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Е.А. Лютикова^{1, 2}, П.В. Гращенков^{1, 3}

¹ Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова,
119991 г. Москва, Российская Федерация

² Государственный институт русского языка имени А.С. Пушкина,
117485 г. Москва, Российская Федерация

³ Институт востоковедения РАН,
107031 г. Москва, Российская Федерация

Синтаксис лично-числового согласования в татарском языке

В статье исследуются случаи необычного согласования с кванторами, интенсификаторами и анафорами, засвидетельствованные в татарском языке в тех случаях, когда указанные элементы содержат лично-числовые показатели. Такие единицы могут демонстрировать не только согласование по третьему лицу, но также и согласование по лицу своего рестриктора или связывающего элемента. Мы считаем, что в таких конструкциях кванторы, интенсификаторы и анафоры обладают теми признаками, которые проявляются при согласовании. Мы предлагаем механизм, позволяющий указанным единицам приобретать признаки своего рестриктора или связывающего элемента. Мы исходим из идеи о том, что согласующиеся кванторы, интенсификаторы и анафоры содержат проекцию местоимения, обладающую своим набором неозначенных интерпретируемых признаков. Этот набор признаков оказывается означен вследствие идентификации признаков местоимения и связывающего его посессора.

Ключевые слова: согласование, лицо, маркированные лично-числовыми показателями кванторы, интенсификаторы, анафоры, распространение признаков, связывание, татарский язык

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E. Lyutikova^{1,2}, P. Grashchenkov^{1,3}

¹ Lomonosov Moscow State University,
Moscow, 119991, Russian Federation

² Pushkin State Russian Language Institute,
Moscow, 117485, Russian Federation

³ Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS,
Moscow, 107031, Russian Federation

On the syntax of person agreement in Tatar

In this paper, we analyse the intricate agreement pattern attested with inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors in Tatar. These nominals can trigger not only a default 3rd person agreement, but also the marked person agreement reflecting the features of their restrictor or binder. We propose that in these constructions, inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors bear the features the agreement reveals, and propose a mechanism allowing inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors to acquire the features of the restrictor or binder. We build on the idea that agreeing inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors contain a minimal pronoun equipped with a set of unvalued interpretable features, and that this feature set gets valued via feature sharing.

Key words: agreement, person, inflected quantifiers, intensifiers, anaphors, feature sharing, binding, Tatar

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1. Agreement and formal features

Agreement is one of the basic and pervasive grammatical phenomena that has been in the focus of attention of various theoretical – both functional and formal – and typological linguistic research [e.g. Corbett, 2006; Baker, 2008; Preminger, 2014; Matasović, 2018; Nichols, 2018; Haig, Forker, 2018, among many others]. The minimalist family of syntactic analyses of agreement goes back to the seminal paper by Noam Chomsky [Chomsky, 2000]. In this paper, the notion of agreement has been extended, so that agreement is conceived of as a generalized operation ensuring legibility of linguistic expressions at the interface levels. This view of agreement is based on the system of formal features that lexical items bear: the feature can be interpretable on the lexical item X (or its phrase XP), and then valued on X in the lexicon, or uninterpretable on the lexical item X (and its phrase XP), and then unvalued on X in the lexicon. Since uninterpretable features are not legible at the interface levels, they have to be “defused” in the course of syntactic derivation. Chomsky proposes that this can be done by valuing uninterpretable features; feature valuation, in its turn, is the result of agreement. Agreement is a process in which an unvalued uninterpretable feature on the probe matches the valued interpretable feature of the goal, copies this value and then can be erased, to the effect that no uninterpretable feature reaches the interface. Movement appears as a by-product of agreement, when the probe attracts the goal. In this way, agreement constitutes the core operation in the feature-driven syntax.

Importantly, the system outlined above presupposes a strong correlation between interpretability and valuation: interpretable features enter the derivation valued, whereas uninterpretable features enter the derivation unvalued, and have to acquire values via agreement. Consequently, interpretable features cannot be valued in syntax, and uninterpretable features cannot be a source of features’ values. Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) criticize this conjecture as too restrictive and propose that interpretability and valuation are independent second order features. Consequently, agreement is conceived of as feature sharing: an unvalued occurrence of the feature on the probe can match valued or *unvalued* and interpretable or *uninterpretable* occurrence of the same feature on the goal. Feature sharing forms a link between multiple occurrences of the same feature; in this chain, only one valued and one interpretable occurrence suffice to produce a grammatical configuration.

In this paper we address theoretical challenges posed by agreement with inflected quantifiers in Tatar, one of the Turkic languages spoken in Russia. We show that the standard minimalist view of agreement cannot capture the peculiar agreement pattern exhibited by these constructions. By contrast,

a modified theoretical system along the lines of [Pesetsky, Torrego, 2007] allows us to provide a principled account of the phenomenon.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we present the puzzle and outline possible ways of solving it. Then, in sections 3 and 4, we consider the two options proposed in the literature in accounting for similar phenomena, and show why these analyses are not suitable for Tatar. In section 5, we propose our own account for the peculiar agreement pattern attested in Tatar. Section 6 concludes.

2. The puzzle

Tatar has an elaborated system of person-number agreement which involves various structural configurations. Predicate agreement in Tatar is controlled by the nominative subject exclusively, as examples (1)–(2) demonstrate. So, no “trigger-happy” agreement [Comrie, 2003] or “omnivorous” agreement [Nevins, 2011] takes place.

(1) Min a-nı kür-de-*(m).
 I.NOM s(he)-ACC see-PST-1SG
 ‘I saw her.’

(2) Ul mine kür-de-*(m).
 s(he).NOM I.ACC see-PST-1SG
 ‘She saw me.’

Agreement with a subject possessing the marked person feature is obligatory; thus, examples (3a-b) are ungrammatical without the agreement affix on the verb. Number agreement with a 3rd person subject, exemplified in (4), is optional, probably governed by the collective/distributive distinction, see [Lyutikova, 2017] for details.

(3) a. Min kil-de-*(m).
 I.NOM come-PST-1SG
 ‘I came.’

b. Sin kil-de-*(ıj).
 you.NOM come-PST-2SG
 ‘You came.’

(4) Bala-lar kil-de-(lär).
 child-PL come-PST-PL
 ‘(The) children came.’

Surprisingly, inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors exhibit two patterns of predicate agreement. The non-agreeing pattern is what we would expect from these nominals, which normally bear the 3rd person

feature; it is exemplified in (5). However, there is another option, that is, the agreeing pattern shown in (6), where the predicate exhibits ϕ -features of the quantifier's restrictor.

(5) Jal-dan kajt-kač, tagın **berär-egez kür-de-me** a-nı?
 vacation-ABL return-CNV again any-2PL see-PST-Q (s)he-ACC
 'Did anyone of you see him again after returning from vacation?' [TNC]¹

(6) Ä xäzer, äfände-lär, di-de Laplas, **berär-egez** şuşı
 and now sir-PL say-PST Laplace any-2PL this
 kijem-ne kij-ep irkenlek-kä çıg-ıp kit-ärgä
 clothing-ACC put_on-CNV space-DAT exit-CNV go-INF
telä-mi-sez-me?
 want-NEG.IPF-2PL-Q
 'And now, gentlemen, would anyone of you put on this clothing and go outside? – said Laplace.' [TNC]

Lexical items involved in the variation include universal quantifiers (e.g. *här* 'every', *barı da* 'all'), existential quantifiers (e.g. *berär* 'any', *hiçber* 'no one'), adjectival interrogative pronouns (*kajstı* 'which') and anaphors – reflexives and reciprocals (*üz* 'self', *ber-berse* 'each other'). The inflected reflexive pronoun *üz* 'self' in Tatar functions as both a bound anaphor, as in (7a), and an intensifier, as in (7b); in both cases, the agreeing pattern is readily available.

(7) a. Marat üz-e-n kür-de.
 Marat.NOM self-3-ACC see-PST
 'Marat saw himself.'

b. (Marat) üz-e a-nı kür-de.
 Marat.NOM self-3 (s)he-ACC see-PST
 'Marat himself / He himself saw her.'

Importantly, only inflected pronouns exhibit the agreeing pattern. Example (8) contains a nominal interrogative pronoun *kem* 'who' which does not take inflection characterizing the restrictor. In this case, predicate agreement with the restrictor is ungrammatical.

(8) (Sez-dän) bez-ne kem jakl-tj-(*sız), kem kil-er-(*sez)
 you-ABL we-ACC who defend-PRS-2PL who come-FUT-2PL
 bez-gä jardäm-gä?
 we-DAT help-DAT
 'Who (of you) defends us, who will come to help us?'

¹ Examples tagged as [TNC] come from the Tatar national corpus "Tugan tel" (<http://www.tugantel.tatar/>). Non-tagged examples are elicited.

This data immediately reminds us of several cross-linguistic parallels. First, inflected quantifiers and anaphors in Tatar are structurally equivalent to the possessive construction (the so called “3rd ezafe construction” in the descriptive grammars of Tatar). In this construction, the overt restrictor appears in genitive, and the head agrees with the genitive possessor. Therefore, agreement with inflected quantifiers can be regarded as agreement with internal possessors attested in a number of languages [Bárány et al., 2019]. Secondly, predicate agreement with inflected quantifiers in the partitive construction is reported for Turkish [Ince, 2007; Aydin, 2008]. The authors claim that the predicate agrees with the silent *pro* in the subject position, the floating quantifier being stranded. Finally, agreeing inflected quantifiers are also found in Quechua [Muysken, 1989, 2013; Faller, Hastings, 2008] and several Bantu languages [Baker, 2008] including Kinyarwanda [Jerro, 2013; Jerro, Wechsler, 2015]. In particular, Jerro and Wechsler claim for Kinyarwanda that at some stage of the diachronic development, the person/number inflection on the quantifier is a cliticized referential pronoun, and this is why the predicate agreement reveals its features.

The approaches outlined above exploit three different ideas of how to make agreement with inflected quantifiers and anaphors possible. The first idea is that the predicate agrees with the possessor of its subject. The second idea presupposes that the inflected quantifier is non-argumental and that the actual controller of the predicate agreement is the empty pronoun *pro* that bears the ϕ -features of the restrictor. The third and at first glance less plausible scenario is that inflected quantifiers and anaphors somehow acquire the ϕ -features of their restrictors. We will argue for the latter option, but first we are going to examine the alternatives.

3. Alternative 1: Agreement with possessor

Inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors in Tatar are built as a partitive construction exemplified in (9), and allow for the restrictor pronoun to surface as a genitive DP or be represented by *pro*, as shown in (10).

(9) *bärän-när-neŋ* *kara-lar-ı*
 ram-PL-GEN black-PL-3
 ‘the black rams’ (lit. the black ones of rams)

(10) *bez-neŋ* / *pro*_{1PL} *kajst-lar-ıbız*
 we-GEN which-PL-1PL
 ‘which (pl) of us’

Crucially, the partitive construction in Tatar is structurally and distributionally identical to the possessive construction with the referential

possessor, compare (10) to (11). The possessor receives the genitive encoding and controls person/number agreement on the possessee.

- (11) *bez-nej* / *pro*_{1PL} *bärän-när-ebez*
 we-GEN ram-PL-1PL
 ‘our rams’

This fact allows us to consider the agreeing pattern with inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors as an instantiation of agreement with the prominent internal possessor.

Agreement with the prominent possessor is attested in various linguistic families and areas. In the recent paper collection [Bárány et al., 2019] examining the phenomenon multiple examples similar to Tatar are attested. Thus, in Maithili, an Indic language spoken in India and Nepal, the predicate agreement distinguishes between the standard agreement with the nominative subject (12a) and the special series of non-nominative agreement markers, which can be controlled by the possessor (12b).

- (12) Maithili / Indo-European (Indic) [Yadava et al., 2019, p. 51]

- a. [tohər nokər] æe-l-əi
 you.L.GEN servant.NOM come-PST-3
 ‘Your (low respect) servant came.’
- b. [tohər nokər] æe-l-əu
 you.L.GEN servant.NOM come-PST-2L.NON_NOM
 ‘Your (low respect) servant came.’

An interesting example is provided by Tanty Dargwa. In this language, a number of lexical items like ‘a waist’ or ‘a half’ lack their own nominal class specification, and copy it from the possessor, which is obligatory with such nominals. The predicate agreement thus reflects the nominal class of the overt or covert possessor.

- (13) Tanty Dargwa / North-Caucasian [Lander, 2015]

- a. *hit-a-la* č’ərt-se r-ag te-r.
 this-OBL-GEN thin-ATR F-waist be-F
 ‘She’s got a thin waist.’
- b. *hit-a-la* č’ərt-se w-ag te-w.
 this-OBL-GEN thin-ATR M-waist be-M
 ‘He’s got a thin waist.’
- c. *zimizal-la* č’ərt-se b-ag te-b.
 ant-GEN thin-ATR N-waist be-N
 ‘The ant has got a thin waist.’

Moreover, examples of possessor's prominence are found within the Turkic family. It has been argued that in many Turkic languages (Bashkir, Shor, Turkish, Tuwan, Uyghur, Uzbek) the internal possessor of the subject acts as one of the pivots in the same-subject relation [Nikolaeva et al., 2019, 14ff]. This is illustrated with the Bashkir sentence (14).

(14) Bashkir [Say, 2019, p. 211]

Bolat	[[<i>pro</i> baş-ə]	awərt-əp]	kitap
Bulat	head-POSS.3	ache-SS.CONV	book
uqə-w-ə-n		tuqta-t-tə.	
read-NMLZ-POSS.3-ACC		stop-CAUS-PST	
‘Bulat’s _i head started to ache and he _i stopped reading the book’			

The *-p* converb is used for the same-subject clauses and generally cannot have an overt subject. However, this restriction is lifted if the converb's subject has a possessor coreferential with the matrix subject.

The linguistic evidence of this type suggests that possessors can be syntactically active at the clause level. In her encyclopedic paper Deal summarizes various mechanisms that make the possessor visible to the functional structure of the clause [Deal, 2017]. For the prominent internal possessor, several analytical options are available, including government or backward control or even long distance agreement. To sum up, indexing of the internal possessor on the verb is an empirically motivated and theoretically elaborated issue.

However, the prominent possessor analysis turns out to be a dead end for Tatar. Apart from the fact that possessor government, raising and long distance agreement are normally fed by internal arguments exclusively, which is not the case in Tatar, we observe that predicate agreement with true possessors is ungrammatical. Example (15) shows that when the standard possessive construction occupies the subject position, the predicate can only agree with the head noun.

(15) bez-neŋ / *pro*_{1PL} bärän-när-ebez kil-de / kil-de-lär / *kil-de-k.
 we-GEN ram-PL-1PL come-PST / come-PST-PL / come-PST-1PL
 ‘Our rams came.’

Example (15) shows convincingly that possessive inflection on the nominal head is an exponent of possessive agreement and cannot be a controller of the predicate agreement. Therefore, neither the genitive possessor itself nor its features copied onto the head can serve as a goal for the predicate's ϕ -probe.

4. Alternative 2: Agreement with *pro*

Tatar examples (1)–(6) align directly with the predicate agreement pattern found in Turkish as described in [Ince, 2007; Aydin, 2008]. The personal pronoun as a subject triggers the obligatory person/number agreement (16), possessive noun phrases only trigger the standard predicate agreement with the head (17), and inflected quantifiers are compatible with both construals (18).

- | | | |
|------------------------|----------|-------------------------|
| (16) Biz | ev-e | git-ti-k. |
| we.NOM | home-DAT | go-PST-1PL |
| ‘We went home’ | | |
| (17) Arkadaş-ımız | ev-e | git-ti-Ø. |
| friend-1PL.NOM | home-DAT | go-PST-3SG |
| ‘Our friend went home’ | | |
| (18) Hep-imiz | ev-e | git-ti-k / git-ti-Ø. |
| all-1PL.NOM | home-DAT | go-PST-1PL / go-PST-3SG |
| ‘All of us went home’ | | |

The Turkish agreeing construction with inflected quantifiers has a number of characteristic properties that prompt the researchers towards the floating quantifier analysis. First, it is attested in finite clauses exclusively, that is, clauses with a nominative subject. Example (19) shows the agreeing inflected quantifier within the finite embedded clause. In (20), the nominalized embedded clause is exemplified. In this case, the predicate person agreement is ungrammatical. Since feeding of the quantifier float is often restricted to the (finite) subject, this pattern is expected.

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|----------|----------------------|-----------|
| (19) Ali | [hep-imiz | ev-e | git-sin/-elim] | isti-yor. |
| Ali | all-1PL.NOM | home-DAT | go-IMP.3SG/-OPT.1PL | want-PRS |
| ‘Ali wants all of us to go home.’ | | | | |
| (20) Ali | [hep-miz-in | ev-e | git-tig-in/*-imiz]-i | bil-iyor. |
| Ali | all-1PL-GEN | home-DAT | go-NMLZ-3SG/-1PL-ACC | know-PRS |
| ‘Ali knows that all of us went home.’ | | | | |

Similarly, no agreement with inflected quantifiers in the possessive construction is attested, cf. (21). If the inflected quantifier itself occupies the possessor’s position in the embedding noun phrase, its head cannot bear the restrictor’s features.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| (21) hep-imiz-in / ik-imiz-in | araba-sı/*mız |
| all-1PL-GEN / two-1PL-GEN | car-3/1PL |
| ‘all of our/two of our’s car’ | |

embedded nominalized clause and postpositional construction. This is demonstrated below with the corpus hits. Example (25) shows the agreeing pattern in the possessive construction; example (26) demonstrates agreement with the inflected quantifier as a subject in the nominalized clause; in (27), the agreeing pattern within the postpositional construction is exemplified.

- (25) Uņišli xezmättäšlek öčen **ber-ber-ebez-nej**
 beneficial cooperation for REC-REC-1PL-GEN
 mömkinlek-lär-**ebez-ne** häm ixtjaž-lar-**ibiz-ni**
 capacity-PL-1PL-ACC and interest-PL-1PL-ACC
 öjrän-ergä kiräk.
 study-INF need
 ‘For a mutually beneficial cooperation, we have to study capacities and interests of each other.’ [TNC]
- (26) **Kajsu-biz-nuj** satuči-dan produkcija sostav-ı-nda GMO
 which-1PL-GEN seller-ABL production content-3-LOC GMO
 komponent-lar-ı bul-u-bul-ma-u turunda sora-gan-**ibiz**
 component-PL-3 be-NMN-be-NEG-NMN about ask-PART-1PL
 bar?
 be.EXIST
 ‘Which of us asks the seller about the presence of GMO components in the products?’ [TNC]
- (27) **Üz-ej-nej** jan-ıj-da bit, turtıš, tijnak,
 self-2SG-GEN near-2SG-LOC here diligent modest
 küz-ej-ä genä kara-p ... tora.
 eye-2SG-DAT EMPH look-CONV AUX
 ‘Here is he near you, diligent and modest, keeps looking you in the eye.’ [TNC]

Importantly, in configurations other than the finite subject, the restrictor surfaces as a genitive, not nominative, pronoun. This is shown in (29)–(31), as opposed to (28). This means that if the quantifier in these constructions were stranded, both *pro* and the quantifier phrase would receive marked genitive case, and no caseless nominal could arise.

- (28) Sez / sez-nej berär-egez çig-ıp kit-ärgä telä-mi-sez-me?
 you.NOM / you-GEN any-2PL exit-CNV go-INF want-NEG.IPF-2PL-Q
 ‘Would anyone of you go outside?’
- (29) *bez / bez-nej ber-ber-ebez-nej ixtjaž-lar-ibiz
 we.NOM / we-GEN REC-REC-1PL-GEN interest-PL-1PL
 ‘interests of each other of us’

- (30) *Bez / bez-neŋ kajısı-bız-nıŋ anıŋ turında sora-gan-ıbız
 we.NOM / we-GEN which-1PL-GEN it.GEN about ask-PART-1PL
 bar?
 be.EXIST
 ‘Which of us asks about it?’
- (31) *sin / sineŋ üz-eŋ-neŋ jan-ıŋ-da
 you.NOM / you.GEN self-2SG-GEN near-2SG-LOC
 ‘near you’

Therefore, the stranding analysis proposed for Turkish can only be extended to cover Tatar finite predicate agreement with inflected quantifiers. Crucially, it cannot explain agreement with inflected quantifiers and intensifiers within possessive, nominalized or postpositional configurations. The reason for it is that in possessive, nominalized and postpositional constructions, only one structural case is licensed, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (32) and (33).

- (32) *minem Marat-nıŋ surat-ı/-ım
 I.GEN Marat-GEN picture-3/-1SG
 intended: ‘my picture of Marat’
- (33) *minem Marat-nıŋ kür-gän-e/-em
 I.GEN Marat-GEN see-PART-3/-1SG
 intended: ‘my seeing of Marat’

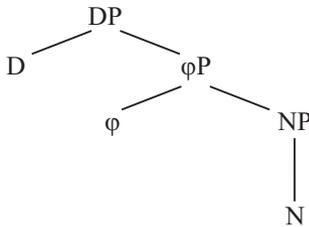
Moreover, no case copying or case agreement takes place in appositive constructions shown in (34)–(35).

- (34) kürşe-(*gä) äbi-gä
 neighbor-DAT grandma-DAT
 ‘to the neighbor old lady’
- (35) Marat-(*nıŋ) ukıtuçı-nıŋ surat-ı
 Marat-GEN teacher-GEN picture-3
 ‘the picture of Marat the teacher’

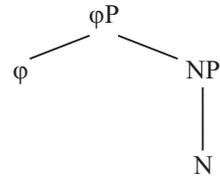
This means that with non-nominative DPs, stranding should be disallowed, since no additional source for the genitive encoding of the stranded quantifier or intensifier is available. As for the inflected anaphors, the stranding analysis is odd irrespective of the particular agreement configuration, since anaphors do not float.

Therefore, we conclude that the genitive restrictor noun phrase cannot be coargumental or adjoined to the inflected quantifier, intensifier or anaphor,

(38) a. DP-pronoun



b. φP-pronoun



The properties of various pronouns in Tatar have been studied extensively in the recent PhD thesis by Podobryaev [Podobryaev, 2014]. Podobryaev shows, in particular, that overt personal pronouns and covert *pro* differ systematically. Overt 1st / 2nd person pronouns cannot undergo indexical shift, whereas 1st or 2nd person *pro*_{<1/2>} can (but does not have to). Similarly, overt 1st / 2nd person pronouns are referential expressions, subject to condition C of the binding theory, whereas 1st or 2nd person *pro*_{<1/2>} is ambiguous between pronominal and anaphoric construals. The corresponding examples can be found in (39)–(40).

- (39) a. Alsu [min kaja kit-te-m diep] ajt-ti?
 Alsu.NOM I.NOM where go.out-PST-1SG that say-PST
 ‘Which place did Alsu say I went?’ <non-shifted>
 *‘Which place did Alsu say she went?’ <shifted>

- b. Alsu [*pro* kaja kit-te-m diep] ajt-ti?
 Alsu.NOM *pro*_{<1SG>} where go.out-PST-1SG that say-PST
 ‘Which place did Alsu say I went?’ <non-shifted>
 ‘Which place did Alsu say she went?’ <shifted>
 [Podobryaev, 2014, p. 84]

- (40) a. *Min mine kür-de-m.
 I.NOM I.ACC see-PST-1SG
 intended: ‘I saw myself.’

- b. Min *pro* ata-m kür-de-m.
 I.NOM *pro*_{<1SG>} father-1SG see-PST-1SG
 ‘I saw my father.’

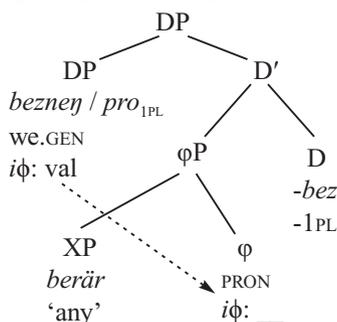
- c. Marat *pro* ata-m kür-de-m.
 Marat.NOM *pro*_{<1SG>} father-1SG see-PST-1SG
 ‘Marat saw my father.’

Based on these diagnostics we conclude that overt 1st / 2nd person pronouns in Tatar are DPs, whereas *pro* is ambiguous between DP and φP construals.

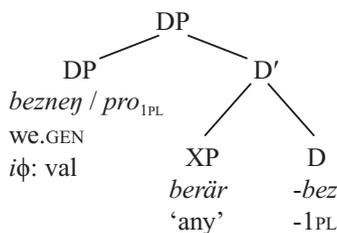
Let us further investigate the ϕ -feature set of ϕ P-pronouns. If the pronoun is free, its ϕ -feature set is valued. But if the pronoun is bound, it can enter the derivation with unvalued ϕ -features and acquire features' values via binding, as [Kratzer, 2009] suggests. Therefore, it is plausible that Tatar may possess a minimal pronoun ϕ with unvalued interpretable person and number features.

We believe that this minimal pronoun is the source of derived personal pronouns available in Tatar. We propose that agreeing inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors differ from the non-agreeing ones in that they contain an additional ϕ P layer between D and (substantivized) nominal structure, as shown in (41)–(42).

(41) agreeing inflected quantifier



(42) non-agreeing inflected quantifier



The trees in (41)–(42) represent the internal structure of agreeing and non-agreeing inflected quantifiers *berär-ebez* 'any of us'. Non-agreeing inflected quantifier in (42) is a 3rd person DP, it is non-pronominal and behaves like a referential expression. The additional ϕ P-layer of the agreeing inflected quantifier in (41) converts it into a derived personal pronoun.

As a next step, the ϕ P in (41) gets bound by the c-commanding restrictor in Spec, DP. The ϕ -sets of ϕ and the restrictor match, and the unvalued features on ϕ are identified with the ϕ -set of the restrictor. Technically,

this operation may be conceived as a reverse agree [Wurmbrand, 2017] or as feature sharing [Pesetsky, Torrego, 2007]. Crucially, the restrictor is the nearest source of ϕ -features for the minimal pronoun, and this is why inflected quantifiers and intensifiers acquire the ϕ -set of their restrictor.

Finally, transmission of features from ϕ to D takes place. Valued features on ϕ P are further inherited by D in the standard manner, producing 1st / 2nd person inflected quantifiers and intensifiers, which are definite R-expressions, analogous to overt personal pronouns.

The derivation of bound inflected anaphors is slightly different. As a starting point, let's observe that bound 1st / 2nd person anaphors never contain an overt genitive possessor. Consider examples (43) and (44).

(43) Min genä üze-m makta-dt-m.
 I.NOM only self-1SG praise-PST-1SG
 'Only I praised myself.'

1. strict reading: nobody else praised me

2. sloppy reading: nobody else praised herself

(44) Min genä minem üze-m makta-dt-m.
 I.NOM only I.GEN self-1SG praise-PST-1SG
 'Only I praised myself.'

1. strict reading: nobody else praised me

2. *sloppy reading: nobody else praised herself

In (43), the pronoun *üzem* 'myself' lacks an overt possessor and can be interpreted as free, giving rise to the strict reading (43.1), or as bound, producing the sloppy reading (43.2). In (44), the pronoun contains an overt possessor, and the bound interpretation is excluded.

We conclude that agreeing bound anaphors are DPs hosting a ϕ P-*pro* in their specifier. The ϕ -set of *pro* is identified with the ϕ -set of the minimal pronoun ϕ via feature sharing [Pesetsky, Torrego, 2007], creating a chain of occurrences of the same features. The ϕ -set of *pro* is valued by its external syntactic binder, along the lines of [Kratzer, 2009]. In this way, the external binder, the bound *pro* in Spec, DP, and the minimal pronoun ϕ of the derived anaphor end up by bearing identical values of ϕ -features. These features are further reflected by the agreeing external probe. Importantly, agreement with the external probe can take place before binding and feature valuation. Suppose that the agreeing anaphor is embedded under a postposition. Then feature sharing would proceed as follows. First, the unvalued ϕ -sets of *pro* and minimal pronoun ϕ are identified as two occurrences of the same ϕ -set. Then, the ϕ -set on D is coindexed with them, giving rise to a three-link chain. Then, the ϕ -probe on P gets coindexed with the chain, producing

the fourth occurrence of the same ϕ -set. Finally, when the binder (presumably the subject) enters the derivation, its valued ϕ -set is identified as yet another occurrence of the same ϕ -set, and the values of the ϕ -features are being copied to all the occurrences of the coindexed ϕ -set.

Additional evidence supporting the analysis comes from case assignment in postpositional constructions. Denominal postpositions in Tatar involve differential argument marking: personal pronouns receive genitive encoding and combine with the agreeing form of the postposition, whereas other nominals appear in the nominative (unmarked) case and combine with the default 3rd person form of the postposition. This is illustrated in (45). We see that the 1st person personal pronoun *min* 'I' differs consistently from other nominals including possessive phrases, proper names and non-personal pronouns in case marking and agreement pattern.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| (45) a. <i>minem</i> / * <i>min</i>
I.GEN / I.NOM
'instead of me' | <i>urun-um-da</i>
instead-1SG-LOC |
| b. <i>ata-m</i> / * <i>ata-m-nuŋ</i>
father-1SG / father-1SG-GEN
'instead of my father' | <i>urun-in-da</i>
instead-3-LOC |
| c. <i>Marat</i> / * <i>Marat-nuŋ</i>
Marat.NOM / Marat-GEN
'instead of Marat' | <i>urun-in-da</i>
instead-3-LOC |
| d. <i>kem</i> / * <i>kem-neŋ</i>
who.NOM / who-GEN
'instead of whom' | <i>urun-in-da</i>
instead-3-LOC |

The crucial data comes from the experimental study of denominal postpositional constructions in Tatar [Lyutikova, Gerasimova, 2019]. The aim of the study was to estimate variation in differential argument marking in the postpositional construction. 119 native speakers of Tatar participated in the study; the respondent fulfilled production and rating tasks. Among the stimuli, there were 1st and 2nd person inflected quantifiers *kajsıbz* 'which of us', *kajsıgız* 'which of you' and 1st and 2nd person reflexive pronouns *üzem* 'myself' and *üzeneŋ* 'yourself'.

The study revealed strong correlation between agreement and case in both production (fill in the blank task) and perception (acceptability rating task): agreeing inflected quantifiers and anaphors are preferably genitive, and non-agreeing inflected quantifiers and anaphors are preferably nominative. The most popular patterns are presented in (46) for inflected quantifiers and (47) for inflected anaphors.

- (46) a. kajst-bız-nuŋ / ?*kajst-bız urun-ıbız-da
 which-1PL-GEN / which-1PL instead-1PL-LOC
 ‘instead of which of us’
- b. ?*kajst-bız-nuŋ / kajst-bız urun-un-da
 which-1PL-GEN / which-1PL instead-3-LOC
 ‘instead of which of us’
- (47) a. üz-em-neŋ / ?*üz-em urun-um-da
 self-1SG-GEN / self-1SG instead-1SG-LOC
 ‘instead of which of us’
- b. ?*üz-em-neŋ / üz-em urun-un-da
 self-1SG-GEN / self-1SG instead-3-LOC
 ‘instead of which of us’

Since genitive encoding occurs with personal pronouns exclusively, we consider this data as evidence that inflected quantifiers and anaphors convert into personal pronouns, and this is what our analysis essentially claims.

6. Conclusions

In this paper we have discussed agreement with inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors in Tatar, which allows for both non-agreeing and agreeing pattern. We have considered three options of accommodating the unexpected person/number agreement: agreement with the prominent possessor; agreement with *pro* (inflected quantifiers and intensifiers being stranded); standard agreement with the inflected quantifier, intensifier and anaphor, which have acquired ϕ -features of their restrictors or binders. We have opted for the last variant and provided an account of how exactly ϕ -features of the restrictor or binder could be transferred to the quantifier, intensifier or anaphor. We have based the account on the idea that agreeing inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors contain a minimal pronoun equipped with a set of unvalued interpretable features, and these features get valued by the restrictor (for quantifiers and intensifiers) or by the binder (for anaphors).

Importantly, the analysis proposed in this paper requires a less restrictive view of feature valuation and agreement. First, the interpretable ϕ -features of the minimal pronoun get valued in the course of derivation. Secondly, the c-command relation between the probe and the goal are reversed: the constituent with the valued ϕ -set c-commands the constituent with the unvalued ϕ -set. Finally, the derivation of constructions involving agreeing inflected anaphors requires that unvalued feature sharing take place before valuation. Putting it all together, we conclude that the theoretical

system based on feature sharing is superior to the standard minimalist view of agreement in accounting for yet another intricate agreement pattern exhibited by inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors in Tatar.

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Об авторах / About the authors

Лютикова Екатерина Анатольевна – доктор филологических наук, доцент; доцент кафедры теоретической и прикладной лингвистики филологического факультета, Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова

Lyutikova Ekaterina A. – Dr. Phil. Hab.; associate professor at the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics of the Faculty of Philology, Lomonosov Moscow State University

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4439-0613>

E-mail: lyutikova2008@gmail.com

Гращенко Павел Валерьевич – доктор филологических наук; доцент кафедры теоретической и прикладной лингвистики филологического факультета, Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова; ведущий научный сотрудник отдела языков Азии и Африки, Институт востоковедения РАН

Grashchenkov Pavel V. – Dr. Phil. Hab.; associate professor at the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics of the Faculty of Philology, Lomonosov Moscow State University; senior researcher at the Department of Asian and African Languages, Institute of Oriental Studies of RAS

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9754-2452>

E-mail: pavel.gra@gmail.com