Let's make this personal: Deriving agreeing inflected quantifiers in Tatar

The puzzle. In Tatar, the finite predicate exhibits person/number agreement with its subject. (Marked) person (i.e. 1/2p) agreement is obligatory; number agreement with 3p DPs is subject to variation. The puzzle arises with **inflected quantifiers** and **anaphors**, (1)-(2), which allow for both non-agreeing (i.e. 3p) and agreeing (1/2p) pattern. In (1), the indefinite pronoun *beräregez* 'anyone of you' is 3p, as expected and as its counterpart in English is. In (2), however, the verb shows up with the 2p affix, thus reflecting ϕ-features of the restrictor. The variation encompasses universal and existential quantifiers (*här* 'every', *barı da* 'all', *berär* 'any', *hičber* 'no one' etc), adjectival interrogative pronouns (*kajsı* 'which', but not *kem* 'who'), as well as the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns.

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

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

In what follows we consider and reject two analyses proposed in the literature for similar phenomena, namely "prominent possessor analysis" and "subject *pro* analysis", and claim that inflected quantifiers can acquire a marked person feature via feature sharing (Pesetsky&Torrego 2007) / reverse agree (Wurmbrand 2017).

Alternative 1: "Prominent possessor analysis". Inflected quantifiers are built as a partitive construction (3) and allow for the restrictor pronoun to surface as a genitive DP or *pro* (4). Crucially, the partitive construction in Tatar is structurally and distributionally identical to the possessive construction (ezafe 3), cf. (5). The pattern exemplified in (2) can therefore be viewed as agreement with the prominent possessor (Bárány et al. 2019).

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

(4) *bez-neŋ* / *pro*$_{1PL}$ *kajsı-lar-ıbız*
we-GEN which-PL-1PL
'which (pl) of us'

(5) *bez-neŋ* / *pro*$_{1PL}$ *bärän-när-ebez*
we-GEN ram-PL-1PL
'our rams'

The exact mechanisms making the possessor visible to the functional structure of the clause may vary (cf. Deal 2017); for Tatar, covert possessor raising or even unmediated LDA might be an option. However, this line of reasoning cannot be pursued. Firstly, possessor raising is normally fed by internal arguments exclusively, which is not the case in Tatar. Secondly, predicate agreement with true possessors is ungrammatical, cf. (6).

(6) *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.'

Alternative 2. "Subject *pro* analysis". Ince (2007) reports about a similar phenomenon in Turkish; the analysis relies on the hypothesis that inflected quantifiers are merged as a doubling structure containing the silent *pro* equipped with the relevant ϕ-features ([$_{DP}$ DP *pro*$_{<1/2p>}$]). In the course of the derivation the DP splits, *pro* is stranded in Spec, AgrP and enters AGREE, whereas the inflected quantifier DP moves to a higher A'-position and remains caseless. Crucially, *pro*-doubling is only licit in finite subjects, and this is why Turkish disallows agreeing inflected quantifiers as embedded subjects and possessors. In Tatar, however, person agreement with inflected quantifiers / anaphors is licit in all agreement contexts, cf. (7a-c) with possessive,

embedded participial and postpositional constructions, respectively. Note also that agreeing quantifiers / anaphors in (7) are genitive, not caseless. Since in the possessive / participial / postpositional construction only one case is licensed, (7a-c) cannot be analyzed as containing a silent *pro* as an agreement controller.

(7) a. *uŋıšlı* *xezmättäšlek* *öčen* ***ber-ber-ebez-neŋ*** *mömkinlek-lär-**ebez**-ne*
beneficial cooperation for REC-REC-1PL-GEN capacity-PL-1PL-ACC
häm *ixtıjaǯ-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.'

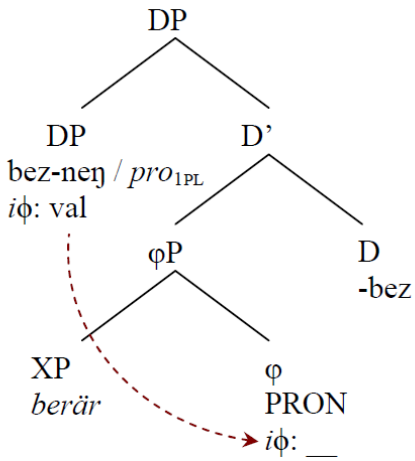
b. ***kajsı-bız-nıŋ*** *satučı-dan* *produkcija* *sostav-ı-nda* *GMO*
which-1PL-gen seller-ABL production content-3-LOC GMO
komponent-lar-ı *bul-u-bul-ma-u* *turında* *sora-gan-**ıbız*** *bar?*
component-PL-3 be-NMN-be-NEG-NMN about ask-PART-1PL be.EXIST
'Which among you ask the seller about the presence of GMO components in the products?'

c. ***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-CONV AUX
'Here is he near you, diligent and modest, keeps looking you in the eye.'

Analysis. We propose that person agreement with inflected quantifiers and anaphors is an instance of the standard AGREE and that inflected quantifiers / anaphors bear the ϕ-features this agreement reveals. We build on the idea that agreeing inflected quantifiers / anaphors contain a minimal pronoun equipped with a set of unvalued interpretable features (hence, no correlation between interpretability and valuation, along the lines of Pesetsky&Torrego 2007).

We adopt Déchaine&Wiltschko's (2002, 2010) proposal that pronouns come in different size; specifically, we distinguish between DP-pronouns (which are indexical, cannot shift and be bound) and φP-pronouns (which are non-indexical, can shift and be bound). Overt 1/2p pronouns in Tatar never shift and resist binding, hence are DPs, whereas $pro_{<1/2>}$ can shift and be locally bound (Podobryaev 2014), hence ambiguous between DP and φP construals. Since binding can be conceived of as feature valuation (Kratzer 2009), bound φPs can enter the derivation with unvalued features.

We propose that agreeing inflected quantifiers / anaphors differ from the non-agreeing ones in that they contain an additional layer between D and (substantivized) nominal structure, namely, the φP layer. The interpretable unvalued features on φ are identified with the φ-set of the restrictor in Spec, DP (e.g. via reverse AGREE). Interpretable valued features on φP are further inherited by D in the standard manner (Déchaine&Wiltschko 2002), producing 1-2p inflected quantifiers / intensifiers which are definite R-expressions. Bound anaphors (*üze* 'self', *ber-berse* 'each other') contain the φP layer as well, but for lack of the local binder in Spec, DP their φ-set is valued by their external syntactic binder. Finally, non-agreeing inflected quantifiers are non-pronominal, that is, they lack the φP layer and are structurally identical to possessive noun phrases ([$_{DP}$ DP [[XP] D]]).



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