Agreeing inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors as derived personal pronouns: Evidence from Tatar

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Abstract

In this paper, I analyse the intricate agreement pattern attested with inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors in Tatar, which can trigger not only a default 3rd person agreement, but also the marked person agreement reflecting the features of their restrictor or binder. I claim that in these constructions, inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors bear the features the agreement reveals, and propose a mechanism allowing them to acquire the features of their restrictor or binder. I 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 agreement.

Keywords: person agreement, quantifiers, intensifiers, anaphors, personal pronouns, Tatar

1. Introduction

Recent work in theoretical and typological linguistics revealed a number of puzzling asymmetries in agreement processes. Being generally construed as a one-to-one correspondence between the target and the controller resulting in the unification of matching features, agreement appeared to exhibit numerous departures from this pattern cross-linguistically. Much of such non-standard agreement cases involve personal pronouns as controllers.

Agreement with personal pronouns is a domain of various idiosyncrasies, which are usually handled in theoretical approaches by assuming a special status of marked (1st and 2nd) person feature. Since personal pronouns are the only class of nominals

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provided with this feature lexically (that is, not via agreement), restrictions on the distribution of the marked person feature constrain their syntactic properties. Moreover, person agreement restrictions may result in prohibition for personal pronouns to occupy specific syntactic positions, which is known as the Person Case Constraint, PCC (Bonet 1991; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2017; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Nevins 2007; Rezac 2011). This constraint affects weak pronominal elements, such as clitics or weak pronouns, which raises the question about the difference between weak and strong pronominal elements. Such facts call for an analysis of the internal structure of personal pronouns of various classes that would specify the localization of the person feature and the ways it is licensed in strong pronouns.

The idea that pronouns have complex internal structure has been most productive in explaining their syntactic distribution (argumental/predicative use), semantic interpretation and binding-theoretic status (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002); it has also been exploited in accounting for the PCC-immunity of strong pronouns (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999; Lyutikova & Sideltsev 2020). Importantly, these approaches allow identifying the localization of ϕ-features – person, number and gender/class – with a specific element, ϕ, within a decomposed pronoun. The pronoun has to contain this element if it bears ϕ-features.

Generally, the personal pronoun's features are lexically specified and semantically interpretable. However, bound 1st and 2nd person pronouns form a special class: their ϕ-features can be thought of as being valued by their binder (Kratzer 2009; Hicks 2009; Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd 2011). There are at least two types of bound pronouns exhibiting the person feature: fake indexicals, which look like usual personal pronouns but have a bound interpretation (*Only I got a question that **I** understood*), and anaphors agreeing for person (*I consider **myself** the best candidate*). These pronouns can serve as controllers for subsequent agreement processes, e.g. predicate agreement (Murugesan 2019; Rudnev 2020). Accordingly, person agreement can be controlled by a pronominal element that is not lexically specified for person but has acquired the person feature via agreement.

In this paper, I am going to discuss yet another phenomenon that involves triggering person agreement by a nominal controller whose person feature is not lexically specified but valued through agreement. The relevant context is provided by agreeing inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors (iQIAs) in (Kazan) Tatar (Kipchak/Turkic[1]). I demonstrate that iQIAs can trigger person agreement in all the configurations relevant for person agreement: predicate agreement, possessive agreement and postposition agreement. What makes this phenomenon exceptional is that the source of the person feature in iQIAs is the agreement of iQIAs with their genitive possessor.

The paper is organized as follows. In §2, I present the phenomenon and outline cross-linguistic parallels of iQIAs. §3 discusses analytical alternatives and argues for

[1] https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/kaza1250.

an account assuming reinterpretation of possessive agreement in iQIAs as a source of pronominal person and number features. In §4, I elaborate details of the analysis couched in the minimalist syntax framework. §5 concludes.

2. Agreeing QIAs in Tatar and their cross-linguistic parallels

Tatar exhibits a wide range of agreement configurations, which include predicate agreement, possessive agreement and postposition agreement. Importantly, in all these configurations, the full agreement for person and number is attested.

Predicate agreement is found in finite clauses, both root or embedded. The finite predicate exhibits person/number agreement with its subject (1a). Predicate agreement is not "omnivorous" (Nevins 2011): 1/2p object cannot trigger agreement in the presence of 3p subject (1b).

(1) Tatar[2]
a. *Min a-nɪ kür-de-*(m).*
I.NOM (s)he-ACC see-PST-1SG
'I saw her.'

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

Predicate agreement with marked person (1/2p) is obligatory; the corresponding affix cannot be omitted, cf. (2). For 3p nominals, only number agreement is attested; the presence of the number agreement marker on the predicate is optional (see Lyutikova 2017 for detail).

(2) a. *Min kil-de-*(m).*
I.NOM come-PST-1SG
'I came.'

b. *Sin kil-de-*(ŋ).*
you.NOM come-PST-2SG
'You came.'

(3) *Bala-lar kil-de-(lär).*
child-PL come-PST-PL
'(The) children came.'

[2] In what follows, the examples are from (Kazan) Tatar, unless otherwise specified.

Possessive agreement is attested in possessive DPs (ezafe-3 constructions in traditional grammatical descriptions, see Zakiev 1992), which contain the agreeing genitive possessor (4). The possessive construction covers a wide range of semantic relations, including various types of possession, agent/patient relations with picture nouns, and partitive relation. It is also used to accommodate the subject of a nominalized clause (5). As with predicate agreement, 1/2p possessors trigger full agreement; 3p plural possessors can (but need not) trigger the plural agreement marker on the head.

(4) *sin-eŋ mäktäb-eŋ*
you-GEN school-2SG
'your school'

(5) *Sin-eŋ bolaj taba kil-ü-eŋ-ne min dä kür-de-m.*
you-GEN so toward come-NMLZ-2SG-ACC I PRTC see-PST-1SG
'Me too, I saw you act like that.' [CWT][3]

Finally, denominal postpositions containing an ezafe marker exhibit agreement with their 1/2p pronominal complement (6); number agreement with 3rd person complements is not attested. 1/2p pronouns and the 3p sg pronoun appear in the genitive; other nominals, including the 3p pl pronoun, feature an unmarked form with denominal postpositions.

(6) a. *minem jan-ım-da*
I.GEN near-1SG-LOC
'near me'

b. *alar jan-(*nar)-ın-da*
they near-(*PL)-3-LOC
'near them'

It should be noted that Tatar easily allows *pro*-drop; accordingly, non-overt controllers are readily available for predicate, possessive and postposition agreement:

(7) a. predicate agreement
Vot, iptäš Bulatov, <*pro*$_{1SG}$> *siŋa ber kinäš bir-erge kil-de-m…*
here comrade Bulatov you.DAT one advice give-INF come-PST-1SG
'Now, comrade Bulatov, I came to give you an advice.' [CWT]

b. possessive agreement
<*pro*$_{2SG}$> *Mäktäb-eŋ-ne sagına-sıŋ-mı soŋ, Zamirä apa?*
school-2SG-ACC miss.IPFV-2SG-Q PRTC Zamira sister
'Do you miss your school, sister Zamira?' [CWT]

[3] The source of Tatar examples marked with [CWT] is the Text Corpus of the modern Tatar language (https://search.corpus.tatar/en). Other Tatar examples come from my fieldwork with Tatar consultants.

c. postposition agreement
Šul ara-da <*pro*$_{1PL}$> *jan-ıbız-ga* *Ildar da* *kil-de.*
this time-LOC near-1PL-DAT Ildar PRTC come-PST
'At this moment, Ildar came to us.' [CWT]

Given this background information, the agreement pattern attested with inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors (iQIAs) strikes as puzzling. These elements are built syntactically as partitive constructions ('which of us', 'self of us', 'each other of us') where the head bears the possessive agreement marker. This marker reflects the person/number features of the overt or covert genitive DP corresponding to the relevant participant: for a quantifier – to its restrictor (the set of individuals it quantifies over, (8a)); for an intensifier – to its controller (the argument it is construed with, (8b)); for an anaphor – to its antecedent (8c).

(8) a. *(bez-neŋ)* *bar-ıbız* *da*
we-GEN all-1PL PRTC
'all of us'

b. *(minem)* *üz-em*
I.GEN self-1SG
'myself'

c. *(sez-neŋ)* *ber-ber-egez*
you.PL-GEN one-one-2PL
'each other of you'

In all the agreement configurations, iQIAs can induce not only zero 3p agreement, but also marked 1/2p agreement reflecting the features of the possessive morphology on iQIAs. Thus, in the corpus example (9), the verb features the zero agreement marker, indicating that *beräregez* 'anyone of you' is 3p. In (10), however, the verb shows up with the 2p affix, as if it were agreeing with the quantifier's restrictor. Importantly, in both cases the alternative agreement pattern is also available – 2p for (9) and 3p for (10). In what follows I dub the pattern in (9) as non-agreeing iQIAs and the pattern in (10) as agreeing iQIAs.

(9) *Ƒal-dan* *kajt-kač,* *tagın* ***berär-egez*** ***kür-de-Ø-me*** *a-nı?*
vacation-ABL return-CNV again any-2PL see-PST-3-Q he-ACC
'Did anyone of you see him again after returning from vacation?' [CWT]

(10) *Ä xäzer, äfände-lär,* ***berär-egez*** *šušı* *kijem-ne* *kij-eƥ*
and now sir-PL any-2PL this clothing-ACC put_on-CNV
irkenlek-kä *čıg-ıƥ* *kit-ärgä* ***telä-mi-sez-me?***
space-DAT exit-CNV go-INF want-NEG.IPFV-2PL-Q
'And now, gentlemen, would anyone of you put on this clothing and go outside?' [CWT]

The variation in agreement pattern encompasses universal and existential quantifiers (*härber* 'every', *barı da* 'all', *berär* 'any', *hičber* 'no one'), quantifiers involving cardinal numerals (*dürtebez* 'four of us'), adjectival interrogative pronouns (*kajsı* 'which', but not *kem* 'who'), intensifiers (*üz* 'self'), reflexive and reciprocal pronouns (*üz* 'self', *ber-berse* 'each other'). The reflexive pronoun coincides with the intensifier (*üz* 'self'), cf. (11); this type of polysemy is widely attested cross-linguistically (König & Siemund 2000).

(11) a. *Alsu közge-dä üz-e-n kür-de.*
Alsu.NOM mirror-LOC self-3-ACC see-PST
'Alsu saw herself in the mirror.'

b. *Alsu / <pro$_{3SG}$> üz-e a-nı kür-de.*
Alsu.NOM self-3 this-ACC see-PST
'Alsu herself / She herself saw him.'

Importantly, only inflected pronouns exhibit the agreeing pattern. Thus, in (12), the interrogative pronoun *kem* 'who' can be perfectly construed with the ablative restrictor *sezdän* 'from you'; but in this case, the pronoun does not bear a possessive agreement marker and cannot trigger 2p predicate agreement.

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

Another important point to note is that agreement with iQIAs cannot be considered as agreement with the prominent internal possessor, a syntactic phenomenon attested in various linguistic families and areas (Bárány et al. 2019). In Tatar, predicate agreement with true possessors is ungrammatical, as example (13) demonstrates: when the standard possessive construction occupies the subject position, the predicate can only agree with the head noun.

(13) *Bez-neŋ / pro$_{1PL}$ dus-lar-ıbız kil-de / kil-de-lär / *kil-de-k.*
we-GEN friend-PL-1PL come-PST / come-PST-PL / come-PST-1PL
'Our friends came.'

It should be noted that QIAs are often construed as possessive, partitive or elective constructions (cf. English *which of us*, *ourselves*, Russian *kto iz vas* 'who among you, lit. who from you', Georgian *šeni tavi* 'yourself, lit. your body', Basque *zuen burua* 'yourselves, lit. your head', Estonian *kes teie seast* 'who among you, lit. who out of you', etc). Importantly, personal pronouns bearing the 1/2p feature have a dependent status in such configurations, so that the head is the quantifier/intensifier/anaphor. Since the

whole construction is assumed to inherit the features of the head, we expect it to be 3p; this expectation is borne out for all these languages:

(14) a. English
Can you spot who of us ***is*** *the rock'n'roll star?*

b. Estonian
*Kes teie seast või-**b** mind patus süüdistada?*
who you.PL.GEN from can-**3SG** I.PART sin accuse.INF
'Which one of you can accuse me of sin?'

c. Georgian
me m-ʒul-s čem-i tav-i.
I.DAT 1SG.SBJ-hate-**3SG.OBJ** my-NOM self-NOM
'I hate myself.' (Amiridze 2006: 56)

d. Basque
<*pro*$_{2PL.ERG}$> *Zuen buru-a saldu **d-Ø-u-zue**.*
your.POSS head-DEF.ABS sold **3**_ABS-SG_ABS-AUX-2PL_ERG
'Y'all have given yourselves away.' (Artiagoitia 2003:620)

The absence of person agreement with anaphors is also predicted by the Anaphor Agreement Effect (AAE; Rizzi 1990; Woolford 1999), which bans the contentful (i.e., varying for ϕ-features, non-default) agreement with anaphors. Though the AAE affects all anaphors, not only those built as a possessive construction, the type we are discussing here can be perfectly subsumed under this generalization.

To sum up, marked person agreement with QIAs is not expected, based on the internal structure of these constructions. However, agreeing inflected quantifiers and intensifiers are attested in the world's languages: inflected quantifiers are found in Quechua (Muysken 1989, 2013; Faller & Hastings 2008), several Bantu languages (Baker 2008; Jerro 2013; Jerro & Wechsler 2015) and Turkish (Ince 2008; Aydın 2008); Turkish also shows agreement with inflected intensifiers. In (15), several examples are reproduced.

(15) a. Quechua
wakin ri-n-ku / wakin-m-nchis ri-nchis
some go-3-PL some-EUPH-1PL.INCL go-1PL.INCL
'Some (people) go.' / 'Some of us go.' (Muysken 2013: 267)

b. Kinyarwanda (Bantu; Rwanda)
Mw-ese mw-agi-ye ku i-duka
2PL-all 2PL-PST.go-PRF to CL5-store
'All of you went to the store.' (Jerro & Wechsler 2015: 148)

c. Turkish
Sinema-ya birkaç-ınız gid-ecek-siniz.
cinema-DAT a_few-2PL go-FUT-2PL
'A few of you will go to the theatre.' (Ince 2008: 2)

d. Turkish
Ödev-i *kendi-niz* *yap-acak-sınız.*
homework-ACC self-2PL do-FUT-2PL
'(You) yourselves will do the homework.' (Ince 2008: 2)

Several analyses have been proposed for accounting this non-standard agreement pattern. Muysken (2013) emphasizes that agreement with inflected quantifiers in Quechua is only licit if the set of individuals denoted by the quantifier can be identified with the set of individuals denoted by its restrictor (e.g. *all of us*, *both of us* etc.). As for quantifiers denoting an indefinite subset (*some of us*), Muysken suggests that it can optionally be equivalent to the proper subset of the set denoted by the quantifier inflection and thus coincide with it. Thereby, Muysken calls for a semantic agreement analysis, which reflects the features of the referent rather than the features of the linguistic expression denoting the referent.

Ince (2008) and Aydın (2008) take a different stance and argue that agreement with inflected quantifiers and intensifiers is an instance of a standard agreement. Though the derivations they propose are slightly different, they share the insight that it is a zero pronominal subject (*pro*) that controls predicate agreement in constructions with inflected quantifiers and intensifiers.

Another account of the agreement with inflected quantifiers is proposed for Kinyarwanda by Jerro & Wechsler (2015). Importantly, person/number inflection on the quantifier is not expected for Bantu languages, which generally support class concord within noun phrases (cf. Kinyarwanda *ibyo bi-ntu by-ose* [these.CL8 CL8-things CL8-all] 'all these things'). Thus, both phenomena – person/number inflection on quantifiers and agreement with them – require explanation. Jerro and Wechsler provide a diachronically-based account: they argue that person/number inflection on quantifiers is a result of the diachronic development of the referential pronoun within the quantifier phrase into an agreement marker. Personal predicate agreement with the inflected quantifier reflects the pre-final stage of grammaticalization, where the inflected quantifier construction demonstrates ambiguity as to the status of the person-number morpheme as a grammatical agreement marker or as a cliticized referential pronoun.

In this paper, I propose an alternative account for agreeing iQIAs in Tatar, which shares various insights with previous analyses but does not replicate any of them. I follow Muysken (2013) and Jerro & Wechsler (2015) in that agreement with iQIAs relies on the identification of the controller with the restrictor/antecedent of iQIAs; however, I suppose that this identification is not only functional (the iQIA is used to denote an object with differing features), but also formal (the iQIA acquires the formal features of its restrictor/antecedent). Thus, like Ince (2008) and Aydın (2008), I claim that agreement with iQIAs is an instance of standard grammatical agreement, but unlike in their analyses, the controller of this agreement is not *pro*, but the iQIA itself. Finally, I adopt Jerro & Wechsler's (2015) idea that the difference between the agreeing and non-agreeing patterns is structurally represented, so that agreeing iQIAs contain a referential personal pronoun bearing ϕ-features, which non-agreeing iQIAs lack.

In the next section, I argue for this analysis building on additional Tatar data, and dismiss several analytical alternatives to the current proposal.

3. More data and analytical alternatives

In this section, I provide further characterization of Tatar iQIAs, which makes them special as compared to similar phenomena discussed above.

As mentioned in §1, Tatar iQIAs show person/number agreement not only in the subject – finite predicate configuration, but in all other configurations where person/number agreement is expected. Thus, in (16), possessive agreement with the inflected reciprocal pronoun *berberebez* 'each other of us' is exemplified; the anaphor itself is bound by the PRO subject of the infinitive. (17) is an example of the possessive agreement in nominalization; this time, the agreement controller is the inflected interrogative pronoun *kajsıbız* 'which of us'. Finally, in (18), the inflected intensifier *üzeŋ* 'yourself' triggers the person/number agreement on the postposition.

(16) *Uŋıšlı xezmättäšlek öčen* ***ber-ber-ebez-neŋ*** *mömkinlek-lär-****ebez****-ne*
beneficial cooperation for RECP-RECP-1PL-GEN capacity-PL-1PL-ACC
*häm ixtıjaž-lar-****ıbız****-nı öjrän-ergä kiräk.*
and interest-PL-1PL-ACC study-INF need
'For a mutually beneficial cooperation, we have to study capacities and interests of each other.' [CWT]

(17) ***Kajsı-bız-nıŋ*** *satučı-dan produkcija sostav-ı-nda GMO*
which-1PL-GEN seller-ABL production content-3-LOC GMO
*komponent-lar-ı bul-u-bul-ma-u turında sora-gan-****ıbız*** *bar?*
component-PL-3 be-NMLZ-be-NEG-NMLZ about ask-PFV.PTCP-1PL EXIST
'Which of us asks the seller about the presence of GMO components in the products?' [CWT]

(18) ***Üz-eŋ-neŋ*** *jan-ıŋ-da bit, tırıš, tıjnak,*
self-2SG-GEN near-2SG-LOC here diligent modest
küz-eŋ-ä genä kara-p […] *tora.*
eye-2SG-DAT EMPH look-CNV AUX.IPFV
'Here he is near you, diligent and modest, keeps looking you in the eye […].' [CWT]

These data are in contrast with their counterparts in other languages. It seems that agreement with iQIAs is generally restricted to finite subjects. In Turkish, agreement with iQIAs is attested in finite clauses exclusively, that is, in clauses with a nominative subject (Aydın 2008). 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 1p agreement is ungrammatical.

(19) Turkish
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.' (Aydın 2008)

(20) Turkish
Ali [*hep-miz-in ev-e git-tiğ-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.' (Aydın 2008)

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) Turkish
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' (Aydın 2008)

Similarly, Quechua exhibits asymmetries in subject and object agreement with inflected quantifiers: for the relevant group of quantifiers triggering the obligatory subject agreement, the object agreement is optional (Muysken 2013: 270). As for Bantu languages, person agreement is only expected in subject-predicate configurations, inflected quantifiers being the single exception to this generalization (Baker 2008: 186).

The second parameter that makes Tatar special in that default agreement is always an option: any iQIA in whatever agreement configuration can trigger both person/number agreement (i.e. agreeing iQIA pattern) and default agreement (i.e. non-agreeing iQIA pattern). In other languages with agreeing iQIAs, the distribution of the two patterns is more restricted. For Turkish, Ince (2008) claims that the agreeing pattern is the only option with finite predicate agreement; Aydın (2008) suggests that the non-agreeing pattern is available as well. Both authors agree that in other configurations, only non-agreeing iQIAs are licit. In Kinyarwanda, the non-agreeing iQIA pattern is not attested (Jerro 2013; Jerro & Wechsler 2015). In Quechua, the distribution of agreement patterns is more intricate: one group of inflected quantifiers exhibits obligatory person/number agreement in subject position and optional person/number agreement in object position; another group of inflected quantifiers allows for both patterns in both positions (Muysken 2013: 270, Table 18).

Finally, let us discuss if the controller of the inflection on the iQIA can be overtly expressed, and if so, in which form it surfaces.

Tatar iQIAs are built as possessive constructions; consequently, the person/number inflection is an exponent of the possessive agreement with a nominal in the genitive possessor position. Not surprisingly, personal pronouns surface readily as genitive dependents:

(22) a. *Nasıjr-nı* ***minem*** *üz-em-neŋ ikenče*
Nasir-ACC **I.GEN** self-1SG-GEN second
jartı-m kebek kabul itä-m.
half-1SG like perception do.IPFV-1SG
'I consider Nasir as my own second half.' [CWT]

b. *Ƒuk*, ***minem*** *üz-em al-asɪ-m kilä.*
no **I.GEN** self-1SG take-POT-1SG come.IPFV
'No, (I) wish I take (it) myself.' [CWT]

c. *Äjt*, ***bez-neŋ*** *kajsɪ-bɪz gönah-lɪ-rak soŋ?*
tell.IMP **we-GEN** which-1PL sin-ATTR-COMP PRTC
'Tell (us) which of us is more sinful.' [CWT]

In the finite subject position, the restrictor of the quantifier and the controller of the intensifier can appear not only in the genitive, but also in the nominative:

(23) a. ***Bez*** *kajsɪ-bɪz xuž̌a-lar öčen kaderle-räk?*
we.NOM which-1PL host-PL for dear-COMP
'Which of us is dearer to the hosts?' [CWT]

b. ***Min*** *üz-em äle-gä berni aŋla-mɪj-m.*
I.NOM self-1SG now-DAT anything understand-NEG.IPFV-1SG
'I don't understand anything myself right now.' [CWT]

Importantly, in configurations other than the finite subject, the overt restrictor/antecedent cannot surface as a nominative pronoun. This is shown in (24b–d), as opposed to (24a) and (23).

(24) a. *Sez / sez-neŋ berär-egez čɤg-ɪp kit-ärgä*
you.NOM/you-GEN any-2PL exit-CNV go-INF
telä-mi-sez-me?
want-NEG.IPFV-2PL-Q
'Would anyone of you go outside?'

b. **bez / bez-neŋ ber-ber-ebez-neŋ ixtɪjaž̌-lar-ɪbɪz*
we.NOM/we-GEN RECP-RECP-1PL-GEN interest-PL-1PL
'interests of each other of us'

c. **Bez / bez-neŋ kajsɪ-bɪz-nɪŋ anɪŋ turɪnda sora-gan-ɪbɪz bar?*
we.NOM / we-GEN which-1PL-GEN it.GEN about ask-PFV.PTCP-1PL EXIST
'Which of us asks about it?'

d. **sin / sineŋ üz-eŋ-neŋ jan-ɪŋ-da*
you.NOM/you.GEN self-2SG-GEN near-2SG-LOC
'near you'

I believe that this data can be summarized as follows. In all configurations, Tatar iQIAs have the same underlying structure, where the overt or covert (i.e. *pro*) personal pronoun is located in the genitive possessor position and controls possessive agreement of the QIA (25a). In the finite subject position, two constructions compete: either the inflected quantifier / intensifier occupies the subject position itself (as in (22b–c)),

or the split configuration (25b) arises where the subject position is occupied by the nominative pronoun and the inflected quantifier/intensifier is a floating quantifier, either adverbial or stranded in the argument position. Since feeding of the quantifier float is often restricted to the (finite) subject, this pattern is expected. In this case, the pronominal possessor is covert, as the overt pronoun would be superfluous.

(25) a. [*bezneŋ* / <pro_{1PL}> [… QIA …]-1PL]
b. *bez* … [<pro_{1PL}> [… QIA …]-1PL]

Turning to other languages exhibiting agreeing iQIAs we observe various mismatches. In Turkish, the pronoun within the iQIA construction can be nominative not only in the finite subject position, but in whatever configuration (Aydın 2008; see examples (26a-b) from Jerro & Wechsler 2015, ex. (36)–(37)).

(26) Turkish
a. *Çocuk-lar* [*siz* *hep-iniz-e*] *hikaye-yi* *anlat-tı-lar.*
kids-PL you.NOM all-2PL-DAT story-ACC tell-PST-PL
'The children told all of you the story.'

b. *Hikaye* [*siz* *hep-iniz*] *tarafından* *anlat-ıl-di.*
story we.NOM all-2PL by tell-PASS-PST
'The story was told by all of you.' (Jerro & Wechsler 2015, ex. (36–37))

In Quechua (Muysken 2013: 267–268), agreeing iQIAs are structurally similar to the possessive construction as well, cf. (27a-b); pronominal possessors can be overt or covert, as in Tatar. However, the pronominal possessor cannot appear overtly in iQIAs, cf. (27c).

(27) Quechua
a. *xwancha-q* *mama-n*
John-GEN mother-3
'John's mother'

b. *nuqanchis-pa* / <$pro_{1PL.INCL}$> *mama-nchis* *hamu-nqa*
1PL.INCL-GEN mother-1PL.INCL come-3.FUT
'Our mother will come.'

c. * *nuqanchis-(pa)* *pi-ni-nchis*
1PL.INCL-(GEN) who-EUPH-1PL.INCL
intended: 'who of us' (Muysken 2013: 267–268)

Bantu languages with agreeing iQIAs allow nominative pronoun doubling in the subject position, cf. (28) from Kinyarwanda. They differ, however, with respect to the availability of doubling in other structural positions. Jerro & Wechsler (2015) show that,

whereas Kinyarwanda disallows pronoun doubling in object position, in Lubukusu this option is readily available. They suppose that this difference is crucial for the interpretation of the inflection on the quantifier: it is always referential in Kinyarwanda but only in the absence of the full pronoun in Lubukusu.

(28) Kinyarwanda
(Mwe) mw-ese mw-agi-ye ku i-duka
2PL 2PL-all 2PL-PST.go-PRF to CL5-store
'All of you went to the store.' (Jerro & Wechsler 2015)

(29) a. Kinyarwanda
*Aba-na ba-bwi-ye (*mwe) mw-ese in-kuru.*
CL2-children CL2-tell-PRF 2PL 2PL-all CL9-story
'The children told you all the story.' (Jerro & Wechsler 2015)

b. Lubukusu
Lioneli a-a-bol-el-a (enywe) mw-eesi embakha.
Lionel CL1-PST-tell-APPL-FV 2PL 2PL-all story
'Lionel told you all the story.' (Jerro & Wechsler 2015)

Let us take stock of the properties of Tatar iQIAs that make previous analyses proposed for other languages ill-fitting and requiring adjustment. First, Tatar exhibits person/number agreement with iQIAs not only in finite clause predicates, but also in possessive and postpositional phrases. Therefore, the quantifier stranding analysis argued for by Ince (2008) and Aydın (2008) for Turkish is not tenable for Tatar. A successful account should also be able to treat person/number agreement in the configurations where the iQIA is the only candidate for agreement controller.

Secondly, it is always possible to express the genitive pronominal restrictor/antecedent overtly, with the full pronoun, and the presence of the overt genitive pronoun does not affect the iQIA's ability to control person/number agreement. This means that person/number inflection on iQIAs is always a regular exponent of possessive agreement and does not get reinterpreted as a referential pronoun that controls agreement, as Jerro & Wechsler (2015) suggest for Kinyarwanda. Instead, the successful account for Tatar should treat iQIAs themselves as controllers of the external person/number agreement, and ensure that the ϕ-features of the iQIA co-vary with the ϕ-features of its genitive pronominal restrictor/antecedent.

Thirdly, both agreeing and non-agreeing patterns are available in any agreement configuration for Tatar iQIAs. Consequently, analyses predicting different distribution of agreeing and non-agreeing iQIAs – e.g. Muysken (2013) or Ince (2008) – are not suitable for our goals. The successful account of the difference between agreeing and non-agreeing iQIAs in Tatar should rely on their internal structure rather than syntactic position or agreement configuration.

In the next section, I develop an analysis that aims to comply with these requirements.

4. Building personal pronouns

As stated in the previous section, a successful analysis of Tatar iQIAs should be able to represent structurally two types of iQIAs: agreeing and non-agreeing.

Non-agreeing iQIAs can be conceived of as a standard possessive/partitive construction: their features are determined by their head, which, in its turn, is a substantivized quantifier/interrogative adjectival pronoun (e.g. *härber* 'every', *kajsı* 'which'; see Figure 1), or a reflexive noun (*üz* 'self'; see Figure 2). Possessive agreement on the head is triggered by the genitive possessor and does not affect the iQIA's own features.

The challenge now is to propose a structure for agreeing iQIAs that would differ minimally from non-agreeing iQIAs in that its formal features would coincide with those of the nominal in the possessor's position. In what follows I claim that agreeing iQIAs possess an additional layer in their functional structure, the ϕP, which is the locus of pronominal ϕ-features.

In order to develop this model I take the following steps. I start with identifying the internal structure of ordinary personal pronouns in Tatar, both overt and covert (*pro*), and suggest that they contain a ϕP. Then I demonstrate that ϕPs in Tatar can have unvalued ϕ-features, which should be valued via binding. Finally, I show how agreeing iQIAs are derived.

According to Déchaine & Wiltschko's (2002) typology of pronouns, at least three structural classes of pronouns can be distinguished: NP-pronouns, ϕP-pronouns and DP-pronouns. The relation between the classes is hierarchical: ϕP-pronouns embed NP, and DP-pronouns embed ϕP. The ϕP-layer is the locus of the pronoun's ϕ-features: NP-pronouns cannot have ϕ-features, and DP-pronouns inherit ϕ-features of their ϕPs. DP-pronouns and ϕP-pronouns differ as to their status with respect to binding: DP-pronouns are inherently indexical, cannot undergo indexical shift and cannot be bound, whereas ϕP-pronouns are non-indexical, can shift and can be bound.

Tatar possesses two types of personal pronouns – overt (*min* 'I', *sin* 'you', *bez* 'we', *sez* 'you.PL') and covert (*pro*). As shown convincingly by Podobryaev (2014), overt personal pronouns cannot be semantically bound and do not undergo indexical shift in the contexts of reported speech:

(30) a. *Min genä minem äti-m-ne jarata-m.*
I.NOM only I.GEN father-1SG-ACC love.IPFV-1SG
'Only I love my father.'
1. strict reading: nobody else loves my father <free>
2. *sloppy reading: nobody else loves one's father <bound>

b. *Alsu* [*min kaja kit-te-m dip*] *äjt-te?*
Alsu.NOM I.NOM where go.out-PST-1SG that say-PST
1. 'Which place did Alsu say I went?' <non-shifted>
2. *'Which place did Alsu say she went?' <shifted>

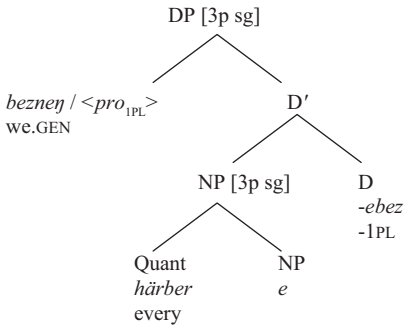

Figure 1: The structure of non-agreeing iQIAs: iQIAs based on attributive elements

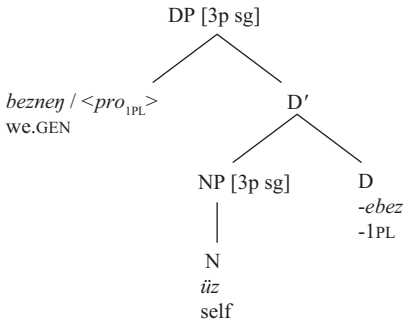

Figure 2: The structure of non-agreeing iQIAs: iQIAs based on nominal elements

On the other hand, *pro* can (but need not) be bound and undergo indexical shift:

(31) a. *Min genä* <*pro*$_{1SG}$> *äti-m-ne jarata-m.*
I.NOM only father-1SG-ACC love.IPFV-1SG
'Only I love my father.'
1. strict reading: nobody else loves my father <free>
2. sloppy reading: nobody else loves one's father <bound>

b. *Alsu* [<*pro*$_{1SG}$> *kaja kit-te-m dip*] *äjt-te?*
Alsu.NOM where go.out-PST-1SG that say-PST
1. 'Which place did Alsu say I went?' <non-shifted>
2. 'Which place did Alsu say she went?' <shifted>

Therefore, I conclude that overt personal pronouns are DP-pronouns whereas covert personal pronouns (*pro*s) can have a DP or a ϕP construal. Being a ϕP, *pro* needs to be semantically bound by an antecedent (Kratzer 2009; Wurmbrand 2017) or a shifty operator in the higher functional domain of the clause (Anand & Nevins 2004; Deal 2020).

I adopt Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd's (2011) hypothesis and suggest that referential dependence of ϕP-pronouns in Tatar follows from their ϕ-deficiency. Specifically, I suggest that bound/shifted interpretations of *pro*s in (31) arise because their ϕ-features need valuation, which is only possible via binding. If so, the Tatar lexicon contains a lexical item ϕ with unvalued person and number features – a minimal pronoun, in terms of Kratzer (2009).

Pronominal elements are often ambiguous between a head and a proform construal (i.e. minimal and maximal projection). For example, the English personal pronoun *we* can function as a DP-proform or head an adnominal pronoun construction like *we linguists* (Postal 1966; Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002). I believe that the peculiarity of Tatar is that its ϕ can combine with a nominal constituent:[4]

(32) $[_{\phi P}\ \phi\ [_{NP}\ \ldots\ ]]$

I propose that the structure in (32) underlies agreeing iQIAs in Tatar. Specifically, ϕ combines with the NP represented by a substantivized quantifier/interrogative adjectival pronoun or a reflexive noun. Since ϕ introduces unvalued person/number features, the ϕP based on lexical categories such as nouns or quantifiers can become a derived personal pronoun.

An important question is bound to arise here: if ϕ can combine with an NP, why is this derivation restricted to quantifiers and a single noun (*üz* 'self'), and cannot involve other lexical items? I think that these restrictions follow from the semantic requirement that the ϕP be identifiable with its binder. As Muysken (2013) suggests, only specific semantic relations, such as subset/superset and identity relations, are tolerated in agreeing iQIAs. Presumably, this requirement applies for Tatar iQIAs as well. Quantifiers built on cardinal numerals are a very instructive example. As corpus data suggest, inflected cardinals like *öčebez* 'three of us' can have two interpretations: an indefinite interpretation (three individuals out of the definite set 'us') and a definite interpretation (the definite set 'us' consisting of three individuals, 'we three'). In the latter case, the identity relation obtains. Importantly, the agreeing pattern is attested with the definite identity interpretation:

(33) a. *Dürt-ebez ber bülmä-dä jašä-de-k.*
four-1PL one room-LOC live-PST-1PL
'We four lived in one room.' [CWT]

b. *Dürt-ebez-neŋ ber-ebez-dä čišä al-ma-bız.*
four-1PL-GEN one-1PL-EMPH solve.IPFV take-NEG.FUT-1PL
'No one of us four can solve (it).' [CWT]

[4] I take no particular stance with respect to the exact position of the nominal constituent within ϕP, whether it is a complement of ϕ, as Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) suggest, or rather a truncated relative clause adjoined to ϕP, along the lines of Sigurðsson & Wood (2020).

c. *Süz ike-bez-neŋ ara-bız-da kal-ır…*
word two-1PL-GEN between-1PL stay-FUT
'That stays between us…' [CWT]

If, on the other hand, the subset interpretation is prominent, the non-agreeing pattern is preferable:

(34) a. *Kal-gan öč-ebez-neŋ küz-lär-e maŋgaj-ga men-gän ide*
stay-PFV.PART three-1PL-GEN eye-PL-3 forehead-DAT rise-PFV.PTCP AUX.PST
šul čak-ta.
this time-LOC
'Meanwhile, the eyes of the other three of us popped out of their heads'. [CWT]

b. *Šu-nıŋ kebek bez-neŋ öč-ebez-neŋ ǯen-när-e,*
this-GEN by we-GEN three-1PL-GEN genie-PL-3
ser-lär-e ber bul-dı.
puzzle-PL-3 once become-PST
'In this way, three of us once became genies, puzzles.' [CWT]

c. *Bez-neŋ öč-ebez-neŋ bala-lar-ı ukı-rga ker-gän-dä-dä*
we-GEN three-1PL-GEN child-PL-3 study-INF enter-PFV.PTCP-LOC-EMPH
art-ı-nnan gel ul jör-de.
after-3 always this go-PST
'When the children of three of us went to school, he always followed them.' [CWT]

However, it is evident that the semantic distinction between agreeing and non-agreeing iQIAs is not that clearcut: among agreeing quantifiers, we find existentials like *berär* 'any' and *hičber* 'no one' as well as interrogatives like *kajsı* 'which', which cannot involve identity. I conclude that the identity relation is a basis for the emergence of the agreeing pattern with quantifiers rather than a formal requirement; yet it favours the choice of the agreeing pattern if available.[5]

Thus, it is possible to restrict the derivation of ϕPs involving ϕ as a head to specific complements of ϕ – those that can support the identity relation between the features of the whole phrase and the features of the element in the genitive possessor position. Now we have to elaborate a mechanism that would ensure that the ϕP receives the relevant features.

[5] Another option suggested by an anonymous reviewer is to consider agreeing iQIAs as resulting from the predicate inversion within the complex DP (Den Dikken & Singhapreecha 2004). However, I doubt that this analysis is tenable for Tatar, since genitives are not licit as predicates (a special possessive predicative form is employed instead). A more exquisite option is to consider the agreement slot of iQIAs as ambiguous between a linker (bound head-level element) and agreement marker (bound inflectional element), along the lines of Franco et al. (2015), and to try to associate the agreeing pattern with the former structural option. Though Tatar ezafe differs significantly from Iranian ezafe or the Albanian linker in that it agrees with the possessor, not the head noun, this approach is worth investigating, and I leave it for further research.

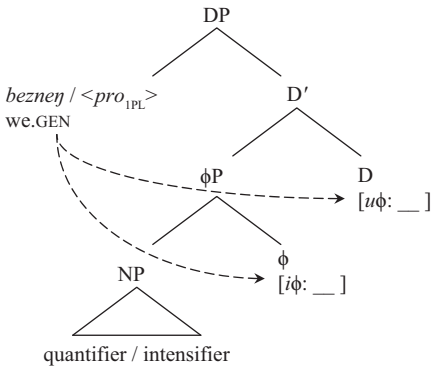

Figure 3: Agreeing inflected quantifiers and intensifiers

Recall that ϕ has unvalued person and number features, which can only be valued via agreement. I believe that the pattern under discussion requires a modification of the standard minimalist agreement operation (Chomsky 2000). Specifically, I believe that for the derivation of agreeing iQIAs, the model of Multiple Reverse Agree advocated by Zeijlstra (2012) and Wurmbrand (2017) for similar phenomena is the best fit. Multiple Reverse Agree does not restrict agreement operations with the same controller and allows downward valuation of the features of the target.

The derivation of agreeing inflected quantifiers and intensifiers proceeds as follows. When the ϕP combines with the possessive/partitive D, the genitive possessor/restrictor is licensed (see Figure 3). A configuration for Multiple Downward Agree arises: the controller c-commands multiple targets in a local configuration (Wurmbrand 2017). Both ϕ and D heads receive the ϕ-features of the possessor/restrictor.

Importantly, ϕ-features on ϕ and on D differ in the following respect: whereas ϕ-features on D are uninterpretable, ϕ-features on ϕP are interpretable. Accordingly, ϕP becomes a 1PL pronoun via agreement, but DP does not. The 1PL features on D are only relevant for morphology but do not contribute to interpretation and, crucially, do not make this DP 1PL, as agreement with ordinary possessive DPs suggests (cf. (13)).

Instead, the DP depicted in Figure 3 becomes 1PL through feature inheritance – the standard way DP pronouns acquire ϕ-features from their ϕPs (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002). In this way, the DP becomes an agreeing inflected quantifier/intensifier, which is a definite R-expression, analogous to overt personal pronouns.

The derivation of inflected anaphors is slightly different. As a starting point, recall that bound anaphors never contain an overt genitive possessor, cf. (30)-(31). I hypothesize that this is because binding of inflected anaphors amounts to valuation of the ϕ-features of the ϕP in their Spec, DP. Accordingly, agreeing inflected anaphors are built like agreeing inflected quantifiers, with the only difference that anaphors need external valuation of the ϕ-features of their ϕP possessor, and intensifiers are self-sufficient with respect to the values of their ϕ-features. The structure of inflected anaphors is represented in Figure 4.

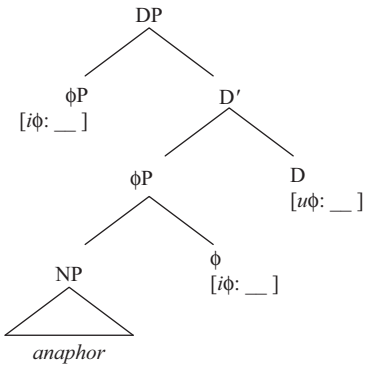

Figure 4: Agreeing inflected anaphors

The last question to be answered is how exactly the inflected anaphor acquires the ϕ-features of its external binder. One option is that all the ϕ-features (on ϕ, D and ϕP) get valued simultaneously, in a joint multiple agreement process. Unfortunately, this hypothesis requires that the complement of D is transparent for agreement, to the effect that ϕ can receive the ϕ-features' values directly from the external binder, without mediation of the nominal in spec, DP. Since such construals are not attested in Tatar, this hypothesis should be rejected.

Another option, which is compatible with the phasal status of D, treats agreement as feature sharing (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007): agreement is thought of as turning occurrences of a feature into instances of the feature. Accordingly, agreement of two elements that have their ϕ-features unvalued is not vacuous: it amounts to the identification of the ϕ-features on these elements. This shared ϕ-features' set can then be valued in both elements as a consequence of a subsequent agreement process involving only one of these elements.

Under this view, the derivation of inflected anaphors in Figure 4 proceeds in two stages. DP-internal agreement processes result in identifying the three occurrences of ϕ-features as instances of the same ϕ-features' set. Then the ϕP at the edge of DP undergoes agreement with the external binder. Crucially, this process not only values the ϕ-features on ϕP, but also all other instances of ϕ-features within the DP. In this way, agreeing inflected anaphors acquire their ϕ-features through binding of their possessor ϕP.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, I presented an intricate pattern of agreement with inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors. Though agreement with inflected quantifiers is not unique and attested in several unrelated languages, the Tatar pattern has a number of peculiar properties. Agreement with iQIAs in Tatar extends to all the agreement configurations and varies systematically with a more common non-agreeing pattern. Importantly,

agreement with iQIAs cannot be analysed as agreement with a pronominal antecedent or restrictor of the iQIA, which makes analyses proposed in the literature inapplicable.

Therefore, the objective was to improve the analysis by integrating the insights of Muysken (2013) and Jerro & Wechsler (2015), who suggest that agreeing iQIAs do possess person/number features attested in agreement. While Muysken relies on semantic agreement for agreeing quantifiers in Quechua, and Jerro & Wechsler make use of the diachronic analysis of the inflection on quantifiers as referential pronouns, my idea is that agreement with iQIAs is an instance of the standard grammatical agreement and that iQIAs are built syntactically as derived personal pronouns. In implementing this idea, I exploit the structural complexity of regular personal pronouns and argue that iQIAs and bound pronouns share a specific element, ϕ, which is the locus of the encoding of ϕ-features and whose presence is characteristic for personal pronouns. I provide a derivation of agreeing and non-agreeing iQIAs building upon the Reverse Agree model and the feature-sharing model.

Agreeing iQIAs in Tatar are interesting in many respects. On the one hand, they broaden our knowledge about a typological range of agreement constructions and, specifically, non-trivial controllers. Though agreement with iQIAs is not unique to Tatar, the cross-linguistic comparison shows that this agreement pattern is not a uniform phenomenon but can have different properties and different sources in different languages.

On the other hand, agreeing iQIAs are highly relevant for formal theorizing. Not only do they present robust evidence against the Anaphor Agreement Effect; they can serve as a testing ground for competing formal models of agreement, providing important cues for various parameters such as directionality, multiplicity, and feature makeup.

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Abbreviations

(The list only contains abbreviations not included in the Leipzig list.)

1–3–1st–3rd person; AEE – Anaphor Agreement Effect; ATTR – attributivizer; CL – class; CNV – converb; COMP – comparative; EUPH – euphonic element; EXIST – existential; FV – final vowel; iQIAs – inflected quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors; OPT – optative; PART – partitive; PCC – Person Case Constraint; PRTC – particle; QIAs – quantifiers, intensifiers and anaphors.

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