

**Partitive Constructions and Partitive Elements
Within and Across Language Borders in Europe**

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‘I Am Also Found on Facebook’ Locuphoric ‘Find’-Based Strategies in Finnish Internet Corpora

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Abstract Allophoric forms of the Finnish verb *löytyä* ‘to be found’ are used in locational constructions similarly to copulas, while the verb’s locuphoric forms have been claimed to be marginal. This essay confirms this claim by looking into Internet corpora and provides a qualitative overview of the types of utterances found in the sample, arguing that locuphoric forms may as well convey a locational function in certain contexts. The article also suggests a parallel between locuphoric ‘find’-based strategies and competing impersonal constructions containing the verb *löytää* ‘to find’, discussing the role of partitive-marked object arguments.

Keywords Locational. Existential. Partitivity. Corpus linguistics. Invenitive strategies.

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1 Introduction

Basile and Ivaska (2021) have argued that the Finnish intransitive verb *löytyä* 'to be found' is used similarly to the locational copula *olla* 'to be'. Constructions containing this verb are highly specialised in that they often only convey a locational function, without involving the verb's original meaning FIND nor any kind of posture. For these reasons, they too can be considered copulas.¹

- (1a) *Puhelinnumerot löytyvät jäsenkirjeestä.*
 phone.number.NOM.PL find.MM.3PL newsletter.ELA
 'The phone numbers are (found) in the newsletter.'
 (Basile, Ivaska 2021, 25)

- (1b) *Poikkeuksiakin ammattikunnasta löytyy*
 exception.PL.PART.ENCL profession.ELA find.MM.3SG
 'There are also exceptions in the profession.'
 (Basile, Ivaska 2021, 33)

Like *olla* 'to be', *löytyä* triggers the nominative-partitive alternation in its first argument, also called the *locatum*, which is the subject or located element (Haspelmath 2022). Partitive subject-like arguments are typical of the Finnish Existential construction, which usually also features the lack of agreement between verb and NP (cf. 1a, 1b). Because of this lack of agreement, *löytyä* 'to be found' naturally appears almost always indexed for third persons. However, in their study, Basile and Ivaska also found one instance in which this verb is indexed for second person singular (2).

- (2) *Mistä löyd-y-t prinsini, 44-50-v. fiksu,*
 where.ELA find-MM-2SG prince.1PX 44-50-y.o. smart
pitkähkö, ulkonäkö ok, pilke silmäkulmassa,
 tallish appearance ok twinkle eye.corner.INE
lenkkeilet ja tanssit
 jog.2SG and dance.2SG
 'Where are you my prince, 44 to 50 years old, smart, tallish, good-looking,
 with a twinkle in your eye, you who like to jog and dance.'
 (Basile, Ivaska 2021, 18)

¹ I would like to thank Petra Sleeman and the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions that substantially improved the quality of this essay.

They then argued that the example above is marginal and used only in certain contexts. But how marginal is it? Within the scope of this essay, I will try to answer this question, as well as to determine the semantic and pragmatic constraints under which this verb appears indexed for locuphoric forms (i.e., speaker and addressee forms, see Haspelmath 2013). I will show that most uses of locuphoric forms of the verb *löytyä* pertain to an Internet environment. These strategies are used to advertise the Internet presence of users on various platforms. I will also discuss other uses that do not necessarily refer to the Internet environment but are nevertheless not common in everyday speech (Juha-Matti Aronen, p.c., among others). After an overview of the relevant literature, including Basile and Ivaska (2021), in Section 2, I define the material and methods of the research at hand in Section 3. Section 4 presents the results and provides an analysis of the material. In Section 5, I discuss the results and, finally, Section 6 concludes the article and mentions some future research possibilities.

2 Background

The verb *löytyä* 'to be found' is an intransitive derived from the verb *löytää* 'to find' through the deverbal morpheme *-U-* (realising as *-u/y-* following vowel harmony), which has been argued to have several functions, such as automative, passive, and reflexive (Kulonen-Korhonen 1985; VISK § 335). For this morpheme, I use the term "middle marker" (Kemmer 1993, 41; Zúñiga, Kittilä 2019, 168; Inglese 2022; 2023), which conveniently subsumes its different functions. It is also to be considered that locuphoric forms of the verb *löytyä* do indeed retain their meaning FIND more often than the verb's allomorphic forms (third persons, see Dahl 2000; Haspelmath 2013; cf. "aliophoric" [Haspelmath 2020]), hence the middle markers they employ often express a passive function. This matter should however be further investigated by contrasting middle-marked forms of verbs with a root meaning FIND with unmarked ones (e.g., *löytää* 'to find'). The latter forms are arguably far more common in everyday speech but, for reasons of space and scope, I focus on the former and sketch a brief analysis of one of the possible competing constructions at the end of the article. Although the essay at hand does not analyse 'find'-based strategies from a cross-linguistic perspective, it is fundamental to bear in mind that these strategies are indeed used in other European languages for a variety of functions, especially to convey locational meaning (e.g., Italian *trovarsi* find.MM 'be located', Russian *nachodit'sya* find.MM 'be located'), and that they exhibit different usage patterns compared to Finnish when it comes to the

acceptability of allophoric versus locuphoric forms (Basile 2023).² The reasons why there exists this degree of variation are perhaps of a diachronic nature.

2.1 Locational Constructions

Locational constructions are forms of intransitive predication (Stassen 1997). They also fall within the concepts “non-verbal predication” (Hengeveld 1992; Roy 2013) and “copular clauses” (Declerck 1988; Mikkelsen 2011). An overview of these constructions is found in Haspelmath (2022), who distinguishes two main types: “predlocative constructions” and “existential constructions”. These two construction types involve two arguments, a located element and a location, which are linked by a stative linking element called a copula (Haspelmath 2022). Predlocative constructions (e.g., ‘The beer is in the fridge’) predicate about a *locatum* (also called “figure” [Talmy 2000; Koch 2012; Creissels 2014] or “pivot” [Milsark 1977; Bentley, Ciconte, Cruschina 2013]) which is represented by a usually definite referent (‘the beer’) that is said to be in a location expressed by a locative phrase (‘in the fridge’) by means of a copula (‘is’). In existential constructions (e.g., ‘There are beers in the fridge’), the *locatum* is instead also called the *existent*, and represents an indefinite and discourse-new referent (‘beers’). Existential constructions can be additionally marked for word order (see also Creissels 2019) or, in the case of English, expressed by an expletive followed by a copula (‘there are’). Both predlocative and existential constructions express a locational function and feature an overt locative phrase.

In the Finnish tradition, the prototypical Existential construction features a clause-initial locative adverbial, as well as no verbal agreement (such as in French *Il y a des hommes* ‘There are men’, where the existential copula is marked for singular and the existent *des hommes* is a partitive construction), and a discourse-new subject-like referent whose existence is being predicated (Hakanen 1972; VISK § 893; Huomo 2003). The subject-like referent has also been called an *e-NP* (existential Noun Phrase) because it does not satisfy the typical criteria assigned to subjecthood: for example, it is often marked for partitive case (Huomo, Helasvuo 2015). One problem with the Finnish traditional definition of Existential construction is that it is often similar to structures that have been called “presentationals” (Gast, Haas 2011), which can also feature partitive-marked arguments that

² Outside of Europe, ‘find’-based locational strategies have been found in, e.g., Tagalog and some Mande languages (Basile 2023). A cross-linguistic study is however needed to assess the productivity of such constructions.

do have the function of introducing new referents but typically do not express locational meaning. This happens because Finnish grammarians also allow for other (intransitive) 'existential verbs' to be used in the Finnish Existential construction, verbs that do not have a locational function. Such verbs are, e.g., *tulla* 'to come', *juosta* 'to run', *ilmestyä* 'to appear', and many others. Among these, however, the verb *löytyä* 'to be found' is a special case because not only its frequency in the Finnish Existential construction is much higher than the frequency of the rest of the existential verbs (Basile forthcoming), but also because it can express a purely locational function. It hence belongs to what Basile (2023) calls "inventive verbs" ('inventives'). Inventives are a class of verbs that have a root with meaning FIND (from Latin *invenire* 'to find') which becomes semantically bleached and fulfils other grammatical functions. Typically, inventives feature a valency-changing operation and are part of inventive-locational constructions, where they express a locational function without marking a specific posture (like posture verbs such as German *liegen* 'to lie' instead do). Inventives mostly occur in predicative constructions in European languages, but in Finnish (and in Estonian) they frequently appear in existential constructions as well. For this reason, it is often the case that Finnish and Estonian inventive-locational constructions feature partitive-marked existents (or e-NPs, see above). When *löytyä* is instead indexed for locuphoric forms, the pronoun it relates to cannot be marked for partitive case. Given that this verb is an intransitive, the locuphoric pronominal form for which it is indexed, if overt, will be marked for nominative case and constitute the syntactic subject of the clause.

2.2 The Use of *löytyä* as a Locational Copula

Basile and Ivaska (2021) investigate the nominative-partitive alternation of subjects in sentences containing the Finnish verb *löytyä* 'to be found' from a quantitative point of view.³ For subjects it is meant both canonical subjects (nominative-marked, clause-initial NPs that trigger verb agreement) and e-NPs, which can be either nominative-marked clause-final NPs or partitive-marked NPs. In both cases, e-NPs do not trigger verb agreement. When they are partitive-marked, they can occur both in clause-initial and clause-final position and usually suggest an existential reading. The method used in their article

³ The sample used in Basile, Ivaska 2021 is a random sample of 779 sentences taken from the corpus *Kansalliskirjaston lehtikokoelma (KLK)*, made of newspapers and magazines written in contemporary Finnish. Given the synchronic nature of the research, the collection of examples was limited to papers written between the beginning of 1990 and the end of 2000.

is mixed-effect logistic regression (Gries 2015), which consists in a binary (NOM-PART) response variable (subject case marking) explained based on both fixed-effect and random-effect explanatory variables. They find that several variables have a statistically significant effect on nominative-partitive alternation, such as the NP's number in correlation with whether it is a count noun or not, and word order in correlation with verb agreement. Verbal tense also showed statistical significance – this is particularly interesting since past tenses, often encoding perfective aspects, increase the likelihood of the verb *löytyä* preserving its original meaning FIND. The examples analysed are almost all indexed for allophoric forms, and the only example indexed for a locuphoric form is justified as being marginal. The example in question is taken into consideration since it interestingly seemed to convey a locational function, although no nominative-partitive alternation occurred. Basile and Ivaska (2021, 35) generally conclude that allophoric forms of the verb *löytyä* indeed function as copulas, and that semantic bleaching plays a role in this. As we see from the analysis below, locuphoric forms of the verb *löytyä* can also be considered as copulas, in that they too undergo semantic bleaching to some extent. This feature comes into play especially when considering the uses of *löytyä* to mark permanent versus temporary location.

3 Material and Method

The material used in the research at hand is taken from the corpus Finnish Web 2014 (fiTenTen2014), a Finnish corpus consisting of various text types taken from the web. It is a large corpus that contains ca. 1.7 billion tokens and ca. 127 million sentences. I accessed the corpus through the platform Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), where I performed a simple search of all the affirmative, negative, and interrogative forms of the verb *löytyä* 'to be found' when indexed for locuphoric forms (first and second persons, both singular and plural). While in Finnish interrogative forms are obtained by adding the morpheme *-ko/-kö*, negative forms are analytical constructions – e.g., *en löydy* 'I am not to be found' for the first person singular – made of a negation (*en* NEG.1SG) followed by a connegative form (*löydy*). Between the negation and the connegative form it is possible to find several other parts of speech, such as adverbs. However, I only searched for negative constructions that were written subsequently, with no additional language material in between the negative and the connegative form. Additionally, none of the negative-interrogative forms (such as *enkö löydy* 'am I not found') nor past conditional forms (such as *olisin löytynyt* 'I would have been found') yielded any result, so I did not include them in Table 1, which lists all the locuphoric forms used.

Table 1 Locuphoric forms of the verb *löytyä*

	Affirmative	Negative	Interrogative
1SG.PRS	löydyn	en löydy	löydyinkö
1SG.PST	lödyin	en löytynyt	löydyinkö
1SG.CND	löytyisin	en löytyisi	löytyisinkö
2SG.PRS	löydyt	et löydy	löydytkö
2SG.PST	löydyt	et löytynyt	löydyitkö
2SG.CND	löytyisit	et löytyisi	löytyisitkö
1PL.PRS	löydymme	emme löydy	löydymmekö
1PL.PST	löydymme	emme löytäneet	löydymmekö
1PL.CND	löytyisimme	emme löytyisi	löytyisimmekö
2PL.PRS	löydytte	ette löydy	löydyttekö
2PL.PST	löydytte	ette löytäneet	löydyttekö
2PL.CND	löytyisitte	ette löytyisi	löytyisittekö

I provide a descriptive statistical outlook of the search results in Section 4. The sentences in the sample are then analysed from a qualitative perspective.

4 Results

The corpus search yielded a total of 540 occurrences containing the verb *löytyä* in locuphoric forms. After manually going through all the occurrences, 91 were discarded for various reasons, such as:

- substantival uses of *löydyt* (a misspelled version of *löydöt* ‘findings, bargains’, and a homograph of *löytyä* when indexed for 2SG);
- transitive uses of *löytyä*, likely due to misspelling *löytää* ‘to find’;
- misspelled forms of *löytyy*, i.e., *find.MM.3SG*.

When we are dealing with Internet texts, we must account for what has also been called “bad language” (Eisenstein 2013). Posts on social media and forums are not post-edited and users will often misspell words for several reasons (Drouin, Davis 2009). Additionally, users may be second language learners or unbalanced bilinguals (for research on L2 Finnish, see, e.g., Ivaska [2010; 2011], who found that learners of Finnish tend to mix sentence types when producing complex constructions such as the Existential construction in writing). The final sample amounts to 449 sentences [fig. 1].

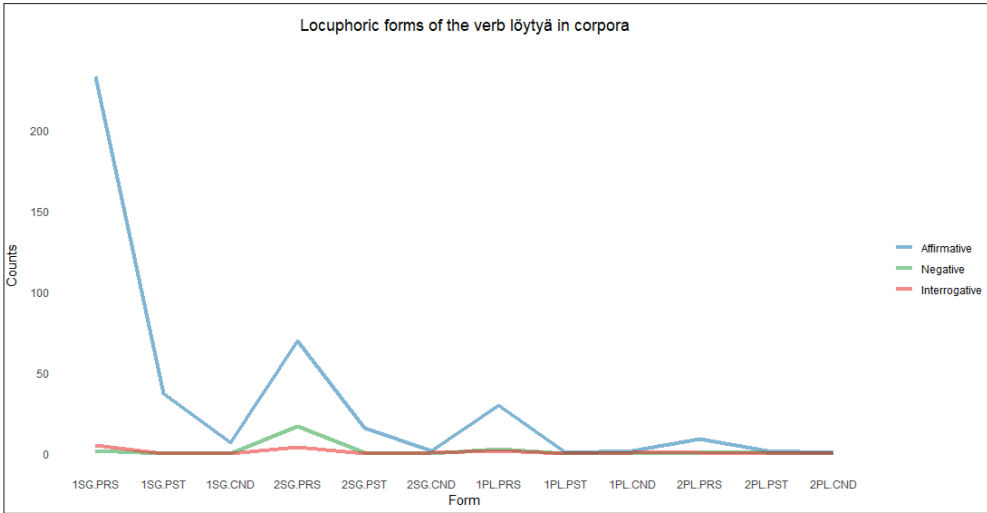


Figure 1 Results of the corpus search. Realised with RStudio by the author

Figure 1 confirms the claim by Basile and Ivaska (2021) according to which *löytyä* is rarely indexed for second person singular and, by extension, for all its locuphoric forms. In fact, locuphoric forms occur 449 times out of a total of ca. 1.2 million occurrences of the verb *löytyä* in the whole corpus. By comparison, performing a simple search of the allophoric form *löytyy* within the same corpus yields a total of 613,650 occurrences. The results show that the most common locuphoric form is the first person singular in the present tense, indicative mood. In the following subsections, I analyse the main functional characteristics of the sentences found in my sample from a qualitative point of view.

4.1 Self-Advertisement in Internet Contexts

Most occurrences of the verb *löytyä* with locuphoric forms are indexed for first person singular (284 sentences, 63.25%). Some marginal instances with other locuphoric forms, such as second persons, are discussed below, but it is to be kept in mind that there is no big difference in use when it comes to grammatical number. In general, people tend to frequently talk about themselves and index most verbs for first person singular. However, the reasons why it is also the case with locuphoric forms of *löytyä* is that the first person singular is mainly used in forum environments and social media, where speakers advertise their presence on other websites or platforms (3).

- (3) **Löydyn** *myös* *Facebookista*
 find.MM.1SG also Facebook.ELA
 'I am also found on Facebook. / You can also find me on Facebook.'

The speakers also use this strategy to make their usernames available and clear to their interlocutors and, through the Internet forum format, to the rest of the community. In these cases, the first singular form is accompanied by an adessive-marked NP such as *nimi* 'name', *nimimerkki* 'pseudonym', *tunnus* 'username' that specifies the users' Internet identity. The main pragmatic intent of this construction is made explicit in examples such as (4), where a verbless relative construction (*että...*) has the clearly conative function of wanting the addressee to add the speaker to their contact list.

- (4) **Löydyn** *skypestä* *edelleen* *samalla* *vanhalla* *nimellä*
 find.MM.1SG Skype.ELA still same.ADE old.ADE name.ADE
perneri, *että* *sinne* *vaan* *kaikki* *vanhat*
 USER CONJ there.ILL EMPH all old.PL
ja *uudet*
 and new.PL
 'I am to be found on Skype still under the same old name perneri, (I would like) all old and new people (to add me) there.'

In some examples, the difference between the speakers' real and Internet identity is made more evident. In (5), the NP containing the username is used with the postposition *taka-* 'behind' instead of being marked for adessive case like in (4). The same postposition can be used in presentational constructions such as (6), where the speaker's username is, however, not mentioned.

- (5) *Eli* *instagrammista* **löydyn** *niinkin* *tutun*
 that.is Instagram.ELA find.MM.1SG as.well familiar.GEN
nimimerkin *kuin* *partfour* *takaa.*
 pseudonym.GEN as user behind.ELA
 'So, I am also found on Instagram behind the username partfour.'

- (6) *Tämän* *blogin* *takaa* **löydyn** *minä*
 this.GEN blog.GEN behind.ELA find.MM.1SG 1SG
 'The person behind this blog is me.'

These constructions seem to pragmatically imply the permanent presence of the speakers on the Internet. This can be a feature encouraged by the very Internet environment, in which all usernames

can be considered to be available at all times, even when the person they refer to is not logged into the platform. This strategy is also employed with plural first persons, while second persons are mostly used to confirm to other users about their presence in a certain list or group, most likely on social media (7).

(7a) **Löydyt** jo suosikeistani!
find.MM.2SG already favourite.PL.ELA.1PX
'You are already among my favourites / in my favourites list!'

(7b) **Löydyt** kuitenkin edelleen sieltä tykkäjien joukosta.
find.MM.2SG anyway still there.ABL liker.PL.GEN group.ELA
'Anyway, you are still in the list of likers.'

4.2 Permanent Versus Temporary Location

According to Haspelmath (2022, 6), German uses two different strategies in existential constructions to mark whether a referent is permanently located at a certain location or only temporarily (*es gibt* lit. 'it gives' marks permanent location, while *stehen* 'to stand' refers to temporary presence). In my sample, different strategies are similarly used to mark these two locational strategies. The difference is, however, that the verb is not lexically differentiated like in German. The first strategy is the one we see in § 4.1, and marks permanent location through lexical devices that pertain to the speakers' Internet presence. The second strategy is characterised by temporal adverbials (8).

(8) **Löydyn** Fastin pisteellä kisojen jälkeen aina.
find.MM.1SG F.GEN point.ABL competition.PL.GEN after always
iltakuuteen asti
evening.six.ILL until
'After the competition, I am to be found at Fast's spot right until six in the evening.'

In this type, the locative phrase marks a real-world location, in which the speaker can be found for a limited time indicated by temporal adverbials like *iltakuuteen asti* 'until 6 in the evening'. The adverb *aina* 'always' also marks the event as recurrent, as does *viikonloppuisin* 'on weekends' in (9).

(9) *Viikonloppuisin löydyn hyvin poikkeuksetta pullon pohjalta.*
weekend.ITER find.MM.1SG very exception.ABE bottle.GEN BOTTOM.ABL
'On the weekends I am always drinking.' (lit. 'found at the bottom of the bottle')

The difference is that while (8) indicates the availability of the speaker, in (9) the location is fictive and metaphorical. The speaker here infers about her drinking habit. In another example, time framing is used as a strategy to communicate the appearance of the speaker in a video, inferring permanent presence within the video, however confined to a certain time interval (10).

- (10) *miehän löydyn TÄSTÄ pätkästä 50 sekunnin kohdilta*
1SG.EMPH find.MM.1SG this.ELA part.ELA 50 second.GEN place.PL.ABL
'I am to be found in THIS snippet at around 50 seconds.'

4.3 Mirative Marking

Mirativity is a linguistic category that expresses information that is surprising or unexpected to both the speaker and the addressee (DeLancey 1997; DeLancey 2001; Hengeveld, Olbertz 2012). Several European languages use 'find'-based strategies to mark mirative events (e.g., 'I found myself on the top of the hill'; 'I found myself thinking about you'), as the verb *löytyä* can also occasionally do (11).

- (11) *löydyn uudelleen ja uudelleen*
find.MM.1SG again and again
pakonomaisesti tunkemassa ruokaa sisälleni
compulsively shove.INF.INE food.PART inside.ALL.1PX
'I find myself over and over again compulsively shoving food in my mouth'

This way of marking one's involuntary involvement in a certain situation is similar to the more common analytical construction *löytää itsensä* 'find oneself', that also encodes mirative meaning (12).

- (12) *Löysin itseni sairaalasta.*
find.PST.1SG self.1PX hospital.ELA
'I found myself at the hospital.'

Like in English and in other European languages (Basile 2023), the mirative strategy can also be used with concrete locations instead of abstract situations and states of mind. It is still debatable whether (13a) can be interpreted as a mirative-marked strategy. The polyfunctionality of the middle marker may also simply suggest a passive-resultative reading, but then again the question arises: why didn't the speaker choose to use a passive construction (e.g., *minut löydettiin* 1SG.ACC find.PASS.PST lit. 'I was found'). On the other hand, it is clear that (13b) does not express a mirative function.

- (13a) *Minulle kerrottiin, että löydyin kadulta*
 1SG.ALL tell.PASS.PST CONJ find.MM.PST.1SG street.ABL
verissäni, josta minut vietiin sairaalaan
 blood.PL.INE.1PX RELP.ELA 1SG.ACC carry.PASS.PST hospital.ILL
ja sen jälkeen mielisairaalaan.
 and it.GEN after mental.hospital.ILL
 'I was told that I was found on the street covered in blood, then carried to the hospital and then to the mental hospital.'

- (13b) *Viime tiistaina meillä oli meidän*
 last Tuesday.ESS 1pl.ADE be.PST.3SG 1SG.GEN
lukion musa-abien konsertti, jossa
 high.school.GEN music-major.PL.GEN concert REL
itse sitte löydyin toisinaan mikin,
 self then find.MM.PST.1SG occasionally microphone.GEN
pianon, kitaran tai basson takaa.
 piano.GEN guitar.GEN or bass.GEN behind.ELA
 'Last Tuesday we had our high school's music majors' concert, in occasion of which I could be found behind the microphone, the piano, the guitar, or the bass.'

While usually used with an relative-marked spatial argument, *löytyä* can occasionally also be used with illative-marked NPs (14a) or verbs in the third infinitive illative form (14b), which expresses movement towards rather than from. Both examples encode a mirative event which is strictly connected to the Internet environment.

- (14a) *Löydyin tekstiin sattumalta ja ilahduin*
 find.MM.PST.1SG text.ILL accidentally and cheer.PST.1SG
että aiheesta käydään vilkasta keskustelua.
 CONJ topic.ELA run.PASS active.PART conversation.PART
 'I accidentally stumbled upon the text and was glad that the topic is being discussed actively.'

- (14b) *hohoo, vasta nyt löydyin*
 INTERJ only now find.MM.PST.1SG
lukemaan sun mahtavia ekosi-huomioita!
 read.INF.ILL 2SG.GE amazing.PL.PART ecodaddy-remark.PL.PART
 'Oh, I am only now reading your amazing eco-daddy remarks!'

Mirative readings are also triggered when, pragmatically, speakers presuppose the high unlikelihood of the situation. While for many other examples it is debatable whether the verb retains its original meaning FIND, (15) seems unambiguously resultative and passive in meaning.

- (15) *Siksi olikin suoranainen ihme,*
 hence be.PST.EMPH absolute miracle
kun sinä löydýt.
 when 2SG find.MM.PST.2SG
 'For this reason it was an absolute miracle when you were found.'

4.4 Other Uses

Among the other sentence types in my sample, I found occurrences of *löytyä* that mark desiderative functions. The literature usually refers to desideratives as morphosyntactic devices that encode volitive modality. Notable is the case of the Japanese bound verbal suffix *-tai*, which conveys the meaning WANT (Izutani 2003). When the suffix *-tai* co-occurs with the nominative marking *-ga* on the NP, we have a desiderative construction. The Finnish multifunctional particle *-pA* is the closest relative to a morphological desiderative marker (VISK § 833-5; for other desiderative constructions in Finnish see VISK § 1659). Together with the conditional mood, it indicates wanting an unlikely event to take place. Similarly, the conditional mood in (16), together with the fundamentally mirative meaning encoded by the verb, marks a desiderative function.

- (16) *jos vaikka joku aamu yllättäisin itseni*
 if though some morning surprise.COND.1SG self.1PX
ja oikeesti löytyisin tuolta lenkkeilemästä
 and really find.MM.COND.1SG there.ABL jog.INF.ELA
klo 7 aamulla. :D
 hour 7 morning.ADE EMOJI
 'If only one morning I could surprise myself and actually be found jogging at 7 am.'

The form *et löydy* 'you are not found' is almost always (15 out of 17 times) used referring to business contexts. This type of utterance communicates the importance of the Internet presence for enterprises (17a,b).

- (17a) *Jos joku etsii vaikkapa autonhuoltoa*
 if someone search.3SG for.example car.maintenance.PART
Jyväskylästä, olet aikailla ulkona pelistä jos
 Jyväskylä.ELA be.2SG pretty.much out.ESS game.ELA if
et löydy
 NEG.2SG find.MM.CONNEG Google.INE
 'If someone is looking for, say, car maintenance services in Jyväskylä, you are going to be pretty much out of the game if you are not to be found on the first page of Google's search results.'

(17b)	<i>eri</i>	<i>yhteisöihin</i>	<i>liittyvästä</i>	<i>kokonaisuudesta</i>	
	various	organisation.PL.ILL	related.ELA	whole.ELA	
	<i>yriytyksen</i>	<i>hakukonenäkyvyydessä</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>kysymys.</i>	
	company.GEN	search.engine.visibility.INE	BE.3SG	question	
	<i>Jos et löydy,</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>ole</i>	<i>olemassa.</i>	
	if NEG.2SG	find.MM.CONNEG	NEG.2SG	be.CONNEG	exist.INF.INE
	‘...it is a matter of the company’s search engine visibility for what concerns various organisations. If you are not to be found, you don’t exist.’				

4.5 Competing Constructions

Since the locuphoric forms of the verb *löytyä* are expectedly marginal, speakers could prefer other constructions when talking about themselves and where they are located or to be found. Instead of using *löytyä*, which features only one argument (the subject of an intransitive clause, or S), competing constructions employ its transitive counterpart *löytää* ‘to find’, which features two arguments (the agent A and the patient P; for reference see, e.g., Haspelmath 2011). P, which corresponds to the object of a transitive verb, can be affected by case marking alternation (accusative-partitive in the case of personal pronouns, genitive-partitive in the case of other nouns), similarly to S (nominative-partitive) when *löytyä* is indexed for allophoric forms (Basile, Ivaska 2021). Competing constructions using *löytää* ‘to find’ may include Impersonal and Impersonal Passive constructions, where A is not expressed and P is susceptible to nominative-partitive alternation. Here, I will only consider locuphoric forms of P. In the Impersonal construction, the first/second person pronoun is followed by the verb indexed for 3SG (e.g., *minut/minua löytää* 1SG. ACC/1SG.PART find.3SG ‘they find me, I am found’), while in the Impersonal Passive construction the only difference is the passive marking *-tAAn/-ttiin* on the verb, with basically no difference in meaning (e.g., *minut/minua löydetään/löydettiin* 1SG.ACC/1SG.PART find.PASS.PRS/find.PASS.PST ‘I am found’). While I do not analyse all the possible variations of these constructions, I will briefly elaborate on two of them, namely the Impersonal constructions *minut löytää* and *minua löytää*, where the first person singular pronoun is indexed respectively for accusative and partitive case.

By performing a simple phrase search within the same corpus used above, I found that the accusative-marked construction *minut löytää* is far more common than its partitive-marked counterpart *minua löytää* (raw frequencies 910/10). It seems like the accusative-marked construction is often used similarly to locuphoric forms of the intransitive *löytyä*, with contexts ranging from Internet environments (18a) to expression of time-framed permanent presence (18b).

- (18a) *Sieltä minut löytää nimellä @evehei.*
 there.ABL 1SG.ACC find.3SG name.ADE USER
 'You can find me / I am to be found by the name @evehei.'
- (18b) *Vapaa-ajalla minut löytää usein koripallokentältä*
 free-time.ADE 1SG.ACC find.3SG often basketball.court.ABL
 'In my free time you can often find me / I am often to be found at the
 basketball court.'

Of the 10 occurrences of *minua löytää*, only 3 are relevant because used impersonally (19).

- (19a) *kyseisillä nimillä minua löytää pahraiten*
 in.question.PL.ADE name.PL.ADE 1SG.PART find.3SG best
 'Ideally, you can find me through the names in question.'
- (19b) *Harvemmin minua löytää kuitenkin valittamasta*
 rarely.COMP 1SG.PART find.3SG anyway.NEG complain.INF.ELA
musiikista mikä huoneessa soi.
 music.ELA RELP room.INE play.3SG
 'It is even rarer that you can find me complaining about the music playing
 in the room.'
- (19c) *Minua löytää DC:stä ja*
 1SG.part find.3SG DC:ELA and
yllä olevasta osoitteesta, Myrskylinnusta.
 above.ADE be.PTCP.ELA address.ELA Myrskylintu.ELA
 'I am to be found in DC and at the address above, Myrskylintu.'

It is interesting to notice that both accusative-marked and partitive-marked Impersonal constructions do not seem to encode mirative events. The Finnish Partitive case is often associated with changes in clause-level aspect, marking indefinite events or events with low control, as happens with certain verbs indicating feelings (e.g., *minua itkettää* 1SG.PART cry.CAUS.3SG 'I feel like crying') where the experiencer is marked for partitive case. In this type of construction there can also be a causer (A) marked for nominative case, rendering the experiencer a sort of P. The fact that low control can be associated with mirative events and that the Partitive can be used to mark this type of events could point toward the suitability of the Finnish Partitive case to mark mirativity in *minua löytää* constructions; however, this is not the case. It is also true that the *minua löytää* construction is too marginal in the sample to draw general conclusions.

5 Discussion

In a similar way to what Basile and Ivaska (2021) do for the allophoric forms of *löytyä*, it can be argued that locuphoric forms of this verb may also function as copulas, since they too can undergo semantic bleaching, at least to some degree. In fact, we saw that many of the sentences found in the corpus have the main function of conveying the permanent presence of the speaker/hearer, often in an Internet environment. Alongside competing constructions that use the verb *löytää* 'to find', which would perhaps constitute a valid alternative, one could expect to find the copula *olla* 'to be' as the most frequent and unmarked way of expressing the same meaning. The additional meaning provided by *löytyä*, that of prompting the addressee to look for the located referent, certainly cannot be ignored, but it is often the case that the main function this verb has is a locational function, similarly to the copula *olla*.

The data indicates that, as Basile and Ivaska (2021) argued, locuphoric forms of *löytyä* are not as productive as allophoric forms, in that the latter are used overall more, more widely, and in a variety of contexts (Basile, Ivaska 2021). This means that the allophoric forms are already established as locational strategies, because they indicate a link between a located referent and a location, just as copulas do. It could be the case that by analogy with allophoric forms of *löytyä*, its locuphoric forms have started spreading to similar functional domains and have hence started conveying locational meanings. We could say, perhaps speculatively, that this is the first step towards an enhanced productivity of locuphoric forms of *löytyä*, thanks to the increased use of its allophoric forms.

We also should not forget that a language is not an isolated system. Finnish is surrounded by Indo-European languages with which it has been in contact for a long time. Of these, two of the arguably more influential languages, Swedish and Russian, similarly present 'find'-based (invenitive) strategies to convey locational meaning (Swedish *att befinna sig* 'to find oneself/be located'; Russian *nachodit'sya* 'to be located'). These strategies are productive, and they might have played a role in helping their Finnish counterpart rise as a locational copula, both in its locuphoric and allophoric forms.

6 Conclusion

This essay discusses locuphoric forms of the Finnish locational copula *löytyä* 'to be found'. The corpus search confirms the claim by Basile and Ivaska (2021) about the marginality of use of these forms, as only about 500 examples were found in a corpus of more than 1 billion tokens. Most occurrences are indexed for first person singular, as speakers tend to refer to themselves in Internet forums and social media, in order to advertise their Internet presence on other platforms. This finding points toward the specificity of use of these forms in certain contexts, while in everyday conversation they are arguably nearly absent and substituted by other 'find'-based strategies or the copula *olla* 'to be'. Locuphoric uses of *löytyä* can also mark mirative events, similarly to analytical 'find'-based constructions such as *löytää itsensä* 'to find oneself'. Moreover, they can mark permanent versus temporary presence of referents at a certain location, as well as desiderative functions. The sample is too small to make claims about the productivity of such verbal forms, especially because they are not common in everyday speech. It is, however, big enough to raise the question about the possible reasons why these forms developed only so marginally, and what the future of this line of research holds. One possible development is a study that contrasts locuphoric forms of *löytyä*, which features a middle marker, with unmarked intransitive constructions featuring the verb *löytää* 'to find'. The preliminary considerations about the spreading by analogy of locational functions from allophoric to locuphoric forms of *löytyä* call for a more detailed diachronic study of the development of *löytyä* as a locational copula in the first place. This development might also be supported by language-contact hypotheses, since the use of 'find'-based strategies in locational constructions seems to be widespread in the languages of Europe, including Swedish and Russian. Furthermore, cross-linguistic evaluations about the productivity of 'find'-based (inventive) strategies are needed. Using cognitive and usage-based frameworks to study such constructions could shed light on whether there exist general tendencies that could explain the development of inherently dynamic verbs with meaning FIND into stative copulas in different languages.

Abbreviations and Notations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABE	abessive
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADE	adessive
ALL	allative
COMP	comparative
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CONNEG	connegative
ELA	elative
EMOJI	emoji
EMPH	emphatic
ENCL	enclitic
ESS	essive
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
INTERJ	interjection
ITER	iterative
MM	middle marker
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
PART	partitive
PASS	passive
PL	plural
PST	past
PTCP	participle
PX	personal suffix
RELP	relative pronoun
SG	singular; USER – username.

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