Pronoun Use in Finnish Reported Speech and Free Indirect Discourse: Effects of Logophoricity

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Abstract Many languages have logophoric pronouns which refer to the person whose speech, thoughts or feelings are being reported, and some languages also have antilogophoric pronouns. This paper investigates (anti)logophoricity in the pronominal system of Finnish, in particular in reported speech and free indirect discourse (FID). I first show that the referential patterns exhibited of two types of third person pronouns in Finnish – the human third-person pronoun *hän* (he/she) and the non-human third person pronoun *se* (it), which can also be used for human antecedents in certain contexts – seem to be very different in reported speech vs. FID contexts. However, I argue that the *hän/se* variation can be derived from a basic generalization – namely that *hän* refers to SELF (see also Laitinen L, From logophoric pronoun to discourse particle. A case study of Finnish and Saami. In: I Wischer & G Diewald (ed) New reflections on grammaticalization. John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, pp 327–344, 2002) – as long as we take into account (i) the size of the logophoric domain and (ii) the different defaults of standard Finnish and colloquial Finnish. Furthermore, I suggest that we do not need to posit an additional association between *se* and NON-SELF, because the referential behavior of *se* can be derived from the size of the logophoric domain and the register defaults. In addition, once we look at how these two pronominal forms interact with the demonstrative pronoun *tämä* (this) in Finnish, it becomes clear that theories of reference resolution need to consider both logophoricity and salience.

1 Introduction

Some languages have a distinct class of logophoric pronouns that are used to refer to the 'subject of consciousness', i.e. the person whose speech, thoughts or feelings are being reported (e.g. Clements 1975; Hagège 1974; Sells 1987; Culy 1994). It has also been suggested that some languages have antilogophoric pronouns which

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cannot refer to the subject of consciousness (e.g. Culy 1997). This paper explores the role of logophoricity and antilogophoricity in the pronominal system of Finnish, in particular in contexts involving reported speech and free indirect discourse.

In Finnish, there is more than one pronominal option for referring to human third person antecedents. As illustrated in the examples below from a novel by Anni Polva, both the pronoun *se* 'it' and the gender-neutral personal pronoun *hän* 's/he' can be used. In (1a), *hän* is used to refer to the main character, Tiina, and in (1b), *se* is used to refer to the same character. In this example, and elsewhere in the paper, I translate *se* as 'it' in English, in order to distinguish it from *hän*.

(1a) **Tiina** juoksi kotiin niin nopeasti kuin jaloillaan pääsi. **Hän**$_{\text{TIINA}}$ hengitti
      puuskuttaen . . .   (Polva 2011: 7)
      '**Tiina** ran home as fast as her legs would carry her. **She**$_{\text{TIINA}}$ was out of
      breath . . . '

(1b) Sekasotkua **se**$_{\text{TIINA}}$ joka tapauksessa oli saanut aikaan, kuten tavallisesti.
                                                                                   (Polva 2011: 29)

      'In any case, **it**$_{\text{TIINA}}$ had made a mess of things, as usual.'

This variation raises the basic question of what guides the choice of one form over the other? In this paper, I consider three possible explanations: (i) a register-based account based on the different anaphoric paradigms of standard Finnish and colloquial Finnish/spoken dialects, (ii) a prominence-based account based on the claim that different referential forms refer to antecedents with different levels of prominence in the discourse and (iii) an account related to the notion of logophoricity that builds on the observation that the personal pronoun *hän* 's/he' has a special logophoric use in reported speech in spoken Finnish dialects (Setälä 1883; Kuiri 1984; Laitinen 2002, 2005, inter alia). It will become clear over the course of the discussion that although the first account is not incorrect, it is not sufficient to explain the use of *hän* and *se*. The second account, based on prominence, does not receive any support from the data. The third account is the most promising, and I use it as the foundation for my approach.

After reviewing these three possibilities, I discuss the use of *se/hän* in free indirect discourse and illustrate how (at least at first glance), the referential properties of both *hän* and *se* appear to change depending on whether we are dealing with reported speech or free indirect discourse. However, I claim that we do not need to assume that *hän* and *se* each have two different sets of referential properties. Instead, I show that we can derive the referential behavior of these forms from a single generalization as long as we take into account (i) the fact that reported speech and free indirect discourse are 'logophoric' in that they involve reporting a person's thoughts/speech but differ in the size of their logophoric domains, (ii) the fact that the default pronominal forms are different in standard Finnish and colloquial Finnish and (iii) the fact that FID, by its very nature, mimics properties of spoken language. The relevant basic generalization is that *hän* refers to the logophoric antecedent (see Setälä 1883; Kuiri 1984; Laitinen 2002, inter alia for earlier discussion). Furthermore, I show that we do not need to posit an additional

association between *se* and anti-logophoricity (contra Kaiser 2008), and that the referential behavior of *se* can be derived from the three observations above (see also Hinterwimmer and Bosch 2016 for related data on German d-pronouns, which dislike logophoric referents).

The discussion of *hän* and *se* also brings us to another referential form, the demonstrative *tämä* 'this', which can also be used for humans in Finnish. Comparing *tämä* and *se* allows us to investigate the relation between prominence/salience and logophoricity. Many researchers have found that anaphoric forms are sensitive to the prominence of their antecedents. How does this prominence sensitivity interact with logophoricity? As we will see, in contexts with multiple non-logophoric referents, prominence guides the use of *se* and *tämä*. Thus, in order to capture the referential properties of these forms, we need to consider both salience and (non/anti-)logophoricity.

In order to better understand the role of 'default forms', I also consider reference to non-human animals, which by default are referred to with *se* 'it'. What happens when a nonhuman referent is involved in FID and reported speech? In Finnish, the association between logophoricity and *hän* is able to 'overcome' the association between *hän* and human referents: *hän* – typically regarded as the human third person pronoun – can be used for animals if the animal is conceptualized as the character whose thoughts are being conveyed, even in contexts where use of *hän* cannot be attributed to personification (see Laitinen 2002).

As a whole, the data presented in this paper highlight the need for models of reference resolution that integrate different kinds of information, including prominence, (non/anti-) logophoricity, and register variation, and are in line with the form-specific, multiple-constraints approach proposed by Kaiser and Trueswell (2008).

1.1   Finnish Third-Person Pronominal Paradigm

Before we can start to explain the pronoun variation patterns in ex.(1), let us consider some background information about the pronominal paradigms of Finnish, in particular the split between standard and colloquial Finnish. Standard Finnish is the 'official' form of the language and used in formal writing (e.g. newspapers, magazines, non-fiction, textbooks, some fiction) and public/official speech (TV newscasts, speeches etc.). Standard Finnish is also the form on which dictionaries are based. However, in more informal spoken communication and casual writing, people use dialects of colloquial Finnish, which differ from standard Finnish in various aspects of their lexicon, morphology, syntax and phonology/phonetics (e.g. Karlsson 1999). There exist various regional dialects of colloquial Finnish, but as discussed below, the phenomena relevant to us here occur in the majority of dialects and thus (for ease of presentation) I group these together under the label of 'colloquial Finnish.' The vast majority of native Finnish speakers can be described

as bidialectal in that they can produce and comprehend both standard Finnish and at least one dialect of colloquial Finnish.

In standard Finnish, third-person human referents are referred to with the gender-neutral personal pronoun *hän* 's/he' (ex.1a). Non-human animals and inanimates are referred to with *se* 'it' (ex2a,b). Although I translate *se* as 'it', *se* is often regarded as somewhat of a hybrid that has properties of both anaphoric and demonstrative pronouns (e.g. Larjavaara 1990). In contrast to the proximal demonstrative *tämä* 'this' that expresses proximity to the speaker and the distal demonstrative *tuo* 'that' that expresses distance from the speaker, *se* has been analyzed as placing the referent in the addressee's sphere and being unmarked/neutral with respect to the speaker (see Laury 2005). *Se* can also occur on its own or as a prenominal modifier, in which case its meaning is similar to English 'the' or 'that', as in ex(2c) (see Laury 1997 on how *se* is becoming grammaticalized in some dialects as a kind of definite article. S*e* is also used for discourse deixis (Hakulinen and Karlsson 1989: 316).

(2a)   Kissani$_i$ nukkuu suurimman osan päivästä. Aamulla **se$_i$** kuitenkin herää aina samaan aikaan kuin minäkin.
        'My cat$_i$ sleeps most of the day. In the morning, though, **it$_i$** always wakes up at the same time as me.'

(2b)   Ostin uuden hienon kissanlelun$_i$. **Se$_i$** on täytetty kissanmintulla.
        'I bought a fancy new cat toy$_i$. **It$_i$** is filled with catnip.'

(2c)   **Se** hieno lelu oli aika kallis.
        '**The/that** fancy toy was quite expensive.'

Furthermore, even in Standard Finnish *se* can also be used to refer to humans in certain contexts, in particular in otherwise 'headless' relative clauses (ex.3). Here, *se* is not used in a typically anaphoric manner, but the fact that it can be the head of a relative clause with a human referent suggests that its features may not be entirely incompatible with human referents.

(3a)   Se voittaa, joka ensimmäisenä on purjehtinut 100 meripeninkulmaa.
                                     (adapted from Hakulinen and Karlsson 1988: 314)
        It-NOM win-3sing, who-NOM first is sailed 100 nautical-mile-PART
        'The first one to sail 100 nautical miles, wins.'

(3b)   Pekka on se, jota etsit.
        Pekka-NOM is it-NOM, who-PART look-for-2sing
        'Pekka is the one you are looking for.'   (Sulkala and Karjalainen 1992: 120)

In sum, although it might be easy to describe *se* simply as the inanimate pronoun in Standard Finnish, it is a rather multi-functional hybrid element that has properties of demonstratives, anaphors and determiners, and that can, in some constructions, have human referents.

So far we have been focusing mostly on standard Finnish. The anaphoric paradigms in dialects of colloquial Finnish are quite different. In the majority

of regional dialects, *se* is the default form for human antecedents (as well as animals and inanimates), with the exception of some south-eastern and south-western dialects (e.g., Vilppula 1989). Indeed, Kallio (1978: 65, cited by Suonperä 2012) states that the use of *se* when referring to human referents is so frequent in colloquial language, excepting only the most formal settings, that no specific proof is needed for this observation.

In sum, there is a tension between the pronominal systems of standard Finnish and colloquial Finnish: Whereas *hän* 's/he' is the default pronoun for human antecedents in standard Finnish, *se* 'it' is the default pronoun for human antecedents in colloquial dialects. Given that the vast majority of Finnish speakers are bidialectal – i.e. can produce and comprehend both Standard Finnish and at least one dialect of colloquial Finnish – this means that Finnish speakers have, in some sense, two distinct grammatical systems for reference to human antecedents. (In this paper, I focus on the singular forms *hän* 's/he' vs. *se* 'it', but it seems that the plural forms *he* (they human) vs. *ne* (they non-human) show the same patterns.) Now, armed with this background, let us return to the pronoun alternation illustrated in ex.(1).

2   A Register Difference?

Having considered the differences between standard Finnish and colloquial Finnish, let us now turn to what might, at first glance, seem like the most straightforward account for the *hän/se* alternation in (1): a register difference. As we saw above, in standard Finnish, the *hän* 's/he' is the default for humans, but in colloquial Finnish, *se* 'it' is the default:

(4)   Antti tuli eilen kotiin keskiyön jälkeen. Hän$_{standard}$/se$_{colloquial}$ nukkuu nyt.
      'Antti came home yesterday after midnight. He/it is sleeping now.'

Based on these differences, one might be tempted to describe the distribution of *hän* vs. *se* as register-driven, dependent on whether the utterance is in standard or colloquial Finnish. However, it rapidly becomes clear that a purely register-based story is insufficient. As illustrated in (5a,b), from novels by Hannu Raittila and Antti Tuuri, and (5c) from colloquial Finnish, alternating forms (for the same referent) can be used within one register.[1] (*Hiän* in (5c) is a dialectal form of *hän*.) So, though

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[1]One could try to maintain a register-based account by claiming that these kinds of examples involve register shifts in mid-sentence, such that the utterance starts out entirely in colloquial Finnish (and uses *se*) and then shifts entirely into standard Finnish for the rest of the utterance (and uses *hän*). However, such a 'full-blown' register shifting approach does not seem to be appropriate. Intuitively, there is no sense of a full register shift/formality shift here. There are also no morphological or phonological indications of register change. (In Finnish, certain sound combinations change somewhat depending on register, and thus can be used as a tool to detect register shifts.) However, it is worth emphasizing that lack of a 'full-blown' register shift does not have to preclude the possibility of referential patterns from one register being borrowed into

the forms differ in their default formality level, the use of *hän* vs. *se* cannot be satisfactorily explained by register differences alone.

(5a) **Snell**ᵢ ei käsittänyt kuinka tavarat saataisiin pois torilta proomulla. **Se**ᵢ kyseli
     oliko **hän**ᵢ ymmärtänyt oikein.   (Raittila 2003: 115)
      '**Snell**ᵢ didn't understand how the objects could be transported away from the
      square by tugboat. **It**ᵢ asked whether **she**ᵢ had understood (the plans)
      correctly.'

(5b) Sanoin, että voisimme vaihtaa paikkoja, mutta sitä **vanha mies**ᵢ ei halunnut;
     senᵢ mielestä ikkunapaikan saaminen oli kuin arpajaisvoitto, eikä **hän**ᵢ
     halunnut ottaa minulta sitä voittoa pois. . . . . **Se**ᵢ esitteli minulle kameraansa.
                                                                        (Tuuri 1993: 16).
      'I said that we could change seats, but the **old man**ᵢ didn't want that.
      According to **it**ᵢ, getting a window seat was like winning the lottery, and **he**ᵢ
      didn't want to take that away from me. . . . **It**ᵢ showed me its camera.'

(5c) **se**ᵢ sano jotta kyllä **hiän**ᵢ suapi tämän paranemmaan.   (Kuiri 1984: 120)
      '**It**ᵢ said that **he**ᵢ will indeed get this to improve.'

It is important to point out that Finnish novels differ in terms of whether they use *se* or *hän* as the default pronoun for human referents. Some of the examples we encounter from novels pattern like colloquial Finnish in the sense of having *se* as the default form for humans – for example, ex.(5c) is a spoken example from a dialect of Finnish, and shows the same pattern as in ex.(5a) from a novel where *se* being used in the matrix clause and *hän* being used in the embedded clause. Thus, in this paper, we are *not* defining register simply in terms of whether the example comes from spoken Finnish or written Finnish, since written Finnish in novels may be written in a colloquial style (and spoken Finnish could be very formal and employ the standard version of the language). Instead, for all data sources, one should independently assess what the default form is in that particular case.

3   A Prominence Difference?

Another factor that might be behind the choice of *hän* 's/he' vs. *se* 'it' is the salience/prominence of the antecedent. Perhaps one form is used to refer to the most salient referent, and the other is used for less salient referents? For example, given that *se* has some demonstrative-like qualities whereas *hän* is more clearly anaphoric, we might expect, based on hierarchies such as Ariel (1990), that *hän* would prefer more salient/prominent antecedents than *se*. In order to test this idea, we need some way of measuring salience. Prior research suggests that entities realized in subject

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another register. We return to this idea in Sect. 6 (see also Maier 2015 for related work). The key point of the Sect. 2 is simply that *register alone* does not capture the properties of the *hän/se* variation.

position are more salient than those in object position (e.g. Chafe 1976, Brennan, Friedman and Pollard 1987, inter alia), and so we might expect to see correlations between choice of *hän* vs. *se* and the antecedent's grammatical role. However, this expectation is not supported by the corpus data I have examined. Both *hän* and *se* can be used to refer to preceding subjects (e.g. ex.(1a), (5a,b)). Further, as exemplified by (6a) from Raittila (2003: 216), and (6b) from Raittila (2003: 44), both *hän* and *se* can also be used to refer to non-subjects. Based on the corpus I examined (see Sources section at the end of the paper), there doesn't seem to be any straightforward link between the grammatical role of the antecedent and choice of *hän* vs. *se*.

(6a)   Pyysin **dosenttia**$_i$ väistämään. **Se**$_i$ meni sängylle makaamaan.
       'I asked the **lecturer**$_i$ to get out of the way. **It**$_i$ lay down on the bed.

(6b)   Huomautin **dosentille**$_i$, että **hän**$_i$ oli yhtäkkiä tuonut puheeseensa kolmen henkilön nimet aivan kuin ne olisivat yhteisiä tuttujamme.
       'I told the **lecturer**$_i$ that **he**$_i$ had suddenly mentioned in his tale the names of three people as if they were our shared acquaintances.'

Additional evidence for the lack of connection between *hän* vs. *se* and the salience of the antecedent comes from a translation comparison that I conducted with Raittila's novel *Canal Grande* which has been translated into German by Stefan Moster (2006, BTB Verlag). Out of 12 randomly-chosen occurrences of *hän*, all 12 are translated into German with a personal pronoun (*er* 'he' or *sie* 'she'). Out of 33 randomly-chosen occurrences of human-referring *se*, 32 are translated into German with a personal pronoun (*er/sie*, ex(7a-b)) and one is translated with the demonstrative form *dieser* 'this one' (ex.(7c-d)). (Translations into English are by me.)

(7a)   German translation
       Der Dozent$_i$ sah mich über seine kleine Brille hinweg wie ein Vorschullehrer. **Er**$_i$ würde es schon dazu sagen, wenn er$_i$ eine Jahreszahl vor Christus meinte. Überhaupt empfahl **er**$_i$ mir, mein Gehirn etwas anzustrengen und **ihm**$_i$ zu folgen.   (Raittila, German translation, pp. 30–31)
       '**The lecturer**$_i$ looked at me over his small glasses like a primary school teacher. **He**$_i$ would let me know if he$_i$ meant a date before Christ (B.C.). **He**$_i$ recommended that in general I try to use my brain and follow what **he**$_i$ is saying.'

(7b)   Finnish original
       Dosentti$_i$ katsoi silmälasien yli kuin pikkukoulun opettaja. **Hän**$_i$ kyllä sanoo silloin, kun vuosiluku merkitsee aikaa ennen Kristusta. **Se**$_i$ käski minua muutenkin käyttämään vähän aivojani ja pysymään mukana.   (Raittila, Finnish original, p. 29)
       '**The lecturer**$_i$ looked over his glasses like a primary school teacher. **He**$_i$ will specify, when the date is Before Christ (B.C.). **It**$_i$ told me to use my brain a little, in general, and to follow along.

(7c)   German translation

Plötzlich schnautzte der Bootsführer **Heikkilä$_i$** an. Verlegen hörte **dieser$_i$** sofort auf, über die Geschichte der unsichtbaren Häuser am Kanal zu dozieren.   (Raittila, German translation, p. 10)

'Suddenly the boat captain snapped at **Heikkilä$_i$**. Embarassed, **he$_i$** immediately stopped lecturing about the history of the invisible houses on the canal.'

(7d)   Finnish original

Yhtäkkiä venekuski ärähti jotain **Heikkilälle**. Nolona **se** lakkasi selostamasta kanavanvarren näkymättömien talojen historiaa.   (Raittila, Finnish original, p. 10)

'Suddenly the boat captain grumbled something to **Heikkilä$_i$**. Embarassed, **it$_i$** immediately stopped lecturing about the history of the invisible houses on the canal.'

It has been suggested that in German, personal pronouns refer to topics and so-called d-pronouns (*der/die*) refer to non-topics (e.g. Bosch and Umbach 2006). One might also expect that non-topics could be referred to with the group of longer *diese(r/s)* demonstratives. However, we find an overwhelming preference for both Finnish forms to be translated into German with personal pronouns (100% of *hän* and 97% of *se*). Thus, there is no clear evidence that the choice between *hän* and *se* is determined by the salience/topicality of the referent.

4   Use of *hän* 's/he' in Reported Speech

The preceding sections showed that register differences between standard Finnish and colloquial Finnish do not fully capture the choice of *hän* vs. *se*, and that the use of these two forms does not appear to be conditioned by the salience/prominence of the antecedent (at least not if we probe in terms of grammatical role or by comparing pronoun patterns in Finnish and German). In this section we consider a third account, which has been discussed in prior literature on Finnish dialects, and which hinges on the observation that *hän* has a special use in reported speech in many varieties of colloquial Finnish.

In addition to using *se* as the default third person pronoun for human referents, many dialects of Finnish use *hän* in a specific, restricted contexts – namely in reported speech/thought (e.g. Setälä 1883, Kuiri 1984, Ylikahri 1996, Laitinen 2002, 2005, inter alia). Laitinen (2002) calls this a logophoric use, and I will follow her in using this term. A logophoric pronoun is one that refers to the subject of consciousness, the entity "whose speech, thought, feelings or general state of consciousness are reported" (Clements 1975: 141; term coined by Hagège 1974). Adapting a term used by Sells (1987), we can say that a logophoric pronoun refers to SELF. For Finnish, Laitinen (2002) notes that the pronoun *hän* "appears in reported

speech or thought and is coreferential with the subject of the speech act or mental verb used to introduce it" (Laitinen 2002: 327). For example, in (8a), *hän* 's/he' is used inside the reported speech context to refer to the matrix subject (realized with *se* 'it') whose speech is being reported. The same pattern can be seen in (8b,c). These examples are all from colloquial Finnish (signaled by morphological patterns and other grammatical cues).

(8a) [Context: talking about good fishing spots]
Kundi_i luulee omistavansa sen paikan, vaikka mä olin aamulla jo tuntia ennen sitä sillä paikalla. **Se_i** sano, että **hän_i** on tään paikan alun perin löytänyt. (www.jippii.fi/jsp/forum/thread.jsp?b=kalastus&t=570)
'**The guy_i** thinks he owns the place, although I was already there in the morning an hour before it. **It_i** said that **he_i** had originally found this place.'

(8b) [Context: talking about good places to use a metal detector to find jewelry]
kerroin **kouluttajalle_i**, että on tosi huonoja rantoja kun on vaan yksi kulta löytynyt ni **se_i** sano, että **hän_i** tietää yhden hyvän rannan missä käy usein rikkaita
(http://www.aarremaanalla.com/foorumi/viewtopic.php?t=6722, May 2012)
'I told **the trainer_i** that these are really bad beaches since only one gold object has been found so **it_i** said that **he_i** knows a good beach where rich people often go'

(8c) [Context: waiting to hear back about a possible job as a tractor driver]
kohta vissiin **sen miehen_i** pitäs soittaa . . . että koska meidän pitäs tavata.. sen tiiän että tänään mutta **se_i** sano että **hän_i** soittelee lähempänä viittä
(http://johndeere.suddenlaunch2.com/index.cgi?action=print&board=Traktorit&num=1044200355, March 2003)
'**the man_i** should probably call soon . . . about when we should meet . . . I know it's some time today but **it_i** said that **he_i** will call closer to five o'clock'

4.1 Types of Reported Speech/Thought Configurations

In addition to the straightforward embedding contexts seen in the preceding section, *hän* also occurs in more complex reported speech/thought contexts. For example, in (9a), *hän* is in a relative clause embedded inside the subordinate clause under the speech verb in the matrix clause. Thus, the speech verb does not need to be in the immediately higher clause. Relatedly, (9b) shows that the speech verb that embeds the clause with *hän* does not need to be the highest/matrix clause of the sentence. (These examples are from a novel by Antti Tuuri where *se* is the default pronoun for humans.) Nevertheless, in these kinds of examples, *hän* is in the scope of the speech/mental verb in a higher clause and coreferential with the subject of that speech/mental verb.

(9a)   [Context: Nick had too much to drink the night before, and a conversation
        over breakfast the following day reveals that he does not remember all the
        events of the preceding evening]

        Se_i *kysyi*, oliko eilen minun mielestäni tapahtunut jotakin, jota **hän**_i ei ollut
        rekisteröinyt muistiinsa.   (Tuuri p. 56)

        '**It**_i *asked* whether in my opinion something had happened yesterday that
        he_i had not recorded into his memory'

(9b)   [Context: A group of people, including the narrator, has just met a
        government minister in Cuba, as part of their attempts to research Ernest
        Hemingway]

        Minäkin kättelin **ministerin**_i, joka *sanoi* minua neidiksi ja pyysi soittamaan
        hänelle_i henkilökohtaisesti, jos jotakin vaikeuksia Kuubassa oleskeluni
        aikana ilmaantuisi.   (Tuuri, p. 63)

        'I also shook hands with the **minister**_i who *called* me miss and told me to
        call **him**_i directly if any difficulties arose during my time in Cuba'

Crucially, *hän* is not used in all embedded contexts. In a context with an
embedded clause that has a third person subject that is *not* coreferential with the
speaker/thinker, *hän* is not used and instead the default *se* is employed. This is shown
in ex.(9c), where the subject of the matrix sentence is the first-person narrator, but
the subject of the embedded clause is Nick, one of the characters in the novel.

(9c)   [Context: The narrator is surprised by how much Nick claims to know
        about his family.]

        Kysyin nyt, paljonko **se**_i minusta oikein tiesi ja mistä **se**_i tietonsa oli saanut
                                                                            (Tuuri, p. 24)

        'I asked now, how much **it**_i actually knew about me and how **it**_i had gotten
        its information'

Furthermore, *se* can even be used inside a logophoric domain without being
antilogophoric, as noted by Hakulinen et al. (2005). They present the examples in
(10b,c) to show that *se* can be embedded under a verb of saying (or thinking) and
can still be coreferential with the subject of saying/thinking.

(10a)   **Se**_i katsoi vettä ja siltaa ja sanoi että **se**_i yöpyy usein tässä hotellissa
        työreissulla. (Hakulinen et al. 2005, p. 1409, example from a novel using
        'se' as default)

        '**It**_i looked at the water and at the bridge and said **it**_i often stays in this hotel
        on business trips.'

(10b)   **Se**_i sano et **se**_i tykkää siit_j hirveesti (Hakulinen et al. 2005, p. 1409, from
        colloquial Finnish)

        '**It**_i said that **it**_i likes it_j an awful lot'.

This is important, because it shows that Finnish is not a 'pure' logophoric language: According to Culy (1994), many West African languages are pure logophoric languages, meaning that a regular pronoun inside a logophoric domain is antilogophoric, i.e., cannot be coreferential with the person whose thoughts/speech are being reported (Culy 1994: 1080). However, Finnish *se* is not like this, as it can still be coreferential with the speaker/thinker in examples like (10).

4.2 Probing Logophoricity with Evaluative Adjectives and Epithets

Given that *se* is not anti-logophoric and can be used under verbs of saying/thinking with a coreferential subject, one might wonder whether, in a context where *se* is the default for human antecedents, there is a difference between sentences with *se* and sentences with *hän* in the embedded clause. In other words, since we have sentences with a $se_i \ldots se_i$ configuration (ex.10) and sentences with a $se_i \ldots hän_i$ configuration (ex.8-9), is there a difference between them?

In this section, I present data which indicate that, in colloquial Finnish contexts where *se* is the default for humans, use of the more marked form *hän* in contexts of reported speech/thought carries more logophoric meaning than use of default *se*. In particular, it seems that use of *hän* suggests that the speech/thoughts of the logophoric center are more concretely reproduced (closer to the actual verbatim speech/thoughts), whereas *se* seems to allow for a greater level of abstraction. (The issues explored here relate in intriguing ways to the *de se/de re* distinction, which is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.) This idea can be illustrated with evaluative adjectives and with epithets. Example (11), with the evaluative adjective 'pretty', shows that when the embedded sentence does not match the expressive content of what was actually said/thought, *se* seems to be preferred over *hän*. Imagine a context in which the conversation in (11a) has just occurred between Laura and Tiina (example adapted from Potts' (2003) work on expressive attributive adjectives). Later, Tiina shows the blue vase to her friend Liisa and reports Laura's comment by saying (11b). In (11b), *se* is preferred, because Laura did not refer to the blue vase as being beautiful. (I use # with *hän* to indicate infelicity, but *hän* is not completely out in this context, it is simply less preferred than *se*.) A variant of the same sentence but without the evaluative adjective is fine with both *se* and *hän* (ex.11c).

(11a)   Laura: This blue ceramic vase is really ugly. The orange glass vase is much more stylish. Since I can only fit one of them on my shelf, I plan to throw away the ugly blue vase.
Tiina: But I think the blue vase is beautiful! You shouldn't throw it away.
Laura: Hey, do you want it? Here, take it, it's yours.

(11b)   Tiina: **Se_i** sano että **se_i/#hän_i** aikoo heittää tämän kauniin maljakon roskiin!
        '**It_i** said that **it_i/#she_i** plans to throw away this beautiful vase!'

(11c)   Tiina: **Se_i** sano että **se_i/hän_i** aikoo heittää tämän maljakon roskiin!
        '**It_i** said that **it_i/she_i** plans to throw away this vase!'

A similar effect occurs with epithets. Imagine a context where the conversation in (12a) has occurred between Laura and Tiina, from which we can tell that Tiina considers Mikko an idiot but Laura likes him. Later, Tiina reports part of what Laura said by saying (12b). Here, *se* seems to be preferred over *hän* because Laura did not use the epithet that Tiina employs in her report (and would in fact disagree with it). A neutral version is fine with both pronouns (ex.12c).

(12a)   Laura: Do you know Mikko Läntinen? I just moved, and now I live right
        next door to Mikko. We ran into each other and talked for a long while
        yesterday. We even made plans for a date on Saturday!
        Tiina: Oh, the tall guy who works downtown? I think Mikko's a real idiot.

(12b)   Tiina: **Se_i** sano että **se_i/#hän_i** asuu nyt sen idiootin naapurissa.
        '**It_i** said that **it_i/#she_i** now lives right next door to that idiot.'

(12c)   Tiina: **Se_i** sano että **se_i/hän_i** asuu nyt sen Mikon naapurissa.
        '**It_i** said that **it_i/she_i** now lives right next door to that Mikko.'

We also see something similar with expressions of locative deixis, as in ex.(12d). Here, the embedded clause uses the expression *tässä* ('here') which is defined relative to when the reported speech was uttered (i.e. when the person she likes said 'I am staying here', note also the use of the present tense) and not relative to the location at which the speaker/writer wrote the sentence. Indeed, it is worth noting that in the preceding clause that does not involve reported speech, the speaker/writer uses *siihen* 'there' (an illative-case-marked form of *se*), and later on uses *tässä* 'here' (an inessive-case-marked form of *tämä*, 'this') in the reported speech context. Thus, this example corroborates the idea that use of *hän* in reported speech contexts is associated with a high level of 'directness' in terms of how accurately the reported speech is conveyed.[2]

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[2]Broadly speaking, the different patterns observed with *hän* and *se* in contexts involving evaluative adjectives, epithets and locative deixis relate in interesting ways to the *de se/de re* distinction. The specifics are unfortunately beyond the scope of the present paper and offer an important avenue for future work.

(12d) [Context: a young woman is talking about how students were asked to line
       up in school and her crush wanted to stay in his position next to her instead
       of moving forward in line]

    Eli siis poikien piti mennä neljä tyttöö eteenpäin ja sit **mun ihastus$_i$** tuli
mun kohdalle ja jäi <u>siihen</u> vaikkakin sen ois pitänyt jatkaa vielä matkaa ja
se$_i$ sano, et **hän$_i$** pysyy <u>tässä</u> ja tuuppi muita poikia ohitseen. (http://this-
life-is-made-just-for-me.blogspot.com/, blog entry from Dec 2012)

    'So the boys had to move forward by four girls [i.e. stand by the girl four
girls ahead of where they were] and then **my crush$_i$** got to where I was
standing and stayed <u>there</u> even though **it** should have continued onwards
and **it$_i$** said that **he$_i$** stays <u>here</u> and pushed other boys past (him).'

In sum, in reported speech contexts in colloquial Finnish, (i) *hän* 's/he' acts
as a marker triggering a logophoric interpretation and refers to the matrix subject
(subject of the speech act or mental verb), and (ii) *se* 'it' is the unmarked pronoun.
It might be best described as nonlogophoric but not antilogophoric, given that it can
be used in embedded clauses when coreferential with the matrix subject in reported
speech contexts.

It is worth noting that, so far, we have focused on reported speech in colloquial
Finnish (including written text written in colloquial style/register), which clearly
exhibits the *hän/se* alternation. What about standard Finnish? Reported speech
in 'pure' standard Finnish does not show the *hän/se* alternation: *se* is not used
to refer to humans in reported speech, and *hän* is used in both the main clause
and the embedded clause (unlike colloquial Finnish). This can be explained
straightforwardly by the fact that *hän* is the default form in standard Finnish.

However, although we are making progress towards explaining the choice of
hän vs. *se*, this conclusion regarding reported speech contexts does not explain
the *hän/se* alternation in contexts that have no speech act/mental verb, like the
examples above in (1) (see also Saukkonen 1967, Hakulinen 1988). In (1a), *hän*
refers to one of the main characters, Tiina. In (1b), *se* is used to refer to the same
character.

5   Use of *se/hän* in Free Indirect Discourse

To understand contexts like ex.(1) where *hän* and *se* seem to alternate in the absence
of speech act or mental verbs, let us consider the notion of free indirect discourse
(FID), compared to direct speech and indirect speech/reported speech. In direct
speech, e.g. *Peter said, 'I will go home tomorrow'* the words of the speaker are
quoted directly and inside the quoted segment, the first-person pronoun refers to the
speaker. In indirect speech/reported speech, e.g. *Peter said that he would go home
tomorrow*, the speaker is referred to with a third person pronoun. In free indirect
discourse, there is no matrix clause with a verb of speaking/thinking, and instead

the text represents a character's thoughts directly. A third-person pronoun can be used to refer to the thinker: *Peter was tired of sleeping on Tim's couch. How could anyone sleep on that old thing, with a mattress as hard as a brick? He would go home tomorrow. No one was going to make him change his mind about that.*

As Saukkonen (1967) notes, in Finnish *hän* is used in FID to refer to the speaker/thinker, who I refer to as the SELF (see Sells 1987). More specifically, my corpus data show the following basic patterns: In free indirect discourse, the person whose thoughts are being represented is referred to with *hän* 's/he'. Furthermore, *se* 'it', when used, refers to the NON-SELF, i.e. a referent other than the one whose thoughts the free indirect discourse represents (see also Saukkonen 1967; Hakulinen 1988; Kaiser 2008). Intriguing related data is discussed for German d-pronouns (vs. personal pronouns) by Hinterwimmer & Bosch (2016), who note that in German, d-pronouns (*der, die*) cannot refer to the individual whose perspective is being assumed for the sentence that contains the d-pronoun: It seems that German d-pronouns resemble the behavior of Finnish *se* in FID contexts.

The referential patterns of free indirect discourse are exemplified by the following excerpt from a novel (Polva 1989: 60). This is a context where Juha has just seen his girlfriend Tiina in an ice-cream parlor with some other boys, and as he was watching them through the window, Tiina turned around and saw him watching. As indicated by the subscripts, *hän* 'he' here is used to refer to Juha, whose thoughts we are hearing, and *se* 'it' to Tiina. This passage creates a strong effect of free indirect discourse; the reader sees things from Juha's perspective. (It is important to note that the examples of free indirect discourse discussed in this paper are from contexts where *hän* is the default form for human antecedents.)

(13a)   Juha oli lähtenyt tiehensä pitkin harppauksin, mutta kun hän$_{JUHA}$ oli varma, että häntä$_{JUHA}$ ei nähty enää baarin ikkunasta, hän$_{JUHA}$ hiljensi menonsa matelemiseksi. Tiina saisi hänet$_{JUHA}$ helposti kiinni, jos se$_{TIINA}$ lähtisi heti liikkeelle, ja tottakai se$_{TIINA}$ lähtisi, siitä hän$_{JUHA}$ oli varma.
'Juha had started walking away with long steps, but when he$_{JUHA}$ was sure that he$_{JUHA}$ was no longer visible from the bar, he$_{JUHA}$ slowed his walking down to a crawl. Tiina could easily catch him$_{JUHA}$, if it$_{TIINA}$ left right away, and of course it$_{TIINA}$ would, of that he$_{JUHA}$ was sure.'

The same kind of pattern is exemplified in ex.(13b) from a novel by Joensuu (1983). In this extract, one of the characters, Mikael, is coming downstairs very quietly from his bedroom and listening to see who is at home. Mikael – the SELF, from whose perspective we see and hear things from – is referred to with *hän* 'he', and his mother with *se* 'it'. In ex.(13b), as in ex.(13a), the *hän/se* alternation is no longer constrained by the syntactic frame that was central for the reported speech uses. In FID, both *hän* and *se* can be used in a variety of syntactic contexts.

(13b) Mikael tuli portaat alas niin hiljaa kuin osasi.

   Eteisessä oli hämärää. Hän$_{MIKAEL}$ seisoi aloillaan, pidätti henkeä ja
   kuunteli.

   Äiti oli keittiössä. Se$_{MOTHER}$ silitti pyykkiä. Hajusta sen tiesi – ilmassa oli
   kiva, lämmin haju – ja siitä että äiti hyräili hiljaa.   (Joensuu 1983: 31)

   'Mikael came downstairs as quietly as possible.

   The foyer was dark. He$_{MIKAEL}$ stood still, held his breath and listened.

   Mother was in the kitchen. It$_{MOTHER}$ was ironing. One could tell from the
   smell – there was a nice, warm smell in the air – and from mother's quiet
   humming.'

If we compare ex.(13a) and (13b) to the examples of reported speech in colloquial
Finnish that we have been focusing on so far, we observe broader syntactic
environments in which the *hän/se* alternation is possible. Unlike the reported
speech examples in the preceding sections where *se* was in a matrix clause with
a speech/thought verb and *hän* was in a subordinate clause, we now observe both
se and *hän* in matrix clauses, as can be seen in (13a) and (13b). In FID, the
hän/se alternation is *not* restricted to explicit reported/speech thought configurations
involving syntactic embedding.

At this point in the paper we can also revisit examples (1a) and (1b), repeated
below. Ex.(1a) comes from the very start of the novel and does not involve FID.
Hän is used for reference back to Tiina since it is the default form in standard
Finnish. However, once we take a closer look at the context of example (1b) – added
below in the longer version (1b') – it becomes clear that this example contains free
indirect discourse from the perspective of Tiina's mother. In this example, following
an exchange where Tiina and her brother have been telling their parents about what
happened at school, the reader hears the mother's thoughts about her daughter. The
sense of Tiina being the NON-SELF is especially strong in the second and third
sentences of ex.(1b') below, where the form *se* 'it' is used to refer to Tiina.

(1a) Tiina juoksi kotiin niin nopeasti kuin jaloillaan pääsi. Hän$_{TIINA}$ hengitti
   puuskuttaen . . .   (Polva 2011: 7)

   'Tiina ran home as fast as her legs would carry her. She$_{TIINA}$ was out of
   breath . . . '

(1b') Äiti ei tiennyt mitä sanoa ja mitä oikein ajatella; oliko Tiina tehnyt jotain
   rangaistavaa, vai oliko hän$_{TIINA}$ syytön. Sekasotkua se$_{TIINA}$ joka
   tapauksessa oli saanut aikaan, kuten tavallisesti. Siellä missä Tiina oli,
   siellä tapahtui aina jotakin, vaikkei se$_{TIINA}$ olisi tehnyt muuta kuin seisonut
   hiljaa paikallaan.   (Polva 2011: 29)

   'Mother didn't know what to say or quite what to think, had Tiina done
   something wrong, or was she$_{TIINA}$ innocent. In any case, it$_{TIINA}$ had made a
   mess of things, as usual. Wherever Tiina was, something was always
   happening there, even if it$_{TIINA}$ wasn't doing anything more than standing
   still.'

However, use of *se* in free indirect discourse for the NON-SELF referent is not obligatory; *hän* can also be used (see Rouhiainen 2000). In (13c), which comes from a longer extract of the Finnish translation of "Women in Love" D.H. Lawrence that is discussed by Rouhiainen (2000: 118), we hear the thoughts of one of the protagonists, Gudrun, about her lover Gerald, and *hän* refers to the NON-SELF referent Gerald. (The larger context of this extract makes it clear that we are heading Gudrun's thoughts, that she is the SELF.) Perhaps relatedly, in the longer version of ex.(1b') given above, *hän* is also used to refer to Tiina, although it is not entirely clear whether this use occurs inside FID or not.

(13c) **Geraldin** pitäisi päästä sellaiseen asemaan, missä **hän**$_{GERALD}$ tahdonvoimallaan ja ylivertaisella käytänöllisellä älyllään voisi ratkaista nykyajan teollisuuden pulmat.   (Lawrence 1980: 541)
       '**Gerald** should achieve a position where **he**$_{GERALD}$, with his force of will and supreme practice intelligence, would be able to solve the problems of modern industry.'

These observations are in line with earlier corpus work by Rivinoja (2006), who found that out of 29 references to SELF in Finnish FID (in novels originally written in Finnish), the human pronoun *hän* was used 83% of the time and proper names were used 17% of the time. She did not find any cases of *se* being used to refer to SELF in FID. Rivinoja also analyzed 46 occurrences of reference to NON-SELF in Finnish FID and found that 11% are accomplished with *hän*, 35% with a proper name, 26% with *se*, 24% with nouns of various types and 4% with other kinds of expressions.

In sum, we see that inside FID contexts, *hän* can be used to refer to SELF (ex.13a,b) or to NON-SELF (13c) and *se* is used to refer to NON-SELF (13a) but not to SELF. The seemingly 'mysterious' alternation in examples (1a) and (1b) at the start of the paper can now be attributed to *se* being used for the NON-SELF.

As mentioned earlier, the examples of free indirect discourse discussed in this paper are from contexts where *hän* is the default form for human antecedents – i.e., from standard Finnish. When we consider the question of what happens with free indirect discourse in *colloquial* Finnish, the picture becomes more complex. As will become clear in the course of this paper, my approach predicts that in colloquial Finnish, free indirect discourse will resemble reported speech, in that inside logophoric domains, *hän* will only be used for reference to SELF. Vilppula (1989)'s discussion of dialectal corpus data seems compatible with this. However, further work is needed to test the validity of my prediction in detail. It is also worth noting that FID is presumably much less frequent in colloquial registers than in formal literature – thus, in this paper, our discussion of FID is limited to standard Finnish only.

Reported speech (colloquial Finnish)
hän => logophoric/SELF
se => nonlogophoric (unmarked)

Free indirect discourse (standard Finnish)
hän => nonlogophoric (unmarked)
se => antilogophoric/NON-SELF

Fig. 1 Referential properties of *hän* 'he/she' and se 'it'

5.1   Two Forms with Different Behaviors in Different Contexts

The data we have seen so far suggests that when *hän* and *se* are used inside reported speech contexts (Sect. 4) in colloquial Finnish, (i) *hän* is logophoric and (ii) *se* is unmarked/nonlogophoric in that it can be used to refer the person whose thoughts/speech are being reported, as well as other referents. In contrast, in free indirect discourse (Sect. 5) in standard Finnish, (i) *hän* is unmarked/nonlogophoric in that it can be used for SELF but also for other referents, but (ii) *se* is anti-logophoric in that it cannot be used to refer to SELF and picks out some other referent. This is summarized in Fig. 1.

To better understand the different uses of *hän* 's/he' and *se* 'it', let us consider an example where the interpretation of *hän* depends on whether the sentence is interpreted as reported speech or free indirect discourse. Consider ex.(14a). This could be reported speech: Imagine that Tiina's mother is talking about Tiina's travels, including one occasion where Tiina hopped on a train and thought that she hadn't paid for her ticket (when in fact a friend had paid for it). Here, *hän* in the embedded clause is coreferential with the matrix subject (14b).

(14a) **Se** luuli, että **hän** ei ollut maksanut lippuaan.
       '**It** thought that **s/he** hadn't paid for its/her/his ticket.'

(14b) Tiina's mother says:
       Se$_{TIINA}$ luuli, että **hän**$_{TIINA}$ ei ollut maksanut lippuaan.
       '**It**$_{TIINA}$ thought that **she**$_{TIINA}$ hadn't paid for her ticket.'

Now let us imagine a context where (14a) is inside a stretch of free indirect discourse, as in (14c). Imagine this context: Tiina pays for her train ticket, but sees the train starting to pull out of the station and forgets $10 worth of change on the ticket counter when she starts running towards the train. The person selling tickets calls out after her. Tiina hears someone shouting "Stop! The money!" but she is already on the train when she realizes that it was the ticket seller trying to get her attention. Just then, she sees a policeman hop into the train.

(14c) Tiina watched incredulously as the angry-looking policeman hopped onto
        the train and walked directly into the compartment where she was sitting.
        Why did this stuff always happen to her?

        . . . . **Se**_POLICEMAN_ luuli, että **hän**_TIINA_ ei ollut maksanut lippuaan.

        . . . .'**It**_POLICEMAN_ thought that **she**_TIINA_ hadn't paid for her ticket.'

Here, we are hearing Tiina's thoughts, and the pronoun *hän* in the embedded
sentence refers to her. *Se* refers to the NON-SELF, i.e. the policeman. Thus, if (14a)
is an example of reported speech (ex.14b), *se* and *hän* are coreferential, but if we
interpret the same string of words as being free indirect discourse (ex.14c), then *hän*
and *se* are disjoint.

In fact, this 'minimal pair' simply highlights a pattern we already saw earlier: We
already saw examples of *se* and *hän* coreferring in reported speech contexts in Sect.
4 (e.g. ex.(8a-c)). We already saw disjoint reference of *hän* vs. *se* in FID contexts
in examples (13a,b). (When considering these examples, it is important to keep in
mind that in FID contexts, use of *hän* to refer to SELF and *se* to refer to NON-SELF
also occurs in contexts (such as (13a,b)) that do *not* involve syntactic embedding
under verbs of speaking/thinking.) In the current section, ex.(14c) uses a case of
reported thought – embedded inside FID – to create a minimal pair with ex.(14b),
to highlight the difference in how the referential forms are interpreted. But the cases
of FID that we are interested in are not confined to cases of syntactically embedded
reported speech/though inside FID, as we already saw in ex.(13a,b).

The differences between (14b) and (14c) could be taken to imply a conclusion
where the two forms *hän* 's/he' and *se* 'it' have different referential properties when
used in FID and when used in reported speech/thought contexts without FID, as
shown in Fig. 1—but is this a desirable conclusion? In Sect. 6, I propose a more
unified approach.

6 Unifying the Referential Behavior of *hän* and *se*

In this section, I argue that we can reconcile the seemingly disparate patterns in Fig.
1 by taking into consideration (i) the size of the logophoric domain, (ii) the default
form in the register, and (iii) the fact that FID, by its very nature, mimics properties
of spoken language.

First, let us consider the size of the logophoric domain. If we compare reported
speech (14b) and free indirect discourse (14c), we can see that the logophoric
domain (the part that represents the thoughts/speech of a particular character,
marked with [. . .] below) is larger in free indirect discourse (15b) than reported
speech (15a):

(15a) Tiina's mother: "**Se**$_{\text{TIINA}}$ thought that [**hän**$_{\text{TIINA}}$ hadn't paid for her ticket]."
Tiina thinks: "**I**$_{\text{TIINA}}$ haven't paid for my ticket."

(15b) Narrator: Tiina: [**Se**$_{\text{POLICEMAN}}$ thought that **hän**$_{\text{TIINA}}$ hadn't paid for her ticket].
Tiina thinks: "**He**$_{\text{POLICEMAN}}$ thinks **I**$_{\text{TIINA}}$ haven't paid for my ticket."

In particular, in reported speech, the matrix subject (realized with *se* in ex.14b/15a) is not inside the logophoric domain, but the embedded subject (realized with *hän*) is inside the logophoric domain. However, in free indirect discourse (14c/15b), both the matrix subject (realized with *se*) and the embedded subject (realized with *hän*) are inside the domain. Before saying more about this difference, let us also think back to the register differences between colloquial and standard Finnish: In standard Finnish *hän* is the default third person pronoun, and *se* is normally only used for nonhuman referents. In colloquial Finnish, *se* can be used for human referents, and in fact is the default third person pronoun. Recall also that our discussion of FID focuses on standard Finnish, and our discussion of reported speech focuses on colloquial Finnish.

If we combine these observations about (i) the size of the logophoric domain and (ii) register defaults, we can represent the referential properties illustrated in Fig. 1 in a more unified way, as shown in Fig. 2.

This approach lets us represent the referential properties that *hän* and *se* display in reported speech in colloquial Finnish and free indirect discourse in standard Finnish, while requiring only one statement about logophoricity, namely that *hän* is associated with reference to SELF. As I will show below, we do not need to posit an association between *se* and NON-SELF, as this can be derived from independent properties of FID. (In earlier work, Kaiser 2008, I proposed a more complex approach involving two associations, one linking *hän* to SELF and the other linking *se* to NON-SELF. The current proposal does not require the second association).

Let us now consider how this approach can capture examples like (14) and (15). In a context where the default pronoun for human antecedents is *se* (i.e., colloquial Finnish, including fiction written in the colloquial register), use of *hän* inside a

Fig. 2 Referential properties of *hän* 'he/she' and se 'it'

(a) Register defaults for reference to humans
Standard Finnish: *hän*
Colloquial Finnish: *se*

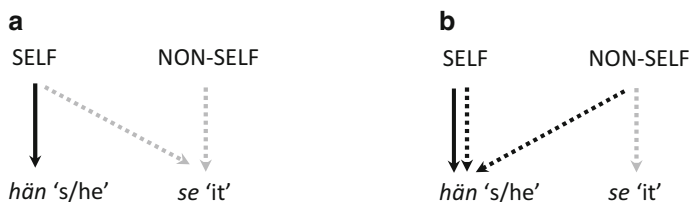(b) *hän* => logophoric/SELF

Fig. 3 Interplay of register defaults and the logophoricity of *hän*. (**a**) Colloquial Finnish, reported speech. (**b**) Standard Finnish, FID

logophoric domain is associated with reference to SELF, as in the reported speech example in (15a). The default form *se* can also be used in such contexts (precisely because it is the default form in the register), as shown by examples like (9c,10), but does not appear to carry the same perspectivizing effect, as we saw in ex.(11–12). These patterns are illustrated in part (a) of Fig. 3, where the (gray) dotted lines show the default mappings that arise because *se* is the default in the colloquial register, and the solid line represents the link between *hän* and SELF. Due to the register default, the result is that *hän* is only used when referring to SELF.

In contrast, in a context where the default pronoun for human antecedents is *hän* (i.e. standard Finnish), *hän* can be used to refer to SELF (in accordance with Fig. 2 part (b)), as we saw in FID examples like (13a). However, *hän* can also be used for reference to NON-SELF, as in examples like (13c), because it is the default form in the register. This is illustrated in part (b) of Fig. 3, with dark dotted lines. I have also included the solid line that reflects the mapping between *hän* and SELF, but since *hän* is the default in this register anyway, there are no detectable effects of the link between *hän* and SELF in Standard Finnish. (Thus, I assume the mapping between *hän* and SELF exists in both registers, simply for reasons of parallelism/simplicity, but the effects are only detectable in the colloquial register).

This bring us to the question of how to capture the fact that in FID examples like (13a), *se* is associated with reference to the NON-SELF. Nothing in Fig. 2 directly links *se* to NON-SELF, so how can we explain this? In earlier work, I argued for an explicit association between *se* and NON-SELF (Kaiser 2008), in addition to the association between *hän* and SELF. However, in this paper I claim that such an association is not necessary: The association between *se* and NON-SELF in FID contexts can be derived by combining the well-known fact that FID mimics spoken language (e.g. Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2013 and many others, see also footnote 3), with the fact that in colloquial Finnish, *se* is the default form. This is shown in part (b) of Fig. 3 with the gray dotted line. Crucially, we do not need to posit a special link between se and NON-SELF – that link 'comes for free' from the default pattern of colloquial Finnish. More concretely, consider ex.(14c) and (15b), repeated below:

(14c) Tiina watched incredulously as the angry-looking policeman hopped onto
       the train and walked directly into the compartment where she was sitting.
       Why did this stuff always happen to her?

       . . . . **Se**_{POLICEMAN} luuli, että **hän**_{TIINA} ei ollut maksanut lippuaan.

       . . . .'**It**_{POLICEMAN} thought that **she**_{TIINA} hadn't paid for her ticket.'

(15b) (i) Narrator: Tiina: [**Se**_{POLICEMAN} thought that **hän**_{TIINA} hadn't paid for her
       ticket].

       (ii) Tiina thinks: "**He**_{POLICEMAN} thinks **I**_{TIINA} haven't paid for my ticket."

Let's start with line (ii) of example (15b). Tiina's original though is that "He thinks
I haven't paid for my ticket." When this is realized as FID, the SELF-referring "I"
is realized as *hän*. The NON-SELF-referring pronoun 'he' is realized as *se*, simply
because FID mimics properties of colloquial language and *se* is the default form
in colloquial Finnish. Thus, we end up with a surface form where *hän* refers to
SELF and *se* to NON-SELF, as shown in (14c) and (15b, i). In sum, I build on the
observation that FID mimics properties of spoken language and use that to derive
the pattern that in FID contexts, *se* refers to NON-SELF.[3]

7 Adding a Third Form to the Mix: Demonstrative *tämä* 'This'

In addition to *hän* 's/he' and *se* 'it', human antecedents in Finnish can also be
referred to with the proximal demonstrative *tämä* 'this'. In this section I show
that *se* and *tämä* can both be used for reference to NON-SELF, but differ in
the salience of their antecedents: When there are multiple NON-SELF referents
present, *se* is used for the most salient one and *tämä* for less salient ones. Existing
research characterizes *tämä* (in its human anaphoric use) as referring to background
characters/nonsalient referents, which are often objects, obliques, etc. (e.g. Varteva
1998; Halmari 1994; Kaiser 2003; Kaiser and Trueswell 2008), as in (16a). *Tämä* is
also used to refer to humans in colloquial Finnish (e.g. Etelämäki 2005), but in this
section we focus on standard Finnish.

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[3]One possible avenue for formalizing this intuition about colloquial Finnish patterns persisting in
FID could be Maier's unquotation analysis (e.g. Maier 2015): If we regard FID as essentially a
type of direct speech, with SELF-referring pronouns having been 'unquoted', then NON-SELF-
referring pronouns could potentially maintain their 'colloquial properties' simply by virtue of their
origins in direct speech which would be in colloquial Finnish. Under this approach, NON-SELF
pronouns would not be unquoted.

(16a)   FIA julkaisi keskiviikkona tiedotteen, jossa se kummasteli **Ecclestonen_i**
         lausuntoa. **Tämä_i** väitti taistelleensa jo vuosia F1-sääntöjen tiukkuutta
         vastaan.   (from the newspaper Helsingin Sanomat 21.20.1999)
         'FIA published on Wednesday an announcement in which it expressed
         surprise at **Ecclestone_i**'s statement. **This_i** claimed to have been fighting for
         years against the strictness of the F-1 regulations.'

These kinds of examples do not have any logophoric flavor, and a salience-based account works well. However, a salience-based story is not sufficient for all occurrences of *tämä*. In certain contexts, *tämä* is used to refer to a preceding subject or an otherwise salient referent. More specifically, this kind of use is possible in antilogophoric, FID-type contexts (see Varteva 1998). E.g., in (16b), the woman referred to with *tämä* is described from the miller's perspective; the miller is SELF. Similarly, in (16c), Tina is described from Antti's perspective; Antti is SELF.

(16b)   [Context: The miller hears someone call his name and turns to look:]
         Mylläri kääntyi äänen suuntaan. Kaunis **nainen** seisoi sillalla. **Tämä** oli
         riisunut huivinsa ja heilutti sitä kiehtovasti.
         'The miller turned towards the direction of the sound. A beautiful **woman**
         stood on the bridge. **This** had taken off her scarf and waved it in a
         captivating fashion.'   (Paasilinna 1998: 19)

(16c)   [Context: Antti and Tina are sitting in a restaurant, having dinner. But
         Antti can't relax; he feels there is something wrong with Tina.]
         Tinan pirteydessä oli jotain pakotettua. **Tämä** yritti peittää jotakin
         hurmaavuudellaan, mutta silmissä oli oudon surumielinen katse.
         'There was something forced about **Tina's** cheerfulness. **This** was trying
         to hide something by being so charming, but her eyes looked strangely
         melancholy.'   (Remes 2001: 21)

7.1   What Is the Relation Between tämä 'This' and se 'It'?

The use of *tämä* for NON-SELF referents in standard Finnish perspectivizing contexts, as illustrated above, brings up the question of how *tämä* and *se* relate to each other. Are they simply two functionally equivalent ways of referring to NON-SELF referents? If we follow the approach that ranks referential expressions on a salience/accessibility scale (e.g. Ariel 1990, Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski 1993), we predict that *se* 'it' will refer to more salient entities than *tämä* 'this', since pronouns are predicted to refer to more salient entities than (anaphoric) demonstratives.

To test this, consider the examples below, which have two NON-SELF referents. These are FID-type contexts, in that we are presented with the thoughts of a character in a narrative, in this case a woman called Tiina. Imagine a situation

like the train-ticket scenario in (14), except that now, instead of seeing an angry policeman hop into the train, Tiina sees an old lady on the train eyeing her curiously, and then the old woman gets up and goes to speak to a policeman who is already sitting on the train. Now, consider (17a). Here, in the free indirect discourse, Tiina is the SELF, and there are two NON-SELF referents: the old lady and the policeman. Assuming that subjects are more salient than objects/obliques (e.g. Chafe 1976, Brennan, Friedman and Pollard 1987), in (17a), *the policeman (subject) is, crucially, more salient than the old lady (object possessor)*. Let us now consider two possible continuation sentences, shown in (17b) and (17c). The subsequent sentence (17b) contains both *se* and *tämä*, and verb semantics make it clear that *tämä* (in subject position) refers to the old lady, *se* (in oblique object position) to the policeman, and *hän* to Tiina. Ex.(17c) has the same verbs but now *se* is in subject position and *tämä* is the oblique argument:

(17a)   Tiina katseli ihmeissään, kun poliisi kuunteli vanhan rouvan kiihkeää selitystä.
   'Tiina looked on, surprised, as the policeman listened to the old lady's impassioned explanation.'

(17b)   **Tämä** ilmeisesti selitti **sille**, että hän matkusti pummilla.
   '**This** was apparently explaining to **it** that she(Tiina) was traveling without paying.'

(17c)   # **Se** ilmeisesti selitti **tälle**, että hän matkusti pummilla.
   '**It** was apparently explaining to **this** that she(Tiina) was traveling without paying.'

Crucially, while (17b) is judged to be fine, (17c) is infelicitous. In other words, the referential mapping that is felicitous is the one where *tämä* refers to the old lady (the genitive of the object in the preceding sentence), and *se* refers to the policeman (the preceding subject). This suggests that *se* is used to refer to more salient NON-SELF referents than *tämä*.

When the grammatical roles of the policeman and the woman are reversed, as in (18a), so that the policeman is less salient, the interpretation of *tämä* and *se* is also correspondingly reversed. A subsequent sentence where *tämä* refers to the old lady, *se* to the policeman, and *hän* to Tiina, which was judged to be felicitous in (17b), is now infelicitous (18b). In contrast, a sentence where *tämä* refers to the policeman, *se* to the old lady, and *hän* to Tiina, is now felicitous (18c). So, the referential mapping judged to be felicitous is one where *tämä* refers to the policeman (the object in the preceding sentence), and *se* refers to the old lady (the subject of the preceding sentence). This supports the observation that in contexts with multiple NON-SELF referents, the referential labor between *tämä* and *se* is divided based on salience, with *se* referring to more salient entities than *tämä*.

(18a)   Tiina katseli ihmeissään, kun vanha rouva selitti jotain kiihkeästi poliisille.
   'Tiina looked on, surprised, as the old lady explained something excitedly to the policeman.'

(18b)   # **Tämä** ilmeisesti selitti **sille**, että hän matkusti pummilla.
         '**This** was apparently explaining to **it** that she(Tiina) was traveling without
         paying.'

(18c)   **Se** ilmeisesti selitti **tälle**, että hän matkusti pummilla.
         '**It** was apparently explaining to **this** that she(Tiina) was traveling without
         paying.'

These data show that in logophoric contexts—just like in nonlogophoric contexts—
referent prominence has an effect on how the NON-SELF referents are referred to.
The prominence difference (*se* > *tämä*) is revealed in the presence of multiple NON-
SELF referents. These patterns are compatible with the approach outlined in Figs.
2 and 3, because *tämä* is not the default/unmarked third person anaphoric form in
either standard or colloquial Finnish. Thus, its use would not 'override' the register-
related defaults or the association that *hän* has with logophoricity.

8 Non-human Animates: When the Default Pronoun Is Different Due to [-Human] Feature

So far we have focused on situations where the pronouns *hän* 's/he' and *se* 'it'
refer to humans in reported speech contexts and FID contexts. However, there are
also situations where the relevant referent is a non-human animal, for example in
children's stories. These contexts differ from the human contexts in one critical and
very relevant dimension: In these contexts, *se* is the default pronoun for the referent
in both standard Finnish and colloquial Finnish, simply because *se* is the basic non-
human pronoun, like English 'it' – i.e., *se* is the default not due to register-related
factors but due to a featural property of the referent. By looking at cases where the
identity of the default form is due to something other than register, we can get a
better understanding of how the *general* notion of 'default form' contributes to the
interpretation of *hän* and *se.*

   It is worth noting right away that, as in English, the traditional "*se* = non-
human/*hän* = human" mapping can be violated when animals are personified. This
is can be easily observed in fiction written in standard Finnish. For example, in the
Finnish translation of Paddington Bear by Michael Bond (2015), the pronoun *se* is
initially used when Paddington is first found by Mr. and Mrs. Brown (ex.19a), but as
soon as they give him a name, the Finnish translation switches to the pronoun *hän*
(ex.19b). After this point, *hän* becomes the default pronoun for Paddington.

(19a)   [Context: Mrs. Brown takes her first close look at the still-unnamed bear]
         Hän tirkisteli karhua tarkemmin. **Se** ei ollut mikään tavallinen karhu. **Se** oli
         ruskea – varsin likaisenruskea – ja **sillä** oli hyvin merkillinen, leveälierinen
         hattu juuri niin kuin herra Brown oli sanonut.   (Bond, 4/67)
         'She observed the bear more closely. **It** was not a regular bear. **It** was
         brown – rather dirty brown – and **it** had a very odd, broad-rimmed hat just
         like Mr. Brown had said.'

(19b)   [Context: Right after Mr. and Mrs. Brown have decided to name the bear
         Paddington, after the station where he was found]
         Paddington nuoli huuliaan. – Minulla on hirveä jano, **hän** sanoi. (Bond,
         7/67)
         'Paddington licked his lips. "I'm *very* thirsty," **he** said.'
                                                (Bond 1958/2003, English original, ch. 1)

However, the kinds of contexts we are interested in are stories written in Standard
Finnish where humans are by default referred to with *hän* 's/he' and, crucially,
animals are by default referred to with *se* 'it'. We want to see what happens in these
contexts if and when a nonhuman referent is involved in FID and reported speech.
Will we see patterns similar to FID and reported speech in colloquial Finnish, with
se being the default and *hän* being used in logophoric contexts? Or will the non-
humanness of the referent block use of the human pronoun *hän*?

8.1   Use of hän with Non-human Animates

In reported speech/thought contexts, as Laitinen (2002) notes, *hän* can be used
for animals, (ex.20). Laitinen emphasizes that this is "not a case of secondary
personification" and states that the "referent of the logophoric pronoun (. . .) *hän*
can be any being whose behavior the speaker is able to understand" (Laitinen 2002:
333). The observation that *hän* can be used to refer to SELF even when SELF is
non-human challenges the view that *hän* is associated with [+human] referents (or
humanized/personified referents).

(20)   Mut koera jos ottaa ni se tietää että mihinkä **hän** viep (example from
        Laitinen 2002; colloquial Finnish)
        'But if the dog takes (something), it knows where **s/he** takes (it)'

Similar to what we see in reported speech/though contexts, corpus data show
that *hän* can be used in FID contexts to refer to the logophoric SELF, even if it is an
animal. The examples I discuss here are from a young adult novel called "Bernie ja
Tiina" (Kukkanen, 2014). The novel is written in standard Finnish, and the default
pronoun for humans is *hän* and the default for animals is *se*. The story is about a
dog, Bernie, that is sent down from "dog heaven" to help a young girl convince
her parents that she should be allowed to get a dog. Crucially for our purposes, the

default pronoun for animals in this novel is *se*. Ex.(21a) shows that even in contexts where Bernie is personified and engaging in mental activities (e.g. thinking and planning an upcoming speech), the nonhuman pronoun *se* is used:

(21a)   **Bernie_i** meni suihkuhuoneeseen ja väänsi veden täysillä valumaan. Mielessään **se_i** jo suunnitteli puhettaan koko koirayleisön edessä. **Se_i** mietti myös millainen tarinan loppu voisi olla . . .   (Kukkanen, p. 50)
        '**Bernie_i** went into the shower room and turned the water on full. Mentally, **it_i** was already planning its speech in from of the whole dog community. **It_i** also wondered about how everything would turn out . . . '

Although *se* is the default for referring to Bernie (and other dogs), there are numerous examples of *hän* being used for Bernie inside FID contexts, as in (21b,c) below. However, the default *se* is also used in FID, as in ex.(21d):

(21b)   [Context: Tiina's mother had commented on the odd size relation between Bernie, who is very big, and the size of his dog food bag, which is rather small]
        Taas **Bernietä_i** ihmetytti. Mitä suhdetta siihen tarvittiin? Ei muuta kuin ruoka kuppiin, niin kyllä **hän_i** sille suhteita osoittaisi. Suorinta tietä vatsaan ja sillä hyvä   (Kukkanen, p. 23)
        '**Bernie_i** was confused again. What kind of relation did that need? Just put the food in the cup, and **he_i** would show it the right kind of relation. Straight to the stomach and that's it.'

(21c)   [Context: Bernie has been locked into the kitchen to sleep at night]
        Huokaisten **Bernie_i** istahti miettimään. Ei ollut ollenkaan mukavaa nukkua yksin keittiössä. Mikä kyökkipiika **hän_i** muka oli?! Iso ja komea berninpaimenkoira poika . . .   (Kukkanen, p. 35)
        'With a sigh, **Bernie_i** sat down to think. It was no fun to sleep alone in the kitchen. What kind of scullery maid was **he_i**? A big and handsome Bernese mountain dog . . . '

(21d)   [Context: Tiina's father and brother find an announcement for a dog that went missing in Lahti, and think that maybe Bernie is that missing dog]
        Berniekin_i ihmetteli. Miten ihmeessä **se_i** olisi voinut kadota Lahdessa perjantaina, kun **se_i** oli poistunut vasta sunnuntaina Koirien Taivaasta?   (Kukkanen, p. 40)
        '**Bernie_i** was surprised too. How on earth could **it_i** have disappeared in Lahti on Friday, when **it_i** had only left the Dogs' Heaven on Sunday?

In sum, these FID examples are in line with Laitinen's (2002) observations from colloquial Finnish, and show that *hän* can be used logophorically for non-human referents also in standard Finnish.[4] Nevertheless, the fact that *se* is also used in

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[4]In addition to being used to refer to SELF in FID and reported thought contexts, it seems that *hän* can also be used for non-human animals in other contexts, at least by some authors. E.g., a

Fig. 4 Interplay of the
logophoricity of *hän* and the
use of *se* for non-human
referents

SELF   NON-SELF

hän 's/he'   *se* 'it'
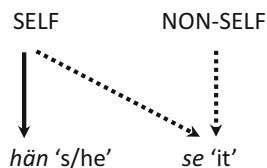
FID contexts (ex.21d) shows that it is still the default form for non-human animals. So, we have seen that with non-human referents, *se* – which is the default – can be used in non-logophoric as well as in logophoric contexts, but the non-default human pronoun *hän* is only used when referring to SELF, in FID or reported speech contexts. These patterns are illustrated in Fig. 4: The dotted lines show that the default (not due to register, but features of the referent) here is *se*, since we are talking about reference to animals. As before, the solid line illustrates the association between *hän* and SELF, in the same way as in the preceding diagrams. Crucially, the SELF usage of *hän* cannot be attributed to personification, since contexts that involve personification without FID or that are not in the scope of reported speech/thought do not involve use of *hän* (ex.21a).

Put together, the evidence from animal referents provides strong evidence that *hän* is associated with a logophoric/SELF interpretation, as posited in Figs. 2 and 3. One might thus speculate that perhaps *hän* is not associated with [+human] at all but *only* with [+SELF], as this would explain why it can be used to refer to human and non-human SELF referents. However, this cannot be the case, since other evidence shows that *hän* is indeed the default form for human referents in standard Finnish even when they are NON-SELF (ex.13c). Instead, it seems that *hän* is associated with both a [+human] feature and a SELF feature, and that the SELF feature is higher ranked/more influential than the [+human] feature: A [-human] SELF referent can be referred to with *hän* thanks to its SELF status.

9   Conclusions

This paper explores the use of different referential forms in Finnish, where humans can be referred to with three different anaphoric forms, *hän* 'she/he', *se* 'it' and *tämä* 'this'. We took as our starting point the question of what guides the use of *hän* vs. *se*. Even though it may at first glance look like *hän* and *se* change their referential properties depending on whether we are dealing with reported speech or free indirect speech, I argue that the *hän/se* variation can be derived from a basic

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children's book by Elina Karjalainen ("Uppo-Nalle ja Setä Tonton") mostly uses *se* when talking about the main characters – teddy bears and other animals – and uses *hän* only very rarely. Based on my analyses so far, Karjalainen's uses of *hän* for animals, however, do not refer to SELF, but are nevertheless related to perspective-taking. This merits further research.

generalization, as long as we take into account (i) the size of the logophoric domain and (ii) the different defaults of standard Finnish and colloquial Finnish. The basic generalization is that *hän* refers to a SELF antecedent (see also Setälä 1883; Kuiri 1984; Laitinen 2002, 2005, inter alia). Furthermore, I show that we do not need to posit an additional association between *se* and NON-SELF (contra Kaiser 2008), because the referential behavior of *se* can be derived from the size of the logophoric domain and the register defaults, as long as we keep in mind the basic observation that free indirect discourse mimics properties of spoken language (i.e., the colloquial register).

I also investigate the relation of *se* to another NON-SELF form, the demonstrative *tämä* 'this', which can also be used anaphorically for human antecedents in Finnish. I conclude that in the presence of multiple NON-SELF referents, the division of labor between *tämä* and *se* depends on the prominence of the antecedent, with *tämä* being used for less prominent antecedents. Thus, to capture the referential properties of the three forms investigated in this paper, we need to consider (i) logophoricity (whether the antecedent is SELF or not), (ii) what the register defaults are, and (iii) how prominent/salient the antecedent is. These findings are in line with the form-specific, multiple-constraints approach proposed by Kaiser and Trueswell (2008), according to which different referring expressions can differ in how sensitive they are to varying kinds of information.

Furthermore, the data regarding reference to non-human animals shows that the association between logophoricity and *hän* is able to 'override' the association between *hän* and human referents: *hän* – typically regarded as the human third person pronoun – can be used for animals, even in the absence of personification, if the animal is conceptualized as the character whose thoughts we are being presented with (SELF). This suggests that in addition to taking into account multiple types of information as mentioned above, the system also needs to be able to reflect the relative ranking/weighting of different kinds of information (e.g., being SELF matters more than being (non)human).

Taken as a whole, the data presented here suggest that the referential properties of different anaphoric forms cannot be reduced to a single factor. Our model of anaphora resolution must be flexible enough to incorporate different kinds of information, including prominence, (non)logophoricity, and register variation.

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