The Verbs *Work* and *Play* and Their Finnish Equivalents

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Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa tarkastellaan englannin kielen verbejä work ja play ja niiden suomenkielisiä vastineita. Work ja play ovat monimerkityksisiä verbejä, joiden kääntämisessä käytetään kontekstista riippuen eri suomen kielen lekseemejä. Tämän korpuspohjaisen kontrastiivisen tutkielman päätavoitteena on selvittää, minkälaisissa syntaktisissa ja leksikaalisissa ympäristöissä kyseisiä olevat verbit esiintyvät. Tavoitteena on myös kartoittaa, voisivatko verbien syntaktiset ympäristöt ja mahdolliset kollokaatiot auttaa esimerkiksi käänñosohjelmaa sopivan suomenkielisen vastineen valinnassa.

Tutkielman empiirisessä osassa esitellään kontrastiivinen lingvistiikka ja korpuslingvistiikka, joita käytetään tutkimuksen teoreettisena ja metodologisena perustana. Näiden lisäksi esitellään kollokaation käsite ja konekääntömenetelmän avulla. Aluksi tarkastellaan verbien work ja play pääasiallisia merkityksiä ja ominaisuuksia sekä verbien suomenkielisiä vastineita (työskennellä, toimia, liikkua ja työstää; leikkiä, pelata, soittaa ja näytellä) englannin-, suomen- ja kaksikielisten sanakirjojen sekä kielioppiteosten avulla.


Avainsanat: kontrastiivinen lingvistiikka, korpuslingvistiikka, kollokaatio, konekääntäminen
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1 Introduction

The English verb *work* has several different meanings, as illustrated in the following examples taken from *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (2006):

- I started *working* in a recording studio. (*work* 1)
- The drug *works* by increasing levels of serotonin in the brain. (*work* 13)
- Her mouth was *working* in her sleep. (*work* 27)
- *Work* the dough with the palm of your hand until it is very smooth. (*work* 25)

Similarly, the verb *play* has four principal senses, which are exemplified in the following sentences retrieved from the same dictionary as above:

- They *played* in the little garden. (*play* 1)
- Alain was *playing* cards with his friends. (*play* 2)
- Nina *had been playing* the piano. (*play* 11)
- His ambition is to *play* the role of Dracula. (*play* 8)

As the above examples illustrate, both *work* and *play* are polysemes, i.e. “[words] having several or multiple meanings” (The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar). In the Finnish language, different lexemes would be used to express these meanings: *työskennellä*, *toimia*, *liikkua*, *työstää*, *leikkiä*, *pelata*, *soittaa*, and *näytellä*, respectively. Determining the correct translation can be problematic, however, as for example the following translations given by the on-line translation service [www.sunda.fi](http://www.sunda.fi) suggest:

- Minä aloin *työskennellä* äänitysstudiossa.
- ! Lääke *käy* lisäämällä serotonin?n tasoja aivoissa.
- ! Hänen suunsa *toimi* hänen unessaansa.
- ! *Tehkää* taikinaa teidän kätteste kämmenosalla, kunnes se on hyvin sileä.
- ! Ne *näyttelivät* pienessä puutarhassa.
- ! Alain *oli* pelikortit ystäviensä kanssa.
Nina oli soittanut pianoa.

! Hänen kunnianhimonsa näyttelee roolia Draculaa.

The translations show that the program in question does not completely succeed in finding the most suitable equivalents.

This thesis is a corpus-based contrastive study dealing with a theoretical issue in the field of machine translation. The theoretical background for the study is based on the research of the linguists Angus McIntosh, John Sinclair, Rodney Huddleston and Robert Lado. In his article “A Four-Letter Word in Lady Chatterley’s Lover”, McIntosh (1966, 151–164) found that the English verb know and its French equivalents savoir and connaître (which could be translated into Finnish as tietää/osa and tuntea) have different syntactic features, a finding which could be utilized when translating know into French with a computer program, since the syntactical context of the lexeme could be used to determine the appropriate translation. In this study, we will attempt to discover syntactical patterns typical for the different senses of the verbs work and play. John Sinclair (1991) found in his research that the different meanings of a lexeme usually occur in different syntactic and lexical environments; both of these, then – grammar and lexical collocations – are important when drawing up a description of a given lexeme, and looking for lexical patterns will be our second objective.

Each word class has its own characteristics and this is especially true of verbs, and therefore drawing up a list of these characteristics will be important in the descriptions of work and play. Defining these features in terms of semantics, however, tends to be rather vague, and so in order to bring more precision to the task, linguists have formulated clear, syntactical tests that can be used to determine word classes. For example, Huddleston (1988, 27) uses a word’s function, dependents, inflection and lexical morphology as the criteria that place a word in a certain class. Since work and play have such short lexical stems, lexical morphology is of no use in analysing their word class; in similar fashion, the criterion of
function is not very useful with verbs, either. Neither of these will therefore be applied to work and play. Huddleston’s other criteria will nevertheless provide a good starting point for the present study.

With respect to the contrastive analysis concerning work and play and their Finnish counterparts, the methodology used here follows Robert Lado’s classic guidelines for contrastive analysis (1957, 67–74). To start with, all the main meanings of the verbs will be discussed; after that, their Finnish translations will be considered in the same fashion; then, a provisional contrastive analysis will be carried out to establish the similarities and differences between the English and Finnish lexemes. This will then be followed by an investigation of all the occurrences of the verbs work and play in a Finnish-English corpus.

The purpose of this study, then, is to attempt to discover the main structures connected with the verbs work and play, and to present criteria based on these structures that could help a hypothetical translation program to decide on the correct Finnish translation.

As regards the uses of the verbs and the corresponding uses of their Finnish translations, various dictionaries have been consulted. The English dictionaries used are the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (2006), the Cambridge International Dictionary of English (1995) and the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2009), referred to hereafter as the Cobuild, the CIDE and the LDOCE, respectively. The Finnish dictionaries used are Nykysuomen sanakirja (1973), Suuri suomen kielen sanakirja (2004) and Kielitoimiston sanakirja (2006), referred to hereafter as NSS, SSKS and KTSK. Bilingual dictionaries will also be consulted when necessary.

The corpus data for the study has been taken from the Tampere Bilingual Corpus of Finnish and English. The TamBiC Corpus contains roughly two million words and is composed of Finnish and English fiction and non-fiction texts and their translations. (For details, see section 3.3 and the end-references below.)
2 Theoretical and Methodological Background

This chapter provides an overview of the literature on contrastive linguistics and on corpus linguistics, which together form the theoretical and methodological background of the present study. Collocation will also briefly be discussed in its own section and its relevance to the study will be considered. The chapter is organised into four sections: we begin by looking at the history and development of contrastive linguistics and the most recent advances in the field, which are connected to the application of corpus-based approaches and in particular to the use of multilingual computer corpora in contrastive studies; in the second section, the field of machine translation and its connection to corpus-based contrastive studies will briefly be discussed; in the third section, the term collocation will be defined and studies concerned with collocation will be presented; and the fourth section discusses the main features, development, and applications of corpus linguistics.

2.1 Contrastive Linguistics

2.1.1 Definitions

Contrastive linguistics can broadly be defined as “the systematic comparison of two or more languages, with the aim of describing their similarities and differences” (Johansson 2003, 31). It is quite a broad field of study: the research interest may lie on general or on language specific characteristics and language comparison may be conducted as a purely theoretical investigation or with a specific purpose of application in mind (Johansson 2003, 31–32). Not everyone has viewed ‘contrastive linguistics’ as an apt term, however: Fisiak (1981, 1–2) considers the term “unfortunate” and notes that in German the field has been called ‘konfrontative Linguistik’ instead, and in English the terms ‘comparative descriptive
linguistics’ and 'linguistic confrontation’ have also been applied. Fisiak (1981, 2) nonetheless acknowledges that ‘contrastive linguistics’ has become the most frequently used name for these types of studies, and as Altenberg and Granger (2002, 5–6) note, the term contrastive linguistics continues to be favoured increasingly today.

The terms ‘contrastive linguistics’ and ‘contrastive analysis’ also seem occasionally to be used somewhat synonymously in the literature, but contrastive linguistics appears to be the superordinate concept. For example Jørgensen’s (1982, 13) definition of contrastive linguistics includes the notion of contrastive analysis: it is “the linguistic activity that produces and arranges information about corresponding phenomena in two or more languages, plus the succeeding contrastive analysis”. Contrastive analysis, for its part, refers to “[the] comparison of corresponding phenomena in two or more languages which has the purpose of establishing the means to describe the differences and similarities between these languages with regard to the relevant phenomena” (Jørgensen 1982, 13).

Jørgensen (1982, 13) points out that he uses the term ‘language’ very broadly and that it is possible to conduct a contrastive analysis “between two or more varieties of the same “language” (in a narrow sense), between two dialects, between a standard and a regional variety, or between a variety of one “language” and a variety of another, or between two “languages” including analysis of standards, dialects, sociolects and other varieties”. Even whole languages can be compared in a single contrastive analysis, but if every significant aspect of a language and every potential cause of difference between languages is to be studied, the linguist faces the task of comparing whole cultures (which is what Lado did) (Jørgensen 1982, 14). It becomes necessary to place some limits on the project in order to keep it manageable: this may be done by limiting the number of compared languages, by limiting the variation within the chosen language, and by placing the focus of the contrastive analysis only on a specific part of the language (Jørgensen 1982, 14–15).
Other terms that need to be mentioned when discussing contrastive linguistics include ‘equivalence’ and ‘congruence’. These notions are related to the question posed by Johansson (2007, 3): how do we know what to compare? Jørgensen (1982, 14) states that defining what equivalence actually means is one of the most problematic questions in contrastive linguistics, and Altenberg and Granger (2002, 16) remind us that equivalence is always a matter of judgment. Congruity is not a straightforward concept, either, but congruity can be viewed as a surface phenomenon and equivalence as a deep structure phenomenon (Jørgensen 1982, 63).

Jørgensen (1982, 63), who is paraphrasing Krzeszowski, describes congruity as “the relation between two constructions in two languages where the constructions consist of the same number of formations (with similar function in their languages respectively) in the same order”. Equivalence refers to “the relationship between mutually translatable constructions” (Jørgensen 1982, 63). Jørgensen (1982, 63) nevertheless points out that constructions may be equivalent without being congruous, equivalent and congruous, congruous without being equivalent, or neither.

As Altenberg and Granger (2002, 15) state, “[a]ny cross-linguistic comparison presupposes that the compared items are in some sense similar or comparable”. The compared items need to have some sort of a basis of comparison, a tertium comparationis. Identifying a tertium comparationis is not so simple, however, and Altenberg and Granger (2002, 15) state that it is a problem that has been explored by James (1980, 169ff) and Chesterman (1998, 27ff), among others. James (1980, 178) and Chesterman (1998, 37ff) have arrived at the conclusion that relying on translations as a tertium comparationis is a viable solution (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 16). James (1980, 175–178) discusses translational equivalence at length and argues that deep structure identity alone cannot be held as proof of translational equivalence, as has been previously claimed e.g. by Krzeszowski. There are different types of meaning, and deep structure only reflects one of these, the ideational meaning. In James’s
view (1980, 178), “[f]or two sentences from different languages to be translationally
equivalent they must convey the same ideational and interpersonal and textual meanings”.

James’s conclusion (1980, 178) is that “translation equivalence, of this rather rigorously
defined sort, is the best available TC [tertium comparationis] for CA [contrastive analysis]”
(James 1980, 178). Johansson (2007, 3–4) agrees with this conclusion, as he states that “[a]s
translation shows what elements may be associated across languages, it is fruitful to base a
contrastive study on a comparison of original texts and their translations”, though he adds that
an appropriate corpus model needs to be used to control for translation-specific features (more
on different types of corpora in section 2.4).

2.1.2 History and recent developments in contrastive linguistics

To turn to the history of contrastive linguistics as a field of study, Jørgensen (1982, 86) states
that the practice of comparing languages can be said to be as old as linguistics itself. For
example, in Early Contrastive Studies in English (1995) by Krzeszowski, examples dating
back to the Renaissance are provided (Johansson 2007, 1). Fisiak (1981, 1–2) distinguishes
three different types of comparative studies in his account of the history of contrastive
linguistics. Within Comparative Historical Linguistics, the task has been to compare different
stages in the development of a single language, or to draw comparisons between related
languages at a specific stage of development, with the aim of reconstructing a proto-language
(Fisiak 1981, 1). Comparative Typological Linguistics represents another type of linguistic
study, in which languages have been compared as they are used in present time instead of
throughout the times (Fisiak 1981, 1). The languages are then grouped on the basis of the
appearance of one or more features (Fisiak 1981, 1). Thirdly, the type of research which since
the 1940s has been referred to as Contrastive Analysis or Contrastive Study can be
distinguished from the former two: here, a comparison is made between two or more languages to determine their differences and similarities (Fisiak 1981, 1). Fisiak (1981, 1) finally groups the typological and contrastive studies together into Synchronic Comparative Linguistics, since they both aim firstly to compare languages and secondly to contrast and confront them synchronically.

The first published contrastive studies are from the late 19th and early 20th centuries: these include *German and English sounds* by Grandgent (1892), *Elemente der Phonetik des Deutschen, Englischen und Französischen* by Viëtor (1894), and *Petite Phonétique Comparée des Principales Langues Européen* by Passy (1912) (Fisiak 1981, 3). Regardless of these early studies, contrastive linguistics as we know it today is said to have really started in the 1940s, as was already noted above. This was also when it received its current name from Whorf (Fisiak 1981, 3; Jørgensen 1982, 86): “Of even greater importance [than comparative linguistics] for the future technology of thought is what might be called ‘contrastive linguistics’. This plots the outstanding differences among tongues – in grammar, logic, and general analysis of experience” (Whorf 1956, 240).

To still briefly return to the term ‘contrastive analysis’, it is perhaps most strongly associated with the comparative studies which were conducted especially in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s and which had particular pedagogical aims in foreign and second language teaching (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 5). According to Jørgensen (1982, 86–87), Fries was the first one to properly formulate the position adopted by early ‘contrastivists’ and has been quoted by many linguists (e.g. Lado 1957, 1). Fries (1945, 9) expresses his point of view in *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language* as follows: “The most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner.” This statement resulted in the publication of a number of contrastive theses, dissertations,
papers and monographs (Fisiak 1981, 4). Lado published his book *Linguistics Across Cultures* in 1957, and in it, the contrastive method was outlined at length for the first time (Jørgensen 1982, 87). James (1980, 8) considers modern contrastive analysis to have begun with Lado’s book. The results gained through contrastive analysis were expected to prove helpful, if not revolutionary, in language pedagogy.

Contrastive analysis thus raised high expectations in linguists: it was hoped that by comparing similarities and differences especially in phonology and grammar between the mother tongue and the target language it would be possible to explain and even predict problems in foreign and second language learning and thereby improve language teaching (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 5–6; Johansson 2007, 1–2). The great expectations placed on contrastive analysis were not fulfilled in the end, however, because there were several problems with the approach: the main issue was that the process of language learning could not be understood simply by a linguistic study (Johansson 2007, 2). The discipline of contrastive analysis fell into disfavour among linguists doing research with applications in language teaching in mind; instead, their interest shifted towards the new disciplines of error analysis, performance analysis and interlanguage studies (Johansson 2007, 2).

Fisiak (1981, 5–8) argues that much of the criticism that was aimed at contrastive linguistics in general was misconstrued and had to do with the fact that the theoretical and applied approaches of contrastive studies were confused with one another: “[theoretically oriented] works which were not essentially pedagogical were considered to be such, and consequently had to take the blame for the failures of contrastive linguistics, either because they were not designed to attain the goals or because the goals themselves were too ambitious and beyond the reach of even properly constructed contrastive grammars”. Contrastive linguistics as a whole was seen to be a part of applied linguistics (Fisiak 1981, 6). For example, Fisiak (1981, 8) counters the argument that the findings of contrastive linguistics are
not usable as such in the classroom by pointing out that this has never been the intention in the first place: no-one is intent on using the results of theoretical contrastive studies in the classroom. The findings of applied contrastive studies are the ones that could be used, but even they need to be carefully selected, keeping in mind the age of the pupils and their previous knowledge (Fisiak 1981, 8).

Fisiak (1981, 2; 6) thus makes a very clear distinction between theoretical and applied contrastive studies and emphasises the importance of understanding that there are in fact two branches of contrastive linguistics, which are preoccupied with different problems and have different goals. Theoretical studies are concerned with universals: they investigate how a universal category X is realized in languages A and B (Fisiak 1981, 2). Applied studies draw on the results of theoretical studies and the aim is firstly to find out how a universal category X, expressed in language A as Y, finds expression in language B, while considering the consequences for a selected field of application (e.g. teaching or translation), and secondly to determine which features of another language are likely to cause difficulty e.g. for the learner (Fisiak 1981, 2–3).

While the popularity of contrastive analysis waned from the late 1960s onwards in the United States, interest in contrastive linguistics nonetheless remained constant within the European tradition: numerous theoretically oriented projects as well as some pedagogically oriented analyses continued to be produced in Europe, although the on-going research was perhaps overshadowed by the debate about the position, validity and applications of contrastive linguistics (Barlow 2008, 101; Fisiak 1981, 5). Barlow (2008, 101) sees the continued interest in contrastive studies as stemming from the reality of a multilingual Europe. The view was that, in addition to providing applications in language pedagogy, contrastive analysis still had plenty to offer to various other fields, such as translation theory and language typology (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 6). The scope of contrastive studies
broadened in the 1970s and 1980s from microlinguistic contrastive analysis (covering e.g. phonology, grammar and lexis) to macrolinguistic contrastive analysis (text linguistics, discourse analysis) (James 1980, 61 & 98; Johansson 2007, 2). If earlier a typical research question was “What is the tense system of languages X and Y?”, the question could now be “How are the speech acts of apologizing and requesting expressed in languages X and Y?” (Johansson 2007, 2). This brought about a need to base the research on authentic texts, Johansson says (2007, 2). With the help of multilingual corpora, it has become possible to not only study specific structures in the contrasted languages, but also to study their usage in authentic material (Johansson 2007, 6). Multilingual corpora have in Johansson’s assessment (2007, 35) had the most significant impact on lexical research, especially on monolingual studies but increasingly also contrastive studies: this is because lexical patterns are fairly easy to detect in corpora and because there is a demand for new and up-to-date dictionaries. Corpus-based contrastive studies of verbs have been the most numerous: Johansson (2007, 35–36) refers to studies by Aijmer (1998), Simon-Vandenbergen (1998), Altenberg (2002), Gilquin (2000/2001), Oksefjell Ebeling (2003), and Viberg (1996; 1998; 2002; 2004/2005). Johansson’s study (2007, 117–138) on the English verb *seem* and its correspondences in Norwegian may also be mentioned as an example of a contrastive lexical study.

Altenberg and Granger (2002, 13) discuss the role of multilingual corpora and the opportunities they give to contrastive lexical research. Multilingual corpora present insights into the languages under scrutiny, which would most likely go unnoticed in researching merely monolingual corpora; the corpora can be employed for various comparative ends and they offer us information about language-specific, typological and cultural differences, in addition to universal features; multilingual corpora point out disparities between source texts and translations, and between native and non-native texts, in addition to which they can be
made use of with various practical applications e.g. in lexicography, language teaching, and translation, Altenberg and Granger (2002, 13–14) conclude.

Altenberg and Granger (2002, 6–7) list three crucial and closely related reasons for the renewed interest in contrastive linguistics. First of all, the urgent need for cross-linguistic research has been brought about by the demand for multilingual and cross-cultural competence, translation, interpreting and foreign language teaching that has risen in the all the more integrated and multicultural Europe (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 6). Secondly, the focus within linguistics has shifted away from studying abstract language (sub)systems and using native speaker’s intuition as linguistic evidence towards investigating natural discourse and using empirical language data as evidence (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 6). Lexis has also increasingly been given a more central position in linguistic research (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 6). Thirdly, computer technology has made it possible to analyse natural language on the basis of large bilingual or multilingual text corpora and to achieve richer and more reliable results than before (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 6). These factors together have in Altenberg and Granger’s (2002, 7) view turned contrastive linguistics into a lively, expanding field of study yet again.

2.2 Machine translation

In Chapter 1 above, I referred to an article by McIntosh (1966, 151–164), which still today serves as a good example of the valuable insights a contrastive study on languages can yield. MacIntosh (1966, 151) used the French version of D.H. Lawrence’s novel Lady Chatterley’s Lover as his corpus material to study the French equivalents of the verb know, savoir and connaître, in the novel. He (1966, 151–154) first investigated in what kind of syntactical environments know can occur (e.g. know + clause object, know + pronoun object) and then
proceeded to study all the occurrences of savoir and connaître in the text to see if the choice of the translational equivalent was connected to the syntactical environment. MacIntosh (1966) discovered that the appropriate translation could actually be predicted in a large proportion of the cases with the help of grammatical criteria. He was able to devise a list of procedural instructions that could be used by a hypothetical translation program to choose the correct translation, e.g. “Check whether know has a clause object. If so, take as an S-instance [savoir]” (MacIntosh 1966, 152).

In Altenberg and Granger’s (2002, 36) assessment, the growing interest in corpus-based contrastive linguistics in recent times is to a large extent due to the increasing need for machine translation or machine-assisted translation. The availability of bilingual and multilingual corpora has opened up whole new possibilities for improving machine translation in ways which were not possible earlier (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 36–37). In his paper “The use of electronic corpora and lexical frequency data in solving translation problems”, Maniez (2002, 291) addresses the problems posed by polysemy for human translators and especially for automatic translation programs, which were also visible in the example translations of work and play in Chapter 1 above. Maniez (2002, 292) sees word-sense disambiguation as one of the most important challenges in the domain of machine translation today.

In similar vein, Maia (2008, 136) states in her paper “Machine translation and human translation: Using machine translation engines and corpora for teaching and research” that lexical phenomena such as collocation, synonymy and polysemy are areas which can cause substantial problems for the human translator. The phenomena offer a fertile basis for research and projects have already been conducted on such polysemous words as be, fair, fine, get, hold, issue, let, play, right, run, and watch (Maia 2008, 137). Another example is Teubert’s paper (2002, 189–214), where he discusses the role of parallel corpora in translation.
and multilingual lexicography while studying the noun *work* and its German and French equivalents.

To return to Maniez’ article (2002, 291–292), he states that there are already a number of tagging programs which can identify parts-of-speech quite reliably: e.g. the CLAWS4 automatic tagger was used to tag parts-of-speech in the British National Corpus, achieving highly reliable results. Programs which could automatically disambiguate word senses, in turn, are still very much needed (Maniez 2002, 292). With the help of three case studies, Maniez (2002, 291) demonstrates how electronic corpora and lexical frequency data can be used to solve problems connected to polysemy. Maniez does not so much emphasise the usefulness of computer tools and electronic databases, which in his opinion does not need much proving any longer but can rather be taken for granted, but instead highlights the necessity of collecting data which can be used to develop better expert systems and tools for translators (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 36).

2.3 Collocation

As with many other linguistic terms, there is no clear consensus on what the correct definition for ‘collocation’ is. To follow Sinclair’s definition (1991, 170), collocation refers to lexical patterns – it is a tendency for words to co-occur in close proximity to one another in a text. Sinclair (1991, 115) defines the word that is being studied as a node and any word appearing in the specific environment of a node as its collocate. Knowledge of collocations and fluency in their usage is often what distinguishes native speakers from non-native English speakers. Kjellmer (1987, 133), who in his paper describes the nature of English collocations, defines collocation as “a sequence of words that occurs more than once in identical form (in the *Brown Corpus*) and which is grammatically well-structured.” The *Brown Corpus* is
mentioned in Kjellmer’s definition because all the collocations occurring in the corpus were identified, classified and listed as part of a project at the University of Göteborg, Sweden (Kjellmer 1987, 133). Kjellmer’s definition (1987, 133) differs from Sinclair’s in that he includes a requirement of a grammatically well-formed sequence to his definition.

Kjellmer (1987, 140) states that collocations are central and indispensable elements of all kinds of texts. At the same time, he (1987, 136; 140) draws attention to the fact that collocations are significantly more frequent in formal/informative genres of text than in informal/imaginative texts: a reason for this could be that the writers of formal texts usually rely more on stereotypes and well-established patterns, whereas writers of informal texts are in a better position to make creative, original choices. Kjellmer’s final point (1987, 140) is connected to his investigation of three central dimensions of collocations, i.e. their frequency, structural complexity, and length. Of these, length proved to be a significant factor: long collocations (consisting of five words or more) were shown to be most characteristic of texts belonging to the formal genre of the Brown Corpus.

Some major research on collocation was carried out about sixty years ago by J.R. Firth, who (1957, 194–195) was the first to use the term collocation. Interest in the study of collocation grew in the 1980s and in the 1990s, with John Sinclair conducting some significant research on the topic, culminating in the publication of Corpus, Concordance, Collocation (1991). Sinclair’s main ideas (1991, 103) had to do with meaning and structure and their connection to one another. The traditional assumption had been that lexical and grammatical patterns for the most part did not have anything to do with each other, and the random cases which formed the exception were classified as idioms, phrases, collocations, or other miscellany items. Sinclair, however, took a different view to the matter:

“If two systems [lexis and syntax] are held to vary independently of each other, then any instances of one constraining the other will be consigned to a limbo for odd features, occasional observations, usage notes, etc. But if evidence accumulates to suggest that a substantial proportion of the language description is of this mixed
nature, then the original decoupling must be called into question.” (Sinclair 1991, 103–104)

Sinclair’s starting point (1991, 103–104) is thus that “…it is much more fruitful to start by supposing that lexical and syntactic choices correlate, than that they vary independently of each other”, and he proceeds to support his argument by examining concordance evidence. While studying the verb decline, for example, Sinclair (1991, 47–48) discovered that in the sense “to refuse”, the verb practically always occurs in the simple past tense declined. He (1991, 50) also found that the verb tends to take certain collocates (such as gradual) when referring to a diminution in size, and other collocates (such as sad) when referring to deterioration. Collocation is connected to a principle of the organization of language, according to which “the choice of one word affects the choice of others in its vicinity” (Sinclair 1991, 173). Sinclair (1991, 111–112; 173) calls this ‘the idiom principle’ and highlights its significance in explaining how meaning arises in text.

Analysis of the corpus data will eventually show whether any interesting patterns of co-occurrence emerge with the verbs work and play. The possible collocates of the verbs could be of assistance in differentiating between the meanings and different translations of the verbs.

2.4 Corpus Linguistics

As was noted in section 2.1 above, the discipline of contrastive linguistics has experienced a rather remarkable revival in recent years after being a somewhat unpopular field of study from the late 1960s onwards. A major contributing factor to this has no doubt been combining contrastive linguistics with an approach to the study of language known as corpus linguistics (Johansson 2003, 31). Aijmer and Altenberg (1991, 1) describe corpus linguistics as “the
study of language on the basis of text corpora”. It is an empirical approach or a methodology for studying language use (Bowker and Pearson 2002, 9). As Biber, Conrad, and Reppen explain (1998, 1), traditional linguistic analyses have focused on structure and hypothesized about what is theoretically possible in a language; with the help of authentic examples provided by corpora, actual language use can instead be reliably studied. Johansson (2003, 31), too, notes that the expansion in the use of corpora in linguistic studies can to some extent be attributed to the growing interest in examining languages in use, as opposed to linguistic systems in the abstract.

The word ‘corpus’ comes from Latin and means ‘body’ (McEnery and Wilson 2001, 29). The question of what constitutes a corpus in corpus linguistics is not a very simple question, however, because there are various different types of corpora which have been compiled to serve different ends (e.g. general descriptive or specialized corpora), as Kennedy notes (2001, 3–4). In theory, though, any collection containing more than one text can be referred to as a corpus, McEnery and Wilson point out (2001, 29). The corpora that are used in corpus linguistics nevertheless have some characteristic features that distinguish them from other kinds of text collections: according to Bowker and Pearson (2002, 9), these are ‘authentic’, ‘electronic’, ‘large’ and ‘specific criteria’. These features appear in Bowker and Pearson’s definition (2002, 9) where they depict a corpus as being “a large collection of authentic texts that have been gathered in electronic form according to a specific set of criteria.” Leech (1991, 10–11) nevertheless make the point that “size is not all-important” when it comes to corpora.

In a similar manner to contrastive linguistics, corpus linguistics seems to have faced a stage of disfavour from the 1950s up until the 1980s, or such is the common perception (McEnery and Wilson 2001, 20). McEnery and Wilson (2001, 20) nevertheless maintain that it was not the case that corpus linguistics would suddenly have been discarded for some
decades and then brought back to life again in the 1980s: in fact, there were linguists focusing on work concerning corpus data all throughout this period and it was thanks to their work that the approach was again resurrected. Owing to the developments in the computational analysis of data, corpus studies have since seen significant changes and continue to grow in popularity (McEnery and Wilson 24–25). The compilation and use of corpora have become objects of great interest to linguists, and indeed, since corpora are now available in machine-readable form, as computer corpora, researchers are also more able to detect such lexical and syntactic patterns that might otherwise in all likelihood remain unnoticed (Johansson 2003, 31; Sinclair 1991, 1). Biber, Conrad, and Reppen (1998, 3) point out that the corpus-based approach makes it possible to deal with large amounts of language and to simultaneously keep up to date with contextual factors.

The first corpora which were in machine-readable form were the one-million word Brown Corpus, illustrating American English from the year 1961 and compiled at Brown University in the USA (1961–1964), and on this side of the Atlantic there was the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB) Corpus of the same size and also representing language usage from the year 1961, just in British English (Kennedy 1998, 23–28). These corpora can be viewed as ‘first-generation’ corpora (Leech 1991, 10). They were followed by ‘second-generation’ mega-corpora compiled in the 1980s: John Sinclair’s Birmingham Collection of English Text (which was utilized in the Cobuild project) and the Longman/Lancaster English Language Corpus (Kennedy 1998, 45–48; Leech 1991, 10). The advances in technology and the fast development of computers over the last four decades or so have had revolutionizing effects on the analysis of language and on the sheer availability of data (Sinclair 1991, 1). As Sinclair writing in the early 1990s states,

“[t]hirty years ago when this research started it was considered impossible to process texts of several million words in length. Twenty years ago it was considered marginally possible but lunatic. Ten years ago it was considered quite possible but still lunatic. Today it is very popular.” (1991, 1)
The most notable and ambitious projects carried out in the 1990s were the compilation of the British National Corpus (BNC) and the International Corpus of English (ICE) (Kennedy 1998, 50; 54). As regards the future prospects of corpus compilation, Leech states (1991, 10) that, when taking into account the developments outlined above, “it would not be impossible to imagine a commensurate thousand-fold increase to one million million word corpora before 2021.”

Among the most important trends today is the compilation of multilingual corpora intended to be employed in both theoretical and applied cross-linguistic research – something with which Johansson himself has been concerned quite extensively in recent years (Johansson 2003, 31). Johansson (2007, 10–11) has conducted studies founded on the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC), which was built in the 1990s by the Department of British and American Studies, University of Oslo, and the Norwegian Computing Centre for the Humanities, University of Bergen. The ENPC corpus contains English original texts and their Norwegian translations, as well as Norwegian original texts and their English translations (Johansson 2007, 11). It is a combination of translation corpora and comparable corpora which offer control and supplementation for one another (Johansson 2007, 11).

Translation corpora and comparable corpora can be called subtypes of multilingual corpora. There are also so-called monolingual corpora which consist of texts in a single language (Bowker and Pearson 2002, 12). In addition to these two types of corpora, there are many other different types: these include the already mentioned general and special purpose corpora; written and spoken corpora; synchronic and diachronic corpora; open and closed corpora; and learner corpora (Bowker and Pearson 2002, 11–13).

The modern methodology of corpus linguistics has offered new dimensions to linguistic research. The role of computer corpora in studying grammar, lexis, discourse
analysis, language variation and other areas of language has increased in significance in the last decades as a result of the technological development (Johansson 2003, 32–33).
3 Research Methods and Materials

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research methods employed in this study and to present the dictionaries and the computer corpus which provided the material for the thesis. Subsection 3.1 discusses the methods and the aims of the study, the dictionaries will be briefly introduced in subsection 3.2, and the TamBiC corpus and its development will be the topic of subsection 3.3.

3.1 Methods and Aims

The aim of this thesis is to present a contrastive analysis of the English verbs *work* and *play* and their Finnish translation equivalents. I wish to investigate what kind of syntactical structures are associated with *work* and *play* and what possible lexical collocates the verbs have. The meanings and uses of the verbs *work* and *play* and those of their Finnish counterparts will be described. Then, using the corpus data as material, I will examine in what kind of linguistic contexts the verbs appear in, e.g. what kind of subjects and objects they take. With the help of this information, I hope to be able to specify which translational equivalent is most suitable for each verb in different syntactic contexts.

The procedure concerning the searches conducted in the TamBiC corpus and the sorting and organisation of the source-data will be outlined next. The searches in the TamBiC corpus for the verb *play* were originally made in September 2007 and for the verb *work* in October 2009. At the time, the TamBiC corpus was not yet available online, so I did not perform the searches personally: instead they were done by Robert Cooper from the Department of English Philology at the University of Tampere in Finland.

Originally, the data found in the TamBiC corpus were sent to me in electronic form as MS Word documents, with the data obtained from the English texts and their Finnish
translations and the data from the Finnish texts and their English translations separated into
two different files. After reading through the data I coded the examples manually by
highlighting the instances of work and play and using a different-coloured highlighting pen
for each sense that I could distinguish. Then I chose a number-code (0-9) to match each
colour and sorted all the data according to the Finnish translations by adding the number-code
in front of each example. This was done in order to make the data easier to analyse. Later,
when I had become more familiar with the data, I rearranged some of the examples and placed
them in different groups, or even changed some of the groups. The 0-category contained the
“residue”: e.g. such examples of work and play in which they were being used as nouns, or
sentences for which there for some reason was no translation. The appropriate category
number was entered in front of each example in the Word documents and the files were then
sent back to Robert Cooper, who sorted the coded data into different categories with the help
of a sorting program. The documents were then printed out. Any interesting patterns and
structures that could be found were underlined and marked for further analysis.

However, as the TamBiC corpus has since expanded, being now an approximately
two-million word corpus and accessible online, I conducted new searches that covered the
whole corpus in its current form in April 2012 and then updated the sections on work and play
using all the corpus data presently available. Searches were made of the different inflectional
forms of the verbs (work, works, worked, working; play, plays, played, playing) and the
search results were sorted into groups (työskennellä, toimia, liikkua, työstää, work-residue;
leikkiä, pelata, soittaa, näytellä, play-residue) using the TamBiC sorting program and then
printed out.
3.2 Dictionaries

3.2.1 English dictionaries

Three monolingual English dictionaries were used in this study. All of the chosen works were British learner’s dictionaries. In all cases, the most recent edition available was used. The English language dictionaries consulted regarding their description of the verbs work and play were the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (1995) (CIDE), the *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (2006) (Cobuild) and the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2009) (LDOCE).

The material for the CIDE (1995,viii) has been drawn from a corpus called the *Cambridge Language Survey* (CLS). The CLS contains over 100 million words of modern English and consists of a wide variety of spoken and written English (CIDE 1995, xii). It covers examples of British, American, and Australian English (CIDE 1995, viii). Each entry represents one core meaning of a word and an immediately following guide word aids the dictionary user in identifying the meaning in question (e.g. bear (animal); bear (carry)) (CIDE 1995, viii).

The Cobuild is based on a 645-million-word computer corpus of written and spoken English called the *Bank of English*, which is part of *Collins Word Web* (Cobuild 2006, x). Most of the texts in the *Bank of English* date from 1990 onwards, so it is quite up-to-date material, and the varieties covered include British English (about 40% of the material), American English (about 30%), and Australian, New Zealand, and Canadian (about 30%) (Cobuild 2006, x). The examples have been picked carefully to exemplify the different contexts in which the word in question usually occurs (Cobuild 2006, x). Special attention has been paid to collocation: important collocations have been highlighted in the definitions (Cobuild 2006, vii). There are over 110,000 words, phrases, and definitions in the dictionary (Cobuild 2006, back cover).
The LDOCE (2009, vii) also illustrates word meanings with the help of corpus examples: these have been taken from the *Longman Corpus Network*. 3000 of the most frequent words in spoken and written English are highlighted, which is a feature that, according to the LDOCE (2009, viii) is not found in any other learner’s dictionary. In the latest edition of the LDOCE (2009, viii), information about collocations has received an ever larger role, as the dictionary now contains over 65,000 common collocations. Altogether, the LDOCE (2009, back cover) covers about 230,000 words, phrases, and meanings.

3.2.2 Finnish dictionaries

The Finnish dictionaries which were used to gather information about the Finnish counterparts of *work* and *play* were *Kielitoimiston sanakirja* (2006) (KTSK), *Nykysuomen sanakirja* (1973) (NSS) and *Suuri suomen kielen sanakirja* (2004) (SSKS).

KTSK or the *New Dictionary of Modern Finnish* (2006, v; Kotus website) is a monolingual Finnish dictionary compiled by the Institute for the Languages of Finland (Kotus). The dictionary (2006, v) comprises nearly 100,000 words which in the main represent modern standard language, but also contains some specialized terms and some widely used slang and dialect words.

The NSS (1973, v–vi), or the *Dictionary of Modern Finnish*, was compiled by the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura) and published between the years 1951-61. The NSS (1973, v–vi) focuses on general, non-specialized language, and it was the first proper dictionary of the Finnish language. The contents of the dictionary remain unchanged in the 1973 edition (NSS 1973, vi). What is problematic about the NSS is firstly the fact that it describes the Finnish language as it was used around the beginning of the last century and secondly that is has not been updated at all, although Finnish has changed in
many ways throughout the decades (Kotus website b). A great deal of modern vocabulary is thus necessarily missing in the NSS and also e.g. notions of what is regarded as colloquial language and what as general language have changed over the years. The NSS nevertheless remains a very comprehensive dictionary with about 200,000 headwords: the dictionary user just needs to be aware of its partly outdated nature when studying the descriptions and examples provided.

The SSKS (2004, 5) is meant to be used by both Finnish speakers and non-native Finnish speakers and contains approximately 70,000 headwords. The dictionary (2004, 5) aims to ”break the barriers between traditional monolingual dictionaries and encyclopaedias”, so in addition to containing the general vocabulary of Finnish, it provides some encyclopaedic information and for example lists about 17,000 headwords of foreign origin (e.g. charter, psyyyke, demografia). The SSKS (2004, 5) also differs from other Finnish language dictionaries in that it includes proper nouns (such as Suomen Pankki, Sini, Satu, Virrat, Bordeaux) and information about their inflection.

3.2.3 Bilingual dictionaries

In addition to the aforementioned monolingual dictionaries, some bilingual dictionaries were also consulted. The dictionaries chosen were the English-Finnish General Dictionary (Englanti-suomi-suursanakirja) (2003), referred to hereafter as WSOY; the New Finnish-English General Dictionary (Uusi suomi-englanti suursanakirja) (1984), referred to hereafter as Hurme et al.; and English-Finnish Dictionary (Suuri englanti-suomi sanakirja) (2005), referred to hereafter as Gummerus.

WSOY (2003, 5) is based on the English-Finnish General Dictionary published in 1990, but it is an updated and revised edition to which over two hundred new entries have
been added. In addition, about 1,300 entries have been incorporated from the 2002 revised edition in order to modernise the present version (WSOY 2003, 5). It has been the specific goal of the dictionary-makers to make the dictionary clearer and more user-friendly, so some structural changes have been made (WSOY 2003, 5). It is stated in the reprinted foreword of the first edition that the dictionary is a general dictionary aimed at Finnish users, but it has also been the aim to take foreign users with their specific problems into account (WSOY 2003, 8). The Oxford dictionaries, the Webster dictionaries, and in particular the Random House Dictionary of the English Language have been used as source material, together with B. Kjærulff Nielsen’s English-Danish dictionary and Langenscheidt’s English-German Handwörterbuch (WSOY 2003, 8). As for the Finnish material, Nykysuomen sanakirja has been consulted along with some other reference works (WSOY 2003, 8).

Hurme et al. (1984, vi) mainly contains vocabulary relating to general, non-specialized language, as the name suggests, but core terms from various specialized fields have also been included. The dictionary has been designed in the first place for the Finnish user, but the needs of the non-Finnish user have also been considered in the design of the dictionary (Hurme et al.1984, vi). The Finnish vocabulary has for the most part been compiled using Nykysuomen sanakirja and Nykysuomen perussanakirja as source material (Hurme et al.1984, vi). The English equivalents have been drawn from “a large and comprehensive reference library” and both British and American English equivalents have been taken into account as well as possible (Hurme et al.1984, vi).

Gummerus (2005, 6; 11) is the newest of the bilingual dictionaries used and is based on an English-Finnish headword database that was first compiled by the Kielikone company. Since then, the data has been reworked, and the work has resulted in the compilation of the Gummerus dictionary. Gummerus (2005, 11) contains more than 70,000 lexical entries. The word meanings are illustrated using over 50,000 authentic examples of English usage drawn
from the *British National Corpus* (Gummerus 2005, 6). In addition to general vocabulary, for example specialized terminology, idioms, and colloquial expressions have been accounted for (Gummerus 2005, 11). The dictionary is aimed especially at students of English, translators, other language professionals, and Finns who use English extensively in their work or hobbies (Gummerus 2005, 6). Non-native speakers studying or using the Finnish language can also use Gummerus as a resource (2005, 6).

3.3 *The Tampere Bilingual Corpus of Finnish and English*

The corpus data for the present study were drawn from the *Tampere Bilingual Corpus of Finnish and English* (*TamBiC*), which is a bilingual translation corpus compiled by Robert Cooper in the Department of English Philology at the University of Tampere in Finland. An online version of the *TamBiC* corpus is available at [https://www12.uta.fi/tambic/JTambic.html](https://www12.uta.fi/tambic/JTambic.html) and can be accessed by anyone with a university user account. The *TamBiC* corpus currently has a size of two million words and it consists of two subcorpora: a fiction subcorpus and a non-fiction subcorpus (*TamBiC website a*). The subcorpora are made up of original English texts and their Finnish translations on one hand, and of original Finnish texts and their English translations on the other hand (*TamBiC website a*). The fiction subcorpus contains long extracts from Finnish and English novels, while the non-fiction subcorpus comprises long extracts from books on e.g. nature, history, linguistics, cookery, tourism and music, as well as extracts from various newspaper articles (*TamBiC website b*).

The purpose of the *TamBiC* corpus is to act as a tool for students and researchers interested in cross-language research projects, in addition to which it is a useful database for translators, who can utilize the corpus e.g. when investigating issues related to translation.
theory (*TamBiC website a*). Cooper (1998, 291) addresses the problem of the representativeness of corpora in general and states that the same criticisms concerning for example corpus size and the range of text-types represented in a corpus apply to bilingual corpora. Moreover, bilingual corpora face a further problem, which is that of translator reliability: have the texts been accurately translated? (Cooper 1998, 291) Despite these valid concerns, Cooper (1998, 304) maintains that they should not discourage anyone from compiling and using bilingual computer corpora, because they provide an excellent tool especially for advanced learners to gain practical experience in language research.

In fact, the *TamBiC* corpus was created with undergraduate students in mind: the chief purpose was to familiarize students participating on a course called Contrastive Linguistics with linguistic methodology and to arouse their overall interest in linguistics (Cooper 1998, 292). The *TamBiC* Corpus had to be checked and edited manually at first, before a suitable automatic alignment program became available (Cooper 1998, 296). Students were involved in the manual checking process and were also able to use the corpus for conducting their own Finnish-English contrastive projects (Cooper 1998, 9). This personal involvement that the students were able to have fulfilled perhaps the most important purpose behind the development of the *TamBiC* corpus, which was to increase the students’ ‘language awareness’ (Cooper 1998, 9; 292; 304). This was also a central objective in the Portuguese Linguateca project: Maia (2008, 123) states that the development of the METRA tool and the TrAva tool to be used in studying machine translation also served the pedagogical purpose of giving students a chance to work on cross-linguistic problems in machine translation and to compare the results to the human translations in an English-Portuguese parallel corpus (COMPARA), thus learning also about the methodology of corpus linguistics.

As regards using the *TamBiC* corpus, searches in the corpus can be made in Finnish and in English and the basic searches can be further refined with the help of the following
features: the wildcard option (*), Boolean operators (AND, OR, NOT, THEN), a case
sensitivity option, refined searches within the currently displayed results, viewing more
context, and the saving and printing of search results (TamBiC website a). The format of the
results is as follows:

Now that I'm 42 I know what I want, I can see what the theatres want, and I can work
together with the management and with the conductors to do what's right for me."
(MSC 3:65)
Nyt kun olen 42-vuotias tiedän, mitä haluan, näen, mitä teatterit tahtovat ja osaan
toimia yhdessä johdon ja kapellimestarien kanssa saadakseni itselleni sopivia
tehtäviä."

In this case, the lexeme that was searched for was work and the search result is given in the
original language on the first line. The reference code on the second line (MSC 3:65) helps
identify the text in question. Finally, the translated version of the excerpt from the original
text is provided on the third line. Fuller instructions concerning the use of the corpus are
provided in the online user manual (TamBiC website a).
4 Data from Dictionaries

4.1 The verb *work*

4.1.1 Dependents and inflection

Huddleston’s criteria concerning dependents and inflection will help us define the syntactic and morphological patterns linked with the verb *work* and will be applied in the following subsections.

4.1.1.1 Dependents

When it comes to dependents, the verb *work* can (1) be intransitive (has no object), (2) have adverbials of time, place, and manner as dependents, or (3) be transitive (has an object):

(1) Many young people in the area have never *worked*. (LDOCE *work*¹ 1)

(2) I’ve been *working in the garden all afternoon*. (LDOCE *work*¹ 4)

(3) Markowitz *works the Tri-State area*. (LDOCE *work*¹ 17)

Quirk et al. (1985, 1168–9) discuss verbs in relation to verb complementation and classify *work* as a verb in intransitive function. Quirk et al. (1985, 1169) state that *work* is the kind of verb which also has transitive complementation, but the semantic connection between subject and verb is different in the intransitive use as compared with the transitive use of *work*. When *work* is used intransitively, its subject is an affected participant, whereas in the transitive use the subject is an agentive, Quirk et al. (1985, 1169) explain. For example:

The stereo *worked*. cf: He *worked the stereo*. (Invented example)
4.1.1.2 Inflection

The verb lexeme *work* has the following six basic inflections (Huddleston 1988, 27):

i  *[He/They] worked*  Past tense

ii  *[He] works*  3rd person singular present tense

iii  *[They] work*  General present tense

iv  *[He/They should] work*  Base form

v  *[He is/They are] working*  Present participle

vi  *[He has/They have] worked*  Past participle

4.1.2 Meanings of the verb *work*

In the subsections below, the different actions which can be expressed through using the verb *work* will be studied. The most apparent distinction between the meanings of *work* appears to be between *to do a job* and *to function*. In addition to these major senses, some minor senses are also presented in the following subsections, along with an overview of the phrasal verbs that are formed with the help of *work*.

4.1.2.1 *Work*₁ (“do a job”; “try to achieve sth”)

The primary sense assigned to the verb *work* in the LDOCE (*work*₁ 1) is “to do a job that you are paid for”, and closely related to that, “to do the activities and duties that are part of your job” (LDOCE *work*₁ 2). These meanings, *do a job for money* and *do your job* in general, are grouped together here under *work*₁, together with associated meanings *help, do an activity,* and *try to achieve sth*, which constitute the first five cases listed in the LDOCE.
Work$_1$ seems connected to physical activity, to performing concrete activities or duties. To deal firstly with work$_1$ as an intransitive verb, the examples below show work$_1$ either not being followed by any complement, or being accompanied by an adverbial of time, place or manner, or by a prepositional phrase beginning typically with for, at, in, as, with or under, as in the examples listed in the LDOCE (V alone; V+AdvP; V+PrepP):

V alone  
Many young people in the area have never worked. (LDOCE work$_1$ 1)

V+AdvP  
I work part-time in a library. (LDOCE work$_1$ 1)

V+AdvP  
She works incredibly hard. (CIDE work (obj) v)

V+PrepP  
She worked as a cleaner at the hospital for a long time. (CIDE work (obj) v)

V+PrepP  
Each site has a fully trained team who work under a site manager. (LDOCE work$_1$ 2)

Work$_1$ can be used to express that you are helping someone if the verb is paired with a prepositional phrase beginning with among or with: “if you work with someone or a group of people, your job involves trying to help them” (LDOCE work$_1$ 3):

V+PrepP  
He has worked among some of the world's poorest people. (LDOCE work$_1$ 3)

V+PrepP  
Have you any experience of working with children who have learning difficulties? (CIDE work (obj) v)

What was also noted above was that work$_1$ can mean to do an activity or to try to achieve sth, or “…spend time and effort doing a task that needs to be done or trying to achieve something” (Cobuild work 5):

V+PrepP  
I’ve been working in the garden all afternoon. (LDOCE work$_1$ 4)

V+PrepP  
The government expressed hope that all the sides will work towards a political solution. (Cobuild work 5)

It is possible to use work$_1$ to denote mental activity instead of physical activity: “[i]f your mind or brain is working, you are thinking about something or trying to solve a problem” (Cobuild work 16):

V+AdvP  
My mind was working frantically, running over the events of the evening.
Cases where *work* is followed by the preposition *on* and a noun phrase (NP) are also discussed in the dictionaries. Cobuild notes that “[w]hen someone is working on a particular subject or question, they are studying or researching it” (Cobuild *work* 9), and that “[i]f you work on an assumption or idea, you act as if it were true or base other ideas on it, until you have more information” (Cobuild *work* 17):

\[
\begin{align*}
V+\text{PrepP} & \quad \text{Professor Bonnet has been } \text{working} \text{ for many years on molecules of this type.} \quad \text{(Cobuild } \text{*work* 9)} \\
V+\text{PrepP} & \quad \text{We are } \text{working} \text{ on the assumption that it was a gas explosion.} \quad \text{(Cobuild } \text{*work* 17)}
\end{align*}
\]

Moving on to the transitive usage, some examples of *work* paired with an object were found listed under the sense “to do the activities and duties that are part of your job” (LDOCE *work* 1 2):

\[
\begin{align*}
V+\text{NP} & \quad \text{I get paid more if I } \text{work} \text{ nights.} \quad \text{(LDOCE } \text{*work* 1 2)} \\
V+\text{NP} & \quad \text{It’s not unusual for a junior doctor to } \text{work} \text{ a seventy or sometimes an eighty hour week.} \quad \text{(CIDE } \text{*work* (obj) v)}
\end{align*}
\]

It is also possible to have a person as the NP object of *work*. In this case, the meaning is the following: “If you work someone, you make them spend time and effort doing a particular activity or job.” (Cobuild 19 *work*)

\[
\begin{align*}
V+\text{NP} & \quad \text{They’re } \text{working me} \text{ too hard. I’m too old for this.} \quad \text{(Cobuild 19 } \text{*work*)}
\end{align*}
\]

*Work*[ing] *in an area* is another possible meaning: “if you work a particular area or type of place, you travel around the area for your job, or work in that type of place” (LDOCE *work* 1 17), as is *work*[ing] *the door*, which means taking tickets from customers coming to a club, theatre or other venue (LDOCE *work* 1 18):

\[
\begin{align*}
V+\text{NP} & \quad \text{Markowitz } \text{works the Tri-State area.} \quad \text{(LDOCE } \text{*work* 1 17)} \\
V+\text{NP} & \quad \text{Binns } \text{worked the door at various Manhattan clubs.} \quad \text{(LDOCE } \text{*work* 1 18)}
\end{align*}
\]
Work\textsubscript{1} can also refer to calculating, as in “calculat[ing] the answer to a mathematical problem” (LDOCE \textit{work}\textsubscript{1} 31). The LDOCE notes that this usage of \textit{work}\textsubscript{1} is \textit{formal} in tone and specific to American English. \textit{Work}\textsubscript{1} is used transitively in the phrases \textit{work sb hard} (LDOCE \textit{work}\textsubscript{1} 28), \textit{work your fingers to the bone} (LDOCE \textit{work}\textsubscript{1} 29) and \textit{work your butt/ass/arse off} (LDOCE \textit{work}\textsubscript{1} 30), the first two of which are marked as \textit{informal} and the last one as \textit{not polite} usage in the dictionary.

The instructors \textit{worked us very hard} on the survival course. (CIDE \textit{work (obj) v})

She \textit{worked her fingers to the bone} to provide a home and food for seven children. (CIDE \textit{work (obj) v})

Finally, there is a phrase called \textit{work to rule}, which is defined in the LDOCE (\textit{work}\textsubscript{1} 32) as “to protest about a situation at work by doing your job slowly, with the excuse that you must obey all the rules exactly”. According to the dictionary, it is used specifically in British English.

\textbf{4.1.2.2 \textit{Work}\textsubscript{2} (“function”; “use”; ”have an effect”)}

The second main sense of \textit{work} denotes functioning. On a concrete level, it is used when talking about a machine or a piece of equipment: “if [it] works, it operates and performs a particular function” (Cobuild \textit{work} 11). The LDOCE also notes the phrase \textit{get sth to work} in its entry concerning \textit{work} in the sense of functioning (\textit{work}\textsubscript{1} 6a):

\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{V alone} \quad \text{The pump doesn’t \textit{work} and we have no running water. (Cobuild \textit{work} 11)}
  \item \text{V alone} \quad \text{The delete key doesn’t \textit{work}. (LDOCE \textit{work}\textsubscript{1} 6a)}
  \item \text{V alone} \quad \text{I can’t \textit{get the heater to work}. (LDOCE \textit{work}\textsubscript{1} 6a)}
\end{itemize}

The verb can also mean “to use a particular material or substance in order to make something such as a picture, design, jewellery etc.” (LDOCE \textit{work}\textsubscript{1} 11):
V+PrepP a sculptor who works in steel (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 11)
V+PrepP a jeweller who works with silver (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 11)

“[T]o make a machine or piece of equipment do what it is supposed to do” is the meaning that work\textsubscript{2} takes on when it is followed by an object (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 6b):
V+NP My parents can’t even work the video. (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 6b)

Work\textsubscript{2} has a more abstract side to it, too. The LDOCE lists the senses be effective/successful and to have an effect, which are both intransitive. The Cobuild (work 12) formulates it so, that “[i]f an idea, system, or way of doing something works, it is successful, effective, or satisfactory”:

V alone 95 per cent of these diets do not work. (Cobuild work 12)
V+AdvP A methodological approach works best. (Cobuild work 12)
V+AdvP The recipe works just as well if you use margarine instead of butter. (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 7)
V+PrepP The French team are the heavier crew, which should work in their favour. (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 8)

Another context in which work\textsubscript{2} refers to effectiveness is with medicine: “[i]f a drug or medicine works, it produces a particular physical effect” (Cobuild work 13):
V+PrepP I wake at 6am as the sleeping pill doesn’t work for more than nine hours. (Cobuild work 13)

Work\textsubscript{2} is also used in the context of art, style, and literature. “[I]f a painting, design, piece of writing etc. works, it is successful because it has the effect on you that the painter, writer etc. intended” (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 9):
V alone I don’t think the scene with the horses really works, do you? (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 9)
V+PrepP The colour combination just doesn’t work for me. (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 9)

Finally, the LDOCE (work\textsuperscript{1} 33) mentions the phrase It works for me, stating that it is used in spoken language to mean that “something is very suitable for you and does exactly what you
wanted or expected”. The expressions work wonders, work miracles, and work your magic are referred to, as well, in connection with the phrase:

\[ V + \text{PrepP} \quad \text{I meditate and do Yoga every day. It works for me and I think it could work for you too. (LDOCE work}^1 33) \]

Cobuild (work 15) states that “[i]f something or someone works their magic or works their charms on a person, they have a powerful positive effect on them”:

\[ V + \text{NP} \quad \text{Nevertheless, she is always optimistic about the possibilities and can work her charm on the disenchanted. (Cobuild work 15)} \]

If an entertainer or politician is said to be able to work a crowd, they entertain them and obtain their interest or support (LDOCE work\(^1\) 19):

\[ V + \text{NP} \quad \text{The Prime Minister has an ability to work a crowd – some might even suggest it is a kind of charm. (Cobuild work 20)} \]

4.1.2.3 Work\(_3\) (“move”; “make oneself e.g. angry”)

This variant of work refers to “mov[ing] into a particular state or position very gradually, either in a series of small movements or after a long time” (LDOCE work\(^1\) 14):

\[ V + \text{NP} \quad \text{Slowly he worked the screwdriver into the crack. (LDOCE work}^1 14) \]

\[ V + \text{AdvP} \quad \text{Vibration does tend to make nuts and screws work (themselves) loose. (CIDE work (obj) achieve v)} \]

It is not always a question of a physical object, such as a screwdriver, that is being moved, but a person’s body can also be moving: “if a part of your body works or you work it, it moves” (LDOCE work\(^1\) 16):

\[ V \text{ alone} \quad \text{She was trembling and her mouth was working. (LDOCE work}^1 16) \]

In addition to moving concretely into a particular state, the verb also signifies getting into a particular state of mind: you can work yourself into a frenzy/panic/state etc., meaning that you “make yourself become very nervous, angry etc.” (LDOCE work\(^1\) 25)
He seemed to be working himself into a rage. (LDOCE work\(^1\) 25)

The phrase “work your way to/through etc something” can be listed under work\(_3\). It has two senses:

a) to move somewhere slowly and with difficulty (LDOCE work\(^1\) 12):

From here, we worked our way carefully across the rock base. (LDOCE work\(^1\) 12)

It also means b) to achieve something gradually by working:

He had worked his way up to head of department. (LDOCE work\(^1\) 12)

The expression “[w]ork your way through school/college/university etc” may also be mentioned here: it means having a job during your years as a student because you need to earn money to pay for courses, books etc., according to the LDOCE (work\(^1\) 13).

\[4.1.2.4 \text{ Work}_4 ("shape"; "arrange")\]

This subcategory contains the use of work in the senses of shaping or cutting or processing a substance. Work\(_4\) is a transitive verb: “if you work a material such as metal, leather, or clay, you cut, sew, or shape it in order to make something” (LDOCE work\(^1\) 10):

…the machines needed to extract and work the raw stone. (Cobuild work 26)

Working the land or soil is another meaning of work\(_4\). Here is an example of work\(_4\) when used to describe how people work the land, or “do all the tasks involved in growing crops” (Cobuild work 21):

Farmers worked the fertile valleys. (Cobuild work 21)

Work\(_4\) also bears the meaning of working a mine: “[w]hen a mine is worked, minerals such as coal or gold are removed from it” (Cobuild work 22):

The mines had first been worked in 1849, when gold was discovered in California. (Cobuild work 22)
Work\textsubscript{4} is finally used to describe a person “using and exercising” a muscle or part of their body” (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 15):

\textbf{V+NP} Swimming is a form of exercise that \textit{works every muscle} in your body. (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 15)

The phrase \textit{work it/things} is found in \textit{spoken} language, according to the LDOCE, and it means “to make arrangements for something to happen, especially by behaving in a clever or skilful way. \textit{Work the system} is another phrase that can be listed under \textit{work\textsubscript{4}}, since it has the meaning of using something to your own advantage (“to understand how a system works so that you can get advantages for yourself, often in a slightly dishonest way”, LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 27):

\textbf{V+NP} I don’t know how she \textit{worked} it but she retired at fifty on a full salary. (CIDE work (obj) arrange v)

\textbf{V+NP} Lynn could show the rest of us how to \textit{work the system}. (LDOCE work\textsuperscript{1} 27)

4.1.2.5 Phrasal verbs

\textit{Work} can be combined with a number of various prepositions or adverbs to form phrasal verbs. These will be briefly introduced in this section. If we proceed alphabetically, \textit{work around sb/sth} (also \textit{work round sb/sth} BrE) is the first case that we come across in the dictionaries. It means “to arrange or organize something so that you avoid problems that may stop you from doing something” (LDOCE):

John won’t be here on the 15th so we’ll have to \textit{work round} that. (LDOCE work \textit{around})

A new phrasal verb with a different sense can be formed by adding the preposition \textit{to}, so we have \textit{work around to sth} (also \textit{work round to sth} BrE), meaning “to gradually mention a subject in a conversation or piece of writing, especially because it is embarrassing”: 
You’ll have to work round to the subject gradually. (LDOCE work around to)

Next, work against / for is mentioned in the CIDE. Work against and work for are phrasal verbs used “(of a condition or fact) to have an effect, esp. one which either helps or causes difficulties”:

Inexperience can work against a candidate looking for a job but if they will accept a low initial salary then that can work for them / in their favour. (CIDE work have effect v)

Work at is the next phrasal verb found and it used to express that someone is “try[ing] hard to improve something or achieve something” (LDOCE):

Learning a language isn’t easy. You have to work at it. (LDOCE work at sth)

Following these, we have work sb/sth in(to), which means adding one substance to another and mixing the two together well:

Gradually pour the liquid into the flour, working it in carefully with a wooden spoon. (Cobuild work in or work into)

It also has the sense of adding or including something for example in a piece of writing, according to the LDOCE:

He managed to work in a few references to his new book. (LDOCE work in)

Another phrasal verb is work (sth) off: you can either work off energy, stress, or anger, or you can work off a debt – in both cases, something is to be gotten rid of:

She went for a brisk walk to work off her frustration. (Cobuild work off)

There were heavy debts. It would take half Edward’s lifetime to work them off. (Cobuild work off)

According to the LDOCE, work on (sb/sth) is a phrasal verb whose meanings can be divided into three categories: “to spend time working in order to produce or repair something”; secondly, “to try very hard to improve or achieve something”; and “to try continuously to influence someone or persuade them to do something”.

Every weekend you see him working on his car. (LDOCE work on)
A trainer has been brought in to work on her fitness. (LDOCE work on)

You leave him to me. I’ll work on him. (LDOCE work on)

*Work out* is another case with a variety of meanings depending on the context. The examples are taken from Cobuild (*work out*):

- It took me some time to *work out* what was causing this. = ‘figure out’
- *I had* the ideal man *all worked out* in my mind. = ‘have sth carefully thought out’
- When asked what a £40.35 meal for five people would cost each diner, they were unable to *work it out*. = ‘calculate’
- The price per pound *works out at* £3.20. = ‘calculated to be a specific amount’
- Things just didn’t *work out* as planned. = ‘go well’
- People involved in it think it’s a nightmare, but I’m sure it will *work itself out*. = ‘resolve itself’
- There was an interim before her successor actually came because she had to *work out* her notice. = ‘continue with a job for a specific period of time’

*Work out* at a gym or swim twice a week. = ‘exercise’

A phrasal verb that used in informal language is *work (sb) over*, which means “to attack someone by hitting them several times” (LDOCE):

- *Do you know why Joe was worked over?* (Gummerus work over)

In the entry for *work through* in the LDOCE, two meanings are found. These are “to deal with problems or unpleasant feelings” and “if the result or effect of something works through, it becomes noticeable”:

- After someone dies, it can take a long time to *work through* your grief. (LDOCE work through)

- The positive effect on businesses may take up to three years to *work through*. (LDOCE work through)

*Work up* is a phrasal verb that can be used in four senses:

- She *worked herself up* into a bit of a state. = ‘make yourself feel angry or upset’ (Cobuild work up)
Your creative talents can also be put to good use, if you can *work up* the energy. = ‘gather up enthusiasm or courage’ (Cobuild *work up*)

You can really *work up* a sweat doing housework. = ‘make yourself sweaty by doing exercise or hard work’ (Cobuild *work up*)

I sketched the layout of a prototype store and *worked up* a business plan. = ‘spend time preparing a piece of paper, for example’ (Cobuild *work up*)

Finally, we have *work up to* (sth), or “to gradually prepare yourself to do something difficult” (LDOCE):

He’d been *working up to* asking her for a date all week. (LDOCE *work up to*)

---

4.2 Finnish equivalents of the verb *work*

4.2.1 Dependents and inflection

In the next section, the Finnish counterparts of *work* will be presented. However, the syntactic features of the Finnish verbs will not be delved into in this study because the focus is on the English verb.
4.2.2 Työskennellä, toimia, liikkua, työstää

4.2.2.1 Työskennellä

Work is usually translated into Finnish as *työskennellä*. KTSK provides a wealth of synonyms for it in its description of the verb: ”tehdä työtä, olla työssä, työnteossa, toimia, puuhata, askarrella, ahertaa, uurastaa, rehkiä, raataa”. *Tehdä työtä* was in fact another verb which could have been picked as it was mentioned alongside *työskennellä* in Gummerus and in WSOY, but *työskennellä* was chosen. *Työskennellä* is related to the noun *työskentely*, which is discussed in its own entry in the dictionary. The following expressions are given in KTSK to exemplify the typical usage of *työskennellä*:

- Työskennellä keittiössä, tehtaassa.
- Työskennellä väitöskirjan parissa.
- Työskenteli matkaoppaana.
- Aivot työskentelivät kuumeisesti ongelman kimpussa.
- Puolella teholla työskentelevä kone.

SSKS defines *työskennellä* as ”olla työssä, tehdä työtä (myös muun kuin ihmisen tekemästä työstä)”. The five examples given by in SSKS are highly similar to the ones given in KTSK, so they will not be listed here.

*Työskennellä* is defined in NSS as (1) ”tehdä työtä, olla työssä, työnteossa, toimia.” NSS makes a distinction in the use of *työskennellä* when it is combined with personal subjects and other kind of subjects. Here is a selection of examples from NSS:

a) henkilösubj:n ohella; vrt. esim. askarrella, puuhata, ahertaa, uurastaa, rehkiä, raataa.

- Työskennellä ahkerasti.
- Työskennellä kirveellä, laiolla, mikroskoopilla.
- Uimarin pitää osata työskennellä kunnollisesti jaloillaan.

b) muun subjektin ohella.
Nukkuessamme sydän työskentelee paljon heikommin kuin valveilla ollessamme.

Keskiajan taide työskenteli lähinnä kirkollisten tehtävien parissa.

Aika työskenteli Rooman puolesta ja Hannibalia vastaan.

4.2.2.2 *Toimia*

The English-Finnish dictionaries give *toimia* as the main counterpart of *work*. The meanings of the verb *toimia* are divided into four groups in KTSK. Firstly, *toimia* means "tehdä jatk, työskennellä; puuhata, “hommata”; olla toiminnassa, olla aktiivinen, toimelias”. Secondly, it means "tehdä, suorittaa jatk tehtävää, olla jssak tehtävässä”. Thirdly, the verb is used of ”esineistä, asioista: täyttää tehtävänsä”. Fourthly, it is used of ”esineen, menetelmän tms. ominaisuuksista: olla tarkoituksenmukainen, täyttää hyvin tehtävänsä”.

SSKS also lists four senses for the verb. The order differs slightly from KTSK’s listing. Both dictionaries mention “tehdä jotakin, olla aktiivinen” first, but the rest of the categories are arranged in a different order. Here are some of SSKS’s examples:

1) "tehdä jotakin, olla aktiivinen”
   
   Ei ole aikaa odottaa, nyt on toimittava.

   Toimiva tulivuori.

2) "Toimiva ’hyvin suunniteltu, tehtävänsä täyttävä’ keittiö.”

3) "työskennellä jonakin, olla, olla palveluksessa”
   
   Toimia jonkun hyväksi.

   Kenen vuoro on toimia kokouksen sihteerinä?

4) "olla kunnossa, tehdä tehtävänsä”
   
   Hälytyslaitteet toimivat moitteettomasti.

   Järjestelmä ei toimi hyvin.
NSS begins its discussion by stating what constitutes the opposite of *toimia*:

(1) "olla mitään tekemättä, toimettomana, olla odottavalla kannalla, passiivisena (jssak asiassa)" and continues by giving example phrases with *toimia*:

- Ammuksen sytyttimen toimivat osat ovat iskuri, nalli ja välipanos.
- Ihminen on tunteva ja toimiva olento.

(2) ed:een liittyen.

a) henkilösubj:n ohella: työskennellä (jotenkin, jnak), olla (jnak, jssak tehtävässä).

- Espanjassa toimi [= eli ja vaikutti] siihen aikaan kaksi nerokasta näytelmäkirjailijaa.
- divisioona toimi silloin itärintamalla.

b) esine- tai asiasubj:n ohella.

- Sähkövoimalla toimiva saha.
- Järjestelmä, joka toimii hyvin, huonosti.

(3) tr. vanh. ja kans.

a) toimittaa

- Mielihyvällä katseli hän aina tytärtään, kun tämä toimi toimiaan kotona.
- PAKK.

b) panna toimeen, järjestää.

- Toimia iltamat, tanssit, arpajaiset.

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### 4.2.2.3 *Liikkua*

Determining a suitable Finnish equivalent for *work* was not such a straightforward task as a number of different verbs were offered in the English-Finnish dictionaries. The senses (9), (10) and (11) in the entry for *work* in Gummerus represented *work*. The verbs *liikkua* and *siirtyä* were listed under (9), accompanied by the example *The strap of the sandal had worked*...
itself loose. Sandaalin hihna oli löystynyt. Sense (10) was work oneself [into], which was translated as ajaa t. kiihdyttää itsensä (jhk olotilaan). Finally, vääntyä, liikkua, mennä irveen (kasvojen ilmeistä) were the verbs given in (11), and the example sentence was He stared at her, his mouth working soundlessly. Hän tuijotti naista, ja hänen suunsa liikkui, mutta ääntä sieltä ei tullut.

In WSOY, the intransitive senses (6) and (7) and the transitive senses (7) and (13) corresponded with work\textsubscript{3}. The verbs given were (6) kuohua, myllertää; (7) (lihaksesta) nykiä, nytkähdellä, vääristyä; (7) siirtää, työntää, vetää, nostaa (ym) [vaivalloisesti], asettaa [paikalleen], vääntää, saada [irti], ujuttaa, liikutella, (13) kiihdyttää, nostattaa (itsensä raivoon). There were thus many nuances which cannot necessarily be covered by one verb, but liikkua was chosen in the end, as it was mentioned twice in Gummerus and a fairly closely related verb, liikutella, was mentioned in WSOY. It is described in SSKS in the following manner. Sense (1) is most closely related to work\textsubscript{3}:

1. siirryä paikasta tai asennosta toiseen: Liikkua unissaan.

2. kuv. olla: Liikkua asiallisella pohjalla ’olla asiallista’. Kustannukset liikkuvat miljoonissa ’ovat miljoonia’.

3. kuv. harrastaa liikuntaa: Liikkua säännöllisesti.

4.2.2.4 Työstää

The verb työstää is related to the noun työstö. According to KTSK, työstää has two main senses: (1) muokata työkappaleta käsityökalua käyttäen t. työstökoneella, and (2) muokata, käsitellä, viimeistellä. Työstää is used in phrases such as (taken from KTSK):

1. Työstää lastuamalla, höyläämällä.

2. Tutkimustulosten työstäminen väitöskirjaksi.
SSKS makes a similar distinction between the concrete and abstract meanings of the verb.

*Työstää* means in the first place working a material such as wood or stone:

(1) muokata työkappaletta käsin tai työstökoneella.

   Lastulevy on helppoa materiaalia työstää.

*Työstää* additionally equals ‘polishing’ or editing a report or other written work:

(2) kuv.

   Työstää ´muokata´ tutkimusraportti valmiiksi.

NSS marks *työstää* as a *technical* term and states that it means “muokata työkappaletta joko käsin jtak työkalua käyttäen tai työstökoneella; vrt. koneistaa.”

   Työstetty pinta.

   Rakennuslevy, jota on helppo työstää.

Unlike the more recent dictionaries, NSS does not recognize a figurative usage of *työstää*. 
4.3 Contrastive analysis of the verb *work*

We can now draw up a table showing the correspondences between the English and Finnish verbs on the basis of the descriptions in sections 4.1 and 4.2 above. Table 1 below is divided into two parts for convenience. The examples have been drawn from the various dictionaries used above.

### Table 1.

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<th>“function”; “use”</th>
<th>“try to achieve sth”</th>
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<td>Työskennellä ahkerasti. (NSS)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Working, worked</td>
<td>Työskentelevä, työskennellyt</td>
<td>Working, worked</td>
<td>Toimiva, toiminut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gerund</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Staff will have to get used to a new way of working. (LDOCE)</td>
<td>Työskenteleminen</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Toimiminen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>Meanings</td>
<td>“move”</td>
<td>“shape”</td>
<td>“make oneself e.g. angry”</td>
<td>“arrange”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive (alone)</td>
<td>She was trembling and her mouth was working.</td>
<td>liikkua</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>hän tuijotti naista, ja hänen suunsa liikkui, mutta ääntä sieltä ei tullut. (Gummerus)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive + adverbial</td>
<td>Vibration does tend to make nuts and screws work (themselves) loose. (CIDE)</td>
<td>liikkua, mennä irveen (kasvojen ilmeistä) (Gummerus)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>Semi-transitive</code></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive (animate subject)</td>
<td>Slowly he worked the screwdriver into the crack. (LDOCE) / Work oneself into a rage. (LDOCE)</td>
<td>Siirtää, työntää, vetää, nostaa (ym) [vaivalloisesti], asettaa [paikalleen], vääntää, saada [irti], ujuttaa, liikutella (WSOY) / Ajaa t. kiihdyttää itsensä (jhk olotilaan) (Gummerus)</td>
<td>Farmers worked the fertile valleys. (Cobuild) / I don’t know how she worked it but she retired at fifty on a full salary. (CIDE)</td>
<td>Työstää `muokata´ tutkimusraportti valmiiksi. (SSKS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive (inanimate / abstract subject)</td>
<td>The strap of the sandal had worked itself loose. (Gummerus)</td>
<td>Sandaalin hihna oli löystynyt. (Gummerus)</td>
<td>Swimming is a form of exercise that works every muscle in your body. (LDOCE)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linking verb</td>
<td>Working, worked</td>
<td>Liikkuna, liikkunut</td>
<td>Working, worked</td>
<td>Työstävä, työstetty</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participial Adjective</td>
<td>Working, worked</td>
<td>Liikkuminen</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Työstäminen</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Liikkuminen</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Työstäminen</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 continued.
4.4 The verb *play*

4.4.1 Dependents and inflection

4.4.1.1 Dependents

To establish the potential dependents that can be found with a given verb, we need to examine the structures typically found with it. In the case of the verb *play*, it can be stated initially that it can (1) be intransitive (has no object), (2) have adverbials of time, place, and manner as dependents, or (3) be transitive (has an object):

(1) The guitars *played*. (Cobuild *play* 11)

(2) 'Macbeth' is *playing at the Theatre Royal in York*. (LDOCE *play* 1 5b))

(3) I used to *play basketball*. (Cobuild *play* 2)

The whole question of transitivity is not so simple, however. According to Quirk et al. (1985, 1169), *play* is included in the type II category within a group of verbs having intransitive function. What is specific to type II verbs, besides their being able to function both intransitively and transitively, is the fact that they can do so while their meaning and the subject-verb relationship remain the same. To exemplify this with another verb, *smoke*, we see that *He is smoking* and *He is smoking a cigarette* both mean the same thing. In other words, *play* is the kind of verb that can have a so-called “understood object” (Quirk et al. 1985, 1169). These verbs could be described as being `semi-transitive´. (Invented) examples of the `semi-transitive´ use of *play* include:

Have you ever heard her *play* (_______)?
→ understood object: a musical instrument, e.g. the flute

He *played* (_______) in the local team as a young boy.
→ understood object: a sport, e.g. football
In a few cases, the verb *play* can act as a copular (linking) verb, taking an adjective (sometimes a noun) as complement (Quirk et al. 1985, 1171). Quirk et al. (1985, 1171) go on to say that the adjective may almost seem like an optional specifier, making *play* appear intransitive. To clarify this, here are three of Quirk et al.’s (1985, 1172) examples of this type of complementation with *play* and two other similar copular verbs:

*play* (rough)

*plead* (innocent)

*rest* (assured)

As regards the verb *play* with prepositional phrases as its dependents, Schibsbye (1970, 293) states that certain verbs can be used either transitively, or intransitively and followed by a preposition, while the meaning remains roughly the same: for instance, no great difference can be detected between the meanings of the transitive verb *play* and the prepositional verb *play at* in the following:

*Play hide and seek.*

*Play at Indians.*

In this V + PrepP structure, the verb and the preposition are sometimes seen as such a tightly-knit structure that the originally intransitive verb “adopts” not just the preposition, but also the object of the preposition: in our example, then, *Indians* (the object of the preposition *at*) can in fact be regarded as the object of *play at* (Schibsbye 1970, 293).

Besides being able to take a noun (*Indians*) as its object, the prepositional verb *play at* can also take a subjectless –*ing* participle clause as its object (Quirk et al. 1985, 1191):

*We were playing at being doctors.* (Gummerus *play at 1*)
4.4.1.2 Inflection

The verb lexeme *play* is found with the six basic inflectional forms (Huddleston 1988, 27):

i  $[He/They] \text{played}$  
   Past tense

ii  $[He] \text{plays}$  
   3rd person singular present tense

iii  $[They] \text{play}$  
   General present tense

iv  $[He/They \text{should}] \text{play}$  
   Base form

v  $[He \text{is}/They \text{are}] \text{playing}$  
   Present participle

vi  $[He \text{has}/They \text{have}] \text{played}$  
   Past participle

4.4.2 Meanings of the verb *play*

Huddleston’s criteria, which have been applied in 4.4.1, help us establish the syntactic and morphological patterns associated with the verb *play*. Nonetheless, as a verb, *play* can be used to express a variety of actions. These will now be examined. As an initial observation, it can be stated that in all its meanings, *play* can be intransitive or transitive.

4.4.2.1 *Play* ($\text{“have fun”}$)

In its perhaps most usual sense, the verb *play* describes children, animals, or sometimes adults “spend[ing] time doing enjoyable things, such as using toys and taking part in games” (Cobuild *play* 1). *Play* can be intransitive, either appearing on its own (V alone) or being followed by the preposition *with* and a noun phrase (V+PrepP). *Play*+$with$+NP is used to
describe that someone, usually a child, is using a toy. In addition, Cobuild says (play 6) that “[i]f you *play with* an object or with your hair, you keep moving it or touching it with your fingers, perhaps because you are bored or nervous”. This is classified as a phrasal verb in the LDOCE, though.

**V alone** Kids were *playing* and chasing each other. (LDOCE *play*¹ 1)

**V alone** “No, no, let us *play*, for it is yet day, And we cannot go to sleep.” *(OED Online play verb: 1789 W. BLAKE Songs Innoc. & Exper. in Compl. Writings (1972) 121)*

**V+PrepP** As a kitten, Puss loved to *play with a ball of string*. (CIDE *play* verb)

**V+PrepP** She stared at the floor, idly *playing with the strap of her handbag*. (Cobuild *play* 6)

*Play*¹ can also take an object, for example *play catch/house/tag/school* (V+NP) (LDOCE *play*¹ 1):

**V+NP** Outside, the children were *playing cowboys and Indians*. (LDOCE *play*¹ 1)

*Play*¹ also has figurative meanings. It can be used for instance to describe a smile (LDOCE *play*¹ 24) or light, which, “if [playing] on something, shines on it and moves about on it” (LDOCE *play*¹ 28). *Play*¹ can also refer to water: “if a fountain plays, water comes from it” (LDOCE *play*¹ 29). According to the LDOCE, *play* is always intransitive in these figurative instances and possibly followed by an adverb or a preposition. A register note follows these meanings in the LDOCE, indicating that these uses of the verb *play* are found in written language:

**V+PrepP** the sunlight *playing on the water* (LDOCE *play*¹ 28)

**V+PrepP** A smile *played about her lips*. (Gummerus 1 *play* 12)

Another figurative expression associated with *play*¹ is *play with fire* (e.g. LDOCE *play*¹ 26):

**V+PrepP** Failure to stick to the safety rules is simply *playing with fire*. (Gummerus 2005)
4.4.2.2  *Play* 2 (“take part in a game or sport”)

In the context of sports and games, *play* may occur alone or be followed by various prepositions (*against, for, at, in, with*):

**V alone**  
If you feel any pain, you shouldn’t *play*. (LDOCE *play* 1 2a)

**V+PrepP**  
I want to *play for my country*. (Cobuild *play* 2)

**V+PrepP**  
Bristol will *play against Coventry* next week. (LDOCE *play* 1 2a)

It is also possible to omit the preposition *against* and use a *V+NP*-construction instead:

**V+NP**  
She’s *playing Helen Evans* in the semi-final (= playing against her). (LDOCE *play* 1 2a)

*Play for time* is a phrase that means “try[ing] to delay something so that you have more time to prepare for it or prevent it from happening” (LDOCE *play for time* 18):

**V+PrepP**  
The rebels may be *playing for time* while they try to get more weapons. (LDOCE *play for time* 18)

*Play* 2 is transitive, when it means “us[ing] a particular piece, card, person etc in a game or sport” (LDOCE *play* 1 2b), “tak[ing] a particular position in a team” (LDOCE *play* 1 2c), “hit[ting] a ball in a particular way or to a particular place in a game or sport” (LDOCE *play* 1 2d), or “throw[ing], kick[ing], hit[ting], or catch[ing] a ball as a game or activity” (LDOCE *play* 1 7a):

**V+NP**  
While the twins *played cards*, Francis sat reading. (Cobuild *play* 2)

**V+NP**  
Garvey *played first base* for the Dodgers. (LDOCE *play* 1 2c)

**V+NP+AdvP**  
I *played the ball back* slightly. (Cobuild *play* 4)

**V+NP**  
Jim and Karl were *playing ball* in the backyard. (LDOCE *play* 1 7a)

*Play* 2 can finally refer to playing a game in a more metaphorical sense: the LDOCE (*play* 1 10) explains that the expression *play games* means “[hiding] your real feelings or wishes in order to achieve something in a clever or secret way” and states that usage of the phrase indicates disapproval:
V+NP  Don’t *play games* with me (= try to deceive me)! (CIDE *play* verb)

V+NP  Stop *playing games*, Luke, and tell me what you want. (LDOCE *play* 10)

*Play the game*, for its part, is a phrase that is used in two senses: it means acting in a particular, expected manner and being fair:

V+NP  If you want a promotion, you’ve got to *play the game*.
     (LDOCE *play the game* 13 a))

V+NP  You should have told them – it wasn’t *playing the game* to keep it secret.
     (CIDE *play* verb)

Other typical expressions given in the LDOCE include *play the race/nationalist/environmentalist etc card* (“to use a particular subject in politics in order to gain an advantage”), *play your cards right* (“to say or do things in a situation in such a way that you gain as much as possible from it”), *play your cards close to you chest* (“to keep secret what you are doing in a situation”), *play into sb’s hands* (“to do what someone you are competing with wants you to do, without realizing it”), *play the market* (“to risk money on the stock market as a way of trying to earn more money”), and *play the system* (“to use the rules of a system in a clever way, to gain advantage for yourself”). *Play a joke, a trick, or a prank on someone* means that “you deceive them or give them a surprise in a way that you think is funny, but that often causes problems for them or annoys them” (Cobuild *play* 5), and *play tricks* refers to the mind, memory, sight etc making you feel confused:

V+NP  ‘This cannot be happening, somebody must be *playing a joke*.’
     (Cobuild *play* 14)

V+NP+PrepP It happened a long time ago, and my memory might be *playing tricks on me*.
     (LDOCE *play tricks (on you)* 19)
4.4.2.3  *Play*$_3$ (“perform music; produce sounds”)

The verb *play* is also typically used to refer to (1) “[performing] a piece of music on a musical instrument” (LDOCE *play*$_1$ 3). Cobjuild (*play* 13) adds that “[i]f a musician or group of musicians *plays* or *plays a concert*, they perform music for people to listen or dance to.” In these cases, *play*$_3$ can be used alone, be followed by an adverbial phrase, by a prepositional phrase beginning with *for* or *with*, or by an object:

(1)

V alone  A band was *playing*. (Cobjuild *play* 13)

V+AdvP  She *played brilliantly*, despite the poorness of the piano. (CIDE *play* verb)

V+PrepP  Haden has *played with many jazz greats*. (LDOCE *play*$_1$ 3)

V+Prep  He *played for me*. (Cobjuild *play* 11)

V+NP  He’s learning to *play the piano*. (LDOCE *play*$_1$ 3)

V+NP  He will *play concerts* in Amsterdam and Paris. (Cobjuild *play* 13)

The phrase *play second fiddle (to sb)* can also be mentioned in this connection: the expression refers to “be[ing] in a lower position or rank than someone else” (LDOCE *play*$_1$ 22).

In addition, (2) “if a radio, CD etc plays, or if you play it, it produces sound, especially music” (LDOCE *play*$_1$ 4). In this case, *play*$_3$ can appear alone, be followed by an adverbial phrase or a prepositional phrase, or it may have a noun phrase as object:

(2)

V+PrepP  There is classical music *playing in the background*. (Cobjuild *play* 12)

V+NP  DJs *playing the latest house and techno tracks* (LDOCE *play*$_1$ 4)

V+NP  She *played her records* too loudly. (Cobjuild *play* 12)
4.4.2.4  *Play*$_4$ (“act”; “pretend”; “behave”)

This variant of the verb *play* has both a literal meaning and a figurative meaning: one has to do with the theatre and acting, and the other is connected with behaviour, influencing, and pretending. *Play*$_4$ has an intransitive function when it entails the following meaning: “if a play or film is playing at a particular theatre, it is being performed or shown there” (LDOCE play$^1$ 5b):

V+PrepP  I didn’t realize that ‘Macbeth’ was *playing* at the Guildhall. (CIDE play verb)

When *play*$_4$ is used to describe how an actor portrays a particular character in a theatre performance or in a film it is transitive, as in the following example:

V+NP  Streep *plays* a shy, nervous woman. (LDOCE play$^1$ 5a))

If an actor plays a theatre, it means that they are appearing in a play there (LDOCE play$^1$ 5c)).

In this sense, *play*$_4$ is again transitive. *Play*$_4$ has a more figurative meaning in the phrase *play a part/role in sth*, which is used to describe the effect something/someone has (LDOCE play$^1$ 6):

V+NP+in  A good diet and fitness *play a large part in helping people live longer*. (LDOCE play$^1$ 6)

In addition to this, *play*$_4$ means pretending, “[behaving] as if you are a particular kind of person or have a particular feeling or quality, even though it is not true” (LDOCE play$^1$ 8).

Phrases of the type *play dumb, play the teacher, play God* (all listed in LDOCE play$^1$ 8), or *play hard to get* (LDOCE play$^1$ 23), where the verb acts as a linking verb and occurs together with a complement (e.g. an adjective or a noun), are instances of this use of the verb *play*:

V+NP  He *played the fool* at school instead of working. (LDOCE play$^1$ 8)

V+NP  Hill tried to *play the peacemaker*. (Cobuild play 9)

Further instances of *play*$_4$ denoting behaviour, or “how someone deals with a situation” (Cobuild play 10), are expressions such as *play it safe, play it carefully, play it cool, and play*
it by ear. These are always transitive and followed by an adverb or a preposition, according to the LDOCE:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{V+NP+AdvP} & \quad \text{Investors are } \textit{playing it cautious}, \text{ and they’re } \textit{playing it smart}. \\
& \quad \text{(Cobuild } \textit{play 10}) \\
\text{V+NP+PrepP} & \quad \text{We’ll see what the weather’s like and } \textit{play it by ear}. \text{ (LDOCE } \textit{play}^1 \text{ 11a)})
\end{align*}
\]

4.4.2.5 Phrasal verbs

Finally, there are numerous phrasal verbs associated with the verb \textit{play}. For example, “\textit{play[ing] along} with a person, with what they say, or with their plans, you appear to agree with them and do what they want, even though you are not sure whether they are right”

(Cobuild \textit{play along}):

\[
\text{My mother has learned to } \textit{play along} \text{ with the bizarre conversations begun by my father. (Cobuild } \textit{play along})
\]

\textit{Play around (with), or play about} in British English (LDOCE), is a phrasal verb with several different senses, e.g. “behav[ing] in a silly way to amuse yourself or other people” or “try[ing] different ways of organizing a problem in order to find the best solution or arrangement”

(Cobuild \textit{play around}):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{When the teacher wasn’t looking, we used to } \textit{play about} \text{ a lot.} \\
& \quad \text{(LDOCE } \textit{play around (also play about)}) \\
\text{I can } \textit{play around with} \text{ the pictures to make them more eye-catching.} \\
& \quad \text{(Cobuild } \textit{play around})
\end{align*}
\]

A third phrasal verb related to play is \textit{play at}, which has three uses. First, saying that someone is playing at something, expresses disapproval because they are not acting seriously; second, it may be used of children pretending to be different characters; third, if you are wondering what someone is playing at, you do not know what they are up to (Cobuild \textit{play at}):
We were still *playing at* war – dropping leaflets instead of bombs. (Cobuild *play at*)

The children were *playing at* Batman and Robin. (CIDE *play verb*)

What do you think you’re *playing at*? (LDOCE *play at*)

A tape or film can be *played back*, i.e. listened to or watched after recording:

He bought an answering machine that *plays back* his messages when he calls. (Cobuild *play back*)

Next, an example of *play down*, which means “try[ing] to make people believe that [something] is not particularly important” (Cobuild *play down*):

Western diplomats have *played down* the significance of the reports. (Cobuild *play down*)

The LDOCE gives two meanings for *play off*: in British English, it refers to teams playing the final game in a sports competition, and in American English to “deliberately us[ing] a fact, action, idea etc in order to make what you are doing better or to get an advantage”:

The top two teams will *play off* at Twickenham for the county title. (LDOCE *play off*)

The two musicians *played off each other* in a piece of inspired improvisation. (LDOCE *play off sb/sth*)

*Play sb off against sb* is a phrasal verb that means causing an argument between other people in an attempt to gain advantage from the situation:

The house seller may try to *play one buyer off against* another, to raise the price. (LDOCE *play off against*)

*Playing on/upon* denotes exploiting someone’s fears, weaknesses etc for one’s own ends:

an election campaign which *plays on* the population’s fear of change (Cobuild *play on*)

In the Cobuild, the meaning of *play out* is described so that “[i]f a dramatic event is played out, it gradually takes place” and it is pointed out that the verb usually occurs in the passive:

Her union reforms were *played out* against a background of rising unemployment. (Cobuild *play out*)
Play (sb) up has three senses (emphasizing something, causing problems, and children behaving badly) according to the dictionaries, exemplified in the following sentences:

*Play up your strongest arguments in the opening paragraphs. (LDOCE play up)*

The engine had been *playing up.* (Cobuild play up)

I hope the kids don’t *play you up.* (LDOCE play up)

Behaving well in order to benefit from the situation is the meaning of the phrasal verb *play up to sb:*

Connie always *plays up to her parents* when she wants money. (LDOCE play up to sb)

The final phrasal verb to be listed in the dictionaries is *play with.* It also carries many meanings, one of which was mentioned in 4.4.2.1. Some other examples include:

After university, I *played with* the idea of teaching English in China. (= consider) (LDOCE play with)

The budget is very tight, so there isn’t much money to *play with.* (= available) (LDOCE play with)

4.5 Finnish equivalents of the verb *play*

4.5.1 Dependents and inflection

In terms of Huddleston’s criteria on dependents and inflection, Finnish verbs are very similar to English verbs: they can be intransitive, ‘semi-transitive’ or transitive and can have different types of dependents. Finnish verbs occur in the active and passive form, inflecting in six persons in the active. Verbs also inflect for present and past tense. Nevertheless, these features will not be discussed in any more detail here because they would have to be examined in terms of all four Finnish equivalents (*leikkiä, pelata, soittaa, näytellä*) and that
would make the task too laborious for our purposes. After all, the aim of this study is to investigate the English verb and how it can best be translated correctly into Finnish, and therefore it is the properties of the verb *play* that will continue to be our main focus. Even so, in the next section (4.5.2), I will present an overview of the Finnish equivalents of *play*.

4.5.2  *Leikkiä, pelata, soittaa, näytellä*

4.5.2.1  *Leikkiä*

The most usual counterpart for *play* is presumably the verb *leikkiä*, which is obviously related to the noun *leikki*. *Leikkiä* appears in both intransitive and transitive constructions. The meaning of *leikkiä* is by no means straightforward, however, for KTSK gives as many as four definitions for the verb (simplified in the following):

1. harjoittaa leikkiä, e.g. *leikkiä nukella, leikkiä kotia*
2. suhtautua jhk kevyesti, e.g. *aseella ei saa leikkiä, leikkiä tulella*
3. yrittää (vars. vastoin edellytyksiään) olla jk t. näyttää jltak, e.g. *leikkiä maailmannaista, leikkiä psykiatриa*
4. kuv. vrt. *leikki*, e.g. *varjot leikkivät seinillä*

The 1st, 2nd and 4th meanings of the Finnish verb correspond to those given to *play* in 4.4.2.1, but the 3rd meaning in this description is actually better associated with *play* (näytellä), which denotes pretence, among other things, as was stated in 4.4.2.4.
4.5.2.2  Pelata

The Finnish translation of \textit{play}$_2$, \textit{pelata}, is again connected with a noun (\textit{peli}). It is used of “erilaisista leikin tavoin t. urheiluna harjoitettavista tav. määrästäntöisistä toiminnoista” (KTSK \textit{pelata}). This concerns (1) “ajanvietepelit” and (2) “urheilupelit”:

(1) \textit{Pelata} pasiassia. (KTSK \textit{pelata})

Hän \textit{pelaa} hyvin. (Hurme et al. \textit{pelata})

\textbf{Kuv. Pelata} avoimin kortein (= toimia avoimesti, mitään salaamatta). (KTSK \textit{pelata})

Yhtiö \textit{pelasi} varman päälle (= ei ottanut riskejä). (KTSK \textit{pelata})

(2) \textit{Pelata} jääkiekkoa. (KTSK \textit{pelata})

\textit{Pelata} välihyökkääjänä. (KTSK \textit{pelata})

Suomi \textit{pelasi} Ruotsia vastaan (Hurme et al. \textit{pelata})

\textit{Pelata} aikaa, \textbf{myös kuv.} pyrkiä aikaa voittamalla säilyttämään (peli)tilanne. (KTSK \textit{pelata})

\textit{Pelata} can be used transitively (e.g. \textit{pelata tennistä}), and it can be followed by an adverbial dependent (e.g. \textit{pelata väärin}). Interestingly, the Finnish verb \textit{pelata} also means “soida”, according to the KTSK. Instead of translating a sentence like \textit{music was playing as musiikki soi}, it would then also be possible to say \textit{musiikki pelasi}. It should be noted, however, that this is hardly a common expression in modern Finnish. Another meaning of \textit{pelata} is “toimia” or “sujua”, but this is not connected with \textit{play}$_2$, since it translates as \textit{work} or \textit{function} (Hurme et al. \textit{pelata}):

Moottori \textit{pelasi} hienosti. = The engine \textit{worked} beautifully. (Hurme et al. \textit{pelata})
4.5.2.3  Soittaa

*Play*3 ("perform music; produce sounds") is ordinarily expressed in Finnish by the verb *soittaa*. This means “tuottaa ääntä, säveliä jnk soittimen avulla, esittää soitinmuusikka”, and also “toistaa tallennettua musiikkia äänentoistolaitteella” (*KTSK soittaa*). *Soittaa* can be transitive or have an adverbial dependent:

- **V+NP**  
  *Soittaa* rumpuja orkesterissä. (*KTSK soittaa*)

- **V+NP**  
  *Soittaa* Sibeliusta. (*KTSK soittaa*)

- **V+NP**  
  *Soittaa* äänilevy/kasetti. (*KTSK soittaa*)

- **V+AdvP**  
  *Soittaa* hyvin/puhtaasti/väärin. (*KTSK soittaa*)

Other meanings of *soittaa* have to do with ringing and telephoning, which are not meanings of *play*3, however.

In connection with this musical meaning of *play*, we should mention a feature of certain Finnish verbs referred to as “yksipaikkaisuus muottina”, which is discussed by Hakulinen et al. (2004, 453). This is also a feature of English verbs (‘semi-transitivity’) and was discussed in section 4.4.1.1 above. Hakulinen et al. state that verbs which normally take an object, an adverbial complement, or both, can to some extent occur without these dependents. This is possible (1) with ellipsis, (2) when the function of the dependent is clear from the context, and (3) when the nature of the function is irrelevant. In such cases, the action expressed by the verb is presented without mentioning the object of that action (e.g. *Hän on vielä syömässä*).

Hakulinen et al. (2004, 454) go on to say that this “`semi-transitive´ use may diverge from the other meanings of the verb” and that this “divergence may be field-specific”. For example, in musical contexts, the verb *soittaa* is used to denote “performing on a musical instrument”:

Vuonna 1965 hän *soitti* ensi kerran Pariisissa ja yleisö osoitti suosiotaan seisaaltaan. (Modified from Hakulinen et al.’s example)
4.5.2.4 Näytellä

In KTSK, the equivalent of \textit{play}, näytellä, is in the first place defined as “esittää osaa näytelmässä, elokuvassa tms.” Secondly, figurative nuances corresponding to those of \textit{play} (play a role in sth; pretend) are also found:

Teatterissa näyteltiin Shakespeareen näytelmää “Romeo ja Julia”. (NSS näytellä)

Mielikuvitus näytelee suurta osaa kirjailijan luomistyössä. (NSS näytellä)

Poika katseli tyttöä välinpitämätöntä näytellen. (NSS näytellä)

There is also another sense to the Finnish verb näytellä, i.e. “näyttää, paljastaa näkyviin, esitellä” (SSKS):

[Hän] näyteli vieraille mielellään perhoskokoelmaansa. (SSKS näytellä)

In English, this would nevertheless be expressed by using the verb \textit{show}, so this use need not concern us.
4.6 Contrastive analysis of the verb *play*

We can now draw up a table showing the correspondences between the English and Finnish verbs on the basis of the descriptions in sections 4.4 and 4.5 above. Table 2 below is divided into two parts for convenience. The examples have been drawn from Hurme et al., WSOY, Gummerus, the Cobuild, and the LDOCE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meanings</th>
<th>“have fun”</th>
<th>“take part in a game/sport”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“move gently over a surface”</td>
<td>play₁</td>
<td>leikkiä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive (alone)</td>
<td>The children are playing. (Hurme et al.)</td>
<td>Lapset leikkivät. (Hurme et al.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive + adverbial</td>
<td>Sunlight is playing on the waves. (Hurme et al.)</td>
<td>Aurinko leikkii laineilla. (Hurme et al.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Semi-transitive”</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive (animate subject)</td>
<td>Play house (WSOY)</td>
<td>(Lapsista:) Leikkiä kotia (WSOY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive (inanimate/abstract subject)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linking verb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participial Adjective</td>
<td>Playing, played</td>
<td>Leikkivä, leikkinyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>Playing</td>
<td>Leikkimenen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meanings</th>
<th>“perform music”</th>
<th>“produce sounds”</th>
<th>“act”</th>
<th>“pretend”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>play&lt;sub&gt;3&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>soittaa</td>
<td>play&lt;sub&gt;4&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>näytellä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive (alone)</td>
<td>A band was playing. (Cobuild)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive + adverbial</td>
<td>She played brilliantly, despite the poorness of the piano. (CIDE)</td>
<td>Soittaa hyvin/puhtasti/vääрин. (KTSK)</td>
<td>What’s playing at the local cinema? (Gummerus)</td>
<td>Mitä paikallisessa elokuvateatterissa esitetään? (Gummerus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Semi-transitive’</td>
<td>Haden has played with many jazz greats. (LDOCE)</td>
<td>Vuonna 1965 hän soitti ensi kerran Parisissa ja yleisö osoitti suosiotaan seisaaltaan. (Modified from Hakulinen et al.’s example)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive (animate subject)</td>
<td>He played the tape again. (Gummerus)</td>
<td>Hän soitti ääninauhan uudestaan. (Gummerus)</td>
<td>He will play Romeo. (Gummerus)</td>
<td>Hän näyttelee Romeota. (Gummerus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive (inanimate/abstract subject)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>A good diet and fitness play a large part in helping people live longer. (LDOCE)</td>
<td>Mielikuvitus näyttelee suurta osaa kirjailijan luomistyössä. (NSS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linking verb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Hill tried to play the peacemaker. (Cobuild)</td>
<td>Poika katseli tyttöä välinpitämätöntä näytellen. (NSS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participial adjective</td>
<td>Playing, played</td>
<td>Soittava, soitettu</td>
<td>Playing, played</td>
<td>Näyttelevä, näytelty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>Playing</td>
<td>Soittaminen</td>
<td>Playing</td>
<td>Näytteleminen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see from this framework, it would be difficult for a computer to find the correct Finnish translations for the different meanings of the verb *play*. In sections 5.4–5.6, we will therefore move on to an analysis of data from a corpus of Finnish and English to see if we can discover interesting structural patterns for each of the different meanings of the verb *play*. 
5 Corpus Analysis and Discussion of Data

5.1 The verb *work* in the TamBiC Corpus

In order to find all the examples of the verb *work* in the TamBiC Corpus, general searches were carried out for the strings *work*, *works*, *worked*, and *working* in the English-Finnish subcorpus and in the Finnish-English subcorpus. Sentence-initial instances were also automatically obtained, because the search engine does not make a distinction between upper and lower-case letters except when a case-sensitive search is specifically opted for. The data were sorted into groups (*työskennellä*, *toimia*, *liikkua*, *työstää*, *work-residue*) with the help of the TamBiC sorting program to make them easier to analyse.

5.2 Finnish Equivalents

The number of instances of *work* in the corpus totalled 1346. The figure also included a wealth of irrelevant instances: 900 of the examples consisted of nouns, adjectives, participial adjectives, and phrasal verbs such as *work*, *works*, *workshop*, *worker*, *workable*, *working-class* and *work out*, so they had to be discarded. The remaining examples amounted to 446 instances of the verb *work* which were examined in terms of congruence and equivalence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Congruent</th>
<th>Non-congruent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Work</em>/työskennellä</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Work</em>/toimia</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Work</em>/liikkua</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Work</em>/työstää</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>446</strong></td>
<td><strong>279</strong></td>
<td><strong>167</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A lack of congruence between the English and Finnish translations occurred in 167 sentence-pairs. In some cases the translations were so free that no clear equivalent for work could be distinguished. Among the non-congruent instances were sentence-pairs such as:

”Some of us earned more in six days than we did in an entire season working for the BBC,” said one player.
(ST3 3:9:38)
– Jotkut meistä ansaitsivat kuudessa päivässä enemmän kuin kokonaisena BBC:n ohjelmakautena, kertoi eräs muusikoista.

”Houses an’ streets, an’- TV - they wouldn’t work.”
(GLD 5:481)
“Talot ja puut ja… televisio… ja kaikki - mikään ei olisi oikeata ja todellista.”

Hän teki Suomen ensimmäiset nelivärijulisteet, oli kiinnostunut metallipakotuksesta sekä huonekalujen ja taidetekstiilien suunnittelusta.
(TAR 1965:7)
He created Finland’s first four-colour posters, but he also worked in metal, and designed furniture and textiles.

ja alkoi oksien lomitse jalkojaan sovitellen harppoa pitkin petkin petäjän runkoa kohti latvaa ryhtyen sieltä käsin tyhjentämään oksia kävyistä.
(PTL 6:1:106)

Working his way among the branches toward the top of the tree, he began to strip off the pine cones.

In the end, then, 279 (187+69+19+4) out of 446 examples were usable. Table 4 below shows the statistics for the correspondences between the English verb work and työskennellä, toimia, liikkua and työstää:

Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Työskennellä</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>work₁</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Toimia</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>work₂</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Table 4 above, työskennellä was found as the equivalent of work₁ in 85 cases out of 187, which equals 45% of all congruent examples. Työskennellä was thus used in nearly half of the examples. Here are two examples of work₁ drawn from the corpus data (See Appendix 1a for more examples):

He has worked as both journalist and photographer, contributing to various magazines and other publications.

(HKI 1:2:12)

Hän on työskennellyt sekä toimittajana että valokuvaajana ja avustanut lukuisia aikakauslehtiä ja muita julkaisuja.

ja varsinkin ensimmäiset, Nils Bielke ja Gabriel Oxenstierna, työskentelivät tarmokkaasti ja määättetoisesti hallinnon yhtenäistämiseksi.

(JUT 5:2:66)

and especially the first governors-general, Nils Bielke and Gabriel Bengt’s son, Oxenstierna, worked vigorously to achieve uniformity between the administrative systems of Finland and Sweden.

Nevertheless, we are left with as many as 102 sentences (55%) in which another verb was chosen instead of the one expected. In fact, the synonyms were quite manifold and varied, amounting up to 30 verbs which ranged from ahertaa and olla palveluksessa to raataa and touhuta. Tehdä (alone) / tehdä työtä proved the second most popular verb after työskennellä with 41 instances:
They had worked all their lives for their wages;
(FOW 26:50)
He olivat tehdet koko elämänsä ajon työtä palkkansa edestä

but the wandering labourer who worked for a daily wage had to be and was content with salt fish and skimmed milk to vary the taste of his bread and potatoes.
(SIL 13:189)

None of the other verbs stood out as clearly as tehdä (alone) / tehdä työtä. Olla työssä occurred in the data 10 times:

Neil oli eron iskiessä töissä eräissä Britannian lukuisista häälehdistä.
(TRA C100:3)
At the time of her divorce, Neil was working on one of Britain’s numerous wedding magazines.

Valmistella and tutkia were both used four times: in their cases, work₁ was followed by on+NP.

He established his own rival laboratories and, to the fury of his former colleagues, started working on the human genome.
(ST2 9:6:21)
Hän perusti omia, kilpailevia laboratorioitaan ja alkoi entisten kollegoidensa raivoksi tutkia ihmisen genomia.

The rest of the verbs each appeared three times or fewer. (See Appendix 1b for more examples)

5.2.2 Work₂ (toimia)

The anticipated equivalent for work₂, toimia, was favoured in 42 out of 69, i.e. 61%, of the cases. This seems to indicate that the chosen equivalent was the correct one. Examples of work₂ with the translation toimia were found both in the concrete sense of “functioning” and the abstract sense of “having an effect” (See Appendix 2a for fuller examples):
It is significant that while a study of the internal structure of a clock will tell you how it \textit{works}, it won't tell you what clocks are for.

\textit{(COR 1:1:26)}

On merkittävä asia, että vaikka kellon sisäisen rakenteen tutkiminen paljastaa, miten se \textit{toimii}, se ei kerro mitä varten kelloja on.

And her magic \textit{works} in ways that are not immediately obvious to Harry’s adoring young public.

\textit{(ST3 6:5:34)}

Lisäksi hänen magiansa \textit{toimii} tavoilla, joita Harrya jumaloiva nuori yleisö ei välttämättä tajua.

In 39\% (27 out of 69) of the cases, \textit{work$_2$} did not have \textit{toimia} as its equivalent. The verbs \textit{onnistua} (4), \textit{sujua} (4), \textit{tehota} (3) and \textit{vaikuttaa} (3) were the most popular alternatives and were used in the sense "to have an effect":

- Suomessa influenssaa on tänä vuonna aiheuttanut lähinnä toinen Influenssavirus, H3N2. Siihen Tamiflu \textit{tehoaa} yhä hyvin…

\textit{(HS9 3:7:6)}

This year’s Finnish influenza virus is a different one - H3N2, against which Tamiflu still \textit{works} well…

- It’s \textit{worked} because Cliff is such a nice person anyway.

\textit{(OSB 2:1:94)}

Kaikki on \textit{sujunut} siksi, että Cliff on niin viehättävä ihminen.

The other equivalents were \textit{antaa}, \textit{auttaa}, \textit{kulkea}, \textit{käydä}, \textit{olla kunnossa}, \textit{pelata}, \textit{purra}, \textit{sopia}, \textit{tapahtua}, \textit{tepsiä} and \textit{tulla} \textit{(jtak)}. For more examples, see Appendix 2b.

\smallskip

5.2.3 \textit{Work$_3$} (\textit{liikkua})

The choice of a suitable equivalent proved tricky with \textit{work$_3$}, for which \textit{liikkua} was suggested as a possible translation. \textit{Liikkua} was used only in one out of seventeen (6\%) cases:

- But they are \textit{working} far out and fast.

\textit{(HEM 3:151)}

Mutta ne \textit{liikkuvat} kaukana ja nopeasti.

\textit{Hivuttautua}, \textit{hyöriä}, \textit{kiihottaa}, \textit{kuohuttaa}, \textit{liidellä}, \textit{norjistaa}, \textit{näykkää}, \textit{siirrellä}, \textit{siirtyä}, \textit{työnnellä} and \textit{vääntäytyä} were the other Finnish counterparts used for \textit{work$_3$}. (For full
examples, see Appendix 3.) As far as the concrete sense of work\textsubscript{3} (“move”) goes, it was most often expressed using the Finnish verb hivuttautua, which occurred seven times:

He started to work his way back to the stern on his hands and knees, being careful not to jerk against the fish.

(HEM 8:19)
Hän alkoi kontaten hivuttautua peräään päin ja varoi nykäisemästä kalaa.

There was one example which represented the figurative sense of work\textsubscript{3}. In this case, the reflexive verb kiihottaa (itseään) was used:

He seemed to be working himself into a little artificial rage.

(GRE 2:1c:203)
Hän näytti kiihottavan itseään pieneen keinotekoiseen raivoon.

It ought to be noted, however, that the data included sixteen examples from the same author, Hemingway, while the remaining three examples were from novels by Golding, Greene, and Lessing. Work\textsubscript{3} was translated as siirtyä, kiihottaa, and hyöriä, respectively, in these cases, so all the examples of hivuttautua were thus found in the same source. Therefore, even though it was the most popular Finnish verb in this data, it does not necessarily mean that it would be the most obvious choice as the Finnish counterpart for work\textsubscript{3} in general; for instance, it did not appear in any of the previously studied dictionary entries for work\textsubscript{3}.

5.2.4 Work\textsubscript{4} (työstäää)

There were just four examples representing work\textsubscript{4} (työstäää). All of the instances had another Finnish equivalent instead of the one expected. No single Finnish verb was favoured but each example contained a different verb (kokeilla, sekoittaa, sotkea, and vaalia). Examples included (See also Appendix 4):

Work the flour and butter together to form a paste.

(POM 1:7:18)
Sekoita voi ja jauhot tahnaksi.
5.3  Further analysis of the English verb *work*

In this section, the corpus findings will be discussed in terms of Huddleston’s and Sinclair’s theory of syntactic environments. We will begin by considering inflections and then move on to dependents. This will then be extended to see which lexical collocates are associated with each meaning.

### 5.3.1  Inflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflections</th>
<th>work₁ (työskennellä)</th>
<th>work₂ (toimia)</th>
<th>work₃ (liikkua)</th>
<th>work₄ (työstä)</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base form: work</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catenative + to + work</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modal auxiliary + work</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General present tense: work</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person singular present tense:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>works</em></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past tense: worked</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present participle: working</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past participle: worked</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>187</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from Table 5, all the six basic inflections appeared in the data. The base form *work* was the third most used inflectional form among *work₁* (työskennellä), *work₂* (toimia) and *work₃* (liikkua), and *work₄* (työstä), appearing in 66 out of 279 cases (24%). In 33% (22 out of 66) of the cases, the base form was preceded by a catenative verb. In 27% (18 out of 66) of the examples, it was preceded by a modal auxiliary.

I don’t *want to work* with colleagues who act as if we were islands.

(MSC 3:13)

En halua *tehdä työtä* sellaisten kollegojen kanssa, jotka käyttäytyvät kuin olisimme saaria, vailla kosketusta ympäröivään maailmaan.
you could work on a plantation and earn good money and nobody interfered.
(GRE 2:1a:267)
siellä saattoi työskennellä plantaaseilla ja ansaita hyvät rahat kenenkään häiritsemättä.

The base form was the most commonly used inflectional form with work₂ (toimia) (28%),
when taking into account all the different cases (4+6+9=19 out of 69):

The Bomb-itty of Errors flows from the Shakespearian source, but would also
work well in an open-air bear pit such as the Globe.
(ST3 5:1:38)
Bomb-itty of Errors on peräisin Shakespearen lähteistä, mutta se toimisi hyvin
myös The Globen kaltaisessa avokattoisessa amfiteatterissa.

The general present tense work was used in just 8% (23 out of 279) of all cases:

Siksi me työskentelemme joka päivä ollaksemme kehujen arvoisia ja
päästäksemme yhä parempaan lopputulokseen.
(MSK 2:18)
This is why we work hard every day to stay worthy of the praise we have
received and to improve our results still further.

Table 5 shows that the 3rd person singular present tense was the least frequently used tense in
the corpus data. It made up 7% (20 out of 279) of the inflectional forms. It was, however, the
third most typically used tense with work₂ (toimia) (12 out of 69 cases, i.e. 17%):

It works so swiftly and dexterously that it is not easy to analyse exactly how it
achieves its results.
(ATT 3:40)
Kaikki tämä tapahtuu niin nopeasti ja niin sujuvasti, että tapahtuman
yksityiskohtien seuraaminen on vaikeata.

According to the table, work₃ (liikkua) is usually not used in the general present or in the 3rd
person singular present tense. The sample for work₃ (liikkua) was nevertheless quite small,
consisting only of 19 examples, so any definite conclusions cannot really be drawn from that.
In a larger set of data, general present or 3rd person singular present tense forms might have
appeared. Similarly, the data for work₄ (työstää) was also scarce (4 examples), so drawing
definite conclusions on the basis of the examples is difficult.
The past tense *worked* was the second most frequent tense in the corpus data. It was used in 25% (71 out of 279) of all cases and it was also the second most frequently employed tense with *work*\textsubscript{1} (*työskennellä*) (26%) and *work*\textsubscript{2} (*toimia*) (20%):

His father *worked* for an agricultural company and the family moved to Rome when Montezemolo was six.

(St3 2:3:64)

Hänen isänsä *työskenteli* maatalousyrityksessä, ja perhe muutti Roomaan Montezemolon ollessa kuusivuotias.

All of these contraptions *worked* - and indeed still work - on a more or less the same principle.

(SCI 11:1:12)

Kaikki sen kaltaiset laitteet *toimivat* silloin samoin kuin nykyäänkin jotakuinkin samalla tavalla.

The present participle *working* appeared in the corpus data most often: it covered 27% (74 out of 279) of the tenses. *Working* was used in particular with *work*\textsubscript{1} (*työskennellä*) (29%). In addition, it was the second most popular tense to occur with *work*\textsubscript{2} (*toimia*) (17%) and, together with the past tense *worked*, the most frequent inflectional form with *work*\textsubscript{3} (*liikkua*) (37%):

Even after a year (he was *working* at the planning mill now) when he saw her by day at all, it would be on Saturday afternoon or Sunday […]

(FLK 11:12)

Vielä vuoden kuluttua (hän *työskenteli* silloin höyläämössä) Christmas näki naisen vain lauantai-iltapäivinä tai sunnuntaina,

The past participle *worked* was one of the least frequent tenses in the corpus data. There were 25 examples of the past participle: these comprised 9% of the examples. According to the table, the past participle was most often used with *work*\textsubscript{1} (*työskennellä*) (19 out of 25 instances, i.e. 76%):

Sarin moved to California to study for a master’s degree and MBA at Berkeley, and he has *worked* there ever since.

(ST2 12:14:59)

Sarin muutti Kaliforniaksi opiskelemaan Berkeleyn MBA:han, jossa hän on *työskennellyt* siitä lähtien.
5.3.2 Dependents

(a) General overview

In Table 6 below are listed the occurrences of intransitive and transitive verbs, as well as linking verbs, participial adjectives and gerunds that were in the corpus data for all the meanings of the verb *work*.

Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>work₁</th>
<th>work₂</th>
<th>work₃</th>
<th>work₄</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>työskennellä</td>
<td>toimia</td>
<td>liikkua</td>
<td>työstää</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linking verb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participial adjectives</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerunds</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to *work₁* (*työskennellä*), the results in Table 6 suggest quite clearly that it is predominantly an intransitive verb: it was used intransitively in 177 out of 187, i.e. 95%, of the cases. There were seven examples (4%) of the transitive *work₁* (*työskennellä*), and the remaining three examples (1%) were gerunds.

They *worked*, he talking, she with her head down on the book.

(LAW B:299)

He *ahersivat*, Paul puhui, Miriam istui kumartuneena kirjan yli.

Me on viime aikoina saatu olla niin vähän yhdessä, minä olen joutunut tekemään pitkiä päiviä.

(TRI 2:1:393)

We’ve been together so little recently - I’ve been *working* late hours.

“*Työnteko* hidastaa opiskelua, mutta onneksi olen jo loppusuoralla”, hän sanoo.

(HS8 12:11:4)

“*Working* slows down my studies, but fortunately, I am in the final stretch,” she says.
The situation looks fairly similar with work₂ (toimia): with the clear majority of 96% (66 out of 69) of the corpus examples having no object, work₂ (toimia) appears mainly to be used intransitively. In addition, one transitive example and two gerunds were found:

Asukkaat ovat jo pystyneet toimimaan yhteistuumin, järjestäytyneen yhteiskunnan tavoin,
(HML 3:2:5)
The inhabitants have already been able to work together and function as a structured society.

but does she feel it’s vital to know the physical working of the harpsichord and clavichord from deep inside before recreating Bach on the modern piano?
(MSC 2:69)
Kysyn Hewittiltä kokeeko hän tärkeäksi tuntea cembalon ja klavikordin koneiston toimintaa soitettaessa Bachia modernilla pianolla.

As for work₃ (liikkua), it was the only one which was most often used transitively, in 53% (10 out of 19) of the cases. It is nevertheless possible for work₃ (liikkua) to appear intransitively, too, but the transitive usage was more typical at least within this set of data. Two participial adjectives also occurred.

he leaned against the wood of the bow and began, mechanically, to work the fingers of his left hand.
(HEM 6:165)
Hän nojautui kokkatuhtoa vasten ja alkoi tiedottomasti norjistaa vasemman kätensä sormia.

leaving that place, or realm, to clean growth and working insects because - I had to.
(LES 7: 134)
jättäen koko paikan tai alueen puhtaan kasvun ja hyörivien hyönteisten haltuun - koska minun oli pakko.

Work₄ (työstää) was used transitively in all examples:

Hän alkoi sotkea uudelleen taikinaa, ettei hänen tarvinnut kohdata tuijotustani.
(LAN 10:188)
She started to work the dough again to avoid meeting my stare.
(b) Intransitive uses

The general overview will be followed by a closer look at the intransitive uses of work\textsubscript{1} (työskennellä), work\textsubscript{2} (toimia) and work\textsubscript{3} (liikkua) with the help of Table 7 below.

Table 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>work\textsubscript{1} työskennellä</th>
<th>work\textsubscript{2} toimia</th>
<th>work\textsubscript{3} liikkua</th>
<th>work\textsubscript{4} työstää</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[I] Verb alone</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + time adv</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + place adv</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + manner adv</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + as + NP</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + for + NP</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + on + NP</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + with + NP</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Work\textsubscript{1} (työskennellä) was most typically combined with an adverbial of time, place or manner (16+39+35=90 out of 177 cases, i.e. 51%). Most often it was an adverbial of place that followed work\textsubscript{1}:

She worked in the shop, typed the bills, learned the book trade, charmed the customers - and then she wanted a baby. Douglas didn’t.
(WEL 17:175)

Annette työskenteli liikkeessä, kirjoitti laskut, oppi kirjakauppa- alan, lumosi asiakkaat - ja sitten hän halusi lapsen. Douglas ei halunnut.

She had never worked so hard.
(CAL 2:109)

Hän ei ollut koskaan työskennellyt niin ahkerasti.

The verb was followed by a prepositional phrase beginning with as, for, on, or with in 36% (7+14+22+21=64 out of 177) of the examples. The NP following as usually denoted an occupation, while the NP following for usually referred to a company. In the on + NP construction the NP tended to be particular question or idea. An NP denoting a person usually preceded prepositional phrases beginning with on:
who sang her first Norma at the Met in 1925 after eighteen months of working with the maestro.

(CAL 5:43)

joka lauloi ensi kertaa Norman osan Metissä 1925 työskenneltyään kahdeksantoista kuukautta maestron kanssa.

He worked for a chain of cinemas in the 1960s before joining McDonald’s, the fast food behemoth.

(ST3 2:1:4)

Hän työskenteli 1960-luvulla erään elokuvateatteriketjun palveluksessa ennen siirtymistään pikaruokajätti McDonald’sin palvelukseen.

In 13% (23 out of 177) of the cases, work1 (työskennellä) appeared without any following elements:

While he was working, Renoir arrived

(REN 16:7)

Hänen työskennellessään paikalle saapui Renoir.

Hän jäisi lukemaan, tekemään töitä.

(SIM 2:7:89)

He’d stay and read, work.

As for work2 (toimia), it was most often used together with an adverbial of time, place or manner (33 out of 66 cases, i.e. 50%), manner adverbials being by far the most common type:

Vaikka englantilainen kirjailija Fay Weldon ei tunnustaudu ohjelmalliseksi feministiksi, hänen teoksensa toimivat ohjelmallisesti.

(TRA T4:1)

Even though the English writer Fay Weldon does not admit to being a feminist with an agenda, her books work that way.

Despite being followed by an adverbial phrase in the majority of the examples, work2 also appeared alone in 23% of the examples:

Nevertheless, the tactic seems to work.

(ST3 3:7:25)

Taktiikka näyttää joka tapauksessa toimivan.

Work2 (toimia) was accompanied by a prepositional phrase beginning with as, for, on, or with in 13% of the cases. In three of the four examples of work2 (toimia) + as + NP, the NP designated a profession (e.g. a teacher). In this construction, work2 (toimia) was thus used in the same sense as work1 (työskennellä) (see also 4.2.2.2 above).

(TRA A108:6)

After this, she worked as a teacher in South Africa, and on returning to England in 1970, she entered a Carmelite nunnery in Norfolk, where she still lives.

My life would not work for most guys. . .

(ST3 5:5:33)

Minun elämäni ei sopsi useimmin kavereille . . .

As can be seen from Table 7, the intransitive work$_3$ did not appear on its own at all, nor did it occur with any of the prepositional phrases listed in the table. Instead, it typically appeared in combination with an adverbial of place (86%):

You have only yourself and you had better work back to the last line now, in the dark or not in the dark, and cut it away and hook up the two reserve coils. So he did it.

(HEM 5:15)

Ei ole muita kuin sinä itse, ja sinun olisi parasta hivuttautua viimeisenkin siiman luo, oli pimeä tai ei, katkaista se ja sitoa siihen molemmat varavyyhdet. Niin hän tekikin.

Table 8 summarizes the different kinds of subjects that work$_1$, work$_2$, and work$_3$ took:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>work$_1$</th>
<th>work$_2$</th>
<th>work$_3$</th>
<th>work$_4$</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[I] Animate Subject</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] Inanimate Subject</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] Abstract Subject</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of Table 8, it can be stated that the intransitive verb work in general prefers animate subjects over inanimate or abstract ones, since as many as 194 out of 250 subjects, i.e. 78%, represented the animate type. All of the examples of work$_1$ had an animate subject:

Among other scams, Abagnale pretended to be a doctor and worked as a hospital administrator for a year.

(ST3 1:1:65)

Muiden huipputustensa ohella Abagnale tekeytyi lääkäriksi ja työskenteli vuoden sairaalan hallintovirkailijana.
Work\textsubscript{3} (liikkua) also had solely animate subjects:

\begin{quote}
The dancing, chanting boys had worked themselves away till their sound was nothing but a wordless rhythm. \\
(GLD 5:482)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Tanssivat ja laulavat pojat olivat siirtyneet kauemmaksi, kunnes heidän äänenä kuului vain sanattomana rytminä.
\end{quote}

Work\textsubscript{2} differed from the other variants in that only 15\% of its subjects were animate, while 47\% were inanimate and 38\% abstract:

\begin{quote}
in fact he worked as a high-school teacher and basketball coach in New Albany, Indiana, before belatedly attaining his doctorate and passing briefly through the Army. \\
(SCI (8:4:36)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
mutta tosiasiassa hän toimi lukion opettajan [sic] ja baseball-valmentajana New Albannya, Indianassa, ennen kuin sai jälkikäteen tohtorin arvon ja joutui joksikin aikaa armeijaan.
\end{quote}

Samalla häntä jännitti tuo alituinen konekiväärimiehen pelko: toimisiko ase. \\
(LIN 9:4:32)

At the same time he was torn by the machine gunner's constant anxiety: would the weapon work.

His approach of appealing directly to the public worked, because ground zero does not have a conventional client figure at its head. \\
(ST3 3:2:27)

Hänen tapansa vedota suoraan yleisöön onnistui, koska tämän rakennuskohteen tilaaja ei ole tavanomainen asiakas.

Since there was some variation in the subject types of work\textsubscript{2}, they will be examined more closely in Table 9:

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Structure} & \textbf{work\textsubscript{2}} & & \\
& toimia & Other & \textbf{Totals} \\
\hline
[I] Animate Subject + Verb & 10 & - & \textbf{10} \\
[I] Inanimate Subject + Verb & 22 & 9 & \textbf{31} \\
[I] Abstract Subject + Verb & 8 & 17 & \textbf{25} \\
\hline
\textbf{Totals} & \textbf{40} & \textbf{26} & \textbf{66} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Table 9.}
\end{table}
61% (40 out of 66) of the work\textsubscript{2} examples had toimia as their Finnish equivalent. Only toimia was preceded by animate subjects: they did not occur with any of the other Finnish verbs used of work\textsubscript{2}.

Suomeen 1921 muuttanut Pihl-Klee toimi Kuusankoskella piirustuksenopettajana kertomatta kenellekään korunssuunnittelijataustastaan.

(TAR 2005:10)
Pihl-Klee came to Finland in 1921 and worked as a drawing instructor in Kuusankoski. She never told anyone there of her history as a designer of jewellery.

Inanimate subjects were most frequently paired with toimia (22 out of 31 examples, i.e. 71%).

Lisäksi Sampo Pankin maksukorttien [sic] ovat useaan kertaan lakanneet toimimasta.

(HS8 8:14:12)
In addition, debit cards issued by Sampo stopped working on many occasions.

Choosing another Finnish verb instead of toimia (e.g. tehota, vaikuttaa, onnistua) as the equivalent for work\textsubscript{2} seemed to be a viable option especially in those cases where the subject was abstract (e.g. mind, forces of the new age, approach). This was the case with 68% (17 out of 25) of the examples.

Hän halusi kertoa ja minä tarvitsin tarinaa, mutta yhteistyö ei suju niin kuin olin sen kuvitellut.

(LAN 10:243)
He wanted to tell a story and I needed one, but the collaboration isn’t working they way I had imagined it would.
(c) Transitive uses

The transitive examples of *work* amounted to 22 altogether in the corpus data:

Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>work₁ työskennellä</th>
<th>work₂ toimia</th>
<th>work₃ liikkua</th>
<th>work₄ työstäät</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[T] Animate S+V+O</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[T] Inanimate S+V+O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[T] Abstract S+V+O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 above shows that nearly all (95%) of the transitive cases of *work* had animate subjects. Examples of the subjects of *work₁* (työskennellä) include *local personnel* and *entrepreneurs,* who. One of the examples was in the passive voice.

> Eroa selittää se, että Uudellamaalla työllisistä vain seitsemän prosenttia on yrittäjä, jotka tekevät palkansaajia pidempää päivää.

(YLE7 9:11:5)

The difference is attributed to the fact that only seven percent of those working in the Uusimaa region are entrepreneurs, who work loner [sic] days.

> “People were worked to death.”

(ST3 3:2:39)

- Ihmiset pakotettiin raatamaan itsensä kuoliaaksi.

There was one instance of *work₂* (toimia) as a transitive verb and its subject was inanimate:

> Painevaihtelut, lentokoneen kuiva ilma ja kiertoilmauunin tehokas kuumennus antavat joskus ennalta arvaamattoman säväyksen ruoan ulkonäölle.

(FNR 10:3:1)

Pressure fluctuations, the dryness of the cabin air and the efficient heating of fan ovens sometimes work unpredictable variations on the appearance of food.

The personal pronoun *he* was used as the subject of eight of the ten examples of *work₃* (liikkua). The other two subjects were *boys* and *school*:

> After the sun went down he tied it around his neck so that it hung down over his back and he cautiously worked it down under the line that was across his shoulders now.

(HEM 3:247)

> Auringon laskettua hän siitoi sen kaulansa sillä tavoin, että se riippui pitkin hänen selkäänsä, ja työnteli sitä varovasti siiman alle, joka nyt kulki hänen hartioittensa poikki.
and he watched the school working the water white and the bird now dropping and dipping into the bait fish that were forced to the surface in their panic.

(HEM 3:127)

ja hän katseli kalaparvea, joka kuohutti veden valkoiseksi, ja lintua, joka nyt syöksyi ja sukelteli täkykalaparveen, kun pakokauhu oli ajanut sen pintaan.

The instances of work₄ (työstää) also had personal pronouns as their subjects:

Hän alko sotkea uudelleen taikinaa…

(LAN 10:188)

She started to work the dough again…

(d) Objects

The findings concerning the different object types associated with work are summarized in Table 11 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object type</th>
<th>work₁ työskennellä</th>
<th>work₂ toimia</th>
<th>work₃ liikkua</th>
<th>work₄ työstää</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall number of transitive instances was quite small, but in this set of data, abstract objects appeared most frequently (55%), followed by inanimate objects (27%) and animate objects (18%). Work₁ (työskennellä) was most often followed by abstract objects, all of which were time-related (e.g. overtime; late hours; longer days; short weeks):

Paikalliset tekevät usein lyhennettyä työviikkoa.

(HS8 8:11:23)

Local personnel take a different approach and often work short weeks.
One example of work\textsubscript{1} (työskennellä) was in the passive voice: in the active, the object would have been animate (people). There was just one example of work\textsubscript{2} (toimia), but it had an abstract object which was variations. There were ten examples of work\textsubscript{3} (liikkua), and the objects of the sentences covered all of the object types quite evenly. Below, an example of work\textsubscript{3} (liikkua) with an inanimate object:

He adjusted the sack and carefully worked the line so that it came across a new part of his shoulders [...]  

(HEM 5:19)

Hän järjesteli säkkiä parempaan asentoon ja siirteli siimaa varovasti, kunnes sai sen kulkemaan uudessa kohdin selän poikki.

Work\textsubscript{4} (työstää) seemed to prefer inanimate objects. In the examples found, the inanimate objects related to cooking or baking (e.g. dough; flour and butter).
5.4 The verb *play* in the *TamBiC* Corpus

In order to find all the examples of the verb *play* in the *TamBiC* Corpus, general searches were first carried out for the string *play* in the English-Finnish subcorpus and in the Finnish-English subcorpus. The searches yielded examples of all the verb forms of *play*, but also resulted in many irrelevant hits (e.g. *player*, *playground*, *playwright*, and the noun *play*). I therefore decided to perform new searches using the strings *play*, *plays*, *played*, and *playing* in the subcorpora, this time searching thus directly for the different inflectional forms. Sentence-initial instances were also automatically obtained, because the search engine does not make a distinction between upper and lower-case letters except when a case-sensitive search is specifically opted for.

5.5 Finnish equivalents

According to the search engine, there were 218 hits of *play* in the corpus (118 in the English-Finnish subcorpus + 100 in the Finnish-English subcorpus), 33 hits of *plays* (14+19), 88 hits of *played* (55+33), and 130 hits of *playing* (76+54). These figures combined total at 469. I still checked the data manually and found that there were in fact altogether 477 tokens of *play*, *plays*, *played*, and *playing*. Some of the sentences contained more than one example of the verb, so perhaps not all of them showed in the figures given by the search engine. 76 of the instances were examples of the noun *play*, of phrasal verbs (e.g. *play down*), of other nouns (e.g. *play-station*, *playing card*), and one instance was a result of a typo (*playing* occurred in a sentence where it was clear from the context that the word *paying* had been
meant). These were then discarded and the remaining 401 verb examples were examined in terms of congruence and equivalence. The results were as follows:

Table 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Congruent</th>
<th>Non-congruent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Play/leikkiä</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play/pelata</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play/soittaa</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play/näytellä</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A lack of congruence between the English and Finnish translations occurred in 114 sentence-pairs. Among the non-congruent instances were sentence-pairs such as:

he said, "My dear, tell me what games you play..."
(GRE 2:1a:278)

hän sanoi: - Kultaseni, kerro millaïsia leikkejä sinulla on...

I never realised – you’d played for England?
(SHF 2:1:83)

Pelata Englannin puolesta!

Siinä paikassa vaikeni Vanhalan gramofoni ja riemusta uhkuen hän yhtyi ilmatoimintaan.
(LIN 10:2:163)

Vanhalan’s phonograph stopped playing, and blissfully he joined in the activity.

Hänen vastanäyteltelijänsä oli Ernesto Rossi.
(TAR 1873:7)

Playing opposite her was Ernesto Rossi.

In the end, then, 287 (42 + 71 + 112 + 62) out of 401 examples were usable.
Table 13 below shows the statistics for the correspondences between the English verb *play* and *leikkiä, pelata, soittaa* and *näytellä.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Leikkiä</th>
<th>Other</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>play&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pelata</th>
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<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>play&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>62</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Soittaa</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>play&lt;sub&gt;3&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Näytellä</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>play&lt;sub&gt;4&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.1  *Play<sub>1</sub> (leikkiä)*

The assumption that *leikkiä* is the primary Finnish equivalent for *play<sub>1</sub>* was proven to be true in 29 out of 42 instances, i.e. 69% of the corpus examples of *play<sub>1</sub>.* Here are two examples (see also Appendices 5a and 5b):

Ja siksi, että he pyysivät minua *leikkimään* kotia pienillä nukeilla ja tekivät vihkoon muistiinpanoja.
(HRV 12:19)

And because they asked me to *play* house with little dolls and jotted down notes in their notepads.
They *played* like young cats in the dusk and he loved them as he loved the boy.

(HEM 2:13)

Ne *leikkivät* hämärissä kuin nuoret kissat, ja hän rakasti niitä samoin kuin rakasti poikaa.

The closely related verb *leikitellä* occurred four times, in sentences such as the following:

“Those who want to exploit the unemployed for visual ends are *playing* with the fears and hopes of people in a shameless and despicable manner,” said Walter Hirrlinger, president of the VdK social federation.

(REU 3:9:10)

“He, jotka haluavat hyötyä työttömistä näkyvyyden vuoksi, *leikitselevät* häpeämättömällä ja halveksittavalla tavalla ihmisten peloilla ja toiveilla,” sanoi Walter Hirrlinger, sosiaalijärjestö VdK:n puheenjohtaja.

In two cases, the verb *telmiä* (which means roughly the same as *leikkiä*) was used:

"They are good," he said. "They *play* and make jokes and love one another.

(HEM 4:3)

"Ne ovat hyviä", hän sanoi. "Ne *telmivät* ja laskevat leikkiä ja rakastavat toisiaan.

There is no apparent reason why *leikkiä* could not have been used just as well: it was probably simply a case of stylistic choice. The verb *keikkua* appeared once:

*Hän katseli muurilla keikkuvia lapsia.*

(LAN 7:67)

She looked at the children *playing* on the wall.

It is a verb that denotes movement and describes quite concretely what the children seem to doing in the example sentence, i.e. sitting on top of the wall waving their legs etc.

The third case involved the verb *käyttää* which means *to use*:

...niin kuin poikainen, joka oli joutunut havaitsemaan, että hänen toivomansa leikkikalu oli liian monimutkainen *käyttää*.

(SIM 2:6:240)

...like a boy who is forced to realize the toy he had wished for is too complicated for him to *play* with.

As regards the figurative uses of *play*, the verbs *karehtia*, *vaihdella*, and *laikuttaa* were used in addition to *leikkiä*: 
A gentle, sympathetic smile played for a moment on his face, as if he'd forgotten something.

[...] siirtyi vuoteelleen istuskelemaan; hänen kasvoillaan vaihtelivat iloiset, epävarmat ja säikähtäneet ilmeet.

and [he] went back and sat on his bed, a stream of joyful, uncertain and fearful expressions again playing by turns across his face.

As late as the 1890s the German author Max Nordau wrote of a painting by Renoir of a woman “on whose skin light and shadow play so unfortunately that [...]”

Vielle 1890-luvulla saksalainen kirjailija Max Nordau kirjoitti eräästä Renoirin maalaamasta naiskuvasta: “Valo ja varjot laikuttavat mallin ihoa niin iljettävällä tavalla, että [...]”

Finally, in two examples, play₁ (followed by the preposition with) referred to relationships and fooling around, as it were. In these cases, the verbs naurattaa (naista) and pelehtiä (jnk kanssa) were the Finnish equivalents:

“Min tähen naistani nauratteli, / muorini kultainen.”

“Why did he play with my woman, / My dearest mother.”

They are only brought down if they are caught playing with naughty ladies.

Vain kiinni jääminen tuhmien tyttöjen kanssa pelehtimisestä voi heidät kaataa.

5.5.2 Play₂ (pelata)

With play₂, the expectations concerning its typical Finnish equivalent, pelata, were met nicely: 62 out of 71 examples (87%) had pelata as their equivalent (see also Appendix 6a):

“I’ve known you decades and I’ve never seen you play bridge.”

Olen tuntenut sinut vuosikymmeniä enkä ole vielä ikinä nähnyt sinun pelaavan bridgeä.
Kansainvälinen ottelu voi kestää jopa viisi tai kuusi päivää, jolloin pelataan
kuusi tuntia päivittäin:
(TRA 17:9)
An international match can even last five or six days, during which time they
play for six hours each day:

Only nine instances had a different counterpart. One of these, otella, basically means to play
against (sb):

…and he knew that the Yankees of New York were playing the Tigres of
Detroit.
(HEM 7:15)
…ja hän tiesi, että New Yorkin Jenkkien oli määrä otella Detroitin Tiikereitä
vastaan.

Four of the verbs contained a more specific reference to the kind of game or sport that was
being played, namely a ball game (olla pallossilla), a card game (olla kortilla), a game of dice
(heittää noppaa), and arm wrestling (vääntää kättä), e.g.:

…antaa keppiä = antaa kuritusta, heittää palloa = olla pallossilla.
(K-M B:2:2:20)
…antaa keppiä "to punish", heittää palloa "to play ball".

- Tänne on ilmaantunut puolikymmentä outoista reissumiestä, hän sanoi. - Olivat
äskennä saunassa kortilla...
(PTL 6:3:347)
"There are about a half-dozen travelers here," he said. "They were playing
cards in the sauna just now."

There were two examples of play2 being used in a figurative sense in the play the game –
construction that was mentioned in 4.4.2.2 above. In the first case, the translation (tehdä kuten
puolue käskee which roughly means to refuse to do what the party tells you to do) was fairly
free. In the other case, the phrase was translated as olla mukana kisassa (to take part in the
game):

their frequent unreadiness to play the party game owing to some scruple of
humanity or conscience.
(TRV 6:203)
ja monesti jostakin mitättömästä omantunnon- tai inhimillisyyssyystä
kieltäytyivät tekemästä, kuten puolue käski.
I played the game for seven years and then said “No more”.
(ST3 3:3:60)
- Olin mukana kisassa seitsemän vuotta ja sen jälkeen minulle riitti.

The final two examples were of the phrases play a trick with and play tricks on sb. The Finnish verbs used were tehdä temppu jllk and kujeilla, respectively. For fuller examples, see Appendix 6b.

5.5.3 Play3 (soittaa)

Compared with play2, the situation seemed somewhat more problematic with respect to play3, although a fairly high percentage of the examples (73%, i.e. 82 instances out of 112) did have the anticipated equivalent soittaa:

"if all pianists played Bach with such intelligence, stylistic sensitivity and utter musicality..."
(MSC 2:45)
"Jos kaikki pianistit soittaisivat Bachia yhtä älykkäästi, herkän tyylitajuisesti ja syvän musikaalisesti..."

Tämä soittikin sen hänen mielikseen, mutta pani sitten haitarin hyllylle...
(MER 2:123)
So he played it just to please him and then put the accordion back on the rack...

Nevertheless, 30 sentence-pairs still had other equivalents. On examining them more closely, four verbs stood out: esiintyä (7), esittää (6), soida (8), and soitella (6). In section 4.5.2.3 above, it was stated that soittaa can be accompanied by an adverbial dependent or be transitive or ‘semi-transitive’. In similar fashion, it might also be useful to consider esiintyä, esittää, soida and soitella in terms of their transitivity.

To start with, the verbs esittää and soitella both occurred in transitive constructions in the corpus examples. Esittää and soitella also seemed most like synonyms for soittaa. For instance, in the following example both esittää and soittaa occur, and they are practically interchangeable:
...which today makes me wish that each time I played the Spring I had been able to play Op. 23 [No.4].
(MSC 4:60)
...niin, että nykyään toivoisin aina Kevät-sonaattia esittäessäni soittaa sen edellä myös sonaatin opus 23 (numero neljä).”

Something else characteristic of soitella is shown in the following example, where soitella has a repetitive nuance that seems to suggest that the actions are being performed over and over again:

...ja he siirtyivät ulkosalle. Välillä he soittelivat Vanhalan gramofonia tai sitten laulaa möyrysivät itse.
(LIN 10:2:130)
...and they went outside to play Vanhala’s phonograph and sing.

In addition, the transitive verb käydä jk läpi (≈ soittaa kappale läpi) was found once, the verb pelata was used in one example in the sense soittaa, and muuttaa (nuotti) säveleksi appeared once (See Appendix 7a).

As for esiintyä and soida, on closer observation it can be noted that they actually have qualities that make it easy to distinguish them: ‘semi-transitivity’ (esiintyä and soida) and intransitivity (soida). Corpus examples of these uses include:

Semi-trans. "No, because in way [sic] I'd already made the transition before I started playing with Karajan.
(MSC 4:14)
"Ei, koska tietystä mielessä olin jo tehnyt sen siirtymän ennen kuin aloin esiintyä Karajanin kanssa.

Intrans. Like a seaside boarding house hung with fairy lights and log-cabin music playing.
(AMS 3:2:151)
Se oli kuin merenrantahotelli, paperilyhdyt heiluivat ja diskohumppa soi.

In all the examples, esiintyä and soida occurred without an object; esiintyä was followed by with + NP or for+NP. Nevertheless, as we have seen in 4.5.2.3 above, soittaa, too, can function without an object, and so a ‘semi-transitive’ or an intransitive play; need not be automatically translated as esiintyä or soida:
And Ludger said, "You're playing even better now, keep going..."

(MSC 2:125)

Tuottaja sanoi, että soitin nyt vielä paremmin kuin aiemmin ja pyysi minua jatkamaan.

For more examples, see Appendix 7b and Appendix 7c.

5.5.4 *Play*$_4$ (*näytellä*)

The most striking figures in Table 13 concern *play*$_4$ and *näytellä*: these show in fact that *play*$_4$ rarely corresponded with *näytellä*; indeed, only 22 out of 62 examples (35%) had the expected *näytellä* (see Appendix 8a), while 40 examples (65%) contained some other equivalent (see Appendix 8b):

In the film, Hanks *plays* a dour FBI investigator who chases the teenager relentlessly...

(ST3 1:1:69)

Tom Hanks *näyttelee* elokuvassa hapanta FBI-tutkijaa, joka metsästää teinipoikaa säälimättömästi...

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this is that the Finnish lexeme chosen was not the correct one, or at least not the most common one. Instead, *olla + merkitys/osarooli* (13 examples) and *esittää* (11 examples) were preferred throughout the examples. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the fact that *esittää* is a rather close synonym for *näytellä*, the state of affairs may not be so bad after all. *Esittää* and *olla + merkitys/osarooli* occurred with both the literal and figurative meanings of *play*$_4$:

Perinteisesti näytelmän vanhaa naishahmoa *esittää* mies ja nuorta sankaria taas nainen.

(TRA Q3:8)

Traditionally, the part of the old woman in the story is *played* by a man and that of the young hero by a woman.
...nor is it concerned with how people come to acquire languages or what part language plays in society.

(COR 1:5:28)

...eikä myöskään se, miten ihmiset voivat omaksua kieliä tai mikä osa kielellä on yhteiskunnassa.

The other verbs used were first of all esiintyä (1) and laulaa (1), which were quite similar in meaning to esittää. Laulaa appeared in the context of performing a role in an opera production. Merkitä (1), omaksua (1), toimia (1), vaikuttaa (1), and vallata (1) all appeared in more figurative contexts, e.g.:

Other film producers suspect such noble aspirations do not play at the box office.

(ST2 12:9:28)
Toiset filmituottajat eivät usko noin jalojen aatteiden merkitsevän mitään lippukassoilla.

that she must play a different role.

(FOW 24:75)
ja tajusi että hänen täytyi omaksua toisenlainen rooli.

_Hullutella/ruveta hulluksi_ (2), _hölmöillä/olla hölmöläinen_ (2), _(ei) intoilla_ (1), and _pelleillä_ (1) were used in combination with the phrases _play the clown, play the fool, play silly buggers, and play it low-key:_

Hänen talossaan ei kenelläkään ollut oikeutta _hullutella._

(PSL 10:129)
No one had the right to _play the fool_ under his roof.

Do you not see, Jones? We have been _playing silly buggers_ in this war, you and I.

(SMI 5:6:76)
Jones, etkö käsitä? Me kaksi olemme vain _hölmöilleet_ tässä sodassa.

_Turmella_ (1) corresponded to the phrase _play havoc with:_

pahimmissa tapauksissa ne _turmelevat_ alkuperäisten läjien elinmahdollisuudet tai heikentävät ihmisen toimeentuloa.

(KAL 05 10:12)
At worst they _play havoc with_ indigenous biotopes, or weaken people's chances of economic survival.

In addition, _play_ was expressed without a corresponding verb in two cases. The first case was the phrase _pyytää joulupukiksi,_ where the implied sense was _pyytää esittämään joulupukkia._
In the second case, the phrase menossa 5. viikko was used to express that a show was in its fifth week of running, with menossa corresponding to \textit{play}_4.

5.6 Further analysis of the English verb \textit{play}

In this section, the corpus findings will be discussed in terms of Huddleston’s and Sinclair’s theory of syntactic environments. We will begin by considering inflections and then move on to dependents. This will then be extended to see which lexical collocates are associated with each meaning.

5.6.1 Inflections

Table 14.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflections</th>
<th>\textit{play}_1 leikkiä</th>
<th>\textit{play}_2 pelata</th>
<th>\textit{play}_3 soittaa</th>
<th>\textit{play}_4 näytellä</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Base form: \textit{play}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catenative + \textit{to} + \textit{play}</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modal auxiliary + \textit{play}</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General present tense: \textit{play}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular present tense: \textit{plays}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past tense: \textit{played}</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present participle: \textit{playing}</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past participle: \textit{played}</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14 shows that all the six basic inflectional forms were represented among the corpus examples. With 92 out of 287 instances (32\%), the base form turned out to be the most frequent with \textit{play}_1 (leikkiä), \textit{play}_2 (pelata), \textit{play}_3 (soittaa), and \textit{play}_4 (näytellä). The table also
shows that, where the base form *play* was used, it was fairly often combined with either a catenative verb (23 out of 92 cases, i.e. 25%) or a modal auxiliary (22 out of 92 cases, i.e. 24%):

meidän luokkamme *alkoi* harjoitella ensimmäisiä otteita pihan voimistelutelineillä, *pelata* palloa...
   (PEK 3:6:6)

our class *began* to practice the rudimentary holds on the gymnastic apparatus in the playground, *to play* football...

Then *I'll play* them all over again...
   (MSC 2:116)

Sitten *soitan* kappaileita uudelleen ja uudelleen...

On the basis of Table 14, it can also be stated that *play*$_2$ (*pelata*) is not usually preceded by a modal auxiliary, and that *play*$_4$ (*näytellä*) is not usually preceded by a catenative verb.

The general present tense was represented among only 7% of the corpus examples, occurring most often with *play*$_2$ (*pelata*), in 10 out of 21 cases (48%):

As the sun becomes less fierce, they *play* football.
   (ST3 6:8:51)

iltapäivällä, kun aurinko ei enää paahda yhtä kuumasti kuin keskipäivällä, he *pelaavat* jalkapalloa.

The least favoured among the inflectional forms was the 3rd person singular present tense *plays* (6% of the corpus examples). Interestingly, though, Table 14 indicates that *plays* is quite often used with *play*$_4$ (*näytellä*), as this was the case in 63% of the instances:

who compared it to the film Mission: Impossible, in which Tom Cruise *plays* a master spy.
   (ST3 6:2:16)

He vertasivat temppua elokuvaan Vaarallinen tehtävä, jossa Tom Cruise *näyttelee* mestarivakoojaa.

In addition to *plays*, the past participle *played* stood out as another inflectional form typically occurring with *play*$_4$ (*näytellä*), since 48% of the past participle forms had that meaning:

"As the father of Spanish democracy the king has *played* a stabilising role,"
   said Paloma Gay y Blasco...
   (ST3 5:2:45)

...Paloma Gay y Blasco sanoo: - Espanjan demokratian isänä kuninkaalla on *ollut* vakauttava rooli.
The present participle was also frequent among the corpus examples, comprising 31% (90 out of 287 examples) of all the inflectional forms. As Table 14 shows, the present participle seems to be quite strongly associated with play₃ (soittaa): 49% of playing-forms had play₃ (soittaa) as their equivalent:

Somebody on the radio was playing Bach out of tune.
(MSC 2:17)
kun joku soitti radiossa Bachia epävireisesti.

Some examples of the forms played and playing as participial adjectives and gerunds were also found in the corpus data:

Tang pitää tärkeänä, että oopperaorkesteri soittaa myös sinfonikonsertteja, sillä hänen mukaansa ne parantavat soittamisen laatua.
(MSK 10:3:12)
Tang considers it important that the Orchestra of the Finnish National Opera should also play symphony concerts, since he feels that these improve the quality of the playing.

5.6.2 Dependents

(a) General overview

Table 15 below shows the occurrences of intransitive, ‘semi-transitive’, and transitive verbs, linking verbs, participial adjectives, and gerunds that were found among the corpus examples for each of the four meanings of the verb play.
Table 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>$play_1$ (leikkiä)</th>
<th>$play_2$ (pelata)</th>
<th>$play_3$ (soittaa)</th>
<th>$play_4$ (näytellä)</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Semi-transitive’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linking verb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participial</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participial</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participial</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards $play_1$ (leikkiä), Table 15 indicates that it is mainly used intransitively: 76% of the corpus examples occurred without an object:

but they soon adjusted themselves to our changed condition and began to play as before...

$play_2$ (pelata), in turn, occurs most often transitively (73%), but the intransitive form (14%) is also possible with $play_2$ (pelata). In addition, some constructions that could be interpreted as ‘semi-transitive’ were also found among the examples (13%):

Semi-trans. OSBORNE: I played for the English team on one great occasion.

If it looks like I’m starting to lose, I don’t bother to play anymore.
With respect to play\textsubscript{3} (soittaa), there was a fairly strong tendency towards transitivity, with 63\% of the corpus examples occurring with an object:

I know because Radio City interviewed the girl who \textit{played} \textit{lead guitar}.

(HWK 6:50)

Tiedän sen koska Radio City haastatti s tyttöä, joka \textit{soitti} \textit{kitaraa}.

And especially with \textit{play}\textsubscript{3} (soittaa), there occurred a number of ‘semi-transitive’ instances (23\%):

...Or does she feel she's \textit{playing} for herself, with the audience eavesdropping?

(MSC 2:102)

...Vai tunteeko hän \textit{soittavansa} lähinnä itselleen ja päästäväänsä yleisön ikään kuin salakuuntelemaan?

It should be noted, as well, that \textit{soida} was used in eight out of the nine intransitive cases of \textit{play}\textsubscript{3} (soittaa), as was to be expected, while \textit{soittaa} was used once:

Harmonin alkaessa \textit{soida} ja tyttöjen ja poikien äänien ruvetessa kohoilemaan...

(PEK 3:3:57)

When the harmonium began to \textit{play} and the girls' and boys' voices were raised in song...

According to Table 15, \textit{play}\textsubscript{4} (näytellä), for its part, rarely occurs in an intransitive construction and is most often used transitively (77\%, or 90\% when counting the linking verbs):

...the Czar Alexander, an impressionable young man, destined to \textit{play} many different parts in Europe's tragedy...

(TRV 5:209)

...tsaari Aleksanterin, herkän nuoren miehen, joka oli määrätty \textit{näyttelemään} monta erilaista osaa Euroopan murhenäytelmässä...

\textit{Play}\textsubscript{4} (näytellä) also was the only variant one to occur as a linking verb. Examples include:

nasty little insects crawled again in and out of slime: they had only been \textit{playing} \textit{dead}

(WEL 13:17)

ilkeitä pieniä hyönteisiä ryömi taas sinne tänne limassa, ne olivat vain \textit{näytteleet kuollutta}

just as Sam \textit{played} the meek footman with Charles, so did Charles sometimes \textit{play} the respectful nephew with the old man.

(FOW 26:109)
aivan samoin kuin Sam *esitti* Charlesille *nöyrää lakeijaa*, Charles itse *esitti* joksuks sedälle *kunnioittavaa veljenpoikaa*.

(b) Intransitive uses

Next, we will examine the intransitive cases more closely with the help of Table 16 below.

Table 16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>play₁ (leikkiä)</th>
<th>play₂ (pelata)</th>
<th>play₃ (soittaa)</th>
<th>play₄ (näytellä)</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[I] Verb alone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + time adv</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + place adv</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + manner adv</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + <em>for</em> + NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] V + <em>with</em> + NP</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Play₁ (leikkiä)* was by far most often followed by *with* + NP (59% of the corpus instances). In 34% of the cases, it was accompanied by an adverbial of time, place or manner, and in two cases it appeared alone:

Kun minä istuin jonkin kiven harjalla kalastamassa, he *leikkivät hietikossa*,

(PEK 4:2:112)

While I sat on a rock fishing, they would *play in the sand*.

According to early sources she posed for the charming young girl in the bottom left corner, *playing with a small dog*.

(REN 29:8:)

Aikalaistietojen mukaan Aline on teoksen vasemmassa alakulmassa istuva kaunis tyttö, joka *leikkii pienen koiran kanssa*. 
As Table 16 shows, play$_2$ (pelata) occurred alone once, but was usually either combined with an adverbial (50%), or with a prepositional phrase (40%). Play$_2$ (pelata) was followed by for + NP in the expression play for safety. Examples include the following:

Lisäksi minussa asui pisara epämoraalista olentoa, joka sai minut pelaamaan vaarallisella tavalla tuon olevaisen järjen kanssa...

(SIM 2:5:137)

In addition, there was a touch of the immoral in me which made me play$_2$ in a dangerous way, with that prevailing intelligence...

“The great Sisler’s father was never poor and he, the father, was playing in the big leagues when he was my age.”

(HEM 1:201)

“Suuren Sislerin isä ei ole koskaan ollut köyhä, ja hän - isä - pelasi suursarjoissa jo minun ässäni.”

Next, we may use Table 17 to investigate the ‘semi-transitive’ structures that occurred with play$_2$:

Table 17.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Semi-transitive’</th>
<th>play$_2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>Pelata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb alone</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + time adv</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + place adv</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + manner adv</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + for + NP</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + with + NP</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17 shows that play$_2$ is followed by the for + NP –construction when it is being used ‘semi-transitively’. In four of the seven instances the NP was a sports team and in three instances the NP indicated duration. The Finnish equivalent was pelata in each case:

Mihajlovic is still playing for Lazio…

(ST2 10:1:46)

Mihajlovich pelaa edelleen Lazion paidassa…
Rikas voi *pelata kauankin*, toisella viidentoista minuutin kauppareissu voi sekoittaa koko kuukauden talouden.

(HS8 8:7:44)

Rich ones can *play for a long time*, while for others, a 15-minute trip to the grocery store can wreak havoc on an entire month’s finances.

It could be said that in the example sentences above there is an understood object which has just been left unmentioned. In the first example the object seems to be football, and in the second one it is a gambling game of a sort. In the other two examples *play* was followed by an adverbial of place (*play in Europe*) and manner (*play together*).

The intransitive *play* (*soittaa*) was mainly accompanied by place and manner adverbials (78%) or appeared alone. It was not followed by *for + NP* or *with + NP* in any of the examples:

Jos viulun rakentaa täsmälleen ohjeiden mukaan, sen pitäisi *soittaa hyvin*.

(TRA J6:12)

If a violin is made precisely according to the instructions, it ought to *play well*.

In connection with *play* (*soittaa*), we may also take a look at the variety of dependents occurring with the ‘semi-transitive’ *play* (*soittaa*), as shown in Table 18 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Semi-transitive’</th>
<th><em>play</em></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structure</strong></td>
<td><em>Soittaa</em></td>
<td><em>Esiintyä</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb alone</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + time adv</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + place adv</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + manner adv</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + <em>for + NP</em></td>
<td>8 (+1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + <em>with + NP</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The translational equivalents for the ‘semi-transitive’ *play* (*soittaa*) were *soittaa* and *esiintyä*, of which *soittaa* was the more popular one. *Play* (*soittaa*) most typically appeared in combination with a prepositional phrase (14 out of 27 cases, i.e. 52%). Unlike *esiintyä*, the
'semi-transitive' *soittaa* typically appeared alone or followed by a place adverbial (e.g. *at private parties*). *Soittaa* was most often paired with *for + NP*, with the NP denoting a person (*my producer, her, my new teacher, the Sultan of Brunei*) in all except two cases:

...Or does she feel she's *playing for herself*, with the audience eavesdropping?  
(MSC 2:102)  
...Vai tunteeko hän *soittavansa lähinnä itselleen ja päästäväänsä yleisön ikään kuin salakuuntelemaan?  

The two phrases, *play for their share of the feast* and *playing for all it was worth*, could formally be classified as cases of *V + for + NP*, although they may better be described as adverbials of purpose and manner. The (+1) was a case of *V + to + NP*, with the NP again denoting people (*the people next door had asked Janne to play to them*). The example seemed similar in meaning to most of the *V + for + (human) NP* cases, so it was grouped together with them. The ‘semi-transitive’ *esiintyä* was typically followed by *with + (human) NP*:

...*I played with the greatest orchestras and conductors* very early...  
(MSC 4:23)  
...jo hyvin varhain *esiinnyin merkittävimpien orkestereiden ja kapellimestareiden kanssa.*

There was also one example of *soittaa + with + NP*, but it did not refer to playing with someone but acted as an adverbial of manner (*I used to sit there...watching him play with his hands up by his nose*).

As for *play* (näytellä), Table 16 shows that while it is not typically used intransitively, the intransitive construction is nonetheless possible:

Fancy, Jim, to be in love and play Juliet! To have him sitting there! To play *for his delight!*  
(WLD 5:203)  
Ajatteles, Jim, olla rakastunut ja näytellä Juliaa! Nähdä hänet katsomolla!  
*Näytellä hänen iloksensa!*  

Then came that dreadful night – was it really only last night? – when she *played so badly*, and my heart almost broke.  
(WLD 8:161)  
(c) Transitive uses

The following table summarizes the different types of transitive uses of *play*:

Table 19.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>play₁ leikkiä</th>
<th>play₂ pelata</th>
<th>play₃ soittaa</th>
<th>play₄ näytellä</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[T] Animate S+V+O</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[T] Inanimate S+V+O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[T] Abstract S+V+O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from Table 19 - in the light of the 92% majority (163 out of 177 instances) - that the verb *play* in general clearly prefers animate subjects over inanimate or abstract ones. For example the transitive *play₁* only had animate, human subjects. There were nevertheless some borderline cases: for example such entities as *God* and a *domvoi*, a Russian house gnome, occurred as the subjects of *play₂*. They were classified as animate subjects after some consideration. *Play₂* also had some sports teams as subjects, e.g. *the Yankees of New York* and *Colorado Avalanche*, which were also classified as animate subjects since the teams are made up of individual players:

... *Colorado Avalanche* *pelaa* Helsingissä näytösottelun Jokereita vastaan syyskuun puolivälissä.

(HS1 6:25:4)

*Colorado Avalanche* will be *playing* a pre-season friendly match against Helsinki Jokerit in the capital.

There were three cases of inanimate subjects with *play₃*, namely *the violin*, *twelve violins*, and *the Indian city of Calcutta*, which, it was stated in the sentence, *will start playing calming classical music at its subway stations*. Here is an example with *the violin*:

*Viulu* *soittaa* toistuvat neljä laskevaa säveltä aluksi synkopoituna pianon rytmiin nähden.

(MSK 2:3:9)

*The violin* *plays* repeatedly four descending notes, initially syncopated against piano rhythms.
Some borderline cases occurred also with \textit{play}_4. These concerned countries as subjects. They could have been categorized as inanimate subjects, but because for instance in the example sentence concerning Prussia and Russia, the countries (together with Poland) were assigned human qualities, they were interpreted as animate here:

The selfish preoccupation of Prussia and Russia in sharing up the corpse of murdered Poland, prevented them from \textit{playing} the part against France assigned to them in Pitt’s scheme.

(\textit{TRV} 5:86)

Preussin ja Venäjän itsenkäs kiintyminen murhatun Puolan ruumiin jakoon esti niitä \textit{näyttelemästä} Pittin suunnitelmassa niille varattua osaa Ranskaa vastaan.

Of the four variants of \textit{play}, only \textit{play}_4 (\textit{näytellä}) occurred with an abstract subject, and there were, in fact, a few typical structures in which \textit{play}_4 occurred, both with animate, inanimate, and abstract subjects. Before investigating Table 19 any further, let us consider the following more detailed statistics for \textit{play}_4:

Table 20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>\textit{play}_4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[T] Animate S + V + a role/a part [+ in + NP]</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[T] Inanimate S + V + a role/a part [+ in + NP]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[T] Abstract S + V + a role/a part [+ in + NP]</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[T] Abstract S + V + a role [+ for + NP]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Play}_4 was found 23 times in the construction \textit{play a part/role [in something]} with either an animate, inanimate or an abstract subject. Additionally, the construction \textit{play a role [for someone]} occurred once with an abstract subject. Examples include:

...the Czar Alexander, an impressionable young man, destined to \textit{play many different parts in Europe's tragedy}...

(\textit{TRV} 5:209)

...tsaari Aleksanterin, herkän nuoren miehen, joka oli määätty \textit{näyttelemäään monta erilaista osaa Euroopan murhenäytelmässä}...

All these factors may \textit{play a part} in what goes on in the conversation, but they are not what it is about.

(\textit{COR} 2:5:28)
A computer program would probably be able to recognize these structures easily.

Nevertheless, as we saw earlier, there was plenty of variation with the translations of play, as in the two examples above. Let us now examine the occurrences of these translations more closely with the help of Table 21 below.

Table 21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>play</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>näytellä</td>
<td>esittää</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[T] Animate S+V+O</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[T] Inanimate S+V+O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[T] Abstract S+V+O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21 reveals, in fact, that näytellä and esittää only took animate subjects. When combined with an animate subject, play was translated as either näytellä or esittää in 7 out of 13 cases (47%). The verb olla was used together with an animate subject in 33% of the instances. Olla, was characteristically used as the translational equivalent of play with an inanimate subject (which were alcohol and the railroad in the examples) and with an abstract subject. In the light of this, it could then be suggested that olla should be used as the “default” translation of play when the subject is inanimate or abstract, and that either näytellä or esittää should be used when the subject is animate. The other equivalents with an animate subject were omaksua, toimia, and vallata, while vaikuttaa was the other verb used with an abstract subject.
(d) Objects

When it comes to the kind of objects that play₁, play₂, play₃ and play₄ can take, there is some variation. The statistics for the different object types are shown in Table 22 below.

Table 22.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object type</th>
<th>play₁ (leikkä)</th>
<th>play₂ (pelata)</th>
<th>play₃ (soittaa)</th>
<th>play₄ (näytellä)</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three types of object were found: animate, inanimate and abstract. Of these, animate objects were few and far between, as Table 22 shows. Inanimate objects had a fair number of occurrences, but abstract objects were favoured throughout. Play₁ (leikkä) occurred six times with an abstract object. These consisted of different games which were considered abstract concepts here:

He olivat lapsina leikkineet yhdessä toista maailmansotaa.
(LKS 2:10.149)
When they were kids they had played World War Two together.

Play₂ (pelata) was used with an inanimate object in 75\% (38 out of 51) of the cases. These objects were connected to sports (e.g. baseball, football, petanque) and (concrete) games (e.g. board games, chess, draughts):

They were perhaps having maths lessons, playing draughts or watching Disney cartoons.
(ST3 6:8:17)
He saattoivat olla laskento- tai kielitunneilla, pelaamassa tammea tai katselemassa Disneyn videoita.

Play₂ (pelata) was the only one to have animate objects. These were countries which were used to denote the sports teams of the specific countries, so they were classified as animate as had been done above in Table 19. In addition play₂ (pelata) had some objects which were
viewed as abstract: these were also games, but not concrete ones such as a card game, but for example *the party game, the language game, and meaningless games.*

*Play*₃ (*soittaa*) did not occur with animate objects at all, but was connected with inanimate objects (musical instruments: *the guitar, the piano, the violin*) and abstract objects (compositions, e.g. *Beethoven symphonies, 19 songs, the Trojan national anthem*):

Somebody on the radio was *playing Bach* out of tune.
(MSC 2:17)

...joku *soitti* radiossa *Bachia* epävireisesti.

*Play*₄ (*näytellä*) was combined with abstract objects only. These tended to be connected to the theatre, as the objects were often different roles, for example a *master spy* or a *leading part*:

a Hollywood film in which Michael Douglas *plays a bored businessman* who pays a firm to spice up his life...
(ST3 1:6:19)

*Tässä* Hollywood-elokuvassa Michael Douglas *näyttelee pitkästynyttää liikemiestä*, joka palkkaa erään firman tuottamaan sisältöä elämäänsä...

In addition, the nouns *part* and *role* appeared as the objects of *play*₄ (*näytellä*) in contexts which were non-theatre-related:

Lisäksi tavaraliikenteellä *on huomattava merkitys* paikallisen teollisuuden materiaalitarpeiden ja tuotannon takia.
(HML 2:6:8)

In addition, the railroad *plays an important role* in the acquisition of raw materials and other production related needs for local industries.
6 Conclusion

The aim of this study was firstly to find out what kinds of syntactical structures and collocations are associated with the verbs *work* and *play* and how they are associated with each of the Finnish equivalents (*työskennellä*, *toimia*, *liikkua*, and *työstää*; *leikkiä*, *pelata*, *soittaa* and *näytellä*). Secondly, it was considered whether these could be of assistance to an automatic translation program. To sum up, the following conclusions can be drawn:

*Work*$_1$ is equivalent to (and should be translated as) *työskennellä* in the following environments:

- when inflected for the past participle (e.g. *If she had worked in the Records Department it might have been comparatively simple*)

- when intransitive and followed by an adverbial of place (e.g. *Leavitt worked at the Harvard College Observatory as a computer, as they were known*)

- when intransitive and followed by *for* + NP, *on* + NP, or *with* + NP (e.g. *Those who have worked with Saunders say she inspires huge loyalty from her team*)

- when intransitive and has an animate subject (e.g. *I can get up and work without disturbing you*)

- when transitive and has an abstract object relating to time (e.g. *overtime; late hours; longer days; short weeks*)

*Work*$_1$ is equivalent to (and should be translated as) *työskennellä* or *toimia* in the following environments:

- when intransitive and followed by *as* + NP, with the NP denoting an occupation (e.g. *a journalist, a restaurant manager, a high-school teacher, a drawing instructor*)
Work$_2$ is equivalent to (and should be translated as) *toimia* in the following environments:

- when inflected for the 3$^{rd}$ person singular present tense (e.g. *The society works in close cooperation with the town authorities and arranges the Sibelius Day programme, on December 8*)

- often when intransitive and appearing alone (e.g. *The spray, the (super) shot of steam or the perfect point do not work*)

- when intransitive and followed by an adverbial of manner (e.g. *It works so swiftly and dexterously that it is not easy to analyse exactly how it achieves its results*)

- when intransitive and has an inanimate subject (e.g. *It [a walkman] was used but worked perfectly: play, re-wind, fast forward*)

$^*$

Work$_2$ is equivalent to (and should be translated as) *toimia* or e.g. *onnistua, sujua, or tehota* in the following environments:

- when intransitive and has an abstract subject (e.g. *His approach of appealing directly to the public worked, because ground zero does not have a conventional client figure at its head*)

$^*$

Work$_3$ is equivalent to (and should be translated as) *liikkua* in the following environments:

- sometimes when intransitive and followed by an adverbial of place (e.g. *He worked back to where he could feel with his foot the coils of line that he could not see*)

- when transitive and the object is animate (e.g. *The dancing, chanting boys had worked themselves away till their sound was nothing but a wordless rhythm*)

- often when transitive and the object is inanimate or abstract (e.g. *and he watched the school working the water white and the bird now dropping and dipping into the bait fish that were forced to the surface in their panic*)

$^*$
Work\textsubscript{4} is equivalent to (and should be translated as) \textit{työstää} in the following environments:
- when the object is inanimate and for example related to cooking or baking (e.g. \textit{dough, flour})

\textit{Play\textsubscript{1}} is equivalent to (and should be translated as) \textit{leikkiä} in the following environments:
- often when intransitive and followed by an adverbial of place or manner (e.g. \textit{They would play in the sand})
- when intransitive and followed by \textit{with} + NP, provided that the NP is not music-related (e.g. \textit{the cat was playing with herring heads})

\textasteriskcentered

\textit{Play\textsubscript{2}} is equivalent to (and should be translated as) \textit{pelata} in the following environments:
- when inflected for the general present tense (e.g. \textit{They play for six hours each day})
- when ‘semi-transitive’ and followed by \textit{for} + NP, with the NP denoting a sports team or denoting time (e.g. \textit{He played for Glamorgan; We played for hours})
- has an animate subject and an inanimate sports- or games-related object (e.g. \textit{The family gathers again to play board games})

\textasteriskcentered

\textit{Play\textsubscript{3}} is equivalent to (and should be translated as) \textit{soittaa} in the following environments:
- when inflected for the present participle (e.g. \textit{At 12 he had been a musical prodigy playing the piano alongside Daniel Barenboim})
- when the object is inanimate (e.g. \textit{the piano})
- is ‘semi-transitive’ and either stands alone (e.g. \textit{He had stopped playing}), is followed by an adverbial (e.g. \textit{You're playing even better now}), or by \textit{for} + NP, with the NP denoting a human being (e.g. \textit{Or does she feel she's playing for herself})
Play\textsubscript{3} is equivalent to (and should be translated as) either soittaa or esittää in the following environments:

- the object is abstract and music-related (e.g. a song)

Play\textsubscript{3} is equivalent to (and should be translated as) soida in the following environments:

- has as an inanimate or abstract music-related subject (e.g. a radio, a record, music) and stands alone, i.e. has no object (e.g. The harmonium began to play)

Play\textsubscript{3} is equivalent to (and should be translated as) esiintyä in the following environments:

- is ‘semi-transitive’ and followed by with + NP, with the NP referring to musicians, conductors etc. (e.g. I played with the greatest orchestras and conductors)

*  

Play\textsubscript{4} is equivalent to (and should be translated as) näytellä in the following environments:

- when inflected for the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular (e.g. Tom Cruise plays a master spy)

- the subject is animate (e.g. Tom Cruise) and the verb is followed by a complement indicating a character (e.g. Hamlet, a businesswoman)

Play\textsubscript{4} is equivalent to (and should be translated as) esittää or näytellä in the following environments:

- the subject is animate and the verb is followed by + a role/part + in + NP (e.g. The sort of part girls play in young men's dreams)

- it functions as a linking verb (e.g. play dead, play the respectful nephew)
Play\textsubscript{4} is equivalent to (and should be translated as) olla in the following environments:

- when the subject is inanimate (e.g. alcohol) or abstract (e.g. ultraviolet light) and is followed by a role/part + inf for + NP (e.g. Colours play vital roles in the lives of plants and animals)

When considering the above lists, it seems that we did indeed succeed in our goal of discovering some distinctive structures with respect to all the different variants of the verbs work\textsubscript{1} and play\textsubscript{1}. With work\textsubscript{1} (työskennellä), there was a strong tendency towards intransitivity and it was especially used together with an adverbial of place. It was also commonly followed by prepositional phrases beginning for, on, or with. Both work\textsubscript{1} (työskennellä) and work\textsubscript{2} (toimia) could be followed by a prepositional phrase beginning with as: in these cases, they shared a meaning (toimia was used in the sense työskennellä). Work\textsubscript{2} (toimia) was also very much an intransitive verb and typically appeared either alone or with an adverbial of manner. The majority of the examples concerning work\textsubscript{3} (liikkua) appeared transitively. It took animate, inanimate, and abstract objects, but it was the only transitive variant to take animate objects. Finally, work\textsubscript{4} (työstää) was also only used transitively. It favoured inanimate objects which, in this small sample, were cooking-related.

As regards play\textsubscript{1} (leikkiä), the primary finding was that it was only used intransitively. It could be followed by an adverbial of place or manner or the prepositional phrase with + NP (with a non-music-related NP). Among the findings concerning play\textsubscript{2} (pelata) were the objects related to sports and games that it typically took and the ‘semi-transitive’ usage with for + NP. Play\textsubscript{3} (soittaa) had various Finnish equivalents (soida, esiintyä, esittää) which appeared in their own characteristic syntactic environments. Additionally, the collocates occurring with play\textsubscript{3} (soittaa) were specifically music-related. For example, inanimate music-related objects appeared in sentences where the Finnish equivalent was soittaa, whereas abstract music-
related objects were found in sentences where the Finnish equivalent could either be *soittaa* or *esittää*. *Esiintyä* was the equivalent favoured when *play*$_3$ (*soittaa*) was ‘semi-transitive’ and followed by the preposition *with* and an NP denoting a musician. With *play*$_4$ (*näytellä*), the main Finnish equivalent was not the anticipated *näytellä*, which only occurred in theatrical contexts, but *esittää* and *olla*. *Näytellä, esittää* and *olla* all occurred in the pattern ‘*play* + *a role/part* + *in* + NP’. In this structure, the Finnish verbs could be separated from each other by their differing subject types: *näytellä* and *esittää* had animate subjects, whereas *olla* was paired with inanimate and abstract subjects. It was also found that *play*$_4$ (*näytellä*) tended not to be used intransitively, but it was the only variant to be used as a linking verb.

In conclusion, then, it can be stated that some of these findings might prove useful when translating the verbs *work* and *play* with the help of a computer program. For instance, the fact that certain inflectional forms are closely connected to specific variants of *work* and *play* would probably help a computer program find the correct translation. Also, a computer might be able to translate *work* and *play* correctly for example in cases where the verbs are followed by *with* + NP or *for* + NP, if the collocational domains of the NPs could be defined. *Play*$_2$ (*pelata*), *play*$_3$ (*soittaa*) and *play*$_4$ (*näytellä*) tend to appear in specific lexical domains (sports/games, music, and theatre), and a computer might, in fact, be able to recognise these and select the correct Finnish equivalent.
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Appendices

Appendix 1a Work/työskennellä

Rowland says: “Large pharmaceutical companies have huge teams of attorneys who try to work hand in glove with the research people to develop and take out patent upon patent upon patent.”

(ST2 10:2:42)

-Ruurilla lääkeyhtiöillä on valtavia lakimiesarmeijoita, jotka pyrkivät työskentelemaan käsi kädessä tutkimusväen kanssa kehittääkseen patentteja patenttien perään, Rowland sanoo.

And I like modelling because I can work with great photographers.

(ST2 12:8:119)

Rakastan myös mallintöitä, koska saan työskennellä loistavien valokuvaajien kanssa.

Chadaporn työskentelee Thaksinin vastustajan, mediamoguli Sondhin, omistamassa ASTV:ssä.

(HS8 12:12:20)

Chadaporn works for ASTV, a station owned by media mogul Sondhi, an outspoken opponent of Thaksin.

Ulkoministeriön alla työskentelevän Finland Promotion Boardin tilaaman tutkimuksen avulla on tarkoitus kehittää Suomelle oma, vahva maabrändi.

(HS9 3:8:11)

The purpose of the study commissioned by the Finland Promotion Board working under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs is to develop for Finland its own, strong brand-image.

Appendix 1b Work ≠ työskennellä

and had no compunctions about making the lasses work.

(TRV 7:137)

ja tunnonvaivoitta pani tytöt raatamaan.

EMILY: I can’t work at all. The moonlight’s so terrible.

(WDR 1:10:24)

EMILY: Minä en pysty ollenkaan telemään läksyjä. On niin kauhea kuutamo.

and there was this bit about a Nottinghamshire man who works in Finland and makes television programmes and he’s presenting this year’s Miss Finland contest!

(HWK 34:43)

ja siinä oli juttu nottinghamshirelaisesta miehestä, joka on töissä Suomessa ja tekee televisio-ohjelmia ja juontaa tämän vuoden Miss Suomi –kilpailut!

Because the nanny had worked for her for several years, Lipworth felt guilty about asking her to change her behaviour…

(ST3 6:3:16)
Koska lastenhoitaja oli ollut Lipworthin palveluksessa vuosikausia, Lipworth poti syyllisyyttä ajatuksesta pyyttää tätä muuttamaan tapojaan.

Appendix 2a Work/toimia

Ne toimivat suorastaan “kansallisena varaventiinilä”, mutta myös - paradoksaalista kyllä - olemassa olevaa yhteiskuntarakennetta turvaavana tekijänä.

(TRA 15:14)
They actually work like a national safety-valve, but also - paradoxically - they are one of the factors sustaining the existing social structure.

Linguists, especially, often talk about how language “works”, as if it were an object like an alarm clock, whose functioning could be understood from a study of its internal structure of springs and cogwheels.

(COR 1:1:25)
Etenkin lingvistit puhuvat usein siitä, miten kieli “toimii” - ikään kuin se olisi esine, niin kuin herätyskello, jonka toiminnan voi ymmärtää tutkimalla sen sisäisten jousien ja rattaiden koneistoa.

Mies oli puhdistanut kesämökillä asetta ja kokeillut toimikko se, kun vaimo oli horjahtanut humalapäissään luodin tielle.

(KNK 11:56)
The man had been cleaning a gun at their summer cabin and was trying it out to see if it worked, when his wife, drunk, had staggered into the path of the bullet.

The firm has been working in the Middle East, building refineries and pipelines, since 1943.

(ST 3 3:12:100)
Yhtiö on toiminut Lähi-idässä öljynjalostamojen ja öljyputkien rakentajana vuodesta 1943 lähtien.

Appendix 2b Work ≠ toimia

I dare say it works in a lot of cases.

(ORW 2:3:153)
Ja voinpa sanoa, että on tapauksia, jolloin se tehoakaan.

I am mixing metaphors - but that was how Charles’s mind worked.

(FOW 22:21)
Sekoittelen vertauksia - mutta juuri näin Charlesin ajatukset kulkivat.

Twain’s bar on promotion is working.

(ST2 12:4:35)
Twainin markkinointikielto puree.
matot kävivät kaupaksi, koneet *pelasivat* ja raaka-ainetta saatiin nahkamattoja varten edullisesti Amerikasta ja Kaukoidästä.

(TRI 1:8:51)
the rugs were selling, the machines were *working*, and cheap raw materials for pile rugs were available from America and the Far East.

Appendix 3 Work ≠ liikkua

It jumped again and again in the acrobatics of its fear and he *worked* his way back to the stern […]

(HEM 7:75)
Se hypähteli kerran toisensa jälkeen tehden pelkonsa pakottamana yhä taidokkaampia temppuja ja hän *hivuttauui* perään.

He went back to rowing and to watching the long-winged black bird who was *working*, now, low over the water.

(HEM 3:76)
Hän kävi jälleen airoihin ja piti silmällä pitkäsiipistä mustaa lintua, joka nyt *liiteli* matalalla veden yllä.

Appendix 4 Work ≠ työstää

Hän ajatteli näkevänsä pojassa jotain, joka vaati erityistä rohkaisua ja huolenpitoa, erityistä *vaalimista* päästämään esiin.

(HRV 21:30)
He thought he saw in the boy something that required special encouragement and care, something he needed to *work* to bring out.

I *worked* the deep wells for a week and did nothing, he thought.

(HEM 3:30)
Olen *kokeillut* syviä kaivoja viikon päivät enkä ole saanut mitään, hän tuumi.

Appendix 5a Play/leikkiä (literal)

'Yes, it's potatoes,' he said, in the preoccupied and oblivious tone of a child *playing* alone.

(FLK 11:128)
"Niin juuri, perunoita", hän sanoi miettiväsri ja poissaolevasti kuin yksin *leikkivä* lapsi.

Maria packed the doll in her suitcase, took it to Athens and kept it with her all the time she was there, learning to *play* with dolls at the age of thirteen.

(CAL 2:49)
Maria pakkasi nuen matkalaukkunsa, vei sen mukanaan Ateenaan ja piti sen lähellään koko siellä oleskelunsa ajan oppien *leikkimään* nukeilla kolmentoista ikäisenä.

Minun oli jäätävä pienimpien joukkoon pihamaalle, ja kun en enää osannut *leikkiä* heidän kanssaan, en voinut tehdä muuta kuin katsella heitä ja seurailla heidän puuhiaan.

(PEK 3:5:102)
I had to stay in the yard with all the small children, and when I could *play* with them no longer I merely watched them at their games.

Minä en saa *leikkiä* sinun kanssasi enkä tahdokaan.

(JPL 11:146)
I'm forbidden to *play* with you, and I don't want to either.

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**Appendix 5b Play/leikkiä (figurative)**

You’ve been *playing* with fire, my boy.

(FOW 22:7)
"Olet *leikkinyt* tulella, poikaseni."

Värikkäintä on itse valo, kun auringon säteet *leikkivät* lumikiteissä, niin maan päällä kuin pilvissäkin.

(KAL 2006 1:8)
The most colourful is the light itself, its rays *playing* on snow crystals, both on the ground and up in the clouds.

The fountains *played* still with fragrant water and an unceasing water rolled on the floors.

(STH 3:14:40)
Suihkulähteet *leikkivät* yhä tuoksuisalla vedellä ja jatkuvasti vesi virtasi lattioilla.

while the tongue played pleasantly with the word ‘Governor’.

(GRE 2:1c:334)
kielen leikkiessä leppoisasti sanalla ‘kuvernööri’.

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**Appendix 6a Play/pelata**

"No. Go and *play* baseball. I can still row and Rogelio will throw the net."

(HEM 1:40)
"Älä lähde. Mene *pelaamaan* pesäpalloa. Minä pystyn vielä soutamaan, ja Rogelio osaa heittää verkon."

The new clobber will get its first airing when England travel to Durban to *play* South Africa in a friendly next month.

(ST 2003 4:3:14)
Uusi kuosi nähdään ensi kertaa julkisuudessa, kun Englanti matkustaa ensi kuussa Durbanin *pelaamaan* ystävyyssottelun Etelä-Afrikkaa vastaan.
Veikkauspelejä voi nyt pelata henkilökohtaisen pelitilin kautta, jolloin myös tappioita voi seurata.

(HS8 (8:7:149)

Lottery games can now be played with the help of a personal account, making it possible to keep track of losses as well.

isommat pojat pysähtyivät joskus keskustelemaan tai jotakin pelaamaankin heidän kanssaan, mutta me minun kokoiseni katselimme heitä kaukaa.

(PEK 3:1:87)

the bigger boys would sometimes stop to talk or play with them, but those of my size looked askance at them.

The oars are a good trick; but it has reached the time to play for safety.

(HEM 7:135)

Airot ovat kyllä hyvä temppu, mutta nyt onkin aika pelata varmaa peliä!

In this game we're playing, we can't win.

(ORW 2:3:226)

Tässä pelissä, jota me pelaamme, emme voi voittaa.

"Musharraf is playing a double game," complained a western diplomat in Islamabad.

(ST3 3:11:23)

- Musharraf pelaava kaksinaamaista peliä, valitti Islamabadin sijoitettu länsimainen diplomaatti.

Hän sanoi, että elämä on peli ja me olemme nappuloita, joilla meitä isommat voimat pelaavat.

(ORW 2:3:173)

They had played a similar trick with the instinct of parenthood.

Appendix 6b Play ≠ pelata

"God doesn’t play dice," he said.

(SCI 9:4:88)

"Jumala ei heitä noppaa", hän sanoi.

As the sun set he remembered, to give himself more confidence, the time in the tavern at Casablanca when he had played the hand game with the great negro from Cienfuegos who was the strongest man on the docks.

(HEM 7:29)

Auringon laskiessa hän muisteli, lisätäkseen itseluottomustaan, miten hän kerran eräässä Casablancan kapakassa oli vääntänyt kättä cienfuegoslainen nekernekansa, joka oli tokkien väkevin mies.

They had played a similar trick with the instinct of parenthood.

(ORW 2:3:173)

Sama temppu oli tehty isän- ja äidinvaistolle.
It seemed as though the Russian house-gnome had been *playing* tricks on me.

**Appendix 7a Play/Soittaa Transitive**

where the orchestra *plays* the Trojan national anthem while the Carthaginians curse the Trojans unto eternity - and specifically unto Hannibal.

(jossa orkesteri *soittaa* Trojian kansallishymniä samalla kun karthagolaiset kiroavat Trojalan ikuiseksi ajoiksi.)

My father could *play* the piano and the guitar. He couldn't read music, but he had a very good ear.

(My father could *play* the piano and the guitar. He couldn't read music, but he had a very good ear.

(josäni *soitti* pianoa ja kitaraa. Hän ei osannut lukea nuotteja mutta hänellä oli hyvä nuottikorva.)

According to one story, Sibelius heard a trio of musicians perform the piece in a restaurant in Bergen in 1921 and politely asked them not to *play* it ever again.

(Sitä kävi *soittamassa* pialossa äidiltään.

(MER 3:76) He used to *play* it all the time when she wasn't around.

(Vanhala *soitteli* Stalinin puhetta itsekeen

(LIN 10:2:213) for now Vanhala was *playing* Stalin's speeches to himself.

(There's so much to learn in chamber music which will always be there once you have *played* all the big violin concertos - I don't want to recycle them over and over for ever."

(MSC 4:108) Kamarimusikissa on lopputomasti oppimista; sitä riittää vielä senkin jälkeen kun kaikki suuret viulukonsertot on jo käyty läpi - en nimittäin halua kerrättää niitä loputomiin.""

“Mitä annat, jos ryhdyn sillä *pelaamaan*?” Ebba oli hänännyt punastuneena.

(LAN 8:86) “What will you give me if I start *playing* it?” Ebba teased him, blushing.

(Minä alan vähän arkaillen soittaa uuden opettajan luona, enkä ehtinyt vielä montakaan nuottia *säveleeksi muuttaa*.

(MSK 1:1:97) Rathery shyly, I started to play for my new teacher, and had only had time to *play* a few notes,
Appendix 7b Play/Soittaa Semi-transitive

By then his interests had veered to mathematics and he had stopped playing.
(ST3 3:2:54)
Siinä vaiheessa hänen mielenkiintonsa oli suuntautunut matematikkaan, ja hän oli luopunut soittamisesta.

I can see why even the rich like playing at rich people's parties."
(ST3 3:9:40)
Voin ymmärtää, miksi rikkaatkin tähdet soittavat mielessään rikkaiden ihmisten juhlissa.

"I'll play for my producer even before we go into the studio.
(MSC 2:111)
"Soitan kappaleita tuottajalleen jo ennen kuin menemme studioon.

Michael Jackson started the trend 10 years ago when he played for the Sultan of Brunei,
(ST3 3:9:25)
Michael Jackson käynnisti trendin 10 vuotta sitten esiintyessään Brunein sulttaanille,

Appendix 7c Play/Soittaa Intransitive

Pirtin puolella alkoivat taas Rennen pelit soida.
(PTL 6:3:320)
Renne's music began to play again in the pirtti.

Lopussa pianon säestyskuvio soi kuin harppu, ja romanssi tuntuu loppuvan onnellisesti valoisassa H-duurissa.
(MSK 2:2:7)
At the close, the piano’s accompanying figure plays like a harp, and this romance appears to have a happy ending in a bright B major.

Appendix 8a Play/näytellä

That was all dead: the scenes, the faultlessly played scenes of secret and monstrous delight and of jealousy.
(FLK 12:126)
Tuo kaikki oli kuollutta - kohtaukset, moitteettomasti näytellyt salaisen ja lounnottoman nautinnon ja mustasukkaisuuden kohtaukset.

But wild as I was, a little girl playing grown-up, underneath I wanted to be saved."  
(ST3 8:3:94)
Mutta vaikka olinkin villi, aikuista näyttelevä pikkutyttö, halusin sydämessäni tulla pelastetuksi.
Besides, I don’t suppose you will want your wife to act. So what does it matter if she plays Juliet like a wooden doll?
(WLD 7:88)

Sitä paitsi en luule, että vaadit vaimoasi näyttelemään. Mitäpä sillä siis väliä, vaikka hän näytteleekin Juliasa kuin puunukke?

Whether playing Lara Croft, the British ”cyrbabe”, or swapping tattoos with lovers, Angelina Jolie is renowned as a Hollywood bad girl.
(ST3 12:3:3)

Filmitähti Angelina Jolie, 27, on Hollywoodin tuhman tytön maineessa, näyttelipä hän brittiläistä ”kybernamu” Lara Croftia tai vaihtoi tatuointeja rakastajiensa kanssa.

Appendix 8b Play ≠ näytellä

- when the eager-to-please characters played by Marilyn Monroe were the epitome of sexiness
(ST3 1:8:41)
- jolloin Marilyn Monroen esittämät halukkaat henkilöhahmot olivat seksikkyyden perikuvia

In language teaching we are preparing the learner to participate in some other social group, some language community other than his own, to play a part or fulfil a role in that community.
(COR 1:6:22)

Kieltä opettaessamme valmennamme oppilasta johonkin toiseen sosiaaliseen ryhmään, esittämään siinä jotakin osaa eli toteuttamaan jotakin roolia.

Puola oli roomalaiskatolinen maa, ja 'paavillisten' ja luterilaisten kiihkeimmän taistelun aikana uskonollisella vastakohtaisuudella oli melkoinen merkitys poliitikassa
(JUT 5:3:4)

Poland was a Roman Catholic country, and during the fiercest stage of the conflict between the "papists" and the Lutherans, religious differences played a prominent role in international politics.

it was said to have played a part in the suicide of the great theoretical physicist and atomic enthusiast Ludwig Boltzmann in 1906.
(SCI 9:1:83)

sen sanotaan vaikuttaneen merkittävän teoreettisen fyysikon ja atomiteorian kannattajan Ludwig Boltzmannin itsemurhaan vuonna 1906.

Whites certainly play an important role in these pictures.
(REN 31:8)

Valkoiset valtaavat merkittävän osan Renoirin Afrikassa maalaamissa teoksissa.
a skilled harpist and mime who played with comedians across the country.

(ST2 12:11:9)

Lahjakas harpunsoittaja ja pantomiimitaiteilija esiintyi koomikoiden kanssa kaikkialla maassa.

“I warn you not to play the fool with me.”

(SMI 5:2:77)

“Varoitan sinua, minun kanssani ei pelleillä.”

My husband, until he had his own child, frequently was called upon to play the “joulupukki” for many nieces and nephews.

(HKI 5:3:19)

Niin kauan kuin miehelläni ei ollut omia lapsia, hänet pyydettiin säännöllisesti joulupukiksi sisarustensa lukuisille lapsille.

He played it low-key, avoiding a display of emotion so long after the event, sticking to facts,

(AMS 3:1:138)

Hän ei intoillut ja vältti tunteilua kun oli kulunut näinkin pitkä aika itse tapauksesta, eli Brydanin kuolemasta, pysytteli tosiasioissa,

Here’s what it says: ‘It’s a star-studded Playing for 5th week.

(STH 3:1:143)

Tässä sanotaan nää: ’Se on tähtiä täynnä! Menossa 5. viikko!