

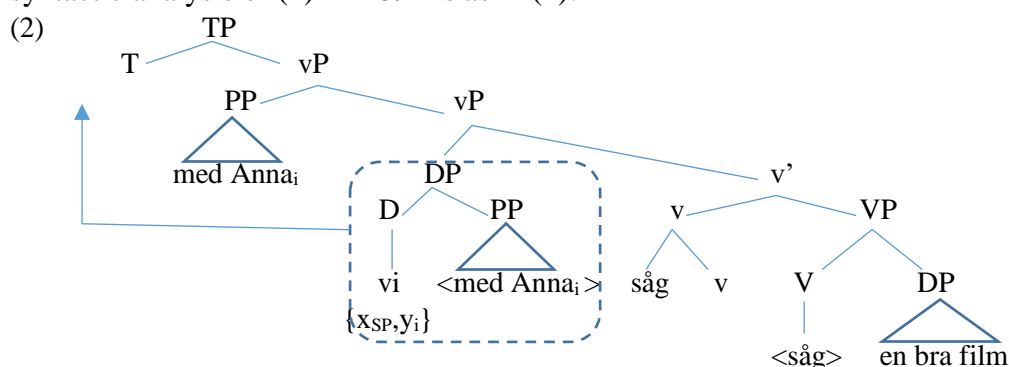
The syntax of inclusory coordination in Fenno-Swedish

Inclusory coordination is a construction where a plural pronoun, usually ‘we’, but also ‘you.PL’ or ‘they’, is combined with a comitative PP, as in

- (1) Vi såg med Anna en bra film igår. (Fenno-Swedish)
 we saw with Anna a good film yesterday
 ‘Anna and I saw a good film yesterday.’

but the interpretation is as shown: The reference of the pronoun includes that of the DP of the comitative PP (we will refer to it as the *companion DP*). In most languages an expression like (1) can mean ‘we and Anna’, but in some languages it can mean ‘I and Anna’; this is the inclusory reading. The construction has been observed in a variety of languages across the globe (Lichtenberk 2000, Cable 2017). In Europe, it is found in a region covering Finland, Russia, the Baltic countries, Poland, and Hungary. It is common in Fenno-Swedish, the family of Swedish dialects spoken in Finland, in all likelihood as an effect of contact with Finnish (as this would explain why the construction is more widely accepted in regions with more contact between Finnish and Fenno-Swedish). Holmberg & Kurki (2019) (H&K) have recently presented a study of the construction in Finnish and Fenno-Swedish. The present paper builds on this work, and considers in more detail the syntax of the construction, now on the basis of experimental investigation of the distribution of the various forms of the construction in Finland.

H&K adopt the semantic analysis of inclusory coordination proposed in Sigurdsson & Woods (2020) (S&W) in their study of a related Icelandic construction. According to it, plural pronouns are composed of two variables $\{x, y\}$. In the case of ‘we’, the variable x is bound by SPEAKER, the syntactic representation of the speaker, by hypothesis a constituent of the C-domain. The value of the other variable depends on the context; it may be, or include, the addressee (inclusive ‘we’) or any set of third persons. What is special about inclusory coordination is that the value of y is provided explicitly by the companion DP. The syntactic analysis of (1) in H&K is as in (2):



‘We with Anna’ starts out as a constituent headed by the D ‘we’. The y variable copies the referential index of the companion DP *Anna*. The PP moves out of the DP, adjoining to vP . Following this, the remnant DP headed by ‘we’ moves to spec-TP. In a main clause the verb will move to C/Fin and the subject to spec-CP/FinP, deriving the word order in (1).

It is characteristic of the construction that the place of the PP appears to be quite free.

- (3) Vi (?med Anna) ska (med Anna) fara (med Anna) till Berlin (med Anna).
 we with Anna will go to Berlin
 ‘Anna and I will go to Berlin.’

This could indicate that the analysis in (2) is too strict: The PP can be adjoined freely anywhere that a PP can be adjoined, in the language, still being able to bind the y-variable of the plural pronoun, in S&W's terms.

(4) shows that this alternative hypothesis is wrong.

- (4) Vi lingvister (med Anna) ska (med Anna) fara (med Anna) till Berlin (med Anna).
 we linguists with Anna will go to Berlin
 'We linguists will go to Berlin with Anna.'

This sentence cannot have the inclusory interpretation 'Anna and I, who are linguists, are going to Berlin'. As originally argued by Postal (1969), and most recently corroborated by Höhn (2018), we assume the structure of the 'Adnominal Pronoun Construction (APC) is

- (5) [DP vi [NP lingvister]]

Apparently this structure blocks the inclusory interpretation, i.e the y-variable cannot copy the index of the companion DP. We take (4) as evidence that the comitative PP with the companion is necessarily merged with the D *vi* (or *ni* 'you.PL' or *de* 'they') but undergoes extraction from the DP, with a variety of options for adjunction within the TP.

In (6), too, the inclusory reading is impossible.

- (6) Vi från Helsingfors för med Anna till Berlin.
 we from Helsinki went with Anna to Berlin
 'We who are from Helsinki went to Berlin with Anna.'

We take the structure of the pronominal DP to be (7): there is a complement NP with a null head and an adjoined PP. There is no room for a companion within the pronominal DP.

- (7) [DP vi [[NP N] [PP från Helsingfors]]]

(8) is an example of the Icelandic inclusory construction called Pro[NP] by S&W:

- (8) Við Ólafur fórum.
 we.NOM Olaf.NOM went/left
 'Olaf and I went/left.' / 'Olaf and we left/went.'

It is an inclusory construction but lacking the preposition. It shares a number of characteristics with the Fenno-Swedish/Finnish one, including the ban against expansion of 'we', but one difference is that the companion DP cannot be separated from the pronoun.

- (9) *Við höfum María bæði verið þar.
 we have Maria both been there

This is presumably because a non-argument DP cannot freely adjoin to the sentential spine; it needs Case, which the comitative preposition provides. Another difference between the two varieties of the inclusory construction is that the one in Fenno-Swedish cannot occur as object, while the Icelandic one can. (9) cannot mean 'He doesn't know me and Anna', and is in fact degraded under any interpretation.

- (9) ??Han kanner inte oss med Anna.
 he knows not us with Anna

Note also that *vi med Anna* in (3) was rejected by most informants. This indicates that extraction of the PP with subsequent movement of the remnant is the only possible derivation of inclusory coordination in (most) Fenno-Swedish. In Icelandic, extraction is not even an option, and the construction occurs as object just as well as subject.

References: Cable, Seth. 2017. Some observations on the plural pronoun construction of Tlingit, Polish, and Russian; Höhn, G. 2017. Nonpossessive person in the nominal domain. PhD diss. Cambridge. .Holmberg & Kurki, 2019. *Vi med Anna: Inclusory coordination in Finnish and Fenno-Swedish.* <https://ebooks.au.dk/aul/catalog/book/348>; Lichtenberk, F. 2000. Inclusory pronominals. *Oceanic Linguistics* 39. 1–32. Sigurðsson & Wood 2020. "We Olaf": Pro[(x)-NP] constructions in Icelandic and beyond. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, 5(1)

