The Inclusory Plural Pronominal Construction in Fenno-Swedish

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Fenno-Swedish (the Swedish dialects spoken in Finland) has a unique expression (Holmberg & Kurki 2019) that does not occur in Standard Swedish: The Inclusory Plural Pronominal Construction (IPPC). In this construction, a plural pronoun has a singular reading. The example in (1) can mean 'I + Anna' in addition to 'we + Anna'.

(1)   **Vi** for   **med**   **Anna** till stan.
        we went with   Anna to town.DEF
        'Anna and I went into town.'/'We went into town with Anna.'

The construction consists of the plural pronoun, *vi* 'we', and the comitative phrase, *med Anna* 'with Anna' in (1). The IPPC is absent from other Scandinavian languages except Icelandic (2).

(2)   **Við**   **María**   fórum.
        we.NOM María.NOM went.1PL
        'Mary and I went/left.'

The Islandic construction seems to have a similar core mechanism (see Sigurðsson & Wood 2020), resulting in a singular reading. Structurally, however, these two Scandinavian languages represent extreme opposites of how the components of the construction can be placed. In Icelandic, the construction is always contiguous (Sigurðsson & Wood 2020). In Fenno-Swedish, the contiguous placement is dispreferred: the pronoun and the comitative phrase occur almost always disjoint from each other and the placement of the latter is rather free.

(3)   **Vi** har (**med Anna**) aldrig (**med Anna**) varit (**med Anna**) till Lanzarote (**med Anna**).
        we have with Anna never with Anna   been with Anna   to Lanzarote with Anna
        'Anna and I have never been to Lanzarote.'

At the same time, such *inclusory constructions* can be found in Finnish (Holmberg & Kurki 2019), Russian (Vassilieva & Larson 2005), Estonian (Erelt 2008), Latvian (Schwartz 1988), Polish (Cable 2017) and Hungarian (Dékány 2009).[1] These languages allow disjunct placement to some degree but it has not been discussed in detail.

    A conventional analysis of similar constructions has based on the assumption that the comitative phrase is the complement of the pronoun (see Vassilieva & Larson 2005; Sigurðsson & Wood 2020). If this condition is met, the singular reading of the plural pronoun is available. The analysis does not, however, predict the availability of the singular reading in Fenno-Swedish correctly, due to the substantially free placement of the comitative phrase. A derivation involving movements would be far too complex. Instead of movements, the Fenno-Swedish IPPC must employ a special pronoun with an unvalued feature.

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[1] Also: Lule Sami, Northern Sami, Lithuanian, Belarusian, Czech, Slovak, Slovenian, Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Turkish.

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