

Editorial

The editors are pleased to welcome you to the fifth volume of FULL, an open-access international journal that is meant to provide a platform for linguistic research on modern and older Finno-Ugric or other Uralic languages and dialects. FULL publishes comparative research, as well as research on single languages; with comparison of just Uralic languages or comparison across family lines; soliciting both formal linguistic accounts and empirically oriented contributions.

Issue 1 of the present volume is comprised by a selection of papers from a workshop on the Syntactic Structure of Uralic Languages, organized as part of the 12th International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies (17–21 August 2015, Oulu, Finland). The theme of this special issue is the morphosyntax of agreement and case, with a special focus on Finnish and Estonian.

The first article in the collection, ‘Unifying subject agreement across clause types in Estonian’ by Mark Norris, looks at the realization of agreement in negated and non-negated indicative and imperative clauses in Estonian. Arguing in favour of a unified syntax for agreement across these different clause types, centering around a single functional head element in clause structure, Norris provides support for a general theory of agreement according to which morphological agreement and the syntactic Agree(ment) relation do not track each other directly. From a typological perspective, a repercussion of the paper is that the syntax of agreement in Estonian need not be radically different from its neighbours.

The article by Phil Crone, titled ‘Finnish first conjunct agreement and the direction of Agree’, also addresses the syntax of agreement, this time, based on data from Finnish, in particular, Finnish first conjunct agreement. In first conjunct agreement, a cross-linguistically widely attested agreement pattern, some agreement-bearing element stands in agreement with the first conjunct of a coordinated nominal expression, rather than with the full conjoined nominal phrase. Showing that none of the previous analyses are able to adequately explain the Finnish data, a new analysis is proposed, which is crucially based on the notion that the syntactic Agree(ment) process operates not only “downward” within constituent structure, as traditionally assumed, but also “upward.” In addition to bearing on general theoretical questions related to the directionality and timing of syntactic Agree(ment), Crone’s paper demonstrates that an analysis drawing on bidirectional Agree(ment) is a promising candidate for the explanation of first conjunct agreement cross-linguistically.

Saara Huhmarniemi and Merilin Miljan’s article titled ‘The partitive split in Finnish and Estonian’ is a study of discontinuous noun phrases in Finnish and Estonian. Both languages have several types of constructions in which a noun is separated from the modifying quantifier or numeral. The paper focuses on what is referred to as the partitive split, a construction in which the nominal appears in partitive case, and the two parts of the split nominal phrase exhibit morphological mismatch. It is proposed that partitive split is derived by a syntactic displacement of a subpart of what is originally a single nominal phrase. Unearthing intricate differences between Finnish and Estonian, the authors consider two alternative syntactic derivations. The first analysis is based on a classifier head which facilitates the selectional requirements of the quantifier/numeral

and which directly accounts for the apparent morphological mismatch. This analysis is shown to be preferable for the Finnish data, but it is only partly supported in Estonian. For Estonian a second analysis is contemplated, based on morphological repair.

Issue 1 of Vol. 5 concludes with a report by Tommi A. Pirinen, Eszter Simon, Francis M. Tyers, and Veronika Vincze on the Second International Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Uralic Languages (SIWCLUL), held in Szeged in January earlier this year. The aims of the SIWCLUL conference series, meeting with the general goals of FULL, include increased co-operation between the researchers, universities and research centres working on Uralic languages. As the One of the specific objectives is to avoid unnecessary duplicated work in the field of Uralistics by establishing connections and interoperability standards between researchers and research groups working at different sites. This year the conference also marked a start of an Association for Computational Linguistics' Special Interest Group for Uralic Languages (ACL SIGUR).

We take this opportunity to thank the anonymous reviewers who generously lent their time and expertise to FULL.

Our publications can be freely accessed and downloaded without any need for prior registration. At the same time, those who register, or have already registered, are provided with the benefit of getting notified of new issues, calls, etc. via the occasional email.

FULL welcomes manuscripts from all the main branches of linguistics, including phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, employing a diachronic or synchronic perspective, as well as from first language acquisition and psycholinguistics. Whatever the theoretical or empirical orientation of the contributions may be, our leading principle is to maintain the highest international standards.

The Editors