



mgr Radosław Wójtowicz

Directives and stance in Finnish conversation: An interactional-linguistic study of the conditional mood and the partitive case

Dyrektywy i postawa w fińskich konwersacjach: Studium interakcyjne trybu warunkowego i partitivusa

Praca doktorska w języku angielskim napisana pod kierunkiem
prof. dr hab. Nicole Nau

babci Zosi

Acknowledgements

It always seems impossible until it's done, said Nelson Mandela, and while completing a doctoral dissertation is nowhere near comparable to a fight for freedom and justice, it sometimes becomes a long and difficult process, too. Therefore, I would like to thank all the people who believed that all this would be done one day and kept their fingers crossed for me. I offer my warmest thanks to Nicole Nau who has supervised this study and my other research for all the support she has given to me during all those years. Sebastian has been a loving and understanding partner, and it is greatly thanks to him that I have made it through the final stages of the process. Thank you, Adam, Asia, Julka, Kasia and Kuba, for asking how it is going throughout those seven years. Special thanks go to Michał for introducing me to spoken language analysis and to Ola, my good friend and a fellow doctoral student in linguistics, for all the mutual support we have been providing each other. Thanks to Maks for being a great friend and for sharing his native-speaker views on the language of this dissertation. In everything I challenged myself with, my parents were always convinced I would make it, unlike my grandmother, who admitted in the last years of her life that she did not believe me any more, but still ensured me of her support. To her memory I dedicate this work.

The part of this research which concerns the partitive case was funded by Narodowe Centrum Nauki (National Science Center) under grant agreement no. UMO-2013/11/N/HS2/03518. I would like to thank my co-investigator Renata Sławińska who prepared some missing transcripts of conversations for the purposes of this study. The collection of data which informs this work was possible thanks to a scholarship granted by the Center of International Mobility (CIMO) for the period of my stay at the University of Helsinki. I would like to take the opportunity to acknowledge Tapani Kelomäki who was my research advisor during that stay, as well as all my colleagues in Helsinki for many valuable discussions during which I realised how much I still have to learn. I would especially like to express my gratitude to Mari Siirinen, Liisa Raevaara and Maria Vilku for the assistance they provided to me during the collection of my research material. The support of my Faculty and the Institute of Linguistics, Adam Mickiewicz University, was also crucial to the success of this research.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements.....	2
Table of contents.....	3
1. Introduction	6
1.1. Objectives.....	6
1.2. Theoretical framework	10
1.3. Method	17
1.4. Material	20
1.5. Organisation of the study	24
2. The conditional mood and the partitive case in Finnish.....	25
2.1. The conditional.....	25
2.1.1. Form and origin	27
2.1.2. Function	28
2.2. The partitive	37
2.2.1. Form and origin	39
2.2.2. Function	41
3. Grammar and social interaction.....	53
3.1. Interactional approaches to grammar	55
3.1.1. Construction Grammar	55
3.1.2. Linguistic constructions as Social Action Formats.....	57
3.1.3. Grammar as practice: The Emergent Grammar postulate	59
3.2. Directives and stance as social actions in interaction	64
3.2.1. Directives	65
3.2.2. Stance.....	75
3.2.3. Stance in the service of directives and other actions	90
3.3. Casual and institutional interaction.....	96
3.3.1. Casual and institutional interaction: A comparison.....	97
3.3.2. Asymmetries in interaction.....	103
4. Constructions with the conditional.....	109
4.1. Directives in general	112
4.2. Requests	115
4.2.1. Construction Cx11: <i>sä voisit</i> ‘you could’	115
4.2.2. Construction Cx12: (<i>mä</i>) <i>haluaisin</i> ‘I would like’	117
4.2.3. Construction Cx13: independent <i>jos</i> -clause.....	120
4.2.4. Construction Cx41: <i>voisi</i> ‘one could’	122
4.3. Offers.....	125

4.3.1. Construction Cx21: <i>(me) voita(i)s</i> ‘we could/one could’	125
4.3.2. Construction Cx22: <i>(mä) voisin</i> ‘I could’	127
4.4. Suggestions	130
4.4.1. Construction Cx41: <i>voisi</i> ‘one could’	133
4.4.2. Construction Cx31: <i>hän voisi</i> ‘s/he could’	137
4.4.3. Construction Cx32: <i>kannattaisi</i> ‘it would be worth’	139
4.5. Proposals	141
4.5.1. Construction Cx41: <i>voisi</i> ‘one could’	141
4.5.2. Construction Cx21: <i>(me) voita(i)s</i> ‘we could/one could’	145
4.5.3. Construction Cx42: <i>pitä(i)skö</i> ‘should one/we’	148
4.6. Responses to proposals: Construction Cx43 <i>voisi</i> ‘it/one could’	151
4.7. Stance	153
4.7.1. Construction Cx51: <i>oisko</i> ‘would it be’	153
4.7.2. Construction Cx52: <i>pitä(i)s olla</i> ‘should be’	157
4.7.3. Construction Cx53: <i>tässä pitä(i)s</i> ‘there should’	160
4.8. Stance in service of directives	162
4.8.1. Constructions	162
4.8.2. Other uses	176
4.9. Stance in service of other actions	178
4.9.1. Construction Cx64: <i>mä veikka(i)sin</i> ‘I would guess’	178
4.9.2. Construction Cx65: <i>(mä) luulisin</i> ‘I would think’	180
4.9.3. Construction Cx66: <i>voisko</i> ‘could it’	182
4.9.4. Construction Cx67: <i>vois(i) olla</i> ‘could be’	183
4.9.5. Construction Cx68: <i>se olisi</i> ‘it would be’	184
4.9.6. Construction Cx69: <i>tässä o(l)is(i)</i> ‘here would be’	187
4.10. Interim summary	188
5. Constructions with the partitive	192
5.1. Directives	194
5.1.1. Constructions of requesting	195
5.1.2. Other uses	203
5.2. Stance	205
5.2.1. Construction Cx74: <i>mitä</i> + PTV ‘what the + PTV’	205
5.2.2. Other uses	207
5.3. Stance in the service of directives	210
5.3.1. Construction Cx77: <i>saa(n)ko</i> + PTV ‘do I/does one get + PTV’	211
5.3.2. Construction Cx71: <i>onko sulle tehty</i> + PTV ‘has PTV been done to you’	216
5.3.3. Other uses	220

5.4. Stance in the service of other actions	221
5.4.1. Construction Cx73: <i>tunnetko</i> + PTV ‘do you know PTV’	221
5.4.2. Construction Cx75: <i>tässä näkyy</i> + PTV ‘here is PTV’	224
5.4.3. Construction Cx76: <i>onko tässä</i> + PTV ‘is there PTV’	227
5.5. Interim summary	232
6. Concluding remarks.....	236
References.....	239
Appendices.....	254
Appendix 1. Symbols used in transcription.....	254
Appendix 2. Glossing abbreviations.....	255
Streszczenie polskie.....	257
1. Wprowadzenie.....	257
2. Tryb warunkowy i partitivus w języku fińskim	260
3. Gramatyka w interakcji społecznej	261
4. Konstrukcje z trybem warunkowym	264
5. Konstrukcje z partitivusem	277
6. Wnioski	285

1. Introduction

In her study of Finnish telephone call openings, Hakulinen (1993) discovered that dependently on the level of intimacy between the speakers, different locative adverbs are employed to announce who is calling. A version of the Finnish adverb *tässä* ‘here’ bearing an inner locative case ending *-ssä* tends to be used in conversations between friends, whereas *täällä* ‘here’, wherein an outer locative marker *-llä* is visible, appears more often when the relationship between the speakers is formal. Koivisto et al. (2011) showed that in Finnish interaction, clauses following *että* ‘that’ typically contain information which is central to discourse. This means that although such clauses are syntactically subordinate, in actional terms they are more prominent than the main clauses which introduce them. Finally, a study of the Finnish imperative by Lauranto (2014) proved that the use of this mood in conversation has only partly to do with the issuing of commands, but that imperative clauses are typically used in responsive moves.

All the abovementioned studies represent an approach to the structure of the Finnish language which may be termed the interactional approach, and the present work is yet another one of such kind. In this study I will examine two grammatical categories of Finnish, the conditional mood and the partitive case, in interactive contexts of making directives and taking stance. Like many others in the field of Interactional Linguistics, I will see aspects of interaction and the local characteristics of discourse and its participants as factors being of utmost importance for grammatical description. My focus will be on linguistic constructions with the conditional and the partitive as patterns emergent from casual and institutional Finnish interactions, functioning as formats for the two types of social actions under scrutiny.

1.1. Objectives

The story behind this study is a learner’s interest in the intricacies of the relationship between linguistic form and its usage in a foreign language. Finnish is particularly famous for its fifteen cases, an inventory outstandingly rich both in comparison to the most popular languages to learn and indeed also in a cross-linguistic light (cf. Iggesen 2013). One of the Finnish cases is the partitive, a category exploited to mark arguments of clauses low in transitivity (Helasvuo 2001a). Apart from marking e.g. mass nouns, negated objects and arguments of existential clauses, the Finnish partitive has also developed epistemic extensions and is known to convey “speaker’s stance towards what is being said” (Helasvuo 1996a: 21). Such usage of the Finnish partitive is illustrated in example (1) whereby the partitive marking of *klasia* ‘glass’ indicates that Hanna may be doubtful that there is a glass in the picture in front of her or that she has difficulties establishing whether or not she sees one in it. The usage of the partitive in contexts of epistemic stance mostly ends up in side mentions in the literature and has not been extensively studied in naturally occurring spoken language. The present study is meant to fill this gap.

(1) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_04_10)

5 → Hanna: *onko* [*tässä* ***klasia*** *näkyvis^osä^o*]
be.PRS.3SG.Q here glass.PTV be.visible.PRAP.PL.INE

‘Is there a glass visible here?’¹

Guided by the general philosophy behind interactionally oriented studies of language, contemporary stance research has convincingly argued that stance should be seen in a broad context of whole sequences of action as they unfold in and through conversation rather than merely as a function of individual linguistic forms (Kärkkäinen 2003, Du Bois 2007, Du Bois & Kärkkäinen 2012, but also some points in Biber & Finegan 1989). By this token, the present study is not so much interested in the Finnish partitive and the other grammatical category under investigation, i.e. the conditional mood, as overt and self-standing markers of stance as it is in examining them in terms of integral parts of constructions through which stance surfaces in Finnish interaction.

Studies into language and social interaction conducted in the last decade or so reveal particular relevance of stance for the management of directives: requests, offers, proposals and suggestions (Curl & Drew 2008, Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2012, Stevanovic 2013, Clayman & Heritage 2014, Couper-Kuhlen 2014). For Stevanovic (2011), the issuing of directives inherently involves the display of what she calls deontic stance, i.e. the demonstration of the participants’ rights to decide about actions. In this work, however, I will be more interested in the interface of directives and kinds of stance: affective stance, because the Finnish partitive is also known to convey emotive involvement (Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 270–271), but primarily in epistemic stance. Apart from the reasons mentioned around example (1), this is because the kind of use of the Finnish partitive I am interested in – let me tentatively call it ‘the partitive of stance’ – is also characteristic of directive sequences, particularly of requests. Consider example (2).

(2) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_04_10)

- 1 → Hanna: **oiskoha** *teillä* **semmosta** **teosta** *ku*
 be.COND.3SG.CL 2PL.ADE such.PTV work.PTV as
 ‘do you (lit. would you) have such a work as’
 suomalaisia *musiikin* *taitajia*.
 Finnish.PL.PTV music.GEN master.PL.PTV
 ‘named »The Finnish masters of music«’
- 2 Liisa: [*joo*] *on* *se* *tuolla*.
 PTC be.PRS.3SG it there
 ‘yes, it’s there’
- 3 Maija: [*o:n*]
 be.PRS.3SG
 ‘yes’
- 4 Hanna: *ku* *mulla* *o* *hämärä* *aavistus* *et*
 PTC 1SG.ADE be.PRS.3SG vague idea COMP
 ‘‘cos I have a vague impression that’
 siell_ois *Tiloosta* *jotai*. (1.0)
 there_be.COND.3SG PR.ADE something.PTV
 ‘there could be something about Tiloo in it’
- 5 Päivi: *siel* *voi* *hyvi* *olla*. (0.7)
 there can.PRS.3SG PTC be

¹ For transcription conventions and glossing abbreviations, see Appendices 1 and 2, respectively. The use of boldface indicates that the manifestation of the conditional or the partitive has met the present operational criteria.

→ ‘ther might be’
((Liisa stands up and goes searching for the book))

The construction in line 1 of example (2) differs from example (1) first and foremost in the conditional marking of the verb *olla* ‘to be’ and the locative argument (*teillä*, lit. ‘on you’, vs. *tässä* ‘here’). Conditional clauses are commonly known to perform requests in Finnish and other languages, so intuitively speaking, the conditional marking of the verb is what makes a difference between the highlighted lines of (1) and (2) in terms of action being formed. There are, however, good reasons to look also beyond the formal layers of language and scrutinise the chunks of interaction which produce constructions with the partitive and the conditional against the background of social interaction. Stevanovic (2013) shows that prefacing a proposal with an epistemic expression such as *mä aattelin* ‘I thought’ influences the trajectory of the decision-making process in Finnish interaction so that the right to decide about future undertakings becomes more symmetrically distributed among the participants in a conversation compared to those decision-making sequences from which such references to thought are missing. Is it possible to identify similar differences between requests such as the one presented in (2) and those which are not “stanced”? Is the partitive an indicator of asymmetries of knowledge – and, possibly, also of other resources relevant for the completion of interactional tasks – among interactants given that its usage as illustrated in (1) and (2) is known to manifest the speaker’s incomplete epistemic access to discourse referents? How different are from one another the chains of events which lead to and follow the performance of directives through different linguistic constructions? Although there are interesting differences among the constructions that I study in terms of their formal composition – and I will be pleased to present the results in this book – these differences correlate with differences concerning the typical sequential position of particular constructions or the characteristics of the participants who most commonly use them. I will be even more pleased to make also such generalisations in this study, and thereby to contribute to a better understanding of the nature of stance-taking and directive-making in Finnish interaction and in general.

The appearance of the partitive and the conditional in comparable contexts of stance and directives in my database and their occasional co-occurrence therein have led me to the conclusion that these two grammatical categories should be examined together. While there definitely is room for investigation into the type of usage of the Finnish partitive shown in (1) and (2), the use of the Finnish conditional in planning future activities, expressing uncertainty or making proposals and suggestions is already well-researched. This is perhaps because numerous studies of other languages have shown that apart from manifesting truth-functional relations, which is of paramount interest to logicians, conditionals also convey logic-external information such as topic prominence and the participants’ orientation to actions (Haiman 1978, Akatsuka 1986, Dancygier & Sweetser 1996, Athanasiadou & Dirven 1997). These findings have made conditionals a subject of pragmatic scrutiny, and Finnish scholars have already come up with detailed investigations into the pragmatics of this mood in spoken Finnish (Matihaldi 1979, Kauppinen 1998, Laury 2012a). Nevertheless, the state of the art concerning the conditional in Finnish interaction does merit a refresher because of the recent progress that social action research has seen. Particularly Couper-Kuhlen’s (2014) study focused mainly on responses to directives has brought us nearer to the understanding of how the production of turns such as *maybe we could go for lunch together* shapes interaction. Laury (2012a) is a good example of such a study conducted for Finnish. She investigated syntactically unattached directives with *jos* ‘if’ to conclude

stance across these two corpora of spoken Finnish, but also to highlight and explore the varying patterns of organisation of human interaction that the usage of these constructions reflects. Curl & Drew (2008) make a case against such an approach, showing that the distribution of forms of requesting in their data representing both types of conversation is not dependent on the different patterns of social relationships characteristic of institutional and casual interactions, but on more specific elements of the infrastructure of human interaction which both these interactional genres might display, e.g. contingencies around actions and the participants' displays of entitlement to requesting. In this study I adopt the view that these two approaches are not necessarily conflicting. Some constructions I have identified inhabit institutional and casual talks and are typically found in sequences exhibiting a particular feature, e.g. goal-orientation. Others, however, are found exclusively in one corpus or the other, which in most cases reflects the intrinsic differences between institutional and casual talk, e.g. the asymmetrical access to the institutional know-how.

1.2. Theoretical framework

For the last twenty years or so we have been observing an upsurge in research which speaks of itself as one being *at the interface of* language (or grammar) and interaction. The seminal works by Ochs et al. (1996), Selting & Couper-Kuhlen (2001), Ford et al. (2002), Hakulinen & Selting (2005), studies by Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen (2005), Fox (2007), Ono & Couper-Kuhlen (2007) as well as those by Laury (1997), Helasvuo (1997 and later works), Laitinen (2006), Sorjonen et al. (2009), conducted for the Finnish language all represent this line of research. The present study aims to fit in with it as well – not because this is a currently fashionable trend in linguistics, but because I share the view held by all these studies that grammar, among other aspects of language, shapes and is shaped by interaction.

The main theoretical orientation of this work is thus Interactional Linguistics (IL). It is best described as a family of approaches within the discourse-functional paradigm in linguistics. To call a theory a family of approaches is to say that it assembles many different trends which all have a common origin. The roots of IL extend to Austin (1962) who was driven by the idea that language delivers action rather than thought. Austin's performative pragmatics turned out to have a tremendous impact on linguistic inquiry, and many different branches of linguistics have subsequently benefitted from it, including those which cannot be termed 'interactional' (e.g. traditional politeness research, most notably Brown & Levinson [1978] 1987). Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2001), the first to label the study of language and interaction 'Interactional Linguistics', list four main traditions in linguistic scholarship which have been the source of inspiration for IL: the study of spoken language, discourse-functional linguistics, the conversation-analytic method, and anthropological linguistics. Together, these four foundations of IL help distinguish between what is and what is not an interactional-linguistic enterprise, but the approaches which benefit from the abovementioned tradition still remain numerous. It is not my intention to discuss all of them in detail here (see Laury et al. 2014 for a handy overview). Instead, let me elaborate on the four major points to which I will adhere throughout this study. They are the following:

- 1) Interactive encounters are the natural environment for human language, and therefore aspects of interaction are relevant for linguistic description (Goodwin 1981, Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001, Duranti 2005).

- 2) Recurrent combinations of form and function are linguistic constructions (Goldberg 1996, Günthner & Imo 2006). Constructions function as formats for social actions (Fox 2007, Laury 2012b, Kärkkäinen & Keisanen 2012).
- 3) Grammar emerges from interaction and influences its further course (Hopper 1987 and later, Helasvuo 2001a, 2001b and 2014a, Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2005)
- 4) Institutional and casual conversations are different from each other (Drew & Heritage 1992, Heritage 1997, Drew & Sorjonen 2011). Consequently, constructions may implement particular actions in a way which is specific to these individual genres.

1) All human action involves some sort of encounter: we interact with other people as we do with our cultural and natural environment (Duranti 2005). Different products arise as a result of these encounters: artifacts, religious beliefs, buildings, legal systems, artwork, customs, and language. As shown by Goodwin (1981), it is more than common for participants in a conversation to reshape their utterances at the very moments their co-participants gaze at them or to devise their talk according to the needs of the co-participants with whom they do not share common knowledge. The prevalence of such phenomena in linguistic exchanges makes interaction itself a factor influencing the kind of language that is used, and consequently, also a subject of scientific scrutiny in its own right. The importance of interaction for linguistic inquiry becomes all the more visible if we think of how much language is actually produced in naturally occurring spoken interaction compared to other forms of linguistic affair, and if we accept the fact that spoken interactive language has served as a model for other, spoken and written, genres (Bakhtin 1986).

All this being said, I am far from following Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (2001: 5) in their claim that “linguistics cannot be done properly without interaction”. Research into endangered languages, for example, heavily relies on elicited material and traditional folk tales and not so much on natural interactive talk. Yet the contribution that it makes to the study of human language cannot be overestimated. My approach is simply that if one adopts the perspective that it is in interaction where human language is at home, it becomes obvious that certain linguistic phenomena are best studied in the interactionist spirit.

2) People have different needs and goals when they interact with others, and there are usually multiple resources of language and bodily communication to satisfy a specific communicational purpose. But certain ways to achieve these goals prove to be particularly efficient, and so they become associated with concrete circumstances as routinised patterns of behaviour. As long as the linguistic resources are concerned, such “conventionalised pairings of form and function” (Goldberg 2006: 3) are called constructions. The study of constructions has its roots in the linguistic functionalism of the 1980s when researchers searched for an alternative to the convenient but too general division into grammar and lexis (Fillmore 1989, Fillmore et al. 1988). The orientation called Construction Grammar (CxG) which arose at that time treats syntactically very diverse chunks of conversation, from individual particles and words to clause complexes, as equal subjects of analysis – as long as these chunks represent functional units of their own. Perhaps the most important contribution that CxG has made to the study of grammar is that it strongly favours an approach to the construction as the home environment and basic unit of function. In other words, linguistic items inherit from the constructions they are part of and it is not parts that sum up into constructions, but precisely the opposite (Croft 2001).

With the rise and constant growth of Interactional Linguistics, constructionists began to incorporate also the phase of production into the study of constructions. Hakulinen & Selting (2005) and Günthner & Imo (2006) all stress the importance of the conversation-analytic method for Construction Grammar because of the influence that practices of turn-taking have on the shape and functions of constructions in interaction. The orientation called Social Action Formats (Fox 2007) has taken the study of conversational patterns forward to also associate them with sequences of social actions. For Fox (2007), grammatical structures reflect the structures of sequences of the actions they implement. In this work I combine constructionist approaches with Social Action Formats, which brings me to an understanding of constructions as recurrent pairings of form and action.

3) For the past few decades linguists have urged for seeing language as a situated practice rather than as an abstract system (e.g. Fairclough 1992). This view has been especially popular with sociolinguists interested in questions of language policy and planning (e.g. Dorian 1998). But also grammarians have been increasingly eager to apply this perspective to their field of inquiry because it has become clear that there are facts about ordinary people's linguistic conduct whose study advances grammatical description equally to abstract theoretical deliberations. The important work by Hopper & Thompson (1980, 1984) on the functions of linguistic categories in narrative discourse convincingly showed that grammar can not only serve as basis for discourse, but also that the opposite is true. Hopper (1987, 1988, 1998) took this view forward to claim that the very idea of grammar as an abstract structure – be it a product of discourse or an innate system – needs serious rethinking in the first place. Hopper (1987 and later) understands grammar as an emergent and temporary collection of linguistic patterns which are not organised in any systematic way. To bring this to a simplistic level, it is up to the situation in which the interactants find themselves at a given point of time whether linguistic pattern A or B will surface as the product of their interaction, and dependently on which of the two patterns is used, either situation C or D will subsequently occur. For all the good that Hopper's theory of Emergent Grammar has done, I do not agree (for reasons to be explained in section 3.1.3) with the radical view that grammar is entirely temporal and does not reveal systematic organisation. What I do follow in Hopper's approach is that grammar is a context-sensitive and emergent phenomenon, but I supplement this view with the idea that not everything about grammar is a matter of local context. This is to say that grammar is “partially autonomous, and partially responsive to (...) external pressures” (Helasvuo 1997: 222).

4) I treat questions such as with whom, by whom and where linguistic constructions are used on a par with questions about their formal composition or sequential placement. It is widely known that institutional interactions are different from casual ones because they are subject to restrictions in terms of who can take their turns and when, and they are far more likely to happen for a purpose (Drew & Heritage 1992, Drew & Sorjonen 2011). These and other differences influence the practices of the participants in these interactions. Consequently, the accomplishment of a given action, e.g. decision-making, potentially requires taking different steps during business negotiations than during a casual talk over dinner, and the structure of a sequence of a particular action may be – and often simply is – different in each of these two types of conversation (Heritage 1997). This, in turn, has two vital implications for linguistic structure. Firstly, the same linguistic patterns may become exploited in varying ways in institutional talks and in casual ones and secondly, a pattern may serve a given function in one of these discourses but not in the other.

In my view, a conscious acknowledgment of these facts can be extremely beneficial for a study into the linguistic patterns for social actions in interaction. Part of the material which informs this study comes from Finnish social welfare office interactions. I will use them as an example to support my thesis that varying sequence structures, uneven knowledge and authority relations and other factors which together constitute the interactional profile of institutional talk – one which is different from the profile of casual talk – become reflected on the level of language in the way that linguistic constructions may not only be associated with particular actions in general, but with particular actions in particular genres.

In sum, adopting the interactionist attitude (point 1), this study combines three main orientations: Construction Grammar (CxG), Social Action Formats (point 2), and Emergent Grammar (EG, point 3) with the idea that some constructions typically inhabit particular genres (point 4). I use the term ‘genre’ not in the way characteristic of literary studies, but in the linguistic sense, i.e. as types of social action which have their own goals and are performed by linguistic means (Shore & Mäntynen 2006, Martin & Rose 2008) or simply as “different ways of (inter)acting discursively” (Fairclough 2003: 26). Social welfare office interactions are thus an example of a linguistic genre, casual interactions are another.

In section 1.1. I have cited two facts about stance and directives which bring these actions together under a common research umbrella: their mutual influence in interaction and the fact that they are performed with similar linguistic resources. The remaining third component of this rationale is the intersubjective nature of these actions. Stance is commonly held to involve the public airing of mental positions (Biber et al. 1999 and 2007, Hyland 2005). But because an interactional study needs an interactional basis, in this work I follow another robust tradition in stance research, i.e. the one which looks at how stance is *taken* rather than *expressed*. This approach is represented by e.g. Haddington (2004, 2007), Kärkkäinen (2003 and later), Wójtowicz (2018) and to some extent also by Jaffe (2009) and Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2014). It is best summarised by the relational model of stance by Du Bois (2007) and the following definition:

“Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.” (Du Bois 2007: 163)

Du Bois’s (2007) understanding of stance is profoundly intersubjective because the definition reveals that stance-taking is essentially a matter of relating one’s perspective to that of one’s interlocutors. So according to Du Bois, stance is not complete without other people’s contribution.

This view on stance goes hand in hand with Couper-Kuhlen’s (2014) perspective on directives. In Searle’s speech act pragmatics (1976, 1983), directives constitute one of the five major families of illocutionary speech acts. They are actions by which speakers attempt to get hearers to do things. Another category of actions distinguished by Searle, commissives, consists in speakers committing to doing actions themselves. So Searle concentrates primarily on who will do the action, whereas Couper-Kuhlen (2014) supplements this by another parameter, namely for whose benefit the action will be performed. Couper-Kuhlen (2014) develops her argument based on the analysis of responses to proposals, offers, requests and suggestions. Thus she adds an important dynamic twist to the study of these actions because they are no longer distinguished solely on the basis of the relationship between the speaker and what they say, but also of

how the speaker's undertakings are recognised and reacted upon by the co-participants in the speech situation. Couper-Kuhlen's approach is illustrated in Table 1.

type of action	agent of action	beneficiary of action
proposal	self and other	self and other
offer	self	other
request	other	other
suggestion	self and other	self and other

Table 1. Directive-commissive actions (Couper-Kuhlen 2014: 634)

Couper-Kuhlen (2014) makes a strong case for considering directives (e.g. suggestions, requests and proposals) and commissives (e.g. offers) a single category of actions, but keeps Searle's original distinction visible and calls them 'directive-commissive actions'. I wish to go one step further to label all of them 'directives'. In my approach, then, offers will be considered directives alongside suggestions, requests and proposals. This is because not only are all these actions distinguished by interactants on the basis of the same two criteria of agent and beneficiary, as Couper-Kuhlen (2014) convincingly argues, but interactional data also feeds evidence that the involvement of people other than the person speaking is a prerequisite to the completion of these actions irrespectively of who is eventually supposed to be the performer. Consider the following example in which an offer is performed in line 5 with the use of a construction with the zero person and *voida* 'can' in the conditional.

(5) 'Pensioner's housing benefit' (T1095_elakkeensaajan)

- 1 Clerk: *ei tarvii niitäkää [ol]la liitteenä?=h[h*
 NEG.3SG need.NEG they.PTV.CL be attachment.ESS
 'these don't need to be attached, either'
- 2 Client: *[joo.] [et*
 PTC PTC
 'yeah so'
- ja vuokrasta eikö*
 and rent.ELA NEG.3SG.Q
 'not even the rent's (receipts)?'
- 3 Clerk: *.hh (0.7) onko tää Kurotekin asuntoja, (1.0)*
 be.3SG.Q this PR.GEN apartment.PL.PTV
 'is this one of the Kurotekki's apartments?'
- 4 Client: *ei tää on (.) Jalmari Heinosen. (0.7)*
 NEG.3SG this be.3SG.PRS PR PR.GEN
 'no, it's Jalmari Heinonen's'
- 5 → Clerk: *joo. no sillo vois ottaa siitä*
 PTC PTC then can.COND.3SG take DEM.ELA
 'yeah, so in this case I (lit. one) could make²'
vu#okrakuitista# vaikka tuota, (1.6) kopion?

² The line contains a subjectless pattern called the zero person which allows for several different interpretations of the underlying subject. The construction with th zero subject is going to be discussed in more detail in the next chapters. The translation of line 5 suggest that the doer of the action is the clerk, which is based on the analysis of the whole example. As it eventually turns out that it is the clerk who is supposed to perform the action of copying for the benefit of the client who could then retain the original receipts, line 6 receives an interpretation of a failed uptake and line 7 of a repair.

- rent.receipt.ELA PTC PTC copy.ACC
 ‘a copy of the rent’s receipt’
 6 → (5.5)
 7 → (*elikkä*) *nyyten niin.* *.hh* (1.0)
 PTC now PTC
 ‘so, now’
 8 → *mää otan viimesestä #kui#tis[ta] #ko#p[ion]?*
 1SG take.1SG last.ELA receipt.ELA copy.ACC
 ‘I’m going to make a copy of the last receipt’
 9 → Client: [*juu.*] [*no juu.*]
 PTC PTC PTC
 ‘yeah, well, go on’
 (60.6) ((Clerk is copying))
 10 Clerk: *nä#in#.* *laitett#aan* *tää#* *tähän* *takas.* (5.7)
 PTC put.PASS it here back
 ‘there we go, this one goes back (to you)’
 ((Clerk gives the receipts back to client))
 11 Client: *.hh* *jo[o,*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
 12 Clerk: [*nääpä riittää*] *tähän,*
 these.CL be.enough.PRS.3PL it.ILL
 ‘these will do’

Line 5 of example (5) is an offer: if the client accepts it, she will keep the original documents. But the client fails to uptake the clerk’s turn which definitely signals speaker transition (cf. rising intonation and the lengthy pause in line 6), so the clerk initiates a repair in line 7. Only after getting the go-ahead in line 9 does she go and make the copies. The clerk’s reliance on the client’s response in this example much resembles what typically happens around requests (cf. example 3). The initiator’s activities are oriented towards a response of some kind (acceptance or rejection, roughly speaking) in offers as well as in requests.

Both offers and requests prove to be effective measures of recruitment of assistance in immediate actions (Drew & Kendrick 2016). People can request for actions to be performed immediately, but also for actions which will be carried out in more remote future (Steensig & Heinemann 2014); the same is the case with offers, as line 1 of example (6) shows.

(6) ‘A tidy sum’ (T943_sievoinensumma)

- 1 → Clerk: *tää voitais* *niinku tällä* *lähettää* *takasis*
 this can.COND.PASS PTC it.ADE send back
 ‘we could send it back with it’
sin#nej Jy#väskylään mistä päätös on annettu
 there pr.ILL where.ELA decision be.PRS.3SG give.PPP
 ‘to Jyväskylä where the decision has been issued’
 2 *elikkä [sä I]aittaisit tähän*
 PTC 2SG write.COND.2SG here.ILL
 ‘so you would write here’
 3 Client: [*joo;*]

information required” (Culpeper & Demmen 2011: 73). I will return to this topic twice in Chapter 3: in the section about requests (3.2.1.1), but especially when I will be discussing stance in the service of directives in 3.2.3, because my data from contemporary spoken Finnish oftentimes proves that epistemic stance taking is relevant for the directive-making in contexts where one of the parties lacks epistemic access to relevant interactional resources.

The last notion which I will purposefully avoid here is modality. First of all, classical approaches to modality make a strong distinction between the propositional content of clauses and the pragmatic load applied to them by speakers (e.g. Lyons 1977: 452, but especially Palmer 1986: 121), and rest on deliberations of truth and falsity. This perspective is not adopted in this work. As shown by a number of interactional-linguistic studies (e.g. Lindström 2005, Curl & Drew 2008, Sorjonen et al. 2009), the distribution of modals in naturally occurring language has more to do with factors such as the existence of contingencies around actions or with the participants’ understanding of who is in custody of resources necessary for their completion than with considerations of the factual status of states of affairs. Secondly, modality is commonly considered a semantic category: a domain of necessity and possibility (Van der Auwera & Plungian 1998), of volition (Narrog 2005a) of degrees of validity, or realis-irrealis (Nuyts 2001, Narrog 2005b), and so forth (but see Palmer 1986: 1 for a different approach), whereas in this work I will be preoccupied with the discourse circumstances for which these domains are relevant. Centering around notions such as stance rather than modality enables an incorporation of such “non-modalities” as affect into analysis. Moreover, a simpler classification arises thanks to this approach because e.g. the expression of regret, fear and desires, i.e. *boulomaicity*³ (or ‘boulomaic modality’, Rescher 1968), falls into the same category of stance together with epistemicity.

This being said, I owe to Palmer (1986: 121) a remark that “the same forms are used for both types” of modality, i.e. epistemic and deontic. This, as I already said, is of paramount interest to me in this work.

1.3. Method

The present study takes Conversation Analysis (CA; Schegloff & Sacks 1973, Sacks et al. 1974, Schegloff et al. 1977, Schegloff 2007) as its leading methodology. CA is an approach developed for sociological purposes in America in the 1960s and ‘70s which treats conversation as a locus of social action and interaction; it examines human verbal and non-verbal behaviour in the context of social actions as they unfold through the contributions that parties make to interaction. To CA, talk is both context-shaped and context-renewing, which means that people relate what they say and how they act to what was said and how was acted before, and that their actions will influence the things said and done in the subsequent course of interaction. Choosing CA as a methodological orientation has vital consequences for a linguistic study because it becomes important not to just examine what certain linguistic phenomena look like in spoken language, but also to relate them to the actions they are part of and to the overall dynamics of conversation.

³ In the approach offered by Perkins (1983), *boulomaic* modality is classified as one of the types of dynamic modality, which is a third modal category separate from the two most commonly identified modalities, deontic and epistemic. The tripartite division is also followed by Kangasniemi (1992) with respect to Finnish. Palmer (1986: 12) prefers ‘bouletic’ to ‘boulomaic’ as the term for the expression of volition.

When analysing conversation, one can see that courses of different actions are implemented one after another. Conversation reveals, therefore, sequential organisation and the actions which can be identified within the stream of talk have their own structures, too: the turns-at-talk moving particular actions towards completion constitute sequences of these actions. Sequences can be built in different ways, from basic two-turn sequences forming adjacency pairs (e.g. an exchange of greetings) to sophisticated sequences featuring multiple expansions of the base pair.

According to CA, sequence organisation is one of the four major sub-systems which structure conversation. The remaining ones are: turn-taking organisation, the organisation of repair and preference organisation. Actions are accomplished by participants producing turns-at-talk adjacently to each other. The participants in a conversation have an array of rights and obligations connected with the making of contributions to conversation, i.e. with turn-taking. For example, it is normally one speaker at a time who can take their turn, and the others monitor the turns-at-talk to recognise the action in production and to come up with appropriate responses. In example (5) we saw that the clerk's offer to copy a document was reacted upon with silence. This misunderstanding as to how the interaction should proceed caused a problem in the conversation. The problem was overcome by the clerk who successfully reattempted to gain the go-ahead from the client. Such an operation is called 'repair' (Schegloff et al. 1977). The analysis of sequences of different actions has shown that turns are structured in a way which invites certain actions over others to be produced next (Sacks [1973] 1987, Wootton 1981, Pomerantz 1984). These so-called 'preferred actions' (or 'preferreds') tend to occur immediately, whereas dispreferreds are typically delayed (e.g. they are preceded with hesitation tokens or periods of silence) and may also be structurally more elaborate.

Preference organisation is tightly linked to sequence organisation because certain features of sequences may reveal whether or not the participants treat different responses as equally good. Pre-requests are a canonical example here. Pre-expanding a request with a question such as *are you busy right now?* is a way of testing the waters before making the request and thus of minimising the risk of having one's request rejected. The existence of such a pre-expansion tells, therefore, that rejection is a dispreferred response to a request. The ubiquity of pre-expansions in request sequences is one of the arguments which has led many to seeing requests in general as dispreferred actions (Schegloff 1990, Lerner 1996, Taleghani-Nikazm 2006). In their critique of this approach, Curl & Drew (2008: 134) point out that conversation-analytic research has been primarily interested in responses rather than in the actual request turns. And although I will heavily rely on responses as an operational tool to sort out the phenomena subject to my investigation from those which do not fall under its scope (see below), I will simultaneously follow Curl & Drew (2008: 134) in asking „why that form now?“. In other words, I will search for factors based on which different request, suggestion or stance formats are distributed in conversation.

What I am looking for in this study are recurrent patterns called constructions. The term 'recurrence' is so frequently used in discursive linguistics that it is often left undefined – although there is no single understanding of this notion. In text linguistics, for example, recurrence is the repetitive usage of linguistic patterns for the achievement of textual cohesion and rhetorical goals (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981, Alonso 2002). Conversation-analytic studies of language also associate recurrence with repeatedness, but rather as a kind of periodical repetition, they understand it as a link between a linguistic or extralinguistic form of conduct and a particular configuration of talk-in-interaction. A recurrent pattern for a particular action is one which performs that action

rather than some other action once it appears in a conversation; it will also typically display specific interactional characteristics such as sequential placement. So the question of recurrence is ultimately a question of how grammaticalised different structures are. A simple way of testing whether a pattern is recurrent is to calculate its relative frequency. During the analysis of my material I compared the total number of manifestations of pattern X to the number of manifestations whereby it performed particular action Y. Dependently on the result, I decided whether or not to take it on board and subsequently, whether or not to call it a construction. My aim was for the study to remain self-contained and critical about what previous literature has to say on whether a given pattern is a construction or not. Especially in the case of the partitive, this approach has led to conclusions which may seem disappointing on occasion, but wherever there were no strong reasons for claiming otherwise, a pattern was not considered a construction.

It was a thorny issue to judge which manifestations of the conditional and the partitive are actually involved in stance-taking and directive-making. Especially the conditional with its multitude of meanings and functions tasked me a lot. To avoid unnecessary repetitions, I will illustrate the practical application of my operational criteria in more detail together with the discussion of the polysemy of the conditional in section 2.1.2.2. For now suffice it to say that the conversation-analytic view on linguistic patterns was of much help because I examined whole sequences rather than individual phrases or turns for the presence of directives and stance. Still, in the case of some long sequences of multiple actions formed simultaneously, I was forced to examine each case separately more than elsewhere. I ultimately tried to adhere as much as possible to the following rule: if the interpretation of the token as a part of stance-taking or directive-making activities was more prominent than other interpretations, the token was counted. This is why the conditional clause in line 1 of the following example was acknowledged, but the other element of the conditional compound (line 2) discarded. Line 1 quite clearly manifests epistemic uncertainty, whereas in the case of line 2 the counterfactual and the futural interpretations are more suggestive – even though as a whole, the turn is involved in a series of negotiations between the clerk and the client who both make proposals, requests and take epistemic stance throughout their exchange (see example 24 in section 2.1.2.2).

(7) ‘A tidy sum’ (T953_sievoinessumma)

1 → Clerk:	<i>oisko</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>tuu:</i>	<i>ajankohta</i>	<i>sittev vai,</i>	(0.2)
	be.COND.3SG.Q	it	DEM	point.in.time	then or	
	‘so is this (lit. would this be) the date or’					
2 →	<i>millonka</i>	<i>sä</i>	<i>rupeisit</i>	<i>sitte</i>	<i>lyhentää,</i>	
	when.CL	2SG	start.COND.2SG	PTC	amortise	
	‘when you would start to amortise’					

In terms of the partitive, I excluded plural forms from my analysis because too many semantic distinctions become neutralised in partitive plurals. For instance in (8), the fact that the singer Elsa Salminen is referred to as *elsoja* ‘Elsas’ may be understood as a use of a plural form for affective purposes such as irony (Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 67ff). But the reading of *elsoja* is first and foremost distributive here, so the question of divisibility enters the picture (see section 2.2.2.1). The photographs in front of Jussi present, namely, different camera shots of Elsa, i.e. different “Elsas”. Unless it is known from the context that a finite quantity of referents – in this case, a previously defined set

of pictures – is in question (cf. Itkonen 1976), partitive plural is the only possible grammatical format that a complement plural NP can take. It is then impossible to determine based purely on the linguistic substance whether or not questions of stance are relevant for such cases.

(8) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_03_30)

- 1 → Jussi: *nää ei oo elsoja.*
 they NEG.3SG be.NEG PR.PTV.PL
 ‘these are not Elsas’
- 2 Matti: *kato [tämä] on (.) [Väinö Sola.]*
 look.IMP.2SG this be.PRS.3SG PR
 ‘look, this is Väinö Sola’
- 3 → Liisa: *[ei.] [ei todella.]*
 NEG.3SG NEG.3SG indeed
 ‘no, indeed not’

“[H]umans are able to both produce patterns and recognize them” (Duranti 2005: 409), which is why I also made use of a parameter cognate with the principle of action ascription (Levinson 2013) in the analysis of my data. The principle has it that recognising actions being formed, participants in interactions perceive turns-at-talk as implementing particular actions, so they ascribe actions to turns. I brought this principle to an operational level, thus practically following Couper-Kuhlen (2014), and considered turns as implementing stance, offers, proposals etc. judging by how they were responded to. In other words, it may be said of turns that they implement requests, proposals, etc. not only on the basis of autonomous features of their own but also thanks to the ascription of an action to a turn by the succeeding turn.

I will shortly present the data which informs my study and I believe that a brief comment is in order on the legitimacy of comparisons between social welfare office interactions and casual conversations. It is characteristic of Finland and other Scandinavian countries that the system of social welfare is social-democratic by nature (Esping-Andersen 1990). The philosophy behind such systems is that people become eligible to social assistance by virtue of finding themselves in certain life situations, e.g. retirement or when they enter higher education, and not only because they are in financial need. So contrary to e.g. the American model of social welfare, the Nordic model is more about ‘social’ than ‘welfare’.⁴ This has important consequences for those who study social welfare office interactions in Scandinavia because the data do contain a representative sample of the society and are less fraught with the error of over-representing less prosperous social groups.

1.4. Material

My research material comprises 24 hours 10 minutes of video-recorded casual and institutional Finnish. The data come from the years 1995–2010 and together consist of 153 conversations which have yielded 686 tokens of the phenomena subject to my investigation. These include 574 manifestations of the conditional and 112 manifestations of the partitive. I had the luxury of ready-made transcripts of

⁴ Castells & Himanen (2002) deliver a meticulous analysis of how the Nordic model of social welfare has contributed to the rise of a social welfare state in the Finnish conditions.

conversations being there at my disposal. The transcripts are coded according to the conventions found in Seppänen (1997; see Appendix 1), which are an adaptation of the system developed by Sacks et al. (1974). The only part of the material which was not ready for analysis are sections of ‘Concert agency’ (SG435), the longest conversation in the casual corpus. The research project in which this work has been written involved the help of a trainee student who prepared excerpts of the non-transcribed passages for me.

The casual data consist of 12 hours 10 minutes of conversations coming from the Conversation Data Archive (*Keskusteluntutkimuksen arkisto*) which is hosted by the Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, University of Helsinki. I selected the material based on two criteria. Firstly, I decided to take into consideration only video-recorded conversations so as to have a detailed picture of the social actions I study and to spot possible extralinguistic practices associated with these actions. Secondly, I wanted my material to represent a vast spectrum of interaction among speakers of different ages and sexes coming from different places. The result is a corpus of 8 conversations and 300 tokens subject to my investigation, of which 254 show the use of the conditional and 46 of the partitive.

‘At the kitchen table’

Symbol: SG377
Duration: 1hr 12mins
Participants: 3 women aged around 30
Description: Three female friends are chatting over coffee.
No. tokens: 5

‘Church youth’

Symbol: SG440
Duration: 1hr 12mins
Participants: 3 women and 1 man aged 20–25
Description: An unformal meeting of a church youth organisation at a café.
No. tokens: 18

‘Coffee and buns’

Symbol: SG121
Duration: 1hr 04mins
Participants: 1 woman and 3 men
Description: A meeting of students at the place of one of them.
No. tokens: 37

‘Concert agency’

Symbol: SG435
Duration: 4hrs 15mins
Participants: 4 women and 3 men aged 50–80
Description: Present and former employees of the Fazer Concert Agency (Helsinki) gather at the agency to segregate old photographs.
No. tokens: 138

‘Five elderly men’

Symbol: SG157
Duration: 1hr 30mins
Participants: 5 men aged 67–77

Description: Five elderly men drink coffee and bring back memories of old times.

No. tokens: 19

‘Four friends’

Symbol: SG346

Duration: 1hr 04mins

Participants: 3 women and 1 man aged 20–21

Description: A meeting of four friends at the place of one of them.

No. tokens: 10

‘Students’

Symbol: SG123

Duration: 14mins

Participants: 2 women and 2 men aged 21–23

Description: A meeting of students at the home of one of them.

No. tokens: 4

‘Teenage girls’

Symbol: SG120

Duration: 1hr 34min

Participants: 3 women aged under 18

Description: Three friends cook and do their homework in the kitchen.

No. tokens: 18

‘Wine evening’

Symbol: SG396

Duration: 1hr 17mins

Participants: 6 men aged 20

Description: Male friends who play together at an orchestra chat at a wine table.

No. tokens: 51

The corpus of social welfare office talks of the Institute for the Languages of Finland (*Kotimaisten kielten keskus*, Kotus) is the source of the institutional material used in this study. Similarly to the casual talks, I made institutional interactions subject to a conscious selection. The material hosted by Kotus consists of conversations recorded at five different branches of the Finnish Social Security Institution (*Kansan Eläkelaitos*, Kela) in the years 2000–2003. I chose three of them for my analysis: Liperi (Northern Karelia), Tornio (Northern Ostrobothnia) and one of the branches located in Helsinki.⁵ In this way I obtained a material of comparable volume to the casual part. There are, thus, 145 different service encounters in what I shall refer to as the Kela (or institutional) corpus. The institutional material features 386 instances of the phenomena under investigation: 320 tokens of the conditional and 66 of the partitive. The total length of conversations in the Kela corpus is 12 hours.

Northern Karelia

Symbols: T1090–T1120

⁵ See Sorjonen & Raevaara (2006c) for a more detailed account of the KELA material and the methods applied during its collection.

Duration:	2hrs 15mins
No. conversations:	31
Participants:	5 clerks (2 men and 3 women, aged between 30 and 40) and 31 clients (12 men and 19 women, aged between ca. 20 and ca. 70)
No. tokens:	86

Northern Ostrobothnia

Symbols:	T157–T215 and T1083
Duration:	4hrs 00mins
No. conversations:	55
Participants:	9 clerks (all women, aged between 25 and 50) and 56 clients (31 women aged between 18 and ca. 70 and 25 men aged between 18 and ca. 80)
No. tokens:	123

Southern Helsinki

Symbols:	T932–T991
Duration:	5hrs 45mins
No. conversations:	59
Participants:	4 clerks (1 man aged ca. 30 and 3 women aged ca. 25–40) and 60 clients (36 women and 24 men, aged between 18 and ca. 80)
No. tokens:	177

What attracts attention is that institutional conversations have produced approximately 25% more tokens than almost the same amount of casual interaction. This is because of the different circumstances in which casual and institutional interactions typically happen. With research into formats for requests, offers or proposals dynamically growing over the recent years, Kendrick & Drew (2016) have recently asked a fundamental question what makes offers and requests emerge from interaction in the first place. They have come to the conclusion that these actions are handy resources used in the management of assistance. It seems that such contexts are more commonplace in social welfare office talks because people visit the social welfare institution driven by a need for support in their current life situation. But they will not necessarily seek assistance when they pay a visit to their friends and relatives.

All this being said, the two corpora are not quite comparable in terms of factors which could provide more answers to the question why one is more abundant with examples of conditionals and partitives than the other. First of all, while Kela talks are most commonly dyads involving an interaction between one client and one social welfare officer, the casual corpus consists of multi-party interactions exclusively. Secondly, few of the Kela conversations exceed ten minutes of duration, whereas the casual talks are mostly far lengthier. Added to that, the label ‘casual conversation’ by no means refers to a uniform set of interactions. If we look at the individual conversations in the casual corpus used in this study, we can see that some differ quite considerably in the number of tokens. Compare, for example, ‘At the kitchen table’ (5 tokens) with ‘Wine evening’ (51 tokens), two conversations of roughly the same length. The first one is, for the large part, a typical topic talk (cf. Schegloff 2007: 9), i.e. a chat over coffee whereby hardly anything else happens. During the dinner recorded as ‘Wine evening’,

by contrast, there is a lot of passing of dishes to one another, filling the glasses with more beverages, planning evenings out and other activities which in one way or another involve the recruitment of other people's contribution. Schegloff (2007: 1) emphasises in the introduction to his primer that "a great deal of talk-in-interaction (...) is better examined with respect to *action* than with respect to *topicality*, more for what it is *doing* than for what it is *about*" (original italics). Still, conversations such as 'Wine evening' are definitely better examples to support this view than 'At the kitchen table' and the like because it is beyond doubt that the presence of physical action in a conversation facilitates such an understanding of talk.

1.5. Organisation of the study

As a doctoral dissertation, this work attempts to follow a distinction into the theoretical and the empirical part. It was, however, not always possible or sensible to adhere to this traditional division strictly. To facilitate my argumentation, I announce some of the results already in the theoretical chapters, whilst certain theoretical aspects only concerning individual constructions have been put aside until they are relevant for discussion in the more empirically oriented part.

Chapters 2 and 3 comprise the theoretical section of this study. Chapter 2 is devoted to the formal and semantic description of the partitive and the conditional in Finnish. In Chapter 3, I will deal with aspects of grammar in social interaction. The chapter provides an overview of the approaches within Interactional Linguistics which together constitute the scientific credo of this study. I will present my understanding of stance and directives in chapter 3, as well as deliver a more detailed discussion of the differences between casual and institutional conversation which influence my results.

The empirical findings are presented in chapters 4 and 5, each dedicated to one grammatical category: the conditional (chapter 4) and the partitive (chapter 5). Again, there were good reasons to reserve some points concerning the conditional for discussion in the chapter about the partitive because of the co-occurrence of the two grammatical phenomena in one of the constructions. Each of the empirical chapters consists of a section dedicated to the constructions which are formats for performing individual directives and taking a stance in Finnish conversation and of a section labelled 'other uses' in which those examples of the conditional and the partitive are presented which do not form recurrent conversational patterns. Both chapter 4 and chapter 5 end in a summary of the main results.

Chapter 6 offers concluding remarks and summarises the study.

2. The conditional mood and the partitive case in Finnish

Two grammatical phenomena of Finnish, the conditional mood and the partitive case, are studied in this work in contexts in which they have similar meanings and partly overlapping functions. The present chapter is dedicated to the description of these two categories.

Case and mood are grammatical categories of, respectively, the noun and the verb. But while a case marks syntactic relations with the head (Blake 2001), the functions of a mood are predominantly of semantic kind (Thieroff 2010). A convenient way to marry the two categories studied in this work is to stress their pragmatic aspects. Hence during their formal presentation in this chapter I will already focus on those environments in which native speakers of Finnish make use of constructions with the conditional and the partitive to take a stance and make directives in real-life linguistic encounters. I will discuss each of the two categories separately in sections 2.1. (the conditional) and 2.2. (the partitive).

2.1. The conditional

Contrary to the partitive case (see 2.2.), the conditional mood as a grammatical category is by no means a rarity in the world's languages. Although languages differ in the distribution of meanings across moods, the mood categories of Finnish are also widely found in many other languages of Europe and beyond. For example, Finnish makes a formal distinction between a potential and a conditional, a division of modal work similar to that found in Northern Saami (Bartens 1980), but also in the Celtic language of Breton with its two moods labelled 'conditionals': potential and hypothetical (Hewitt 2010).

Compared to previous treatments of the Finnish conditional (especially Kangasniemi 1992 and Kauppinen 1998), in this work I wish to place more stress on the epistemic domains relevant for its use. As long as mood is concerned, it is actually not the conditional but the potential which is typically associated with epistemicity in Fennistics. Hakulinen & Karlsson (1979: 274–275), for instance, consider the expression of epistemic possibility as the primary function of the potential (illustrated in example 9), whereas in the case of the conditional they state that epistemic meanings belong to the additional, secondary functions served by this mood.

(9) Standard Finnish potential (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 274)

Inflaatio jää-ne-e alle viimevuotisen, TTT ennustaa
inflation stay-POT-3SG below last-year.GEN PR predict.PRS.3SG
'The inflation will probably stay below last year's level, TTT predicts.'

This, however, concerns first and foremost the standard variety. Not only does the Finnish potential have slightly different meanings in regional dialects, but its scope of usage is also limited to certain constructions (Forsberg 2000, 2003).⁶ In Eastern Finnish dialects, where the potential is quite ubiquitous, the potential has functions of

⁶ Yet another fact raised by Forsberg is that the Finnish potential has acquired its functions connected with epistemic judgements only in the last two centuries. Its earlier path of development was, roughly speaking, from intentions through future to the presently served functions of root and epistemic possibility (see Forsberg 2003: 151-152).

“general root possibility” (Forsberg 2003: 146), i.e. possibility of also other kinds than epistemic. Moreover, the typical syntactic environments in which the mood occurs are interrogative clauses, e.g. *wh*-type questions such as in example (10), and not declaratives of the type presented in (9).

(10) Non-standard Finnish potential (Forsberg 2003: 146)

Minne lie mennyt
 where.to be.POT⁷.3SG go.PRAP
 ‘I wonder where s/he has gone.’

In terms of the conditional, scholars tend to present epistemicity not as a universal function of the mood, but as a kind of a pragmatic extension that certain constructions acquire thanks to the conditional marking of the verb. For example Kangasniemi (1992: 177) lists *pitää* ‘have to’ among verbs of certainty in Finnish, but remarks that constructions with *pitää* only have this epistemic sense if the verb appears in the conditional. And two pages earlier, Kangasniemi (1992) notes that colloquial Finnish has a means for making assumptions not offered by the standard variety, namely interrogative sentences featuring a verb in the conditional, cf. (11).

(11) Finnish conditional (Kangasniemi 1992: 175)

oisko ollu siinä vähä yli puolitoista
 be.COND.3sg be.PRAP it.INE a.little over one.and.a.half
 ‘was it (lit. would it have been) a bit over one-and-a-half’
peninkulmaa se matka
 Scandinavian.mile.PTV DEM journey
 ‘Scandinavian miles, the distance.’

So when we take spoken Finnish into account, the functional and semantic distance between the potential and the conditional mood becomes not that big after all. What is more, the Finnish conditional morpheme *-isi-* has the same origin as the Saami potential *-ž-/-žž-/-čč-* (Lehtinen 2006), which highlights also a formal linkage between the two moods in Finnish and related languages.

Kauppinen (1998) demonstrates multiple times in her book that the discussion on the meanings of the Finnish conditional is most effectively conducted with reference to the whole constructions in which it appears, and that the meaning and functions of conditional constructions are best viewed in terms of their typical discourse environment. But even when analysed in context, the Finnish conditional poses interpretational challenges, which is typical of modals in general. My intention in this work is to treat the polyfunctionality of the Finnish conditional as its natural property which opens the field for a multitude of interpretations and for some novel generalisations.

In this section I will offer an introductory discussion on how displays of epistemicity in conditional constructions shape the course of other, more central actions underway. By those I mean mainly directives, the other major type of social actions studied in this work alongside stance. Some basic examples which illustrate conditional constructions performing stance-taking and directive-making functions will be

⁷ The marker of the Finnish potential is *-ne-*, which can be seen in example (9). Because the verb *olla* ‘be’ uses a suppletive stem *lie-* in the potential, the mood marking is covert in example (10).

presented in 2.1.2, after the formal description and a short report on the diachrony of the Finnish conditional (2.1.1).

2.1.1. Form and origin

Finnish makes a four-way distinction within its mood category. The indicative mood lacks overt marking, whereas the markers of the oblique moods are, in the written variety of Finnish, *-isi-* for the conditional and *-ne-* for the potential. In terms of the remaining fourth mood, the imperative, the simple present stem of the verb and an orthographically non-represented glottal stop constitute the form of the second person singular, while plural forms are marked with *-kaa*, followed by a glottal stop. Third person imperatives are marked with *-koo-* in Finnish. They differ from second person imperatives not only in semantic terms (they are jussives), but their use also triggers different object marking than the use of the forms with *-kaa*. The Finnish mood category is illustrated in Table 2 with the example of *laulaa* ‘sing’ in the affirmative. Forms in the negative are not provided in Table 2. They differ from the affirmative ones especially in the imperative, but this is of minor significance here since the table is meant to illustrate the formal characteristics of the Finnish conditional compared to other moods. In addition to the verbal forms in the active voice, Table 2 also contains passive forms. The Finnish passive is an impersonal construction which can be thought of as a non-promotional passive (Comrie 1977) having subject deletion in common with classical passives.⁸ In spoken Finnish, the passive form constitutes the first person plural form of the verb. The column of Table 2 which contains the conditional is highlighted.

	Indicative	Conditional	Potential	Imperative
1SG	<i>laul-a-n</i>	<i>laul-a-isi-n</i>	<i>laul-a-ne-n</i>	-
2SG	<i>laul-a-t</i>	<i>laul-a-isi-t</i>	<i>laul-a-ne-t</i>	<i>laul-a</i>
3SG	<i>laul-a-o</i>	<i>laul-a-isi</i>	<i>laul-a-ne-e</i>	<i>laul-a-koo-n</i>
1PL	<i>laul-a-mme</i>	<i>laul-a-isi-mme</i>	<i>laul-a-ne-mme</i>	<i>laul-a-kaa-mme</i>
2PL	<i>laul-a-tte</i>	<i>laul-a-isi-tte</i>	<i>laul-a-ne-tte</i>	<i>laul-a-kaa</i>
3PL	<i>laul-a-vat</i>	<i>laul-a-isi-vat</i>	<i>laul-a-ne-vät</i>	<i>laul-a-koo-t</i>
PASS	<i>laul-e-ta-an</i>	<i>laul-e-tta-isi-in</i>	<i>laul-e-tta-ne-en</i>	<i>laul-e-tta-koo-n</i>

Table 2. The mood category of Finnish (Tommola 2010: 514).

In addition to *-isi-*, the conditional marker can appear as *-is-* or simply *-s-* in third person singular and in passive forms in spoken Finnish (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §116). Examples of the three realisations of the Finnish conditional follow in (12)–(14).

(12) ‘Wine evening’ (SG396_01_10)

Riku: *viitt-isi-kkö* *Lauri sieltä* *ihan vaikka patonkia*
 bother-COND-2SG.Q PR there.ABL PTC PTC baguette.PTV
 ‘Lauri, would you mind handing, I mean, baguette (to me)’

(13) ‘This needs to be filled in’ (T976_tamapitaatayttaa)

⁸ As noted by Vilkuna (1996: 144), this is a paradox because the use of passive in Finnish implies a personal, though an indefinite underlying subject. Some approaches, most notably Blevins (2003), make a strong distinction between impersonals such as the Finnish passive and passives proper. See Shore (1988) for a more detailed description of the Finnish passive.

Clerk: *yheksän nolla nolla o-is-ko yks nolla vielä,*
 nine zero zero be-COND.3SG-Q one zero still
 ‘nine zero zero, is there (lit. would there be) another zero?’

(14) ‘Unemployment benefits application’ (T1096_tyottomyyselakehakemus)

Clerk: *.hh nyt miun) pitä-s pyytää teitä*
 now 1SG.GEN have.to-COND.3SG ask 2PL.PTV
 ‘now I have to ask you’
siirtymään tuonne
 shift.CVB.ILL there.ILL
 ‘to move there’

The Finnish conditional marker *-isi-* has its roots in the continuative/iterative derivational suffix *-ise-* and the past marker *-i-* (Lehtinen 1983, 2006). In modern Finnish, *-i-* marks the past tense, while *-ise-* is visible in the personal forms of some iterative and continuative verbs, e.g. *vala-ise-e* ‘(it) enlightens’ and *pätäkä-ise-e* ‘(s/he) cuts into pieces’, but the conditional marker is not analysable as a combination of these two morphemes and needs to be treated holistically (Tommola 2010: 517). In semantic terms, the formal merger of these two categories in Finnish and its Baltic-Finnic and Saami language relatives was probably motivated by the fact that the continuative/iterative suffix was good for expressing intentions, while with the past tense suffix one could transfer the intention beyond real time (Lehtinen 2006: 134). The next major semantic development in the diachrony of the conditional was towards the expression of desires which, in turn, imply future meanings (cf. Bybee et al. 1994, Tommola 2010). Expressing future and desires are two of the functions that the conditional fulfils in contemporary Finnish.

2.1.2. Function

Those approaches which make normative distinctions into primary and secondary uses of grammatical categories of Finnish treat the expression of counterfactuality (e.g. Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 275) as well as the making of fictive statements (e.g. Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 191) as the basic functions of the conditional in Finnish. Example (15), wherein Liisa provides a rationale against the man in the photo being a violin player, illustrates counterfactuality, i.e. the quality of not being based on a fact. The example contains a classical conditional clause compound in the sense that there is a conditional relationship between two situations: one pictured in the protasis, or the antecedent, and the other in the apodosis, or the consequent, with a linking device *jos* ‘if’ between the two (cf. Palmer 1986: 189, Hakulinen et al. 2004: §1134).

(15) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_01_20)

1 Liisa: *nii jos se o-is va- vaikka viulisti*
 PTC if 3SG be-COND.3SG PTC violinist
 ‘yeah, if he were, say, a violinist’
ni ol-is-kin ni joku viulun#kaula#
 COMP be-COND.3SG-CL PTC some neck
 ‘there would be a neck of the violin’

#vähän näkyvis#.
a.bit be.visible.PRAP.PL.INE
‘visible here’

Such textbook examples as (15) are, however, by no means prevailing in spoken Finnish. In Kauppinen’s (1998: 262) data, only 70 tokens, i.e. 10% manifestations of the conditional, are involved in the classical ‘if p, then q’-type of relationship. In my data, in turn, it is particularly difficult to find conditionals used in their other “primary” function, i.e. fictivity. Due to the specifics of Kauppinen’s (1998) developmental-pragmatic study, her material is particularly rich in examples of conditional clauses describing fictive events. These are mainly statements and questions made in contexts of planning children’s plays, cf. (16). In my data, clauses with demonstratives and interrogative pronouns such as the one presented in (16) serve a totally different function, namely that of epistemic stance in the service of problem-solving, which will be discussed below.

(16) (Kauppinen 1998: 113)

Mikä ois seinä.
what be.COND.3sg wall
‘What would be the wall?’

Another function of the conditional in Finnish is that connected with future. Finnish does not formally distinguish future, but exploits constructions with other grammatical markers to express futural meanings, and clauses with verbs in the conditional are one of these means. The future meanings of the Finnish conditional are visible e.g. in planning immediate future situations, which is shown in example (17). The example comes from the very beginning of the whole conversation. Laura is explaining how the recording session will proceed and wants everybody to feel at ease with the recording device.

(17) ‘Church youth’ (SG440_litteraatti)

- 1 → Laura: *pointti oo tavallaa se*
point be.PRS.3SG manner.ADE it
‘the point is, in a way’
et tää olis luonnolline kahvihetki
COMP this be.COND.3SG natural coffee.time
‘that this would be a natural chat over coffee’
- 2 → *t(h)eiäm p(h)itää o(h)lla (lu[onnollisesti])*
2PL.GEN should.PRS.3SG be naturally
‘you should behave naturally’
- 3 Mika: [öh
((Mika puts his cup away on the saucer))
- 4 Laura: *hiihihi[hi, .hhh k(h)ai te nyt jotain*
maybe 2PL now something.PTV
‘you will all certainly’
- 5 Kirsi: [hehehe,
- 6 Laura: *puhuttavaa k(h)eksitt(h)e he,*
talk.PRPP.PTV invent.PRS.2PL

‘find a topic to talk about’

Futures have much in common with desires – one of the attested paths of diachronic development of future markers is from markers of desire. This happened in the history of many genetically unrelated languages, e.g. Inuit, Danish, Chukchi and Dakota (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987, Bybee et al. 1994: 254ff.). Secondly, in contemporary languages, the functions of futural constructions are often ambiguous between the expression of future on the one hand and of desire, or of other meanings, e.g. obligation, on the other. As a matter of fact, Laura’s turn in line 1 of example (17) borders on an expression of desire because while announcing what is going to happen during the session, she is also hoping that others would not pay much attention to the camera so that possibly natural linguistic data would be obtained for analysis. Because the border between the two senses is often simply impossible to draw, some operational challenges arise here; futures, unlike desires, are not subject to the present investigation. What is more, sometimes also other interpretations enter the picture. There are at least two other possible explanations for the use of the conditional in (17): one of them is counterfactuality, whereas the other is making a proposal since Laura is trying to convince the others to join her in creating the proper atmosphere for the session.

Example (18) also contains a case in point, but unlike example (17), I count (18) as a manifestation of desire rather than as an example of a discussion on a hypothetical situation.

(18) ‘Coffee and buns’ (SG121_40_50)

- 1 Antti: *vittu mie lähe,*
 cunt 1SG go.PRS.1SG
 ‘fuck, I’ll become’
 [*mek- automekaanikoks,*]
 car.mechanic.TRANS
 ‘a car mechanic’
- 2 → Paavo: [*kyl se ois meikäläis]e [homma,]*
 PTC 3SG be.PRS.COND.3SG 1SG.GEN job
 ‘it would be a job for me, really’
- 3 → Matti: [*o:is]*
 be.PRS.COND.3SG
 ‘it would’
se kyl kiva pyörittää ei siin mitää, (0.2)
 3SG PTC nice run NEG.3SG it.INE nothing
 ‘be really a nice job to run, there’s nothing (wrong) with it’
- 4 Kaisa: [*nii jösset sä saa,*]
 PTC if.NEG.2SG 2SG get.PRS.NEG
 ‘yeah, if you don’t get’
- 5 Matti: [*mut sanotaan näi et]*
 but say.PASS so COMP
 ‘but let’s say that’
- *ei se miu unelma[homma] ois kyllä,*
 NEG.3SG it 1SG dream.job be.COND.3SG PTC
 ‘it wouldn’t be my dream job, really’
- 6 → Kaisa: [*nii:,*]
 PTC

- 7 → Antti: *oispas* *elä* *valehtele,*
 be.COND.CL.CL IMP.2SG lie.IMP.2SG
 ‘it would, don’t lie’
- 8 → Matti: *nii oiski,*
 PTC be.COND.3SG.CL
 ‘yeah, it would’

There are two major reasons for doing so. First of all, example (18) contains an explicit personalisation of the subject of desire (in lines 2 and 5). Moreover, the wish to become a car mechanic is not only attributable to Matti who is the stance leader in this sequence, but becomes a matter of public negotiation (lines 5–8). These two factors make example (18) subject to scrutiny in terms of stance, alongside manifestations of knowledge, emotions, opinions and similar domains which involve the expression of subjective spheres, but are eventually achieved intersubjectively.

2.1.2.1 Stance

With a remarkable exception of Kauppinen (1998), not much attention in Fennistics is devoted to stance taken with the use of constructions containing the conditional mood. In Kauppinen (1998), however, *kannanotto* ‘stance taking’ is understood in terms of evaluation and wishes. Thus, the use of the conditional in expressions of desires is treated similarly in Kauppinen (1998) and in the present work, whereas epistemicity is not.

An example of a syntactic context where the conditional mood is used for epistemic purposes is in intransitive clauses with verbs of cognition and first person pronouns. Line 5 *mä luulisin* ‘I think’ in (19) provides an example.

(19) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_07_20)

- 1 Jussi: *Eero Ryydman.*
 PR
 ‘Eero Ryydman’
- 2 Hanna: *nii.*
 PTC
 ‘yes’
- 3 Jussi: *#ä:#. (0.4) [onko.]*
 be.PRS.3SG.Q
 ‘is it (him)?’
- 4 Hanna: *[tämä.] (0.5)*
 DEM
 ‘this one’
- 5 → *mä luulisin.*
 1SG think.COND.1SG
 ‘I would think’

On the one hand, Hanna’s *mä luulisin* ‘I would think’ can be analysed in isolation and considered simply as an externalisation of her thoughts. Hanna admits in line 5 that she is making a guess. The use of the conditional in this case indicates that the speaker is being uncertain (cf. Kömi 2001: 40). A corresponding expression *mä*

luulen ‘I think’ in the indicative would of course receive an epistemic interpretation as well, but it is questionable that an indicative clause would at all occur at this point of the conversation. This is because on the other hand, viewed in the context of the whole of the excerpt, *mä luulisin* also closes the sequence and summarises the collaborative undertaking of evidence collection. Such constructions often emerge from interactions among speakers who are faced with a problem of incomplete evidence and have to move forward accomplishing their tasks. This makes such patterns functionally close e.g. to the English *I guess* (Kärkkäinen 2007). Finnish constructions of epistemic stance containing the conditional are, therefore, not merely knowledge-related language, but they also serve the purposes connected with the organisation of talk.

Epistemic stance is the most prevalent type of stance in my data, both for conditional and partitive stance-related tokens (see introductory remarks in sections 4 and 5). This reflects the fact that the epistemic order strongly permeates other facets of momentary relationships among the participants in Finnish interactions (Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2014). For example, there are several constructions in my material which involve the use of the necessive clause with *pitää* ‘have to’ in the conditional. One of them is illustrated in (21). Although the auxiliary refers to obligation, and thus at first sight line 3 of (15) might be considered an example of something called ‘deontic stance’, it receives both an epistemic and a deontic interpretation when analysed in context. And this is not only due to the fact that the lexical verb in the auxiliary construction is *tietää* ‘know’ or because it is introduced with an epistemic construction *mä aattelin* ‘I was thinking’.

(20) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_07_20)

- 1 → Matti: *on hirveen tu[tun nä- näkönen toi.]*
 be.PRS.2SG very familiar.GEN lookalike DEM
 ‘this one looks very familiar’
- 2 Maija: *[mut koko (--)]*
 PTC whole]
 ((Maija starts talking to Jussi))
- 3 → Hanna: *kun nii mä aattelin et (.) tää*
 PTC PTC 1SG think.PST.3SG COMP DEM
 ‘so that’s what I was thinking that this’
pitäs tietää.
 have.to.COND.3SG know
 ‘we (lit. one) should know’

The exchange between Matti and Hanna is a perfect example of how language reflects the epistemic order of human interaction as understood by Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2014: 186), i.e. “the issues that the participants have rights *and obligations* to know relative to their co-participants” (my emphasis). The presence of the necessive construction in Hanna’s turn is a hint that she is talking about obligations resultant from her and her co-participants’ status as those who have past experience with the people and places shown on the photographs, and who should therefore be able to identify the details. The whole of Hanna’s turn indicates that she is being sensitive to these obligations while trying to complete her current task.

The presence of the conditional in Hanna’s *tää pitäs tietää* ‘this we (lit. one) should know’ is crucial because as shown by other scholars, the verb *pitää* ‘have to’ can have both a deontic and epistemic meaning, but in conversational Finnish these two

meanings are associated with separate moods. Hakulinen et al. (1989: 83) claim that the epistemic interpretation is the prevalent one in three times as many cases of *pitää* in the conditional as in comparable uses in the indicative. In my data, constructions which are formed around *pitää* in the conditional likewise tend to receive both epistemic and deontic interpretations. In addition to this, they are found among the patterns which speakers of Finnish exploit to make proposals.

2.1.2.2 Directives

The Finnish conditional appears in the context of making directives and taking stance in several syntactic environments: in necessive constructions, in copulative, intransitive, and existential clauses – all previously demonstrated in examples (17)–(20). Example (21) adds another clause type, the transitive clause, to this inventory. It also features instances of conditionals used in the already presented syntactic environments. The conditional appears on the finite verb, which means that in those contexts where a modal auxiliary is present, it receives conditional marking. I include a particularly long segment of conversation in (21) to further illustrate and discuss the polysemy of the Finnish conditional, this time focusing on its directive functions.

The reason for the client paying Kela a visit in example (21) is that the client's financial situation has improved recently because she has found a better-paid job and since her income will increase significantly, she will have to return some of the student aid she has been receiving throughout the year. The client has already started saving up for this purpose, but she has received a letter claiming that her last year's income had also exceeded the allowable sum, and she is not prepared financially for the additional expense. The deadline for the payback of last year's aid is approaching and she is looking for possible solutions to the problem. The clerk and the client together come to the conclusion that the most reasonable option in this situation is to ask Kela to divide last year's sum into monthly installments which would then be deducted from the aid the client is currently receiving. During the conversation, the client is filling out an official application to Kela and in the fragment presented as (21), the clerk suggests that the client propose a payback plan so as to enhance the chances of getting a positive decision.

(21) 'A tidy sum' (T953_sievoinensumma)

- 1 → Clerk: *elikkä tähän sä voisit oikeastaan nyt:*
 so DEM.ILL 2SG can.COND.2SG actually now
 'so now you could actually'
kirjoittaa
 write
 'write here'
- 2 → >me *voitas se< ihan se heti sit*
 1PL can.PASS.COND it just it straight.away PTC
 'we could actually'
lähettääki eli,
 send.PTC so
 'send it straight away, so'
- 3 Client: *m/m*
 PTC
- 4 → Clerk: *[.hh voisit laittaa sen että, (0.6)*

- can.COND.2SG put it.ACC COMP
‘you could put it that’
- 5 → *oisko se tuo: ajankohta sittev vai, (0.2)*
be.COND.3SG.Q it DEM point.in.time then or
‘so is this (lit. would this be) the date or’
- 6 → *millonka sä rupeisit sitte lyhentää, (0.2)*
when.CL 2SG start.COND.2SG PTC amortise
‘when you would start to amortise’
[ja
and
‘and’
- 7 Client: *[mm,*
PTC
- 8 Clerk: *mikä se ois se sun, (0.7)*
what it be.COND.3SG DEM 2SG.GEN
‘what would it be, your’
>semmonen< maksusuunnitelma #sii#hen (0.8)
sort.of payment.plan it.ILL
‘sort of payment plan for it’
- 9 Client: *mitäs, (1.0)*
what.CL
‘what?’
- 10 → Clerk: *mm, et sun pitäs sit mieltä et*
PTC PTC 2SG.GEN must.COND.3SG PTC think COMP
‘uhm, that you have to think’
minkä verran sä pystyt sitä, (0.5)
what.gen extent.gen 2SG manage.PRS.2SG it.PTV
‘how much you would manage to’
- 11 → Client: *vöiks mä sitä sit joskus niinku*
can.PRS.1SG.CL 1SG it.PTV then some.day PTC
‘can I, sort of, some day’
oikeesti muuttaa >vöiks mä< maksaa
actually change can.PRS.1SG.CL 1SG pay
‘actually change it, can I pay’
sel lop[pulaskun
DEM.ACC final.bill.ACC
‘the rest of the bill’
- 12 → Clerk: *[.hhh vö:it tietysti*
can.PRS.2SG of.course
‘you can, of course’
- 13 → Client: *(sit jopa) kerralla (>niinku aina<)]*
PTC even time.ADE PTC always
‘even all at once, always?’
- 14 → Clerk: *mut et sä nyt] laittasit*
but PTC 2SG now put.COND.2SG
‘but that you would now put’
- 15 → *[että maksaisit niin]ku[n,*
COMP pay.COND.2SG PTC
‘that you would pay, sort of’
- 16 → Client: *[>et niinku< jonkun summan,]*

	COMP	PTC	some.ACC	sum.ACC
	‘that, sort of, to pay any sum’			
17				[<i>nii</i> , PTC ‘yeah’

In example (21) there are nine tokens of the conditional: in lines 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 12, 19, 26 and 27, and I have counted eight of them as the manifestations subject to my investigation. The initial lines of (21) contain directives: requests (lines 1 and 4) and an offer (line 2). There is an epistemic construction with the conditional in line 6, similar to the assumption/estimation in example (11), through which the clerk disclaims full epistemic access to the status of what the client has just written. Line 8 contains the only discarded conditional and the second clause of the conditional compound initiated in line 6. Its interpretation is ambiguous between an epistemic and a futural meaning.

It could be argued that the use of the conditional in line 8 is a consequence of the fact that line 6 also features a conditional clause. But Finnish clausal compounds are not subject to mood constraints such that the marking of the main predicate for the conditional mood would automatically require that there be a conditional mood also in the other clause. The predicate of the subordinate clause can vary between indicative and conditional, and according to Yli-Vakkuri (1986: 194ff.) and Kangasniemi (1992: 213ff.), both citing other scholars, the use of the conditional suggests subjectivity, i.e. uncertainty on the part of the speaker as to the status of what they are saying or a critical approach towards other people’s statements. Accordingly, the indicative is used for assertive claims and otherwise in unmarked contexts. The hitherto available studies focus on reported speech and futural uses, but the data at hand shows that similar conclusions can also be drawn for directives. Example (22) illustrates this. It is an extract from a conversation between two Kela clerks whereby one advises the other as to the procedures to be recommended to the client. Line 1 contains a conjunctive construction, and the predicate of the subordinate clause *fakkaa* ‘(they) fax’ is in the indicative. Upon returning to the client, the other clerk relays the request.

(22) ‘Receipts’ (T958_kuitit)

1 →	Clerk2:	<i>jos</i>	<i>sieltä</i>	<i>työterveyshuollosta</i>	<i>hän</i>
		if	there.ABL	occupational.health.station.ABL	3SG
		‘if at the occupation health station she’			
		<i>vois</i>	<i>pyytää</i>	<i>että ne fakkaa</i>	
		can.COND.3SG	request	COMP 3PL	fax.PRS.3SG
		‘could ask them to fax (it to us)’			
		((Clerk 1 returns to the desk))			
2 →	Clerk1:	<i>nii</i>	<i>et jos</i>	<i>sieltä työterveyshuollosta</i>	<i>he</i>
		PTC	PTC if	there.ABL occupational.health.station.ABL	3PL
		‘yeah, so if from the occupational health station’			
		<i>vois</i>	<i>lähet#tää#</i> , (0.4) (-)		
		be.COND.3SG	send		
		‘they could send it’			
3		<i>siellä</i>	<i>jotenki</i>	<i>ko#neella#</i>	
		there	somehow	machine.ADE	
		‘via fax (machine), somehow’			

In Finnish clausal compounds, then, individual clauses may display variation in mood marking. It is chiefly for this reason that although lines 6–8 of (21) contain a compound construction, I examine each individual manifestation of the conditional mood separately in terms of its suitability for the present investigation. Therefore, I consider the conditional in line 8 as a futural one, especially because it is introduced by the relative adverb *milloinka* ‘when(ever)’.

Lines 14 and 15 of (21) also contain a conditional compound. The difference is that in this case, both clauses meet the operational definitions employed in this study, albeit the interpretation of the subordinate clause is not free from ambiguity, either. The main clause is quite clearly a request for an action to come in the immediate course of the conversation (cf. *nyt* ‘now’ in line 14). The subordinate clause, if considered as a separate unit of predication, refers to a hypothetical future situation, but in a wider context, it can be interpreted in at least two ways. At the point of (21) at which the conditional clause compound occurs in lines 14–15, the co-participants already have a common understanding of a future course of events. The common understanding of the situation is reflected in the fact that the compound is constructed jointly by the clerk and the client: the clerk provides the preliminary component of the clause combination, i.e. the main clause. It strongly projects the final component (cf. Helasvuo 2004), and the client produces it simultaneously with the clerk in line 16.

However, the conditional clause in line 15 of (21) might as well be understood as the client’s proposal as imagined by the clerk, i.e. a kind of a metadirective (a request to make a proposal). The deferred proposal which centres on *maksaisit* ‘you would pay’ is introduced by *et* ‘that’ which links syntactically the two clauses in a relation of subordination. What is more, the overall design of the clerk’s turn indicates that she is trying to convince the client to act in a certain way here and now while answering her question on the other possible options for the future (cf. lines 11–13).

To sum up the discussion around (21), multiple constructions with the conditional are used in several different functions throughout this relatively short excerpt, and some of the conditionals are quite ambiguous. This reflects the overall complexity of the situation in which two people are collaboratively working out a solution to a problem which has already occurred and potentially poses some further hardships in the future. The parties are involved in a negotiation of terms on which social assistance will be provided, which is typical of social welfare office encounters (Linell & Fredin 1995; expect more discussion to come in 3.3.2). The actions of the Kela representative are aimed at convincing the client to act in a certain way, and conditional directives prove to be an efficient measure of achieving this. The clerk lacks full epistemic access to the client’s intentions on occasion (cf. line 6 of the example). The conditional mood echoes across (21) in all its typical multifunctionality.

On the other hand, my data produces numerous examples of conventionalised uses of clauses with the conditional in the case of which the directive interpretation is practically the only possible one. Consider example (23).

(23) ‘Housing benefit’ (T932_ asumistuki)

1	Client: (<i>et</i>)	<i>lähinnä</i>	<i>tulin</i>	<i>kysymää</i>	<i>et</i>
	PTC	chiefly	come.PST.3SG	ask.CVB.ILL	COMP
	‘so above all, I came to ask’				
	<i>mitä</i>	<i>niitä, (.)</i>	<i>mitä</i>	<i>kaavakkeit</i>	
	what.PTV	DEM.PL.PTV	WHAT.3SG	form.PL.PTV	
	<i>siihen tarttee</i>	<i>[(--)]</i>			

- it.ILL need.PRS.3SG
 ‘these, what forms are needed for this’
- 2 → Clerk: [joo no tota minä voisin
 PTC PTC PTC 1SG can.COND.1SG
 ‘yeah, well, so I could’
 antaa ihan ne- (0.2) esitteej ja
 give PTC DEM brochure.PL and
 ‘give (you) the brochures and’
- 3 → Client: joo.
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
 ((the clerk stands up to go and fetch the forms))
- 4 Clerk: >sitte ne< kaavakkeet.
 PTC DEM form.PL
 ‘also those forms’

Line 2 of the example contains a clause featuring the first person and an auxiliary construction with *voida* ‘can’ in the conditional which quite clearly is an offer and not a reference to a hypothetical ability. That *m(in)ä voisin* ‘I could’ + clause is an offer in spoken Finnish is already known from previous studies (e.g. Kömi 2001: 22–23), and the one used in example (23) meets the criteria for an offer also in the sense of Couper-Kuhlen (2014). That is, the client reacts to the clerk’s *minä voisin antaa ihan ne esitteej* ‘I could give (you) the brochures’ with the acceptance token *joo* ‘yeah’ in line 3, which means that he understands the clerk’s turn as an offer. Following the client’s acceptance, the clerk stands up to carry out the action she has committed herself to doing. The clerk’s *minä voisin antaa ihan ne esitteej* ‘I could give (you) the brochures’ is preceded by a turn which can be considered a request. I will have more to say about offer-request environments in conversations in section 3.2.1.

2.2. The partitive

In many languages, parts of physical entities, partial affectedness, indefinite quantity, non-completed actions, negation and related categories receive different grammatical marking than whole entities, total affectedness, completed actions, definiteness and arguments of affirmative clauses (cf. Koptevskaja-Tamm 2001). The Hdi language of Cameroon, for instance, has a referential particle which is omitted in the scope of negation in non-imperfective clauses (Wolff 2009), whereas contemporary Romance and Germanic languages distinguish indefinite articles and determiners (Luraghi & Huumo 2014). Few languages, however, have a dedicated morphological category which is exploited to mark arguments according to parameters such as boundedness, part-whole relations or positive-negative polarisation (Luraghi & Huumo 2014). In Finnish, this is the partitive case. Other languages with a productive partitive case are e.g. Estonian, a relative of Finnish, and the Basque language (Luraghi & Huumo 2014, Luraghi & Kittilä 2014). Several languages make a restricted use of their partitive cases. For example in Eastern Saami languages (Uralic; Sammallahti 1998: 70), the partitive appears in certain adpositional expressions and with numerals, whereas in the Turkic language of Sahka it marks partially affected mass nouns and generic non-referential objects (Pakendorf 2007). Further, a number of languages employ other cases in the contexts in which the partitive in Finnish or Estonian is used: in Evenki (Tungusic; Bulatova & Grenoble 1999), non-specific direct objects are marked for the accusative-

indefinite case, while Slavic languages are famous for their so-called ‘partitive genitive’ (Fischer 2004, Tabakowska 2014), i.e. they mark mass nouns and indefinite plurals with a grammatical device which is otherwise employed for expressing possession. Compared to these languages, Finnish makes indeterminateness, unboundedness, partial affectedness and related semantic features particularly manifest on the syntactic level.

In the section at hand I will present the most important facts concerning the meaning and use of the Finnish partitive. The case has been well studied, but apart from Yli-Vakkuri (1986), which in general is an investigation into “secondary” uses of Finnish grammar, expressions of affect, doubt, expectations of negative answers and other uses of the partitive motivated pragmatically rather than by semantic or syntactic factors receive quite parsimonious treatment by scholars, if any at all. Thus, the state of the art in Fennistics suggests that the type of usage of the Finnish partitive examined here is as unique as the partitive case as a grammatical category in a general cross-linguistic light. Quite a different picture can be obtained from the research on Estonian, a language which has reanalysed its partitive case and incorporated it into a systematic means of encoding evidentiality. Estonian has a quotative mood whose marker *-vat* historically is a present participle *-va-* marked for the partitive (*-t*). The use of the quotative implies that the speaker does not take full responsibility for what s/he says, but rather presents himself or herself as a mediator of the message (Metslang & Sepper 2010: 541). This is illustrated in (19a). In contemporary Estonian, the partitive case participates in aspectual oppositions with the total object case. Unboundedness is marked with partitive objects, while boundedness with a total object case (see examples 19b and 19c), which is a parallel distinction to that found in Finnish. The *-t*-substance in the quotative suffix is termed ‘partitive evidential’ by Tamm (2009).

(24) Estonian (Tamm 2009: 367)

- a. *Mari kirjuta-vat raamatu-t*
PR write-QUOT⁹ book-PTV
‘Reportedly/allegedly, Mari is writing a book.’
- b. *Mari kirjuta-s raamatu-t*
PR write-PST.3SG book-PTV
‘Mari was writing a book.’
- c. *Mari kirjuta-s raamatu*
PR write-PST.3SG book(TOT)
‘Mari wrote a book.’

Tamm (2009) maintains that the reinterpretation of the partitive in Estonian as a part of an evidential strategy reflects an analogy between two unbounded meanings, namely of incomplete events and incomplete evidence. There has been a functional reanalysis of the *-va-t* string whose result is a grammaticalisation of *-vat* into a mood marker, but the quotative experiences constraints on usage in contemporary Estonian such that e.g. when the speaker has not been witness to an event, but there is strong evidence that the event has occurred, manifested e.g. by the presence of lexical means

⁹ The source of examples in (19) is Tamm (2009), but I follow Metslang & Sepper (2010) in glossing. For purposes of illustration, Tamm (2009: 347) glosses *-vat* as a compilation of the participle and the partitive, but this suggests that the suffix is still synchronically analysable as a combination of the two markers. Though *-t* establishes relations with verbal heads and *va*-participles agree with nominal heads in contemporary Estonian, these two functions are not operative in *-vat* used quotatively. As a whole, the suffix fills a slot for verbal categories, which is shown in (19a).

of certainty, the quotative cannot be used. On the other hand, if the statement is based on sensory experience, but the situation happens at a distance from the speaker, the verb may be marked for *-vat*. This means that the Estonian quotative is not a general reportative mood, but rather a category signalling that evidence is less complete than expected (Tamm 2009: 394).

Though Finnish does not have a record of this kind of a reanalysis of its partitive case, my data reveal that its aspectual meanings, especially those of indefiniteness and non-referentiality, are relevant for the uses of the case in contexts of lack of epistemic access and in requests. Given the history of the Estonian partitive, this suggests that we might be witnessing the making of an epistemic partitive in contemporary Finnish as well.

Similarly to the previous section about the conditional, I will first address the form and history of the Finnish partitive (2.2.1). Subsequently, in 2.2.2., I will deliver a discussion of its functional properties, concentrating on the syntactic contexts which are of interest to this study.

2.2.1. Form and origin

As a Uralic language, Finnish boasts a rich case system in which the partitive is found alongside fourteen other cases (cf. Helasvuo 1997, 2001; see Shore 1992 for an approach which groups together the accusative and the genitive). Of the fifteen Finnish cases, only twelve are fully productive. The abessive remains productive in a certain converbial construction, whereas the comitative and the instructive no longer display productivity (Helasvuo 2001a: 37). The partitive is commonly classified as a grammatical case, together with the accusative, the genitive and the nominative (e.g. Nelson 1998). This is because it is employed to mark abstract grammatical relations such as the direct object. In structural terms, the partitive remains in complementary distribution with the accusative in this function, as well as with the nominative in several other contexts, depending on such semantic features as boundedness. By its discourse profile, the partitive resembles the oblique cases more than grammatical ones (Helasvuo 2001a); I will elaborate on these two questions in 3.2.2. For present, Table 3 is provided in which the case system of Finnish is illustrated and case endings found in the written variety are given. The row containing the partitive is highlighted.

	Singular	Plural	Personal pronoun
Nominative	-Ø	-t	-Ø
Accusative	-n	-t	-t; -i-dät
Genitive	-n	-i-den, -i-en	-n; -i-dän
Partitive	-A, -tA	-i-A, -i-tA	-A; -i-tA
Essive	-nA	-i-nA	-na; -i-nA
Inessive	-ssA	-i-ssA	-ssA; -i-ssA
Adessive	-llA	-i- llA	-llA; -i- llA
Elative	-stA	-i- stA	-stA; -i- stA
Ablative	-ltA	-i- ltA	-ltA; -i- ltA
Illative	-Vn, -hVn, -seen	-i-in, -i-in, -i-siin	-Vn; -hin
Allative	-lle	-i-lle	-lle; -i-lle
Translative	-ksi	-i-ksi	-ksi; -i-ksi
Abessive	-ttA	-i-ttA	-ttA; -i-ttA

Comitative		<i>-ine</i> ¹⁰
Instructive	<i>-n</i>	<i>-i-n</i>

Table 3. The case system of Finnish (cf. Helasvuo 2001a, Sands & Campbell 2001).

In written Finnish, the partitive is formally distinguished by its two endings: *-A* and *-tA*. The use of the capital letter indicates that there exists vowel harmony in Finnish and each of the endings can be manifested in two variants. If the stem features front vowels, the case ending (and other inflectional morphs and affixes) will similarly contain a front vowel, whereas if there are only back vowels or a combination of back vowels and *i* or/and *e* in the stem, the ending will accordingly contain a back vowel. Thus, *-A* is represented in writing by either *-a* (back) or *-ä* (front), while *-tA* by *-ta* (back) or *-tä* (front). The former ending follows stems which end in short vowels, while *-tA* is used for all other stems. Words of Uralic origin which end in *-e* in the nominative have an orthographically non-represented offset glottal stop, but their partitive singular case ending comes as *-ttA*, which does reflect the phonetics. Plural stems end in *-i-*, in the case of the *A*-partitive plural forms, the plural marker is represented as *-j-* if preceded by a vowel. This is the case with *donitseja* ‘doughnuts’ in (20), an example meant to illustrate the variety of possible instantiations of the partitive case endings. As an extract from spoken Finnish, (20) contains realisations of the partitive which differ from those found in the written variety. For example, *-tA* might be reduced to *-t*, as is the case with *niit* ‘these’ (*niitä* in the standard form) and *normaaleit* ‘normal’ (*normaaleita*), or the partitive might become realised as a lengthening of the stem vowel and not as *-A*, e.g. *kaikkee* ‘all’ (*kaikkea*) and *semmosii* ‘such’ (*semmoisia*):

(25) ‘Teenage girls’ (SG120_A_01_10)

- 1 Oona: *mie oo, syöny tänään nii-t*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG eat.PAP today DEM-PTV
 ‘I have eaten today these’
donitse-j-a ja kaikke-e muu-ta,
 doughnut-PL-PTV and all-PTV other-PTV
 ‘doughnuts and all that’
- 2 [*#ä# ällöttä(v-i-ä).*]
 disgusting-PL-PTV
 ‘disgusting stuff’
- 3 Lotta: [*nii mut söit sie] normaale-i-(t) [v- vai °]*
 PTC but eat.PST.2SG 2SG normal-PL-PTV PTC
 ‘yeah, but did you eat normal ones or’
- 4 Oona: [*hh se]mmos-i-i*
 such-PL-PTV
normaale-i-t donitse-j-a
 normal-PL-PTV doughnut-PL-PTV
 ‘just normal doughnuts’

¹⁰ Although nouns which refer to singular entities can also be marked for the comitative, the case ending *-ine-* contains the plural marker *-i-* and therefore nouns in the comitative are formally plural (Sirola-Belliard 2011: 135–136). In recent years, forms without the *-i-* substance have grown in use especially in the Internet language, e.g. *vaimoneen* ‘with one’s wife’ (cf. *vaimoineen*). This phenomenon, however, happens to be a reflection of a feature of spoken Finnish where descending diphthongs ending in *-i* found in the standard language are realised as merely the first vowel, compare *punainen* ‘red’ (standard Finnish) and *punane(n)* ‘red’ (colloquial Finnish).

Diachronically, partitives develop either from spatial cases or from genitives (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 32–33, Luraghi & Kittilä 2014). The Finnish partitive has taken the former path and evolved from the Proto-Finnic **-tA* separative case meaning ‘away from’ which functioned as a partial attribute (Luraghi & Kittilä 2014). By the Proto-Finnic period (around 100 BC), the partitive had already acquired a grammatical function of marking partial transitive objects, which later expanded into marking open quantification in general (Helasvuo 1996a). Traces of the old separative meaning of the partitive are still visible in fossilised forms *koto-a* ‘away from home’ or *kauka-a* ‘from afar’. The attested changes of meaning of the partitive case in Finnish and related languages provide valuable clues for the interpretation of the type of usage under my scrutiny. The evolution of the aspectual partitive in object NPs in Baltic-Finnic was motivated by part-of separation (Larjavaara 1991), and aspectual meanings lie in the premises of the Estonian partitive evidential (Tamm 2009). As argued by Helasvuo (1996a), dubitative and requestive uses of the Finnish partitive represent the most recent stage in its grammaticalisation process.

2.2.2. Function

The Finnish partitive encodes a number of syntactic functions and is used in a variety of constructions, but I wish to focus here on transitive object NPs and existential NPs as the two most widespread contexts of appearance of the partitive which are of interest to this study. The third syntactic context, namely syntactically unattached NPs, will be considered further down. Other uses of the partitive include:

- the marking of the standard of comparison in a comparative construction ADJP + NP.PTV ‘more ADJP than NP’ (Sulkala & Karjalainen 1992: 166–167);
- the marking of complements of adpositions, e.g. ‘around NP.PTV’ (Lestrade 2010);
- the marking of NPs in numerical expressions (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §772);
- the NP + V + NP.PTV -realisation of the equational clause whereby the partitive serves purposes of categorisation, e.g. *Kuhmo on Kainuuta* ‘Kuhmo is part of Kainuu.PTV’ (Kelomäki 1997);
- copula complement adjectives, or adjectival predicatives, which are marked either for the nominative or the partitive depending on the properties of the copula subject (bounded or unbounded; Huumo 2007) or patterns of discourse organisation (Wójtowicz 2018);
- impersonal constructions with certain verbs of experience, called *tunnekausatiivit* ‘causatives of feeling’ in Fennistics, in which the partitive encodes a human object of experience (PRO.PTV + V.3SG), (Siironen 2001).

The last three contexts of usage of the partitive mentioned above already provide a general indication of factors relevant for the marking of NPs in Finnish.

2.2.2.1 Low transitivity values

The key feature influencing the use of the partitive, as well as the marking of arguments of Finnish clauses in general, is the degree of transitivity (Helasvuo 1996a, 2001a). Transitivity is understood here as in Hopper & Thompson (1980), i.e. in terms of scalar properties of whole clauses rather than of either-or features of verbs. There is a

substantial amount of research interested in the case marking strategies used in clauses with two nominal arguments and traditionally, aspect, quantification and negative-positive polarisation are considered as separate factors on which the marking of syntactic objects in such clauses is dependent (e.g. Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 182ff., Larjavaara 1991, Leino 1991, Heinämäki 1994). By this token, if the situation is aspectually unbounded, the object referent displays low affectedness or constitutes an open, divisible entity, the object NP is marked for the partitive case. In contrast, when the situation is bounded, the referent gets totally affected or is a highly individuated, indivisible entity, etc., the object NP is marked for the accusative in the active voice and for the nominative or the accusative in the imperative, passive/impersonal and in several other contexts.

A concise and therefore helpful way of referring to nominative/accusative object NPs is under the label ‘total object’ (*totaaliobjekti*), proposed by Hakulinen et al. (2004: §925). The distinction between partitive and total objects translates to an array of semantic features being relevant for object marking in Finnish transitive clauses. These are particularly the aspectual parameters of telicity and resultativity, but also definiteness, mass vs. count distinctions, and combinations thereof (Itkonen 1976, Heinämäki 1994). A more recent approach by Huumo (2006, 2010) urges for assigning more prominence to the nominal features of quantification. According to Huumo, the marking of object NPs in Finnish is dependent on transient aspect, which has to do with the participation of the referent or quantities of the referent in a situation at a particular point in time. In Finnish, then, equally important to the overall aspect, i.e. inherent properties of events, is how speakers conceptualise the properties of referents at a given stage of the event.

The aspectual differences are particularly visible in verbs which select both partitive and total objects. For example, the objects of *juoda* ‘drink’ are usually in the partitive, which is shown in example (26) below, since it is typically mass nouns that are objects of drinking. But when the object is total, as in (27), drinking receives an interpretation as an accomplishment and the substance drunk is viewed as a closed entity. In the particular case of (27), also the manner adverbial *loppuum* ‘to the end’ contributes to the aspectual interpretation of the situation. All direct objects are marked for the partitive under negation in Finnish, irrespectively of whether the verb governs partitive or accusative/nominative NPs in affirmative clauses. In (28) and (29), examples of the use of the verb *tuntea* ‘experience, know’ are given. If knowing a person is in question, i.e. the object of knowing is highly individuated, the verb selects a total object – this is shown in (28). A change in polarisation affects the object so that it obligatorily appears in the partitive when negated, cf. (29).

(26) ‘Wine evening’ (SG396_20_30)

Taavi: *juokaa viini-ä Akseli.*
 drink.IMP.2PL wine-PTV PR
 ‘drink wine, Akseli’

(27) ‘Church youth’ (SG440_litteraatti)

Laura: *heij juokaa tää loppuum mä lähen.*
 PTC drink.IMP.2PL DEM(NOM) end.ILL 1SG leave.PRS.1SG
 ‘hey, drink this up, I’m leaving’

(28) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_01_20)

Hanna: *mä* (.) *tunsin* *häne-t* *ihan* *kamalan* *hyvin*.
1SG know.PST.1SG 3SG-ACC INT awful.GEN well
‘I knew him awfully well’

(29) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_07_20)

Hanna: *mut* *täs* *ei* *nyt* *tunneta* *to-ta*
but here NEG.3SG now know.PASS.NEG DEM-PTV
‘but we don’t know’
kolmat-ta.
third-PTV
‘the third one here’

Certain verbs, especially verbs of emotion and some verbs of cognition, govern almost exclusively partitive objects. Loving, hating, admiring, thinking, waiting for someone and comparable non-punctual and non-kinetic actions feature partitive objects, similarly to the above illustrated negated clauses and those whose objects are low in individuation and affectedness. Thus, examples (26), (29) and (30), which follows immediately, illustrate different correlates of low transitivity in the sense of Hopper and Thompson (1980). The partitive case is the formal device used for encoding low transitivity values in objects of such clauses.

(30) ‘Church youth’ (SG440_litteraatti)

1 Kirsi: *sit* *ne* *rakastaa* *su-a*, (.)
PTC 3PL love.PRS.3PL 2SG-PTV
‘and they love you’

As noted by several scholars (especially Yli-Vakkuri 1986, but also Helasvuo 1996a: 22, Kiparsky 1998: 21 and Sands & Campbell 2001: 263), sometimes the formal marking of NPs in Finnish is a reflection of how speakers position themselves, e.g. show their degree of confidence with respect to what they are saying, rather than of how they view situations and entities involved in them. Helasvuo (1996a: 22) offers the following example in which the partitive is argued to be used in a dubitative function:

(31) Finnish (Helasvuo 1996a: 22)

oot *sä* *muute* *huomannu* *siin* *mi-tä-än*
be.PRS.2SG 2SG by.the.way notice.PAP there some-PTV-CL
‘by the way, have you noticed any’
ero-o.
difference-PTV
‘difference?’

I note that (31) is not just an example of a pragmatically motivated partitive, but also of pragmatically motivated negation. The use of *mitään* ‘any’, which formally is an interrogative pronoun bearing a partitive ending and a clitic, indicates negative polarisation in absence of the negative verb *ei* (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §1623, 1635).

Negation merits special attention here because epistemic meanings are typically mentioned together with negative expectations in discussions of such cases (e.g. Sands & Campbell 2001: 263). So apart from the syntactic factors of standard negation (cf. example 29), negative contexts relevant for the use of the partitive are also of pragmatic kind. Questions such as (31) are assumed to be oriented towards receiving a negative answer. Though the partitive marking of the NP in such questions is implicitly linked to negation rather than to other meanings of the case, expectation, understood as a mental picture one holds about a situation, is an epistemic meaning (Tamm 2009: 367), which is perhaps why doubt and negative expectations are considered together in the literature.

Though speaker expectations are known to have an impact on linguistic structure (see e.g. Haspelmath 1997: 48–51, 120 for examples of languages in which they influence the use of indefinite pronouns), it is in fact practically impossible to determine what expectations a speaker actually holds in real-time language use. We are, therefore, left with more down-to-earth evidence such as the immediate conversational context of occurrence of the phenomena that we scrutinise. Example (32) considered in what follows provides an illustration how useful this kind of evidence may be.

2.2.2.2 Stance

The global syntax-semantics of the verb *muistaa* ‘recollect, remember’ is that when someone or something is recalled every now and then, the verb selects partitive objects, but if remembering something or someone is in question, the object is total (cf. Grönros et al. 2006). Yet *semmosta naamaa* ‘such a face’ appears in the partitive in (32) whereby the verb is used in the sense of remembering a person in the photo whom Hanna is showing to others. Let me tentatively rely on the previous discussion and assume that Hanna’s use of the partitive in lines 1–3 is an expression of doubt or an anticipation of a negative answer. The discussion around the photo and the task of establishing whom it shows is distributed across multiple sequences which are placed distantly from each other. ‘Concert agency’ is a conversation involving seven people who sometimes form smaller groups between which they spontaneously transfer in discussing several photographs at a time.

(32) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_07_20)

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1 → | Hanna: | <i>[muistattek</i> | <i>te</i> | <i><u>semmos-ta]</u></i> | |
| | | remember.PRS.2PL.Q.CL | 2PL | such-PTV | |
| | | ‘do you remember such a’ | | | |
| 2 | Päivi: | <i>[Ringbumko.]</i> | | | |
| | | PR.Q | | | |
| | | ‘it is Ringbum?’ | | | |
| 3 → | Hanna: | <i>naa[ma-a.]</i> | | | |
| | | face-PTV | | | |
| | | ‘face?’ | | | |
| 4 → | Maija: | <i>[joo] kukas</i> | <i>toi</i> | <i>on.</i> | |
| | | PTC who.CL | DEM | be.PRS.3SG | |
| | | ‘yeah, who’s that?’ | | | |
| | | ((ca. 1min30s later)) | | | |
| 5 → | Hanna: | <i>mut täs ei nyt tunneta</i> | | <i>[tota</i> | |
| | | but here be.NEG now know.PASS.NEG | | DEM.PTV | |
| | | ‘but we don’t know’ | | | |

		<i>kolmatta.]</i> third.PTV 'the third one here'				
6	Liisa:					<i>[hei nyt hei</i> hey PTC hey 'hey now, hey'
		<i>täss]_on</i> here_ be.PRS.3SG 'here is, I mean'	<i>siis</i> PTC	<i>[tota,]</i> PTC		
7	Maija:			<i>[mutta] (.)</i> PTC 'but'		
8 →		<i>oisko</i> be.COND.3SG.Q 'is it (lit. would it be)'	<i>se</i> it	<i>[(--)]</i>		
9	Jussi:	<i>niij juu ku mä: (.) mä</i> PTC PTC cause 1SG 1SG				
10 →		<i>pikkusen näyttäs</i> a.little look.COND.3SG 'looks a little as if it was (lit. would be)'		<i>niinku se</i> like it	<i>ois</i> be.COND.3SG	
		<i>Toivo Haapanem mutta mä en oo</i> PR PR but 1SG NEG.1SG be.PRS.NEG 'Toivo Haapanen but I'm not'				
		<i>[ihav] varma.</i> quite sure 'quite sure'				
11	Päivi:	<i>[nii.]</i> PTC 'yeah'				

It becomes immediately obvious that Maija's turn in line 4 is not a negative answer. In interactional terms, the turn is best analysed in terms of a response rather than of an answer to Hanna's question. Using the particle *joo* 'yeah', Maija makes an affiliation with Hanna hinting that she cannot identify the man, either, and the whole of her turn indicates that she orients towards a group execution of the task rather than to answering Hanna whether she remembers the person or not.

What is more, negatives do not normally perform tasks connected with the introduction of new referents into discourse – referential object NPs are typically introduced “as indefinites” (Givón 1978: 73) in affirmative clauses. So Hanna's turn in lines 1–3, a turn which initiates the sequence and introduces the man shown in the photograph, has hardly anything to do with negation, but it rather should be examined in terms of indefiniteness. The head of the NP which refers to the face of the man is modified by the partitive form of *semmonen* 'such', an indefinite adjective used in the delivery of a description of the entity being introduced (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §1411). In spontaneously occurring conversational Finnish, *semmonen* often signals that there is more information to come (Erringer 1996, cited in Helasvuo 2004: 1327), so the sequential position of *semmosta naamaa* 'such a face' is far more typical for indefinite expressions than for negated ones.

This said, there is a point of tangency for negation in Hanna's turn, and this point is the referentiality of the NP. Miestamo (2014) remarks that in Finnish and other languages, there is a tendency for negated indefinite NPs to be interpreted non-referentially. The concept of referentiality is commonly understood as the relation between a linguistic and an extralinguistic entity, but in the universe of discourse, it has more to do with the referent's identity within discourse than with whether or not there is a corresponding object outside of it (Du Bois 1980). Even if the participants talk about a hypothetical situation or an imaginary object, the situation and the object acquire discourse referentiality thanks to becoming identifiable to the participants who introduce and keep mentioning it. Identifiability is "a speaker's assumption that his or her addressee can identify the referent of a noun phrase" (Laury 1997: 34–35). Example (27) is interesting in terms of identifiability because the referent is clearly referential in absolute terms, but there are problems with its identifiability – not in the sense that the co-participants experience hardships understanding what is being talked about, but that the accessibility of the referent to their cognitive spheres is epistemically incomplete.

Judging by the content of example (32), it seems that the use of an indefinite expression *semmosta naamaa* 'such a face' may also be driven by a wish to create a certain understanding of the situation. My data shows that use of the partitive in such context may be an announcement that there is going to be a problem in the sequence. Hanna takes the main responsibility for task management: she introduces the referent and signals the continuity of discussion around it after the others' attention has veered towards another photograph (cf. lines 4–5). She does so with the use of a negated clause in line 5 when she already has a clear picture that the preliminary attempt to establish the man's identity has failed, and she calls all hands on deck. The others' memories are also imperfect: they attempt to collaboratively arrive at a definitive statement throughout (32), but they have to satisfy themselves with a conclusion based on incomplete evidence. During later conversation not presented here, the co-participants take Jussi's not fully reliable account forward and enumerate reasons which could support the idea that it is Toivo Haapanen whom they see in the photo, but no-one is one hundred percent sure. There is a lexical disclaimer of certainty in line 10 and conditionals are also used in lines 8–10 to claim insufficient epistemic access.

In conclusion, what can be said for sure about (32) is that epistemicity plays a major role in the management of the main task in this example. If *semmosta naama* 'such a face' bears a tinge of negative meaning, it is not directly and straightforwardly negation that motivates the use of the partitive in this expression. Hanna's expectations concern her interlocutors' ability to identify the discourse referent, i.e. she makes an assumption about identifiability – though indeed, the assumption is that the others might *not* be able to identify the man. Incompleteness permeates the whole of example (32): the evidence is incomplete, the accessibility of the referent to the participants' cognition is nowhere near complete, let alone the fact that the result of task execution is also partly successful because it is based on the co-participants' imperfect memories.

The results of research by Helasvuo (1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2001a) show that when considered in terms of functions connected with the management of information flow in discourse, the partitive has its unique discourse profile which places it between core and oblique cases. On the one hand, the Finnish partitive stands out as the typical marker for non-identifiable referents. As has just been shown, the major motivation behind the use of a partitive object in Hanna's first turn in example (32) might have been based precisely on the assumption that the referent is not identifiable to the participants. On the other hand, compared to accusative and nominative NPs, partitive NPs are significantly lower in tracking (see Table 4). Tracking is a parameter of

discourse referentiality which tells whether the referent is mentioned again. In Helasvuo's (1997) data, exactly 50% partitive NPs were further tracked through discourse, and it is indeed interesting that the majority of referents of partitive NPs in my data, including *semmosta naamaa* 'such a face' from (32) and *klasia* 'glass' which appears in (34) further down are tracking mentions of discourse referents.

case of NP	referent introduction	identifiability	participant tracking
nominative	26,2%	74,5%	79,8%
accusative	47,8%	60,9%	81,2%
genitive	45,8%	66,7%	62,5%
partitive	48,5%	34,6%	50,0%
oblique cases	43,6%	68,1%	26,5%
average	35,0%	66,4%	62,3%

Table 4. Discourse profiles of Finnish cases (Helasvuo 1997)

Example (32) contains an instance of a transitive object of a verb not extremely high in transitivity, and it is characteristic of my material that wherever "pragmatically" motivated partitives appear in the object position, the verb is not very agentive or kinetic. But in general, the typical syntactic environment for partitives in my data are not transitive clauses but existential clauses, which are also very low in transitivity.¹¹ The Finnish existential clause expresses possession and location, i.e. that there is something somewhere or that someone has something. The existential clause has already appeared in example (14) in 2.1.2. Now I illustrate it schematically in (28).

(33) The Finnish existential clause (Helasvuo 2001a: 97)

NP.LOC/POSS + V_{olla} 'be' + NP.NOM/PTV

The existential clause is made up of two nominal arguments and the existential verb – typically *olla* 'be', but also some other verbs of state and perception appear in this environment. In example (34) below, there is a periphrastic verbal phrase *olla näkyvissä* 'be visible' used as an existential predicate. Of the two NPs in the existential clause, the preverbal one marks the location or the possessor and stands in one of the locative cases (typically the adessive, sometimes also the allative and other cases). The word order in the existential clause is quite fixed: the locative/possessive NP precedes the verb and the NP marked for the nominative or the partitive follows it (Helasvuo 2001a, but see Huumo 2003 for numerous examples with the reverse order), i.e. the e-NP.¹² The typical discourse profile of the Finnish existential clause is that it

¹¹ At first sight, this is interesting because the natural habitat of partitive NPs in Finnish conversation is the object role: of the 175 partitives in Helasvuo's (2001a: 102) data, 126, or 72%, were object NPs, while 45 (25%) were arguments of the existential clause. However, I consider my different results to be simply a consequence of the methodology adopted, i.e. of the fact that I am interested in those uses of the partitive which are considered atypical.

¹² It has been traditionally held that the other noun phrase in the clause is the existential object (e.g. Sadeniemi 1955, Ikola 1964, Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979, Huumo 1997). Helasvuo (1996b, 2001a) and Helasvuo & Huumo (2010) have proposed that the noun phrase marked for the partitive or the nominative be called the existential NP, or the e-NP. The thrust of their argument is that the e-NP displays distinct characteristics from both subjects and objects on syntactic and discourse-functional grounds, and therefore it merits treatment as a separate category. In Finnish, the subject and the verb

characterises the referent of the locative/possessive NP which has already been mentioned in prior discourse, thus providing the participants with background information (Huumo 1996; Helasvuo 1996b, 2001a). The referent of the e-NP is new to the discourse, but not central to it: in 71% cases in Helasvuo's (2001a: 99) data, the e-NP was dropped after the first mention. This means that it is in fact the locative/possessive NP and not the e-NP that is the more pivotal argument in the existential clause, one that enjoys more autonomy and conceptual prominence.

The case marking of the e-NP is dependent on aspects of transitivity of the clause in basically the same way as in transitive clauses, and for example negation has the same effects on e-NPs as on transitive objects. Although this feature undoubtedly situates the e-NP in proximity of the object in Finnish, existential NPs differ from objects substantially in terms of discourse salience of their referents. The referents of object NPs, unlike those of subject e-NPs, usually become tracked (Helasvuo 1996b: 350). In this respect, *semmosta naamaa* 'such a face' from example (32) is a typical object, but *klasia* 'glass' from example (34) is not a typical e-NP. They both get tracked.

At the point of 'Concert agency' presented in example (34), Hanna, Jussi and other participants are busy segregating photos from the 1920's showing former musicians, composers and singers of the Helsinki Opera. Hanna remembers that the singer whom they have just finished talking about was particularly fond of alcohol, to the point of running the risk of drinking at official parties during the times of prohibition (1919–1932). Hanna wants to check whether the singer is holding a glass in her hand in the photo which has just been put aside. The others are already tuned into the next photo on their agenda, one showing Heimo Haitari. For brevity, I will omit the lines in which they concentrate on Haitari because these are of no relevance for the present discussion.

(34) 'Concert agency' (SG435_04_10)

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------|--|---|---|
| 1 | Hanna: | <i>[hetki]nen,</i>
moment
'wait' | | |
| 2 | Matti: | <i>on.</i>
be.PRS.3SG
'it is' | | |
| 3 | | <i>joo.</i>
PTC
'yes' | | |
| 4 | Päivi: | <i>[joo].</i>
PTC

'yes' | | |
| | | ((Hanna reaches for the photo)) | | |
| 5 → | Hanna: | <i>onko</i>
be.PRS.3SG.Q | <i>[tässä klasia</i>
here glass.PTV | <i>näkyvis^osä^o]</i>
be.visible.PRAP.PL.INE |
| | | 'is there a glass visible here?' | | |
| 6 | Maija: | <i>[ja sitte (--)]</i>
and then | <i>tät## (0.2)</i>
aunt | <i>Elsalle.</i>
PR.ALL |
| | | 'and now, to aunt Elsa' | | |

agree in person and number, but the e-NP does not trigger such agreement – the existential predicate always comes in the third person singular.

- Heimo .Haitari*
PR
'Heimo Haitari'
- 7 Jussi: *Heimo Haitari.* [tää on hyvä kuva.]
PR PR DEM be.PRS.3SG good photo
'Heimo Haitari,
'this is a good photo'
- 8 Liisa: [voi ku i<hana] kuva>;
EXC wonderful photo
'oh, what a wonderful photo!'
- ((Hanna turns to Jussi))
- 9 → Hanna: *kuule onk[o to]ssa .hh*
listen.IMP.2SG be.PRS.3SG.Q there
'listen, is there'
((3 lines omitted))
- 13 → Hanna: [El]salla [tuota nii]
PR.ADE PTC PTC
'does Elsa have'
lasi kä[dessä.]
glass hand.INE
'a glass in her hand'
((2 lines omitted))
- 16 → Hanna: *vai: onko eikö oo.*
or be.PRS.3SG.Q NEG.3SG.Q be.PRS.NEG
'or does she, she doesn't'
- 17 → Jussi: *ei sil- ei oo.*
NEG.3SG 3SG.ADE NEG.3SG be.PRS.NEG
'no, she doesn't'

This example contains another instance of the epistemic partitive. Although Hanna has knowledge of the singer's drinking habits, she cannot entirely rely on her intuition that these habits could have become visually manifest in the particular photo she is coming back to because she had not paid attention to details minutes before when the photo had been under scrutiny. Not only does Hanna's memory fail her, but also her sight has left its best years behind – she is the oldest among the participants. It is unusual for such highly individuated referents to appear in the partitive in such contexts, and if considered in terms of the referent's discourse salience, the use of the partitive is also atypical here because *klasia* 'glass' becomes tracked through (34). Arguably, the reason for partitive marking could also be indefiniteness, but this explanation is not very convincing since the preceding discourse provides the participants with a common understanding of the situation. While *klasia* is a first mention of a referent, it is accessible to the participants through a cognitive frame based on general knowledge of the surrounding world. In the conversation preceding (34) Hanna has told an anecdote about the singer's propensity to use and misuse alcohol, and drinking containers belong together with beverages. This means that *klasia* is an anchor to previous discourse (see Chafe 1994 for more discussion on anchoring and the sources of shared knowledge) and also that again, epistemic factors motivate the use of the partitive also in the existential clause.

2.2.2.3 Directives

Nouns in the partitive I am studying also appear in constructions performing directive functions in my material, and requests in particular. More than in other functions, the use of the partitive in requestive turns is linked to the use of the conditional because these two categories co-occur in request environments. I have two examples to cite in this subsection: one shows epistemic stance taken in the service of a request (35) and the other a request proper (36).

In example (35), the client requests an immediate action by the clerk with a transitive construction containing the zero person. The Finnish zero person does not have an overt marker (cf. Siewierska 2004: 22ff.), but uses third person verbal morphology and can thus be regarded as paradigmatically integrated into the third person. The lack of overt subject marking in the Finnish zero person enables the construction to create a common reference ground (Laitinen 1995; see also section 3.2.1).

(35) ‘The dentist’s fee’ (T160_hammaslaakarinpalkkio)

- 1 Client: *nii: ja ne la- (.) se lappu kyllä*
 PTC and DEM DEM note PTC
 ‘yeah, and those, on the note, indeed’
saa tietääettä osa (.) alennusta siitä,
 get.PRS.3SG know COMP part discount.PTV it.ELA
 ‘there is information that part of the discount is based on it’
- 2 Clerk: *joo-o,*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 3 → Client: *mutta hukattiin se lappu että*
 but lose.PASS.PST DEM note PTC
 ‘but we lost the note, so’
saiskos siitä jäljennöstä. (0.4)
 get.COND.3SG.Q.CL it.ELA duplicate.PTV
 ‘could I get (lit. could one get) a duplicate of it?’
- 4 → *löytyykö semmosta, (0.6)*
 be.found.PRS.3SG.Q such.PTV
 ‘is there one?’
- 5 → Clerk: *<kuu:leppa ootappa nytten>, .hh*
 listen.IMP.2SG.CL wait.IMP.2SG.CL PTC
 ‘listen, wait a moment’
>miepä< pyyän >tuota niin< tuon
 1SG.CL ask.PRS.2SG PTC PTC DEM.ACC
 ‘I’ll ask’
yhen ihmisen tänne,
 one.ACC person.ACC here
 ‘one person here’
- 6 Client: *mm,*
 PTC
- 7 → Clerk: *.hhh niin >tuota< <kyllä varmaankin>,*
 PTC PTC PTC PTC probably.CL
 ‘well, probably, yes’

The request in question can be found in line 3. The client asks for a duplicate of the document with *saiskos siittä jäljennöstä* ‘could I/one get a duplicate of it’, i.e. a transitive clause with a verb in the conditional and the direct object in the partitive. But if considered in its wider context, the request is followed by a turn in which the client asks an additional question on whether it is at all possible to obtain a duplicate (line 4). The question also features an instance of the partitive which meets the criteria employed in this study. The client’s explicit enquiry about the procedures shows that she is not familiar with the institutional know-how. Therefore the use of the partitive has a visible epistemic motivation and actually, it can also receive a non-referential interpretation because the client’s question is about whether there exists a class of objects. So *saiskos siittä jäljennöstä* ‘could I/one get a duplicate of it’ is not just a request, but a stanced request, a request which is made in the context whereby the requester positions herself as unknowledgeable and therefore not sure on whether her request can be satisfied.

Example (35) suggests a tempting tentative conclusion: the partitive seems to be a universal disclaimer of epistemic access, while the use of the conditional in directives has more to do with the actual action. But then the data produces examples such as (36) which contradict such reasoning and provide strong evidence in favour of the constructional understanding of grammar and language in social interaction, an approach I will have more to say about in Section 3.1.

(36) ‘E 111’ (T954_eesataykstoista)

- 1 Clerk: *joo hei?*
PTC hello
‘yeah, hi’
- 2 Client: *hei: (0.4.) kuule mä oisin tarvinnu (1.4)*
hello listen.IMP.2SG 1SG be.COND.1SG need.PAP
‘hi, listen, I would need a’
.mt sellasen; (0.4) <ee sataykstoista>;
such.ACC e one.hundred.eleven
‘an e-111’
- 3 Clerk: *mm-m; (0.4.)*
PTC
- 4 Client: *#lomakkee#.*
form.ACC
‘form’
- 5 → Clerk: *joo:?, onks sulla tota; (0.2) Kelakorttia? (0.2)*
PTC be.PRS.3SG.CL 2SG.ADE PTC Kela.card. PTV
‘yeah, do you have a Kela card?’
- 6 Client: *#joo#.*
PTC
‘yeah’
- 7 → Clerk: *tai henkilöllisyystodis*tusta*.*
or identity.card. PTV
‘or an identity card?’
- 8 Client: *joo.*
PTC
‘yeah’
(16.0) ((Client searches her rucksack))

The partitive appears in lines 5 and 7 in the clerk's request formed as the possessive construction of Finnish under interrogation. The whole surrounding context of lines 5 and 7 reveals that despite the partitive marking of the NPs referring to the requested objects (*Kelakorttia* 'Kela card' and *henkilöllisyystodistusta* 'identity card'), no epistemic stance taking happens in (36), unlike in (35). Proving one's identity to the social welfare officer is an inherent step in the institutional encounter, and it would be contrary to expectations for the client not to have a personal identification document with her. Taken as a whole, the existential clause with the partitive marked NP recurrently performs request in Finnish institutional talk (as will be shown in 5.1.). Throughout Chapter 3 presenting the remaining part of the scientific credo of this study I will adhere to the view that it is whole constructions to which people orient in their interactional practices.

3. Grammar and social interaction

“Eine Sage ist keine Tute, betrachten wir das in aller Ruhe [A word is not a deed, let’s have a careful look at it]”, begins the humorous poem *Worte und Taten* by Kurt Tucholsky. The German writer uses a number of clichés to point out that what people do is often very different from what they say, for example when politicians renege on their promises or when women say one thing but mean another. Although Tucholsky’s poem is not a linguistic analysis of meaning and communication, I find the quotation an apt summary of how traditional linguistics viewed the essentials of language before the appearance of *How to Do Things with Words* by John L. Austin (1962). In his series of lectures, widely held to be a milestone in linguistic pragmatics, Austin (1962) basically argued that words *are* deeds, thus making a strong plea for considering language in performative rather than informative terms. To illustrate Austin’s approach, let me reprint a part of the example just covered. The clerk’s turn in lines 5 and 7 is best analysed with reference to what it does – and it does requesting – rather than to the factual status of states of affairs.

(37) ‘E 111’ (T954_eesataykstoista)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 5 | Clerk: <i>joo:?</i> , <i>onks</i> <i>sulla</i> <i>tota;</i> (0.2) <i>Kelakorttia?</i> (0.2)
PTC be.PRS.3SG.CL 2SG.ADE PTC Kela.card. PTV
‘yeah, do you have a Kela card?’ |
| 6 | Client: <i>#joo#</i> .
PTC
‘yeah’ |
| 7 | Clerk: <i>tai</i> <i>henkilöllisyystodis*tusta*</i> .
or identity.card. PTV
‘or an identity card?’ |
| 8 | Client: <i>joo</i> .
PTC
‘yeah’
→ (16.0) ((Client searches her rucksack)) |

That a request is being formed in lines 5 and 7 of example (37) can be judged by the client’s response which indicates that she has recognised the clerk’s utterance as a request. She does not deliver an answer to a question on whether or not she has an ID with her, but an adequate response to a requirement to present the ID, and searches for it so as to comply with the request. So to continue with Tucholsky’s words, “Worte und Taten – das ist so hinieden – sind manchmal verschieden [On this Earth it happens that words and deeds are sometimes different]”: although the clerk’s turn formally constitutes a question about possession, in fact it is not a question seeking a yes-no response, but a means of asking for a physical object.

The research tradition which grew out of Austin’s performative pragmatics has been consistently arguing for a recognition of the social and interactional context in linguistic analysis because it has been convincingly showing that speakers seldom show explicit consideration about the truth of what is being talked about in interactive discourse, but use linguistic devices e.g. to regulate the flow of the conversation. Even Searle’s speech act pragmatics (1969 and onwards) may be regarded a representative of this tradition because the felicity conditions for a successful performance of speech acts,

which are central to Searle’s theory, rely to a great extent on the assumptions that the speech act participants hold of each other’s intentions and abilities. However, as pointed out by Drew & Couper-Kuhlen (2014: 5–6), cognitive research still lacks the advancement that would provide linguists with reliable evidence of what participants in human interactions really intend to do. For this reason, studies into language and interaction typically set themselves more humble research questions, e.g. how the momentary relationships between the participants are reflected in the choice of a particular form in a sequence of action.

An interesting example comes from Fox & Thompson (2010) who studied *wh*-questions in American English conversation. They came to the conclusion that responses to these questions differ structurally depending on whether there is a problem with the question (or the whole sequence) or not. In (38), Teresa is not lacking the information on the time of return because as Fox & Thompson (2010) report, she came back home together with Betty. Teresa’s question is in fact a complaint about Betty’s not cleaning the apartment as earlier promised. The clausal format of Betty’s response indicates that she treats Teresa’s question as problematic. Fox & Thompson (2010) maintain that unproblematic responses to *wh*-questions tend to have a simple phrasal format, i.e. without a finite verb. Structurally simple responses do nothing else but provide the information required by the *wh*-question.

(38) American English (Fox & Thompson 2010: 138)

- | | | |
|---|---------|---|
| 1 | Teresa: | <i>what time did we get home.</i> (0.4) |
| 2 | Betty: | <i>we got home at one thirty:</i> (0.9) |

In this chapter I will explore such aspects of relationships between Finnish interactants as entitlement to requesting a particular service, contingencies around actions, and other kinds of interactional asymmetries which play a role in the distribution of constructions across the conversations that I am investigating. I will cover these topics at the end of the chapter, together with the characteristics of institutional and casual interactions as the differences between the two are also of relevance for my study.

For long enough, mainstream linguistic inquiry has not only scrutinised language detached from its context of usage, but also failed to acknowledge speaker-based aspects in the study of meaning and function. It should be noted that the very expression ‘use of language’ reflects a deeply rooted assumption that language is a tool external to those whom it inhabits. But there are numerous studies which have adopted an alternative approach and successfully shown that the speaker’s perspective reflected in language is also relevant for grammatical description. For example, Scheibman (2002) accounts that 1st person singular pronouns in American English conversation display a tendency to co-occur with verbs of cognition in that in 31,6% of instances when a verb of cognition appears in her data, it is used with a 1st person subject (Scheibman 2002: 64). This stands in radical contrast with the rate for 3rd person singular pronouns, which form subject-verb constructions with verbs of cognition in only 1,6% instances. Travis (2007), Posio (2011) and Helasvuo (2014b) feed similar results for, respectively, Colombian Spanish, Peninsular Spanish and Finnish spoken discourses (cf. also example 19 cited in 2.1.2.1). So while linguistic theories allow one to compose a neat inflectional paradigm of, say, the verb *think*, featuring *I think*, *you think* and *s/he thinks*, current interactional research is pointing towards a suggestion that in naturally occurring spoken language *I think*, unlike *s/he thinks*, is crystallising as a conventional

pattern (cf. also Kärkkäinen 2003), and is consequently providing important insights into the study of grammaticalisation. In this chapter I will, too, focus on the subjectivity of language in interaction, especially in my discussion of stance in 3.2.2. In other words, not only intersubjective aspects of linguistic constructions as illustrated in example (38), but also the subjective freight carried by them will receive attention.

Prior to discussing all this, I will commence this chapter by introducing the main theories and approaches which inform this work.

3.1. Interactional approaches to grammar

Since it is in interactive encounters that human language is at home, Interactional Linguistics seeks to establish what aspects of language influence and are influenced by interaction (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2001). Approaches to the study of language in interaction abound (see 1.2), but the three orientations in IL which are of greatest significance for this study may be summarised as follows. Recurrent conversational patterns called constructions constitute the key object of my investigation, and I benefit from the construction-grammatical approach (Croft 2001, Goldberg 1996 and later, Günthner & Imo 2006; section 3.1.1.) in analysing them. Further, I adopt the perspective that linguistic constructions are formats for social actions (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005, Fox 2007; section 3.1.2.) and accept, with minor reservations, the view that grammar is not the model for discourse, but the result of it (Hopper 1987, 1988, 1998; section 3.1.3.).

3.1.1. Construction Grammar

I should stress it already at the outset that this work accommodates first and foremost the language-philosophical aspects of Construction Grammar rather than the analytical toolkit or the notional apparatus that it uses. For one thing, much of mainstream CxG research builds on the study of invented examples and written texts, including those approaches which consider themselves discourse-based (e.g. Östman 2005, but see Lindström 2014). As Östman (2005: 125) notes, “it is not even clear that all practitioners of Construction Grammar are in favor of taking Construction Grammar beyond the sentence”. This written-language bias is insofar problematic as it sometimes leads construction-grammatical studies to practically follow the assumptions on grammar they claim to reject. For example, Fried & Östman (2004) set out to define language as a network of constructions which all are equally central and good to start a grammatical description with (Fried & Östman 2004: 12). But then the authors are faced with problems with unification principles governing the combinability of construction constituents and of constructions with each other (e.g. as a proper noun, ‘Prague’ is not combined with a definite article in English, yet it is possible to say ‘it is not the Prague I remember’; Fried & Östman 2004: 36–40). They explain these issues by resorting to usage and context, and not to the grammatical formalisms they have introduced. Later on, Fried & Östman (2004: 53) speak of “basic” uses of Czech verbs, which in fact posits the constructions exemplifying such uses as more basic than the others they cite for comparison.

All this, I believe, is due to a heavy reliance on the work of Charles Fillmore and associates (e.g. Fillmore et al. 1988, Fillmore 1989) from which CxG arose. Fillmore & Kay’s Construction Grammar is generative to a great extent in that it pursues strict unification when trying to account for a possibly widest set of linguistic phenomena. It is questionable whether an approach which brings description down to a minimal

amount of abstract rules is well-suited for studies of interaction across genres such as the present one. The constructionist ethos followed in this work is much more functional than formal, so I find it unproblematic to conduct linguistic analysis, wherever reasonable, through “listings of phenomena and facts”, a method that Fried & Östman (2004: 24) see as an opposite to the reductionist approach favoured by CxG.

Another reason why I rely solely on the ideological part of CxG is the compatibility of CxG with the other two interactional-linguistic approaches followed in this study. Advocating the construction-grammatical framework for linguistic analysis, Östman (2005: 121) claims that discourse conventionalisations can be placed “on an equal footing with the conventionalized patterns known as ‘grammar’”. But Hopper (1987 and later) claims that discourse conventionalisations *are*, in fact, grammar. The view on grammar as emergent from interaction and a perspective on linguistic constructions as social action formats are both much more usage-driven, if less theoretically sophisticated approaches, than CxG, and thus could be more efficiently combined with the latter if its box illustrations and considerations of how constructions form multi-layered abstract networks are left out from the frame of reference. As a matter of fact, the different traditions I am discussing here have arrived at parallel conclusions regarding grammar independently of each other. For instance, one of the central claims in the Croftian Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001) that constructions give rise to grammatical categories practically applies an idea more generally described by Hopper to the study of grammar.

What are, then, the aspects of Construction Grammar that the present study *does* take on board? First and foremost, the view that “grammar consists of constructions” (Goldberg 2005: 18) is of pivotal importance to it. This is to say that the knowledge of a language assumed to be stored in the minds of speakers does not exist as abstract categories and the rules governing their combination, but as whole patterns and the speakers’ experiences with their usage. Consequently, the relationship between form and function must be seen as inseparable so that the functions and meanings of constructions cannot be fully predictable based on the meanings and functions of their elements (Goldberg 1996: 68). The discussion around example (37) wherein the clerk requested the client to present the Kela card has offered an illustration of how I understand this claim, as well as a preliminary overview of how this rule applies to the Finnish partitive I am studying. The constructions I will present in Section 5 are not free combinations of NPs bearing partitive marking and different clause types, but of patterns such that e.g. an interrogative existential clause and an indicative existential clause will exhibit different functional characteristics as patterns of interactional achievement, and also select partly different partitive NPs.

By studying constructions in interactive language, I practically follow the approach which understands the nature of interactional contribution as being constructional (Günthner & Imo 2006, Imo 2007a). Interactionalists consider linguistic structures as adaptations to the home environment of natural language, i.e. turns-at-talk (Schegloff 1996: 44–45), and this work examines these formal adaptations to the conversational environment as constructions, i.e. recurrent pairings of form and social action. Three aspects of what I call ‘the interactional profile’ of constructions are of central importance: sequential position, syntactic composition, and interactional function understood in terms of social actions implemented by constructions. What I do not devote attention to is how the specific constructions form abstract networks (for such an approach see e.g. Imo’s 2007b study of the German *ich mein(e)* ‘I mean’ as a specific formation of the abstract construction ‘discourse marker’). This is partly for reasons explained at the beginning of this subsection, but also because my study is not

meant to explore all constructions of stance or all possible ways of implementing directives in Finnish conversational interaction.

Finally, the present study accepts the views of Croft (2001) in seeing grammatical functions as potentially construction-specific and in acknowledging the fact that inventories of constructions vary across languages. But my motivation to do so is pragmatic rather than semantic, i.e. grammatical structure is considered to be the ultimate reflection of the interactional practices of linguistic communities. For Croft (2001: 108), the relationship between form and function consists in the mapping of “the perspective imposed on the world by the speaker” on the conceptual space, which is mirrored in syntactic structure. As emphasised several times before, this study sees the latter part of the form-function dyad as nested in social experience rather than in worldview, in intersubjective achievement rather than in subjective conceptualisation.

Studies in second language acquisition provide particularly useful illustrations of how such a perspective works. For example Horbowicz (2010), who examined conversational collaboration between native speakers of Norwegian and Polish learners of that language, found out that in terms of usage of a pro-repeat construction *det er det* ‘it is so/as you said, that’s true’, Poles viewed their necessary interactional commitment not according to what is required by the Norwegian practice, but in their native way. Horbowicz (2010: 211) reports that only one single time throughout her data did a Pole and not her Norwegian interlocutor use the pro-repeat. In Polish conversation, she remarks, there is no need of marking alignment or performing explicit understanding checks “if general comprehension is assumed maintained” (Horbowicz 2010: 231). But the same is not true of the social practice of having a conversation in Norwegian where *det er det* ‘it is so/as you said, that’s true’ is widespread as an alignment marker or an overt means of attendance. So unlike its Polish “counterpart”, the construction *det er det* performs tasks connected with accompanying the interlocutor in addition to making declarative factual statements in Norwegian. Ultimately, this has consequences for the distributional properties of the pronoun *det* ‘it/the’ in Norwegian which functions as an overt subject and substitutes the clause being paraphrased within the pro-repeat.

So in fact, this study examines constructions in Finnish spoken interaction in the spirit of Hallidayan (1978) functionalism. Linguistic patterns represented in the mind of the speaker are believed to be linked to social functions, and constructions are understood to acquire their functions by virtue of serving the purposes of participants in social interactions.

3.1.2. Linguistic constructions as Social Action Formats

It is commonly agreed in the interactional variety of linguistics that the accomplishment of social actions coincides with the occurrence of certain linguistic facts. An example frequently cited in this context is the study completed by Manes & Wolfson (1981). They showed that 53,6% of compliments in their data representing American English conversation had the form schematically illustrated in (39a).

(39) Compliment formulae in American English conversation (Manes & Wolfson 1981: 121)

- a. NP + is/looks + (really) AP
- b. I + (really) like/love + NP
- c. PRO + is + (really) (a) AP NP

Manes & Wolfson (1981) identified two additional constructions frequently occurring in the context of compliment-making: one featuring a verbal clause illustrated in (39b) and another one with an adjectival clause (39c). These two patterns served as compliment formulas in 16,1% and 14,9% cases, respectively. All this means that almost 85% of sequences of complimenting in American English conversation featured one of the three grammatical formats shown in (39).

In the view of Fox (2007), such linguistic templates frequently found in sequences of particular actions are formats *for* these actions, i.e. Social Action Formats. Not particularly groundbreaking though such a formulation may sound, it leads to an important realisation of how strongly grammatical patterns are nested in their sequential environment. Structural organisation in terms of sequence organisation “is a fundamental way in which grammar is shaped by sequences”, says Fox (2007: 305). By way of example, it is by virtue of its appearance in a sequence of proposal that the self-standing auxiliary *vois* ‘we (lit. one) could’ in line 2 of the following excerpt provides not only an adequate, but also a grammatical response.

(40) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_03_30)

- 1 Päivi: *hei#:: eks tänne vois*
 PTC NEG.3SG.CL to.here can.COND. 3SG
 ‘hey, couldn’t we (lit.couldn’t one)’
panna £Savonlinna [ku (joskus) tor-] torvi
 put PR PTC sometimes horn
 ‘put Savonlinna here because of the horn’
- 2 → Liisa: *[£v:o::ois£]*
 can.COND. 3SG
 ‘we could (lit.one could)’

The approach to linguistic patterns as Social Action Formats links social actions with the idea of positionally sensitive grammar (Schegloff 1996) and provides a basis for arguing that *vois* in the example above is one of the “context-sensitive alternatives” (Fox et al. 2013: 739) for responding to proposals and not a truncated version of a full clause.

To apply the approach to constructions as Social Action Formats is to ask questions on what are the ways in which particular actions are implemented and whether any frequently occurring linguistic patterns executing these actions can be found. Operationally speaking, the reverse method of data collection has been applied in this study because I looked for instances of the partitive and the conditional within sequences of directives and then tried to determine whether they occur in constructions performing those actions. But I examined the results exactly in the spirit of Fox (2007). A comparable piece of research has been conducted by Laury (2012b) who targeted a particular construction, i.e. the extraposition, in Finnish interactional data, with the aim of establishing what social action it performs. The extraposition construction is composed of the framing clause, i.e. a copulative clause with a pronominal subject¹³ vouching for the actual extraposition of the situation being described, and the framed clause referring to that situation (‘it is interesting/nice/etc. that X’). Drawing on an earlier account of the English extraposition by Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson (2008),

¹³ As a matter of fact, Finnish allows for variation as to the presence of the overt subject in the framing clause, but Laury (2012b) adopts an inclusive approach to such subjectless framing clauses in her study of Finnish extrapositions.

Laury (2012b) demonstrated that extraposition is responsible for evaluative stance taking in Finnish, but also that it has a specific placement at points of transition from one sequence to another. The Finnish extraposition projects stance-taking, simultaneously summarising a previous sequence of another action, e.g. story-telling.

In recent years, research into embodied formats for social actions has been particularly robust. Studies of offers of immediate assistance by Kärkkäinen & Keisanen (2012), of embodied forms of requests (Rossi 2014), of combined bodily and linguistic ways of implementing directives when trying to get children to bed (Goodwin & Cekaite 2014) and into mutual recognition of resources of linguistic and bodily interaction during collaborative decision-making (Stevanovic et al. 2017) all depart from the idea that social actions are best described as a co-production of the doing and the saying, or ‘language+’, as Enfield (2014) has it. And although I am interested first and foremost in the linguistic substance implementing social actions, one of the patterns I have identified cannot really be studied detached from its multimodal context. Consider (41) in which an offer formulated in response to the client’s request is immediately followed by the action announced by the clerk (lines 1 and 3).

(41) ‘A tidy sum’ (T953_sievoinessumma)

- 1 → Clerk: *ijoo. [no mä; voisin antaa se]n* (0.2)
 PTC PTC 1SG can.COND.2SG give DEM.ACC
 ‘yeah, well, I could give the’
- 2 Client: *[et jos sen; pystyis sitte;]*
 PTC IF IT.ACC BE.ABLE.COND.3SG PTC
 ‘so if you (lit. one) could then’
- 3 Clerk: *#lomakkeen# tuosta ni;* (4.6)
 form.ACC DEM.ELA PTC
 ‘form from there’
- ((Clerk stands up and goes to fetch the form))
- 4 Client: *.nff*

In my work, such partly linguistic and partly embodied moves reflect an unequal distribution of agency as they are typically found in sequences of actions in which the person speaking (‘self’) has guardianship of resources necessary for carrying out the action(s).

3.1.3. Grammar as practice: The Emergent Grammar postulate

Seeing linguistic constructions as arising out of the local conversational environment to serve the participants’ needs as they surface in interaction requires a certain understanding of grammar: not so much as of something that exists, but rather as of something that happens.

Hayashi (1999, 2003), Tanaka (1999), Helasvuo (2001a, 2001b, 2004) and Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen (2005) show that the clause in Japanese, Finnish and English conversation is the locus of both grammar and interaction. This means that the clause, i.e. the predicate and the phrases accompanying it, forms one of the most frequent grammatical patterns in conversational data and is the linguistic format to which participants orient in organising their collaborative actions and anticipating the actions of others. The core of the clause – the predicate – tells one which action is currently in progress, and in which direction the upcoming conversation is likely to go.

But English and Finnish differ from Japanese in terms of when the predicate comes during the turn. Both European languages have the predicate early in the turn, typically immediately after the subject¹⁴, and all the remaining phrases tend to follow the predicate. Japanese, in contrast, has adverbial phrases and other clausal arguments before the predicate. The Japanese predicate tends to be placed towards the end of the turn, where it is followed by final particles and other elements relevant for speaker transition. Finnish and English clauses, then, signal upcoming actions early and leave several options open as to what possible incomings are. In contrast, in Japanese conversation it is not until later in the turn that the interlocutor knows which action is in progress, and the repertoire of possible ways of acting upon it is more limited.

The difference can be observed during clause co-constructions. In (42) and (43), the co-participants collaboratively compose clauses in, respectively, Finnish and Japanese spoken interaction. The completion proposed by Leena in line 2 of (42) goes in a different direction than Tintti had in mind, but both participants' turns provide adequate unfoldings of action. In the Japanese excerpt, K supplies the obligatory verbal component which completes the clause only in line 4.

(42) Finnish (Helasvuo 2004: 1324)

- 1 Tintti: *ne on,*
3PL be.PRS.3SG
'they're'
- 2 Leena: *suurhankinnat.*
big.purchase.PL
'large scale purchases'
- 3 Tintti: *ne on sievät tuol kirjahyllyn*
3PL be.PRS.3SG cute.PL there bookshelf.GEN
pääl
top.ADE
'they are cute on the top of the bookshelf'

(43) Japanese (Hayashi 1999: 479-480)

- 1 H: *asoko o: (0.2) tetetetoorite[itta]ra shoomen ni: =*
there OBJ go.down:if front in
'if you go there, in front of you'
- 2 K: *[u:n.]*
PTC
'uh huh'
- =u:n.*
PTC
'uh huh'
- 3 H: *denwa ga- ano mi[dori] no denwa ga[:]*
phone SBJ green LIN phone SBJ
'phones, uhm, green phones'
- 4 K: *[aru]* *[a]ru aru*
exist exist exist
'are there, are there'

¹⁴ In Finnish, it is on the condition that the subject is overtly expressed.

Despite these differences, however, the results of studies on these three genetically unrelated and typologically different languages lead to a common conclusion that interaction in Japanese, Finnish and English typically materializes around the completion of clausal formats. This is to say that the clause *emerges* from interaction between speakers.

The idea that it is interactive discourse that gives birth to grammar, and not the other way around, was brought to the fore by Hopper (1987, 1988, 1998). In proposing his Emergent Grammar (EG) approach, Hopper made a radical departure from traditional viewpoints on regularity in language which he subsumes under ‘A-Priori Grammar Perspective’ (APG). Hopper’s Emergent Grammar abandoned the view on grammar as an abstract system of rules which statically resides in speakers’ minds (either innately or as a result of experience, depending on the underlying theoretical paradigm) and remains independent of speakers, in favour of a perspective which takes grammar to be an inherently unstable collection of constructions affiliated to their contexts of usage. The key points of EG may be summarized as follows:

- Grammar is not the architecture for human communication, but the product of it. Spoken interactive discourse is the basis for grammar, and what can be said of such discourse is also true of grammar: it is a concrete result of human encounters, inextricably linked to the context of these encounters, and is dynamic and temporal by nature.
- The linguistic sign is not a matter of a combination of form and meaning which exists prior to a communicative situation. The relationship between form and meaning is a result of negotiation between speakers in a local communication event such that it reflects speakers’ past experiences, discourse needs, social pressures, and other relevant aspects of the situation. The linguistic sign is subject to renegotiation during next communicative events.
- Grammar does not form a discrete and unified structure, but a massive assembly of patterns originating in different discourses. What is grammatical and what is not is disputable because there are no clear levels of grammaticality and the decision to examine grammar involves limiting the scope of investigation to particular samples of discourse of particular type(s).

Hopper’s argumentation, especially in (1987) and (1988), is a pronounced opposition to the dominant views of the epoch treating grammar as a single, stable and discrete set of rules, organised in clear levels based on a-priori knowledge, present at all times in the same form for all speakers of a language. Hence perhaps the strong emphasis on the entirely temporal nature of grammar which “is always in a process but never arriving” (Hopper 1998: 156). For all that it is worth, I do not fully agree with this radical view, especially that Hopper himself remarks that the forms of grammar “are negotiable in face-to-face interaction in ways that reflect the individual speakers’ *past experience of these forms*” (Hopper 1987: 142, my italics). To my understanding, claiming static existence for grammar is neither tantamount to claiming its existence in an arbitrary manner nor to postulating that there are pre-defined slots in abstract paradigms of form to be fulfilled by the linguistic substance. There certainly exist aspects of grammar which are totally predictable, e.g. the highly grammaticalised government principles within verbal phrases. The following example contains the verb *liukastua* ‘to slip’ which selects NPs in the illative case. In (44), a demonstrative *siihen* ‘to it’ bears illative case marking as the argument of the verb in line 3. The client

describes a situation in which he found himself to the clerk. But in all cases in which the object on which someone slips becomes specified, the verb *liukastua* ‘to slip’ will select an illative NP irrespectively of the action formed or other characteristics of the host turn.

(44) ‘The only form of support’ (T949_ainuttukimuoto)

- 1 Client: *.mthh e:i sit varsinaisesti ollu laimin[lyöty si]in*
 NEG.3SG it.PTV principally be.PPP neglect.PPP it.INE
 ‘it hadn’t actually been neglected’
- 2 Clerk: *[nii:;]*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 3 Client: *oli joku semmone; (0.4) sanotaa parin*
 be.PST.3SG some such say.PASS pair.GEN
 ‘there was, let’s say’
neliön läntti mikä oli vähän
 square.meter.GEN spot REL be.PST.3SG a.little
 ‘a spot of a couple of square metres which was’
- *huonosti hiekotettu et siihen mä liukastui.*
 badly sand.PPP PTC it.ILL 1SG slip.PST.1SG
 ‘not too well sanded and I slipped on it’
- 4 Clerk: *just #joo#.*
 PTC PTC
 ‘yeah, precisely’

So the practical implication of EG by Hopper (as well as by his followers) does in fact acknowledge the existence of some sort of a-prioriness in grammar, but the a-prioriness is completely different from that advocated by formal linguists. Grammar “shapes discourse in an on-going process” (Hopper 1987: 142) in the sense that being emergent from interaction, it keeps opening avenues for the action in progress to unfold, but it is also true that repeatedly co-occurring strings of speech and sequences of activities allow speakers to predict how discourse will unfold as they remember which strings of speech have most effectively led to which developments. Emergent grammar is then best described as ‘procedural knowledge’ (cf. Bybee 2002). Making grammar much resembles cooking a something-out-of-nothing soup: random as the ingredients may be, one needs the knowledge on how to combine them in order to make the soup because it will not literally appear out of nothing.

Hopper’s Emergent Grammar is one of the central points of orientation for this work also because given the time when it came to light and became influential, it provides a useful link to studies contemplating all sorts of “pragmaticised” or “secondary” uses of linguistic structure, popular in the 1980’s and 1990’s, but not so much nowadays. Example (45) does not contain a sequence of stance or a directive, but it caught my attention as an interesting case of a “secondary” use of the partitive in the sense of Yli-Vakkuri (1986). The participants of ‘Wine evening’ are teenagers who play together in an orchestra. Joonas and Olli do not participate in the celebration, but they are known to those who are present. Their names appear in the partitive in the scope of the existential construction, in which such highly individuated, identifiable human-referent NPs usually bear nominative marking.

(45) ‘Wine evening’ (SG396_30_40)

9 Taavi: *siinä oli sitte Joonasta ja* (0.2)
 there be.PST.3SG PTC PR.PTV and
 ‘so there were Joonas and’
Joonasta ja Ollia mukana ja me
 PR.PTV and PR.PTV along and 1PL
 ‘Joonas and Olli were there’
lähettiin sitte sinne
 go.PASS.PST PTC there
 ‘went there’

The most suggestive explanation one can deliver based exclusively on the content of (45) is that the reason behind the use of the partitive here is the wish to produce a humorous effect or that the NPs have multiple referents (Wagner 1974, cited in Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 254). Now consider a larger segment of the conversation in which the case occurs.

(46) ‘Wine evening’ (SG396_30_40)

1 Taavi: *mehän käytiin tota.* (0.2)
 1PL.CL go.PASS.PST PTC
 ‘we went there’

2 → *meitä oli siinä.* (0.3) *Saaren Joni.*
 1PL.PTV be.PST.3SG there PR
 ‘of us there were Joni Saari’
ja [yks
 and one
 ‘and one’

3 Riku: *[oliks Risto]*
 be.PST.3SG.Q.CL PR
 ‘was Risto there?’

4 Lauri: *[Risto saatt(h)o olla*
 PR can.PST.3SG be
 ‘Risto could have been there’

5 Taavi: *Ri(h)sto t(h)oi* (0.3) *vetäs itse*
 PR bring.PST.3SG pull.PST.3SG self
 ‘Risto brought, he had, actually’
asiassa sen ässän hihasta #että
 thing.INE DEM.ACC ace.ACC sleeve.ELA CONJ
 ‘an ace up his sleeve, he said’
lähetään porukalla sinne sen
 go.PASS group.ADE there DEM.GEN
 ‘let’s go there together’
demareitten nuorisojaostan kanssa
 Social.Democrat.GEN.PL youth.organisaation.GEN with
 ‘with the Social Democrats’ youth organisation’
[tehty semmosia
 make.PPP such.PTV.PL
 ‘we made sort of’

6	?:	[@mh£				
7	Taavi:	le[vy-#				
		plate				
		‘plate’				
8	Henri:	[ku-	kukkaprojekteja			
			flower.project.PTV.PL			
			‘flower projects’			
9 →	Taavi:	siinä	oli	sitte	Joonasta	ja (0.2)
		there	be.PST.3SG	PTC	PR.PTV	and
		‘so there were Joonas and’				
		Joonasta	ja	Ollia	mukana	ja me
		PR.PTV	and	PR.PTV	along	and 1PL
		‘Joonas and Olli were there, and so we’				
		lähettiin	sitte	sinne		
		go.PASS.PST	PTC	there		
		‘went there’				

I have not noticed any signs of a humorous effect around line 9. Instead, the explanation for the use of the partitive in this excerpt lies in the earlier part of the conversation, and in the situational context. In line 1, Taavi begins a sequence in which he is to deliver background information prior to telling a story concerning one of the evenings he and some other boys had spent out together. Taavi starts listing the names of those who accompanied him, and Riku immediately asks whether Risto was also present. The story-telling sways a bit off course as Taavi confirms that Risto was present by remembering that it was in fact Risto to propose a clubbing night, which later developed in an interesting way (line 5). Subsequently, Taavi abandons the digression and closes up the frame-setting sequence in line 9 by adding Joonas and Olli to the inventory of characters, and turns to reporting on the chain of events which happened during the night out.

A clearer picture arises thanks to this broadened context. Line 9 forms a frame-setting parenthesis together with line 2. Both these lines contain instances of the existential construction, whose main function is to provide background information in discourse. Partitive postverbal NPs are typically dropped after the first mention (cf. section 2.2), and in this particular conversation Joonas and Olli indeed remain untracked. The existential clause in line 9 closes up the digression and sets the story-telling back onto its track. So the reasons behind the use of the partitive in line 9 of example (46) are impossible to identify without the sequential environment of the existential construction. It emerges from its local context as syntactically and functionally resonant with the content of previous conversation and the clause in which it occurs shapes further conversation in its own typical way. The seeming peculiarity of the partitive in (46) is, then, perfectly explicable with what is known about the discourse profile of the existential clause and its arguments.

3.2. Directives and stance as social actions in interaction

In this section I will deliver descriptions of directives (3.2.1) and stance (3.2.2) as actions in social interaction, with a particular focus on contexts in which these actions are enacted with the use of constructions with the conditional and the partitive in Finnish interaction. At the end of the section, in 3.2.3, I will also consider cases in which both these action types implement interactionally coupled enterprises.

3.2.1. Directives

In Searle’s taxonomy of speech acts, directives are considered action types which “have as part of their illocutionary point (...) to get the world to match the words” (Searle 1976: 367). Of course, interactional studies have been searching for the essence of directives in social phenomena rather than in illocutionary forces or theoretically approached feasibility constraints, coming up with alternative definitions. For example Goodwin (2006: 517) understands directives in terms of utterances “designed to get someone to do something”, which, in my view, encapsulates the key element of directives. Still, I prefer to see directives as social acts rather than merely utterances in order to capture the features of directives at a more abstract level. This is not only due to the fact that language accounts for nowhere near all the ways to implement directives in social life (see e.g. Enfield 2014), but also because directive resources are employed for a variety of purposes in different settings, e.g. to transfer objects and services in everyday service encounters (e.g. Sorjonen et al. 2009) or to execute parental authority in family interactions (e.g. Cekaite & Goodwin 2014).

In this work I consider directives a category of social acts in which social actors try to make other social actors act in a particular way for a certain benefit. In distinguishing types of directives, I follow Couper-Kuhlen (2014) and use the criteria of agent and beneficiary. The only difference that I make is that offers are grouped together under the same label with requests, suggestions and proposals as actions which all “ask work of the hearer” (Ervin-Tripp 1976: 26; recall the discussion in section 1.2). Such an inclusive approach to offers is not very novel because also e.g. Ervin-Tripp et al. (1984) classify offers as directives, together with requests, prohibitions, orders and “other verbal moves that solicit goods or attempt to effect changes in the activities of others” (Ervin-Tripp et al. 1984: 116). The measures taken by the recipients of offers are obviously different from actions undertaken by recipients of requests, but the core of interaction during which these actions are implemented is the same and consists in a response indicating whether the future course of action has been accepted; a compliant response is the preferred type of response to both offers and requests (Davidson 1984, Schegloff 2007).

Table 5 again schematically outlines the approach to kinds of directives used in the present study.

type of action	agent of action	beneficiary of action
request	other	self
offer	self	other
suggestion	other	other
proposal	self and other	self and other

Table 5. Directives (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 2014: 634)

The division shown in Table 5 rests on a combination of solely two factors, agent and beneficiary, and is meant to serve the current purposes. So it by no means rejects a more fine-grained categorisation based on other variables or features of social context, by which an order would be considered a type of request, a promise a kind of offer, advice a subcategory of suggestion, and an invitation an instance of proposal. Such a classification also resolves the problem concerning the relationship between the concept ‘directives’ on the one hand and terms such as ‘request’, ‘invitation’, ‘order’ etc. on the other. Some interactional studies equate directives with commands, leaving

the particular kinds of directives examined in this work outside of the category, either entirely (Craven & Potter 2010) or in part (Rauniomaa & Keisanen 2012). Others, in turn, treat directives as a general notion encompassing more specific types of actions such as requests or proposals. An interesting approach is offered by Lauranto (2014) who argues that the core of *directivity* (my emphasis) consists in a sense of obligation to acting, whereas in a wider sense, directives may also provide for some freedom of action. In this work I am definitely closer to the latter standpoint in terms of categorisation. I adopt the view that directives and their particular kinds may be examined both in terms of abstract social acts and concrete social actions, with ‘directive’ being the cover term for ‘requests’, ‘offers’, ‘suggestions’ and ‘proposals’ (cf. Sorjonen 2001: 93, Ruohikoski 2015: 190).

It will come as no surprise if I reveal that directives in my material are implemented with the use of constructions with the conditional rather than the partitive. Verbs in the conditional mood are widely known to appear in directive environments in Finnish (e.g. Kangasniemi 1992: 129ff., Kauppinen 1998, Lauranto 2012). Sorjonen et al. (2009) showed that in customer-cashier interactions at convenience stores across Finland, customers typically signalled a need for an action by the cashier, e.g. handing a packet of cigarettes or topping up a travel card, with *mä ottaisin X* ‘I would take X’, whereas in cases when customers had taken items themselves from the shelf, a declarative format *mä otan X* ‘I take X’ was used.¹⁵ These findings obviously do not mean that clauses in the indicative are absent from directives, but that the format for requesting at Finnish convenience stores is *mä ottaisin X* ‘I would take X’. As long as Kela interactions are concerned, the study conducted by Ruohikoski (2015) has shown that the distribution of forms of directives depends on various features of social context, both momentary and permanent ones. For example, forming directives in the imperative mood by clerks is more likely if the client is younger than the clerk. In terms of usage of directives in the indicative, Ruohikoski (2015) discovered that the interrogative format *laitatko X* ‘will you do X’ implements immediate requests, whereas the declarative *sä laitat X* ‘you do X’ is used for remote directives. What conclusions can be drawn about directives made with the use of the conditional mood will hopefully become clear in Chapter 4.

Irrespective of the mood marking of the VP in directives, auxiliary verbs form a vital component of directive utterances. At least in my data, patterns with modal auxiliaries account for the majority of directive tokens. Apart from considerations of politeness and indirectness, studies have come up with explanations for the presence of verbs such as *voida* ‘can’ and *pitää* ‘have to’ in directives which are literal to a great extent. For example, the semantic linkage to the existence of external circumstances (Kangasniemi 1992: 133) or the speaker’s evaluation of their own capacities (Kauppinen 1998: 101) is said to motivate the use of *voida* ‘can’. On the one hand, the search for semantic motivation is not totally senseless because e.g. as illustrated by Hakulinen & Sorjonen (1989), the use of directives made with *voida* ‘can’ rises and of those with *saada* ‘be allowed to’ decreases as people grow older. Naturally, this is because of the different deontic statuses held by the participants in child-adult interactions compared to those happening among adults only. But on the other hand, auxiliaries do not always retain semantic traces of deonticity and epistemicity when used in directives. Consider example (47).

¹⁵ Convenience store encounters are typically brief, and in a great deal of individual interactions in Sorjonen et al.’s (2009) data the customer did not word the object of the transaction at the till, but simply put the item on the counter.

is treated by the clerk as unproblematic, responded to in an immediate fashion with an overlap, and through an overt commitment to doing as requested (line 4).

(48) ‘The whole sum’ (T939_konttasumma)

- 1 Clerk: *elikkä sitte vuo:krasopimus:*,
PTC PTC tenancy.agreement
‘so, the tenancy agreement’
- 2 Client: *joo. täss_ on vuokra-*,
PTC here be.PRS.3SG tenancy
‘yeah, here it is’
- 3 → *voisinks mä saada näistä* (.)
can.COND.1SG.Q.PTC 1SG get DEM.ELA
[kopiota]
copy.PL
‘could I get copies of them?’
- 4 → Clerk: *[khm. joo? o:tetaan ko:piot näistä]*
PTC take.PASS copy.PL DEM.ELA
‘yes, let’s make copies of them’

In example (48), the beneficiary of the requested action is made explicit through first person marking and the verb *saada* ‘get, obtain’. But the roles of agent and beneficiary are not always so unequivocally worded. For example in (49), a request is formed across lines 1 and 3 with the use of a pattern with the zero person. The request is adequately recognised and acted upon by the clerk in (49) and in the subsequent conversation despite the fact that formally, *et vois tutkailla sitä* ‘so one could examine it’ does not straightforwardly refer to any of the interactants.

(49) ‘Mother’s business’ (T965_aitinasioilla)

- 1 Client: *>mä luule et< vissiin #tää puuttuu#*
1SG think.PRS.1SG COMP apparently this lack.PRS.3SG
‘I think this is apparently missing’
- *(että vois)*,
PTC can.COND.3SG
‘so you (lit. one) could’
(0.5) ((client hands over the form to the clerk))
- 2 Clerk: **<mjoo>.** (0.2)
PTC
‘yeah’
- 3 → Client: *tut#kai#lla sitä (siis tää tapaus);*
examine it.PTV PTC DEM case
‘examine it, I mean the case’

The clerk is the intended agent in the conversation of which example (49) is part, and this is clear to both parties to that interaction. The comparison of the usage of that pattern in my two corpora of spoken Finnish suggests that for the most part, participants do not have difficulties identifying the person who is going to perform the directed action. Research on formally impersonal devices of Finnish, the zero person and passive (Laitinen 1995, 2006, Helasvuo 2006, Helasvuo & Laitinen 2006), has shown that in

spoken interaction, they leave personal reference made by the proper construction open for interpretation and negotiation. I will return to this topic in 3.2.1.4 when discussing proposals made with the Finnish passive.

3.2.1.2. Offers

Similarly to request formats, patterns of offering are distributed differently across sequences of interaction depending on factors such as entitlement or whether the action offered is immediate or deferred. For example Curl (2006) found out that *do you want (me) to X*, *would you like me to X* and *I can X* all form recurrent patterns for offer-making in English telephone conversations, but also that the former two are variants of the same construction and are used to offer a solution to educed complaints (i.e. complaints made indirectly in previous talk), whereas *I can X* is employed in immediate responses to overt complaints.

The setup of a transaction in which something is offered is precisely the opposite of a request environment: the person issuing an offer simultaneously becomes the one to perform the action, whereas the other participant is to enjoy the benefit of the whole enterprise. In example (50), the offered service consists in sending the client's application back for reconsideration by Kela (line 4).

(50) 'Five student loans' (T943_viiisopintolainaa)

- 1 Client: **se on aika iso summa*
 it be.PRS.3SG quite large sum
 'it's quite a large sum'
*[(t(h)oi n(h)eljätuhatta euro)].**
 DEM four.thousand euro.PTV
 'that four thousand euros'
- 2 Clerk: [*nii niin on*; (0.4)]
 PTC PTC be.PRS.3SG
 'yes, it is'
- 3 *elikkä tota*; (1.0) #(n)#; (.)
 PTC PTC
 'so, well'
- 4 → ***tää voitais niinku tällä lähettää takaisis sinnej***
 this can.PASS.3SG PTC it.ADE send back there
 'with this (form) we could send it back'
Jyväskylään mistä päätös on annettu
 PR.ILL where.ELA decision be.PRS.3SG give.PPP
 'to Jyväskylä where the decision has been issued'
- 5 → *elikkä [sä]jaittaisit tähän*
 so 2SG write.COND.2SG here.ILL
 'so you could write here'
- 6 Client: [*joo*];
 PTC
 'yeah'
- 7 → Clerk: *että*; (0.4) *maksat sen ja sen verran*
 COMP pay.2SG it.GEN and it.GEN to.an.extent
 'that you will pay this and this much'
#minkä verran sä nyt#; (0.2)

		what.GEN	to.an.extent	2SG	PTC	
		'how much you only'				
8	Client:	<i>mm;</i>				
		PTC				
9	Clerk:	<i>katsot</i>	<i>että</i>	<i>sä</i>	<i>voit</i>	<i>maksaa[<kuukausittain>;]</i>
		see.3SG	COMP	2SG	can.2SG	pay monthly
		'feel you can pay on a monthly basis'				
10	Client:					<i>[ni;]</i>
						PTC
						'yeah'

The clerk's offer comes after the client has signalled a problem caused by the fact that he is supposed to return a considerable sum of money. In this way the clerk signals her willingness to assist the client. But the offer is immediately followed by a request that the client completes the application in the way described by the clerk (lines 5 and 7). So in a way, the offered service may be said to have its cost in this interaction. The collaborative enterprise proposed by the clerk resembles to a certain extent what Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki (2014) call divisions of labour, i.e. sequences in which parties negotiate responsibilities for future actions eventually leading to a mutual benefit. Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki (2014) argue that at least Finnish and English casual interactions have linguistic patterns dedicated to offer-request environments. Offers made with clauses in the conditional mood in my data are not so specifically tailored to division-of-labour sequences, partly because they are mostly found in Kela interactions where the parties profit in varying ways from the achievement of the interactional goal which, for this reason, cannot really be labelled 'common'. Consequently, example (50) does not show a division-of-labour *proposal*, unlike casual division-of-labour interactions containing a plan for a series of actions by different actors for the benefit of all of them. What offers such as the one shown above become involved in are negotiations of terms on which social aid will be granted (cf. Section 3.3.2), and therefore may be regarded a strategy of such negotiations.

3.2.1.3. Suggestions

If requests constitute the most thoroughly researched type of directive actions, then suggestions have probably seen the least exploration through the interactional lens. The relative unpopularity of 'suggestion' as a term of its own can perhaps be explained with the fact that there exists a "competitive" term 'advice' which boasts with quite a body of research (Jefferson & Lee 1981, Heritage & Sefi 1992, among others) and sometimes becomes used interchangeably with 'suggestion' (e.g. Wardaugh 1985: 185). In addition to that, some scholars use the term 'suggestions' when actually referring to proposals (e.g. Laury 2012a: 228-229 or the passages of Mandelbaum 1996 which concern what she terms 'collaborative suggestions').

Suggestions are actions through which a participant in an interaction tries to make another participant undertake actions for the benefit of that other participant or some other participant(s) not necessarily present in the situation. And although interactional studies examining suggestions specifically as understood here are rare,¹⁶ they deliver quite a consistent picture of suggestions as actions formed by those who

¹⁶ I must note that Kangasniemi (1992: 134ff) is closest to the present understanding of suggestions. However, his analytic framework relies on the concept of modality, which makes the study approach its research material from a different angle.

enjoy a higher deontic and/or epistemic status compared to the other participant(s). Mandelbaum (1996) shows, for example, that in American English interactions between students and librarians, it is the latter group who form suggestions by stating what the students *would have to do* to obtain the desired result of a bibliographic database search (Mandelbaum 1996: 152).¹⁷ In terms of interactions in the Finnish language, Somiska (2010: 65) reports that *ois hyvä tehdä X* ‘it would be good to do X’ is a recurrent pattern for making suggestions in Finnish interactions at the veterinarian’s. This pattern is totally absent from my corpus, which I attribute to the fact that my material is not particularly rich in situations when people ask for recommendations.

Suggestions are made e.g. in response to a problem communicated by the co-participant(s). Example (51) contains such a case. The client signals a problem consisting in the fact that contrary to what she believed, the medication she had bought is currently not subject to a special reimbursement.

(51) ‘Too new a medication’ (T1102_liianuusilaake)

- 1 Clerk: *mut ei nyt aota* (.) *oekkeestaam*
but NEG.3SG now help.NEG actually
‘but now there actually is no choice’
muuta ku ootoo.
other.PTV than take
‘but to take (it)’
- 2 *kyllä se apteekki sitte saa sen*
PTC DEM pharmacy then get.PRS.3SG DEM.ACC
‘the pharmacy will definitely get’
tion sillon ku (0.2) se (1.0)
information.ACC then when it
‘the information when it’
- 3 *tullee korvauksem piirriin*
come.PRS.3SG reimbursement.GEN circle.ILL
‘becomes subject to reimbursement’
ni sen sitten saapi ilman eri
CONJ it.ACC then get.PRS.3SG without different
‘then you’ll get it without any’
hakemusta sen,
application.PTV it.ACC
‘additional application’
- 4 Client: *.hh että siit ei mulle tule*
PTC it.ELA NEG.3SG 1SG.ALL come.NEG.PRS
‘so I won’t get’
mittää tiettoo,
any.PTV information.PTV
‘any information about it personally’
- 5 Clerk: *.mthh* (.) *ö:: no ei muuta ku:*
PTC NEG.3SG other than
‘well, there’s not going to be anything more than’

¹⁷ As a matter of fact, Mandelbaum (1996) calls this format ‘recommendation’, but she is not very strict about the definitions of terms such as ‘suggestions’, ‘recommendations’ and ‘proposals’ in her work. Shortly put, some of the ‘unilateral suggestions’ Mandelbaum (1996) identifies accord with the present definition of suggestions.

		<i>varmaan</i>	<i>yleisissä</i>	<i>lehi[ssä</i>	<i>si]tte,</i>			
		surely	general.PL.INE	newspaper.PL.INE	PTC			
		'an information in everyday papers, I presume'						
9	Client:			<i>[se</i>	<i>on,]</i>			
				it	be.PRS.3SG			
				'it is'				
10		<i>s-</i>	<i>eipä</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>tule</i>	<i>seurat-</i>		
			NEG.3SG.CL	they	come.NEG.PRS	follow		
		'I don't follow them'						
		<i>mut</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>vaan</i>	<i>sit[ä</i>	<i>että</i>	<i>jos]</i>
		PTC	it	be.PRS.3SG	only	it.PTC	COMP	if
		<i>tuota</i>						
		'but it is just that if'						
11	Clerk:				<i>[nii,</i>	<i>]</i>		
					PTC			
					'yeah'			
12	Client:	<i>.hh</i>	<i>ö:</i>	<i>niin</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>#e#</i>	<i>mmhhh,</i>	<i>(1.0)</i>
				they				
				'they'				
13 →		<i>*mhm*</i>	<i>*no,*</i>	<i>(0.8)</i>				
		PTC	PTC					
		'mm, well'						
14 →		<i>eh</i>	<i>e(h)n</i>	<i>tii[ä,</i>				
			NEG.2SG	know.PRS.NEG				
		'I don't know'						
15	Clerk:				<i>[nii-i,</i>			
					PTC			
					'yeah'			
16 →		<i>.hh</i>	<i>mut</i>	<i>vois</i>	<i>sitä</i>	<i>ottoo</i>	<i>lääkärin</i>	<i>kanssa</i>
			PTC	can.COND.3SG	it.PTV	take	doctor.GEN	with
		'but (you) could raise the issue when you speak to the doctor'						
		<i>seuraavan</i>	<i>kerran</i>	<i>puheeks</i>	<i>että</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>tää</i>	<i>ei, (0.8)</i>
		next	time	speech.TRSL	COMP	PTC	DEM	NEG.3SG
		'next time that since this one doesn't'						
17		<i>tästä</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ookkaa</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>erityiskorvvausoikeus</i>		
		it.ELA	NEG.3SG	be.PRS.NEG.CL	DEM	special.reimbursement.right		
		'there is no special reimbursement for this'						

The clerk starts formulating her suggestion in line 16 as a way of helping the client deal with the unfavourable situation. The context of negotiation is deontic rather than epistemic because the participants already have a common understanding of the situation. The eligibility to benefits is politically measured and the clerk cannot grant reimbursement in this case. The client eventually accepts the standpoint of the clerk in lines 13–14, following which the suggestion is enacted.

Formats for suggestions are known to vary depending on how participants in interaction understand the interpersonal relationships among each other, e.g. the rights and duties that they have due to their relative status in interaction (Mandelbaum 1996). In the empirical section dedicated to suggestions (4.4) I will show that the same is true of Finnish suggestions in the conditional because they are characteristic of institutional exchanges. In casual talks, suggestions are typically implemented through other grammatical formats.

3.2.1.4. Proposals

When a speaker solicits actions to be undertaken by themselves and other discourse participants for the common benefit of all the parties involved in the action, he or she makes a proposal. An example of a proposal in casual Finnish conversation is shown in lines 1, 3 and 4 of (52).

(52) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_01_10)

- 1 → Liisa: *me voitaa alottaa sillee että;*
 1SG can.PASS.COND begin so COMP
 ‘we coul begin so that’
- 2 ?: *hm hmm*
- 3 → Liisa: *kun tuo arkku nyt avataan niin (.)*
 when DEM chest PTC open.PASS PTC
 ‘when we open the chest’
- 4 → *niin Maija kertoo (.) mikä tä:n (0.8)*
 PTC PR tell.PRS.3SG what DEM.GEN
 ‘then Maija will tell us what’
arkun historia onh.
 chest.GEN story be.PRS.3SG
 ‘this chest’s story is’
- 5 → Maija: */j:oo jos mä, (.)*
 PTC if 1SG
 ‘yes, if I’
- 6 → Maija: ((to Liisa))
toiminko minä sitten, (taiturina)
 function.PRS.1SG.Q 1SG then master.ESS
 ‘so do I work as a master (of ceremony) here?’
- 7 → Liisa: *juu,*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 8 → Maija: *okei,*
 PTC
 ‘okay’

Proposals project decision-making which has a collaborative character due to the fact that there will be multiple agents involved in the future action (Stevanovic 2013). As shown by (Stevanovic 2013), sequences of decision-making introduced by proposals are rarely characterised by equal deontic relationships among the participants, even if the participation in the proposed future action, once it has been decided, is deontically symmetrical. In (52), for example, Liisa proposes how to organise the processing of the photographs. At the initial stage, Maija would take custody of the chest containing the photos and provide the remaining participants with some context. Maija complies with the proposal in line 5, but then immediately turns to Liisa to make sure whether she understands correctly what role Liisa wants to assign her in the whole process. After Liisa confirms it in line 7, Maija signals her compliance, thereby acknowledging Liisa’s momentary deontic superiority. However, during the later course of the interaction,

there are no such asymmetries in the deontic domain among the participants in ‘Concert agency’, as some previous examples from this conversation have already demonstrated.

Compliance to proposals usually takes the form of an initiation of decision-making, an action for which the recipients are responsible (Stevanovic 2013). In (53) below, the proposal becomes rejected. The rejection happens through stance-taking, i.e. a negative evaluation of a game of badminton doubles proposed by Paavo across lines 1 to 4.

(53) ‘Coffee and buns’ (SG121_10_20)

- 1 → Paavo: *nii kukas me saatas [neljänneks pelaajaks*
 PTC who.CL 1PL get.PASS.CONDFourth.TRSL player.TRSL
 ‘so, whom could we have as a fourth player’
- 2 Kaisa: *[kyh,*
- 3 Paavo: *pelaa sulista,*
 play badminton.PTV
 ‘for a game of badminton’
- 4 → *voitas käyä joskus kokeilee nelinpeliä*
 can.PASS.COND go some.time try.CVB.INE doubles.PTV
 ‘we could go (lit. it could be gone) and try to play doubles’
tuleeks siit yhtää mitää,
 come.PRS.3SG.Q.CL it.ELA any anything
 ‘and see if something good comes of it’
- 5 Antti: *se voi olla aika erikoissys[teemi,*
 it can.PRS.3SG be quite special.system
 ‘it can be quite specific’
- 6 Matti: *[se voi*
 it can.PRS.3SG
 ‘it can’
[olla aika sählystä,
 be quite mess.PTV
 ‘be quite a mess’
- 8 Kaisa: *[minä en ainakaa,*
 1SG NEG.1SG at.least
 ‘at least I’m not going’

The participants in (53) recognise the action as a proposal and appropriately respond to it although similarly to example (49) discussed in the section concerning requests, the device used for proposing in line 4 formally provides no clear indication as to the intended agent of the action. I have translated *voitas käyä joskus kokeilee nelinpeliä* as ‘we could go and play doubles’, but formally *voitas* is a passive ‘it could’.

In standard Finnish, passive clauses are subjectless constructions whose underlying subject is an unspecified human collective (Laitinen 2006: 218). In 17th century, colloquial Finnish started developing a pattern consisting of the first plural pronoun *me* ‘we’ and verbs formally in the passive, which implies first person plural reference. This way of referring to actions done by first person plural agents is already the default one in contemporary spoken Finnish (Helasvuo & Laitinen 2006: 177), but the parallel original passive usage is naturally also present in this variety. Lines 1 and 4 of, respectively (52) and (53) contain the two different realisations of otherwise the same pattern with a VP in the passive, i.e. one with and one without the first person

plural pronoun. The fact that the same construction for the same action becomes realised in two different ways does not mean that the distinction between a personal and a non-specific human reference is not yet fully established. As long as it is clear from the context that a reference to the first person plural is being made, *me* ‘we’ can be dropped without losing the sense of a specific plural reference. By this token, Paavo makes a proposal using the subjectless variant of the construction in line 4 of (53), but it is clear from line 1 that he means a collective embracing himself, the other two participants in the conversation, as well as a yet unspecified fourth joiner to the game.

But recall that in section 3.2.1.2, the same pattern with the passive was used by the clerk to make an offer.

(54) ‘Five student loans’ (T943_viiisopintolainaa)’

4	Clerk:	<i>tää</i>	<i>voitais</i>	<i>niinku tällä</i>	<i>lähettää</i>	<i>takaisis</i>	<i>sinnej</i>	
		this	can.PASS.3SG	PTC	it.ADE	send	back	there
		‘with this (form) we could send it back ’						
		<i>Jyväskylään</i>	<i>mistä</i>	<i>päätös</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>annettu</i>		
		PR.ILL	where.ELA	decision	be.PRS.3SG	give.PPP		
		‘to Jyväskylä where the decision has been issued’						

The interactional context facilitated the understanding of line 4 as an offer, and the participants’ conduct strengthened such an interpretation. Paralelly to the zero person, then, the open personal reference created by the formally impersonal passive construction may become interpreted by the participants in Finnish interactions in varying ways. It will be my task in the empirical part of this study to convincingly demonstrate that there are consistent and predictable patterns of interpretation of such constructions, patterns which are specific to each of the two genres studied. The ways in which speakers of Finnish recognise and act upon linguistic constructions with the zero person and the passive reflect their understanding of the status they hold in the framework of participation in institutional and casual interaction. A comparison of the examples with *voita(i)s* ‘it/one could’ already provides a sample showing the distribution of such patterns of action formation and recognition across my two corpora.

3.2.2. Stance

As inherently intersubjective actions, directives are at first sight radically different from stance which has to do with the expression of points of view, opinions and attitudes. Scholars who examine written texts or genres low in interactivity typically treat the individual speaker (or writer) as the locus of stance, and e.g. for Biber et al. (2007), the expression of stance entails the manifestation of an essentially private domain. Much of the work of Biber and associates is on language use understood in terms of texts belonging to different genres. Written academic discourse is also the target genre of Hyland’s (2005) model, whereas Chojnicka (2012) examines political debates in the Latvian parliament. The debates are highly institutionalised not only due to the location in which they happen, but also because of the fact that the floor is held by one MP at a time as granted by the Speaker. The definitions of stance that these scholars utilise are listed below.

“In addition to communicating propositional content, speakers and writers commonly express personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments; that is, they express a ‘stance’”. (Biber et al. 2007: 966)

“They [academic writers – RW] express a textual ‘voice’ or community recognized personality which, following others, I shall call *stance*. This can be seen as an attitudinal dimension and includes features which refer to the ways writers present themselves and convey their judgements, opinions, and commitments. It is the ways that writers intrude to stamp their personal authority onto their arguments or step back and disguise their involvement.” (Hyland 2005: 176, original italics)

“[Stance is] the speaker’s assessment of knowledge expressed in a proposition in terms of its certainty, reliability, expectedness and similar criteria, encoded by linguistic means.” (Chojnicka 2012: 18)

Interactionally oriented studies, on the other hand, urge for a shift of pivot in approaching stance. Kärkkäinen (2003, 2006), Haddington (2004), Wu (2004), Du Bois (2007), Englebretson (2007) and Du Bois & Kärkkäinen (2012) emphasise that stance is not merely a matter of expression of perspectives of individuals, but is best discussed in terms of dynamic relations between perspectives of multiple speakers. This is to say that stance is co-constructed and negotiated, and arises from dialogic interaction among discourse participants. The underlying difference between the two trends in understanding stance lies in how they view those who take (or express) it. Labels such as ‘points of view’, ‘opinions’ ‘attitudes’ and the like have made their way into the most commonly used definitions of subjectivity and become the foci of explorations in the topic:

“[L]ocutionary subjectivity is the locutionary agent’s (the speaker’s or writer’s, the utterer’s) expression of himself in the act of utterance: locutionary subjectivity is, quite simply, self-expression in the use of language.” (Lyons 1994: 13)

“[S]ubjectivity (...) concerns expression of self and the representation of speaker’s (or, more generally, a locutionary agent’s) perspective or point of view in discourse – what has been called a speaker’s imprint.” (Finegan 1995: 1, original italics)

“It is the case that what English speakers are consistently conveying in their talk are evaluations, opinions, and attitudes – in short, their points of view (...). This ubiquitous expression of speaker point of view and the concomitant personalization of utterances has resulted in conventionalized structural patterns that may be seen in the distribution of grammatical and lexical elements in English conversation. (...) [T]hese frequent structural patterns in interactive discourse (...) express subjective stance (...).” (Scheibman 2002: 1).

Under the term ‘subjectivity’, Lyons (1994) and Finegan (1995) connect linguistic resources with the perspectives of language users, and Scheibman (2002) asks questions concerning the linguistic constructions through which these perspectives typically surface in conversational English. By conceptualising stancetakers as ‘social actors’ rather than as ‘speakers’ or ‘locutionary agents’, Kärkkäinen (2006), Du Bois (2007) and others along their line of approach supplement the examination of linguistic encoding of stance with questions which address the place of linguistic expressions in a broader context of social life. For Du Bois (2007: 140), “the relation between one actor’s subjectivity and another’s”, i.e. intersubjectivity, constitutes the core of stance. It is noteworthy that scholars who make intersubjectivity the topic of their inquiry are

mostly psychologists (e.g. Coelho & Figueiredo 2003) and social scientists (e.g. Gillespie & Cornish 2010) rather than linguists. But the vantage point of socially shared experience is common for these scholars and for Du Bois (2007), whose approach fits into the credo of my study focusing on language as a medium of (inter)action and not merely as a channel for the expression of thought. Hence in this book I follow Du Bois (2007) in a general understanding of stance:

“Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.” (Du Bois 2007: 163)

According to this definition, one of the key aspects of stance is the calibration of one’s perspective with respect to the perspectives of others, which makes stance a profoundly intersubjective act. One cannot take a stance in private, in a parallel fashion to making requests, offers or proposals – these, too, are what they are only if formulated to someone else.

3.2.2.1. *The intersubjectivity and sub-components of stance*

Stance, in the sense of Du Bois (2007), consists of three components. Intersubjectivity presupposes subjectivity, which means that whilst being intersubjective as an act in general, stance needs the individual perspectives which could be related to one another. And since it is necessary to take stance on something – an object, a situation or a person – the act of stance encompasses objective domains as well. Du Bois (2007) projects his definition of stance onto the following triangular model.

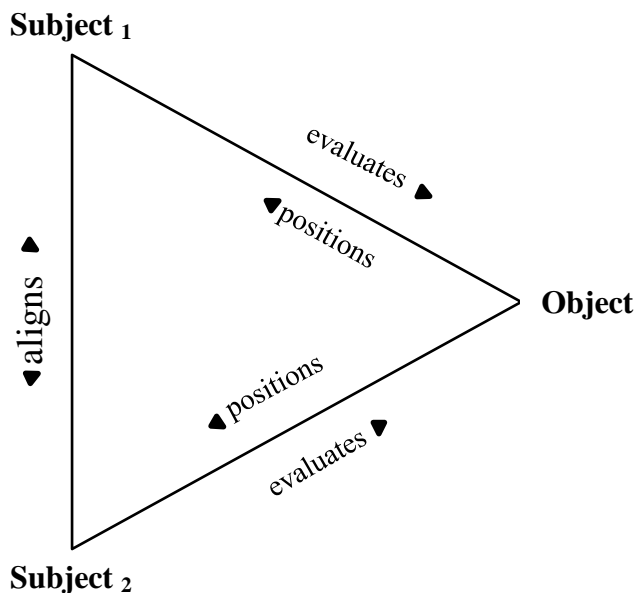


Figure 1. The stance triangle (Du Bois 2007: 163)

A simultaneous production of these subacts is essential to Du Bois’s (2007) understanding of stance-taking. By evaluating objects of stance, one takes responsibility for stance at the same time, i.e. positions herself or himself with respect to the object. The public character of stance requires that there be others to take stance on the object as well, and when others take their stances, they automatically relate their contribution

to the stance(s) taken previously. Example (55) is a reprint of the example (34) considered in 2.2.2., meant to illustrate how this works in practice. I present the whole extract this time, including the previously omitted lines in which the others eulogise over a photo of Heimo Haitari.

(55) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_04_10)

- 1 Hanna: [hetki]nen,
moment
‘wait’
- 2 Matti: *on.*
be.PRS.3SG
‘it is’
- 3 *joo.*
PTC
‘yes’
- 4 Päivi: [jo]o.
PTC
‘yes’

(Hanna reaches for the photo))
- 5 → Hanna: *onko* [tässä **klasia** näkyvis^osä^o]
be.PRS.3SG.Q here glass.PTV be.visible.PRAP.PL.INE
‘is there a glass visible here?’
- 6 Maija: [ja sitte (--)] tät## (0.2) *Elsalle.*
and then aunt PR.ALL
‘and now, to aunt Elsa’

Heimo .Haitari
PR PR
‘Heimo Haitari’
- 7 Jussi: *Heimo Haitari.* [tää on hyvä kuva.] ←
PR PR DEM be.PRS.3SG good photo
‘Heimo Haitari, this is a good photo’
- 8 Liisa: [voi ku i<hana] kuva>; ←
EXC wonderful photo
‘oh, what a wonderful photo!’

(Hanna turns to Jussi))
- 9 → Hanna: *kuule* *onk[o to]ssa .hh*
listen.IMP.2SG be.PRS.3SG.Q there
‘listen, is there’
- 10 Matti: [joo.] ←
PTC
‘yeah’
- 11 Päivi: [(hurmaa][va)] ←
fantastic
‘fantastic’
- 12 Liisa: [j::oo,] ←
PTC
‘yeah’
- 13 → Hanna: [El]salla [tuota nii]
PR.ADE PTC PTC

			‘does Elsa have’	
		<i>lasi</i>	<i>kä[dessä.]</i>	
		glass	hand.INE	
		‘a glass in her hand’		
14	Liisa:	<i>[niim ma[kee;]</i>		←
		INT	sweet	
		‘so sweet’		
15	Päivi:	<i>[joo.] [ihana.]</i>	(0.6)	←
		PTC	wonderful	
		‘yes, wonderful’		
16 →	Hanna:	<i>vai: onko</i>	<i>eikö</i>	<i>oo.</i>
		or	be.PRS.3SG.Q	NEG.3SG.Q
		‘or does she, she doesn’t’		
17 →	Jussi:	<i>ei</i>	<i>sil-</i>	<i>ei</i>
		NEG.3SG	3SG.ADE	NEG.3SG
		‘no, she doesn’t’		

By designing her turn in line 5 as a question *onko tässä klasia näkyvissä?* ‘is there a glass visible here (in the photo)?’, Hanna potentially provides the first part of a question-answer adjacency pair. The partitive marking of *klasia* ‘glass’ is a tiny yet crucial detail because it contributes to an interpretation of Hanna’s turn as taking an epistemic stance. Hanna specifies the object of stance (*tässä* ‘here’, i.e. ‘in the photo’) and positions herself epistemically towards it, evaluating it in terms of possibility through the partitive marking of *klasia* ‘glass’. As an apparent confirmation of Du Bois’s (2007) claims about stance, she actively seeks others’ help in identifying whether or not there is a glass in the photo later on. In line 9 she turns to Jussi, this time resorting to explicit markers of intersubjectivity: an imperative *kuule* ‘listen’ and an or-inquiry construction *vai onko* ‘or is it’. Once Jussi has had a detailed look at the photo, he expresses his view on it in line 17. Importantly, he does it in relation to Hanna’s previous statements (*ei* ‘no’, *ei oo* ‘there isn’t’). After Jussi has taken his stance, they are now sure that there is no glass in the singer’s hand after all. Hanna’s and Jussi’s collaborative stancetaking in (55) can be thus represented on the stance triangle as follows:

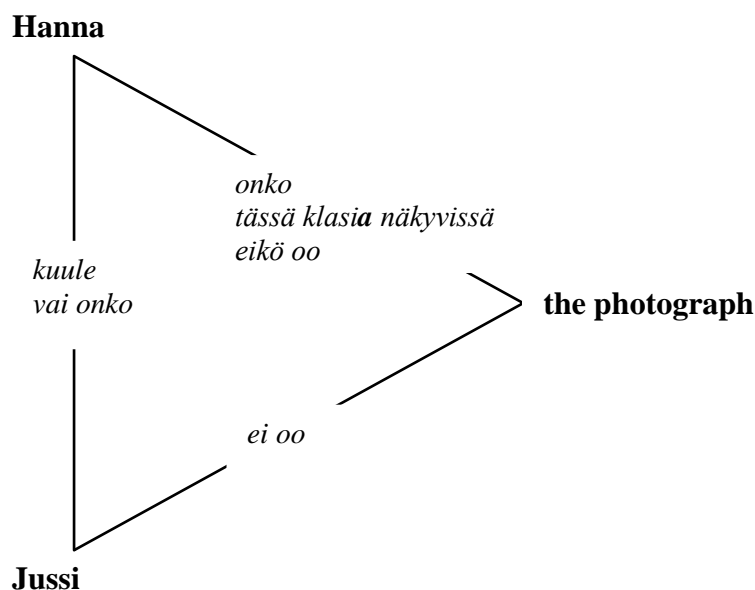


Figure 2. Example (55) on the stance triangle

Notice that (55) contains another stance-taking sequence. Simultaneously to Jussi's and Hanna's exchange, in lines 7–8, 11–12 and 14–15 Päivi, Liisa and Matti are already dealing with another photo which they find *hyvä* 'good', *ihana* 'wonderful', *hurmaava* 'fantastic' and *makee* 'sweet'. What is characteristic of this sequence and of stance sequences in general is that the linguistic resources used in individual turns for a joint production of stance tend to be similar on several levels. In the particular case of (55), the most visible similarities are of lexical and structural nature. The two first turns in that sequence contain NPs of the format 'adjective + noun', and evaluative adjectives echo across subsequent turns as well. The stance sequence is also abundant with *joo* 'yeah' which function as particles of alignment in this context (cf. Sorjonen 2001), and contains devices which claim intense experience (*niim*, *voi ku*). Such "activation of potential affinity across utterances, between comparable linguistic elements at any level" is called 'resonance' (Kärkkäinen 2006: 719) and a tool schematically illustrating resonance between individual turns is the diagraph (Du Bois 2007). Figure 3 maps stance turns extracted from (54) onto the diagraph, with resonating elements aligned vertically.

Jussi:		<i>tää</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>hyvä</i>	<i>kuva</i>
Liisa:	<i>voi ku</i>			<i>ihana</i>	<i>kuva</i>
Matti:	<i>joo</i>				
Liisa:	<i>joo</i>				
Päivi:				<i>hurmaava</i>	
Liisa:	<i>niim</i>			<i>makee</i>	
Päivi:	<i>joo</i>			<i>ihana</i>	

Figure 3. Diagraph of example (55)

Thanks to the application of the diagraphic scheme to stance sequences such as in Figure 3, one can realise how much dialogicality there actually is among the stances of individual speakers. Repeating elements produced earlier in the conversation is one

possible way of marking alignment, and the strategy is employed in (55) to enable the co-participants to effectively work out a convergent stance on the photo.¹⁸ It should be emphasised that ‘alignment’ does not imply convergence, but is rather a label for a non-discrete set of possible values on a scale between full alignment and full disalignment.

Let me reiterate that the two remaining sub-acts of stance are evaluation and positioning. ‘Evaluation’ is a close relative to ‘assessment’ and relevant research often treats these two terms as synonyms (e.g. Kärkkäinen 2006). The difference between studies in assessment and those concerned with evaluation is that the former phenomenon is often the focus of conversation-analytic research (e.g. Pomerantz 1984, Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2008, Laury 2012b) which examines assessment in terms of social action, while studies in evaluation also incorporate written texts into the inquiry (e.g. Conrad & Biber 2000) and are more preoccupied with the perspectives of individual speakers or writers who attribute properties to objects (Thompson & Hunston 2000, but see Schiffrin 1980). Du Bois (2007), however, uses ‘evaluation’ as a label for the objective and not the subjective aspect of stance so as to technically distinguish important features of activities oriented towards the object of stance from those in which the egocentric viewpoints of stancetakers become foregrounded. Jussi’s turn in line 12 of the example above is a canonical instance of explicit evaluation of the stance object in that *tää on hyvä kuva* ‘this is a good photo’ indexes the object (*tää* ‘this’) and contains an evaluative adjective (*hyvä* ‘good’).

Du Bois (2007) characterises the subjective facet of stance in terms of positioning. The concept of positioning perhaps brings together in the best way under one term the key areas of preoccupation of studies into particular kinds of stance: affect (e.g. Du Bois & Kärkkäinen 2012) and epistemicity (e.g. Mushin 2001). I will add also a stance category which has received attention more recently, namely deontic stance (e.g. Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2014), to the discussion that follows. In this way my study will examine stance with respect to all three main orders of social interaction: epistemic, emotional and deontic (Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2014).

3.2.2.2. *Epistemic stance*

Epistemic stance is stance taken on a knowledge-related matter¹⁹. In this work I am closest to Kärkkäinen (2003) in understanding epistemicity:

“I will (...) regard *evidential distinctions as part of marking of epistemic modality*. This is motivated by my definition of epistemicity, namely as different ways of showing commitment towards what one is saying, or, specifying somewhat, as different attitudes towards knowledge.” (Kärkkäinen 2003: 19, original italics)

¹⁸ Resonance is not exclusively the feature of convergent stances. See Anward (2005: 36–37) and Kärkkäinen (2007: 202) who show that reproducing prior turns or parts thereof may also be a strategy of contesting prior speakers.

¹⁹ I use the term ‘knowledge’ in a way which embraces beliefs, experiences and other possible channels through which people become familiar with objects, situations, phenomena, etc. This is to avoid a cultural bias. Some approaches (e.g. Palmer 1986) explicitly separate knowledge from belief, which reflects a primarily Western hierarchy of values seeing provable facts differently from folk beliefs and spiritual knowledge. This presents an ideological challenge to the study of languages used in cultures which treat traditional beliefs the way that empirical evidence is perceived by Western science. See Grenoble & Whitecloud (2014) for a discussion of differences between approaches to knowledge between Western linguists and indigenous communities.

I would only replace ‘attitudes’ with ‘relations’ as with what I consider to be a more neutral way of referring to all aspects of knowledge-related language. Thereby I benefit from the results of Kärkkäinen (2003) and the impact that her research and the research conducted by others in the field has later had on the study of epistemicity and stance in interactive discourse. These studies have shown that private attitudes to knowledge do not exhaust all the functions that epistemic markers have in language as it naturally occurs because the expression of individual epistemic judgements has consequences for the organisation of social interaction. For example Kärkkäinen (2007) has shown that the use of the epistemic stance marker *I guess* by individual participants in American English conversations recurrently orients other speakers to collaborative stance-taking, and Rauniomaa (2007) arrived at a parallel conclusion concerning the Finnish *mun mielestä* ‘in my opinion’.

Kärkkäinen (2003) adopts an inclusive approach to evidentiality and epistemicity (hence the italics in the quotation above), and so do I. The view that evidential distinctions are part of epistemicity is common for interactional and other varieties of functional linguistics, but formal linguists mostly opposes such an approach because as a grammatical category, evidentiality specifies the *source of* one’s knowledge and epistemicity – the *attitude to* it. Cornille (2009), for instance, highlights the crucial fact that speakers’ interpretations of the reliability of knowledge are independent of specific sources of that knowledge. In other words, one can be sure, dubious or speculative about a state of affairs irrespectively of whether one makes an inference that it has occurred or was told about it by someone else. This means that epistemic judgements are not derived from evidential values, even if it is the speaker who is the actual source of knowledge (cf. also Squartini 2008). Palmer (1986: 51) resolutely overcomes this problem by arguing that in any case, these two categories mark speakers’ commitment or lack of commitment towards the truth of the proposition contained in their utterances, and treats evidentiality as categorically subordinate to epistemic modality. But for Aikhenvald (2004), evidentiality, understood as the marking of source of one’s *information* (2004: 1, my italics), is not an area of modality at all:

“Evidentiality is a category in its own right, and not a subcategory of any modality (...). Scholars tend to assume that evidentials are modals largely because of their absence in most major European languages, thus trying to explain an unusual category in terms of some other, more conventional, notion. There is simply no other place in a Standard Average European grammar where they could be assigned. For want of a better option, evidentials are then translated into European languages with epistemic markers. (...) That evidentials may have semantic extensions related to probability and speaker’s evaluation of the trustworthiness of information does not make evidentiality a kind of modality.” (Aikhenvald 2004: 7–8)

It is inevitably true that languages such as Finnish do not formally recognise evidentiality the way known e.g. in the Tariana language of the Brazilian Amazon which uses a rich catalogue of obligatory verbal markers indicating the source of knowledge (Aikhenvald 2003: 287–288). In Tariana, unlike Finnish, it is impossible not to specify how one knows things without going ungrammatical. Tariana and many other languages which formally encode evidentiality show it clearly that in terms of language as information, it is sensible and indeed necessary to treat attitudes to knowledge apart from sources of knowledge. But it is questionable whether one needs to do that in languages missing grammatical categories of evidentiality, especially if one analyses such languages in terms of action. In naturally occurring language, the relationship between the speaker(s) and knowledge is ultimately always relevant for the indication

of how one knows things because of the element of positioning. Study the following example from a Finnish conversation among five men. The co-participants are collecting memories of one of the trips they used to go on together years ago. Their goal is to gather up sufficient evidence to make sure which of the trips it was. Mauno is the one to start the evidence construction by asking about the trip, but he does not seem to be convinced by the response he receives.

(56) ‘Five elderly men’ (SG157_vanhatmiehet)

- 1 Mauno: *mi^okäs^o reisu meil ol sillo ko*
 what.PTC trip 2PL.ADE be.PST.3SG then when
 ‘which trip was it when’
myö käytii sielä^{oh}
 1PL go.PASS.PST there
 ‘we went there’
- 2 >Auras< vai >mis myö käytii< ja
 PR.INE or where 1PL go.PASS.PST and
 ‘to Aura or where did we go and’
Teppo oli mukana ja ko Lepolathee
 PR be.PST.3SG along and when PR.ILL
 ‘Teppo was there and when’
ajeltii sinne #eeää#
 drive.PASS.PST there
 ‘we drove there to Lepolahti’
- 3 >Teppo sano< lähetäähh #ee# kattoo:h #eee#
 PR say.PST.3SG go.PASS see.CVB.ILL
 ‘Teppo said let’s go to see’
Lepolahe >sankari<^ohaut^o hau#toi#.=
 PR.GEN hero grave.PL.PTV
 ‘the graves of the heroes of Lepolahti’
- 4 → Sauli: =<My#ä::#> käytii ensimmäisel
 1PL go.PASS.PST first.ADE
 ‘we were on the first’
- 5 → [#ööö#] tuos tuota .mthhhh
 DEM.INE PTC
 ‘on the’
- 6 ?: [krhm]
- 7 → Sauli: #ööö#hh Norjareisu^olh^o. (0.7)
 Norway.trip.ADE
 ‘trip to Norway’
- 8 → Mauno: äh^{oh} <oisko> se olt
 be.PRS.COND.Q it be.PAP
 ‘was it really (lit. Would it have been)’
 [(siit)] Norjareisu [siit],
 PTC Norway.trip PTC
 ‘the trip to Norway, after all’
- 9 → Sauli: [juu.] [juu.]
 PTC PTC
 ‘yeah, yeah’
- 10 Veijo: ^omm/m./^o? (0.5)

11	Mauno:ko	PTC	< ^o tu ^o ->		
		PTC	PTC		
			‘cos’		
12 →	>oliks	be.PST.3SG.Q.CL	poj ^{at}	boy.PL	#mukana#. < along
			‘did the boys come with us?’		
13 →	Sauli: ei	NEG.3SG	ol[lu],	be.PAP	
			‘they didn’t’		
14 →	Veijo:		[^o mi]e em	1SG NEG.1SG	muista remember.NEG
			‘at least I don’t remember’		
15 →	Touko:				[#em NEG.1SG ‘I didn’t’
			mie	1SG	ai[nakaa] at.least
			‘at least’		
16 →	(Veijo):		[(ei kai)]	NEG.3SG	rather
			‘I guess not’		

The sources of knowledge vary among the participants in this exchange. Upon Sauli’s question whether the other participants were on board the trip in line 12, Touko denies having been (line 15), whereas Veijo is not sure, which he signals by saying that he does not remember, but rather not (lines 14 and 16). Mauno and Sauli, on the other hand, did participate. In lines 4–7 of example (56), Sauli provides an answer to Mauno’s question by making a declarative statement in the indicative mood (*myä käytii* ‘we went’). In languages with ambiguous and fused systems of evidentials, firsthand and visual evidentials are more likely to remain covert than other evidentials, which suggests that firsthand and visual evidence is the default evidential value (Aikhenvald 2004: 72–73). By way of deduction, the use of the indicative in languages lacking systems of evidentials would imply claiming things true based on firsthand evidence, especially because there exist means of indicating that things are otherwise (e.g. the Finnish adverb *kuulemma* ‘reportedly’). In any case, all the participants in (56) interact with the use of the unmarked indicative mood (with the exception of Mauno’s turn in line 8; see below). The only interactionally relevant aspect related to the differences in source of knowledge in (56) is linked to the participation framework: those who did not go on the excursion only join the discussion when explicitly asked. Consequently, those who did become the stance leaders. However, this happens not because they have acquired a certain evidential status thanks to their participation, but due to the differences in their epistemic statuses. Being the first one to state something equips one with epistemic authority (Enfield 2011). In (56), Sauli indeed constructs his identity as somebody with the greatest epistemic authority: after he had answered Mauno’s first question in lines 4 to 7, he provides firm and short responses to his next questions with no signs of hesitation (cf. lines 9 and 13). Mauno contests Sauli’s authority in line 8, but enjoys lesser epistemic access because he does not remember things equally well to him.

My point is, therefore, that referring to different aspects of knowledge under one common term suits interactional purposes, although things may be different in the case of a structural description.

Example (56) well illustrates epistemic stance taking as an intersubjective activity because it shows memory as being subject to negotiation and remembrance of past happenings as a matter of shared experience. Of particular interest here is the turn in line 8 containing a clause with the conditional, as well as what happens immediately before and after that turn. The use of the conditional in line 8 is Mauno's challenge to Sauli's conclusion that the trip to Norway is in question. Line 8 contains a clearly dispreferred turn: it is preceded by a long pause and Mauno's subsequent talk contains a particle *ko* 'cos' which in this case projects disagreement. Mauno's turn positions him as uncertain, marks disalignment with the stance by Sauli and signals continuity of the topic. There are multiple epistemic displays by individual speakers in this example, ones which claim epistemic access (e.g. *joo, joo* 'yeah, yeah') and others which disclaim it (e.g. *ei kai* 'I guess not', *mie en muista ainakaa* 'at least I don't remember'). Epistemicity is clearly relevant for this conversation, but it is not as much the epistemic displays by individual participants as the relationships between these displays that influence the trajectory of the conversation the most because due to the fact that the co-participants' accounts of the past are incomplete and somewhat divergent, they need to work further on the co-construction of their evidence.

To summarise, I understand epistemicity as a category marking the relationships with knowledge: those between individual speakers and the entities which are the objects of their knowledge, but also relations between multiple speaker-knowledge dyads.²⁰

3.2.2.3. Affective stance

By word of definition, 'affectivity' is "the display of heightened emotive involvement, its interpretation and management in interaction" (Couper-Kuhlen 2001: 231; see also Ochs & Schiffelin 1989 for the term 'affect' which covers the expression of feelings, dispositions and emotions). Affective stance, then, relates to stance taken with respect to the emotional domain (cf. Du Bois & Kärkkäinen 2012).

Similarly to interactional research on epistemic stance, considerable attention is paid to how affective displays organise the intersubjectivity of participants in conversations. Though Couper-Kuhlen (2011) does not consider affectivity in terms of stance, she convincingly argues that affect in conversation is not only a matter of *display* of emotions by individuals, but also that affectivity may be used for the *management* of conversation, e.g. as a means of dealing with rejecting responses to proposals. As long as the partitive and the conditional are concerned, my material has not produced cases of affect serving other actions in the way described in Couper-Kuhlen (2011), but sequences of affective-coloured stance as it is understood by Du Bois (2007). Such intense emotional involvement is present e.g. in example (55), line 8 (Liisa's *voi ku ihana kuva* 'oh, what a wonderful photo!'), as well as in the final lines of the example below.

²⁰ Given all the discussion in section 3.2.2.2., further research is definitely needed on epistemicity in languages of societies who assign prominence to the community rather than to individuals. It remains to be seen how useful the understanding of a single speaker as the centre of epistemicity is for the study of languages from outside of the Western world, foreign to its individualistic emphasis which I take to underlie the approaches offered by Palmer (1986), Kärkkäinen (2003) or that of myself.

(57) ‘Wine evening’ (SG396_70_77)

- 1 Pete: *pitää olla vähän rennompi toi käsi* (.)
 must.PRS.3SG be a.little loose.COMP DEM hand
 ‘should be a bit more loose, the hand’
[ku ei]
 PTC NEG.3SG
 ‘cos it doesn’t’
- 2 Riku: *[pitää olla vähän tämmönen]*
 must.PRS.3SG be a.little such
 ‘should be a bit like’
- 3 Lauri: *@minä@*
 1SG
 ‘I’
- 4 Riku: *levämäisempi*
 alga.COMP
 ‘more like an alga’
- 5 Lauri: *@minä@*
 1SG
 ‘I’
- 6 Taavi: *@minä olen@*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG
 ‘I am’
- 7 → Lauri: *@elä* (.) *siis niin mitä vittua@*
 IMP.2SG.NEG PTC PTC what.PTV cunt.PTV
 ‘don’t, what, what the fuck’
- 8 → Taavi: *ehh [hehehe]*
- 9 → Riku: *[hehehe]*

The participants are making fun of their school friend, mocking his behaviour and the way of speaking. Therefore, the funny situation they are recalling belongs to reported discourse. The situation happened during a party when they grabbed the friend’s cell phone while he was not watching and played with it for fun. The whole of (57) describes the friend’s reactions to the situation, which makes the boys laugh (lines 8–9).

Line 7, which contains an instance of a partitive NP I am interested in, is a mirative expression. Mirativity is what encodes the unexpectedness of information, and according to Leinonen (2000), it is best analysed in epistemic terms because of that. The fact that mirative displays are affect-laden is only “a by-product of sudden revelation”, Leinonen (2000: 428) argues. That is to say that the presence of exclamatives, of a rise in intonation and of other linguistic phenomena accompanying mirative markers are merely a consequence of a sudden change in epistemic access.²¹ If the partitive NP in line 7 is to be treated as a formal marker of mirativity, it would belong to a broader category ‘epistemic partitive’, one which has already been extensively explored in this work. Line 7 of (57) indeed bears characteristics of a sudden reception of a new information by an “unprepared mind”, as relevant literature often summarises mirativity (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004: 195). But again, although this is true from a language-as-information point of view, facts about interaction provide good reasons to favour affect

²¹ See Chojnicka (2012) for an approach which resolves this issue by considering mirativity a stance category separate from both epistemicity and affect.

		<i>se</i>	<i>kyl</i>	<i>kiva</i>	<i>pyörittää</i>	<i>ei</i>		<i>siin</i>	<i>mitää</i> , (0.2)
		3SG	PTC	nice	run	NEG.3SG		it.INE	nothing
		‘be really a nice job to run, there’s nothing (wrong) with it’							
4	Kaisa:	<i>[nii</i>	<i>jösset</i>	<i>sä</i>	<i>saa,</i>				
		PTC	if.NEG.2SG	2SG	get.PRS.NEG				
		‘yeah, if you don’t get’							
5	Matti:	<i>[mut</i>	<i>sanotaan</i>	<i>näi</i>	<i>et]</i>				
		but	say.PASS	so	COMP				
		‘but let’s say that’							
→		<i>ei</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>miu</i>	<i>unelma[homma]</i>	<i>ois</i>		<i>kyllä</i> ,	
		NEG.3SG	it	1SG	dream.job	be.COND.3SG		PTC	
		‘it wouldn’t be my dream job, really’							
6 →	Kaisa:				<i>[nii:,]</i>				
					PTC				
					‘yeah’				
7 →	Antti:	<i>oispas</i>		<i>elä</i>		<i>valehtele,</i>			
		be.COND.CL.CL		IMP.2SG		lie.IMP.2SG			
		‘it would, don’t lie’							
8 →	Matti:	<i>nii</i>	<i>oiski,</i>						
		PTC	be.COND.3SG.CL						
		‘yeah, it would’							

The example very clearly contains all three main ingredients of stance as the participants position themselves with respect to the profession (*meikäläise homma* ‘a job for me’, *mun unelmahomma* ‘my dream job’), simultaneously evaluating it (cf. *kiva* ‘nice’) and aligning with one another (e.g. *nii* ‘yeah’ *nii oiski* ‘yeah, it would’). On the basis of example (58) it is possible to conclude that the intersubjectivity of action involving the expression of (un)desirability of future course of events consists in alignment and not so much in recruitment. The presence of intensely emotive language (cf. line 1) and the wish to categorise boulomaicity with reference to the three orders of human interaction identified by Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2014) are the reasons why I do not distinguish the boulomaic kind of stance as a separate stance category. I do not consider my material to provide sufficiently stable grounds for doing so because although emotive displays are characteristic of all examples of boulomaic stance in my data, these examples are not too numerous.

3.2.2.4. Deontic stance

Deontic stance embraces “the speaker’s public ways of displaying how powerful they are” (Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2014: 191). The problem is that the leading research on deontic stance by Stevanovic (2011) and Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2014) is anchored in a different understanding of stance than the one I utilise here, so the definition does not exactly picture deontic stance as an interactional achievement. Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2014) follow Heritage (2012) who does consider stance socially relational, but in defining stance he relies on the propositional content of clauses. As a result, different grammatical formats of the same proposition are taken to express different stances, e.g. *are you married?*, *you are married*, *aren’t you?*, *you’re married* (Heritage 2012: 6). Such an approach poses a problem to the present study because the intersubjectivity of stance defined in such a way does not (or not always) consist in a collaborative

evaluation of the stance object, but merely in defining the relationships between the stance subjects. This, in my view, is too little to call an interactional enterprise stance-taking. By way of example, Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2014: 191) illustrate deontic stance with the following excerpt from Lindström's (2005) study of Swedish elderly care interactions.

(59) Interactive Swedish (Lindström 2005: 221–222)

- 1 → SC: *de star en citronflaska därinne:* (0.2)
 'there is a lemon extract bottle in there'
 2 *i dörren däruppe men ja får inte upp den,*
 'in the door up there but I cannot open it'
 3 HH: *mm:?*

The example shows a request formulated by the senior citizen (SC) to the home help provider (HH) in line 1 by means of a declarative statement in which she asserts the location of a beverage container and her inability to open it. Due to her profession and the context in which the interaction is happening, HH is obliged to provide assistance to SC and SC is entitled to asking for assistance, so line 1 is an example of an adequately formulated request. Of course, then, example (59) illustrates a deontically asymmetrical situation, but not one in which the participants would exhibit orientations to what their rights and obligations are. Example (59) does not contain deontic stance taking, but requesting such that the selection of the request format by SC manifests the entitlement to requesting resultant from her deontic status. If the participants' rights and obligations are considered the object of stance in this exchange and if we are satisfied by seeing the materialisation of alignment in HH's compliant response,²² then we arrive at a conclusion that virtually all requests (or even all directives) are stanced because the selection of one form and not another would automatically constitute a stance-taking strategy. And such a view obscures the fundamental difference between requests with a clear requestive force and those formulated as contingent (see section 3.2.3 coming shortly).

Nevertheless, deontic stance is a useful notion in the analysis of interactions among participants who manifest their understanding of who has what rights and obligations.

(60) 'Five student loans' (T943_viisopintolainaa)

- 1 Client: *tuota ni (itse asias) (mites)*
 PTC PTC self thing.INE how
 'I mean, well, as a matter of fact, how'
 2 → *oiskoham mun pitänyt tuolt ottaas*
 be.COND.3SG.Q.CL 1SG.GEN have.to.PAP there.ABL take
 'should I have taken'
sellast lomaketta ensin
 such.PTV form.PTV first
 'one of these forms first'
 3 *>tota nii<, .hh tämmönen #ää# opintot- #ööö# lainan, tota*

²² The original fragment of this conversation in Lindström (2005: 221–222) is longer and shows that HH complies with the request. Importantly, Lindström (2005) seeks motivation for the choice of particular request forms in entitlement, not stance.

	PTC	PTC	such	study-	loan.ACC	PTV
	'I mean, one for student loan'					
4	<i>nii</i>	<i>tää</i>	<i>korko-</i> (.)	<i>tuki,</i>		
	PTC	DEM	rate	aid		
	'I mean that rate aid'					
5	Clerk:	<i>korkoavustus,</i>	=			
		rate.assistance				
		'rate insurance'				
6	Client:= <i>joo</i>	[> <i>se k</i>]	<i>orkoavus</i>	[<i>tus(-)<,]</i>		
	PTC	DEM	rate.assistance			
	'yes, the rate insurance'					
7	Clerk:	[<i>joo,</i>]		[<i>(just).</i>]		
		PTC		exactly		
	'yes, exactly'					
8	Client: <i>joo</i>	<i>just</i>	<i>se</i>			
	PTC	exactly	it			
	'yes, just that one'					
→	((Clerk stands up and fetches the form)) (15.0)					

The excerpt is from the beginning of the conversation, and starts after the sequence of greetings and an exchange of comments on the recording situation. The client begins stating the purpose of his visit by hinting at the fact that he could have collected a form himself from a shelf where forms and questionnaires are displayed. In this way he starts out constructing his identity in this interaction as the participant who has an obligation to fill in a form and thus follow a proper procedure. The interesting thing about this example is that the client's deontic display in line 2 also scratches the epistemic domain. A number of linguistic markers of epistemic stance are present in his turn, e.g. the *-hAn*-enclitic on the verb (*oiskohan*) and the partitive marking of *sellast lomaketta* 'such a form'. When attached to interrogative verbs, the enclitic *-hAn* is responsible for speaker positioning rather than questioning itself (Hakulinen 2001: 49), and its use in general implies that some background knowledge is being exploited (Hakulinen 2001). Indeed, by referring to his obligations, the client also indicates he is not sure what form he should have taken. After the client and the clerk have ascertained what document is exactly needed, the clerk does not direct the client back to the area where he can pick it himself, but stands up to bring the form (cf. end of 60). This means that looking retrospectively at the whole earlier exchange, the clerk understands the client's utterance as implementing a request for a delivery of that particular form. The request happens in the context of uneven distribution of deontic and epistemic resources, which becomes manifested in the turns of the client. Here we are hammering at the door of stance-taking *in the service of* request-making.

3.2.3. Stance in the service of directives and other actions

(61) 'Concert agency' (SG435_04_10)

5 →	Hanna:	<i>onko</i>	[<i>tässä</i> <i>klasia</i>	<i>näkyvis^osä^o</i>
		be.PRS.3SG.Q	here glass.PTV	be.visible.PRAP.PL.INE
		'is there a glass visible here?'		
6	Maija:	[<i>ja</i>	<i>sitte</i> (--)]	<i>tät#i#</i> (0.2)
		and	then	<i>Elsalle.</i>
			aunt	PR.ALL

- ‘and now, to aunt Elsa’
- Heimo .Haitari*
PR PR
‘Heimo Haitari’
- 7 Jussi: *Heimo Haitari.* [tää on hyvä kuva.] ←
PR PR DEM be.PRS.3SG good photo
‘Heimo Haitari, this is a good photo’
- 8 Liisa: [voi ku i<hana] kuva>; ←
EXC wonderful photo
‘oh, what a wonderful photo!’
(Hanna turns to Jussi))
- 9 → Hanna: *kuule onk[o to]ssa .hh*
listen.IMP.2SG be.PRS.3SG.Q there
‘listen, is there’
(3 lines omitted)
- 13 → Hanna: [El]salla [tuota nii]
PR.ADE PTC PTC
‘does Elsa have’
lasi kä[dessä.]
glass hand.INE
‘a glass in her hand’

This already quite familiar extract from ‘Concert agency’ contains two stance-taking enterprises happening simultaneously. The difference does not only lie in the fact that one (→) shows epistemic stance taking, whereas the other (←) an affect-laden evaluation of a photograph, but also in that the participants in (→) take epistemic stance to facilitate the collection of evidence, whereas in (←) stance-taking has become the main preoccupation for a moment.

In the introduction to this work I have listed a number of factors speaking in favour of a common treatment of directives and stance in the light of interaction. One of them was the mutual influence that aspects of stance-taking and directive-making have on each other. There are numerous examples in my data wherein both actions are performed in the way that taking a stance serves as an auxiliary action for a directive or some other action in the way that the (→) part of example (61) has just shown. In these examples, stance-taking does not only play a role of a manifestation of the momentary relationships among the participants, but it influences the trajectory of the other action they are busy performing.

Practically speaking, the results of Curl & Drew’s (2008) influential study of British English request formats are that an epistemically stanced request has different distributional properties compared to a non-stanced one. Curl & Drew (2008) examined two corpora of telephone conversations conducted in British English: a corpus of everyday calls and a corpus of calls made to after-hours medical services. They discovered that the linguistic format of requesting generally depends on how speakers view the prospects for the request to be granted. A construction with a modal verb (*can you/ could you X*) was used when doing as requested was seen unproblematic, i.e. not subject to contingencies. By contrast, speakers used a prefacing *I wonder if (you could X)* when they showed an understanding of the existence of contingencies around the requested action, e.g. that the recipient might not be able to conduct it or that they themselves might not be entitled to requesting.

Curl & Drew (2008) point to speakers' explicit epistemic considerations in explaining the usage of *I wonder if*-prefaced requests. By designing their request in such a way, speakers are taken to signal that "they do not know if a particular course of action is the appropriate one: They *wonder* if such and such can be done" (Curl & Drew 2008: 142–143). The results obtained by Curl & Drew (2008) in many ways resemble the patterns of requesting that Culpeper & Demmen (2011) identified in their historical-sociopragmatic study of nineteenth-century British English requests. Although this work is not a historical one, Culpeper & Demmen (2011) are worth citing here because they show the relevance of the original epistemic extensions of *could/can*-interrogatives for the management of requests at a nascent stage of conventionalisation of these patterns into constructions of requesting.²³ *Could*-questions are considered the default request format in present-day British English due to their frequency (Aijmer 1996: 157), but historically they are a relatively recent invention. In Culpeper & Demmen's (2011) data, the greatest number of *can/could*-interrogatives is found in courtroom trial texts, i.e. proceedings from institutionalised oral communication. The other texts which featured such requests were letters, drama plays and fiction, but the number of tokens found in these genres is considerably smaller (with the exception of letters from the period between 1850 and 1870, which yielded a comparable amount of examples to the trial data). As the authors argue, *can/could*-interrogatives enabled court examiners to kill two birds with one stone, that is make a directive while being non-assertive. In the majority of cases, the requestive force of such questions was ambiguous:

"We found that the ability-oriented conventional indirect requests in the trial data were used by the examiners (lawyers and judges) to witnesses and defendants under cross-examination, signalling both a need for them to speak and specifying the exact information required. They have context-specific characteristics of both ability and a request. The duality of purpose of the *can/could* strategies efficiently meets the contextual need to combine a request for the respondent to speak whilst allowing for the possibility that s/he may not be able to give the exact information required. This is a matter of practicality rather than politeness though. An ambiguous request is optimal because although the examinees are under a heavy legal and moral obligation to cooperate by providing information, there is a possibility that they may not have the literal ability to do so." (Culpeper & Demmen 2011: 73)

Culpeper & Demmen (2011) call *can/could*-requests ability-oriented requests for this reason. The authors consider it hardly possible that such a strategy of requesting was a genre-specific invention, but rather that their material presents tangible evidence of what was an increasingly common practice in spoken English of that time, a time of vibrant urbanisation which significantly boosted contacts with strangers. Nineteenth-century Britain experienced a massive influx of people from rural areas to towns and cities due to the Industrial Revolution in England and Scotland. Interestingly, the intensity of these socioeconomic changes correlates with the distribution of tokens of *can/could*-requests across Culpeper & Demmen's (2011) data. Half of the examples containing such requests from courtroom trials date year 1870 and later, which was a time when urbanisation in the industrialising Great Britain reached its peak (cf. Law 1967).²⁴ Such requests had not been so frequently used earlier: actually, questions

²³ The results of Culpeper & Demmen's (2011) study also provide strong evidence against the claims that the presence of modals and epistemic markers in directives reflects considerations of face (Brown & Levinson ([1978] 1987) and the illocutionary transparency of speech acts (Searle 1975).

²⁴ Citing Law (1967), Culpeper & Demmen (2011: 55) present census data which illustrate how dynamic the process was. Over a period of one hundred years, the percentage of Brits living in towns and

involving modals *can* and *could* with some traces of a requestive force, i.e. not univocally enquiring into the addressee's abilities, only started appearing in the second half of 18th century (Culpeper & Archer 2008).

Why would all that historical data matter for the present study? Firstly, Culpeper & Demmen (2011) show how epistemicity becomes a factor influencing the distribution of linguistic patterns of directives (or requesting, in this particular case). Their study has captured the moment when an epistemic resource of English started undergoing a functional reanalysis to serve new communicative purposes which had arisen in new circumstances of increased amount of interaction with strangers. So secondly, it provides some tentative indication of the usage of epistemic language in situations which differ from each other in terms of the amount of knowledge shared by the participants. This has valuable implications for this study for example because I investigate patterns of directives in institutional interactions characterised by an innately unequal epistemic access to expert knowledge among the participants (see section 3.3.2. for more discussion), but also try to identify the contexts in which epistemic stance taking influences the course of interaction irrespectively of the genre.

Culpeper & Demmen (2011) distinguish between requests having a clear requestive force and those whose requestive force is ambiguous.

“clear requestive force: fully-conventionalised ability-oriented indirect requests, i.e. the addressee clearly has the ability to comply with the speaker's request.

ambiguous requestive force: clearly a request, but some uncertainty over the addressee's ability to comply.” (Culpeper & Demmen 2011: 70, my boldface)

This distinction can doubtlessly be applied to the results of Curl & Drew (2008). The non-contingent *can you/could you*-requests have a clear requestive force, whereas the requestive force of *I wonder if*-prefaced requests is ambiguous because their use is “affected by speaker's understandings of the contingencies surrounding the granting of the request” (Curl & Drew 2008: 135). But I prefer yet another formulation than both ambiguous or contingent and clear or non-contingent directives. I refer to the configuration of interaction involving a request such as the *I wonder if*-request (Curl & Drew 2008) or a proposal such as the *mä aattelin* ‘I was wondering’-proposal (Stevanovic 2013) as a sequence of stance in the service of directive. Because my study

cities grew from 30% in 1801 to 75% in 1901, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, 30% of the population dwelled big cities. Comparable (but not so large-scale) socioeconomic changes happened in nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Finland. Census data show a continuous growth of Finnish towns and cities between years 1881 and 1910. Urban areas in Finland closed the period between 1881 and 1885 with a gain of over 20,000 dwellers, whereas in years 1905–1910 they grew by 41,000 (Suomen Virallinen Tilasto 1915: 8). In 1912, almost 485,000 or 15% Finns lived in cities (Suomen Virallinen Tilasto 1915: 15) and in 1930, with the total population of Finland of ca. 3,460,000 compared to 3,200,000 in 1912, the figure more than doubled. And in 2000, the share of urban residents in the Finnish demography exceeded 60% (cf. Kangasharju 2004). By way of comparison, 85% of the population of England and 95% of the population of Wales lived in towns and cities in 2001 (National Statistics 2004).

While I have not come across any historical-pragmatic study of Finnish which would pin-point the stages of development of requests made with modals, Laury (2012a: 222) notes that the Finnish language planner Elias Lönnrot proposed in the second half of the 19th century that the term ‘conditional’ be translated into Finnish as *ehdotustapa* ‘proposal mode’. Also the work on Finnish syntax by Setälä (1926 [1880]) mentions this term. These facts provide a useful indication that the directive functions of the Finnish conditional were operative in the of modern Finnish language. So it is not impossible that the force driving the conventionalisation of conditional inquiries in Finnish was similar to British English, i.e. that people started interpreting such inquiries as an effective way of proceeding in interaction with people with whom they did not share background knowledge.

explores social action formats, it is interested in examining the anatomy of sequences in addition to the form of the resource implementing an action. In this way I wish to elevate the status of stance from a kind of an external circumstance to an action which is concomitant with another action. Study the following example pair coming from the institutional part of my data.

(62) ‘Student loan rates’ (T1115_opintolainankorotja)

- 1 → Client: *joo, >sit mie kysyisin siitä< miun*
 PTC PTC 1SG ask.COND.1SG DEM.ELA 1SG.GEN
 ‘yeah, and then I would ask after my’
asumistukihakemuksesta. (0.7)
 housing.benefit.application.ELA
 ‘housing benefit application’
- 2 → Clerk: *joo-o, (2.0) eli sull_on vireillä se.*
 PTC so 1SG.ADE_be.PRS.3SG pending it
 ‘yeah, so it’s already pending’
- 3 Client: *joo, (.)*
 PTC
 ‘yes’
- 4 Client: *tai olluj jo kyllä aika pitkään ku*
 or be.PPP PTC PTC quite long.ILL PTC
 ‘or actually has been pending for quite long `cos there has been’
siin_ov vähän epä:selvyyksiä,
 it.INE_be.PRS.3SG a.little confusion.PTV.PL
 ‘something unclear with it’
 ((18.8)) (Clerk is typing on the computer))
- 5 Clerk: *onks se si- se on siun*
 be.PRS.3SG.Q.CL it it be.PRS.3SG 2SG.GEN
 ‘is it (registered) under your’
nimellä se asumis[tuki.
 name.ADE DEM housing.benefit
 ‘name, the housing benefit?’
- 6 Client: *[joo, (6.0)*
 PTC
 ‘yes’
- 7 Clerk: *.mthh @j:oo: niin onkii@ joo ootas (mie) (-).*
 PTC PTC be.PRS.3SG.CL PTC wait.IMP 1SG
 ‘oh yes it is, yeah, wait, I’ll’
 (72.2)
- 8 *.mt joo se oj just tuossa*
 PTC it be.PRS.3SG PTC DEM.INE
 ‘yes, right now it’s’
valmistelussa se siun, (1.2) °asumistuki°. (8.7)
 preparation.INE DEM 2SG.GEN housing.benefit
 ‘in preparation, your housing benefit’

(63) ‘KELA card with a photo’ (T977_kuvallinenKelakortti)

- 1 → Client: *mut >sit mä oisin kysynyt tuosta*
 PTC PTC 1SG be.COND.1SG ask.PAP DEM.ELA
 ‘but then I would have asked about that’
kuvallisesta< Kelakortista,
 photographic.ELA Kela.card.ELA
 ‘Kela card with a photo’
- 2 → Clerk: *joo-o?* (0.7) ((Clerk opens an envelope and looks at client))
 PTC
 ‘yes?’
- 3 → Client: *ja tuota (.) mull_on semmone et*
 and PTC 1SG.ADE_be.PRS.3SG such COMP
 ‘and well, my case is that’
- 4 *mie jään eläkkeelle <yks kuudetta>?*
 1SG. remain.1SG retirement.ALLone sixth.PTV
 ‘I’m retiring 1st June’
- 5 Clerk: *joo-o?*
 PTC
 ‘yes?’
- 6 → Client: *.hh niin (sitten mie) saan ne alennukset*
 PTC PTC 1SG get.PRS.1SG DEM discount.PL
 ‘so I will be entitled to discounts then’
myöskin [ni (sit) milloim mum
 also PTC PTC when 1SG.GEN
 ‘as well so when do I’
- 7 Clerk: *[joo,*
 PTC
 ‘yes’
- 8 → Client: *pitäs hakees sitä*
 have.to.COND.3SG apply it.PTV
 ‘have to apply for it?’
- 9 Client: *mull_on semmonev väliaikane eläkeläiskor*tti* (-).*
 1SG.ADE_be.PRS.3SG such temporary pensioner.card
 ‘I have one of those temporary pensioner cards’
- 10 → Clerk: *no sen vois hakeev vasta sillon*
 PTC it.ACC can.COND.3SG apply only then
 ‘well, you can apply for it only’
kesäkuum puolella, (0.2)
 June.GEN side.ADE
 ‘in June’
- 11 → Client: *aij jaa. [kestääks ne kauan.*
 PTC PTC last.PRS.3SG.Q.CL they long
 ‘uh-huh, does this last long?’
- 12 Clerk: *[et (.) joo*
 PTC PTC
 ‘so yeah’
- 13 *no pari kolme viikkoo.*
 PTC pair three week.PTC
 ‘well, two or three weeks’

The first two turns of both examples are very similar, and their differentiating features have vital consequences for the later course of each interaction. The client requests information on the status of her application in line 1 of (62). The request is clear to the clerk right from the very beginning. The clerk acknowledges the reception of the request with the particle *joo* ‘yeah’ and manifests her understanding of the situation in line 2. Subsequently, she starts organising her actions so that she could deliver the requested service: asks additional questions and browses a computer database. In example (63), on the other hand, the *joo* particle is produced on a rising intonation in line 2, which signals that the clerk is waiting for more to come. The client elaborates on the subject matter in the subsequent conversation, thus expanding the request sequence. Here it is the client who takes the lead in asking questions, unlike in (62). Both (62) and (63) illustrate requests for information, but in the latter example, the client additionally inquires into how the whole process works and what possibilities she has given that she wants to ensure the entitlement to discounts right from the beginning of the retirement (lines 6 and 11). What is more, both parties to the interaction in (63) display deontic orientations: the client asks when she is required to file an application (lines 6 and 8), and the clerk’s response indicates what proper regulations dictate (line 10).

So while example (62) contains a request sequence, in (63) stance is taken in the service of a request. My understanding of stance in the service of another action is, therefore, that stance does not change the nature of the main action itself, but influences its course so that the structure of a sequence of an action served by stance is different from a sequence of a non-stanced action. The structure of the request sequence in (63) is expanded, which reflects the fact that the action itself is more elaborate. We may actually speak of linguistic iconicity through mechanisms of motivation in this particular case, that is of a situation in which “the structure of language directly reflects some aspect of the structure of reality” (Haiman 1980: 515). The arrival of a complex situation in which a sequence of request will be expanded becomes announced at the onset of that sequence by a means of a more complex request format, i.e. a clause in the periphrastic perfect tense (line 1 of example 63), whereas a simple context of requesting is implemented by simpler means, i.e. through a clause in the present tense (line 1 of 62).²⁵ I will further deal with this intriguing compositional difference in Section 8 of Chapter 4.

3.3. Casual and institutional interaction

In Goffman’s social theory (1952 onwards), social interaction is an institution: interacting with others, people act according to the rights and duties they have because of who they are, their roles in which they appear, and the image others hold of them.²⁶ Garfinkel (1967) added a dynamic element to this view. Essential to Garfinkel’s

²⁵ I owe the remark on iconicity to the audience of the XLII Finnish Conference of Linguistics.

²⁶ Goffman’s concept of face as a product of socialisation is often cited as an example highlighting the emphasis put on social interactions in his theory. As a “positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact”, Goffman’s (1967: 5) understanding of face stands at a radical contradiction to the individualistic concept of face advocated by Brown & Levinson ([1978] 1987), an influential work on politeness dedicated to Goffman’s memory. Brown & Levinson ([1978] 1987: 61) define face as “the public self-image that every member [of a society – RW] wants to claim for himself”, which reflects a perspective on speakers as individuals and not as an interactional community. See Culpeper & Demmen (2011) for a brilliant analysis of the cultural factors which may be responsible for the departure that Brown & Levinson made from Goffman’s concepts.

ethnomethodological approach to social interaction is that people are not only elements in the architecture of social order, but that they are also the architects of this order who achieve intersubjective understandings of it when interacting with others. Conversation Analysis took this view forward and established how this interactive ritual is possible by identifying the practices which organise the institution of interaction, e.g. how actions are initiated and closed (Schegloff & Sacks 1973) and what the mechanisms of repair are (Schegloff et al. 1977). And Interactional Linguistics makes use of these findings to see how the infrastructure of social interaction becomes reflected on different levels of language, including grammar.

Naturally occurring conversation as an institution in its own right is simultaneously a resource exploited by those social institutions which exist independently of it: schools, courts, hospitals, the media, social welfare offices, etc. (Heritage 1997), so intuitively speaking, it becomes obvious that institutional conversations will bear distinct characteristics from casual ones. In this section I will illuminate the factors which make this difference, chiefly by bringing to the foreground the institutional aspects of interactions at social welfare offices in Finland and by contrasting them with the properties of casual talk (section 3.3.1). In section 3.3.2, my main focus will be on interactional asymmetries in different domains of social relationships as the element which becomes reflected in the structure and distribution of the constructions I am studying.

3.3.1. Casual and institutional interaction: A comparison

Drew & Heritage (1992) encapsulate the essentials of institutional interaction in the following three dimensions: goal-orientation, allowability of contribution, frameworks and procedures.

Goal-orientation consists in the fact that there is always a reason behind an institutional encounter and the co-participants conduct their dialogic exchanges in ways which eventually lead to the accomplishment of their ends. The goals are institution-specific and linked to the participants' institutional identities: doctor and patient, client and clerk, customer and cashier, etc.

Institutional interaction is subject to constraints on what is the relevant contribution in a specific institutional context. For example, when negotiating a business contract one does not normally expose one's feelings or ask what the business partner has had for lunch.²⁷ In certain highly institutionalised settings such as during the marriage ceremony, it is required that turns be worded in a specific moment and have a precise form (Heritage 2004: 106), whereas e.g. the principles governing classroom interaction provide for sanctions lest participants break the rules which regulate turn-taking (McHoul 1978).

There are also certain pathways to follow in a more or less strict manner which are particular to a given institutional context. The marriage ceremony is an example of a very rigidly organised institutional setting. More commonly, however, institutional interactions exhibit less fixed frameworks defining the sets of action types which obligatorily or typically happen during a conversation, as well as their ordering. Such a framework for e.g. a doctor-patient interaction includes the following main actions: the patient's presentation of the problem, followed by the doctor's examination and diagnose, and a recommendation for treatment (Drew & Sorjonen 2011: 207).

²⁷ But small talks do occur in some institutional encounters; see Raevaara (2011) for a study of Finnish convenience stores. After all, the relevant norms are always culture-specific to a lesser or greater extent.

Compared to medical care visits, social welfare office interactions are pre-organised to a lesser extent, and how these interactions unfold greatly depends on the purpose of the client's visit (Ruohikoski 2015: 195). Consequently, stating that purpose is an indispensable element of such an interaction. This happens either through explicit wording or by non-verbal means (Sorjonen & Raevaara 2006b). In the following example, the clerk assists the client in defining what matter there actually is to be handled (lines 8 to 11).

(64) 'Long reports' (T951_pitkiinselostuksiin)

---greetings---

- 1 Clerk: *.mt päivää?*=
day.PTV
'good afternoon'
- 2 Client: *=päivää?*.
day.PTV
'good afternoon'
(2.5) ((Client appears on vision))

---purpose of the visit---

- 3 *no mitä te haluatte tie*tää*.*
PTC what.PTV 2PL want.PRS.2PL know
'so, what do you want to know?'
(1.6) ((Client takes her seat and puts papers on the counter))
- 4 Clerk: *mm.: (0.6) .mt riippuu nyt vähän*
depend.PRS.3SG PTC a.little
'uhm, it really depends on what kind of
*minkälaista asi:aa *teillä on*.* (0.8)
what.PTV thing.PTV 2PL.ADE be.PRS.3SG
'business you have'
- 5 Client: *niin siis; (0.4) tähän tääl on niinkun£;*
PTC PTC DEM.ILL here be.PRS.3SG PTC
'yes, so here is, sort of'
(0.4)
- 6 Clerk: *niin (0.2)*
PTC
'yes'
- 7 Client: *joo. (0.4) >no tää on<; ihan; semmonen; (1.5)*
PTC PTC DEM be.PRS.3SG PTC such
'yeah, well, this is actually a'
>tämmönen:<; (0.2) #eerrr e# tota lääkäri(0.2)
such PTC doctor
'such a, er, a doctor's'
palkkio.
fee
'fee'
- 8 → Clerk: *joo-o; elikkä ihan (0.2) korvaushakemus;*
PTC PTC PTC reimbursement.application

- ‘yeah, so actually a reimbursement application’
 ((Clerk takes the papers from the client))
- 9 → Client: *ni:* (0.2)
 PTC
 ‘yes’
- 10 → Clerk: *lääkärinkäyn:niltä.* (0.4)
 medical.visit.ABL
 ‘for a doctor’s visit’
- 11 → Client: *kyl/lä.*
 yes
 ‘yes’
- 12 Clerk: *[.joo,* (0.2)
 PTC
 ‘yeah’

---handling of the matter--

- 13 *oottekste* *täyttäneet* *ton*
 be.PRS.2SG.Q.CL.2SG fill.in.PAP DEM.ACC
 ‘have you filled in the’
korvaushakemuk>se< *jo?*
 reimbursement.application.ACC already
 ‘reimbursement application already’

Example (64) is divided into sections to illustrate the overall structural organisation of the exchange, i.e. one of the parameters identified by Heritage (1997) in a pursuit for a more detailed profile of an institutional interaction. A constellation of features characterised in terms of such parameters constitutes an individual fingerprint for each type of institutional interaction (Heritage & Greatbatch 1991, cited in Heritage 1997). By this token, news interviews (e.g. Clayman & Heritage 2002), doctor-patient communication (e.g. Sorjonen et al. 2001), talks at convenience stores (e.g. Lappalainen & Raevaara 2009, Raevaara 2011) and in social welfare offices (e.g. Linell & Fredin 1995, Sorjonen & Raevaara 2006a) each have their own unique profile as institutional discourses. Institutional interactions take place in dedicated locations, but as Drew & Sorjonen (2011: 192) point out, they may also happen outside of these locations, e.g. when healthcare professionals pay home visits. Further, goal-orientation is not exclusively a feature of institutional encounters. The longest of the casual conversations used in the present study, ‘Concert agency’, is a meeting of acquaintances who have gathered to manage a specific task of tidying up the mess in the photographic archive at their workplace (present or former), and their interaction is influenced by this task. But on the other hand, the way that the participants of ‘Concert agency’ act during the meeting is not subordinated to the professional identities they have or used to have as employees of the agency.

So although the border between ‘institutional’ and ‘casual’ is not always possible to draw, one needs a more detailed account of what actually becomes instituted in institutional conversation, precisely because of such borderline cases as ‘Concert agency’. There are, thus, several other features distinguishing institutional interactions listed by Heritage (1997): turn-taking organisation, turn design, lexical choice, sequence organisation, as well as epistemological and other forms of asymmetry. The rules governing turn-taking and the sequentiality of conversation rest on the same principles

in institutional and in casual conversation, but the difference is that the participants in the latter type of interactions orient to their institutional identities in taking their turns and organising their activities. Consequently, the organisational characteristics of interaction differ between these two genres. For example, principles of speaker transition have it that transitions happen smoothly, often with no gaps, upon the completion of turn-constructural units (TCUs) which constitute transition-relevant places (Sacks et al. 1974). However, in institutional interactions there may be constraints on who takes their turn and when, and allocating turns often comes within the remit of a particular speaker. Paralelly, interaction displays sequential organisation irrespectively of whether it is casual or institutional, but the sequences of actions in institutional interactions structurally reflect the pursuit of goals in the consecutive steps of task execution, as well as the fact that the participants act according to the responsibilities they have by virtue of participation in an interaction at a particular institution. The following example illustrates the features of institutional interaction in terms of turn and sequence organisation, as well as turn design.

(65) ‘Summer job in Helsinki’ (T193_kesatyohelsingissa)

- 1 Client: *mie kysysin siitä vielä ku että*
 1SG ask.COND.1SG it.ELA still PTC PTC
 ‘additionally, I would ask’
jos määhän (.)heinäkuun lopussa lopetan sen, (1.0)
 if 1SG July.GEN end.INE quit.PRS.1SG it.ACC
 ‘if I quit it at the end of July’
- 2 >*tulleeko* *siinä sitte* *ko minä<*,
 come.PRS.3SG.Q it.INE then when 1SG
 ‘will I have to, when I’
oon taas työtön nii se viis päivää,
 be.PRS.1SG again unemployed PTC DEM five day.PTV
 ‘am unemployed again during those five days’
- 3 → Clerk: *onko sulla täälle vuojelle otettu sitä.*
 be.PRS.3SG.Q 2SG.ADE DEM.ALL year.ALL take.PPP it.PTV
 ‘has it already been suspended this year’
 (0.3)
- 4 Client: *on joo. (0.3)*
 be.PRS.3SG PTC
 ‘yes, It has’
 ((Clerk checks something in her computer))
- 5 → Clerk: *katotaanpa-s vielä, (3.0)*
 look.PASS.CL-CL still
 ‘let’s see, still’
 ((Clerk still checking in the computer))
- 6 → Clerk: *joo. on otettu.*
 PTC be.PRS.3SG take.PPP
 ‘yes, it has been suspended’
- 7 → *no ei me sitä viittä päivää sitte,*
 PTC NEG.3SG 1SG it.PTV five.PTV day.PTV PTC
 ‘well, we won’t count those five days’
- 8 Client: *joo.*
 PTC

‘yeah’

In line 1, the client starts formulating his request not to have his housing aid suspended during a short period of unemployment. The whole excerpt is thus a request sequence. In principle, it does not differ from a casual request in that the request-maker allocates the forthcoming turn by selecting the next speaker (requestee). The client’s request is a contingent request, and it is typical for speakers to withhold the granting/rejection of such requests (see Taleghani-Nikazm 2006: 37ff.). However, the clerk does not explicitly elaborate on the reasons why she will not immediately grant the request, but asks a question in return. Raevaara (2006a, 2006b) shows that questions are powerful tools in the hands of Kela clerks and become manifestations of their authority as representatives of the state social security system. Turns in institutional talks are designed to orient participants to institutionally specific inferences, and a design of line 3 as a question exemplifies such a manoeuvre. By asking whether the client has already had the benefit suspended, the clerk in fact indicates that granting the request is contingent on an answer to the question.

In (65), the whole sequence of request becomes insert-expanded by a sequence in which the clerk and the client ascertain the status of the information provided by the client. The use of the enclitic *-s* in *katsotaanpas* ‘let’s see’ in line 5 is notable here because as demonstrated by Raevaara (2006b), this tiny linguistic item plays a powerful role in the construction of the clerk’s institutional authority. Clerks might, for instance, use the enclitic to indicate that although they will perform the proposed action alone, it will be a part of their overall cooperation for the benefit of the client and therefore s/he is welcome to follow. Example (65) is a case in point.

When it comes to lexical choices, these are partly limited and predictable to some extent because the range of possible conversational topics is restricted to the typical businesses one might wish or need to handle at the doctor’s or at a social welfare office. Institutional talk uses terminology typical for a particular institution, which is exemplified in (66). The exchange contains vocabulary emblematic of interactions at Kela, e.g. *sosiaaliturva* ‘social security’ or a numeric symbol to refer to a specific *lomake* ‘form’. The client has been accepted for an internship at a EU institution in Brussels and wishes to retain his entitlement to the Finnish medical state services while abroad.

(66) ‘To Brussels’ (T983_brysseliin)

- 1 Clerk: [niin kun mä] ajattelin
PTC PTC 1SG think.PST.1SG
‘yeah, ‘cos I thought’
- 2 Client: [(sopimuksissa),]
contract.PL.INE
‘in contracts’
- 3 → Clerk: et jos sä kuulut sinne sen (.)
COMP if 2SG belong.PRS.2SG there DEM.ACC
‘that if you belong to’
Eeuun sosiaaliturvaan sen ajan ni
EU.GEN social.security.ILL DEM.ACC time.ACC COMP
‘the EU social security during that time’
sillonhan sä et (.)
then.CL 2SG NEG.2SG

- ‘then you will not’
saa *sitä* *ee* *sataykstoista* *lomaketta?*
 get.NEG DEM.PTV e one.hundred.eleven form.PTV
 ‘get the E-111 form’
- 4 *ku* *se* *oj* *joko* *tai*,
 PTC it be.PRS.3SG either or
 ‘‘cos this is an either-or thing’
- joko* *Suomen* *sosiaaliturva* *tai* *sit* *se*
 either Finland.GEN social.security or PTC DEM
 ‘either the Finnish social security or that’
- Eeuun* *oma*.
 EU.GEN own
 ‘EU’s own system’
- 5 → Client: *mikä* *Eeuun* *oma*.
 what EU.GEN own
 ‘what EU’s own system’
- 6 Clerk: *se* *sosiaal-*
 DEM social
 ‘the social’
- 7 *>ku* *niil* *on<* *semmonen oma*
 PTC 2PL.ADE be.PRS.3SG kind of own
 ‘‘cos they have a kind of their own’
- sosiaaliturvajärjestelmä*.
 social.security.system
 ‘social security system’

Although the use of professional vocabulary is not confined to the turns by professionals (see Drew & Sorjonen 2011: 202–203 for examples from medical communication), the knowledge behind the relevant rules and procedures becomes unevenly distributed among the participants. Example (66) illustrates such an epistemic asymmetry between the client and the clerk. In lines 3 and 4, the clerk prefaces *Eeuun (oma) sosiaaliturvajärjestelmä* ‘EU’s (own) social security system’ with *se* ‘it, this, the’ which functions as a definite article in spoken Finnish (Laury 1997). By doing so, the clerk implies that the system is a referent belonging to the co-participants’ mutual cognitive sphere (cf. Laury 1996). But in line 5, the client disclaims knowledge of this referent, and the clerk needs to clarify what she means. As representatives of an institution, Kela clerks view the clients as “routine cases” which can be assigned to particular procedural templates. In contrast, not only do clients see their business to handle at the social welfare office as a matter of individual experience, but they are not familiar with the procedures that need to be followed in their cases (Heritage 1997: 237).

So an inherent feature of institutional encounters is that participants have unequal access to relevant knowledge, but there are also other domains in which necessary interactional resources are distributed among the participants. Apart from knowledge, power and agency are examples of these domains. I will devote a separate subsection to the asymmetries in institutional and casual conversation.

3.3.2. Asymmetries in interaction

In addition to contingency discussed in Section 3.2.3, Curl & Drew (2008) list entitlement as the second factor influencing the selection of forms of requesting in their data. Entitlement and contingency differ from each other in the way summarised by Craven & Potter (2010):

“Curl and Drew’s (2008) notion of entitlement focuses on the speaker’s grounds for assessing the likelihood of the request being granted and their concomitant display of their right to make the request. Contingency relates to the recipient’s ability or willingness to grant the request. These are two very similar concepts where, put simply, entitlement relates to the speaker and contingency to the recipient.” (Craven & Potter 2010: 422)

The relationship between contingency and entitlement consists in the fact that the latter is resultant from the former because entitlement rests on the speaker’s judgements on the interactional circumstances which are external to them. Institutional interaction is prone to displays of entitlement resulting from the unequal access to knowledge on what contingencies around actions there are. Consider example (67).

(67) ‘A common practice’ (T937_kaytanta)

- 1 → Client: *saaks* *siint jotain* *kuittia*
 get.PRS.3SG.Q.PTC it.ELA some.PTV receipt.PTV
 ‘do I/does one get any receipt for it’
 (*että mä ooj jättänys sen.*)
 COMP 1SG be.PRS.1SG leave.PAP it.ACC
 ‘that I have filed it’
- 2 Clerk: *te halutte* *kuitin* *siitä,*
 2PL want.PRS.2PL receipt.ACC it.ELA
 ‘you want a receipt for it?’
- 3 Client: *saanks* (*mä*) (-)
 get.PRS.1SG.Q.PTC 1SG
 ‘do I get?’
- 4 Clerk: *ett o-*
 PTC
 ‘that’
- 5 → Client: *tai siis yleensä onks se*
 or PTC generally be.PRS.3SG.Q it
 ‘that is, is it generally’
käy[täntö.
 practice
 ‘a common practice’
- 6 Clerk: [*no e:i se kyllä*]
 PTC NEG.3SG it PTC
 ‘well, as a matter of fact, it is not’
- 7 Client: [*no (.) e:m mä tarvii.*]
 PTC NEG.1SG 1SG need.PRS.NEG
 ‘well, I don’t need it’
- 8 Clerk: [*£ni(h)i(h).£*]
 PTC

- 9 Client: *[uskotaan.*
believe.PASS
'let's believe it'
- 10 Clerk: *joo.*
PTC
'yeah'
- 11 Client: *(okei.)*
okay
'okay'
((Client leaves))

In line 1, the client requests a receipt as a confirmation that she has delivered documents to Kela. But in line 5, she displays orientation to common practices regulating such cases, and signals a lack of knowledge concerning these practices. This contributes to the interpretation of the request as stanced because it is formed as “contingent on knowing and following the proper procedures and practices” (Curl & Drew 2008: 141; see section 5.3.1 for more discussion of this example).

The unequal access to knowledge of institutional frameworks and procedures makes the relationship between the social welfare office employees and clients of the institution permanently asymmetrical in epistemic terms. Conversely, the examples coming from the casual part of my corpus cited so far have mostly pictured epistemic relationships as more even. If epistemically asymmetrical situations occur in casual talks, they typically have a less stable character. They are not a consequence of differences in societal status among the interactants, but result from variable features of individuals such as imperfect memory, elusive senses, or not having participated in a situation which is being talked about. Recall the discussion around Hanna's turn presented as (68) through which she displayed awareness of the fact that the photo in question might not be showing a glass. In the subsequent course of that conversation, Hanna had difficulties establishing that, and recruited the assistance of Jussi who helped her resolve the issue.

(68) 'Concert agency' (SG435_04_10)

5 → Hanna: *onko* *[tässä **klasia** näkyvis^osä^o]*
be.PRS.3SG.Q here glass.PTV be.visible.PRAP.PL.INE

I am now turning to another sphere of social relationships in which asymmetries can be observed, namely the deontic domain. Similarly to the epistemic domain, deontic asymmetries may constitute a permanent feature of institutional interactions, e.g. due to the pre-defined systems of turn-taking and organisation (Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2014: 190). Example (65) discussed a while ago provides an illustration. A relevant part of it is now reprinted as (69).

(69) 'Summer job in Helsinki' (T193_kesatyohelsingissa)

1 Client: *mie **kysysin** siitä vielä ku että*
1SG ask.COND.1SG it.ELA still PTC PTC
'additionally, I would ask'
jos määhän heinäkuul lopussa lopetan sen, (1.0)

- if 1SG July.GEN end.INE quit.PRS.1SG it.ACC
 ‘if I quit it at the end of July’
- 2 >*tulleeko* *siinä sitte* *ko minä*<,
 come.PRS.3SG.Q it.INE then when 1SG
 ‘will I have to, when I’
- oon taas työtön nii se viis päivää*,
 be.PRS.1SG again unemployed PTC DEM five day.PTV
 ‘am unemployed again during those five days’
- 3 → Clerk: *onko sulla tälle vuojelle otettu sitä*.
 be.PRS.3SG.Q 2SG.ADE DEM.ALL year.ALL take.PPP it.PTV
 ‘has it already been suspended this year’
 (0.3)
- 4 Client: *on joo.* (0.3)
 be.PRS.3SG PTC
 ‘yes, it has’
 ((Clerk checks something in her computer))
- 5 → Clerk: *katotaanpa-s vielä*, (3.0)
 look.PASS.CL-CL still
 ‘let’s see, still’

The clerk’s response in line 3 to the request formulated by the client is a reflection of how the social welfare institution empowers the clerk to acting so as to fulfill her obligations, and ultimately, also a reflection of the fact that she has a greater power than the client. Due to her position in the structure of the institution, the clerk is entitled to proceed to measures which will enable her to gather up enough information before she decides whether or not to comply with the request. Asking a question concerning the client’s recent history of benefits is an example of such a measure. In line 3, the clerk is not yet oriented to responding to the request by means of rejection or acceptance, but her compliant response comes later, only after the status of the information given by the client has been checked.

Displays of uneven distribution of power and authority relative to one’s co-participant are typical of situations labelled ‘negotiation of terms’ by Linell & Fredin (1995). The authors consider such negotiations a distinctive feature of social welfare office talks since the allocation of social assistance through the social welfare system does not consist in “purely administrative business” (Linell & Fredin 1995: 302). Instead, clients may e.g. apply for different amounts of financial aid, and the seemingly objective rules governing the administration of aid by the social welfare employees may be applied in more or less favourable ways. Consequently, interactions at Kela and similar institutions “often develop into arguing from two different positions, the norms and categorizations of social welfare and the rationalities of the clients’ everyday life world” (Linell & Fredin 1995: 303). Such a situation can be observed in example (70).

(70) ‘Medical reimbursement’ (T948_laakekorvaus)

- 1 Client: *mä toin tän; (0.2) viime viikolla sen; [ä* (1.0)
 1SG bring.PST.1SG DEM.ACC last week.ADE DEM.ACC
 ‘I brought last week the’
 [((Client
 sits down))
*sen beetodistuksen tänne *et* (se

of examples below illustrates varying degrees of agency among the participants, which becomes reflected in their linguistic and extralinguistic behaviour.

(71) ‘Housing aid’ (T932_asumistuki)

- 1 Client: (*et lähinnä tulin kysymää ett mitä*
 PTC mainly come.PST.1SG ask.CVB.ILL COMP what.PTV
 ‘so I came mainly to ask what’
mitä, (.) mitä kaavakkeit siihen tarttee
 what.PTV what.PTV form.PL.PTV it. ILL need.PRS.3SG
 ‘what forms are needed for it’
 [(-)]
- 2 → Clerk: [*joo no tota minä voisi antaa*] *ihan ne-* (0.2)
 PTC PTC PTC 1SG can.COND.1SG give quite DEM
 ‘yeah, well, I could give these’
tai estiiteej ja
 PTC brochure.PL and
 ‘brochures and’
- 3 Client: *joo.*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 4 → Clerk: >*sitte* [*ne*< *kaavakkeet.*
 PTC DEM form.PL
 ‘also the forms’
 → [((Clerk stands up))

(72) ‘Four friends’ (SG346_01_10)

- ((Antti stands up and goes towards the sink))
- 1 → Antti: *mä voisin pe[s*>
 1SG can.COND.1SG
 ‘I could’
- 2 Sanna: [*onks teil sellast*
 be.PRS.3SG.CL 2PL.ADE such.PTV
 ‘do you have a’
kuorimisjuttuu,
 peeling.thing.PTV
 ‘peeler’
- 3 Antti: *no ku mä en tiedä mä*
 PTC PTC 1SG NEG.1SG know. NEG 1SG
 ‘well, I don’t know, at least I’
- *voisin pestä tän ainakin ensin*
 can.COND.1SG wash this.ACC at.least first
 ‘could wash this first’
- 4 *luultavasti muuten (0.8) joss:a tuolla ei*
 probably by.the.way somewhere there NEG.3SG
 ‘by the way, probably somewhere there, no’
varmaan kyllä
 certainly PTC
 ‘not really’

Both examples contain the same construction with *mä voisin* ‘I could’ which combines linguistic resources with extralinguistic behaviour; the construction has been preliminarily covered in 3.1.2. In one example and the other, the construction is used as a means of announcing activities to which the speaker is about to proceed, with the difference that in the institutional example (71), the construction also implements an offer in response to a request. It is the responsibility of Kela clerks to provide the clients with proper forms when requested or when otherwise necessary, so when it becomes relevant in (71), the clerk signals that she is turning to the execution of this action. In example (72), on the other hand, Antti is one of the four participants who are having a dinner at a table. At the beginning of the presented excerpt he stands up and heads toward the kitchen sink with an intention of washing the dishes, which he signals by *mä voisin pestä tän ainakin ensin* ‘at least I could wash this first’. At first sight, any of the participants could perform this action, so the turn in question would become interpreted as a display of intentionality rather than just agency. But Antti is one of the hosts of the dinner, so the likelihood of him washing the dishes after the meal is greater compared to the participants who are his guests. Thus, both examples show overtly expressed agency resultant from the relative status of the speakers as hosts of the interactional events.

To summarise, asymmetries in the domains of knowledge, power and agency are relevant for the distribution of some constructions with the conditional and the partitive I am studying. These and other constructions will be presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

4. Constructions with the conditional

The present chapter is dedicated to constructions with the conditional as social action formats for directives and stance in Finnish interaction. The usage of the conditional mood is associated with both these actions, both in terms of their formation and in terms of responding to them. When describing the constructions with the conditional in this chapter, I will be putting forward a claim that the conditional mood actually indexes these actions, which becomes particularly visible at points of transition between directives or stance on the one hand and other actions on the other.

There are 574 manifestations of the conditional mood in patterns whose primary functions meet the present criteria, i.e. they perform stance-taking and directive-making activities rather than make predictions of hypothetical situations, implement other actions, etc. Institutional interactions contain 320 tokens and casual talks are responsible for the remaining 254. Altogether, there are 22 constructions dedicated to 8 primary functions.

I have identified 10 patterns forming recurrent constructions of directives. With 3 of these constructions speakers mostly perform requests, 2 are dedicated to offering, 2 more are primarily responsible for suggesting, and the remaining 3 patterns form constructions of proposing.

In terms of stance formats, there are 12 recurrent constructional patterns dedicated first and foremost to stance actions, but only 3 implement stance while not facilitating some more prominent action. Stance in the service of directives has further 3 dedicated patterns, and they are all responsible for stance-taking in the service of requesting in the first place. The last 6 patterns are relatively infrequent yet diverse formats for taking stance in the service of some other action such as evidence collection.

Each of the individual constructions has its unique label consisting of the code 'Cx' for 'construction' and a number. The numbers are meant to symbolically represent the main function served by particular constructions, and each of the consecutively discussed functions starts another series of decimals. Thus, formats for requesting are labelled 'Cx11', 'Cx12' and 'Cx13', offers start with 'Cx21', suggestions with 'Cx31', and so on. Functions connected with stance in the service of directives and other actions are grouped together starting from 'Cx61'.

Figures 4 and 5 present the distribution of functions of construction of directives and stance, respectively.

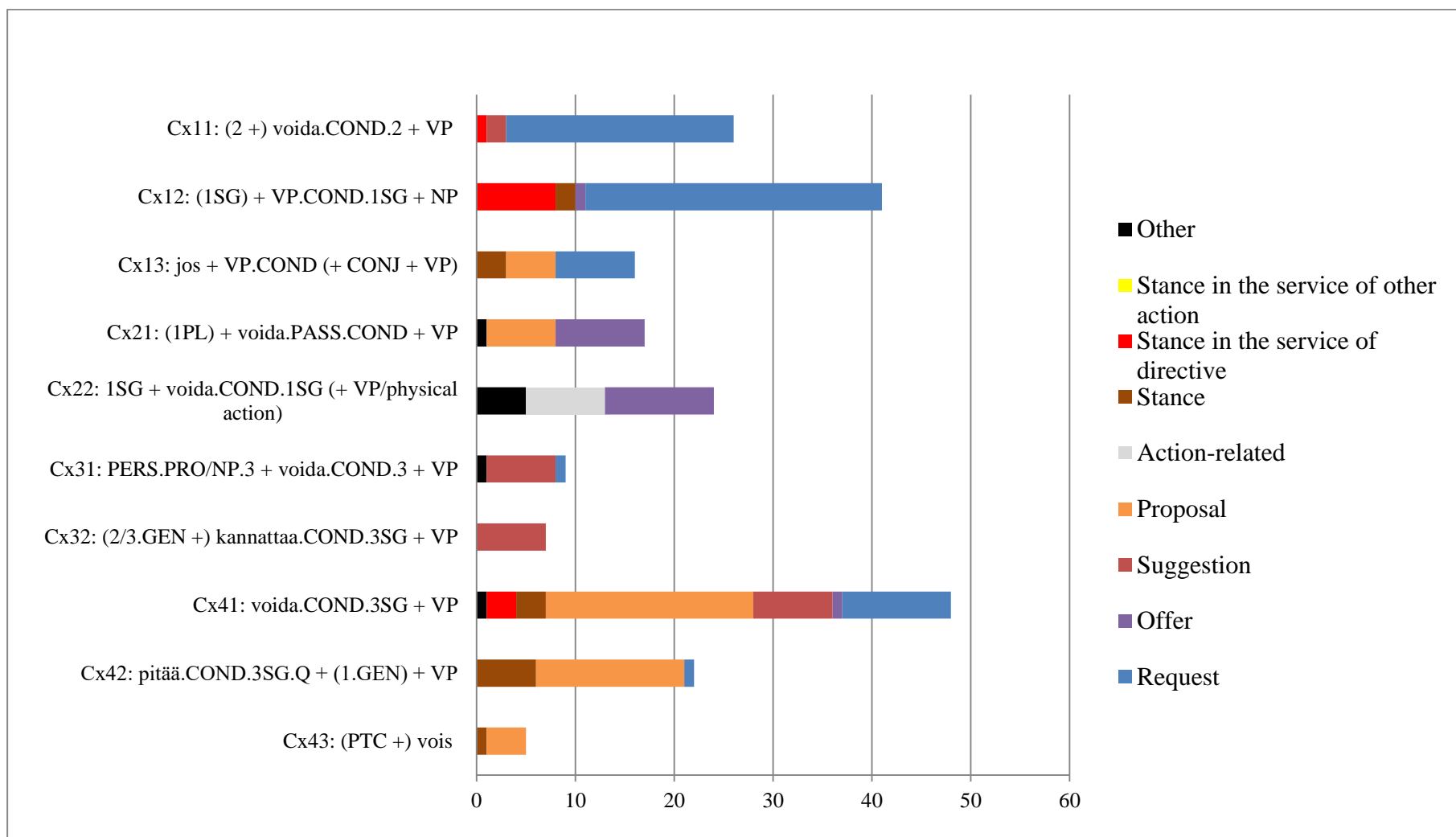


Figure 4. Constructions with the conditional primarily serving directive functions.

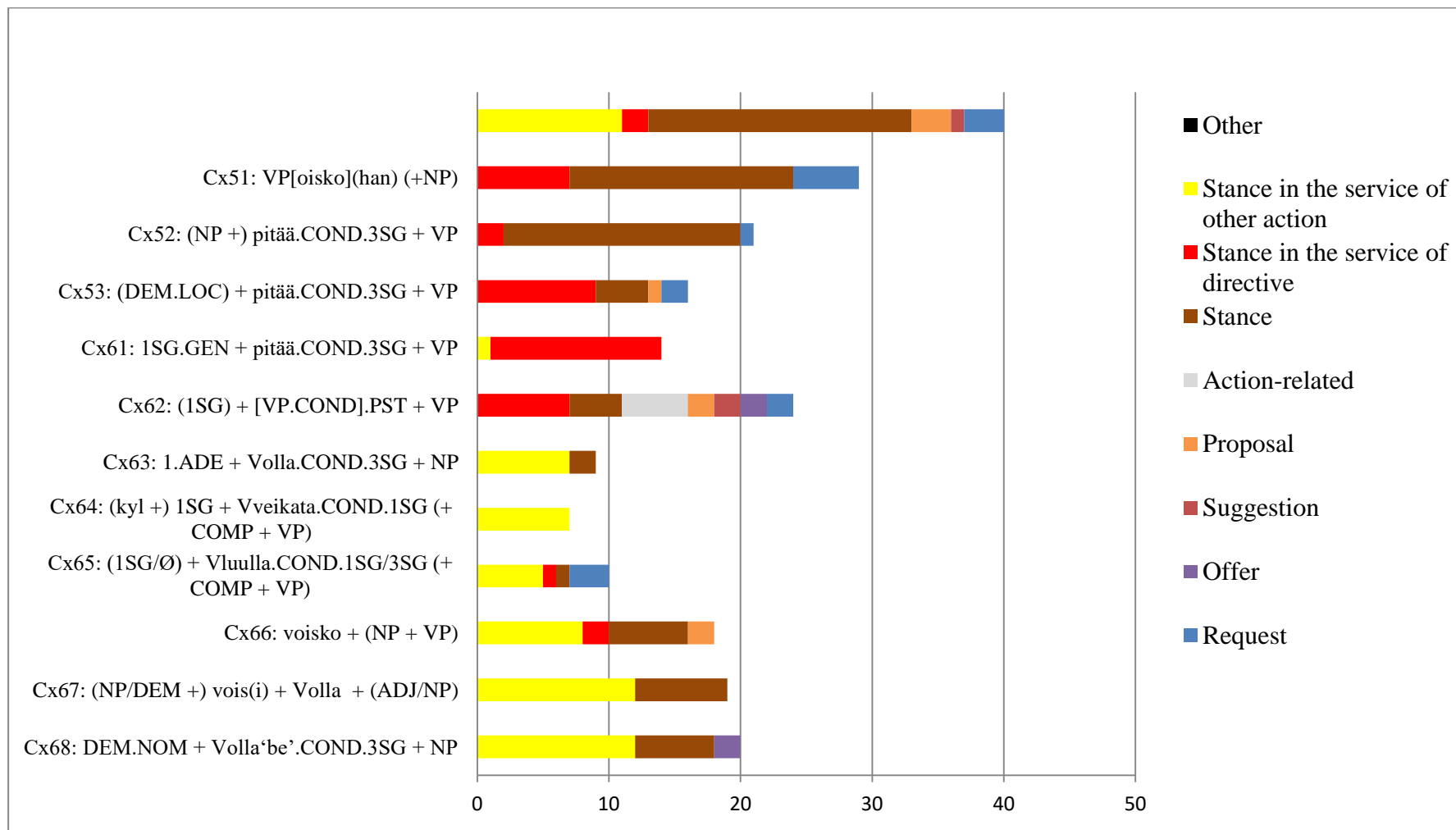


Figure 5. Constructions with the conditional primarily serving stance functions.

Although there are over twenty different constructions with the conditional in my data, none of them is dedicated primarily to taking deontic or affective stance, with the exception of one of the versions of Cx52. Epistemic stance, on the other hand, has three “own” constructions. These results provide evidence in favour of a claim that the pursuit for unification in stance theorisation (Du Bois 2007, Du Bois & Kärkkäinen 2012) does not exclude the possibility that an examination of individual kinds of stance could help understand the nature of stance in general. Chapter 5 about the partitive will further strengthen my point because there, too, one kind of stance will be pictured as interactionally more prominent than others.

The structure of this chapter is meant to reflect the catalogue of the main actions studied in this work. I will first cover constructions of requests, offers, suggestions and proposals, each in a separate section 4.2. to 4.5. Constructions discussed in these sections are first and foremost involved in the formation of particular kinds of directives. Since recent interactional research has shed some new light on responsive moves and stressed the importance of devices used in responding activities as independent structures of responding (e.g. Thompson et al. 2015; see Laury 2018 for the Finnish language), the single construction used as a response to proposals will be discussed in a separate section (4.6.). Sections 4.7. to 4.9. centre on stance as a self-standing action (section 4.7), as well as stance taken in the service of directives (4.8) and actions other than directives (4.9). The final section 4.10 brings the conclusions made throughout Chapter 4 to a general level.

In each section of this chapter I will address constructions whose primary function is the proper directive or stance action. There are, however, two exceptions to this rule. A couple of constructions, Cx21 and Cx41 are dedicated to multiple kinds of directives in the way that there exist particular sets of features of local interaction making these two constructions emerge as one kinds of directives and not others depending on which of those sets occurs. Construction Cx21 recurrently implements offers in institutional talk, but proposals in casual interactions. Therefore, I will discuss this construction twice in section 4.3. and then in 4.5. Construction Cx41 is even more diverse, and depending on the context, it serves requests, suggestions or proposals. It will be, then, discussed anew a couple of times. Both these constructions represent patterns which carry open personal reference.

Because both the number of tokens and the number of constructions containing the conditional are considerable, I will only consider non-systematic uses of the conditional a couple of times when this will be of benefit for the discussion. This means that around 18% of tokens will be left unaddressed. A more detailed description of such ‘other uses’ will be delivered for patterns with the partitive in Chapter 5 which describes only 8 constructions and 112 tokens. The first case in which discussing ‘other uses’ of the conditional becomes relevant is coming shortly in the prelude to the discussion of the individual directive types.

4.1. Directives in general

There are a couple of dozens of tokens of the conditional in my data which, based on the data, do not belong in any construction, but their directive interpretation is strong. This leads me to claiming that although the directive-related uses of the Finnish conditional mood are not a matter of a straightforward relationship between a grammatical category and a social action, the conditional may generally be associated with directives also outside of recurrent clausal patterns. The first example in point is (73).

(73) ‘Church youth’ (SG440_litteraatti)

- 1 → Laura: *sovitaaks* *me* *joku* *aika* *millom* *mä* *sit*
 agree.PASS.Q.CL 1SG some time when 1SG PTC
 ‘are we agreeing on a time when I’
tuun, (0.8)
 come.PRS.1SG
 ‘come (back)’
- 2 → Saira: ^{°no°} *pitäskö* *s[opiik ku;*
 PTC have.to.COND.3SG.Q agree PTC
 ‘well, should we agree, ‘cos’
- 3 → Mika: *[hei mull_ois* *kakskyt*
 PTC 1SG.ADE_be.COND.3SG twenty
 ‘hey, I would have twenty’
yli, (0.6) *kaheksal* *lähtis* *juna.* (0.8)
 over eight depart.COND.3SG train
 ‘past eight the train would leave’
- 4 Laura: *okei* *no*, (0.4) *sit* *silleij* *jos* *mä* *tuuv*
 okay PTC PTC in.this.way if 1SG come.PRS.1SG
 ‘okay, then if I come’
vaik vähä>, (0.4)
 PTC a.little
 ‘say, a bit’
- 5 *mä* *tuun* *kasilt* *tai* *vähäj jälkee.* (.)
 1SG come.PRS.1SG eight.ABL or a.little after
 ‘I’ll come at eight or a bit later’
- 6 Mika: *nii.* (0.2)
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 7 Laura: *joku* *viifistoist* *yli*,
 some fifteen over
 ‘fifteen past’
- 8 → Mika: *[et* *mä* *pääsej* *joku* *varttii* *yli*
 PTC 1SG get.PRS.1SG some quarter.PTV over
 ‘so that I get out a quarter past’
#täst#. (0.2)
 here.ELA
 ‘from here’
- 9 Mika: *nii.* (0.2)
 PTC
 ‘yeah’

Laura and Saira propose in lines 1 and 2 that all the participants decide when Laura, who is responsible for the recording session, should come back to pick up the device. Thereby they orient themselves and others to collaborative decision-making. In line 3, Mika responds by saying when his train leaves (*kakskyt yli kaheksal lähtis juna* ‘twenty past eight the train would leave’), but his turn does not merely provide an informative statement about a future fact. In Kauppinen’s (1998) data, clauses such as the one in line 3 are first and foremost responsible for planning future activities. Mika’s

turn and all of (73) of course exemplify such an action, but I tend to understand line 3 as a request, especially given that Mika's planning shifts to clauses in the indicative in line 8 once he has flagged to the others that he wants to leave so that he would manage to catch a train. Line 3 is a request made to the others in order that they would acknowledge his plans and the duration of the recording session would be adjusted accordingly. Line 3 emerges from a directive environment at an initial stage of decision-making and implements a request in response to a proposal.

Example (73) has shown that clauses with the conditional are employed at the onset of a directive sequence and therefore also signal a transition from another type of action to a directive. This becomes even more apparent in example (74). The client reports on what he has written in his application. The shift from an explanation of his financial situation to an offer in return for granting the requested division of the excessive payment is marked with a compound clause in the conditional (line 2).

(74) 'A tidy sum' (T953_sievoainensumma)

- 1 Client: >*mä kirjotin*< *tähän nyt tälle* *näin että*
 1SG come.PRS.1SG here.ILL PTC in.this.way PTC COMP
 'I have written here that'
en pysty tulojen /pienuuden takia
 NEG.1SG manage.NEG income.PL.GEN amount.GEN because
 'because of the small income, I will not manage'
maksamaan opintotukia kakstuhattayks
 pay.CVB.ILL student.aid.PL.PTV two.thousand.one
 'to pay the 2001 student aid'
palautuksia \ker:ralla.
 return.PL.PTV time.ADE
 'back at one go'
- 2 → *joten ehdottaisin että (voisin lyhentää)*
 CONJ propose.COND.1SG COMP can.COND.1SG amortise
 'so I would propose that I could amortise'
summaa viiskyt euroo kuussa. (0.4)
 sum.PTV fifty euro.PTV month.in
 'the sum by fifty euros per month'
- 3 Clerk: *mm-m; (0.2)*
- 4 Client: *al/kaen ensimmäinen neljättä =onks tää nyt*
 start.CVB first fourth.PTV be.PRS.3SG.Q.CL this PTC
 'starting the first of April, is this now'
aika selk(h)eä; (0.4)
 quite clear
 'quite clear?'
- 5 Clerk: *o/n joo;*
 be.PRS.3SG PTC
 'it is, yeah'

The exchange is part of a conversation in which the clerk has earlier asked the client to propose a payback plan (cf. example 21 in Section 2.1.2). The interaction is one of the longest in the institutional corpus (18 minutes 35 seconds) and is characterised by shifts from directive actions to other ones, e.g when the client physically fills in proper parts of his application. In the passage shown as (74), a

transition from a non-directive to a directive happens in reported discourse. This means that clauses with verbs in the conditional mood mark activities connected with directive-making also when directives are not temporarily central to interaction. The Finnish conditional is a mood dedicated to directives, then. Verbs bearing conditional marking may emerge from interaction to signal that a directive rather than some other action is being implemented.

4.2. Requests

The first of the four kinds of directives I will consider are requests. There are four constructions recurrently performing requests in my data. As mentioned earlier, several constructions to be presented in this chapter exhibit quite some multifunctionality and perform different kinds of directives depending on features such as the interactional genre (institutional or casual conversation) or the nature of the directed action (immediate or deferred). These participants' understanding of agent-beneficiary relationships can be predicted based on the occurrence of these sets of features. In this section I will commence my discussion on this topic because at least one of the constructions of requesting clearly exhibits such a functional split.

But I will begin by portraying a couple of constructions which are almost unequivocally associated with requesting. They mostly serve this function in the Kela corpus, as do the remaining two ones. My results showing that the overwhelming majority of requests formed as clauses with the conditional mood comes from institutional data indicates that conditional morphology in directives is not a matter of dispreference because it depends on a particular construction or even on the verb used within it whether or not the intended action is seen as problematic. For example, construction Cx11 to be discussed shortly does not quite reveal the participants' orientation to contingencies or any other circumstances which would prevent them from acting as requested. I will then simply portray the constructions of requesting as conventionalised patterns according to the line of approach sketched in 3.2.3. The appearance of certain constructions as requests in the institutional corpus exclusively may be partly linked to deontic asymmetries, and therefore also to entitlement. I will return to that question when discussing suggestions in Section 4.4.

4.2.1. Construction Cx11: *sä voisit* 'you could'

The construction with the clearest requestive profile from among the patterns of requesting I have identified consists of the second person and the verbal phrase with the auxiliary *voida* 'can' in the conditional. It attributes some action to the addressee, both actionally (cf. Figure 6) and formally, due to second person marking.

(75) Construction Cx11

(2 +) *voida.COND.2* + VP

Cx11 is found first and foremost in the institutional corpus as Figure 6 shows. In the casual corpus, its usage is marginal. In two of the five manifestations coming from casual talks, Cx11 is part of reported discourse, cf. (76).

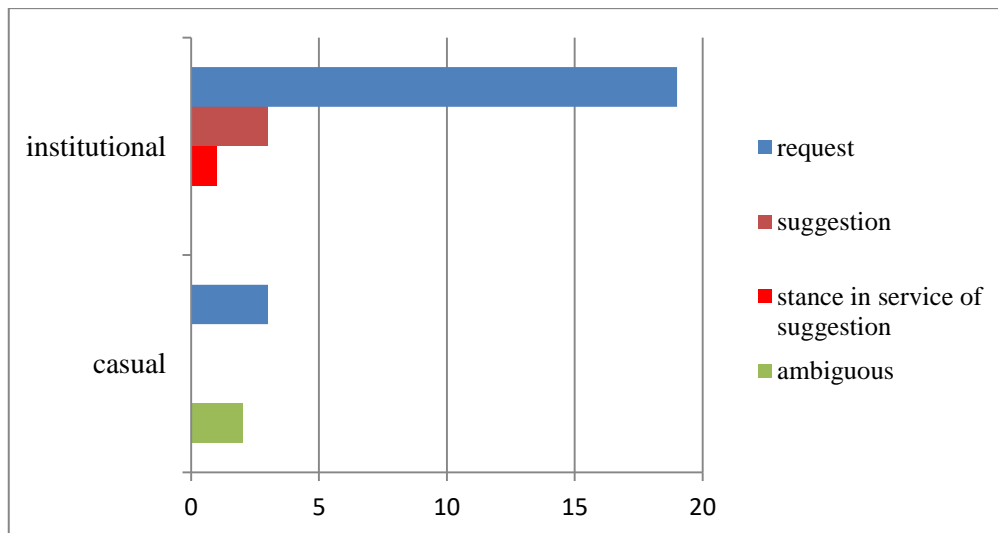


Figure 6. Functions of construction Cx11.

(76) ‘Wine evening’ (SG396_50_60)

- 1 Taavi: *Joonaksen kyytiin talvella ei halua*
 PR.GEN ride.ILL winter.ADE NEG.3SG want.NEG
kukaan
 nobody
 ‘nobody wants a ride with Joonas in winter’
- 2 Pete: *mä olin sille et. Joonakselle et(.)*
 1SG be.PST.1SG in.this.way PTC PR.GEN PTC
 ‘I was like, to Joonas, that’
- 3 → *joo et hei sä voisit heittää mut tonne*
 PTC PTC PTC 2SG can.COND.2SG throw 1SG.ACC there
 ‘yeah, hey, you could give me a lift’

When used as a request in Kela interactions, the construction is employed by the clerk exclusively. Cx11 is a device signalling that the clerk wants the client to complete particular steps in the application process. In (77), the construction comes in line 2 as a request to date and sign the ready application.

(77) ‘Five student loans’ (T943_viisopintolainaa)’

- 1 Client: *pyrin nopeuttamaan takaisinmaksua mahdollisim-;*
 try.PRS.1SG speed.up.CVB.ILL payback.PTV possibly
 ‘I’m trying to speed up the payback possibly’
mahdolli/suu[ksiem] @<m:uka[an]>@.
 possibility.PL.GEN according
 ‘as much as possible’
- 2 → Clerk: *[j:oo.] [elikkä tota sīt]*
 PTC PTC PTC PTC
 ‘yeah, so then’
voisit päivätä ja allekirjottaa >sen<=
 can.COND.2SG date and sign it.ACC
 ‘you could put the date and your signature on it it’
 =otetaan sitte; (0.6)

- take.PASS PTC
 ‘then we’ll make’
- 3 *siitä kopia <niin>;(0.4)*
 it.ELA copy PTC
 ‘a copy, so’
- 4 Client: *#joo#.*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’

Both examples (76) and (77) show that Cx11 solicits immediate actions on the part of the requestee. This is very characteristic of the requestive uses of Cx11 which, therefore, has a comparable interactional profile to the indicative clause with the second person (*sä laitaa X* ‘you put X’) identified by Ruohikoski (2015). Similarly to that pattern, Cx11 in my data mostly appears late in the conversation, at points when certain measures have already been taken by the client and the clerk to move them closer to the achievement of the purpose of the encounter (cf. 77). This feature distinguishes Cx11 from the next construction on my agenda.

4.2.2. Construction Cx12: (*mä*) *haluaisin* ‘I would like’

That next construction, Cx12, is a pattern with a conditional VP and the first person singular.

(78) Construction Cx12

(1SG) + [VP].COND.1SG + NP

Here, unlike in the case of Cx11, the clause refers to the speaker and announces some activity incoming from his or her part, but signals that there is also some action to be completed by the co-participant(s). The data shows that usually, it is the speaker who is to benefit from the action.

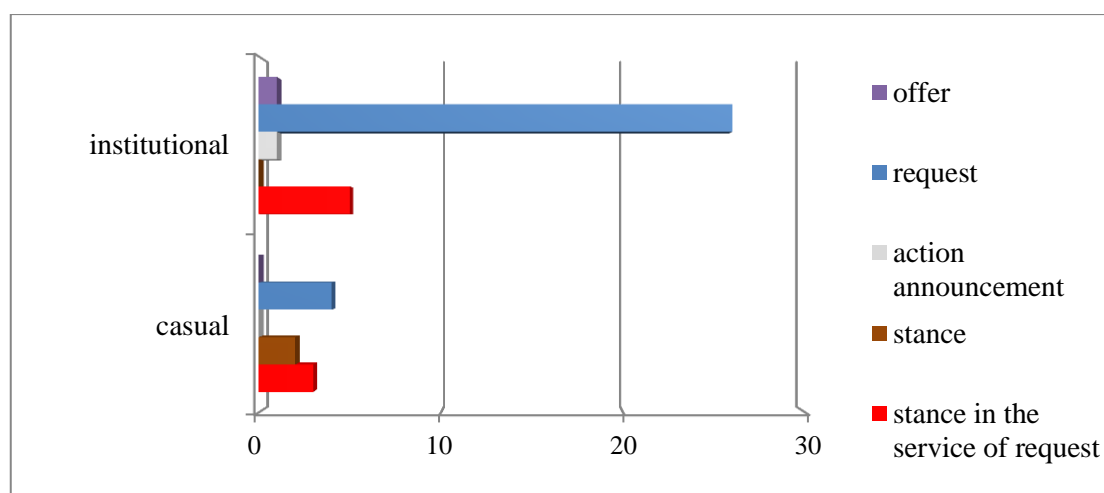


Figure 7. Functions of construction Cx12

The catalogue of verbs used in the scope of construction Cx12 is relatively vast (in my data, there are 10). However, there are certain verbs which appear in this environment more frequently than others. The verb *kysyä* ‘ask’ is the most ubiquitous

one (11 manifestations), but I will reserve the discussion of examples containing *kysyä* and its frequentative derivate *kysellä* to Section 4.8. where I will compare Cx12 with its counterpart containing the perfect tense. The second most frequent verb in Cx12 is *haluta* ‘want’ (8 manifestations). It functions as an auxiliary in this construction and signals a request whose nature is characterised by the non-finite verb and the accompanying arguments, cf. (79). The intended performer of the action is therefore the clerk and not the client.

(79) ‘Apprenticeship’ (T991_tyoharjoittelunajaksi)’

- 1 Clerk: *hei?*
PTC
‘hello’
- 2 Client: (*moro,*) (3.0)
PTC
‘hi’
((Client approaches the desk and sits down))
- 3 → ***mä haluisim peruum mun, (0.2) tän.***
1SG want.COND.1SG cancel 1SG.GEN DEM.ACC
‘I would like to cancel my, the’
(*näin opintotue*
PTC student.aid.ACC
‘that student aid’
- 4 Clerk: *mm?* (0.5)
PTC
((Clerk looks at client))
- 5 → *ja (.) mistä lähtien, (0.2)*
and what.ELA since
‘and starting when?’
- 6 Client: *ööö, ens kuust h.*
next month.ELA
‘from next month’
- 7 Clerk: *just,*
PTC
‘sure’

Example (79) illustrates a typical position of Cx12 at the very beginning of the interaction. The most frequent verbs used in Cx12, i.e. *kysyä* ‘ask’, *haluta* ‘want’, *tarvita* ‘need’, *kysellä* ‘ask’, as well *jättää* ‘leave’ belong in this environment and therefore constitute the prototype of Cx12 as a construction characteristic of openings of institutional interactions. Consequently, turns containing Cx12 are simultaneously responsible for stating the purpose of the visit. The usage of Cx12 with other verbs is less predictable in terms of sequential placement. The construction also serves another type of function when it appears later in the conversation, namely that connected with negotiation of terms. In (80), the client insists on retaining his access to the Finnish social security system while on an internship in Belgium. Construction Cx12 appears in line 4.

(80) ‘To Brussels’ (T983_brysseliin)’

- 1 Clerk: *et se on nyt; ootas (.)*
 PTC it be.PRS.3SG PTC wait.IMP.2G
 ‘so it is, wait’
- 2 **katotaas: (sieltä)?**
 see.PASS.CL there.ABL
 ‘let’s see here’
 (10 s) ((Clerk reads information on the computer))
- 3 **(--).**
- 4 → Client: *mut mä mielelläni säilyisin kyllä (.)*
 but 1SG preferably remain.COND.1SG PTC
 ‘but I would really like to stay’
Suomessa .hhh (1.7)
 Finland.INE
 ‘in Finland’
- 5 *sosiaaliturvan piirissä että (.) mä*
 social.security.GEN scope.INE COMP 1SG
 ‘in the scope of the social security so that I’
voisin täällä esimerkiks käydä
 can.COND.1SG here example.TRSL go
 ‘could for example go’
hammaslääkärissä ja (tommost noin -),
 dentist.INE and such.PTV PTC
 ‘to the dentist here, and stuff’
- 6 Clerk: **joo;**
 PTC
 ‘yeah’

In casual interaction, the requestive function of Cx12 is not that well-established, probably because situations which constitute its home environment (cf. example 79) are rare in spontaneous encounters. Individual tokens of Cx12 appear in the casual corpus, but their manifestations in stance-taking contexts are almost equally frequent to requestive ones. A representative example comes in (81) whereby both these functions unite as Sanna asks others for a photograph, simultaneously stating what kind of a photograph she would like to have.

(81) ‘Four friends’ (SG346_20_30)

- 1 → Sanna: *saaks myös teist yhen kuvan?*
 get.PRS.3SG.Q.CL also 2PL.ELA one.ACC photo.ACC
 ‘will I also get (lit. does one get) a photo of you’
- 2 Kerttu: =*saa?* (1.0)
 get.PRS.3SG
 ‘you will’
- 3 → Sanna: *mä ehkä haluisin tälläsen lapsikuvan?*
 1SG probably want.COND.1SG such.ACC child.photo.ACC
 ‘I would probably like a children’s photo’
- 4 Kerttu: =*ehe [ha hah*
- 5 (Sanna): *[(- - ?)*
- 6 Eeva: =*kenen lapsia [(- -)*
 PRO.GEN child.PL.PTV

7 ‘whose children’
 Sanna: [TÄ:LLASEN (.)
 such.ACC
 ‘one like this’

In line 3, Sanna takes a stance on the photo she has requested in line 1. She does it with the use of Cx12 with the verb *haluta* ‘want’ which in this context does not function as an auxiliary, unlike in example (79). This is a peripheral usage of Cx12 as a device of taking boulomaic stance in the service of a request.

4.2.3. Construction Cx13: independent *jos*-clause

In her study of patterns with *jos* ‘if’ in casual Finnish conversation, Laury (2012a) has determined that *jos*-constructions are not only found in compound clauses referring to situations linked by a conditional relationship, but they also appear as syntactically unattached clauses and perform different kinds of directives: requests, suggestions and proposals. The construction is labelled ‘Cx13’ in my data.

(82) Construction Cx13

jos + VP.COND (+ CONJ + VP)

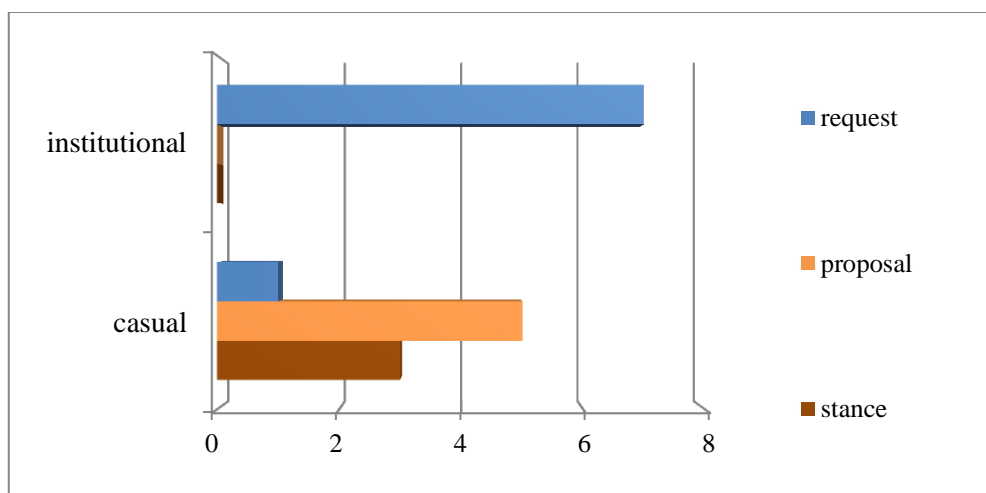


Figure 8. Functions of construction Cx13

Laury (2012a) has already shown that an independent *jos*-clause is non-projecting and forms an independent unit of action in Finnish talk, so I will not duplicate her discussion. But there are three additions I wish to make to the characteristics of Cx13 based on my data. Firstly, a syntactically unattached *jos*-clause also performs stance-taking activities, which is shown in Figure 8 and in the example below.²⁸ Hanna’s turn in line 4 contains a formulaic epistemic *jos*-expression which is used to close the topic while signalling compliance with the previous stance (cf. Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 200).

(83) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_01_30)

²⁸ Laury (2012a: 224ff.) does not argue against it, but simply focuses only on those *jos*-clauses in her data which implement directives.

- 1 Päivi: *°mikä se on°*
 what it be.PRS.3SG
 ‘what is it?’
- 2 ?: *nfff*
- 3 Jussi: *Liisalta. (0.2) ↑Elsa; (0.4) tädille; (0.2) Liisulta. (0.2)*
 PR.ABL PR aunt.ALL PR.ABL
 ‘from Liisa. Elsa. For aunt from Liisu’
- 4 → Hanna: *n:o jos se oiski,*
 PTC if it be.COND.3SG.CL
 ‘well, let it be so’

Secondly, Laury (2012a: 225) notes that in her data, “[i]f the directive is intended to involve an action by a co-participant, it is always person-marked”. While this may be true of casual data, it is not always the case in institutional talks. Consider (84) in which the conditional clause in line 2 is used to make a request. The *jos*-clause contains the formally impersonal zero person construction and becomes interpreted as a request.

(84) ‘Receipts in the car’ (T1104_kuititautossa)

- 1 Clerk: *omi- joo että ei asunnon omistaja. (1.0)*
 PTC PTC NEG.3SG apartment.GEN owner
 ‘yeah, so not an owner of the apartment’
- 2 → *niin tuota #m:# jos se löytys se kuitti*
 PTC PTC if it be.found.COND.3SG DEM receipt
 ‘so if you would find the receipt (lit. if it would be found)’
>ni m[ie otan vielä sii]tä<,
 CONJ 1SG take.PRS.1SG still it.ELA
 ‘then I will make a copy’
- 3 Client: *[mie voin nyt.] (0.3) käyvä sen.*
 1SG CAN.PRS.1SG now go it.ACC
 ‘I can now go and get it’
- 4 Clerk: *eiköhän tää näellä sit muute oo,*
 NEG.3SG.Q.CL this they.ADE PTC otherwise be.NEG
 ‘and it won’t be more than that, then’
 (62.5) ((Client fetches the receipt from his car))

Finally, my data shows a consistent split in the ways that *jos*-clauses which function as directives become recognised in the two individual corpora. Figure 8 and example (84) have shown that in Kela talks, Cx13 performs requests. By contrast, casual interaction feeds five proposals implemented by means of this construction. One of them is shown in (85). Liisa proposes a coffee break in line 1. Maija is on the way to rejecting the proposal (lines 2 and 4).

(85) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_01_30)

- 1 → Liisa: *mitäs jos me laitettais kahvia (--).*
 what.CL if 1PL make.PASS.COND coffee.PTV
 ‘what if we would make some coffee’

- 2 → Maija: *oo- oottakaa;*
wait.IMP.2PL
‘wait’
- 3 Liisa: *ja virvokkeet.*
and refreshment.PL
‘and refreshments’
- 4 → Maija: *tuota,*
PTC
‘I mean’
- 5 Liisa: *vai. (0.2)*
or
‘or?’

So as long as *jos*-clauses containing verbs in the conditional are concerned, the directive actions are typically performed by the interactional collective in casual talks, but by the speaker to whom the directive is issued in institutional talks. The *jos*-construction is more of a frame to which multiple clausal patterns could fit, but such a functional division is also typical of other patterns in my data, including those with a more specific formal composition. Such patterns typically create open personal reference.

4.2.4. Construction Cx41: *voisi* ‘one could’

Similarly to Cx13, construction Cx41 also performs proposals in casual conversation, but not in Kela talks (cf. Figure 9). The construction consists of a verbal phrase with the auxiliary *voida* ‘can’ alone, i.e. is an instance of the zero person.

(86) Construction Cx41

voida.COND.3SG + VP

The inventory of functions served by Cx41 comprises three main actions: proposals (20 manifestations), requests (10) and suggestions (8). Figure 9 shows a clear and systematic split in the distribution of these actions in my two corpora.

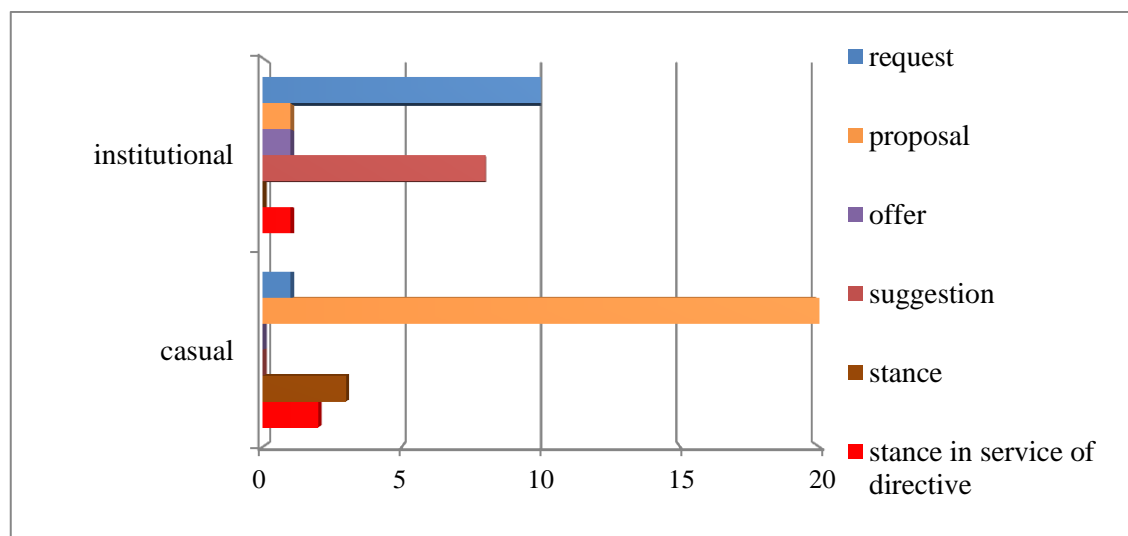


Figure 9. Functions of construction Cx41

As mentioned several times in this study, the work of Laitinen (1995, 2006) has shown that the lack of overt subject marking in the zero person creates a considerable potential for the pattern in terms of reference that it can make because this formal feature provides “an empty place of the common experience, construed for anyone to enter” (Laitinen 2006: 218). The results presented in Figure 9 illustrate how absolutely crucial the word “common” is in this context. In conversations at Kela, the personal reference made by Cx41 almost always entails an exclusion of one of the participants. Example (87) illustrates how this works in practice. The client admits that he is unable to deal with his mother’s matter himself and needs the clerk’s assistance.

(87) ‘Mother’s business’ (T965_aitinasioilla)

- 1 Client: *meill_on ollu tämmönen;* (1.2) (*arisept*) *lääke.*
 1PL.ADE_be.PRS.3SG be.PAP such PR medication
 ‘we have had this arisept medication’
- 2 (*mä en vaan tiedä*) *miten s:itä <pystytään>;*
 1SG NEG.1SG PTC know.NEG how it.PTV manage.PASS
 ‘I just don’t know how one can’
- 3 (2.2) *hakemaan korvausta.*
 apply.CVB.ILL reimbursement.PTV
 ‘apply for a reimbursement’
- 4 *mä oon; ihan;* (1.0)
 1SG be.PRS.1SG quite
 ‘I am quite’
- 5 *p[ihalla näi]st jutu:is/ta <mut/ta>;h*
 yard.ADE DEM.PL.ELA thing.PL.ELA but
 ‘lost with these things, but’
- 6 Clerk: [*<joo-o?>*] (3.0)
 PTC
 ‘yeah?’
 ((Client browses his papers))
- 7 Client: (*ehkä sit,* (2.2)
 maybe PTC
 ‘maybe then’
 ((Client browses his papers))
- 8 *<sel:#viää# vasta et/tä>;* (4.6)
 clarify.PRS.3SG only COMP
 ‘maybe then’
- 9 Client: *>mä luule et< vissiin #tää puuttuu#*
 1SG think.PRS.1SG COMP apparently this lack.PRS.3SG
 ‘I think this is apparently missing’
- (*että vois,*
 PTC can.COND.3SG
 ‘so you (lit. one) could’
- (0.5) ((Client hands over the form to the clerk))
- 10 Clerk: **<mjoo>.** (0.2)
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 11 → Client: *tut#kai#lla sitä (siis tää tapaus);*
 examine it.PTV PTC DEM case

‘examine it, I mean the case’

The request in lines 9 to 11 is clearly stanced, but I wanted to illustrate an important feature of the institutional context which makes Cx41 emerge as a request in Kela talks. This feature consists in the clients being ad-hoc participants in the social welfare system and consequently, also in social welfare office interactions. This has far-reaching consequences for their status in these interactions compared to the status of the clerks, and becomes manifested e.g. in a lack of knowledge of proper laws and rules. Although the clause with the zero person in question (line 9) in example (87) does not make the agent explicit, it is blindingly obvious from the previous context that the client will at best just monitor the action of examining (*tutkailla*) the reimbursement application. The transfer of documents to the hands of the clerk while the client issues Cx41 (between lines 9 and 10) provides another hint to the clerk that the responsibility for that action is being shifted to her.

Importantly, not only clients, but also clerks issue requests with the help of Cx41. Given the results for Cx41 in the casual corpus, this makes it even more evident that the division between the self and the other is omnipresent in Kela interactions and has vital implications for the usage of linguistic patterns.

(88) ‘Astronaut’ (T990_astronautti)

- ((Client is filling in a form))
- 1 → Clerk: *tuohon tietystiv vois itel laittaa >'ttä<, (0.5)*
 DEM.ILL of.course can.COND.3SG self write COMP
 ‘there of course (you) could write yourself that’
- 2 *tässä on niinku tää ammatillisen*
 here be.PRS.3SG PTC DEM professional.GEN
 ‘here are these’
- 3 *kuntoutuksen (.) nämä, (0.2) #öö# neuvottelut*
 rehabilitation.GEN DEM #oo# consultation. PL
 ‘rehabilitation professionals’ consultations’
- missä sä oot käynyn ni*
 REL.INE 2SG be.PRS.2SG go.PAP. PTC
 ‘to which you have been, so’
- vaikka tähän sivuun ni,*
 PTC dem.ILL page.ILL PTC (0.2)
 ‘say, on that page’
- 4 → *se tavallaan selkeyttää sitten tosta*
 it manner.ADE clarify.PRS.3SG then that.ELA
 ‘in a way, it makes it clear’
- käsittelijät kun ne kattoo ni, (0.2)*
 handler.PL when 3PL look.PRS.3PL CONJ
 ‘when the people handling it look (at it) then’
- 5 → *löytävät sen? (0.5)*
 find.prs.3pl it.acc
 ‘they will find it’
- 6 Client: *joo-o*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’

The presence of *itel* ‘(your)self’ in line 1 containing Cx41 makes it clear that it is the client who is supposed to perform the action. But due to the ambiguous personal reference created by Cx41, at this point it is impossible to determine whether the zero person construction is implementing a suggestion or a request. Only in lines 4–5 is it revealed that the ones who will benefit from the client’s addition to the application are Kela employees who will handle it. Another fact distinguishing requests from suggestions made with Cx41 is that requests are made mostly for immediate actions, whereas suggesting implies a more distant future action. Both (87) and (88) illustrate this for requests, and I will present corresponding examples of suggestions in Section 4.4.

After all, Cx41 is no different from other patterns containing the zero person in the sense that the context ultimately determines what the personal reference implied by the zero person is. But due to the specifics of Kela interactions, the context in which they happen is always institutional, meaning that no matter how familiar clients are with the intricacies of the social welfare system, they remain external claimants in this system. This becomes manifested in the recurrent patterns of interpretation of the zero person pattern Cx41. Casual talks, too, have their own patterns of personal reference made by that construction, but I will have more to say on that in Section 4.5.

4.3. Offers

There are two constructions with a robust offering function in my data, labelled consecutively ‘Cx21’ and ‘Cx22’. Both of them feature the auxiliary *voida* ‘can’ in the conditional and both make a more or less clear reference to the first person when used in this function. As announced in 3.3.2, questions of agency are particularly valid for the interpretation of constructions with the conditional as offers. The typical environment of both Cx21 and Cx22 is a situation wherein the participants are not equally capable of making contributions to actions.

4.3.1. Construction Cx21: *(me) voita(i)s* ‘we could/one could’

The core of the first construction of offering, i.e. Cx21, is the auxiliary *voida* ‘can’ in the passive conditional. The construction can either make first person plural reference through overt pronominal marking or leave the personal reference open for interpretation as an unspecified human collective.

(89) Construction Cx21

(1PL) + *voida*.PASS.COND + VP

To be precise, the directivity of Cx21 materializes around a short realisation of *voida* in the passive voice conditional since all the directive uses of the construction contain a form with reduced variants of both the passive and the conditional markers *voita(i)s* ‘(one) could’. The aggregated number of manifestations of Cx21 in all its functions is 17, of which 9 are found in the institutional and 8 in the casual corpus.

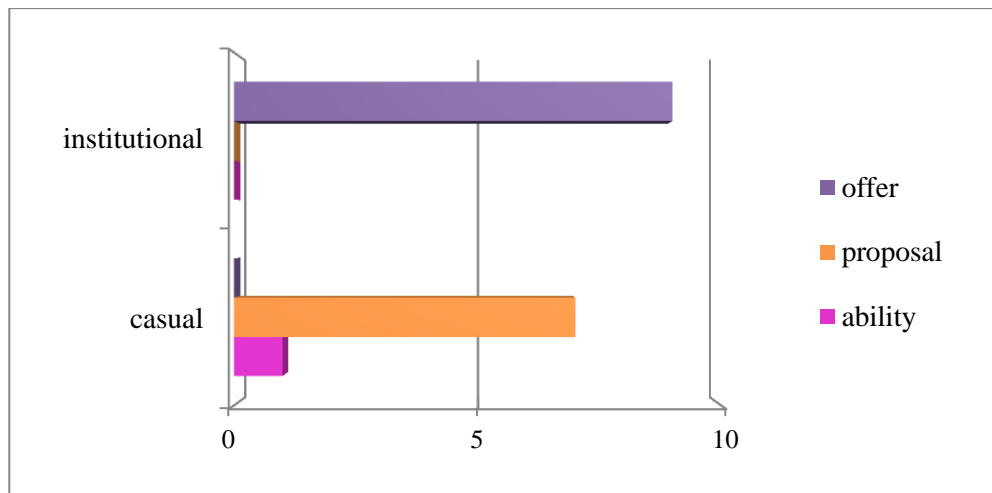


Figure 10. Functions of construction Cx21.

Similarly to Cx41, the results for construction Cx21 are intriguing because it consistently emerges from interactions at KELA offices as an offer, but as a proposal from casual conversations. Consequently, the most vital issue to be resolved is who is meant by the collective implied by the Finnish passive in this particular case, and whereof a reflection this is.

In 3 of 9 manifestations in the institutional corpus, Cx41 has an overt first person plural pronoun. Line 2 of example (90) contains one of these cases.

(90) ‘A tidy sum’ (T953_sievoinensumma)

- 1 Clerk: *elikkä tähän sä voisit oikeastaan*
so DEM.ILL 2SG can.COND.2SG actually
‘and, so you could actually’
nyt: kirjoittaa
now write
‘write now’
- 2 → >me *voitas se< ihan se heti sit*
1PL can.PASS.COND it just it straight.away PTC
‘we could actually’
lähettääki eli,
send.PTC so
‘send it straight away, so’
- 3 Client: *m/m*
PTC

In (90), the agent of the action announced in line 2 is a collective embracing some employees of the local Kela branch. Helasvuo & Laitinen (2006: 195) make the following remark on first person reference:

“Who the plural 1st person reference forms refer to has to be inferred from the context. (...) [H]owever, participants most often rely on reference that is sufficient for them and not necessarily specific.” (Helasvuo & Laitinen 2006: 195)

A question remains on what grounds the participants identify the intended agents in the absence of the personal pronoun. My data suggest that the very fact that an

interaction happens at the social welfare office and has a purpose connected with obtaining social benefits provides both sufficient context and the necessary amount of knowledge about the agents of the action. All the clients need to know is whether or not someone in Kela will release their payment or consider their application. Practically speaking, it mostly makes absolutely no difference to clients who these people will be. The presence of the personal pronoun in (90) can perhaps be attributed to the fact that there are steps to be taken by the local Kela employees who need to forward the client's application to Jyväskylä (cf. earlier examples from this conversation, e.g. 21 and 50). In (91), on the other hand, the implied agent is simply Kela as an institution. Upon assessing the situation, the clerk determines what conditions for the reimbursement have been met and announces it to the client. Her turn in line 5 contains Cx21 without the first person pronoun.

(91) 'Additional reimbursement' (T1098_lisakorvausverenpaine)

- 1 Client: *se on nyt ö:*
it be.PRS.3SG PTC
'it is now, uhm'
- 2 *se muutettiin isommalle ku se ol'*
it change.PASS.PST large.CMP.ALL PTC it be.PST.3SG
'it was changed to a larger 'cos it was'
ennen (kol#:#) vaan semmonen kahenkymmenenkaheksan
before only such twenty-eight.GEN
'before only such a twenty-eight'
tabletin .hhh
pill.GEN
'pill'
- 3 *sarja nyt se on niinku kolmeks kuukkaotta hh[h.*
series now it be.PRS.3SG PTC three.TRSL month.PTV
'series, now it is, sort of, for three months'
- 4 Clerk: [joo-o, (.)
PTC
'yeah'
- 5 → *.hh no ainakkii nyt tästä ostosta ni sit*
PTC at.least PTC DEM.ELA purchase.ELA PTC PTC
'well, at least for this purchase
voitas maksa[a nyt se] lisäkorvvaus
can.COND.PASS pay PTC DEM additional.reimbursement
'we can pay (lit. can be paid) the additional reimbursement'
- 6 Client: [joo-o.]
PTC
'yeah'

Example (91) shows an offer made in response to a problem signalled by the client who had bought the medication before Kela granted her rights to reimbursement. Such an interactional context will also be characteristic of some suggestions in the conditional made by Kela clerks.

4.3.2. Construction Cx22: (*mä*) *voisin* 'I could'

Unlike the previous construction, Cx22 makes a specific reference to the agent of the future action, which becomes reflected in the person ending of the verb. Additionally, all its manifestations contain the first person pronoun. Construction Cx22 is a pattern in the singular.

(92) Construction Cx22

1SG + *voida.COND.1SG* (+ VP/physical action)

In Kauppinen's (1998) data, the same construction serves the function of making plans in children's plays. It seems that the future action and its announcement through Cx22 are the core elements of the context in which the construction typically occurs. Study Figure 11 to see that although offering is the most frequent function of Cx22 in both corpora, the second most frequent usage of that construction is connected with announcing the action itself, with no requirement of uptake by one's co-participants. In other words, the beneficiary of the action is of secondary importance to interactions containing Cx22. In three cases, the use of the construction was ambiguous between offer and action announcement.

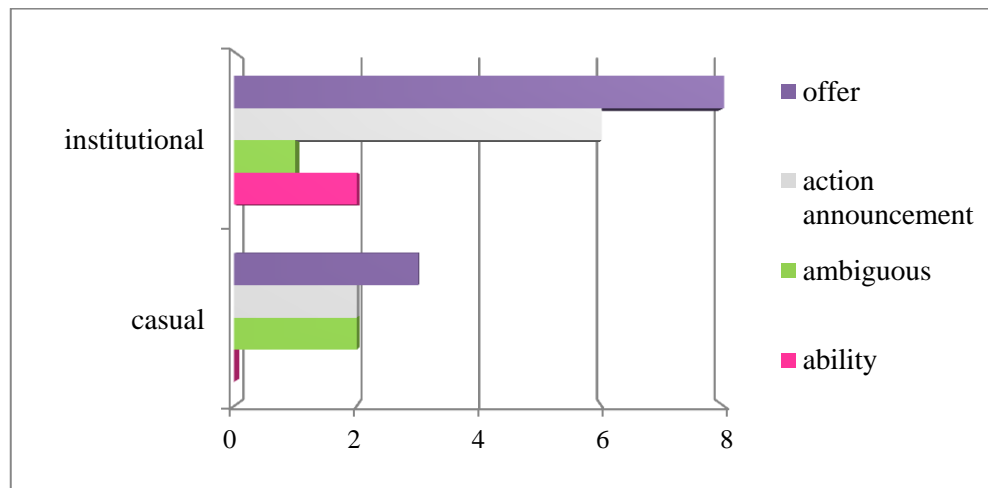


Figure 11. Functions of construction Cx22

Example (93) shows a prototypical instance of Cx22 with a clear agent and beneficiary (lines 4 and 6), as well as a model division of labour in an offer-request environment (cf. line 1).

(93) 'To Jalkanen' (T967_jalkaselle)

1 → Clerk: (s)ä voi(s)it ä; (0.2)
 2SG can.COND.2SG
 'you could'

2 mennät tohon asiakaspalvelu[huo#neese#]
 go dem.ILL customer.service.room.ILL
 'go to the customer service room'

3 Client: [joo.
 PTC
 'yeah'

4 → Clerk: nii mä voisin sit[te *hänet*;
 2SG I.NOM can.1SG sit[te *hänet*;
 'yeah, I can sit with her/him';

- CONJ 1SG can.COND.1SG PTC 3SG.ACC
 ‘so I could’
 5 Client: [> joo. < (0.8)
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
 6 Clerk: < pyytää sin:ne > ?
 ask there
 ‘ask her to come there’
 → ((Client and clerk stand up))

Both construction Cx21 and Cx22 appear in offer-request environments, but they are not recurrently coupled with any particular requestive devices. In (93), the *mä voisin X* ‘I could X’-offer is used together with the *sä voisit X* ‘you could X’-request, i.e. with construction Cx11, in a series of actions envisaged by the clerk, but recall from example (90) that also Cx21 can fill the slot for offer in a division-of-labour sequence with the same request. In this sense offers and requests studied in this work do not form as conventionalised division-of-labour patterns as those identified by Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki (2014: 122 ff.) in English and Finnish casual conversations. What does constitute a predictable feature of division-of-labour environments featuring offers with the conditional is that the request in almost all cases comes before the offer, as examples (90) and (93) have shown.

In (93), the client and the clerk first agree on a plan of action and only then leave their chairs to carry it out. By contrast, in the next example the physical action partly overlaps with its announcement by the clerk across lines 2 to 4.

(94) ‘Housing benefit’ (T932_ asumistuki)

- 1 Client: (et) lähinnä tulin kysymää et
 PTC chiefly come.PST.3SG ask.CVB.ILL COMP
 ‘so above all, I came to ask’
 mitä niitä, (.) mitä kaavakkeet
 what.PTV DEM.PL.PTV WHAT.3SG form.PL.PTV
 siihen tarttee [(--)
 it.ILL need.PRS.3SG
 ‘these, what forms are needed for this’
 2 → Clerk: [joo no tota minä voisin
 PTC PTC PTC 1SG can.COND.1SG
 ‘yeah, well, so I could’
 antaa ihan ne- (0.2) esitteen ja
 give PTC DEM brochure.PL and
 ‘give (you) the brochures and’
 3 Client: joo.
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
 → ((the clerk stands up to go and fetch the forms))
 4 → Clerk: > sitte ne < kaavakkeet.
 PTC DEM form.PL
 ‘also those forms’

The earlier the speaker starts performing the action announced by Cx22, the lesser the chances that the other participants will comment on the move. Consequently, the interpretation of the construction shifts from an offer to a device co-producing the physical action, i.e. a multimodal construction of agency. Consider (95)

(95) ‘Four friends’ (SG346_01_10)

→ ((Antti stands up and goes towards the sink))

1 → Antti: *mä voisin pe[s>*
 1SG can.COND.1SG
 ‘I could’

2 Sanna: *[onks teil sellast*
 be.PRS.3SG.CL 2PL.ADE such.PTV
 ‘do you have a’

kuorimisjuttu,
 peeling.thing.PTV
 ‘peeler’

3 → Antti: *no ku mä en tiedä mä*
 PTC PTC 1SG NEG.1SG know.NEG 1SG
 ‘well, I don’t know, I’
voisin pestä tän ainakin ensin
 can.COND.1SG wash this.ACC at.least first
 ‘could wash this first at least’

Washing the dishes by Antti in (95) has no clear beneficiary. Antti is the host of the evening, so clearing up the mess in the kitchen will bring advantage to him rather than to the others, but this does not become clear from the verbal behaviour of the participants in (95). However, what all three examples presented in this subsection make sufficiently clear is that who is going to perform the action. In the Kela corpus, Cx22 is used by the clerk rather than the client and if the latter case occurs, the construction is more likely to have an ambiguous function or simply to refer to the client’s ability to act in a certain way. In casual talk, the construction is employed by the ones who have a greater access to relevant resources, e.g. due to their momentary status as hosts, as is the case with example (95).

4.4. Suggestions

Three constructions with the conditional are used to perform suggestions in my research material. Two of them contain the auxiliary modal *voida* ‘can’ in the third person singular, whereas the remaining one the verb *kannattaa* ‘be worth’. One of the constructions is Cx41 already discussed in the section about requests (4.2) whereby I noted that their multifunctionality also encompasses suggestion-making.

With 27 conditional clauses clearly in this function, suggestions constitute the second smallest group of directives in my material, ranking slightly ahead of offers (26 tokens). All suggestions with the conditional but two come from the Kela corpus. This is an intriguing result because earlier studies mentioning the presence of suggestions performed by conditional constructions are first and foremost those which take Finnish institutional conversation as the object of investigation, e.g. business negotiations (Kangasharju 1991: 152) or veterinary-client interactions (Somiska 2010: 65). The section at hand pictures suggestions made with conditional clauses as actions falling

into two general types: they are either responses to the clients' explicitly stated problems, and thus may be regarded advice-giving devices, or provide a resource for managing problems which arise during negotiations with clients. That is to say that suggestions with the conditional are made by Kela clerks exclusively.

Two conversations in the casual corpus contain examples of what at first sight looks like construction Cx11 performing a suggestion. I have marked them as 'ambiguous' in Figure 6, Section 4.2.1. To reiterate, the construction scheme is second person + *voida* 'can' in the conditional + verbal phrase (*you could* + VP). See example (96) which shows an instance of a Cx11 increment in a sequence of advice-giving. Matti is thinking about installing a 3D-driver in his computer and Antti comes up with a possible solution.

(96) 'Coffee and buns' (SG121_30_40)

- 1 Matti: *=paljo se kolme dee ohjai maksaa*, (1.0)
 much DEM three D driver cost.PRS.3SG
 'how much does a 3D-driver cost?'
- 2 Antti: *tonnin maksaa*. (1.0)
 thousand.ACC cost.PRS.3SG
 'it costs one thousand'
- 3 *kunno ohjai*,
 good driver
 'a good driver'
- 4 → *mut sie voisit o-*
 PTC 2SG can.COND.2SG
 'but you could'
- 5 → *jos sie ostat koneita ennen Jessee*
 if 2SG buy.PRS.2SG computer.PL.PTV before PR.PTV
 'if you buy pre-Jessian computers'
- nii voit ostaa semmose*, (.)
 CONJ can.PRS.2SG buy such.ACC
 'then you can buy one of those'
- 6 *näyttöohjajime mis on siis*, (.)
 screen.driver.GEN where be.PRS.3SG PTC
 'screen drivers which have, I mean'
- 7 *peruskortti ja kolme dee <sa[massa>*,]
 basic.card and three D same.INE
 'a basic card and the 3D in the same thing'
- 8 Kaisa: *[hei tuolt saa (-)]*
 PTC there.ABL get.PRS.3SG
 'hey, there you can get'
- ((Kaisa is reading a newspaper))
- 9 Antti: *ja se maksaa vaa puoltoist ton[nii]*,
 and it cost.PRS.3SG only one.and.a.half thousand.PTV
 'and it only costs one thousand and a half'
- 10 → Matti: *[minkä*
 what.GEN
takia sä et voi koko aja
 because 2SG 2SG.NEG can.PRS.NEG whole time.ACC
 'why can't you all the time'

- käyttää* *sitä* *kolme* *dee* *korttii,*
 use DEM.PTV three D card.PTV
 ‘use that 3D-card?’
- 11 Antti: *ku* *ne* *ei* *kaikki* *tue* *sitä,*
 PTC 3PL 3SG.NEG all support.PRS.NEG it.PTV
 ‘`cos not all of them support it’
- 12 Matti: *a:ha,*
 PTC
 ‘uh huh’

The conditional clause under scrutiny (line 4) is followed by a repair. It ends in a cut-off, and in line 5 Antti performs a self-repair procedure by uttering a conditional clause compound in which the auxiliary verb is in the indicative. A construction with the second person pronoun and the verb *voida* ‘can’ in the indicative (*sä voit* ‘you can’) also serves directive functions in Finnish interaction, and a quick look beyond the actual topic of this research brings me to the conclusion that as long as second person subjects are concerned, in everyday Finnish conversation suggestions are made with the use of *voida* ‘can’ in the indicative rather than conditional. Figure 12 below presents an overview of the functions that the *sä voit* ‘you can’-pattern has in both types of interactive discourses examined here. In terms of casual conversation, its most frequently served function is making suggestions (12 of 34 cases, or 35,3%).

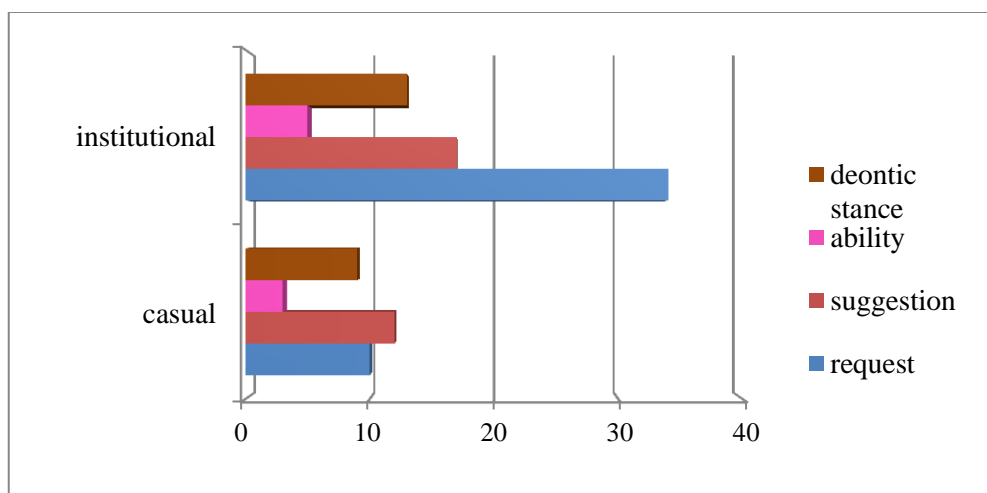


Figure 12. Functions of construction *sä voit* ‘you can’ + VP in the material

There are several possible reasons for the repair in Antti’s turn. One explanation is that it contains erratic talk: because construction Cx11 is used for requests and not for suggestions, Antti corrects himself and turns to linguistic devices which enable him to appropriately fashion the intended action. But it is also possible that Antti’s repair is meant to adjust the suggestion format to the situation. There is an epistemic asymmetry between Antti and Matti which Matti, who has lesser knowledge of the topic, accepts (cf. line 10). But their relationship is level in deontic terms. As will be demonstrated in the remaining part of this section, suggestions containing conditional clauses are made by those conversation participants who enjoy greater deontic authority than their interlocutors, so Antti might be avoiding a claim of deontic advantage over Matti. In a way, example (96) retroactively completes the interactional profile of Cx11 as a request. Speakers must, namely, feel entitled to solicit actions by others in order to use it.

As actions, then, suggestions are not exclusively a feature of Finnish institutional talk, but suggestions made with verbs in the conditional are typical of this genre.

4.4.1. Construction Cx41: *voisi* ‘one could’

In the Kela corpus, suggesting actions to others is the second most frequent directive usage of construction Cx41 which is schematically reprinted in (97).

(97) Construction Cx41

voida.COND.3SG + VP

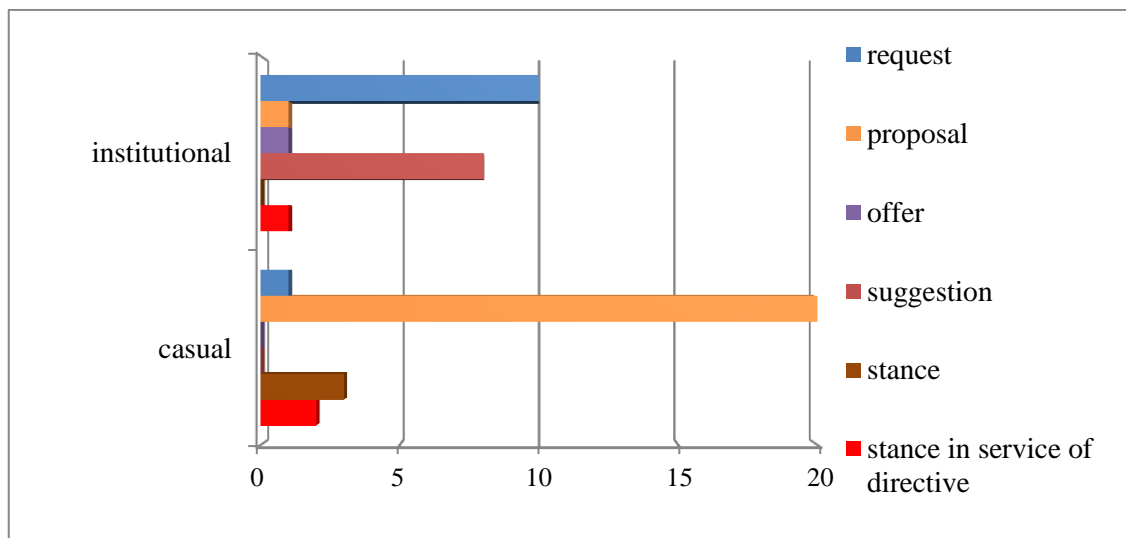


Figure 13. Functions of construction Cx41

Recall from Section 4.2.1 that requests made with Cx41 were performed by both the client and the clerk. By contrast, all eight suggestions made with the use of this construction are uttered by the clerk. In addition to this, requests were typically for handling material objects connected with ongoing activities: processing documents, filling in forms or placing photos in appropriate places. Generally speaking, then, Cx41 is a pattern for making immediate requests in relatively high transitivity contexts. Suggestions made with the use of this construction, on the other hand, mostly refer to remote actions. What is more, when a suggestion is made with Cx41, the slot for the non-finite verb is filled by verbs of speech and psychological processes. Both these features of Cx41 as a suggestion are visible in example (98). The client would like to have the costs of her medical treatment refunded, but the medicine is very new on the market and it has not yet entered the list of reimbursable medical expenses. The suggestion made with construction Cx41 comes in line 16.

(98) ‘Too new a medication’ (T1102_liianuusilaake)

1 Clerk: *mut ei nyt aota* (.) *oekkeestaam*
but NEG.3SG now help.NEG actually
‘but now there’s nothing left’
muuta ku oottoo.
other.PTV than take
‘actually but to take (the medication)’

- ‘yeah’
- 16 → .hh mut **vois** sitä *ottoo* lääkäriin kanssa
 PTC can.COND.3SG it.PTV take doctor.GEN with
 ‘but (you) could raise the issue when you speak to the doctor’
seurraavan kerran puheeks että ku tää ei, (0.8)
 next time speech.TRSL COMP PTC DEM NEG.3SG
 ‘next time that since this one doesn’t’
- 17 *tästä ei oookkaa se erityiskorvvausoikeus*
 it.ELA NEG.3SG be.PRS.NEG.CL DEM special.reimbursement.right
 ‘there is no special reimbursement for this’
että oisko vielä sitte joku:
 PTC be.COND.3SG.Q still PTC INDEF
 ‘then could there be any’
rinnakkaisvalmiste jota vois sitte (0.8)
 corresponding.preparation REL.PTV can.PRS.3SG PTC
 ‘substitute which one could’
- 18 *kok[eilla,]*
 try
 ‘try out’
- 19 → Client: [mm-]m. (1.9)
 PTC
- 20 → .hh no mie oon täj j[oka tap]auksessa,
 PTC 1SG be.PRS.1SG this.ACC any case.INE
 ‘well, in any case, I have’
- 21 Clerk: [mm,]
 PTC
- 22 Client: *olen [jo maksanu ja muuta (et)tä*
 be.PRS.1SG already pay.PAP and other.PTV PTC
 ‘I have already paid for it and stuff, so’
- 23 Clerk: *[sen oot ostanu jo,]*
 it.ACC be.PRS.2SG buy.PAP already
 ‘you have already bought it’

Example (98) begins when the clerk is trying to bring the discussion to an end. The financially problematic situation apparently makes the client unwilling to close the topic down. Overall, (98) exemplifies an exchange which goes beyond a regular negotiation of financial aid during which parties cooperate acting according to their institutional roles. Rather, it evolves into the situation pictured by Linell & Fredin (1995: 303) as “arguing from two different positions”. For example, in line 10 the client treats the clerk’s answer to her question about how to obtain relevant information as a failure. This is an expression of dissatisfaction with how Kela distributes information rather than resistance to the clerk’s deontic authority claims. The client surrenders the floor to the clerk in lines 13–15; her usage of *e(h)n tiiä* ‘I don’t know’ in line 15 resembles that of the English *I don’t know* identified by Scheibman (2000: 120–121), namely the expression sums up an extended turn, opening the floor to the interlocutor.²⁹ Subsequently, the clerk comes up with a suggestion containing construction Cx41, thereby offering a remedy. The suggestion sequence is followed by the client’s minimal acknowledgement (*mm* in line 19), whereupon the parties start arriving at a compromise

²⁹ For other uses of the Finnish *en tiiä* ‘I don’t know’ in which the expression does not manifest a lack of knowledge, but serves discourse-organising functions, see e.g. Niemi (2013: 211).

(from line 20 onwards) as the client finally admits that once the medication has been purchased, there is no other option but to take it. The suggestion under examination in (98) can be thought of as a “way-out suggestion”. On the one hand, in line 16 and the forthcoming lines the clerk may be trying to put herself in a winning position in the negotiations, but on the other, by making a suggestion she also reacts to the real-life problem encountered by the client due to the lack of entitlement for the benefits claimed. To my interpretation, construction Cx41 is, therefore, bifunctional in this conversation: it serves the purposes of advice-giving, but at the same time functions as part of a negotiation strategy.

So in addition to features of the non-finite verb and the action to which it refers, participants distinguish the zero person pattern Cx41 as a suggestion and not as a request also based on the deontic context of the exchange. An even clearer example of orientations to deonticity comes in (99). The two examples, (98) and (99) represent two home environments for suggestions with the conditional in institutional talk. In (98), the suggestion constitutes a first pair-part, and the suggestion sequence is initiated after a major problem has been signalled in the preceding conversation. In the other typical context visible in (99), suggestions are responses, and deontic factors are more apparently at play. In (99), the client explicitly asks for advice, and the exchange shows the participants’ orientation towards the obligations of the client.

(99) ‘Allowance for the summer’ (T185_ kesatukea)

- 1 Client: >*tuota mä en ollu*<; (0.2)
PTC 1SG NEG.1SG be.PPP
‘uhm, I haven’t’
- 2 → *pitääks toi laittaa sitte toi*; (0.4)
have.to.3SG.Q.CL DEM write PTC DEM
‘so should (I) include that’
- 3 → *harjotteluaika kans sitte uuestaan tuoho et*tä**.
internship.time also PTC anew that.ILL PTC
‘the internship period once again there’
(0.4)
- 4 → Clerk: *no sev vois l:isä- lisätäs siihen?* (0.6)
PTC it.ACC can.COND.3SG add it.ILL
‘well, it could be added (lit. one could add it)’
- 5 *kyllähän se täälläkin näkyy mutta*; (0.4)
PTC.CL it here.CL be.visible.PRS.3SG PTC
‘as a matter of fact, it is stated clearly here as well, but’
- 6 Client: *no pistetään nyt [tohon.*
PTC stick.PASS PTC it.ILL
‘well, let’s put it here’
- 7 Clerk: *[l:aita vielä tuota*; (1.0)
put.IMP.2SG still PTC
‘put it again’
- 8 → *tulee sitte* (0.2) *t:ä:ydellisesti.* (0.2)
come.PRS.3SG then perfectly
‘then it’ll be perfect’
- 9 Client: **joo.**
PTC
‘yeah’

The client asks a question containing a neccessive construction in lines 2–3, thus clearly showing acceptance of the deontic rights of the clerk as the participant in the position to judge the appropriateness of the steps taken. In fact, line 4 may also be interpreted as a reference to possibility, i.e. the clerk indicates to the client that what he wonders about is being approached in terms of possibility and not necessity, but at the same time line 4 is a suggestion. Lines 4 and 8 show that the clerk is acting for the benefit of the client. The information about the internship will bring advantage for the client because this will enhance the quality of his application for funding (cf. line 14).

When in a response position, suggestions made with conditional constructions are often preceded by a turn-initial particle *no* ‘well’. The particle displays greater integration into the syntactic structure of the stretch of talk in which it occurs compared to some other frequently used discourse particles, e.g. the particle of mental processing *tota* (Raevaara 1989: 148). Indeed, *no* ‘well’ is an integral part of the IU in which a suggestive Cx41 occurs. Example (99) has provided an illustration of this. But being preceded with *no* ‘well’ is not exclusively a feature of a suggestive Cx41, as will be shown below.

4.4.2. Construction Cx31: *hän voisi* ‘s/he could’

The other construction of suggestions is used to refer to actions to be undertaken by a person not present in the situation. The construction in question is Cx31, illustrated schematically in (100).

(100) Construction Cx31

PERS.PRO/NP.3 + *voida*.COND.3 + VP

Cx31 differs from Cx41 in structural terms, as well as by type of action which it performs most frequently. Construction Cx41 contains a zero person, whereas construction Cx31 features an overtly marked subject, a lexical word or a third person pronoun whose referent is human. As shown in Figure 14, the main function of construction Cx31 is performing suggestions (7 of 9 manifestations, or 77,8%).

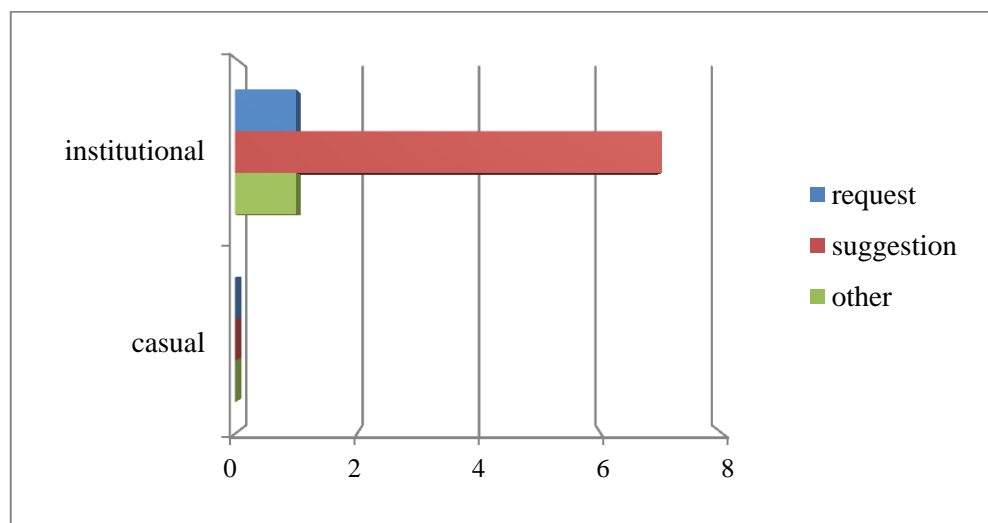


Figure 14. Functions of construction Cx31.

Logically, due to the fact that the usage of Cx31 means that the action is to be done by somebody not participating in the situation, the construction is used for suggesting deferred actions only. This is the case in example (101) below. The client is asking after possible social benefits for her partner who is moving in with her.

(101) ‘Change of flat’ (T189_asunnonvaihto)

- 1 Clerk: *jos tämä on;* (0.2)
if this be.PRS.3SG
‘if this is’
- 2 >*jos oot:<, (. k:erran täyttäny niin; (.)*
If be.PRS.2SG once fill.in.PAP CONJ
‘if you have once filled it in then’
- 3 *eikä sulla oo muutoksia ni*
NEG.3SG.CL 2SG.ADE be.NEG.PRS change.PL.PTV CONJ
‘and you don’t have any changes’
*ei tarvi sitte *ennää toista*
NEG.3SG need.NEG.PRS then not.any.more second.PTV
‘there’s no need (to fill it in) another
[kertaa*.
time.PTV
‘time’
- 4 → Client: *[no entäs tämän toise*
PTC how.about.CL DEM.GEN other.GEN
*osalta *sitte*.*
side.ABL then
‘and how about the other one then’
- 5 → Clerk: *no hän voisi tietenki tämän*
PTC 3SG can.COND.3SG of.course it.ACC
‘well, he could of course’
täyttää [(että)]
fill.in PTC
‘fill this one in’
- 6 Client: *[joo;*
PTC
‘yeah’
- 7 Clerk: *jos ei ole koskaan (aikaisemmin)*
if NEG.3SG be.NEG.PRS never earlier
‘if he has never got’
asumistukea; (0.3)
housing.benefit.PTV
‘the housing benefit earlier’
- 8 Client: *jo/o.*
PTC
‘yeah’
- 9 Clerk: *[saanu?*
get.PAP
‘(never) received (it)’

In the case of (101), the use of *no* ‘well’ preceding the suggestion in line 5 can also be thought of as a resonance with the client’s prior turn (line 4). However *no* ‘well’ is present in the turn-initial position also in those suggestion turns which do not exhibit structural similarities to previous conversation. This is a feature of those suggestions which are formulated as responses to questions.

4.4.3. Construction Cx32: *kannattaisi* ‘it would be worth’

The last construction of suggesting in my data is an instance of the necessary structure of Finnish. It features the verb *kannattaa* ‘be worth’. In two cases, the subject of obligation is stated explicitly. The remaining five manifestations are subjectless.

(102) Construction Cx32

(2/3.GEN +) *kannattaa.COND.3SG* + VP

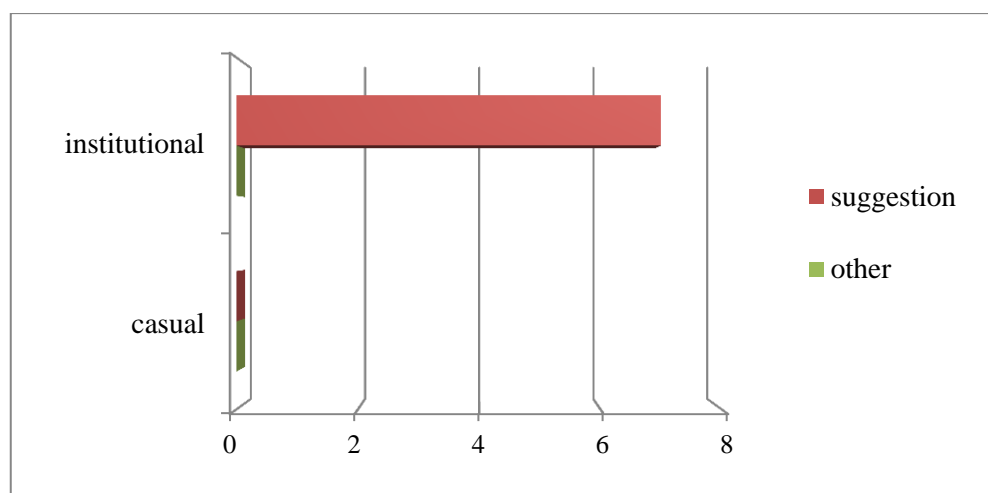


Figure 15. Functions of construction Cx32

Cx32 appears as the second pair-part in the problem-suggestion type of environment. Example (103) shows one of these cases.

(103) ‘Wife’s aunt’ (T975_vaimontati)

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 1 | Client: | <i>ja sii-, mitäs sen jälkeen *tapahtuu*.</i> |
| | | PTC what.PTV.CL it.GEN after happen.PRS.3SG |
| | | ‘so what happens afterwards?’ |
| 2 | Clerk: | <i>no sit se asumistuki lakkautetaan hh.</i> |
| | | PTC then DEM housing.benefit discontinue.PASS |
| | | ‘well, then the housing benefit will be discontinued’ |
| 3 | Client: | <i><just joo>, (1.5)</i> |
| | | PTC PTC |
| | | ‘right, yeah’ |
| 4 → | <i>eli:: mitä: sillom pitää tehdä. (0.5)</i> | |
| | | so what.PTV then have.to.PRS.3SG do |
| | | ‘so what should one do then?’ |
| 5 | Clerk: | <i>niin no se tai-</i> |
| | | PTC PTC it |

- 6 → ‘so, well, it’
joo: no sitte kannattas tietysti et
 PTC PTC PTC be.worth.COND.3SG of.course COMP
 ‘yeah, well, in this case it would definitely be worth to’
jos ne jatkuu edelleen, (0.3)
 ff they continue.PRS.3SG still
 ‘if they are paid continuously’
- 7 *taitaa ollak kyl se mahdollisuus että jos ne,*
 may be PTC DEM possibility COMP if they
 ‘there is a possibility that if they’
- 8 *et jos hän, mut em mä tiedäs*
 COMP if 3SG PTC NEG.1SG 1SG know.NEG
 ‘that if she, but I don’t know’
sitte varmaa, palaisko hän sitte kotii
 PTC surely return.COND.3SG.Q 3SG PTC home.ILL
 ‘for sure whether she will come back home’
 ((7 lines omitted in which the participants discuss whether it is possible
 that the aunt stays in the hospital permanently))
- 16 Clerk: *et sitte (o-), (0.5)*
 PTC PTC
 ‘so then’
- 17 *kyl sitä on, niij joo.*
 PTC it.PTV be.PRS.3SG PTC PTC
 ‘surely this is, well, yeah’
- 18 *mä en ook kyl nyt ihav varma siitä*
 1SG NEG.1SG be.NEG.PRS PTC now quite sure it.ELA
 ‘I’m not sure really whether’
[et(tä) meneek se,
 COMP go.PRS.3SG.Q it
 ‘it is so that’
 [((door bangs))
- 19 Clerk: *nii että sitä voidaan kuitenkin jatkaa.*
 PTC COMP it.PTV can.PASS however continue
 ‘that it (the housing benefit) could still be paid’

I will not devote too much discussion to the pattern with *kannatta(i)s* ‘would be worth’ because apart from the fact that in all three examples it functions as a response, its analysis does not bring any novel additions to what I have concluded about suggestions previously. The crucial thing, however, is that in line 4 of example (103) the client asks a question with a reference to obligation, so it comes as no surprise that a necessary construction comes afterwards. Such questions seem to be the factor triggering the emergence of suggestive responses with the conditional in Kela talks because such an environment is typical also of the suggestion patterns discussed earlier. Example (103), as well as (99) cited in 4.4.1., contain suggestions implemented in response to a question from clients who inquire about procedural details relevant for their cases.

4.5. Proposals

Two of the three constructions to be discussed in this section, Cx21 and Cx41, have already been addressed earlier. It is now time to complete their descriptions with the factors which lead the participants in casual conversation to a systematical interpretation of the open personal reference that these impersonal constructions create as an inclusive collective.

In their study of conversations between Finnish pastors and cantors during workplace meetings, Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2012) concluded that the participants in these institutionalised two-party interactions understood their mutual relationships as more symmetrical in deontic terms when proposals were made in the conditional (*What if we did X*) than when future actions were announced as declarative statements by the first speaker (*We will do X*). Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2012) make a strong case for proposals, which in their data are usually clauses with verbs in the conditional mood, as actions dependent of the co-participant's acceptance. My findings are likewise that when making proposals with the use of constructions with the conditional, participants see themselves and their interlocutors as equally entitled to deciding about the future course of events. This, I believe, is one of the reasons why Kela interactions feature only individual manifestations of proposals performed through constructions with the conditional. Of course, it should be remembered that most of Kela talks in my material are dyads, whereas the casual corpus consists of multi-party conversations only. The number of participants in a conversation may be an influencing factor here given that compared to other types of directives, proposals more naturally involve multiple agents and beneficiaries. On the other hand, as I will show, the identification of actions as proposals rather than other directives is not based on an analysis of the number of participants in the future action.

4.5.1. Construction Cx41: *voisi* 'one could'

(104) Construction Cx41

voida.COND.3SG + VP

As the reprinted chart illustrating the functions of Cx41 shows (cf. Figure 16), the two sets of conversations which inform this study vary significantly in terms of how the personal reference made by Cx41 is typically understood and, resulting from this, of who is likely to be the agent of the future action indicated by the non-finite verb. In the institutional corpus, it is the co-participant ("other") who is indexed by the zero person in 19 cases or 90,5% of manifestations of that construction in Kela talks (altogether 11 requestive tokens and 8 suggestions). By contrast, in 20 of 26 casual conversations containing the construction (76,9%), the participants link the zero person to the collective embracing the person speaking and other discourse participants ("self and other"), and the action formed is a proposal.

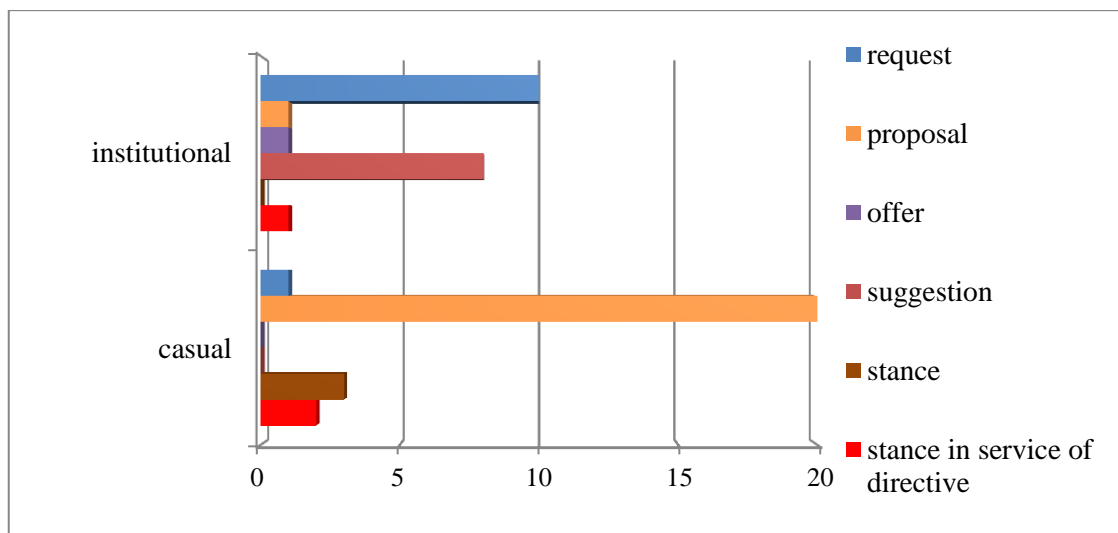


Figure 16. Functions of construction Cx41

Given all the combined results, the interpretation of the action implemented by Cx41 happens on two main grounds. The first influencing factor is whether the interaction happens among people one knows and is friends with or in an institutional situation where the interactants take the roles of claimants and employees of a public institution. This distinction helps dissolve the ambiguity created by the fact that most suggestions as well as proposals formulated through Cx41 are for remote actions. Compare a reprint from Section 4.4.1 with example (106) containing Cx41 in the proposing function.

(105) ‘Too new a medication’ (T1102_liianuusilaake)

- 16 Clerk: *.hh mut vois sitä ottoo lääkärin kanssa*
 PTC can.COND.3SG it.PTV take doctor.GEN with
 ‘but (you) could raise the issue when you speak to the doctor’
seurraavan kerran puheeks että ku tää ei, (0.8)
 next time speech.TRSL COMP PTC DEM NEG.3SG
 ‘next time that since this one doesn’t’
- 17 *tästä ei ookkaa se erityiskorvvausoikeus*
 it.ELA NEG.3SG be.PRS.NEG.CL DEM special.reimbursement.right
 ‘there is no special reimbursement for this’

(106) ‘Coffee and buns’ (SG121_01_10)

- 1 → Paavo: *korispeliikii vois [lähtee kattoo,]*
 game.of.basketball.PTV.CL can.COND.3SG go see.CVB.ILL
 ‘we (lit. one) could go and watch a game of basketball as well’
- 2 Kaisa: *[kiva se (.)]*
 nice DEM
uutisjuttu (-),
 news.item
 ‘this news item is nice’
- 3 → Matti: *nii: em- emmie (.) sit taas tiiä*
 PTC NEG.1SG NEG.1SG PTC PTC know.NEG.PRS
 ‘well, I don’t know really’

		<i>tös</i>	<i>suomalaises</i>	<i>tökkimises</i>	<i>siinä</i>	<i>[ei</i>	<i>nyt,</i>
		DEM.INE	Finnish.INE	hooping.PTV	it.INE	NEG.3SG	PTC
		‘in the Finnish hooping, there is no’					
4	Paavo:					<i>[nii,</i>	
						PTC	
						‘yeah’	
5 →	Matti:	<i>ei</i>	<i>vält-</i>	<i>välttämättä</i>	<i>niiku</i>		
		NEG.3SG		necessarily	PTC		
		‘not necessarily, I mean’					
		<i>ei</i>	<i>sitä</i>	<i>jaksa</i>	<i>välttämä[ttä,</i>		
		NEG.3SG	it.PTV	manage.NEG	necessarily		
		‘one won’t necessarily manage’					
6 →	Antti:				<i>[s-</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>o</i>
					it	be.PRS.3SG	
					‘it is of’		
		<i>sama ko</i>	<i>(.)</i>	<i>suomalaine</i>	<i>jalkapallo</i>		
		same as		Finnish	football		
		‘the same quality as the Finnish football’					

Paavo proposes that *korispeliiki vois lähtee kattoo* ‘one could go and watch a game of basketball as well’. His turn in line 1 of (106) does not provide any hints as to who is supposed to go, but Kaisa, Matti and Antti recognise the turn as a proposal and proceed to rejecting it. I must note that the recognition of action formed by Paavo is facilitated by the fact that in their previous conversation, the participants discussed the possibility of attending a live football match (hence the clitic *-ki* on *korispeliiki* ‘a game of basketball as well’). Matti and Antti reject the proposal through negative stance taking (lines 3, 5 and 6). Their actions reveal that they understand their entitlement to influencing the course of action as equal to Paavo’s. In (105), by contrast, the client reacted to the suggestion with short response tokens. Her response was more of an indication that she is losing ground to the clerk who acted from a standpoint of a public officer responsible for ensuring that benefits are claimed lawfully. The client had to accept the situation and did not issue any comment on whether she is going to consult the matter with her doctor.

Example (106) shows the other crucial parameter distinguishing proposals from other actions, namely sequential placement. Proposals typically inhabit onsets of sequences, and depending on the type of response (accepting or rejecting), the participants shift to other actions (decision-making, stance-taking, etc) while providing the response. But the casual context of conversation is definitely a more decisive factor than sequential position of Cx41. A particularly important feature of that context is the pursuit of a common objective. Study the following example showing Cx41 implementing a proposal (lines 4 and 6) which lacks the formerly mentioned feature of a deferred action.

(107) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_04_10)

1	Jussi:	<i>tää</i>	<i>näyttää</i>	<i>Roobert</i>	<i>Kajanoks[en</i>	<i>ku]valt;</i>
		this	look.PRS.3SG	PR	PR.GEN	photo.ABL
		‘this one looks like a photo of Robert Kajanus’				
2	Jouni:				<i>[joo.</i>	<i>]</i>
					PTC	

‘yeah’

- 3 Päivi: *tyr[kyllä.]*
allure.ADE
‘attention-seeking’
- 4 → Hanna: *[tää on] hei taakse vois melkee kirjottaa*
DEM be.PRS.3SG PTC behind can.COND.3SG almost write
‘this is, hey on the back side we (lit. one) could actually write’
Elsan nimen koska, (.)
PR.GEN name.ACC because
‘Elsa’s name because’
- 5 → Liisa: ((from outside of the recorded image))
laittakaa ihmees siell_on lyijykynä.
put.IMP.2PL PTC there_be.PRS.3SG pencil
‘go on, write it, there’s a pencil out there’
- 6 → Hanna: *tässä hän on (.) hyvin näköisensä.*
here 3SG be.PRS.3SG very lookalike.3SG.CL
‘she looks very much like herself in this picture’

By *taakse vois melkee kirjottaa Elsan nimen* ‘we (lit. one) could actually write Elsa’s name on the back side’ in lines 4–6, Hanna announces an action of writing to be done immediately, just as the Kela clerk did when making a request to the client with Cx41 in example (88). In that example, the client was in the middle of filling in the form, whereas here the writing has not yet commenced, so the inventory of possible agents is not yet limited to any specific person. Liisa’s response in line 5 means that she will not be involved in the action, but she understands the zero person as referring to a collective, if a non-specific one; *laittakaa* is the second person plural imperative form of *laittaa* ‘put, write’. She will not perform the action herself probably because at that very moment, she is in another part of the room, but her response signals that she accepts the proposed course of action. It will lead the participants closer towards the completion of their task because thanks to making a note on the back side, another photograph will have been classified.

The pursuit of a common goal is important to the interpretation of Cx41 in the last example I want to consider. It contains a proposal seen as contingent which, therefore, becomes pre-expanded. Hanna has an idea of what could help solve a problem the participants are currently facing, but does not know if the agency’s archive conceals the obituary she has in mind. She first asks about it (lines 1–2) and then links her proposal from line 6 with the pre-expansion through *nimittäi* ‘namely’. Also in example (87), the request to the clerk was pre-expanded as the client admitted that he had troubles filling in a reimbursement application for his mother’s medicines. But in that example, the completion of the action that Cx41 referred to was only the client’s interest.

(108) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_04_10)

- 1 → Hanna: *hei eiks teiän noissa #m mh#* (0.6)
PTC NEG.3SG.Q.CL 2PL.GEN DEM.INE
‘hey, isn’t there’
- 2 → *arkistomapeissa oo Elsa Salmisen .hhh kuolinilmoitus.*
archival.map.PL.INE be.NEG.PRS PR.GEN obituary
‘Elsa Salminen’s obituary in your archival maps’

	(0.9)				
4	Maija:	.hhh öö	voi	hyvinki	olla (.)
			can.PRS.3SG		be
			‘there can be’		
5		ainakin #ö# ö::	hänen öh .hhhh	tuota #mm#	
		at.least	3SG.GEN	PTC	
		‘at least her, uhm’			
		viimenen	virkatodistuksensahh	on	täällä ja,
		last	population.register.extract	be.PRS.3SG	here PTC
		‘last extract from the population register is here and’			
6 →	Hanna:	nimittäi	siitä vois	nähdä että	onko
		namely	it.ELA can.COND.3SG	see	COMP be.PRS.3SG.Q
		‘we (lit. one) could namely check if’			
		sukulais- #m m#	jono pitkä siinä	ilmoituksessa. (.)	
		relative	line long DEM.INE	announcement.INE	
		‘there is a long list of relatives in the announcement’			
7		kuolinilmoituksessa	vai .hh [eikö	ole;]	
		obituary.INE	or NEG.3SG.Q	be.NEG.PRS	
		‘in the obituary or not’			
8	Maija:		[totta]	
			truth.PTV		
			‘true’		

Laitinen’s (2006) conclusion concerning the Finnish zero person is that context imposes constraints and helps interpret the personal reference implied by the pattern. My own addition to this point based on the analysis of Cx41 in my data is that it is predictable from the interactional genre which pattern of interpretation and what constraints the context will yield. Therefore, ‘context’ can be generalised into typical features of the two genres, and therefore labelled e.g. ‘casual contexts’ and ‘social welfare office contexts’. Social welfare office conversations produce contexts in which the agent of the future action envisaged by Cx41 is the other participant, whereas in casual contexts the participants typically end up identifying themselves as collective agents and beneficiaries on the action. Obviously, also the topic of the conversation is a vital part of context because planning collaborative activities is a natural part of interactions with people whom one meets in real life outside of the recording situation, A narrow inventory of topics is a permanent feature of institutional interaction (cf. Section 3.3.1), so already upon entering social welfare office interactions the participants have a limited possibility of formulating proposals with Cx41.

4.5.2. Construction Cx21: (me) voita(i)s ‘we could/one could’

Compared to Cx41, the other construction with *voida* ‘can’ serving the function of proposing is slightly more predictable in terms of the final inventory of agents of the future action.

(109) Construction Cx21

(1PL) + *voida*.PASS.COND + VP

As a proposal, construction Cx21 differs from cases in which it implements offers in that in 5 of 7 manifestations (71,4%), its realisation involves the overt first person plural pronoun. To reiterate, the result for offers was 3 of 9 (33,3%).

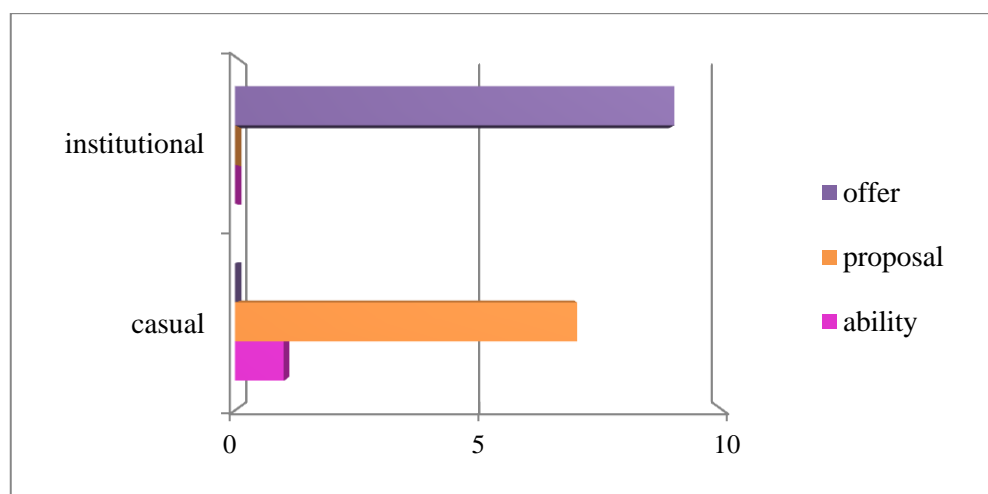


Figure 17. Functions of construction Cx21.

A representative proposal made with the full variant of Cx21 comes in lines 1 and 3 of example (110). The example is from the very beginning of the conversation ‘Concert agency’ and has been discussed earlier as (52).

(110) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_01_10)

- 1 → Liisa: *me voitaa alottaa sillee että;*
 1SG can.PASS.COND begin so COMP
 ‘we coul begin so that’
- 2 ? : *hm hmm*
- 3 → Liisa: *kun tuo arkku nyt avataan niin (.)*
 when DEM chest PTC open.PASS PTC
 ‘when we open the chest’
niin Maija kertoo (.) mikä tä:n (0.8)
 PTC PR tell.PRS.3SG what DEM.GEN
 ‘then Maija will tell us what’
- 4 *arkun historia onh.*
 chest.GEN story be.PRS.3SG
 ‘this chest’s story is’
- 5 Maija: */j:oo jos mä, (.)*
 PTC if 1SG
 ‘yes, if I’
- 6 Maija: ((to Liisa))
toiminko minä sitten, (taiturina)
 function.PRS.1SG.Q 1SG then master.ESS
 ‘so do I work as a master (of ceremony) here?’
- 7 Liisa: *juu,*
 PTC

8 Maija: *okei,*
PTC
'okay'

When the pronoun is missing, the personal reference is still anchored in the previous context and therefore specific. Consider example (111).

(111) 'Teenage girls' (SG120_40_50)

1 Oona: *ö khm*
2 ?: *#nii# sano vaa.*
PTC say.IMP.2SG PTC
'go on, say it'
3 ?: *[(-)*
4 Oona: *[nii ni sit,*
PTC PTC PTC
'well, then'
5 → *hh sit ku mennää retkelle? (.)*
PTC when go.PASS trip.ALL
'when we go on the trip'
6 → *nii sit voitaa iha hyvi kokeilla,*
PTC PTC can.PASS.COND PTC well try
'we could for example try'
näitä, (.) eri (.) tapoi sytyttää nuotioo, =
DEM.PTV different means.PL.PTV light campfire.PTV
'these different ways to start a campfire'
7 → Lotta: *=no sitähä myö ollaa just suunniteltu(h)*
PTC it.PTV.CL 1PL be.PASS just plan.PPP
'well, this is precisely what we've been planning'

Oona proposes to try out some scouting skills in line 6, but Lotta informs her that the topic has already been subject to discussion. Oona herself links her turn in lines 4 to 6 to the previous discussion that the girls have had about a trip (*sit ku mennää retkelle* 'when we go on the trip'). Also in example (112), the personal reference made by Cx21 in line 4 is anchored to line 1, so actually, the default composition of Cx21 as a proposal obligatorily involves *me* 'we'. If the pronoun is missing, as in (111) and (112), it is simply because of an anaphoric pro-drop, so the whole discussion could end here.

(112) 'Coffee and buns' (SG121_10_20)

1 → Paavo: *nii kukas me saatas [neljänneks pelaajaks*
PTC who.CL 1PL get.PASS.CONDfourth.TRSL player.TRSL
'so, whom would we have as the fourth player'
2 Kaisa: *[kyh,*
3 Paavo: *pelaa sulista,*
play badminton.PTV
'for a game of badminton'
4 → *voitaa käyä joskus kokeilee nelinpeiliä*
can.PASS.COND go some.time try.CVB.INE doubles.PTV

‘we could go and try to play doubles’

Still, I consider it necessary to make one more comment concerning the group of people implied by *me* ‘we’ in this Cx21, especially that some of the offering tokens also contain full realisations of the construction, cf. (113).

(113) ‘A tidy sum’ (T953_sievoinensumma)

- 1 Clerk: *elikkä tähän sä voisit oikeastaan*
so DEM.ILL 2SG can.COND.2SG actually
‘and, so you could actually’
nyt: kirjoittaa
now write
‘write now’
- 2 → >*me voitaa se< ihan se heti sit*
1PL can.PASS.COND it just it straight.away PTC
‘we could actually’
lähettääki eli,
send.PTC so
‘send it straight away, so’
- 3 Client: *m/m*
PTC

In Section 4.3.1. I speculated that the presence of the pronoun in line 2 of this example might be due to the fact that unlike other such exchanges, the clerk is referring to an action by a spatially restricted collective. But irrespectively of how specific the agent of actions in Kela interactions is, the certain thing about Cx21 in that corpus is that the client becomes consistently excluded from the group of agents, whereas in casual conversation the construction does not introduce such limitations. Finnish does nothing else here than make a distinction in the domain of clusivity for first person plural, though of course it cannot be placed in a row with languages such as Abkhaz, Hawaiian, Mao Naga and many others which formally distinguish between exclusive and inclusive plurals, e.g. through differences in pronominal systems (Cysouw 2003: 73ff.). In Finnish, the distinction is operative on the genre level for a limited group of constructions – maybe exclusively for patterns with the passive voice such as Cx21.

4.5.3. Construction Cx42: *pitä(i)skö* ‘should one/we’

Another construction of proposing in my material is a polar question with the necessary verb *pitää* ‘have to’. That is, construction Cx42 is an interrogative necessary construction in the conditional mood. The schematic representation of the construction and the statistics concerning its usage are presented below.

(114) Construction Cx42

pitää.COND.3SG.Q + (1.GEN) + VP

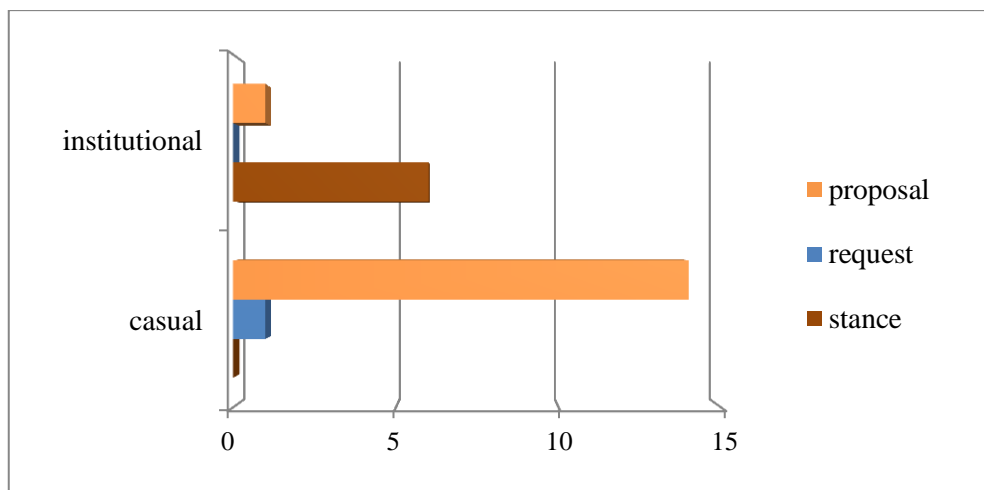


Figure 18. Functions of construction Cx42

There is some variation as to the presence of the pronoun indexing the subject of necessity within Cx42, but I have not observed any significant differences between the two formal variants of the construction in terms of the function served. Construction Cx42 is the next pattern alongside Cx13, Cx21 and Cx41 which emerges as a proposal from casual Finnish interactions, but not from social welfare office talks. Importantly, it displays varying degrees of conventionalisation depending on the genre. In Kela talks, Cx42 is mostly employed for the purposes of deontic stance taking (example coming shortly), which means that the *pitää* ‘have to’ retains a semantic relationship to obligation. In casual Finnish interaction, it has lost this function because there are practically no traces of deonticity in the surrounding context of Cx21 used as a proposal. In (115), the only clue that Cx21 might have some deontic extensions is that it is used by one of the hosts of the interactional event. Liisa is currently employed at the agency, and therefore enjoys a different status in the interaction than e.g. Hanna who is retired. But if her turn in line 1 is in any way meant to exercise authority resultant from that status, then this happens only through a resistance to the course of the events initiated by others (note the presence of *kuitenki* ‘though’ in line 1).

(115) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_01_10)

- 1 → Liisa: *mut pitäskö meitä alottaa tota kuitenkin noista* (1.2)
 PTC have.to.COND.CL.Q 1PL.GEN start PTC though DEM.PL.ELA
 ‘but should we start with those’
- 2 *ö:: noi- noista* (.)
 DEM.PL.ELA
 ‘those’
- 3 *valokuvista ennemmin kun [sitte] ja* (.) *kattoo tätä,*
 photo.PL.ELA sooner than PTC and watch DEM.PTV
 ‘photographs first before we look at this one’
- 5 Päivi: *[joo.]*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 6 Jussi: *[noi luo-] raamitetut.*
 DEM frame.PPP.NOM
 ‘those framed ones’

mmm.

As a proposal, Cx42 strongly projects a positive response. The construction is attended to by means of short compliance tokens, as in (115), or through independent NPs, APs and full clauses as resources of stance-taking. The latter type of response is illustrated in lines 2 and 3 of (116).

(116) ‘Teenage girls’ (SG120_01_10)

- 1 → Milja: *pitäiskö* *näistä* *tulla* *rapeita* *vai* *sit*
 have.to.COND.3SG.CL these.ELA come crisp.PL.PTV or PTC
 ‘should they be made crisp or’
tommosii lötkyjä.
 such.PL.PTV soft.PL.PTV
 ‘soft’
- 2 → Lotta: *mie haluu r[apeita.h*
 1SG want.PRS.1SG crisp.PL.PTV
 ‘I want (them) crisp’
- 3 → Oona: *[rapeita.*
 crisp.PL.PTV
 ‘crisp’
- 4 Milja: *°no nii°, (.) °tsit tehää rapeita.°*
 PTC PTC PTC make.PASS crisp.PL.PTV
 ‘well, then, we’ll make them crisp’

Because Cx42 projects acceptance, Milja may be trying to avoid getting a negative response by providing alternatives in line 1. This is a single case in my data, though. The typical format of Cx42 as a proposal has been shown in (115), i.e. a speaker proposes a particular action with Cx21, and the action becomes accepted.

In institutional conversations, the functions of Cx42 are different. The most frequent use of the construction is connected with taking deontic stance.

(117) ‘Double degree’ (T976_kaksoistutkinto)

- 1 → Client: *pitäiskö* *tähäl* *laittaa* *ku* *mä* *oo* (0.2)
 have.to.COND.3SG.CL it.ILL put PTC 1SG be.PRS.1SG
 ‘should I (lit. does one have to) put here that I am’
myÖski lu:kiossa. (0.2)
 also.CL secondary.school.INE
 ‘also at a secondary school’
- 2 *mull_on* *niinku kaksoistutkinto.* (0.7)
 1SG.ADE_be.PRS.3SG PTC double.degree
 ‘I have, sort of, a double degree’
- 3 → Clerk: *katotaas (.) millä sulle< om myönnetty*
 look.PASS.CL REL.ADE 2SG.ADE be.PRS.3SG grant.PPP
 ‘let’s look on what (terms) you have been granted’
se sitte.
 it PTC
 ‘it’

((Clerk turns to the computer))

Both the client and the clerk turn to considerations of procedural details in (117). Unlike in the couple of examples considered above, construction Cx42 really seeks an answer to the question what the client should do. The clerk needs to check that in the computer and signals in line 3 that the answer depends on the status of the information stored in the system. So in addition to the presence of the verb *pitää* ‘have to’ in (117), also the polarity of the question is not merely a rhetorical device.

4.6. Responses to proposals: Construction Cx43 *voisi* ‘it/one could’

In addition to implementing directives, clauses with the conditional also function as second pair-parts in proposal sequences. I have found one pattern dedicated to responding, not too numerous in tokens, but relatively telling of the interactional transition of proposing into decision-making.

The construction simply consists of an unattached form of the verb *voida* ‘can’ in the third person and the conditional. Despite the fact that the conditional allows for variation within its formal marker *-isi-* in spoken Finnish (cf. Section 2.1.1), in this particular construction only *-is* is used; the form is thus *voisi* and no other. The verb may be accompanied by an alignment particle (*nii* ‘yeah’ and the affirmative *kyllä* ‘yes’ were found in my data), but in 3 of 5 cases it is not.

(118) Construction Cx43

(PTC +) *voisi*

The construction is used solely for responding purposes. Once in five manifestations it was used in a response to a previous stance. All the tokens come from casual conversation.

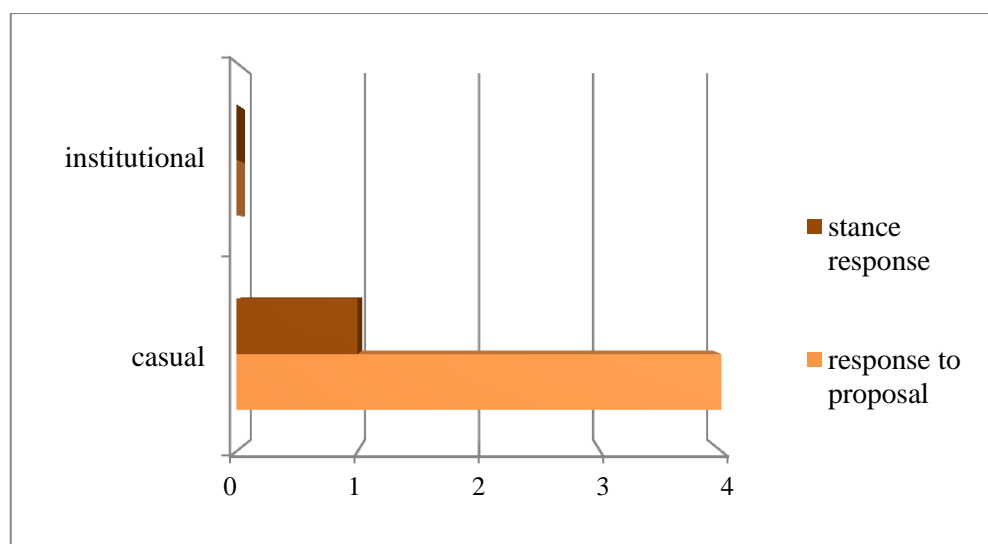


Figure 19. Functions of construction Cx43

Verb repeats are known to function as responses to different kinds of actions, thus providing linkage to prior interaction and maintaining dialogicality between consecutive units of talk (Laury 2018). Example (119) is an illustration of that. In this

example, Liisa complies with Päivi's proposal in line 2 through a repetition of the auxiliary verb *vois* 'we (one) could' which is a constituent of construction Cx41.

(119) 'Concert agency' (SG435_03_30)

- 1 Päivi: *hei#:: eks tänne vois*
 PTC NEG.3SG.CL to.here can.COND. 3SG
 'hey, couldn't we (lit.couldn't one)'
panna £Savonlinna [ku (joskus) tor-] torvi
 put PR PTC sometimes horn
 'put Savonlinna here because of the horn'
- 2 → Liisa: **[£vo::is£]**
 can.COND. 3SG
 'we could (lit.one could)'

The most important fact about Cx43 – and the factor which makes it legitimate to call this pattern a construction – is that it is *not* merely a verb repeat, but an independent unit of responding. The construction is used also if the first part is formed through other means than a clause with *vois(i)* 'one could'. In (120), for example, Oona responds with *vois* in line 4 to a proposal made by Lotta with Cx21 in line 1.

(120) 'Teenage girls' (SG120_70_76)

- 1 → Lotta: *mut eiks me voitäs iha hyvi*
 but NEG.3SG 1SG can.PASS.COND quite well
 'but couldn't we as well'
lähtee sillo .hh niinku perjantaist lauantaihi.
 go then PTC Friday.ELA Saturday.ILL
 'go Friday to Saturday'
- 2 *ku loma: oj just alkanu.h (.)*
 When holiday be.PRS.3SG just begin.PAP
 'when the holiday is just begun'
- 3 *joulun kunniaksi .hh (1.5)*
 Christmas.GEN honour.TRSL
 'in honour of Christmas'
- 4 → Oona: **[vo::is]**
 can.COND.3SG
 'we could'
- 5 → Milja: **[(-)] (miten se sit), (0.5)**
 how it PTC
 'so how does it'
- 6 → *mä ajattelin et,*
 1SG think.PST.1SG COMP
 'I thought that'
- 7 Lotta: *nii tai sit jos lähetää sinne retkelle*
 PTC or PTC if go.PASS there trip.ALL
 'yeah, or if we go on the trip'
nii sit lähetää sillo, perjantaist launtaihi. (.)
 PTC PTC go.PASS then Friday.ELA Saturday.ILL
 'then we go from Friday to Saturday'

- 8 *ja tulla lauantain aikasip pois.* (0.5)
 and come Saturday.ESS early out
 ‘and leave early on Saturday’
- 9 ?: *hiih hi*
- 10 → Oona: *se voi olla joo.*
 it can.PRS.3SG be PTC
 ‘it can be (that way), yeah’

In both (119) and (120), the *vois* response is produced with a vowel lengthening, which may at first sight be taken to signal weak agreement. But in (120), Oona is the one who maintains compliance (line 10) despite the fact that her co-participant Milja is on the way to rejecting Lotta’s proposal (lines 5–6). Oona is trying to achieve a point in the interaction where all the participants would agree on changing the decision which has been made earlier.

Given the discussion in Section 4.5., *vois* ‘one could’ is a particularly prominent device of proposing in Finnish casual conversation. Stance-taking, on the other hand, emerges from interactions containing *ois* ‘would be’, as the upcoming sections will demonstrate.

4.7. Stance

Stance as a self-standing act has three dedicated constructions in my material. They all are primarily responsible for epistemic stance-taking. The conditional mood is a marker of incomplete epistemic access in these constructions, but the circumstances which make particular constructions emerge from interactions differ slightly. The first construction, Cx51, is used in both my corpora to take epistemic stance on any relevant stance object. Compared to Cx51, the remaining two constructions Cx52 and Cx53 are more widely used in the institutional corpus in stance-related functions and more tightly linked with epistemic asymmetries between clients and clerks. The typical usage of Cx52 and Cx53 is when the client has submitted some documents, but cannot be one hundred per cent sure about the compliance with the procedural frameworks of the social welfare institution.

The two latter constructions are formed with *pitää* ‘have to’ in the conditional, but their usage does not necessarily mean that deontic stance is being taken. One of the constructions, Cx52, performs proposals in casual talks, similarly to Cx42 discussed a while ago. Again, then, questions of status and social relationships among the participants become important for the functional description of patterns with auxiliary verbs.

4.7.1. Construction Cx51: *oisko* ‘would it be’

The first construction of stance is a polar question with the verb *olla* ‘be’. Its core is a short realisation of *olla* in the conditional, namely *ois*, with the interrogative enclitic *-ko*. The epistemic enclitic *-han* may also follow.

(121) Construction Cx51

- a. *oisko(han) + NP*
- b. [*oisko + PTCP*](*han*) + NP

The division presented in (121) is based on tense marking and is only meant to serve purposes of illustration of the different formal realisations of the construction. Cx51 does not have two different versions such that differences in structural composition would reflect varying functional characteristics (cf. the next construction on the agenda or e.g. Cx77 in Chapter 5). Variant Cx51a contains the present tense, whereas Cx51b a past tense version, used to take a stance on a situation from the past. Stance is the main function of Cx51 for both its realisations.

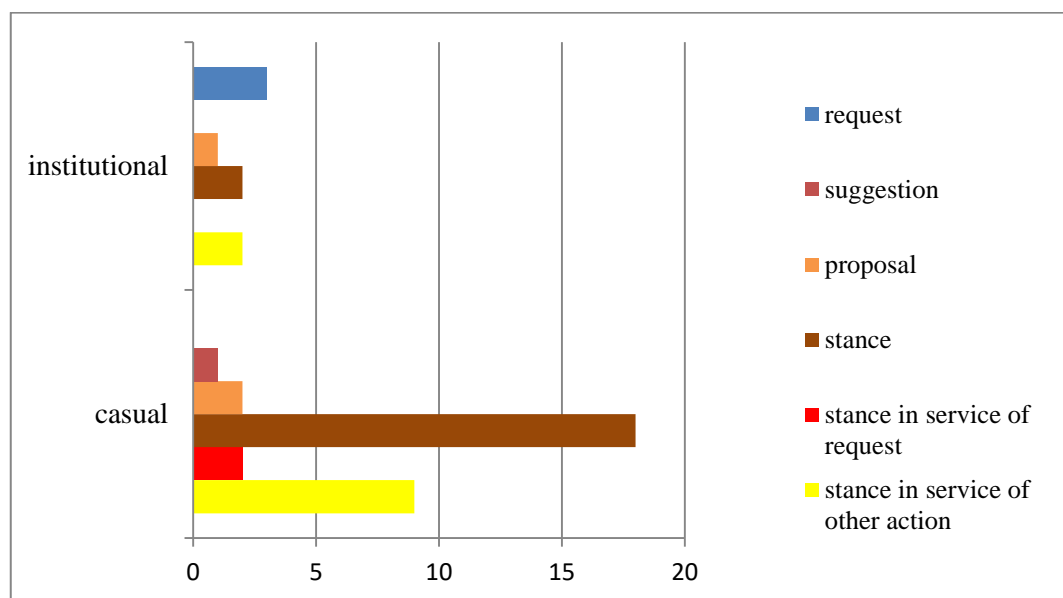


Figure 20. Functions of construction Cx51

Previous studies picture Cx51 as formulating assumptions (Kangasniemi 1992: 275), estimations or questions bearing a shade of proposal (Kömi 2001: 21, 44). In (122), Kaisa makes such an assumption when answering Kerttu's question (line 2).

(122) 'Four friends' (SG346_20_30)

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------|--|------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | Kerttu: | <i>onks</i> | <i>Jossu</i> | <i>missä?</i> (0.8) |
| | | be.PRS.3SG.Q.CL | PR | where |
| | | 'Where is Jossu?' | | |
| 2 → | Sanna: | <i>[(oiskoha</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>keikall(a)]</i> |
| | | be.COND.3SG.Q.CL | 3SG | concert.ADE |
| | | 'is he (lit. would he be) at a concert?' | | |
| 4 | Antti: | <i>[tota</i> | <i>L]ahdessa</i> | <i>keikalla.</i> |
| | | PTC | Lahti.INE | concert.ADE |
| | | 'uhm, in Lahti at a concert' | | |

In the particular case of (122), Sanna and Antti produce overlapping responses, supplying the same information. However, it becomes clear from the design of their turns that there is an epistemic asymmetry between them. Antti's turn begins with the particle *tota*, which signals that he is mentally processing the situation, but he eventually arrives with a declarative statement. Sanna, too, possesses the knowledge that Jossu is at a concert, but she is not one hundred per cent sure, hence she fashions her turn as Cx51. Kömi (2001: 21) reports that a turn containing the question that I label 'construction Cx51' projects an affirmative response. Indeed, the occurrences of Cx51

in functions of epistemic stance in my data are followed by responses which confirm the assumptions made with the construction.

Interactionally speaking, then, Cx51 constitutes a pattern of epistemic stance bordering certainty. The cause of incompleteness of epistemic access indicated by Cx51 is mostly cognitive limitations. In the next example, the clerk uses Cx51 in a repeat of the information provided by the client in the previous turn (cf. lines 3–4). In this way she signals that her short-term memory fails her.

(123) ‘This needs to be filled in’ (T976_tamapitaatayttaa)

- 1 Clerk: >onko teillä se< t’li:numero mat[kassa.]
 be.PRS.3SG.Q 2PL.ADE DEM account.number journey.INE
 ‘do you have the account number with you’
- 2 Client: [on.]
 be.PRS.3SG
 ‘I do’
- 3 → yheksän: nolla nolla viis kahek:san, (0.6)
 nine zero zero five eight
 ‘nine zero zero five eight’
- 4 → Clerk: yheksän nolla nolla oisko yks nolla [vielä,
 nine zero zero be.CONC.3SG.Q one zero still
 ‘nine zero zero, is it (lit. would it be) another zero’
- 5 Client: [£vielä
 still
 ‘one’
 vielä y[ks£.
 still one
 ‘one more’
- 6 Clerk: [£nii, (.) mieki aat>тели<£.
 PTC 1SG.PTC think.PST.1SG
 ‘yeah, I thought so, too’

If the participants’ accounts of situations are divergent, construction Cx51 may be used to challenge a previous stance. This is the case in turn 5 of (124) containing the past tense variant Cx51b.

(124) ‘Five elderly men’ (SG157_vanhatmiehet)

- 1 Sauli: =<My#ä::#> käyttii ensimmäisel
 1PL go.PASS.PST first.ADE
 ‘we were on the first’
- 2 [#ööö#] tuos tuota .mthhhh
 DEM.INE PTC
 ‘on the’
- 3 ?: [krhm]
- 4 Sauli: #ööö#hh Norjareisu^olhh^o. (0.7)
 Norway.trip.ADE
 ‘trip to Norway’
- 5 → Mauno:äh^ohh^o <oisko> se olt
 be.PRS.COND.Q it be.PAP

				‘was it really (lit. would it have been)’
	[(siit)]	Norjareisu		[(siit)],
	PTC	Norway.trip		PTC
		‘the trip to Norway, after all’		
6	Sauli: [juu.]			[juu.]
	PTC			PTC
		‘yeah, yeah’		

In line 5, Mauno contests Sauli’s stance, but as mentioned during the previous discussion of this example in Section 3.2.2.2., Mauno does not remember the things under discussion in that part of ‘Five elderly men’ equally well to Sauli. Nevertheless, he decides to challenge Sauli because he has another opinion on the matter. Cx51 in line 5 of (124) is a good example of marking the attitude to one’s knowledge, as many studies of epistemicity would like to have it, as well as to the knowledge of others. Mauno’s move has also consequences for the structure of the whole sequence because it signals that the stance-taking enterprise is not over yet.

Construction Cx51 also appears in sequences of other actions than stance. In (125), Taavi wants to tell an anecdote about one of the frequent visitors of a cultural centre in Tapiola, a district of the city of Espoo. Facing his co-participants’ lack of experience with the person he means (line 2), Taavi starts delivering background information about her. Cx51 in line 5 is in fact one of these informings.

(125) ‘Wine evening’ (SG396_50_60)

1	Taavi:	<i>ootteks</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>nähny</i>	<i>pitkään</i>	<i>aikaan</i>
		be.PRS.2PL.Q.CL	2PL	see.PAP	long.ILL	time.ILL
		‘have you long seen’				
		<i>tot(h)a Tapiolassa</i>	<i>sitä.</i>	(0.2)	<i>Keith Richardsiä</i>	
		PTC PR.INE	DEM.PTV		PR PR.PTV	
		‘in Tapiola, that Keith Richards?’				
2 →	Riku:	<i>en</i>	<i>[mä</i>	<i>koskaan</i>		
		NEG.1SG	1SG	never		
		‘me never’				
3	Taavi:		<i>[siis</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>iltalukijan.</i>	(0.3)
			PTC	DEM.ACC	evening.reader. ACC	
					‘that is, the evening reader’	
		<i>iltalukijan</i>	<i>tota</i>			
		evening.reader. ACC	PTC			
		‘evening reader, I mean’				
4	Akseli:	<i>no</i>	<i>ni</i>	(0.5)	<i>Ri[ku</i>	<i>(nyt sä)]</i>
		PTC	PTC		PR	now 2SG
		‘well, Riku now you’				
5 →	Taavi		<i>[oisko</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>opet]taja</i>	<i>tai</i>
			be.COND.3SG.Q	3SG	teacher	or
					‘is s/he (lit. would s/he be) a teacher or’	
		<i>[joku</i>				
		someone				
		‘someone’				
6	Akseli:	<i>[heh</i>				
7	Taavi:	<i>muistat-</i>	<i>ootteks</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>nähny</i>	<i>sitä</i>

		remember.2	be.PRS.2PL.Q.CL	2PL	see.PAP	3SG.PTV		
		'do you remember, have you seen her/him'						
		<i>koskaan</i> (0.4)	<i>sil</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>[semmonen</i>	<i>pitkä</i>	<i>takki</i>	
		<i>ever</i>	3SG.ADE	be.PRS.3SG	such	long	coat	
		'ever? S/he has a long coat'						
8	?:				<i>[mm</i>			
9	Taavi:	<i>ja</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>sil</i>	<i>roikkuu</i>	<i>hiuksist</i>	<i>jo[tain</i>	
		and	PTC	3SG.ADE	hang.PRS.3SG	hair.PL.ELA	something.PTV	
		'and something hangs from her/his hair'						
10	?:					<i>[£mmh£</i>		
11	Taavi:	<i>se</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>nainen</i> (0.3)	<i>[ensinnäkin</i>			
		3SG	be.PRS.3SG	woman	firstly			
		'she's a woman, first of all'						
12	Pete:			<i>aa</i>	<i>[ha</i>	<i>ha</i>		
13	Taavi:	<i>mut</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>näyttää</i>	<i>ihan</i>	<i>°miehelt°</i>		
		but	3SG	be.PRS.3SG	quite	man.ABL		
		'but she looks like a man'						

Similarly to examples (122) and (123), Taavi is not absolutely sure about an aspect of the object of his stance, which he manifests with Cx51. Line 5 is one of the turns responsible for delivering a description of the person. But Taavi also aligns with his co-participants through Cx51 and signals that similarly to Riku and others, he is not fully knowledgeable about the person.

4.7.2. Construction Cx52: *pitä(i)s olla* 'should be'

Construction Cx52 also has a couple of different realisations, but unlike Cx51, the difference between the two versions is important also functionally. Cx52 contains the verb of necessity *pitää* 'have to' which functions as an auxiliary to the second verb, most typically *olla* 'be' in Cx52a, but constitutes the core of the necessive construction in Cx52b. The distribution of verbs within the VP argument of Cx52 is thus such that Cx52a contains verbs of existence, i.e. of very low transitivity, whereas Cx52b more agentive verbs and refers to situations of higher transitivity.

(126) Construction Cx52

- a. (NP +) V_{*pitää*.COND.3SG} + V_{*olla*} (+ NP)
- b. NP + V_{*pitää*.COND.3SG} + VP

For both Cx52a and Cx52b, stance is the most prominent action in the institutional corpus. The main function of Cx52a is taking epistemic stance in both corpora, whereas of Cx52b taking deontic stance. Cx52b also has a bigger share of directive uses than Cx52a.

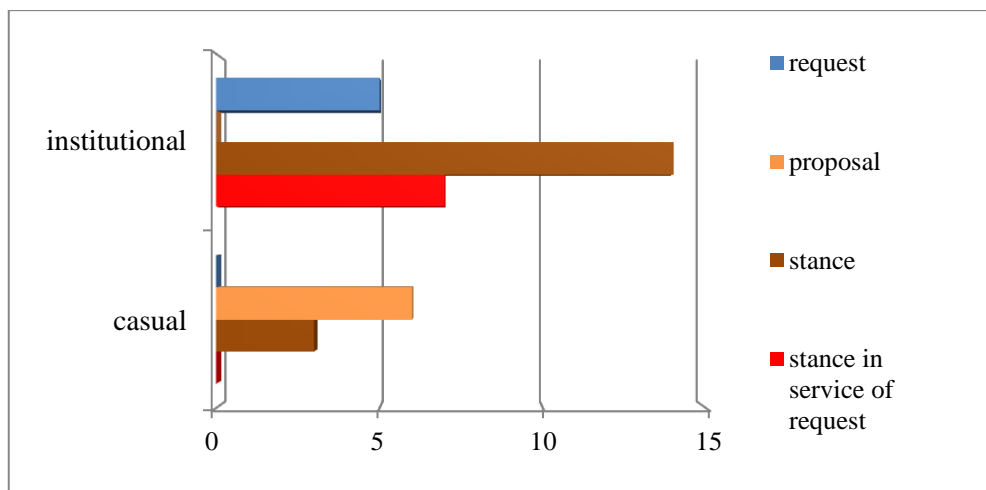


Figure 21. Functions of construction Cx52

Epistemic stance is taken with the use of Cx52a e.g. in situations when the participants make assumptions concerning aspects of the stance object, cf. line 3 of (127).

(127) ‘Unemployed’ (T982_tyottomana)

- 1 Clerk: *mä tarkistav vielä sen;* (0.2)
 1SG check.PRS.1SG still DEM.ACC
 ‘I will still check the’
- 2 *onks se työvoimatoimistol lausunto,* (0.8)
 be.prs.3SG it labour.force.bureau.GEN statement
 ‘is it the Labour Force Bureau’s statement’
 ((Clerk uses the computer))
- 3 → Client: *joo; se pitäis kuulemma ollam mutta;* (.)
 PTC it have.to.COND.3SG reportedly be PTC
 ‘yeah, it should apparently be’
- 4 Clerk: **(jaahah)** ((Clerk looks at the computer screen)) (8.0)
 PTC
 ‘uuuh-huh’
- 5 *joo; kyl tää, a- lausunto on ihan.* (1.0)
 PTC PTC DEM statement be.PRS.3SG quite
 ‘yeah, this statement is quite’
- 6 */ihan kunnossa?*
 quite form.ine
 ‘quite alright’
- 7 Client: *mjoo, hyvä.*
 PTC good
 ‘yeah, good’

Similarly to Cx51, construction Cx52 also projects an affirmative response, indicating that speakers use Cx52 when they are relatively sure about states of affairs. But unlike in the case of Cx51, prior interaction does not provide the source knowledge (cf. example 123). The basis for the assumption made with Cx52 is knowledge that the speaker has acquired outside of the speech situation.

Deontic stance is taken with Cx52b mostly by clients in Kela interactions, but the border between deonticity and epistemicity is not always sharp in those cases. In example (128), the clerk informs the client that he is entitled to a refund in line 2. The client responds by indicating his awareness that *vissiin* ‘probably’, there is a form to be filled in so that the refund could be paid out (line 3). The clerk confirms in line 4 that this is indeed the procedure.

(128) ‘Compensable form’ (T1090_korvattavalomake)

- 1 Clerk: **(eli:kkä tota)** (0.5)
 PTC PTC
 ‘so, I mean’
- 2 → *ky:llähän tämä ihan korvattava,* (0.4)
 PTC.CL this quite refund.PRPP
 ‘this is completely refundable’
- 3 → Client: *joo tämä vissiim pitäs t[äyttää.*
 PTC this probably have.to.COND.3SG fill.in
 ‘yeah, this one should probably be filled in’
- 4 → Clerk: *[lomake on,*
 form be.PRS.3SG
 ‘the form is’
=joo, (.) t(oi) kääntöpuoli pitäs täy[ttää tästä.
 PTC DEM back.side have.to.COND.3SG fill.in it.ELA
 ‘yes, the back side of it should be filled in’
- 5 Client: *[(just).*
 PTC
 ‘sure’

When the clerk and not the client issues Cx52b first, the turn receives an interpretation of a request. Judging by the immediate context of relevant exchanges, such requests are mostly deontically stanced. A typical context for requests made with Cx52b is a situation in which the client and the clerk examine the completeness of the client’s application, cf. (129).

(129) ‘Problems’ (T938_ongelmia)

- 1 Clerk: *elikkä täss_on pyydet:ty,* (1.8)
 PTC here_be.PRS.3SG request.PPP
 ‘so here it has been requested’
ensimmäinen kahdettatoista kakstuhattakaks jälkeiset
 first twelfth.PTV 2002 following.PL
kuitit. (0.6)
 receipt.PL
 ‘(to provide) receipts from after the 1st of December 2002’
- 2 Client: *krhrh joo, =se on, (.)* ((Client browses a bunch of receipts))
 PTC it be.PRS.3SG
 ‘yeah, it is’
- 3 *se on tos:sa.* (.) ((Client hands in the receipt to the clerk))
 it be.PRS.3SG there.INE
 ‘it is there’

- 4 → Clerk: *joo. (.) elikkä sittet tämä korvaushakemus*
 PTC PTC PTC DEM reimbursement.application
 ‘yeah, so then this reimbursement application’
pitäs vielä täyttää. (1.2)
 have.to.COND.3SG still fill.in
 ‘should still be filled in’
- 5 <#näin.#> ((Clerk gives the form to client))
 PTC
 ‘here’

This feature of Cx52 is an apparent confirmation of the claim by Heritage (2012) that the participants’ status in interaction is a decisive factor in the interpretation of the action a turn is forming. All the more so because in casual talks wherein speakers have equal opportunities to decide about actions, Cx52b is conventionalised as a construction of proposing. Its usage bears no traces of deonticity in this function. An example of a proposal formed with comes in line 2 of example (130).

(130) ‘Wine evening’ (SG396_01_10)

- 1 Riku: (*hei nyt mä sain idean*)
 PTC now 1SG get.PST.1SG idea.ACC
 ‘hey, now I got an idea’
- 2 → *nää oliivit pitäs nakkailla tohon*
 DEM olive.PL have.to.COND.3SG throw DEM.ILL
 ‘these olives (we) should throw to those’
salaatin jämään täältä
 salad.GEN leftover.ILL here.ABL
 ‘salad leftovers from here’
- 3 Aapo: *mhhmh heh heh n(h)ii-i*
 PTC
 ‘hah hah, yeah’
- 4 Lauri: *laita vaan ne on terveempiä kuin*
 put.IMP.2SG PTC they be.PRS.3SG healthy.cmp.pl.ptv than
 ‘go on, put them, they are healthier than’
mikään muu täs
 whatever other here
 ‘anything else here’

The core of construction Cx52 is thus NP + *pitä(i)s* + VP ‘X would have to/should be Y’, but depending on the relative status of interactants to one another, which may be a stable feature of the interactional genre, the interpretations of the construction may vary across different stance and directive functions.

4.7.3. Construction Cx53: *tässä pitä(i)s* ‘there should’

Construction Cx53 is functionally and formally similar to Cx52a, but the first nominal argument is a locative adverb or a demonstrative in one of the locative cases.

(131) Construction Cx53

(ADV/DEM.LOC) + *pitää*.COND.3SG + VP,

Compared to Cx52, construction Cx53 is more conventionalised in its stance-related function, cf. Figure 22.

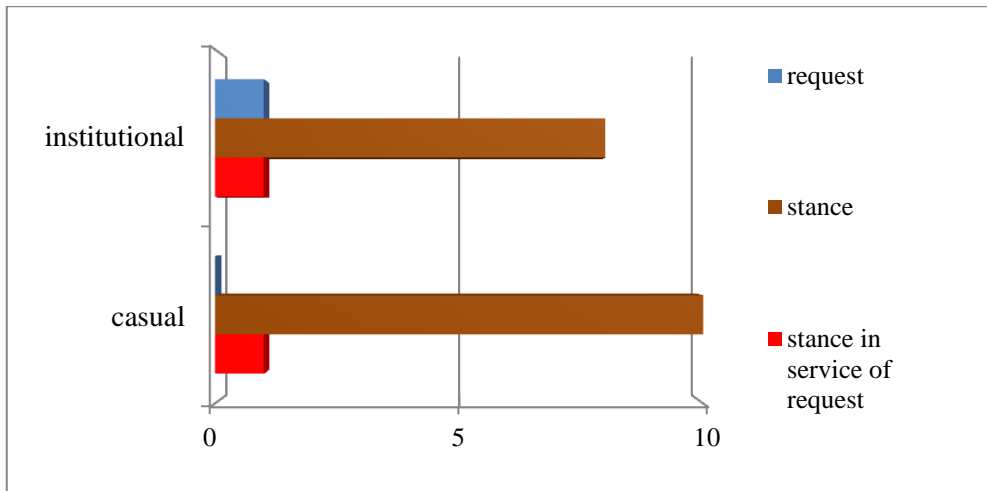


Figure 22. Functions of construction Cx53

The typical usage of Cx53 is when one of the participants makes an assumption about the stance matter, e.g. to evaluate the completeness of application as in example (132).

(132) ‘The milk thing’ (T933_maitoasia)

- 1 Clerk: *nii siin_oli aikasemmi oli odo- odotettut tota*
 PTC here_be.PST.3SG earlier be. PST.3SG await.PPP PTC
 ‘yeah, earlier there was, I mean, we waited (lit. it had been waited)’
beelausuntoo mut et sehän tässä nyt näyttää
 B-statement.PTV but PTC it.CL here PTC seem.PRS.3SG
 ‘for the B-statement, but it seems’
 <o[levankij> #ja#;]
 be.CVB and
 ‘to be here and’
- 2 → Client: [*>joo siin pitäis ollam< molemmat]*
 PTC there have.to.COND.3SG be both
 ‘yeah, there should be both’
lii[(tetty).
 attach.PPP
 ‘attached’
- 3 Clerk: [*joo-/o,*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
 (29 s) ((Clerk studies the computer screen))
- 4 **joo** *täytyy tarkistaat tosta nyt.*
 PTC have.to check it.ELAPTC
 ‘yeah, (I) have to check it here still’

The construction is employed by participants in casual conversations, as well by clients rather than by clerks in Kela interactions. This means that when there are asymmetries in epistemic status among the participants, the construction is used by the one having a lower status. The prerequisite to the usage of Cx53 is a situation when a speaker cannot fully access the stance object, and therefore can only assess how things *should* be.

4.8. Stance in service of directives

Some constructions discussed in the previous sections of this chapter occasionally perform directives served by stance-taking. In the present section I will deliver a description of those patterns with the conditional mood which are primarily dedicated to this function. There are two such patterns, Cx61 and Cx62. The former is used to take deontic and the latter epistemic stance while enabling the participants to form a more prominent action of requesting. They are both typically found in the Kela corpus in their main function, which means that asymmetries between the participants in institutional interactions again enter the picture.

Thanks to the interactional character of this work, I have so far been able to add to the description of several constructions of the Finnish language, identifying relevant features of their discourse conditioning. For construction which I label ‘Cx62’, I wish to offer an alternative approach and argue against what previous studies have suggested. To provide sufficient grounds for my claims, I will describe Cx62 in more detail than the other constructions studied in this work.

4.8.1. Constructions

4.8.1.1. Construction Cx61: *mun pitää(i)s* ‘I would have to’

The first construction of stance in the service of request is another instance of the necessary construction with *pitää* ‘have to’ in the conditional. In two manifestations by the same speaker, the verb of necessity *täytyä* ‘must’ was used in a comparable environment. I decided, therefore, to take these two tokens on board construction Cx61 as its idiolectic variant. Unlike the previously introduced zero person constructions Cx52 and Cx53, in construction Cx61 the subject of necessity (first person singular) is always indexed. The construction scheme follows in (133).

(133) Construction Cx61

1SG.GEN + *pitää*.COND.3SG + VP

Most frequently, construction Cx61 is exploited by clients in Kela interactions to refer to their obligations while asking clerks to provide statements, benefit estimates or simply some necessary pieces of information.

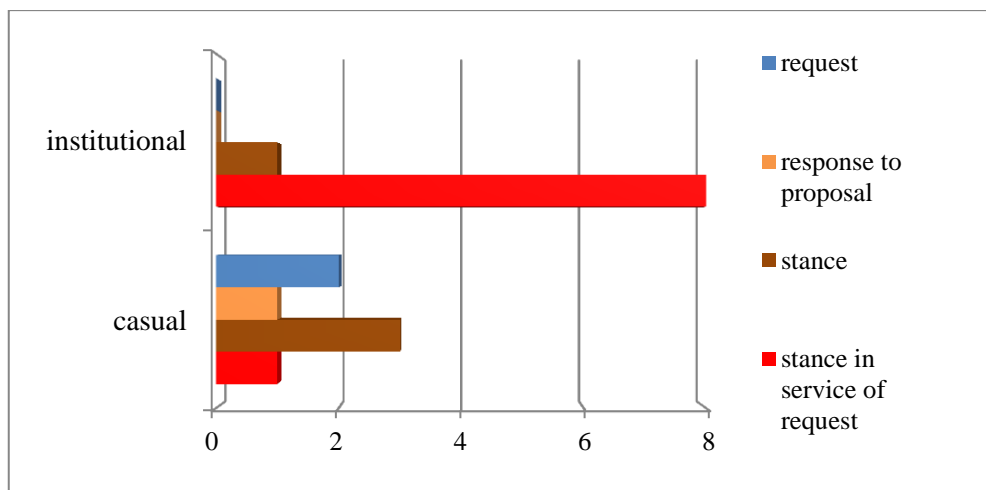


Figure 23. Functions of construction Cx61

Differently from Cx52 and Cx53, stance is mostly taken with the use of construction Cx61 on something outside of the local interaction, i.e. on the obligations that the client has outside of Kela. This is an important feature of the interactional profile of this construction insofar as Cx61 becomes, for this very reason, exploited as a means of dealing with a non-compliant response. In example (134), the client has come to Kela to claim an unemployment benefit. He requests that the clerk provide him with the amount of the benefit so that he could forward the information to the unemployment office.

(134) ‘Unemployment benefit thing’ (T170_tyottomyysturvajuttu)

- 1 Clerk: *no eihän sitä kyllä voi sanoat*
 PTC NEG.3SG.CLit.PTV PTC can.NEG say
 ‘well, it cannot of course be stated’
tietenkhään ennen ku vasta sitten kun sie jätät
 of.course.not before CONJ only then when 2SG leave.PRS.2SG
 ‘before you, only when you have filed in’
*sen <hake:*muksen*>.=*
 DEM.ACC application.ACC
 ‘the application’
- 2 → Client: *=mulla on täällä kyllä< (0.2) >pitäs*
 1SG.ADE be.PRS.3SG here PTC have to.COND.3SG
 ‘I have, here should’
olla<; (0.6)
 be
 ‘be’
- 3 *kaikki *jo*. (0.8)*
 all already
 ‘everything already’
- 4 *(muut ku); (0.6)*
 PTC PTC
 ‘but it’s that’
- 5 → *.hhh mum pitäs vaan äkkiä*
 1SG.GEN have to.COND.3SG PTC quickly
 ‘I would just have to quickly’

		<i>saahas</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>tietää</i> <	(1.4)				
		get	it	know					
		'get this information'							
6	Clerk:	<i>.mt</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ei</i> <	<i>ei</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>voiaj</i> / <i>jä</i> -;	(.)
		PTC	PTC	NEG.3SG	NEG.3SG	1PL	can.PASS.NEG		
		'but we cannot'							
		<i>antaas</i>	<i>semmosta</i>	<i>/tietoo</i>		<i>ko</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>sulla</i>	
		give	such.PTV	information.PTV	PTC		NEG.3SG	2SG	
		'give such information `cos you have'							
		<i>oot</i>	<i>täällä</i>	<i>as-</i> ; (.)	<i>työttömyysturvahakemuksia</i>				
		be.NEG	here		unemployment.benefit.application.PL.PTV				
		'never pursued the unemployment benefit application'							
		<i>koskaa</i>	<i>olluv</i>	<i>vir*reillä</i> *					
		never	be.PAP	ongoing					
		'here'							

Construction Cx61 in line 5 is the ultimate resource the client employs to elicit an acceptance of his request. He first signals that his application should be in order because he has delivered all the necessary documents (line 2; construction Cx53 with the locative adverb and the verb *pitää* 'have to' in the conditional). Construction Cx53 has shortly been pictured as an example of epistemic rather than deontic language, but given the whole context of (134), it may also be regarded a pre-expansion of deontic reasoning to which the client subsequently resorts. Lindström & Weatherall (2015) found out in their examination of Swedish and New Zealand English medical interactions that the participants' explicit orientations to deontic rights provide resources for dealing with resistance. I believe that the same can be concluded for Cx61 in Finnish institutional interaction. The participants who enjoy a lower deontic status at the social welfare institution may fashion their requests as dependent on external obligations to level off the asymmetries arising in the immediate context and thereby to elicit a compliant response.

4.8.1.2. Construction Cx62: *mä o(l)isin halunnut* 'I would have liked'

Eighteen times in the KELA corpus have I come across a directive sequence featuring a verbal pattern whose core is a conditional verb in the periphrastic construction with the auxiliary *olla* 'be' and first person singular. An example follows in (135).

(135) 'Public aid' (T199_toimeentulotukkee)

Client:	<i>mää</i>	<i>oisin</i>	<i>tarvinnu</i>	<i>semmosen</i>	<i>tuota</i> ,	(.)
	1SG	be.COND.3SG	need.PAP	such.ACC	PTC	
	'I would need (lit. I would have needed) a'					
	<i>todistukse</i>	<i>siitä</i>	<i>että</i>	<i>mulle</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>myönnetty</i>
	statement.ACC	it.ELA	COMP	1SG.ADE	be.PRS.3SG	grant.PPP
	'statement that I have been granted'					
	<i>*opintotuki*</i>					
	student.aid					
	'student aid'					

The construction formally resembles the Finnish periphrastic perfect tense, but in moods other than the indicative the usage of a periphrastic verbal form carries the sense of a past situation in Finnish; there is only a binary temporal distinction in the conditional mood between the present and the past. Semantically speaking, creating a reference to the past does not make much sense in requests. As used in the context discussed, constructs such as the one shown in (135) have nothing to do with the past because the requests are for immediate or more distant future actions. This is the case with all such manifestations in my sample.

In Kauppinen (1998: 219–220), such usage of the conditional is justified with politeness and a request in the past tense is considered more polite compared to its present tense counterpart (Cx12). Kauppinen (1998) explains the phenomenon with a metaphor according to which creating temporal distance through tense marking is associated with creating social distance, i.e. making the requested action contingent on the addressee’s intention to perform it. My material shows, however, that adopting an alternative, interactional, approach to this construction leads to different conclusions. The difference between Cx12, i.e. the corresponding pattern in the present tense, and requests in the past such as the one illustrated above, is one which has to do with knowledge and its uneven distribution. The fact that directives in the past tense are found in the Kela corpus exclusively indicates that similarly to Cx61, their usage has something to do with the status of particular participants in conversations happening in institutionalised settings. Such requests are made by the less knowledgeable speaker – typically by the client and not the social welfare officer – and announce that queries will be made later in the conversation.

Fourteen of the eighteen cases in which a request is made with a pattern containing a conditional verb in the past represent construction Cx62 shown in (136). The remaining four manifestations will be discussed in 4.8.2.

(136) Construction Cx62

(1SG) + [VP.COND].PST + VP

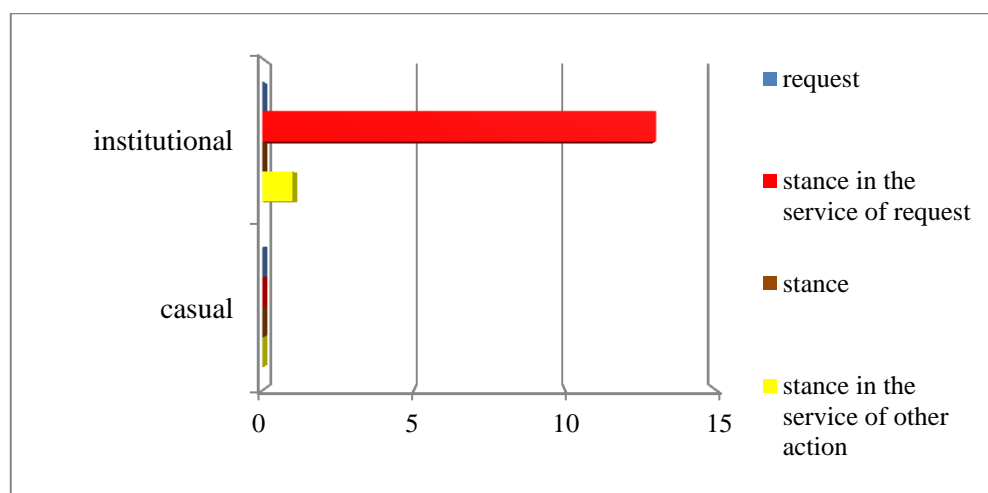


Figure 24. Functions of Cx62.

The following pair of excerpts illustrates Cx62 compared to its present tense counterpart Cx12 with the example of the same verb *haluta* ‘want’. Example (137) contains a request made with Cx12 (line 3). The exchange is a model social welfare office interaction in terms of the participant’s orientation to their institutional identities:

the client announces what he came for and the clerk initiates a checklist of relevant procedures which she performs through asking the client questions (lines 5 and 9). In this way she post-expands the client's request and thereby also begins to actually perform the requested action. In example (138), a request is clearly made in line 3 with Cx62, but the rising intonation on which the request is produced signals further input from the client. It comes in line 7, and it is now the client and not the clerk who asks additional questions.

(137) 'Apprenticeship' (T991_tyoharjoittelunajaksi)

- 1 Clerk: *hei?*
PTC
'hello'
- 2 Client: (*moro,*) (3.0)
PTC
'hi'
((Client approaches the desk and sits down))
- 3 → ***mä haluisim peruum mun, (0.2) tän .***
1SG want.COND.1SG cancel 1SG.GEN DEM.ACC
'I would like to cancel my, the'
(näin) opintotue
PTC student.aid.ACC
'that student aid'
- 4 Clerk: *mm?* (0.5)
PTC
((Clerk looks at client))
- 5 → *ja (.) mistä lähtien, (0.2)*
and what.ELA since
'and starting when?'
- 6 Client: *ööö, ens kuust h.*
next month.ELA
'from next month'
- 7 Clerk: *j[ust,*
PTC
'sure'
- 8 Client: *[jos se (.) käy.)*
if it go.PRS.3SG next month.ELA
'if it's okay'
- 9 → Clerk: *elikkä tota, sull_ei oom minkäällais*
PTC PTC 2SG.ADE_NEG.3SG be.NEG.PRS whichever.PTV
'so you don't have any'
/lomaketta vielä?
form.PTV yet
'form yet?'

(138) 'Housing benefit papers' (t1092_asumistukipaperit)

- 1 Client: *päivvä,*
day
'hello'

- 2 Clerk: *päivvää*, (0.8)
day.PTC
'hello'
- 3 → Client: (*no*) *asumistukipape:reita oesin halunnu?* (0.3)
PTC housing.benefit.paper.PL.PTV be.COND.1SG want.PAP
'so I would have liked the housing benefit papers'
((Clerk turns right to reach for papers))
- 4 Clerk: *asumistukkee [hetkinen,*
housing.benefit.ILL moment
'for the housing benefit, one moment'
- 5 Client: *[nii:.*
PTC
'yeah'
- 6 Clerk: *se on tuo yleisestä (.) asumistuesta*
it be.PRS.3SG DEM general.ELA housing.benefit.ELA
'the general housing benefit is'
kysy[mys jotta,
question COMP
'is in question so'
- 7 → Client: *[mitä siihen tarvihttoo niitä lii:tteitä.*
what.PTV it.ILL need.PRS.3SG DEM.PTV attachment.PL.PTV
'what attachments are needed for it?'

These two exchanges have almost identical initial structures: they begin with a sequence of greetings followed by the client stating the purpose of their visit in the form of a request. Then a series of post-expansions of the request follows in which the clerk asks questions (example 137), carries out physical actions and states which documents are the right ones (example 138). But the client's question in line 7 of (138) leads to a reinterpretation of line 3 also as a pre-expansion of the query. Still, requesting is the main action at the beginning of both examples and in both of them, the request sequence becomes expanded. Let me then tentatively call the sequential pattern in which the parties proceed straight to a co-performance of the request 'simple structure' (example 137) and the one which features a self-initiated expansion 'expanded structure' (example 138). When we look at how particular constructions are distributed across these patterns, we see that Cx12 more typically occurs in simple request sequences, whereas Cx62 projects expanded structures. This is visible in Table 6 containing a collection of manifestations of these two constructions in institutional conversation which is the home environment of both patterns.

	Cx12 (Present)	Cx62 (Perfect)
verbs	<i>kysyisin</i> (11) 'I would ask' <i>haluaisin</i> (8) 'I would like' <i>tahtoisin</i> (1) 'I would like' <i>jättäisin</i> (3) 'I would leave' <i>tarvitsisin</i> (3) 'I would need'	<i>olisin kysynyt</i> (6) 'I would have asked' <i>olisin halunnut</i> (2) 'I would have liked' <i>olisin jättänyt</i> (3) 'I would have left' <i>olisin tarvinnut</i> (1) 'I would have needed'
	<i>kyselisin</i> (3) 'I would survey' <i>säilyisin</i> (1) 'I would keep'	<i>olisin täyttänyt</i> (1) 'I would have filled in'

tekisin (1) ‘I would make’ *olisin tullut (kysymään)* (1) ‘I would have come (to ask)’
pitäisin (1) ‘I would keep’
painottaisin (1) ‘I would stress’

number of manifestations / sequence structure	33, of which:		14, of which:	
	simple structure	25 (75,8%)	simple structure	3 (21,4%)
	expanded structure	8 (24,2%)	expanded structure	11 (78,6%)

Table 6. Constructions Cx12 and Cx62 against sequence structure in Kela material.

Table 6 shows that when Cx62 occurs in a conversation, the parties to talk-in-interaction may anticipate further queries from the participant who has formed their request using the construction. Sometimes Cx62 serves as a pre-announcement of the query, cf. lines 1, 6 and 8 of example (106).

(139) ‘KELA card with a photo’ (T977_kuvallinenkelakortti)

- 1 → Client: *mut >sit mä oisin kysynyt tuosta*
PTC PTC 1SG be.COND.1SG ask.PAP DEM.ELA
‘but then I would have asked about that’
kuvallisesta< Kelakortista,
photographic.ELA KELA.card.ELA
‘KELA card with a photo’
- 2 → Clerk: *joo-o?* (0.7) ((Clerk opens an envelope and looks at client))
PTC
‘yes?’
- 3 → Client: *ja tuota (.) mull_on semmone et*
and PTC 1SG.ADE_be.PRS.3SG such COMP
‘and well, my thing is that’
- 4 *mie jään eläkkeelle <yks kuudetta>?*
1SG. remain.1SG retirement.ALLone sixth.PTV
‘I’m retiring 1st June’
- 5 Clerk: *joo-o?*
PTC
‘yes?’
- 6 → Client: *.hh niin (sitten mie) saan ne alennukset*
PTC PTC 1SG get.PRS.1SG DEM discount.PL
‘so I will be entitled to discounts then’
myöskin [ni (sit) milloim mum
also PTC PTC when 1SG.GEN
‘as well so when do I’
- 7 Clerk: *[joo,*
PTC
‘yes’
- 8 → Client: *pitäs hakees sitä*
have.to.COND.3SG apply it.PTV

- 9 Client: *mull_on* *semmonev* *väliaikane* *eläkeläiskor*tti* (-).*
 1SG.ADE_be.PRS.3SG such temporary pensioner.card
 ‘I have one of those temporary pensioner cards’
- 10 Clerk: *no sen voisi hakeev vasta sillon*
 PTC it.ACC can.COND.3SG apply only then
 ‘well, you can apply for it only’
kesäkuun puolella, (0.2)
 June.GEN side.ADE
 ‘in June’
- 11→ Client: *aij jaa. [kestääks ne kauan.*
 PTC PTC last.PRS.3SG.Q.CL they long
 ‘uh-huh, does this last long?’
- 12 Clerk: *[et (.) joo*
 PTC PTC
 ‘so yeah’
- 13 *no pari kolme viikkoo.*
 PTC pair three week.PTC
 ‘well, two or three weeks’

The production of client’s queries in (139) is delayed, and in this sense they show characteristics of dispreferred turns. Therefore it comes as no surprise that previous literature has sought explanations for the usage of Cx62 in the sphere of politeness. However, Table 6 quite clearly shows that also a rule governing the distribution of Cx12 and Cx62 can be identified which has to do with the organisation of interaction between the participants rather than with their face images. The rule simply has it that a request in the past projects an upcoming query, whereas one in the present typically does not. See example (140) for comparison. It shows Cx12 (present tense) at the onset of a request sequence in a request for information. The request sequence displays simple structure. As discussed earlier in section 3.2.3, the clerk organises her responsive actions immediately.

(140) ‘Student loan rates’ (T1115_opintolainankorotja)

- 1→ Client: *joo, >sit mie kysyisin siitä< miun*
 PTC PTC 1SG ask.COND.1SG DEM.ELA 1SG.GEN
 ‘yeah, and then I would ask after my’
asumistukihakemuksesta. (0.7)
 housing.benefit.application.ELA
 ‘housing benefit application’
- 2 → Clerk: *joo-o, (2.0) eli sull_on vireillä se.*
 PTC so 1SG.ADE_be.PRS.3SG pending it
 ‘yeah, so it’s already pending’
- 3 → Client: *joo, (.)*
 PTC
 ‘yes’
- 4 Client: *tai olluj jo kyllä aika pitkään ku*
 or be.PPP PTC PTC quite long.ILL PTC
 ‘or actually has been pending for quite long `cos there has been’
siin_ov vähän epä:selvyyksiä,

- it.INE_be.PRS.3SG a.little confusion.PTV.PL
 ‘something unclear with it’
 → ((18.8)) (Clerk is typing on the computer))
- 5 Clerk: *onks se si- se on siun*
 be.PRS.3SG.Q.CL it it be.PRS.3SG 2SG.GEN
 ‘is it (registered) under your’
nimellä se asumis[tuki.
 name.ADE DEM housing.benefit
 ‘name, the housing benefit?’
- 6 Client: [*joo*, (6.0)
 PTC
 ‘yes’
- 7 → Clerk: *.mthh @j:oo: niin onkii@ joo ootas (mie) (-).*
 PTC PTC be.PRS.3SG.CL PTC wait.IMP 1SG
 ‘oh yes it is, yeah, wait, I’ll’
 (72.2)
- 8 *.mt joo se oj just tuossa*
 PTC it be.PRS.3SG PTC DEM.INE
 ‘yes, right now it’s’
valmistelussa se siun, (1.2) °asumistuki°. (8.7)
 preparation.INE DEM 2SG.GEN housing.benefit
 ‘in preparation, your housing benefit’

It is clear from the four examples analysed in this subsection so far (137–140) that although the turns containing Cx12 and Cx62 project different structures of request sequences, they are implementing requests irrespectively of which of the two constructions is used. So why argue that Cx62 is not just another pattern for request-making, one announcing additional queries, but specifically a pattern for stance-taking in the service of request-making? Consider Figure 25 containing a diagraph of simplified request turns from the four examples³⁰. Pay attention to the use of pronouns (bolded).

- (137) *mä halusinperuum **mun** opintotuen* (Cx12)
 (138) *oesin halunnu asumistukipapereita* (Cx62)
 (139) *mä oisin kysynyt **tuosta** kuvallisesta Kelakortista* (Cx62)
 (140) *mie kysyisin siitä **miun** asumistukihakemuksesta* (Cx12)

Figure 25. Diagraph of requests from examples (137) – (140).

In both examples illustrating the use of Cx12 (137 and 140) we can see first person pronouns through which the client refers to something of theirs when making the request: *mun opintotuen* ‘my student aid’ and *miun asumistukihakemuksesta* ‘about my housing benefit application’, respectively. In the examples containing Cx62, on the other hand, there either is no specifying pronoun (example 138) or a demonstrative *tuosta* ‘about that’(139). This is a very important difference in terms of shared knowledge. In (138) we can see *asumistukipapereita* ‘housing benefit documents’ being introduced as a referent to interaction. By asking *tuosta kuvallisesta Kelakortista* ‘after

³⁰ I have removed some particles from these turns and reversed the ordering of elements in (105) to facilitate comparisons. This obviously does not mean that the omitted elements are irrelevant for discussions of other topics.

that Kela card with a photo’, the client in example (139) does in fact make a referential mention of a Kela card³¹, but indicates that there are aspects of the card that are inaccessible to her. Studies by Laury (1996, 1997) and Etelämäki (2009) have shown that the use of demonstrative pronouns in Finnish interaction is connected with the participants’ cognitive accessibility to discourse referents, and the distal demonstrative *tuo* ‘that’ is the one to signal that the referent remains outside of the speaker’s current sphere (Laury 1996: 307). By contrast, in the examples containing Cx12 the proper referent belongs to the inventory of knowledge shared by the client and the clerk as the client has e.g. already taken steps to obtain housing benefit and now they are only coming to request additional information about it. How different the typical environment of Cx12 is from that of Cx62 becomes visible through a comparison of three initial lines of the abovestudied examples with the verb *kysyä* ‘ask’. I reprint them as (141) and (142).

(141) Construction Cx12

- 1 → Client: *joo*, >*sit mie kysyisin siitä*< *miun*
 PTC PTC 1SG ask.COND.1SG DEM.ELA 1SG.GEN
 ‘yeah, and then I would ask after my’
asumistukihakemuksesta. (0.7)
 housing.benefit.application.ELA
 ‘housing benefit application’
- 2 → Clerk: *joo-o*, (2.0) *eli sull_on vireillä se.*
 PTC so 1SG.ADE_be.PRS.3SG pending it
 ‘yeah, so it’s already pending’
- 3 → Client: *joo*, (.)
 PTC
 ‘yes’

(142) Construction Cx62

- 1 → Client: *mut >sit mä oisin kysynyt tuosta*
 PTC PTC 1SG be.COND.1SG ask.PAP DEM.ELA
 ‘but then I would have asked about that’
kuvallisesta< *Kelakortista*,
 photographic.ELA KELA.card.ELA
 ‘KELA card with a photo’
- 2 → Clerk: *joo-o?* (0.7) ((Clerk opens an envelope and looks at client))
 PTC
 ‘yes?’
- 3 → Client: *ja tuota* (.) *mull_on semmone et*
 and PTC 1SG.ADE_be.PRS.3SG such COMP
 ‘and well, my thing is that’

What the participants in (141) are actually preoccupied with is grounding the referent. After hearing the request, the clerk ascertains whether she actually understands what the client is referring to. Line 3 provides a confirmation and the parties continue

³¹ I use the term ‘referentiality’ here in a discursive sense (cf. Du Bois 1980), i.e. that something has an established identity in interaction, and not in the sense that there exists an entity in the outside world.

working on a common ground henceforth. In the latter example, the clerk immediately proceeds to the so-called acceptance phase of grounding (cf. Clark & Brennan 1991: 130) as she merely acknowledges the reception of the client's turn with *joo* 'yeah' and the client takes over again. The presentation of the referent is still not over yet and the clerk knows that there is more to come.

Despite the differences in shared knowledge or patterns of grounding, none of the examples presented so far in this section contains a situation whereby the speaker would imply equal epistemic access to relevant information. Ultimately, in all these examples primary epistemic access to relevant bits of information lies with the clerk because of their status as a social welfare officer: irrespectively of the amount of knowledge that both parties already share, it is the clerk who has the access to databases etc. But the asymmetries in epistemic access to the referent situation are clearly greater in the case of examples with Cx62 than those featuring Cx12. This can be illustrated as epistemic gradients (cf. Heritage 2012: 7).

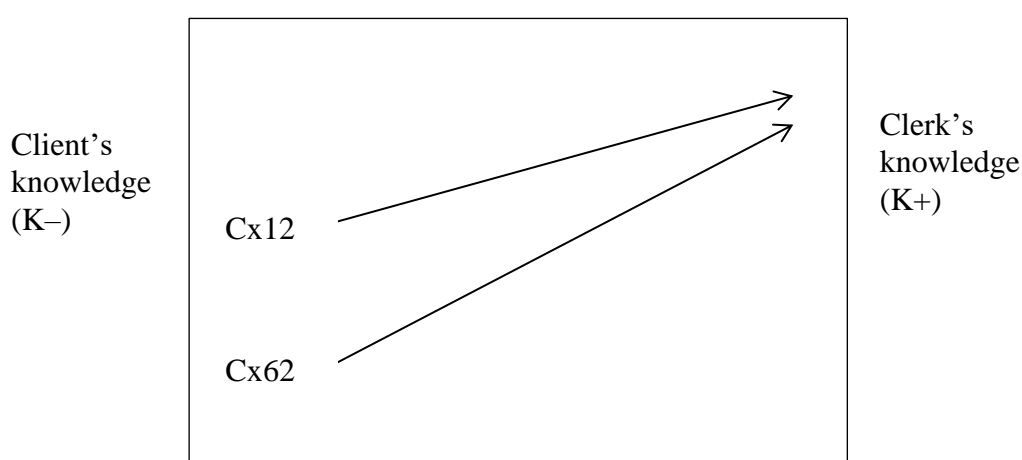


Figure 26. Epistemic asymmetries behind Cx12 and Cx62 as epistemic gradient.

A question still remains in what ways Cx62 functions as a linguistic barometer for the relationships in the domain of epistemicity, i.e. how epistemic stance is taken with it. The comparison between (141) and (142) provides a partial answer to this question. The parties in (141) are oriented to establishing common ground and treat the action of requesting as complete, whereas in (142) further contribution from the client is made; the pauses between the clerks' *joo*-tokens in each of the examples differ in duration, which is another indicator thereof. This is of course because Cx62 projects additional queries, but to my interpretation it also functions to arrange a particular set-up for the upcoming exchange. When construction Cx62 is used, the participants in an interaction are informed that in what is ahead of them they will adopt the roles of the more and less knowledgeable speaker(s), not only of the more and less powerful ones. Perhaps the examples featuring *kysyä* 'ask' are somewhat unfortunate illustrations of that because of the semantics of the verb – one asks when one does not know something (I will return to this problem shortly). Stance is more clearly present in the following excerpt showing Cx62 with the verb *täyttää* 'fill in'. In the omitted passages the clerk examines the document, asks many additional questions concerning the client's accident and treatment, and checks information in her computer.

(143) ‘The only form of support’ (T949_ainuttukimuoto)

- 1 Client: *mä sain tämmösen lisäselvityspyynnön?* (2.0)
 1SG get.PST.1SG such.ACC additional.clarification.request.ACC
 ‘I got that request for additional clarification’
 ((Client takes a document out from an envelope))
- 2 → (*sit mä oisin täy:ttäny >ton<?*) (0.7)
 PTC 1SG be.COND.1SG fill.in.PAP it.ACC
 ‘then I would have filled in that one’
 ((Client gives the document to clerk))
- 3 → **onks siin kaikki (riit-).** (0.4) *riittävästi*
 be.COND.1SG IT.ine all sufficiently
 ‘is there sufficient’
*tje*too**
 information.PTV
 ‘information in it?’
- 4 *en oo saanu minkäännäköstä*
 1SG.NEG be.NEG get.PAP of.no.kind.PTV
 ‘I haven’t obtained any sort of’
työttömyyskorvausta ansiosidonnaista
 unemployment.compensation.PTV related.to.earnings.PTV
 ‘income-related unemployment compensation’
enkä; (0.6) markkinatuKEA? (2.2)
 nor.1SG market.subsidy.PTV
 ‘nor the labour market subsidy’
 ((Clerk looks at the papers))
 ((53 lines omitted))
- 58 → Clerk: *j;oo. (0.4) .h no ky:l mä luulen että*
 PTC PTC PTC 1SG think.1SG COMP
 ‘yeah, well, yes, I think that’
tää on ihan oo#koo#. (0.6)tää Tarmon tori,
 it be.PRS.3SG quite okay DEM PR.GEN market
 ‘it’s quite okay, the Tarmo’s market’
- 59 → (0.2) *.hh et sum mielestä se oli*
 PTC 2SG.GEN mind.ELA it be.PST.3SG
 ‘so in your opinion, it was’
ihan niinku; (0.4) .mthh sillei;h (0.4)
 PTC PTC PTC
 ‘kind of, like’
- 60 *oikeella tavalla hiekotettu et sitä ei*
 right.ADE manner.ADE sand.PPP COMP it.PTV NEG.3SG
 ‘properly sanded and this’
>ollu< laiminlyöty? (0.4)
 be.PPP neglect.PPP
 ‘hadn’t been neglected’
- 61 Client: *.mthh e:i sit varsinaisesti ollu laimin[lyöty si]in*
 NEG.3SG it.PTV principally be.PPP neglect.PPP IT.INE
 ‘it hadn’t actually been neglected’
- 62 Clerk: *[nii:;]*
 PTC

- 63 Client: *oli* *joku* *semmone;* (0.4) *sanotaa* 'yeah'
 be.PST.3SG some such say.PASS *parin*
 'there was, let's say' pair.GEN
neliön *läntti* *mikä* *oli* *vähän*
 square.meter.GEN spot REL be.PST.3SG a.little
 'a spot of a couple of square metres which was'
huonosti *hiekotettu* *et* *siihen* *mä* *liukastui.*
 badly sand.PPP PTC it.ILL 1SG slip.PST.1SG
 'not too well sanded and I slipped on it'
- 64 Clerk: *just* *#joo#.*
 PTC PTC
 'yeah, precisely'

Construction Cx62 appears in line 2 (*mä oisin täyttänyt ton*, lit. 'I would have filled in that one') and is immediately followed by a request for an opinion on the suitability of the document for further processing. By making this move, the client puts the clerk in the position to evaluate, as well as positions himself as not fully knowledgeable with respect to the form he has filled in as he wonders if there is *riittävästi tietoo* 'sufficient information' in it. Having asked several questions and obtaining a full picture of the case, the clerk concludes that in her opinion, the document is fine (line 58). In line 59, she still invites the client to collaborative stance-taking using *sun mielestä* 'in your opinion' (cf. Rauniomaa 2007 on *mun mielestä* 'in my opinion') and the parties accomplish a second assessment of the situation.

Note that in (143), the actual requesting is done more through the question *onks siin kaikki riittävästi tietoo* 'is there sufficient information in it?' in line 3 and the preceding physical move than by Cx62 in line 2. This makes the construction more of a pre-request in that excerpt. Also other examples considered so far in this subsection picture the construction as a pivotal yet not a self-standing part of a linguistic strategy for epistemic stance-taking in the service of requesting. The participant who uses Cx62 is likely to mention referent objects and situations in a way which shows that they consider these objects or situations as inaccessible. For example in line 2 of (143) the client refers to the paper he is handing in to the clerk as *ton* 'that one' (distal demonstrative), whereas earlier in (137) requested with Cx12 that KELA discontinue *mun tän opintotuen*, lit. 'this my student aid' (*tän* is a form of the proximal demonstrative *tämä* 'this').

It seems that apart from the choice of pronouns, the semantics of the main verb may be another part of that strategy. Although in the case of Cx62 there is a strong projection of more questions to come, this rule does not hold for *kysyä* 'ask'. Table 6 showed that of the fourteen manifestations of Cx62, three did not appear in request sequences of extended structure. All of them involve *kysyä*. There is also a 50-50 split in sequence structure type among the instances of Cx12 with *kysyä* listed in Table 6. On the one hand, this is problematic because *kysyä* is the most frequent verb in this whole sample. The only interpretation I can offer is verbal semantics. To ask is to imply one lacks knowledge of something, so the appearance of the verb in interaction may be regarded an indication that the speaker remains inferior in epistemic access compared to the other participant. Whether this is sufficient to conclude that Cx62 has the same function in simple request sequences as in the extended ones remains doubtful, but on the other hand, these examples feature other references to knowledge. Line 5 of (144) is an illustration.

(144) ‘Unemployed’ (T982_tyottomana)

- 1 Client: *joo;* *ook[oo;* *hyvä;=.hh*
 PTC okay good
 ‘yeah, okay, good’
- 2 Clerk: *[mm*
 PTC
- 3 → Client: *semmost* *mä* *oisin* *viel* *kysyny* *tässä* *että;*
 such.PTV 1SG be.COND.1SG still ask.PAP here COMP
 ‘I would still have asked about the following at this point, namely’
 .hh *voiks* *asumistukee* *hakee* *niinku* *tällei*
 can.3SG.CL housing.benefit.PTV apply PTC PTC
 ‘can one apply for the housing benefit, in a way’
 jälkikäteen (*niinku* *tammikuun*).
 afterwards PTC January.GEN
 ‘retroactively, for January?’
- 4 → Clerk: *tuota* *[ta-* *takautuva* *hakuaika* *on*
 PTC retroactive application.time be.PRS.3SG
 ‘well, the time for retroactive application is’
- 5 → Client: *[kum* *mä* *en* *os-* *mä* *en* *oot*
 PTC 1SG NEG.1SG 1SG NEG.1SG be.NEG
 ‘`cos I, I didn’t’
- 6 Clerk: *niinkun* <*yks* *kuukausi?*>]
 PTC one month
 ‘sort of, one month’
- 7 Client: *tajunnu* *et* *voisin* *hakee s-.*
 realise.PAP COMP can.COND.1SG apply
 ‘realise that I could apply’
- 8 *ahaa.*
 PTC
 ‘uh-huh’

The client’s post-expansion in line 5 is not a question but a statement justifying why he is asking after the possibility to apply for benefits retrospectively. It is notable that the post-expansion is an epistemic statement positioning the client as unknowledgeable. So one could perhaps think of Cx62 as more generally projecting an “epistemic more-to-come” (not just questions), but I am ultimately reluctant to draw such a conclusion. For one thing, three cases seem to be too little evidence to prove this. But more importantly, the clerk’s responsive actions are also organised in a different way than in the examples presented so far. In (144), the clerk discloses the requested information immediately because line 3 is not an increment of an extended turn, as in the examples presented so far, but is considered a complete TCU and reacted upon by the clerk. Example (144) does not display all the prototypical characteristics of Cx62 – them being extended sequence structure, the projection of epistemic questions coming from the less knowledgeable participant, and the presence of other linguistic indicators of that participant’s inaccessibility to the situation of object – and this might be due to the fact that the usage of the verb does the epistemic grounding.

So while construction Cx12 does requesting, which is clear to the parties once the turn with the construction is produced, construction Cx62, does that, too, but the

requesting is done in the context of epistemic stance taking. When the social welfare officer hears the client produce Cx62, they know that their resources of knowledge are going to be exploited in what follows, and they typically wait for the client to ask their questions. Examples illustrating the use of Cx62 featured joint co-productions of stance by the less and the more knowledgeable speaker as the parties performed activities connected with the granting of the request. This is why I consider the construction a pattern for stance in the service of request.

4.8.2. Other uses

In addition to Construction Cx62, I have found four cases in which a directive is formed in the perfect tense so that the whole action becomes stanced. An example is shown in (145), and the line in question is in line 2.

(145) ‘Five student loans’ (T943_viiisopintolainaa)

- 1 Client: *tuota ni (itse asias) (mites)*
 PTC PTC self thing.INE how
 ‘I mean, well, as a matter of fact, how’
- 2 → *oiskoham mun pitänyt tuolt ottaas*
 be.COND.3SG.Q.CL 1SG.GEN have.to.PAP there.ABL take
 ‘should I have taken’
sellast lomaketta ensin
 such.PTV form.PTV first
 ‘one of these forms first’
- 3 → *>tota nii<, .hh tämmönen #ää# opintot- #ööö# lainan, tota*
 PTC PTC such study- loan.ACC PTV
 ‘I mean, one for student loan’
- 4 → *nii tää korko- (.) tuki,*
 PTC DEM rate aid
 ‘I mean that rate aid’
- 5 Clerk: *korkoavustus, =*
 rate.assistance
 ‘rate insurance’
- 6 Client: *=joo [>se k]orkoavus[tus(-)<,]*
 PTC DEM rate.assistance
 ‘yes, the rate insurance’
- 7 Clerk: *[joo,] [(just).]*
 PTC exactly
 ‘yes, exactly’
- 8 Client: *joo just se,*
 PTC exactly it
 ‘yes, just that one’
 ((Clerk stands up and fetches the form)) (15.0)

As mentioned in section 3.2.2.4, this exchange happens at the interface of knowledge and power. In addition to explicit considerations of his obligations, also the continuers and self-initiated repairs (lines 3-4) contribute to the interpretation of the client’s formulation of the request as stanced. The client is unsure about his obligations in this example, and the momentary relationship between the client and the clerk is

asymmetric also in epistemic terms because the clerk joins the client in a co-production of the turn to assist the client in stating what is the necessary form (lines 3–4).

Example (145) is interesting because it shows that the usage of the perfect tense in such contexts is not limited to Cx62, but that the perfect can be applied as a structural frame to other patterns as well in order to “stance” a directive. In the next section I will discuss this point further in Section 4.9, but some examples cited so far already indicate that stance-taking revolves around *ois* ‘would be’ in different formal incarnations, cf. examples below.

(146) ‘Coffee and buns’ (SG121_40_50)

- 5 Matti: [*mut sanotaan näi et*]
 but say.PASS so COMP
 ‘but let’s say that’
- *ei se miu unelma[homma] ois kyllä,*
 NEG.3SG it 1SG dream.job be.COND.3SG PTC
 ‘it wouldn’t be my dream job, really’
- 6 Kaisa: [*nii,.*]
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 7 → Antti: *oispas elä valehtele,*
 be.COND.CL.CL IMP.2SG lie.IMP.2SG
 ‘it would, don’t lie’
- 8 → Matti: *nii oiski,*
 PTC be.COND.3SG.CL
 ‘yeah, it would’

(147) ‘Five elderly men’ (SG157_vanhatmiehet)

- 7 Sauli: #*ööö#hh Norjareisu[°]lhh[°]* (0.7)
 Norway.trip.ADE
 ‘the trip to Norway’
- 8 → Mauno:*äh[°]hh[°]* <*oisko*> *se olt*
 be.PRS.COND.Q it be.PAP
 ‘was it really (lit. Would it have been)’
- [(siit)] Norjareisu [siit],*
 PTC Norway.trip PTC
 ‘the trip to Norway, after all’

The analysis of all these patterns suggests that the combination of *ois* ‘would be’ and a verbal phrase implementing a directive serves as an icon mirroring the overall complexity of the upcoming action. A more elaborate action (stance in the service of directive versus directive) usually correlates with a more sophisticated sequence structure (expanded versus simple), which becomes reflected in a more complex linguistic structure (periphrastic past versus simple present). If so, the Finnish past tense in stance in the service of directives would be an example of a reinterpretation of two constructions serving simple actions into a construction which inherits their parts and serves a complex coupling of the actions to which they are dedicated.

4.9. Stance in service of other actions

Judging by the number of tokens in constructions, stance in the service of other actions is the most frequent stance-related function, which also has a reflection in the number of constructions dedicated to it. Two of the constructions are formed with the auxiliary *voida* ‘can’, another two centre on *olla* ‘be’, whereas the remaining couple of constructions involve cognitive verbs *veikata* ‘guess’ and *luulla* ‘think’.

The two last constructions will be considered in the subsections that follow immediately. My results concerning the usage of *mä luulisin/luulisi* ‘I/one would think’ and *mä veikkaisin* ‘I would guess’ show that these patterns only partly exhibit the discourse functions that previous studies have identified for their counterparts in other languages. For example, the functions that the English *I think* and *I guess* have in interaction accord with their semantics as epistemic verbs, but also involve the organisation of discourse in sequences of stance and beyond (Kärkkäinen 2003, 2007). In my data, *mä veikkaisin* ‘I would guess’ does not serve all the functions connected with the regulation of the interactional flow that the American English *I guess* does. This, however, may simply be due to mood marking. After all, some of the constructions studied here may well constitute variants of more general patterns with the same verbs.

This being said, I take the results presented in this section to say an important thing about the conditional mood. In Section 4.1. I have speculated about the conditional being a mood of directivity. Based on the analysis of the present material, I tend to make a parallel conclusion regarding the act of stance and the conditional, in the sense that verbs in the conditional mood may orient participants to stance-taking in situations in which they are preoccupied with some other activity. Analysed in isolation, a turn formed as *voi olla* ‘can be’ is essentially as epistemic as *voisi olla* ‘could be’. The general point that can be made about the constructions covered in this section is that the verbs in the conditional mood which constitute their cores index the action of stance.

4.9.1. Construction Cx64: *mä veikka(i)sin* ‘I would guess’

The first of the epistemic constructions dedicated to stance serving other actions is the pattern with the first person singular and the verb *veikata* ‘guess’. The construction contains a complement clause. The verb *veikata* ‘guess’ is part of the main clause in the compound.

(148) Construction Cx64

(*kyl* +) 1SG + V_{*veikata*}.COND.1SG + COMP + VP

The formal composition of the pattern already provides some clues to its sequential conditioning because of the optional presence of the particle *kyl* ‘indeed’ indicating that stance is being taken in relation to something said before. Therefore, the Finnish *mä veikka(i)sin* ‘I would guess’ differs from the American English *I guess* as pictured by Kärkkäinen (2007). Patterns with *I guess* frame stance activities in different sequential positions, including the beginnings of stance sequences. Initiating stance actions with *I guess* reflects “a sudden change in the speaker’s epistemological state of knowledge or awareness or orientation” (Kärkkäinen 2007: 196). In my material, *mä veikkaisin* ‘I would guess’ only appears in second stance actions when there already has

been some debate over the status of the stance object. I have observed this feature also in the absence of the *kyl* ‘indeed’ particle which links Cx64 to prior discourse.

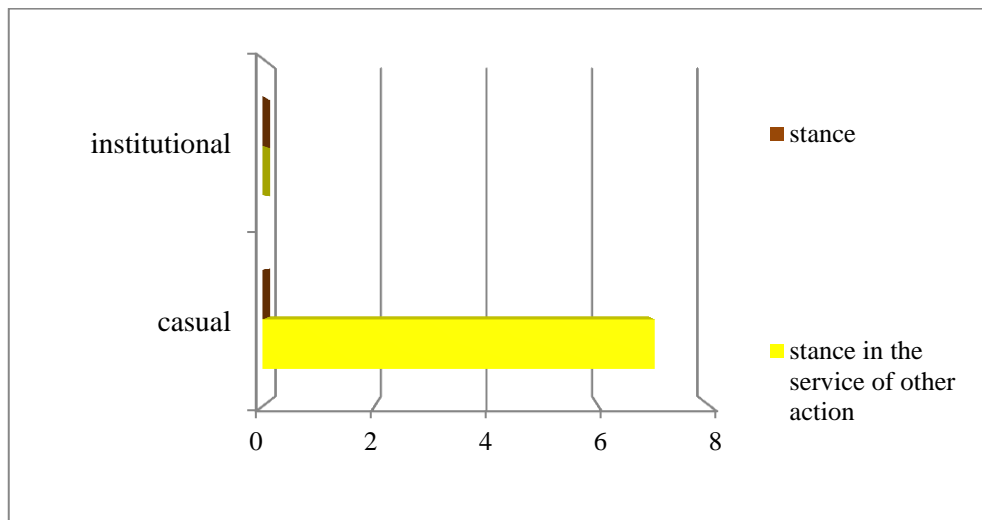


Figure 27. Functions of Cx64.

Example (149), as many others in this subsection, comes from ‘Concert agency’ whose participants face a major and long-lasting task of making sense of a huge set of old photographs. Construction Cx64 comes in Päivi’s turn 12.

(149) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_01_20)

- | | | |
|-----|--|---------------------------|
| 1 | Jouni: > <i>tää</i> on< kans Jennie. kakskyt/kuus tä[mä si-]
DEM be.PRS.3SG also PR twenty.six DEM
‘this is also Jennie, (year) twenty six this one’ | |
| 2 | Liisa: | [joo-o,]
PTC
‘yeah’ |
| 3 | Jussi: [/tämäkiv vähän kuu]luu samaan.
this.CL a.little belong.PRS.3SG same.ILL
‘this one sort of belongs to this as well’ | |
| 4 | Jouni: [(-) vuosiluku.]
year
‘the year’ | |
| 5 | Päivi: joo.
PTC
‘yeah’
(3 lines omitted) | |
| 9 → | Jouni: nelkytluvulta.
forties.ABL
‘from the forties’ | |
| 10 | Maija: mutta [mitä ootte] [(-) yskityisiä;
but what.PTV be.PRS.2PL individual
‘but what (-)’ | |
| 11 | Liisa: [nii. /joo:]
PTC PTC
‘yeah, right’ | |

12 → Päivi:			[kyl	mä	veikkaisi	et
			PTC	1SG	guess.cond.3SG	COMP
			‘indeed, I would guess that’			
tää	on	noin	nelkytluvulta	neljä (.)		
this	be.PRS.3SG	around	forties.ABL	four		
‘this is from around the forties, four’						
viiskyt	siitäh.	.hh	nelkyt	luvul	lop#pua#	
fifty	DEM.PTV		forty	decade.GEN	end.PTV	
‘fifty, from the end of forties’						

Liisa formulates turn 12 as an aligning response with Joni’s conclusion that the photo was taken in 1940s. Construction Cx64 is not merely an epistemic expression, but a construction of stance because it positions Päivi’s guess as relational to Joni’s previous statement. Kärkkäinen (2007: 188) notes that epistemic constructions such as *I think* and *I guess* exhibit quite low referentiality when used as discourse markers of stance, i.e. they do not necessarily make a specific reference to the speaker. The same conclusion applies to the Finnish *mä veikka(i)sin* ‘I would guess’ based on example (149) wherein Liisa does not as much make a reference to herself and what she has inferred as she tries to close up the stance sequence. Construction Cx64 may be termed a summary of stance in Finnish conversation.

4.9.2. Construction Cx65: (*mä*) *luulisin* ‘I would think’

Construction Cx65 is likewise a pattern with a complement clause, but the subordinate clause may be missing depending on the function. Another difference distinguishing it from Cx64, apart from the finite verb, is that Cx65 makes use of the possibilities offered by the zero person clause in Finnish and allows for a variation in terms of person marking.

(150) Construction Cx65

(1SG/Ø) + *V_{luulla}*.COND.1SG/3SG (+ COMP + VP)

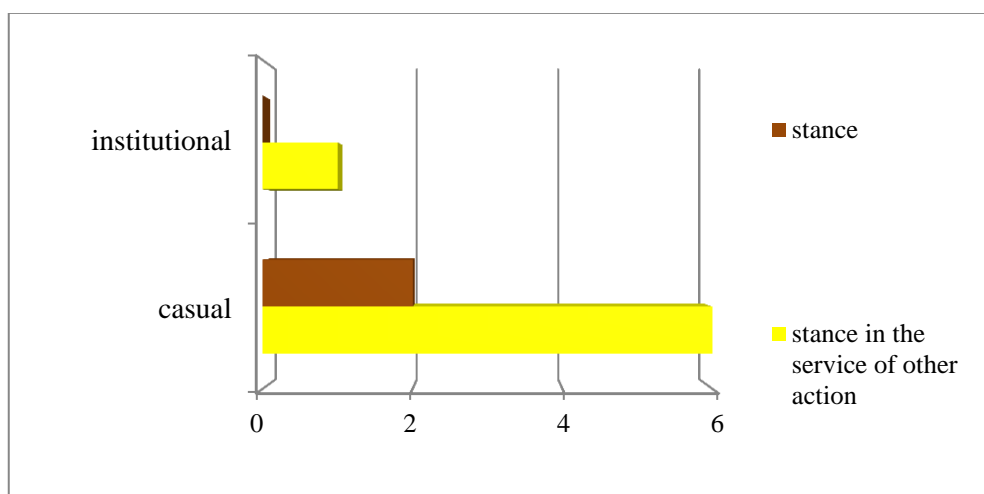


Figure 28. Functions of Cx65.

To bring this variation to a discourse-analytic level, Cx65 opens the field for either a specific or a shared responsibility for stance. In example (151), the zero person

- be.PST.3SG singer.FEM PR
 ‘was a singer Jenni’
sanokaa sukunimi, (0.6)
 say.IMP.2PL surname
 ‘say her surname’
- 2 Jussi: *Ti/lå,* (0.4)
 PR
 ‘Tilå’
- 3 Liisa: *[(-)]*
- 4 Päivi: *[Zenni hon tiloo. #nii#.*
 PR PR PR PTC
 ‘Jenni von Tilå, yes’
- 5 Maija: *oliko.*
 be.PST.3SG
 ‘was it?’
- 6 → Päivi: *voisko #se olla#.*
 can.COND.3SG it be
 ‘could it be?’
- 7 Maija: *.hh [e- e- ei:::~::~: #]*
 neg.3SG
 ‘nooooo’
- 8 Hanna: *[meinasin sanoo Sp(h)en](h)nert m(h)ut[(h)ta,]*
 mean.PST.1SG say PR
 but
 ‘I was going to say Spennert, but’
- 9 Maija: *[Spenner.]*
 PR
 ‘Spenner’
- 10 → Jussi: *nii [voi*
 PTC can.PRS.3SG
 ‘yes, can’
olla Spen]nertkin.
 be PR.CL
 ‘be Spennert as well’

In this way the semantic content of the auxiliary *voida* ‘can’ is fuller compared to other constructions which contain this verb, so, the pattern is less conventionalised than others. I consider the relatively dispersed functions of Cx66 presented in Figure 29 to be a reflection thereof. Still, Cx66 signals the continuity of topic and maintains the participants’ orientation to stance-taking.

4.9.4. Construction Cx67: *vois(i) olla* ‘could be’

Construction Cx67 is similar in form to Cx66. The difference is that if formed as a question, it is an open question. Otherwise, Cx67 is a declarative statement.

(155) Construction Cx67

(PRO.Q +) (NP/DEM +) *vois(i)* + *V_{olla}* + (ADJ/NP)

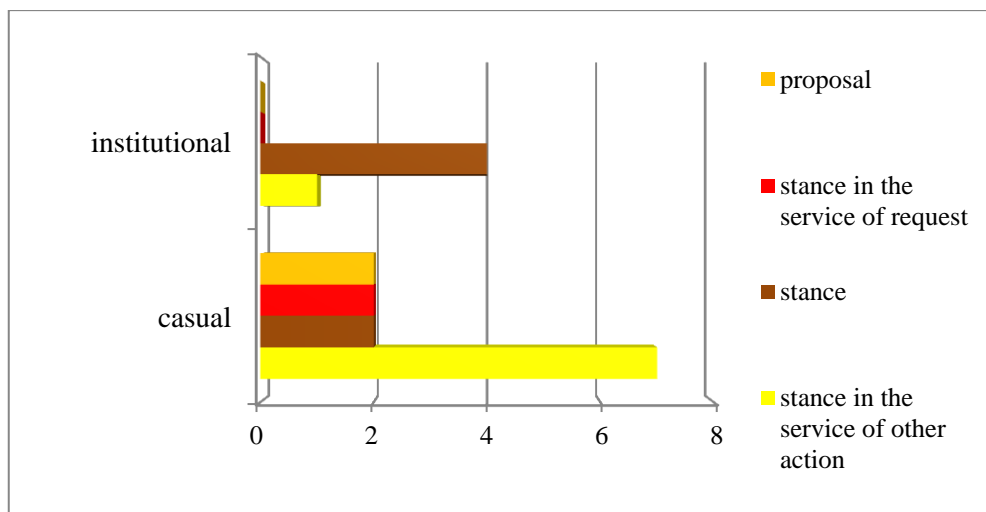


Figure 30. Functions of construction Cx67

The feature which differentiates Cx67 from Cx66 discourse-functionally is that it not as much keeps stance activities open as it orients participants to stance-taking. Construction Cx67 is, therefore, typically placed at the beginning of the sequence for which stance becomes relevant.

(156) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_07_20)

- 1 Matti: *kukas toi on* (--)
 who.CL that be.PRS.3SG
 ‘who is that?’
 ((2 lines omitted in which Jussi and Liisa are conducting another exchange))
- 4 → Hanna: [*kuka tää nyt vois*] *olla*.
 who this PTC can.COND.3SG be
 ‘who can this be?’
- 5 Maija: [(-)]
- 6 → Päivi: *näy[tä.]*
 show.IMP.2SG
 ‘show (it)’
- 7 Hanna: [*ei*] *mittää sano* (*mulle*).
 NEG.3SG nothing say.NEG 1SG.ADE
 ‘doesn’t say anything to me’

In (156), for example, Cx67 is an uptake of Matti’s call for assistance with establishing the identity of the figure in the photograph (line 4). Hanna manages to capture the attention of Päivi and recruit her assistance in line 6.

4.9.5. Construction Cx68: *se olisi* ‘it would be’

Construction Cx68 is Cx67 with a different verb, i.e. *olla* ‘be’.

(157) Construction Cx68

(PRO.Q +) DEM.NOM + V_{olla.COND.3SG} + NP

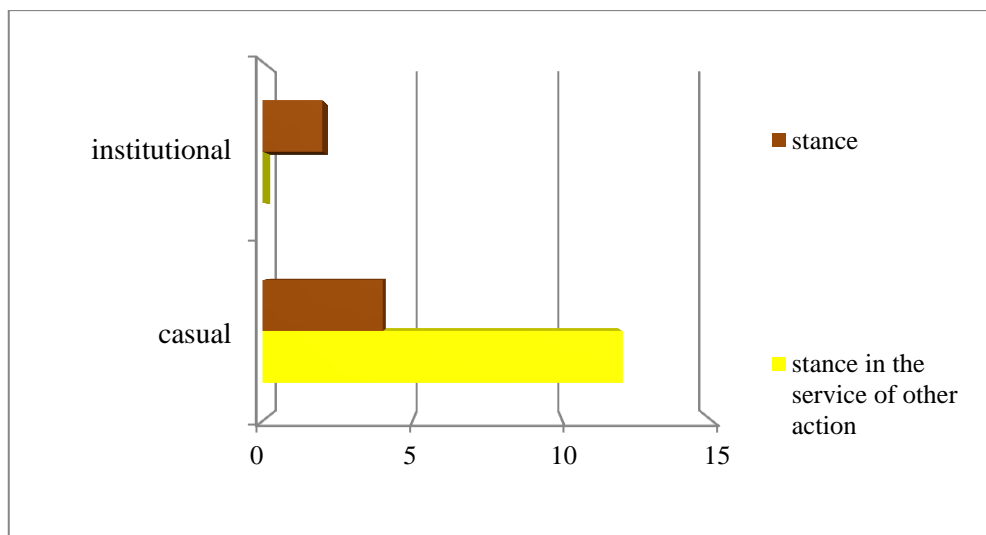


Figure 31. Functions of construction Cx68

The fact that the verb is different within Cx68 also makes the construction more predictable than Cx67 in terms of the action that it implements. Stance and stance in the service of another action account for all its manifestations. The fixed pattern ‘whatever it is (after all)’, a rhetorical device of Finnish (cf. Hakulinen et al. 2004: §823), is one of the realisations of Cx68. It is a kind of a capitulation decree following the fight with one’s memory. Its usage signals that the speaker is eventually unable to provide the precise details of a subject matter.

(158) ‘Double degree’ (T976_kaksoistutkinto)

- 1 Clerk: *>onk_se<* *ihan* *sin-*,
 be.PRS.3SG.Q_it just
 ‘is it just’
Käpylän, *ammattioppilaitoksen* *nimel[lä.*
 PR.GEN applied.sciences.study.department name.ADE
 ‘under the name of the Käpylä department of applied sciences’
- 2 Client: *[no tota:;,*
 PTC PTC
 ‘well’
- 3 *voi olla et se on* *tolla* (0.5)
 can be COMP it be.PRS.3SG DEM.ADE
 ‘can be that it is under the’
Helsingin, (1.2)
 Helsinki.GEN
 ‘Helsinki’
- 4 *ammatti-* (2.0)
 professional
 ‘applied’
- 5 → Client: *oppikoulu vai m:ikäs se nyt sitt_ois.* (3.0)
 school or what.PTC it PTC PTC_be.COND.3SG
 ‘school or whatever it is (lit. would be) after all’
 ((Clerk checks in her computer))
- 6 Clerk: *Helsingi ammattikorkeakoulu,*
 Helsinki.GEN university.of.applied.sciences

‘Helsinki university of applied sciences’

Following the client’s *vai mikäs se nyt sitte ois* ‘or whatever it is (lit. would be), after all’ in line 5, the clerk turns to the computer system in a search for the necessary information and then she provides it to the client.

Throughout this work I have been discussing the following example to back up my view on wishes as a domain of stance.

(159) ‘Coffee and buns’ (SG121_40_50)

- 1 Antti: *vittu mie lähe,*
 cunt 1SG go.PRS.1SG
 ‘fuck, I’ll become’
[mek- automekaanikoks,]
 car.mechanic.TRANS
 ‘a car mechanic’
- 2 → Paavo: *[kyl se ois meikäläis]e [homma,]*
 PTC 3SG be.PRS.COND.3SG 1SG.GEN job
 ‘it would be a job for me, really’
- 3 → Matti: *[o:is]*
 be.PRS.COND.3SG
 ‘it would’
se kyl kiva pyörittää ei siin mitää, (0.2)
 3SG PTC nice run NEG.3SG it.INE nothing
 ‘be really a nice job to run, there’s nothing (wrong) with it’
- 4 Kaisa: *[nii josses sä saa,]*
 PTC if.NEG.2SG 2SG get.PRS.NEG
 ‘yeah, if you don’t get’
- 5 Matti: *[mut sanotaan näi et]*
 but say.PASS so COMP
 ‘but let’s say that’
- *ei se miu unelma[homma] ois kyllä,*
 NEG.3SG it 1SG dream.job be.COND.3SG PTC
 ‘it wouldn’t be my dream job, really’
- 6 → Kaisa: *[nii:,]*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 7 → Antti: *oispas elä valehtele,*
 be.COND.CL.CL IMP.2SG lie.IMP.2SG
 ‘it would, don’t lie’
- 8 → Matti: *nii oiski,*
 PTC be.COND.3SG.CL
 ‘yeah, it would’

To add to the previous discussion on (159), another important fact illustrated by this example is that stance in Finnish interaction centres on the verb *olla* ‘be’ in its different realisations in third person singular and the conditional mood, i.e. declaratives, interrogatives, forms bearing clitics and varying tense marking, etc. Boulomaic stance, similarly to other kinds of stance, emerges from interaction around clausal patterns with *olla* ‘be’ which are formats for social interaction par excellence.

4.9.6. Construction Cx69: *tässä o(l)is(i)* ‘here would be’

Formally speaking, the only difference between Cx68 and the last construction with the conditional mood subject to my investigation is the case marking of the first nominal argument.

(160) Construction Cx69

DEM.LOC + V_{olla}.COND.3SG + NP

Speakers of Finnish do not only make assumptions with the equational clause, but also with the existential clause in the conditional mood illustrated in (160). An example of such an assumption is shown in line 3 of example (161).

(161) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_08_10)

- 1 Matti: *Friid ihan sel[västi.]*
 PR quite clearly
 ‘(this is) quite clearly Friid’
- 2 Hanna: *[Friid;]*
 PR
 ‘Friid’
- 3 → Maija: *siin_ois [Roobert].*
 here_be.COND.3SG PR
 ‘here would be Roobert’

Figure 32 shows that interestingly, in Kela talks the construction occasionally performs offers.

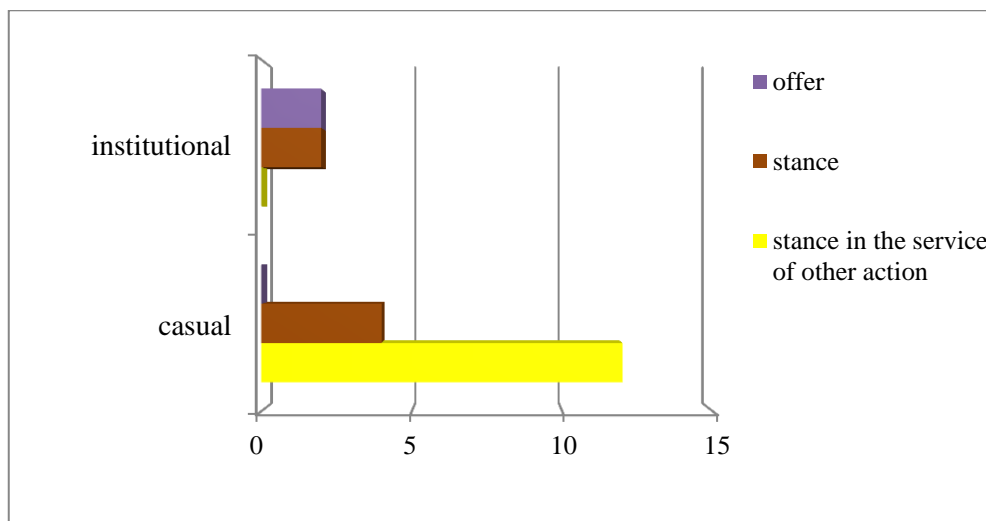


Figure 32. Functions of construction Cx69

An offer made with Cx69 comes in line 1 of example (162). The client announces the transfer of photographs to the clerk who is going to need one of them. In this way the client anticipates the unfolding of the interaction.

(162) ‘Expired card’ (T959_vanhentunutkortti)

1 →	Client: <i>täss ois</i> here_be.COND.3SG ‘here are (lit. would be) two photos’ ((Client hands in the photos))	<i>kaks kuvaa.</i> two photo.PTV	<i>h[h</i>
2	Clerk:		<i>[joo. (0.2)</i> PTC ‘yeah’
	<i>yks riittää.</i> one suffice.PRS.3SG ‘one is enough’		

4.10. Interim summary

Table 7, which summarises the results concerning directives containing the conditional mood, reflects the strategy of not devoting too much attention to the semantics of auxiliary verbs that I have adopted in this chapter. Thanks to such an approach, it has been possible to identify *voida* ‘can’ and to some extent also *pitää* ‘have to’ bearing conditional morphology as loci of directivity rather than modality. Notice, for example, that the combination of *voida* ‘can’ with the first person (Cx21 and Cx22) is the core of offering because a pairing of this verb with second person more likely entails the interpretation of the action being formed by a construction as a request (Cx12). In general, auxiliaries tend not to exhibit their semantic properties when used as directives. This concerns first and foremost *pitää* ‘have to’. Constructions with this verb have been pictured to function as proposals in casual talk. In Kela interactions, they are more inclined to invoke orientations to the participants’ deontic rights and obligations.

Formally impersonal constructions with the conditional mood belong to the most interesting patterns examined in this study. This is due to the differences between institutional and casual conversations in terms of how participants attend to structurally identical or very similar stretches of talk. It is neither random nor unpredictable who will perform and benefit from the action being formed. Casual Finnish conversation and social welfare interactions each have their own typical patterns of interpretation of personal reference in constructions with the zero person and the passive voice. In casual interactional Finnish, they mostly implement proposals, thereby reflecting a systematic understanding of these patterns among the participants in casual interactions as constructions of common experience. In Kela interactions, on the other hand, they convey a sense of division between the social welfare institution and its clients because the use of these patterns is more likely to reflect the participant’s understandings of agents and beneficiaries of directed actions as categories which exclude one participant or the other. This conclusion, however, does not only concern constructions lacking specific person marking, as Table 7 shows.

Both tables, i.e. Table 7 as well as Table 8 summarising the results concerning stance, contain coloured columns meant to represent the main functions of the constructions in each of the corpora. The colours correspond with those used in the charts throughout this chapter, so e.g. requests are coloured blue, offers are violet, stance is represented with the brown colour, red means stance in the service of a directive, and so on.

Cx	Cx scheme	Presence and function in corpora		Remarks
		institutional	casual	
11	(2 +) <i>voida.COND.2</i> + VP	request	request	used as a display of entitlement by the clerk; requests for immediate actions
12	(1SG) + <i>VP.COND.1SG</i> + NP	request	request	<i>kysyä</i> ‘ask’ and <i>haluta</i> ‘want’ as most frequent verbs; typically beginning of sequence
13	<i>jos</i> + <i>VP.COND</i> (+ CONJ + VP)	request	proposal	frame for multiple clausal formats
21	(1PL) + <i>voida.PASS.COND</i> + VP	offer	proposal	significant variation in presence of personal pronoun depending on function
22	1SG + <i>voida.COND.1SG</i> (+ VP/physical action)	offer	offer	partly multimodal format of agency
31	PERS.PRO/NP.3 + <i>voida.COND.3</i> + VP	suggestion	-	used for deferred actions by someone not present in situation
32	(2/3.GEN +) <i>kannattaa.COND.3SG</i> + VP	suggestion	-	second pair-part in problem-suggestion environment
41	<i>voida.COND.3SG</i> + VP	request	proposal	suggestion as second most frequent function in institutional data
42	<i>pitää.COND.3SG.Q</i> + (1.GEN) + VP	deontic stance	proposal	strong projection of positive response to proposal
43	(PTC +) <i>vois</i>	-	proposal	independent unit of responding to proposals

Table 7. Constructions of directives discussed in Chapter 4.

Cx	Cx scheme	Presence and function in corpora		Remarks
		institutional	casual	
51	VP[<i>oisko</i>](<i>han</i>) (+NP)	request	epistemic stance	epistemic positioning bordering certainty
52	(NP +) <i>pitää</i> .COND.3SG + VP	epistemic stance	proposal	two formal realisations have varying functions
53	(DEM.LOC) + <i>pitää</i> .COND.3SG + VP	epistemic stance	epistemic stance	in epistemically asymmetrical situations used by speaker with lower status
61	1SG.GEN + <i>pitää</i> .COND.3SG + VP	deontic stance in service of request	deontic stance	elicits compliant responses in deontically uneven situations
62	(1SG) + [VP.COND].PST + VP	epistemic stance in service of request	-	iconic representation of complex action
64	(<i>kyl</i> +) 1SG+ <i>Vveikata</i> .COND.1SG (+ COMP + VP)	-	epistemic stance in service of other action	construction of second stance
65	(1SG /Ø) + <i>Vluulla</i> . COND.1SG /3SG (+ COMP + VP)	epistemic stance in service of other action	epistemic stance in service of other action	construction of second stance; has sequence-organisational functions
66	<i>voisko</i> + (NP + VP)	request	epistemic stance in service of other action	maintains orientation to stance-taking; verb semantically full
67	(PRO.Q +) (NP/DEM +) <i>vois(i)</i> + <i>Volla</i> + (ADJ/NP)	epistemic stance	epistemic stance in service of other action	orients co-participants to stance-taking
68	(PRO.Q +) DEM/NOM + <i>Volla</i> . COND.3SG + NP	epistemic stance	epistemic stance in service of other action	also serves boulomaic stance
69	DEM/LOC + <i>Volla</i> . COND.3SG + NP	offer	epistemic stance in service of other action	assumption or offer

Table 8. Constructions of stance discussed in Chapter 4.

Stance taken with constructions with the conditional is mostly epistemic, also when the finite verb is *pitää* 'have to' (e.g. Cx52 and Cx53). In sections 4.7 to 4.9 I have argued that the conditional mood is an index of stance, showing instances of interactional facts which support this view. Table 8 shows that in addition to features of interaction, this is also because some of the verbs appearing in these constructions have epistemic meanings themselves, so mood marking becomes an important indicator of action type.

There are two main verbs around which stance-taking materialises, *olla* 'be' and *pitää* 'have to'. The verb *olla* 'be' is the most common one in contexts when stance only assists the completion of another, more central, action. The patterns with *olla* 'be' orient the participants to collaborative stance-taking while they are preoccupied with other tasks. In terms of *pitää* 'have to', Table 8 adds to the results presented in Table 7 and pictures the constructions with this as patterns of deontic (and, sometimes, also epistemic) stance taking first and foremost in institutional interactions. In casual talks, less characterised by uneven distribution of power, patterns with *pitää* 'have to' have strong epistemic connotations, and are used in contexts in which the participants' obligations result from their relative epistemic statuses. They are also commonly employed for proposing collaborative activities. In addition to *olla* 'be' and *pitää* 'have to', epistemic stance is the function of two constructions which centre around cognitive verbs *luulla* 'think' and *veikata* 'guess'. The results concerning constructions of stance with these two verbs are parallel to those at which studies of other languages have arrived.

Table 8 further reinforces the conclusion that directives made with the conditional mood are a feature of institutional rather than casual conversations. The 'other action' served by stance is more likely to be a directive in the institutional than in the casual corpus. Also, with the exception of Cx52, when a construction has a stance-related main function in the casual corpus, it is likely that it will chiefly serve a directive function in institutional talk.

Chapter 5 will show that also in the case of constructions with the partitive, directive functions are more prominent in institutional conversation.

5. Constructions with the partitive

The other grammatical category studied in the present work, the partitive case, will be covered in this chapter. The results concerning the constructions with the partitive need to be approached from a somewhat different angle because compared to the conditional mood, the directive- and stance-related functions of the partitive are nowhere near as ubiquitous in interactional Finnish. Still, it is possible to identify recurrent patterns of stance and directives in which the presence of the partitive case is interactionally meaningful.

My data has produced 112 instances of the partitive meeting the present criteria, i.e. NPs in which partitive marking is motivated by stance- and directive-related factors rather than purely syntactic and semantic features of low transitivity. Of these 112 tokens, 66 are found in the institutional corpus, whereas the remaining 46 in the casual part of the data. In total, 102 tokens of the partitive appeared in 8 constructions playing 5 main functions, whereas the remaining 10 tokens account for what I call 'other uses'. The combined results concerning the constructions are shown in Figure 33.

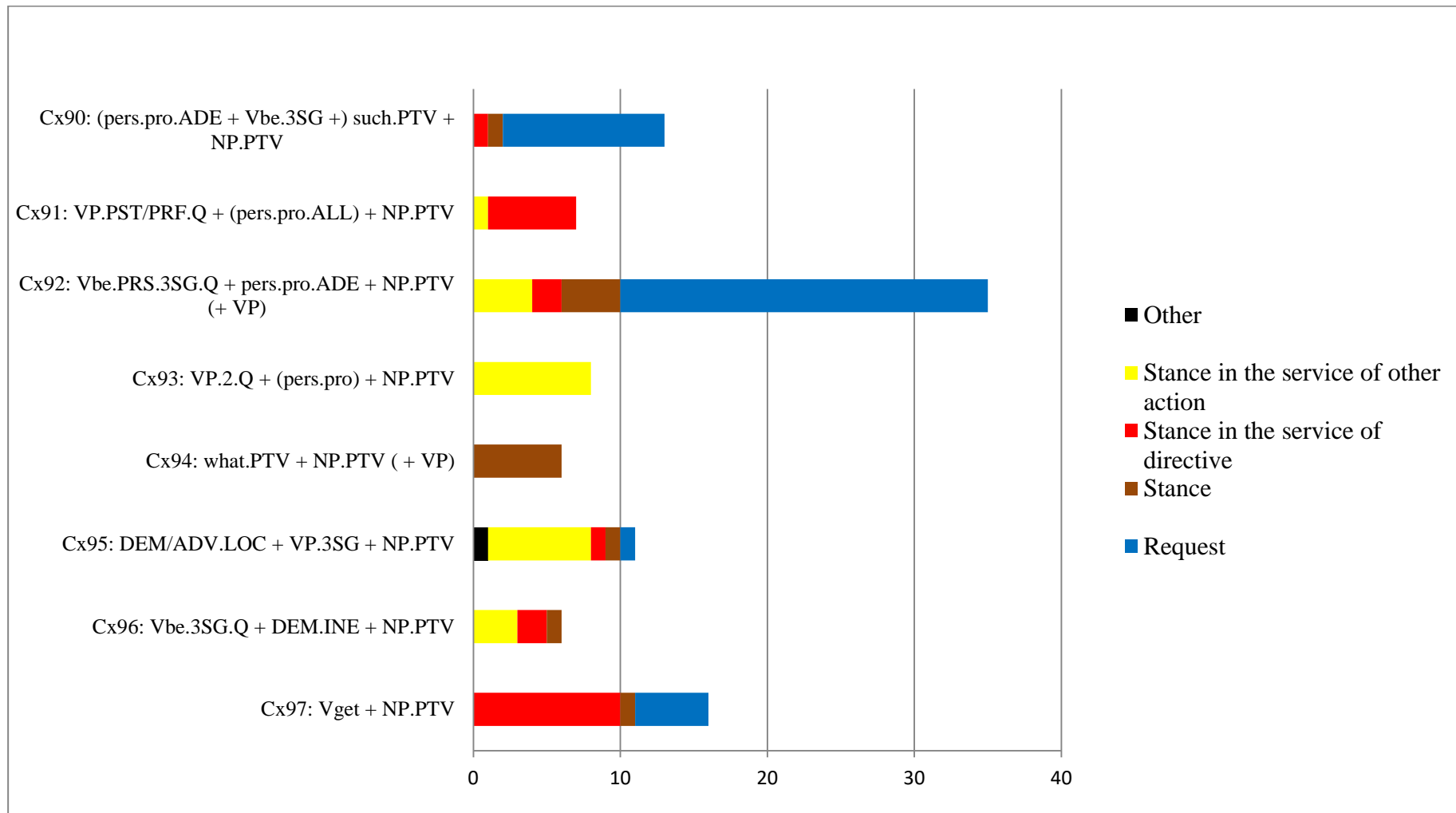


Figure 33. Constructions with the partitive.

Compared to constructions with the conditional discussed in Chapter 4, the results for the partitive are interesting in a somewhat different way. First of all, stance is the most dominant function in terms of number of tokens because in 59 cases stance was in one way or another relevant for the interactants' purposes. However, only 14 examples show stance as a self-standing act. The remaining 45 examples illustrate stance serving a more central action in progress, either a directive or some other action. In 5.2. and 5.3. I will deal with it in more detail, but the general results presented in Figure 33 already provide important clues concerning the relationship that the category of the Finnish partitive has with the social act of stance. On the one hand, the linkage of the partitive to stance is stronger than that of the Finnish conditional because of the number of tokens. But on the other hand, the figures behind the different stance-related functions of the partitive show that rather than being the main preoccupation of the interactants, taking a stance facilitates the accomplishment of other, interactionally more prominent, actions. This said, affective stance taken with the use of constructions with the partitive will be pictured as more likely to become central to discourse than epistemic stance. These findings clearly differ from those presented in the previous chapter wherein it was epistemic stance that enjoyed more prominence than other kind of stance in terms of form-to-function relationships.

Secondly, five of the eight constructions are found exclusively in one corpus or the other, which reflects how different patterns are tailored to serve specific tasks arising in particular interactional circumstances. Those uses of constructions with the partitive which are related to directive-making are more abundant in Kela talks, whereas the majority of examples illustrating stance proper or stance in the service of other actions is found in casual talks. What is more, there are at least two individual conversations in the corpus of casual talks which have produced almost all the tokens of one of the following functions: affective stance ('Wine evening') and stance in the service of evidence collection or problem-solving ('Concert agency'). These two conversations speak much about the emergent nature of grammar. Throughout their conversation, the participants of 'Wine evening' humorously comment on situations and jokingly tease one another. In this way they build and reinforce their socioaffective relationships, and linguistic patterns with the partitive of affect become one of the means of achieving this. When it comes to 'Concert agency', the conversation differs from others in that it has a pre-set task and the participants often face the problem of insufficient access to the knowledge they need to be able to complete this task. More than elsewhere, patterns with the partitive are used in 'Concert agency' to signal problems with conducting the action in progress.

In what follows I will discuss the constructions with the partitive and other uses of this case separately by main function type. Not always will I strictly adhere to the numerical order in presenting the constructions, e.g. in Section 5.1. I will consider Cx72 prior to Cx70. This is meant to enable the flow of argument between the sections to be more reasonable and convenient to process.

5.1. Directives

A couple of constructions, Cx70 and Cx72, are recurrent patterns for performing requests in Finnish interaction. In addition to them, I have also noted four uses of two clauses with the partitive implementing other directives on occasion.

As noted previously, directive uses of the partitive predominate in the institutional part of my data, and the two constructions to be presented in 5.1 also belong to the most routinised ones in the whole of this chapter. Construction Cx72 with

its relatively limited set of NPs which fall under partitive marking exemplifies a routinised requestive pattern par excellence, a pattern in which also other typical features of institutional interactions are mirrored.

5.1.1. Constructions of requesting

5.1.1.1. Construction Cx72: *onko sulla* + PTV ‘do you have + PTV’

From among the constructions with the partitive, the most prevalent pattern for requesting is Cx72 which appears in this function in 25 cases. Cx72 is the possessive construction of Finnish under interrogation (‘do you have X?’).

(163) Construction Cx72

$V_{be.PRS.3SG.Q} + PERS.PRO.ADE + NP.PTV (+ VP)$

The total number of manifestations of Cx72 in my material is 35, and the construction exemplifies a particularly strong coupling between linguistic form and social action in institutional interactions because 24 of the 28 manifestations found in the KELA corpus are requests. When used in the casual material, the functions of Cx72 are dispersed mainly among stance and actions facilitated by stance-taking, see Figure 34.

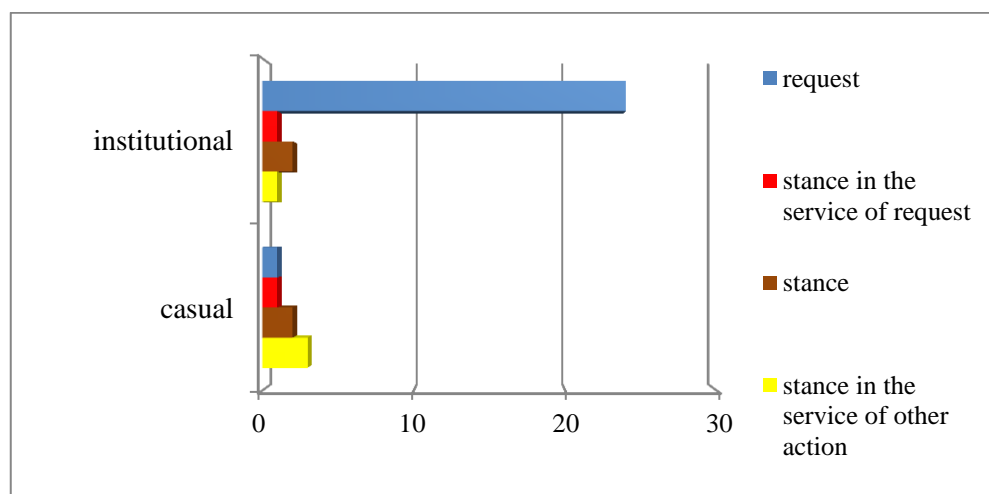


Figure 34. Functions of Cx72.

Compare the following example pair. The first one, (164), is representative of the requestive function of Cx72 in KELA interactions. The clerk uses the construction to ask the client to present her identity card in lines 5 and 7. In (165), on the other hand, the construction is used for purposes of epistemic stance taking in lines 1 and 2. The participants Päivi and Hanna negotiate their stances (lines 3–4 and 7–8) in trying to establish how things really are. Example (165) comes from the casual corpus.

(164) ‘E 111’ (T954_eesataykstoista)

1 Clerk: *joo hei?*
PTC *hello*
‘yeah, hi’

- 2 Client: *hei: (0.4)* *kuule* *mä* *oisin* *tarvinnu (1.4)*
 hello listen.IMP.2SG 1SG be.COND.1SG need.PAP
 ‘hi, listen, I would need a’
.mt sellasen; (0.4) <ee sataykstoista>;
 such.ACC e one.hundred.eleven
 ‘an e-111’
- 3 Clerk: *mm-m; (0.4)*
 PTC
- 4 Client: *#lomakkee#.*
 form.ACC
 ‘form’
- 5 → Clerk: *joo:?, onks sulla tota; (0.2) Kelakorttia? (0.2)*
 PTC be.PRS.3SG.CL 2SG.ADE PTC KELA.card. PTV
 ‘yeah, do you have a KELA card?’
- 6 Client: *#joo#.*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 7 → Clerk: *tai henkilöllisyystodis*tusta*.*
 or identity.card. PTV
 ‘or an identity card?’
- 8 Client: *joo.*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
 (16.0) ((Client searches his rucksack))

(165) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_03_30)

- 1 → Matti: *.hhhhh olikс noilla #ö# Langalla nii*
 be.PST.3SG.CL DEM.PL.ADE PR.ADE PTC
 ‘did the Lankas have’
poikaa? (0.8)
 son.PTV
 ‘a son?’
- 2 → *Lauralla >onko Laural[la velje<?]*
 PR.ADE be.PRS.3SG PR.ADE brother.PTV
 ‘Laura, does Laura have a brother?’
- 3 → Päivi: *[ei, ku] Laura*
 NEG.3SG PTC PR
 ‘no, Laura’
[oli] #ainoo lapsi#
 be.PST.3SG sole child
 ‘was an only child’
- 4 → Hanna: *[↑on] (1.8)*
 be.PRS.3SG
 ‘she does’
- 5 *e::i:: [--]*
 NEG.3SG
 ‘no...’
- 6 Liisa: *[he he he]*

- 7 → Päivi: *[i(h)an totta?]*
 PTC true.PTV
 ‘really?’
- 8 → Hanna: >*yks kirja tääl on*< *perhekuva joss*
 one book here be.PRS.3SG family.picture COMP.INE
 ‘there’s a book here, a family photo where’
on useampaa;
 be.PRS.3SG multiple.PTV
 ‘there are many of them’

The latter example illustrates epistemic stance taken to facilitate problem-solving activities. The participant face a task of establishing who accompanies a famous opera singer in the photo, and trying to do that, they discuss the possibility that it might be her brother. Epistemic stance becomes negotiated in (165) as the participants deliberate two opposite views on whether the singer had a brother in the first place. In contrast, epistemicity is not a relevant domain for the interaction at KELA. Note that stating the purpose of her visit, the client already knows even the precise name of the form she needs. Construction Cx72 is used purely for directive purposes in example (164).

As a request, Cx72 is strongly linked to the fixed framework of a social welfare office interaction during which the client is supposed to prove their identity before their matter could be handled by the clerk. Consequently, the deontic power of the clerk becomes manifested through the use of Cx72. Of the 24 cases in which the construction is used in this function during KELA interactions, in 20 the NP bearing partitive marking refers to a personal identification card or another document necessary for the completion of this step in the institutional interaction. When other NPs are used, stance-taking almost always enters the picture, cf. (166).

(166) ‘Housing benefit for two places’ (T159_ asumistukikahteen)

- 1 Clerk: >*ootaham*< *mie kysyn.*
 wait.IMP.2SG 1SG ask.prs. 1SG
 ‘wait, I’ll ask’
 (2.2) ((Clerk reaches for the phone))
- 2 *sul on yleinen asumistuki eikö. (.)*
 2SG.ADE be.PRS.3SG generalhousing.benefit NEG.3SG.Q
 ‘you have a general housing benefit, don’t you’
- *onks sulla perhettä.*
 be.PRS.3SG.CL 2SG.ADE family.PTV
 ‘do you have a family?’
- 3 Client: *ei*
 NEG.3SG.
 ‘I don’t’
- 4 Clerk: **(asut)(.) yksin (-)* (0.8)*
 live.PRS.2SG alone
 ‘you live alone’
- 5 *no minkälainen asunto siellä sitte siellä*
 PTC what.kind.of apartment there PTC there
 ‘and what kind of apartment is there’
sitte ku,

- PTC PTC
 'after all, 'cos'
- 6 Client: [se
it
'it'
- on vapailta markkinnoilla ko nillä*
 be.PRS.3SG free.PL.ADE market.PL.ADE PTC 3PL.ADE
 'is one from a private market because they'
ei o asuntolaasielä.
 NEG.3SG be.NEG dormitory.PTV there
 'don't have a dormitory there'
- 7 Clerk: (*aha,*) (1.6)
 PTC
 'uh huh'

The construction is used in line 2 as one of the elements of a query the clerk is conducting to obtain a fuller picture of the client's non-standard case which she is going to consult with her colleague, and not to request physical objects to be presented in the here and now. The clerk lacks some knowledge of the client's life situation and she needs to gain this knowledge to be able to help. In other words, the clerk takes epistemic stance to facilitate the provision of assistance to the client. Contrary to example (164), Cx72 does not appear in (166) at the same predictable point of the exchange, i.e. between the sequence of greetings and the series of activities aimed at a collaborative achievement of the goal behind the client's visit. It is part of these activities instead.

Sequences containing construction Cx72 in its main requestive function display quite a rigid organisation because there are several elements of the institutional framework which need to be fulfilled. Turn allocation with the use of Cx72 by the clerk is one of them, and another one is connected with allowability of contribution, i.e. a particular kind of response is required. The client needs to hand in the requested document, so all physical actions connected with the search for it, as well as the transfer of the document to the clerk account for an adequate response to a request formulated as Cx72. Consequently, quite long periods of silence following the production of the request are not out of the ordinary. Still, the place of Cx72 after greetings have been exchanged and the purpose of the visit aired, but before the actual handling of the matter, appears to be the chief element of the whole structure because any deviation from that prototypical sequential placement of Cx72 means that stance is a salient element in the interaction. This happens, for instance, when a need for further verification or for a completion of information arises. Example (167) is a case in point. The client is requested to present a receipt of the rent payment. But the host turn in line 6 begins with a mirative particle *ai* 'oh', signalling that the clerk has just remembered that the receipt is missing. The exchange happens in a deontic context as the client first inquires into whether KELA has all the necessary documents, and while issuing the request, the clerk informs the client in particular which receipt is required.

(167) 'Grandmother's apartment' (T979_ isoaidinasunto)

(1 min. 23 sec.)

((Clerk browses papers and uses the computer))

- 1 Clerk: *joo-o. no se kuntoutusasia on vielä*

- PTC PTC DEM rehabilitation.thing be.PRS.3SG still
 ‘yeah, well, the rehabilitation matter is still’
 (täällä) kesken.
 here in.progress
 ‘in progress here’
- 2 Client: *n:i*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 3 Clerk: **joo** (0.2) *et sitähän ne voidaan niinkuk*
 PTC PTC DEM.PTV.CL 3PL can.PASS PTC
 ‘yeah, so they can be, sort of’
kuitatas sitte, (0.2) tää päittäi. et
 acknowledge. PASS PTC DEM against.each.other PTC
 ‘cross-referenced’
sit jos se (.) myönnetää
 PTC if it grant.PASS
 ‘if it is granted’
 ((Clerk makes a crossing gesture with his fingers))
(sit) takautuvasti ni, (3.5)
 PTC retroactively PTC
 ‘retroactively so’
- 4 → Client: *mht et onks tossa siihen asumisjut-, lisä-,*
 PTC be.PRS.3SG.Q.CL IT.INE IT.ILL housing.thing
 ‘so, are there all’
 (0.2) *(tai) tukihomman ni kaikki tarvittavat paperit*
 or aid.business PTC all necessary.PL paper.PL
 ‘the papers necessary for that aid business’
[(nytte)
 now
 ‘now’
- 5 Clerk: [*joo-o, [(mä otan,)] (0.8)*
 PTC 1SG take.PRS.1SG
 ‘yeah, I’ll take’
 [((Clerk assembles the documents))]
- 6 → *ai onks teill tota <vu:okrakuittii>,*
 PTC e.PRS.3SG.Q.CL 3SG.ADE PTC rent.receipt.PTV
 ‘oh, do you have the rent payment receipt’
- 7 → (1.0) *pitäs olla silt*
 have.to.COND.3SG be DEM.ABL
 ‘should be from the’
hakemiskuukaudelta? (0.2) elikkä tältä kuulta,
 application.month.ABL PTC this.ABL month.ABL
 ‘month of application, so from this month’
- 8 (2.0) ((Client lifts the papers searching among them))

The last key element of the interactional profile of Cx72 as a construction of requesting is the second person pronoun. Compare (164) and (165) once again to see that the request was directed at the other interactant in (164), whereas in (165) stance was taken on a person not present in the situation. Wherever Cx72 functions as a

request, it features second person singular or plural.³² The same applies to interactions wherein epistemic stance is taken in the service of requesting as example (168) shows. Sanna is holding a fruit with an intention of peeling it and asks whether their hosts have a proper device, thereby requesting to be handed one. Antti, one of the hosts, attends to Sanna's request in line 3 and wants to assist her, but is unable to localise the peeler. That he does not know where and if there is a peeler at home becomes clear in lines 3 and 4.

(168) 'Four friends' (SG346_01_10)

- ((Antti stands up and goes towards the sink))
- 1 Antti: *mä voisin pe[s>*
1SG can.COND.1SG
'I could'
- 2 → Sanna: *[onks teil sellast*
be.PRS.3SG.CL 2PL.ADE such.PTV
'do you have a'
kuorimisjuttu,
peeling.thing.PTV
'peeler'
- 3 → Antti: *no ku mä en tiedä mä*
PTC PTC 1SG NEG.1SG know.NEG 1SG
'well, I don't know, at least I'
voisin pestä tän ainakin ensin
can.COND.1SG wash this.ACC at.least first
'could wash this first'
- 4 → *luultavasti muuten (0.8) joss:a tuolla ei*
probably by.the.way somewhere there NEG.3SG
'by the way, probably somewhere there, no'
varmaan kyllä
certainly PTC
'not really'

Cx72 is the only one among my constructions with the partitive for which I have observed a phenomenon similar to the several constructions studied in Chapter 4, i.e. for which differences in the choice of personal pronouns reflect the different actions performed by otherwise structurally the same stretch of talk.

5.1.1.2. Construction Cx70: (*mulla on semmosta* 'I would have' such a thing'

Construction Cx70, illustrated schematically in (169), constitutes another conventionalised means of requesting in Finnish institutional interaction.

(169) Construction Cx70

(PERS.PRO.ADE + *V_{olla}* 'be'.3SG +) INDF.ADJ.PTV + NP.PTV

³² However, the reverse is not true, meaning that the usage of a second person pronoun in Cx72 does not automatically translate to the construction being used for requestive purposes, cf. (166).

The core of the construction is an indefinite adjective of Finnish in the partitive, mostly *semmo(i)st(a)* and *tämmö(i)stä* ‘such’ (9 manifestations), or an interrogative adjective *milla(i)sta* and *minkäla(i)sta* ‘what kind of’ (3 manifestations), functioning as the attribute of the NP in the partitive case. The NP is usually *asia* ‘thing’ or *homma* ‘business’. The combination of the adjective and the noun phrase either stands independently or constitutes a part of a full VP with the verb *olla* ‘to be’ in the third person singular, i.e. belongs in the possessive construction in the affirmative ‘(I have) such an X’. Figure 35 shows the distribution of its functions in my material.

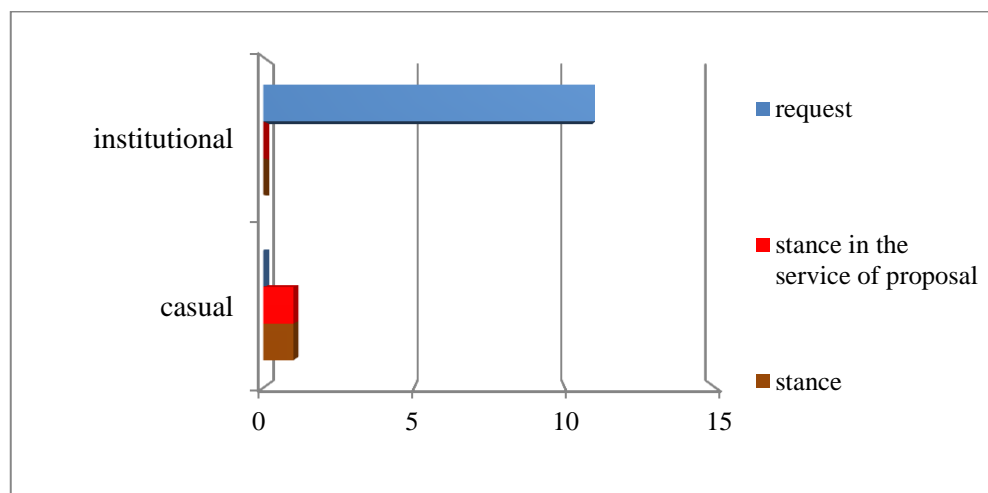


Figure 35. Functions of construction Cx70.

As mentioned earlier in the theoretical part (Section 2.2.2), a study of indefinite adjectives in spontaneous interactive Finnish by Erringer (1996) has shown that the usage of adjectives such as *semmo(i)ne(n)* ‘such’ oftentimes signals more upcoming information to other participants. The same can be said of these adjectives in the scope of Cx70 because the construction serves a particular type of requestive function: a pre-request. It is used in the sequence in which the reason for the visit is stated. Example (170) provides an illustration. The client uses the construction in line 4 prior to requesting a new KELA card as she has learned that her old one is no longer valid.

(170) ‘An expired card’ (T959_vanhentunutkortti)

- 1 Clerk: *p[äivä]ä?*
day.PTV
‘good afternoon’
- 2 Client: *[päivää?]*
day.PTV
‘good afternoon’
(18.0) ((Client comes to the desk and sits down))
- 3 *(-) (*numerolappuki;*) (1.0) (*katsotaan.*)*
number.tag.CL watch.PASS
‘and the queue number, let’s see’
(1.8) ((Client opens her rucksack))
- 4 → *katok ku mul on semmost asiaa*
PTC PTC 1SG.ADE be.PRS.3SG such.PTV thing.PTV
‘so, I have such a matter’
että; (1.0)

		COMP						
		‘that’						
5	<i>hh</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>mä</i>	<i>kävin</i>	<i>tuolla, .nff</i> (1.0)	<i>pankissa</i>		
		PTC	1SG	go.PST.1ST	there	bank.INE		
		‘‘cos I went to the bank’						
	<i>ne</i>	<i>sano</i>		<i>että</i>	<i>mun:</i>	<i>tää;</i>	(0.8)	
	3PL	say.PST.3SG		COMP	1SG.GEN	DEM		
		‘they said that my, this’						
6	<i>hh</i>	(0.4)	<i>tää</i>	<i>tota;</i>	(.)	<i>öö</i>	(0.2)	<i>tää</i> <i>ov</i>
			DEM	PTC				DEM be.PRS.3SG
		‘this, uhm, this one has’						
	<i>vanhentunu</i>	<i>ei</i>		<i>tää</i>	<i>kelpaa</i>	<i>e*nää*.</i>	<i>.hhh</i>	<i>ja</i>
	expire.PAP	NEG.3SG		DEM	suffice.NEG	any.more		and
		‘expired and won’t do any more’						
	<i>ja</i>	<i>[sit</i>						
	and	PTC						
		‘and then’						
7	Clerk:	<i>[just</i>						
		PTC						
		‘precisely’						

Compared to Cx72, construction Cx70 is also dedicated to a specific requestive function, but its sequential placement is even more rigid as it only comes after or even instead an exchange of greetings between the client and the clerk at the very beginning of the conversation. I have not found it at transition points between multiple matters to be handled at KELA etc. Another fact telling of a high degree of conventionalisation of Cx70 is that serves the pre-requesting function irrespectively of who is going to make the request. In (171), it is the clerk and not the client who announces in line 4 that a request will be made in the subsequent interaction. It turns out in lines 7–9 that the client is paying a visit to KELA to apply for a reimbursement of medical expenses.

(171) ‘Long reports’ (T951_pitkiinselostuksiin)

1	Clerk:	<i>.mt päivää?</i> =						
		day.PTV						
		‘good afternoon’						
2	Client:	<i>=päivää?</i>						
		day.PTV						
		‘good afternoon’						
		(2.5) ((Client appears on vision))						
3		<i>no</i>	<i>mitä</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>haluatte</i>	<i>tie*tää*.</i>		
		PTC	what.PTV	2PL	want.PRS.2PL	know		
		‘so, what do you want to know?’						
		(1.6) ((Client takes her seat and puts papers on the counter))						
4 →	Clerk:	<i>mm:.</i>	(0.6)	<i>.mt</i>	<i>riippuu</i>	<i>nyt</i>	<i>vähän</i>	
					depend.PRS.3SG	PTC	a.little	
		‘uhm, it really depends on what kind of						
		<i>minkälaista</i>	<i>asi:aa</i>		<i>*teillä</i>	<i>on*.</i>	(0.8)	
		what.PTV	thing.PTV		2PL.ADE	be.PRS.3SG		
		‘business you have’						

- 5 Client: *niin siis;* (0.4) *tähän tääl on niinkun£;*
 PTC PTC DEM.ILL here be.PRS.3SG PTC
 ‘yes, so here is, sort of’
 (0.4)
- 6 Clerk: *niin* (0.2)
 PTC
 ‘yes’
- 7 → Client: *joo.* (0.4) *>no tää on<; ihan; semmonen;* (1.5)
 PTC PTC DEM be.PRS.3SG PTC such
 ‘yeah, well, this is actually a’
>tämmönen:<; (0.2) *#eerrr e# tota lääkäri(0.2)*
 such PTC doctor
 ‘such a, er, a doctor’s’
palkkio.
 fee
 ‘fee’
- 8 → Clerk: *joo-o; elikkä ihan* (0.2) *korvaushakemus;*
 PTC PTC PTC reimbursement.application
 ‘yeah, so actually a reimbursement application’
 ((Clerk takes the papers from the client))
- 9 → Client: *ni;* (0.2)
 PTC
 ‘yes’

So while construction Cx72 is used by the requester strictly for the purposes of making a request, Cx70 more generally belongs in the whole context of pre-requesting. Its usage signals that the participants are about to proceed to activities connected with making and granting requests. In conversations containing Cx70, the sequence stating the purpose of the visit automatically becomes a prelude to a sequence of requesting. I have not found Cx70 in conversations whose purpose is only e.g. delivering documents earlier requested by Kela.

5.1.2. Other uses

I have observed a usage of two more patterns with the partitive in directive environments, each appearing a couple of times. One of them appears in the casual corpus and is dedicated to proposing activities (5.1.2.1), whereas the other one implements offers in KELA interactions (5.1.2.2).

5.1.2.1. Proposals

A clause with the Finnish passive and the kind of partitive studied here was used twice for the purposes of proposing activities. One of the cases is in example (172). The participants are organising a photo viewing and Kerttu proposes that each of the participants would get one album representing one roll of the camera film. The others accept her proposal.

(172) ‘Four friends’ (SG346_20_30)

- 1 → Kerttu: *öö* (0.4) *hae- laitetaaks sillee rullaa*

			put.PASS.Q.CL PTC	roll.PTV
			'let's make it one roll'	
		<i>per</i>	<i>[naama.</i>	
		per	face	
		'each'		
2	Sanna:	<i>[joo.</i>	PTC	
			'yeah'	
3	Antti:	<i>mm</i>	PTC	
			(0.5)	
4	Eeva:	<i>mjoo.</i>	PTC	
			'yeah'	

The construction with the passive and the first person plural is a widespread pattern of making directives in Finnish, both proposals and requests (cf. Somiska 2010: 34ff, citing Shore 1986). The fact that there are only two occasional individuated NPs bearing partitive marking leads me to the conclusion that the case marking of object NP has no impact on the interactional profile of the directive. So there are no reasons for distinguishing a separate construction.

5.1.2.2. Offers

Also for the other "other use", my search for convincing evidence that case marking would constitute a distinctive feature of a construction has been unsuccessful. The pattern is a transitive clause with the verb *tarvita* 'need' under interrogation. The question is addressed at the interactional partner and the object NP represents the item being offered ('do you need X?'). The pattern can be found in the KELA corpus. An example of its usage is (173). The clerk is offering an envelope in line 1, having printed a statement on the client's request. The client rejects the offer in line 2.

(173) 'A copy of allowance' (T1116_kopiopaivarahasta)

1 →	Clerk:	<i>.mt</i>	<i>tarvitko</i>	<i>kuorta.</i> (0.4)					
			need.PRS.2SG.Q	envelope.PTV					
			'do you need an envelope'						
2 →	Client:	<i>.hh</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>tartte</i>	<i>kyl</i>	<i>tää,</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>siinä</i>	
			NEG.3SG	need.NEG	PTC	this	and	it.INE	
			'no, I don't, and here'						
			<i>näkkyy</i>	<i>tuo</i>	<i>minkä</i>	<i>verran</i>	<i>om</i>		
			be.visible.PRS.3SG	DEM	what.GEN	extent.GEN	be.PRS3SG		
			'you can see how much'						
			<i>menny</i>	<i>ennakonpidä</i> [<i>tystä</i>	<i>jos,</i>				
			go.PAP	tax.withholding.PTV	PTC				
			'taxes have been paid'						
3	Clerk:		<i>[joo.</i>	<i>si]inä</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>[siinä</i>	<i>vie]ressä</i>		
			PTC	here	be.PRS.3SG	here	next.to		
			'yeah, it is here on the side'						
4	Client:					<i>[joo-o,</i>			

This is one of the few examples where the use of the partitive indeed seems to project a negative response. Both interactions containing the pattern end shortly after it has appeared. In this sense the pattern resembles what Heritage et al. (2007) have identified for the English *any* in medical encounters (e.g. *do you have any other symptoms?*). A comparison with the usage of *some* in doctor’s interventions during exchanges wherein patients signalled multiple concerns has shown that the usage of *any* increased the chances of other concerns remaining unarticulated and unaddressed. Of course, the degree of conventionalisation is nowhere near comparable to the results of Heritage et al. (2007) here. The point I wish to make is that the partitive seems to be a marked choice in contexts such as (173) and may be part of a strategy of gaining a negative response.

5.2. Stance

Although the usage of the partitive in stance-related functions was one of the main points of departure for the present study, constructions with the partitive rarely serve stance as a central and self-standing action. As a matter of fact, only one pattern of affective stance taking can be called a construction of stance based on the present data. For another one I have observed individual uses in a similar stance environment, but the examples do not provide evidence in favour of treating case marking as a distinctive feature of the whole construction. Both patterns covered in the present subsection are listed by Yli-Vakkuri (1986: 270–271) among “partitives of exclamation and swearing”,³³.

For epistemic and other kinds of stance, there is only one manifestation which merits discussion here. I have reserved the others for sections 5.3. and 5.4.

5.2.1. Construction Cx74: *mitä* + PTV ‘what the + PTV’

Construction Cx74, illustrated in (174), functions as a pattern of affective stance taking in casual Finnish interaction. It consists of the interrogative pronoun *mitä* ‘what’, the partitive-marked swear noun, and an optional verbal phrase. In other words, Cx74 is the Finnish “what the fuck (are you doing)” -type of an exclamation. The noun in Cx74 either refers to hell or a devil, or to genitals and sexual activities.

(174) Construction Cx74

what.PTV + NP.PTV (+ VP)

³³ An alternative name found in earlier literature is *partitivus interjectionalis* (Kannisto 1902, cited in Yli-Vakkuri 1986).

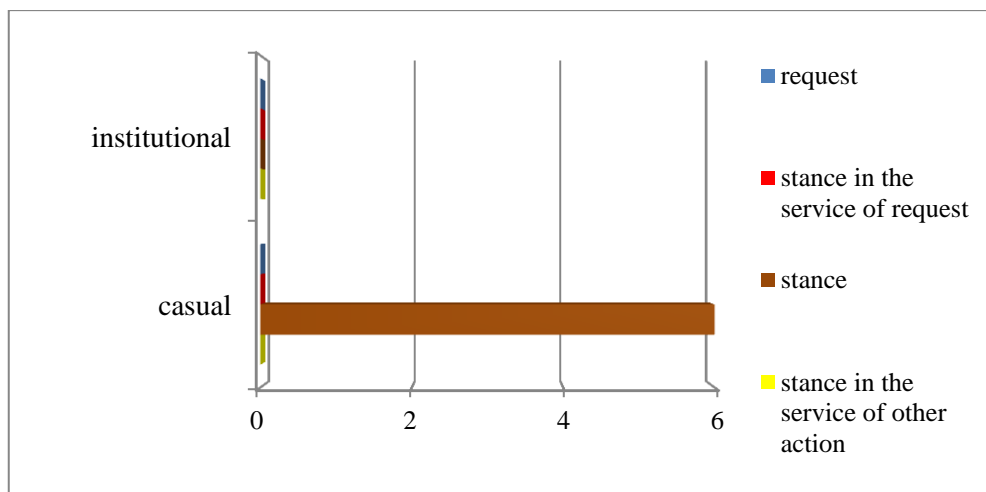


Figure 36. Functions of Cx74.

An example showing Cx74 comes in (175). Cx74 emerges in line 5 at a point of transition between story-telling and stance-taking. Lauri's addition to the story-telling to adds to the humorous effect the story was meant to create (cf. line 6), upon which the participants proceed to the evaluation of the situation (line 7).

(175) 'Wine evening' (SG396_30_40)

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|--|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------|
| 1 | Lauri: | <i>kuulin</i> | <i>y-</i> | <i>Yleisradion</i> | <i>kahvilassa.</i> | <i>niin</i> | <i>niin</i> |
| | | hear.PST.1SG | | public.radio.GEN | cafe.INE | PTC | PTC |
| | | 'I heard in the café of the state radio' | | | | | |
| 2 | Pete: | <i>hehh</i> | | | | | |
| 3 → | Lauri: | <i>oisko</i> | <i>ollu</i> (0.4) | <i>mantsa</i> | <i>↑ykkönen</i> | <i>tai</i> | |
| | | be.COND.3SG.Q | be.PAP | geography | one | or | |
| | | 'was it the first course of geography or' | | | | | |
| | | <i>jotain</i> | <i>mis</i> | <i>meit</i> | <i>oli</i> | <i>koko</i> | <i>porukka</i> |
| | | something | where | 1PL.PTV | be.PST.3SG | whole | crowd |
| | | 'something where we weare as a whole gang' | | | | | |
| | | <i>siellä?</i> (0.2) | <i>ja</i> | <i>sitte.</i> (0.2) | <i>Robertin</i> | <i>kävi</i> | |
| | | there | and | PTC | PR.GEN | go.PST.3SG | |
| | | 'there and then Robert goes like' | | | | | |
| | | <i>@voi helvetin</i> | <i>helvetti@</i> | | | | |
| | | EXC | hell | hell | | | |
| | | 'oh holy hell' | | | | | |
| 4 | Taavi: | <i>m(h)m(h)</i> | <i>[m(h)m(h)m(h)</i> | | | | |
| 5 → | Lauri: | | <i>[tai</i> | <i>£mitä</i> | <i>perkelettä</i> | <i>sä</i> | <i>u[liset£</i> |
| | | | or | what.PTV | devil.PTV | 2SG | howl.PRS.2SG |
| | | | 'or what the hell are you yelling' | | | | |
| 6 → | Taavi: | | | | | | <i>[hahahaha</i> |
| 7 → | Lauri: | <i>se</i> | <i>oli</i> | <i>täydellistä</i> | | | |
| | | it | be.PST.3SG | perfect.PTV | | | |
| | | 'it was perfect' | | | | | |

In most cases, Cx74 functions as a mirative expression in my material. A representative example comes in (176). The excerpt was already described in section 3.2.2.3.

(176) ‘Wine evening’ (SG396_70_77)

- 1 Pete: *pitää olla vähän rennompi toi käsi* (.)
 must.PRS.3SG be a.little loose.COMP DEM hand
 ‘should be a bit more loose, the hand’
[ku ei
 PTC NEG.3SG
 ‘`cos it doesn’t’
- 2 Riku: *[pitää olla vähän tämmönen*
 must.PRS.3SG be a.little such
 ‘should a bit like’
- 3 Lauri: *@minä@*
 1SG
 ‘I’
- 4 Riku: *levämäisempi*
 alga.COMP
 ‘more like an alga’
- 5 Lauri: *@minä@*
 1SG
 ‘I’
- 6 Taavi: *@minä olen@*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG
 ‘I am’
- 7 → Lauri: *@elä* (.) *siis niin mitä vittua@*
 IMP.2SG.NEG PTC PTC what.PTV cunt.PTV
 ‘don’t, what, what the fuck’
- 8 → Taavi: *ehh [hehehe*
- 9 → Riku: *[hehehe*

Taken as a whole, I consider Cx74 a construction of mirativity and other categories of affective stance. If we look at the interactional context of usage of Cx74, it recurrently features a heightened emotive involvement. This becomes manifested e.g. in outbursts of laughter (cf. lines 8–9 of 176 and line 6 of 175); note also that Cx74 is uttered on a smile in (175). Perhaps the number of manifestations in Cx74 in my material does not license very strong claims here, but the literature on the topic stresses it that the so-called ‘partitives of exclamation’ are used in context of a strong negative evaluation (Yli-Vakkuri 1986: 271).

5.2.2. Other uses

5.2.2.1. Affective stance

The other context in which the partitive appears for the purposes of taking affective stance is with the exclamative *voi* ‘oh’. The structure of the pattern is as follows: *voi* ‘oh’ + NP.NOM (+ NP.PTV). I consider the partitive-marked NP an optional element of a pattern of affective exclamation because there exist manifestations lacking it. One of the excerpts recently discussed in 5.2.1 contained such an example, cf. (177).

(177) ‘Wine evening’ (SG396_30_40)

- 3 Lauri: @*voi helvetin helvetti@*
 EXC hell hell.NOM
 ‘oh holy hell’

Yli-Vakkuri (1986: 271–272) notes that the use of the partitive in this pattern is in one way or another related to people, i.e. the partitive-marked NP either directly addresses the conversational partner, in which case it is a personal pronoun, or is used to refer to others not present in the situation, but subject to discussion. So there may be reasons to distinguish between an affective display not making a reference to people (cf. 177) and an intersubjective exclamative construction with the partitive-marked NP (cf. 178 below). It is only that my material has not produced sufficient manifestations to prove this.

The participants in (178) are busy identifying photographs. Hanna suddenly discovers that people in the photograph in front of her are skiing and one of them wears a hat (lines 5 and 7).

(178) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_05_30)

- 1 Maija: *kato sii[nä mis on tommonen]*
 look.IMP.2SG there where be.PRS.3SG such
 ‘look where there is that’
- 2 Jussi: *no [juu juu.]*
 PTC PTC PTC
 ‘oh yeah yeah’
- 3 Maija: *[tuoli];*
 chair
 ‘chair’
- 4 Jouni: *[(kyl mä vasta), (.)] [(-) (nii).]*
 PTC 1SG only PTC
 ‘indeed I have only, yeah’
- 5 → Hanna: *[voi ta]livas tütä*
 EXC heaven DEM.PTV
 ‘good heavens, (look at) these’
porukkaa, (0.8) täällä hiihdetää; (.)
 crowd.PTV here ski.PASS
 ‘people, they are skiing here’
- 6 → Päivi: *↑Eine.*
 PR
 ‘Eine’
- 7 → Hanna: *lieri [(ku pääs sillä).]*
 hat PTC head.INE 3SG.ADE
 ‘he has just a hat on his head’
- 8 → Päivi: *[allekirjoitus] Eine. (.)*
 Signature PR
 ‘signature: Eine’
- 9 → Jussi: *tossa on Liisa Lingosta, (0.4) aika ↑hyvä kuva↑*
 there be.PRS.3SG PR PR.ELA quite good photo
 ‘there is quite a good photo of Liisa Linko’

No-one attends to Hanna's affective display: Päivi studies the signature she has in front of her (lines 6 and 8), and in line 9, Jussi opens another sequence in which he is trying to direct the attention of others to a photograph he is holding himself. This is another reason why I decided to stay on the safe side and not consider the pattern a construction of stance: even in those cases where the partitive is used, the sequence does not always exhibit the typical characteristics of stance as a collaborative achievement.

5.2.2.2. *Epistemic stance*

In addition to the pattern discussed in 5.1.2.2, I have noted an additional token of the partitive appearing together with the verb *tarvita* 'need'. I have classified it as a manifestation of epistemic stance because the client's question orients to the knowledge the clerk is supposed to possess (see line 1 below), and the clerk's ultimate reply in line 5 scratches the epistemic facet, too, as she analyses the situation and arrives at the conclusion that *in her opinion*, the client does not need to include the information about taxes in her application. But it should be noted that the deontic aspects of the relationship between the client and the clerk are also salient features of the exchange. They are particularly strongly present in line 1, designed as a question about the obligations connected with the client's participation in the social welfare system. The partitive appears in that turn.

(179) 'Summer student aid' (T196_ kesaopintotuki)

- 1 → Client: *tarviiks* *siihen tütü* *vero:tusta* *pistää*,=
 need.PRS.3SG.Q.CL it.ILL DEM.PTV taxation.PTV put
 'do I need (lit. does one need) to include that taxation in it'
 =(-*kaikki* *maksettu* (-[--]
 everything pay.PPP
 'everything (that) has been paid'
- 2 Clerk: *[siehän] oot* *muutenkis*
 2SG.CL be.PRS.2SG anyway
 'you have'
saanun *niitä* *opintotukia* *koko [ajan.*
 receive.PAP DEM.PL.PTV student.aid.PL.PTV all time.ACC
 'been receiving those student aids all the time anyway'
- 3 Client: *[niin*
 PTC
 'yes'
olenkin *[saanut.* (*eikä --*)
 be.PRS.1SG.CL receive.PAP NEG.3SG.CNG
 'I have been receiving and'
- 4 Clerk: *[joo; (1.2)*
 PTC
 'yeah'
- 5 → (*>elikkä* *eli<*) *sulla* *ei* *oo*
 PTC PTC 2SG.ADE NEG.3SG be.NEG.PRS
 'so you don't have'
mitääm *muuta* *vaihdosta* *ko* *toi* *ke:sätuki.*
 any.PTV other.PTV change.PTV PTC DEM summer.aid
 'any other option but that summer aid'

- | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------|
| | <i>nii</i> | <i>ei</i> | <i>minusta</i> | <i>niinkö muuta</i> | <i>#tarvi</i> |
| | PTC | NEG.3SG | 1SG.ELA | PTC other.PTV | need.NEG |
| | ‘so in my opinion nothing more’ | | | | |
| | <i>sitte</i> | <i>olla#.</i> | | | |
| | PTC | be | | | |
| | ‘is needed then’ | | | | |
| 6 | Client: | > <i>joo</i> ,< | | | |
| | | PTC | | | |
| | | ‘yeah’ | | | |
| 7 | Clerk: | > <i>mm</i> <, | | | |

Apart from (179), I have found virtually no cases in which the partitive I am studying would be dedicated to epistemic stance taking. But things look quite differently in the case of constructions of epistemic stance doing auxiliary work in the service of other actions. The construction to be discussed next reveals similar characteristics in terms of the participant’s orientation to expert knowledge as example (179).

5.3. Stance in the service of directives

Judging by the number of manifestations per function, there are two constructions with the partitive designed primarily for purposes of taking stance in the service of directive-making, Cx77 and Cx71. None of them is dedicated specifically to one directive type, although in the case of Cx77 requests come to the fore.

Taking a stance in the service of making a directive with constructions with the partitive happens mainly in Finnish social welfare office talks. By contrast, stance-taking uses of constructions with the partitive in casual Finnish tend to facilitate actions other than directives. There is a separate section dedicated to the latter type of constructions coming as 5.4, but I wish to open the discussion on what this difference reflects already now.

The first relevant difference between one genre and the other is goal-orientation. Examples to be discussed in the present section include negotiations between two groups of stakeholders, KELA clerks and clients. Despite the fact that the social welfare system is meant to provide support to citizens, the goals of the two groups of interactants may end up being on conflicting courses in local conversation. This is for example because clients must comply with the requirements of multistep institutional procedures and act in particular ways at the successive steps of the process of granting social assistance. Negotiations are natural consequence of this fact, especially in those circumstances when clients wish their cases to be handled in a non-standard manner. Construction Cx71 is used in such interactions. What is characteristic of Cx77, by contrast, is that epistemic asymmetries as an inherent features of institutional interaction surface in the exchanges featuring that construction. Two action types correlate therein: requesting, the main reason behind taking the host turn of Cx77, and epistemic stance taking, by which the requester signals unfamiliarity with how things are organised at the social welfare office. In other words, the requester orients to contingencies around the requested action. The presence of the conditional in Cx77 is a telling factor in this context.

Epistemic asymmetries constitute another major distinguishing factor which plays a role in the distribution of actions served by stance across my two corpora. I will return to this topic in 5.4.

5.3.1. Construction Cx77: *saa(n)ko* + PTV ‘do I/does one get + PTV’

The first of the two constructions used mainly for taking epistemic stance in the service of directive-making is illustrated in (180). Cx77 consists of the verb *saada* ‘get, obtain, be allowed to’, the partitive-marked NP which is the direct object of this verb, and other optional elements. The construction is an interrogative.

(180) Construction Cx77

V_{saada} ‘get, be allowed to’.Q + NP.PTV (+NP) (+ VP)

As shown in Figure 77, the second most prominent function of the construction is requesting. So Cx77 constitutes another example of a construction with a particularly robust requestive function appearing only in the institutional corpus.

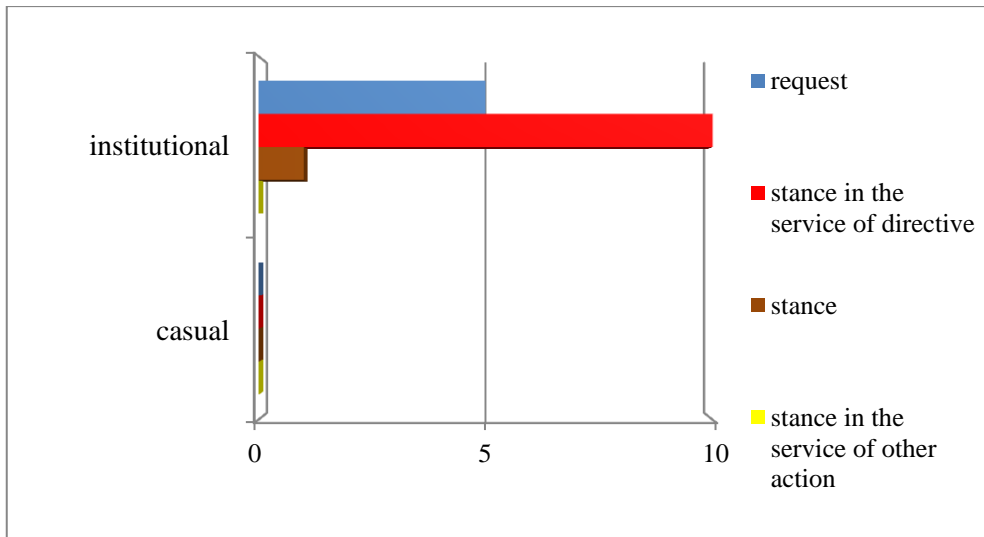


Figure 36. Functions of Construction Cx77.

There is some variation in terms of the formal characteristics of the verbal phrase in Cx77. Usually, *saada* ‘get, obtain, be allowed to’ is the head of the VP in this construction, but there were a couple of cases in which it was modified by the modal *voida* ‘can’. The construction served the function of stance in the service of a directive in those two cases, as it did also in other contexts, so I decided to group them together. However, additional two formal features of the VP, namely person and mood, prompt me to distinguishing several versions of Cx77 in the way shown in (181) because the different realisations of the VP correlate with differences in the main function served by the construction. What is more, the polysemy of the verb also speaks in favour of breaking the construction into several realisations. In some manifestations of Cx77c, the verb *saada* is used as a modal auxiliary.

(181) Versions of construction Cx77

- a. V_{saada} .COND.Q + NP.PTV (+NP) (+ VP)
Main function: stance in the service of a directive
- b. V_{saada} .PRS.3SG.Q + NP.PTV (+NP) (+ VP)

Main function: stance in the service of a directive

c. V_{saada}.PRS.1SG.Q (+ VP) + NP.PTV (+NP)

Main function: request

In Cx77a, the verb *saada* ‘get, obtain’ stands in the conditional and either bears first person or zero person marking (‘could I/one get X?’), whereas Cx77b contains the present tense and the zero person. For both these versions of Cx77 the typical characteristics of the local interaction is that something is requested, but it happens in a context of epistemic stance taking, for example when the client inquires into the possibilities of obtaining the requested document or service. An example follows.

(182) ‘The dentist’s fee’ (T160_hammaslaakarinpalkkio)

- 1 Client: *nii: ja ne la- (.) se lappu kyllä*
 PTC and DEM DEM note PTC
 ‘yeah, and those, on the note, indeed’
saa tietää että osa (.) alennusta siitä,
 get.PRS.3SG know COMP part discount.PTV it.ELA
 ‘there is information that part of the discount is based on it’
- 2 Clerk: *joo-o,*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 3 → Client: *mutta hukattiin se lappu että*
 but lose.PASS.PST DEM note PTC
 ‘but we lost the note, so’
saiskos siitä jäljennöstä. (0.4)
 get.COND.3SG.Q.CL it.ELA duplicate.PTV
 ‘could I get (lit. could one get) a duplicate of it?’
- 4 → *löytyykö semmosta, (0.6)*
 be.found.PRS.3SG.Q such.PTV
 ‘is there one?’
- 5 → Clerk: *<kuu:leppa ootappa nyttē>, .hh*
 listen.IMP.2SG.CL wait.IMP.2SG.CL PTC
 ‘listen, wait a moment’
>miepä< pyyän >tuota niin< tuon
 1SG.CL ask.PRS.2SG PTC PTC DEM.ACC
 ‘I’ll ask’
yhen ihmisen tänne,
 one.ACC person.ACC here
 ‘one person here’
- 6 Client: *mm,*
 PTC
- 7 → Clerk: *.hhh niin >tuota< <kyllä varmaankin>,*
 PTC PTC PTC PTC probably.CL
 ‘well, probably, yes’

The client requests a duplicate of a lost document with the use of Cx77a in line 3, immediately asking in line 4 whether duplicates are available³⁴. It becomes clear from the clerk’s subsequent responses (lines 5 and 7) that she is not sure about that and needs to confirm it with her colleague. So upon issuing the request by the client, both participants immediately orient to the epistemic side of the situation as the client reveals that she is unfamiliar with KELA’s procedures and the clerk admits insufficient knowledge on her own part, too. Although their interaction is not about who has what knowledge, gaining that knowledge is a prerequisite to granting the request.

In contrast, if the verb *saada* ‘get’ is in the indicative mood and bears first person marking (‘can I get X?’), construction Cx77 – or more precisely, its realisation Cx77c – mainly serves requests without the epistemic tinge.

(183) ‘About a student aid application’ (T978_opintotukihakemuksesta)

- 1 Client: <*okei*,> (0.5)
 PTC
 ‘okay’
- 2 → *mutta.* (0.2) *mä täytän tämän*
 but 1SG fill.in.PRS.1SG DEM.ACC
 ‘but I’ll fill this in’
saanko lainata [tätä kynää]
 be.allowed.to.PRS.1SG.Q borrow DEM.PTV pen.PTV
 ‘can I borrow this pen?’
- 3 → Clerk: [*joo;* *lainav vaa.*
 PTC borrow.IMP.2SG PTC
 ‘yeah, go ahead, borrow’

Example (183) shows a usage of Cx77 which is quite popular in constructed examples cited in previous treatments of the phenomenon. Drawing on earlier studies Yli-Vakkuri (1986: 252) suggests that the usage of the partitive in this context may be motivated semantically since the meaning of the verb *lainata* ‘borrow’ presupposes a movement of the object back to the owner. To bring it to the Hopper-Thompsonian (1980) terms, the affectedness of the object would be of relevance here so that a lowly affected object would receive a formal marking typical of clauses low in transitivity. My data does not produce examples which would univocally support this interpretation or reject it, but I would rather seek analogies to other conventionalised requestive patterns with the partitive. A comparison of Cx77c with Cx70 and Cx72 on the one hand (see discussion 5.1.) and with Cx77a and Cx77b on the other suggests that the partitive of request appears in one-off routine actions directed at the interactional participants (cf. the usage of first and second person) rather than those having to do with people and phenomena not immediately relevant here and now. If we look at examples (182) discussed above and (184) which comes next, we can see that when Cx77 formally encodes referential openness, i.e. contains the conditional mood or the zero person, chances are high that the participants will move to considerations of general institutional procedures and thus the epistemic facet of their momentary relationships

³⁴ Excluding what is to come in 5.3.3., line 4 happens to be the last of “other uses” of the partitive. Functionally, it resembles Cx76, a construction to be discussed in 5.4.3.. Formally and interactionally, however, it differs from that construction. Because line 4 of (133) is a solitary token, I have no option but to leave it without further treatment.

will emerge as the most prominent. This will be for example because they interaction will reveal an uneven distribution of the knowledge of these procedures, as in (184).

(184) ‘A common practice’ (T937_kaytanto)

- 1 → Client: *saaks* *siint jotain* *kuittia*
 get.PRS.3SG.Q.PTC it.ELA some.PTV receipt.PTV
 ‘do I/does one get any receipt for it’
 (*että mä ooj jättänys sen.*)
 COMP 1SG be.PRS.1SG leave.PAP it.ACC
 ‘that I have filed it’
- 2 → Clerk: *te haluutte* *kuitin* *siitä,*
 2PL want.PRS.2PL receipt.ACC it.ELA
 ‘you want a receipt for it?’
- 3 → Client: *saanks* (*mä*) (-)
 get.PRS.1SG.Q.PTC 1SG
 ‘do I get?’
- 4 Clerk: *ett o-*
 PTC
 ‘that’
- 5 → Client: *tai siis yleensä onks* *se*
 or PTC generally be.PRS.3SG.Q it
 ‘that is, is it generally’
käy[täntö.
 practice
 ‘a common practice’
- 6 → Clerk: [*no e:i* *se kyllä*
 PTC NEG.3SG it PTC
 ‘well, as a matter of fact, it is not’
- 7 Client: [*no (.) e:m* *mä* *tarvii.*
 PTC NEG.1SG 1SG need.PRS.NEG
 ‘well, I don’t need it’
- 8 Clerk: [*£ni(h)i(h).£*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 9 Client: [*uskotaan.*
 believe.PASS
 ‘let’s believe it’
- 10 Clerk: [*oo.*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 11 Client: (*okei.*)
 okay
 ‘okay’
 ((Client leaves))

The client asks for a receipt in line 1 with Cx77b, but judging by the clerk’s response, the requestive force of the client’s turn is ambiguous to say the least. The client and clerk co-conduct a series of repairs reproducing and/or re-desingning their previous turns (e.g. in line 3, the client makes a reference to herself with an increment

of Cx77c which looks like a repair of line 1), but then the client diverts the conversation towards an inquiry on whether issuing a receipt belongs in the routine in the first place (line 5).

In my view, the use of the partitive in Cx77a and Cx77b may be part of the strategy of construing the referential field as open, so I would search for semantic-pragmatic motivation for its usage through non-referentiality rather than through aspectual distinctions. More generic requests/inquires are made with Cx77a and Cx77b than with Cx77c, and the presence of *jotain* ‘some’ in line 1 of (184) further reinforces this claim. When it comes to Cx77c, it has a clear requestive force, and the partitive-marked NPs are higher in individuation and referentiality than those in Cx77a and Cx77b. It probably means that Cx77c is more conventionalised than the remaining two versions of Cx77 because epistemic considerations of contingencies around granting the request are mostly absent from the interactions in which Cx77c occurs.

As a matter of fact, my conclusions concerning the different versions of Cx77 are parallel to those at which Curl & Drew (2008) have arrived for ‘I wonder if X’ and ‘can you X’ requests in British English. Cx77 performs also directives other than requests on occasion, so let me consider another example. In (185), Cx77a is used in line 2 for offering in the context of epistemic stance-taking. The clerk is trying to find a solution for the client.

(185) ‘Apprenticeship’ (T991_tyoharjoittelunajaksi)

- 1 Clerk: (*joo.*) *määpäs kokeilen saanks mä*
 PTC 1SG.CL.CL try.PRS.1SG get.PRS.1SG.Q.CL 1SG
 ‘yeah, I will try if I manage’
tohom maaliskuulle, (0.2)
 DEM.ILL March.ALL
 ‘for March’
- 2 → *saisko siihen (tuata) (. (>tai<))*
 get.COND.3SG.Q it.ILL PTC PTC
 ‘does one manage to’
semmosta maksuestoo laitettuu >kato<taas.
 such.PTV payment.barrier.PTV put.PPP.PTV see.PASS.CL
 ‘apply a payment blockade to it’
 (16.0) ((Clerk is tapping on the keyboard))
- 3 *.h joo tota (.) sinne ei saa enää*
 PTC PTC THERE NEG.3SG get.NEG any.more
 ‘yeah, there cannot’
sitä maksu- (0.5) estoo ei saa
 DEM.PTV payment barrier.PTV NEG.3SG get.NEG
 ‘the payment barrier, it cannot be’
vietyä? .hh elikkä <nythän>, (1.0)
 take.PPP.PTV PTC now.CL
 ‘taken away any more, so now’
nythän siellä sitten on (.) se (.) helmikuu (.)
 now.CL there PTC be.PRS.3SG DEM February
 ‘so now there is that February’
(.) ja nytt_om maaliskuukim maksettu liikaa
 and now_ be.PRS.3SG March.CL pay.PPP too.much
 ‘and now in March, too, it has been paid too much’

- [eik(ö)s näin.
 NEG.3SG.Q.CL in.this.way
 ‘hasn’t it?’
- 4 Client: [(#joo#,)]
 PTC
 ‘yeah’

The clerk does not know if the payout of the student aid can be blocked and he needs to check it (line 2). The exchange shown as (185) provides another illustration of how vital role contingencies around actions play in the interactional profile of Cx77a/b. A picture of it emerges as a construction implementing directives in institutional interactions wherein both parties are unknowledgeable about a relevant matter. I do not see Cx77a/b as negative-projecting in the way the pattern discussed in 5.1.2.2 was ; in (184), for example, there is a huge temporal gap between line 2 hosting the construction and line 3 in which the negative outcome of the operation is revealed. But what the usage of the pattern does project are challenges in the subsequent interaction, e.g. those connected with the participants’ incomplete knowledge.

For all these reasons, Cx77c may, after all, merit treatment as a separate construction. However, a test of this hypothesis a larger sample of manifestations would definitely be in place first.

5.3.2. Construction Cx71: *onko sulle tehty* + PTV ‘has PTV been done to you’

The other construction whose main function is epistemic stance taking in the service of directive-making is Cx71, a question with a verb in the passive and an NP in the allative representing the benefactive recipient of the action (‘has X been done to you?’). My data has only procuded examples containing the verb in the past or the present perfect tense. Similarly to Cx77, construction Cx71 is only found in the institutional part of my material.

(186) Construction Cx71

VP.PST/PRF.PASS.Q + (PERS.PRO.ALL) +NP.PTV

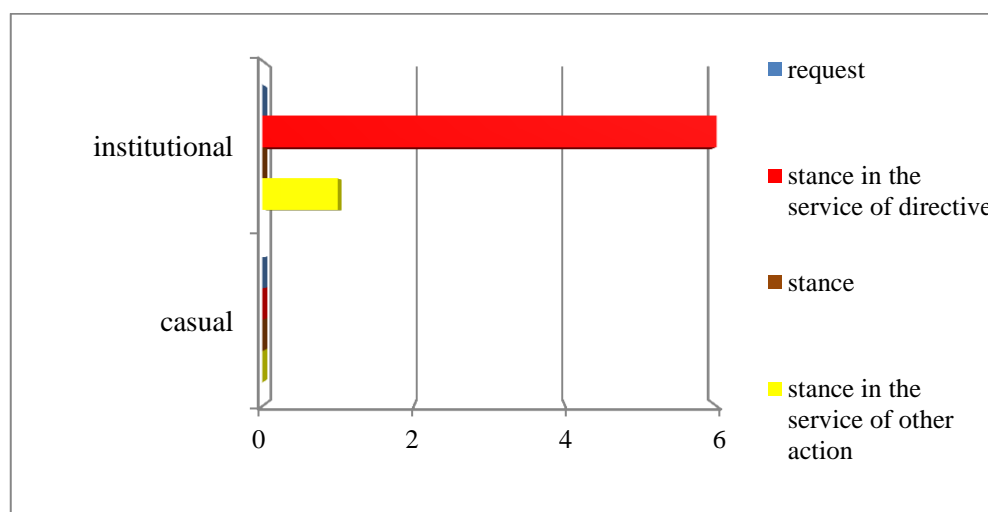


Figure 37. Functions of Construction Cx71.

Cx71 appears before sequences containing multiple directives. Examples include division-of-labour sequences leading to a mutual benefit (cf. 188), but more generally, the construction inhabits sequences in which the participants negotiate responsibilities for actions with each other (cf. 187). If we think of such environments as coupled megasequences, then Cx71 is part of a sequence that pre-expands them.

In example (187), Cx71 appears in line 3 prior to the client making a request (line 6). The preceding context of (187) is that the client has come to KELA to inquire about the possibility of receiving a regular housing benefit when the student's housing benefit is no longer applicable to his situation.

(187) 'Housing aid' (T932_asumistuki)

- 1 Client: *joo mull_on tota ni omistus (.) asunto*
 PTC 1SG.ADE_be.PRS.3SG PTC PTC possession apartment
 'yeah, I have my own apartment'
jost_on asuntolainaa. (.)
 REL.ELA_be.PRS.3SG mortgage.PTV
 'for which there is a mortgage'
- 2 Clerk: *just. (0.8)*
 PTC
 'precisely'
- 3 → *joo: onks sullet tehty semmosta*
 PTC be.PRS.3SG.Q.CL 2SG.ALL do. PAP such. PTV
 'yeah, has there been'
jo#tain(.) arvio tai laskelmaa.# (0.5)
 some. PTV estimation. PTV or calculation.PTV
 'some estimation or calculation done for you?'
- 4 → Client: *ei o. (0.4)*
 NEG.3SG be.NEG
 'no, there hasn't'
- 5 Clerk: *[joo-o?]*
 PTC
 'yeah'
- 6 → Client: *[(et) lähinnä tul]in kysymää ett mitä*
 PTC mainly come.PST.1SG ask.CVB.ILL COMP what.PTV
 'so I came mainly to ask what'
mitä, (.) mitä kaavakkeit siihen tarttee
 what.PTV what.PTV form.PL.PTV it. ILL need.PRS.3SG
 'what forms are needed for it'
 [(-)]
- 7 → Clerk: *[joo no tota minä voisi antaa] ihan ne- (0.2)*
 PTC PTC PTC 1SG can.COND.1SG give quite DEM
 'yeah, well, I could give these'
tai estiiteej ja
 PTC brochure.PL and
 'brochures and'
- 8 Client: *joo.*
 PTC
 'yeah'
- 9 Clerk: *>sitte [ne< kaavakkeet.*

PTC DEM form.PL
 ‘also the forms’
 [((Clerk stands up))
 (54.0)

The request made by the client in line 6 is followed by the clerk’s acceptance formulated as an offer to provide the client with necessary documents immediately. So the beneficiary of the enterprise is univocally the client, and it may be considered an instance of linguistic iconicity that the beneficiary of the subsequent series of actions is already announced in the scope of Cx71 (*sinulle* ‘to you’) which pre-expands these actions. Also the formal features of the verb are iconic because the passive marking very efficiently symbolises the status of the client in terms of agency. The client is not the main actor on the institutional stage, and has relatively little influence on how things will happen. Example (188) perhaps provides a better illustration thereof, as well as of the element of negotiation and the place of Cx71 in the whole strategy.

(188) ‘Medical reimbursement’ (T948_laakekorvaus)

- 1 Client: *mä toin tän; (0.2) viime viikolla sen; [ä (1.0)*
 1SG bring.PST.1SG DEM.ACC last week.ADE DEM.ACC
 ‘I brought last week the’
 [((Client
 sits down))
*sen beetodistuksen tänne *et (se*
 DEM.ACC b-certificate here COMP it
 ‘the B-certificate here, so that it’
tulis) erityis>korvattavaks<? (0.4)*
 come.COND.3SG specially.reimburse.PRPP.TRA
 ‘would become subject to a special reimbursement’
- 2 *>mut sit mä kävin ostaan sitä*
 but then 1SG go.PST.1SG buy.CV.B.ILL DEM.PTV
 ‘but then I went to buy the’
#lää#kettä jo? (0.2)
 medicine.PTV already
 ‘medicine already’
- 3 → Clerk: *just joo. (.) ootkos;; (0.2) onks sulle*
 PTC PTC be.PRS.2SG.QCL be.PRS.3SG.QCL 2SG.AD
 ‘yeah, precisely. Have you, has’
vielä tullu sitä päätöstä.
 yet come.PAP DEM.PTV decision.PTV
 ‘the decision already come to you’
- 4 → Client: *ei o [(*vielä).*
 NEG.3SG be.PRS.NEG yet
 ‘not yet’
- 5 → Clerk: *[.ei, .hh elikkä tota; (0.2)*
 NEG.3SG PTC PTC
 ‘no; so’
kannattaa tehdä sillä >tavalla et<
 be.worth. PRS.3SG do DEM.ADE way.ADE COMP
 ‘it’s worth doing in the way that’

- odotellaan* *se* *päätös*. (0.6)
 await.PASS DEM decision
 ‘we’ll await the decision’
- 6 Client: *joo*;
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 7 → Clerk: *.hh* *elikkä* *tota* *sit* *ko* *saat* *sen*
 PTC PTC PTC when get.PRS.2SG DEM.ACC
 ‘so when you will get the’
 pää<töksen>; (0.2) *.h* *ni* *toimita* *s:ittev*
 decision.ACC PTC deliver.IMP.2SG then
 ‘decision, only then deliver’
 vasta tämä; (.)
 only this
 ‘this one’
- 8 → *elikkä* [*mä* *a]nnan* *sulle* *kirjekkuoren mukaan*
 PTC 1SG give.PRS.1SG 2SG.ALL envelope. ACC along
 ‘so I’ll give you an envelope’
- 9 Client: [*joo*];
 PTC
 ‘yeah’

Together with the asymmetries in agency, also an uneven distribution of deontic authority becomes manifested in example (188), and Cx71 emerges from the exchange as a crystallisation of these asymmetries. The client wishes to receive a reimbursement before she has taken delivery of Kela’s decision concerning her reimbursement application. The clerk commences the negotiations already in line 3 inquiring whether the decision has yet arrived to the client. The decision becomes the central element of the clerk’s negotiation strategy as *se päätös* ‘the decision’ becomes recycled (cf. lines 5 and 7) and is stressed in all three manifestations. The relevant rules have it that a positive decision is a prerequisite to having one’s medical expenses reimbursed by Kela, so the clerk cannot comply with the client’s request. The clerk proposes a deal in the final lines of (188): the client will wait for the decision and only then bring the receipt for the medication, while he will himself provide the client with an envelope for the receipt she has already brought to Kela.

In the whole of this exchange, requests are formulated as other actions. The client’s utterance across lines 1–2 is in fact a request, although it is proffered as informative statements. The clerk’s rejection of the request in line 5 comes as a proposal (*odotellaan se päätös* ‘we’ll await the decision’) and all this is supplemented by the division of labour proposal in lines 7–8 wherein the clerk also undertakes actions by himself. Added to that the period of silence after the rejection and the markers of hesitation in the clerk’s turns, the picture of these actions arises from (139) as dispreferreds disguised as ones to be done for the benefit of the client. In fact, the clerk acts for the benefit of himself as the representative of an institution.

Construction Cx71 insofar fits this context as it is followed by a negative response (line 4). Also line 4 of the previous example contains one. Cx71 belongs to those patterns with the Finnish partitive which indeed are negative-projecting and given their context of usage, it may be considered as a construction announcing dispreferred actions.

The bolded requestive NPs in lines 3 and 5 appear to be a variant of construction Cx77. If this is the case, this individual example is quite telling because it suggests that the partitive-marked NP and not a verb *saada* ‘get’ constitutes the core of requesting in that construction.

5.4. Stance in the service of other actions

While epistemic asymmetries are embedded in institutional interactions, in casual ones they are more likely to depend on the circumstances and emerge only as momentary features. This will be particularly visible in this section because a great deal of the examples to be cited picture situations in which constructions with the partitive appear before or after the accomplishment of the main action, or in short insert-expansion sequences within these actions.

There are three constructions to be discussed in 5.4: Cx73, Cx75 and Cx76. Each of them is primarily dedicated to the function called ‘stance in the service of other actions’. Quite a general formulation though it may seem, for each of these constructions it is actually possible to identify either the specific “other actions” they facilitate or the repeatedly occurring interactional conditions accompanying their usage, irrespectively of the nature of the action formed simultaneously.

5.4.1. Construction Cx73: *tunnetko* + PTV ‘do you know PTV’

Construction Cx73 is a transitive clause in the scope of interrogation. The question is addressed to the interactional partner(s) and either a verb of cognition (e.g. *muistaa* ‘remember’) or a verb of perception (e.g. *nähdä* ‘see’) is used.

(190) Construction Cx73

VP.2.Q + (PERS.PRO.2) +NP.PTV

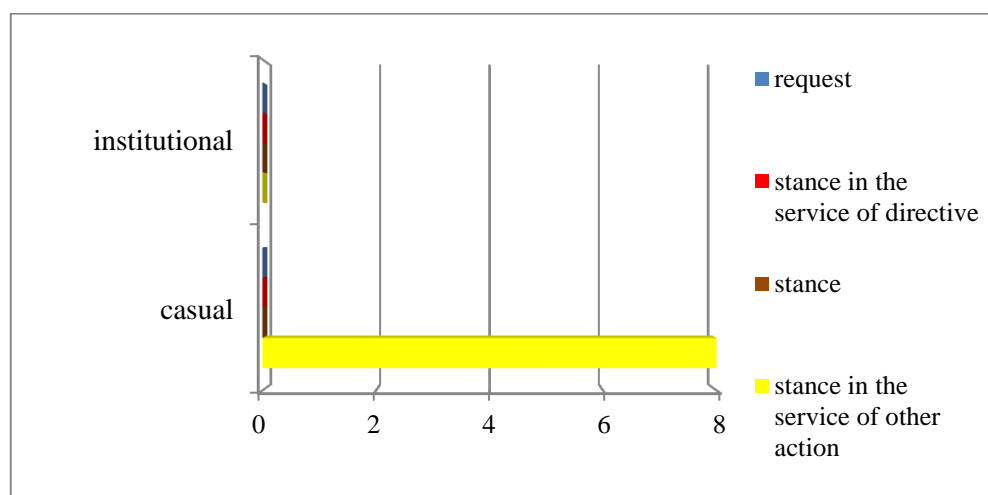


Figure 38. Functions of Construction Cx73.

In the case of construction Cx73, the function that I label ‘stance in the service of other action’ consists in the fact in all of its manifestations, Cx73 introduces a situation in which the participants are faced with an issue of incomplete epistemic access. This poses a problem to be overcome so that some other intended action, e.g. telling a story, identifying a person in the photograph, etc., could be accomplished. An example of

Cx73 has actually already been cited during the introduction of stance-related functions of the partitive in 2.2.2.2. A part of it is now recycled as (191).

(191) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_07_20)

- 1 Hanna: [*muistatteks* *te* *semmos-ta*]
remember.PRS.2PL.Q.CL 2PL such-PTV
‘do you remember such a’
- 2 Päivi: [*Ringbumko.*]
PR.Q
‘it is Ringbum?’
- 3 Hanna: *naa[ma-a.]*
face-PTV
‘face?’
- 4 Maija: [*joo*] *kukas* *toi* *on.*
PTC who.CL DEM be.PRS.3SG
‘yeah, who’s that?’

As discussed in 2.2.2.2, the construction does not pose a question projecting a negative response (cf. Cx71 discussed in 5.3.2), but announces an upcoming problem. In ‘Concert agency’, Cx73 is an invitation to a joint problem solving. (143) provides another example form that conversation.

(192) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_03_30)

- 1 → Hanna: *tunnet* *sä* [*tätä* *kave^oria^o*] ((to Matti))
know.PRS.2SG 2SG DEM.PTV fellow.PTV PR.ADE
‘do you know this guy’
- 2 Päivi: [*hei#:: eks* *t]änne vois*]
PTC NEG.3SG.CL to.here can.COND. 3SG
‘hey, couldn’t we (lit.couldn’t one)’
panna *£Savonlinna* [*ku* (*joskus*) *tor-*] *torvi*
put PR PTC sometimes horn
‘put Savonlinna here because of the horn’
- 3 Liisa: [*£v:o:::ois£*]
can.COND. 3SG
‘we could (lit.one could)’
- 4 Päivi: *ei* *sit[te* *kuite-* *tai* *niinku£*]
NEG.3SG PTC OR PTC
‘no, after all, or like’
- 5 → Hanna: [*oisko* *tää* *joku* *edes]**menny*]
be.COND. 3SG.Q DEM some late
‘would it be some late’
laulaja (0.5)
singer
‘singer’
- 6 → Matti: *siis* (.) *se* *on* [*hurjan* *tutun* *nä]könen.*
PTC 3SG be.PST.3SG fiercely familiar.GEN lookalike
‘he looks extremely familiar’
- 7 Jouni: [(-)]

- 8 → Hanna: *se on tutun näkönen mut ei*
 3SG be.PST.3SG familiar.GEN lookalike but NEG.3SG
 ‘he looks familiar but nothing’
tuu mielee. (1.1) [kuka] tää ois.
 come.NEG mind.ILL who DEM be.COND.3SG
 ‘comes to my mind as to who this person would be’
- 9 Päivi: *[joo.]*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’

The pattern typical for that conversation is that Cx73 is employed to recruit other’s assistance in establishing facts one is unable to identify by themselves. But the whole operation sometimes leads to a failure and the participants have to shift to another photograph. This is the case with (192) and other examples coming from ‘Concert agency’: the participants try to accomplish the task trying to guess who the person in the photograph is (line 5) and admitting that the face is familiar (lines 6 and 8), but eventually have to surrender because none of them is able to come up with a firm conclusion.

The analysis of examples representing other conversations confirms that the typical environment of Cx73 is the pre-sequential position, but the construction is also used for the purposes of failure avoidance. Consider (193) in which Cx73 appears in line 1 as a way of testing the waters before Antti shifts to his actual query. He first wants to know whether any of the co-participants has lately seen one of their common friends. After receiving a confirmation, Antti proceeds to a query in line 5. The query has the form of Cx72 whose primary function is requesting, as shown in 5.1.1.1, but in casual talk the functions of the construction are first and foremost stance-related. Line 5 initiates a short story-telling.

(193) ‘Coffee and buns’ (SG121_10_20)

- 1 → Antti: *nä- nükiks teist kukaa sitü*
 see.PST.3SG.Q.CL 2PL.ELA anyone 3SG.PTV
 ‘did any of you see him’
(viikonloppuna),
 weekend.ESS
 ‘during the weekend?’
- 2 Kaisa: *mm- [y-*
 3 Matti: *[mä, (.) la- perjan[taina,*
 1SG Friday.ESS
 ‘I did, on Friday’
- 4 Paavo: *[nähtii [se oli vä- vähä väsyksissä,*
 see.PASS 3SG be.PST.3SG a.little tired
 ‘we saw each other, he was a bit tired’
- 5 → Antti: *olikhaha sillä mitää problemaa ku*
 be.PST.3SG.Q.CL 3SG.ADE any.PTV problem.PTV PTC
 ‘did he have any problem `cos’
se soitti minulle tota nii sunnuntaina,
 3SG call.PST.3SG 1SG.ALL PTC PTC Sunday.ESS
 ‘he called me, uhm, on Sunday’
- 6 (0.2) *>eiku maanantaina, (.)*

- PTC Sunday.ESS
‘no, on Monday’
- 7 Matti: *mitä* *se* (*halus*),
 what.PTV 3SG want.PST.3SG
 ‘what did he want?’
- 8 Antti: *öö:, (.) emmie* *tiiä* *ku* *mie* *en*
 NEG.1SG know.NEG PTC 1SG NEG.1SG
 ‘uhm, I don’t know `cos I didn’t’
- vastannu* *puhe(h)limmee*,
 answer.PAP phone.ILL
 ‘answer the phone’
- 9 → Kaisa: *heh*,

The exchange shown in (193) has an entertaining effect (cf. line 9), but I hardly consider it to be a matter of purposeful design, but rather a situational by-product. There is only one other case (shown in example 125 in 4.7.1) which leads to a similar display of affect. What does seem to be an intentional design, however, is the fact that the participant using Cx73 tries to gain assistance in handling a matter which is interactionally significant, signalling at the same time that it may pose some challenges. In this way Cx73 partly resembles Cx71, a construction which also exhibits higher transitivity than the other patterns examined here. I will return to that similarity in the summary of this chapter.

5.4.2. Construction Cx75: *tässä näkyy* + PTV ‘here is PTV’

The next construction exemplifies the so-called state clause (fin. *tilalause*), i.e. an existential clause predicating of an existence of something somewhere. It features a demonstrative pronoun in one of the locative cases (the inessive, the elative, etc.) or a locative adverb (e.g. *siellä* ‘there’), a verb of existence (most commonly *olla* ‘be’, but also *näkyä* ‘be visible’ and *löytyä* ‘be found’) and the NP.

(194) Construction Cx75

DEM/ADV.LOC + VP.3SG + NP.PTV

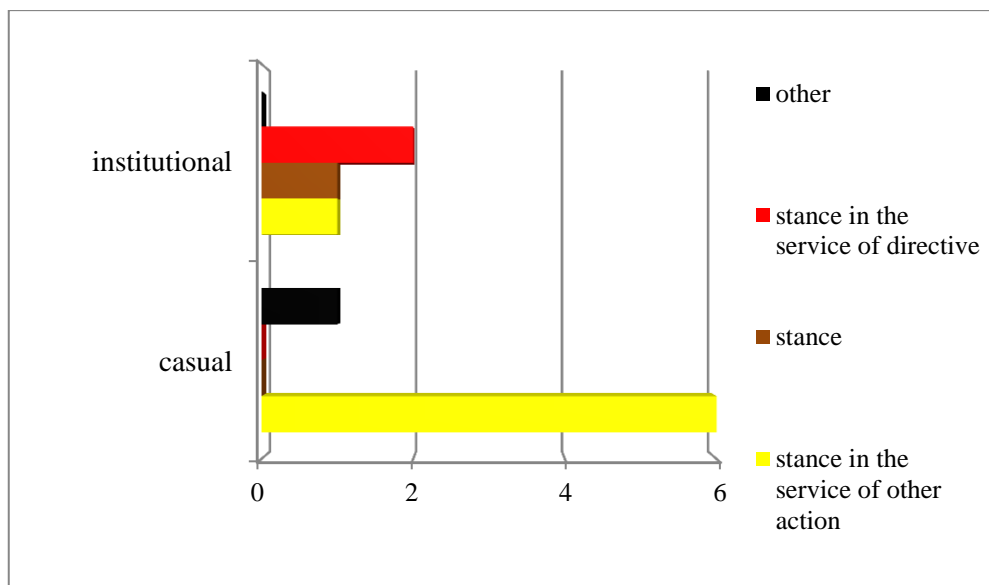


Figure 39. Functions of Construction Cx75

As far as the casual data is concerned, all examples of Cx75 in its main function but one come from ‘Concert agency’. The token mentioned as ‘other’ in Figure 39 is the example from ‘Wine evening’ which served to illustrate the emergent nature of grammar in 3.1.3. Finally, more than elsewhere, the inventory of NPs bearing partitive marked NPs contains borderline cases whose interpretation may vary between stance and other factors such as divisibility. For all these reasons, the conclusions concerning Cx75 cannot be regarded as definitive as in the case of the other constructions examined in 5.4. and beyond. Nothing systematic can be said about the usage of Cx75 in the institutional part of the data, either.

In ‘Concert agency’, Cx75 is one of the patterns through which the participants signal incomplete epistemic access as they try to establish facts about the people and places in the photographs. The construction is used to enumerate facts, which is supposed to lead the participants closer to achieving their goals. Formally, Cx75 is a declarative statement, and this has vital consequences for its interpretation. The NP under partitive marking in Cx75 is usually more referential compared to NPs belonging in the constructions representing the interrogative existential clause (cf. Cx77a and Cx77b, or Cx76 yet to come) because Cx75 is not an inquiry into whether something exists or not. Instead, Cx75 signals that the participant struggles to identify aspects of the NP referent or the whole situation. In (195), for example, Liisa sees a rock in the picture in front of her, but she is unable to place it into a specific spatial context with certainty (line 8). Her stance is not as much taken on the rock as on the spatial and temporal circumstances in which the photograph has been taken. She wonders if the photo may have been shot in the Temppeliaukio square (line 12). Her stance diverges from that taken simultaneously by Jouni in line 11.

(195) ‘Concert agency’ (SG435_03_10)

- 1 Liisa: *tää on itseasias aika hurja mut kuka*
 DEM be.PRS.3SG self.thing.INE quite wild but who
 ‘as a matter of fact, this is quite wild, but who’
mistä tää on.
 what.ELA DEM be.PRS.3SG

- ‘where is this one from?’
- 2 Jouni: *mikä*.
what
‘which (one)?’
- 3 Maija: *mikä* [(-)]
what
‘which (one)?’
- 4 Liisa: [*tää*] *kuva*;
DEM photo
‘this photo’
- 5 Jouni: >*näytäs* *nyt*< (0.5)
show.IMP.2SG.CL PTC
‘show it for a second’
- 6 Liisa: *ka-* *toi* (0.2) *tää* [*talo*] *ja* *sit*
DEM DEM house and PTC
‘that, this house and then’
- 7 Jouni: [*joo*.]
PTC
‘yeah’
- 8 → Liisa: *siin on* *jotain* *kalliota*;
it.INE be.PRS.3SG some.PTV rock.PTV
‘there is some rock’
- 9 Jussi: ((gives photos to Hanna)) *m-* *tätä* *löy°tyy°*
DEM.PTV be.found.PRS.3SG
‘this is (here)’
- 10 Hanna: *mm*.
- 11 → Jouni: *tää om* *muutenihan* *tästä* (0.2) *tosta*
DEM be.PRS.3SG by.the.way quite DEM.ELA DEM.ELA
‘this is, by the way, there from’
[vierestä; onks *toi* *Auroran]katu*.
side.ELA be.PRS.3SG.Q.CL DEM PR
‘the side, is it Aurora street’
- 12 → Liisa: [*onks* *se* *Temppeliaukiolta.*] (0.8)
be.PRS.3SG.Q.CL DEM PR.ABL
‘is it from Temppeliaukio’

In KELA talks, the functions of Cx75 are quite dispersed. Although they are all stance-related, I have been unable to find any specific patterning in the case of Cx75 in the institutional part of my data. Still, one example is worth citing.

(196) ‘Unemployment protection’ (T170_tyottomyysturvajuttu)

- 1 Client: *ne sano että;* (0.3) *#yy#;* (0.2) *pittää olla;* (0.6)
3PL say.PST.3 COMP PTC have.to. PRS.3SG be
‘they said that there has to be’
- Kela:m päätös siihe;* (0.5) *'ttä ne*
Kela.GEN decision it.ILL COMP 3PL
‘a Kela’s decision on it so that they’
saa, (0.5) *tehäs sitte jotaki;* (0.5) *ihime*

- be.allowed.PRS.3SG do PTC some.PTV wonder
 ‘could do some bloody’
jatko(juttuja)**. (0.6)
 continuation.thing.PL.PTV
 ‘continuation business’
- 2 *päätök*siä**. *em* *minä: *<tiä>**. (0.4)
 decision.PL.PTV neg.1SG 1SG know.NEG
 ‘decisions, I dunno’
- 3 → Clerk: *siellä on* *kyllä nyt* *jonkullaista* *väärää*
 there be.PRS.3SG PTC PTC some.kind.of.PTV wrong.PTV
 ‘there is, as a matter of fact, some sort of wrong’
*informaa*tiota**. (1.0)
 information.PTV
 ‘information’
- 4 *kyllä kai nyp pystyy* *työn*
 PTC PTC now be.able.to.PRS.3SG job.ACC
 ‘of course one can’
ottamaan vas#taan#; (0.8)
 take.CVB.ILL against
 ‘accept a job (offer)’
- 5 *vaikkei* *ole (-)* *vielä [päätöstä]*
 although.3SG.NEG be.NEG still decision.PTV
 ‘despite a decision has not yet been’
- 6 Client: *[jota:ki;]*
 some.PTV
 ‘some (job)’
- 7 Clerk: *tehty.*
 make.PPP
 ‘made’

In line 4, the clerk uses Cx75 to challenge the epistemic status of the information relayed by the client from an unemployment office. The challenge is a display of epistemic authority resulting from epistemic access. Example (196) demonstrates that the usage of Cx75 is not limited to turns taken by the less knowledgeable participant(s). This may suggest that Cx75 is a construction of stance in a more conventionalised sense. Similarly to Cx70 which generally belongs in the pre-requestive environment, construction Cx75 would function as a construction employed for the purposes of stance negotiation irrespectively of the level of knowledgeableability of the speaker who resorts to it.

5.4.3. Construction Cx76: *onko tässä* + PTV ‘is there PTV’

The last construction left to be discussed is Cx76. It also exemplifies the state clause, but it is the interrogative version of that clause. Another difference compared to Cx75 is that the verb sometimes also has the enclitic *-s*.

(197) Construction Cx76

VP.3SG.Q(.CL) + (DEM/ADV/NP.INE) + NP.PTV

Figure 40 shows that all uses of this construction are stance-related, but none of the functions really predominates. It is chiefly due to the absolute number of manifestations that I count Cx73 as one dedicated mainly to stance in the service of actions other than directives.

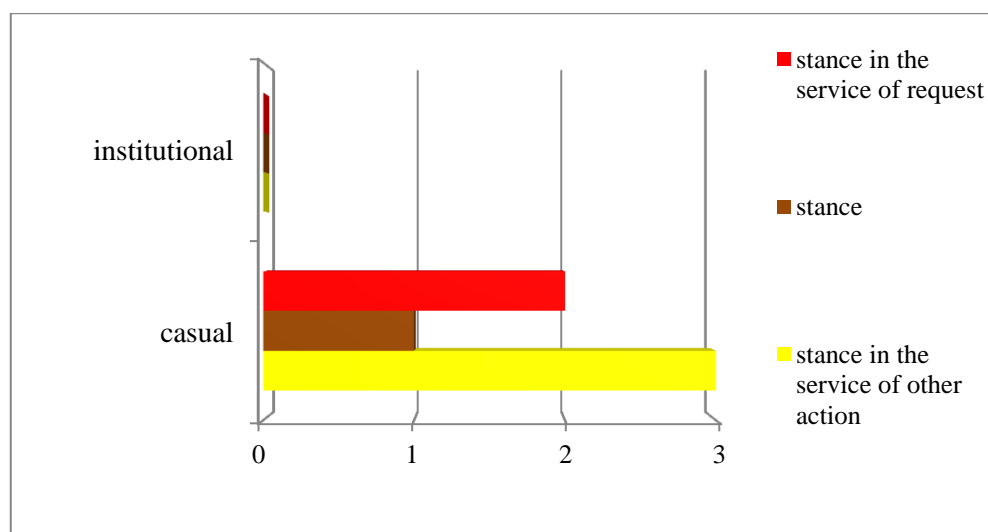


Figure 40. Functions of Construction Cx76.

There are, thus, two instances of stance taken in the service of request with Cx76, three in which stance-taking facilitates some other action than a directive, and in one case Cx76 is used to take epistemic stance. In the two latter functions, Cx76 is the first pair part of an expansion sequence. Examples (198) and (199) provide illustrations thereof. I count Cx76 in example (198) as stance proper and not as stance in the service of problem-solving because unlike the earlier exchanges illustrating other constructions (e.g. Cx73 in example 192), the participants are not struggling with incomplete evidence when trying to establish someone's identity. Instead, through their incoming turns, they dynamically co-complete the characteristics of a singer whose identity is already known to them. Cx76 initiates a post-expansion of the stance-taking sequence in line 8. After the participants have arrived at a full picture of the person's features and habits, Matti additionally wants to know whether there is a date written at the back of the photo. He receives a negative reply from Jussi in line 11.

(198) 'Concert agency' (SG435_03_20)

- | | | | | |
|---|--------|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Jussi: | <i>sehän</i> | <i>oli</i> | <i>[(-)]</i> |
| | | 3SG.CL | be.PST.3SG | |
| | | 'she was' | | |
| 2 | Päivi: | | <i>[laulajatar]</i> | <i>[mum mielestä]</i> |
| | | | singer.FEM | 1SG.GEN mind.ELA |
| | | | 'a singer, in my opinion' | |
| 3 | Hanna: | | <i>[joo. kyllä. ja se]</i> | |
| | | | PTC PTC and 3SG | |
| | | | 'yes, true, and she' | |
| 4 | Päivi: | <i>mut se on se joka röökäs]</i> | | |
| | | but 3SG be.PRS.3SG DEM REL smoke.PST.3SG | | |
| | | 'but she's the one who smoked' | | |
| 5 | Hanna: | <i>oli</i> | <i>(pyylevä).</i> | <i>]</i> |

		be.PST.3SG	plump		
		‘was plump’			
6	Päivi:	[jos]sain	[ja,]		
		somewhere	and		
		‘somewhere and’			
7	Jussi:	[joo?]			
		PTC			
		‘yeah’			
8 →	Matti:	[>onks]	siinä<	[vuosilukua.]
		be.PRS.3SG.Q.CLthere	year.date.PTV		
		‘is there a year date?’			
9	Liisa:		[ai	niin	se
			PTC	PTC	3SG
					be.PRS.3SG
			‘oh yes, she is’		
		[se	on	siis	joo;]
		3SG	be.PRS.3SG	PTC	PTC
		‘she is, I mean, yeah’			
10	Päivi:	[se	[on]	junamathassa]	
		3SG	be.PRS.3SG	train.journey.INE	
		‘she’s on a train’			
11 →	Jussi:	((to Matti))	[ei.]		
			NEG.3SG		
		‘there isn’t’			

In the next example the participants are collaboratively organising a viewing of wedding photos. Cx76 initiates an insert-expansion of a sequence in which Kerttu explains how she has organised the sets. Antti wants to know whether there is a particular picture in the set (line 4) and Kerttu immediately confirms that it is there (line 5). This short exchange triggers a deviation from the main activity as Kerttu provides background information why some photos are missing from the collection across lines 6 to 11.

(199) ‘Four friends’ (SG346_20_30)

1	Kerttu:	<i>mul</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>Jossulle</i>	<i>nyt</i>	<i>tämmöin</i>
		1SG.ADE	be.PRS.3SG	PR.ALL	PTC	such
		‘I have for Jossu’				
		<i>muutama</i>	<i>kuva?</i>	(0.9)		
		few	photo			
		‘a few photos’				
2		<i>aina@ski@?</i>	(1.3)			
		at.least				
		‘at least’				
3		<i>erottelin</i>	<i>joilleki</i>	<i>jotain</i>		
		sort.out.PST.1SG	someone.PL.ALL	something.PTV		
		‘I sorted out for some people some’				
		> <i>tämmösii</i> <	<i>spessukuvii</i>	(0.5)		
		such.PL.PTV	special.picture.PL.PTV			
		‘special pictures’				
4 →	Antti:	<i>onks</i>	<i>siel</i>	<i>sitä</i>	<i>lippukuvaah?</i>	

- be.PRS.3SG.Q.CL there DEM.PTV flag.photo.PTV
 ‘is the photo of a flag there?’
 5 → Kerttu: *joo täs o.* (0.2)
 PTC here be.PRS.3SG
 ‘yeah, here it is’
- 6 *mul ei ollu sitä* (.)
 1SG.ADE NEG.3SG be.PAP DEM.PTV DEM.PTV
 ‘I didn’t have that’
yht >mul oli< yks semmonen
 one.PTV 1SG.ADE be.PST.3SG one such
 ‘one, I had one’
tosi hyvä lippukuva mut sitte (0.5)
 really good flag.photo but then
 ‘really good photo of a flag but then’
- 7 *>ku mul oli tuplat siitä<?(.)*
 PTC 1SG.ADE be.PST.3SG double.PL it.ELA
 ‘‘cos I had a duplicate of it’
joku ku mä oon näyttäny näit
 someone when 1SG be.PRS.1SG show.PAP DEM.PL.PTV
 ‘someone when I showed these’
kuvii ja mä oon sanonu [et
 photo.PL.PTV and 1SG be.PRS.1SG say.PAP COMP
 ‘photos and said that’
- 8 Sanna: *[nii.*
 PTC
 ‘yeah’
- 9 Kerttu: *voi ottaa jos [on tuplat?=
 can.PRS.3SG take if be.PRS.3SG double.PL
 ‘one can take them if there are duplicates’*
- 10 Sanna: *[nii. =ni[i.*
 PTC PTC
 ‘yeah’ ‘yeah’
- 11 → Kerttu: *[sit joku
 PTC someone
 ‘then someone’*
on ottanu #n noist >mä en tiedäh<?
 be.PRS.3SG take.PAP DEM.PL 1SG NEG.1SG know.NEG
 ‘took from them, I don’t know’
 (0.7)
- 12 *>tä o< (.) Jossullehh? (0.8)*
 DEM be.PRS.3SG PR.ALL
 ‘this one is for Jossu’

The two examples show that construction Cx76 seeks a yes-no response, but contrary to e.g. Cx73, the response may either be positive or negative. This makes Cx76 a more subjective construction than Cx73 because it does not have functions connected with the organisation of interaction. Instead, Cx76 appears as the first pair part of a simple question-answer adjacency pair wherein the person asking the question is less knowledgeable relative to their co-participant who provides the information. Epistemic access emerges as the interactional resource necessary for carrying out the action in

these short sequences, albeit epistemic stance taking is not always central to in the surrounding interaction. Still, epistemicity becomes exploited in it in one way or the other: in (199), for example, the conversation is back on its original track after Kerttu's summarising *mä en tiedä* 'I don't know' in line 11.

The analysis of interactions in which Cx76 is used to take a stance in the service of issuing a request suggest that Cx76 is not as much a construction projecting a yes-no response as a construction seeking an immediate response which is adequate to the situation. In (200), Liisa responds to Maija's stanced request formulated as Cx76 using combined resources of language and embodiment, trying to hand in to Maija the object she is searching for (lines 6, 11 and 12). My interpretation of Maija's request as stanced relies on what happens outside of the linguistic layer. Airing her turn in lines 2 and 4, Maija is looking around trying to find a pencil, and does not initially look in Liisa's direction.

(200) 'Concert agency' (SG435_05_30)

- 1 Hanna: *aa:*
- 2 → Maija: *ja siinä >siellä ei lue takana<*
 and it.INE there NEG.3SG read.NEG at.the.back
 'and here it doesn't say at the back'
[mitään onko onko lyijy°kynää:
 anything.PTV be.PRS.3SG.Q be.PRS.3SG.Q pencil.PTV
 'anything, is there a pencil'
- 3 Päivi: *[Sirkesalo Osvi (0.3) °Jussi Häyrinen°,*
 PR PR PR PR
 'Sirkesalo Osvi, Jussi Häyrinen'
- 4 → Maija: *missä° [päin. J ((Maija looks around herself))*
 where towards
 'somewhere?'
- 5 Jussi: *[°siin° on Suvi] Sinnelä. (0.6)*
 it.INE be.PRS.3SG PR PR
 'here is Suvi Sinnelä'
- 6 → ((Liisa lifts a pencil from the table and holds it in the air))
- 7 Jussi: *[Aleksandra Androos.]*
 PR PR
 'Aleksandra Androos'
- 8 Maija: *[(-) J (0.5)]*
- 9 Jussi: *kuk[as?]*
 who.CL
 'who?'
- 10 (Matti): *[#mm#]*
- 11 → Liisa: *>lyijy<kynä? ((Liisa points the pencil in Maija's direction)) (0.7)*
 pencil
 'pencil?'
- 12 → ((Maija picks up the pencil))

Apart from the lack of the *-s* enclitic on the verb, I have not found any formal features which would further differentiate stance in the service of request from the two formerly discussed functions of Cx76. I do not find two examples sufficient to distinguish a separate version of Cx76 dedicated to stance in the service of request

based on this difference, especially that similarly to the previous examples, Cx76 in (200) also performs an activity outside of the main interactional current. The exchange between Maija and Liisa is somewhat sidetracked and no-one else reacts to Maija's search for a pencil. The other participants are busy arranging photographs as they come in from Jussi and Päivi.

5.5. Interim summary

Table 9 summarises the discussion of constructions covered in Chapter 5. Similarly to Tables 7 and 8 in Section 4.10, the colours in one of the columns are related to the colours used throughout this chapter in charts showing the functions of particular constructions.

Cx	Cx scheme	Presence and function in corpora		VP	NP.PTV	remarks
		institutional	casual			
70	(PERS.PRO.ADE + V _{be} .3SG +) INDF.ADJ.PTV + NP.PTV	pre-request	epistemic stance in the service of another action	(<i>olla</i> 'be')	<i>asia</i> 'thing' or <i>homma</i> 'business', modified by indefinite adjective	in casual data stance in the service of another action is the main function
71	VP.PST/PRF.PASS.Q + (PERS.PRO.ALL) + NP.PTV	epistemic stance in the service of directives	-	a transitive verb or a verb higher in transitivity than <i>olla</i> 'be'		announces upcoming dispreferred action(s)
72	V _{<i>olla</i>} .PRS.3SG.Q + PERS.PRO.ADE + NP.PTV (+ VP)	request	stance	<i>olla</i> 'be'	document relevant for procedures	individual manifestations in casual data, mainly serving functions of stance
73	VP.2.Q + (PERS.PRO.2) + NP.PTV	-	epistemic stance in the service of problem-solving	a verb of cognition or perception		announces upcoming problem
74	what.PTV + NP.PTV (+ VP)	-	affective stance	verb not obligatory	hell, devil or a sexual organ	serves mirativity and other kinds of affective stance
75	DEM/ADV.LOC + VP.3SG + NP.PTV	stance-related functions	epistemic stance in the service of problem-solving	<i>olla</i> 'be', <i>näkyä</i> 'be visible', <i>löytyä</i> 'be found'		almost only found in one conversation
76	VP.3SG.Q(.CL) + (DEM/ADV/NP.INE) + NP.PTV	-	epistemic stance in the service of action other than directive	<i>olla</i> 'be'		first pair part of an expansion sequence
77	V _{<i>saada</i>} 'get, be allowed to'.Q + NP.PTV (+NP) (+ VP)	epistemic stance in the service of directive, mostly request	-	<i>saada</i> 'get, be allowed to'		77a: V _{<i>saada</i>} .COND.q + NP.PTV (+NP) (+ VP); stance in the service of directive 77b: V _{<i>saada</i>} .PRS.3SG.Q + NP.PTV (+NP) (+ VP); stance in the service of directive 77c: V _{<i>saada</i>} .PRS.1SG.Q (+ VP) + NP.PTV (+NP); request

Table 9. Summary of discussion in Chapter 5.

Stance is a crucial element of the interactional profiles of six out of the eight constructions I have identified. For the most part, however, the constructions serve more than one action at a time, and stance-taking rarely occupies the central position. This phenomenon concerns first and foremost epistemic stance for which I have found the greatest number of tokens of the partitive-marked NPs meeting the present criteria. If we relate these findings to the formal characteristics of constructions with the partitive, it becomes clear that the epistemic partitive does not make any radical departure from the characteristics of the Finnish partitive in general because as used in the functions described here, it typically inhabits low-transitivity clauses, i.e. the home environment of this case in discourse. A couple constructions with stance-related functions, Cx75 and Cx76, are instances of the Finnish existential clause. To reiterate, the main discourse function of this type of clause is providing background information (Helasvuo 2001a, Section 2.2.2.1), which is also the case with Cx75 and Cx76. These two constructions appear in turns taken to supplement the main activity with ancillary information or to help the participants obtain a fuller picture of the matter they are handling. The ancillary character of these constructions also reflects the background character of the sequences that they typically inhabit.

A further three stance-related constructions, i.e. Cx71, Cx73 and Cx77, represent formally transitive clauses, but they are not very high in transitivity. The picture of Cx71 that can be obtained based on the examples cited is that although it features transitive verbs such as *tehdä* 'do', the construction pictures situations of passive participation in events. Further, construction Cx73 is a transitive clause built around verbs of cognition and perception, i.e. ones representing non-kinetic and atelic actions with low-potency agents. Interestingly, these two constructions are the ones displaying signs of dispreference more consistently and recurrently than other constructions. Cx71 and Cx73 represent clauses which are closer to a canonical transitive clause than the existential constructions Cx75 or Cx76. It leads to the conclusion that the more transitive the clause is, the greater becomes the probability that the pragmatically-motivated partitive marking of the NP is a marked choice.

The third of the abovementioned constructions, Cx77, is also a transitive clause, but the usage of the partitive in its scope does not signal upcoming problems, but a lack of epistemic access, and reflects the inherent epistemic asymmetries characteristic of interactions between the stakeholders in social welfare office talks. In general, compared to the corpus of casual conversation, the institutional material reveals fundamental differences in terms of the distribution of constructions with the partitive across functions. That corpus is predominated by directive-related tokens, and if a construction appears in both corpora, the directive-related function is never the main function in casual talks (cf. Table 9). Constructions of directives, and of requests in particular, are typical of KELA talks. This concerns especially Cx72, a construction which outnumbers others in manifestations and probably allows for a bolder conclusion to be made. Namely, that Cx72 exemplifies a construction of institutional interaction in general because it has a specifically designated function and placement not only in the structure of the interactional sequence, but also in the infrastructure of institutional interaction. Cx72 features partitive NPs of a semantically restricted set. These are documents with which the client is requested to prove their identity. Cx72 in its main requestive function does not exhibit the original epistemic motivation for the usage of the partitive and thus can be regarded the most conventionalised pattern with the partitive studied in this work.

In sum, the most important conclusions concerning the partitive in this work do not actually apply to the NPs under partitive marking, but to the whole constructions in

which they appear. To balance this out, let me offer a final résumé in Figure 41. It contains a selection of examples representative of each of the constructions, put onto the diagraphic model.

requests:

- (164) *onks sulla tota; Kelakorttia?* (Cx72)
 ‘do you have the Kela card?’
 (170) *mul on semmost asiaa* (Cx70)
 ‘I have such a thing’

affective stance:

- (175) *tai **£mitü** perkelettü sä uliset£* (Cx74)
 ‘or what the hell are you yelling’

epistemic stance in the service of other directives:

- (182) *saiskos siitä jäljennöstü.* (Cx77)
 ‘could I get (lit. could one get) a duplicate of it?’
 (187) *onks sullet tehty semmosta jo#tainarvioo tai laskelmaa* (Cx71)
 ‘has any estimation or calculation been done for you?’

epistemic stance in the service of other actions:

- (193) *näkiks teist kukaa sitä (viikonloppuna),* (Cx73)
 ‘did any of you see him during the weekend?’
 (195) *siin on jotain kalliota;* (Cx75)
 ‘there is some rock’
 (199) *onks siel sitä lippukuvaah?* (Cx76)
 ‘is the photo of a flag there?’

Figure 41. Representative examples of constructions with the partitive.

This overview says two things about the bolded partitive NPs. First of all, it shows that there is no clear-cut division into the pragmatic and semantic factors which motivate the usage of the partitive because in many cases, the partitive marking of the NP is a co-production of both types of factors, e.g. an interpretation of the NP as non-referential (cf. *jotain semmosta* ‘any such’ modifying the coordinated NPs in example 187) and of epistemic stance taking. Secondly, the NPs under partitive marking are formal crystallisations of epistemic and deontic asymmetries between the participants in Finnish interactions wherever there arise asymmetries in these domains (cf. example 182 and the client’s question on whether she will get *jäljennöstü* ‘duplicate’; recall also example 184). Huumo (2007: 3) brilliantly compares the grammatical case of the Finnish copula complement AP to a mirror reflecting the perceived nature of the copula subject. It seems that the partitive in the constructions I have studied may be seen as a mirror reflecting the perceived and real asymmetrical distribution of interactional resources.

6. Concluding remarks

This work has delivered an interactional description of two grammatical categories used in constructions implementing two action types in two different genres of spoken Finnish. I have identified 30 recurrent stance and directive formats, of which 22 materialise around verbs in the conditional mood and the remaining 8 contain NPs marked for what may be termed ‘the partitive of stance’.

By combining an examination of individual kinds of directives along the lines of recent interactional research (particularly Couper-Kuhlen 2014) with the idea of constructions as genre-specific formats for social actions, this study has contributed to the understanding of those actions themselves. I have shown that requests made with the use of the conditional mood are first and foremost a feature of institutional Finnish interaction. Also suggestions implemented through clausal formats with the conditional are found in the social welfare office talks and not in casual Finnish interaction. On the other hand, I have made a strong case for constructions of proposals as grounded in a common experience. Proposals examined in this work are characteristic of casual encounters, not of interactions at branches of Kela. In sum, the distribution of directives containing verbs in the conditional mood primarily rests on the criterion of agent of the future action. Directives with the conditional mood which solicit actions to be conducted by the ‘other’ participant(s) emerge from interactions characterised by asymmetries in the deontic and the epistemic domain of the momentary relationship between the interactants. Such directives are formed principally by Kela clerks who are empowered by the social welfare institution itself and the knowledge they possess thanks to their familiarity with institutional processes and regulations. The participants in casual conversations, too, might have an unequal epistemic access to relevant discourse entities, but in the casual conversations that I have examined here the deontic relationships among them are mostly symmetrical. In such conversations, the usage of the conditional mood in directives mostly implies that the ‘self’ is going to be at least one of the agents of the future action, and that the action is going to bring benefits to the other participant(s).

The present study was also meant to contribute to research into stance in interaction and I believe it has done so, especially by contrasting environments of stance proper with sequences of those actions whose formation and completion stance-taking facilitates. I have defined stance in the service of another action as a term of its own and delivered a systematic examination of it. In this study, stance has been understood to serve another action when taking a stance does not change the nature of that other action, but influences its course with sequence-structural consequences. By assigning particular importance to stance in the service of directives and other actions, I hope to have offered an approach bridging the early research into stance in interaction devoted to the act of stance itself (e.g. Kärkkäinen 2003 and later, Du Bois 2007) with more recent studies such as that of Heritage (2012) and Stevanovic & Peräkylä (2014) which understand stance to permeate practically all kinds of social actions.

In addition to that, I have delivered an analysis of interactional Finnish in the light of research into stance patterns, identifying a number of interactional features also known to exist for constructions of stance in other languages. For example, constructions Cx64 *mä veikkaisin* ‘I would guess’ and Cx65 (*mä*) *luulisi(n)* ‘I/one would think’ are constructions of second stance and orient the participants to collaborative stance-taking in similar ways to the American English *I guess* and *I think* (Kärkkäinen 2003, 2007). Moreover, I have highlighted the significance of the verb *olla* ‘be’ for stance in Finnish interaction. The usage of constructions containing that verb is

a signal to other participants, who might be temporarily involved in other activities, that stance has become relevant for the local interaction.

The number of constructions with each of the two grammatical categories (22 with the conditional, 8 with the partitive) reflects their abundance in sequences of directives and stance. The conditional mood has a wide scope of usage both in directive and in stance environments, providing the participants in Finnish interactions with conventionalised and ad-hoc resources for implementing, and occasionally, also for responding to these two actions. The usage of the partitive motivated by stance rather than by the already well-researched features of semantic, syntactic and discursive conditioning is marginal, as is the nature of stance in contexts in which such type of the partitive occurs. Five of the eight constructions with the partitive studied here are dedicated to stance facilitating requesting, story-telling, evidence collection or other, interactionally more prominent, enterprises. Still, this is a result in its own right and in any case, the present study has delivered a systematic investigation into the partitive of stance in Finnish, verifying what earlier studies had concluded and completing the evidence of the phenomenon with real-life data. The typical contexts of occurrence of the partitive of stance in Finnish interaction fall into the home environment of the Finnish partitive in general, i.e. low-transitivity clauses. The verbs which most frequently appear in constructions with the partitive of stance include *olla* ‘be’, *löytyä* ‘be found’ and *näkyä* ‘be visible’. Constructions with the partitive displaying higher degrees of transitivity are more likely to be negative-projecting. Otherwise the appearance of the partitive is not as much linked to an expectation of a verbal response as it signals a problem in the succeeding interaction, a problem which is caused by the participants’ incomplete epistemic access to the necessary resources.

The partitive is also present in requests, both in stanced ones and in contexts where its appearance is unequivocally motivated by directivity. As a matter of fact, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the manifestations of the partitive I have investigated is within Cx92 *onko sulla* + PTV ‘do you have PTV?’, a construction of requesting chiefly found in Kela interactions. Construction Cx92 is a conventionalised means of requesting physical objects whereby the requested object is conventionally marked for the partitive. In this environment, the partitive has probably lost the original epistemic motivation, which means that Cx92 exemplifies the “epistemic” partitive at the most advanced stage in the grammaticalisation process from all the patterns examined in this study.

Studying the interactional profiles of constructions with the partitive and the conditional in Finnish, I have scrutinised a couple of grammatical categories other than case and mood as important by-products of the investigation. Tense is a factor distinguishing two constructions with the conditional which function as request formats such that the construction (1SG) + VP.COND.1SG + VP bearing present tense marking on the verb serves requests, whereas a corresponding past tense format (1SG) + [VP.COND].PST.1SG + VP is used to take stance in the service of request. Based on the data from other constructions studied in this work, I have associated the periphrastic form of the latter construction with the overall complexity of a biactional situation for which the pattern is typical.

Identifying predictable patterns of personal reference created by constructions lacking clear reference in the domain of grammatical person is the other unpredicted yet, I believe, crucial addition to the study of Finnish grammar in interaction that this work has made. Previous research had shown that constructions which lack an overt subject marked for person create an open referential field, and therefore also a potential for speakers to attend to them in varying ways. This study has determined that several constructions with verbs in the conditional mood have a tendency to be interpreted as a

particular kind of a directive and not another depending on aspects of social relationships among the participants in an interaction. What is a proposal in a conversation among friends is likely to be understood as a request or a suggestion during a visit at the social welfare institution. This reflects the participants' understanding of the roles they play and the goals they have in a particular situation. In institutional interactions, there is a clear division into 'self' and 'other' between clerks and clients in terms of their responsibilities and the objectives they pursue, whereas in casual conversations the participants are far more likely to have a common goal. This is reflected in the distribution of directive types as they are understood in Couper-Kuhlen (2014) and in this work.

I have awarded myself the luxury of treating Finnish as a uniform language in the present study. That is obviously a huge oversimplification because judging by European standards, Finnish exhibits a fascinating richness of dialects and spoken varieties (see Mantila 2004, among many others). Lappalainen (2008: 501) has observed an interesting feature of social welfare office interactions in Northern Ostrobothnia consisting in the fact that directives were implemented with the imperative mood significantly more often than in interactions at Kela branches located elsewhere. Lappalainen (2008) suggests that this might be a regional feature of language. But as a more rural community than e.g. the Greater Helsinki Area, Northern Ostrobothnia is more likely to exhibit close-knit community ties characteristic of societies in which people know one another (cf. Trudgill 2011). Therefore it comes as no surprise to me that 10 of the 14 manifestations of the construction with the past tense serving the function of stance in the service of request (i.e. *Cx62 mä olisin kysynyt* 'I would have asked') come from the Southern Helsinki branch of Kela. It might be that my results concerning that construction reflect a tendency among speakers frequently interacting with people with whom they do not share background knowledge to understand the conditional form of the verb *olla* 'be' as a handy resource for announcing situations of incomplete access to knowledge. After all, "speakers who share the same native language do not necessarily share the same culture" (Barron & Schneider 2009: 425), so it would be of great value to examine in more detail how social relationships and the amount of shared knowledge influence the distribution of directive formats in Finnish interaction. But this is a topic for a separate study.

References

- Aijmer, Karin. 1996. *Conversational routines in English*. London: Longman.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2003. *A grammar of Tariana, from northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Akatsuka, Noriko. 1986. Conditionals are discourse-bound. In Elizabeth Closs Traugott, Alice ter Meulen, Judy Snitzer Reilly and Charles A. Ferguson (eds.), *On conditionals*. 333–351. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alonso, Pilar. 2002. The monostructural function of recurrence in complex narrative discourse. In Pilar Alonso, María Jesús Sánchez, John Hyde and Christopher Moran (eds.), *Aspects of discourse analysis*. 45–78. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.
- Anward, Jan. 2005. Lexeme recycled: How categories emerge from interaction. *Logos and Language* V(2). 31–46.
- Athanasiadou, Angeliki, and René Dirven. 1997. Pragmatic conditionals. In Ad Foolen and Frederike van der Leek (eds.), *Constructions in cognitive linguistics: Selected papers from the 5th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference*. 1–26. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Austin, John L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. London: Oxford University Press.
- van der Auwera, Johan, and Vladimir A. Plungian. 1998. Modality's semantic map. *Linguistic Typology* 2. 79–124.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail M. 1986. *Speech genres and other late essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bartens, Hans-Hermann. 1980. *Die Verwendung von Potential und Konditional im Lappischen*. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura.
- Barron, Anne, and Klaus P. Schneider. 2009. Variational pragmatics: Studying the impact of social factors on language use in interaction. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 6. 425–442.
- de Beaugrande, Robert-Alain, and Wolfgang Dressler. 1981. *Introduction to text linguistics*. London: Longman.
- Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad and Edward Finegan. 2007. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London: Longman.
- Blake, Barry J. 2001. *Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blevins, James P. 2003. Passives and impersonals. *Journal of Linguistics* 39. 473–520.
- Brown, Penelope, and Stephen C. Levinson. [1978] 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bulatova, Nadezhda J., and Lenore A. Grenoble. 1999. *Evenki*. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Bybee, Joan L. 2002. Sequentiality as the basis of constituent structure. In Talmy Givón and Bertram Malle (eds.), *The evolution of language from pre-language*. 109–132. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan, and William Pagliuca. 1987. The evolution of future meaning. In Anna Giacalone-Ramat, Onofrio Carruba and Giuliano Bernini (eds.), *Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*. 109–84. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Castells, Manuel, and Pekka Himanen. 2002. *The information society and the welfare state: The Finnish model*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1994. *Discourse, consciousness, and time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chojnicka, Joanna. 2012. *Linguistic markers of stance in Latvian parliamentary debates*. Saarbrücken: Lambert.
- Clark, Herbert H., and Susan E. Brennan. 1993. Grounding in communication. In Lauren B. Bresnick, John M. Levine and Stephanie D. Teasley (eds.), *Perspectives on socially shared cognition*. 127–149. Washington: American Psychological Association.
- Clayman, Steven, and John Heritage. 2002. *The news interview: Journalists and public figures on the air*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clayman, Steven, and John Heritage. 2014. Benefactors and beneficiaries: Benefactive status and stance in the management of offers and requests. In Paul Drew and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*. 55–86. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Coelho Jr., Nelson E., and Luís C. Figueiredo. 2003. Patterns of intersubjectivity in the construction of subjectivity: Dimensions of otherness. *Culture & Psychology* 9. 193–208.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1977. In defense of spontaneous demotion: The impersonal passive. In Peter Cole and Jerold M. Sadock (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics. Volume 8: Grammatical Relations*. 47–58. New York: Academic Press.
- Conrad, Susan, and Douglas Biber. 2000. Adverbial marking of stance in speech and writing. In Susan Hunston and Geoff Thompson (eds.), *Evaluation in text: Authorial stance and the construction of discourse*. 56–73. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cornille, Bert. 2009. Evidentiality and epistemic modality: On the close relationship between two different categories. *Functions of Language* 16. 44–62.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2011. Affectivity in cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective. In: Thomas Stehl (ed.), *Sprachen in mobilisierten Kulturen: Aspekte der Migrationslinguistik*. 231–257. Potsdam: Potsdam University Press.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2014. What does grammar tell us about action? *Pragmatics* 24. 623–647.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth, and Margret Selting. 2001. Introducing interactional linguistics. In Margret Selting and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*. 1–22. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth, and Sandra A. Thompson. 2008. On assessing situations and events in conversation: “Extraposition” and its relatives. *Discourse Studies* 10. 443–467.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth, and Marja Etelämäki. 2014. On divisions of labor in request and offer environments. In Paul Drew and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*. 115–144. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Culpeper, Jonathan, and Dawn Archer. 2008. Requests and directness in Early Modern English trial proceedings and play-texts, 1640–1760. In Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *Speech Acts in the History of English*. 45–84. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Culpeper, Jonathan, and Jane Demmen. 2011. Nineteenth century English politeness: Negative politeness, conventional indirect requests and the rise of the individual self. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 12. 49–81.
- Curl, Traci S. 2006. Offers of Assistance: Constraints on syntactic design. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38. 1257–1280.
- Curl, Traci S., and Paul Drew. 2008. Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41. 129–153.
- Cysouw, Michael. 2003. *The paradigmatic structure of person marking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dancygier, Barbara, and Eve Sweetser. 1996. Conditionals, distancing and alternative spaces. In Adele E. Goldberg (ed.), *Conceptual structure, discourse and language*. 83–98. Stanford: CSLI.
- Davidson, Judy. 1984. Subsequent versions of invitations, offers, requests, and proposals dealing with potential or actual rejection. In J. Maxwell Atkinson and John Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*. 102–128. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dorian, Nancy C. 1998. Western language ideologies and small-language prospects. In Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley (eds.), *Endangered languages: Current issues and future prospects*. 3–21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Drew, Paul, and John Heritage. 1992. Analyzing talk at work: An introduction. In Paul Drew and John Heritage (eds.), *Talk at Work*. 3–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Drew, Paul, and Marja-Leena Sorjonen. 2011. Dialogue in institutional interactions. In Teun A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*. 2nd edition. 191–216. London: Sage.
- Drew, Paul, and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2014. Requesting – from speech act to recruitment. In Paul Drew and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*. 1–34. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Du Bois, John W. 1980. Beyond referentiality: The trace of identity in discourse. In Wallace L. Chafe (ed.), *The Pear Stories: Cognitive, cultural and linguistic aspects of narrative production*. 203–274. Norwood: Ablex.
- Du Bois, John W. 2007. The stance triangle. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*. 139–182. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Du Bois, John W., and Elise Kärkkäinen. 2012. Taking a stance on emotion: Affect, sequence and intersubjectivity in dialogic interaction. *Text & Talk* 32. 433–451.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 2005. On theories and models. *Discourse Studies* 7. 409–429.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 2007. Agency in language. In Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology*. 449–473. London: Blackwell.
- Enfield, Nick J. 2011. Sources of asymmetry in human communication: enchrony, status, knowledge and agency. In Tanya Stivers, Lorenza Mondada and Jakob Steensig (eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation*. 285–312. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, Nick J. 2014. Human agency and the infrastructure of requests. In Paul Drew and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*. 35–53. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Englebretson, Robert. 2007. Stancetaking in discourse: An introduction. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*. 1–25. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Erringer, Anu. 1996. *The functions of demonstrative adjectives semmoinen, tämmöinen and tuommainen in Finnish conversations*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Linguistics, University of Colorado, Boulder.
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan. 1976. Is Sybil there? The structure of some American English directives. *Language in Society* 5. 25–66.
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan, Mary C. O'Connor, and Jarrett Rosenberg. 1984. Language and power in the family. In Cheris Kramarac, Muriel Schulz and William O'Barr (eds), *Language and power*. 116–135. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Etelämäki, Marja. 2009. The Finnish demonstrative pronouns in the light of interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 41. 25–46.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2003. *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
- Feltham, Colin. 1995. *What is counselling? An accessible introduction to counselling*. London: Sage.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1988. The mechanisms of 'Construction Grammar'. *Proceedings of the fourteenth annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. 35–55.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1989. Grammatical Construction Theory and the familiar dichotomies. In Rainer Dietrich and Charles F. Graumann (eds.), *Language processing in social context*. 17–38. Amsterdam: North-Holland/Elsevier.
- Fillmore, Charles J., Paul Kay, and Mary Catherine O'Connor 1988. Regularity and idiomaticity in grammatical constructions: The case of *Let alone*. *Language* 64. 501–538.
- Finegan, Edward. 1995. Subjectivity and subjectivisation: An introduction. In Dieter Stein and Susan Wright (eds.), *Subjectivity and subjectivisation: Linguistic perspectives*. 1–15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fischer, Susann. 2004. Partitive vs. genitive in Russian and Polish: An empirical study on case alternation in the object domain. In Susann Fischer, Ruben van de Vijver and Ralf Vogel (eds.), *Experimental Studies in Linguistics I*. 73–89. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag.
- Ford, Cecilia E., Barbara A. Fox, and Sandra A. Thompson (eds.). 2002. *The language of turn and sequence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Forsberg, Hannele. 2000. The Finnic potential mood and the potential of Finnic. In Johanna Laakso (ed.), *Facing Finnic: Some challenges to historical and contact linguistics*. 9–30. Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society.
- Forsberg, Hannele. 2003. Paths of development for modal meanings: Evidence from the Finnic potential mood. In Barry J. Blake and Kate Burridge (eds.), *Historical Linguistics 2001: Selected papers from the 15th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Melbourne 13–17 August 2001*. 143–161. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fox, Barbara A. 1994. Contextualization, indexicality, and the distributed nature of grammar. *Language Sciences* 16. 1–37.
- Fox, Barbara A. 2007. Principles shaping grammatical practices: An exploration. *Discourse Studies* 9. 299–318.
- Fox, Barbara A., and Sandra A. Thompson. 2010. Responses to *wh*-questions in English conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 43. 133–156.
- Fox, Barbara A., Cecilia E. Ford, Sandra A. Thompson, and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2012. Conversation Analysis and linguistics. In Jack Sindell and Tanya Stivers

- (eds.), *Handbook of Conversation Analysis*. 726–740. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Fried, Mirjam, and Jan-Ola Östman. 2004. Construction grammar: A thumbnail sketch. In Mirjam Fried and Jan-Ola Östman (eds.), *Construction Grammars: Cognitive grounding and theoretical extensions*. 11–86. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Garfinkel, Harold. 1967. *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Gillespie, Alex, and Flora Cornish. 2010. Intersubjectivity: Towards a dialogical analysis. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 40. 19–46.
- Givón, Talmy. 1978. Negation in language: Pragmatics, function, ontology. In Peter Cole (ed.), *Syntax and semantics 9: Pragmatics*. 69–112. New York: Academic Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1952. On cooling the mark out: Some aspects of adaptation to failure. *Psychiatry* 15. 451–463.
- Goffman, Erving. 1967. *Interactional ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior*. Garden City: Anchor Books.
- Goodwin, Charles. 1981. Conversational organization: Interaction between speakers and hearers. New York: Academic Press.
- Goodwin, Charles, and Marjorie H. Goodwin. 1992. Assessments and the construction of context. In Charles Goodwin and Alessandro Duranti (eds.), *Rethinking context*. 147–189. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, Marjorie H. 2006. Participation, affect, and trajectory in family directive/response sequences. *Text & Talk* 26. 513–542.
- Goodwin, Marjorie H., and Asta Cekaite. 2014. Orchestrating directive trajectories in communicative projects in family interactions. In Paul Drew and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*. 185–214. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Grenoble, Lenore A., and Simone S. Whitecloud. 2014. Conflicting goals, ideologies and beliefs in the field. In Julia Sallabank and Peter K. Austin (eds.), *Endangered languages: Beliefs and ideologies in language documentation and revitalisation*. 337–354. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grönros, Eija-Riitta, Minna Haapanen, Tarja Riitta Heinonen, Leena Joki, Riina Klementtinen, Liisa Nuutinen and Marjatta Vilkamaa-Viitala (eds.). 2006. *Kielitoimiston sanakirja*. Helsinki: Kotimaisten Kielten Tutkimuskeskus.
- Haddington, Pentti. 2004. *Stance taking in news interviews*. SKY Journal of Linguistics 17. 101–142.
- Haiman, John. 1978. Conditionals are topics. *Language* 54. 564–589.
- Haiman, John. 1980. The iconicity of grammar: Isomorphism and motivation. *Language* 56. 515–540.
- Hakulinen, Auli. 1983. Subjektin kategoria vai nominaalijäsenten subjektimaisuus. In Auli Hakulinen and Pentti Leino (eds.), *Nykysuomen rakenne ja kehitys*. Volume 1. 238–251.
- Hakulinen, Auli (ed.). 1989. *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja I*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Hakulinen, Auli. 1993. The grammar of opening routines. In Susanna Shore and Maria Vilkuna (eds.), *SKY 1993 Yearbook of the Linguistic Association of Finland*. 149–170. Helsinki: SKY.
- Hakulinen, Auli. 1998. The use of Finnish *nyt* as a discourse particle. In Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv (eds.), *Discourse markers: Descriptions and theory*. 83–96. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Hakulinen, Auli. 2001. Liitepartikkelin –han/-hän syntaksia ja pragmatiikkaa. In Lea Laitinen, Pirkko Nuolijärvi, Marja-Leena Sorjonen and Maria Vilkuna (eds.), *Lukemisto. Kirjoituksia kolmelta vuosikymmeneltä*. 44–90. Helsinki: SKS.
- Hakulinen, Auli, and Fred Karlsson. 1979. *Nykysuomen lauseoppia*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Hakulinen, Auli, Maria Vilkuna, Riitta, Korhonen, Vesa Koivisto, Tarja-Riitta Heinonen and Irja Alho. 2004. *Iso suomen kielioppi*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Hakulinen, Auli, and Margret Selting (eds.). 2005. *Syntax and lexis in conversation: Studies on the use of linguistic resources in talk-in-interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hakulinen, Auli, and Marja-Leena Sorjonen. 1989. Modaaliverbit spontaanissa keskustelussa. In Auli Hakulinen (ed.), *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja I*. 73–97. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. 1978. *Language as social semiotics: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haugh, Michael. 2005. The importance of “place” in Japanese politeness: Implications for cross-cultural and intercultural analyses. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 2. 41–68.
- Hayashi, Makoto. 1999. Where grammar and interaction meet: A study of co-participant completion in Japanese conversation. *Human Studies* 22. 475–499.
- Hayashi, Makoto. 2003. *Joint utterance construction in Japanese conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Heinämäki, Orvokki. 1994. Aspect as boundedness in Finnish. In Carl Bache, Hans Basbøll and Carl-Erik Lindberg (eds.), *Tense, aspect, and action: Empirical and theoretical contributions to language typology*. 207–234. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heine, Bernd, and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heinemann, Trine. 2006. ‘Will you or can’t you?’. Displaying entitlement in interrogative requests. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38. 1081–1104.
- Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa. 1996a. A discourse perspective on the grammaticization of the partitive case in Finnish. In Timo Haukioja, Marja-Liisa Helasvuo and Elise Kärkkäinen (eds.), *SKY 1996 yearbook of the Linguistic Association of Finland*. 7–34. Helsinki: SKY.
- Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa. 1996b. Ollaako vai eikö olla – Eksistentiaaliluseen subjektin kohtalonkysymys. *Virittäjä* 100. 340–356.
- Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa. 1997. Functions of case marking vs. non-marking in Finnish discourse. In Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenberg, Kristin Davidse and Dirk Noël (eds.), *Reconnecting language: Morphology and syntax in functional perspectives*. 213–225. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa. 2001a. *Syntax in the making: The emergence of syntactic units in Finnish conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa. 2001b. Emerging syntax for interaction: Noun phrases and clauses as a syntactic resource for interaction. In Margret Selting and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Studies in interactional linguistics*. 25–50. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa. 2004. Shared syntax: The grammar of co-constructions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 36. 1315–1336.

- Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa. 2008. Minä ja muut – Puhujaviitteisyys ja kontekstuaalinen tulkinta. *Virittäjä* 112. 186–206.
- Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa. 2014a. Searching for motivations for grammatical patternings. *Pragmatics* 24. 453–476.
- Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa. 2014b. Agreement or crystallization: Patterns of 1st and 2nd person subjects and verbs of cognition in Finnish conversational interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 63. 63–78.
- Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa, and Lea Laitinen. 2006. Person in Finnish: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations in interaction. In Lyle Campbell and Marja-Liisa Helasvuo (eds.), *Grammar from the human perspective: Case, space and person in Finnish*. 173–207. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Heritage, John. 1997. Conversation analysis and institutional talk: Analyzing data. In D. Silverman (ed.) *Qualitative analysis: Issues of theory and method*. 222–245. London: Sage.
- Heritage, John. 2004. Conversation analysis and institutional talk. In Robert Sanders and Kristine Fitch (eds.), *Handbook of language and social interaction*. 103–146. Mahwah: Erlbaum.
- Heritage, John. 2012. Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45. 1–29.
- Heritage, John, and David Greatbatch. 1991. On the institutional character of institutional talk: The case of news interview interaction. In Deirdre Boden and Don H. Zimmerman (eds.), *Talk and social structure*. 93–137. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Heritage, John, and Sue Sefi. 1992. Dilemmas of advice: Aspects of the delivery and reception of advice in interactions between health visitors and first time mothers. In Paul Drew and John Heritage (eds.), *Talk at work*. 359–419. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage, John, Jeffrey Robinson, Marc Elliott, Megan Beckett and Michael Wilkes. 2007. Reducing patients' unmet concerns in primary care: The difference one word can make. *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 22. 1429–1433.
- Hewitt, Stephen. 2010. Mood in Breton. In Björn Rothstein and Rolf Tierhoff (eds.), *Mood in the languages of Europe*. 292–308. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1987. Emergent Grammar. *Proceedings of the thirteenth annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. 139–157. Berkeley: BLS.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1988. Emergent Grammar and the A Priori Grammar postulate. In Deborah Tannen (ed.), *Linguistics in context: Connecting observation and understanding*. 117–134. Nordwood: Ablex.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1998. Emergent Grammar. In Michael Tomasello (ed.), *The new psychology of language*. 155–175. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56. 251–299.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1984. The discourse basis for lexical categories in Universal Grammar. *Language* 60. 703–752.
- Horbowicz, Paulina. 2010. *How to be Norwegian at talk? Polish-Norwegian interethnic conversation analysis*. Oslo: Novus.
- Huumo, Tuomas. 1997. Partitiivisubjekti ja tilajakaumot. *Sananjalka* 39. 65–97.
- Huumo, Tuomas. 2003. Incremental existence: the world according to the Finnish existential sentence. *Linguistics* 41. 461–493.
- Huumo, Tuomas. 2006. Kvantiteetti ja aika I: Nominaalisen aspektin näkökulmia suomen objektin ja subjektin sijamerkintään. *Virittäjä* 110. 504–538.

- Huumo, Tuomas. 2007. Kvantiteetti ja aika II: Nominaalinen aspekti ja suomen predikaatiivin sijanvaihtelu. *Virittäjä* 111. 3–23.
- Huumo, Tuomas. 2010. Nominal aspect, quantity, and time. *Journal of Linguistics* 46. 83–125.
- Hyland, Ken. 2005. Stance and engagement: A model of interaction in academic discourse. *Discourse Studies* 7. 173–192.
- Iggesen, Oliver A. 2013. Number of cases. In Matthew Dryer and Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The world's atlas of language structures online*. Retrieved from <http://wals.info/chapter/49>.
- Ikola, Osmo. 1964. *Lauseopin kysymyksiä*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Imo, Wolfgang. 2006. Individuelle Konstrukte oder Vorboten einer neuen Konstruktion? Stellungvarianten der Modalpartikel *halt* im Vor- und Nachfeld. In Anatol Stefanowitsch and Kerstin Fischer (eds.), *Konstruktionsgrammatik II: Von der Konstruktion zur Grammatik*. 135–155. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Imo, Wolfgang. 2007a. *Construction Grammar und Gesprochene-Sprache-Forschung*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Imo, Wolfgang. 2007b. Zur Anwendung der *Construction Grammar* auf die gesprochene Sprache – der Fall ‘ich mein(e)’. In Vilmos Agel and Mathilde Hennig (eds.), *Zugänge zur Grammatik der gesprochenen Sprache*. 3–34. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Itkonen, Terho. 1976. Erään sijamuodon ongelmia. *Opuscula Instituti Linguae Fennicae, Universitas Helsingiensis* 53. 173–217. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. 2009. Introduction: The sociolinguistics of stance. In Alexandra Jaffe (ed.), *Stance: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. 3–28. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jefferson, Gail, and John R. E. Lee. 1984. The rejection of advice: Managing the problematic convergence of a ‘troubles-telling’ and ‘service encounter’. *Journal of Pragmatics* 5. 399–422.
- Kangasharju, Aki. 2004. *Alueellinen keskittymisen historiaa ja tulevaisuutta – myös Suomessa*. Retrieved from: http://www.stat.fi/tup/kuntapuntari/kuntap_3_2004_alue.html
- Kangasniemi, Heikki. 1992. *Modal expressions in Finnish*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Kannisto, Artturi. 1902. Lauseopillisia havaintoja läntisen Etelä-Hämeen kielimurteesta. *Suomi* III 20.
- Kärkkäinen, Elise. 2003. *Epistemic stance in English conversation: A description of its interactional functions, with a focus on ‘I think’*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kärkkäinen, Elise. 2006. Stance taking in conversation: From subjectivity to intersubjectivity. *Text & Talk* 26. 699–731.
- Kärkkäinen, Elise. 2007. The role of *I guess* in conversational stancetaking. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*. 183–219. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kärkkäinen, Elise, and Tiina Keisanen. 2012. Linguistic and embodied formats for making (concrete) offers. *Discourse Studies* 14. 587–711.
- Kauppinen, Anneli. 1998. *Puhekuviot, tilanteet, ja rakenteen liitto. Tutkimus kielen omaksumisesta ja suomen konditionaalista*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Kelomäki, Tapani. 1997. *Ekvatiivilause*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Kendrick, Kobin, and Paul Drew. 2016. Recruitment: Offers, requests, and the organization of assistance. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 49. 1–19.

- Kiparsky, Paul. 1998. Partitive case and aspect. In Miriam Butt and Wilhelm Geuder (eds.), *Projecting from the lexicon*. 1–38. Stanford: CSLI.
- Knoob, Stefan. 2008. Conditional constructions as expressions of desiderative modalities in Korean and Japanese. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 81. 387–405.
- Kömi, Johanna. 2001. *Konditionaalien semantiikkaa ja pragmatiikkaa*. Unpublished MA Thesis, Department of Finnish and General Linguistics, University of Tampere.
- Koivisto, Aino, Ritva Laury and Eeva-Leena Seppänen. 2011. Syntactic and actional characteristics of Finnish *että*-clauses. 69–102. In Ryoko Suzuki and Ritva Laury (eds.), *Subordination in conversation: A cross-linguistic perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Koptevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 2001. “A piece of the cake” and “a cup of tea”: Partitive and pseudo-partitive nominal constructions in the Circum-Baltic languages. In Maria Koptevskaja-Tamm and Östen Dahl (eds.), *The Circum-Baltic languages: Typology and contact*. 523–568. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Laitinen, Lea. 1995. Nollapersoona. *Virittäjä* 99. 337–358.
- Laitinen, Lea. 2006. Zero person in Finnish: A grammatical resource for construing human reference. In Lyle Campbell and Marja-Liisa Helasvuo (eds.), *Grammar from the human perspective: Case, space and person in Finnish*. 209–231. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lappalainen, Hanna. 2008. Kelan virkailijoiden henkilötunnuspyynnöt. Tutkimus rutiininomaisista toiminnoista. *Virittäjä* 112. 483–517.
- Lappalainen, Hanna, and Liisa Raevara (eds.). 2009. *Kieli kioskilla: Tutkimuksia kioskiasioinnin rutiineista*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Larjavaara, Matti. 1991. Aspektuaalisen objektin synty. *Virittäjä* 95. 372–408.
- Lauranto, Yrjö. 2012. Optatiivirakenne ja direktiiviksi kieliopillistuminen. *Puhe ja kieli* 32. 183–216.
- Lauranto, Yrjö. 2013. Suomen kielen imperatiivi – yksi paradigma, kaksi systeemiä. *Virittäjä* 117. 157–201.
- Lauranto, Yrjö. 2014. *Imperatiivi, käsky, direktiivi. Arkikeskustelun vaihtokauppakielloppia*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Laury, Ritva. 1996. Conversational use and basic meaning of demonstratives in Finnish. In Adele E. Goldberg (ed.), *Conceptual structure, discourse and language*. 303–319. Stanford: CSLI.
- Laury, Ritva. 1997. *Demonstratives in interaction: The emergence of a definite article in Finnish*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Laury, Ritva. 2012a. Syntactically non-integrated Finnish *jos* ‘if’-conditional clauses as directives. *Discourse Processes* 49. 213–242.
- Laury, Ritva. 2012b. Taking stance and getting on with it: The form and function of the Finnish finite clausal extraposition construction. *Text & Talk* 32. 503–524.
- Laury, Ritva. 2018. The Finnish verb repeat response: Its emergence and its nature as a formulaic expression. *Journal of Pragmatics* 123. 139–150.
- Laury, Ritva, Marja Etelämäki and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2014. Introduction to the special issue of *Pragmatics* 24. 435–452.
- Law, Christopher M. 1967. The growth of urban population in England and Wales, 1801–1911. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 41, 125–143.
- Lehtinen, Tapani. 1983. Suomen konditionaalien morfologistista ja semanttisesta motivaatiosta. *Virittäjä* 87. 432–507.
- Lehtinen, Tapani. 2006. Konditionaalit kompostissa. In Taru Nordlund, Tiina Onikki-Rantajääskö and Toni Suutari (eds.), *Kohtauspaikkana kieli: Näkökulmia*

- persoonaan, muutoksiin ja valintoihin*. 127–140. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Leino, Pentti. 1991. *Lauseet ja tilanteet: Suomen objektin ongelmia*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Leinonen, Marja. 2000. Evidentiality in Komi Zyryan. In Lars Johanson and Bo Utas (eds.), *Evidentials: Turkic, Iranian and neighbouring languages*. 419–440. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lerner, Gene. 1996. “Finding face” in the preference structures of talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 59. 303–321.
- Lestrade, Sander. 2010. Finnish case alternating adpositions: A corpus study. *Linguistics* 48. 603–628.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2013. Action formation and ascription. In Jack Sindell and Tanya Stivers (eds.), *The handbook of Conversation Analysis*. 103–130. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lindström, Anna. 2005. Language as social action: A study of how senior citizens request assistance with practical tasks in the Swedish home help service. In Auli Hakulinen and Margaret Selting (eds.), *Syntax and lexis in conversation*. 209–230. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lindström, Anna, and Ann Weatherall. 2015. Orientations to epistemics and deontics in treatment discussions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 78. 39–53
- Linell, Per, and Erik Fredin. 1995. Negotiating terms in social welfare office talk. In Alan Firth (ed.), *The discourse of negotiation: Studies of language in the workplace*. 300–318. Kildington: Elsevier.
- Luraghi, Silvia, and Tuomas Huumo. 2014. Introduction. In Silvia Luraghi and Tuomas Huumo (eds.), *Partitive cases and related constructions*. 1–14. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Luraghi, Silvia, and Seppo Kittilä. 2014. Typology and diachrony of partitives. In Silvia Luraghi and Tuomas Huumo (eds.), *Partitive cases and related constructions*. 17–62. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics, Volume 2*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, John. 1994. Subjecthood and subjectivity. In Marina Yaguello (ed.), *Subjecthood and subjectivity: The status of the subject in linguistic theory*. 9–17. Paris: Ophrys.
- Mandelbaum, Jenny. 1996. Constructing social identity at the workplace: Interaction in bibliographic database searches. In Helmut B. Mokros (ed.), *Information and behavior, vol. 6: Interaction and identity*. 145–169. New Brunswick: Transaction Press.
- Manes, Joan, and Nessa Wolfson. 1981. The compliment formula. In Florian Coulmas (ed.), *Conversational routine: Explorations in standardized communication situations and prepatterned speech*. 115–132. The Hague: Mouton.
- Mantila, Harri. 2004. Murre ja identiteetti. *Virittäjä* 108. 322–346.
- Martin, Jim R., and David Rose. 2008. *Genre relations: Mapping culture*. London: Equinox.
- Matsumoto, Yoshiko. 1988. Reexamination of the universality of face: Politeness phenomena in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 12. 403–426.
- McHoul, Alexander. 1978. The organization of turns at formal talk in the classroom. *Language in Society* 7. 183–213.
- Metslang, Helle, and Maria-Maren Sepper. 2010. Mood in Estonian. In Björn Rothstein and Rolf Tierhoff (eds.), *Mood in the languages of Europe*. 528–550. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Miestamo, Matti. 2014. Partitives and negation: A cross-linguistic survey. In Silvia Luraghi and Tuomas Huomo (eds.), *Partitive cases and related categories*. 63–86. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mushin, Ilana. 2001. *Evidentiality and epistemological stance: Narrative retelling*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- National Statistics. 2004. *Census 2001: Key statistics for urban areas in England and Wales*. London: TSO.
- Narrog, Heiko. 2005a. Mood, modality and the change of modal meanings: A new perspective. *Cognitive Linguistics* 16. 677–731.
- Narrog, Heiko. 2005b. On defining modality again. *Language Sciences* 27. 165–192.
- Nelson, Diane C. 1998. *Grammatical case assignment in Finnish*. New York: Routledge.
- Niemi, Jarkko. 2013. Tiedon rajat ja vuorovaikutus: Toteamukseen tai vaihtoehtokysymykseen vastaavat *voi olla* -rakenteet. *Virittäjä* 117. 201–241.
- Nikula, Tarja. 1996. *Pragmatic force modifiers: A study in interlanguage pragmatics*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Ochs, Elinor, and Schiffelin, Bambi. 1989. Language has a heart. *Text* 9. 7–25.
- Ochs, Elinor, Emanuel A. Schegloff and Sandra A. Thompson (eds.). 1996. *Interaction and grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oishi, Shigehiro, Janetta Lun and Gary D. Sherman. 2007. Residential mobility, self-concept, and positive affect in social interactions. *Journal of Personal and Social Psychology* 93. 131–141.
- Ono, Tsuyoshi, and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2007. Increments in cross-linguistic perspective. *Pragmatics* 17. 505–512
- Östman, Jan-Ola. 2005. Construction discourse: A prolegomenon. In Jan-Ola Östman and Mirjam Fried (eds.), *Construction grammars: Cognitive grounding and theoretical extensions*. 121–144. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Pakendorf, Birgitte. 2007. *Contact in the prehistory of Sakha (Yakuts): Linguistic and genetic perspectives*. Utrecht: LOT.
- Palmer, Frank R. 1979. *Modality and the English modals*. London: Longman.
- Palmer, Frank R. 1986. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perkins, Michael R. 1983. *Modal expressions in English*. Nordwood: Ablex.
- Peterson, Elizabeth. 2010. Perspective and politeness in Finnish. *Pragmatics* 20. 401–423.
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1984. Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In Maxwell J. Atkinson and John Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*. 57–101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Posio, Pekka. 2011. Spanish subject pronouns usage and verb semantics revisited: First and second singular subject pronouns and focusing of attention in spoken Peninsular Spanish. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43. 777–798.
- Raevaara, Liisa. 1989. No – vuoronalkuinen partikkeli. In Auli Hakulinen (ed.), *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja I*. 147–161. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Raevaara, Liisa. 2006a. Kohteliaisuuttako vain? s-partikkeli virkailijoiden hakukysymyksissä. In Marja-Leena Sorjonen and Liisa Raevaara (eds.), *Arjen asiointia: Keskusteluja Kelan tiskin äärellä*. 117–142. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Raevaara, Liisa. 2006b. Kysymykset virkailijan työkaluna. In Marja-Leena Sorjonen and Liisa Raevaara (eds.), *Arjen asiointia: Keskusteluja Kelan tiskin äärellä*. 86–116. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

- Raevaara, Liisa. 2011. Accounts at convenience stores: Doing dispreference and small talk. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43. 556–571.
- Rauniomaa, Mirka. 2007. Stance markers in spoken Finnish: *Mun mielestä* and *minusta* in assessments. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*. 221–252. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rauniomaa, Mirka, and Tiina Keisanen. 2012. Two multimodal formats for responding to requests. *Journal of Pragmatics* 44. 829–842.
- Rescher, Nicholas. 1968. *Topics in philosophical logic*. Dodericht: Reidel.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2014. When do people not use language to make requests? In Paul Drew and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*. 303–334. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sacks, Harvey. [1973] 1987. On the preferences for agreement and contiguity in sequences in conversation. In Graham Button and John R. E. Lee (eds.), *Talk and social organisation*. 54–69. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language* 50. 696–735.
- Sadeniemi, Matti. 1955. Subjektin totaalisuudesta ja partiaalisuudesta. *Virittäjä* 59. 10–18.
- Sammallahti, Pekka. 1998. *The Saami languages: An introduction*. Kárášjohka: Davvi Girji.
- Sands, Kristina, and Lyle Campbell. 2001. Non-canonical marking of subject and object in Finnish. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, R.M.W. Dixon and Masayuki Onishi (eds.), *Non-canonical marking of subjects and objects*. 251–305. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1988. On an actual virtual servo-mechanism for guessing bad news: A single case conjecture. *Social Problems* 35 442–457.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1990. On the organization of sequences as a source of “coherence” in talk-in-interaction. In Bruce Dorval (ed.), *Conversational organization and its development*. 51–77. Norwood: Ablex.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1996. Turn organization: One intersection of grammar and interaction. In Elinor Ochs, Emanuel A. Schegloff and Sandra A. Thoompson (eds.), *Interaction and grammar*. 52–133. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in Conversation Analysis. Volume 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A., and Harvey Sacks. 1973. Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 8. 289–328.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A., Gail Jefferson and Harvey Sacks. 1977. The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language* 53. 361–382.
- Scheibman, Joanne. 2000. *I dunno*: A usage-based account of the phonological reduction of *don't* in American English conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32. 105–124.
- Scheibman, Joanne. 2002. *Point of view and grammar: Structural patterns of subjectivity in American English conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1980. Meta-talk: Organizational and evaluative brackets in discourse. *Sociological Inquiry* 50. 199–236.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Searle, John R. 1975. Indirect speech acts. In Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics. Volume 3: Speech acts*. 59–82. New York: Academic Press.
- Searle, John R. 1976. A classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in Society* 5. 1–23.
- Seppänen, Eeva-Leena. 1997. Vuorovaikutus paperilla. In Liisa Tainio (ed.), *Keskusteluanalyysin perusteet*. 18–31. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Shore, Susanna. 1988. On the so-called Finnish passive. *Word* 39. 151–176.
- Shore, Susanna. 1992. *Aspects of a systemic-functional grammar of Finnish*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney.
- Shore, Susanna, and Anne Mäntynen. 2006. Johdanto. In Anne Mäntynen, Susanna Shore and Anna Solin (eds.), *Genre – tekstilaji*. 9–41. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Siewierska, Anna. 2004. *Person*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Siironen, Mari. 2001. *Kuka pelkää, ketä pelottaa: Nykysuomen tunneverbien kielioppia ja semantiikkaa*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Sirola-Belliard, Maija. 2011. Is there a future for the Finnish comitative? Arguments against the putative synonymy of the comitative case *-ine* and the postposition *kanssa*. In Kittilä, Seppo, Katja Västi, and Jussi Ylikoski (eds.), *Case, animacy and semantic roles*. 135–153. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Somiska, Outi. 2010. *Eläinlääkärin pehmeät direktiivit*. Unpublished MA Thesis, Department of Finnish, University of Helsinki.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena. 1989. Vuoronalkuiset konnektorit: *mutta*. In Auli Hakulinen (ed.), *Suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja I*. 162–176. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena. 2001. *Responding in conversation: A study of response particles in Finnish*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena, Anssi Peräkylä, and Kari Eskola (eds.). 2001. *Keskustelu lääkärin vastaanotolla*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena, and Liisa Raevaara (eds.). 2006a. *Arjen asiointia: Keskusteluja Kelan tiskin äärellä*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena, and Liisa Raevaara. 2006b. Kuinka päästä alkuun? In Marja-Leena Sorjonen and Liisa Raevaara (eds.), *Arjen asiointia: Keskusteluja Kelan tiskin äärellä*. 48–85. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena, and Liisa Raevaara. 2006c. Asiointitilanteiden tutkimisesta: Tarkasteltavana Kelan asiointien vuorovaikutus. In Marja-Leena Sorjonen and Liisa Raevaara (eds.), *Arjen asiointia: Keskusteluja Kelan tiskin äärellä*. 11–34. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena, Liisa Raevaara and Hanna Lappalainen. 2009. Mä otan tän: Käynnin syyn esittämisen tavat kioskilla. In Hanna Lappalainen and Liisa Raevaara (eds.), *Kieli kioskilla: Tutkimuksia kioskiasioinnin rutiineista*. 90–119. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena, and Anssi Peräkylä. 2012. Introduction. In Anssi Peräkylä and Marja-Leena Sorjonen (eds.), *Emotion in Interaction*. 3–15. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Spencer-Oatey, Helen. 2000. Rapport management: A framework for analysis. In Helen Spencer-Oatey (ed.), *Culturally speaking: Managing rapport through talk across cultures*. 11–46. London: Continuum.

- Spencer-Oatey, Helen. 2005. (Im)politeness, face and perceptions of rapport: Unpacking their bases and interrelationships. *Journal of Politeness Research* 1. 95–119.
- Squartini, Mario. 2008. Lexical vs. grammatical evidentiality in French and Italian. *Linguistics* 46. 917–947.
- Stensig, Jakob, and Trine Heinemann. 2014. The social and moral work of modal constructions in granting remote requests. In Paul Drew and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*. 145–170. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stevanovic, Melisa. 2011. *Deontic rights in interaction: A conversation analytic study on authority and cooperation*. PhD Thesis. University of Helsinki
- Stevanovic, Melisa. 2013. Constructing proposal as a thought: A way to manage problems in the initiation of joint decision-making in Finnish workplace interaction. *Pragmatics* 23. 519–544.
- Stevanovic, Melisa, and Anssi Peräkylä. 2012. Deontic authority in interaction: The right to announce, propose, and decide. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45. 297–321.
- Stevanovic, Melisa, and Anssi Peräkylä. 2014. Three orders in the organization of human action: On the interface between knowledge, power, and emotion in interaction and social relations. *Language in Society* 43. 185–207.
- Stevanovic, Melisa, Tommi Himberg, Maija Niinisalo, Mikko Kahri, Anssi Peräkylä, Mikko Sams and Riitta Hari. 2017. Sequentiality, mutual visibility, and behavioral matching: Body sway and pitch register during joint decision making. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 50, 33–53.
- Sulkala, Helena, and Merja Karjalainen. 1992. *Finnish*. London: Routledge.
- Suomen Virallinen Tilasto. 1915. *Väestömuutokset Suomessa vuosina 1911 ja 1912*. Helsinki: Tilastollinen Päätoimisto. Retrieved from: <http://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/67323>.
- Tabakowska, Elżbieta. 2014. Double government in Polish: A case study. In Silvia Luraghi and Tuomas Huomo (eds.), *Partitive cases and related categories*. 399–414. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tanaka, Hiroko. 1999. *Turn-taking in Japanese conversation: A study in grammar and interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Taleghani-Nikazm, Carmen. 2006. *Request sequences: The intersection of grammar, interaction and social context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Tamm, Anne. 2009. The Estonian partitive evidential: Some notes on the semantic parallels between aspect and evidential categories. In Lotte Hogeweg, Helen de Hoop and Andrej Malchukov (eds.), *Cross-linguistic semantics of tense, aspect, and modality*. 365–402. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Thieroff, Rolf. 2010. Moods, moods, moods. In Björn Rothstein and Rolf Thieroff (eds.), *Mood in the languages of Europe*. 1–29. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Thompson, Geoff, and Susan Hunston. 2000. Evaluation: An introduction. In Susan Hunston and Geoff Thompson (eds.), *Evaluation in text: Authorial stance and the construction of discourse*. 1–27. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, Sandra A., and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2005. The clause as a locus of grammar and interaction. *Discourse Studies* 7. 481–505.
- Thompson, Sandra A., Barbara A. Fox, and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2015. *Grammar in everyday talk: Building responsive actions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tommola, Hannu. 2010. Mood in Finnish. In Björn Rothstein and Rolf Tierhoff (eds.), *Mood in the languages of Europe*. 511–527. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Travis, Catherine. 2007. Genre effect on subject expression in Spanish: Priming in narrative and conversation. *Language Variation and Change* 19. 101–135.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2011. *Sociolinguistic typology: Social determinants of linguistic complexity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vilkuna, Maria. 1992. *Referenssi ja määräisyys suomenkielisten tekstien tulkinnassa*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Vilkuna, Maria. 1996. *Suomen lauseopin perusteet*. Helsinki: Edita.
- Wardaugh, Ronald. 1985. *How conversation works*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wójtowicz, Radosław. 2018. Case, discourse structure, and (inter)subjectivity: A discourse approach to case marking of Finnish copula complement adjectives. *Folia Linguistica* 52. 213–247.
- Wolff, Ekkehard H. 2009. The impact of clause types and focus control, aspect, modality and negation in Lamang and Hdi (Central Chadic). In Norbert Cyffer, Erwin Ebermann and Georg Ziegelmeyer (eds.), *Negation patterns in West African languages and beyond*. 21–56. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wootton, Anthony. 1981. The management of granting and rejections by parents in request sequences. *Semiotica* 37. 59–89.
- Wu, Ruy-Juan R. 2004. *Stance in talk: A conversation analysis of Mandarin final particles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Yli-Vakkuri, Valma. 1986. *Kieliopillisten muotojen toissijainen käyttö*. Turku: University of Turku.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Symbols used in transcription

Intonation

.	falling intonation
;	mildly falling intonation
,	level intonation
?	rising intonation
↑	higher pitch level
↓	lower pitch level
<u>tää</u>	(underscore) emphasis

Overlaps and pauses

[]	speech overlap
(.)	micropause shorter than 0.2 second
(0.4)	pause in tenths of seconds
=	no interval between two adjacent utterances
<i>onk_se</i>	word ellision

Tempo and loudness

> <	rapid speech
< >	slow speech
:	prior syllable prolonged
KÄY	(capitals) increased volume
°	decreased volume

Vocal noises and voice quality

.hhh	inhalation
hhh.	exhalation
'	vowel deletion
(h)	explosive aspiration, e.g. laughter or breathlessness
£	uttered on a smile
%	glottal stop
@	altered voice quality
#	creaky voice

Researcher's perspective

(mitä sä)	assumed wording
e-	truncated word
(-)	unintelligible word
(--)	unintelligible piece of talk
((laughter))	researcher's comments on the situation
→	line relevant for discussion
←	line relevant for discussion

Appendix 2. Glossing abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
ABL	ablative
ADE	adessive
ALL	allative
CL	clitic
CMP	comparative
CNG	connegative
COMP	complementiser
CONJ	conjunction
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CVB	converb
DEM	demonstrative
ELA	elative
ESS	essive
EVID	evidential
EXC	exclamative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
IMPFV	imperfective
INDF	indefinite
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
INFR	inferred
INT	intensifier
LIN	linker
LOC	locative
M	masculine
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
OBJ	objective
P	patient
PAP	past active participle
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PPP	past passive participle
PR	proper name
PRF	perfect
PRAP	present active participle

PRS	present
PST	past
PTC	particle
PTCP	participle
PTV	partitive
Q	question
QUOT	quotative
REF	reflexive
REP	reported
SBJ	subject
SG	singular
TOT	total object
TRSL	translative

samej. Tym samym praca ma przyczynić się do rozwoju lingwistyki interakcyjnej, zarówno dla języka fińskiego jak i w ogóle.

Praca ma ponadto na celu wykazanie różnic pomiędzy spontaniczną interakcją codzienną a interakcją instytucjonalną dla badanych zjawisk. W lingwistyce interakcyjnej dominuje pogląd, że na dystrubucję określonych konstrukcji w interakcji ma wpływ nie tyle fakt, czy rozmowa ma charakter instytucjonalny czy codzienny, nieformalny, co pojedyncze cechy interakcji, np. niesymetryczny poziom wiedzy (np. Curl & Drew 2008), które mogą wystąpić w obu typach rozmów. Niniejsze badanie nie neguje tego stwierdzenia, tym niemniej próbuje dowieść, że da się również sformułować wnioski na poziomie bardziej ogólnym i wykazać stałe różnice pomiędzy schematami dla danych akcji społecznych determinowane instytucjonalnym bądź codziennym charakterem interakcji.

1.2. Podstawy teoretyczne

Lingwistyka interakcyjna (ang. *Interactional Linguistics*; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001) stanowi rodzinę podejść w językoznawstwie funkcjonalnym. Wspólną cechą dla tych podejść jest założenie, że skoro interakcja mówiona stanowi naturalne środowisko dla ludzkiego języka, to aspekty interakcji są znaczące z punktu widzenia opisu języka. W pracy zastosowano trzy podejścia interakcyjne: gramatykę konstrukcyjną (*Construction Grammar*; Croft 2001, Goldberg 1996 i później), Formaty Akcji Społecznych (*Social Action Formats*; Fox 2007) oraz gramatykę powstającą (*Emergent Grammar*; Hopper 1987 i później).

Fiński partitivus i tryb warunkowy badane są nie tyle jako samodzielne wyznaczniki wyrażania postawy czy formułowania dyrektyw, ile jako elementy całych konstrukcji językowych. Gramatyka konstrukcyjna najczęściej definiuje konstrukcje jako powtarzalne połączenia formy i funkcji (Goldberg 1996). W niniejszej pracy definicja konstrukcji jest zmodyfikowana tak, że konstrukcje językowe rozumiane jako powtarzalne połączenia formy i akcji społecznej (ang. *social action*). Jest to spowodowane tym, że duży nacisk kładziony jest badanie, czy poszczególne konstrukcje stanowią formaty dla akcji społecznych, tj. czy w sposób powtarzalny jednoznacznie funkcjonują np. jako sugestie, prośby czy konstrukcje wyrażania postawy. Takie podejście do konstrukcji językowych ma ścisły związek z rozumieniem gramatyki nie jako statycznego systemu abstrakcyjnych reguł, a jako dynamicznego zbioru wzorców (ang. *patterns*) o różnym stopniu skonwencjonalizowania. Gramatyka w rozumieniu Hoppera (1987) kształtuje interakcję językową i jednocześnie odpowiada na jej dynamikę.

Dyrektywy i postawa rozumiane są w niniejszej pracy jako z natury intersubiektywne akty społeczne (vide punkt 3.2).

1.3. Metody

Podstawową metodę badawczą stanowi analiza konwersacyjna (np. Sacks i in. 1974). W ramach tej metody badane są nie tyle poszczególne elementy wypowiedzi czy cechy języka mówionego, co całe wypowiedzi w kontekście otaczającej je interakcji. Innymi słowy, z punktu widzenia analizy konwersacyjnej równie ważne, co wypowiedź, jest to, co dzieje się w rozmowie bezpośrednio przed nią i po niej. Analiza konwersacyjna przywiązuje dużą wagę do rozmowy jako elementu porządku społecznego, a poszczególne zjawiska językowe, w tym np. elementy gramatyczne, traktowane są jako odzwierciedlenie stosunków społecznych między uczestnikami

interakcji (np. niesymetryczną pod względem deontycznym relację urzędnik-petent). Dzięki analizie konwersacyjnej możliwe jest badanie, jak akcje społeczne są budowane, za pomocą jakich środków werbalnych i pozawerbalnych są implementowane w rozmowie i jak są rozpoznawane przez jej uczestników.

Z punktu widzenia operacyjnego, decyzja o zakwalifikowaniu manifestacji partitivusa i trybu warunkowego jako spełniające kryteria badawcze, tj. wyrażające postawę i dyrektywy, podejmowana była dla każdego przypadku indywidualnie na podstawie tego, czy interpretacja dyrektywna lub związana z postawą była najbardziej dominującą spośród wszystkich możliwych. Ze względu na neutralizację różnic semantycznych, z badania wykluczone zostały manifestacje partitivusa liczby mnogiej.

Praca kładzie bardzo duży nacisk na porównanie codziennych rozmów spontanicznych z bardziej ustrukturyzowanymi i przewidywalnymi rozmowami instytucjonalnymi. W pracy przyjmuje się, że wybrany korpus rozmów instytucjonalnych pochodzących z fińskiego urzędu spraw społecznych Kela daje miarodajne wyniki, gdyż skandynawski model pomocy społecznej zakłada wsparcie dla ludzi znajdujących się w określonej sytuacji życiowej lub zawodowej (np. studentów, emerytów), a nie tylko dla obywateli wymagających pomocy finansowej (por. Esping-Andersen 1990, Castells & Himanen 2002).

1.4. Materiał

Materiał badawczy obejmuje 24 godziny i 10 minut nagrań video fińskiej interakcji codziennej i instytucjonalnej. Nagrania pochodzą z lat 1995–2010. W momencie zbierania materiału dla większości nagrań były dostępne transkrypty. Brakujące transkrypty jednej z konwersacji zostały dodatkowo przygotowane na potrzeby niniejszego badania w ramach projektu finansowanego przez Narodowe Centrum Nauki.

Źródłem materiału rozmów codziennych jest korpus *Keskusteluntutkimuksen arkisto* Uniwersytetu w Helsinkach. Do badania wybranych zostało 9 rozmów o łącznej długości 12 godzin 10 minut. Korpus rozmów codziennych dostarczył dokładnie 300 przykładów badanych zjawisk: 246 manifestacji trybu warunkowego i 54 manifestacji partitivusa. Materiał instytucjonalny stanowią natomiast rozmowy między urzędnikami a petentami w fińskim urzędzie spraw socjalnych *Kansaneläkelaitos* (Kela), udostępnione do celów niniejszego badania zostały przez Instytut Języków Finandii. Materiał instytucjonalny zawiera nagrania z trzech lokalnych oddziałów Kela w Karelii Północnej, Północnej Ostrobotnii i południowych Helsinkach. Odpowiada on za 386 przykładów użyć badanych zjawisk gramatycznych, w tym 320 manifestacji trybu warunkowego i 66 manifestacji partitivusa. Całkowita długość nagrań korpusu rozmów instytucjonalnych wynosi 12 godzin.

1.5. Organizacja pracy

Praca stosuje typowy dla rozpraw doktorskich podział na część teoretyczną i empiryczną. Rozdziały 2. i 3. stanowią ramy teoretyczne badania. W rozdziale 2. opisywane są cechy formalne i funkcjonalne badanych zjawisk gramatycznych języka fińskiego, tj. trybu warunkowego i partitivusa. Rozdział 3. obejmuje opis najważniejszych nurtów w lingwistyce interakcyjnej używanych w badaniu, jak również podrozdziały na temat dyrektyw i postawy oraz różnic pomiędzy interakcją codzienną a instytucjonalną. Część empiryczna również składa się z dwu rozdziałów: 4., dotyczącego trybu warunkowego, i 5., poświęconego partitivusowi. Każdy z tych

rozdziałów opisuje konstrukcje językowe spełniające funkcje związane z dyrektywami i postawą zidentyfikowane podczas badań. Wnioski z badań podsumowane są w rozdziale 6.

2. Tryb warunkowy i partitivus w języku fińskim

2.1. Tryb warunkowy

W fińskim systemie trybu wyróżnia się cztery kategorie. Cechą trybu przypuszczającego jest *-isi-*, która w fińskim języku mówionym jest redukowana do *-is-* (vide przykład 202) albo *-s-* (vide 203).

(202) ‘To trzeba wypełnić’ (T976_tamapitaatayttaa)

Urz.: *yheksän nolla nolla o-is-ko yks nolla vielä,*
dziewięć zero zero być-COND.3SG-Q jeden zero jeszcze
‘dziewięć, zero, zero, czy tam jest (lit. czy tam byłoby) jeszcze jedno zero?’

(203) ‘Wniosek o zasiłek dla bezrobotnych’ (T1096_tyottomyyselakehakemus)

Urz.: *.hh nyt miun) pitä-s pyytää teitä*
teraz 1SG.GEN musieć-COND.3SG prosić 2PL.PTV
‘teraz muszę panią poprosić’
siirtymään tuonne
przechodzić.CVB.ILL tam.ILL
‘o przejście tam’

W tradycyjnym ujęciu, podstawową funkcją trybu warunkowego jest przedstawianie sytuacji kontrfaktywnej w ramach zależności warunkowej z inną sytuacją (jeśli p, to q). Jednak jak wskazuje Kauppinen (1998), tylko ok. 10% użyć trybu przypuszczającego w języku fińskim przypada na tego typu zdania. W pozostałych przypadkach konstrukcje z czasownikami w trybie warunkowym wyrażają życzenia, dyrektywy i sytuacje przyszłe. Praca wskazuje na daleko idącą polisemię trybu przypuszczającego i wynikającą z niej niejednoznaczność interpretacji poszczególnych jego manifestacji.

2.2. Partitivus

Partitivus jest jednym z piętnastu przypadków języka fińskiego. Jego końcówkami są *-A* (tzn. *-a* lub *-ä*, w zależności od łączliwości z innymi głoskami w wyrazie na zasadach harmonii wokalicznej) oraz *-tA* (tzn. *-ta* lub *-tä*). Końcówki te mogą być realizowane w mowie jako wydłużenie wygłosowej samogłoski tematycznej (dla *-A*), np. *kaikkee* ‘wszystko’ (*kaikkea*) w przykładzie (202) oraz jako redukcja *-tA* do *-t*, np. *niit* ‘te’ (*niitä*).

(204) ‘Nastolatki’ (SG120_A_01_10)

1 Oona: *mie oo, syöny tänään nii-t*
1SG być.PRS.1SG jeść.PAP dziś DEM-PTV

‘Dziś jem te’
donitse-j-a *ja* *kaikke-e* *muu-ta,*
 pączek-PL-PTV i wszystko-PTV inny-PTV
 ‘pączki i wszystko inne’

Jak pokazały badania Helasvuo (1997, 2001a), fiński partitivus jest markerem argumentów zdań o niskiej tranzytywności w rozumieniu Hoppera i Thompson (1980). Jest on np. przypadkiem dopełnienia bliższego w zdaniach opisujących czynności niedokonane, ateliczne i nierezultatywne, przypadkiem dopełnienia bliższego w negacji oraz np. przypadkiem dopełnienia w zdaniu egzystencjalnym typu „coś jest gdzieś”. W tych konstrukcjach występuje on w opozycji do innych przypadków, mianownika i biernika, które z kolei markują argumenty zdań bardziej tranzytywnych.

3. Gramatyka w interakcji społecznej

3.1. Interakcyjne podejścia do gramatyki

Niniejsza praca stanowi przykład badania z zakresu lingwistyki interakcyjnej, co oznacza, że opisuje ona badane zjawiska przez pryzmat czynników istotnych z punktu widzenia interakcji społecznej. Podstawową jednostką akcji społecznej w interakcji jest sekwencja, która może być mniej lub bardziej rozbudowana. W poniższym przykładzie znajduje się prosta, dwuelementowa sekwencja propozycji. W linii 1 Päivi proponuje oznaczenie miejsca wykonania fotografii jako Savonlinna, a w linii 2 Liisa akceptuje propozycję.

(205) ‘Biuro koncertowe’ (SG435_03_30)

1	Päivi:	<i>hei#::</i> <i>eks</i> <i>tänne</i> <i>vois</i> PTC NEG.3SG.CL tutaj móc.COND. 3SG ‘hej, czyż nie można by tu’
	<i>panna £Savonlinna</i> dać PR	<i>[ku</i> <i>(joskus)</i> <i>tor-]</i> <i>torvi</i> PTC czasem róg ‘napisać »Savonlinna« (ze względu na) róg’
2	Liisa:	<i>[£v:o::ois£]</i> móc.COND. 3SG ‘można by’

Do sformułowania propozycji Päivi używa konstrukcji z podmiotem zerowym i czasownikiem posiłkowym *voida* ‘móc’ w trybie przypuszczającym. Jest to jedna z konstrukcji, które niniejsza praca definiuje jako konstrukcje propozycji (vide sekcja 4.5.). Próbując określić, czy dany schemat interakcyjny jest konstrukcją językową, praca bada, czy występowanie takiego schematu jest powtarzalne w sekwencji określonej akcji oraz czy posiada on jakieś przewidywalne cechy interakcyjne (np. pozycja w sekwencji) i formalne.

Skupiając się na konstrukcjach językowych jako podstawowych jednostkach formułowania akcji społecznych i reagowania na nie, praca w praktyce wykorzystuje podejście zwane gramatyką konstrukcyjną (Construction Grammar, CxG). Wychodzi ono z założenia, że znajomość języka polega na doświadczeniu użytkownika z całym konstrukcjami językowymi, nie zaś na znajomości abstrakcyjnego systemu i zasad tworzenia form. Praca czerpie przede wszystkim z filozoficznych podstaw CxG, nie

stosując schematów pudełkowych konstrukcji i sieci zależności między nimi (vide np. Fried i Östman 2004).

Konstrukcje językowe są postrzegane w badaniu jako formaty akcji społecznych (Social Action Formats; Fox 2007). Jest to nurt rozumiejący konstrukcje nie tyle jako połączenia formy i funkcji, co formy i akcji. Dzięki takiemu podejściu za konstrukcje można uznać również schematy multimodalne, łączące akcje społeczne ze środkami językowymi i pozajęzykowymi. Social Action Formats przypisuje bardzo duże znaczenie sekwencji akcji w kształtowaniu gramatyki. Dla przykładu, odpowiedź Liisy we fragmencie (205) jest formatem odpowiedzi na propozycję, która mimo bycia jedynie czasownikiem w trzeciej osobie trybu przypuszczającego jest całkowicie adekwatna i gramatyczna ze względu na swoją pozycję w strukturze całej akcji.

Stosowanie powyższych modeli analizy interakcji opiera się na rozumieniu dyskursu jako źródła gramatyki. Według Hoppera (1987 i później), gramatyka *powstaje* z interakcji. Sytuacje komunikacyjne opierające się na interakcji dają początek wzorcom gramatycznym i konstrukcjom językowym, które wypracowywane są przez uczestników interakcji w reakcji na potrzeby komunikacyjne. Wzorce te jednocześnie kształtują dalszą interakcję.

3.2. Dyrektywy i postawa

Praca bada dyrektywy i postawę jako dwa typy akcji społecznych, które w interakcji wzajemnie na siebie oddziałują, a w języku fińskim ich nośnikami są konstrukcje z tymi samymi środkami gramatycznymi, tj. trybem warunkowym i partitivusem.

Dyrektywy są rozumiane jako akcje usiłujące wywołać podjęcie działań przez innych. Praca przyjmuje operacyjną definicję dyrektyw Couper-Kuhlen (2014), w której poszczególne rodzaje dyrektyw rozróżnia się na podstawie dwóch kryteriów: wykonawcy i beneficjenta czynności. Na podstawie różnych konfiguracji wykonawcy i beneficjenta (osoba mówiąca *self* ‘ja’ vs. ktoś inny *other* ‘inny’) wyróżnić cztery podstawowe typy dyrektyw: prośbę (ktoś inny robi coś dla mnie), ofertę (ja robię coś dla kogoś innego), sugestię (ktoś inny robi coś z pożytkiem dla siebie) oraz propozycję (ja i ktoś inny robimy coś z pożytkiem dla nas obojga). Tabela 1 schematycznie ukazuje ten podział.

typ akcji	wykonawca akcji	beneficjent akcji
prośba	inny	ja
oferta	ja	inny
sugestia	inny	inny
propozycja	ja i inny	ja i inny

Tabela 1. Dyrektywy (por. Couper-Kuhlen 2014: 634)

Postawa często rozumiana jest jako manifestacja indywidualnych opinii, ocen, odczuć itp. Interakcjonisci zwracają jednak uwagę na relacyjny charakter postawy pokazując, że wyrażenie jakiegoś osądu nie odbywa się bez odpowiedzi ze strony innych uczestników interakcji, a opinie często podlegają negocjacji. W pracy wykorzystywana jest następująca definicja postawy ujęta schematycznie w model przedstawiony Figurą 1.

“Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self

and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field. [Postawa to publiczny akt wykonywany przez aktora społecznego, polegający na jednoczesnej ocenie przedmiotów, pozycjonowaniu podmiotów (siebie i innych) i dostosowywaniu się do innych podmiotów względem jakiegokolwiek istotnej sfery pola społeczno-kulturowego.]” (Du Bois 2007: 163; tłum. RW)

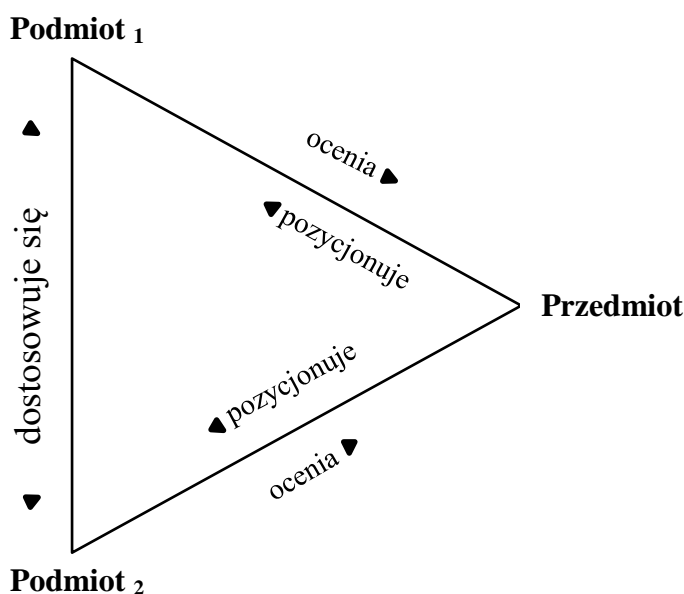


Figura 1. Trójkąt postawy (Du Bois 2007: 163)

Tym samym wspólną cechą dyrektyw i postawy staje się intersubiektywność. Głównymi rodzajami postawy badanymi w pracy są: postawa epistemiczna (związana z wiedzą), postawa deontyczna (związana z władzą) oraz postawa afektywna (związana z emocjami).

W odpowiedzi na wpływowe badania interakcji społecznej ostatnich lat, podkreślające znaczenie postawy dla praktycznie każdego typu akcji społecznych (np. Heritage 2012, Stevanovic i Peräkylä 2014), praca kładzie istotny nacisk na badanie postawy w służbie innych akcji, definiując to zjawisko. Postawa rozumiana jest jako pozostająca w służbie innych akcji wtedy, kiedy przyjmowanie postawy ma konsekwencje dla struktury tej akcji, nie zmieniając jednocześnie jej charakteru.

3.3. Interakcja codzienna i instytucjonalna

Modelem dla badań nad rozmowami są interakcje codzienne, odbywające się pomiędzy rodziną, znajomymi czy przyjaciółmi. W teorii społecznej Ervinga Goffmana (1952 i później), rozmowa jest rozumiana jako instytucja sama w sobie, ponieważ rządzi się określonymi zasadami i odzwierciedlany jest w niej porządek społeczny. Początkowe badania z nurty analizy konwersacyjnej (głównie Sacks i in. 1974) zdefiniowały te zasady, określając system prowadzenia rozmów jako oparty na tzw. kolejkach (ang. *turns*). W tym systemie (ang. *turn-taking organisation*) rozmówcy zabierają głos po kolei tak, że jedna osoba jest uprawniona do jednej kolejki na raz. Kolejki mogą nakładać się na siebie, ale tylko przez chwilę, a przejście między rozmówcami następuje w tzw. miejscach relewantnych dla tranzycji (ang. *transition-relevant places*), tj. przeważnie po kompletnych prozodycznie i strukturalnie

jednostkach konstrukcyjnych kolejki (ang. *turn-constructional units*; TCUs), np. zdaniach.

Powyższe reguły są prawdziwe nie tylko dla interakcji codziennej, ale również dla interakcji instytucjonalnej, tzn. odbywającej się w ramach instytucji życia społecznego takich jak szpitale, urzędy, szkoły czy media. Istnieją one niezależnie od instytucji konwersacji, ale ją wykorzystują. Między rozmowami codziennymi a instytucjonalnymi da się jednak zaobserwować szereg różnic, np. przewidywalność tematu oraz to, że interakcje instytucjonalne odbywają się w określonym celu. Ponadto jedni uczestnicy rozmów instytucjonalnych przeważnie mają większy wpływ na kolejność i moment zabierania głosu (np. nauczyciel w klasie, dziennikarz prowadzący wywiad), niż inni. Charakterystyczną cechą interakcji w urzędzie spraw socjalnych jest element negocjacji warunków, na jakich pomoc społeczna jest przyznawana. Negocjacje te często odzwierciedlają konflikty interesów (Linell & Fredin 1995).

Szczególną uwagę praca poświęca asymetriom między uczestnikami interakcji, które mogą występować zarówno w interakcji codziennej, jak i instytucjonalnej, ale w tej drugiej mają bardziej stały charakter. Asymetrie te dotyczą wiedzy, możliwości działania (ang. *agency*; Enfield 2011), jak również władzy wynikającej ze względnego statusu pomiędzy uczestnikami interakcji (np. urzędnik ma wyższy status od petenta w urzędzie spraw socjalnych).

Niniejsze badanie stoi na stanowisku, że wszystkie te różnice są potencjalnie istotne dla dystrybucji konstrukcji badanych akcji społecznych. Dlatego też wyniki badań w części empirycznej pracy przedstawiane są dla każdej ze zidentyfikowanych konstrukcji językowych z podziałem na ilość manifestacji i spełniane funkcje w każdym z dwóch korpusów.

4. Konstrukcje z trybem warunkowym

W sumie z materiału badawczego udało się otrzymać 686 manifestacji badanych zjawisk, z czego przeważająca większość, bo 574, stanowi przykłady użycia trybu warunkowego. Około 80% z nich występuje w ramach konstrukcji dyrektyw i postawy, których łącznie jest 22. W rozdziale 4 najpierw opisywane są konstrukcje i inne użycia dyrektywne (4.1–4.6), a następnie te dedykowane postawie (4.7–4.9).

4.1. Dyrektywy w ujęciu ogólnym

Praca stoi na stanowisku, że tryb warunkowy indeksuje dyrektywy w tym sensie, że jego użycie w tej funkcji spotykane jest również poza utartymi konstrukcjami w odpowiedzi na chwilowe potrzeby uczestników interakcji. Na przykład w poniższym fragmencie Mika mówi w linii 3 z użyciem trybu przypuszczającego *kaksyit yli kaheksal lähtis juna* ‘dwadzieścia po ósmej pociąg **by odjeżdżał**’ nie wyrażając przy tym sytuacji hipotetycznej, a formułując prośbę pod adresem Laury, żeby przyszła wcześniej.

(206) ‘Młodzieżowa organizacja kościelna’ (SG440_litteraatti)

1 Laura: *sovitaaks me joku aika millom mä sit*
ustalać.PASS.Q.CL 1SG jakiś czas kiedy 1SG PTC
‘ustalimy jakąś porę, kiedy mam’
tuun, (0.8)
przyjść.PRS.1SG

		‘przyjść?’				
2 →	Saila:	^o no°	pitäskö	<i>s[opiik</i>	<i>ku;</i>	
		PTC	musieć.COND.3SG.Q	ustalać	PTC	
		‘no, należałoby ustalić, bo’				
3 →	Mika:			<i>[hei mull_ois</i>		<i>kakskyt</i>
				PTC	1SG.ADE_być.COND.3SG	20
		‘hej, ja bym miał dwadzieścia’				
		<i>yli, (0.6)</i>	<i>kaheksal</i>	lähtis	<i>juna.</i>	(0.8)
		po	ósma	odjeżdżać.COND.3SG	pociąg	
		‘po ósmej, pociąg by odjeżdżał’				
4 →	Laura:	<i>okei</i>	<i>no, (0.4)</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>silleij</i>	<i>jos mä</i>
		OK	PTC	PTC	w.ten.sposób	jeśli 1SG
		‘OK, to jeśli’				
		<i>tuuv</i>		<i>vaik</i>	<i>vähä>, (0.4)</i>	
		przyjść.PRS.1SG		PTC	trochę	
		‘przyjdę, powiedzmy, trochę’				
5		<i>mä</i>	<i>tuun</i>	<i>kasilt</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>vähäj jälkee. (.)</i>
		1SG	przyjść.PRS.1SG	ósma.ABL	lub	trochę po
		‘przyjdę o ósmej albo trochę po’				

Przedstawiony fragment ukazuje początek sekwencji dyrektyw, który Saila zaznacza propozycją z trybem warunkowym w linii 2, tym samym sygnalizując swoją orientację w kierunku wspólnego podejmowania decyzji. W późniejszym toku rozmowy, kiedy uwaga wszystkich uczestników interakcji skupiona jest na tej czynności, używany jest tryb oznajmujący (linijka 4 i dalej).

4.2. Prośby

Badanie wyróżniło 4 konstrukcje z trybem przypuszczającym, których główną funkcją w przynajmniej jednym korpusie jest prośba. Ich schematy formalne i główne funkcje są ujęte w Tabeli 2.

Cx	schemat	występowanie i główna funkcja w korpusach		uwagi
		instytucjonalny	codzienny	
11	(2 +) <i>voida</i> ‘móc’.COND.2 + VP	prośba	prośba	używana jako demonstracja uprawnienia przez urzędnika; prośby o czynności natychmiastowe
12	(1SG) + VP.COND.1SG + NP	prośba	prośba	<i>kysyä</i> ‘pytać’ oraz <i>haluta</i> ‘chcieć’ jako najczęściej używane czasowniki; typowo występuje na początku sekwencji
13	<i>jos</i> ‘jeśli’ + VP.COND (+ CONJ + VP)	prośba	propozycja	rama dla różnych typów zdań
41	<i>voida</i> . ‘móc’. COND.3SG + VP	prośba	propozycja	Korpusy konsekwentnie różnią się jeśli chodzi o główną funkcję; sugestia jako druga najczęstsza funkcja w korpusie instytucjonalnym

Tabela 2. Konstrukcje prośby z trybem przypuszczającym.

Dwie konstrukcje o największej ilości manifestacji, Cx11 i Cx12, różnią się od siebie pod trzema głównymi względami. Obie zabiegają o czynność do wykonania przez partnera interakcyjnego (inny) na korzyść mówiącego (ja), jednakże formalnie zawierają dwie różne liczby: Cx11 *sä voisit* ‘mógłbyś/mogłabyś’ jest konstrukcją z drugą osobą, a Cx12 *mä kysyisin/haluaisin* ‘spytał(a)bym/chciał(a)bym’ – z pierwszą. Odzwierciedla to drugą z różnic, mianowicie fakt, że Cx11 jest używana głównie przez urzędnika, a Cx12 przez petenta. Konstrukcja Cx11 pojawia się później w interakcji, niż Cx12. Pierwsza z konstrukcji używana jest do formułowania prośb o podjęcie konkretnych czynności koniecznych do załatwienia sprawy w trakcie interakcji, np. wypełnienia formularza. Na etapie, kiedy pojawia się w interakcji Cx11 jasny jest już powód, dla którego petent przyszedł do urzędu, natomiast konstrukcja Cx12 pada typowo na początku interakcji, po sekwencji powitań, i często służy również do określenia celu wizyty. Najczęstszymi czasownikami dla Cx12 są *kysyä* ‘pytać’ oraz *haluta* ‘chcieć’, jednak mogą w jej ramach występować także inne czasowniki. Im rzadziej występujący czasownik, tym mniej swoich prototypowych cech przejawia sama konstrukcja, np. występuje ona wtedy często na dalszym etapie rozmowy.

Badanie Laury (2012a) pokazało, że samodzielne zdania z *jos* ‘jeśli’, tj. zdania bez zależności warunkowej pomiędzy dwoma sytuacjami, stanowią dyrektywy w fińskiej interakcji. Oprócz potwierdzenia tych rezultatów, niniejsza praca uzyskała dodatkowe, bardziej szczegółowe wyniki dla tego schematu konstrukcyjnego (Cx13). Wykazała ona na przykład, że między rozmowami instytucjonalnymi a codziennymi istnieje różnica pod względem głównego typu dyrektyw formułowanego przez tę konstrukcję. W interakcjach instytucjonalnych konstrukcja przeważnie adresowana jest jako prośba do partnera interakcyjnego, natomiast w interakcjach codziennych wykonawcą czynności typowo jest interakcyjny kolektyw, a sama konstrukcja tym samym formułuje propozycję.

Ostatnia z konstrukcji, Cx41 *voisi* ‘można by’, formułuje prośby wyłącznie w rozmowach instytucjonalnych. W rozmowach spontanicznych jej główną funkcją jest propozycja. Jest to niezwykle istotny wynik, gdyż formalnie konstrukcja Cx41 w

sposób niejednoznaczny określa wykonawcę czynności. Stanowi ona przykład tzw. osoby zerowej, tj. konstrukcji bez formalnie wyrażanego podmiotu i czasownikiem w trzeciej osobie liczby pojedynczej. Badania Laitinen (1995, 2006) pokazały, że konstrukcje z osobą zerową kreują otwarte pole referencyjne tak, że uczestnicy interakcji mogą w różnoraki sposób identyfikować się z czynnościami przez nie określanymi. Niniejsze badanie dowodzi, że dla schematu Cx41 interpretacja osoby zerowej jest w dużym stopniu przewidywalna. Przykłady przytoczone w podsekcji 4.2.4. pracy pokazują, że uczestnicy rozmów instytucjonalnych zawsze rozumieją wykonawcę czynności jako kogoś innego, lecz nie siebie. Wyniki dla rozmów spontanicznych są zgoła inne (vide sekcja 4.5).

4.3. Oferty

Oferta jest najczęstszą funkcją w przynajmniej jednym z korpusów dla dwóch konstrukcji z trybem przypuszczającym, Cx21 i Cx22.

Cx	schemat	występowanie i główna funkcja w korpusach		uwagi
		instytucjonalny	codzienny	
21	(1PL) + <i>voida</i> 'móc'.PASS.COND + VP	oferta	propozycja	występowanie bądź brak zaimka pierwszej osoby liczby mnogiej przeważnie rozróżnia funkcję
22	1SG + <i>voida</i> 'móc'.COND.1SG (+ VP/czynność fizyczna)	oferta	oferta	częściowo multimodalny schemat formułowania ofert i sygnalizowania działania

Tabela 3. Konstrukcje oferty z trybem przypuszczającym.

Konstrukcja Cx21 (*me*) *voita(i)s* 'moglibyśmy/można by' jest jedną z najciekawszych w niniejszej pracy, gdyż niejednoznacznie odnosi się do wykonawcy czynności. Jest to konstrukcja ze stroną bezosobową (*passiivi*), która w standardzie języka fińskiego niesie znaczenie nieokreślonej grupy ludzi jako wykonawcy czynności. W mówionym fińskim forma *passiivi* jest formą pierwszej osoby liczby mnogiej. W badanym materiale zachodzi wariacja jeśli chodzi o obecność zaimka pierwszej osoby *me* 'my' w ramach konstrukcji Cx21, a co za tym idzie, poszczególne manifestacje mogą mniej lub bardziej jednoznacznie określać wykonawcę czynności. Tym niemniej, uczestnicy interakcji instytucjonalnych konsekwentnie interpretują tę konstrukcję jako ofertę, a uczestnicy rozmów codziennych – jako propozycję. Jest to odzwierciedlenie sposobu, w jaki osoby uczestniczące w tych rozmowach rozumieją wzajemnie je łączące zależności. W interakcjach instytucjonalnych konstrukcja Cx21 pojawia się wtedy, kiedy urzędnik zapowiada czynności korzystne dla petenta. Im bardziej sprecyzowany wykonawca czynności (np. urzędnicy z lokalnego oddziału Kela), tym częściej w takich ofertach pojawia się zaimek *me* 'my'.

W obydwu korpusach główną funkcją drugiej z konstrukcji, tj. Cx22 *mä voisin* 'mógłbym/mogłabym', jest oferta, a zaraz po niej oznajmianie wykonania czynności. Jest to jedyny w badaniu format multimodalny. Na pozycji czasownika nieskończonego we frazie werbalnej może się pojawić po prostu fizyczne wykonanie zapowiadanej czynności, vide przykład (207).

(207) ‘Czworo przyjaciół’ (SG346_01_10)

→ ((Antti wstaje idzie w kierunku zlewu))

1 → Antti: *mä voisin pe[s>*
1SG móc.COND.1SG
‘mógłbym’

2 Sanna: *[onks teil sellast*
być.PRS.3SG.CL 2PL.ADE taki.PTV
‘macie taką’

kuorimisjuttuu,
obieraczka.PTV
‘obieraczkę?’

3 → Antti: *no ku mä en tiedä mä*
PTC PTC 1SG NEG.1SG wiedzieć. NEG 1SG
‘no, nie wiem’
voisin pestä tän ainakin ensin
móc.COND.1SG myć to.ACC przynajmniej najpierw
‘mógłbym to przynajmniej najpierw umyć’

4.4. Sugestie

Sugestia jest główną funkcją dla dwóch konstrukcji, Cx31 i Cx32. Ponadto, w podrozdziale 4.4. opisywane są użycia konstrukcji Cx41 (vide 4.2 oraz 4.5) związane z formułowaniem sugestii w rozmowach instytucjonalnych.

Cx	schemat	występowanie i główna funkcja w korpusach		uwagi
		instytucjonalny	codzienny	
31	PERS.PRO/NP.3 + <i>voida</i> ‘móc’.COND.3 + VP	sugestia	-	sugerowanie akcji w przyszłości, poza sytuacją komunikacyjną, do wykonania przez osobę nieuczestniczącą w rozmowie
32	(2/3.GEN +) <i>kannattaa</i> ‘warto’.COND.3SG + VP	sugestia	-	Występuje w drugiej kolejce sekwencji typu problem-sugestia

Tabela 4. Konstrukcje sugestii z trybem przypuszczającym.

Konstrukcja Cx31 używana jest do sugerowania czynności, które miałyby być podjęte w przyszłości przez osobę nieobecną w rozmowie. Używana jest np. w kontekstach, w których ktoś przychodzi do urzędu spraw społecznych załatwiać sprawy w imieniu kogoś innego, np. członka rodziny. Konstrukcja Cx32 może być używana w tym samym kontekście albo pod adresem rozmówcy. To, kto będzie wykonawcą czynności, wyraża zaimek osobowy, jednakże w przypadku Cx32 nie jest on obowiązkowy, a konstrukcja stanowi wtedy przykład tzw. osoby zerowej.

Sugestie formułowane poprzez konstrukcje z trybem przypuszczającym powstają z dwóch głównych otoczeń interakcyjnych: są albo reakcjami na prośby o radę, albo próbami zakończenia negocjacji tak, żeby wymusić na rozmówcy akceptację sugerowanego biegu zdarzeń. Wszystkie konstrukcje sugestii mogą występować w tych

dwóch kontekstach. Charakterystyczną cechą pierwszego z nich jest występowanie partykuły dyskursywnej *no* ‘no’ na początku kolejki, przed konstrukcją.

Formułowanie sugestii z trybem przypuszczającym jest jednoznacznie z deklaracją przewagi deontycznej nad partnerem interakcyjnym, toteż obie konstrukcje używane są przez urzędników, a nie przez petentów w interakcjach instytucjonalnych. W rozmowach codziennych, w których status deontyczny między uczestnikami interakcji nie występują, sugestie są formułowane z użyciem trybu oznajmującego.

4.5. Propozycje

Dwie z trzech z konstrukcji propozycji, Cx21 i Cx41, to schematy omawiane już we wcześniejszych sekcjach rozdziału 4. W rozmowach spontanicznych formułują one propozycje, a w instytucjonalnych – inne dyrektywy.

Cx	schemat	występowanie i główna funkcja w korpusach		uwagi
		instytucjonalny	codzienny	
21	(1PL) + <i>voida</i> 'móc'.PASS.COND + VP	oferta	propozycja	występowanie bądź brak zaimka pierwszej osoby liczby mnogiej przeważnie rozróżnia funkcję
41	<i>voida</i> . 'móc'. COND.3SG + VP	prośba	propozycja	korpusy konsekwentnie różnią się jeśli chodzi o główną funkcję; sugestia jako druga najczęstsza funkcja w korpusie instytucjonalnym
42	<i>pitää</i> 'musieć'.COND.3SG.Q + (1.GEN) + VP	postawa deontyczna	propozycja	silna projekcja akceptacji propozycji

Tabela 5. Konstrukcje propozycji z trybem przypuszczającym

Tabela 5 pokazuje propozycje z trybem przypuszczającym jako cechę przede wszystkim codziennych, spontanicznych rozmów pomiędzy przyjaciółmi i rodziną. W takich rozmowach dużo łatwiej o poczucie wspólnych celów, niż w interakcjach instytucjonalnych, a konstrukcje Cx21 i Cx41, które formalnie pozwalają na wielość interpretacji wykonawcy czynności, są używane przez uczestników interakcji codziennych do proponowania rozwiązań problemów lub wspólnego spędzania wolnego czasu.

Konstrukcja Cx21 *me voita(i)s* ‘moglibyśmy/można by’ ze stroną bezosobową charakteryzuje się częstszą obecnością zaimka osobowego *me* ‘my’ (5 na 7 manifestacji, w porównaniu do 3 na 9 w korpusie instytucjonalnym), a uczestnicy konwersacji odczytują Cx21 jednoznacznie jako propozycję, a nie jako ofertę. Opuszczenie zaimka w Cx21 w rozmowach codziennych odbywa się na zasadzie anafory, co oznacza, że praktycznie zawsze, gdy konstrukcja ta występuje, dla rozmówców jest jasne, że wykonawcami czynności będą oni sami lub, opcjonalnie, oni oraz osoby znajome nieobecne w rozmowie.

Wspólnota celów jest najbardziej kluczowa dla interpretacji Cx41 *voisi* ‘można by’, gdyż określenie wykonawcy czynności zależy od tego, czy pomiędzy uczestnikami interakcji panuje wyraźny podział na ‘ja’ i ‘inny’, czy istnieje wspólnie rozumiane poczucie istnienia ‘my’. Nawet w sytuacjach takich jak w przykładzie (208), tj. kiedy

nie wszyscy uczestnicy rozmowy będą bezpośrednio brać udział w wykonywaniu czynności, ich reakcje pokazują, że postrzegają oni czynność jako przynoszącą pożytek wszystkim. Odpowiedź Liisy w linii 5 przykładu (208) świadczy o tym, że interpretuje ona kolejkę Hanny (linijki 4–6) jako propozycję, gdyż napisanie imienia śpiewaczki na odwrocie fotografii przybliży wszystkich do celu, którym jest uporządkowanie zdjęć.

(208) ‘Biuro koncertowe’ (SG435_04_10)

- 1 Jussi: *tää näyttää Roobert Kajanoks[en ku]valt;*
 DEM wyglądać.PRS.3SG PR PR.GEN zdjęcie.ABL
 ‘to wygląda na zdjęcie Roberta Kajanusa’
- 2 Jouni: *[joo.]*
 PTC
 ‘tak’
- 3 Päivi: *tyr[kyllä.]*
 przyciągający.ADE
 ‘szukający uwagi’
- 4 → Hanna: *[tää on] hei taakse vois melkee*
 DEM być.PRS.3SG PTC za móc.COND.3SG prawie
 ‘to jest, hej, na odwrocie można byłoby właściwie’
kirjottaa Elsan nimen koska, (.)
 pisać PR.GEN imię.ACC bo
 ‘zapisać imię Elzy, bo’
- 5 → Liisa: ((spoza ekranu))
laittakaa ihmees siell_on lyijykynä.
 pisać.IMP.2PL PTC tam_być.PRS.3SG ołówe
 ‘napiszcie, tam jest ołówek’
- 6 Hanna: *tässä hän on (.) hyvin näköisensä.*
 tu 3SG być.PRS.3SG bardzo podobny.3SG.CL
 ‘wygląda tu jak ona’

Ostatnia z konstrukcji, Cx42 *pitäiskö* ‘czy należało by’, zachowuje semantyczny związek z powinnością tylko w interakcjach instytucjonalnych, w których na rozmówcach ciąży zobowiązanie wynikające z ról, jakie pełnią (obywatel ubiegający się o świadczenia, urzędnik obowiązany do udzielenia pomocy). W rozmowach spontanicznych konstrukcja ta jednoznacznie wyraża propozycje i nie przejawia cech konstrukcji deontycznej. Jest to kolejna konstrukcja z osobą zerową, której interpretacja różni się między dwoma badanymi korpusami.

4.6. Odpowiedzi na propozycje

Konstrukcje z trybem przypuszczającym są używane nie tylko do formułowania dyrektyw, ale też do odpowiadania na nie. Jediną konstrukcją dedykowaną tej funkcji jest Cx43 (PTC) + *voisi* ‘można by’, za pomocą której akceptuje się propozycje w fińskiej interakcji. Konstrukcja składa prawie wyłącznie z czasownika *voida* ‘móc’ w 3. osobie i trybie przypuszczającym i została zilustrowana w linii 2 przykładu (205) w sekcji 3.1. Co istotne, konstrukcja jest odpowiedzią na propozycje niekoniecznie formułowane poprzez konstrukcję z *voisi* ‘można by’, więc Cx43 stanowi nie tyle

przykład rezonowania konstrukcji bądź ich części w rozmowie, co samodzielny schemat interakcyjny.

4.7. Postawa

Praca wyróżnia trzy konstrukcje typowo dedykowane postawie. W przeważającej większości konstrukcje te służą przyjmowaniu postawy epistemicznej, nawet w przypadku konstrukcji Cx52 i Cx53, które są zbudowane wokół czasownika *pitää* ‘musieć’.

Cx	schemat	występowanie i główna funkcja w korpusach		uwagi
		instytucjonalny	codzienny	
51	VP[<i>oisko</i>](<i>han</i>) ‘czy(ż) byłoby’ (+NP)	prośba	postawa epistemiczna	konstrukcja pozycjonowania epistemicznego <u>graniczącego z pewnością</u>
52	(NP +) <i>pitää</i> ‘musieć’.COND.3SG + VP	postawa epistemiczna	propozycja	konstrukcja ma dwa formalne warianty. Dla każdego inna jest główna funkcja
53	(DEM.LOC) + <i>pitää</i> ‘musieć’.COND.3SG + VP	postawa epistemiczna	postawa epistemiczna	w sytuacjach asymetrycznych używana przez osobę o niższym statusie epistemicznym

Tabela 6. Konstrukcje postawy z trybem przypuszczającym.

Konstrukcja Cx51 jest używana głównie w rozmowach codziennych i występuje w czasie teraźniejszym i przeszłym. Jest używana w sytuacjach, kiedy ktoś wyraża przypuszczenie graniczące z pewnością. Konstrukcja charakteryzuje się silną projekcją odpowiedzi potwierdzającej to przypuszczenie. Oba te fakty ilustruje przykład (209), w którym konstrukcja Cx51 pojawia się w linii 2.

(209) ‘Czworo przyjaciół’ (SG346_20_30)

- 1 Kerttu: *onks* *Jossu missä?* (0.8)
być.PRS.3SG.Q.CL PR gdzie
‘gdzie jest Jossu?’
- 2 → Sanna: [(*oiskoha* *se keikall(a)*]
być.COND.3SG.Q.CL 3SG koncert.ADE
‘czy on jest (dosł. czy on by był) na koncercie?’
- 3 Antti: [*tota* *L]ahdessa keikalla.*
PTC Lahti.INE koncert.ADE
‘uhm, w Lahti na koncercie’

Konstrukcja Cx52 posiada dwa warianty, które są schematycznie przedstawione poniżej.

(210) Konstrukcja Cx52

- a. (NP +) $V_{pitää}$.COND.3SG + V_{olla} (+ NP)

b. NP + V_{pitää}.COND.3SG + VP

W wariancie Cx52a występuje czasownik olla ‘być’, a w Cx52b inne czasowniki. Różnica w budowie ma po części konsekwencje funkcjonalne, gdyż wariantu Cx52b z częściej używa się do formułowania dyrektyw, np. do sformułowania próśb odnoszących się do zobowiązań pod adresem petenta (*tämä pitäis täyttää* ‘to trzeba byłoby wypełnić’). Tym niemniej, Cx52, tak samo jak i Cx53, głównie przyjmuje postawę epistemiczną, np. w sytuacjach, kiedy petent komentuje zawartość dokumentów podczas ich sprawdzania przez urzędnika (*pitäis olla kaikki* ‘powinno być wszystko’). Pod tym względem konstrukcja Cx52 przypomina Cx51, tzn. osoba jej używająca jest prawie pewna stanu rzeczy. Konstrukcja Cx53 jest używana w podobnych kontekstach, co Cx52. Obie konstrukcje zawierają czasownik *pitää* ‘musieć’ w trzeciej osobie liczby pojedynczej, a zatem są przykładami konstrukcji nesesywnej języka fińskiego.

4.8. Postawa w służbie dyrektyw

Konstrukcje postawy w służbie dyrektyw przedstawione są w Tabeli 7. Dyrektywą, której formułowaniu asystuje w nich przyjmowanie postawy, jest prośba.

Cx	schemat	występowanie i główna funkcja w korpusach		uwagi
		instytucjonalny	codzienny	
61	1SG.GEN + <i>pitää</i> ‘musieć’.COND.3SG + VP	postawa deontyczna w służbie prośby	postawa deontyczna	próba uzyskania zgody rozmówcy
62	(1SG) + [VP.COND].PST + VP	postawa epistemiczna w służbie prośby	-	ikoniczna reprezentacja złożonej czynności za pomocą peryfrastycznej formy czasownika

Tabela 7. Konstrukcje postawy w służbie dyrektyw z trybem przypuszczającym.

W badaniu interakcji medycznych przeprowadzanych po szwedzku oraz w nowozelandzkim standardzie języka angielskiego Lindström & Weatherall (2015) wykazały, że wypowiedzi zorientowane na prawa deontyczne innych uczestników interakcji (np. *you are the boss here* ‘jesteś tu szefem’) mogą stanowić środek radzenia sobie z oporem stawianym przez rozmówcę. Konstrukcja Cx61 jest takim przykładem dla języka fińskiego. Jej użycie ilustruje poniższy przykład (linijka 5).

(211) ‘Ubezpieczenie od bezrobocia’ (T170_tyottomyysturvajuttu)

- 4 Pet.: (*muut ku*); (0.6)
PTC PTC
‘ale kiedy’
- 5 → *.hhh mum pitäs vaan äkkiä*
1SG.GEN musieć.COND.3SG PTC szybko
‘ja bym musiał po prostu szybko’
saahas se tietää< (1.4)
dostać to wiedzieć
‘to wiedzieć’
- 6 Urz.: *.mt no ko ei ei me voiaj/jä-*; (.)

	PTC	PTC	NEG.3SG	NEG.3SG	1PL	móc.PASS.NEG
	‘no ale my nie możemy’					
<i>antaas</i>	<i>semmosta</i>	<i>/tietoo</i>		<i>ko</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>sulla</i>
dać	taki.PTV	informacja.PTV	PTC		NEG.3SG	2SG
‘podać takiej informacji, bo ty’						
<i>oot</i>	<i>täällä as-; (.)</i>	<i>työttömyysturvahakemuksia</i>				
być.NEG tu		podanie.o.ubezpieczenie.od.bezrobocia.PL.PTV				
‘nigdy się o ubezpieczenie od bezrobocia’						
<i>koskaa</i>	<i>olluv</i>	<i>vir*reillä*.</i>				
nigdy	być.PAP	trwający				
‘tutaj się nie ubiegałeś’						

Petent usiłuje uzyskać od urzędniczki potrzebną mu informację, powołując się na zobowiązania wynikające z innych źródeł, niż Kela. W tym przypadku chodzi o kasę zapomogową i jej wewnętrzne regulacje związane z przyznawaniem zasiłku dla bezrobotnych. Przykład (211) ilustruje typową sytuację użycia Cx61, tj. sytuację asymetrii deontycznej, którą osoba o niższym statusie próbuje wyrównać i tym samym osiągnąć swój cel.

Druga z konstrukcji, Cx62, jest jedną z najważniejszych w całej pracy, gdyż jej badanie nie tylko uzupełniło istniejący stan wiedzy, lecz także doprowadziło do wniosków alternatywnych względem poprzednich badań. Konstrukcja zawiera prośbę z trybem warunkowym i czasownikiem w czasie przeszłym, którego forma w tym wypadku jest peryfrastyczna i zbudowana jest z odmienionego czasownika *olla* ‘być’ i przeszłego imiesłowu czynnego. Obecność czasu przeszłego nie jest motywowana semantycznie, tj. nie stanowi odniesienia do sytuacji z przeszłości, lecz pragmatycznie. Analiza budowy sekwencji akcji implementowanych przez Cx62 przeprowadzona w porównaniu do Cx12, która jest tym samym formatem w czasie teraźniejszym, doprowadziło do wniosku, że peryfrastyczność formy czasownikowej stanowi odzwierciedlenie złożoności akcji, gdyż większość sekwencji akcji zawierających Cx62 jest rozbudowana o sekwencję postawy epistemicznej towarzyszącej formułowaniu prośby. Fragment (212) ilustruje taką sekwencję.

(212) ‘Papiery na dodatek mieszkaniowy’ (t1092_asumistukipaperit)

- | | | | |
|-----|-------|--|------------------------------|
| 1 | Pet.: | <i>päivvä,</i>
dzień
‘dzień dobry’ | |
| 2 | Urz.: | <i>päivvää,</i> (0.8)
dzień.PTV
‘dzień dobry’ | |
| 3 → | Pet.: | <i>(no) asumistukipape:reita</i>
PTC dodatek.mieszkaniowy.papier.PL.PTV
‘no, papiery na dodatek mieszkaniowy bym’
<i>halunnu?</i> (0.3)
chcieć.PAP
‘chciała’ (dosł. ‘bym była chciała’)
(Urzędnik odwraca się, by sięgnąć po dokumenty)) | <i>oesin</i>
być.COND.1SG |
| 4 | Urz.: | <i>asumistukkee</i> [hetkinen,
dodatek.mieszkaniowy.ILL chwila | |

5	Pet.:				
				[ni:.	
				PTC	
				‘tak’	
6	Urz.:	<i>se on tuo yleisestä</i>	(.)		
		to być.PRS.3SG DEM	ogólny.ELA		
		‘o ogólny dodatek mieszkaniowy’			
		<i>asumistuesta</i>	<i>kysy[mys</i>	<i>jotta,</i>	
		dodatek.mieszkaniowy.ELA	kwestia	COMP	
		‘chodzi, żeby’			
7 →	Pet.:			[mitä	<i>siihen</i>
				jaki.PTV	DEM.ILL
				‘jakich do niego’	
		<i>tarvihttoo</i>	<i>niitä</i>	<i>lii:tteitä.</i>	
		potrzebować.PRS.3SG	DEM.PTV	attachment.PL.PTV	
		‘potrzeba załączników?’			

Petentka formułuje prośbę o wydanie stosownego formularza w linijce 3 za pomocą konstrukcji Cx62. Z punktu widzenia dalszej interakcji, linijka 3 stanowi zapowiedź dalszych pytań z jej strony (linijka 7), a te zadawane są dlatego, że petentka posiada mniejszą wiedzę odnośnie właściwych procedur, niż urzędnik. Taka sytuacja jest typowym środowiskiem użycia Cx62, w przeciwieństwie do Cx12, której domyślne otoczenie interakcyjne stanowią sekwencje prośby bez przyjmowania postawy epistemicznej. Tym samym Cx62 należy rozumieć jako reinterpretację dwóch konstrukcji: prośby z trybem warunkowym, np. Cx12, oraz postawy, dla której głównym czasownikiem w języku fińskim jest *olla* ‘być’ (vide sekcja 4.9.). Konstrukcja Cx62 stanowi zatem przykład ikoniczności poprzez tzw. mechanizm motywacji (Haiman 1980), tzn. kiedy język w sposób symboliczny odzwierciedla jakiś aspekt rzeczywistości.

4.9. Postawa w służbie innych czynności

Porównanie wyników dla konstrukcji postawy w służbie dyrektyw (Tabela 7, sekcja 4.8) do wyników dotyczących konstrukcji postawy w służbie czynności innych, niż dyrektywy (Tabela 8 poniżej), doprowadza do wniosku, że postawa przyjmowana jest w służbie dyrektyw przede wszystkim w interakcji instytucjonalnej, natomiast wspomaganie innych czynności przez postawę odbywa się głównie w spontanicznej interakcji codziennej.

Cx	schemat	występowanie i główna funkcja w korpusach		uwagi
		instytucjonalny	codzienny	
64	(<i>kyl</i> +) 1SG+ <i>Vveikata</i> ‘zgadywać’ .COND.1SG (+ COMP + VP)	-	postawa epistemiczna w służbie innej czynności	konstrukcja drugiej postawy
65	(1SG /Ø) + <i>Vluulla</i> ‘myśleć’ .COND.1SG /3SG (+ COMP + VP)	postawa epistemiczna w służbie innej czynności	postawa epistemiczna w służbie innej czynności	konstrukcja drugiej postawy; posiada funkcje związane z organizacją interakcji.
66	<i>voisko</i> ‘czy mogłoby’ +	prośba	postawa	podtrzymuje orientację

	(NP + VP)		epistemiczna w służbie innej czynności	uczestników na przyjmowanie postawy; czasownik semantycznie pełny
67	(PRO.Q +) (NP/DEM +) <i>vois(i)</i> ‘mogłoby’+ <i>Volla</i> ‘być’ + (ADJ/NP)	postawa epistemiczna	postawa epistemiczna w służbie innej czynności	orientuje uczestników na przyjmowanie postawy
68	(PRO.Q +) DEM/NOM + <i>Volla</i> ‘być’. COND.3SG + NP	postawa epistemiczna	postawa epistemiczna w służbie innej czynności	ma też funkcje związane z postawą buletyczną (tzn. życzeniami)
69	DEM/LOC + <i>Volla</i> ‘być’. COND.3SG + NP	oferta	postawa epistemiczna w służbie innej czynności	przypuszczenie lub oferta

Tabela 8. Konstrukcje postawy w służbie innych czynności z trybem przypuszczającym.

Dwie z sześciu konstrukcji postawy w służbie innych czynności z trybem warunkowym zawierają czasowniki kognitywne *veikata* ‘zgadywać’ (Cx64) i *luulla* ‘myśleć’ (Cx65). Uzyskane dla nich wyniki są po części analogiczne do tych zaobserwowanych dla podobnych konstrukcji w innych językach, np. *I think* ‘myśle’ i *I guess* ‘wydaje mi się’ w języku angielskim (Kärkkäinen 2003, 2007), tzn. oprócz przyjmowania postawy epistemicznej spełniają one funkcje związane z organizacją dyskursu. Widać to w poniższym przykładzie, gdzie konstrukcja Cx65 zamyka sekwencję postawy w linijce 5.

(213) ‘Biuro koncertowe’ (SG435_07_20)

- 1 Jussi: *Eero Ryydman.*
PR
‘Eero Ryydman’
- 2 Hanna: *nii.*
PTC
‘tak’
- 3 Jussi: *#ä:#. (0.4) [onko.]*
być.PRS.3SG.Q
‘czy to on?’
- 4 Hanna: *[tämä.] (0.5)*
DEM
‘ten’
- 5 → *mä luulisin.*
1SG myśleć.COND.1SG
‘tak myślę’

Zarówno Cx64 jak i Cx65 są konstrukcjami drugiej postawy, czyli pojawiają się w momencie, kiedy inny uczestnik interakcji już przyjął postawę. Niniejsze badanie stwierdza, że wymienione konstrukcje postawy najczęściej są używane w służbie innych czynności, np. w trakcie ustalania tożsamości osoby na fotografii.

Dwie kolejne konstrukcje zbudowane są wokół frazy werbalnej z czasownikiem *voida* ‘móc’ w trybie przypuszczającym. Mają one głównie funkcje związane z utrzymaniem orientacji uczestników interakcji na akt postawy. Za pomocą

konstrukcji Cx66 i Cx67 uczestnicy interakcji sygnalizują, że faza przyjmowania postawy w sekwencji innej czynności nie jest jeszcze zakończona. Niniejsza praca zwraca uwagę, że obecność trybu warunkowego ma decydujące znaczenie dla postawy, gdyż np. konstrukcja Cx67 z *voisi olla* ‘mogłoby być’ jest tak samo epistemiczna jak analogiczny format z trybem oznajmującym *voi olla* ‘może być’. Na przykładzie konstrukcji Cx66 i Cx67 szczególnie widać, że tryb przypuszczający indeksuje postawę.

Konstrukcje Cx68 i Cx69 zawierają czasownik *olla* ‘być’ w trybie przypuszczającym. Czasownik ten jest szczególnie ważny dla postawy w języku fińskim – nie tylko w interakcji mówionej, jak pokazuje niniejsza praca, ale też ogólnie, ze względu np. na fakt, że główną funkcją zdania kopulatywnego z *olla* ‘być’ jest przyjmowanie postawy (Hakulinen i in. 2004: §1212; zob. Wójtowicz 2018 dla zdania kopulatywnego z przymiotnikiem).

(214) ‘Coffee and buns’ (SG121_40_50)

- 1 Antti: *vittu mie lähe,*
cipa 1SG *iść.PRS.1SG*
‘kurwa, zostanę’
[mek- automekaanikoks,]
mechanik.samochodowy.TRANS
‘mechanikiem samochodowym’
- 2 → Paavo: *[kyl se ois meikäläis]e [homma,]*
PTC 3SG *być.PRS.COND.3SG* 1SG.GEN *praca*
‘tak, to by była praca dla mnie’
- 3 → Matti: *[o:is]*
być.PRS.COND.3SG
‘byłoby’
se kyl kiva pyörittää ei *siin mitää, (0.2)*
3SG PTC fajny kręcić NEG.3SG to.INE nic
‘to fajnie rozkręcić, nie ma w tym nic (złego)’
- 4 Kaisa: *[nii jösset sä saa,]*
PTC *jeśli.NEG.2SG* 2SG *dostawać.PRS.NEG*
‘tak, jeśli nie dostaniesz’
- 5 Matti: *[mut sanotaan näi et]*
ale *mówić.PASS* tak COMP
‘ale powiedzmy, że’
- *ei se miu unelma[homma] ois kyllä,*
NEG.3SG to 1SG *praca.marzeń* *być.COND.3SG* PTC
‘to by nie była moja praca marzeń’
- 6 Kaisa: *[nii:,]*
PTC
‘tak’
- 7 → Antti: *oispas elä valehtele,*
być.COND.CL.CL IMP.2SG *kłamać.IMP.2SG*
‘byłaby, nie kłam’
- 8 → Matti: *nii oiski,*
PTC *być.COND.3SG.CL*
‘tak, byłaby’

Powyższy przykład użycia konstrukcji Cx68 pokazuje, że postawa jako osiągnięcie intersubiektywne materializuje się wokół czasownika *olla* ‘być’ w trybie przypuszczającym. Za pomocą konstrukcji go zawierających uczestnicy interakcji nie tylko wyrażają swoje opinie na temat przedmiotu postawy, ale także kalibrują je względem perspektyw innych rozmówców, co widać we wszystkich zaznaczonych (→) liniach.

4.10. Podsumowanie

W podsumowaniu rozdziału 4., praca podkreśla, że strategia niepoświęcania uwagi „podstawowym” znaczeniom tzw. czasowników modalnych takich jak *voida* ‘móc’ czy *pitää* ‘musieć’, które pojawiają się w szeregu analizowanych konstrukcji, pozwoliła na dostrzeżenie istotnych różnic w użyciu tych konstrukcji pomiędzy interakcjami instytucjonalnymi i codziennymi. Szczególnie ciekawy profil ma czasownik *pitää* ‘musieć’. Konstrukcje z tym czasownikiem używane są do wyrażania postawy deontycznej, ale też epistemicznej. Najczęściej jednak konstrukcje z tym czasownikiem spełniają funkcje związane z postawą w rozmowach instytucjonalnych. W interakcjach codziennych czasownik ten używany jest w propozycjach. Akcja społeczna propozycji i konstrukcje ją implementujące to domena codziennych interakcji między ludźmi posiadającymi wspólne cele. W interakcjach instytucjonalnych dominują dyrektywy, których wykonawcą i beneficjentem jest tylko jedna ze stron.

5. Konstrukcje z partitivusem

Na partitivus przypada łącznie 112 manifestacji badanych zjawisk. Wyróżnionych zostało 8 konstrukcji z partitivusem, których główną funkcją w interakcji jest formułowanie dyrektyw i przyjmowanie postawy.

5.1. Dyrektywy

Praca wyróżniła dwie konstrukcje z partitivusem, których główną funkcją są dyrektywy. W obu przypadkach chodzi konkretnie o formułowanie próśb w rozmowach instytucjonalnych.

- ‘tak, więc tu jest’
(0.4)
- 6 Urz.: *niin* (0.2)
PTC
‘tak’
- 7 → Pet.: *joo.* (0.4) >*no* *tää* *on*<; *ihan;* *semmonen;* (1.5)
PTC PTC DEM być.PRS.3SG PTC taki
‘tak, no, to jest taka’
>*tämmönen*:<; (0.2) *#eerrr e#* *tota* *lääkäri*(0.2)
taki PTC lekarz
‘lekarska’
palkkio.
opłata
‘opłata’
- 8 → Urz: *joo-o;* *elikkä* *ihan* (0.2) *korvaushakemus;*
PTC PTC PTC podanie.o.zwrot.kosztów
‘tak, czyli właściwie podanie o zwrot kosztów’
(Urzędniczka bierze dokumenty))

Druga z konstrukcji, Cx72, odpowiada za ok. ¼ wszystkich manifestacji badanych użyc partitivusa w materiale. Jest bardzo wyspecjalizowana w swojej funkcji i nie przejawia śladów epistemiczności, która prawdopodobnie motywowała jej użycie na wcześniejszym etapie rozwoju.

(216) ‘E 111’ (T954_eesataykstoista)

- 1 Urz.: *joo* *hei?*,
PTC cześć
‘hej, cześć’
- 2 Pet.: *hei:* (0.4) *kuule* *mä* *oisin*
cześć słuchać.IMP.2SG 1SG być.COND.1SG
‘cześć, słuchaj, ja’
tarvinnu (1.4) *.mt* *sellasen;* (0.4) <*ee* *sataykstoista*>;
potrzebować.PAP taki.ACC e sto.jedenaście
‘potrzebowałabym e-111’
- 3 Clerk: *mm-m;* (0.4.)
PTC
- 4 Client: *#lomakkee#.*
formularz.ACC
‘formularza’
- 5 → Clerk: *joo:?*, *onks* *sulla* *tota;* (0.2) *Kelakorttia?* (0.2)
PTC być.PRS.3SG.CL2SG.ADE PTC Kela.karta. PTV
‘tak, masz kartę Kela?’
- 6 Client: *#joo#.*
PTC
‘tak’
- 7 → Clerk: *tai* *henkilöllisyystodis*tusta*.*
lub dowód.tożsamości. PTV
‘albo dowód tożsamości?’
- 8 Client: *joo.*

PTC
 ‘tak’
 (16.0) ((Petentka przeszukuje plecak))

Przykład (216) pokazuje typowy kontekst użycia Cx72, tzn. prośbę o konkretny przedmiot. Najczęściej chodzi o przedłożenie dokumentu potrzebnego do załatwienia sprawy. Inaczej, niż w przypadku konstrukcji postawy w służbie dyrektyw (vide sekcja 5.3.), w kontekstach, w których pada Cx72, osoba prosząca nie przejawia wątpliwości co do tego, czy adresat ma możliwość spełnić prośbę. Konstrukcja jest wysoce skonwencjonalizowanym formatem prośby w fińskiej interakcji instytucjonalnej.

5.2. Postawa

Tylko jedna konstrukcja, Cx74, służy przyjmowaniu postawy w kontekstach, w których postawa jest centralną czynnością interakcyjną. Jest to konstrukcja postawy afektywnej, co tłumaczy jej obecność jedynie w rozmowach codziennych. Rzeczownikiem w partitivusie jest przekleństwo.

Cx	schemat	występowanie i główna funkcja w korpusach		uwagi
		instytucjonalny	codzienny	
74	<i>mikä</i> ‘co’.PTV + NP.PTV (+ VP)	-	postawa afektywna	Fraza werbalna nie jest obligatoryjna. NP.PTV = przekleństwo, tj. rzeczownik odnoszący się do narządów płciowych lub sfery profanum związanej z piekłem

Tabela 10. Konstrukcja postawy z partitivusem.

Konstrukcję Cx74 użytą tak, jak w poniższym przykładzie, można na polski przetłumaczyć jako „co u diabła (robisz; się dzieje itp.)?!”.

(217) ‘Wieczór przy winie’ (SG396_70_77)

1 → Lauri: @elä (.) siis niin mitä vittua@
 IMP.2SG.NEG PTC PTC co.PTV cipa.PTV
 ‘przestań, co (ty) kurwa’
 2 Taavi: ehh [hehehe
 3 Riku: [hehehe

Jest to wykrzyknienie silnie naładowane emocjonalne i zawierające element negatywnej oceny przedmiotu postawy. Analiza przykładów zawierających Cx74 pokazuje, że jej użycie związane jest z miratywnością, tzn. nagłą zmianą w dostępie epistemicznym. Miratywność, częściowo wbrew temu, co sugeruje literatura (np. Leinonen 2000: 428), rozumiana jest w niniejszej pracy raczej w kategoriach afektywnych, niż epistemicznych, a to ze względu na otoczenie interakcyjne. Wyrażane środkami językowymi zaskoczenie wyzwała silne reakcje emocjonalne wśród współrozmówców, co objawia się np. wybuchami śmiechu.

5.3. Postawa w służbie dyrektyw

Na postawę w służbie dyrektyw przypadają dwie konstrukcje z partitivusem, z czego jedna – Cx77 z czasownikiem *saada* ‘dostawać, mieć pozwolenie’ – ma trzy różne realizacje formalne.

Cx	schemat	występowanie i główna funkcja w korpusach		uwagi
		instytucjonalny	codzienny	
71	VP.PST/PRF.PASS.Q + (PERS.PRO.ALL) +NP.PTV	postawa epistemiczna w służbie dyrektyw	-	konstrukcja ma stosunkowo wysoką tranzytywność; zapowiada niepreferowane czynności
77	V _{saada} ‘dostać, mieć pozwolenie’.Q + NP.PTV (+NP) (+ VP)	postawa epistemiczna w służbie dyrektyw (głównie próśb)	-	97a: V _{saada} .COND.Q + NP.PTV (+NP) (+ VP); postawa w służbie dyrektyw 97b: V _{saada} .PRS.3SG.Q + NP.PTV (+NP) (+ VP); postawa w służbie dyrektyw 97c: V _{saada} .PRS.1SG.Q (+ VP) + NP.PTV (+NP); prośba

Tabela 11. Konstrukcje postawy w służbie dyrektyw z partitivusem.

Pierwsza z konstrukcji ma funkcje epistemiczne, gdyż używana jest przez uczestnika interakcji, który nie może mieć pewności co do faktów dotyczących rozmówcy, np. tego, czy otrzymał on już urzędowe pismo. Konstrukcja Cx71 stanowi jednak jednocześnie krystalizację asymetrii deontycznych między uczestnikami interakcji instytucjonalnych. Widać to w przykładzie (218). Konstrukcja Cx71 antycypuje negatywną odpowiedź, stanowiąc tym samym strategię negocjacyjną. Jej użycie ma na celu pokazanie rozmówcy, że pewne warunki niezbędne do załatwienia sprawy nie zostały jeszcze spełnione, w związku z tym prośba – np. o zwrot kosztów, jak to ma miejsce w (218) – nie może być na tym etapie spełniona.

(218) ‘Zwrot za leki’ (T948_laakekorvaus)

1	Urz.:	<i>just joo.</i> (.)	<i>ootkos.;</i> (0.2)	<i>onks</i>	<i>sulle</i>
		PTC PTC	być.PRS.2SG.QCL	być.PRS.3SG.QCL	2SG.AD
		‘tak właśnie. Czy ty, czy’			
		<i>vielä tullu</i>	<i>sitä</i>	<i>päätöstä.</i>	
		już przychodzić.PAP	DEM.PTV	decyzja.PTV	
		‘decyzja już do Ciebie przyszła?’			
2	Pet.:	<i>ei</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>[(*vielä).</i>	
		NEG.3SG	be.PRS.NEG	jeszcze	
		‘jeszcze nie’			
5 →	Urz.:		<i>[.ei .hh</i>	<i>elikkä tota;</i> (0.2)	
			NEG.3SG	PTC PTC	
		‘nie, w takim razie’			
		<i>kannattaa</i>	<i>tehdä</i>	<i>sillä</i>	<i>>tavalla</i>
		być.wartym PRS.3SG	robić	DEM.ADE	sposób.ADE
		‘warto zrobić tak, że’		<i>et<</i>	COMP
		<i>odotellaan</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>päätös.</i> (0.6)	

oczekiwać.PASS DEM decyzja
 ‘poczekamy na tę decyzję’

W zależności od sposobu realizacji formalnej, druga z konstrukcji, Cx77, przybiera funkcję postawy w służbie prośby bądź też jednoznacznie prośby. W poniższym przykładzie przedstawiono pierwszą z możliwości.

(219) ‘Opłata dentystyczna’ (T160_hammaslaakarinpalkkio)

- 1 Pet.: *nii: ja ne la- (.) se lappu kyllä*
 PTC i DEM DEM notatka PTC
 ‘tak, i na tej notatce’
saa tietää että osa (.) alennusta
 dostać.PRS.3SG wiedzieć COMP część zniżka.PTV
 it.ELA
 ‘jest informacja, że część zniżki (jest)’
siittä,
 to.ELA
 ‘za to’
- 2 Urz.: *joo-o,*
 PTC
 ‘tak’
- 3 → Pet.: *mutta hukattiin se lappu että*
 ale gubić.PASS.PST DEM notatka PTC
 ‘but we lost the note, so’
saiskos siittä jüljennöstä. (0.4)
 dostać.COND.3SG.Q.CL to.ELA duplikat.PTV
 ‘dostałabym (dosł. czy się dostanie) duplikat?’
- 4 → *löytyykö semmosta, (0.6)*
 znajdować.się.PRS.3SG.Q taki.PTV
 ‘jest taki?’

Typowym środowiskiem występowania Cx77 jest sytuacja tzw. ewentualności (ang. *contingency*; np. Curl & Drew 2008). Ma ona miejsce w linijkach 3 i 4 przykładu (219), kiedy to petentka prosi o duplikat zaznaczając jednocześnie, że nie jest ona zaznajomiona z instytucjonalnymi procedurami i tym samym dając sygnał, że jest przygotowana na ewentualność, w której spełnienie prośby nie będzie możliwe. W przypadku, gdy czasownik *saada* występuje w znaczeniu ‘mieć pozwolenie’, konstrukcja Cx77 wyraża prośbę, a uczestnicy interakcji nie wykazują zorientowania na okoliczności mogące ewentualnie uniemożliwić spełnienie prośby.

5.4. Postawa w służbie innych czynności

Dla trzech z ośmiu konstrukcji z partitivusem główną funkcją jest postawa w służbie czynności innych, niż dyrektywy. Funkcja ta jest domeną interakcji codziennych, tym niemniej praca zwraca uwagę, że niektóre konstrukcje (np. Cx75) dominują w zasadzie tylko w jednej rozmowie, tj. ‘Biuro koncertowe’, która jest najdłuższa z całego korpusu codziennego. Konstrukcje postawy w służbie innych czynności z partitivusem stanowią szczególnie dobrą ilustrację gramatyki jako zjawiska powstającego (Hopper 1987 i później; vide sekcja 3.1.), gdyż rozmowa ‘Biuro

- ‘twarz?’
 4 → Maija: [joo] kukas toi on.
 PTC kto.CL DEM być.PRS.3SG
 ‘właśnie, kto to jest?’

Trzecia z konstrukcji, Cx76, jest pierwszą z pary krótkiej sekwencji ekspansji typu pytanie-odpowiedź. Używana ona jest wtedy, kiedy jeden z uczestników interakcji chce zapytać o jakąś dodatkową rzecz związaną z aktualnym tematem rozmowy. Przykład konstrukcji Cx76 znajduje się w linii 8 przykładu (221). Matti chce wiedzieć, czy na odwrocie zdjęcia, które jest przedmiotem interakcji, widnieje data roczna. W linii 11 Jussi odpowiada Mattiemu.

(221) ‘Biuro koncertowe’ (SG435_03_20)

- 1 Jussi: *sehän oli [(-)]*
 3SG.CL być.PST.3SG
 ‘ona przecież była’
- 2 Päivi: *[laulajatar] [mum mielestä]*
 piosenkarz.FEM 1SG.GEN umysł.ELA
 ‘piosenkarką, moim zdaniem’
- 3 Hanna: *[joo. kyllä. ja se]*
 PTC PTC i 3SG
 ‘tak, to prawda, i’
- 4 Päivi: *mut se on se joka röökäs]*
 ale 3SG być.PRS.3SG DEM REL palić.PST.3SG
 ‘ale to ta co paliła’
- 5 Hanna: *oli (pyylevä).*]
 być.PST.3SG pulchny
 ‘była pulchna’
- 6 Päivi: *[jos]sain [ja,]*
 gdzieś i
 ‘gdzieś i’
- 7 Jussi: *[joo?]*
 PTC
 ‘tak?’
- 8 → Matti: *[>onks] siinä< [vuosilukua.]*
 być.PRS.3SG.Q.CL tam rok.PTV
 ‘jest tam rok?’
- 9 Liisa: *[ai niin se on]*
 PTC PTC 3SG być.PRS.3SG
 ‘ach tak, jest’
[se on siis joo;]
 3SG być.PRS.3SG PTC PTC
 ‘ona, znaczy się’
- 10 Päivi: *[se [on] junamathassa]*
 3SG być.PRS.3SG podróż.pociągiem.INE
 ‘ona jedzie pociągiem’
- 11 → Jussi: ((do Mattiego)) *[ei.]*
 NEG.3SG
 ‘nie ma’

Inaczej, niż np. konstrukcja Cx75, konstrukcja Cx76 ma na celu uzyskanie odpowiedzi na zadane pytanie, jednak może być to odpowiedź zarówno przecząca, jak i twierdząca. Użycie partitivusa sygnalizuje brak wiedzy pytającego. Tym samym konstrukcja Cx76 nie ma funkcji związanych z organizacją interakcji.

5.5. Podsumowanie

Główny nacisk w rozdziale 5. położony został nie tyle na same rzeczowniki w partitivusie, co na całe konstrukcje go zawierające oraz na typowe otoczenia syntaktyczne, w których występuje tzw. „pragmatyczny” partitivus. Fakt, że użycia fińskiego partitivusa motywowane postawą do tej pory nie spotkały się z szerokim zainteresowaniem badaczy być może bierze się z tego, że tego typu manifestacje partitivusa same w sobie są marginalne. Ilość konstrukcji dedykowanych tej funkcji pokazuje, że sama akcja społeczna przyjmowania postawy nie jest główną czynnością interakcyjną, kiedy badane użycia partitivusa się pojawiają – pięć z ośmiu konstrukcji omawianych w rozdziale 5. to konstrukcje postawy w służbie dyrektyw i innych czynności. Same konteksty formalne użycia tzw. „partitivusa postawy”, jak go praca określa, nie odbiegają od typowego środowiska syntaktycznego tego przypadku, gdyż są to przeważnie konstrukcje opisujące sytuacje niskiej tranzytywności (np. zdania egzystencjalne). Główną motywacją użycia partitivusa w konstrukcjach postawy jest niepełny dostęp epistemiczny lub jego brak.

Podobnie jak w przypadku konstrukcji z trybem warunkowym, w przypadku konstrukcji z partitivusem dyrektywy to domena interakcji instytucjonalnych, a postawa – głównie codziennych. Na szczególną uwagę zasługuje konstrukcja Cx72, która zawiera partitivus najbardziej zgramatyzalizowany w swojej dyrektywnej funkcji. Najprawdopodobniej w ramach w tej konstrukcji użycie partitivusa było kiedyś motywowane epistemicznie, czego nie widać w języku współczesnym.

6. Wnioski

W pracy zidentyfikowanych zostało 30 konstrukcji będących formatami dla badanych akcji społecznych w fińskiej interakcji, z czego 22 to konstrukcje z trybem warunkowym, a pozostałe 8 z partitivusem.

W ujęciu globalnym praca dostarczyła bardzo istotnych wniosków dotyczących dystrybucji różnych rodzajów dyrektyw w fińskich rozmowach codziennych i instytucjonalnych, szczególnie dla konstrukcji z trybem warunkowym. W interakcjach instytucjonalnych, gdzie pomiędzy rozmówcami istnieją stałe nierówności pod względem władzy i wiedzy na temat regulacji prawnych, dominują prośby i sugestie, tj. akcje, których wykonawcą jest ‘inny’. Prośby i sugestie formułowane są przede wszystkim przez urzędników pod adresem petentów, tj. przez osoby mające wyższy status deontyczny i epistemiczny w świecie instytucjonalnym, w kierunku osób o niższym statusie. W rozmowach codziennych z kolei konsekwentnie dominują propozycje, które zakładają wspólne wykonywanie czynności. Prowadzi to do dwóch głównych konkluzji. Po pierwsze, głównym kryterium formułowania i rozpoznawania akcji społecznych przez uczestników interakcji jest kryterium wykonawcy czynności. Po drugie, istnieje stały i konsekwentnie wyrażany językowo podział pomiędzy ‘ja’ i ‘inny’ w rozmowach instytucjonalnych. Znaczenie poszczególnych konstrukcji odzwierciedla to, jak poszczególni uczestnicy interakcji instytucjonalnej postrzegają swoje cele i wzajemne relacje. Takiego podziału nie ma z kolei w rozmowach codziennych, których uczestnicy mają większe poczucie wspólnych celów.

Niniejsza praca stanowi postęp również w kwestii badań nad postawą w interakcji, szczególnie jeśli chodzi o badanie postawy w języku fińskim. Wnioski sformułowane dla konstrukcji postawy epistemicznej w innych językach (np. *I guess* ‘wydaje mi się’ w amerykańskim angielskim; Kärkkäinen 2007) są od tej pory dostępne dla niektórych konstrukcji języka fińskiego (np. *Cx64 mä veikkaisin* ‘wydaje mi się’). To, co odróżnia fiński od innych języków jeśli chodzi o wyrażanie postawy, to duże znaczenie czasownika *olla* ‘być’. Konstrukcje z tym czasownikiem w trybie warunkowym są często sygnałem dla innych rozmówców, że w danym momencie wyrażanie postawy staje się interakcyjnie istotne.

Ponadto, po raz pierwszy systematycznie zdefiniowana i zbadana została postawa w służbie innych czynności, oferując tym samym niejako podejście pomostowe pomiędzy wczesnymi interakcyjnymi badaniami nad postawą sensu stricto (np. Kärkkäinen 2003) a podejściami upatrującymi obecności postawy w każdym typie akcji społecznych, popularnymi w ostatnich latach (np. Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2014).

Praca stanowi pierwsze tak obszerne badanie na temat fińskiego partitivusa w funkcjach związanych z wyrażaniem postawy i formułowaniem dyrektyw. Zweryfikowane zostały interpretacje zjawiska podawane w dotychczas dostępnej literaturze badawczej. Niniejsze badanie dowiodło, że w ww. funkcjach partitivus pojawia się w konstrukcjach reprezentujących typowe środowisko występowania partitivusa w ogóle, tj. konteksty niskiej tranzytywności. Jądrzem konstrukcji, w których występuje tzw. ‘partitivus postawy’, są czasowniki *olla* ‘być’, *löytyä* ‘znajdować się’ czy *näkyä* ‘być widocznym’. Im wyższa tranzytywność zdania, tym większe prawdopodobieństwo, że obecność partitivusa zapowiada przeczącą odpowiedź. W pozostałych przypadkach partitivus nie tyle usiłuje wywołać konkretną werbalną odpowiedź na zadane pytanie, ile za pomocą konstrukcji go zawierającej osoba mówiąca próbuje zrekrutować pomoc innych rozmówców. Daje ona jednocześnie innym sygnał, że przedsięwzięcie może zakończyć się niepowodzeniem, np. z powodu niepełnego dostępu epistemicznego wywołanego słabą pamięcią lub brakiem wystarczającej ilości danych.

Poza odpowiedziami na z góry określone pytania badawcze, w niniejszej rozprawie niejako pośrednio zostały sformułowane ciekawe wnioski dotyczące dwóch innych kategorii gramatycznych, czasu i osoby. Konstrukcja *Cx62* głównie wyrażająca postawę w służbie prośb opiera się na formie czasu przeszłego czasownika w trybie przypuszczającym. Jest to ciekawy przykład reinterpretacji dwóch typów prostych konstrukcji, jednej wyrażającej postawę oraz drugiej wyrażającej prośbę, w jedną formę peryfrastyczną spełniającą te dwie funkcje jednocześnie. Jeśli chodzi o osobę gramatyczną i konstrukcje formalnie bezpodmiotowe, badanie pokazało, że sposób interpretacji takich konstrukcji przez uczestników interakcji w zakresie proponowanej przez konstrukcję akcji jest przewidywalny w zależności od typu dyskursu (interakcja codzienna vs. insytucjonalna).

Jako temat do dalszych badań proponowane jest przeprowadzenie analizy kontrastywnej różnych konstrukcji poszczególnych typów dyrektyw metodami pragmatyki wariacyjnej pod kątem różnic społecznych na poziomie kulturowym.