

Inclusory coordination in Finnish

Finnish has a construction where expressions like ‘we with Anna’ can be interpreted as ‘Anna and I’ (Holmberg & Kurki 2019). This construction consists of a plural pronoun and a comitative phrase including the postposition meaning ‘with’. In this paper the construction is called Inclusory Plural Pronominal Construction, abbreviated IPPC.

- (1) **Me ei Annan kanssa** olla koskaan käyty Berliinissä. (Finnish)
We not Anna.GEN with have ever visited Berlin.INE
‘Anna and I have never been to Berlin.’

Normally the pronoun ‘we’ refers to the speaker and some other person(s), where the identification of the other person(s) is a matter of context of utterance. In (1), the other person is identified syntactically, by the comitative PP. All that ‘we’ refers to is the speaker, similarly to Russian (Vassilieva & Larson 2005). It could be described to have a singular reading.

Disjoint placement of the plural pronoun and the comitative PP is allowed and slightly preferred, but the IPPC can also occur as a constituent. Additionally, various cases seem to be possible (2,3,4).

- (2) **Meillä on Annan kanssa** kolme koiraa.
We.ALL is Anna.GEN with three dogs
‘Anna and I have three dogs.’
- (3) **Meistä Annan kanssa** tulee taiteilijoita.
We.ELA Anna.GEN with come artists
‘Anna and I will become artists.’
- (4) **Meitä on Annan kanssa** helppo huijata.
We.PTV is Anna.GEN with easy to.deceive
‘It is easy to deceive me and Anna.’

In (4) there is a generic null subject. Still, it is generally required to have something placed in the subject/topic position, which is here occupied by one of the infinitive’s own complements (see Vilkuna 1989). This element can also be an adverbial or an expletive pronoun.

- (5) Nykyään on helppo huijata **meitä Annan kanssa**.
Nowadays is easy to.deceive us Anna.GEN with
‘Nowadays it is easy to deceive us/me and Anna.’
- (6) Sitä on helppo huijata **meitä (Annan kanssa)**.
It.PTV is easy to.deceive us Anna.GENwith
‘It is easy to deceive us/me and Anna.’

However, it cannot be the comitative PP of the IPPC.

- (7) **#Annan kanssa** on helppo huijata **meitä**.
Anna.GEN with is easy to.deceive us
‘It is easy for one to deceive us with Anna.’

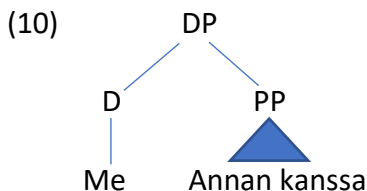
This seems to indicate that the plural pronoun must c-command the comitative PP. There are, however, perfectly viable examples of the IPPC including a fronted comitative PP (8).

- (8) **Annan kanssa me** seisottiin laiturilla ja heiluteltiin.
Anna.GEN with we stood pier.ALL and waved
'Anna and I stood on the pier and waved.'

Due to this, the exact conclusion would be that the plural pronoun must c-command the PP in the IP. This would have interesting consequences concerning the syntactic analysis of the IPPC. Following Vassilieva & Larson (2005) and Sigurðsson & Wood (2020) the plural pronouns are composed of two variables {X,Y} of which the second value is context dependent. In the case of 'we', X will have the value 'speaker'. The value of Y is assigned by the PP. Vassilieva & Larson (2005) suggest that this takes place in a structure where the PP is a complement of the pronoun head D. Further Finnish evidence supports this analysis.

- (9) **Me muusikot Annan kanssa** menemme junalla.
We musicians Anna.GEN with go train.ALL
'We, who are musicians, and Anna shall take a train.'

Expanding the pronoun seems to block the intended reading where Anna is one of the (two) musicians. The example in (9) does not include the structure of (10).



Different positions of the two elements of the IPPC can be explained by movements. In the case of the disjoint placement in (1), the PP first undergoes movement out of the DP. Then the remnant DP moves to the subject position. (Holmberg & Kurki 2019.) Postverbal positions of the PP as in (11) would, however, require much more complex movements which makes the movement analysis much less appealing even though sideward movement (Nunes 2004) is a plausible suggestion.

- (11) **Me** ei olla koskaan käyty **Annan kanssa** Berliinissä. (Finnish)
We not have ever visited Anna.GEN with Berlin.INE
'We have never been to Berlin with Anna.' (preferred)
'Anna and I have never been to Berlin.'

The observation in (7,8) indicates additional challenges in the movement analysis. An alternative story is to assume that the Y-variable can be assigned a value 'at a distance'. In this analysis, the plural pronoun has an unvalued feature which needs a referential index. Examples in (7,8) indicate that this relation requires c-commanding. Pros and cons of this analysis should be discussed.

References:

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