THE PROJECTED DIRECTIVE CONSTRUCTION AND OBJECT CASE MARKING IN FINNISH

Yrjö Lauranto
University of Helsinki

Abstract. This article examines object case marking in a Finnish verb structure called the Projected Directive Construction, e.g. *Liisa pyysi Matti-a lähte-mä-än* 'Liisa asked Matti to leave' (Liisa.ɴᴏᴍɪɴᴀᴛɪᴠᴇ asked Matti-ᴘᴀʀᴛɪᴛɪᴠᴇ leave-ɪɴꜰ-ɪʟʟᴀᴛɪᴠᴇ). The PDC is divided into three subtypes. Type A includes verbs such as *pyytää* 'to request', which take a partitive object regardless of the outcome of the action. Verbs used in type B, such as *määrätä* 'to order', take an accusative object despite the result of the action. Type C comprises verbs such as *suostutella* 'to persuade' taking either a partitive or an accusative object, depending on the outcome of the semiotic causation expressed in the clause. The object case marking in the three subtypes reflects the two-faceted nature of the construction: on the one hand, it is a construction used for reporting of speech, on the other, it is a causative construction. It seems that boundedness – as it has traditionally been defined – does not suffice to describe the alternation of the object case in the PDC.

Keywords: object case marking, boundedness, accusative, partitive, reporting of speech and thought, projection, causative construction, Finnish

1. Introduction

This article examines object case marking in a Finnish verb structure which I shall call the *Projected Directive Construction* (henceforth PDC), for example, *Liisa pyysi Matti-a lähtemään Espanjaan* (partitive object) 'Liisa asked Matti to go to Spain,' *Tuomari määräsi Mati-n maksamaan sakon* (accusative object) 'The judge ordered Matti to pay a fine'. The PDC has a two-faceted nature. Firstly, it is used to report or – following systemic-functional linguistics – to *project* directive speech acts (Halliday 1994 [1985]: 250). Like typical projection (or reporting) constructions (e.g. *Liisa told me Heikki would come along*), the PDC includes two verbs: a verb of saying expressing directivity, such as *pyytää* 'to request, to ask', *määrätä* 'to order', and *suostutella*

'to (try to) persuade, to coax', and another verb used to express what is reported or – in my terminology – projected. Secondly, because of the connection with directivity, the PDC resembles an analytic causative (e.g. *Liisa made Matti leave*). The causation expressed by the PDC can be described as directive causation (Shibatani 1976, 2001), implying that someone tries to make someone else do something by non-physical or verbal means (Song 2015: 104, see also Foley 1991: 291). The two-faceted nature of the PDC is the topic of Section 2. At the beginning of the same section I shall also briefly discuss the differences between projection and the traditional notion of reported and quoted speech and thought.

The PDC has the following pattern: $NP_{SUBJECT}$ + Verb 1 + NP_{OBJECT} + Verb $2_{INFINITIVE+ILLATIVE}$ ('to') (+ XP). The first verb of the construction is commonly – but not necessarily – a directive verb. This term is used in this article for verbs of saying such as those mentioned above.[1] Directive verbs are lexicalizations of interpersonal linguistic causation: they represent human action in which the speaker uses language to make her or his interlocutor do something. However, verbs used in a PDC can also express influencing by other symbolic mean, e.g. the verb *viittoa* 'to beckon (i.e. by gesturing)' as in *he beckoned me to sit down*. As these represent semiotic – but not linguistic – action, I refer to the verbs used in a PDC as verbs expressing semiotic directive action.

The PDC contains a subject NP that refers to a human being controlling his or her actions and functions as the causer in the construction. The object NP functions as the causee. The verb used to express the action over which influence is exerted is in the illative form of an infinitive with *ma*/*mä* in Finnish. As shown in the following glossed examples (1–4), object case marking in the PDC varies with the verb used in the construction.

(1) *Liisa*   ***pyys-i***   *Matti-a*   *lähte-mä-än*   *Espanja-an.*
      Liisa.NOM   ask-PST.3SG   Matti-**PAR**   go-INF-ILL   Spain-ILL

      'Liisa asked Matti to go to Spain.'

---

1   Directive verbs are related to a subcategory of performative verbs that Austin (1962: 151) refers to as exercitives (exercising a power, right etc.) (see also López Álvarez 2005). However, directive verbs and exercitives are not identical. Hence, Austin's terminology is not used in this article. Directive verbs and the PDC are also related to various other constructions referred to as permissive constructions in Finnish (see J. Leino 2003, 2005).

(2) *Tuomari*   ***määräs-i***   *Mati-n*   *maksa-ma-an* *sako-n.*
     judge.NOM   order-PST.3SG   Matti-**ACC**   pay-INF-ILL   fine-ACC

     'The judge ordered Matti to pay a fine.'

(3) *Liisa*   ***suostuttel-i***   *Matti-a*   *lähte-mä-än*
     Liisa.NOM   persuade-PST.3SG   Matti-**PAR**   go-INF-ILL

     Espanja-an.
     Spain-ILL

     'Liisa tried to persuade Matti to go to Spain.'

(4) *Liisa*   ***suostuttel-i***   *Mati-n*   *lähte-mä-än* *Espanja-an.*
     Liisa.NOM   persuade-PST.3SG   Matti-**ACC**   go-INF-ILL   Spain-ILL

     'Liisa persuaded Matti to go to Spain (and he went).'

The PDC can be divided into three subtypes according to object case marking. The first type includes verbs such as *pyytää* 'to ask, to request' in (1), which take a partitive object regardless of the outcome of the semiotic action represented in the clause. Verbs used in the second type, such as *määrätä* 'to order' in (2), take an accusative object despite the result of the linguistic action expressed in the clause. The third type comprises verbs such as *suostutella* 'to (try to) persuade, to coax' in (3) and (4) taking either a partitive or an accusative object.

   With the verb *suostutella* 'to (try to) persuade, to coax', the object case marking appears to be related to the outcome of the action. Thus, in (3), the persuasion is construed as not being effective (i.e. Matti did not leave for Spain), and this is expressed by the partitive object. The clause can also be interpreted as progressive: the act of persuasion had not yet reached the culmination point when something else happened. In (4), on the other hand, the persuasion is construed as being effective and resulted in Matti's leaving for Spain, as shown by the accusative object. Therefore, in (4), the meaning of the clause with the object in the accusative is interpreted as implicative, while in (3) with the partitive object, the interpretation is non-implicative (cf. Pajunen 2001: 357–358, for implicatives, see Karttunen 1971, also J. Leino 2003: 35).

   Hence, in the PDC, the choice of object case is not always a direct expression of the result of the semiotic act represented in the clause, in other words, the partitive–accusative distinction is not only dependent on aspectual meanings. In fact, the object marking of the verbs *pyytää* 'to ask, to request' and *määrätä* 'to order' focus on construing a

generalization of interactants' mutual relations in the world which they represent. On the other hand, in the case of the verb *suostutella* 'to (try to) persuade, to coax', it appears that the choice of object case in the PDC is not only contingent upon aspect but also upon how the relation between the causer and the causee is construed. The two-faceted nature of the PDC – the fact that it has similarities with both causatives and projection constructions – plays a crucial role in explaining its object case marking. This is the topic of Sections 3 and 4.

My data mainly consist of electronically intermediated conversations and other online material such as blogs, Facebook posts, fiction published on the Internet, online newspaper articles, minutes of meetings, and memorandums. Some of the examples are from spoken announcements and television programmes; these were written down as soon as they were heard. Examples derived from authentic data are marked with an abbreviation in brackets and are included in the list of data sources. Examples based on my own intuition are not followed by an abbreviation.

In order to have a complete picture of the verbs that can be used in the PDC, I checked all the entries of the dictionary published by the Board of the Finnish language (*Kielitoimiston sanakirja* [KTS]) and singled out the verbs which can function as verb cores in the PDC. Subsequently, I performed Google searches of these verbs in order to find examples of the construction. All verbs investigated will be presented at the beginning of Section 4.

This article is organized as follows: Section 2 examines the nature of the PDC as a causative construction and a projection construction. The section also compares the PDC with other projection constructions in Finnish. One of the fundamental issues when considering the choice of object case in Finnish in general, and, thus, also in the PDC, is boundedness. This is the focus of Section 3. In Section 4, I use my empirical data in order to present the different subcategories of the PDC and to investigate object case marking in each class. Section 5 recapitulates the results and concludes the article.

2. The two-faceted nature of the PDC

This section concentrates on the PDC as a projection construction, on the one hand, and on its causative nature, on the other. I shall first compare the PDC with other constructions in Finnish used for projection

and then discuss its causative aspects. At the end of the section, I shall elucidate the nature of the PDC on the projective-causative interface. Evidently, projection as a linguistic phenomenon is closely related to *reporting* (in Finnish, *referointi*). Before I focus at the nature of the PDC, I shall have a brief look at projection and its relation with reporting or reported speech and thought from the point of view of Finnish constructions.

In the Comprehensive Grammar of Finnish (*Iso suomen kielioppi*), reporting is used to refer to the fact that the speaker includes another person's or one's own previously produced speech or thoughts in his or her own speech or writing so that the elements that are borrowed can be distinguished from the speaker's own speech or writing (ISK 2004: § 1457). In projection, instead, the approach is different. In systemic-functional linguistics, language is seen as a semiotic system that we use to represent reality. Projection is a lexicogrammatical resource that allows to construe something as a representation of a representation, i.e. as a metarepresentation. In other words, projection involves a second-order representation, rather than a direct, first-order representation of reality (Halliday 1987: 144, Halliday 1994 [1985]: 250; Shore 2005: 48–55, Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 508–549). Projection can thus be seen to refer to a kind of reflection of a person's consciousness (Shore 2005: 51). Projection entails (a) a projecting clause or construction whose subject is (typically) a human being and whose main verb expresses a verbal (i.e. communicative) or mental process (i.e. saying, thinking, or sensing), and (b) a projected clause or construction used to construe the contents of the projected consciousness (Shore 2005: 51). Like many languages, Finnish uses special constructions for this purpose. Widely used structures for projection in Finnish include the following ones:

(5) ——Projecting——   ——————Projected——————
    Liisa   *kerto-i*   *että* *Matti* *lähte-e*   *Espanja-an.*
    Liisa.NOM tell-PST.3SG that Matti go-PRS.3SG Spain-ILL

    'Liisa told (me) that Matti would go to Spain.'

(6) ——Projecting——   ——————Projected——————
    Liisa   *kerto-i*   *Mati-n* *lähte-vä-n*   *Espanja-an.*
    Liisa.NOM tell-PST.3SG Matti-GEN go-PRPTCP-GEN Spain-ILL

    'Liisa told (me) that Matti would go to Spain.'

In both examples above the verb of the projecting clause expresses a verbal process. In (5), Liisa's consciousness is construed as a finite *että* 'that' clause, whereas in (6), it is construed as an infinite structure, the so-called referative construction (henceforth REF).

In (6), the verb expressing the projected action is a participle and the subject of the construction is in the genitive (for the genitive subject, see e.g. J. Leino 2015). Thus, the subject NP of the REF is marked morphologically, which differentiates it from the subject NP of the finite *että* 'that' clause in (5). However, the REF resembles the finite structure as it contains an easily identifiable subject element. This is not the case with the PDC, in which the object of the directive verb is interpreted as the agent of the action represented by the infinite verb such as in examples (1–4).

Nonetheless, if the subject of the REF is co-referential with the subject of the finite verb, the subject of the REF cannot be expressed by a pronoun. In this case, it is expressed by a possessive suffix:

(7)   *Matti^X*　　　*kerto-i*　　　*ole-va-nsa^X*　　　　　*iloinen.*[2]
　　　Matti.NOM　　tell-PST.3SG　　be-PRPTCP-GEN.POSS3　　happy

　　　'Matti told (me) he was happy.'

In addition, the REF resembles a finite clause in that the verb used in this construction can express tense, although there are only two alternatives: present (non-past) and past. This distinction is made by using either the past or the present (non-past) participle. Traditionally, the REF has been analysed as an infinitive structure in Finnish grammars, but its clause-like properties make a case for it to be analysed as a non-finite clause. Whether it is called an infinitive structure or a nonfinite clause, it is clear that the REF is projected by the finite verb (e.g. *kertoi* 'told' in example 7).

Projecting verbs used with a REF include *kertoa* 'to tell, to say', *ilmoittaa* 'to announce', and *väittää* 'to claim', on the one hand, and verbs such as *ajatella* 'to think, to consider', *otaksua* 'to presume', and *haluta* 'to want', on the other, i.e. verbs of saying and thinking. In addition, curiously, the REF can also appear with a verb of perception:

---

2   The final *-n* merges with the possessive suffix: *lähtevä-n + nsä > lähtevä-nsä.*

(8) *Liisa*   *näk-i*   *Mati-n*   *tule-va-n*   *sisään.*
   Liisa.NOM   see-PST.3SG   Matti-GEN   come-PRPTCP-GEN   in

   'Liisa saw Matti come in.'

In fact, it is somewhat questionable to talk about the *reporting* of another person's perception (or thoughts) (Shore 2005: 49–50). However, if the reporting – or the representation – of speech and thought is seen as part of a larger aggregate, sensing, saying, and thinking can be linked to the same phenomenon, i.e. *projection*. In (8), Matti's coming in is construed as being projected by Liisa's conciousness, in this case her visual perception.

What is noteworthy about the REF is that it is incompatible with directive verbs such as *pyytää* 'to ask, to request', *määrätä* 'to order', and *suostutella* 'to (try to) persuade, to coax' (see also ISK 2004: § 473):

(9) **Liisa*   *pyys-i*   *Mati-n*   *lähte-vä-n*
   Liisa.NOM   ask-PST.3SG   Matti-GEN   go-PRPTCP-GEN

   Espanja-an.
   Spain-ILL

As mentioned in Section 1, directive verbs are two-faceted in the sense that while they express verbal action like constative speech act verbs, e.g. *kertoa* 'to tell, to say', *ilmoittaa* 'to announce', and *väittää* 'to claim', they also represent interpersonal semiotic causation (see also Lauranto 2014: 12–15, 47). In fact, such verbs can be regarded as lexicalizations – i.e. lexical descriptions – of interpersonal meanings produced in interaction. Depending on the situation, the Finnish imperative clause *tule tänne* 'come here' can be interpreted as a request, a command, a plea, or an inveiglement, among other things. These interactional meanings have not been grammaticalized into different syntactic structures: in interaction, all can be expressed by using an imperative clause. However, they have been lexicalized as verbs (and their derivations). This is true of English and other languages too, but the meanings vary and words in one language are not in one-to-one correspondence in another. The term *rhetorical function* can be used to refer to meanings of this kind (e.g. Halliday 1994 [1985]: 365).

The PDC differs from the REF presented above. The REF is an infinite structure (or a nonfinite clause) with its own subject element, while a PDC such as (10) is different by nature:

(10) *Liisa*   *pyys-i*   *Matti-a*   *lähte-mä-än*   *Espanja-an.*
      Liisa.NOM   ask-PST.3SG   Matti-PAR   go-INF-ILL   Spain-ILL

      'Liisa asked Matti to go to Spain.'

In the PDC, the object (*Mattia*) of the directive verb (*pyysi*) is interpreted as the agent of the process expressed by the infinite verb (*lähtemään*). Thus, the PDC corresponds structurally to a whole projecting and projected construction, not just the projected part of it (cf. Halliday 1994 [1985]: 290–291).

This kind of incorporation is typical of causative constructions (Dixon 2000: 55):[3]

(11) *Liisa*   *sa-i*   *Mati-n*   *lähte-mä-än*   *Espanja-an.*
      Liisa.NOM   get-PST.3SG   Matti-ACC   leave-INF-ILL   Spain-ILL

      'Liisa got Matti to leave for Spain.'

The causative construction in (11) represents an analytic causative: the finite verb expresses causation, while the infinite one expresses the main process of the clause. Thus, like causative constructions in general, the causative construction in (11) can be regarded as a first-order representation: it only consists of a single process, Matti's leaving for Spain. In addition, the leaving is modified by Liisa's impact on it (expressed by the causative verb *sai* 'got', which implies that Matti was reluctant to leave). Arguably, the causative construction in (11) expresses general causation in the sense that it does not display information about the kind of causation implied: it could have involved physical as well as semiotic causation.

In contrast, a PDC always expresses directive causation (Shibatani 1976, 2001). Directivity automatically implies semioticity: the causer tries to have an impact on the causee by linguistic or other semiotic means (cf. Song 2015). Consequently, in an analytic directive causative such as the Finnish PDC there needs to be a separate constituent expressing the semiotic causation, e.g. a directive verb. Thus, the PDC lies on the interface between causation and projection, i.e. between first-order and second-order representations.

However, the PDC is not a prototypical case of projection, because it forms a single clause structure: the projecting structure and the projected

---

3   In TG, PDC constructions are described as *raising* (i.e. of the underlying subject of the infinitive) (see e.g. Pollard and Sag 1994: 132–134, see also J. Leino 2003: 23).

structure cannot be separated. This has led to conflicting analyses. For example, ISK (2004: § 479, § 1461) considers the PDC to be a typical causative construction, on the one hand, and a subcategory of reporting constructions, on the other. This ambivalence can be resolved if projection (or reporting) is seen as a continuum with PDCs on the cusp of first and second order representations. In the terminology used by Leech and Short (2007: 260, 276) in their analysis of style in fictional writing, the PDC corresponds to a *narrative report of speech act*, which lies between (non-reported) narration and varieties of speech and thought presentation such as direct and indirect speech or thought. (Cf. Kuiri 1984, Kalliokoski 2005: 17–18, Shore 2005.)

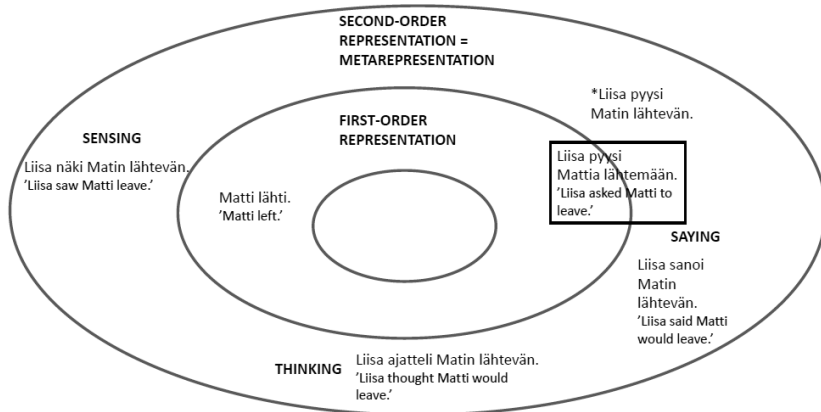Figure 1 below describes the PDC and the REF with relation to projection.

Figure 1. The PDC and the REF with relation to projection, i.e. metarepresentation. (Modified from the figure presented by Shore (2005: 53).)

The inner oval in the figure stands for the reality in which Matti is leaving. The second oval corresponds to a first-order representation, i.e. the fact that someone is representing this reality by saying or writing *Matti lähti* 'Matti left.' The outer oval corresponds to a second-order representation or metarepresentation, i.e. the reflection of a person's – in this case Liisa's – consciousness. (Shore 2005: 52–53.) The PDC (located in the quadrangle in the figure) can, on the one hand, be seen to represent a causative event in the extra-linguistic world. On the other hand, the PDC shares with projection the fact that two acts have occurred: one of them is a semiotic act of requesting, the other is Matti's

leaving. The presence of two distinct processes distinguishes the PDC from typical causative constructions, which only consist of one representative[4] process explicitly expressed by the main verb of the structure.

Grammatically, the causee in the PDC functions as the object. Prior to examining the object case marking in the PDC, which is a particularly interesting aspect of this construction, I shall explore some generalities regarding the choice of object case in Finnish.

3. Object case marking in Finnish

Functionally, Finnish transitive clauses can be divided into two categories: (a) clauses expressing an event that is construed as bounded and (b) clauses expressing an event construed as unbounded (P. Leino 1991: 150–180, Heinämäki 1994, ISK 2004: § 927, 1500). Clauses in group (a) take an accusative or a nominative object, whereas clauses in group (b) take a partitive object.

The accusative has two forms: the default *n* marker in the singular (*tunnen Mati-n* 'I know Matti') and the special *t* marker of the personal pronouns and the pronoun *kuka* 'who' (*tunnen häne-t* 'I know her/ him').[5] When needed, they will be distinguished by calling them *n-accusative* and *t-accusative*. The alternation between the accusative and the nominative is contingent upon factors other than boundedness.[6] Thus, for the sake of simplicity, I shall use the general term *non-partitive* to refer to both the nominative and the accusative because from the functional point of view both are opposed to the partitive.

Boundedness and the case marking associated with it is a complete grammatical phenomenon in Finnish and it has been the topic of a lot of research (e.g. Setälä 1891, Penttilä 1963, Itkonen 1974, 1975, 1976, Dahl and Karlsson 1976, Hakulinen and Karlsson 1975, 1979, Tommola 1987, Larjavaara 1991, P. Leino 1991, Heinämäki 1994, Pälsi 2000,

---

4   On representative meaning (instead of referential) see Grace 1987: 39–40.

5   The accusative singular ending -*n* is homophonic with the genitive singular and the instructive singular endings, but they have different origins (Lehtinen 2007) and, obviously, different functions. Due to the homophony of the genitive and the accusative, both have been called the genitive (e.g. ISK 2004: § 1226) or simply the *n* case in a neutral way (Vilkuna 2000). In this article, I shall distinguish between the accusative and the genitive (see also Lauranto 2013: 163).

6   A bounded object – when it is expressed by a noun (and not a pronoun mentined) – takes the nominative e.g. when the clause is passive or imperative and when the object NP is plural. For more details see e.g. Karlsson 1999.

Vilkuna 2000, Huumo 2010). On the one hand, boundedness can be engendered by quantificational factors (i.e. whether or not the referent of the object is affected in its entirety). Thus, the event expressed by the clause *Liisa sö-i mansiko-i-ta* (Liisa.NOM eat-PST.3SG strawberry-PL-PAR 'Liisa ate (some) strawberries') is interpreted quantificationally unbounded. On the other hand, boundedness can be engendered by aspectual factors (and whether the action had the intended outcome). In the following, I shall concentrate on the latter (although aspectual and quantificational factors are interrelated). The relation between boundedness and aspect in Finnish is illustrated in Figure 2.
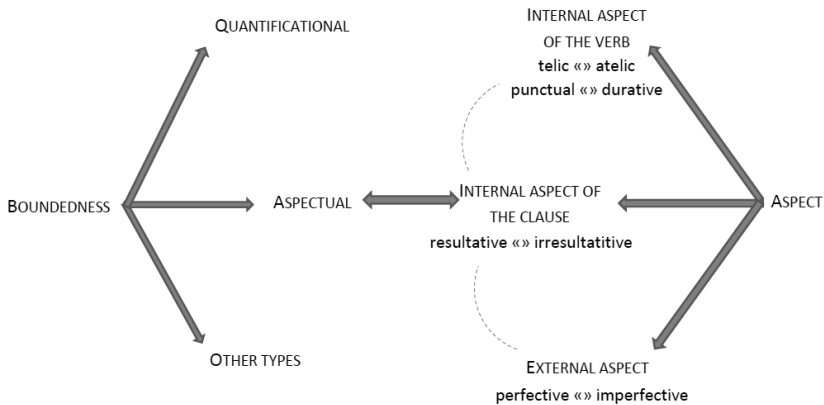

Figure 2. The relation between boundedness and aspect in Finnish.

The boundedness expressed by the non-partitive and the unboundedness expressed by the partitive in a transitive clause are interpreted in different ways in different clauses (P. Leino 1991: 172). Therefore, boundedness can be seen as kind of a hypernym for several clausal meanings which are grammaticalized as the partitive–non-partitive case marking in a transitive clause. However, the boundedness in the PDC cannot only be described with traditional concepts. In regard to "other types" mentioned in the figure, I shall argue that one of the interpretations of boundedness is related to the construed ability of the subject referent to bring about a change in the object referent's state. This is significant in one of the subtypes of the PDC (e.g. with *suostutella* 'to (try to) persuade, to coax'). I shall also argue that boundedness can be associated with how the relation between the participants of the event projected is construed. This is the case of the subtypes with the verbs *pyytää* 'to request, to ask' and *määrätä* 'to order'. The object case

marking in the PDC will be examined in Section 4. In what follows in this section, I shall shed light on the relation between boundedness and aspect concentrating on the terminology used in this article.

Non-partitive case marking construes a bounded event: the event expressed in the transitive clause has reached a culmination beyond which it can no longer extend or continue as in (12) (P. Leino 1991: 177). When the event is construed as unbounded, this culmination point has not been reached as in (13).[7]

(12) *Liisa   ampu-i   hirve-n.*
     Liisa.NOM   shoot-PST.3SG   moose-ACC

     'Liisa shot a moose (and the moose died).'

(13) *Liisa   ampu-i   hirve-ä.*
     Liisa.NOM   shoot-PST.3SG   moose-PAR

     Interpretation 1: 'Liisa shot a moose (but she missed or the moose did not die).'
     Interpretation 2: 'Liisa was shooting a moose.'

The (un)boundedness of the clauses in (12) and (13) is aspectual. In this article, the terms *resultative* and *irresultative* are used to refer to the internal aspect of the clause, i.e. aspectual boundedness. Thus, the clause in (12) represents resultative aspect and the clause in (13) is internally irresultative by its aspectual nature.

In (13), however, the clause out of context has two interpretations. According to the first interpretation, which represents irresultative aspect, the action of shooting had ceased for the time being, but the action did not reach the culmination that was desired: the moose did not die. This is because Liisa wounded but did not kill the moose or she did not hit it at all. As for the second interpretation, there needs to be a point of reference outside the event being examined (e.g. Smith 1997): the culmination had not yet been reached when something else happened (*Liisa was shooting a moose, when…*). In this progressive interpretation, shooting is understood as background action for another action: this is a matter of *imperfective external aspect*. Nevertheless, the clause in (13) can also be interpreted as *externally perfective* even

---

7 A negative clause can also contain the partitive object in Finnish. P. Leino (1991: 136) explains the partitive object of negative clauses by the fact that since the action represented in the clause is negated, it is not possible to reach the culmination point either. For other explanations, see e.g. ISK 204: § 932.

though the clause expresses an (internally) unbounded, i.e. irresultative, event: *Liisa ampui hirveä, ja hirvi lähti karkuun* 'Liisa shot a moose (but she missed or did not kill the moose) and the moose run away'. This is the reason for which I distinguish boundedness from external aspect. Perfectiveness and imperfectiveness always need a viewpoint to be interpreted and this is the reason for which they are often used to refer to the sequentiality and the simultaneity of the event expressed in the clause in relation with other events (cf. Comrie 1976: 16–40 and Wyngaerd 2005: 189).[8]

As indicated in example (13), a clause expressing an unbounded event can be interpreted as externally perfective. Vice versa, a clause expressing a bounded event can as well be interpreted as externally imperfective (cf. with *continuous boundedness* presented by Huumo (2010)). This is the case of clauses entailing certain mental processes:

(14) *Liisa   tuns-i   jo   Mati-n,*
     Liisa.NOM   know-PST.3SG   already   Matti-ACC

     kun   hän   läht-i   Espanja-an.
     when   she   go-PST.3SG   Spain-ILL

     'Liisa already knew Matti when she left for Spain.'

Liisa's knowing Matti needs to be interpreted as imperfective in relation with her leaving for Spain, which, in contrast, is interpreted as perfective. Nevertheless, the object, Matti, of the verb *tunsi* 'knew' is in the accusative. The boundedness of mental processes of this kind can be regarded to be both aspectual and quantificational (see also Huumo 2010). Because the mental state expressed by the verb *tunsi* 'knew' is durative, not punctual, the event of knowing can be seen – metaphorically speaking – as if it were a surface which can be covered completely or partially (cf. P. Leino 1991: 172–173). Liisa's knowing Matti is here construed as complete (P. Leino 1991: 173) and therefore bounded regardless of the external aspect of the clause.[9] This apparent mismatch of boundedness and external aspect presented in the first interpretation of example (13) and in example (14) suggests that it is bounded-

---

8   This is a simplification but suffices the purposes of this article. External aspect corresponds to what is referred to as viewpoint aspect (e.g. Smith 1997).
9   Liisa's knowing Matti could also be construed as incomplete (with the object in the partitive), but the state of knowing somebody tends to be construed in Finnish as complete even if knowing a person as a state is almost always incomplete. This is however a matter of construal.

ness that has grammaticalized as the partitive–non-partitive variation in a Finnish transitive clause, whereas external aspect has not. External aspect and the internal aspect of the clause (i.e. aspectual boundedness) are however interrelated, which is indicated in the figure by a dashed line.

On the other hand, the verb itself has an inherent meaning related to temporality (see also Comrie 1976: 41–51), which I refer to as *internal aspect of the verb* in Figure 2. In the case of Finnish verbs with a frequentative affix, the process is represented as done in a desultory manner or – as in (15) – as repeated.

(15) *Ensin   Liisa   suostu-tt-el-i*
      first   Liisa.NOM   persuade-CAUS-FREQ-PST.3SG

      Mati-n/Matti-a   lähte-mä-än   ja   men-i
      Matti.ACC/Matti.PAR   leave-INF-ILL   and   go-PST.3SG

      sitten   nukku-ma-an.
      then   sleep-INF-ILL

      'Liisa first persuaded Matti to go (and succeeded) and she then went to bed.'

In (15), the verb *suostutteli* 'persuaded, coaxed' indicates that persuading extended repeatedly over a period of time; therefore, the verb has a durative meaning.[10] The accusative ending on the object, Matti, indicates that the persuasion had the desired result. Thus, in spite of the internal aspect of the verb, the event as a whole is interpreted as bounded. On the other hand, the partitive object reflects unboundedness of the event: the persuasion did not have the desired result. In both cases, the external aspect of the event is to be interpreted as perfective, since the event of persuasion is seen as part of a sequence of events.

Certain verbs, which I shall refer to as *atelic verbs* (commonly labelled irresultatives in Finnish grammars, see e.g. ISK 2004: § 1500), tend to appear in unbounded scenarios. In Finnish, this group of verbs includes a number of verbs of emotion such as *rakastaa* 'to love' (P. Leino 1991: 166):

---

10 Although the meaning of the verb has been lexicalized as 'persuasion', the verb *suostu-**tt-el**-i* entails two derivational affixes: root-**CAUS-FREQ**-PST.3SG. The root *suostu-* means 'to agree' and its causative derivation therefore means 'make (somebody) agree'. Thus, the meaning of the verb *suostutteli* in (15) can be described as 'repeatedly made Matti agree,' i.e. 'persuaded Matti'.

(16) *Mone-t*   *rakast-i-vat*   *Armi Kuusela-a.*
        many-NOM.PL   love-PST-3PL   Armi Kuusela-PAR

        'Many people loved Armi Kuusela.'

The event expressed in (16) is perceived as aspectually unbounded, i.e. irresultative: loving is here seen as an event which does not trigger a change in the object referent. However, Finnish verbs typically interpreted as atelic can also appear in clauses interpreted as aspectually bounded, i.e. resultative (see also Pälsi 2000):

(17) *Lapse-n*   *voi*   *rakasta-a ehjä-ksi.*
        child-ACC   can.PR.3SG   love-INF   whole-TRA

        'You can love your child so that she/he comes a whole person.' (MTV)

In clauses of this type, the boundary is always expressed explicitly: the adverbial *ehjäksi*, which is in the translative, expresses the culmination to which the act of loving leads the child.

A factor that has been overlooked in descriptions of boundedness in Finnish is the construed ability of the subject referent to have an impact on the desired outcome. The verb *hakea* in the sense of 'to fetch' behaves like *ampua* 'to shoot' in (12) and (13). The object is in the non-partitive when the event is resultative (bounded) as in (18) and in the partitive when the event is irresultative (unbounded) as in (19):

(18) *Matti*   *hak-i*   *Liisa-n*   *tarha-sta.*
        Matti.NOM   fetch-PST.3SG   Liisa-ACC   kindergarten-ELA

        'Matti fetched Liisa from kindergarten.'

(19) *Matti*   *yritt-i*   *hake-a*   *Liisa-a*   *tarha-sta.*
        Matti.NOM   try-PST.3SG   fetch-INF   Liisa-PAR   kindergarten-ELA

        'Matti tried to fetch Liisa from kindergarten.'

An important perspective on both the unbounded and bounded interpretation is that the subject (Matti) can control the outcome. He can bring about a change in the object referent's (Liisa's) spatial state. The verb *hakea* is, however, polysemic. It can metaphorically express the object referent's socio-possessive transition, in which case the meaning of the verb is 'to apply for':

(20) *Matti*   *hak-i*   *työ+paikka-a*   *yliopisto-sta.*
      Matti.NOM   fetch-PST.SG3   work+place-PAR   university-ELA

      'Matti applied/was applying for a job at the University.'

As an agentive actor, Matti is able to apply for a job. However, unlike
(18), he is unable to have an impact on the outcome of this application,
in other words, whether the application triggers a socio-possessive tran-
sition. This is why Finnish expresses the act of applying for a job as an
unbounded event even though the action is clearly limited temporally
and can have the perfective interpretation in regards of external aspect.
The unbounded interpretation can be explained by the fact that the agent
is construed to have no power over the outcome of the event which she
or he is involved in. It should be noted that a partitive object is used in
(20) even if Matti got the job that he applied for.

In Finnish, it is the power relations that have been grammaticalized
in transitive clauses such as (20) and materialized as unboundedness
with an object in the partitive. In their analysis of the degree of transi-
tivity, Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252) reach a similar conclusion:
the degree of potency of the agency can be high or low (especially for
Finnish object case marking see also Helasvuo 2003).

The way in which unboundedness is interpreted in (20) does not
constitute a case apart: the same explanation can be applied to other
cases. Thus, (21) resembles (20):

(21) *Matti*   *ott-i*   *yhteyt-tä*   *Liisa-an.*
      Matti.NOM   take-PST.3SG   connection-PAR   Liisa-ILL

      'Matti got/tried to get in touch with Liisa.'

In the expression *ottaa yhteyttä* 'to (try to) contact, to get in touch
with' the noun *yhteys*, which functions as the object for the verb *ottaa*, is
in the partitive. The person that was contacted is realized as an adverbial
with directional meaning (*Liisaan* 'to Liisa'). As such, this construc-
tion, including the partitive object, is an idiomatic and relatively estab-
lished construction (ISK 2004: § 454). Since the contacting person is
usually unable to influence the outcome of the act of contacting (e.g.
by physical mail, telephone or e-mail), the event is understood as
unbounded and the object is in the partitive. This is the case in most
situations of contacting somebody, and this is presumably the reason
for the fact that the expression *ottaa yhteyttä* with a partitive object is

described to be relatively established as in the *Comprehensive Grammar of Finnish* mentioned above.

A simple Google search using the expression *otan yhteyt-tä* 'I will (try to) get in touch' (object in the partitive) vs. *otan yhteyde-n* 'I will get in touch' (object in the accusative) suggests that the construction in which the object is in the partitive is quite established: this construction is approximately 33 times more frequent than the construction in which the object is in the accusative (58,300 / 1,790). However, the non-partitive is also possible. The use of the non-partitive is illustrated by the following example:

(22) *Finnairi-n*   *vuoro*   *AY111*   *Tallinna-an*
      Finnair-GEN   flight.NOM   AY111   Tallinn-ILL

      on   *peru-ttu.*
      be-PRS-3SG   cancel-PASS.PSTPTCP

      'Finnair flight AY111 to Tallinn has been cancelled.'

      Matkustaj-i-a   *pyyde-tään*   *otta-ma-an*
      passenger-PL-PAR   ask-PASS.PRS   take-INF-ILL

      yhteys   *lähtöselvitykse-en.*
      connection.NOM   check.in-ILL

      'Passengers are requested to contact the check-in.' (AIRPORT)

This kind of airport announcement has several functions. First, it announces a cancelled flight and it also requests that passengers behave in a certain way. In addition, the announcement can be regarded as containing a promise that the airline is going to resolve the annoying situation. In order to do this, passengers' cooperation is needed: they have to contact the check-in. Most importantly, the contact is to be executed in a face-to-face situation at the check-in (and not by telephone nor by e-mail). This is why the information is explicitly construed in such a way that the passengers have the power or ability to have an impact on the establishment of the contact.

The following example can be interpreted in a similar way:

(23) *Ote-taan*   *yhteys*   *Pasila-an.*
    take-PASS.PR   contact.NOM   Pasila-ILL

    'Let's establish the contact with Pasila, i.e. back to Pasila.'[11] (PASILA)

Example (23) is a quotation from the speech of a television anchor-person after her interview with the newly elected president Sauli Niinistö in the lobby of Helsinki Music Hall. In this situation, it is the anchorperson who has the power to establish contact with the television studios in Pasila. By saying out loud what she says, she announces to the TV audience that the online interview is over and, in addition to that, she gives a sign to the director of the programme to switch over to the Pasila studio broadcast. Clause in (23) contrues the situation as one in which the anchorperson – together with her colleagues – can control the establishment of the contact with the Pasila studios.

Thus while the use of the non-partitive in the expression *ottaa + yhteys* may be less frequent than the usage of the partitive, it seems that its use is not sporadic. Instead, the alternation of the object case in the expression *ottaa + yhteys* is meaningful and related to the subject referent's ability to have an impact on engendering the desired contact or not. This is relevant to what is to be said about the object case marking of the PDC in the next section.

4. The object case marking of the PDC

The verbs expressing semiotic action compatible with the PDC in the dictionary of the Board of the Finnish Language (*Kielitoimiston sanakirja*, KTS) can be divided into three subcategories depending on the choice of object case (partitive, non-partitive, or either partitive or non-partitive):

PDC type A (partitive object): *anella* 'to beg, to pray', *hoputtaa* 'to urge (in a hurried fashion)', *innostaa* 'to inspire', *kannustaa* 'to encourage', *kehottaa* 'to urge, to invite', *komentaa* 'to command', *kärttää* 'to pester', *käskeä* 'to command', *neuvoa* 'to advise', *penätä* 'to insist, to urge', *pyytää* 'to request, to ask', *rohkaista* 'to encourage', *rukoilla* 'to pray', *vaatia* 'to insist, to demand', *yllyttää* 'to incite, to goad'.

---

11 The passive form in Finnish is used as a first person plural in imperative clauses. The bounded object of clauses of this kind is in the nominative.

PDC type B (non-partitive object): *määrätä* 'to order'.

PDC type C (partitive or non-partitive object): *houkutella* 'to tempt, to talk into', *maanitella* 'to coax', *painostaa* 'to pressure', *suostutella* 'to (try to) persuade, coax', *taivutella* 'to coax, to induce', *viekoitella ~ vikitellä ~ vokotella* (close synonyms) 'to cajole, to inveigle'.[12]

While types A and C contain several verbs, there only seems to be one verb naturally occurring in type B. Furthermore, type C includes verbs expressing non-verbal semiotic action. Such verbs include e.g. *viittilöidä* 'to beckon (frequentatively)', *viittoa* 'to beckon' and *vinkata* 'to beckon [by winking or waving]', which express semiotic gesturing.[13]

The verbs listed above are not exclusively used in the PDC, and in other constructions the case marking patterns are different. I shall return to this topic in section 4.3, where I discuss the overlapping of the PDC with a similar construction. For next sections, I have chosen two frequently used verbs occurring in type A (*käskeä* 'to tell, to command' and *pyytää* 'to ask, to request'), the verbs *suostutella* 'to (try to) persuade, coax' and *viittoa* 'to beckon' of type C, and the only verb occurring in type B (*määrätä* 'to order'). In the remainder of this section, I shall analyze these three construction types through examples from my data: section 4.1 analyzes types A and B, and section 4.2 analyzes type C.

4.1. PDC types A and B

As explained in section 2, the PDC can be considered at the same time representing both projection and causation. The existence of the object in the PDC is linked to the causative nature of the construction. In type A, the object is in the partitive, whereas in type B the object is in the non-partitive. These two types are therefore characterized by the lack of intra-type object case variation. In both types, the case marking is dependent on the interpersonal relations in the extra-linguistic reality and is indifferent to the outcome of the semiotic causation. Thus, the

---

12 The English translations are merely indicative of the meaning of the Finnish verb. It is impossible to translate all of the nuances of the verbs.

13 Other classifications of some of the verbs in categories A, B and C are based on different criteria and seem to focus on the lexical meaning of verbs (e.g. ISK 2004: § 479, Pajunen 2001: 355–356).

traditional tools for interpreting boundedness and unboundedness do no work.

Type A (partitive object) represents directivity occurring in non-institutional symmetrical situations (i.e. requests, pleas, commands, etc.). Type A is a narrative report of interaction in which the person who gives the directive cannot be sure whether the action that is directed at the interlocutor will actually occur, as the receiver of a non-institutional symmetrical directive has the power to control his or her own actions (Lauranto 2013: 163–164, 2015: 39, on commands see also J. Leino 2003: 120–121). A clause with PDC of type A is construed on the basis of this. This is why the object of the PDC is in the partitive and the whole event is construed as unbounded.

The following example illustrates a PDC of this type. It is an excerpt from an online newspaper article featuring the verb *käskeä* 'to command' in the PDC:

(24) *Filippiinien presidentti Rodrigo Duterte ilmoitti Japanin-matkalta palattuaan lopettaneensa kiroilun. Presidentti ilmoitti BBC:n mukaan saaneensa jumalalta uhkavaatimuksen lentokoneessa matkalla Japanista kotiin.*
'After having returned from Japan, the Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte announced that he had stopped cursing. According to the BBC, the President announced that he had received an ultimatum from God in the aircraft when returning back home from Japan.'

*– **Kuulin äänen, joka käski minua lopettamaan kiroilun**, tai muussa tapauksessa lentokone putoaa. Siispä lupasin lopettaa, hän kertoi lento-kentällä toimittajille.*
'**I heard a voice that commanded me to stop cursing**. If I did not, said the voice, the aircraft would fall down. So I promised to stop, he told the reporters at the airport.'

Kuul-i-n	*ääne-n,*	*joka*
hear-PST-1SG	voice-ACC	that.NOM

käsk-i	*minu-a*	*lopetta-ma-an*
command-PST.3SG	I-PAR	stop-INF-ILL

kiroilu-n.		
cursing-ACC (DUTERTE)		

Example (24) is an excerpt from an online newspaper article about the Philippine President Duterte. The fact that God's directive

action was going to reach its goal is clearly indicated in the story: the President promised to do as he was told. In spite of this, the object NP in the PDC is in the partitive. In fact, unboundedness in this example reflects the characteristics of the directivity expressed by a verb *käskeä*, which is indifferent to the outcome of the semiotic causation. Thus, in this context, unboundedness does not imply irresultativity; rather, unboundedness simply expresses the nature of directivity of the reality which the construction represents.

The following example (25) represents an institutional situation, but it is also an example of type A. It contains the verb *pyytää* 'to request', which is a type A directive verb:

(25) ***Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö on pyytänyt ELY-keskuksia selvittämään kuntien valmiuksia vastaanottaa pakolaisia.*** *– – Kirjeen pohjalta kunnanjohtaja kutsui ELY-keskuksen viranhaltijan kertomaan asiakokonaisuudesta kunnan johtoryhmälle maanantaina 5.10.2015.*
'**The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment has requested the (regional) Centres for Economic Development, Transport, and the Environment to find out to what extent municipalities are prepared to receive refugees.** – – Based on the letter, the mayor invited an official of the Centre to inform the municipal board about the situation on Monday, May 5, 2015.'

Ministeriö	*on*	*pyytä-nyt*	*keskuks-i-a*
ministry.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	request-PSTPTCP	centre-PL-PAR

selvittä-mä-än	*kunt-i-en*	*valmiuks-i-a*
find out-INF-ILL	municipality-PL-GEN	readiness-PL-PAR

vastaanotta-a	*pakolais-i-a.*
receive-INF	refugee-PL-PAR

'The Ministry has requested the Centres to find out to what extent municipalities are prepared to receive refugees.' (LOPPI)

According to the text, the request on the part of the Ministry has led to concrete measures. However, the object is in the partitive and, therefore, the event is expressed as unbounded.[14] The verb *pyytää* is a conventionalized lexicalization of directivity in non-institutional symmetrical interaction: the receiver of the directive has the power to control her or his own action.

---

14 In this example, it is theoretically also possible to give a quantificational interpretation to the partitive, i.e. not all of the centres were asked. However, this seems unlikely.

The clause in this example, however, is a description of an institutional asymmetrical interaction. The writer's choice to use the verb *pyytää* in (25) can be regarded to be construal of politeness: the directive act projected in the clause is construed as if the causee were able to control their action.[15]

The directive verb *määrätä* 'to order' in type B (non-partive object) represents directivity in institutional asymmetrical situations. Directivity of this kind is characterized by the fact that it can be *presumed* that the action exposed to the directive given will take place; if not, there will be a juridicial sanction. In institutional situations, the person who gives the directive holds power because this power is based on legal or other regulatory authority. It is therefore natural that there is only one verb occurring in type B: the core characteristics of institutional directivity are always the same, there is no need for further lexical specification. These core characteristics are reflected in the PDC: the object is in the non-partitive and the event expressed by the construction is therefore interpreted as bounded.

Example (26) is an excerpt from an online newspaper article:

(26) ***ELY-keskus määräsi Talvivaaran ennallistamaan kaksi järveä.*** *– – Päätöksen mukaan Talvivaara-yhtiön tulee korjata Ylä-Lumijärvi ja Salminen mahdollisimman hyvin vahinkoa edeltäneeseen tilaan.*
'**ELY Centre [Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment] ordered Talvivaara [a mining company] to restore two lakes.** – – The decision specifies that Talvivaara has to restore Lake Ylä-Lumijärvi and Lake Salminen as close as possible to the state prior to the accident.'

Keskus	*määräs-i*	*Talvivaara-n*
centre.NOM	order-PST.3SG	Talvivaara-ACC

ennallista-ma-an	*kaksi*	*järve-ä.*
restore-INF-ILL	two.NOM	lake-PAR

'The centre ordered Talvivaara to restore two lakes.' (TALVIVAARA)

The end of this text indicates that even though the official body, i.e. the ELY Centre, has made a decision, the action indicated by the directive has not yet unfolded. In addition, there is no guarantee that the action will take place and, therefore, there is no reason to regard the verb *määrätä* as an implicative verb (or the PDC entailing the verb

---

15   I am grateful to Susanna Shore for this observation.

määrätä with the non-partitive object as implicative). Nonetheless, the object of the verb of semiotic causation of the PDC is in the accusative. Thus, boundedness in a PDC with *määrätä* simply indicates the special nature of institutional asymmetrical directivity.

The fact that a PDC with the verb *määrätä* is indeed used to represent institutional asymmetrical directivity is supported by the subject NPs used with this verb in my data. They all refer to institutions. In addition to the ELY Centre, the subjects in the data are *Viisaiden Neuvosto* 'Board of the Wise', *Pekingin kaupunki* 'City of Beijing', *käräjäoikeus* 'district court', and *hovioikeus* 'court of appeal'.

As can be seen, the object case of both the A and B type PDC is independent of semiotic causation expressed in the constructions. These two types merely reflect the nature of directivity – either symmetrical or non-symmetrical + institutional – in interaction, i.e. they focus on representing a generalization of interactants' mutual relations in the world which they represent. Thus the nature of the speech event to be represented is foregrounded in types A and B. Therefore, I call these two types *projection-focused* PDCs.

4.2. PDC type C

Type C represents everyday non-institutional directivity like type A. This type however differs from type A in that its object NP, which functions as the causee, is sometimes in the partitive, sometimes in the non-partitive. In fact, in this type, object marking highlights the outcome of semiotic causation, i.e. the construed ability or power of the causer to have (or not to have) an impact on producing the outcome of the action exposed to semiotic causation. Therefore, type C will be referred to as a *causation-focused* PDC in the sense that in this type the object case directly reflects the causer's ability to exercise impact on the action desired to be executed by the causee.

There are two types of verbs in type C. The first group consists of verbs expressing linguistic action: *houkutella* 'to tempt, to talk into', *maanitella* 'to coax', *painostaa* 'to pressure', *suostutella* 'to (try to) persuade, coax', *taivutella* 'to coax, induce', *viekoitella ~ vikitellä ~ vokotella* (close synonyms) 'to cajole, to inveigle'. The second group comprises verbs expressing non-linguistic semiotic action (*viittilöidä* 'to beckon (frequentatively)', *viittoa* 'to beckon', and *vinkata* 'to beckon [by winking or waving]').

Verbs of this type tend to express durative aspect, as illustrated by the fact that most verbs pertaining to this group include a frequentative derivational suffix (*-el-* : *-ele-* or *-o-*); the only exceptions are the verbs *painostaa* 'to pressure' and *vinkata* 'to beckon [by winking or waving]'. Though the derivational suffix is segmentable from the stem, many of the derived verbs on the list are lexicalizations. For instance, the verb *houkut-el-la* (stem-FREQ-INF) 'to tempt, to talk into' has clearly been derived from the verb *houkutta-a* (stem-INF), but the meaning of the root verb is rather 'to attract, to intice' and does not (have to) refer to semiotic causation like its derivation *houkutella*. Even so, the verb *houkutella* can still be seen as a frequentative in the sense that it still gives the impression of duration in time. In addition, there are also verbs on the list which are clearly derivations containing a durational meaning but seem to lack the root verb, like *maanit-el-la* (stem-FREQ-INF) < ?*maanitta-a* (stem-INF).

In type C, the point of view therefore differs from types A and B. The difference can be depicted by the aspectual windowing of the process represented in the construction (Talmy 2000: 299–300, see also Ojut-kangas 2012: 188–189): in type C, the focus of representation is on the advancement of semiotic action and, therefore, the actual causation process. Object marking correlates with the result of the action: the object case expresses the assumed or acknowledged outcome. Bounded-ness and unboundedness are thus interpreted according to the construed ability of the causer to have an impact on the causee's action (cf. examples (20–23) in section 3.3). Consequently, causation expressed in a clause representing type C with the object in the partitive is interpreted as non-implicative, while the non-partitive object leads to implicative interpretation.

There is actually a frequentative verb among the verbs occuring in type A, too, i.e. *an-el-la* 'to beg, to pray' (beg-FREQ-INF). An interesting question is the difference between *an-**el**-la* of type A and, for example, *suostut-**el**-la* (root-FREQ-INF) 'to (try to) persuade, to coax', a frequentative of type C. It seems to me that the two processes are different by nature, i.e. the same frequentative derivational suffix has been used to shape the meanings of the verbs in different manners. The meaning of the verb *suostutella* 'to (try to) persuade, to coax' (in type C) can be seen pluractional, consisting of a sequence of requests followed by refusals of the person who is being persuaded to do something. Instead, the frequentative affix of the verb *anella* 'to beg, to pray' (in type A) seems to prolong a single act of begging, making it more intense

and bringing up submission by the person who begs. Consequently, the frequentativeness of type C as a tool of windowing indeed opens up a view of a sequence of requests, whereas the frequentativeness of type A is only used to highlight the intensity of the directive act of begging.

Although most verbs occurring in type C are frequentatives, the frequentativity in type C does not express the desultoriness of the event, as is generally the case with frequentative verbs (e.g. *luin kirja-n* (read-PST-1SG book-ACC) 'I read a/the book' vs. *lue-skel-i-n kirja-a* (read-FREQ-PST-1SG book-PAR) 'I read a/the book every now then (in a desultory manner)'). PDCs of type C can take either a partitive or a non-partitive object, since the function of frequentativity in a directive verb is to display the continuity of semiotic causation. The outcome of the causation expressed, in turn, is reflected in the choice of the object case:

(27) *Kirja miehille: "**Näin suostuttelet naisesi ottamaan silikonirinnat**"*
     [The rest of the text removed]
      'A book for men: "**This is how you can persuade your woman to have breast implants.**"'

Näin	*suostutt-ele-t*	*naise-si*[16]
this way	persuade-FREQ-2SG	woman-ACC.POSS2

otta-ma-an	*silikoni+rinna-t.*
take-MA-ILL	silicone+breast-NOM.PL (IMPLANTS)

Example (27) is the headline of an internet tabloid-style news item. It presents an instruction that the subject 'you' (i.e. the implied reader) has to follow in order to reach a desired outcome. The object of the directive verb (i.e. the causee) is in the non-partitive. The clause implies that the act of persuading will result in the causee's changing her behavior.

But the same verb can also occur in a construction in which the object is in the partitive. The next excerpt comes from an online newspaper article describing the former Russian president Dmitri Medvedev's visit to Finland:

---

16 The accusative ending -*n* merges with the possessive suffix.

(28)   *Medvedev Suomessa*

Halonen suostutteli Medvedeviä uimaan Itämeressä. *Medvedevillä on näillä näkymin mahdollisuus myös pulahtaa poikkeuksellisen lämpimään Itämereen. – – Presidentit matkaavat Turunmaan saaristossa sijaitsevalle saarelle Kultarannan uudella veneellä.*
– Minä olen varma, että meille tulee mukava meriseikkailu, Halonen sanoi.

'Medvedev in Finland

Halonen persuaded Medvedev to swim in the Baltic Sea. It looks like Medvedev will also have the chance to take a dip in the exceptionally warm Baltic Sea. – – The two presidents will take the new boat of the Kultaranta presidential residence to visit an island in the Turunmaa archipelago.
– I am sure we will have a nice sea adventure, Halonen said.'

Halonen	*suostutt-el-i*	*Medvedevi-ä*
Halonen.NOM	persuade-FREQ-PST.3SG	Medvedev-PAR

ui-ma-an	*Itä+mere-ssä.*
swim-INF-ILL	east+sea-INE (MEDVEDEV)

This article was published during Medvedev's visit to Finland and is based on an interview with (the former Finnish president) President Halonen. Apparently, Halonen told the interviewer that she was planning to visit the Turunmaa archipelago with Medvedev. During the interview, the boat trip had not yet happened. As a result, the outcome of Halonen's act of persuasion is not known, as shown by the object NP, i.e. the causee, of the PDC in the partitive. (However, the English translation fails to give exactly the same picture of the situation as the original clause. The original clause with the object NP in the partitive (*Medvedeviä*) tells that even though Halonen had persuaded Medvedev to swim in the Baltic Sea, the result of her semiotic action was still open for the time being.)

Both of the following examples feature a PDC in which the verb expressing semiotic action is *vinkata* 'to beckon [by winking or waving].' Example (29) is an excerpt from a blog text; (30) comes from a discussion forum. The two examples are different in regard to the boundedness of the event expressed by the clause: in (29) the act of semiotic action is represented in a way that the action does not lead to the desired outcome, whereas in (30) the causee's behavior changes as a result of the semiotic causation.

(29) *Naisten vaunu oli täynnä jo junan saavuttua asemalle. **Vanhempi nainen vinkkasi minua istumaan hänen penkilleen.** Silloin en vielä tiennyt, miten hyvän tarjouksen olin saanut, vaan istuuduin oviaukon eteen latti- alle.*

'The women's carriage was already full when the train arrived at the station. **An older lady beckoned me to sit down on her bench.** At that time I did not realize that this was an excellent offer and I sat down on the floor in front of the door.'

Vanhe-mpi   *nainen*   *vinkkas-i*
old-COMP.NOM   woman.NOM   beckon-PST.3SG

minu-a   *istu-ma-an*   *häne-n*   *penki-lle-en.*
I-PAR   sit-INF-ILL   (s)he-GEN   bench-ALL-POSS3

'An older lady beckoned me to sit down on her bench.' (INDIA)

(30) *– – tulin sisälle ja huomasin, että minun vuoronumeroni oli juuri taulussa. – – numeroni oli 38 no se vaihtui heti kohta 39 enkä ehtinyt. Kunnes numeroni ilmestyi toiseen oveen ja menin sinne. Se ovi oli 7. No en meinannut saada ovea millään auki se oli niin raskas. **Kunnes vastaanottovirkailija – – vinkkasi minut tulemaan toista kautta.***

'– – I entered the room and noticed that my ticket was being called on the screen. – – I had the number 38 but it soon changed to 39 and I didn't make it in time. But then my number appeared above another door and I went there. It was door number 7. Then I had hard time opening the door it was so heavy. **Until the receptionist – – beckoned me to use another entrance.***'

Kunnes   *vastaanottovirkailija*   *vinkkas-i*   *minu-t*
until   receptionist   beckon-PST.3SG   I-ACC

tule-ma-an   *tois-ta*   *kaut-ta.*
come-INF-ILL   other-PAR   way-PAR

'Until the receptionist beckoned me to use another entrance.' (DREAM)

Both are excerpts from a longer narrative. In both examples, the PDC appears in a sequence in which the action part of the narrative unfolds. Therefore, the external aspect of these PDC clauses is perfec- tive. However, one clause is interpreted as unbounded (29) and the other as bounded (30). These examples once again illustrate how boundedness and unboundedness in type C are related to how the writer contrues the causer's ability to succeed in the act that is being projected.

4.3. The PDC with relation to the Caused Motion Construction

In this section I shall briefly discuss the PDC in relation with a similar construction. The clause structure of the following example contains a directive verb with an object NP:

(31) *Matti   pyys-i   minu-t/minu-a   elokuvi-in.*
     Matti.NOM   ask-PST.3SG   I-ACC/I-PAR   movies-ILL

     'Matti asked me to movies.'

The clause in (31) is not an example of the PDC, for it does not entail two processes. In addition to the object (*minut/minua* 'me'), the directive verb takes an NP in the (directional) illative case (*elokuviin* 'to movies'). This example can be seen to represent the *Caused Motion Construction* (CMC) (e.g. *Norman kicked the ball into the room*), introduced by Goldberg (1995: 157–179). One of the subtypes of the CMC comprises communicative acts with verbs such as *ask* and *invite* (e.g. *Sue invited Norman out to her cabin*) (ibid.). There are two interesting questions related to the Finnish CMC comprising a directive verb. First, both the partitive and the non-partitive object is possible as demonstrated in (31). Second, although the CMC and the PDC are often mutually distinguishable, there are instances where it is impossible to say whether the construction represents the PDC or the CMC.

In this context, it is important to bear in mind that the PDC uses a particular infinitive form to represent the action that is exposed to impact. This form has features typical of a verb, but at the same time it is also nominal in the sense that it is in the illative case. This noun-like constituent can also appear in constructions in which its meaning is spatial rather than action-related:

(32) *Matti   pyys-i   minu-t/minu-a   syö-mä-än.*
     Matti.NOM   ask-PST.3SG   I-ACC/I-PAR   eat-INF-ILL

     'Matti asked me to dinner.'

Rather than expressing that Matti requested me to eat, the clause in (32) tells that Matti asked me to a place where dining occurs. Thus, the clause in (32) does not represent the PDC but the CMC, i.e. the same construction as the clause in (31). Many other verbs of PDC type A, such as *innostaa* 'to inspire', *komentaa* 'to command', *käskeä* 'to command', *neuvoa* 'to advise', *vaatia* 'to demand', and *yllyttää* 'to incite, to goad'

behave in a similar manner.[17] When the directive verbs mentioned above are used in this manner, the clause also implies a spatial transition as in (32). However, the construction with the partitive object in (32) represents an interesting overlap of the PDC and the CMC. As indicated above, it can be interpreted as representing the CMC meaning 'Matti asked me to dinner' but it can too be interpreted as a realization of the PDC meaning 'Matti requested me to eat'.

As Pälsi (2000: 218) has pointed out, "the choice between a bounded and an unbounded case is notoriously complicated and subtle and seems to elude any comprehensive description". Although there are many instances which can be explained with boundedness and unboundedness, it seems that in the case of the CMC the partitive object does not necessarily imply irresultativity nor does the non-partitive object necessarily imply resultativity. Nevertheless, this contingency only seems to exist when the verb of the CMC is the verb *pyytää* 'to ask, to request' or another directive verb mentioned above.

However, the interpretation of object case marking is straightforward if the verb of the CMC in example (31) is replaced for *kutsua* 'to invite' or *lähettää* 'to send':

(33) *Matti*   *kutsu-i/lähett-i*   *minu-t*   *elokuvi-in.*
     Matti.NOM   invite-PST.3SG/send-PST.3SG   I-ACC   movies-ILL

     'Matti invited/sent me to movies.'

(34) *Matti*   *kutsu-i/lähett-i*   *minu-a*   *elokuvi-in.*
     Matti.NOM   invite-PST.3SG/send-PST.3SG   I-PAR   movies-ILL

     'Matti invited/sent me to movies.'

In (33), the clause with the non-partitive object (*minut* 'me') is necessarily interpreted as resultative in the sense that the act of invitation or sending reached the culmination point. (The clause does not however imply that I went or will go to movies.) Because the verbs *invite* and *send* express punctual events, not events that (usually) are understood as durative or gradual, the clause with the partitive object (*minua* 'me') expressing irresultativeness as in (34) is quite peculiar. Irresultative

---

17   Pajunen (2001) has analyzed the Finnish argument structure in a large newspaper corpus. According to her, the object of the verb *komentaa* takes the partitive as frequently as the accusative (Pajunen 2001: 358). Pajunen's result may be due to the fact that she might not have separated the different usages of the verb *komentaa* from each other.

reading needs the acts of invitation and sending to be understood as durative. In that case, they had not reached the culmination when something else happened, i.e. the external aspect would be imperfective and the acts of inviting and sending would be interpreted as progressive. Anyways, the behaviour of the verbs *kutsua* 'to invite' and *lähettää* 'to send' suggests that neither is actually a directive verb at all but verbs implying a spatial transition and thus not occuring in the PDC.

5. Recapitulation and conclusion

In the previous section I discussed a similar construction and borderline cases, but the focus of this article is a structure that I refer to as a Projected Directive Construction. The PDC is two-faceted in the sense that it can be seen as a tool of projection and, at the same time, as a causative construction. The term *projection* refers to a representation of a representation and, indeed, the PDC resembles other projection constructions in that it entails two separate verbs expressing two representative processes: the verb of saying or gesturing with its subject, which can together be seen as constituting the projecting part of the construction, and the other verb expressing the act that is being projected. On the other hand, the verb of saying or gesturing of the PDC projects a directive act, and directivity, in turn, belongs, *par excellence*, to the field of causation. Consequently, the PDC lies on the interface between projection and causation.

Typical causative constructions in Finnish, e.g. *Liisa sai Matin lähtemään Espanjaan* 'Liisa got Matti to leave for Spain', express general causation in the sense that they do not display information about the kind of causation implied, i.e. whether the causation is realized by physical or verbal means. The PDC, on the other hand, always expresses semiotic causation, where the causer intends to have an impact on the causee by linguistic or other semiotic means. The special status of the PDC lies on the fact that in addition to projection it is used for expressing causation.

I divided the PDC into three subtypes depending on the choice of object case, as follows:

type A (*pyytää* 'to request'): VERB OF LINGUISTIC ACTION + NP$_{PART}$ + VERB$_{MAAn}$
type B (*määrätä* 'to order'): VERB OF LINGUISTIC ACTION + NP$_{NON-PART}$ + VERB$_{MAAn}$
type C (*suostutella* 'to persuade'): VERB OF SEMIOTIC ACTION + NP$_{PART/NON-PART}$ + VERB$_{MAAn}$

Types A and B focus on representing the interpersonal relation between the participants of the semiotic causation being projected. In these cases, object marking is not dependent on the internal aspect of the event. In type A the object is in the partitive irrespective of the outcome of the causation expressed: the clause *pyysin Mattia tulemaan* 'I asked [requested] Matti to come' can imply that Matti came or that he did not. Type A merely reflects the nature of non-institutional symmetrical directivity in everyday interaction, whose defining characteristic is that the person who gives the directive cannot be sure whether the action to which he or she tries to oblige the interlocutor will actually occur, for the receiver of a non-institutional directive has the power to control his or her action. This is reflected in type A as unboundedness.

In type B the object is, in turn, in the non-partitive: *oikeus määräsi Matin maksamaan 1000 euron sakon* 'the court ordered Matti to pay a fine of 1,000 euros'. The choice of the bounded counterpart of object case marking system does not, however, imply that the action desired to be executed by the causee is really fulfilled even though the object is in the non-partitive. As in type A, the object case merely reflects the nature of directivity that type B constructions represent. Institutional asymmetrical directivity entails the presumption of compliance, i.e. institutional directives are normally obeyed even though one has the power not to obey them.

Since types A and B represent a generalization of interactants' mutual relations in the situation being projected, I refer to these two types as *projection-focused* PDCs. They emphasize the semiotic action being projected and not the outcome of the causation involved in the event expressed in a clause.

Type C differs from type A and B in that its object NP can be both in the partitive and in the non-partitive. This arises from the fact that the point of view of type C is intrinsically different from the point of view in types A and B: the focus is now on the advancement of semiotic action and the actual causation process. This is reflected in the fact that most verbs used in type C are frequentatives. In this type, object marking correlates with the result of the action: the object case expresses the assumed or acknowledged outcome. Unlike types A and B, I called type C *causation-focused* PDCs since the object case directly reflects the construed ability of the causer to exercise impact on the action desired to be executed by the causee.

The article also indicates that the same verb, e.g. *pyytää* 'to request, to ask', can be used in different constructions, i.e. in the PDC as well

as in the CMC. However, the choice between the partitive and the non-partitive contrues different meanings depending on the construction in which the verb is used. The meanings construed in the PDC by object marking are related either (1) to the causer's ability to have an impact on the action desired to be executed by the causee (type C) or (2) to the nature of the directivity which the PDC represents (types A and B). In order to understand the object marking in the PDC, one has to be aware of the two-faceted nature of the construction as a causative construction and a clause structure used for projection.

Acknowledgements

Address:
Yrjö Lauranto
Suomen kieli, PL 3
00014 Helsingin yliopisto
E-mail: yrjo.lauranto@helsinki.fi

Abbreviations

ABL – ablative 'from', ACC – accusative, ALL – allative 'to', CAUS – causative (derivational suffix), COMP – comparative, COND – conditional, ELA – elative 'from', FREQ – frequentative (derivational suffix), GEN – genitive, ILL – illative 'to, into', INE – inessive 'in', INF – infinitive, NEC – verb of necessity like *must*, NEG – negative verb, NOM – nominative, PAR – partitive, PASS – passive, PL – plural, POSS2 – 2nd person singular possessive suffix, POSS3 – 3rd person (singular or plural) possessive suffix, PRPTCP – non-past (present) participle, PR – non-past (present and future), PST – simple past, PSTPTCP – past participle, TRA – translative ('change in the state'), 1SG – 1st person singular, 2SG – 2nd person singular, 3PL – 3rd person plural, 3SG – 3rd person singular

Data

AIRPORT = An airport announcement at the Helsinki Vantaa Airport 21.1.2016.
IMPLANTS = <http://www.stara.fi/2015/05/15/kirja-miehille-nain-suostuttelet-naisesi-ottamaan-silikonirinnat/>, accessed on 9.6.2016.
INDIA = <https://sites.google.com/site/maailmanmatka/intia2>, accessed on 9.6.2016.
DREAM = <http://keskustelu.anna.fi/threads/hiusten-peseminen-jaei-kesken-tyoetar-jous-puhelimessa-laeaekaerinvuoronumero.1811655/>, accessed on 9.6.2016.
DUTERTE = <http://www.iltasanomat.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000001941220.html>, accessed on 28.11.2016.
LOPPI = Muistio kunnanhallituksen kokouksesta [memorandum produced by the Loppi city council] 19.10.2015.
MEDVEDEV = <http://m.iltalehti.fi/uutiset/2010072012068005_uu.shtml>, accessed on 9.6.2016.
MTV = <http://www.katsomo.fi/#!/jakso/33001003/huomenta-suomi/474928/anne-kukkohovi-lapsen-voi-rakastaa-ehjaksi>, accessed on 21.11.2016.
PASILA = Presidential election TV programme 5.2.2012.
TALVIVAARA = <http://www.iltalehti.fi/uutiset/2015121120816972_uu.shtml>, accessed on 9.6.2016.
TEKES = <http://www.talouselama.fi/uutiset/tekes-maanittelee-yrityksia-palk-kaamaan-microsoftilta-vapautuvia-ict-ammattilaisia-lupaa-maksaa-puolet-palkoista-3485242>, accessed on 9.6.2016.

References

Austin, J. L. (1962) *How to do things with words*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
Comrie, Bernard (1976) *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Dahl, Östen and Fred Karlsson (1976) "Verbien aspektit ja objektin sijanmerkintä: vertailua suomen ja venäjän välillä". *Sananjalka* 18, 28–52.
Dixon, Robert M.W. (2000) "A typology of causatives: form, syntax and meaning". In R.M.W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, eds. *Changing valency: case studies in transitivity*, 30–83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Goldberg, Adele (1995) *Construction grammar*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
Grace, George W. (1987) *The linguistic construction of reality*. New York: Croom Helm.
Foley, William A. (1991) *The Yimas language of Papua New Guinea*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Hakulinen, Auli and Fred Karlsson (1975) "Suomen akkusatiivi: funktionaalinen näkökulma". *Virittäjä* 79, 339–363.
Hakulinen, Auli and Fred Karlsson (1979) *Nykysuomen lauseoppia*. (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia, 350.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1987) "Language and the order of nature". In N. Fabb, D. Attridge, A Durant, and C. MacCabe, eds. *The linguistic of writing: arguments between language and literature*, 135–154. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1994 [1985]) *An introduction to functional grammar*. 2nd ed. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen (2014) *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar*. 4th ed. London: Routledge.

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*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Helasvuo, Marja-Liisa (2003) "What can intonation tell us about constituency?". In Toshihide Nakayama, Tsuyoshi Ono, and Hongyin Tao, eds. *Approaches to argument structure: theoretical and methodological considerations*, 20–35. (Santa Barbara Working Papers of Linguistics.) Santa Barbara: University of California.

Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A. Thompson (1980) "Transitivity in grammar and discourse". *Language* 56, 251–299.

Huumo, Tuomas (2010) "Nominal aspect, quantity, and time: the case of the Finnish object". *Journal of Linguistics* 46, 1, 83–125.

ISK 2004 = Hakulinen, Auli, Maria Vilkuna, Riitta Korhonen, Vesa Koivisto, Tarja Riitta Heinonen, and Irja Alho (2004) *Iso suomen kielioppi*. (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia, 950.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Itkonen, Terho (1974) "Ergatiivisuutta suomessa". *Virittäjä* 78, 4, 379–398.

Itkonen, Terho (1975) "Ergatiivisuutta suomessa II". *Virittäjä* 79, 1, 3–65.

Itkonen, Terho (1976) "Erään sijamuodon ongelmia". *Opuscula Instituti linguae Fennicae, Universitas Helsingiensis* 53, 173–217.

Kalliokoski, Jyrki (2005) "Referointi ja moniäänisyys kielenkäytön ilmiöinä". In Markku Haakana and Jyrki Kalliokoski, eds. *Referointi ja moniäänisyys*, 9–43. (Tietolipas, 206.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Karlsson, Fred (1999) *Finnish: an essential grammar*. New York: Routledge.

Karttunen, Lauri (1971) "Implicative verbs". *Language* 47, 340–358.

KTS = *Kielitoimiston sanakirja*. Helsinki: Kotimaisten kielten keskus and Kielikone Oy.

Kuiri, Kaija (1984) *Referointi Kainuun ja Pohjois-Karjalan murteissa*. (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia, 405.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Larjavaara, Matti (1991) "Aspektuaalisen objektin synty". *Virittäjä* 95, 372–408.

Lauranto, Yrjö (2013) "Suomen kielen imperatiivi – yksi paradigma, kaksi systeemiä". *Virittäjä* 117, 2, 157–201.

Lauranto, Yrjö (2014) *Imperatiivi, KÄSKY, direktiivi. Arkikeskustelun vaihtokauppakielioppia*. (Suomi, 205.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Lauranto, Yrjö (2015) *Direktiivisyyden rajoja: Suomen kielen vaihtokauppasyntaksia*. Helsinki: Humanistinen tiedekunta. Available online at <https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/154288>. Accessed on 21.04.2017.

Leech, Geoffrey N. and Michael Short (2007) *Style in fiction: a linguistic introduction to English fictional prose*. 2nd edition. London: Pearson Education.

Lehtinen, Tapani (2007) *Kielen vuosituhannet. Suomen kielen kehitys kantauralista varhaissuomeen*. (Tietolipas, 215.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Leino, Jaakko (2003) *Antaa sen muuttua. Suomen kielen permissiivirakenne ja sen kehitys*. (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia, 900.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Leino, Jaakko (2005) "Frames, profiles and constructions. Two collaborating CGs meet the Finnish Permissive Construction". In Jan-Ola Östman and Mirjam Fried, eds. *Construction grammar(s): cognitive grounding and theoretical extensions,* 89–120. (Constructional approaches to language, 3.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Leino, Jaakko (2015) "The syntactic and semantic history of the Finnish genitive subject". In Marja-Liisa Helasvuo and Tuomas Huumo, eds. *Subjects in constructions – canonical and non-canonical*, 231–251. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Leino, Pentti (1991) *Lauseet ja tilanteet. Suomen objektin ongelmia.* (Suomi, 160.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

López Álvarez, Elena (2005) "Performative speech act verbs in present day English". In *Interlingüística* 16, 2, 685–702.

Ojutkangas, Krista (2012) "Ikkuna ulos. Suomen *ulko*-grammit ja huomion ikkunoiminen". *Virittäjä* 116, 2, 169–197.

Pajunen, Anneli (2001) *Argumenttirakenne. Asiaintilojen luokitus ja verbien käyttäytyminen suomen kielessä.* (Suomi,187.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Penttilä, Aarni (1963) *Suomen kielioppi*. Porvoo: WSOY.

Pollard, Carl and Sag, Ivan (1994) *Information-based syntax and semantics I: fundamentals.* (CSLI Lecture Notes Series, 13.) Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

Pälsi, Marja (2000) "Finnish resultative sentences". *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 13, 211–250.

Setälä, E. N. (1891) *Suomen kielen lauseoppi.* 3rd rev ed. Helsinki.

Shibatani, Masayoshi (1976) "The grammar of causative constructions: a conspectus". In Masayoshi Shibatani, ed. *Syntax and semantics 6: the grammar of causative constructions*. New York: Academic Press.

Shibatani, Masayoshi (2001) "Introduction: Some basic issues in the grammar of causation". In Masayoshi Shibatani, ed. *The grammar of causation and interpersonal manipulation*, 1–22. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Shore, Susanna (2005) "Referoinnista projektioon ja metarepresentaatioon". In Markku Haakana and Jyrki Kalliokoski, eds. *Referointi ja moniäänisyys*, 44–82. (Tietolipas, 206.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Smith, Carlota (1997) *The parameter of aspect.* 2nd ed. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Song, Jae Jung (2015) "Causatives". In Lucien Brown and Jaehoon Yeon, eds. *The handbook of Korean linguistics*, 98–115. Oxford: John Wiley.

Talmy, Leonard (2000) *Toward a cognitive semantics. Vol. 1: Concept structuring systems.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Tommola, Hannu (1987) "Aspektuaalisuudesta ja objektista". *Virittäjä* 91, 64–70.

Vilkuna, Maria (2000) *Suomen lauseopin perusteet.* 2nd ed. Helsinki: Edita.

Wyngaerd, Guido Vanden (2005) "The simple tense". In Marcel Den Dikken and Christina M. Tortora, eds. *The function of function words and functional categories*, 187–216. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kokkuvõte. Yrjö Lauranto: Projitseeritud direktiivsed konstruktsioonid ja objekti käände markeerimine soome keeles. Artiklis käsitletakse objekti käänet soome keele projitseeritud direktiivses konstruktsioonis (PDK), nt *Liisa pyysi Matti-a lähte-mä-än* 'Liisa palus Matit ära minna'. PDK võib jagada kolme alltüüpi. Tüüp A sisaldab verbe nagu *pyytää* 'paluda', mis nõuavad partitiivobjekti, sõltumata tegevuse tulemusest. Tüüp B verbid nagu *määrätä* 'käskida' nõuavad akusatiivobjekti, sõltumata tegevuse tulemuslikkusest. Tüüpi C kuuluvad verbid nagu *suostutella* 'veenda', mis võivad võtta nii partitiivse kui akusatiivse objekti, sõltuvalt lausega väljendatud semiootilise põhjustatuse tulemusest. Kolme alltüübi käändemarkeering peegeldab konstruktsiooni kahetist olemust: ühelt poolt kasutatakse konstruktsiooni kõne vahendamiseks, teiselt poolt on tegemist kausatiivse konstruktsiooniga. Seega ei piisa PDK objekti käändevahelduse selgitamiseks vaid piiritletuse mõistest.

Võtmesõnad: objekti käände markeerimine, piiritletus, akusatiiv, partitiiv, kõne ja mõtete vahendamine, projitseerimine, kausatiivne konstruktsioon, soome keel