ABSTRACTS SUBMITTED FOR "URALIC SYNTAX"/CUP; INCLUDED THE ONES THAT WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE "URALIC SYNTAX DAYS", MAY 19-20, 2016, BUDAPEST (presentations or informal discussion)

[STARTING WITH THE DESCRIPTION OF INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGES, FOLLOWED BY GENERAL SYNTAX]

The Syntax of Estonian

[An author or a group of authors from the Scientific Exchange Project on Hungarian and Estonian Syntax, financed by the Hungarian and the Estonian Academies of Science, 2016-2019]

The chapter presents the data on the syntax of Estonian, following the Syntax Questionnaire. It discusses current and earlier theoretical proposals related to the phenomena covered by the questionnaire. The chapter introduces occasional data from dialects (some dialects are mutually unintelligible in Estonia, with considerably diverging word order and inflectional features) and language history in questions such as case, grammatical roles, non-finites, and valence-changing operations. It also provides links to relevant sources that deal with Estonian syntax (e.g. earlier work of the Generative Grammar Group at the University of Tartu, the rich databases and the corpora of the related languages in Tallinn and Tartu).

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The Syntax of Mari

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Mari belongs to the Volgaic branch of Uralic, along with Mordva. It is spoken in Russia by a minority of the inhabitants of Mari El (about 291,000 speakers), as well as by large diaspora in Bashkortostan (103,000) and Tatarstan (18,800) republics, and distributed unevenly all over Russia. Mari is a vulnerable language, with most children speaking it as a native language but restricted to certain domains (predominantly home). Its main dialects, Meadow and Hill are mutually intelligible. Most speakers are bilingual Mari and Russian speakers (76.8%).

The chapter on Mari will follow the Syntax Questionnaire. One of the authors is a native speaker of Mari and her grammaticality judgments on the language will be used. In addition, a

published reference grammar on the language by Riese et al (2012) (*Oŋaj marij jylme: A Comprehensive Introduction to the Mari Language*) will be consulted for various alternative usages and terminology. A speaker of the variant of Mari spoken in the Mari El region will also be consulted to see if the two variants differ in terms of their morphology and syntax.

For the second half of the chapter, the authors will provide an overview of certain features of the the tense/mood system in Mari. The tense system encodes a past-nonpast contrast, but the two past tense paradigms also encode features for perfect and progressive aspect, evidentiality (i.e. whether the speaker has witnessed the event being reported) and to some extent temporal proximity (near vs. remote past). Mari marks morphologically three moods, indicative, imperative and desiderative, which may also be hosted by the negative verbal auxiliary.

The first author, Dr Diane Nelson, has a PhD in linguistics from the University of Edinburgh. She is the author of *Grammatical Case Assignment in Finnish* (Garland, 1998) and the co-editor of *Generative Approaches to Finnic and Saami Linguistics* with Satu Manninen (CSLI, 2003) and *Saami Linguistics* with Ida Toivonen (John Benjamins, 2007). The second author, E. Vedernikova, has a degree from Mari University (Mari El, Russia), where she studied linguistics and the Mari literary language of the 1920-30s with a concentration on lexicology and syntax. Being a native speaker of Meadow Mari dialect, she taught the language at the University of Tartu in 2014-2015. From 2012 to 2015 she has given several guest lectures on the Mari language at Western Washington University (2012); Indiana University Bloomington (2012); Institut national des langues et civilations orientales (2015); and University of Tartu (2015).

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The Syntax of Erzya
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The Erzya and Moksha languages belong to the Mordvin group of the Uralic language family. The two languages are mutually unintelligible. They are spoken by a minority (744 237 people) of the inhabitants of the Russian Federation. There are no reliable data about either the proportion of Erzyas and Mokshas in this number, or the number of Erzyas and Mokshas living

outside of Russia. In the Republic of Mordovia situated in the Middle-Volga region of Russia, the Erzyas and Mokshas constitute a third (333,112 people) of the population of the republic. The Mordvin population lives dispersed over a vast territory; Erzya and Moksha are endangered languages, with considerably fewer native speakers now than 50 years ago. The overwhelming majority of the Mordvin population are bilingual Erzya (or Moksha) and Russian speakers.

There are very few modern descriptions of the Erzya. Since the Erzyan population has become bilingual, the syntax of Erzya has undergone considerable changes, but it still displays many characteristics shared by the majority of Uralic languages: elaborate systems of case marking and many conjugation forms, head final structures, and free word order. In addition, Erzya has cliticized forms of nominal predication (cp. *od lomańan* 'a young person I am'), definite conjugation of transitive verbs and case paradigms that express indefiniteness/ definiteness and possessivity; Erzya is interesting in its lack of explicit equivalents for "yes" and its versatile types of negation.

The first part of the chapter provides the answers for the Syntax Questionnaire the Morphology Template. The second half of the chapter discusses the existential verb *uĺems* ´to be'.The complex array of forms and uses of the Erzyan verb *uĺems* has not yet been described in a systemic way. Information concerning this multifunctional verb is split among descriptions of different parts of Erzyan grammar, due to which the integrity of structure and uses fails to be captured. The present paper focuses on the stand-alone and cliticized forms of *uĺems* that constitute the base of verbal and nominal predication in Erzya. Alongside perfect regularity in the formation of certain forms (*uĺan*, *-t*, *-i*, *-ťano*, *-ťado, -iť*), there is differentiation in the use (for example, of the forms denoting actions referred to present vs future). Attention is paid to questions concerning the cliticized forms that are not transparent and to the forms underlying nominal predication. In the analysis, differences between affirmative and negative predication are considered to attain a broader view of the morphosyntactic properties of the verb. In the analysis, the inventory of non-finite forms, among which are relatively new classes of words, is also included. The treatment of dialect variability and historical changes is beyond the scope of this description, although some relevant commentaries are added. This work is an attempt to describe the functions of the forms of *uĺems* in their entirety, which will be useful for a more precise categorization of the morphosyntactic means of Erzya.

Niina Aasmäe is a native speaker of Erzya specialized on the Erzya language (PhD, University of Tartu). During the last 15 years, she taught the Erzya language at the Department of Finno-Ugric languages of the University of Tartu. Her essential course of the Erzya language is recently published in three editions (in Estonian, English, and Russian). Morphology and syntax of Erzya are the main focus of this work, but in addition, Niina Aasmäe is also an author and coauthor (with Ilse Lehiste et al.) of three monographs on the prosody of Erzya and of Moksha. She has written numerous articles on the acoustic features of these two Mordvin languages. Her most recent publication, coauthored by the Finnish linguist Arja Hamari, is on negation in Erzya (Benjamins).

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The Syntax of Udmurt

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The modern Udmurt language is spoken by a minority people who have settled in the region between Kama and Volga rivers of the Russian Federation. Until the end of the 90s the intergenerational language transmission was relatively robust. However, the last 20 years have witnessed a rapid decrease of intergenerational language transmission. The spoken language is represented by dialects and has great morphological and lexical variation. Since almost all the

speakers are Udmurt-Russian bilinguals, intensive direct borrowings from Russian, code-switching, and code-mixing are typical of the spoken language. The standard Udmurt language is a creation of purist language planners, and it thrives mostly as a written and official language. Udmurt shares many similar linguistic features with its closest relative, the Komi language; for instance, it has a similar case system. However, Udmurt has specific categories that do not exist in Komi; some of them have emerged under the influence of the contact with Turkic languages.

The present chapter follows the Syntax Questionnaire. Most of the material is based on the standard language, and it includes examples from newspapers, magazines, novels, TV and radio broadcasts, etc. Examples from dialects are also given in cases of significant variation. Linguistic judgments are made by Svetlana Edygarova and Yulia Speshilova who are native speakers of Udmurt, representing the Middle and Northern dialects. Both have graduated from the Faculty of Udmurt Philology of the Udmurt State University, and are proficient in standard language. Furthermore, the article uses previous research on Udmurt syntax.

We will argue that the modern Udmurt language has two competing grammars in terms of word order, as seen both in the original SOV order and the more recent (Russian-influenced) SVO order. Similarly, complementizers in subordinate clauses occur in two positions, at the beginning or at the end of the clause. The original complementizers are mainly head-final in the language, but we can easily find new, head-initial complementizers borrowed from Russian. As an intermediate step of the from head-final to head-initial change in today's Udmurt the two complementizers, the original and the borrowed one can appear together in the same clause. Non-finite subordination (with ten different non-finite forms) is still preferred among the native speakers of Udmurt.

Yulia Speshilova finished her MA studies on Udmurt and Hungarian languages at the Udmurt State University, Izhevsk. In her doctoral dissertation on sociolinguistics, she investigates language variation in Modern Udmurt at the Eötvös Loránd University. She is currently writing up her doctoral thesis.

Orsolya Tánczos has finished her doctoral studies at the Peter Pázmány Catholic University, Budapest. Her subject of her thesis is causative constructions in Udmurt. Her research interests include syntax, Information Structure, language change, and subordination in Udmurt. She is Junior Research Fellow at the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest.

Svetlana Edygarova has studied morphosyntax of Modern Udmurt at the University of Tartu, and in 2010 she completed her doctoral thesis on the possessive construction in Udmurt. The present article is partly based on the material in her dissertation. In addition, her research on Udmurt negation is published in the volume *Negation in Uralic Languages* (Edygarova 2015). Edygarova is currently a post-doc researcher at the University of Helsinki, conducting research on morphosyntactic variation in the Permic languages.

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The Syntax of Mansi

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The Mansi (Vogul) language is one of the three Ugric languages. With Khanty and Hungarian it constitutes the Ugric branch, and with Khanty the Ob-Ugric sub-branch. It has four main dialects, but only one, the Northern one, is currently spoken. It is spoken in Western Siberia, in a few villages by the Lower Ob and its western tributaries, the Sosva and Sygva rivers in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug (or District), as well as by the Lozva river in the Ivdel Area of the Sverdlovsk Region. According to the 2010 Russian census, 12,269 people considered themselves to be ethnically Mansi, but out of them 938 declared using the Mansi language.

The first half of the chapter on the Mansi language will follow the Syntax Questionnaire. The sources of the linguistic data to be used in the chapter are based on examples from written sources of Mansi (folklore texts, literary texts and newspaper texts) and on grammars and studies on the Mansi language. A speaker of the Sosva Mansi dialect will also be consulted via internet and possibly personally, too. The native speaker, like the Mansi speakers generally, uses dominantly Russian in her every day communication. She uses Mansi in family environment or with her friends and, partially, in her work.

For the second half of the chapter, the authors plan to discuss the features of object agreement. Mansi language proves to be more interesting than many other Uralic languages in this respect. First, it has both subject and object agreement in their verbal paradigm, a feature not represented in all Uralic languages. Furthermore, differential object agreement and differential object marking can also be observed in the Mansi language. The topical object triggers object agreement on the verb. In ditransitive clauses there is an alternation of indirective and secundative alignment. Both the Patient and the Recipient can appear in the position of the syntactic object. A further feature to be discussed will be the causative constructions of Mansi. It has a well elaborated causative system with double causativity distinguishing a curative meaning, as well.

The two authors have published numerous articles on several aspects of the Mansi language. They have contributed works on various syntactic aspects of Mansi, such as verbal modes, transitivity, ditransitivity, negation (Bakró-Nagy 2006, Sipőcz 2009, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015). The authors maintain continuous contacts with Mansi speakers.

Marianne Bakró-Nagy is the head of the Department for Finno-Ugric and Historical Linguistics at the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her research deals with the history, phonology and structure of highly endangered Finno-Ugric languages in Siberia, especially with regard to Mansi and Khanty. She is the author or editor of

works on the history of unwritten and undocumented languages. She has been the head of the Finno-Ugric Department at the University of Szeged, where she currently teaches Finno-Ugric and historical linguistics. She has recently finished an ESF project on the better analysis and documentation of Ob-Ugric languages and an FP7 project "Innovative Networking in Infrastructure for Endangered Languages".

Katalin Sipőcz is the head of the Finno-Ugric Department at the University of Szeged, where she teaches Finno-Ugric linguistics. She has participated in several projects focusing on Ob-Ugric languages and conducted fieldwork in Western Siberia among Mansi speakers. Her research deals with the Mansi syntax and lexicon. She wrote a monograph on Mansi color terms, and her PhD thesis was on the names for body parts in the Uralic languages, with special focus on Mansi. Her recent work is on various topics of Mansi syntax (e.g., negation and transitivity). She has written several papers on Mansi ditransitivity.

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The syntax of Khanty

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Khanty is an indigenous language spoken in Western Siberia, the speakers inhabiting mostly the banks of the River Ob and its tributaries from the middle course of the river up to its wash. According to the census of 2010, 30934 citizens of Russia claimed that they were of Khanty origin, but only 9584 declared that they can speak the language as well. As the speakers are scattered at a vast territory, there are such significant differences between the dialects that it is also questionable whether one can speak of "the" Khanty language as such, or there are in fact several Khanty languages. Traditionally, three dialect groups are distinguished, the Southern, the Eastern and the Northern group, and each of these can be further divided into dialects and variants. Southern Khanty is already extinct, Eastern Khanty is severely endangered, and Northern Khanty is threatened according to the classification applied by endangeredlanguages.com.

The chapter on Khanty syntax will follow the Syntax Questionnaire provided by the editors of the volume and a detailed typological database on Ugric Languages. Containing relevant data for two Khanty dialects (the Surgut version of Eastern Khanty and the Synja version of Northern Khanty), the latter source will be publically available from September 2015, and one of the authors, Márta Csepregi was a member of the team building it. If further linguistic data are needed, we will consult native speaker informants. The syntactic description will be based on Surgut Khanty, but in those cases when there are significant differences between the Eastern and the Northern dialect group, we will also touch upon these issues, highlighting the differences.

Concerning the second part of the chapter, the authors would like to concentrate on finite and nonfinite subordination. Typologically oriented approaches pointed out correlations between OV/VO word order and certain aspects of subordination, e.g. Dryer (1992) observes that in languages of the OV type, complementizers would typically follow the subordinate clause, and notes also that relative clauses typically precede their heads. Khanty (a language of the OV-type) exhibits a wealth of nonfinite structures, yet finite subordination is also an emergent category. We will describe the different subordinating structures, and will also make an attempt to evaluate several more general claims concerning the appearance of nonfinite subordination in OV languages, including the hypothesis that this can be due to contact with VO-languages; in this specific case, contact with Russian.

Márta Csepregi is the author of numerous publications on Khanty language, including a Chrestomathy of Surgut Khanty (1998) that contains texts collected by her during her numerous field trips and a general description of the language. She has also published several articles related to nonfinite subordination in Khanty (Csepregi 1978, 1979, 1983, 1988, 1997, 1998a, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2012a, 2012b, 2014a, 2014b). Katalin Gugán was her student, and worked on her PhD thesis (Aspect and Aktionsart in Khanty, Surgut dialect; 2013) under Márta Csepregi's supervision. Besides publishing articles pertaining to Khanty syntax and morphology (Gugán 2004, 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2011) K.G. has also studied aspects of Hungarian historical syntax, including the history of certain nonfinite subordinating structures in Hungarian (Gugán 2002, 2006).

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The syntax of Nganasan
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Susann Fischer, University of Hamburg

Nganasan is spoken in the Taimyr Peninsula in Russia, North-Siberia. It is the easternmost Uralic language and the northernmost language among the languages of Eurasia. The Russian censuses from 2002 and 2010 show a constant and rapid decrease concerning the number of Nganasan speakers, although the number of Nganasan people has remained quite stable. Nowadays nearly all Nganasans speak Russian, while only a few very old speakers are

monolingual. Since the number of Nganasan speakers has dropped from about 505 in 2002 to approximately 125 in 2010, Nganasan needs to be considered as a critically endangered language.

Our description is mostly based on field work material collected during field trips by several colleagues[1]. The corpus includes about 60,000 sentences in total, mostly folklore narratives, but it also contains everyday texts. The description here will focus on the Pyasina Avam (sub)dialect. In addition, published grammars (Wagner-Nagy 2002, Tereshchenko 1979) will be consulted.

This chapter is organized as follows. First, we will describe the typological features such as the basic word order, negation etc. following the syntax questionnaire. The second part of the chapter will discuss the properties of NPs. We plan to describe the possessive construction and the functions of the possessive suffixes, whereby we focus on definiteness. Furthermore we will investigate the structure of subordinate clauses which are realized in Nganasan using nominalized forms, related to the possessive construction.

Beáta Wagner-Nagy is an expert on Nganasan and has conducted several field trips among the Nganasan speakers. She is the author of several papers on Nganasan grammar, especially on the possessive and ditransitive constructions, and also on Chrestomathia Nganasanica. She is the leader of the project *Corpus building and corpus-based grammatical studies on Nganasan* supported by DFG.

Susann Fischer is a syntactician with a generative linguistic background. She is Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Hamburg. Her work on comparative diachronic syntax in the Indo-European languages (including Slavic) is extremely useful in assessing changes in Nganasan syntax and the role of Russian influence.

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The Syntax of Selkup

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Selkup belongs to the Southern Samoyedic languages, and is spoken in South-West Siberia between the rivers Yenisei and Ob. The Selkup language is divided into a large number of dialects. The dialect of Northern Selkup is spoken in the Yamal Nenets Autonomous District, the Central dialect is spoken in the Krasnoyarsk Krai, while the Southern and Ket dialects are spoken in the Tomsk Region. Selkup is on the verge of extinction. Presently the Northern Dialect has the most speakers, estimated to number only a few hundred.

The language data for this chapter will be taken from written folklore texts, on the one hand, and elicited data from a native speaker consultant on the other. The corpus of the folklore texts contains approximately 60 different texts, some of which have been published; others involve unpublished materials. In addition, published grammars such as Bekker *et al.* (1995) and Kuznecova *et al.* (1980) will be consulted.

The chapter is organized as follows. First, following the syntax questionnaire, we will describe the typological features of Selkup such as the basic word order and negation (cf. Wagner-Nagy 2015), and will then continue to describe other basic syntactic features of Selkup, including the properties of NPs and VPs. In the second half of the paper, the authors plan to investigate the ditransitive (Wagner-Nagy-Szeverényi 2013), the possessive (Wagner-Nagy 2012), and the converb constructions in more detail.

Wagner-Nagy is an expert of the Samoyedic languages, and has conducted field trips among the Selkup speakers. She has published several papers dealing with Selkup data, especially on negation and the possessives. She holds the title of Professor of Uralic Studies at the University of Hamburg.

Fischer is a syntactician with a generative linguistic background. She is Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Hamburg. Her work on comparative diachronic syntax in the

Indo-European languages (including Slavic) is extremely useful in assessing changes in Selkup syntax and the role of Russian influence.

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Relative clauses in Uralic
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The chapter will provide a survey of the relativization strategies available in Uralic languages based on three diagnostic criteria commonly accepted in linguistic typology: (i) the syntactic relationship between the modifying clause and its semantic head (adjoined strategy vs. syntactic embedding, i.e. prenominal, postnominal or internally headed relative clauses); (ii) grammatical function recoverability strategy (e.g. non-reduction, pronoun retention, relative pronouns and gapping), and (iii) the syntactic status of the relativized noun, i.e. what grammatical relations within the modifying clause can be relativized. It will be shown that only some of these strategies are typical to Uralic and that the three parameters are not entirely independent.

Additional topics that will be discussed in the chapter are: restrictive vs. non-restrictive relatives, headless relative clauses, and finite vs. non-finite relatives. With respect to the latter topic, it will be shown that the non-finite strategy is a common (and probably archaic) Uralic feature. Non-finite relatives are headed by non-finite forms with mixed categorial status. Among the types of evidence supportive of their mixed status are behaviours indicating that they serve the modifying function ordinarily characteristic of adjectives and sometimes nouns, while simultaneously defining clausal domains wherein they govern complements in the manner of verbs. Special attention will be paid to the question of how the embedded subject is expressed, since this is the area of considerable diversity within Uralic. When a non-subject is relativized, the dependent subject may be overtly expressed within the relative clause and typically takes the same grammatical case as the possessor in the possessive constructions within the same language, reflecting the fact that relative clauses appear to go back to possessive structures. The case is either the nominative or genitive, depending on the language and sometimes the referential status. In addition, in most Uralic languages dependent subjects (either pronominal subjects only or both pronominal and lexical subjects) trigger person/number agreement morphologically identical to possessive agreement, and the location of subject agreement exhibits interesting patterns of variation across languages raising a number of theoretical questions.

Irina Nikolaeva is a Professor of Linguistics at SOAS (University of London). Her interests lie in the field of linguistic typology, information structure, lexicalist theories of grammar, and documentation and description of endangered Uralic, Altaic and Palaeosiberian languages based on extensive fieldwork. She has also published on phonology, syntax, semantics and historical-comparative linguistics.

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The syntax of wh-movement in Finnish

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In this chapter, the authors review the state-of-the-art in wh-movement in Finnish, much of which is based on recent and little-known research. Wh-movement refers to the phenomenon where a question word or phrase moves to the front of an interrogative clause or phrase. Wh-movement is an instance of a more general class of A-bar movement, which, in Finnish, includes movement of the relative pronoun and movement triggered by several types of discourse particles.

The two most important characteristics of Finnish wh-movement explored in detail in this chapter are: (1) *successive-cyclicity*; the phenomenon in which the wh-movement systematically takes place in both finite clauses and inside non-finite, moved phrases. Finnish wh-movement is successive cyclic in a scale not reported before. (2) *Pied-piping;* the phenomenon in which the wh-movement involves movement of larger constituents than the question word. Finnish wh-movement involves a massive amount of pied-piping.

The first part of the chapter states the empirical generalizations concerning Finnish wh-movement. The second part contains a syntactic model of Finnish wh-movement, along with theoretical considerations and implications for the theory of grammar.

This article extracts a synthesis of the fundamental results and analyses from Saara Huhmarniemi's PhD-thesis *Finnish A´-movement: Edges and Islands* and the following articles by Huhmarniemi & Brattico: O*n primary and secondary movement* and *The structure of Finnish Relative clause* and Pauli Brattico's *Pied-piping domains and adjunction coincide in Finnish.*

Saara Huhmarniemi and Pauli Brattico are native speakers of Finnish. They have both received a PhD thesis from Cognitive Science in the University of Helsinki and are specialists on

Finnish syntax. Saara Huhmarniemi is a postdoc researcher at the University of Helsinki and Pauli Brattico works as an independent researcher. He writes about Finnish syntax at finnishsyntax.wordpress.com.

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Binding in the Uralic Languages

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The present chapter introduces the notions of anaphora, coreference, and binding and surveys the anaphoric systems in a selection of Uralic languages. It further showcases what puzzles they pose for the canonical binding theory (Chomsky 1981) and its current alternatives (Hornstein 2001, Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 2011, Reuland 2011). To make the discussion self-contained all the relevant parts of the theories will be outlined in the chapter as well. One of the puzzles is that many Uralic languages (including Hungarian, Meadow Mari, Komi-Zyrian, and Udmurt) have reflexives that allow split antecedents. A split antecedent is an antecedent consisting of two (or more) DPs occupying different argument positions:

(1) *John$_i$ showed Mary$_m$ them$_{i+m}$ / *themselves$_{i+m}$ (on the picture).*

In the canonical binding theory this property is attributed exclusively to pronominals – cf. that in (1) the anaphor *themselves* is illicit unlike the pronominal *them*.

The second major puzzle posed by Uralic languages is that some of them (for instance, Khanty and Nganasan) do not have dedicated reflexives at all (see a.o. Nikolaeva 1999). The chapter concludes by discussing possible takes on these puzzles in the current literature.

Reflexivity in Uralic languages has been largely understudied. Thorough investigations exist only for Hungarian (É. Kiss 2002, Everaert & Szendrői 2002, Rákosi 2009, 2013) and Finnish (van Steenbergen 1991). The present paper is primarily based on extensive fieldwork conducted by the author in a number of minority Uralic languages spoken in Russian Federation (Meadow Mari, Komi-Zyrian, Besermyan Udmurt, Erzya, and Khanty) which resulted in a dissertation (Volkova 2014). Khanty data is discussed in Volkova & Reuland (2014), and a general overview of reflexive pronouns in Meadow Mari, Komi-Zyrian, Besermyan Udmurt and Erzya is provided in Volkova (2012, in Russian).

Anna Volkova started studying Uralic languages during her undergraduate studies as a member of fieldwork party of Lomonosov Moscow State University under the leadership of Ariadna Kuznetsova and Svetlana Toldova. She participated in the fieldwork trips to Meadow Mari (2000, 2001), Komi-Zyrian (2002). Her thesis (2004) discussed reflexive pronouns in these languages contrasting the data with Hungarian and Finnish. She enrolled in a PhD programme at Utrecht University (Utrecht institute of Linguistics) in 2008 and continued fieldwork research on Uralic languages (Komi-Zyrian and Khanty—2009, Meadow Mari—2011, Khanty—2012). This work resulted in a dissertation which she defended in 2014 and a number of publications.

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TWO FURTHER GENERAL SYNTAX ABSTRACTS FOR THE WORKSHOP, NOT BOOK CHAPTERS:

<u>**Five structural cases in Finnish**</u>
Anne Vainikka/Johns Hopkins University

I will discuss the five structural (syntactic) cases in Finnish, including the true long distance effects of the Finnish accusative, not restricted to the edge of the clause (cf. Vainikka & Brattico 2014 "The Finnish Accusative: Long Distance Case Assignment by Agreement", *Linguistics* 52:73-124).

One of the six locative cases, the elative case, behaves differently from the other locative cases, and is claimed to be a structural case of adjuncts. The other four structural cases, accusative, partitive, genitive, and nominative are all related to the object position in Finnish. I will argue that the accusative (and the partitive that varies with it) is assigned by 'little v', rather than V or Aspect. Nothing other than 'little v' can assign the [+ACC] feature in Finnish, while partitive can be assigned by several other syntactic heads. An updated syntactic account of the Finnish genitive and nominative will be provided; this includes the variants of accusative that show up as these cases.

<u>**Null subjects and finite/non-finite clauses in Finnish**</u>
Pauli Brattico/Aarhus University

This article examines finite and non-finite null subjects (pro, PRO) and their control in Finnish. It will be shown that there are exactly two syntactic environments in Finnish licensing controlled null pronouns. One environment is characterized by abundant morphosyntactic activity, while the other exhibits the opposite profile. The former is closely related to the traditional finite pro drop (called Type I in this paper), while the latter provides obligatory control constructions (Type II). Type I and Type II null subjects exhibit different control (antecedent selection) properties. Neither construction shows any trace of movement. These results suggest that the earlier GB-theoretical analyses (e.g. Taraldsen, Chomsky, Rizzi) are correct, and that the later formulations

within the minimalist program are not. Hence I will present an antique GB-theoretical analysis of null subjects and their control in Finnish.