

When 'we with Anna' means 'me and Anna' in Finnish, Fenno-Swedish and other languages

Anders Holmberg, Newcastle University

Klaus Kurki, University of Turku

1. Data

Compositions of the plural pronoun 'we' and the comitative phrase 'with Anna' vary in meaning between 'I + Anna' and 'We + Anna'.

- (1) a. **Vi** har **med Anna** aldrig varit till Berlin. (Fenno-Swedish)
We have with Anna never been to Berlin
'Anna and I have never been to Berlin.'
- b. **Vi** har aldrig varit till Berlin **med Anna**.
We have never been to Berlin with Anna.
'We have never been to Berlin with Anna.' (preferred)
'Anna and I have never been to Berlin.'
- c. **Vi** har aldrig (**med Anna**) varit (**med Anna**) till Berlin.
'Anna and I have never been to Berlin.'
'We have never been to Berlin with Anna.'

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 'we with Anna' interpreted as 'Anna and I' the other person is identified syntactically, in the DP headed by 'we', so that all that 'we' refers to is the speaker (Vassilieva & Larson 2005).

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

This is often called inclusory coordination, because it is semantically similar to coordination, and this meaning is derived by including the reference of the other person mentioned in the reference of the plural pronoun.

We will call it the Inclusory Plural Pronominal Construction, abbreviated IPPC.

2. Variation and problems

Typically, the IPPC includes an adposition or a suffix functioning as a connector, often 'with'. A cross-linguistically less frequent variant is composed without an overt connector as in Icelandic.

- (3) **Við** **María** fórum. (Icelandic)
we.NOM María.NOM went.1PL (Sigurðsson & Wood 2020)
'Mary and I went/left.'

The IPPC seems to be an areal phenomenon commonly found in Eastern European languages, e.g. Russian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Czech, Slovenian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Greek and Hungarian.

- (4) **(Mi)** **Ja'nossal** kisé'ta'ltunk a to'hoz (Hungarian)
we.NOM John.COM walked the lake.ALL (Dékány 2009)
'We walked to the lake with John.'
'I walked to the lake with John.'

- (5) **My z** **Marcinem** pojechalismy na zakupu. (Polish)
we with Marcin went shopping (Dyła 2003)
'Marcin and I went shopping.'

Typically, this construction occurs as a constituent (4, 5).

Languages utilizing an overt connector tend to allow disjoint placement of the comitative phrase too (6).

- (6) **My** pojďem zavtra **s Ivanom** v magazin i vsě kupim. (Russian)
We go.FUT tomorrow with Ivan to store and all buy.FUT
'Ivan and I will go to the store tomorrow and get all (we need).'

An atypical configuration found in Fenno-Swedish and Finnish is the preference of the discontinuous version of the expression. The adjacent construction seems to be strongly dispreferred (regardless of the reading) in Fenno-Swedish (7) and possibly somewhat marked in Finnish.

- (7) ***Vi med Anna** har aldrig varit till Berlin. (Fenno-Swedish)
 We with Anna have never been to Berlin
 (intended reading: 'Anna and I have never been to Berlin.')

The most typical usage of the IPPC seems to be as subject. Object position is possible as well, in most of the languages (8).

- (8) Jan neviděl **nás s Annou**. (Czech)
 John.NOM not.saw us.ACC with Anna
 'John did not see us together with Anna.'
 'John did not see me and Anna.'

In Fenno-Swedish and Finnish occurrence as object is dispreferred, possibly due to the dispreference of the continuous occurrences.

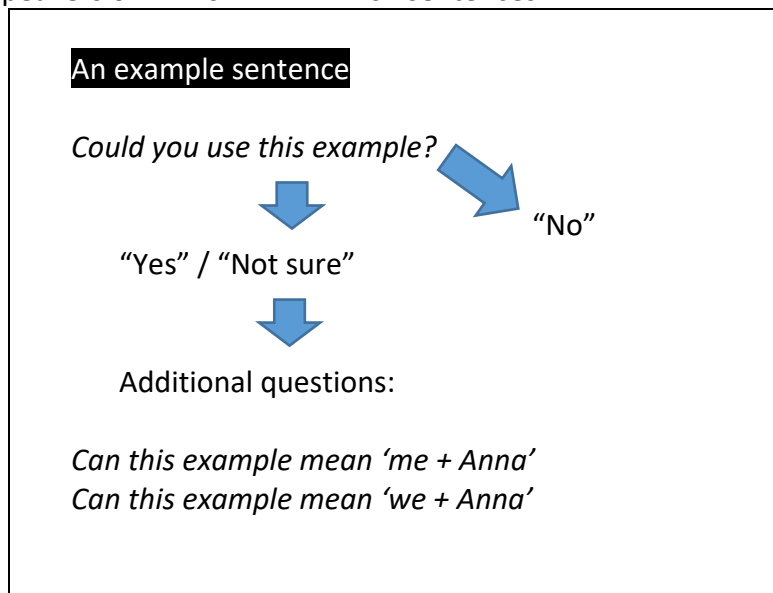
3. Our research

The Fenno-Swedish IPPC is almost exclusively used in spoken language. The Finnish IPPC is also more typically used in spoken language or less formal registers. This construction has not been analysed in the research concerning these languages, which includes only brief remarks on the matter.

Our grammaticality judgment survey (2019):

618 speakers of Fenno-Swedish - 14 Fenno-Swedish sentences

810 speakers of Finnish – 17 Finnish sentences



The research confirms that the Finnish version of the IPPC is evenly recognized by informants from various dialectal backgrounds, but the Fenno-Swedish version shows slight but significant geographical variation. The acceptance of the IPPC is higher among Fenno-

Swedish speakers from South and South-West of Finland where the Finnish impact is stronger.

The results confirm that continuous occurrences are poorly accepted in Fenno-Swedish. Only 12,3 % of the informants could use the example in (9).

- (9) ***Vi med Anna** ska fara på semester. (Fenno-Swedish)
We with Anna shall go on vacation
(intended reading: 'Anna and I are going on vacation.')

Similarly, different applications of the construction positioned as the object seem to correlate with low acceptance rates. The example in (10) could be used by 1,29 % of the informants.

- (10) ***De känner inte oss med Anna.** (Fenno-Swedish)
They know not us with Anna.
(intended reading: 'They don't know me and Anna')

In Fenno-Swedish this seems to be a cross-cutting tendency that can be partially explained by the dispreference of continuous occurrences.

In Finnish, the continuous occurrences are slightly less accepted than the discontinuous alternatives. Object positions are somewhat challenging in Finnish too. In both scenarios more than 50 % could still use the examples in their speech.

The PP can be topicalized, as seen in (11).

- (11) **Med Anna** stod vi där på bryggan och vinkade. (FSw)
With Anna stood we there on pier.DEF and waved.
'Anna and I stood on the pier and waved.'

Extracting the comitative phrase by wh-movement makes the singular reading dispreferred but not nonexistent.

- (12) **Med vem** var ni på Lanzarote förra året? (FSw)
With who were you.PL on Lanzarote last year
'With whom did you(PL) go to Lanzarote last year?'
('With whom did you(SG) go to Lanzarote last year?')

There are examples of the usage taking place in the 19th century. Finnish examples are slightly older and more frequent (13).

- (13) **Olemme** hyvin tyytyväiset olleet **Hilman kanssa** (Finnish)
Are.1PL very satisfied been Hilma.GEN with
'Hilma and I have been very pleased.' (1867)

As (13) displays, pro-drop is allowed in Finnish.

The historical aspects, together with the geographical data, indicate that the Fenno-Swedish IPPC could have originated from Finnish. The influence resulting in the Finnish IPPC, if such is assumed, must be considerably older than the 19th century.

4. Syntactic analysis of the IPPC

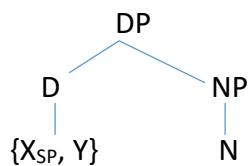
(Vassilieva & Larson 2005, Sigurðsson & Wood 2020)

‘We’ means ‘I, the speaker, and some other person(s)’.

‘You(PL)’ means ‘you, the addressee, and some other person(s)’.

A plural pronoun is made up of two variables, X and Y.

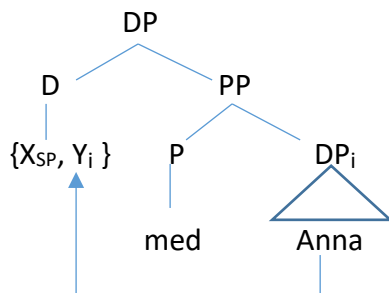
In the case of ‘we’, the value of X is Speaker, and the value of Y is some person(s) identified in the context of utterance.



The NP is usually null, but can have overt content, as in *we musicians, you children*.

In the IPPC, the value of Y is a syntactic matter: It is = the value of the DP in the comitative PP, which is a complement of the pronominal D (Vassilieva & Larson 2005).

(14)



Y copies the referential index of the DP of the complement PP (Tsoulas 2017).

A robust finding: (15a,b) cannot mean ‘Me and Anna, who are musicians, are going to Berlin’.

- (15) a. **Vi musiker** ska **med Anna** fara till Berlin. (FSw)
 we musicians shall with Anna go to Berlin
 ‘We musicians are going to Berlin with Anna.’
- b. **Me muusikot** ollaan **Annan kanssa** menossa Berliiniin. (Finnish)
 we musicians are.1PL Anna with going Berlin.ILL
 ‘We musicians are going to Berlin with Anna.’

This appears to be a feature of the construction more generally (we have checked with Russian, Czech, Bulgarian, Slovenian, Albanian). See Sigurðsson & Wood (2020) on Icelandic.

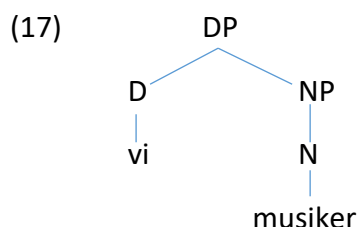
Likewise (16a,b) cannot mean ‘You(SG) and Anna who are from Salo’.

- (16) a. **Ni (som är) från Salo** kan **med Anna bli** över natten. (FSw)
 you(PL) that are from Salo can with Anna stay over night
- b. **Te (jotka olette) Salosta** voisitte **Annan kanssa** jäädä yöksi. (Finnish)
 you(PL) that are Salo.ELA can Anna with stay over.night

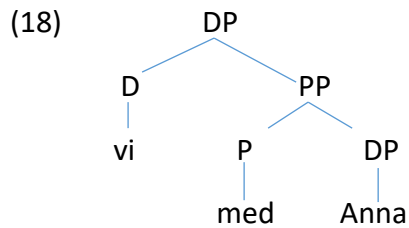
Both: ‘You people that are from Salo can stay overnight along with Anna.’

Why?

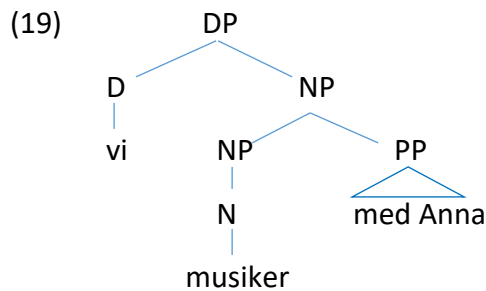
We assume that the structure of *we musicians* is (17), following Postal (1969) and Höhn (2017).



Adopting Vassilieva and Larson’s analysis of the IPPC, the structure of ‘we with Anna’ is (18): The PP is, and has to be, a complement of the plural pronominal D.

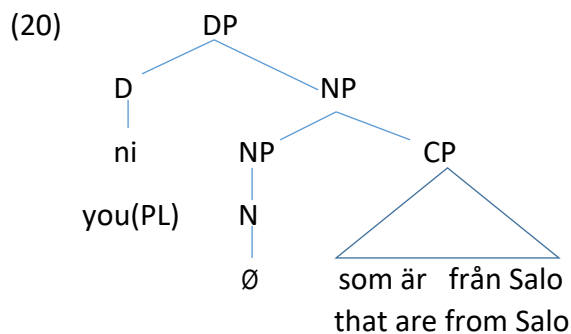


It follows that *vi musiker med Anna* can't mean 'me and Anna'. It would have the structure



(In some of the languages that have the IPPC this is not even a grammatical constituent; at least Russian, Czech, Bulgarian, Slovenian)

The structure of the subject DP in (16) would be (20).



There is a NP with an abstract noun as head (with minimal feature content), to which the relative clause is adjoined.

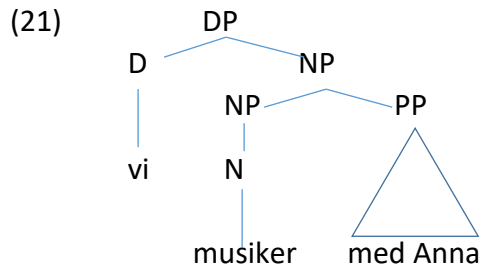
This excludes a *with*-PP with inclusory interpretation, if Vassilieva & Larson are right.

Why would it have to be the case that the PP is the complement of *we*?
 After all, in both Finnish and Fenno-Swedish the PP does not typically surface in the complement position of the pronoun, but in adjunct position in the *Mittelfeld* or postverbally, in VP-adjunct position.

Vassilieva & Larson arrive at their analysis in a roundabout way, by comparing sentences where the subject has an NP-adjunct with sentences that have what is called coordinative comitative, and sentences that have the IPPC.

Another way to phrase the argument: If the PP isn't a complement, what would it be?

- Answer: It would be an adjunct, either to the NP complement or to DP.
- But in that case, why could it not be combined with an overt noun, as in (21)?



It can be, but the interpretation can't be the inclusory one.

This is an argument in favour of Vassilieva & Larson's analysis that they didn't think of themselves.

5. When 'we' and 'with Anna' are discontinuous

Vassilieva & Larson point out a difference between DPs with an adjunct PP and DPs with the inclusory PP: The inclusory PP can be extraposed from the subject, but the adjunct PP can't be.

(22a) is the case of a PP adjoined to NP.

(22b) is grammatical, but the meaning is different.

- (22) a. **Malčik s koškoj** ušel domoj. (Russian)
 boy.NOM with cat.INST went.SG home
 'The boy with the cat went home.'
- b. **Malčik** ušel **s koškoj** domoj
 boy NOM went.SG with cat.INST home
 'The boy went home together with the cat.'

Compare with (23), the IPPC. Here the two versions have exactly the same meaning.

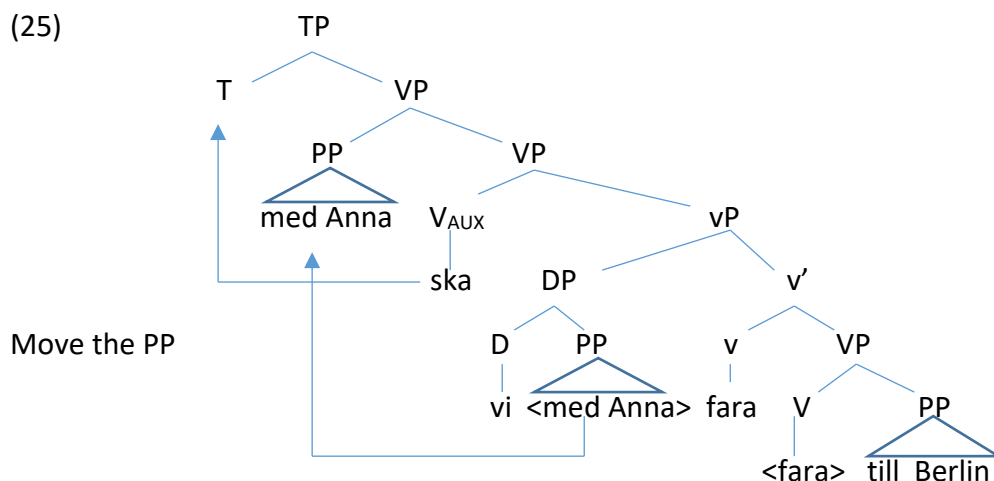
- (23) a. **My s Petej** ušli domoj. (Russian)
 we with Petja.INST went home
 'Me and Petja went home.'
- a. **My** ušli **s Petej** domoj.
 we went with Petja.INST home
 'Me and Petja went home.'

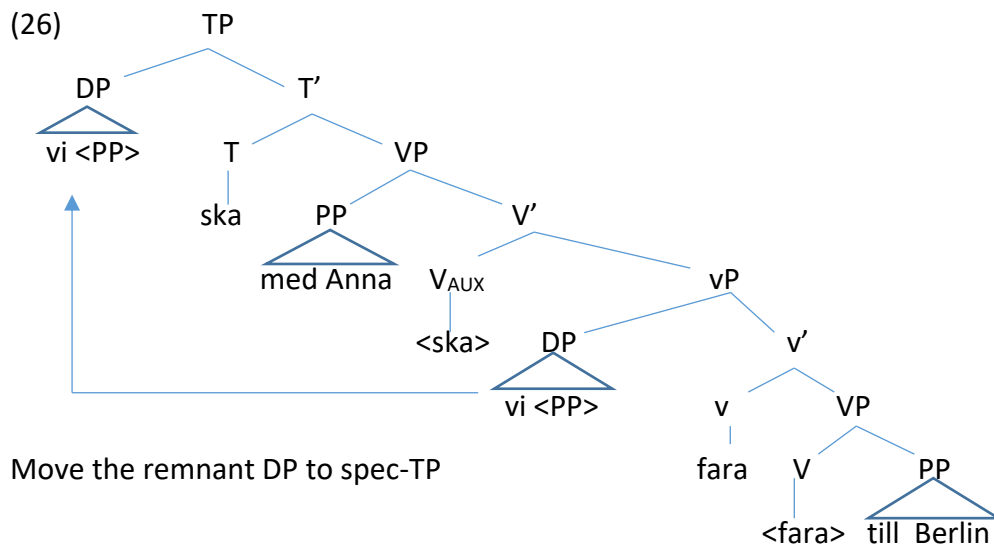
This is part of the argument in Vassilieva & Larson that the syntax of the DP with an adjunct is different from the IPPC (where the PP is, by hypothesis, a complement).

How is the separation of the PP and the pronoun derived?
 The facts indicate movement from the complement position of the pronominal D:
 Wherever the inclusory PP is, when separate from the pronoun, the complement position of D has to be empty, explained if there is a copy (or trace) there.

- (24) a. **Vi ska med Anna** fara till Berlin. (FSw)
 we shall with Anna go to Berlin
- b. **Vi ska** fara **med Anna** till Berlin.
 we shall go with Anna to Berlin
- c. **Vi ska** fara till Berlin **med Anna**.
 we shall go to Berlin with Anna

Holmberg & Kurki (2019): a movement analysis of cases like (24a),





Not obvious how this would account for (24b,c), where the PP is an adjunct to VP.

Movement downwards is not an option.

Note the free order between the PPs following the verb, typical of VP-adjuncts.

- (27) a. **Vi** ska fara till Berlin nästa vecka **med Anna**. (FSw)
 we shall go to Berlin next week with Anna
- b. **Vi** ska fara till Berlin **med Anna** nästa vecka.
- c. **Vi** ska fara **med Anna** till Berlin nästa vecka.

- Another, well known case of discontinuous DP: extraposition from NP.

- (28) a. A man **who speaks Hawrami** has already contacted me.
- b. A man has already contacted me **who speaks Hawrami**.
- c. A man has already contacted me several times **who speaks Hawrami**.
- d. *A man has already contacted me **who speaks Hawrami** several times.

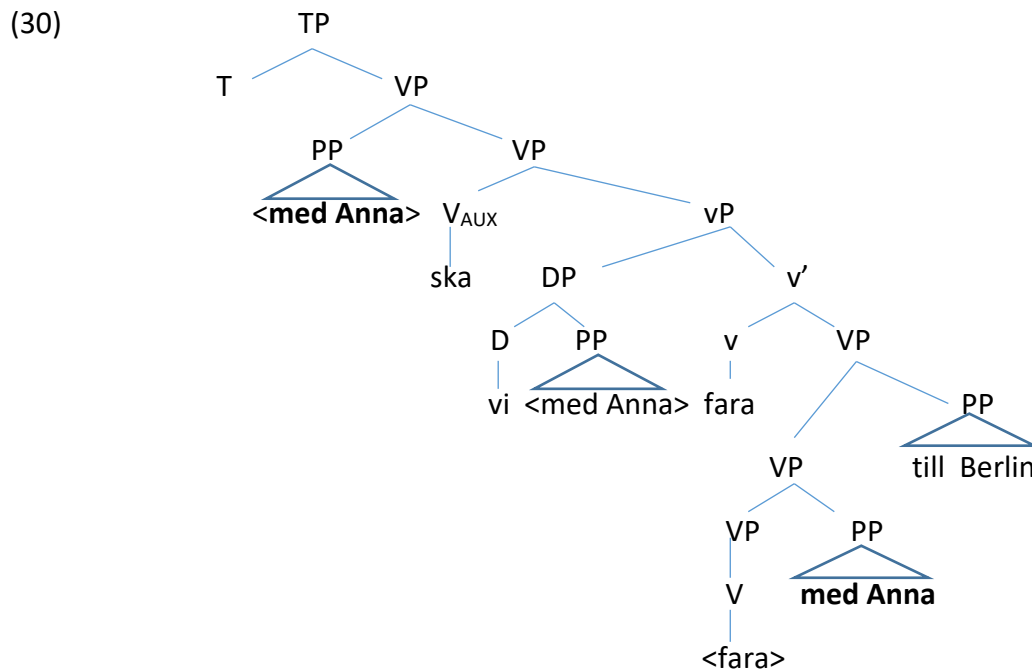
The relative clause extraposed from NP is not a VP-adjunct (nobody claims it is).

- Yet another case of discontinuous DP: exception extraposition (Vassilieva & Larson 2005).

- (29) a. **All the guests except John** have arrived on time.
 b. **All the guests** have arrived on time **except John**.
 c. ***All the guests** have arrived **except John** on time.

The extraposed except-phrase is not a VP-adjunct.

Analysis of the IPPC when the PP is a VP-adjunct



1. When the main verb VP is constructed, the PP *med Anna* merges as an adjunct with the VP *fara*.
2. The subject is the DP *vi med Anna*, the PP a complement of D.
3. The PP undergoes movement, adjoining to the VP headed by the modal verb *ska*.
4. In this derived position the higher PP c-commands the identical PP adjoined to the low VP, allowing them to be interpreted as copies in a chain.
5. Usually only one member of a chain is pronounced. If the higher copy remains silent, we derive (31), once the remnant subject DP has moved to spec-TP.

(31) **Vi** ska fara **med Anna** till Berlin. (FSw)
 we shall go with Anna to Berlin

This is sidewards movement (Nunes 2004): No c-command between the copy of the PP in the complement position of D and the copy adjoined to the low VP.

But both the copy in the DP and the copy adjoined to the low VP are c-commanded by the copy adjoined to the high VP.

So there is an indirect relation between the PP in the complement of D and the low VP-adjunct.

Not uncommon to have adverbials adjoining either to VP or higher up.

(32) Anna har (**äntligen**) fått ett nytt jobb (**äntligen**) som journalist. (Swedish)
Anna has finally got a new job finally as journalist

(33) We will (**now**) meet Mary (**now**) in the park (**now**).

When the adverb is pronounced in the low position, it has the same scope as when it's pronounced in the high position: scope over TP.

Analysis: The lower copy is in a chain with a higher copy. The lower copy is pronounced.

- The analysis (30) accounts for how the PP can be detached from the pronoun retaining the inclusory interpretation, and observing the condition that the pronoun cannot have an NP complement.
- Prediction: No language has the inclusory pronoun interpretation with a low VP-adjunct PP, which doesn't also have this interpretation with a PP adjoined high in the Mittelfeld.

It does not provide any obvious account of the special condition obtaining in Fenno-Swedish and, less prominently, in Finnish: The PP cannot be spelled out in the complement position of D.

6. An alternative story without movement

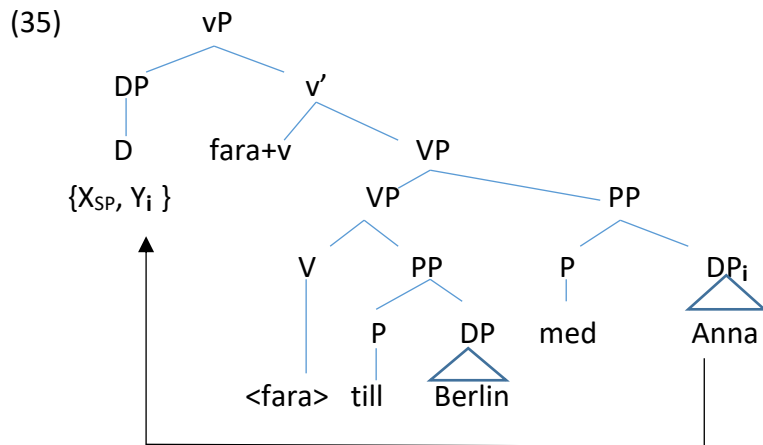
The separation of the PP from the pronoun is not derived by movement

The we-DP in the discontinuous IPPC consists of just a bare D, with the two variables, completely unrestricted.

(34)

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{DP} \\ | \\ \text{D} \\ \{X_{\text{SP}}, Y\} \end{array}$$

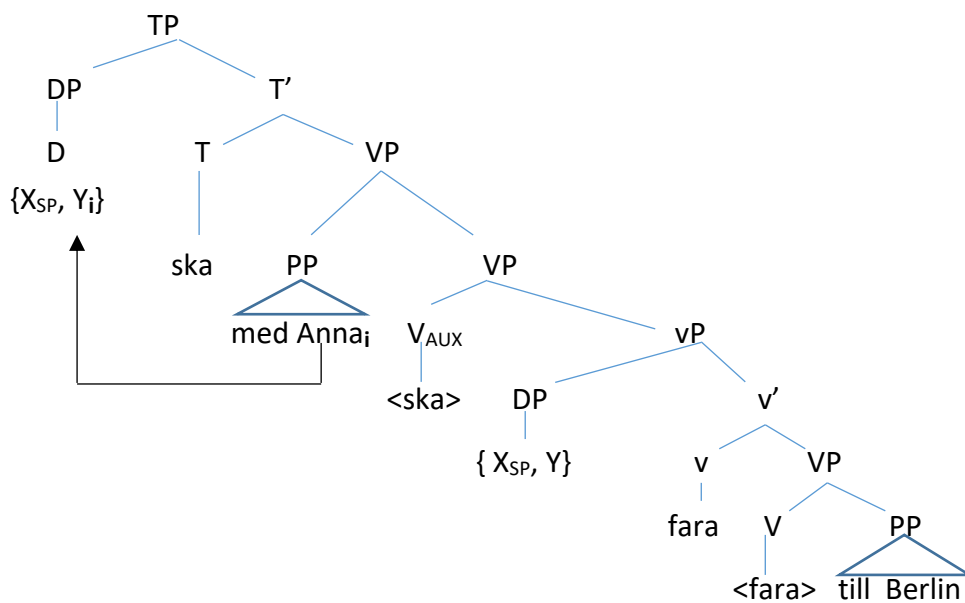
Under this condition, the Y-variable can be assigned a value 'at a distance', by an adjunct to the VP whose subject the DP is.



The case of (36a), as well, may be analysed as in (b), as a having a with-PP base-merged with vP or a higher VP, with the index of *Anna* being inherited by the determiner 'we'.

(36)a. **Vi ska med Anna** fara till Berlin.

b.



7. What is different about languages that have the IPPC?

Two possibilities:

(a) Something about 'with',

(b) Something about 'we'.

Vassilieva & Larson imply that it's something about 'with'.

They demonstrate that Russian has a comitative preposition which functions as a conjunction.

- (37) a. Mal'čiki s devočkami tancevali. (Russian)
boys.NOM with girls.INST danced
'The boys and the girls danced.'
- b. Mal'čiki i devočki tancevali.
boys.NOM and girls.NOM danced
'The boys and the girls danced.'

Languages that have the IPPC don't all have a coordinating preposition like Russian *s* 'with'.

In both Finnish and Fenno-Swedish the counterpart of (37a) can only have the NP-adjunct reading ('the boys who were accompanied by girls').

- (38) a. ?Pojkarna med flickorna dansade. (FSw)
boys.DEF with girls.DEF danced
- b. Pojat tyttöjen kanssa tanssivat. (Finnish)
boys girls.GEN with danced

So the difference between languages that have the IPPC and those that don't is not a matter of a special coordinative preposition.

- Is there a special 'we' and 'you.PL' in languages with IPPC?

What is special about 'we' and 'you.PL' in the IPPC is that the Y-variable gets its value sentence-internally, in the syntactic derivation, rather than from the situational context.

Along the lines of Chomskyan feature theory, this can be formally expressed as an unvalued feature which needs valuation from the local syntactic context.

The value it wants is a referential index. This can be formally expressed as follows:

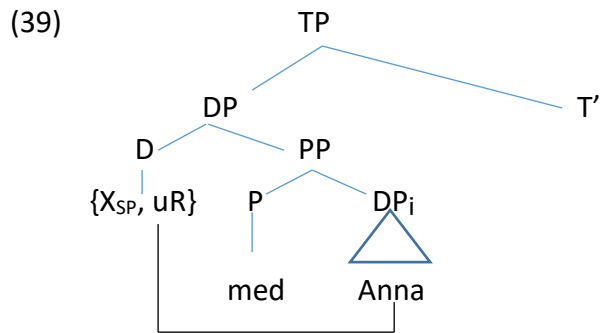
There are two pronouns 'we' and 'you.PL' in languages that have the IPPC.

we1: {X_{SP}, Y}

we2: {X_{SP}, uR}

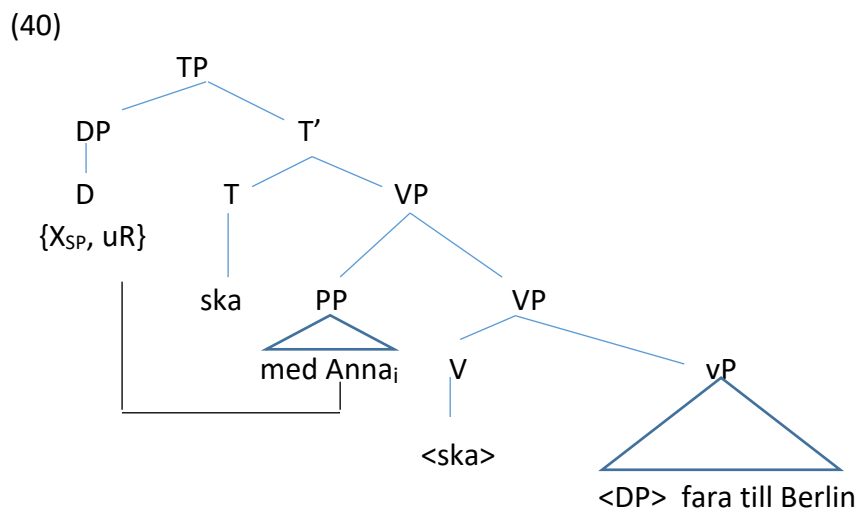
uR is a feature seeking a referential index in the local syntactic context.

It probes the c-command domain of D, and finding a DP with a referential index, copies that index. The result is the inclusory interpretation of 'we',



Under the 'movement hypothesis' (39) is the only configuration where inclusory coordination can occur.

Under the non-movement analysis, the other configuration where it can occur is



8. Conclusions

- Finnish and Fenno-Swedish are two languages at the periphery of the area in Europe where the IPPC is used. Fenno-Swedish is probably a relative newcomer in this group of languages, as a result of contact with Finnish.
- A feature that Fenno-Swedish has, and Finnish, too, but to a lesser degree, is a clear preference for the discontinuous version of the construction.
- The inclusory reading of 'we' and 'you.PL' is impossible when the pronoun has an NP complement.
- This supports Vassilieva & Larson's syntactic analysis of the IPPC where the PP is a complement of the pronominal D-head.

- The structures where the PP is an adjunct detached from the pronoun, including the ones where the PP is a postverbal VP adjunct, can be analysed as derived by sideward movement. This explains why the pronoun can't have an NP complement.
- The inclusory interpretation requires a special kind of plural pronoun, one where the variable which has the speaker or the addressee as value is combined with an unvalued feature which requires a referential index as value, derived by Agree.

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Thanks to our informants

Masja Koptjevskaja-Tamm

Lida Veselovská
Ilyana Krapova
Dalina Kallulli
Anne Tamm
Heete Sahkai
Adrian Stegovec
Zeljko Bošković
Karolis Girulis