission	1	0.4
Appearance, Disappearance, and Occurrence	1	0.4
Holding and Keeping	1	0.4
Assuming a Position	1	0.4
Modality	1	0.4
Uncategorized	2	0.9
Total	223	100.0

As mentioned above, the most frequent semantic verb class occurring as the V_2 in the [*nousta ja V*] -pairs is the verbs of motion. However, motion verbs themselves can be further divided into smaller subclasses. In my data, the most frequent motion verbs occurring in the [*nousta ja V*] -pairs are the verbs indicating inherently directed motion (42.2% of the total 116 motion verbs) (see Levin 1993: 263). An example is given in (46) in which the verb *lähestyä*, ‘to approach’, has as its landmark the object constituent *hän*, ‘he’, towards which the motion is directed. In (47), the motion of Daniel described by the verb *mennä*, ‘to go’, is directed away from the narrator (who is ill and is in bed) and towards the window.

46.

Nous+i+n	ja	lähesty+i+n	hän+tä. (k-Angel.sgml.)
get.up-PAST-SG1	and	approach-PAST-SG1	he-PTV.

‘I got up and approached him.’

47.

Taas	Daniel	nouse+e	ja	mene+e	ikkuna+n	luo,
Again	Daniel-NOM	get.up-SG3	and	go-SG3	window-GEN	to

rummytta+a	si+tä	sorm+i+lla+an	ja	ava+a	ikkuna+n.
drum-SG3	it-PTV	finger-PL-ADE-PSS3	and	open-SG3	window-GEN

'Daniel gets up again and goes to the window, drums his fingers on it and opens the window.'
(k-MakelaH.shtml)

The next frequent group of motion verbs (27.6% of the total 116) includes what Levin (1993:265) calls *run* verbs. These are verbs of running and walking which mostly indicate different manners in which animate entities can move (Levin 1993: 267). As Levin (1993: 267) adds, in contrast to the class of inherently directed motion, the run verbs indicate no specific direction unless they occur with an explicit directional phrase. An example of the run verbs in the [*nousta ja V*] -pairs is given in (48) below. Here the verb *kahlata*, 'to wade', expresses motion in a specific matter, i.e. water. However, in addition to expressing the manner of motion, a phrase indicating direction is apparent in the clause, *matalaan veteen*, 'to the low water'.

48.

Nouse+n	ja	kahlaa+n	matala+an	vete+en,
get.up-SG1	and	wade-SG1	low-ILL	water-ILL

huuhtele+n	naama+ni	moneen	kertaan.	(k-Luoma.shtml.)
rinse-SG1	face-GEN.PSS1	many	times	

'I get up and wade to the low water and rinse my face many times.'

If examined on a more fine-grained level of granularity, it will turn out that nearly three-quarters of the motion verbs occurring as V_2 s in the [*nousta ja V*] -pairs are covered by five verbs only, namely *mennä*, 'to go', *lähteä*, 'to go; to leave', *kävellä*, 'to walk', *laskea*, 'to go down', and *tulla*, 'to come' (see Table 16). Four of these represent verbs indicating inherently directed motion, with only one verb representing run verbs, that being *kävellä*, 'to walk'. It is interesting to note that three of the most frequent motion verbs in the [*nousta ja V*] -pairs belong to the group of G-verbs.

Action verbs¹ as V_2 s in the pairs of [*nousta ja V*] seem to form no clear collocation patterns either on the lexical nor on the semantic level. In contrast, when a V_2 in the [*nousta ja V*] -pair is a **speech act verb**, 65% of these occurrences are covered by the verb *sanoa* (see 49). Other speech act verbs are marginal.

¹ I use the term **action verb** to create a contrast among those verbs that express mostly reflexive motion with the motion verbs indicating movement from one location to another. Evidently, this class of action verbs is not clearly defined. However, from the verb classes listed in Table 15, I have included in the action verbs all the other verb classes than a) verbs of motion, b) verbs of communication, c) aspectual verbs, d) verbs of cognitive processing, e) verb of perception, and f) modal verbs.

Table 16. Frequencies of the five most frequent motion verbs as the V₂ in [*nousta ja V*] -pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus. Categories II and III indicate the frequency and rank of the verbs (all verb forms) in the PF-BOOKS corpus.

I	II	III	IV	V
Motion verb	Freq., all verb forms	Rank	Freq. in [<i>nousta ja V</i>] -pairs	%
<i>mennä</i>	7,473	10 th	28	21.7
<i>lähteä</i>	4,821	15 th	25	19.4
<i>kävellä</i>	1,692	55 th	17	13.2
<i>laskea</i>	1,221	82 nd	13	10.1
<i>tulla</i>	12,212	4 th	8	6.2
others			38	29.5
Total	–	–	129	100

Example (49) has the verb *sanoa*, ‘to say’, as the second constituent in a [*nousta ja V*] -pair. Even so, what is more interesting here is the function of the verb *nousta* itself. In this context, this verb acquires additional metaphoric readings such as the act of rising to one’s feet that functions as an index of power. Thus, by getting up, Lieutenant Peura puts a stop to the previous action of his men – lying down and resting – and in doing so requests them to start anew what had left unfinished.

49.

Peura **nous+i** **ja** **sano+i:**
 Peura-NOM get.up-PAST.SG3 and say-PAST.SG3

Hauda+ta+an kaveri+t. (k-Lehvaslaiho.sgml.)
 bury-PASS-4 fellow-PL.NOM
 ‘Peura **got up and said**: let’s bury the fellows.’

Another example of a metaphoric reading of the verb *nousta* is shown in (50, analysed in 51), where the standing position functions as an index of readiness to act. As (50:4) reveals, the act in question is a fight.

50.

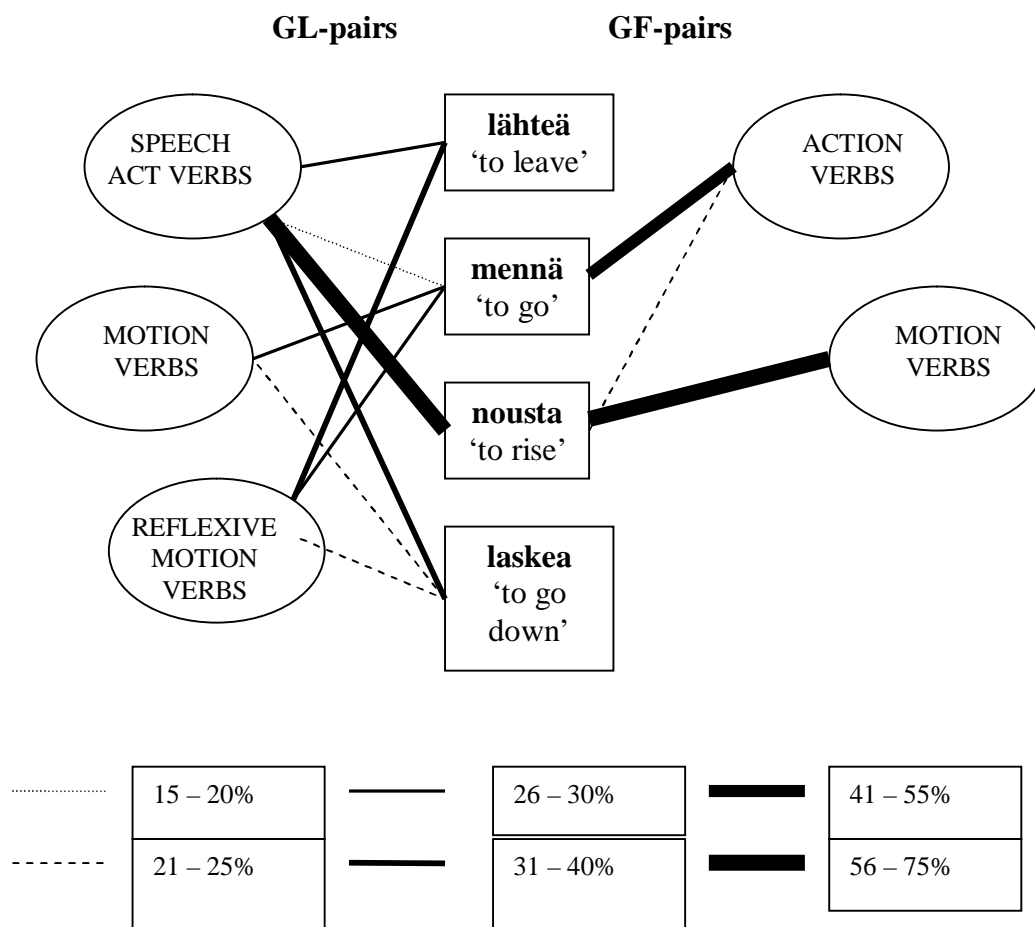
(1) - En minä ole luvannut mitään, Kaarle Rauta sanoi.	(1) ‘I haven’t promised anything,’ Kaarle Rauta said.
(2) - Nyt te lähдете. (3) Hän nousi ja katsoi tiukasti poikaa. (4) Hän valmistautui tappeluun. (5) Varmasti hän häviäisi, mutta hän ei pelännyt edes kipua. (k-Holappa.sgml.)	(2) ‘Now leave.’ (3) He rose and looked sternly at the boy. (4) He was preparing for a fight. (5) He would definitely lose, but he didn’t even fear pain. (Translation: R.D.)

51.

(3) Hän **nous+i** **ja** **katso+i** tiukasti poika+a.
 He rise-PAST.SG3 and look-PAST.SG3 sternly boy-PTV

The most frequent preference relations between the G-verbs and semantic verb classes, and between the G-verbs and individual lexical items, are illustrated in Figure 22 and Figure 23. Both GL- and GF-pairs are examined. As the figures indicate, the verb *nousta* has a strong tendency to occur with speech act verbs in the [V ja *nousta*] -pairs. Nevertheless, in the reverse pairs, *nousta* collocates strongly with motion verbs. The verb *mennä* in [*mennä* ja V] -pairs prefers action verbs, while the verb *laskea*, ‘to go down’, fails to show any particularly strong preference pattern in either of the [V ja *laskea*] or [*laskea* ja V] -pairs. As Figure 23 reveals, among the GF-pairs, the verb *lähteä*, ‘to go; to leave’, occurs frequently with two verbs that form a reverse relation, namely *jättää*, ‘to leave’, and *ottaa*, ‘to take’. The verb *nousta* occurs most frequently with three verbs, two of which are G-verbs (*mennä* and *lähteä*). The third verb, *kävellä*, ‘to walk’, belongs to the group of verbs of running.

Figure 22. The preference relations between semantic verb classes and the different G-verbs in GL- and GF-pairs.

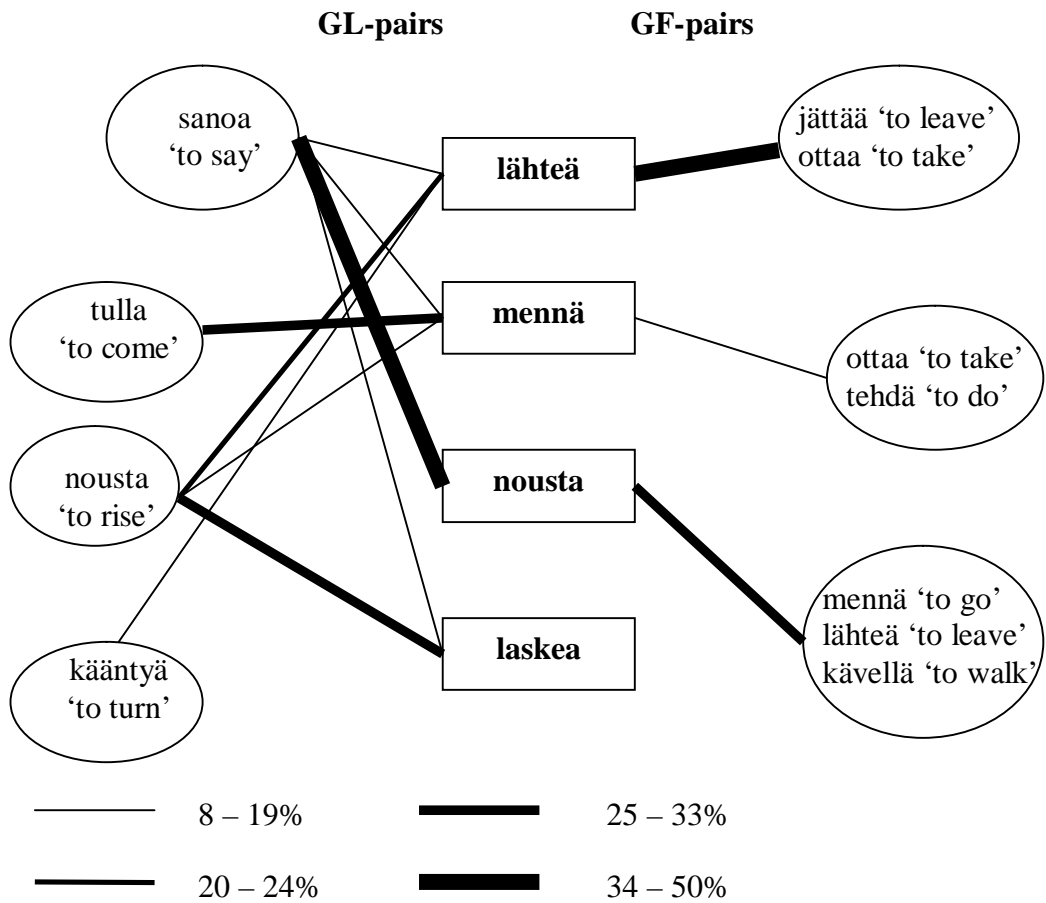


Percentage values: the probability that either V_1 or V_2 of the GL or GF-pairs belongs to a certain semantic verb class in the PF-BOOKS corpus. Percentage of a verb class per total of each GL and GF pair.¹

1

GOING LAST-PAIRS	Freq.	SEMANTIC SUBCLASS	Freq	%
V ja lähteä	119	$V_{\text{speech act}}$ ja lähteä	31	26
V ja mennä	146	V_{motion} ja mennä	43	29
V ja nousta	60	$V_{\text{speech act}}$ ja nousta	43	72
V ja laskea	47	$V_{\text{speech act}}$ ja laskea	15	32
		$V_{\text{reflexive}}$ ja laskea	11	23
		V_{motion} ja laskea	11	23
GF-PAIRS	Freq.	SEMANTIC SUBCLASS	Freq	%
mennä ja V	101	mennä ja V_{action}	53	52
nousta ja V	223	nousta ja V_{motion}	120	54

Figure 23. The most frequent lexical collocations among the GL and GF-pairs.



Percentage values: the probability of certain lexical GL and GF –pairs in the PF-BOOKS corpus. Percentage of a lexical verb per total of each GL and GF pair.¹

¹

GL -PAIRS	Freq.	LEXICAL VERB	Freq.	%
V ja lähteä	119	sanoa ja lähteä	14	12
V ja mennä	146	sanoa ja mennä	12	8
V ja nousta	60	sanoa ja nousta	30	50
V ja laskea	47	sanoa ja laskea	5	11
GF -PAIRS	Freq.	LEXICAL VERB	Freq.	%
lähteä ja V	23	lähteä ja jättää	5	22
		lähteä ja ottaa	3	13
mennä ja V	101	mennä ja ottaa	7	7
		mennä ja tehdä	5	5
nousta ja V	223	nousta ja mennä	28	13
		nousta ja lähteä	25	11
		nousta ja kävellä	17	8

As the figures above indicate, *nousta* seems to have a special role among the G-verbs in both the GF and GL-pairs. In the three following sections, the three most frequent [*nousta ja V_{motion}*] -pairs are discussed. In 6.3, the [*sanoa ja nousta*] -pairs are examined.

6.2.3 Textual functions of different [*nousta ja V*] ‘to get up and V’ -pairs

6.2.3.1 *Nousta ja lähteä* ‘to get up and leave’

This section presents a detailed analysis of two texts containing the pair [*nousta ja lähteä*]. What makes this pair interesting is our commonplace knowledge that identifies standing up as being highly marked in certain real world situations. This, in turn, reflecting on our lexical-semantic knowledge, also gives the words referring to the act of getting up a potential to create a culmination point in texts.

Example (52) describes a conversation between a mother and her daughter, Kirsi. Kirsi is spending her summer holiday in the country with her grandparents, and her mother has come to see her.

52.

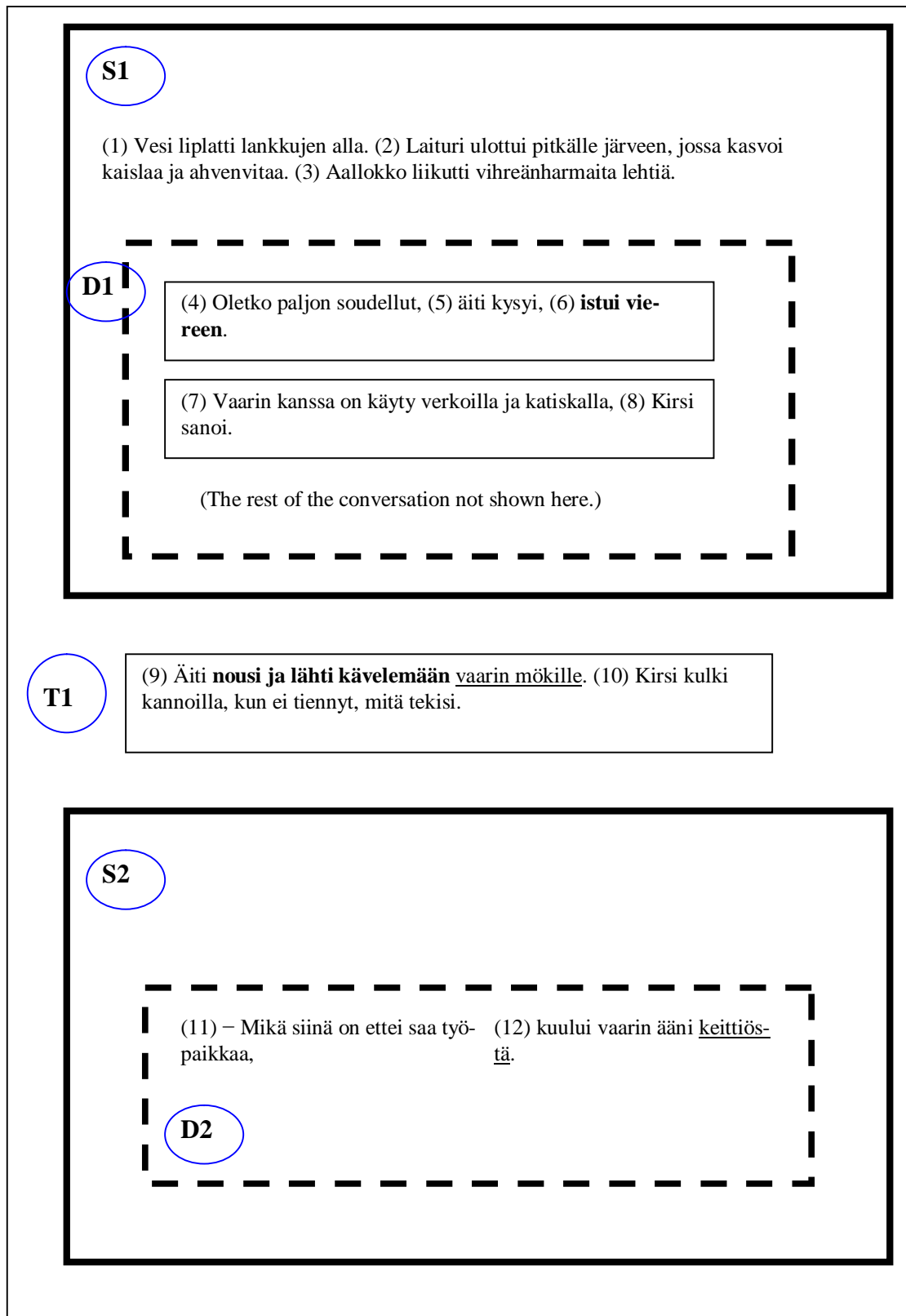
(1) Aallokko liikutti vihreänharmaita lehtiä.
 (2) Vesi liplatti lankkujen alla. (3) Laituri ulottui pitkälle järveen, jossa kasvoi kaislaa ja ahvenvitaa.
 (4) - Oletko paljon soudellut, (5) äiti kysyi, (6) istui viereen.
 - - -
 (7) - Vaarin kanssa on käyty verkoilla ja katiskalla, (8) Kirsi sanoi.
 - - -
 - - -
 (9) Äiti nousi ja lähti kävelemään vaarin mökille. (10) Kirsi kulki kannoilla, kun ei tiennyt, mitä tekisi.
 - - -
 (11) - Mikä siinä on ettei saa työpaikkaa, (12) kuului vaarin ääni keittiöstä. (k-HaennikaeinenL.sgml.)

(1) Water was lapping beneath the planks. (2) The jetty went a long way into the lake, where reeds and perfoliate pondweed were growing. (3) Green-grey leaves were moving with the waves.
 (4) - Have you done much rowing, (5) asked mother, (6) sitting down beside (Kirsi).
 - - -
 (7) - We've been checking the nets and fish traps with grandad, (8) said Kirsi.
 - - -
 - - -
 (9) Mother got up and started to walk toward grandad's cottage. (10) Kirsi walked behind her, not knowing what to do.
 - - -
 (11) - How come you can't get a job, (12) said grandad's voice from the kitchen. (Translation: S.S.)

Sentences (52:1–3) establish the physical context where the conversation is going to take place, i.e. *laituri järven rannassa*, ‘a jetty on the shore of a lake’. The conversation itself has been omitted owing to its length and since it is not essential for the point being made. In (52:6), the location of the interlocutors is specified. Kirsi's

Mother sits herself down on the jetty. The use of the adposition *viereen*, ‘next to’, presupposes that Kirsi is already sitting there: *Oletko soudellut paljon, äiti kysyi, **istui viereen***, ‘Have you done much rowing, asked mother, **sitting down beside** (her)’. A schematisation of the conversation is shown in Figure 24.

Figure 24. A schematisation of the conversation shown in example (52).



S1 = spatial domain in which the conversation between Kirsi and her mother takes place. The NPs defining the setting are: *vesi*, ‘water’, *lankkujen alla*, ‘beneath the **planks**’, *laituri*, ‘jetty’, *järveen*, ‘into the **lake**’, *aallokko*, ‘waves’.

D1 = the conversation between Kirsi and her mother.

T1 = the textual transition introduced by the verb pair *nousi ja lähti kävelemään*, (mother **got up and started** to walk toward Granddad’s cottage).

S2 = new spatial domain. The setting is implied in the transition T1 in which the goal of the mother is specified as being Granddad’s cottage (underlined).

D2 = the conversation between Kirsi’s mother and her in-laws (not shown here). The setting S2 is confirmed in sentence (11), where Granddad’s voice is mentioned as coming from the kitchen. The NPs Granddad’s cottage in (9) and the kitchen in (12) bear a part-whole relationship and on this basis we can conclude that the kitchen in which Granddad is speaking is located in his cottage.

Sentence (52:9) is a representative example of the function of the [*nousta ja lähteä*] -pair. This construction is analysed in (53) below:

53.

Äiti	nous+i	ja	läht+i
mother-NOM	get.up-PAST.SG3	and	go- PAST.SG3
kävele+mä+än	vaari+n	möki+lle.	
walk-MA.INF-ILL	granddad-GEN	cottage-ALL	
‘Mother got up and started to walk toward Granddad’s cottage.’			

The verb pair [*nousi ja lähti (kävelemään)*] is iconic in that it indicates the temporal order of the events described. The action of getting up is presupposed since the initial state of the mother is already made clear in (52:6), and also since the standing position is a prerequisite for the act of walking. In other words, the meaning of ‘walking’ already contains the concept of ‘being in a standing position’. The V_2 *lähti*, ‘to go’, functions as an aspectualiser, while its non-finite complement *kävelemään*, ‘to walk’, defines the manner of the motion that is just about to begin.

From a larger perspective, the pair of verbs [*nousta ja lähteä*] functions as a marker of a transition in the narrative. The verb *nousta*, ‘to get up’, implies the end point of a previous action, which here refers to the conversation between the two interlocutors. The verb phrase *lähteä kävelemään* in turn points to a change in the physical setting. However, the verb phrase *lähti kävelemään (vaarin mökille)*, ‘(mother) began to walk (towards the granddad’s cottage)’, in (52:9) makes only the beginning of the action apparent, leaving the outcome of the process open. A new physical setting is (implicitly) defined in (52:11 – 12) by referring to the Granddad’s voice that is heard from the kitchen.

Example (54) shows how the semantic potential of the pair [*nousta ja lähteä*] can be used to create a culmination point in a text. This extract of the text describes an incident taking place during an information session held by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. A consultant has been invited to introduce some reorganisations that the Ministry is meant to carry out in the future.

54.

(1) Kun konsultti päätti jupinansa, (2) penkit kolahtivat ja (3) virkamiehet pomppasivat pystyyn tuoleiltaan että pöly pelmahti olkapäille.

(4) "Herra konsultti", karjaisin voimieni takaa.

(5) Penkit kolahtivat toistamiseen, kuulijat huokaisivat yhteen ääneen ja istuutuivat takaisin paikoilleen. (6) Konsultti sen sijaan kohotti katseensa minuun kuin Pelastajaan. (7) Hänestä tuli tärkeä. (8) Myös eturivin ylijohdajat kääntyivät, mutta pettyneinä. - - -

(9) "Haluaisin tehdä kysymyksen."

(10) "Kaikin mokomin", konsultti myhäili ja hypisteli ylpeänä pukuaan.

(11) "Kuinka monta virkaa vähennetään ja kuinka monta avoimena olevaa vakanssia jätetään täytämättä, kun esittämämme uudistukset toteutetaan?"

- - -
- - -

(12) Istuin alas ja tarkkailin sanojeni vaikutusta. (13) Salissa vallitsi täydellinen hiljaisuus, minuutin. (14) Panin sen virkamiesten hitaan ajattelun piikkiin. (15) Mutta kun aplodien olisi pitänyt kajahtaa, kolahtivat ylijohdajien penkit ja muut seurasivat esimerkkiä. (16) Porukka nousi ja lähti salista.

(17) En ymmärtänyt reaktiota.

- - -
- - -

(18) Laskeuduin salista ja menin aulaan, jossa kävi pieni porina. (19) Se herätti sisälläni toivonkipinän: (20) sanani eivät olleet kaikuneet kuuroille korville. (21) Mutta vielä mitä. (22) Kun kävelin lähemmäs seuruetta, josta pulputus kuului, (23) löysin Leppäsen arvostelemasta minua, konsultin sijasta. (k-Vuorio.sgml.)

(1) When the consultant ended his mutterings, (2) the benches clunked and (3) the civil servants sprang to their feet from their chairs so that dust bursted to the shoulders.

(4) "Mister consultant," I roared with all my might.

(5) The benches clunked again, the audience sighed in unison and sat down once more. (6) The consultant, on the other hand, lifted his eyes to me like I was the Saviour. (7) He became pompous. (8) The chief directors in the front row turned, too, and were disappointed. - - -

- - -
- - -

(9) "I have a question."

(10) "By all means," smiled the consultant and fingered his suit proudly.

(11) "How many redundancies will there be, and how many vacancies will remain unfilled when your reform is implemented?"

- - -
- - -

(12) I sat down and observed what effect my words had. (13) A silence fell over the room, for a whole minute. (14) I put it down to the slow minds of civil servants. (15) But just as the applause should have broken out, the benches of the chief directors clanked, and others followed suit. (16) People got up and left the room.

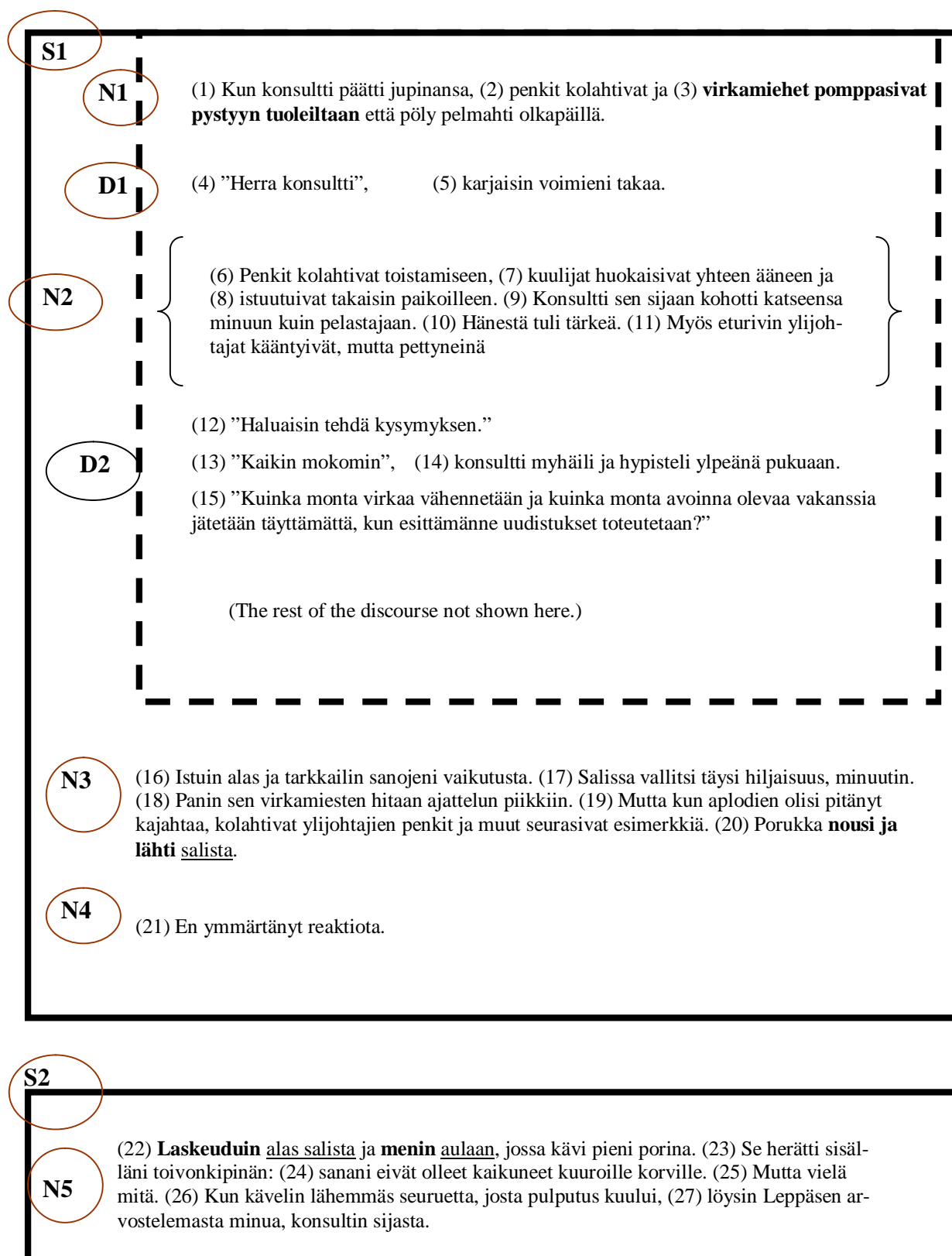
(17) I was stunned by this reaction.

- - -
- - -

(18) I descended from the room into the entrance hall and heard the buzz of conversation. (19) This sparked off a glimmer of hope within me: (20) my words hadn't fallen on deaf ears. (21) But no. (22) When I walked toward the chattering group, (23) I found that Leppänen was criticising me instead of the consultant. (Translation: S.S.)

The schematisation of the scene is described in Figure 25.

Figure 25. A schematisation of the conversation shown in example (54).



S1 = spatial domain in which the information session arranged by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health takes place, i.e. an auditorium in the community hall in Helsinki (not mentioned in the text excerpt cited).

N1 = a piece of narration in which the narrator tells how the audience, the civil servants employed by the Ministry, got up from their chairs immediately when the consultant had finished his talk (in bold).

D1 = a piece of discourse embedded in the narrative.

N2 = a piece of narrative in which the narrator describes the audience's response to his (narrator's) address to the consultant. In D1, the narrator indicated that he is going to pose a question to the consultant.

D2 = the narrator's discussion with the consultant.

N3 = a piece of narrative describing the audience's reactions to the conversation between the narrator and the consultant. In the last sentence (20), the verb pair *nousi ja lähti* is used to mark a textual culmination point: the verb *nousta* indicates that the meeting is over, while the verb *lähteä* indicates that the narration probably moves to another spatial scene.

N4 = a piece of discourse describing the inner speech of the narrator.

S2 = a new spatial domain, i.e. the entrance hall in the community hall.

N5 = the first sentence (22) in this piece of narrative defines a textual transition: we hear the narrator saying that he descended from the auditorium to the entrance hall where people were discussing that the meeting just ended.

As the narrator comments, the consultant was stumped by his politically incorrect question. As a result, the consultant tries to avoid answering it and hopes the chief directors will come to his rescue. In a way, that is what they do. Instead of a storm of applause, the narrator hears the clatter of the chief directors' seats. The others follow their example, and the whole crowd gets up and walks out of the auditorium (54:16). The perspective created by the verb pair [*nousta ja lähteä*] contrasts with the defeat of the narrator and with the demonstration by the people high up in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health; the narrator witnesses the others showing their tacit approval towards the leadership by them following the directors out of the meeting room.

The verb *nousta* in (54) is semantically redundant but structurally important since it functions as an index pointing to a turning point in the text. Metaphorically, this verb is an index of the wielding of power attributed to the chief directors of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. The verb *lähteä*, besides being an aspectual marker, is also used here as a synonym of the verb *kävellä*, 'to walk', which implies the standing position of the moving entity.

6.2.3.2 *Nousta ja mennä* ‘to get up and go’

At this point, a text with a verb pair [*nousta ja mennä*] warrants discussion. The context of the section of the narrative is the Winter Palace on the eve of what is referred to as the ‘Bloody Sunday’ (Russia, 1905).

In that example, the voice of the narrator describes some ladies-in-waiting in attendance of the Tsarina Aleksandra in their apartment in the Winter Palace. They are having breakfast while one of them, Margareta, gets up and goes to the window (55:5). Example (55:5) exemplifies one typical use of the [*nousta ja mennä*] -pair. This sentence is analysed in (56).

55.

(1) Sunnuntaiaamu oli kirkas, pakkasta oli kahdeksisen astetta, taivas valjunsininen. - - - (2) Margareta ja minä heräsimme varhain, emme olleet nukkuneet montakaan tuntia. - - - (3) Me söimme aamiaisen, jonka rouva Maara oli hakenut hovinaisten keittiötiloista. (4) Hän keitti meille kahvia ja kutsui Irinan syömään kanssamme. ---

(5) Margareta oli noussut ja mennyt ikkunaan.

(6) - Tulkaa katsomaan! hän huudahti. - Mistä nuo kaikki ihmiset ovat tulleet!

(7) Me kiiruhdimme ikkunaan. (8) Palatsiaukiolla velloi tuhansien ja taas tuhansien ihmisten joukko. (9) Eri puolilla aukiota paloi nuotioita. (10) Aamuhämärässä niiden kajo oli jotenkin pelottava. (11) Ne loivat mielikuvan barbaarisesta sotaleikistä. (k-HietamiesL.sgml.)

(1) Sunday morning was clear, about minus 8, a washed out blue sky. - - - (2) Margareta and I woke early, we had not slept for very long. --- (3) We ate breakfast, which Mrs Maara had brought from the kitchen of the ladies-in-waiting. (4) She made us coffee and invited Irina to eat with us. ---

(5) Margareta had got up and gone to the window.

(6) “Come and look!” she shouted. “Where have all these people come from?”

(7) We hurried to the window. (8) A crowd of thousands and thousands of people swelled in the Palace Square. (9) Fires burnt at different sides of the square. (10) The glow of them in the twilight was somehow frightening. (11) They created an image of barbarian war-games. (Translation: R.D.)

56.

Margareta	ol+i	nous+sut	ja	men+nyt	ikkuna+an.
Margareta-NOM	be-PAST.SG3	get.up-PCP.PAST	and	go-PCP.PAST	window-ILL

‘Margareta had got up and gone to the window.’

The verb *nousta* in (55:5) marks the endpoint of the protagonist’s previous activities, i.e. Margareta’s having breakfast. By using the verb *mennä*, a new referent is introduced into the text, i.e. the window that is especially interesting here. The ‘Windows’ in texts are analogous to windows in the real world, as they allow simultaneous control of several spatial spaces. For example, while I am sitting in my room at my computer I have access not only to that distinct space defined by the walls of my room, but also, through the window in front of me, to a separate spatial space defined by the walls of the blocks of flats that are in my visual field. Furthermore, when it is

dark outside, other spaces may be available as well, for example the illuminated rooms in the opposite blocks of flats. The word *ikkuna*, ‘window’, allows these same possibilities to a writer. In (55:5), the word *window* creates another spatial frame for the text in addition to the room in which the ladies-in-waiting were staying at the moment. The two frames are active at the same time: the space in which the observers are located, and the observed external space – the Palace Square – with its own spatio-temporal life. This is exactly what Pitkänen (2003: 155-166) has called ‘settings with a **dual frame**, i.e. a setting where two or more separate frames are connected together.’ (See Pitkänen 2003 for a more thorough discussion about the different frames and frame triggers in narrative texts.)

In both the [*nousta ja V*] -pairs discussed thus far, the verb *nousta* was identified as being redundant since it is presupposed. In (55:5), the posture of Margareta is implied in the passage in which she was described as having breakfast. The fact that Margareta was sitting is merely referred to through our encyclopaedic knowledge: we infer that someone having breakfast most probably is sitting at a table. The verb *mennä*, indicating walking in particular, incorporates the notion of being in a standing position.

If the presence of *nousta* in the surface text cannot be explained in terms of contextual or semantic clarity, we ought to analyse more thoroughly the structure of texts. For example, the [*nousta ja mennä*] in (55:5), appears to form a turning point in the narrative. These two verbs create an effective contrast between the seemingly peaceful atmosphere in the room of the ladies-in-waiting in the Winter Palace and the thousands of people in the light of fires down on the Palace Square. The apparent redundancy shown by the VP [*nousta ja mennä ikkunaan*] serves to bridge the two otherwise unrelated scenes. On the other hand, by delaying the delivery of the following information, that verb pair informs the reader that what follows is especially important for the building of the narrative.

6.2.3.3 *Nousta ja kävellä* ‘to get up and walk’

This section presents a discussion of the verb pair with *nousta* as V₁ and *kävellä*, ‘to walk’, as V₂. In general, when *kävellä* follows the verb *nousta*, its dominant modifier type is GOAL. Table 17 shows the micro-contexts of *kävellä* in my data (N = 17).¹ GOALS in this data are expressed a) by nouns inflected in certain local cases, here in the allative and in the illative (columns ALL-GOAL and ILL-GOAL in Table 17), b) by

¹ To compare, the PF-BOOKS corpus contains 1,397 occurrences of the verb *kävellä*, ‘to walk’. The ten most frequent modifiers of *kävellä* are adverbs and conjunctions, which form about 10% of all the modifiers immediately to the right of the target. The first full NP modifying *kävellä* is *kotiin*, ‘home’, that covers only 0.6% of all the modifiers, with the second more frequent full NP being *ovelle*, ‘to the door’, with the relative frequency of 0.5%.

certain postpositions, e.g. *eteen*, ‘to the front of’, or *luo*, ‘to’ (column PSP-GOAL in Table 17), and c) by adverbs, such as *ulos*, ‘out’.

Table 17. The micro-contexts of the verb *kävellä* as the V₂ in the [*nousta ja V*] -pair in the PF-BOOKS corpus. N = 17.

<i>nousta ja kävellä</i>		<i>‘to rise up and walk’</i>
ADV-GOAL	ulos	‘out’
ALL-GOAL	ikkuna+ lle	‘to the window’
	jääkaapi+ lle	‘to the refrigerator’ (2)
	ove+ lle	‘to the door’
	K:n asunto+ lle	‘to K’s apartment’
ILL-GOAL	eteise+ en	‘into the hall’
	pohjoise+ en	‘northwards’
	saunaranta+ an	
PRE-PATH	läpi kokoushuoneen	‘through the meeting room’
PSP-GOAL	Karrin eteen	‘to the front of Karri’
	baaritiskin taa	‘round the bar’
	ikkunan luo	‘to the window’
PSP-PATH	Lauran ohi miehen editse	‘past Laura’
PTV-PATH	ympyrä+ ä	‘a circle’ (2)

Frame-creating NPs like ‘windows’, ‘doors’, or different kinds of rooms are interesting here since they represent possible connections between the different (spatial) frames in texts.¹ For instance, (55:5) represents an implementation of ‘windows’ as contact surfaces between two distinct textual worlds: the upper class in the Winter Palace and the workers down on the Palace Square. Example (57) presents an analysis of a verb phrase *nousta ja kävellä ovelle*, ‘to stand up and walk to the door’.

The verb pair in (57:5) shows the structure-creating potential of the [*nousta ja V_{motion}*] -constructions. The following text excerpt describes a face-to-face conversation between two interlocutors:

¹I have adopted here the terminology and type of analysis created by Pitkänen (2003).

57.

(1) "Minä en luule enää mitään - " (2) Milla peittää kasvot kämmeniin ja hieroo otsaansa tuskaisesti. (3) "Anna minun jo olla."

(4) "Koeta jaksaa tämän kamalan ajan yli." (5) Make Sarkala nousee ja kävelee ovelle, mutta käännähtää vielä kysymään: "Aiotko kertoa kaiken tuon poliiseille?"

(6) "En aio." - - -

- - -
- - -

(7) Katuovella Make törmää rikoskomisario Petri Roivakseen ja rikosylikonstaapeli Pauli Sarekseen, moikkaa hymyillen ja poliisit katsovat pitkään hänen jälkeensä. (k-Numminen.sgml.)

(1) "I don't think of anything any more." (2) Milla covered her face with her hands and rubbed her forehead in anguish. (3) "Let me be."

(4) "Try to make it through this awful time." (5) Make Sarkala got up and walked to the door, but turned to ask one more time: "Are you going to tell the police all of that?"

(6) "No." - - -

- - -
- - -

(7) At the street door, Make bumps into Detective Chief Inspector Petri Roivas and Detective Sergeant Pauli Sares and greets them with a smile, and the police watch him for a while as he walks away. (Translation: R.D.)

Example (57) contains the VP *nousee ja kävelee ovelle*, 'stands up and walks to the door', which functions as a response to a request to be left alone stated by one of the interlocutors, Milla (57:2-3). In addition to the semantic potential of the verbs themselves, the interpretation of the verb pair [*nousta ja kävellä*] in (57) is based on our culture-specific knowledge and experiences. By the act of getting up, one can express his or her understanding of the requirements of a situation without a need to verbalise it. In addition, for a fuller understanding of a text, we need to know the tacit knowledge of the world interacting between a reader and a text.

58.

Make Sarkala	nouse+e	ja	kävele+e	ove+lle
Make Sarkala-NOM	get.up-SG3	and	walk-SG3	door-ALL

'Make Sarkala got up and walked to the door.'

The verb pair [*nousta ja kävellä*] (analysed in 58) is an iconic coding of two successive events. However, the allative modifier *ove+lle*, 'to the door', is especially interesting here. The word *door* represents an intermediate space between two separate frames in a text. Accordingly, the word *door* opens several possibilities to organise the continuation of the story. That the narrative moves outside Milla's apartment can be inferred from the mention of the NP referring to the front door of Milla's residential building where Make Sarkala runs into two police officers (57:7). There, again, the word *door* is used as a multifunctional device to continue the narrative.

6.2.4 Summary

Among the five G-verbs, *nousta* seems to have acquired a special role in both the GL- and GF-pairs. *Nousta* shows strong preference relations in both constructions. As the V₁, *nousta* collocates with motion verbs in over half of the occurrences. Of these, 54% are covered by only three verbs: *mennä*, ‘to go’, *lähteä*, ‘to go’; ‘to leave’, and *kävellä*, ‘to walk’. In the reverse case, the collocations are even stronger; in 70% of the [V *ja nousta*] -pairs, the first constituent is the verb *sanoa*, with the total of the speech act verbs as the V₁ being 73%.

In the [V *ja* V] -pairs, *nousta* occurs mainly in the change-of-orientation -sense. In most cases, *nousta* seems to be redundant. This redundancy is both semantic and textual: the meaning of *nousta* is included in the meaning of the following (motion) verb, or it can be inferred on the basis of the previous text. Concerning the metaphoric meaning extensions, the verb *nousta*, in its change-of-orientation -sense, functions as an **index** that both refers to the end point of some previous action or process, as well as indicating the protagonist’s readiness to act according to some potentially emerging situation.

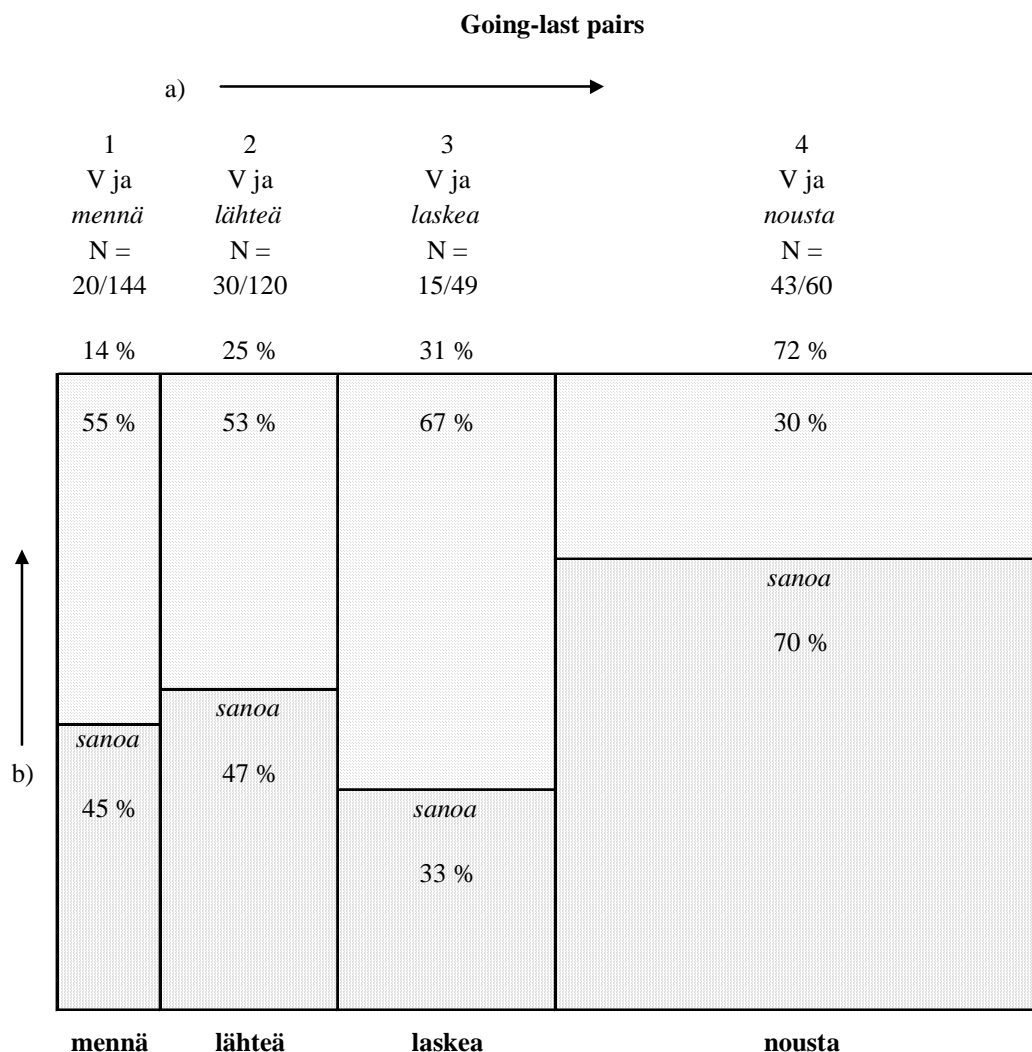
While *nousta* functions as an index referring to a possible transition in the narrative, the verb *lähteä* in the [*nousta ja lähteä*] -pairs often functions as an aspectualiser. Structurally this is shown in the immediate contexts of *lähteä*; either *lähteä* has no modifiers at all, or the modifiers are typically a) MA-infinitives describing an action that is about to begin, or b) adverbs that indicate motion, e.g. *liikkeelle*, ‘to pull out’, *pakoon*, ‘take flight’, jonkun *perään*, ‘to go after somebody’. To compare, the NPs in the micro-contexts of *mennä* in the [*nousta ja mennä*] -pairs are typically nouns representing spatial space, e.g. a kitchen, a window, a café, a shower, a restroom. In other words, they are modifiers that refer by nature to frame-creating entities. Since they often refer to new referents in texts, the NP modifiers of *mennä* offer new scenes into which the narrative can move.

6.3 [*Sanoa ja nousta*] ‘to say and get up’: textual cadences?

This section presents an analysis of two examples representing the functions of the verb pair [*sanoa ja nousta*], ‘to say and get up’. First, in Figure 26, the proportions of both speech act verbs and the verb *sanoa*, ‘to say’, among each GL-pair is shown. The strong preference relations between the verbs *sanoa* and *nousta* suggest a conventionalised function for the [*sanoa ja nousta*] -pairs in texts.

A total of 114 pairs of [V_{speech act} *ja* V_{going}] occur in my data. Among these, in over 50% of these occurrences, the speech act verb is *sanoa*, ‘to say’. Figure 26 shows horizontally, the proportions of speech act verbs among each of the GL-pairs, and vertically, the proportion of *sanoa* in relation to the other speech act verbs among each [V_{speech act} *ja* V_{going}] -pair.

Figure 26. The proportions of speech act verbs and the verb *sanoa* among each GL-pair in the PF-BOOKS corpus. N = 114.



Horizontally: the width of each column shows the proportion of the speech act verbs among the pairs of 1) [V ja *mennä*], 2) [V ja *lähteä*], 3) [V ja *laskea*], and 4) [V ja *nousta*] (see the relative frequencies on the top of each column).

Vertically: the lower half of each column shows the proportion of the verb *sanoa* in relation to the other speech act verbs among each of the pairs of [V_{speech act} ja V_{going}].

Relative frequencies counted from the total number of speech act verbs as V₁ among each of the five [V_{speech act} ja V_{going}] -pairs.

The proportion of *sanoa* in [V ja *nousta*] -pairs is expected on behalf of the overall frequency of *sanoa* (18,739 *sanoa* versus 8,762 other speech act verbs). However, while expected, the frequency of the [*sanoa* ja *nousta*] -pairs does not explain their special functions in the texts. In the other verb pairs shown in Figure 26, the proportions are lower than expected.

As for a formal analysis, I will analyse the [*sanoa* ja *nousta*] -pairs in texts as analogous to the cadences in music. In music, a **cadence** signals the ending of a

phrase or a composition. The perfect cadence – the dominant (V) that resolves into the tonic (I) – can be seen as being analogous to a full stop in texts.¹

In example (59) (Kirstilä 1997), two police officers, Karvinen and Hanhivaara, are questioning a woman called Ester about the murder of her neighbour. The two men are seated on a sofa across from their hostess. In (59:5), Ester says suggestively that her guests must be in a hurry. As a response, Karvinen behaves as if he did not get the point of Ester's remark and denies them being in a hurry at all (59:6). The conversation continues until Ester drops another hint, implying that she wants the two men to leave; she glances at her watch and says: *Teillä ei ole kiire, mutta minulla alkaa olla*, 'You are not in a hurry, but I soon will be' (59:7).

¹ <<http://www.dolmetsch.com/musictheory22.htm#top>>

59.

(1) "Mitä Mäkisen Mikolle kuuluu?"

- - -

(2) "Kyllä hän kävi minun luonani maanantaina."

- - -

(3) "Mihin hän sitten meni?"

(4) "Sitä teidän täytyy kysyä häneltä itseltään", Ester sanoi. (5) "Teillä on varmaan kiire."

(6) "Ei meillä ole mitään kiirettä", Karvinen sanoi.

- - -

(7) Hän [Ester] katsoi kelloaan ja jatkoi: "Teillä ei ole kiire, mutta minulla alkaa olla. (8) Niin että jos oli vielä jotakin, niin kysykää pian."

(9a) "Eipä tässä muuta", (9b) Hanhivaara sanoi ja nousi. (10) "Tai oikeastaan voisit antaa minulle Mikko Mäkisen osoitteen."

(11a) "Minulla on se jo", (11b) Karvinen sanoi ja nousi myös.

(12a) "Tulkaa toistekin", (12b) Ester sanoi ovelta. (13) "Kun minulla on enemmän aikaa ja teillä isompi jano".

(14) Ovi kolahti kiinni ja miehet seisoivat hämärässä käytävässä. (15a) "Nyt kun kerran tässä ollaan, mennään tapaamaan sitä Kuurna myös", (15b) Hanhivaara sanoi.

(16a) "Lisää vammaisia", (16b) Karvinen sanoi.

(17a) "Sinä olet suvaitsematon", (17b) Hanhivaara sanoi viileästi. (18) "Kuulutko sinä johonkin natsijärjestöön?"

(19) "Anteeksi. (20) Mutta on tämä vähän sinunkin syytäsi. (21) Kireys ja pahantulisuus tarttuu. (22) Niin kuin huomaat. (23) Ja sitä paitsi minusta sinä olet liian hyväuskoinen. (24) Tuota naikkosta on epäilty paitsi parituksesta myös kiristyksestä. (25) Sillä välin kun sinä haudoit krapulaasi ja kävit viinakaupassa, minä tein kotiläksyjä."

(26) "En minä kärsi krapulasta. (27) Minulla on univelkaa. (28) Ja epäilyillä ja niiden oikeaksi todistamisella on ero."

(29) "Todistamisesta hänkin puhui. (30) Olen yhä sitä mieltä, että sellaiset puheet ovat epäilyttäviä."

(31) "Sinä saat hoitaa sen Mäkisen, vaikka Kapustarinan kanssa, minä en pidä rikollisista."

(32a) "Siitä tulikin mieleeni", (32b) Karvinen sanoi, (32a') "se Ralf Kiimanen soitti ja sanoi, että olisi asiaa." (k-Kirstila.sgml.)

(1) "How's Mikko Mäkinen?"

- - -

(2) "Well, he was at my place on Monday!"

- - -

(3) "Where did he go then?"

(4) "You'll have to ask him about that," said Ester. (5) "You must be in a hurry."

(6) "We're in no hurry," Karvinen said.

- - -

(7) She (Ester) looked at her watch and continued: "You're not in a hurry, but I soon will be. (8) So if there's anything else, you'd better ask soon."

(9a) "No, there's nothing else," (9b) Hanhivaara said and got up. (10) "Or actually, you could give me Miko Mäkinen's address."

(11a) "I already have it," (11b) Karvinen said and also got up.

(12a) "Come again," (12b) Ester said at the door. (13) "When I've more time and you've a bigger thirst."

(14) The door clicked shut and the men stood in the dim corridor. (15a) "Now we're here let's go and see that Kuurna as well," (15b) Hanhivaara said.

(16a) "More retards," (16b) Karvinen said.

(17a) "You are intolerant," (17b) Hanhivaara said coolly. (18) "Do you belong to some Nazi organization?"

(19) "Excuse me. (20) But this is partly your fault. (21) Tenseness and being in a bad mood are contagious.

(22) As you've noticed. (23) And besides I think you're too gullible. (24) That tart has been suspected of not just pimping but blackmail, too. (25) While you nursed your hangover and went to the off-license, I did my homework."

(26) "I don't have a hangover. (27) I'm behind in my sleep. (28) And there's a difference between suspicions and proving them right."

(29) "She spoke of proving as well. (30) I still think that such talk is suspicious."

(31) "You can take care of that Mäkinen, like with Kapustarinta, I don't like criminals."

(32a) "That had occurred to me," (32b) Karvinen said, (32a') "that Ralf Kiimanen called and said he wants to have a word with you." (Translation: R.D.)

This time the men take the hint, and as a response, both get up. The verb *nousta*, representing the act of getting up, is both semantically and textually presupposed but structurally important by its capacity to evoke conventional cultural sche-

mas. For instance, by rising up, the guests give a signal that they are getting ready to leave. Textually, (59:9–13) form a closing part of a thematic sequence, i.e. the questioning of Ester about the murder of her neighbour.

The impression created by a subpart of the text coming to an end is strengthened by the repetition of both structurally and semantically identical items, the coordinated verb pair [*sanoi ja nousi*], ‘said and got up’, and the verb phrase *X sanoi*, ‘X said’. In Table 18, the text is rewritten in tabular form, the verb phrases are indicated under columns C, D, and E, and the subjects of the clauses under column B. The rest of the relevant text is shown under columns A, F, and G.

Table 18. Sentences (59:9a–32a) rearranged.*

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	(9a)	(9b)					(10)
I	“Eipä tässä muuta”	<u>Hanhivaara</u>	<u>sanoi</u>	ja	nousi.		”Tai oikeastaan voisit antaa minulle Mikko Mäkisen osoitteen.”
	(11a)	(11b)					
II	”Minulla on se jo”	<u>Karvinen</u>	<u>sanoi</u>	ja	nousi	myös.	
	(12a)	(12b)					(13)
III	”Tulkaa toistekin”	<u>Ester</u>	<u>sanoi</u>			ovella.	”Kun minulla on enemmän aikaa ja teillä isompi jano.”
	(14) Transition:						
IV	Ovi kolahti kiinni ja miehet seisoivat hämärässä käytävässä .						
	(15a)	(15b)					
V	”Nyt kun ollaan tässä, mennään taapaamaan sitä Kuurna myös”	<u>Hanhivaara</u>	<u>sanoi</u> .				
	(16a)	(16b)					
VI	”Lisää vammaisia”	<u>Karvinen</u>	<u>sanoi</u> .				
	(17a)	(17b)					(18)
VII	”Sinä olet suvaitsematon”	<u>Hanhivaara</u>	<u>sanoi</u>			viileästi.	”Kuulutko sinä johonkin natsijärjestöön?”
	Karvinen: (19-15)						
VIII	”Anteeksi. Mutta on tämä vähän sinunkin syytäsi. Kireys ja pahantuulusuus tarttuu. Niin kuin huomaat. Ja sitä paitsi minusta sinä olet liian hyväuskoinen. Tuota naikkosta on epäilty paitsi parituksesta myös kiristyksestä. Sillä välin kun sinä haudoit krapulaasi ja kävit viinakaupassa, minä tein kotiläksyjä.”						
	Hanhivaara: (26 – 28)						
IX	”En minä kärsi krapulasta. Minulla on univelkaa. Ja epäilyillä ja niiden oikeaksi todistamisella on ero.”						
	Karvinen: (29 – 30)						
X	”Todistamisesta hänkin puhui. Olen yhä sitä mieltä, että sellaiset puheet ovat epäilyttäviä.”						
	Hanhivaara: (31)						
XI	”Sinä saat hoitaa Mäkisen, vaikka Kapustarinnan kanssa, minä en pidä rikollisista.”						
	(32a)	(32b)					(32a’)
XII	”Siitä tulikin mieleeni”	<u>Karvinen</u>	<u>sanoi</u> .				”se Ralf Kiimanen soitti ja sanoi, että olisi asiaa.”

*The manner of representation in Table 18 is partly adopted from Du Bois, lecture notes, 15.9.2003, Helsinki.

Row IV has a new spatial frame that is brought to the narrative, i.e. the staircase: *miehet seisoivat hämärässä käytävässä*, ‘the men stood in a **dim staircase**.’ The transition of the two protagonists from the previous spatial frame, the flat of Ester, into a new one is indicated only indirectly: first, by the use of the verb *nousta* that im-

plies a possible further action (59:9b and 59:11b), and second, by mentioning the shutting of the door behind them (Row IV in Table 18).

In this context, the verb pair [*sanoa ja nousta*], ‘to say and get up’, has several functions; from a pragmatic point of view, the verb *nousta* represents the fact that the policemen had understood Ester’s cues for leaving and agreed with her. Textually, the use of the [*sanoa ja nousta*] -pair evokes a sense of tension that needs a relaxation. That is, the standing position of the two protagonists implies a further action but leaves open the nature of it. Here an analogy to music seems applicable. As Sloboda (1991: 162 – 163) mentions concerning a melodic line in a piece of music, one of its functions is to create *implications* for future events. This is exactly what happens in (59); the [*sanoa ja nousta*] -pair can be seen to function as being analogous to a melodic (thematic) line in the text, creating implications for the follow-up of that text. However, the follow-up of the episode stays open until a possible closing element is introduced into the text. In (59), the thematic relaxation comes in (59:12–13) (line III in Table 18) where both Ester’s location on the scene – she is standing by the door – and her line *tulkaa toistekin*, ‘please, pay me a visit some other time, too’, evoke a strong feeling that the series of events are coming to a close.

Sentences (59:9–13) clearly signal the ending of a *thematic subpart* in the text. Through (59:14), different kinds of *transitions* become possible. Here both a spatial and a thematic transition occur. A new (spatial) referent is introduced in (59:14), i.e. the staircase. In (59:15a), a new theme is brought into the text, i.e. the meeting of another potential witness in the murder inquiry. Both transitions are strengthened and maintained by the structural level of the text. This is exemplified in Figure 27 that presents the structural model of the text excerpt rewritten in Table 18:

Figure 27. The structure of the text excerpt in Table 18.

Sentences (cf. Table 18)					
9a – 10	I	}	{	(h)x (h) <i>sanoi ja nousi</i> (h)y	} Ia I
11a – 11b	II			(k)x (k) <i>sanoi ja nousi</i>	
12a – 13	III			(e)x (e) <i>sanoi</i> (e)y	
14	IV			N	Transition
15a – 15b	V	}	{	(h)x (h) <i>sanoi</i>	} IIa
16a – 16b	VI			(k)x (k) <i>sanoi</i>	
17a - 18	VII			(h)x (h) <i>sanoi</i> (h)y?	
19 – 25	VIII	}	{	(k).....	} IIb
26 – 28	IX			(h).....	
29 – 30	X			(k).....	
31	XI			(h).....	
32a – 32a'	XII			(k)x (k)sanoi (k)y	IIa'

x = reported clause before a reporting clause

y = reported clause after the reporting clause

Question mark = interrogative clause

N = narration; third person plural

(h) = Hanhivaara

(k) = Karvinen

(e) = Ester

Bolded rows: transition in the narrative, and coda, respectively

Part I in Figure 27, i.e. rows (I – III), form a cadence that closes a thematic sequence developed at length in Chapter 15 in Kirstilä's novel. This sentence is the beginning of a murder investigation of an antique dealer. Structurally, the cadence found in this sequence is based on two parts. Lines (I–II) form a structural whole by repeating the coordinated predicate *X sanoi ja nousi*, 'X said and got up'. Due to its semantic potential, *nousta* creates tension within the text by leaving the follow-up of the cadence open. In this way, *nousta* resembles the dominant chord (V) in musical cadences. If the dominant resolves into the tonic (I), the cadence is perfect, like full stop in texts. The relaxation in this example comes on line (III) that closes the cadence by repeating the structure of line (I), i.e. *reported clause – reporting clause – reported clause*. At this point the coordinated predicate in the reporting clause has been simplified into a closing one-word-predicate *sanoi*, 'said'.

Line (IV) represents a transition in the story. First, the situation of the two protagonists in the new scene is described in the narrative past: *Ovi kolahti kiinni ja miehet seisoivat hämärässä käytävässä*, 'The door banged shut and the men stood in a dim staircase.' For this statement, all possibilities for the continuation of the story remain open. Even so, the narrative stays in the new scene with the two already familiar protagonists. Structurally, Part IIa (lines V–VII) is based on a simple variation between the reported speech and the one-word-predicate reporting clauses. Part IIa finishes

with an interrogative clause that leaves this part of the text open. Thematically, Part IIb (VIII–XI) repeats the items familiar from the previous text (partly not shown here), while structurally, the third-person narration gives way to a dialogue between the two interlocutors. Line (XII) then closes the dialogue by referring back to one of the main themes developed at the beginning of the whole narrative, the crime committed by a man called Ralf Kiimänen. In this way, Karvinen’s last line functions as a coda; it does not add anything new to the prevailing discussion, but rehearses the themes introduced earlier in the text.

At this point a typographically marked break occurs in the narrative, which forms a dividing line between two chapters (15 and 16). As a whole, Part II forms an extended coda for the whole chapter (15) in Kirstilä’s novel.

Example (60) is another example of the functions of the verb pair [*sanoa ja nousta*] in texts. The narrator in this example says that she is in a pub with a well-known ice-hockey player called Riki.

60.

<p>(1) Riki valitsi irlantilaispubin teatterin lähistöllä. (2) Tungos oli melkoinen siihen aikaan illasta, mutta hänelle löytyi aina tilaa ja minulle hänen vanavedessään. - - -</p> <p>(3) - Killeri hei, mä laitan sulle kaljan, keski-ikäinen mies hoiperteli pöydän ääreen. - (4) Ensi kerralla tapase porilaisten pakki.</p> <p>(5a) - Kiitos vaan, mutta minä olen lähdössä, (5b) Riki sanoi ja nousi. (6) Hän ojensi käden minulle ja tartuin siihen.</p> <p>(7) - Makea mimmi, mies huusi peräämme. - (8) Anna palaa!</p> <p>(9) Kadulla Riki katsoi minua ja ilmeessä oli jotain pikkupoikamaisen hellyyttävää. (k-Lehtinen.sgml.)</p>	<p>(1) Riki chose an Irish pub near the theatre. (2) There was quite a crowd at that time of night, but they always found room for him and for me tagging along with him. - - -</p> <p>(3) “Hi Killer! I’ll get you a beer,” a middle-aged man staggered to the table. (4) “Next time, kill that Pori defender.” (5a) “Thanks, but I’m (just) leaving,” (5b) Riki said and got up. (6) He held out his hand and I grasped it.</p> <p>(7) “Nice babe,” the man shouted after us. (8) “Bring it on!”</p> <p>(9) In the street Riki looked at me and there was something boyishly tender in the expression. (Translation: R.D.)</p>
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Contrary to the semantic representation created in the course of the text, Riki’s act of standing up in (60:5b) functions both as an index referring to the intentions of the protagonist as well as a response to the offer made by the man in the pub. Here the verb *nousta* as the V_2 of the [*sanoa ja nousta*] -pair is also analogous to the dominant in a piece of music: *nousta* creates a tension in the text that needs to be resolved. This tension is resolved through (60:7 and 8) which ends a thematic subpart of the text and at the same time functions as a coda for the thematic whole that ends with (60:6). Line (60:9) introduces a new spatio-temporal frame through the NP *kadulla*, ‘in the street’, marking the starting point of a new thematic whole in the narrative.

The analysis of (60) is analogous to that of (59). In both examples, the [*sanoa ja nousta*] -pair functions as an index pointing to both a spatial and a thematic transi-

tion in the text. The cadence of (59), which is built on the basis of the [*sanoa ja nousta*] -pair, was a complex one with a repetition of both structural and semantic material, while in (60), the cadence is based on a single occurrence of the [*sanoa ja nousta*] -pair. However, in (60), [*sanoa ja nousta*] also functions as an intensifier strengthening the indirect speech act of the rejection expressed in (60:5b), further analysed in (61).

61.

(14a) Kiitos vaan, mutta minä ole+n
 thank.you just but I-NOM be-SG1
 ‘Thank you very much, but I’m

lähdö+ssä, (13b) Riki sano+i ja nous+i.
 leaving-INE Riki-NOM say-PAST.SG3 and rise.up-PAST.SG3
 going to leave, Riki said and rose up.’

The term ‘intensifier’ means in this context the potential of the verb pair [*sanoa ja nousta*] to refer to our real world experiences so that we interpret the act of getting up as being highly marked in certain situations and we recognise that it functions as a strengthening device in addition to conveying a linguistic message.

6.4 Is there verb serialisation in Finnish?

According to Sebba (2004, cf. also Sebba 1987), the term ‘serial verb construction’ (SVC) is usually applied to a range of apparently similar syntactic constructions in different languages. Within these constructions, several verbs occur together within one clause or unit, without evidence of either subordination or coordination of the verbs. While different researchers adopt different criteria for serial verbs, Sebba offers the following criteria that he claims would probably be accepted by most (see also Kroeger 2004: 229):

- a) an SVC contains only one overt subject;
- b) it contains no overt markers of coordination or subordination;
- c) it expresses concomitant actions (either simultaneous or consecutive) or a single action;
- d) it falls under one intonational contour;
- e) it has tense–modality–aspect marking on none of the verbs, or on one only (usually the first or last in the series) or on all of them; and
- f) it contains a second verb which is not obligatorily subcategorized for by the first verb.

From the perspective of my data, condition b) seems to be the most problematic one in explicitly ruling out coordinated verb phrases from the category of SVCs. However, this condition could be called into question on the basis of examples like

the one occurring in (62) (see Section 5.2.5 on page 46 for the full analysis of (62)) where the most probable alternative is to interpret *mennä* as a modal verb instead of interpreting it as a plain motion verb.

62.

Vittu ne menee ja päästää Veko Hopean lomille, ja ne luulee ihan oikeesti että äijä palaa kiltisti tänne kiven sisään järsimään loppua viittä vuottaan.

Fuck, they go and let Veko Hopea out on leave, and then they really think that the guy will return like a good little boy here to prison to finish the rest of his five years.

Concerning the other conditions listed above, a) and e) seem to match with (62): the verb phrase [*menee ja päästää*] has only one overt subject *ne*, ‘they’, and both verbs have the same morphosyntactic form. Feature d) seems plausible but can only be hypothesized since it should be verified empirically. Feature f) is not relevant here since the surface structure of the verb phrase shows overt coordination. Nevertheless, as pointed out to me by Marja Peltomaa (personal communication), it is possible that the conjunction *ja*, ‘and’, is on its way to becoming grammaticalised as a serial verb marker in Finnish.

According to feature c), a true SVC must refer to a ‘single event’. Nonetheless, as Kroeger (2004: 233) mentions, while single, this event named by an SVC may still be semantically complex. In (62), the use of *mennä*, ‘to go’, is clearly not physical but predominantly modal: the verb *mennä* seems to modify the speech act itself by emphasising the attitude the speaker adopts towards the proposition expressed. The weakening of the literal meaning of the verb *mennä* and its acquiring modal readings in certain [V *ja* V] -pairs suggest the process of grammaticalisation of the [*mennä ja V*] -construction. This is in accordance with what Foley & Olson (1985: 20) note, i.e. that the verbs constituting an SVC may have a rather different meaning in isolation than in a serial verb construction.

Example (63) contains a different kind of the coordinated [*mennä ja V*] -pair. The verb *mennä* here functions as a motion verb with the second verb representing the manner of motion, *ryskiä*, ‘to crash’ (63:6). The text excerpt itself describes a flight of three soldiers somewhere in Finnish Lapland during the Second World War. One of the men is wounded, and the other two have to put him on a stretcher.

63.

(1) Mentiin ja matka jatkui suon reunaan ja joki kiemurteli oikean olkapään puolella. (2) Marssi ja kantaminen oli surkeaa kompurointia ja Rantanen huomasi, että silmät iskivät tulta ja näkyi värikkäitä palloja. (3) Vähitellen kourat puutuivat ja kädet ja kaulasuonet olivat puunkovia ja hengitys pihisi. (4) "Luoja on aivan piruuttaan tehnyt tänne koko korven kamalimmat ryteiköt. (5) Mutta nyt en jaksakaan enää."

(1) We went on and continued walking beside the swamp, with the river winding its way on the right-hand side. (2) The marching and carrying was miserably floundering, and fire and colourful balls swam before Rantanen's eyes. (3) Little by little his hands went numb, his hands and neck turned hard as wood, and his breath wheezed. (4) "Just for the hell of it, God has made these the most horrible thickets in the whole

(6) Mutta silti menttiin ja ryskittiin eteenpäin. (7) Kymmen metriä kerrallaan ja seis ja jälleen eteenpäin. (k-Lehvaslaiho.sgml.)	woodland. (5) I can't go on any more." (6) But in spite of it, we went crashing on. (7) Ten metres at a time, stop, and onward again.
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The writer states in (63:6) that in spite of all the difficulties, the men still pushed on with their journey. The two verbs, *mennä*, ‘to go’, and *ryskiä*, ‘to crash’, describe coincident motion, the V_2 specifying the manner in which the men are moving (see the analysis in (64)).

64.

Mutta	silti	men+t+i+in	ja	ryski+tt+i+in	eteenpäin.
But	still	go-PASS-PAST-4	and	crash-PASS-PAST-4	forwards.
‘But still they went crashing on.’					

Examples (63 and 64) represent what Velázquez-Castillo (2004: 188) terms ‘concomitant manner serialization’. This construction involves two consecutive predicates which semantically refer to two temporally overlapping processes. This construction as a whole describes a single event, moving on in a particular manner. As Durie (1997: 320) observes, representing a single event is one of the key concepts associated with verb serialisation:

verb serialization has as a key distinguishing property that it is used to describe (what are conceptualised by native speakers as) single events, the individual verbs embodying different components of each event.

Finnish has a construction type that resembles even more verb serialization, i.e. this is what is referred to as the ‘colorative construction’. This type of construction has two verbs juxtaposed without any co-ordinating conjunction. In general, one of the constituents in this construction is a non-finite form of a verb, while the other verb agrees with the subject in number and person. Two examples of the colorative construction are shown (Ikola & al. 1989):

65.

Kun	aamu+lla	hyvästel+i+mme	opettaja+a
When	morning-ADE	say.good.bye-PAST-PL1	teacher-PTV
‘In the morning, when we were saying goodbye to the teacher,			

aja+a	karautt+i	piha+lle	ratsastaja.
ride-TA.INF	ride.at.full.speed-PAST.SG3	yard-ALL	rider-NOM.

a rider rode into the yard at full speed.’ (Ikola & al. 1989: 397, translation: R.D.)

66.

Mitä s	susi	lotkott+i	men+nä
Why	wolf-NOM	lollop-PAST.SG3	go-TA.INF

‘Why, a wolf was running

erellä	ku	se	kuul+i	nii+ttem
before	since	it-NOM	hear-PAST.SG3	they-GEN

before us since it heard their

puhhe+t	ja	ääne+t	ja
talking-PL.NOM	and	noise-PL.NOM	and

talking and noises.’ (Ikola & al. 1989: 305, translation: R.D.)

The verb *ajaa*, ‘to ride’, in (65), is non-finite while the verb *karauttaa*, ‘to ride at full speed’, is finite. Formally, *karauttaa* agrees with the subject NP *ratsastaja*, ‘rider’, and semantically, it expresses the manner of motion indicated by the V₁, *ajaa*. In (66), the verb *lotkottaa*, ‘lollop’, agrees with the subject NP *susi*, ‘wolf’, while the V₂ is the non-finite verb form *mennä*, ‘to go’. While *mennä* represents an abstract verb of motion, the finite verb *lotkottaa* defines the manner of motion. According to Ikola et al. (1989), it is also possible that both of the juxtaposed verbs in a colorative construction are finite as shown in (67).¹

67.

susi	men+i	jolkutt+i
wolf-NOM	go-PAST.SG3	lollop-PAST.SG3

‘the wolf went on lolloping’

The coordinated verb pair [*mentiin ja ryskittiin*], ‘to go and crash’ (‘we went crashing on’), shown in (64), would be quite natural if converted to a colorative construction. The whole sentence is rewritten in (68) below. This example has the non-finite verb *mennä* and the finite verb is *ryskiä*.

68.

Mutta	silti	men+nä	ryski+tt+i+in	eteenpäin.
But	still	go-TA.INF	crash-PASS-PAST-4	forwards.

In the light of Ikola et al.’s (1989) data, the most prototypical function of the colorative construction is to highlight the manner of motion. In this respect, Finnish

¹ However, what is called the ‘colorative construction’ appears to be rather obsolescent in Finnish. As shown by Ikola & al. (1989), the colorative construction was already rather infrequent in their dialectal data. However, they suggested that the rarity of the construction is not due to its unproductivity but to its use in only a very restricted type of narration.

colorative constructions correspond at least semantically to the SVCs Velázquez-Castillo (2004) terms concomitant manner serialisation.¹

Velázquez-Castillo (2004: 188) also mentions a construction type that is identified as ‘motion serialization’. As her example representing Paraguayan Guarani (rewritten in 69) shows, in the aforementioned constructions the V₁ is a verb of motion that leads to the event expressed by the V₂. Since they form a SVC, the two verbs must have a shared argument which is an ACTOR.

69.

(Paraguayan Guarani)

<i>o-pu'ã-(ta)</i>	<i>o-guata</i>
3AC-get.up-FUT	3AC-walk
‘He gets up and walks.’	

In Finnish, the coordinated [V *ja* V] -pairs like the one below correspond both functionally and semantically to Velázquez-Castillo’s examples of motion serialisation. In (70), the verb *nousta*, ‘to rise’, leads up to the following event, here *tulla syleilemään*, ‘to come to hug’:

70.

Minu+t	näh+de+ssä+än	hän	nous+i	ja	tul+i	syleile+mä+än
I-ACC	see-E.INF-INE-PSS3	he	rise-PAST.SG3	and	come-PAST.SG3	hug-MA.INF-ILL

‘When he saw me he rose up and came to hug me.’

As has been suggested in Chapter 5.2.5, some of the [*mennä ja* V] -pairs in Finnish fit well in the category of hendiadyses. Like SVCs, hendiadyses also present a single idea as two distinct constituents. From the textual perspective, hendiadyses as well as SVCs are foregrounding constructions: as Hopper (2001) mentions, by increasing the bulk of the verb phrase, they increase the importance of the action expressed. Moreover the ‘Comprehensive Finnish Grammar’, *Iso suomen kielioppi* (Hakulinen & al. 2004), notes that to connect two motion verbs with a coordinating conjunction *ja*, ‘and’, is a rhetorical means with which one’s attention can be focused on a certain paragraph of a text.

Durie (1997: 330) points out that one promising line of research seems to be that verb sequencing is often iconic in its ordering. By this he means that verbs are ordered according to the direction of causation in the conceptual structure of the verb complex, and that this direction of causation will conform to temporal sequencing. As

¹ The data also suggest an abstract schema in which the more abstract verb of motion is coded by the non-finite form of a verb, while the manner of motion is more often coded by a finite verb. For instance, in the verb sequence *mennä ryskittiin*, the motion is coded by the non-finite verb *mennä*, and the manner of motion is coded by the finite verb *ryskittiin* (see 68).

the discussion above has shown, the great majority of coordinated verb pairs examined here show temporal iconicity. Furthermore, it is suggested that the intonational properties of a clause with a hendiadic expression correspond to those of a mono-verbal clause. This corresponds to Givón's (1991) findings concerning grammatical and cognitive packaging in verb serialisation (1991). Givón demonstrates that SVCs display pause probabilities that fall within or below the range that is characteristic of pauses associated with lexical words *within the clause*.

According to Durie (1997: 332; see also Givón 1991), verb serialisation is universally characterised by the heavy lexicalisation of particular verb combinations. Related to this, Durie adds that there is a tendency for particular verbs to develop distinct meanings when used in serialisation. Moreover, in SVCs, more abstract verbs precede more concrete and specific ones (Durie 1997: 338). As shown above, this is also the case in some Finnish hendiadic [*mennä ja V*] -constructions as well as examples like (71). There, the first verb *lähteä*, 'to go', is literally a motion verb but in [*V ja V*] -pairs, it tends to code more aspectual relations than motion per se.

71.

(1) Ropponen meni Peuran luo ja ilmoitti:

(2) - Tuolla kalliossa on luolansuu, jospa joku lähtee ja ottaa lampun.

(3) - Tuossa on ja jos luolaan mahtuu, niin keittäkää kaikille tenapurkeilla juotavaa. (k-Lehväslaiho.sgml.)

(1) Ropponen went to Peura and announced:

(2) - There is a mouth of a cave in that cliff, maybe someone should go in with a torch.

(3) - Here you are. And if there is room in the cave, make everyone something to drink in the meths bottles. (Translation: S.S.)

One source that might be independent evidence for interpreting certain coordinated verb pairs as serial verbs is semantic slips. An example is shown in (72) (see also (26) on page 45):

72.

(1) Opo nousi, laittoi silmälasit koteloon.

(2a) - Minun on ikävä kyllä nyt lähdeävä palaveriin,

(2b) se [Opo] sanoi ja nousi. (3) - Toivotaan että Kirsi ajattelee asioita.

(1) The study supervisor rose and put his glasses in the case.

(2a) "Unfortunately, I now have to go to a meeting," (2b) he (the study supervisor) said and rose. (3) "Let's hope Kirsi thinks about things."

Example (72) describes a discussion between a study supervisor, Opo, and the parents of one of his pupils, Kirsi. This discussion takes place in Opo's office where both Opo and Kirsi's parents are sitting. Finally, Opo is reported to stand up and to regret that he has to go to a meeting (72:1-2a). However, after quoting Opo's words, the writer uses the coordinated verb pair (*se*) [*sanoi ja nousi*], '(he) said and rose' (72:2b), where she apparently quite unremarkably repeats the verb *nousta* that was already used in the preceding sentence. This example seems to suggest that the coor-

minated verb pair [*sanoi ja nousi*] may be processed as a whole, and accordingly that it may be a conventionalised index pointing to textual boundaries.

In sum, it has been suggested that certain coordinated pairs of [V *ja* V] in Finnish correspond at least semantically and functionally to the SVCs indicating among others motion and manner serialisation. If representing what Mithun (1988) has called ‘single conceptual units’, they should be separable from two conceptually distinct but coordinated items by intonation. As Mithun (1988: 334) puts it:

[coordinated items] joined with no intonation break typically designate a single conceptual unit while coordinated items separated by comma intonation typically designate conceptually distinct members of some set.

If valid, Mithun’s proposal can be used to disambiguate coordinated pairs of [V *ja* V] found in texts, including the demarcation between the hendiadyses and synthetons discussed in section 5.2.5. Whereas testing the prosodic properties of [V *ja* V] -pairs falls outside the scope of this study, this phenomenon forms a good starting point for a follow-up study.

6.5 The single verb *nousta* vs. *nousta* in [V *ja* V] -pairs

For the purpose of a comparison between the functions of the G-verbs that occur on their own and those that occur in [V *ja* V] -pairs in texts, a random sample of *nousta*-verbs were extracted from a part of the PF-BOOKS corpus. A database of 20 books were formed by picking every third book from the PF-BOOKS corpus in which the books appear in alphabetic order according to the name of the author (APPENDIX 1). From this database all the occurrences of the verb *nousta* were extracted, in total 466. Among these, there are 60 [*nousta ja* V] and [V *ja nousta*] -pairs.

The distribution of the sampling of the verb *nousta* is shown in Table 19. The verbs are divided into three classes: a) verbs that express a definite change of orientation, roughly meaning ‘to get to one’s feet’, b) verbs that express an indefinite change of orientation, and c) verbs that express motion from one location to another. The coordinated verb pairs are omitted.

Table 19. The distribution of the meanings of the verb *nousta* in a random sample collected from the database of 20 books from the PF-BOOKS corpus. N = 406. The coordinated [V *ja* V] -pairs are omitted.

Meaning of the verb <i>nousta</i>	Freq.	%
Definite change of orientation: ‘to get to one’s feet’	184	45.3
Indefinite change of orientation	100	24.6
Motion from one location to another	122	30.0
	406	100

The notion of a ‘definite change of orientation’ (see Table 20) means here that either the initial or the final state of the act of getting up is made explicit. An example is given in (73) in which the expression *sohvalta*, ‘from the couch’, refers to the state of affairs before Laina gets up. By the notion of an ‘indefinite change of orientation’ I mean that the meaning of the verb *nousta* can be inferred on the basis of the textual context and/or common sense knowledge. As the discussion thus far has shown, the majority of the occurrences of the verb *nousta* belong to this category. However, the difference between a definite and indefinite change of orientation appears to be important when considering the expressions in which the verb *nousta* occurs on its own.

The third meaning class in Table 19 includes the change-of-location senses of *nousta*, but these are not relevant to the comparison between the *nousta* occurring in the [V ja V] -pairs and the *nousta* occurring on its own because in the [V ja V] -pairs *nousta* refers almost without exception to its change-of-orientation sense.

Table 20. Examples of the different verb phrases meaning roughly *nousta jaloilleen*, ‘to get to one’s feet’, that occur in the sample of 20 books taken from the PF-BOOKS corpus. N = 171.

Verb phrase	Translation
<i>nousta jaloilleen</i>	‘to get to one’s feet’
<i>nousta pystyyn</i>	‘to arise’
<i>nousta seisomaan</i>	‘to stand up’
<i>nousta ylös</i>	‘to get up’
<i>nousta pöydästä</i>	‘to rise up from a table’
<i>nousta sängystä</i>	‘to get out of bed’
<i>nousta tuolista</i>	‘to arise from a chair’

Like [*nousta ja V*] and [*V ja nousta*] -pairs, phrases containing a single verb *nousta* can also signal breaks in narrative structures. Perhaps the most obvious cases are those in which *nousta* forms a verb phrase with an expression that indicates the initial state of the change of orientation. For example in (73), the verb phrase *nousee sohvalta*, ‘(Laina) gets up from the couch’, expresses quite explicitly that the sitting on the couch ends and that some other activity is going to take place.

73.

Laina	nous+e	sohva+lta.	Se	kävel+e	keittiö+ön.
Laina-NOM	get.up-SG3	couch-ABL	She	walk-SG3	kitchen-ILL

‘Laina gets up from the couch. She walks to the kitchen.’ (PF-BOOKS.)

Examples like the one shown in (74) – *tohtori nousee seisomaan*, ‘the doctor gets to his feet’ – highlight the resultant state of the action referred by the verb *nousta*. In examples like these, the function of the verb *nousta* seems in many cases to be to express the change of **state** of the person getting up.

74.

Tohtori **nouse+e seisomaan.**

Doctor-NOM **get-SG3 up to his feet**

‘The doctor gets to his feet.’

Häne+n kasvo+nsa o+vat ilmeettömä+t.

He-GEN face-NOM.PSS3 be-PL3 unreadable-PL.NOM

‘His face is unreadable.’ (PF-BOOKS.)

Over half of the verb phrases *nousta seisomaan*, ‘to get to one’s feet’, (in total, 54 occurrences) in the random sample of the verb *nousta* occur in sentences containing two coordinated clauses (75). These are examples of what Hopper (2001) calls clausal synthetons, i.e. expressions that present two or more **distinct ideas** as a coordinated set. Hendiadyses in turn represent a semantic whole in which a **single event** is realised by two distinct constituents (76).

75.

Siina nous+i seisomaan ja men+i ulos.

Siina-nom get.up.to.her.feet-PAST.SG3 and go-PAST.SG3 out

‘Siina got to her feet and went out.’

76.

Siina nous+i ja men+i ulos.

Siina-nom get.up-PAST.SG3 and go-PAST.SG3 out.

‘Siina got up and went out.’

77.

a)

Siina nousi seisomaan ja meni ulos.

b)

Siina nousi ja meni ulos.

Hendiadyses and synthetons represent two different ways to conceptualise a state of affairs. As in the example (75, 77a), Siina’s act of getting up and going out is represented as two separated but successive events. In comparison, the example (76, 77b) – Siina getting up and going out – shows the same state of affairs conceptualised as one continuous whole.

7 Discussion

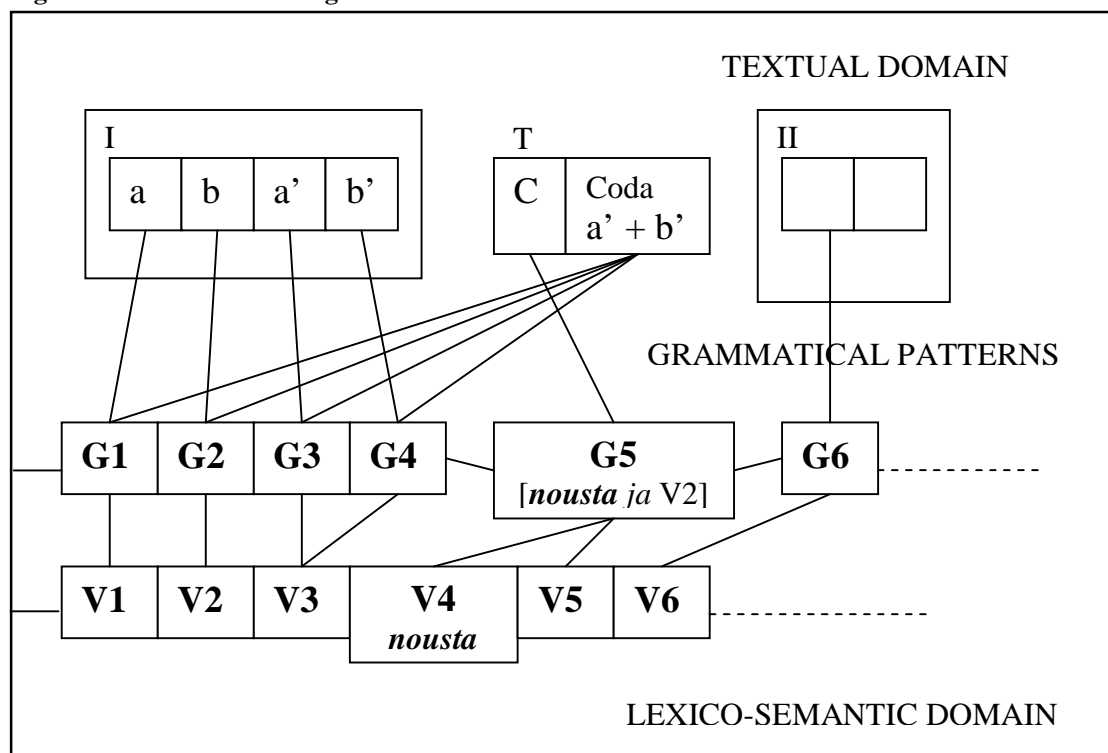
7.1 Grammatical patterns: between lexical semantics and texts

In Section 1, I mentioned the basic hypothesis that lies behind my study which is that grammatical patterns form an interface between the lexical semantic and structural organization of texts. In the following, a model illustrating my ideas of the interaction between lexico-semantic potential and textual structure is discussed (see Figure 28 and Figure 30). Here, my point of view is in accordance with that of Halliday's (1985), i.e. that context and language are interdependent. As Halliday sees it, language is a system of meaning potential which is realised in language use (cf. Thompson 2004).

The model shown in Figure 28 includes three different levels: (i) the Textual domain showing the abstract textual structure, (ii) the domain of grammatical patterns, and (iii) the Lexico-semantic domain that feeds the grammatical level. The part of the text illustrated here consists of three structural parts: **I**, **T**, and **II**. **Part I** is further divided into four subparts: a, b, a', and b'. The letters a and b stand for thematic patterns (a thematic pattern being analogous to a theme in a piece of music, see Section 6.3). Furthermore, the symbols a' and b' are variations of a and b, i.e. they repeat the thematic material introduced in (a) and (b) in a slightly modified form.

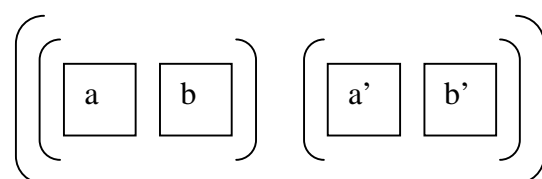
The structural part **T** represents the boundary between **Parts I** and **II**. As can be seen, **T** consists of a cadence **C**, and a **Coda**. **T** is marked by a lexico-grammatical pattern G5 that both structurally and semantically functions as a cadence **C**. **C** in turn serves as an index pointing to the boundary **T**.

Figure 28. Model illustrating the interaction between the lexico-semantic and textual domain.



In the Textual Domain, **Part I** forms a thematic and structural whole in which a new theme is introduced by the subparts a and b. This theme is repeated with slight modifications in the subparts a' and b'. As a whole, the subparts a-b, and a'-b' form a paired structure as is found in Figure 29:

Figure 29.



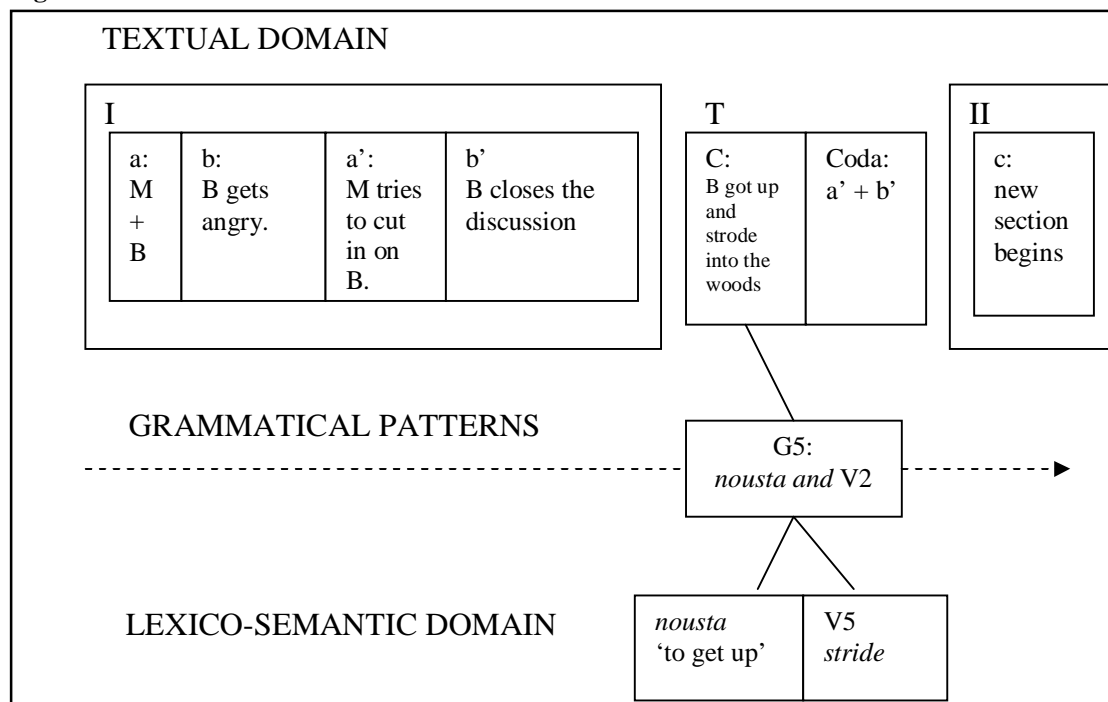
The lexical verbs in the Lexico-Semantic Domain correlate with the thematic subparts in the Textual Domain through grammatical patterns. The beginning of the cadence **C** is marked by the verb *noustá* that occurs as the first constituent of a [V ja V] -pair in G5. The **Coda**, if apparent, repeats the thematic material introduced in **Part I** in that it does not bring any new material into the text.

In Figure 30 is a simplified implementation of the model in Figure 28 (the whole text is given in APPENDIX 6, and a part of it is analysed and discussed in section 5.2.3). The plot of the text proceeds as follows: a husband and wife, Brychan and Moragh, discuss the future of their daughter Dwynwen. Brychan gets mad and the

discussion turns into a row. The episode ends by Brychan getting off and leaving Moragh to wonder why he got so mad at her.

As shown in Figure 30, **Part I** forms a thematic whole: (a) Moragh (M) starting a discussion with Brychan (B) and (b) Brychan getting angry then (a') Moragh trying to defend her opinion and finally (b') Brychan holding his ground.

Figure 30.



At the end of **Part Ib'**, Brychan announces to Moragh that the matter has been dealt with and that there is nothing more to be said. By uttering these words, Brychan demonstrates his power over Moragh. Textually, Brychan's utterance implies the end of the thematic **Part Ib'**. The boundary **T** between **Parts I** and **II** exploits the theme of Brychan using power. The cadence **C** makes things concrete: Brychan is described as getting up and striding into the woods. In the background of this scene, Moragh stays where Brychan has left her. Textually, the boundary **T** consists of two parts, the **Cadence** and the **Coda**. The coda here rehearses themes introduced in the preceding text. At this point, the narrative is free to move in any direction. This narrative could introduce a wholly new spatial frame and/or new protagonists, or it could maintain a partial continuity as has been presented here. In **Part II**, the two foregrounded figures are Moragh and her daughter Dwywnwen, who continue the discussion.

In various [*nousta ja V*] -pairs, the act of change of orientation expressed by the verb *nousta* is seemingly redundant since it is already included in the semantics of the following verb, or it can be inferred on the basis of the preceding text. However, the redundancy of *nousta* disappears when one considers the whole construction from the perspective of the text in which it occurs. Accordingly, *nousta* creates textual ten-

sion through its metaphorical extensions: the act of getting up results in a standing position which is held to be the canonical position for a human being. The standing position itself implies readiness to act. In other words, *nousta* leaves the situation open and thus creates expectations concerning the following state of affairs.

The notion of embodiment has been suggested to underlie a great part of language usage (Lakoff 1990, Lakoff & Johnson 1980, MacWhinney 1999). The verb *nousta* is especially interesting here since embodiment is quite transparent in the meaning potential of *nousta*. In other words, the physical act of getting up functions as an index pointing to several culturally defined as well as more fundamental schemata through different meaning extensions, for example the conceptual metaphors established by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), as well as Lakoff (1990) (cf. Onikki 2000) (see Figure 21 on page 62). In general, the act of standing up is marked in many real world situations. In texts, the real world implications create several possibilities to carry on the story. By functioning as an index, the verb *nousta* refers to various linguistic and extralinguistic schemata. By extralinguistic schemata, I am speaking of real world activities that follow some more or less predictable course of events.

7.2 Iconicity in coordinated [V ja V] -pairs: [*nousta ja V*]

The two events referred to by a coordinated verb pair [*nousta ja V*] are temporally either sequential or simultaneous. A good example of a temporally sequential [*nousta ja V*] -pair is (57, page 80), repeated in (78a):

78.

- (a) Make Sarkala **nousi ja käveli** ovelle.
'Make Sarkala **got up and walked** to the door.'

Example (49, page 66), repeated in (78b), is temporally ambiguous:

- (b) Peura **nousi ja sanoi**: haudataan kaverit.
'Peura **rose and said**: lets bury the chaps.'

There is no way to know if the two events shown in (78b) are meant to happen in sequence or simultaneously. In contrast, we have a tendency to interpret the relationship between the two events described in (78a) as an isomorphic description of extralinguistic reality (cf. Degand & Maat 2003).

Example (78a) stands for what e.g. Haspelmath (2006) calls the 'iconicity of sequence'. Haiman (1980: 516) in turn uses the term 'iconicity of motivation' which refers to a grammatical structure that, like an onomatopoeic word, reflects its meaning directly. As Haiman notes, the clearest example of such iconicity is that of sequence.

Examples such as (79) (analysed in 18, page 35) could be called causal. There, V_1 expresses the causal process and V_2 the outcome of V_1 :

Stenvallista **pyrittiin ja päästiinkin** eroon
 ‘They **tried and succeeded to get rid of** Stenvall’

Coordinated verb sequences create iconicity in a text by increasing the bulk of the verb phrase. Due to this, these sequences delay the telling which then draws the reader’s or listener’s attention to that very segment of discourse or narrative (see Section 5.2.5). As Hopper (2001: 160–161) suggests, hendiadic expressions, e.g. [V *ja* V] -pairs, are foregrounding constructions. Foregrounding is associated with transitivity in its scalar sense. Considering my data, 35% of the V₂s of the 223 pairs of [*nousta ja* V] are transitive in that they have an object. In the rest of the cases, the majority of the V₂s in the [*nousta ja* V] -pairs (e.g. motion verbs like *tulla*, ‘to come’, *siirtyä*, ‘to move’, *mennä*, ‘to go’, and *lähteä*, ‘to leave’) represent dynamic, goal-oriented, and volitional actions that according to Hopper (2001: 162), are all features crucial to canonical transitivity. The verb *nousta* itself shows the features mentioned and thus also manifests high transitivity.

The notions of Hopper are in accordance with Givón’s (1990) iconic coding principles that stipulate that more important information is given more coding material. However, as stated several times in the course of the discussion in Chapter 6, the verb *nousta* in the [*nousta ja* V] -pairs is presupposed in most cases both textually and semantically. This in turn contradicts the economic motivation discussed by scholars such as Haiman (1980, 1983, 2006). Accordingly, the tension between iconic and economic motivation reflects the competition between the drive of clarity and the drive of ease. Following the principle of economy, there is a tendency to give less expression to what is familiar or predictable. But, if one considers the [*nousta ja* V] -pairs from a textual perspective, this redundancy seems to disappear.

Ji (2007) supports my findings that the quantity principle (less predictable or more important information is given more coding material) is favoured in certain textual environments although it contradicts the economic motivation. Ji focused on the episode-initial positions in (English) narrative texts, reporting that the episode-initial constructions which function to signal major breaks in the thematic structures of narrative texts tend to carry more pieces of new (and therefore unpredictable) information than for example their subepisode-initial counterparts.

7.3 Music and language

As Maess and Koelsch (2001) and Koelsch (2005) state, the tension and resolution in a piece of music are created by the meanings emerging from the combinations of formal structures. Analogously, the verb *nousta* as a V₂ in the coordinated verb pairs creates tension in texts. In addition to the tension created, the standing position following

the process of getting up creates several expectations and implications regarding the future events in a text. This is in harmony with what Meyer (according to Sloboda 1991: 162–163) has pointed out about the functions of a melodic line, or the ordering of musical elements, in a piece of music: namely, that of creating *implications* for future events.

As Sloboda (1991: 20) suggests, the mental substrate of music resembles what underlies certain types of stories. First, a starting position of equilibrium or rest is specified. Then some disturbance is introduced into the situation that produces various problems and tensions which must be resolved. Finally, the story ends with a return to equilibrium. In broad terms, Sloboda’s suggestion for the structure of ‘musical stories’ seems to be comparable to what de Beaugrande and Dressler (1988: 184), and de Beaugrande (1980) write about *narrative* texts. In the latter volume, de Beaugrande (1980: 256) formulates what he calls ‘story-telling strategies’. As the first step in creating a narrative, one has to establish a ‘story-world’ (cf. Pitkänen 2003) with at least one character. Second, one should identify an initial as well as a goal state for the character as well as a problem that should be resolved in order for the character to achieve that goal. Analogous to music, the problem can be viewed as a dissonance creating tension into the text that must be resolved. Moreover, one event or action should be marked as a ‘turning point’, and a final state should be identified as matching or not matching the goal state.

As in language, ambiguity is also present in music. The tonal function the note fulfils can be inferred only by taking into account the larger musical context. The same is true concerning single lexical items and patterns which become disambiguated in (con)text.

As is well known, the verb *nousta*, ‘to get up’, is highly polysemous and thus ambiguous between several meanings some of which are shown in (80) and (81). Both examples share the same phrase *nousta jaloilleen*, ‘to get to one’s feet’. In the abstract, we know that *nousta jaloilleen* can be paraphrased approximately as *nousta seisomaan*, ‘to stand up’. However, in order to create a semantic representation of the act of getting to one’s feet, we must imagine someone carrying out the action expressed by the verb.

80.

(1) - Branin pata on parantajien salattu laakso, josta taistelussa haavoittuneet uroot löytävät lohdutuksen ja unohduksen, Moragh kertoi laulavalla äänellä, kuin loitsua lukien. - (2a) Täällä sidotaan haavat ja haudotaan ruhjeet, (2b) täällä sokeat saavat näkönsä ja (2c) rannat nousevat jaloilleen.(k-Annala.sgml.)

(1) “Bran’s Kettlehole is the hidden valley of the healers, where heroes wounded in battle find solace and oblivion, Moragh told in a sing-song voice as if reading a spell.” (2a) “Here, wounds are bound and compresses applied to bruises, (2b) here the blind regain their sight and (2c) the crippled rise to their feet. (Translation: R.D.)

Through meaning extensions, the predicate [nousta jaloilleen] in (80) allows at least three related readings: getting up is readiness to act; getting up is readiness to control oneself; and getting up is readiness to take control over a situation as well as the other participants involved.

In (81:2a, analysed in 82), the subject NP *Toivo* (the name of a restaurant) refers metonymically to the people running the business. As such it functions more as a patient than as an agent in the event described.

81.

(1) Minä olen näissä rahajutuissa jo saanut aivan tarpeeksi nenälleni. (2a) <i>Toivo</i> alkaa pikkuhiljaa nousta jaloilleen, (2b) jopa se lainakin lyhenee melkoisella vauhdilla. (k-HietamiesH.sgml.)	(1) As far as money goes, I have got hits on my nose quite enough. (2a) Bit by bit, <i>Toivo</i> begins to get up onto his feet, (2b) and even the loan is paid in a considerable speed.
---	--

Compared to (80), where the verbatim meaning of the predicate activates several different but related meanings attributed to the subject-argument of the clause, in (81), the meaning of the predicate splits in half. On the one hand, the predicate in (81) points to the agent implied in the predication, i.e. the people actually working out the problems concerning *Toivo*. On the other hand, the predicate [nousta jaloilleen] acquires a metaphoric reading corresponding to those shown in (80). That is, getting onto one's feet means that one is strong and healthy enough to control him- or herself without being supported.

82.

<i>Toivo</i>	alka+a	pikkuhiljaa	nous+ta	jaloilleen.
Toivo-NOM	begin-SG3	bit by bit	get.up-TA.INF	onto one's feet
'Bit by bit, <i>Toivo</i> begins to get up to his feet.'				

Another possible viewpoint to examine the differences between the two examples just discussed is Dowty's (1991) protoroles. Protoroles are described as bundles of Proto-Agent or Proto-Patient entailments. In (80), the argument of the predicate [nousta jaloilleen] is represented by the NP *rammat*, 'cripples', that have the following Proto-Agent entailments:

Proto-Agent entailments (in subject NPs)

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|
| a) | VOLITION | + |
| b) | SENTIENCE/PERCEPTION | + |
| c) | CAUSATION | + |
| d) | MOVEMENT | + |
| c) | INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE | + |

The subject NP *rammat*, 'cripples', behaves as a prototypical Agent of a motion verb: the act of getting onto one's feet is voluntary and the referent of the NP *rampa* is a sentient being that has an existence independent of the event described.

Furthermore, the movement expressed by the predicate [nousta jaloilleen] is caused by the agent herself.¹ In contrast, the subject NP *Toivo* in (81) seems to function more as a patient than an agent of the event described. ‘Toivo’ has only one Proto-Agent entailment, i.e. ‘independent existence’ in contrast to the NP *rammat*, ‘cripples’.

As in texts, music ambiguity is also an important structure-creating device owing to its ability to create various expectations. Like language users, listeners of music are also sensitive to syntactical considerations by taking into account the context in which a note appears when deciding on its tonal interpretation. As evidence, brain studies offer an interesting point of view considering a possible interconnectedness between language and music. It is suggested that the processes and brain structures involved in the perception of syntax and semantics in music have considerable overlap with those involved in language perception, underlining intimate links between music and language in the human brain (see Maess & Koelsch 2001, and Koelsch 2005, 2000)². From the perspective of my study, this seems to offer one piece of evidence that justifies my ideas of the analogy between musical structures and narrative structures in texts.

7.4 Meaningful elements of language

The examples discussed in this study raise the question about the meaningful elements of language. Do the empirically verified (corpus-based) lexical preference patterns such as [*nousta ja V*], ‘to get up and V’, or [*mennä ja V*], ‘to go and V’, form a part of a language system? At least for text theory, as de Beaugrande (1980: 14) puts it, it cannot state what *must* happen *all* the time, but rather what *is likely* to happen *most* of the time. Instead of searching for categorical rules, one should therefore focus on preferences and probabilities that arise from language use.

According to Manning (2001),³ human cognition has a probabilistic nature. By this he means that human beings continually have to reason from incomplete and uncertain information about the world. One example of this is language understanding. Concerning the task of describing the grammar of a human language, the categorical linguistic theories fail to account for the soft constraints that explain how people actually choose to say things: from this perspective categorical linguistic theories claim too much in designating a hard categorical boundary where there is a fuzzy edge (Manning 2001). This seems to be in accordance with what Du Bois (2003) suggests

¹ However, the Proto-Agent entailments ‘sentience/perception’, ‘causation’, and ‘volition’ are not directly readable from the sentence *rammat nousevat jaloilleen*, ‘the cripples get onto their feet’. Instead, as Dowty (1991) notes, the role types are described as properties that pertain to the lexical meaning of the verb in question. Thus, while Dowty offers an intuitively reasonable solution to the problem of semantic roles, one is still left with the problem of how to represent the lexical meanings of words.

² However, the modular view of processing language and music also has its adherents, e.g. Polk & Kertesz (1993).

³ <http://nlp.stanford.edu/~manning/talks/AAAS-2001-FreqProb.ppt>

by stating that grammar and discourse should be studied together in order to understand how language comes to be what it is. In addition, syntactic configurations are not to be classified merely as grammatical or ungrammatical but as functioning as soft constraints that are followed generally but not without exception. Sorace & Keller (2005) maintain that linguistic constraints come in two types. On the one hand, there are hard constraints whose violations trigger strong unacceptability, on the other hand, there are soft constraints that lead to only mild unacceptability.

From the perspective of my data, the configurations I have called ‘lexical reference patterns’ seem to function like soft constraints in texts. The coordinated [V *ja* V] -pairs with a certain lexical element, such as *nousta*, serve as a good example of a grammatical pattern that seems to be on its way to becoming conventionalised as a certain textual function. However, the overall phenomenon forms a fuzzy category for which only tendencies can be observed.

7.5 Critical remarks

Several shortcomings arise in a study such as this one, and they are rather difficult to avoid. Many of the restrictions concerning the data have been due to practical choices. The first one was the selection of both the verbs and constructions to be studied. Although I am interested in verb patterns in general, it was not possible to examine for example all the coordinate verb pairs that are frequent enough to be considered to form a pattern in Finnish. This is because the frequencies of certain verb pairs are dependent on the available corpus. In my case, I selected a corpus containing narrative texts since it seemed that other genres, such as newspaper prose, did not contain a sufficient number of verb pairs in which there were some of the G-verbs as a first or a second constituent. Actually, it seemed to me that coordinated verb sequences are more a phenomenon belonging to fictional rather than to newspaper prose.

Naturally, the type of the corpus and the verbs selected restrict the possibility of generalise the conclusions across other types of corpora and across other types of verbs. One practical reason that restricted the compilation of the corpus I selected for my study was that when it was collected, there was not very much freedom to select the texts included; I had to accept what was on offer in a rather resource-friendly manner. One more restriction on the generalisability of the results is that the pattern examined seemed to be highly author-dependent. However, in this work my aim has not been to study the stylistic variations between different writers. In addition, since the grammatical structure examined here turned out to be a rather rare phenomenon, the probabilistic tendencies observed should be taken rather as a first step towards a larger-scale follow-up study.

8 Conclusion

In conclusion, I hope to have shown how both the semantic potential of words as well as the structural organisation of texts shape the grammatical patterns found in texts. The quantitative analysis of large corpus data and the qualitative analysis of individual texts have proved to complement each other. Without quantitative analysis, it would not be possible to find grammatical – or preference – patterns that may turn out to be revealing from the perspective of textual structure (cf. e.g. Groom 2005). One interesting finding my study reveals is the question of verb serialisation in Finnish that would not have been detected if not for a proper corpus analysis. Widening the scope of the study would undoubtedly increase our knowledge of grammatical patterns both from the theoretical and the textual point of views. As Flowerdew (1998) mentions, a great deal of corpus-based work to date focuses on the collocability of language and how certain lexical items tend to co-occur in language with certain grammatical patternings. Nevertheless, such patterning can be regarded as being somewhat atomistic if not analysed within a larger textual context.

In analysing textual organisation I have explored the analogy between musical and textual structure, the theoretical framework underlying my structural analyses of texts being what is referred to as the Schenker analysis. This analogy is well worth pushing even further, not least because it can provide us some clues about the overall cognitive and/or semiotic structures that underlie human thought. As a final point, I think my work contributes to the study of text types by showing that there are lexico-grammatical preference patterns that function as indices pointing to both different text types as well as to the different culture-based schemata that partly guide our everyday life.

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APPENDIX 1

PF-BOOKS – Parole-fi: books
”books” –corpus (CSC 2001)

Tag	Author / editor / translator	Date of birth	Date	Title	Publisher	Number of words
k-Aho.sgml	Aho, Hannu	1948	1996	<i>Kello 4.17</i>	WSOY ¹	38 466
k-AitoahoP.sgml	Aitoaho, Pirkko	1946	1995	<i>Kolmekymmentä senttiä on pitkä aika</i>	Otava ²	19 574
k-Angel.sgml	Angel, Anja	1939	1996	<i>Joka tiikerillä ratsastaa</i>	WSOY	71 321
k-AnhavaH.sgml	Anhava, Helena	1925	1995	<i>Eihän elämälle mitään voi</i>	Otava	14 485
k-Annala.sgml	Annala, Orvokki	1938	1997	<i>Donnennan lähde</i>	WSOY	11 7684
k-Anttila.sgml	Anttila, Elsa	1931	1997	<i>Helmiä Mallorcalta</i>	Otava	–
k-Elonen.sgml	Elonen, Anna-Maija	-	1997	<i>Selviytyjätyyppi</i>	Otava	28 366
k-Envall.sgml	Envall, Markku	1944	1997	<i>Asumaton huone ja muita esseitä</i>	WSOY	32 431
k-Eskelinen.sgml	Eskelinen, Markku	-	1997	<i>Digitaalinen avaruus</i>	WSOY	46 583
k-HaennikaeinenL.sgml	Hännikäinen, Liisa	1943	1997	<i>Onneksi</i>	Otava	51 084
k-HaeyrinenVS.sgml	Häyrinen, Vesa	-	1997	<i>Tapaus pyöräilijä</i>	Otava	33 426
k-HassinenP.sgml	Hassinen, Pirjo	1957	1996	<i>Voimaiset</i>	Otava	38 865
k-HietamiesH.sgml	Hietamies, Heikki	1933	1997	<i>Sydän toivoo täynnä</i>	Otava	94 204
k-HietamiesL.sgml	Hietamies, Laila	1938	1996	<i>Myrskypölvät</i>	Otava	97 494
k-Holappa.sgml	Holappa, Pentti	1927	1996	<i>Kansliapäällikkö</i>	WSOY	57 819
k-Hotakainen.sgml	Hotakainen, Kari	1957	1997	<i>Klassikko: omaelämäkerrallinen romaani autoilevasta ja avoimesta kansasta</i>	WSOY	80 603
k-JalonenO.sgml	Jalonen, Olli	1954	1996	<i>Kenen kuvasta kerrot</i>	Otava	149 146
k-JoensuuMY.sgml	Joensuu, Matti Y.	1948	1994	<i>Harjunpää ja rakkauden nälkä</i>	Otava	91 654
k-Kajo.sgml	Kajo, Markus	1957	1996	<i>Kettusen kootut</i>	WSOY	48 827
k-Kauranen.sgml	Kauranen, Anja	1954	1997	<i>Arabian Lauri</i>	WSOY	?
k-Kejonen.sgml	Kejonen, Pekka	1941	1997	<i>60-luvun kuvat ja muita otoksia</i>	WSOY	35 762
k-Kirstilä.sgml	Kirstilä, Pentti	1948	1997	<i>Jäähvyäiset menneisyydelle</i>	WSOY	58 030
k-Kostamo.sgml	Kostamo, Eila	1938	1997	<i>Heloisen taivas</i>	WSOY	40 003
k-Kyllönen.sgml	Kyllönen, Marja	1975	1997	<i>Lyijyuuma</i>	WSOY	38 695
k-Lander.sgml	Lander, Leena	1956	1997	<i>Iloisen kotiinpaluun asuinsijat</i>	WSOY	69 893
k-Lappalainen.sgml	Lappalainen, Seppo	1936	1997	<i>Nuottamiehet</i>	WSOY	25 773
k-Lardot.sgml	Lardot, Raisa	1938	1997	<i>Andy ja Vera</i>	WSOY	33 151
k-Lehtinen.sgml	Lehtinen, Tuija	1954	1997	<i>Samppanjataivas</i>	Otava	60 754
k-Lehvaslaiho.sgml	Lehvaslaiho, Reino	1922	1997	<i>Kuoleman suo</i>	WSOY	95 593
k-Liksom.sgml	Liksom, Rosa	1958	1996	<i>Kreisland</i>	WSOY	68 491
k-Lindqvist.sgml	Lindqvist, Martti	1945	1995	<i>Mieli vai tarkoitus</i>	Otava	42 545
k-Luoma.sgml	Luoma, Heikki	1944	1997	<i>Kuka viereesi jää</i>	WSOY	73 509
k-Lyytikäinen.sgml	Lyytikäinen, Erkki	-	1995	<i>Bikiniirajaus</i>	SKS	31 510
k-MakelaH.sgml	Mäkelä, Hannu	1943	1996	<i>Katso, se päivä on tuleva</i>	Otava	49 195
k-Maki.sgml	Mäki, Reijo	1958	1997	<i>Pimeyden tango</i>	Otava	66 275
k-Malkamäki.sgml	Malkamäki, Sari	1962	1995	<i>Yöpäivystäjä</i>	Otava	21 430
k-Mikkonen.sgml	Mikkonen, Sari	1967	1997	<i>Pakkasyön odottaja</i>	WSOY	32 803
k-Narhi.sgml	Närhi, Harri	-	1997	<i>Palava pensas</i>	WSOY	41 844

¹ WSOY – Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, Porvoo, Finland

² Otava – Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava, Helsinki, Finland

k-Numminen.sgml	Numminen, Juha	1938	1997	<i>Älä usko unelmiin</i>	WSOY	71 047
k-Oksanen.sgml	Oksanen, Aulikki	1944	1996	<i>Järjen varjo</i>	WSOY	22 727
k-Paasilinna.sgml	Paasilinna, Arto	1942	1997	<i>Tuomiopäivän aurinko nousee</i>	WSOY	44 820
k-Pakkanen.sgml	Pakkanen, Outi	1946	1997	<i>Kuolema käy jatkoilla</i>	Otava	65 466
k-Raittila.sgml	Raittila, Hannu	1956	1997	<i>Pohjoinen puhuu</i>	WSOY	30 785
k-Salmi.sgml	Salmi, Vexi	1942	1997	<i>Elvis elää</i>	WSOY	23 512
k-Seppälä.sgml	Seppälä, Juha	1956	1996	<i>Jumala oli mies</i>	WSOY	16 721
k-Siikala.sgml	Siikala, Helinä	1943	1995	<i>Ystäväni minä</i>	Otava	40 581
k-Skiftesvik.sgml	Skiftesvik, Joni	1948	1997	<i>Yli tuulen ja sään</i>	WSOY	30 498
k-Susi.sgml	Susi, Heimo	1930	1996	<i>Virkamatka</i>	Otava	67 252
k-Tabet.sgml	Tabet, Sirpa	1943	1997	<i>Hämärän lapset</i>	Otava	67 541
k-Tervo.sgml	Tervo, Jari	1959	1997	<i>Tuulikaappimaa</i>	WSOY	78 445
k-Tolonen.sgml	Tolonen, Vuokko	1958	1997	<i>Tampereen ilmasto</i>	Otava	50 810
k-Turkka.sgml	Turkka, Jouko	1942	1994	<i>Häpeä</i>	Otava	83 131
k-Tuuri.sgml	Tuuri, Antti	1944	1997	<i>Lakeuden kutsu</i>	Otava	56 057
k-Vakkuri.sgml	Vakkuri, Juha	1946	1997	<i>Sirkuksen sydän</i>	WSOY	92 473
k-Varis.sgml	Varis, Tuula-Liina	1942	1996	<i>Peili ja ikkuna</i>	WSOY	37 596
k-Viinikainen.sgml	Viinikainen, Antero	1941	1996	<i>Aleksis Kivi ja Serbian prinsessa: seitsemän kertomusta</i>	WSOY	29 034
k-Vuorio.sgml	Vuorio, Hannu	1941	1997	<i>Friman</i>	WSOY	47 529

APPENDIX 2

PF-NEWS – Parole-fi: newspapers ”newspapers” –corpus (CSC 2001)

Tag	Publisher	Publishing place	Year	Number of words
k-aamulehti.sgml	Kustannus Oy Aamulehti	Tampere, FIN	1995	3 838 400
k-demari.sgml	Demari	Helsinki, FIN	1995	2 051 156
k-iltalehti.sgml	Kustannusosakeyhtiö Iltalehti	Helsinki, FIN	1996	–
k-kaleva.sgml	Kaleva	Oulu, FIN	1996	69 772
k-kauppalehti.sgml	Kustannusosakeyhtiö Kauppalehti	Helsinki, FIN	1991	158 286
k-keskisuomalainen.sgml	Keskisuomalainen	Jyväskylä, FIN	1994	3 648 320
y-hs250690.sgml	Sanoma Osakeyhtiö	Helsinki, FIN	1990	76 926
y-hs020890.sgml	Sanoma Osakeyhtiö	Helsinki, FIN	1990	53 901

APPENDIX 3

The cases used as input features (cf. Karlsson 1987: 22-23).

Case	Abbr.	Endings	Meaning	Example
GRAMMATICAL CASES				
nominative	NOM	- (pl. -t)	basic form	<i>auto</i> 'car'
partitive	PTV	-a/ä; -ta/tä; -tta/ttä	indefinite quantity	<i>maito+a</i> (some) 'milk'
genitive ¹	GEN	-n; -den; -tten	possession	<i>auto+n</i> 'of the car'
LOCAL CASES				
inessive	INE	-ssa/ssä	inside	<i>auto+ssa</i> 'in the car'
elative	ELA	-sta/-stä	out of	<i>auto+sta</i> 'out of the car'
illative	ILL	-Vn; -hVn; -seen, -siin	into	<i>auto+on</i> 'into the car'
adessive	ADE	-lla/llä	on; instrument	<i>pöytä+llä</i> 'on the table'
ablative	ABL	-lta/ltä	off	<i>pöytä+ltä</i> 'off the table'
allative	ALL	-lle	onto	<i>pöytä+lle</i> 'onto the table'
OTHER CASES				
essive	ESS	-na/nä	state	<i>opettaja+na</i> 'as a teacher'
translative	TRA	-ksi	change of state	<i>opettaja+ksi</i> '(become) a teacher'
comitative	COM	-ine-	accompanying	<i>vaimo+ine+ni</i> 'with my wife'
instructive	INS	-n	(idiomatic)	<i>jala+n</i> 'on foot'

¹The genitive is also used as an object case in Finnish.

APPENDIX 4

Examples of NPs in the illative modifying the verb *mennä* 'to go'

Action/Goal

Laina Eeva ja minä men+nä+än [terveyskeskukse+en].
Laina-NOM Eeva-NOM and I-NOM go-PASS-4 health centre-ILL.
'Laina, Eeva, and me are going to go to the health centre.' (k-Elonen.sgml)

mene+e [kaupunginvaltuusto+n hyväksyttävä+ksi].
go-SG3 city.council-GEN to.be.approved-TRA
in order to be approved.' (k-keskisuomalainen.sgml)

Adverbs

men+nä+än [suora+an] siihe+n ovisyvennykse+en.
go-PASS-4 directly that-ILL embrace-ILL
'we'll go directly to that embrace' (k-JoensuuMY.sgml)

Buildings and part of buildings

Margareta oli nous+sut ja men+nyt [ikkuna+an].
Margareta-NOM be-PAST.SG3 get.up-PCP.PAST and go-PCP.PAST window-ILL
'Margareta had gotten up and went to the window.' (k-HietamiesL.sgml)

Direction

Meidä+n täyty-y men+nä koko aja+n
We-GEN have.to-SG3 go-TA-INF all time-GEN
'We have to go forwards all the time, the second lieutenant whispered.'

[eteenpäin], vänrikki kuiskas+i
forwards second.liutenant-NOM whisper-PAST.SG3
(k-Lehväslaiho.sgml)

Functional places

Se men+i [eteise+en].
It-NOM go-PAST.SG3 hall-ILL.
'He went to the hall.' (JoensuuMY.sgml)

Furniture

Vuokko laitto+i avaimen käte+en
Vuokko-NOM put-PAST.SG3 key-GEN hand-ILL
'Vuokko put the key to [Varpu's] hand

ja men+i takaisin [ruokapöytä+än].
and go-PAST.GS3 back dining.table+ILL
and went back to the dining table.' (k-Aitoaho.shml)

Location1

sairas voi men+nä kuntoutu+ma+an
sick-NOM can-SG3 go-TA.INF be.rehabilitated-MA.INF-ILL
'A sick person can go to

johon+kin [ETA+maahan]
some-CLIP ETA-country-ILL.
some ETA-country to be rehabilitated.' (k-keskisuomalainen.sgml)

Location2

Kukin men+i [vete+en] ja kahlas+i niin
Each-NOM go-PAST.SG3 water-ILL and wade-PAST.SG3 so
'Each (of the men) went to the water and waded so

että jokivesi vaahtos+i
that water.in.the.river-NOM foam-PAST.SG3
that the water in the river foamed.' (k-Lehväslaiho.sgml)

Pronouns

Mene sisä+än [tuon+ne] koppero+on...
Go-IMP.SG2 in-ILL that-ILL hut-ILL
'Go in to that hut...' (k-Lehväslaiho.sgml)

Social relations

Kerran minä kysy+i+n häne+ltä miksi hän
Once I-NOM ask-PAST-SG1 she-ABL why she
'Once I asked her why she

oikein men+i Maxi+n kanssa [naimisi+in]
actually go+PAST.SG3 Max-GEN with marriage-ILL
actually married Max.' (k-Angel.sgml)

Vehicles

Anna avaimet, minä
give-IMP.SG2 key-PL.NOM I-NOM
'Give me the keys,

mene+n [auto+on] mietti+mä+än.
go-SG1 car-ILL think-MA.INF-ILL
I'll go into the car to think.' (k-Kirstilä.sgml)

APPENDIX 5

The distributions of the relative frequencies (or probabilities) of verbs as the first or second constituents in the [V ja V] -pairs have been modelled fitting the Zipf distribution in the data (see Figure 31). The Zipf distribution (or the Zipf's law) has probabilities proportional to $1/k^s$, where k is the rank of the constituent in the frequency table (Figure 8 and Figure 9) and s is the exponent characterising the distribution. The exponent s is usually close to 1. For V_1 we have $s = 0.918$, which means high frequencies for the most common verbs. The verb *sanoa* has an even higher frequency than the model predicts. For V_2 we get a more surprising value, $s = 0.384$, which means a more even distribution for all the high-frequency verbs. The model fitting has been carried out by minimising the sum of the absolute relative errors for the first 10 ranks. The results are similar using other model fitting methods. The model also predicts rather well the probabilities for the other ranks that are of interest in the current study (Table 21 and Table 22).

Figure 31. Zipf model for the distribution of verbs in [V ja V] -pairs.

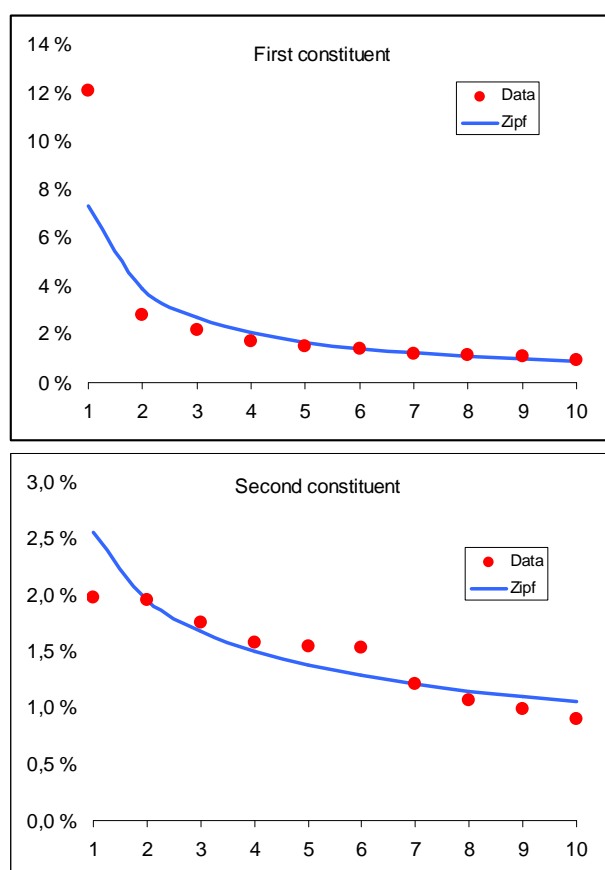


Table 21. Actual and predicted relative frequencies for some first constituents (cf. Table 8).

Rank	Verb pair	Translation	Actual proportion	Predicted proportion
41	<i>lähteä ja V</i>	'to go and V'	0.270	0.243
205	<i>laskea ja V</i>	'to go down and V'	0.081	0.055
400	<i>päästä ja V</i>	'to get into and V'	0.040	0.030

Table 22. Actual and predicted relative frequencies for some second constituents (cf. Table 9).

Rank	Verb pair	Translation	Actual proportion	Predicted proportion
20	<i>V ja nousta</i>	'to V and get up'	0.65	0.81
30	<i>V ja laskea</i>	'to V and go down'	0.55	0.69
128	<i>V ja päästä</i>	'to V and get into'	0.13	0.40

APPENDIX 6

<PART a>

<Theme a>

– Tytön tunteet taitavat istua syvemmissä kuin luulimmekaan. Mitä meidän pitäisi tehdä, Brychan? Kuinka pystymme juurimaan tuon typerän ihastuksen pois?

Brychan kohautti vahvoja harteitaan.

– Mitä tässä on tehtävissä? Tytty vain odottaa ja toivoa, että välimatka sammuttaa lemmenpalon. Pojan kohdalla se on helppoa, Luguwallium on täynnä yhtä kauniita ja kauniimpiakin tyttöjä kuin meidän villiruusumme. Mutta Dwynwen puhui totta, Hwiccen nuorissa miehissä ei juuri ole valinnan varaa. Vai antaisitko tyttäresi jollekin Hwiccen tomppeleista?

– Oletko varma? Hwiccen nuorukaiset alkoivat juuri nousta silmissäni uuteen arvoon. Ainakin he ovat rehellistä brittiläitä sukujuurta. Vai pitäisikö meidän viedä tyttö johonkin toiseen kaupunkiin, Eboracumiin tai Londiniumiin? Tai mitä sanoisit Lutetias-ta? Siinä vasta ajatus! Olisiko aivan mahdotonta matkustaa Dwynwenin kanssa mantereelle? Minäkään en koskaan ole nähnyt Galliaa. Sanotaan, että matkailu avartaa nuorison näkemyksiä.

Moragh, Moragh, nyt puhut kuin hermostunut naisihminen ainakin, Brychan murahti.

– Poika on alaikäinen kuten tyttökin, tuskin äitinsä kovin helposti päästää häntä eksymään Hwiccen takametsiin. Muutaman viikon kuluttua hän on jo unohtanut Dwynwenin, luota sinä siihen.

– Mutta entä Dwynwen itse? Mitä teemme, jos hän karkaa käsistämme? Me olemme kumpikin omapäisiä, Brychan, ja tyttö tulee meihin kumpaankin. Moragh puhui nopeasti peittääkseen pelkonsa todellisen syyn. - Entä jos sittenkin alkaisimme miettiä Dwynwenin naittamista? Britanniassa on paljon hyviä sukuja, joilta voisimme tiedustella liiton mahdollisuutta. Mitä sanot?

<Theme b>

– Sanon, että tällä kertaa menet liian pitkälle, Moragh!

Brychan karjahti lyöden kämmenensä tammipöytään niin että kievaritupa kajahti. Vaarallinen tuli paloi hänen silmissään ja Moragh vetäytyi taaksepäin huomatessaan tahtomattaan kiihottaneensa miehen raivon partaalle.

– Dwynwen on vasta neljäntoista! Brychan karjaisi niin että asemiehet ja Dwynwen itsekin kääntyivät katsomaan. - Olitko itse valmis avioon siinä iässä? Ja olisiko oma isäsi antanut luvan? Ne puheet saat unohtaa kerta kaikkiaan, nainen! Hwiccen kuninkaan tytärtä ei naiteta kenelle tahansa talonpojalle, eikä varsinkaan ennen aikojaan!

<Theme a’>

– Mutta Brychan...

<Theme b’>

– Ei mitään muttailua, vaimo! Dwynwen pysyy isänsä kodissa kunnes on vähintään kuudentoista ja mieluummin siitäkin vanhempi. Mikä hätä hänellä Hwiccessä on? Itse olit kuudentoista, kun sinut kihlasin, ja joskus minusta tuntuu, ettet vieläkään ole kasvanut aikuiseksi. Brychan tyyntyi mutta mulkoili vaimoan vieläkin kulmat julmasti kurtussa. - Asia on loppuun käsitelty, Hwiccen kuningatar. Siinä ei ole sen enempää puimista!

C

– Hän nousi ja harppoi pitkin askelin metsään. Niin Brychan teki usein, kun jokin oli nostattanut hänen mielensä ennalta arvaamattomaan kuohuun.

Coda

Moragh jäi tuijottamaan hänen peräänsä avuton tunne povessaan. Miksi mies oli rai-vostunut niin kovasti? Tyttären naittaminenhan oli aivan jokapäiväinen ja luonnolli-nen puheenaihe, eikö ollutkin? Monet Brychanin aviottomista tyttäristä olivat jo men-neet miehelle ja pojillakin taisi olla isänsä tapaan lehtolapsia siellä ja täällä.

<PART II>

– Dwynwen kosketti arasti hänen kättään.

– Kuulinko oikein, äiti? Suuttuiko isä, koska tiedustelit häneltä minun naittamisesta-ni?

Moragh huokasi ja taputti tytön kättä.

– Kuulit aivan oikein, tytär. Isäsi ei tahdo lähettää sinua miehelään vielä pitkään ai-kaan.

<PART a>

<Theme a>

– The girl’s feelings seem to run deeper than we thought. What should we do, Brychan? How can we root out this silly infatuation?

Brychan shrugged his strong shoulders.

– What can we do? Only wait and hope that absence makes the heart grow less fond. It is easy with the boy, because Luguwallium is full of girls as pretty or prettier than our wild rose. But Dwynwen is right, there is not much to choose from among the young men of Hwicce. Or would you give your daughter to one of the simpletons of Hwicce?

– Do you really think so? I have a new-found esteem for the young men of Hwicce. At least they are of honest British ancestry. Or should we take the girl to another town, like Eboracum or Londinium? Or how about Lutetia? Now there is an idea! Would it be so impossible to travel to the Continent with Dwynwen? I have never seen Gaul either. I hear that travel broadens the minds of young people.

Moragh, Moragh, you are getting worked up like a typical woman, grunted Brychan.

– The boy is under age, too, and his mother will hardly let him wander around in the backwoods of Hwicce. In a few weeks he will have forgotten all about Dwynwen, believe you me.

– But how about Dwynwen herself? What do we do if she runs away from us? We are both headstrong people, Brychan, and she takes after us both. Moragh spoke rapidly to hide the real reason of her fears. – Should we start thinking about finding her a husband after all? There are many good families in Britain that could be approached about the possibility of marriage. What do you say?

<Theme b>

– I say this time you are going too far, Moragh!

Brychan roared and hit his palm against the oak table so hard that the sound echoed throughout the hall of the inn. His eyes burned dangerously and Moragh drew back when she realised she had inadvertently provoked him to the point of rage.

– Dwynwen is only fourteen! Brychan’s roar was so loud that the soldiers and Dwynwen herself turned to look. – Were you ready to marry at that age? And would your father have allowed it? You can forget that kind of talk, woman! The daughter of the king of Hwicce will not be married off to any peasant, and certainly not before her time!

<Theme a’>

– But Brychan...

<Theme b’>

– No buts, wife! Dwynwen will not leave her father’s house before the age of sixteen, if then. What is wrong with her life here in Hwicce? You were sixteen when we were betrothed, and I sometimes feel you still have not grown up. Brychan calmed down but still glowered at his wife fiercely with knitted brow.

– That is my final word, Queen of Hwicce. There is no more to say!

C

– Brychan rose and strode off into the forest. This was his custom when something had roused his feelings to unforeseen ferocity.

Coda

Moragh was left staring after him, feeling helpless. What had enraged him so? Surely a daughter’s marriage was a common and natural topic of conversation, wasn’t it? Many of Brychan’s illegitimate daughters were already wed and, like their father, his sons probably had an occasional love child here and there.

<PART II>

– Dwynwen touched her hand timidly.

– Did I hear right, mother? Was father angry because you asked him about my marriage?

Moragh sighed and patted the girl’s hand.

– You heard right, daughter. You father does not want to see you married for a long time yet. (Translation: S.S.)



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