Directive actions in three assistance-orientated activities between Finnish police officers and drunken persons[1]

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Abstract

In this article, I investigate police officers' use of *directives* as they wake up drunken persons and assist them in moving from a static lying (horizontal) position to a mobile upright (vertical) position and further in stepping into the police van. One of the issues that officers confront is discerning whether the drunken person is *willing* and/or *able* to comply with their directives and acts of assistance. I show that officers' choices of directives are informed by these discernments, as well as a desire to minimise threats to drunken person's face and to avoid confrontations. The analysis is based on video data from a reality tv show centred around police encounters with intoxicated citizens. Conversation analysis is employed to analyse said data, which are in Finnish.

Keywords: directives – embodied assistance – imperatives – policing – conversation analysis.

German abstract

In diesem Artikel untersuche ich, wie Polizeibeamte *Direktive* benutzen, wenn sie betrunkene Personen aufwecken und ihnen beim Übergang von einer statisch-liegenden (horizontalen) in eine mobil-aufrechte (vertikale) Haltung sowie beim Einstieg in ein Polizeifahrzeug helfen. Eine der Fragen, mit denen Polizeibeamte sich konfrontiert sehen, ist zu beurteilen, ob die betrunkene Person *bereit* und/oder *fähig* ist, den Direktiven und assistierenden Handlungen zu folgen. Ich zeige, dass die Auswahl der Direktive, die die Polizeibeamten verwenden, sowohl von diesen Beurteilungen abhängt als auch von dem Bestreben, körperliche Schädigungen der betrunkenen Personen zu minimieren und Konfrontationen zu vermeiden. Die Analyse basiert auf Videodaten eines Reality-TV Programms über polizeiliche Begegnungen mit betrunkenen BürgerInnen, ausgewertet unter Benutzung von Konversationsanalyse. Die Daten sind in Finnisch.

Keywords: Direktive – verkörperte Assistenz – Imperative – Polizeipraxis – Konversationsanalyse.

1. Introduction

A typical task for police officers is to assist citizens who are temporarily unable to take care of themselves due to intoxication. After discovering drunken persons sleeping in public, officers provide assistance by waking them, lifting them up, and assessing their condition. If needed, officers drive them to a watch house at the police station. The ways of 'getting assistance done' are both verbal and embodied: assisting a drunken person in moving from a static lying (horizontal) position to a mobile upright (vertical) position involves verbal expressions for desired movement (e.g. in Finnish *nouse*, 'get up'; *mene*, 'go') as well as movement and touch (lifting, supporting) employed in the service of that directive action. In these cases, officers are primarily offering intoxicated persons a service by protecting them from a crime, rather than seeking to control or sanction them (cf. had they been caught driving while intoxicated; Gonzales 1993). Yet, once assessed and categorised by the officers as a person in crisis and in need of police assistance (on assessments in policing, see Bittner 1967a, b; Sacks 1972; Van Maanen 1978), it is a service the drunken person cannot easily rebut and reject.

The full conditions of copresence (Goffman 1966:17) between the providers and recipients of assistance in encounters between police officers and citizens may not, however, be readily available. This is typically the case when the citizen has passed out and is only gradually 'phasing in' as a legitimate participant in an encounter that is grounded on police authority. The encounter may further evolve in unpredictable ways if the person being assisted is unable to perform the directed action, refuses assistance, or resists the form of assistance provided. In these cases, officers may need to move further along the use-of-force continuum in asserting the citizen's ability and willingness to comply: when officers' mere presence or verbal commands are insufficient, physical restraint may be resorted to (Sykes/Clark 1975; Terrill 2003; Alpert/Dunham 2004). Offering and delivering assistance requires, therefore, progressive and sequentially ordered interactional work from both parties.

In this article, I look at sequences where Finnish police officers provide physical assistance for drunken people who are either asleep or appear not to be entirely conscious. Officers ask and assist the drunken persons in waking and standing up. These tasks afford a conversation analytic investigation of directive sequences in terms of officers' orientation to drunken persons' compliance. I ask 1) whether the grammatical construction of officers' directive turns makes visible their understanding of recipients' (un)willingness and/or (in)ability to become mobile. I also ask 2)

whether the design of directive turns in these sequences reveals something about the preference for joint action over confrontation by downplaying the asymmetrical relation between the participants. The article thus exemplifies the ecological approach to grammar and embodied action by showing how participants' grammatical choices interface with their embodied conduct within a physical space (Cekaite 2010; Keevallik 2018; Lindström et al. 2020; Mondada 2011, 2018).

After presenting the data and method, the article proceeds first by discussing conversation analytical research on directives, before then narrowing the scope down to the various grammatical formats available for directive actions. The remaining sections are dedicated to showing the results of the analysis with the help of data fragments. In the discussion, general observations are presented and discussed.

1.1. Data and method

The data for this study come from *Poliisit* – a documentary television show following the daily work tasks of Finnish police officers across the country. The data cover ten seasons (2009–2019) and 180 hours of broadcast videos. These natural but edited videos have their pros and cons (for discussion see Pehkonen 2020; Kidwell 2006:750-751, 2009:24-25; Shon 2002:163-164). Documentary television offers an effective way of collecting a large number of directive turns that are not limited to the practices of certain officers or police departments. However, "frankenbiting", that is, a deliberate disruption of sequential flow and order can take place to emphasise certain aspects of encounter for the audience. One must pay attention to any cuts and camerawork because what looks like a continuous encounter can in fact be composed of multiple recordings. Because of the anonymisation of the data (citizens' faces are blurred) and the typical night-time lightning conditions, participants' facial expressions and body postures are only partly accessible for analysis. Further, the production of the documentary depends on the cooperation between the production company and police administration: therefore, the cases are selective, and the encounters are shown in a positive light. For example, the scenes with drunken citizens are contextualised either as light humorous entertainment (e.g. using light-hearted background music) or occasionally highlighting social problems attached to alcohol or drugs (e.g. through post-production narratives).
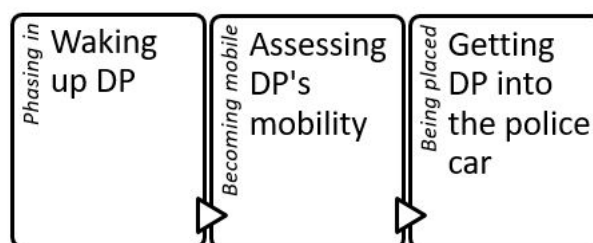

Figure 1: Three activities and their projected outcomes in human-assisted mobility in policing.

In the selection process, I have paid attention to a recurrent structure in tasks related to intoxicated persons. While there can be other actions, such as asking for identification or performing a body search, the three activities of waking up drunken persons, assessing their mobility and helping them into the police van for transportation cover the main practices of human-assisted mobility (Figure 1). By recognising the structure, it has also been possible to learn about where, when and why cuts in the filming and production work take place: cuts in the video file, for example from a static to a mobile camera, typically occur in order to remove a shaky image resulting from the movement of a camera operator, whereas the audio from one source plays uninterruptedly. Because the uncertainty regarding 'what really happened' nevertheless remains, the analysis oscillates between analyses of (parts of) single episodes, frequencies of certain directive turn formulations in various activities (see appendices, Tables 1-4), and a general understanding about the progressivity of the task gained through a careful inspection of the data as well as participant observation in police training. For the article, I have chosen to discuss only those cases where the opening sequence (including officers approaching drunken persons) is available.

The article is based on a collection of a total of 1,748 verbal directives in Finnish. The collection consists of 1) 'drunk encounter' cases where police officers bodily assist citizens by waking them up, helping them to stand up, and shepherding them into the police van. The collection also includes 2) 'crime cases' for comparison: these are cases where the primary reason for the citizen being approached is a suspicion of driving under the influence of alcohol or other substances or of some other crime (e.g. physical assault) but where similar tasks – such as escorting and getting the suspect into the police van – are performed.

My analytic approach draws on conversation analysis (e.g. Sacks 1992; Schegloff 2007; Hutchby/Wooffitt 2008) and multimodal analysis of interaction. The data are in Finnish with English translations (with glosses for the relevant lines) and transcribed following Jefferson's (2004) and Mondada's (2019) transcription conventions (see appendices, Tables 5 and 6). Frame grabs from the videos used in the analysis are not made available here. Because of the variety of grammatical formulations to construct directive actions, I have used the following strategy to make the transcripts accessible: lines containing directive actions irrespective of grammatical format are arrowed and verbs are bolded; additionally, the turn constructional units (TCUs) containing a verb in the imperative mood (cliticised or non-cliticised) are shaded with grey.

1.2. Prior CA research on directives

There is an abundance of linguistic research on directives – attempts to get "someone to do something" (Goodwin 2006:517), particularly in the tradition of speech act theory (see Fitch 2008). It is conversation analysis (CA), however, that has emphasised the sequential organisation of various directive actions such as requests, offers, demands or invitations in a wide array of everyday and institutional contexts (e.g. Goodwin 2006; Heinemann 2006; Kidwell 2006, 2009, 2013; Curl/Drew 2008; Craven/Potter 2010; Antaki/Kent 2012; Kent 2012; Kendrick/Drew 2016; Kent/Kendrick 2016; Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen 2017). Policing repre-

sents an authority-based institutional setting where the police have powers that or-dinary citizens do not have and where authoritative commanding and ordering is likely to appear. However, directing as an occasioned activity is not about authority defined as the legitimate power of a person to practise over another person but ra-ther about enactments of deontic authority, entitlement, and contingency (Craven/ Potter 2010). Deontic authority is about someone's right to determine others' future actions (Stevanovic/Peräkylä 2012). Entitlement refers to the speakers' grounds for assessing the likelihood of their requests being granted and the display of their rights to control the actions of the recipient (Kent 2012:712; Curl/Drew 2008). Con-tingency, for its part, refers to the degree to which the speakers acknowledge any barriers to compliance (Kent 2012:712). When a police officer commands a citizen to engage in conversation with them, the situation may, in principle, allow for dis-plays of high entitlement and low contingency more often than in interactions which do not involve any such asymmetry between participants. The interesting analytical question is nevertheless this: how does speakers' understanding of contingency and entitlement affect the design of their directive turns (Curl/Drew 2008:135)?

While interactions involving the police are always asymmetrical in terms of power, legal authority and dominance, it is important to approach directive actions as enabling something: if the participants share a common interest in getting the directed action done, they are likely to align with the joint action. CA research on directive actions shows how participants actively manage their roles and responsi-bilities (Rauniomaa 2017; Stevanovic 2017), orientation to accountability (Kent/ Kendrick 2016), temporal adjustment of instructions (Okada 2018; Simone/Gala-tolo 2020) and subsequent actions in the progressivity of the ongoing task (Lind-ström et al. 2017; Råman/Haddington 2018) by designing their turns accordingly. Using verbs in imperative mood is one, but by no means the only, way to formulate directive actions.

In my data, the use of verbs in imperative mood versus other grammatical for-mulations that imply directive actions is strongly embedded in the sequences of embodied actions. The design of directive trajectories (Goodwin 2006; Tulbert/ Goodwin 2011) includes coordination of talk and embodied elements. In a series of studies on adult-child interaction, Cekaite (2010, 2015) has identified several em-bodied actions and "haptic formations" used by the adults to "configure specific affordances for embodied participation by actualizing the availability of tactile, au-ral, and visual modalities" (Cekaite/Holm Kvist 2017:109). Pushing the child gently forward, blocking unwanted mobile trajectories and choosing between various spa-tial-orientational arrangements are examples of such formations and embodied di-rectives.

The difference between adult-child and police-drunken person interaction lies in the moral sphere and in the ways in which assisted bodies are manoeuvred. Drunken persons are commonly blamed for their condition of not being able to take care of themselves (although the blame is often culturally re-placed on alcohol, see Mac-Andrew/Garfinkel 1962:259; MacAndrew/Edgerton 1969:94), while directive se-quences with children are often seen as part of a socialisation process between fam-ily and acquaintances (Cekaite 2010:3). In addition, bodily assistance, for example lifting an adult versus a child, can take, both kinaesthetically and interactionally, very different forms (see Cekaite et al. in this special issue). In policing, the result-

ing embodied form of assistance can be caring but also coercive where verbal directives and embodied actions make compliance a conditionally relevant next. The following section elaborates on the variation in directive turns from the point of view of Finnish grammar.

1.3. Overview of directive turns in the data

Various grammatical constructions and directive formulations were found in the data (see appendices, Table 1). The key divide is between 1) morphological imperatives (bald imperatives), 2) cliticised imperatives and 3) other grammatical constructions that are locally understood as directives: turns which include, for example, phrasal constructions without a finite verb, hortatives, declaratives or interrogatives that nevertheless make observable compliance relevant immediately in next position (cf. Kent/Kendrick 2016:275).

Morphological imperatives present a form of directive referred to in literature as bald imperatives (Goodwin 1990:78; Antaki/Kent 2012:879-882). "Strictly speaking", as Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen (2017:5) point out, "the imperative is a verb form marked morphologically for the imperative mood". With a verb in imperative mood (e.g. *mene*, 'go'), a participation framework is invoked that does not encode any choice or interpretive problems for the recipient: the recipient should act in a straightforward manner following the speaker's directive ('do X').

In Finnish, the imperative mood can be modulated, and it is typically mitigated by attaching the clitic *-pA*, *-s* or *-hAn* (or the combination of the first two *-pAs*) to the imperative verb (VISK 2008:§1672). Depending on the context, the use of a certain clitic can indicate something about the deontics or epistemics in interaction: with the clitic *-hAn* (*menehän*, '{why don't you} go') the recipients can be reminded of something they should already know that they are to do (VISK 2008:§1673). The clitic *-s* can conceal authority in routine requests, while in asymmetrical interaction *-pA* is often used by superiors when the directed action is seen as not particularly face-threatening to the recipient (VISK 2008:§1672). Previous CA studies in Finnish have shown that the context and practices of language use modify the meaning of clitics (e.g. Rouhikoski 2020) and that there can also be other lexical items in the turn that implement modulation (see Sorjonen 2017).

Grammatical constructions which are contextually understood as directives include

1) phrasal constructions that lack the finite verb altogether, such as the directional adverbs *tänne* ('to.here') and *ylös* ('up') (VISK 2008:§1676) or noun phrases with locative case marking (e.g. *maahan*, 'to.the.ground'),

2) second-person declaratives such as *tartut tähän* ('you grab this') (see Etelämäki/Couper-Kuhlen 2017),

3) interrogatives *nousetko ylös* ('do you get up') (see Rouhikoski 2015), and

4) hortatives *mennään* ('let's go') (see Stevanovic 2017).

While this group of directive constructions is grammatically heterogenous compared to bald and cliticised imperatives, it is reasonable to analyse these formula-

tions in relation to the research questions posed in Introduction. Directional adverbs, for example, are closest to bald imperatives in that they expect unilateral and straightforward compliance from the recipient (cf. research question 1); other forms, especially hortatives, which are constructed with the passive form of the verb (which has first person plural reference in the colloquial speech) but without the subject pronoun (see Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen 2017:7), construct the directed action as a joint one, requiring participation from both the speaker and the recipient (cf. research question 2). Although these grammatical constructions are not imperatives, their position in the sequence and in the wider interactional context can encode little choice to the recipient.

While some type of general 'verbal use-of-force continuum' based on grammatical formulations might sound tempting, both contextual and sequential elements need to be accounted for when analysing the functions of directive turns. CA scholars (e.g. Mondada 2011; Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen 2017) have noted that the use of imperatives is situationally unfolding, and that participants take the ongoing situation into account. Stevanovic (2017), for example, has investigated the verbal design of Finnish second-person singular imperative and first-person plural hortative turns in violin lessons with a teacher and a child as the participants. Her analysis shows that non-cliticised turns are frequently used when participants are actively engaged in an ongoing collaborative action (also Lauranto 2013:165), whereas the clitic *-pA* occurs after the recipient's failures and *-pAs* is frequently used at activity transitions and when the temporal linkage between the directive and the realisation of the nominated action is loosened. Choosing the cliticised and non-cliticised formats is therefore a way for the speakers to "invoke and manage the more specific basis upon which the recipient's compliance can be expected" (Stevanovic 2017:357). Stevanovic then argues that the linguistic design between imperatives and hortatives is informed by the speaker's understanding of the extent to which the participants' current actions are to be seen as joint ones: imperatives are used when it is the recipient only, and hortatives are employed when both participants are to get involved in the action.

Suffice to say that instructional settings are different from more authority-based institutional settings where communication strategies can, at least partly, be handed down to the officers in training and by legislation. Indeed, there is an institutional preference for talk over embodied use-of-force: police should maintain public order and security "primarily through advice, requests and orders" (Police Act 872/2011: §6). This professional policy to proceed from advice to orders still leaves open a wide variety of grammatical constructions to choose from according to the task at hand (see Kannisto 2019). Policing provides a context where imperative forms are likely to occur when officers give orders with command voice (Skolnick/Fyfe 1993:38-39) – a professional term that denotes bald imperatives produced in an authoritarian tone that often drops off at the end of turn and that conveys certainty and demands an immediate compliant response.[2] This type of use of imperative mood is often considered as rude and impolite in 'ordinary' or non-institutional interaction, particularly if the recipient is not benefitting from the directed action; in

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[2] Studies using Skolnick and Fyfe's outline of ascending police actions that is based on English-speaking contexts locate command voice somewhere between "conversational tone" and "shouting" (e.g. Garner/Maxwell 1999). However, this classification is based on professional experience and common sense understanding rather than phonetic research (cf. Kennard 2006).

policing, it is more commonly and unproblematically used (in the data, more than six out of ten directive turns include imperative form, see appendices, Table 1). Command voice and the use of imperative mood in ordering a suspect (SU) are illustrated in Fragment 1. The suspect has escaped the police (P1 and P2) and driven his car off the road. The fragment exemplifies a situation where urgency in ordering is prioritised, and resistance from the suspect is expected. It serves here as a contrasting case against which other data fragments are analysed.

(1) DUI stopped (S1E10_1027-1042)

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01       (9.0)
         >>SU's car stops, officers run to the car
02→ P2: %KÄDET   +NÄKYVILLÄ,
          hand.PL visible.PL.ADE
          Hands where I can see them,
         %opens passenger's door, points at SU with flashlight-->>
    p1        +opens driver's door, stands close to SU-->>
03→     KÄDET NÄKYVILLÄ.=
         Hands where I can see them.
04→     =NOUSE        ULOS AU[TOSTA. ]
          get.up.IMP.2SG out  car.ELA
          Get out of the car.
05  SU:                        [( - - )]
06       (0.4)
07→ P1: Ulos sii[tä.
         out  it.ELA
         Out of there.
08→ P2:         [<NOUSE        ULOS AUTO[STA>.]
                  get.up.IMP.2SG out  car.ELA
                  Get out of the car.
09→ P1:                              [Ulos.]
                                      Out.
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Officers open the doors of the suspect's car rather than waiting or requesting that he do so (l.2). The first two directive turns (l.2 and 3) deter any of the suspect's actions that might indicate threat to the officers. Officers talk with minimal pause (but also minimal overlap) between their turns. The sequence is dense with six directive turns. The turns are formulated with preference for action (getting the suspect out of the car) rather than some verbal response as the relevant next. The directives in lines 4 and 8 build on bald imperatives: morphological grammatical construction where the verb in the second-person imperative initiates the turn. The rest of the turns are phrasal constructions without a finite verb (l.2, 3, 7 and 9). These constructions use directional adverbs (e.g. *ulos*, 'out') to indicate only *the result* of directed action, i.e. the action itself is not verbalised. Most importantly, officers' directive formulations show no doubt about the ability of the suspect to understand and comply with the orders. Having tried to run away with his car, the suspect is categorised per se by the officers as potentially unwilling to comply with the orders. If the suspect resisted getting out of the car, physical force would likely be used. As we will see later, the urgency and non-negotiable nature of ordering are evident here also in the sense that there is no lexical (i.e. change of verb nominating the directed action) nor grammatical modification (i.e. upgrading or downgrading with phrasal constructions or clitic particles) in P2's directive turns. The only upgrading

element is prosodic: the turn in line 4 is repeated in line 8 with stress and lower tempo. Officers' verbal directives are already the strongest possible striving for immediate compliance.

In contrast with urgent police encounters such as that depicted above, drunk encounters are expected to last longer and include extended sequences of assessment and negotiation. The collection of 1,748 verbal directives (appendices, Table 1) demonstrates that imperative mood is used proportionally in both drunk (66%) and crime cases (69%). However, bald imperatives (45%) are more frequent than cliticised imperatives (18%) in crime cases, while drunk cases include the same number of bald imperatives (29%) and cliticised imperatives (29%). We may thus ask: does the grammatical construction of officers' directives (use of cliticised imperatives rather than bald imperatives[3]) reflect their orientation to drunk persons' (in)ability to comply with the directed action? If becoming mobile is a matter of drunk persons' ability (rather than their willingness) and therefore the directed action is one where physical assistance may also be needed, we might further ask: is there a difference in terms of the use of second-person singular versus hortative forms (orientation to the task as individual vs. joint project)? Further, to go beyond the mere number of occurrences, we need to look at the position of directive formulation within the sequences of verbal and embodied action (Kent/Kendrick 2016).

2. Analysis

This section presents sequential analyses of three types of projects where police officers provide bodily assistance to drunken persons (DPs). Figure 2 illustrates the general progressivity in terms of the accomplishment of compliance and possible directive-response trajectories which officers work through in the fragments: the task starts from the left-hand bottom and the desired outcome is in the right-hand upper corner. As the officers are working through the encounter, there are two other possible trajectories: one where the DP is orientated to as unable and another where the DP is orientated to as unwilling to comply. Each of the three subsections analyses the strategical use of directives and bodily assistance. First, I look at the phasing-in sequences as an example of making drunken persons available for interaction. Second, I look at assessing drunken persons' willingness and ability to become mobile from the point of view of assisting as a joint project. The last subsection illustrates how the task of getting the citizen into the police van can constitute a transition space for resistance and how officers manage this space and any changes in DPs' compliance by modifying the action verb that nominates the directed action (i.e. parsing directives).

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[3] Another indication of this is that directives in interrogative form (such as *nousetko ylös*, lit. 'will you get up') or modal verb constructions (*nyt sun pitää nousta*, 'now you have to get up') are overrepresented in drunk cases.
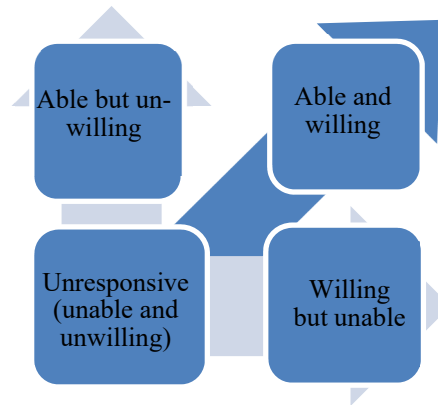
Figure 2: Directive-response trajectories in terms of DP's willingness vs. ability to comply.

2.1. Mitigated imperatives in 'phasing-in' sequences: ascertaining availability for interaction

When officers encounter a citizen who they observe to be sleeping or otherwise nonresponsive, they first check and wake up the citizen. I call these sequences of talk and embodied action 'phasing-in' sequences: the aim is simply to make drunken persons available for interaction. These sequences, indicative of non-urgency, are typically initiated with a summons (Fragment 3, l.1) or a self-identification and an expression of authority (e.g. 'this is the police'), but occasionally also with directive formulations (Fragment 2, l.1). Directives in sequence-initial position are typically ones other than bald imperatives.[4] The reason for this can be the avoidance of 'directive inflation': a directive turn makes a response (action) conditionally relevant but such a response is often delayed. The stronger the directive, the more noticeable the lack of appropriate conduct. To balance this dilemma, officers who have not yet established an understanding of the DP's ability to become mobile use cliticised imperatives or other grammatical constructions in their directives. Further, they treat anything from an embodied reaction to non-lexical grunts as a locally sufficient indication that the encounter has a possibility of progressing. The next two fragments show how officers treat the absence of response and balance between maintaining the effectivity and progressivity of the task, on the one hand, and seeking cooperation and intersubjectivity, on the other hand.

In Fragment 2, officers P1 and P2 are checking a drunken person (DP) who is sleeping[5] on bare ground outside a train station late in the evening. While walking towards the DP, P2 is putting on his protective gloves, which is indicative of potential bodily contact between him and the DP.

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[4]   The directive formulation found in the phasing-in sequences are listed in the appendices, Table 2.
[5]   This is P2's own first-hand interpretation. As they arrive at the scene, while still inside the car, P2 produces a comment in Swedish: *Han sover* ('he's sleeping').

(2) DP lying outside a train station (S3E46_126_1155-1205)

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01→ P2: tsk (0.5) .hhh Nouseppa          ylös.%
                       get.up.IMP.2SG.CLI up
                       Get up.
        >>walks twd DP, wearing protective gloves%
    dp  >>lying on the ground-->
02      %(0.4)
    p2  %stops and bends over DP-->
03      >Huomenta<,%
         Morning,
              -->%
04      %(1.5)%
    p2  %R hand tapping on DP's shoulder 3 times%
05  P2: Täs %on poliisi.%
        This is the police here.
            %shaking twice%
06      %(2.6)%
        %R hand moving in front of DP's face%
07  P2: tsk+ (.) %Poliisi on    täs+sä.%=%Huomenta.%*
                  Police is here. Morning.
                %Rhand withdraws------% %Rhand on DP's arm%
    dp  -->+moves elbow slightly up+
                                          *((cut,
        zoomed on P1's face, P2 now standing next to DP))
08→ P2: .hh >Noustaisko<    ylös.*
            get.up.PAS.COND.Q up
            Would we get up.
                              *((cut, zoomed out))
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The opening turn, *nouseppa ylös* ('get up', l.1) is produced while P2 is still approaching the DP. The clicking sound and deep inbreath mark a transition into embodied stationary formation close enough to the DP, who is in a horizontal position. The turn is formatted using the second-person imperative *nouse* ('get up') and the clitic *-pA*. What does P2 accomplish by using *nouseppa*, rather than *nouse* (cf. Fragment 1), to initiate the sequence?

Firstly, it is important to note that the directive turn comes *before* P2 is close enough to the DP to initiate touch. If the DP was able to respond immediately, further directive actions could be postponed. In this case, the DP would most likely also understand his role in, and the reason for, the police intervention. Secondly, considering the fact that speakers may use the clitic *-pA* to mitigate their assumed entitlement to control the recipient's rights (VISK 2008:§1672) and that the use of the clitic may include an assessment of some previous failure in the recipient's action (Stevanovic 2017), the use of the clitic *-pA* in *nouseppa* displays P2's orientation to the fact that the DP's compliance with the directive is likely to be delayed, if not completely absent. Throughout the data, formulations which are not bald imperatives are preferred in the initiation of directive sequences.

After a short pause, P2 bends over the DP and produces a wake-up summons *huomenta* ('morning') (ll.2-3). The turn has a double role. First, it can be heard as a greeting – a typical initiation in an encounter. However, as it denotes temporally inaccurate information (it is late evening), it connects the DP's ongoing action (sleeping) with the directed transition away from that action (waking up). Yet, it does this discreetly: the turn does not emphasise the unwanted activity in explicitly

negative ways as, for example, *don't sleep* would do. In fact, the fragment contains no explicit moral judgement or assessment of the DP's conduct. We can thus claim that the first two verbal turns – and the abstinence from direct bodily contact – formulate the encounter as not yet an urgent policeable action. This way of initiating a wake-up sequence shows rather low entitlement and high contingency: should the DP hear someone approaching and initiating an encounter with him, it would be possible for him to make himself available for the encounter.

The 1.5-second pause in line 4 provides evidence for the DP's unavailability for interaction and makes it a potential problem that demands both bodily intervention and an initiation of a new action that upgrades the prior directive. Consequently, P2 utilises bodily resources to fulfil the task: he taps three times on the DP's shoulder. P2 then provides his identification and authorisation as a police officer (l.5), accompanied by a set of shaking movements. Self-identification turns accompany the initiation of touch throughout the data: identification as a member of law enforcement warrants touching and manoeuvring others' bodies in public.

In line 6, P2 further transgresses the DP's bodily sphere by moving his hand from the DP's shoulder and closer to his face. While we do not have access to the details of this move (it could be a pinch or a shake), it succeeds: the DP, who has remained stationary, reacts now by lifting his right elbow slightly (l.7). P2 repeats his self-identification while simultaneously withdrawing from touching the DP (l.7). The turn initiated with a self-identification is then expanded by also repeating *huomenta* ('morning'). Compared to the first *huomenta* item (l.3), which was produced rapidly and with a stress, the repeated item has no stress. As such, it is hearable as a 'normal' greeting which – given that the DP has physically reacted to P2's efforts to wake him up – would make a verbal response, a greeting, a relevant next.

Because of a cut in the video we do not know if line 8 is sequentially the next turn (it is probably not, as P1 appears in the frame after the cut, while he previously did not). What we can say, however, is that the formulation *noustaisko* (passive interrogative construction in conditional mood, 'would we get up') invites a change in contingency and in the participation framework: there are now less barriers to compliance and P1 can orientate to the DP as at least able to respond, if not even to comply with the directive. What was initially a directive targeted at the DP is now grammatically formulated as a joint project. The grammatical modification paves the way for further physical assistance, were it to be needed.

Fragment 3 has a similar extended directive sequence with a citizen who has been found sleeping in public. This time, however, the DP's sleeping site and position – laying on a bench on his back, hands crossed over his chest – indicate intentional sleeping rather than unintentional 'passing-out'.

(3) DP sleeping on a bench (S3E16_73_1820-1840)

```
01  P2: Moro:?+
        Hiya.
             +hand on DP's wrist, shakes-->
02      (0.8)
03→     Nyt pitäs        herätä.=+
        now must.COND.3SG wake.up.INF
        {One} should wake up now.
                              -->+
04      Täs o polliisi.
        The police is here.
```

```
05   DP: °öh::°
06   P2: +@↑Kännykät    ja  kaikki on pitkin pihoja.@
            Cell phones and everything are all around.
         +lifts up DP's mobile phone
07       (0.4)
08   P2: +%Hei,
           Hey,
         +hand on DP's shoulder/neck, shakes-->
     p1  %arrives, stands behind P2-->>
09       (1.0)
10       Täs on poliisi.=+
         The police is here.
                        -->+
11→      Nyt sun   pitää    skarpata ja  nousta    ylös siit.=
         now you.GEN must.3SG try.INF   and get.up.INF up   it.ELA
         Now you must make an effort and get up from there.
12       Sun p- +↑kännykkäkin oli tos pitkin+ (0.3)
         Your p- cell phone too was lying there at
                +extends arm holding the cell phone+
13       pituuttaan tossa (0.9) maassa.=
         full length there in the ground.
14→      =+Nouse         istumaan.+
           get.up.IMP.2SG sit.INF.ILL
           Get up to sit.
         +----hand gesture-------+
15   DP: No %↑mikäs sie- No moi. He:(i),  %
         Well what the- Well hiya. Hey,
            %lifts up arms away from chest%
```

The fragment includes summoning items and embodied actions similar to those seen in Fragment 2, although in a slightly different order. P2 initiates the encounter with a greeting-summons *moro* ('hiya', l.1), followed by an embodied action, an effort to catch the DP's attention by touching and shaking his wrist (ll.1-3). P2's first directive turn (l.3) is produced while he still has his hand on the DP's arm. The directive turn, *nyt pitäs herätä* '{one} should wake up now' (syntactically a zero-person necessive construction in the conditional mood) has several mitigating properties. First, the zero-person directive does not nominate the recipient, although for the participants it is obvious who the recipient is in this case. Second, the declarative construction displays lower entitlement and higher contingency than an imperative construction would do. Thirdly, the conditional mood also downgrades the directive quality of the turn, representing the action as a suggestion rather than a command. Nevertheless, the officer's embodied action of shaking the DP by their wrist underlines the directive function of the turn. As Couper-Kuhlen and Etelämäki (2015; also, Rouhikoski 2020) argue, zero-person constructions in Finnish display weaker deontic rights than explicit personal forms and therefore construe social relationships as more symmetric than asymmetric. P2's directive thus simultaneously works as a compliable directive and as a check on the DP's recipiency and willingness to cooperate. The use of zero-person construction in the production of the first directive turn in the sequence can thus indicate a similar effort to avoid confrontation as did the avoidance of giving authoritative directives (or ordering) before the DP had shown at least some level of responsiveness in Fragment 2.

In Fragment 3, line 5, the DP produces a grunt-like non-lexical item *öh::* in a sequentially relevant position. However, because the DP's grunt does not advance

sequence progressivity, P2 proceeds to produce a general wondering *kännykät ja kaikki on pitkin pihoja* ('cell phones and everything are all around') while simultaneously picking up the DP's cell phone from the ground (l.6). With this turn, P2 accounts for his directive action (waking-up) and maintains its relevance without explicitly pursuing the directive line of action. At the same time, P2's action proceeds the overall project of taking care of the person and his belongings; it also provides the DP with an opportunity to enter the situation. The design of the turn "Cell phones and everything are all around" aligns with P2's previous zero-person directive in line 3 as the turn does not explicitly indicate the DP's relationship with the phone; yet, the phone lying on the ground is unproblematically heard as belonging to the DP (cf. l.12 where the phone is referred to as *your* phone).

The DP does not, however, show further signs of appropriate engagement. Therefore, P2 initiates a second extended sequence of waking-up. The sequence includes the same four actions – summoning (l.8), identification (l.10), directing (l.11 and 14) and accounting for giving directives (ll.12-13) – as did the first one (ll.1-6). However, the second waking-up sequence is different from the first both in terms of the order and the design of the actions. Whereas the first self-identifying turn (l.4) followed the directive turn (l.3), we now have a structure where the authority of the speaker through identification as the police in line 10 is made explicit before the directive is issued in line 11. P2 employs different means to upgrade the actions in the sequence: first, P2 uses a stressed *hei*-summons and bodily touch towards the neck or head area (more private area) instead of the DP's hands. Second, in identifying himself as the police, the dialectical and colloquial *täs o polliisi* ('the police is here', l.4) is replaced with a form closer to standard Finnish, *täs on poliisi* (l.10), in an authoritarian tone. Third, the account for the presence of the police includes both showing the phone and referring to it as *your* phone (ll.12-13). By placing the cell phone in front of the DP's face, P2 invites the DP to look at it and to join in the ongoing activity. Therefore, the phone is used as evidence for DP's previous irresponsible conduct and an account for police intervention. Fourth and finally, the two directive turns are both upgraded from the first waking-up sequence: line 11, *nyt sun pitää skarpata ja nousta ylös siit* ('now you must make an effort and get up from there'), again includes a necessive construction but now with an overt subject: *sun pitää* ('you must'). P2 uses the hendiadic (double verb) imperative utterance (Drew et al. 2021) *skarpata ja nousta* to express two necessities: the DP needs to *skarpata* ('to get a grip of oneself', an informal verb derived from Swedish *skärpa*, 'to sharpen up') and to *nousta ylös* ('get up'). As Drew et al. (2021) state, hendiadic expressions occur typically in a subsequent position in sequences dealing with a complainable matter. While getting up is the desired action, the first verb, "to get a grip of oneself", includes a moral claim about the insufficiency of the DP's efforts to participate so far.

The final directive here is a bald imperative: a second-person imperative turn *nouse istumaan* ('get up to sit') accompanied by a hand gesture rather than a touch (l.14). At this point, the DP engages and produces a verbal response. Given that the project of waking the DP up has taken some effort, it is noteworthy that the first, and only, use of the bald imperative results in the DP responding and later (not shown in the transcript) complying with the directive. Using the imperative form here can indicate the police officer's orientation to the DP having phased in and now being able to comply. Further, the change from *nousta ylös* ('getting up') to *nousta*

istumaan ('getting up to sit') indicates a parsing step-wise strategy (Råman/Haddington 2018; Rauniomaa et al. 2018): moving from lying position to a sitting position provides a doable and sufficient 'step' in the process of becoming mobile. Drunken persons can often hold up their upper body whereas they may have problems standing on their feet. Parsing the directed activity into actions that the DP is likely able to do (thus showing their willingness) and actions where bodily assistance is needed can thus lead into a framework where participants' responsibilities can be jointly negotiated. There is a cut in the video immediately after the fragment ends but the next frame shows the DP *sitting* on the bench (cf. getting *up* in Finnish neither denotes the initial posture nor the final posture).

In sum, Fragments 2 and 3 have shown that in the phasing-in sequences, the design of the police officers' directive turns is embedded in the projectability and progressivity of the DP's evolving participation in the encounter. Given that cliticised imperative forms are more frequent than bald imperatives in the phasing-in sequences (see appendices, Table 2) and that the use of bald imperatives is sequentially positioned so that the drunken person is orientated to as capable of producing a sufficient response, we may suggest a pattern where police officers utilise a non-confrontational method to enact their deontic rights and display their entitlement towards persons whose compliance or response-ability has not yet been fully established. In non-urgent assistance-orientated policing, postponing the directive forms that seek immediate compliance until the person has produced a sufficient response (Fragment 2) or using zero-person declaratives (Fragment 3) when initiating the encounter provide the officers with a safe entry into the task: one where they can formulate the project as a joint one as soon as the recipient shows sufficient engagement in the directed action.

In the next section, we take a closer look at cases where non-compliance occurs after officers' initial orientation to the DP as able to comply has been established. In these cases, the DP's unwillingness is dealt with through the modification of both verbal and embodied directives.

2.2. Mitigated imperatives and hortatives in 'getting-up' sequences: assigning responsibilities

Wake-up sequences can turn out to be complicated and prolonged. DPs may respond and display understanding of what is expected from them but still be unable or unwilling to get up. In these sequences, negotiation concerns the project of getting DPs up on their feet with or without officers' embodied assistance. In contrast with 'phasing-in' sequences, the directive formulations tend more clearly to be cliticised imperative forms (especially the clitics *-pA* and *-hAn*). In addition, interrogative formulations are frequently used as a way of assessing – or asking the DP to assess – the DP's ability to get up unassisted or assisted (see appendices, Table 3).

Looking at officers' turns within get-up sequences, we find that directives are repeated but not ad infinitum. Often no more than three repetitive verbal directive turns are produced before some other means are resorted to. Consider Fragments 4 and 5. Fragment 4 continues from Fragment 2 after a cut. Just before the cut in the recording, P2 had produced a directive turn *noustaisko ylös* ('would we get up'), indicating an orientation to joint action. Now, the camera shows P2 standing slightly bent on the DP's left side while P1 has moved to the DP's right side.

(4) continues from Fragment 2 (S3E46_126_1205-1225)

```
09        +(1.1)
    p2   +grabs DP's hand, presses fingers-->1.16
10  DP: Ai.
        Ouch.
11        (0.7)
12→ P2: Ja  nouseppa           ylös [nyt.
        and get.up.IMP.2SG.CLI  up    now
        And get up now.
13  DP:                             [Ei *e:::i.
                                      No no.
                                        *((camera cut; zoomed at
                                           DP's fingers))
14→ P2: >↑Nouse-     ↑Nouseppa    ↑ylös< ole      [kiltti.]
         get.up.IMP get.up.IMP.CLI up     be.IMP.2SG  kind
         Get up- Get up would you please.
15  DP:                                        [%E:i.  ]
                                                No.
                                                %brings left
        hand to P2's hand
16        (2.4)%+
    dp      -->%
    p2      -->+releases DP's hands
17  DP [ä:h  ]
18→ P2 [No:in]. (0.5) Nyt ylös.*
        PTCL           now up
        Okay. Now up.
19                              *((camera cut; zoomed out))
20→ P2: Ota         toisesta  puolelta.
        take.IMP.2SG other.ELA side-ABL
        Grab from the other side.
21        +(3.9)§+(%1.2%)(2.0)+§
    p2   +grabs DP's arms and lifts him up+
    p1        §grabs DP's arm and lifts him up§
    dp          %grunts while lifted up%
```

(5) DP lying on the street (S4E40_203_1531-1550)

```
01  P2: Huomenta.=
        Morning.
    p2  >>holding DP's upper arm-->
    p1  >>holding DP's wrist with LH and shoulder with RH-->
02  P1: =Huomenta. Sä oot tekemisis poliisin% kanssa.
        Morning. You are dealing with the police.
                                      -->%
03→     %Nouses             ylös.%=
        get.up.IMP.2SG.CLI up
        Get up.
        %slapping with R hand DP's shoulder%
04→ P1: =Nouses             ylös.
        get.up.IMP.2SG.CLI up
        Get up.
05  DP: @(Voi vittu, - (.) §Mee vittu- mee)@
        (Oh fuck - - Go fuck- go)
                          §LH up extended-->
```

```
06        @(me+e vaan istuu §sinne %jonnekii.)@
          (just go and sit somewhere over there.)
                          -->§
     p2   -->+sliding hand twd DP's wrist
     p1                        %RH on DP's shoulder
07→ P1:  +%Just. Nouses           istumaan.
               get.up.IMP.2SG.CLI sit.INF.ILL
           I see. Get up to sit.
         +prepares to pull DP up
     p2  %prepares to pull DP up
08  P1:  +%↑u::p [>popopop<.
         +pulling DP up-->
     p2  %pulling DP up-->
09  DP:       [I::i *ä:i äi-
                   *((video cut; DP standing supported by P1&2))
```

In both cases, officers produce three directive turns aiming to get the DPs up on their feet (Fragment 4, l.12, 14 and 18; Fragment 5, l.3, 4 and 7). A common feature is that the directive turns are upgraded stepwise and that the recipient's failure to comply after the third directive leads to an initiation of a new trajectory or strategy, such as asking if the DP is not listening or understanding what is said (using cognitive verbs), intensifying officers' embodied actions (e.g. shaking, using flashing light) or changing the verb nominating the action. Here, officers lift or pull the drunken person up (Fragment 4, l.21 and Fragment 5, l.8). In Fragment 4, the first directive of the sequence, *ja nouseppa ylös nyt* ('and get up now', l.12), is positioned after P2 has upgraded his embodied directive (shaking) to a more intensified physical constraint of pressing the DP's fingers to cause a pain reaction (l.9).[6] The DP responds with a response cry (l.10) after which P2 produces the first directive turn which is tied together with the embodied directive through the turn-initial *ja* ('and'). There is typically also either lexical or prosodic variation in the repetitions. In Fragment 4, *nouseppa* in line 12 is repeated in line 14 (after cut-off and self-repaired *nouse-*),[7] while the third and final directive before resorting to embodied (controlling) action is a phrasal construction *nyt ylös* ('now up', l.18). The turn in line 18 shares grammatical similarity with the short no-verb command phrases in Fragment 1 (e.g. *ulos*, 'out'). Not producing the (imperative) verb indicates the officer's orientation to the DP as someone who should have already complied with the directed action but who has failed to do so. In fact, in Fragment 4 the DP has not only failed to get up but also verbally resisted doing so (l.13 and 15). In addition, the fact that the directive turn is positioned immediately after the DP has produced a pain cry and tried to get loose from P2's controlling grip (l.15) and that P2 releases the DP's hand after the cry indicates the closing of this directive sequence and transition to

---

6   Because of the cuts in the video, the boundaries between directive sequences are not always clear. Fragment 4 continues from Fragment 2 where two directives were already produced and where DP's embodied reaction (arm movement) was followed by P2's directive construction that formulated the action as a joint one. This is in stark contrast with the embodied means of pressing DP's fingers seen here. More generally, some type of change (either in the participation framework or in the speaker's orientation to the project) typically takes place before a subsequent directive sequence is launched.

7   It is unclear whether P2 duplicates or self-repairs the directive here. A self-repair from non-cliticised to cliticised imperative (*nouse* >> *nouseppa*) would be indicative of his orientation to the imperatively formulated *nouse* being somehow incorrectly placed. P2 finishes the turn with a non-authoritative plea *ole kiltti* (imperative lit. 'be kind' or 'please') which suggests a further layer of mitigation.

a new strategy in the project. In fact, after the cut (l.19) P2 recruits P1 to lift the DP up with an imperative formulation.

Fragment 5 includes a series of gradually upgraded directives and ends with the officers physically assisting the DP in getting to his feet. The fragment is much more intense, however, and urgency overrides negotiation. Officers already have a firm grip of the DP's arms before the fragment starts. The first two *nouses ylös* ('get up') directives produced by P1 in subsequent turns in lines 3 and 4 are identical second-person imperatives with the clitic *-s*. The clitic *-s* typically shows the speaker's higher deontic position but also indicates that what is being nominated as the directed action should not require too much effort from the recipient (VISK 2008:§1672). The clitic *-s* is overwhelmingly used in the data when officers have locally assessed the DP as being able to understand (and often to bodily comply with) directives. This also seems to be the case here: when the officers arrive at the scene, the DP is awake and acknowledges their arrival. The DP is able to produce a syntactically complete turn that is consistent with his effort to extend his left hand up, which may be seen as an effort to strike P2 (ll.5-6; note how P2 responds to this move by sliding his hand towards the DP's wrist and thus controlling any further efforts). P1's third and final directive turn in line 7 is initiated with a receipt (*just*, 'I see') of the DP's complaints while the directive is modified from *nouses ylös* ('get up') to *nouses istumaan* ('get up to sit'), indicating a parsing strategy. However here, simultaneously with the verbal directive turn, both officers initiate an embodied action of pulling the DP up.

Bodily assistance, such as lifting a person up, is a routine task for the officers and does not typically demand detailed or explicitly choreographed actions (such as counting 1-2-3 or one officer requesting the other to assist with the lift; l.20 in Fragment 4 is thus an exception; cf. the detailed lifting work described by Smith in this special issue). Wearing protective gloves (Fragment 2) or removing any objects that might disturb bodily assistance are projecting that the task may demand tactile assistance, but the initiation of embodied assisting is also mirrored in changes in the design of directive turns. The parsing strategy witnessed above is one way of verbalising the transition while a change from second-person (or zero-person) forms to hortative formulations is another. Hortatives in Finnish generally present the nominated action as the speaker's and recipient's joint endeavour (Rauniomaa 2017:330; Stevanovic 2017:358). Although the drunken person is the one who is ultimately expected to comply with the directive, hortatives, in contrast with second-person singular forms, share the responsibility for performing that directed action. This is evident in the syntactic variation in directive turns in Fragment 6.

(6) DP leaning against a wall (S5E7_242_1042-1047)

```
01→ P1: +Nouses          hei-
        get.up.IMP.2SG.CLI hey
        Hey get up-
      +bending down-->
02→     %Noustaan  ylös ni   jos vähän (.)
        get.up.PAS up    PTCL  if little
        Let's get up so that if
    p2  %reaching to grab DP-->
```

```
03      virkistyis siitä %lisää vielä.
        {one} would refresh herself still some more.
                        -->%
04→ P1: +%Kantaaks       jalat  yhtään.
          carry.3SG.Q.CLI leg.PL  ADV
          Do the legs carry at all.
        +lifts DP up-->
    p2   %lifts DP up-->
05  DP: Voi jumalauta.+%
        Goddammit.
    p1                  -->+
    p2                  -->%
```

The first directive, *nouses* ('get up', l.1), produced in the preparation phase of P1's embodied action is in singular second-person imperative form with the clitic *-s*, while the directive turn accompanying the lift-up, *noustaan ylös* ('let's get up', l.2), is in a passive from, which is used to construct hortatives in Finnish. This change projects a change in the participation framework: in line 2, P2 joins P1 in initiating the lift. The turn initial directive is then expanded with the desired outcome of the lift-up, also formulated in zero-person (*jos virkistyis*, 'if {one} would refresh', ll.2-3). The fragment includes a third directive, an interrogative *kantaaks jalat yhtään* ('do the legs carry at all', l.4) which, produced while lifting the DP up, is interpretable as a directive: the DP should stand on their own feet.

Similar hortative constructions can be found in Fragments 7 (l.1) and 8 (l.10 and 11). These two cases share another common element. The embodied assistance of the DP is often accompanied by a comment or an assessment of the DP's ability to participate in the joint action. The assessment can be produced with the particle *noin* ('like that', Fragment 7, l.2; Fragment 8, l.15) as well as with an interrogative (Fragment 6, l.4) or a phrasal (no finite verb) formulation (Fragment 8, l.14) that explicates the cooperative nature of embodied action.

(7) DP lying in toilet in a kebab restaurant (S3E43_117_1053-1057)

```
01→ P1: +%Noustaas       ylös.
          get.up.PAS.CLI up
          Let's get up.
        +grabs DP's arm preparing to lift up-->
         %grabs DP's arm preparing to lift up-->
02       (1.0)+
           -->+
03  P1: +%@no:::::::in.@+%
        Like that.
        +-lifting DP up-+
    p2   %-lifting DP up-%
```

(8) continues from Fragment 5 (S4E40_203_1531-1550)

```
10→ P1: +%No    men[nääs     tonne     poliisiautoon.]
            PTCL  go.PAS.CLI  there     police.car.ILL
            Well let's go there to the police car.
        +supports & escorts DP twd police car arm in arm-->>
         %supports & escorts DP twd police car arm in arm-->>
11→ P2:          [Mennään  tonne (.) poliisiauton]  perään
                 go.PAS    there     police.car.GEN back.ILL
                 Let's go sit over there at the back of
        istumaan.
        sit.INF.ILL
        the police car.
12  DP: §↑Noudu↓du↓du[↓du:.]
        ((nonsensical))
        §unstable steps-->>
13  P1:          [Noni,]
                 Okay,
14→     Nyt vähän omia       jalkoja   alle.
        now little own.PL.PAR leg.PL.PAR ADV
        Now on your own legs.
15  P2: No::in.
        Like that.
```

In this section, I have analysed a repetitive pattern of directives projecting a possible slot for DPs to show sufficient engagement in the task initiated by the officer. Should the first directive fail, upgrades in linguistic and prosodic turn design and embodied actions are likely to occur. Simultaneously, each successive directive not only upgrades but also shows officers' orientation to the DP's level of participation in the joint task. For example, the phrasal formulation in line 14 in Fragment 8 hints that the DP is not yet adequately participating in the joint action. Further, a shift from a second-person imperative to hortative occurs when the action becomes a joint one also materially, that is, when the lifting or other embodied form of assistance is initiated. Lifting someone up and then supporting them to stand on their own feet is a form of embodied assisting that does not require verbalisation of the action; yet, officers regularly do so. Transitions from lying to sitting and further to standing position provide a slot for assessing the type of assistance which the DP needs. Given that the persons assisted might not know exactly what is expected from them, hortatives work both as verbalisations of the ongoing action and as directives for recipients to take part in joint action. The next section looks at cases where joint embodied collaboration becomes threatened.

2.3. Imperatives and second-person declaratives in cooperative vs. uncooperative actions of getting (DP) into the police van

When officers decide to take DPs into police custody because of their inability to take care of themselves (Police Act 872/2011:§11), a transportation-related challenge might occur in getting DPs into a police van. Given the DPs' condition, the rear of the van forms a physical barrier in terms of mobility. Despite previous assistance-responsive conduct, there is always also a possibility that DPs will resist stepping in. This is because control measures such as security control often take

place at this point. How do officers design their directive turns, and do their formulations show their orientation to DPs as willing or able to perform the directed action?

The first general observation is that the morphological imperative is clearly the most common grammatical formulation in these sequences (see appendices, Table 4). There is, however, no single reason for this. When the activity is already under way (Raevaara 2017:385) or when the recipient's responsibility for performing the directed action is unproblematic (Rauniomaa 2017), the use of second-person imperative form explicates the shared and unambiguous course of action. There are, however, also cases where officers clearly recognise the potential for the DP's resistance and therefore resort to the use of bald imperatives. The second observation concerns word selection. Typically, when officers orientate to the recipient as able to carry out the nominated embodied action, they use directives with verbs such as *nouse* ('get up'), *mene* ('go') or *hyppää* ('jump'). By contrast, when officers orientate to the earlier nominated action as in need of parsing, they use directives with verbs such as *ponnista* ('push'), *kumarru* ('bend') and *tartu* ('take a hold'), which target an incremental phase or step in a set of bodily movements or actions that the recipient needs to perform in order to get the nominated action done. The DP's responsibility for parsing actions can be further explicated by using a second-person indicative form (e.g. *tartut*, 'you grab') that is contextually understood as an instruction (VISK 2008:§1673; Etelämäki/Couper-Kuhlen 2017).

The third observation is that the clitic particles *-pA* and *-hAn* are the most frequent and are generally used in emotionally relaxed cases (that is, when the DP has been collaborating throughout the encounter). This is the case in Fragment 9, where the DP is well known to both P1 and P2 (in fact, P2 has described the DP as a professional drinker who just happened to have an accident at work). Just before the fragment starts, officers have performed a security control and the DP is now ready to be placed into the police van. The DP has been cooperative and talkative, but he has trouble moving and talking in an intelligible manner.

(9) Cooperative DP transportation (S7E15_343_0252-0303)

```
01  P2: @No ni.@
         Okay.
        >>stands on R side of DP, supports with LH-->
    p1  >>stands on L side of DP, supports with RH-->
    dp  >>stands supported by P1&P2-->
02  P1: *No [ni].
         Okay.
    dp  *gazes P1, walks fwd-->
03  P2:    [Hy]+%vä,
            Good,
           -->+steps fwd escorting DP fwd-->
            -->%steps fwd escorting DP fwd-->
04     (1.0)
```

```
05→ P1:  Katoha          etteenpäin nyt että et
         look.IMP.2SG.CLI forward    now that NEG.2SG
         Look forward now so that you won't
06           %+[<törmää>.]
                 collide
                 collide.
         -->%stops
    p2   -->+stops
07  DP:      [  ( - )  ] +%(vOOtsiskö tä: [mato.) ]
                             ((incomprehensible))
    p2                     %gazes away from DP-->>
08  P1:                              [>No ni<].
                                       Okay now.

09→ P1:  Kiipeehä [<      kyy::tii:.>]
         climb.IMP.2SG.CLI ride.ILL
         Climb aboard.
10→ P2:          [>Ajoneuvoon nouse?<]
                   vehicle.ILL embark.IMP.2SG
                   Embark on the vehicle.
11       *%+(1.7)*
    dp   *steps into the police van*
    p1   %arm stretch, supporting DP-->>
    p2    +arm stretch, supporting DP-->>
12  P2: N:[:o:i]n
         Like that.
13  P1:   [Hups].
           Oops.
```

The first directive *katoha* ('look') – the second-person singular imperative with the clitic *-hA(n)* in line 5 by P1 – occurs during a transition from static (the DP being a passive object in security control) to mobile action (the DP's active participation in stepping into the police van). The *no ni* particles (l.1 and2) and *hyvä* ('good') (l.3) provide further evidence that the participants orientate to the transition (Raevaara 2017) as does the fact that the DP gazes towards P1 and takes a step forward already before the officers initiate their shepherding move. P1's first directive turn in line 5 is future-orientated in the sense that the imperative verb *kato(ha)* ('look') directs the DP's embodied action (Siitonen/Rauniomaa/ Keisanen 2019) by connecting his previous problematic mobility with the oncoming embodied task of stepping into the police van. When the DP is close enough to the compartment at the rear of the police van, P1 produces a further *no ni* (l.8) followed by a directive to climb aboard (l.9). The directive turn follows the same pattern as P1's previous directive turn: second-person imperative with the clitic *-hA(n) kiipeehä* ('climb') plus the adverbial *kyytiin* ('aboard'). *Kyytiin* is stylised through prosody (pronounced at a slow rate and with prolonged first syllable). P2 produces, in overlap, a further directive, *ajoneuvoon nouse* ('embark on the vehicle', l.10), which is a military command where the verb in imperative mood follows the nominated target ('vehicle') of the directed (mobile) action, rather than preceding it, as is typically the case (VISK 2008:§1653).

The video provides only a partial view to the preparation phase of the DP's movement (the lower part of their body is not visible), but it is clear that the DP steps into the police van immediately after the officers' directive turns. In other words, the participants orientate jointly and unproblematically to getting the DP into the police van. The verbal directive turns treat the DP as willing and able to perform

the directed action. P1's directives include the clitic *-hAn*, which expresses an orientation to the directed action as being known to the recipient (VISK 2008:§1673) as does the stylised prosody in line 9. P2's military command serves the same function by presenting the directed action as unquestionable and doable.

Parsing may be used to deal with evident or anticipated problems in the recipient's compliance with a directive. In the data, there are cases where police officers alone or both officers and DPs orientate to parsing as relevant. Fragment 10 exemplifies a case, where officers anticipate possible non-compliance due to the DP's prior conduct. The fragment comes from an encounter where it is suspected that the DP has been driving under the influence of alcohol. When the fragment starts, the DP stands in front of the open rear doors, facing the police van, while officers P1 and P2 are behind the DP, preventing him from moving in any other than the desired direction.

(10) Resisting DP transportation (S4E21_171_ 0800-0810)

```
01→ P1:    Mene      +vaan sisä[(lle hei).+
            go.IMP.2SG PTCL  ADV        hey
            Just go in hey.
           >>stands close behind DP, left side
                    +pushes DP----------+
    p2     >>stands close to DP, right side-->
02  DP:                        [Ei mutta,
                                No but,
03→ P1:    [Mene      vaan.
            go.IMP.2SG PTCL
            Just go.
04  P2:    [Hei (.) hei,
            Hey hey,
05         (0.6)
06→ P1:    §>+Mene      vaan<.§
             go.IMP.2sg PTCL
             Just go.
            +head tilt back-->
    dp     $hand strike backward$
07  DP:    JOO mutta,+
           Yeah but,
    p1             -->+
08         (0.6)
09→ P2:    %Tuosta  otat   % kiinni kato.
            that.ELA take.2SG ADV    PTCL
           See you grab from there.
           %head tilt right%
10→        Tosta (0.4) sä pääset [sisään siitä.]
           that.ELA    you get.2SG ADV    it.ELA
           From there you get inside from there.
11  P1:                         [Se varmasti ]ottaa
                                  It certainly pisses
12         pannuun [mutta kun se ei auta yhtään.]
           you off but it doesn't really help you at all.
13→ P2:        [Sä  pääset sisään [siitä.     ]
                you get.2SG ADV    it.ELA
                You get inside from there.
14  DP:                            [JOO mutta,]
                                     Yeah but,
```

Lines 1, 3 and 6 show P1's three imperatively formulated directives. These bald imperatives indicate that the directive is treated by the speaker as affirmative and an unproblematic part of the ongoing project and that there is no room for negotiation. The particle *vaan* ('just') and the imperative form (VISK 2008:§828) as well as the repetitive pattern of the directive turns also suggest that the activity, although within the bounds of possibility, has not progressed smoothly: the DP has halted the activity and refused to step in. The DP's resistance is evident bodily (he refuses to move and makes an effort to strike the officers with his hand in line 6) but also through rebuttals (i.e. the disengaging *joo mutta* 'yeah but' l.7, 14, see Niemi 2014). The short pause in line 8 after P1's three directives provides a slot where we can now expect a change in the project to take place. Indeed, P2 produces a turn that includes a second-person indicative form *tuosta otat kiinni* ('you grab from there') and a particle *kato* ('see') that further explains and points out a possible grab-able object (*tuosta*, 'from there') which the DP should place his hand on in order to facilitate stepping into the police van (l.9).[8] While the turn is in declarative form, it is contextually understood as a directive to be followed immediately. P2 thus utilises both a deictic expression and parsing strategy: instead of repeating P1's directive 'go', P2 breaks the directed action into a series of embodied actions where grabbing the door is the first step. P2 offers the DP the possibility to appeal to being unable (not just unwilling) to comply with the entire directed action: by pointing out the preparatory actions that the DP can perform, P2 is simultaneously evoking the DP's responsibilities in the accomplishment of a joint action (see also Majlesi/Ekström/Hydén in this special issue). Through a parsing directive P2 offers the DP a chance to show gradual compliance, instead of carrying out controlling actions, such as pushing the DP in.

In sum, stepping into the police van presents a project where officers design their directive actions on the basis of DPs' prior (and anticipated future) conduct. When DPs have fulfilled their responsibilities in joint action, officers' directives merely verbalise or structure the ongoing course of action that is unfolding unproblematically. Because the participants are already engaged in the ongoing action, imperative forms (with or without clitic) are treated as appropriate and as not posing a threat to the recipient's face (Raevaara 2017). Should the DP provide a delayed response or even resist the directed action, extended directive sequences with upgrading elements or parsing strategies can be deployed before resorting to more constraining embodied directives.

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[8]   Kato – the second-person imperative form of katsoa ('look') – is used here as a particle that has both the function of an attention getter and that of an explanatory connective (Hakulinen/Seppänen 1992:547-548; Siitonen/Rauniomaa/Keisanen 2019:538-540). While not clearly visible in the video, P2 appears to point out (at least with a head tilt) a grab-able object in the rear of the police car already when initiating his turn in line 9. Thus, the declarative and the pointing gesture set up a very strong directive context. Asking the DP to grab the door with his hand is also a protective move, as it prevents the DP from using his hand for any violent action.

3. Discussion

Directing intoxicated persons who require assistance in becoming and being mobile is a common task in the daily work of police officers. While not necessarily the most glamorous or action-packed part of policing, drunk encounters reveal the importance of multimodal social interaction in compassionate police work. This article has contributed to existing research on the occasioned design of directives by analysing the sequential aspects of how officers' directive work gets done. Instead of concentrating on a practice around the use of, for example, imperative form, certain clitic or hendiadic formulations only, the emphasis has been on whether the occasioned design of verbal and embodied directives reveals something about the officers' orientation to DPs as (un)able and/or (un)willing to comply with the directives. While it is not possible to argue for any one-to-one correspondence between particular grammatical forms and specific social actions, Figure 2 could be complemented with findings and observations on various grammatical forms that are typically used in carrying out directives with varying implications for recipients' subsequent conduct.

If, when the encounter is initiated, the DP is lying down or is asleep, officers need to work gradually towards getting the unresponsive DP onboard the interaction. Given that the unresponsiveness has been caused by drunkenness and the officers are facing a non-urgent and nonfatal case, officers initiate the encounters by producing summoning and self-identifying turns that are accompanied by directive turns formulated as something other than bald imperatives. In such contexts, officers typically use grammatical formulations (e.g. mitigation with cliticised forms, especially the clitics -*pA* and -*hAn*, or zero-person constructions) and embodied directives that, when properly responded to, call DPs to collaborative action instead of highlighting the asymmetry between the participants. Subsequent directives are then upgraded towards morphological (bald) imperatives and more intense tactile steering at points when DPs either show availability for being assisted or impede the implementation of the directed action. Imperative forms are also used when the directed action is already ongoing or orientated to as unproblematic, albeit not yet underway. So, while imperative forms are frequent in policing, the spectrum of their use is much wider and more complicated than the idea of authoritative ordering would suggest.

When the directive sequence becomes prolonged, officers draw on various grammatical formats, thus also displaying changes and adjustments in their orientation to DPs' bodily ability and willingness to comply. Cliticised imperatives, such as the clitic -*s* in Fragment 5, are used to show officers' orientation to DP as purposefully impeding the directed action. Throughout the data (and here we need to be aware of the nature of the data used in this instance), officers express moral assessments of DPs' conduct primarily through the design of their directive turns rather than by performing explicit face-threatening acts. The discreet moral assessment work carried out by officers, as well as the ways in which they design their directives for specific recipients and sequential contexts, can also be seen in word selection, the intensity of embodied directives, and the level of expected collaboration between the participants. Second-person indicative forms are used especially in parsing, that is, when officers divide the directed embodied action into manageable steps and thus show that they treat the directed action as unproblematic for the recipient to

carry out. Similarly, shifting from second-person singular imperatives used in more stationary or non-tactile actions to hortatives in human-assisted transitions to mobile action offers a way to avoid confrontation by treating the DP's movement as joint action.

Finally, sequences of several, often no more than three, directives were identified throughout the data. In addition to providing a local framework for upgrading directives, these sequences allow officers to shift between various projects and strategies in an orderly manner. In fact, a further phenomenon to study is the division of work between officers: as in Fragments 8 and 9, officers produce, rather frequently and unproblematically, directive turns in overlap with one another. If – and often when – the overlapping directive turns are lexically very similar, it suggests that the grammatical choices for formulating directives found and analysed in this article do not only belong to individual officers' vocabulary, but are part of the wider institutional and professional expertise that police officers enact situationally in talk-in-interaction.

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5. Appendices

Grammatical form	All cases	Drunk cases	Crime cases
Imperatives	67%	66%	69%
Morphological (bald) imperative	37%	29%	45%
Imperative+clitic	23%	29%	18%
Negative imperatives	7%	8%	6%
Hortatives	10%	9%	10%
No finite verb constructions	8%	5%	10%
Declaratives	8%	7%	7%
Interrogatives	7%	13%	4%
Total	100% (n=1748)	100% (n=809)	100% (n=939)

Table 1: Grammatical forms of the police officers' verbal directives.

Grammatical form	Number
Imperative	58
Morphological imperative	26
Imperative+clitic	32
Imperative+clitic *-s*	4
Imperative+clitic *-pA*	15
Imperative+clitic *-hAn*	10
Imperative+clitic *-pAs*	3
Other grammatical constructions	33
No finite verb constructions	12
Modal verb declaratives	4
Interrogatives	17
Total	91

Table 2: Grammatical forms of directives used in 'phasing-in' sequences.

Grammatical form	Number
Imperative	89
Morphological imperative	19
Imperative+clitic	70
Imperative+clitic *-s*	10
Imperative+clitic *-pA*	26
Imperative+clitic *-hAn*	21
Imperative+clitic *-pAs*	13
Other grammatical constructions	59
Hortatives	14
No finite verb constructions	7
Modal verb declaratives	3
Interrogatives	35
Total	148

Table 3: Grammatical forms of directives used in 'getting-up' sequences.

Grammatical form	Number
Imperatives	116
Morphological imperative	76
Imperative+clitic	40
Imperative+clitic *-s*	5
Imperative+clitic *-pA*	15
Imperative+clitic *-hAn*	18
Imperative+clitic *-pAs*	2
Other grammatical constructions	24
Second-person declaratives	10
No finite verb constructions	8
Interrogatives	6
Total	140

Table 4: Grammatical forms of directives used in 'getting DP into the police van' sequences.

.	Final falling intonation
,	Level intonation
?	Rising intonation
°öh°	Quieter than surrounding speech
t<u>ul</u>e	Underlining indicates emphasis
TULE	Capital letters indicate talk louder than surrounding speech
< >	Slower than surrounding speech
> <	Faster than surrounding speech
(-)	Unheard or unclear utterance
[ ]	Overlapping speech
(0.4)	Pause in seconds
(( ))	Transcriber's comments or descriptions
@ @	Discernible voice quality
=	No discernible silence between utterances
:	Prolonged speech
↑ / ↓	Rising/falling intonation
.hhh	Outbreath
Lines italics	English translation of the original turn
* *, + + or % %	Delimit descriptions of one speaker's embodied actions
*-->	Action described continues across subsequent lines
-->*	Action described continues until the same symbol is reached
>>	Action described begins before the beginning of the excerpt
-->>	Action described continues even after the excerpt ends

Table 5: Transcription symbols

SG / PL	Singular / Plural
1, 2, 3	1=first-person, 2=second-person, 3=third-person
GEN	Genitive
PAR	Partitive
ADE	Adessive
ABL	Ablative
ELA	Elative
ILL	Illative
IMP	Imperative
COND	Conditional
Q	Interrogative
INF	Infinite form
PAS	Passive
CLI	Clitic
PTCL	Particle
ADV	Adverb
NEG	Negation

Table 6: Glossing symbols

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