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Subject doubling in Finnish: The role of deficient pronouns

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Abstract

In colloquial Finnish finite clauses the subject can be doubled by a pronoun. This pronoun has number but no person, and therefore can double a 1st or 2nd person pronoun as long as number matches. The doubling pronoun is in spec(Finite)P, the ‘EPP-position’, while the doubled subject remains within the TP, when it is not moved to specCP. Finnish also has subject trebling, with a second doubling pronoun occupying specCP. Doubling of a pronominal subject is shown to follow from the partial copying theory of Barbiers & al. (2007), in conjunction with a particular analysis of the internal structure of pronouns. Cross-dialectal and cross-linguistic variation as regards doubling is ascribed, at least in part, to a lexical difference: whether or not the lexicon includes deficient pronouns.

1. Introduction¹

In colloquial Finnish the subject can be doubled by a pronoun, as in (1a,b):

(1)a. **Se** on **Jari** lopettanut tupakoinnin.

he has Jari quit smoking

‘Jari has quit smoking.’

b. **Ne** sai **kaikki lapset** samat oireet.

they got all children same symptoms

‘All the children got the same symptoms.’

This doubling is typically used to express an all-new sentence about a familiar subject, often with a subtle ‘believe-it-or-not’ effect.² That is to say, it typically has a form ofthetic reading (Sasse 1995). Often the doubled subject is focus-marked by the clitic *–kin* ‘too/even’.

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² They are not exclamative, though, as suggested by a referee.

- (2) Nyt **se** on **Tarjakin** lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 now she has Tarja-too quit smoking

The questions that will be addressed in this paper are, first, how is Finnish doubling derived, and second, what is it about Finnish that makes this form of doubling possible in this language as opposed to many other languages? More specifically, we will first discuss properties of the doubling pronoun, then properties of the doubled subject, then properties of the syntactic structure. It will be shown that the pronouns used for doubling are deficient in a particular way, being marked for number but not person, a fact which is crucial for the doubling construction.

The paper includes some discussion of inter-speaker variation as regards doubling in Finnish. This is not, however, based on any systematic investigation, but instead based mainly on our own judgments and impressions of the linguistic situation in varieties that we are familiar with. A systematic investigation remains to be done.

2. Properties of the doubling pronoun

Finnish has two series of 3rd person pronouns: *se* (SG)/ *ne* (PL), referring to things and in colloquial Finnish also to humans, and *hän* (SG)/ *he* (PL) referring to humans only.³ Pronouns do not distinguish gender.

Of the two series *se/ne* are the unmarked doubling pronouns, while *hän/he* are at best marginal in that function.

- (3) a. ?Hän on Tarjakin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

³ Use of *se/ne* to refer to humans is traditionally proscribed in Finnish normative grammar. The distinction between *se/ne* and *hän/he* when referring to humans is, however, grammatically significant and systematic in at least some varieties of spoken Finnish: In those varieties *hän/he* are used as same-subject pronouns in embedded clauses, while *se/ne* are used for any other function. The following sentences are thus unambiguous, in that variety of Finnish.

- (i) Jari sanoo että hän/se tulee huomenna.
 Jar says that he/he comes tomorrow
 with *hän* : ‘Jari says that he (Jari) is coming tomorrow.’
 with *se* : ‘Jari says that he (someone else) is coming tomorrow.’

she has Tarja-too quite smoking

- b. ?He sai kaikki lapset samat oireet.
they got all children same symptoms

The doubled subject can be 1st or 2nd person singular (with or without a focus clitic).

- (4) a. Se ole-n minä-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
SE have-1SG I-too quit smoking
'I, too, have quite smoking.'
- b. Se ole-t sinä-kin ...
SE have-2SG you-too ...

It can also be a 3rd person singular pronoun, either *se* or *hän*.

- c. Se on se-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
- d. Se on hän-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
SE has-3SG he-too ... (or *she* or *it*)

Completely impossible is doubling *se* by *hän*.

- e. *Hän on se-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

With plural pronouns a problem appears, however. The 1PL pronoun cannot be doubled by singular *se*. Some speakers but not others accept doubling by plural *ne*, while all speakers⁴ accept doubling by the 1PL pronoun itself.⁵

⁴ More precisely, all speakers consulted so far (quite a random collection) accept it. As mentioned, a systematic survey remains to be done.

⁵ The example uses the colloquial 1PL form, which is homonymous with the impersonal form otherwise used in the passive (or impersonal) construction (see Reime 1993). It also has the colloquial invariant form of the participle. The doubling-facts are essentially the same if the standard 1SG form and the participle inflected for plural are used, apart from a certain stylistic incongruity.

- e. *Se ollaan me-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
SE are-1PL we-too quit smoking
- f. (*)Ne ollaan me-kin ...
they are-1PL we ...
- g. Me ollaan me-kin ...
we are-1PL we ...
'We have quit smoking, too.'

The same pattern is seen with the 2PL pronoun *te*.

- h. *Se olette te-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
SE are-2PL you ...
- i. (*)Ne olette te-kin ...
NE are-2PL you...
- j. Te olette te-kin ...
you are-2PL you ...
'You all have quit smoking, too.'

The 3PL pronoun, either *ne* or *he*, can only be doubled by 3PL *ne*.⁶

- k. *Se on ne-kin/he-kin ...

(i) *Se/(*)ne ole-mme me-kin lopettaneet tupakoinnin.
SE NE have-1PL we-too quit-PL smoking

⁶ The example uses the colloquial 3 person finite verb form which is unmarked for number and the colloquial invariant form of the participle. The judgements are the same if the standard plural-marked forms are used.

(i) *Se ovat nekin lopettaneet tupakoinnin.
(ii) Ne ovat nekin lopettaneet tupakoinnin.

- l. Ne on ne-kin/he-kin ... (or Ne ovat ne-kin/he-kin ...)
they be.3 they-too /they-too... they be.3PL they...

Completely impossible is doubling *ne* by *he*.

- m. *He on ne-kin ... (or *He ovat ne-kin ...)

Consider first the variety which accepts doubling of 1PL *me* and 2PL *te* by *ne*. The facts under (4) then follow from (5a,b):

- (5) a. The features of the doubling pronoun must be a subset of the features of the doubled subject NP with matching values.
- b. The doubling pronouns *se* and *ne* have number, SG and PL, respectively, but no person.

The subset in (5a) need not be a proper subset, so the doubling pronoun and the doubled subject may be identical, as when *se* doubles *se* (4c), or *me* doubles *me* (4g). Having singular number but being neutral for person, *se* can double 1st or 2nd singular pronouns (4a,b). It cannot, however, double any plural pronouns (4e,h,k), as the SG value of *se* does not match the PL value of the plural pronouns *me*, *te*, *he*, *ne*. The pronoun *ne*, having PL number but being neutral for person, can double any plural pronouns.

For the variety in which *ne* cannot double any other pronoun than *ne*, and more marginally *he*, we must assume that it is marked 3rd person in addition to PL. As such its feature values will not match those of 1PL *me* and 2PL *te*.

The difference between *hän/he* and *se/ne* is that the former are specified for 3rd person, and furthermore are specified [+human], while the latter are unmarked for person (with some variation regarding *ne*) as well as for humanness. We conjecture that this is the reason why *hän/he* are not good as doubling pronouns: They are too richly specified to be interpreted as non-referential, which is required if they are to double, i.e. share a theta role with an argument (see section 7 below).^{7 8}

⁷ We are now ignoring the observation that *hän/he* are marginally acceptable as doubling pronouns for at least some speakers.

Assume that a category specified for person is a D, meaning that it is necessarily referential. Then it cannot bind another DP without violating Principle C of the classical Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981). The only category it can bind is a referentially deficient category such as an anaphor.⁹

- (6) Hän_i on itse_i lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 he has self quit smoking
 ‘He himself has quit smoking.’

Se occurs as a quasi-argumental pronoun as well, commonly in construction with extraposition, but also, marginally, as the subject of weather predicates. Alternatively (and preferably in the case of weather predicates) there is no overt subject in these constructions (see Holmberg & Nikanne 2002).

- (7) a. (Se) oli hauskaa että sinä tulit käymään.
 it was nice that you came visiting
- b. Nyt (se) taas sataa.
 now it again rains
 ‘Now it’s raising again.’

The fact that, in the doubling construction, *se* alternates with *ne* depending on the number of the doubled subject means that it is not expletive in the sense of lacking ϕ -feature specification altogether. On the other hand, the fact that *se* occurs in the constructions (7a,b) shows that there is an expletive variant of *se* as well.

⁸ [+human] alone does not make a pronoun referential: The generic pronoun *one* and its counterparts in other languages is [+human] but is not referential: *One can’t stand up straight in this room* is a generic statement only about humans, not for example plants.

⁹ Another indication that *hän/he* pattern with the 1st and 2nd person pronouns, while *se/ne* do not, is that *hän/he* and the 1st and 2nd person pronouns have a special accusative form (marked by a suffix –t), while *se/ne* is like other nouns, having the same form for accusative and genitive (marked by a suffix –n). Furthermore, while *se/ne*, along with lexical DPs, have nominative case when occurring as objects of various impersonal verb forms, *hän/he* along with the 1st and 2nd person pronouns have accusative case; see Reime (1993).

What case does the doubling pronoun have? In the examples shown so far, the case is nominative. This could be because the pronoun has the same case as the subject which it doubles, or it could be because it has no case, if nominative is the default form. This can be tested by picking a predicate which selects a non-nominative subject. For example, in the possessive construction in Finnish the possessor subject has adessive case (while the possessee has nominative, and no agreement is triggered on the finite verb). As shown in (8), there is variation regarding the pronoun: Some speakers do, other speakers do not, allow the nominative form *ne* to double an adessive (ADE) subject.

- (8) a. Kaikilla lapsilla on samat oireet.
 all-ADE children-ADE is same symptoms
 ‘All the children have the same symptoms.’
- b. Niillä on kaikilla lapsilla samat oireet.
 they-ADE is all-ADE children-ADE same symptoms
- c. (*)Ne on kaikilla lapsilla samat oireet.
 they-NOM is all-ADE children-ADE same symptoms

Necessive predicates are another class which require a non-nominative subject, namely genitive. Again, there is speaker variation: Some require the same case on the doubling pronoun, others allow the nominative form.

- (9) Se-n / se-0 pitäisi Marja-n lopettaa tupakointi.
 she-GEN/she-NOM should Marja-GEN quit smoking

Informally speaking, the doubling pronoun is more deficient in the varieties which allow nominative.¹⁰

¹⁰ Finnish has a class of predicates which take an experiencer argument with partitive case.

- (i) Meidän lapsia ei vielä väsytä.
 our children-PART not yet tire
 ‘Our children are not getting tired yet.’

This argument cannot be doubled at all, neither with a partitive nor with a nominative pronoun.

- (ii) *Niitä/ *Ne ei meidän lapsia vielä väsytä.

(10) occurs as well (subject to inter-speaker variation):

- (10) Se on kaikilla lapsilla samat oireet.
 SE has all-ADE children-ADE same symptoms
 ‘All the children have the same symptoms.’

Here the pronoun agrees neither in number nor in case with the lexical subject. In this case, then, it seems that *se* is used as a pure expletive (an alternative to the pure expletive *sitä*; see below).

3. Properties of the doubled subject

The doubled subject cannot be an unstressed/unfocused pronoun (*mä* in (11b) is a colloquial unstressed form of the 1SG pronoun). With focus, either supported by a focus particle or by focus intonation, the subject can be a pronoun.

- (11) a. *Se on se lopettanut tupakoinnin
 SE has he quit smoking
- b. *Se olen mä nyt menossa saunaan.
 SE is I now going sauna-ILL
 ‘I’m on my way to the sauna.’

they-PART/they-NOM not our children yet tire

The reason for this is unclear. It may have to do with the fact that the verbs in question have a second argument, which may be implicit, referring to the causer of the state. In a singular doubling construction nominative *se* will be interpreted as referring to the causer, seemingly blocking the doubling analysis.

- (iii) Se ei Jaria vielä väsyttä.
 ‘It doesn’t make Jari tired.’

The partitive singular form of the pronoun, *sitä*, is analyzable as the expletive *sitä* (see Holmberg & Nikanne 2002).

- (iv) Sitä ei Jaria vielä väsyttä.

This does not on its own explain why the plural forms in (ii) are not well formed, though.

- c. Se on se-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin
SE has he-too quit smoking
- d. Se olen MINÄ menossa nyt saunaan.
SE am I going now sauna-ILL
'I'm on my way to the sauna now.'

This is arguably the only syntactically conditioned constraint on the doubled subject. Other properties follow from the semantic-pragmatic properties of the construction, that of being athetic expression with, typically, a known subject. Doubling an indefinite subject is therefore often not felicitous.

- (12) ??Se seisoo joku oven takana.
SE stands someone door behind
'Someone is standing behind the door.'

This is not, however, a syntactic condition. In the right context the subject can be indefinite.

- (13) a. Se on taas joku jättänyt oven auki.
SE has again someone left door open
'Someone has left the door open again.'
- b. Se voi semmonen auto tulla kalliiksi.
SE can such car become expensive
'Such as car can become expensive.'

(13a) implies that the subject is someone from a contextually determined set of people, while in (13b), the subject is a contextually defined type of car. The subject can be a wh-phrase, moved to specCP (see next section).

- (14) Kuka se on *t* taas jättänyt oven auki?
who SE has again left door open
'Who has left the door open again?'

The implication is that the answer will name a person from a contextually established set of persons.

SpecCP can be, and often is, filled with a predicate noun or adjective in combination with a doubled subject. Consider for instance the following examples, taken from the Internet, with the structure [_{CP} NP/AP [_{FP} *se* 'be' NP-kin]] (*-han* is a modal clitic, glossed as CL).

- (16) a. **Uskovainenhan se olen minäkin.**
 religious.person-CL SE am I-too
 'I am a religious person, too.'
- b. **Ihminen se olen minäkin** siinä missä muutkin ja kaikessa
 human-being SE am I-too there where others-too and all-INE
 inhimillisyydessäni olen myös heikko ja hyväksyntää kaipaava.
 humanity-INE am also weak and acceptance-PAR wanting.
 'I am a human being just like everyone else, and as a human I am weak and want to be accepted.'
- c. **Vaikea se olen minäkin...**
 Difficult SE am I-too
 'I am also difficult.'

Se is not doubling the fronted predicate in this construction but the subject (*se* is never used as a predicate proform). In these examples *-kin* 'too' is an essential part of the meaning, contributing the entailment that there are other people having the property named by the initial predicate noun or adjective. In other, structurally parallel cases, the semantic contribution of *-kin* is minimal. Thus (17a,b), also from the Internet, do not necessarily imply that there are other people with the named property (ELA = elative, ESS = essive).

- (17) a. Minun äitini se on vähän pyylevämpi, mutta **iäkäs se on hänkin** ja
 my mother SE is little fatter but old SE is she-too and
 ihastuu varmasti, kun saa talonpojan tytöstä miniän.
 is-delighted for-sure as gets farmer-GEN girl-ELA daughter-in-law-ACC

‘My mother is a little fat but she is old, after all, and is certainly delighted as she gets a farmers daughter for her daughter in law.’

- b. **Ihme jätkä se** olet sinä**kin** kun olet tietävinäs mitä mä olen
 strange guy SE are you-too as are know-PL-ESS-2SG what I have
 ton kanssa puuhannut.
 that-GEN with done.
 ‘(I must say that) you are a strange guy as you think you know what I have
 done with it.’

This is all the more striking as *-kin* is structurally obligatory in this construction.

- (18) a. ??Uskovainen se olen minä [...] (compare (16a))
 b. ??Ihminen se olen minä [...] (compare (16b))
 c. ??Vaikea se olen minä [...] (compare (16c))
 d. ??[...] mutta iäkäs se on hän ja ihastuu [...] (compare (17a))
 e. ??Ihme jätkä se olet sinä, kun [...] (compare (17b))

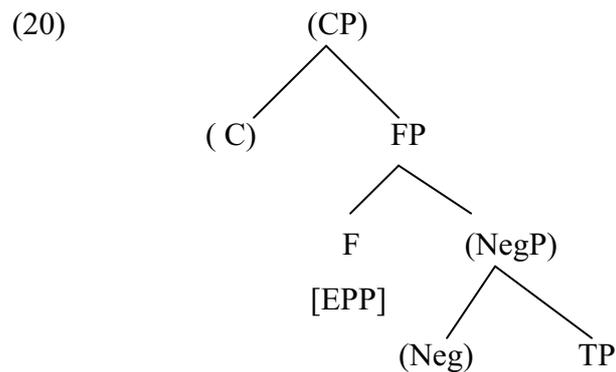
As mentioned earlier, although subject doubling is often found with *-kin*, this is not generally compulsory (as the subject can be focused without *-kin*). In other ways, too, which, for reasons of space, we will not go into here, the pragmatic interpretation of the examples in (16) and (17) is not transparently derivable from the structure. Apparently this form of expression has developed into a construction in the sense of Fillmore and Kaye (1996), Nikanne (2005).

4. Structural properties

Holmberg & Nikanne (2002) investigated another ‘multiple subject construction’ in Finnish, featuring the expletive *sitä*, morphologically the partitive of *se*, but formally a pure expletive.

- (19) *Sitä* ovat nämä lapset jo oppineet uimaan.
 EXP have these children already learnt swim
 ‘These children have already learnt to swim.’

They showed that the expletive is in the spec of F, a position which in the unmarked case is occupied by the subject. Vilkuna (1987, 1995) and Holmberg & Nikanne (2002) have shown that the structure of the Finnish finite sentence is (20), where F = Finite. The finite verb or auxiliary moves to F. At least one XP must precede F (a property encoded here as an EPP feature on F), and at most two XPs can precede F, the outermost one, by hypothesis, in specCP.



In the unmarked case specFP is the subject, but, as shown by (21b), it may also be another argument or adverbial, which in that case is interpreted as topic, while the subject left in situ is focused (see Vilkuna 1995, Holmberg & Nikanne 2002).

- (21) a. [FP Jari on+F maalannut olohuoneen].
 Jari has painted living.room
 ‘Jari has painted the living room.’
- b. [FP Olohuoneen on+F maalannut Jari].
 living.room has painted Jari
 ‘The living room has been painted by Jari./ ‘The one who has painted the living room is Jari.’

SpecCP is either a whP or a category with contrastive interpretation (Vilkuna 1989,1995).

- (22) a. Mitkä huoneet C [FP Jari on+F maalannut]?
 which rooms Jari has painted
 ‘Which rooms has Jari painted?’

- b. Tämän huoneen C [_{FP} Jari on+F maalannut].
 this room Jari has painted
 ‘Jari has painted THIS ROOM (but not that one).’

SpecFP is not a designated topic position, though, because

(a) The subject filling it need not be a topic; the indeterminate subject in (23) is not a possible topic, not being referential, yet can be specFP.

- (23) Kuka tahansa on voinut kirjoittaa tämän kirjan.
 who ever has could write this book
 ‘Anyone could have written this book.’

(b) The expletive *sitä*, obviously also not a possible topic as it is not referential, can also be specFP. Holmberg & Nikanne (2002) argued that it occupies specFP, on the following grounds:

- It immediately precedes the finite verb/auxiliary, except when
- it is preceded by the finite verb moved to C (for example in yes/no questions);
- It can be preceded by one and only one XP, which in that case is a whP or has contrastive interpretation.

The same holds true of the doubling pronoun *se/ne*: In the examples cited so far, for instance in (1), it immediately precedes the finite verb or auxiliary. (24a,b,c) show that it must do so, except when when the finite verb or auxiliary is moved to the CP-domain, as typically in yes/no questions

- (24) a. *Se sinäkin olet nyt lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 SE you-too have now quit smoking
- b. Oletko se sinäkin nyt lopettanut tupakoinnin?
 have-Q SE you-too now quite smoking
 ‘Have you, too, quit smoking?’

- c. Saiko ne kaikki lapset samat oireet?
 got-Q NE all children same symptoms
 ‘Did all the children get the same symptoms.’

(25a,b) shows that the doubling pronoun can be preceded by one XP, which in that case has contrastive focus (in (25a)), or is a whP, (25b), but cannot be a non-contrastive topic, (25c), to be compared with (21b).

- (25) a. Sinäkin se olet vihdoinkin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 you-too SE has finally quit smoking
 ‘So you, too, have finally quit smoking.’
- b. Milloin se on Jari ehtinyt olohuoneen maalata?
 when SE has Jari had-time living.room paint
 ‘When has Jari found the time to paint the living room?’
- c. *Olohuoneen se on maalannut Jari.
 living.room SE has painted Jari

(26a,b,c) show that the doubling pronoun can be preceded by at most one XP.

- (26) a. *Nyt se sinäkin olet lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 now SE you-too have quit smoking
- b. *Nyt sinäkin se olet lopettanut tupakoinnin.

The conclusion is, therefore, that the doubling pronoun is in specFP, satisfying the EPP.

In the Finnish transitive expletive construction (16), discussed in Holmberg & Nikanne 2002, the lexical subject occupies a place between F and VP, where the exact placement of the subject in relation to other constituents in that *Mittelfelt* domain is basically free. The same holds true of the doubled subject; consider (27) (ILL = illative):

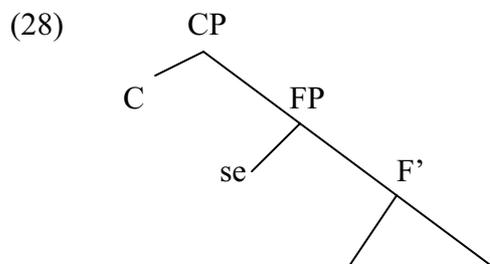
- (27) Nyt se on (Jarikin) ilmeisesti (Jarikin) lopulta (Jarikin) saanut (Jarikin) kuvansa
 now he has Jari-too evidently finally had picture-his
 (*Jarikin) lehteen (*Jarikin).

paper-ILL

‘Now even Jari has evidently finally had his picture printed in the paper.’

Varying the position of the subject, as long as it remains in the *Mittelfelt*, has no discernible effect on scope or information structure; as in the case of the transitive expletive construction, the lexical subject is part of the information focus (the new information) of the sentence.¹¹ Again following Holmberg & Nikanne (2002), let us say that the finite sentence consists of three domains: (i) The operator domain, that is specCP, (ii) the Presupposition domain, that is specFP, and the Information Focus domain, that is NegP in negated sentences, otherwise TP. As mentioned, the subject doubling sentence is typically an all-new sentence. This effect is achieved by having the doubling pronoun check the EPP in specFP, leaving the lexical content of the subject inside NegP/TP, and thus part of the information focus of the sentence.¹²

Now consider the structure of the left periphery of the Finnish sentence again, where the finite auxiliary has moved to F and the subject is doubled by *se* in specFP.

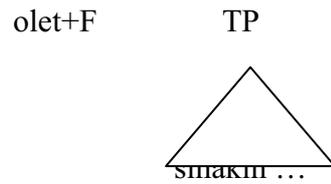


¹¹ Thus Finnish provides little evidence of a fixed focus position in the *Mittelfelt*, as argued for Italian by Belletti (20??) and Malayalam by Jayaseelan (20??).

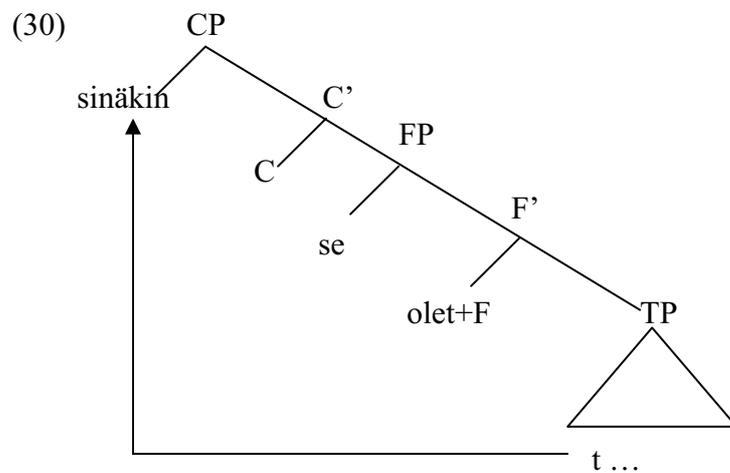
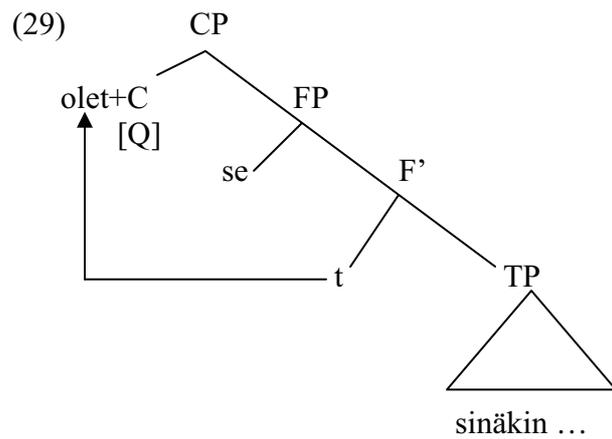
¹² This is not the only way to express an all-new sentence with a known subject. The construction (i) can have that reading as well.

- (i) Jari on lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 ‘Jari has quit smoking.’

In this case the subject is moved to specFP, checking the EPP-feature. Nevertheless it can certainly, in the right context, be uttered out of the blue, conveying all-new information. However, this will take a certain amount of pragmatic, inferential processing on the part of the listener, not required in the case of the information-structurally more transparent subject doubling construction



The existing well-formed alternants are now derivable by movement of F to C, deriving for example, the question (24b), with the structure (29), or movement of the subject to specCP, deriving (25a), with the structure (30).



5. Subject trebling

The subject can be doubled twice by the pronouns *se* and *ne*.

- (31) a. **Se se** on Tarjakin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 SE SE has Tarja-too quit smoking

- b. **Sehän se** pärjäsi Olli kokeissa mainiosti.
SE-hAn SE managed Olli exams-INE brilliantly
'He did brilliantly in the exam, Olli did.'
- b. **Nehän ne** sai kaikki lapset samat oireet.
NE-hAn NE got all children same symptoms
'The children all got the same symptoms, didn't they!'
- c. **Ne ne** meni Jari ja pojat katsomaan uutta venettä.
NE NE went Jari and boys look new boat
'They went to have a look at a new boat, Jari and the boys.'

The pragmatic effect of the trebling is not noticeably different from that of doubling. See below for the use and meaning of the clitic *-hAn*.

The proposed analysis is that the first pronoun is in specCP, the second in specFP.

(32) [_{CP} se C [_{FP} se on+F [_{PredP} ... Tarjakin ...]]]

Trebling makes use of the two spec-positions allowed in the left periphery of the Finnish sentence. Just about all the properties of the construction are explained by this:

- More than two pronouns are impossible, as shown in (33):

(33) *Se se se on Tarjakin lopettanut tupakoinnin .
SE SE SE has Tarja-too quit smoking

- The two pronouns cannot be preceded by a fronted verb.

(34) *Oletko se se sinäkin lopettanut tupakoinnin?
have-Q SE SE you-too quit smoking

- Nor can a verb intervene between the two pronouns. This is consistent with the ‘anti-V2’ condition which prohibits V-movement to C when specCP is filled, exemplified in (35b), while (35c) is a well formed wh-question (INE = inessive).

(35)a. *Se oletko se sinäkin lopettanut tupakoinnin?
SE have-Q SE you-too quit smoking

b. *Milloin olet sinä Lontoossa käynyt?
when have you London-INE been

c. Milloin sinä olet Lontoossa käynyt?
when you have London.INE been
‘When did you go to London?’

- The two pronouns cannot be preceded by a fronted XP.

(36) *Nyt se se sinäkin olet lopettanut tupakoinnin.
now SE SE you-too have quit smoking

- The first pronoun, but not the second, can host the clitic particles *-hAn* and *-pA(s)*. The particle *-hAn* can be loosely characterized as evidential, while *-pA(s)* can be loosely characterized as ‘contradictive’ (see Holmberg 2001), but their use for a range of subtle pragmatic effects extends beyond these meanings.

(37) a. **Sepäs** se on Tarjakin nyt lopettanut tupakoinnin.
SE-pAs SE has Tarja-too now quit smoking
‘Even Tarja has quit smoking now, would you believe it!’

b. *Se **sepäs** on Tarjakin vihdoinkin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

c. **Nehän** ne sai kaikki lapset samat oireet.
NE-hAn NE got all children same symptoms
‘You know, all the children got the same symptoms.’

- d. *Ne **nehän** sai kaikki lapset samat oireet.

Like the question particle *-ko*, these particles are always cliticized to a category moved to C or specCP: a verb in (38a), an object in (38b) and a whP in (38c).

- (38) a. **Onpas** Tarja löytänyt hienon puvun!
 has-pAs Tarja found nice dress
 ‘What a nice dress Tarja has found!’
- b. Samat oireet**han** ne on kaikki lapset saanut.
 same symptoms-hAn NE have all children got
 ‘But they have all got the same symptoms, haven’t they?’
- c. **Missähän** Jari on ollut?
 where-hAn Jari has been
 ‘Where has Jari been, I wonder?’

The one property of the trebling construction which is not directly explained by the analysis (32) is that the initial pronoun does not have contrastive interpretation, otherwise taken to be a property of non-wh categories fronted to specCP (Vilkuna 1989, 1995). We are led to conclude that specCP is not a designated contrast-position – as indeed is also shown by the fact that it is the landing site of wh-movement. Instead, Finnish grammar makes available two positions in the left periphery of the finite sentence. The lower is an EPP-position, as discussed earlier. If it is filled by a referring expression, a rule of information-structural interpretation will assign ‘topic interpretation’ to it. The higher position is optionally filled. If it is filled with a referring expression (not a whP, for example), a rule of information-structural interpretation will assign ‘contrast interpretation’ to it.¹³ The doubling pronouns *se* and *ne* are not referring expressions (being deficient pronouns), and therefore are not assigned topic interpretation in specFP, or contrast interpretation in specCP.

¹³ Exceptions to this rule exist, though, for example the construction in (16) and (17).

6. The syntax of doubling

The question is what the relation is between the two members of the pair (or three members in the case of trebling) in the Finnish doubling constructions. Two competing theories have recently been developed to account for doubling. One is the ‘big DP’ theory, or as we shall call it, the ‘splitting theory’, according to which the members of a doubling relation start out as constituents of a complex category, but get separated in the course of the derivation. In the case of argument doubling with a pronoun doubling a lexical NP, the pronoun and the NP start out as a ‘big DP’, the two parts separated by movement, the pronoun ending up in a higher position. This type of analysis was first developed by Sportiche (1988) for quantifier float, analysed as movement of an NP out of a complex QP, stranding the quantifier. The idea was later applied to clitic doubling by Kayne (1994) and Uriagereka (1995). See Poletto (this volume) for an application of this theory to doubling in Italian dialects.

According to the other theory, developed by Barbiers & al. (2007), doubling is derived by partial copying. Following Chomsky (1993, 2000, 2005), movement consists of making a copy of a category which is already merged in the tree, and merging the copy. Given the bottom-up derivation of syntactic structure and a strictly cyclic application of syntactic operations the copy will always be merged higher up the tree; indeed, given the extension condition of Chomsky (1993) it can only be merged at the root of the tree. Typically the higher copy (or the highest copy, in the case of multiple copying) is the only one spelled out. Doubling would then occur whenever more than one copy is spelled out.

Assume, however, that movement, i.e. copying and merging, can copy a subset of the features of a category already in the tree, and merge this subset higher up the tree.¹⁴

The prediction made by this theory, when applied to doubling, is that the doubling category (the higher copy) either is an exact copy of the doubled category, or consists of a proper subset of the features of the doubled category. Predicted never to occur is the situation where the doubling category (the higher copy) has more features than the doubled category (the lower copy).

For the range of cases Barbiers & al. discuss, mainly doubling of pronouns, including *wh*-pronouns, in Dutch dialects, this prediction is confirmed. For example, in (39a), found in some dialects including the dialect of Drenthe, the higher copy is identical to the lower copy.

¹⁴ This can be seen as a version of the feature movement theory, proposed by Chomsky (1995: ch. 4), rejected in Chomsky (2000), but now resurrected by Barbiers & al. (2007).

In the synonymous (39b), found in other dialects, *wie* is more specified than *wat*, since *wie* is specified for non-neuter gender while *wat* is unspecified for gender (and other features are shared). In the synonymous (39c), found in yet other dialects, *die* is more specified than *wie*, because *die*, but not *wie* is specified as definite (and other features are shared).

- (39) a. Wie denk je wie ik gezien heb. (Drenthe)
 who think you who I seen have
 ‘Who do you think I have seen?’
- b. Wat denk je wie ik gezien heb. (Overijssel)
 what think you who I seen have
- b. Wie denk je die ik gezien heb. (North Holland)
 who think you rel.pron I seen have

The opposite situation, the higher copy being more specified, is not attested. Alternative theories, including the splitting theory, do not make this prediction, at least not as straightforwardly.

Furthermore, Barbiers & al. make the claim that the part that is copied under partial copying, is not any collection of features, but is a proper subconstituent of the original category. In the case of doubling of pronouns, this presupposes that pronouns have phrasal structure, along the lines of Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002). The structure of, for example, the category which spells out as *wie* would be (40):

- (40) [_{φP} Operator [_φ non-neuter [N]]]

When this category is copied, in for example, the derivation of a wh-question such as (39), the entire structure can be copied and merged in specCP. If both copies are spelled out, the results is as in (39a). Alternatively just the Operator feature, which is the specifier of the φ-feature [non-neuter], is copied and merged in specCP. The operator feature alone spells out as *wat*, while the lower copy, with the structure (40), spells out as *wie*, as before. The result is (39b). (39c) is derived by copying and spelling out the structure (40), now the complement of D in a structure [_{DP} D [_{φP} Operator [_φ non-neuter [N]]]], which is spelled out as *die*.

This avoids a problem which the splitting theory suffers from. Under that theory, at least as construed in the references mentioned, the two copies start out as distinct constituents of a complex DP, which get separated in the course of the derivation by movement. It is therefore expected that they could be pronounced together (at least in some dialects, perhaps under some special conditions). However, we never find a constituent pronounced as *wat wie* or *die wie*, in any dialect of Dutch. Under the partial copying theory this follows because the constituent spelled out as *wat* is itself a constituent of the larger constituent spelled out as *wie*, and *wie* is a constituent of the larger constituent spelled out as *die*.

We will now demonstrate that the partial copying theory accounts very neatly for the properties of Finnish subject pronoun doubling.

As an initial argument in favour of the splitting theory, though, it is suggestive that *se/ne*, the two doubling pronouns, are also colloquially used as determiners (*se poika* ‘that boy/the boy’, *ne pojat* ‘those boys/the boys’); see Laury (1997). *Se* is also commonly used as a determiner with proper names. In (41), for example, *se* unequivocally forms a constituent together with the name *Olli*.

- (41) Missä se Olli nyt on?
 where SE Olli now is
 ‘Where is Olli gone?’

This suggests that Finnish subject doubling is derived by a process akin to clitic doubling as analysed in Kayne (1994), Uriagereka (1995), and extended to DP-doubling more generally in Poletto (this volume), detaching the determiners *se* or *ne* from the lexical NP, here the name *Olli*, merging it in specFP.

There are several good reasons for rejecting this analysis, though. First, not all of the categories which can be doubled by *se/ne* can take *se/ne* as determiners. A clear case is the quantifier *joku* ‘somebody’ and the wh-word *kuka* ‘who’. As shown in (42a) (= (13a)) and (42b) (= (14)) *joku* and *kuka* can be doubled. As shown in (42c,d), neither can take *se* as a determiner.

- (42) a. Se on joku taas jättänyt oven auki.
 SE has somebody again left door open
 ‘Somebody has left the door open again.’

- b. Kuka se on taas jättänyt oven auki?
 who SE has again left door open
 ‘Who has left the door open again?’
- c. *Se joku on taas jättänyt oven auki.
- d. *Se kuka on taas jättänyt oven auki?

And although a first or second person can be doubled by *se*, the pronouns never occur as a constituent with *se*: **se minä*, **se sinä*.

We contend that *se*, when doubling a subject, does not encode definiteness, but only singular number, while the doubling pronoun *ne* encodes only plural number (some speakers) or [PL, 3] (other speakers).

Subject trebling provides another reason to reject, or at least, a reason to look for alternatives to the ‘clitic-doubling analysis’ of Finnish subject doubling. There is no NP which would accept two *se*’s (or *ne*’s) as determiners.

- (43) *Missä se se Olli on.
 where SE SE Olli is

We will now demonstrate that partial copying along the lines of Barbiers & al. (2007) will account for the properties of Finnish doubling of subject pronouns. Consider first the case of doubling of the [1SG] pronoun. Assume that the narrow syntax operates with syntactic features only, which are spelled out and assigned a lexical form in the postsyntactic Morphology component, more or less in the fashion of Distributive Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993). Assume, as a preliminary hypothesis, that the Finnish first person singular pronoun consist of the two features [SG, 1], which is spelled out *minä*. Now assume that in subject doubling, only the SG feature is copied and merged in the higher position, which we have identified as specFP. The SG feature on its own is spelled out as *se*. The lower copy, which is still [SG, 1], is spelled out as *minä*.

When doubling the first person pronoun, the order is *se ... minä*, never *minä...se*.

- (44) a. Se olen minä-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

SE have I-too quit smoking

- b. *Minä olen se-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

This is predicted as under the derivational copy theory of movement/chain formation the grammar cannot derive a chain where [SG, 1] is a higher chain link than [SG]. However, if the two features [SG] and [1] are simply a set with no internal structure, the grammar can copy [1] and merge it in the higher position, deriving the chain [1]...[SG, 1]. There is little reason to believe that such a chain is actually found. The hypothesis that pronouns have internal structure, in conjunction with Barbiers & al.'s hypothesis that partial copying only affects constituents, can explain this. Assume that the structure of the first singular pronoun is (45), where Pn = Person, and Nr = Number, and N is a nominal feature.

(45) [PnP 1 [NrP SG N]]

Déchaine and Wiltschko's (2002) ϕ P is split into PnP and NrP. As before, the entire structure, here analysed as a PnP, is spelled out as *minä*, while the subconstituent [NrP SG N] is spelled out as *se*. The subconstituent can only be spelled out, then, if it is extracted from the PnP, as happens in the case of pronominal doubling. The feature [1], being (the value of) the head of the pronoun, can never move without pied-piping [SG N].

Consider next the 1st person plural pronoun.

- (46) a. *Se ollaan me-kin ...
SE have-1PL we-too
- b. %Ne ollaan me-kin ...
NE have-1PL we-too
- c. Me ollaan me-kin ...
we have-1PL we-too

If the structure of a 1PL pronoun is (47).¹⁵

(47) [PnP 1 [N_{rP} PL N]]

then (46a) can obviously not be derived, as *se* spells out [SG N]. (46c) would be derived by copying of the entire feature complex. (46b) is compatible with the partial copy theory under the (reasonable) assumption that *ne* in the variety of Finnish in question can spell out [PL N]. In the variety of Finnish which does not allow (41b), *ne* can only spell out [3 [PL, N]], and cannot then form a chain together with [1 [PL, N]].

The analysis of pronouns allows for the possibility of an even more reduced pronoun, consisting of just the feature N. The quasi-argumental *se* used in extraposition and (less commonly) weather expressions, illustrated in (7) above, is an obvious candidate. In fact, some speakers allow *se* in construction with a plural subject, either a lexical NP or a pronoun.

- (48) a. %*Se* on kaikilla lapsilla samat oireet.
 SE is all-ADE children-ADE same symptoms
 ‘All the children have the same symptoms.’
- b. %*Nyt se* on minulla-kin samat oireet.
 now SE is I-ADE-too same symptoms
 ‘Now I have the same symptoms, too.’

This can be analysed as doubling derived by extracting just the subconstituent N of [PnP 1 [N_{rP} PL N]]. Alternatively, though, the construction can be analysed as merging of an expletive *se* directly in specFP, as in the construction with the expletive *sitä* (as analysed by Holmberg and Nikanne (2002)).

- (49) *Nyt sitä* on minullakin samat oireet.
 now EXP is I-too same symptoms
 ‘Now I have the same symptoms, too.’

¹⁵ We are aware of the argument against analysing ‘we’ as a plural counterpart of ‘I’: the pronoun *we* does not generally denote a plurality of speakers. It is noteworthy that the system of pronominal doubling is, nevertheless, consistent with such an analysis of Finnish ‘we’, in particular, the existence of a variety of Finnish which allows *ne* to double *me*.

Another case, discussed in section 2, which falls out directly under the partial copying theory is the contrast between (50a,b):

- (50) a. Se on hän-kin ...
SE has he/she ...
- b. *Hän on se-kin ...
- c. ?Hän on hän-kin ...

Hän spells out [HUMAN [3 [SG N]]], while *se*, as a deficient pronoun, spells out just [_{NrP} PL N] or, as a fully referential pronoun, [_{PnP} 3 [_{NrP} SG N]]. Partial copying predicts that (50b) is ruled out whichever *se* is picked. The fact that (50c) is only marginally acceptable is plausibly an effect of an economy condition which prefers copying of fewer features, when the grammar and the Lexicon of the language allow this option.

Cases like (42a,b) are also compatible with this theory, on the assumption that the quantifiers *joku* ‘somebody’ and *kuka* ‘who’ have the structure (51) (which is different from the structure assigned to the corresponding Dutch expressions by Barbiers & al (2007)).

- (51) [_{QP} Q [_{φP} SG N]], where Q is SOME in *joku* and WH in *kuka*.¹⁶

Again the whole complex is spelled out as *joku* or *kuka*, depending on the value of Q, while the substructure [SG N], if extracted, is spelled out as *se*.

How to derive doubling of lexical NPs (or DPs) under the partial copy theory remains to be accounted for.

- (52) a. Se on Jari lopettanut tupakoinnin.
SE has Jari quit smoking
'Jari has quit smoking.'
- b. Ne on kaikki lapset saanut samat oireet.

¹⁶ *Kuka* is also specified HUMAN. Interestingly, while *joku* can specify inanimate objects (*joku talo* ‘some house’), without a specified complement NP, *joku* is also HUMAN.

NE have all children got same symptoms
 ‘All the children have got the same symptoms.’

Analysing these on a par with *se olen minä*, *se on joku*, etc. would entail that, for instance, the NP (or QP) in (52b) is spelled out as *kaikki lapset* as a complete structure, but contains a subconstituent [PL N] (or [3 [PL N]]) which can be extracted, and in that case gets spelled out as *ne*. What the structure is, is obviously a question of high priority, which we will nevertheless leave for future research.

(46b) is significant in that it indicates that the difference between two dialects, one allowing a particular form of doubling disallowed in the other dialect, is a lexical matter: The dialect which disallows (46b) has no item spelling out [PL N]. This may, indeed, be the explanation of much of the variation found across languages as regards doubling. The question is, why does, for example Swedish not allow doubling of pronouns?

- (53) a. *Han har också jag slutat röka. (Swedish)
 he has also I quit smoking
- b. *?Det har också jag slutat röka.
 it have also I quit smoking
- c. ?Jag har också jag slutat röka.
 I have also I quit smoking
 ‘I have quit smoking, too.’

(53a) would be ruled out because Swedish has no pronoun like Finnish *se* which would spell out the feature complex [SG N]. Swedish *han* has the feature composition of Finnish *hän* (plus specification for masculine gender), and cannot form a chain with 1st person *jag*. (53b), with the expletive pronoun *det* in the initial subject position, is not well formed either, but is nevertheless clearly better than (51a), as expected if there is no ϕ -feature clash involved. (51c) is only mildly degraded. While this can be analysed as a case of total copying, as in Barbiers & al.’s (2007) (39a), it is more likely a special case of the construction discussed by Engdahl (1993), which is a form of subject doubling, but not the Dutch or Finnish kind, as (what looks like) the higher copy is the one that is more specified.

(54) **Jari** har **också han** slutat röka. (Swedish)

Jari has also he quit smoking

‘Jari, too, has quit smoking.’

b. **Pojkarna** kunde inte **dom heller** öppna dörren.

The-boys could not they either open the-door

‘The boys couldn’t open the door, either.’

This construction is presumably not derivable by partial copying as in Barbiers & al., and, in fact, poses a challenge for that theory. We will leave it for future research.¹⁷

8. Conclusions: Degrees of deficiency

What we see in Finnish is a cline of pronominal deficiency: Many varieties of Finnish have a personless, singular pronoun *se*. This *se* can double any singular argument, including 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns. (55) = (4a).

(55) *Se* ole-n minä-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

SE have-1SG I-too quit smoking

‘I, too, have quite smoking.’

For some speakers the plural pronoun *ne* is also personless, hence can double any plural argument, including 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns. (56) = (4f).

(56) %*Ne* ollaan me-kin ...

NE are-1PL we ...

¹⁷ The construction occurs in Finnish, too.

(i). **Jari** on **hänkin/sekin** lopettanut tupakoinnin.

Jari has he-too/he-too quit smoking

‘Jari has quit smoking, too.’

For other speakers *ne* cannot double a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, thus seems to retain a 3rd person feature, yet lacks the HUMAN feature which the alternative 3PL pronoun *he* has. Furthermore, some speakers have a *se* which is entirely ϕ -featureless, thus can double even a plural argument.

(57) %*Se* on minulla-kin samat oireet.

SE is I-ADE too same symptoms

‘I have the same symptoms, too’

We have focused mainly on doubling of pronouns, and we have shown that the facts in Finnish fall out under the partial copying theory of Barbiers & al. (2007), in conjunction with a structural analysis of pronouns along the lines of Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002), with their ϕ P split into [PnP Person [NrP Number]]. Doubling is derived either by copying-and-merging an entire category α , constructing a chain ($\alpha\dots\alpha$) in which both links are spelled out (pronounced), or by copying-and-merging a proper constituent, call it sub- α , of a category α , constructing a chain (sub- $\alpha\dots\alpha$) in which both links are spelled out. The structure of, for instance, the first person singular pronoun is [PnP 1 [NrP PL N]]. The structure of *se* as a referential pronoun (‘he’, ‘she’ or ‘it’) is [PnP 3 [NrP PL N]]. The structure of *se* when used as a doubling pronoun in, for example (55), is [NrP PL N], a copy of the complement of Person in the structure of the first person singular pronoun. In (57) *se* is made up of just the feature N, a copy of the complement of Number in the structure of the 1 person singular pronoun.

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