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Finnish Resultative Sentences

1. Introduction¹

Adele Goldberg (1995:180-198) has given a Construction Grammar account of the English Resultative Construction, instantiated by sentences such as the examples (1) and (2).

- (1) He wiped the tools clean.
- (2) He ate himself sick.

They can be characterised as having an agent subject, a patient object, a result-goal oblique member, and a causative verb. Their meaning is that the referent of the subject causes the referent of the object to move into the state expressed by the oblique.

There are similar resultative sentences in Finnish:

- (3) Kimmo nuiji pihvin pehmeäksi.
kimmo-nom² pounded steak-gentender-tra
'Kimmo pounded the steak tender'
- (4) Päivi hölkkäsi itsensä näännyksiin.
P.nom jog-past-sg3 self-gen-poss-3 exhausted-ill
'Päivi jogged herself to the point of exhaustion' or

¹ This paper is based on the presentation "Finnish Resultative Sentences" given at the symposium "The relationship between syntax and semantics in the analysis of linguistic structure" organised by the Linguistic Association of Finland Sep 2-4, 1999 in Helsinki, and the presentation "Resultatiivilauseen OSMAKO- (erillisen konstruktion lisensoima) objektin sijaisen määrän adverbiaalain kaltainen objekti" given at the Finnish annual linguistics conference XXVII Kielitieteen päivät May 19-20, 2000 in Oulu, respectively. I wish to thank the two anonymous referees for their comments and professor Jan-Ola Östman for all his guidance, and all others who have discussed the topic with me, commented on any of the various stages of this paper, helped in the technical problems, and given encouragement, especially Mirjam Fried; Adele Goldberg, Pekka Lahdenmäki, Jaakko Leino, Sini Maury, Mika Pohto, and Jarno Raukko, and most of all, Hannu Peltonen.

² See Appendix for abbreviations in glosses and figures; if no source or situation in which the sentence has occurred is stated, the examples are invented laboratory sentences..

‘Päivi jogged so much that she became exhausted’³

Proposing a description for such sentences, largely in the spirit of Fillmore and Kay 1996 and Goldberg 1995, I shall argue that Finnish has no specific Resultative Construction as such. Instead, the majority of resultative sentences in Finnish are composed of the same constructions as other types of sentences. Only certain subtypes of resultative sentences need a particular construction to be licensed. However, these constructions are not needed to account for the resultative meaning of the sentences but to license their objects and to account for other aspects of meaning. It would be misleading to call any of these constructions a “Resultative Construction” because the normal type of a sentence that has a resultative meaning needs no special construction to be licensed, and because the major contribution of these constructions is not the meaning of resultativity, but rather the semantic role of the object in the sentence.

In a Finnish resultative sentence, the role of the object and that of the resultative phrase are much more independent than in the corresponding English sentence. The large number of nominal cases in Finnish means that Finnish can use cases to express many relationships that are expressed by word order in English. Therefore, there is no need for a separate Resultative Construction in Finnish.

I shall first describe very briefly my theoretical framework in Section 2. Next, in Section 3, I shall deal with different types of resultative sentences according to the valence of the verb and the objects present in the sentence, starting with the basic transitive type that needs no resultative-sentence-specific construction, and then going on to other types. In Section 4 I shall sketch a construction to account for a prototypical sentence of the type that needs a particular construction to be licensed. I describe the construction element by element in Sections 4.2–4.3, with a word on grouping the elements in Section 4.4. Then I go on to discuss the external features of the construction in Sections 4.5–4.6. I reach the conclusion that a whole network of constructions is needed and summarise my findings in Section 5.

³ There are many traditions for naming the Finnish syntactic cases. I shall follow a purely formal, that is, morphological system: for example, *pihvi* is *nominative singular* in allsyntactic contexts, *pihvit* is *nominative plural*, and *pihvin* is *genitive singular*. The only *accusative* forms in Finnish are the personal pronoun forms *minut*, *sinut*, *hänet*, *meidät*, *teidät*, *heidät* and the interrogative pronoun form *kenet* ‘who(m)’.

2. The descriptive apparatus

Construction Grammar sees grammar as consisting of *constructions* that can be combined, and not as consisting of derivational rules that are applied. There are no deep and surface structures or transformations. Constructions basically associate form with meaning - syntax (*syn* in the matrices) with semantics (*sem*), for instance. Constructions are given in the form of feature matrices of attribute-value pairs (for example, *case gen*). They are combined via *unification*. Constructions unify, that is, they are combinable, if the values of the attributes are not in controversy in the constructions to be combined. To put it in a still less technical way: to make a sentence you combine so many constructions that no slot anywhere is left without a phonological form on the one hand, and no phonological form is left unaccounted for by the constructions on the other. Actual occurring sentences are called *constructs* in Construction Grammar. They have fully specified feature matrices as their structural description.

Constructions vary greatly in terms of their specificity, from constructions for completely fixed idioms to very general sentence patterns. An abstract lexical item, or a lexeme, is simply one type of construction in Construction Grammar, no different from others: a lexically filled construction. It links together the phonological form (for example, *Kimmo*) with the relevant syntactic (*n*) and semantic and other information ('*a certain male individual called Kimmo*').

Valence is in this paper considered to be a property of the verb stem (*v-stem*). Departing from other Construction Grammar treatises, it is indicated simply by the presence of the boxes for the valence elements in the construction. If the matrix of a valence element specifies no form, the valence element may be expressed in any suitable way, as indicated by further constructions. Given the abstract nature of the constructions, I believe that such a treatment of valence is true to the ideology of Construction Grammar: a verb stem is just as much a construction as a sentence or an argument structure construction. A verb stem construction is simply partially lexically specified whereas a sentential construction is partially specified with respect to syntactic form. There is no double presentation of valence on the one hand, and of the sentence on the other. Such a presentation of valence is of course also simpler and more economical.

Subject argument (*s* in the matrices) is the valence element of the verb stem that in a finite sentence headed by that particular verb is the subject (here *S*). Other constructions than finite clause constructions give the subject argument other realisations, such as premodifier in a nominalisation

construction. In a parallel fashion, an *object argument* (*o*) of a construction is the argument that, when unified with certain constructions, is realised as object (*O*).

It may be worth pointing out here that elements of the construction are unordered in this paper. In Finnish, word order (on sentential level) is mostly governed by such factors as information structure (see Maria Vilkuna (1989)) to such an extent that it needs its own constructions, which are beyond the scope of this paper.

The focal point in this paper is the linguistic phenomenon and not the formalism. Theoretical problems associated with formalism are not discussed. Therefore an easy-to-read notation is preferred even at the expense of mathematical precision in some points.

3. Semantic relations in resultative sentences

3.1. Transitive verbs with their valence objects

Both of the Finnish sentences (3) and (4) follow the same pattern syntactically. They are composed of a subject, a verb, an object, and a result adverbial that is a terminal phrase: an adjective in the translative in (3) and adverb in the illative in (4), both sharing the meaning element 'into'⁴. These sentences have the meaning 'the referent of the subject does the activity denoted by the verb, which causes the referent of the object to move into the state expressed by the adverbial'. This has also been noted by Huumo (1997:237). As a construction in Construction Grammar is basically a form-meaning pair, here we have a candidate for a Finnish Resultative Construction. (Figure 1)

But is such a construction absolutely necessary? As Goldberg (1995: 153) puts it: "in order to show that a distinct construction is required, it is necessary to show that its semantics is not compositionally derived from other constructions existing in the grammar". If constructions that need to be posited for other kinds of sentences suffice to account for the sentences (3) and (4) as well, there is no need for a particular Resultative Construction in Finnish.

⁴ The six Finnish "concrete" local cases can be arranged into a system with the three-way distinction 'in' - 'into' - 'out of' on the one hand, and the two-way distinction 'inside' - 'on, near, at' on the other. The 'inside' set is inessive, illative, elative; the 'outside' set, adessive, allative, ablative. There are two further "abstract" local cases: essive, meaning 'as; in the state or capacity of', and translative, meaning 'into the state of'. The illative is perhaps prototypically used of entering a concrete locality, and the translative is used of changing into something, or of entering a state. All the cases mentioned here also have more abstract meanings, and rection uses.

Figure 1. A sketch of a potential Finnish Resultative Construction

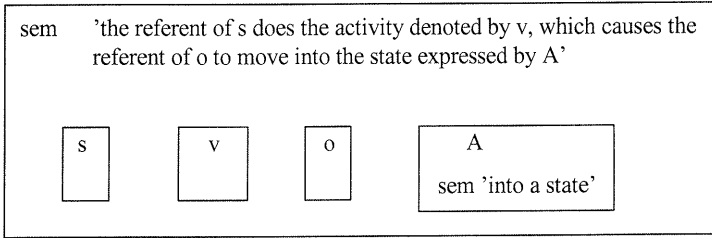


Figure 2. The Construction for *Kimmo*

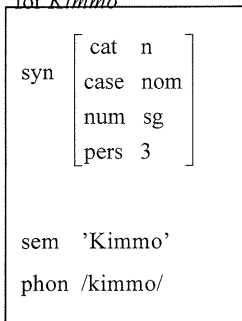
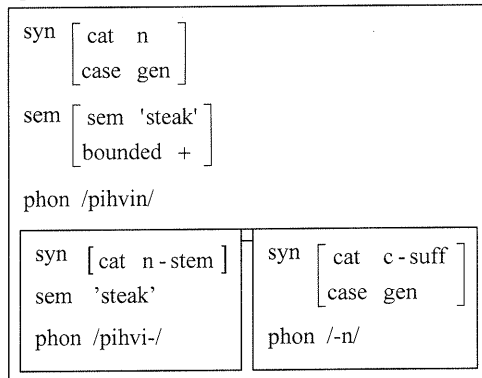


Figure 3. The Construction for *pihvin*



Can sentence (3) be semantically decomposed into constructions existing elsewhere in the Finnish grammar?

One of the constructions that unify to make up the construct of (3) associates the phonological form /Kimmo/ with its meaning 'a certain male individual called Kimmo; a male name used to refer to certain individuals' and its syntactic properties (noun). (Figure 2.) In the same vein, other constructions⁵ state that the phoneme string /pihvin/ is a noun carrying the

⁵ Actually, figures (3) and (4) are not constructions but unifications of a stem construction, a suffix construction, and an abstract nominal word form construction. I have taken some

meaning ‘steak’+ the case genitive, and /pehmeäksi/ is an adjective meaning ‘soft’ in the translative form. (Figures 3 and 4.) Nominal constructions provide the meanings of the nominal constituents of the sentence.

Figure 4. The Construction for *pehmeäksi*

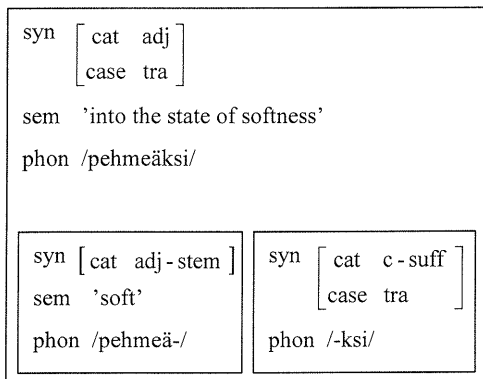
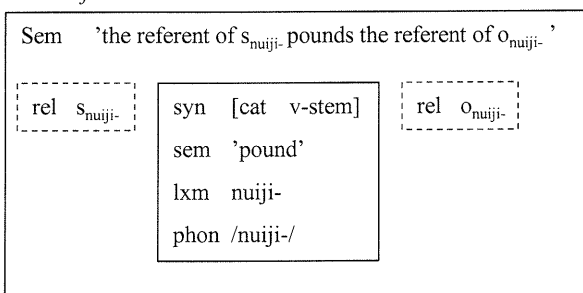


Figure 5. The Construction for *nuiji-*



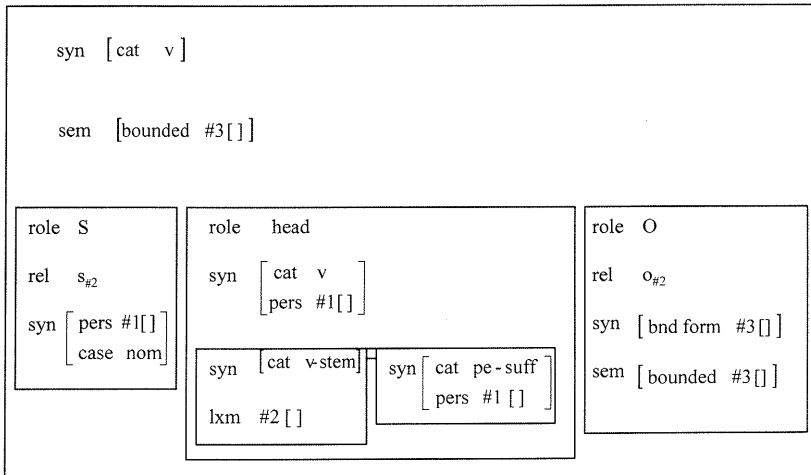
The verb stem specifies what sort of valence elements it requires, and what their semantics and their syntactic properties are in relation to the verb stem. The verb stem *nuiji-*, ‘to pound, to club, to tenderise’ is shown in Figure 5. The verb stem construction allows the language user to work out (1) the

notational shortcuts for the benefit of the reader and for considerations of space in this paper.

meaning of the verb stem, (2) the role of the subject argument in the event that the verb denotes, and (3) the role of the object argument in the event.

Next, the language user needs to know which of the NP's is which argument. For sentence (3), a Finite Sentence Construction is needed to make sense of the forms of the verb, the subject and the object. Figure 6 shows that the verb stem takes a personal suffix in accordance with the person and number of the subject, which is now recognisable as a subject because of this person and number agreement, and because of its case, the nominative. (This description does not, of course, cover all of the Finnish finite sentences, but we need not go into all the various constructions that give the subject argument a realisation. Suffice it to say that in addition to the prototypical subject, the nominative subject of a finite verb, in other constructions the subject argument can be expressed by the partitive and the genitive, and by verb inflection alone.)

Figure 6. Finite Sentence Construction



Heinämäki (1984) has shown that the meaning component of (3) that some boundary is achieved is contributed by the genitive object.

The object in Finnish is in one of the four grammatical cases: nominative, genitive, accusative or partitive. In addition to coding the argument of the verb,

Finnish grammatical cases express boundedness - or, to be more precise, they form an opposition system that is linked with various phenomena which can possibly all be taken as forms of boundedness, such as perfectivity, and definiteness of nominal quantity. Seen from a syntactic point of view, this opposition divides the Finnish grammatical cases into two classes, which I here call "bounded cases" and "unbounded cases". The bounded cases are the nominative, the genitive, and the accusative, and the unbounded case is the partitive. The opposition is neutralised in certain contexts. Most importantly, under semantic negation only partitive is possible, as in (5). Negation is indeed a standard test for finding objects in Finnish.

- (5) Kimmo ei nuijinut pihviä pehmeäksi.
 Kimmo-nom neg pound-appcp steak-part tender-tra
 'Kimmo did not pound the steak tender'

The verb form dictates in a straightforward fashion which of the bounded cases is used in object position in bounded sentences. But the choice between a bounded and an unbounded case is notoriously complicated and subtle and seems to elude any comprehensive description. (See Heinämäki (1984) and Leino (1991) for good and detailed accounts of the phenomenon.)

Basically the choice of case may be determined either by the quantitative definiteness of the referent of the object NP, or by aspectual considerations.

For example, if the choice between (6) and (7) is interpreted as nominally determined, the bounded case in (6) expresses totality, 'Kimmo pounded all the steaks'; whereas the unbounded case in (7) may just be interpreted as 'Kimmo pounded some steaks'. A partitive object can also be seen as a kind of modification of the verb: 'the pounding that was going on was meat-pounding'.

- (6) Kimmo nuiji pihvit.
 Kimmo-nom pound-pst sg3 steak-pl-nom
 'Kimmo pounded the steaks'
- (7) Kimmo nuiji pihvejä.
 Kimmo-nom pound-pst sg3 steak-pl-ptv
 'Kimmo pounded steaks' or 'Kimmo was pounding steaks'

Interpreted aspectually, (6) is simply a mentioning of an event that took place. Kimmo pounded the steaks and they got tender(er) or whatever it is that happens to steaks when they are pounded. A bounded case expresses that the event is seen as a whole. You can, as it were, imagine drawing a line around it, and what is inside that line is important only for naming that picture. What it is that makes the event a totality is left open. It may be that a result was accomplished, or that the duration was limited. The event is seen from the

outside. Its internal temporal structure is irrelevant.

The unbounded (7) is more like a description. The event has a duration, and Kimmo is seen during that duration, in the act of pounding steak.

Sentence (3) also has a partitive object counterpart (8).

- (8) Kimmo nuiji pihviä pehmeäksi.
 Kimmo-nom pound-pst sg3 steak-sg-ptv tender-tra
 'Kimmo was pounding the steak tender'

This sentence implies that if the pounding went on long enough, the steak became tender; getting the steak tender was Kimmo's goal or intention, but the sentence does not reveal whether this goal was achieved. If the reference point is in the middle of an ongoing process, there can be no certainty about the result, only about an intended or possible result. The result state, or goal, may not actually be achieved. In this particular pair of bounded and unbounded sentences at least, the function of the adverbial does not seem to be exactly identical. In the bounded sentence the adverbial specifies the bound that was achieved, in the unbounded sentence it expresses an intended or possible goal.

The relationship between the bounded and the unbounded resultative sentence does not seem to be exactly the same to that between the non-resultative bounded and unbounded sentences. Even though (9) implies (10), (3) does not necessarily imply (8) but only (10).⁶

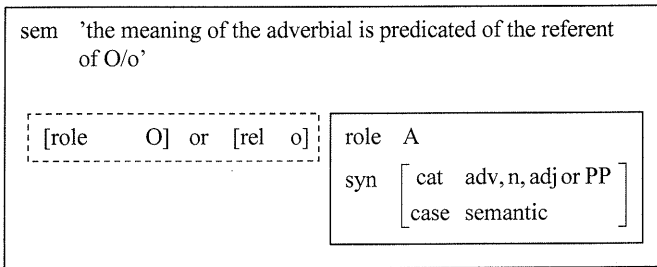
- (9) Kimmo nuiji pihvin.
 Kimmo-nom pound-pst sg3 steak-gen
 'Kimmo pounded the steak'
- (10) Kimmo nuiji pihviä.
 Kimmo-nom pound-pst sg3 steak-ptv
 'Kimmo was pounding a steak'

The last bit of information the language user needs for figuring out the meaning relations of sentence (3) is what kind of a result it is that is accomplished. This is dealt with by the Object Complement Construction in Figure 7. If there is an object and an adverbial, then the adverbial makes a predication about the referent of the object (terminal phrases meaning more specifically that the referent of the object moves into the state denoted by the stem of the adverbial). This is a (partial, if we include the reference to terminal cases in particular) statement of the second half of what in Finnish linguistics is known as Siro's (1964:28) Relational Rule: the adverbial refers to the referent of the

⁶ I thank one of my referees, without whom I would not have noticed this.

subject of the intransitive sentence and to the referent of the object of the transitive sentence. Siro's general statement is actually sufficient for interpreting the object complement.

Figure 7. Object Complement Construction



In general, case endings all relate the referent of the noun stem to something else, and a construction is needed to show what it is that they relate the referent of the noun stem to, and further, what kind of a relation it is. The semantic cases give the semantic content of the relation, but the grammatical cases only express which argument of the verb the noun is, and the semantic content of the relation is given in the verb.

To summarise the discussion so far, in Finnish resultative sentences of the type exemplified by (3), constructions with much wider use than this particular type of sentences account for the semantic relations between the elements of the sentence: the lexical constructions of the nominal and verb lexemes used in the sentence, the Finite Sentence Construction, and the Object Complement Construction. No distinct resultative construction is needed to understand the meaning of sentence (3).

Figure 8. The Construction

for *Päivi*

syn	[cat n]
	case nom
	num sg
	pers 3
sem 'Päivi'	
phon /päivi/	

Figure 9. The Construction for

itsensä

role S	syn [cat reflpr]	
syn [pers #1[3]]		case gen
sem [ref #2 []]		pers #1[3]
sem [ref #2 []]		
bounded +		
phon /itsensä/		

Figure 10. The Construction

for *näännyksiin*

syn	[cat adv]
	case ill
sem 'to the point of exhaustion'	
phon /näännyksiin/	

Figure 11. The Construction

for *hölkkää-*

Sem 'the referent of $s_{hölkkää-jogs}$ '		
rel $s_{hölkkää-}$	syn [cat v-stem]	
		sem 'jog'
		lxm hölkkää-
		phon /hölkkää-/

3.2. Intransitive verbs with objects—the need for a separate Extrinsic Object Construction

Returning to sentence (4), the lexical constructions in Figures 8, 9 and 10 give the language user the meaning of *Päivi*, *itse*⁷, and *näännyksiin*, the Verb Stem Construction *hölkkä-* in Figure 11 provides the meaning of the verb and the participant role of the subject of the sentence, the Finite Sentence Construction in Figure (6) identifies the subject, and finally, the Object Complement

⁷ See e.g. Vilkuna 1996 for an account of possessive suffixes.

Construction in Figure (7) relates *exhaustion* to *self*. But the object is left unaccounted for. The lexically filled construction for *hölkätä* 'to jog' licenses no object at all. And yet according to the Finite Sentence Construction, *itsensä* 'herself' is an object. But an object of what? Furthermore, there seems to be an element of intensiveness in the meaning of sentence (4) that cannot be derived from the constructions dealt with so far.

This meaning is further exemplified in (11-13).

- (11) Hölkkäsin vaatteeni aivan hikisiksi.
 jog-past-sg1 clothes-pl-nom-poss-3 quite sweaty-pl-traobj
 'I jogged SO MUCH that my clothes became all sweaty'
- (12) Itkin silmäni punaisiksi.
 cry-past-sg1 eyes-pl-nom-poss-sg1 red-pl-traobj
 'I cried my eyes red'
- (13) Kävelin kenkäni puhki.
 walk-past-sg1 shoes-pl-nom-poss-sg1 worn.obj
 'I walked so much that my shoes wore off' Or,
 'I walked in such a careless manner that I wore off my shoes'

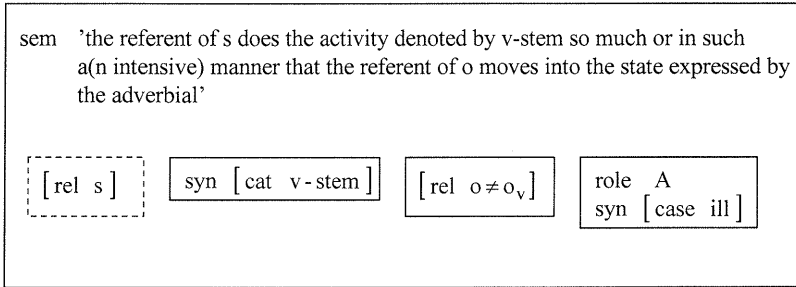
There is thus need for one more construction that combines the first and the second half of sentence (4) into a meaningful whole, and assigns it the extra meaning of intensiveness. I shall call this missing construction Extrinsic Object Construction.

This Extrinsic Object Construction must refer to a subject, possibly; a verb; an NP that is in the case of an object but that is not a valence object of the verb; and an adverbial. It must have approximately the meaning 'the referent of the subject does the activity denoted by the verb so much or in such a(n intensive) manner that the referent of the object moves into the state expressed by the adverbial'. (Figure 12)

Proceeding to other types of resultative sentences, we should see if we can find any further types of resultative sentences with a similar meaning of intensiveness that would thus instantiate the Extrinsic Object Construction.

3.3. Transitive verbs with no valence object

There are similar sentences with transitive verbs. In such sentences, the object of the verb stem is normally left to be interpreted from the context or from world knowledge.

Figure 12. Provisional Extrinsic Object Construction

- (14) Syön itseni onnelliseksi.
 eat-sg1 self-poss-sg1 happy-tra
 'I eat myself happy.'

The semantic relation of the verb to the object is not the one that it should be according to the verb stem construction. When you eat chocolate, for example, you put the chocolate in your mouth, chew it, and swallow. You do not do that to yourself when you eat yourself happy. The object of the sentence is not the object of the valence set of the verb. The object is not to be interpreted as the valence object, even though there is an object in the valence set of the verb.

Because the meaning of the verb does logically still include an object even though it can be left out syntactically, the referent of the object must be canonical, or it must be obvious from the context. This also means that the verb must be used in a fairly literal and prototypical sense.

3.4. Transitive verbs with their valence objects and extrinsic objects

From the previous discussion it can be concluded that even when the verb is a transitive verb, the extrinsic object is not to be interpreted according to the valence of the verb. This does not, however, mean that the valence object of the verb could never be present in the sentence. In fact, it can indeed be present, even though such sentences occur more rarely than sentences without the valence object. Speakers seem to vary more in their acceptability judgements when such double object sentences are concerned. Sentence (15) seems absolutely normal to me, and (16) and (17) have actually been attested.

- (15) Mietin pääni puhki
 think-pst-sg1 head-gen-poss-sg1 worn-out
 hyvää esimerkkiä, mutten keksinyt.
 good-ptv example-ptv but+neg-sg1 discover-appcp
 'I beat my brain but couldn't think of a good example'
- (16) Edellisenä iltana olimme syöneet itsemme
 previous-ess night-ess eat-pluperf-pl1 self-gen-poss-pl1
 läkähdyksiin grillattuja lampaankyljyksiä.
 exhausted-ill grilled-pl-ptv lambchop-pl-ptv
 'Last night we had eaten ourselves sick with grilled lamb chops.'
 (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 28.4.99)
- (17) Kun kaipaa toista silmät päästä,
 when miss-sg3 other-ptv eyes-pl-nom head-ela
 voi leijailla läpi arjen, läpi syksyn, mutta samanaikaisesti hukkuen ikävään.
 'When you miss someone so much that you could cry your eyes out, you can float
 through the everyday life, through the autumn, drowning into the sea of yearning.'
 (Helsingin Sanomat 18.9.99)

Of the two objects in such sentences (the valence object of the verb and the extrinsic object), only the extrinsic object *pääni* can be in a bounded case (18a-c), which then becomes unbounded under negation (18d) - which is, as has already been mentioned, the standard test for objecthood in Finnish (19a-b).

- (18a) Mietin pääni puhki hyvää esimerkkiä.
 think-pst-sg1 head-gen-poss-sg1 worn-out good-ptv example-ptv
 'I thought hard to find a good example'
- (18b) *Mietin pääni puhki hyvän esimerkin.
 think-pst-sg1 head-gen-poss-sg1 worn-out good-gen example-gen
 'I thought hard to find the good example'
- (18c) *Mietin päätäni puhki hyvän esimerkin.
 think-pst-sg1 head-ptv-poss-sg1 worn-out good-gen example-gen
 '?I was breaking my head enough to find the example'
- (18d) En miettinyt päätäni puhki
 neg-sg1 think-appcp head-ptv-poss-sg1 worn-out
 hyvää esimerkkiä.⁸
 good-ptv example-ptv
 'I did not think / was not thinking hard to find a good example'
- (19a) Luin kirjan.
 read-pst-sg1 book-gen
 'I read a/the book'

⁸ *En miettinyt pääni puhki hyvää esimerkkiä* sounds possible to me, too. Speakers seem to vary greatly in which negations they accept, especially when the sentence is somewhat doubtful to begin with, even in the affirmative. Some sentences with two objects seem practically impossible to negate.

- (19b) En lukenut kirjaa.
neg-sg1 read-appcp book-ptv
'I did not read the book'
- (19c) *En lukenut kirjan.
neg-sg1 read-appcp book-gen
'I did not read the book'

So, of the two objects, it is the extrinsic object that, first of all, is in this sense more object-like, and, secondly, carries the aspectual opposition of boundedness. In this, as in its intensifying meaning, it resembles the object-like quantity adverbial in Finnish as exemplified in (20a-d). Of the object-like elements of the sentence, the boundedness of a bounded sentence is always marked on this object/adverbial, and on it alone.

- (20a) Luin kirjaa tunnin.
read-pst-sg1 book-ptv hour-gen
'I read a/the book for an hour'
- (20b) *Luin kirjan tuntia.
read-pst-sg1 book-gen hour-ptv
'I read a/the book for an hour.'
- (20c) *Luin kirjan tunnin.
read-pst-sg1 book-gen hour-gen
'I read a/the book for an hour'
- (20d) En lukenut kirjaa tuntia.
neg-sg1 read-appcp book-ptv hour-ptv
'I did not read the book for an hour.'

It could perhaps be pointed out here that not only objects but also oblique complements of the verb can be present in the Extrinsic Object Construction, as exemplified by (53).

3.5. Transitive verbs with partitive rection

In actual fact, the meaning of intensiveness is not only limited to such resultative sentences in which the relation of the object to the verb cannot be interpreted by means of the valence of the verb. There are sentences with valence objects and intensiveness meaning, such as sentence (21).

- (21) Minut halataan henkiveeriin.
I-acc hug-pass-pres till I can hardly breathe
ja suudellaan läpimäräksi samalla kun korvaani huudetaan viimeisten aikojen
hurjimmat kiroukset. (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 30.11.99)
'People hug me to the point where I can hardly breathe, simultaneously shouting the
most horrible Doomsday curses into my ear'

Without the adverbial, the object would obligatorily be in the partitive, as in (22).

- (22) Minua halataan.
 I-ptv hug-pass-pres
 'People hug me. / I am being hugged'

Verbs that always take a partitive object in normal transitive sentences without the result adverbial can appear in resultative sentences with a bounded case object. The addition of the result phrase makes it possible for the object of such verbs to be in a bounded case—in fact, it makes it possible for them to participate in the aspectual boundedness opposition.

I regard an object that is necessarily in the partitive different from an object that bears the boundedness opposition. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, if the form of the object is specified in the valence description of the verb as partitive, there is little to distinguish that constituent from oblique complements of the verb. The case alternation typical of the Finnish object is missing, both the boundedness alternation and the affirmative-negative alternation. Secondly, there can normally only be one object in a bounded case in the sentence, but many object-like NPs in the partitive case.

For these reasons, an object that must always be in the partitive case is much more closely related to obliques than an alternating object is, and the verb that only has a rection partitive is “less transitive” syntactically than a verb with an alternating object. If a rection partitive is distinct from an alternating partitive then sentence (21) has an object that is not fully licensed by the verb. The object in (21) must get its form from some other source than the verb of the sentence. Sentence (21) has the intensiveness meaning, too. These two criteria qualify it as an instance of the Extrinsic Object Construction.

From this and the previous section it can be concluded that the Extrinsic Object Construction can be unified with virtually any construction that is not bounded (the object either is unbounded, or is partitive by rection) before the addition of the adverbial. After the addition of the result adverbial, the resulting clause participates in the boundedness opposition. Instances of the Extrinsic Object Construction are typically in the bounded case, as this is the member of the boundedness opposition with the resultative, or perfective, meaning, but an unbounded case is also possible:

- (23) Ylivuotiset kaislankorret pyörivät itseään hajalle
 rush-pl-nom turn-pst-pl3 self-ptv-poss-3 broken
 kalliota vasten, maalla viimeiset talven jätteet mätänivät paikoilleen, kallio oli jo

kesänlämmin, järvi jauhautui kuvastelemaan sinistä ja pilviä.

'Last year's rushes were rolling themselves into pieces against the rock, on the shore the last remnants of winter lay rotting, the rock already had its summer warmth, the lake was grinding into a mirror of blueness and clouds' (The Finnish Syntax Archive)

It should perhaps be noted that the Extrinsic Object Construction is not the only construction that turns normally partitive rection objects into case alternating ones, as exemplified by (24) in which the object of *halata* 'to hug' is in the nominative case.

- (24) Ensin me otettiin takit pois, sitten halattiin vieraat, otettiin kupit kahvia ja istuttiin juttelemaan. (example from a referee)
'First we took off our coats, hugged the guests, took a cup of coffee each, and sat down to chat.

3.6. Verbs with the valence elements subject argument, object argument and adverbial

Having now looked at resultative sentences in which either only the subject, or the subject and one of the objects are valence elements of the verb, we must have a quick look at sentences where all the elements, that is, the subject, the object, and the adverbial are valence elements of the verb. Example (25) is an instance of such a sentence. With good will, semantic relations in it could perhaps be seen as similar to those in (3): '...as a result of relating, concepts enter into some relation with the world'. But it would be taking that good will much too far to say that 'because somebody relates so much or in such an intense manner, concepts enter into some relation with the world.

- (25) Jotta matematiikalla voitaisiin "todellisuuden" heijastumia peilailla, pitää teorioiden termit ja käsitteet aina subjektiivisesti kytkeä maailmaan.
concept-pl-nom always subjectively relate-inf world-ill
'To make mathematics a mirror of "reality", you must subjectively relate the terms and concepts of the theories to the world.' (SK 87)

Resultative sentences headed by verbs with SOA-valence seem to have no intensiveness of quantity or of manner associated with them. And as valence accounts for all the semantic relationships, there is no reason to consider such sentences as instances of the Extrinsic Object Construction.

However, there are a number of fixed resultative idioms, of which it may not be easy to decide whether they are instances of Extrinsic Object Construction or not. It may not be easy to tell, first, whether the object can be interpreted according to the valence of the verb or not, and second, whether the

sentence as a whole fits the meaning pattern associated with the construction. For example, in (26) it is impossible to separate the valence of the verb from the whole idiom because the meaning changes if all the members of the idiom are not there. It could therefore be argued that (26) is an instance of such a resultative sentence type in which both the object and the adverbial are obligatory valence elements of the verb, which would in such an analysis be different from the usual verb *vetää* 'to draw'. Or it could be argued that all the lexically filled phrases are valence elements of the idiom construction. In the Extrinsic Object Construction, the object and the adverb could be left out and the resulting intransitive sentence would be grammatical and have a similar meaning. Clearly, this cannot be done to (26).

- (26) Ei sillä summalla vedetä nuppia turvoksiin.
 neg-sg3 it-ade sum-ade draw-pass knob-ptv swollen-ill
 'You cannot get really drunk on that sum of money' (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 5.7.97)
- (26b) *Ei sillä summalla vedetä.
 neg-sg3 it-ade sum-ade draw-pass
- (26c) *Ei sillä summalla vedetä nuppia.
 neg-sg3 it-ade sum-ade draw-pass knob-ptv

All this would point to (26) not being an instance of the Extrinsic Object Construction. On the other hand, if only one lexically filled construction is posited for *vetää* then the object of (26) is clearly not an argument of *vetää*, and the adverbial can be taken to make a predication of the referent of the object. Moreover, there seems to be an element of intensiveness involved, similar to the one in the Extrinsic Object Construction. Idiomaticity abounds in the Extrinsic Object Construction, ranging from the slight idiomaticity of transitive verbs that are used to imply a particular type of referent of the object argument absent from the sentence as in (27) to unusual adverbs filling the adverbial slot (see Section 4.2.5), and to sentential idioms.

- (27) ...joka viides juo itsensä juovuksiin ainakin
 ...every fifth-nom drink-sg3 self-poss-3 drunk-ill at least
 kerran viikossa. (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 19.1.1997)
 time-gen week-ine
 'Every fifth person drinks himself drunk at least once a week'

3.7. Subjectless verbs

In Finnish, a verb does not need to have a subject argument. If there is no subject argument, the verb is always used in the 3rd person singular. Such

verbs are called lexically impersonal verbs. They include

- a) verbs denoting natural phenomena such as *sataa* 'to rain'; *haista* 'to smell (of something)',
- b) emotional causative verbs, such as *itkettää* 'to feel like crying',
- c) necessive verbs, such as *täytyy* 'must', and
- d) others (Vilkuna 1996:151-152, 133-138).

Examples (28-31) attempt to unify such verbs with the Extrinsic Object Construction; (28) and (29) are examples of the category (a), (30) of (b), and (31) of (d).

- (28) *Salamoi ja jyriisee koiran aivan pakokauhuseksi.
flash-sg3 and thunder-sg3 dog-gen quite panicky-tra
'The thunder and lightning are making the dog panic.'
- (29) *Täällä haisee nenän mykkyrään.
here smell-sg3 nose-gen curl-tra
'It smells so bad that my nose curls up.'
- (30) *Vatsaani nipistelee minut hulluksi.
stomach-ptv-poss-sg1 pinch-sg3 I-acc crazy-tra
'My stomach hurts so that I will go crazy.'
- (31) *Täällä tuntuu mukavalta kaikki muu unhoon/unohduksiin.
here feel-sg3 nice-abl everything else-nom forgotten-ill
'It's so pleasant here that everything else is forgotten.'

By and large, impersonal verbs seem to be out of the question in Extrinsic Object Construction. This is no watertight generalisation, though. Impersonal verbs seem to divide opinions between speakers more than usual, and make speakers more uncertain about their judgements than usual. This seems to be a grey area, where grammar fades into the twilight of never-uttered but possible sentences on the one hand, of impossible but fully understandable sentences on the other, and further still, of actually attested sentences that some speakers refuse to accept at all. For example, some speakers seem to accept (32), others are more doubtful. In (33) the object and adverbial are different, and the sentence is unacceptable. Sentence (34) is considered "impossible or at least improbable" by some speakers, and yet it has actually appeared in an authoritative newspaper.

- (32) ?Eilen satoi lumen sulaksi.
yesterday rain-pst-sg3 snow-gen molten-tra
'Yesterday the rain melted the snow'

- (33) *Eilen satoi kadut tulviviksi.
 yesterday rain-pst-sg3 street-pl-nom flooded-pl-tra
 'It rained the streets flooded yesterday.'
- (34) Ovikello soi taas rahaa veteraaneille.
 doorbell-nom ring-sg3 again money-ptv veteran-pl-all
 'The doorbell is ringing money for the veterans again'
 ('People are going round ringing doorbells to collect money for the veterans again.')
- (Helsingin Sanomat 24.3.2000)

4. Sketching the Extrinsic Object Construction

4.1. External features

The Extrinsic Object Construction must have approximately the meaning 'the referent of the subject argument does the activity denoted by the verb so much or in such a(n intensive) manner that the referent of the object moves into the state expressed by the adverbial'. A typical sentence with an extrinsic object seems to describe some human, fairly physical activity.

This construction is an argument structure construction, which seems to have no special syntactic restrictions as to with what clause type or other constructions it may unify in principle. It may be unified with any otherwise acceptable clausal construction, and the forms of its elements are only restricted by general syntactic constructions.

4.2. The elements of a typical extrinsic object construct

The Extrinsic Object Construction must consist of a subject argument of the verb, a verb, an NP that is in the case of the object but that is not the valence object of the verb, and a terminal adverbial. Next we shall look at these elements one by one.

4.2.1. Verb

Beginning with the valence of the verb stem, we have already seen that the verb may be intransitive or transitive, but if the verb is transitive then either its object must be left without overt expression, to be either understood as indefinite or canonical or to be interpreted from the context or from world knowledge. The adverbial may not be part of the verb's valence, unless the whole syntagm is an idiom. The verb must have a semantic subject argument. Apart from the restrictions that will be mentioned in Section 4.3, the verb stem does not seem to be semantically restricted in principle. However, certain types of verbs seem to be especially well represented among the

constructs of the Extrinsic Object Construction: motion verbs (35-50), verbs of saying and vocal sound production (39, 40, 77).

- (35) Neidosta tuli sukkelasti kuuluisa kaikenpuolisen täydellisyytensä takia, ja miehet juoksivat hänen perässään
 man-pl-nom run-pst-pl3
 itsensä uuvuksiin.
 self-pl-nom-poss-3 exhausted-ill
 'The maiden soon became famous for her utter perfection, and men exhausted themselves in her pursuit' (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 2.7.1999)
- (36) JYP sanalla sanoen luisteli Ässät pyöryksiin
 skate-pst-pl3 Ässä-pl-nom dizzy-ill
 'In a word, JYP skated the Ässät dizzy' (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 7.11.1999)
- (37) Jatsityttö tuli ja tanssi 1920-luvulla
 jazzgirl-nom come-pst-sg3 and dance-pst-sg3 1920s-ade
 miehet pyöryksiin.
 man-pl-nom dizzy-ill
 'The jazz girl came and danced men dizzy in the 1920s' (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 29.11.1997)
- (38) Moni epäterveeksi leimattuja elintapoja harrastava kokeekin lunastavansa sovituksen, jos ainakin silloin tällöin riuhtoo itsensä henkivieveriin
 struggle-sg3 self-gen-poss-3 neardeath-ill
 kuntosalissa tai squash-kopissa.
 'Many people with unhealthy habits feel absolved if they exercise nearly to death at the gym or in a squash court every once in a while.' (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web - 4.1.1998)
- (39) Ropposta pidettiin jo pankkiherra-aikoina asiantuntevana ja sujuvana puhemiehenä, joka puhui välillä
 who-nom talk-pst-sg3 sometimes
 vastapuolenkin edustajat ympäri – tai sitten uuvuksiin.
 opponent-pl-nom round or then exhausted-ill
 'Ropponen was known as an expert and a fluent speaker, who sometimes talked his opponents round - or exhausted' (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 27.12.1998)
- (40) Kun Sputnik oli piipittänyt puoli maailmaa
 when sputnik-nom chirp-pluperf-sg3 half-nom world-ptv
 pyöryksiin
 dizzy-ill
 ja metallipallon kulkua oli ihasteltu niskat kenossa syystaivaalla, Neuvostoliitto yllätti toisen kerran
 'When the sputnik had chirped half the world dizzy and we had watched its way up in the night sky in wonder, the Soviet Union surprised us a second time'. (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 10.11.1999)

But (41) shows that the verb can have an abstract meaning as well. The construction is truly productive.

- (41) Maatalous investoi itsensä huippukuntoon.
 farming-nom invest-pst-sg3 self-gen-poss-3 topshape-ill
 'Farming invested itself into topshape' (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 30.4.2000)

The Extrinsic Object Construction unifies with any verb form construction (at least in principle). That is to say, the verb may be in any finite or non-finite form, or it may be nominalized. Sentences (42, 43) and (51) are examples of infinitives, (42) in subject complement position, (43) in a verb chain, and (51) in subject position.

- (42) Halosen taktiikka onkin perustella vastapuoli uuvuksiin.
 argue-1.inf opposition-nom exhausted-ill
 'Halonen's tactics is to argue her point till the opponent is too tired to continue' (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 3.1.2000)
- (43) Eilen Pyrbasket tuli Helsinkiin ilman pisintä pelaajaansa, 206-senttistä Pasi Lahtista (akillesjännevamma), joten kotijoukkueen "piti" napsia helposti levypallot ja juosta nopeilla hyökkäyksillä vastustaja uuvuksiin.
 run-1.inf quick-pl-ade attack-pl-ade opponent-nom exhausted-ill
 'Yesterday Pyrbasket came to Helsinki without their tallest player, the 204-centimeter Pasi Lahtinen (a wounded Achilles tendon), so the home team had to ... run the opposing team tired with quick attacks' (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 13.10.1996)

4.2.2. Subject argument of the verb

It was mentioned in Section 3.7 that an impersonal verb does not unify with the Extrinsic Object Construction. This means that semantically, a subject argument is necessary. Moreover, considering such examples as the personal use of *tuntua* 'to feel' in (44), it seems that the subject has to be a real participant in the semantic participant structure of the verb, and not a "raised subject".

- (44) *Te tunnutte mukavilta kaikki muut mitättömiksi.
 you-nom feel-pl2 nice-pl-ela everybody-nom
 other-pl-nom unimportant-pl-tra
 'You are so nice that all others seem unimportant'

Syntactically however, the subject argument does not need to be expressed. As was already mentioned in connection with the verb, the verb may be in any finite or infinite form, or it may be nominalized. Since all these forms are possible, an overt subject cannot be necessary. Any verb may, for example, quite well be used impersonally in the 3rd person to express an unspecified actor, as in (17) or it may be in the passive voice as in (21).

When the subject argument is expressed it seems to be an NP or a pronoun. It would seem to me that the subject argument slot cannot very well be filled with a clause. Such sentences as (45) and (46) suggest, however, that emotional causatives that have their experiencer argument present may be an exception for some speakers.

- (45) ??Minua tympii silmät päästä, että suoriin reitti suljettiin.
 I-ptv annoy-sg3 eye-pl-nom head-ela ...
 'It annoys me my eyes off that they closed down the shortest route'
- (46) ??Ilahdutti Tomi-poja-n ikionnelliseksi, että ei satanutkaan.
 cheer-pst-sg3 Tomi-boy-gen happy-tra
 'It made Tomi the happiest boy on earth that it didn't rain after all'

The semantic role of the subject argument would seem to be typically agent or instrument or experiencer. The typical referent of the subject argument seems to be human as shown in (47), at least indirectly. It might be argued, that even in (48) and (34) the force behind the action is human, but in (23) this does not hold.

- (47) Vuosina 1803-1882 elänyt
 Emerson luki itsensä ensin papiksi, ...
 Emerson-nom read-pst-sg3 self-gen-poss-3 first priest-tra
 'Emerson (1803-1882) studied to be a priest first, ...' (SK 51/87)
- (48) Giguet eivät kirmaa itseään läkähdysiin,
 gigue-pl-nom neg-pl3 frolick self-ptv-poss-3 breathless-ill
 vaikka ovatkin rientoisia ja näyttäviä, etenkin italialaisversioissaan.
 (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 31.3.1999)
 'The giges do not frolick themselves breathless, even though they are quick and impressive, especially in their Italian versions'
- (34) Ovikello soi taas rahaa veteraaneille.
 doorbell-nom ring-sg3 again money-ptv veteran-pl-all
 'The doorbell is ringing money for the veterans again'
 ('People are going round ringing doorbells to collect money for the veterans again.')
- (Helsingin Sanomat 24.3.2000)

4.2.3 Object of the Extrinsic Object Construction

The referent of the extrinsic object seems to be typically human or human-related, especially a bodypart as in (49), or in (12, 15, 17, 18, 21, 26, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 77, 83).

- (49) Mä oon jaaritellu hiukseni kuiviks
 I-nom chatter-perf-sg1 hair-pl-nom-poss-sg1 dry-pl-tra
 'I have chattered my hair dry' (a 31-year-old female speaker in a telephone

conversation between friends)

Especially common as an extrinsic object seems to be the pronoun *itse* ‘self’ as in (4, 27, 35, 38, 41, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 61, 65).

- (50) kurkku kissan auki repimänä rastaanpoikanen nokki vihoissaan sormiani kun olin
 menossa liiteriin sitä lopettamaan ja ennen kuin ehdin sinne, se
 oli rimpuillut itsensä irti käsistäni
 struggle-pluperf-sg3 self-gen-poss-3 loose hand-pl-ela
 ja lensi oksalle.
 ‘Its throat clawed open by the cat, the young thrush pecked angrily at my fingers
 when I was on my to the wood shed to finish it off, and before I got there it had
 struggled free of my hands and flew to the tree’ (The Finnish Syntax Archive)

Other types of objects, as exemplified by (51), are by no means excluded, either.

- (51) Lapsista on hauskaa
 hyppiä autojen katot lommoille.
 jump-1.inf car-pl-gen roof-pl-nom dent-pl-all
 ‘Children like to jump the roofs of cars dented’
 (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 11.3.1998)

Syntactically, the head of the extrinsic object must be either a noun or a pronoun. The object abides by the general object constructions. As was mentioned earlier, it participates in the boundedness opposition.

The object of the Extrinsic Object Construction may often be described as the theme or patient, or the experiencer of the state expressed by the adverbial. Together the object and the terminal phrase describe the result of doing the activity denoted by the verb, or, through the result, they may describe a large quantity of doing that activity, or, the manner of doing that activity.

4.2.4. Adverbial

Semantically, the adverbial expresses a result state or location. Syntactically, the adverbial is an adverb for example in sentences (13, 35), an adpositional phrase, an NP or an AP that is mainly in a terminal case: translative (‘into the state of’), illative (‘into’), or allative (‘onto’), all sharing the meaning element ‘(in)to’.

Adjective phrases often seem to be in the translative form as in (52), but nouns seem to be more evenly distributed between the translative as in (53), the illative (54) and the allative (51).

- (52) ja niin/ sanovatten ain- ennein et
 leipoo rikkaaks ittes ja syä köyhäks
 bake-sg3 rich-tra self-gen-poss-3 and eat-sg3 poor-tra
 kul leipo piänii leipii./ (The Finnish Syntax Archive)
 ‘and they always used to say that you bake yourself rich and eat yourself poor if you
 bake small loaves
- (53) kävi ittes siälä ylioppilaaks.
 go-pst-sg3 self-gen-poss-3 there high school graduate-tra
 ‘graduated from there’ (The Finnish Syntax Archive)
- (54) he ovat joutuneet polvenkorkuisena
 ponnistelemaan itsensä ensin oppikouluun.
 struggle-3.inf self-gen-poss-3 first secondary school
 ‘They have first had to struggle to secondary school in their childhood’ (The Finnish
 Syntax Archive)

It is possible to have an adverbial with the meaning ‘from’ instead of the meaning ‘into’ in this construction:

- (55) Tanssi häneltä jalat alta!
 dance-imp (s)he-abl foot-pl-nom under-abl
 ‘Dance him/her off his/her feet!’
- (56) Ammuin varikset aidalta.
 shoot-pst-sg1 crow-pl-nom fence-abl
 ‘I shot the crows off the fence’ (Huumo 1997:237)

Such adverbials are much more problematic than terminal ones, however. A terminal adverbial seems much more reliably to refer to the object of the sentence than an adverbial with the meaning ‘from’, both in resultative and in other types of sentences. Perhaps the first reading of the sentence (56) that comes to mind is such that the adverbial refers to the referent of the object of the sentence: ‘I scared the crows off the fence by shooting a gun.’ There is, however, another possible interpretation of that sentence, in which the adverbial refers to the subject of the sentence: ‘I shot the crows dead from the fence, where I was sitting’. In resultative sentences the adverbial always refers to the object of the sentence. Moreover, many of the sentences that I have come across that have an adverbial meaning ‘from’, also have an adverbial meaning ‘into’ in addition. And further still, I would not be surprised, if the intensiveness meaning would be associated with terminal cases much more than with cases meaning ‘from’. It seems that at least prototypically, the adverbial in this construction is terminal.

As was mentioned in Section 3.6 some adverbs such as *näännnyksiin* ‘exhausted’, *väsyksiin* ‘tired’, *läkähdyksiin* ‘breathless, exhausted’ that appear in this construction seem to favour transitive resultative sentences, even though

there appears to be no reason why they should not be grammatical in other types of sentences just as well. It is simply not easy to find them in intransitive sentences. For some reason people just seem to prefer other expressions, even though the intransitive (57) seem grammatical. Many of such adverbs end in *-ksiin*. Sentences (4, 16, 26, 27, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 48, 57, 77) are further examples of all kinds of *-ksiin* adverbs.

- (57) (?) Hän tuli / joutui / *meni
 (s)he-nom came / got into / went
 näännyksiin / väsyksiin / läkähdyksiin.
 exhausted-ill / tired-ill / exhausted-ill
 '(S)he became exhausted/tired.'

4.2.5. Other patterns

These characterisations of the elements of the construction are by no means exclusive. Sentences (58, 59), for instance, reverse the thematic roles and meanings of the object and the adverbial: The object refers to a resulting state and the referent of the adverbial is human and the experiencer of that state (or the recipient) in (58); and in (59) the object is human-related and the experiencer is the subject. However, it is possible that such constellations in which the adverbial is an allative referring to a human referent (that can thus be seen as the recipient) form a subgroup of their own with its own particular characteristics (cf. example (34))

- (58) Nyt mä syön kyllä itelleni ähkyn.
 now I-nom eat-sg1 particle self-all-sg1 bloatedness-gen
 'I'm eating far too much now!'
 (59) Rehki kolme kertaa viikossa kunnolla
 exercise-imp three-nom time-ptv week-ine properly
 hiki pintaan!
 sweat-nom surface-ill
 'Exercise till you really sweat three times a week'

4.3. Intransitive verbs revisited, and unaccusativity

Not much has been said so far about what kinds of intransitive verbs can occur in extrinsic object sentences. There is one question in particular yet waiting to be asked, given the following two facts. First, Section 2 stated that in a Finnish intransitive sentence an adverbial makes a predication about the referent of the subject, and in a transitive sentence about the referent of object. Second, in the previous section it was noted that the reflexive pronoun *itse* 'xself' was

particularly common in Extrinsic Object Constructs. *itse* is coreferential with the subject of the sentence. This means that when the extrinsic object is *itse*, the adverbial in effect -albeit indirectly- makes a predication about the referent of the subject of the sentence. If the verb is intransitive the adverbial could make a predication about the referent of the subject without the extrinsic object *itse* in a normal run-of-the-mill intransitive sentence. Why is there a need for such sentences? And, since there are intransitive sentences, too, when is this extra object present?

There are pairs of sentences that differ only in the presence versus absence of the Extrinsic Object *itse*. Could the comparison of such sentences as (60-65) shed light on this question?

- (60) Hän tanssi Broadwaylle.
 (s)he dance-pst-sg3 Broadway-all
 '(S)he danced to Broadway'
- (61) Hän tanssi itsensä Broadwaylle.
 (s)he dance-pst-sg3 self-gen-poss-3 Broadway-all
 '(S)he danced herself/himself to Broadway'
- (62) He ovat joutuneet polvenkorkuisena
 ponnistelemaan ensin oppikouluun.
 struggle-3.inf first secondary school-ill
 'They have first had to struggle to secondary school in their childhood'
- (63) He ovat joutuneet polvenkorkuisena
 ponnistelemaan itsensä ensin oppikouluun.
 struggle-3.inf self-gen-poss-3 first secondary school-ill
 'They have first had to struggle to secondary school in their childhood' (The Finnish Syntax Archive)
- (64) Hän luki lääkäriksi.
 (s)he-nom read-pst-sg3 doctor-tra
 (S)he studied to be a doctor.
- (65) Hän luki itsensä lääkäriksi.
 (s)he-nom read-pst-sg3 self-gen-poss-3 doctor-tra
 (S)he studied to be a doctor.

In (60) and (61) the difference of the two sentences is clear: in (60) somebody moves quite concretely to(wards) Broadway by dancing. (61) cannot mean that. What it means is that somebody has made a career of dancing and has achieved a greatly valued point: (s)he gets to appear on Broadway. In spite of the fact that the adverbials in both Finnish sentences (60) and (61) denote locations, it could be argued that in the latter sentence it really refers to an institution-like entity and is used to imply a state of certain social status or appreciation - not concrete direction.

Sentences (62-65) are less clear than (60) and (61). Some speakers do

seem to find a difference between the sentences in these pairs. The sentences with *itse* express (greater) achievements, with perhaps more obstacles to overcome, and only the alternative with *itse* makes certain that the goal has actually been achieved. This demonstrates how the Extrinsic Object Construction contributes the meaning of intensiveness. The verb in (60) and (61) is a verb of manner of motion. Sentences (66) and (67) also have a verb of manner of motion. They show a similar division of labour as (60) and (61): the objectless sentence (66) has a concrete goal adverbial, whereas (67), the sentence with the extrinsic object, has an adverbial that denotes a more abstract goal or result state. Thus this association of non-local result adverbials with extrinsic objects is not limited to the extrinsic object *itse* 'xself'. Sentences (4, 11, 13, 35, 36, 37, 43, 48, 51, 82) provide further examples of this.

- | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (66) | Paavo | juoksi | kotiin. | |
| | Paavo-nom | run-pst-sg3 | home-ill | |
| | 'Paavo ran home' | | | |
| (67) | Paavo Nurmi | juoksi | Suomen | maailmankartalle. |
| | Paavo-nom | run-pst-sg3 | Finland-gen | world map-all |
| | 'Paavo ran Finland on the map of the world' | | | |

This meaning split is quite similar to the meaning split of English agentive verbs of manner of motion discussed by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995:186-187) in their treatment of unaccusativity. When English agentive verbs of manner of motion are used to mean directed motion, the adverbial expresses location, and they take no "fake object" in Resultative Construction, that is, when they occur with a resultative adverbial. They are therefore concluded to belong to the class called unaccusative verbs. When no direction is specified, the adverbial denotes a state, and they take a "fake object". The "fake object" implies that the verb belongs to the class of unergative verbs.

In the Unaccusative Hypothesis, intransitive verbs are divided into unaccusative and unergative verbs. In Levin and Rappaport's analysis (1995:2-78), both have an S-structure subject, but only the S-structure subject of the unergative verbs is a subject in the D-structure as well. Unaccusative verbs have a D-structure object, not a D-structure subject. In other words, they take a direct internal argument, but no external argument. Direct Object Restriction demands that the resultative phrase must be predicated of an object. Unaccusatives have that object already, albeit in D-structure only. That is why they can and must take a resultative phrase without an intervening "fake object". Unergative verbs have no object - that is why they need the "fake object".

The types of resultative sentences in English are very similar to Finnish

ones:

- 1) Unaccusative (intransitive) verbs occur without a “fake object”.
- 2) Unergative (intransitive) verbs take a “fake object”, which (a) is *self*, (b) denotes a bodypart, or (c) is some other non-argument of the verb - exactly the way Finnish extrinsic objects can be characterised.
- 3) Transitive indefinite object verbs (such as *to eat*, *to drink*) may take a “fake object” - again very similarly to Finnish.
- 4) Transitive verbs take their normal object argument.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995:189-193) also discuss another type of verbs that can be used to express directed motion. The English phenomena that they describe have their near-counterparts in Finnish. Verbs that denote sounds that have been produced non-vocally can be used in the English Resultative Construction to express motion, and so can they in Finnish, as shown by (68) and (71). These verbs are mainly predicated of inanimate entities and the result adverbial expresses a location (or position). Sentences (70) and (73) show that reference to a state is impossible in English, and sounds a little odd to some Finnish speakers. The Finnish sentence (73), though, is not impossible - indeed, it is perfectly fine for some speakers. As sentences (69) and (72) show, these verbs cannot take a “fake object”. They pattern unaccusatively.

- (68) The refrigerator door clicked open.
 (69) * The refrigerator door clicked itself open.
 (70) *The door banged to pieces.
 (71) Ovi kolahti kiinni.
 door-nom bang-pst-sg3 shut
 ‘The door banged shut’
 (72) *Ovi kolahti itsensä kiinni.
 door-nom bang-pst-sg3 self-gen-poss-3 shut
 ‘The door banged shut’
 (73) (?)Ovi kolahti rikki.
 door-nom bang-pst-sg3 broken
 ‘The door banged broken’

Verbs denoting sounds that are emitted by an animate entity via the vocal tract obligatorily take a “fake object” in both languages as shown by (74, 75) and (77, 78; 39, 40). They cannot be used to express directed motion as shown by (76) and (79).

- (74) We yelled ourselves hoarse.
 (75) * We yelled hoarse.
 (76) * He yelled down the street.

- (77) Kun yksi sopraano
 oli huutanut äänensä hetkeksi väsyksiin,
 cry-pluperf-sg3 voice-gen-poss-3 moment-tra tired-ill
 oli seuraavan vuoro parkua rakkauden kaikkivoipaisuutta.
 'When one soprano had shouted her voice tired for a moment, it was the next one's
 turn to cry out the omnipotence of love' (Helsingin Sanomat in the Web 18.9.1999)
- (78) *Hän huusi käheäksi.
 (s)he-nom yell-pst-sg3 hoarse-tra
 '(S)he yelled him/herself hoarse'
- (79) *Hän huusi alas katua.
 (s)he-nom yell-pst-sg3 down street-ptv
 '*He yelled down the street'

Sentences (80) and (81) exemplify a morphological group of verbs that are incompatible with the extrinsic object: the reflexive derivatives formed with the suffix -UtU-. The semantic motivation for this restriction is clear. Because the suffix already semantically includes an object argument, no phrasal objects are compatible with these derivatives. This is in accordance with the Unaccusative Hypothesis.

- (80) Hän piiloutui komeroon.
 (s)he hide-UtU-pst-sg3 closet-ill
 '(S)he hid in a closet'
- (81) *Se lapsi piiloutui vanhempansa
 that-nom child-nom hide-UtU-pst-sg3 parent-pl-nom-poss-3
 hassuiksi.
 crazy-pl-tra
 'That child made his/her parents crazy by hiding away'

The restrictions on intransitive verbs given here are probably far from comprehensive. More research should be done on such factors as telicity, for example, in delimiting the possible uses of the Finnish Extrinsic Object Construction. An initial idea that the Finnish data presented in this article brings to mind is that the Extrinsic Object Construction requires that the verb must have a "semantically real" subject argument: a participant in the participant structure of the verb, and what is more, preferably an agent, instrument, or experiencer. Other types of intransitive sentences seem to take no extrinsic objects. All this seems pretty much in line with the Unaccusative Hypothesis. How or whether intensiveness is connected with unaccusativity is unclear, however.

Despite these similarities between Finnish and English resultative sentences, much more research ought to be done to conclude that Finnish behaves the way the Unaccusative Hypothesis predicts.

4.4. The grouping of the elements

Because the Extrinsic Object Construction unifies with many kinds of constructions ranging from sentential constructions to nominalisation structures, the realisations of the elements vary accordingly. An argument structure construction cannot specify phrase structure or constituency, because it is a description of meaning relations between elements that may be realised by many different phrase structures. For example, if a verb stem is nominalised, its subject and object argument are realised as premodifiers and the verb stem itself is embedded within a noun, all in an NP. This structure is very different from that found in a finite clause. Traditional Finnish linguistics has taken the view that the verb and the adverbial form a compound-like unit, which then takes an object (e.g. Setälä 1960:23). This analysis is similar to the one put forward here in the respect that it emphasises the necessity of the adverbial in the construction. The fact that the object can only be present because the adverbial is present would be compatible with seeing the verb and the adverbial as a unit. However, the object is equally obligatory. As (82) shows, the object cannot usually be left out if the adverbial is present.

- (82) *Päivi hölkkäsi näännyksiin.
 Päivi-nom jog-pst-sg3 exhausted-ill
 *'Päivi jogged herself exhausted'

Furthermore, the fact that the object and the adverbial form a clause-like subgroup makes odd the assumption that the verb belongs to the same constituent with one but not both of them. Besides, it seems easy to read into this traditional approach a hidden statement that the choice of the adverbial would be more fixed depending on the verb than the choice of the object. And yet the verb, the object, and the adverbial are all semantically interrelated and dependent on each other - but, on the other hand, all can be relatively freely chosen from any phrase that makes sense. The traditional analysis would seem to me to imply that the verb-adverbial combination would form a lexical unit. The traditional Finnish linguists' analysis seems to me to be simply translated from the analysis of phrasal verbs in Germanic languages. All the elements of the construction are, on the one hand, dependent on, and, on the other hand, independent of each other.

4.5. The meaning of intensiveness —and exceptions

As has been mentioned already, the Extrinsic Object Construction means 'the referent of the subject argument does the activity denoted by the verb so much

or in such an intensive manner that the referent of the object enters the state expressed by the adverbial'. The object and the terminal adverbial together describe a large quantity of doing the activity, or the manner of that activity. Examples (60-65) provide minimal pairs which can be interpreted as having a difference in meaning that is related to intensiveness. In Section 3.4 the Extrinsic Object Construction was compared to an object-like quantity adverbial, which often expresses duration. It may be worth pointing out here that the Extrinsic Object Construction expresses duration only by implication: a large quantity of an activity often takes a lot of time to finish. But a large quantity can also be done quickly and efficiently or effectively - intensely - and then the Extrinsic Object Construction may not express duration at all, but manner. In some cases the intensiveness may be somewhat vague, it may be more just in the colourfulness of the expression than in the intensiveness of the action itself, but often these are almost inseparable. The construction often seems to comment implicitly on the somehow exceptional nature of the eventuality. There seem to be sentences with an intransitive verb and an object, but not necessarily any meaning of intensiveness involved, such as (83-85), and (34). Some speakers attach no intensiveness to these sentences. Sentences (83-85) do seem to comment on the manner, though. However, (34) possibly does not even do that.

- (83) Syö aivosi virkeiksi.
eat-IMP brain-nom-poss-sg2 active-tra
'Eat your brain active' (Tiede 2000 1/2000, a heading)
- (84) Me ollaan syöty jääkaappia tyhjäksi.
we have been eating fridge-ptv empty-tra
'We've been eating the fridge empty' (*i.e.* before leaving home empty for a longer period of time; uttered as reason to decline an invitation to dinner)
- (85) Joku on istunut hattuni lyttyyn.
somebody has sat hat-gen-poss-sg1 flat
'Somebody has sat on my hat and flattened it'
- (34) Ovikello soi taas rahaa veteraaneille.
doorbell-nom ring-sg3 again money-ptv veteran-pl-all
'The doorbell is ringing money for the veterans again'
(People are going round ringing doorbells to collect money for the veterans again.)
(Helsingin Sanomat 24.3.2000)

Is this an argument for doing away with the semantic component in the Extrinsic Object Construction? It could be argued that the meaning of intensiveness is not part of the semantics (or possibly not even of the pragmatics) of this construction at all, but rather implicated in the discourse. This view has its justification. First of all, semantic meaning is very difficult to separate from pragmatic reasoning. If you do something you always do it in

some particular way and with some particular intensiveness, and if as a result of doing it, some entity enters into another state, then you, of course, have done whatever you have done, *in such an intensive quantity or in such an intensive manner* that the entity entered that state. This conclusion could be reached by means of reasoning alone. And indeed, in many cases the mere structure of the sentence combined with the lexical meanings of the elements must be interpreted in such a way that the conclusion of the activity being intensive can and must be drawn.

Another possible reason for not treating intensiveness as part of the semantics of the construction is the fact that speakers are not as conscious of this intensiveness element of meaning as they are of the causative element of the meaning. Many speakers never refer to this component of the meaning when they paraphrase Extrinsic Object sentences. However, grammar is full of constructions that speakers are not fully aware of - and yet speakers use those constructions quite unanimously and systematically. Should grammar only describe what the language users know they know? Surely not. Moreover, speakers may say one thing when openly asked about a construction - and demonstrate quite different grammar in their actual usage. This problem is perhaps on the verge of the question what grammars should be grammars of. Is all performance, or parole, or any statement of frequency, excluded, and only competence, langue, or categorial rule statements included? In those occurrences that I have found in spontaneous usage, this construction seems to appear much more frequently in the expression of some intensive action, than quite neutrally. It is possible that it in fact never occurs both neutrally and fully acceptably even in my data. All of the occurrences that I have found so far can be interpreted as communicating intensiveness of the eventuality by at least some speakers - and all speakers do not consider the sentences that could be interpreted as not intensiveness-communicating fully acceptable sentences. The intensiveness may be attributable to the lexical elements of the sentence or to the context or to world knowledge - but the construction seems to attract lexical elements with such intense meaning to the point of "lexical selection" of some kind, and be distributed in "intensive contexts" to such a degree that intensiveness must at the very least be some kind of a pragmatic restriction. An occurrence that would have no lexical elements that can be associated with intensiveness or that could not be deduced from the linguistic structure and from world knowledge or context to communicate intensiveness but that would still communicate intensiveness would decide the matter in favour of considering the intensiveness part of the semantic meaning of the construction.

If it turned out that acceptability judgements correlate with the meaning of intensiveness this would also constitute evidence for intensiveness being part

of the semantics of the construction⁹. Acceptability judgements do vary, and clearly speakers are not always at all aware of the reasons for their judgements. An occurrence that out of context would not communicate intensiveness or that despite lexical items associated with intensiveness would not communicate intensiveness would decide the matter in favour of excluding the intensiveness from the semantics of the construction.

Unfortunately, any such evidence does not seem to be available. What is available, though, are the minimal pairs (60-65) discussed in Section 4.3. Admittedly they do not constitute very clear evidence. Nevertheless, just the fact that this particular syntactic form - an object not licensed by the verb - co-occurs with the communicating of intensiveness is a relevant fact of language that should be stated in the grammar of Finnish. Because sentences with extrinsic objects are quite rare and seem to be very register and genre-sensitive it would require much more research to make any conclusive statements as to the nature of this intensiveness that seems to go together with these sentences.

4.6. Possible functions of the Extrinsic Object Construction

Extrinsic object constructs seem to be somewhat disproportionately represented in sports texts. If Givon (1979:159) is right in thinking that direct objecthood involves relative topicality, and if the Finnish object can be identified with Givon's direct object, then it could be concluded that the extrinsic object upgrades the topicality of the intensiveness of the activity described in the sentence. Intensity is, after all, more normally expressed in adverbial position. Such a generalisation would sound coherent with the frequent use of the construction in sports articles - they are, after all, largely about the intensiveness of some activity or another. The generalisation that the construction makes the object relatively central in the information structure would seem to hold even for the sentences which have no meaning of intensiveness.

In addition to sports texts, another text position that extrinsic object constructs seem to fit well is headings. This could be taken to reflect the conciseness of the constructs produced by the Extrinsic Object Construction. A heading is a textual position that favours as concise expression as possible: the packaging of a great deal of information into a small space. Examples (41, 34) and (83) are headings. In headings the conciseness often seems to be the motivation for the use of the construction.

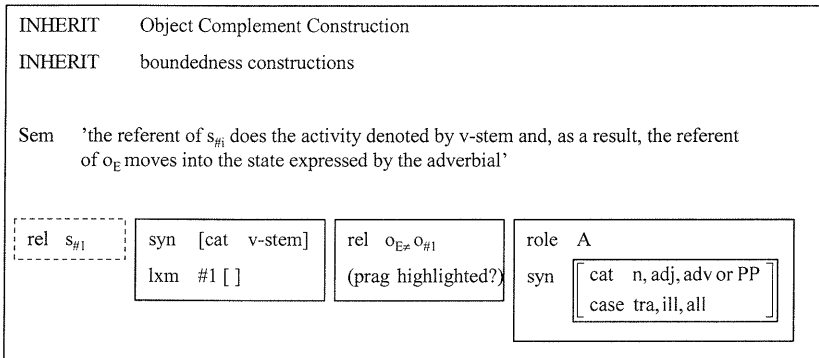
Moreover, the very same characteristic is perhaps the reason why the

⁹ I owe this observation to Pekka Lahdenmäki.

construction also seems to abound in the opposite style: the colloquial speech. When speakers wish to use expressive language, the very Extrinsic Object Construction alone intensifies the meaning of their utterance. The Extrinsic Object Construction is an exceptional way of expressing the contents - it may either fail to be applicable altogether, or, when can be used, it may be the perfect expression to choose. All this points in the direction that the meaning of intensiveness is not necessary in all sentences that have an extrinsic object but that other factors may sometimes be more relevant in determining when the construction is used.

A potential common denominator for all sentences in which the object is not licensed by the valence of the verb - whether with or without the intensiveness meaning - seems to be that the noun in the object position is highlighted or somehow central in the information structure of the sentence. The sentence has been so arranged as to get it into as topical a position as possible and yet to condense two predications into one sentence.

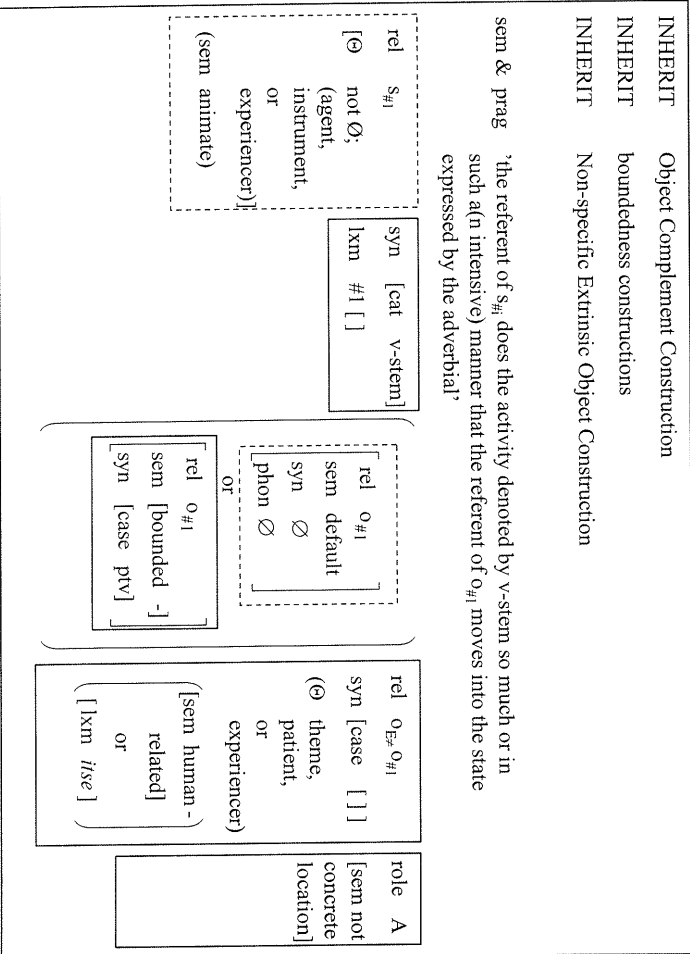
Figure 13. The Non-specific Extrinsic Object Construction



5. A network of Extrinsic Object Constructions

Ultimately, all of the above leads to the conclusion that a single construction cannot account for the various types of resultative sentences in Finnish: a whole set of Extrinsic Object Constructions of varying specificity is needed. The most general one merely states the syntactic composition of the construction - potentially latent subject argument, verb, an extrinsic object, and terminal

Figure 14. The Prototypical Extrinsic Object Construction

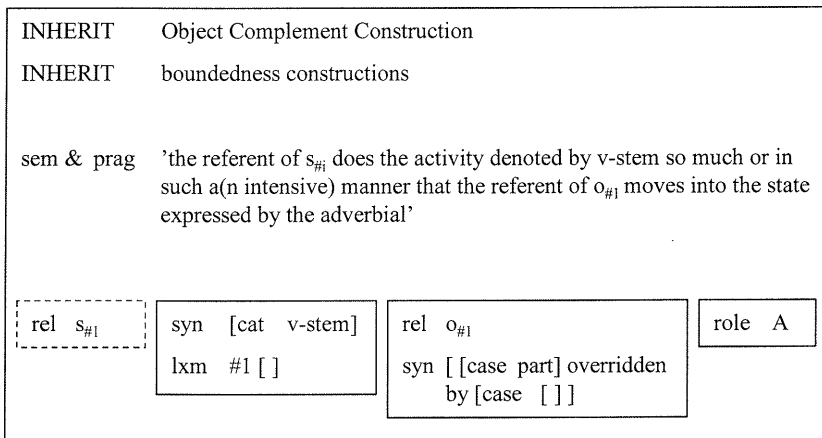


adverbial - and links it with the semantics ‘the referent of the subject argument of the verb does the activity denoted by the verb and, as a result, the referent of the object argument of this construction enters into the state expressed by the adverbial’, possibly associating all this with the information structure feature of highlighting the object. This *Non-specific Extrinsic Object Construction* is needed for sentences like (34) that were exceptions to intensiveness (see Fig. 13.)

The next construction, the *Prototypical Extrinsic Object Construction*, would add the intensiveness meaning for sentences like (4) etc. A relevant factor of this construction is that its object participates in the boundedness opposition, indicated in the figure by the unspecified value (empty square brackets) of the attribute *syn* of the extrinsic object ($o_{\#1}$). (Figure 14)

Another more fully specified construction, the *Resultative Partitive-to-Alternating-Object Construction* would associate intensiveness of meaning with an object whose meaning relations are those specified by the valence of the verb but whose form nevertheless is not the one dictated by the verb but is determined by aspectual factors. This construction would account for sentences like (21). (Figure 15)

Figure 15. The Resultative From-Partitive-to-Alternating-Object Construction



All these constructions inherit the normal Object Complement Construction (Figure 7), which was needed to account for the result adverbial in sentences like (3).

Instead of one resultative construction, we have ended up with several constructions which are used in resultative sentences and which form an inheritance network. Such a network of closely related constructions is one way to describe prototypicality and family resemblances.

6. Conclusion

To summarize, English uses word order and Finnish uses nominal case endings to express a similar meaning. This difference must have its effects on the descriptive apparatus as well.

Instead of all resultative sentences being instances of a single Resultative Construction in Finnish, some Finnish resultative sentences are licensed by constructions that are not particular to Resultative sentences, while others have to make use of particular constructions to licence an object outside the valence set of the verb.

The Prototypical Extrinsic Object Construction associates the syntax (*s*) *v-stem* *o* *A* to the semantics 'the referent of the subject does the activity denoted by the verb so much or in such a(n intensive) manner that the referent of the object moves into the state expressed by the adverbial'. The object of this construction is not the valence object of the verb. The construction can be unified with any construction that is not bounded. The resulting construct carries the boundedness opposition, which is expressed by the extrinsic object. Other Extrinsic Object Constructions cluster around the Prototypical Extrinsic Object Construction. The function of these constructions is not so much to express resultative meaning, as this can be achieved with other, quite ordinary run-of-the-mill constructions. Rather, most of them express intensiveness of the activity, and all possibly highlight the object licensed by the construction. Finnish resultative sentences have a family resemblance. Such a linguistic phenomenon can be described by a network of related constructions that are connected by inheritance links.

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Appendix:

Abbreviations

=	in figures: immediate precedence
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
A	adverbial
acc	accusative
ade	adessive
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
all	allative
appcp	active past participle
a-stem	adjective stem
bnd form	bounded form (<i>i.e.</i> nominative, genitive, or accusative)
cat	syntactic category
c-suff	case suffix
ela	elative
ess	essive
gen	genitive
ill	illative
imp	imperative
max	maximality
neg	negative
nom	nominative

n-stem	noun stem
num	numeral
O	object of a finite sentence
o	object argument
obj	object
o _E	object argument of the Extrinsic Object Construction
o _{#x}	object argument of the (lexeme) x
o _v	object argument of the verb
pcp	participle
pers	person
pe-suff	personal suffix
phon	phonological form
pl	plural
pluperf	pluperfect
poss	possessive suffix
prag	pragmatic features
pres	present
pst	past tense
ptv	partitive
ref	reference
reflpr	reflexive pronoun
rel	argument relation
role	syntactic function
s	subject argument
S	subject of a finite sentence
s _E	subject argument of the Extrinsic Object Construction
sem	semantic features
sg	singular
subj	subject
suff	suffix
syn	syntactic features
tra	translative
v-stem	verb stem

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