

**MULTIVALUATION MEETS  
CASE VARIATION:  
A CASE STUDY OF TATAR POSTPOSITIONS**

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## Case assignment and $\varphi$ -agreement

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**Minimalism:** case assignment as a result of agreement by  $\varphi$ -features

- $\varphi$ -features of the argument appear on the verbal head
- a case reflex occurs on the argument

### Opposite approaches:

Agreement is parasitic on case marking

(G&B Case filter; *Reverse Agree*, Zeijlstra 2012, Wurmbrand 2014)

Fundamental difference between the case marking and agreement

(Marantz 1991, Bobaljik 2008, Preminger 2014, Baker 2015)

## Case assignment and $\varphi$ -agreement

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Weisser 2020: case and agreement asymmetries in coordination, two distinct mechanisms

case assignment:

- always symmetric in nominal coordination
- a purely syntactic mechanism

$\varphi$ -agreement

- can display asymmetries in nominal coordination
- may happen in syntax or post-syntactically:
  - if  $\varphi$ -agreement is syntactic → default or resolved agreement
  - if  $\varphi$ -agreement is post-syntactic → agreement with the linearly closest target

# Case assignment and $\varphi$ -agreement

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Weisser 2020: case and agreement asymmetries in coordination, two distinct mechanisms

Advantage of the approach:

Different agreement patterns observed in nominal coordination are modelled successfully.  
What about case?

## **Symmetry of Case in Conjunction (SOCIC)**

Case is always evenly distributed amongst all of the conjuncts in nominal conjunction.

Counterexamples, when case appears to be asymmetric:

&P clitics

Pronominal allomorphy

Suspended affixation

morphological  
phenomena

### **Aim of the study:**

Explore whether there is any relation between agreement and case assignment in case of Tatar coordination in postpositional phrases  
(Tatar > Turkic/Altaic)



## Predictions of Weisser's analysis

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Empirical predictions for conjoined NPs/DPs that systematically show different morphological case **as for case asymmetry being a morphological phenomenon** (Weisser 2020: 44-46):

P1. The case of all but one of them is morphologically zero due to case marker deletion:

\* [conjunct<sub>1</sub>-CASE1 & conjunct<sub>2</sub>-CASE2]

P2. The case that is not zero is found on a noun that is peripheral to &P:

\* [conjunct<sub>1</sub>-∅ & conjunct<sub>2</sub>-CASE1 & conjunct<sub>2</sub>- ∅]

P3. The case that is not zero is found on the final conjunct if it is a suffix and on the first conjunct if it is a prefix.

\* [conjunct<sub>1</sub>-CASE & conjunct<sub>2</sub>-∅]

\* [∅-conjunct<sub>1</sub> & CASE-conjunct<sub>2</sub>]

## Predictions of Weisser's analysis

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Empirical predictions for conjoined NPs/DPs that systematically show different morphological case **if case and agreement are distinct mechanisms** :

We expect no interaction between the case and  $\varphi$ -agreement patterns:

Symmetrical case (SOCIC):

[conjunct<sub>1</sub>- $\emptyset$  & conjunct<sub>2</sub>-CASE]

\*[conjunct<sub>1</sub>-CASE & conjunct<sub>2</sub>- $\emptyset$ ]

Symmetrical or asymmetrical  $\varphi$ -agreement

[conjunct<sub>1</sub> & conjunct<sub>2</sub>] V-PL

[conjunct<sub>1</sub> & conjunct<sub>2</sub>] V-DEFAULT

[conjunct<sub>1</sub> & conjunct<sub>2</sub>] V-CONJ<sub>1</sub>

[conjunct<sub>1</sub> & conjunct<sub>2</sub>] V-CONJ<sub>2</sub> CLOSEST CONJUNCT AGREEMENT

**Possible testing environment:**

configurations where two conjoined NPs/DPs systematically show different morphological case AND different agreement patterns

# Tatar PPs

## 2 types of postpositions

The choice between GEN and NOM case form is determined by the morphosyntactic class of the nominal [Zakiev 1993; Lyutikova, Gerasimova 2019]

### Plain postpositions

e.g. *belän* 'with',  
*öçen* 'for'

Differential case marking  
No agreement

### Denominal postpositions

historically derived from nouns with locative semantic

e.g. *ös* 'top'  
*östendä* 'above'  
  
*jan* 'flank, side'  
*janına* 'to'

Differential case marking  
+ Possessive agreement

# Tatar PPs. Denominal postpositions

## 1. Differential case marking

The choice between GEN and NOM case form is determined by the morphosyntactic class of the nominal [Zakiev 1993; Lyutikova, Gerasimova 2019]

### Unmarked / NOM

All nouns, including proper names.

### GEN

Personal pronouns:

- 1<sup>st</sup> / 2<sup>nd</sup> person (min ‘I’, sin ‘you’)
- 3<sup>rd</sup> person (ul ‘he/she/it’)

## 2. Possessive agreement

obligatory possessive agreement marker (ezafe form) for 3rd person pronouns and nominals

### Ezafe form

Personal pronouns:

- 1<sup>st</sup> / 2<sup>nd</sup> person (min ‘I’, sin ‘you’)
- 3<sup>rd</sup> person (ul ‘he/she/it’)

Nominals

### Ezafe-less form

Personal pronouns:

- 1<sup>st</sup> / 2<sup>nd</sup> person (min ‘I’, sin ‘you’)

# Tatar PPs

## Ezafe-less form

### (2) ezafe-less form

- a. *minem*                      *arkada*  
 I.GEN                              because  
 ‘because of me’
- b. *sineŋ*                        *arkada*  
 you.GEN                        because  
 ‘because of you’
- c. *?anıŋ*            / \* *ul*                      *arkada*  
 (s)he.GEN / (s)he.NOM            because  
 ‘because of her’
- d. \**Marat*                      / \**Marat-nıŋ*            *arkada*  
 Marat.NOM                      / Marat. GEN            because  
 ‘because of brother’

## Ezafe form

### (3) ezafe form

- a. *minem*            *arka-m-da*            / \* *arka-sı-nda*  
 I.GEN                      because-1SG            / because-3  
 ‘because of me’
- b. *sineŋ*                      *arka-ŋ-da*            / \* *arka-sı-nda*  
 you.GEN                      because-2SG            / because-3  
 ‘because of you’
- c. *anıŋ*                      / \* *ul*                      *arka-sı-nda*  
 (s)he.GEN / (s)he.NOM            because-3  
 ‘because of her’
- d. *Marat*                      / \**Marat-nıŋ*            *arka-sı-nda*  
 Marat.NOM / Marat.GEN            because-3  
 ‘because of brother’

# Tatar PPs

## Ezafe-less form

### (2) ezafe-less form

- a. *minem* *arkada*  
I.GEN because  
'because of me'
- b. *sineŋ* *arkada*  
you.GEN because  
'because of you'
- c. *ʔanıŋ* / \* *ul* *arkada*  
(s)he.GEN / (s)he.NOM because  
'because of her'
- d. \**Marat* / \**Marat-nıŋ* *arkada*  
Marat.NOM / Marat.GEN because  
'because of brother'

## Ezafe form

### (3) ezafe form

- a. *minem* *arka-m-da* / \* *arka-sı-nda*  
I.GEN because-1SG / because-3  
'because of me'
- b. *sineŋ* *arka-ŋ-da* / \* *arka-sı-nda*  
you.GEN because-2SG / because-3  
'because of you'
- c. *anıŋ* / \* *ul* *arka-sı-nda*  
(s)he.GEN / (s)he.NOM because-3  
'because of her'
- d. *Marat* / \**Marat-nıŋ* *arka-sı-nda*  
Marat.NOM / Marat.GEN because-3  
'because of brother'

# Tatar PPs

## Ezafe-less form

### (2) ezafe-less form

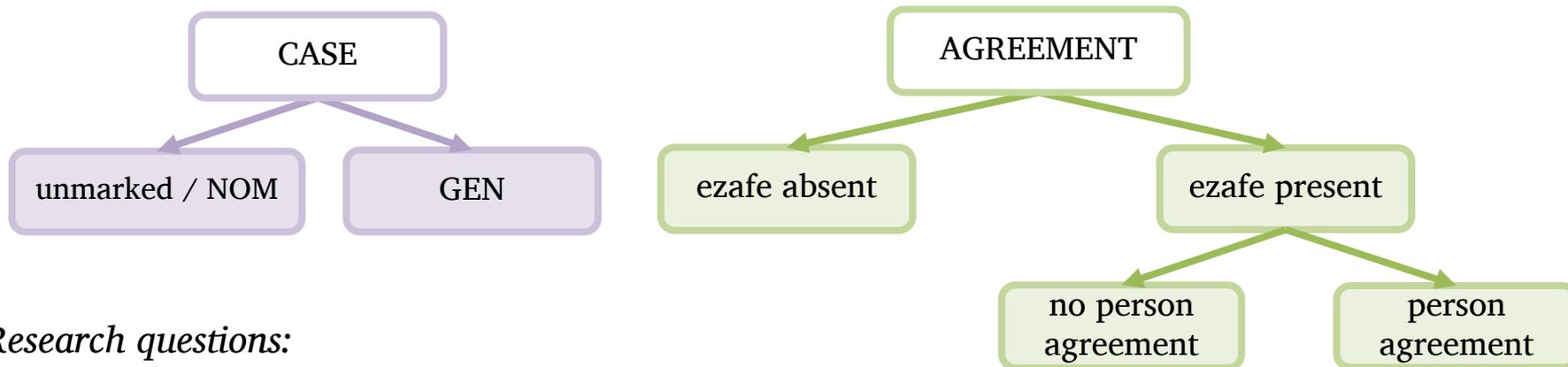
- a. *minem*      *arkada*  
I.GEN      because  
'because of me'
- b. *sineŋ*      *arkada*  
you.GEN      because  
'because of you'
- c. *?anıŋ* / \**ul*      *arkada*  
(s)he.GEN / (s)he.NOM      because  
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you.GEN      because-2SG      / because-3  
'because of you'
- c. *anıŋ* / \**ul*      *arka-sı-nda*  
(s)he.GEN / (s)he.NOM      because-3  
'because of her'
- d. *Marat* / \**Marat-nıŋ*      *arka-sı-nda*  
Marat.NOM / Marat.GEN      because-3  
'because of brother'

# Tatar PPs



## Research questions:

- i) If two conjuncts belong to two different morphosyntactic classes, does the symmetry of case in conjunction hold in Tatar?
- ii) For both case-symmetrical and case-asymmetrical coordinated constructions, which conjunct controls person agreement with postposition? Is agreement resolved based on the morphosyntactic class of a conjunct, based on its linear position or both?
- iii) Is the correlation between agreement pattern and case marking observed in PPs with a single argument preserved in case of coordination?

We assess these questions using symmetrical coordination with conjunction *häm*

(cf. asymmetrical coordination with *belän*: A B *belän* 'A with B').

A *häm* B 'A and B'

# Survey 1

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Production experiment (fill-in-the-gap)

## 2 x 2 design:

POSTPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION : plain vs. denominal postpositions

ORDER OF CONJUNCTS: <pronoun, proper noun> vs. <proper noun, pronoun>

**Materials:** *min häm Marat* ‘me and Marat’

Plain postpositions used as baseline: only DCM

**Fillers:** 1:1

Coordination with NPs from the same morphological class

**Task:** Provide case and agreement morphology for nominal coordination and postposition in brackets.

- (4) Tanılğan dzırçı (sin häm Äxmet, arasında) \_\_\_ \_\_\_ \_\_\_ \_\_\_ utırdı.  
‘The famous singer was sitting between you and Ahmet.’

# Survey 1. Results, CASE

**Respondents:** 109 (mean age: 23, SD 7; min 17, max 61; 85 females)

90 out of 109

- born and living in The Republic of Tatarstan
- using Tatar on a daily basis

## Data analysis:

Significant interaction of factors: POSTPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION & ORDER OF CONJUNCTS  
(log-linear analysis,  $p$ -value = 0,001)

The observed distribution differs significantly from the distribution that we would expect to observe if personal pronouns were always marked GEN and nominals like *Marat* remained unmarked ( $\chi^2$  goodness of fit,  $p$ -value < 0.01).

Proportions of frequencies different for plain and denominal postpositions  
(Cochran-Mantel-Haenszel test,  $\chi^2_{MH} = 409.98$ , 1 df,  $p$ -value < < 0.001)

Table 1. Case marking of conjuncts for plain postpositions

	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
<i>Marat and me</i>	19	179	0	0
<i>Me and Marat</i>	116	0	39	0

Table 2. Case marking of conjuncts for denominal postpositions

	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
<i>Marat and me</i>	22	156	0	13
<i>Me and Marat</i>	64	7	103	25

# Survey 1. Results, CASE

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Proportions of frequencies different for plain and denominal postpositions  
(Cochran-Mantel-Haenszel test,  $\chi^2_{MH} = 409.98$ , 1 df,  $p$ -value < < 0.001)

- Proper nouns rarely used in GEN
- Pronouns can be used in NOM, preferred in NOM with plain postpositions

Table 3. Case marking of nominal and pronominal conjuncts

Conjunct\Case	Plain postposition		Denominal postposition	
	NOM	GEN	NOM	GEN
<i>Marat</i>	353	0	345	45
<i>Me</i>	135	39	93	297

# Survey 1. Results, AGREEMENT

3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive agreement marker is preferred, regardless of whether the closest conjunct is 3<sup>rd</sup> person or not and regardless of case marking.

In 21% of cases the non-agreeing form was chosen.

Tables 4-5. Survey 1 results: possessive agreement and case marking

	Marat and me			
	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
Non-agreeing form	1	36	0	3
1 <sup>st</sup> conjunct/default	21	111	0	9
2 <sup>nd</sup> conjunct	0	7	0	1
Coordination	0	2	0	0

	Me and Marat			
	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
Non-agreeing form	0	0	0	0
1 <sup>st</sup> conjunct	0	0	0	0
2 <sup>nd</sup> conjunct/default	64	7	102	25
Coordination	0	0	1	0

CLOSEST CONJUNCT AGREEMENT

Not clear, whether it is *default*

# Survey 2

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Acceptability judgments questionnaire:

## Part 1:

COORDINATION:

*min häm Marat* ‘me and Marat’

*Marat häm min* ‘Marat and me’

CASE COMBINATION:

<NOM NOM> <NOM GEN> <GEN NOM> <GEN GEN>

POSTPOSITION:

plain vs. denominal postpositions (*with balanced agreement*)

## Part 2: *min häm sin* ‘me and you’, denominal postpositions only

POSSESSIVE AGREEMENT:

NON-AGREEING vs. 2ND CONJUNCT vs. DEFAULT

vs. 1ST CONJUNCT vs. RESOLVED

CASE COMBINATION:

<NOM NOM> <NOM GEN> <GEN NOM> <GEN GEN>

**Fillers:** 1:2,

PPs with one complement from different morphosyntactic class

**Task:** 1-5 Likert scale

**Respondents:** 38 from Exp.1 (mean age: 24, SD 8; min 17, max 62; 30 females)

## Survey 2. Results

### Data analysis:

#### Part 1. *min häm Marat*

Repeated Measures ANOVA yields  $p\text{-value} \ll 0.001$  for factors POSTPOSITION and CASE COMBINATION and their interaction; Tukey's multiple comparison test:

The most acceptable patterns for plain postpositions:

*Marat*<sub>NOM</sub> and *me*<sub>GEN</sub>

*Me*<sub>NOM</sub> and *Marat*<sub>NOM</sub>

*Me*<sub>GEN</sub> and *Marat*<sub>NOM</sub>

The most acceptable patterns for denominal postpositions:

*Marat*<sub>NOM</sub> and *me*<sub>GEN</sub>

*Me*<sub>GEN</sub> and *Marat*<sub>NOM</sub> is significantly less acceptable with denominal postpositions.

Table 6. Survey 2 results for nominal coordination with proper noun and pronoun

		NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
Plain postpositions	<i>Marat and me</i>	1,5	3,84	1,32	2,08
	<i>Me and Marat</i>	3,05	2,11	3,11	1,84
Denominal postpositions	<i>Marat and me</i>	2,18	2,58	1,82	1,95
	<i>Me and Marat</i>	1,84	2,21	1,84	1,79

## Survey 2. Results

### Data analysis:

#### Part 2. *min häm sin*

Repeated Measures ANOVA yields p-value  $< < 0.001$  for factors POSSESSIVE AGREEMENT and CASE COMBINATION and their interaction; Tukey's multiple comparison test:

The most acceptable case marking – *me*<sub>GEN</sub> *and you*<sub>GEN</sub>  
Agreement with 2<sup>nd</sup> conjunct rated unacceptable

In general: marginal acceptability (middle of the scale)

Table 7. Survey 2 results for nominal coordination with two personal pronouns

me and you	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
Non-agreeing form	1,42	2,08	1,89	2,89
2 <sup>nd</sup> conjunct	1,63	1,79	1,53	1,55
Default (3SG)	1,71	1,66	2	3,05
1 <sup>st</sup> conjunct	1,71	1,55	1,53	3
Coordination (PL)	1,34	1,97	1,76	3,5

## Back to predictions

Empirical predictions for case asymmetry being a morphological phenomenon (Weisser 2020: 44-46):

*Tatar PPs with conjoined NPs/DPs that systematically show different morphological case:*

- P1. \* [conjunct<sub>1</sub>-CASE1 & conjunct<sub>2</sub>-CASE2] not tested  
P2. \* [conjunct<sub>1</sub>-∅ & conjunct<sub>2</sub>-CASE1 & conjunct<sub>2</sub>-∅] not tested  
P3. \* [conjunct<sub>1</sub>-CASE & conjunct<sub>2</sub>-∅] → Survey 1 results confront this prediction

The case that is not zero on the non-final conjunct

- can be found for both plain and denominal postpositions in production
- is judged acceptable (3.11) for plain postpositions in AJ survey
- is judged unacceptable (1.84) for denominal postpositions in AJ survey

For plain postpositions:	production	acceptability
Marat <sub>NOM</sub> and me <sub>GEN</sub>	179	✓
Me <sub>GEN</sub> and Marat <sub>NOM</sub>	39	✓

For denominal postpositions:	production	acceptability
Marat <sub>NOM</sub> and me <sub>GEN</sub>	156	✓
Me <sub>GEN</sub> and Marat <sub>NOM</sub>	103	X



# Back to predictions

Empirical predictions that follow from the assumption that case and agreement are distinct mechanisms:

Symmetrical case (SOCIC):

[conjunct<sub>1</sub>-∅ & conjunct<sub>2</sub>-CASE]  
\*[conjunct<sub>1</sub>-CASE & conjunct<sub>2</sub>-∅]

Symmetrical or asymmetrical  $\varphi$ -agreement:

[conjunct <sub>1</sub> & conjunct <sub>2</sub> ]	V-PL
[conjunct <sub>1</sub> & conjunct <sub>2</sub> ]	V-DEFAULT
[conjunct <sub>1</sub> & conjunct <sub>2</sub> ]	V-CONJ <sub>1</sub>
[conjunct <sub>1</sub> & conjunct <sub>2</sub> ]	V-CONJ <sub>2</sub>

Survey 1: the difference between distribution of case marking patterns for plain and denominal postpositions

→ agreement influences the choice of case

Survey 2: 2<sup>nd</sup> conjunct agreement unacceptable for *me and you*

→ agreement is restricted

- A lot more variability than is predicted based on SOCIC.
- Variability cannot be explained the same way as suspended affixation: in case of Tatar there are no signs of stem allomorphy or any other morphological processes.

# Discussion

- Default 3rd person agreement is the most frequent agreement pattern.  
Survey 2 results suggest that 2<sup>nd</sup> conjunct agreement is unacceptable unlike default agreement.  
→ the 3rd person possessive agreement marker should be considered a default agreement pattern in case of *Marat and me* and *me and Marat*
- Closest conjunct agreement pattern is found only when the final conjunct is personal pronoun: then the non-agreeing form of the postposition can be used.
- The non-agreeing form, agreement with the 1st conjunct or plural agreement can also be acceptable for two personal pronouns.

Survey 1	<i>Marat and me</i>			
	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
Non-agreeing form	1	36	0	3
<del>1<sup>st</sup> conjunct</del> /default	21	111	0	9
2 <sup>nd</sup> conjunct	0	7	0	1
Coordination	0	2	0	0

Survey 1	<i>Me and Marat</i>			
	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
Non-agreeing form	0	0	0	0
1 <sup>st</sup> conjunct	0	0	0	0
<del>2<sup>nd</sup> conjunct</del> /default	64	7	102	25
Coordination	0	0	1	0

Survey 2	
me and you	GEN GEN
Non-agreeing form	2,89
2 <sup>nd</sup> conjunct	1,55
Default (3SG)	3,05
1 <sup>st</sup> conjunct	3
Coordination (PL)	3,5

# Discussion

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## Open questions:

1. Why for *Marat and me* and *Me and Marat* only default agreement is used?
2. Why for *me and you* 4 agreement patterns are equally acceptable?
3. Why closest conjunct agreement is attested only for *Marat and me* but not for *Me and Marat* or *me and you*?
4. Why for *Marat and me* and *Me and Marat* case asymmetry is observed?

## Proposal:

### Lyskawa (2021):

- In coordination constructions the agreement morphology is chosen due to grammar-external mechanisms.
- The morphological features that are chosen in case of agreement with coordination can be absent in syntax: these features are never used when there are syntactic features available (e.g. in case of agreement with 1st/2nd person pronoun the default form is never used).
- Agreement controlled by coordination is a novel instance of conventional usage of a type where grammar provides no instructions and performance systems have to find a strategy for the resolution.
- This strategy may be governed by guidelines just like other grammar-external conventions are (e.g., the choice of polite forms based on age, social status and familiarity), and have access to additional computation mechanisms.

# Discussion

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## Open questions:

### 1. Why for *Marat and me* and *Me and Marat* only default agreement is used?

Coordinations involving two personal pronouns (*me and you*) and a pronoun and a proper noun (*Marat and me / me and Marat*) differ with respect to how syntactic computation handles them:

In case of a pronoun and a proper noun (*Marat and me / me and Marat*)

- grammar-internal agreement mechanism is unavailable due to the lack of  $\varphi$ -features on proper name.
- agreement happens post-syntactically

### 2. Why for *me and you* 4 agreement patterns are equally acceptable?

In case of two personal pronouns (*me and you*)

- both conjuncts have a full-fledged set of  $\varphi$ -features
- agreement may happen in syntax or post-syntactically

<i>me and you</i>	GEN GEN
Non-agreeing form	2,89
2 <sup>nd</sup> conjunct	1,55
Default (3SG)	3,05
1 <sup>st</sup> conjunct	3
Coordination (PL)	3,5

### 3. Why closest conjunct agreement is attested only for *Marat and me* but not for *Me and Marat* or *me and you*?

In case of agreement with 1st/2nd person  
→ features are present in syntax  
and grammar-internal agreement mechanism  
is available.

	<i>Marat and me</i>	<i>Me and Marat</i>
Non-agreeing form	40	0
1 <sup>st</sup> conjunct/default	141	0
2 <sup>nd</sup> conjunct/default	8	198
Coordination	2	1

In case of *Me and Marat* and *Marat and me* – under-specification in grammar.  
→ The performance system: syncretism and linearity effects.

#### *Me and Marat:*

- closest conjunct agreement conforms with default
- syncretic agreement

#### *Marat and me:*

- either default or no agreement
- lack of agreement is unavailable in case of *Me and Marat*:
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> conjunct licenses the ezafe-less form of the postposition in syntax
  - grammar-internal agreement mechanism is unavailable due to the lack of  $\varphi$ -features on proper name
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> conjunct is unable to value its features

# Discussion

## 4. Why for *Marat and me* and *Me and Marat* case asymmetry is observed?

Morphological case is mostly preserved for the conjuncts that belong to different morphosyntactic classes: the reversed marking is rarely attested.

*Marat*<sub>NOM</sub> and *me*<sub>NOM</sub>

unexpected NOM on pronoun

*Me*<sub>GEN</sub> and *Marat*<sub>GEN</sub>

unexpected GEN on *Marat*

*Me*<sub>NOM</sub> and *Marat*<sub>NOM</sub>

unexpected NOM on pronoun



processing effect of copying the marker  
or non-standard result of ineffability resolution

- Too frequent to be processing effect, not linear.

Survey 1	<i>Marat and me</i>			
	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
<del>1<sup>st</sup> conjunct/default</del>	21 (15%)	111 (79%)	0	9 (6%)

Survey 1	<i>Me and Marat</i>			
	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
<del>2<sup>nd</sup> conjunct/default</del>	64 (32%)	7 (4%)	102 (52%)	25 (13%)

# Discussion

## 4. Why for *Marat and me* and *Me and Marat* case asymmetry is observed?

Morphological case is mostly preserved for the conjuncts that belong to different morphosyntactic classes: the reversed marking is rarely attested.

*Marat*<sub>NOM</sub> and *me*<sub>NOM</sub>

unexpected NOM on pronoun

*Me*<sub>GEN</sub> and *Marat*<sub>GEN</sub>

unexpected GEN on *Marat*

*Me*<sub>NOM</sub> and *Marat*<sub>NOM</sub>

unexpected NOM on pronoun



processing effect of copying the marker  
or non-standard result of ineffability resolution

- Too frequent to be processing effect, not linear.

Lyskawa (2021):

In case of coordination performance systems have to find a strategy for agreement resolution.

This strategy is a **convention**.

- Marker deletion on *me* (~ suspended affixation) as a type of convention strategy used in Tatar.
- Result of ineffability resolution in grammar-external computation.

→ unlike in other languages with suspended affixation, suspended affixation in Tatar  
is **not the only convention strategy**

## Conclusion

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The distribution of case marking patterns for plain and denominal postpositions show that agreement influences the choice of case.

Contrary to predictions by Weisser (2020), case asymmetry in Tatar is not a morphological phenomenon: non-zero case is found on the non-final conjunct.

The Tatar data support the idea that in coordination the agreement morphology can be chosen both due to grammar-internal and grammar-external mechanisms:

Competing strategies for me and you:

- syntactic  licensing of non-agreeing form
- syntactic  computation 1PL
- post-syntactic  default
- post-syntactic  1<sup>st</sup> conjunct

If one conjunct lacks  $\varphi$ -features, grammar-internal agreement mechanism is unavailable, computation cannot be completed.

Competing strategies for Marat and me / me and Marat:

- syntactic  licensing of non-agreeing form (by the linearly closest me)
- syntactic  computation 1PL
- post-syntactic  default

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