

An intersection approach to syncretism in ATB dependencies

Abstract

Syncretism has been reported to have the peculiar property of repairing violations of syntactic constraints, e.g. with agreement (Schütze 2003; Bhatt & Walkow 2013) and case matching (Citko 2005; van Craenenbroeck 2012). This paper puts forward the view that in one well-reported instance of syncretism repair of case-matching violations with ATB-movement, this repair follows directly from the nature of ATB movement. We pursue a novel movement-based analysis in which ATB movement involves the actual fusion of two syntactic objects, via intersection of feature sets. As well as deriving the one-to-many relation between fillers and gaps in ATB, we show how the ‘repair’ effect of syncretism with case matching violations follows naturally under this approach.

1 Introduction

This paper addresses a widely discussed instance of the ‘repair effect’ of syncretism with violations of the case matching requirement in so-called Across-The-Board (ATB) constructions such as (1); see e.g. Ross (1967), Williams (1978), and de Vries (to appear) for an overview.

- (1) a. What does [John like ___] and [Mary hate ___] ?
b. The man who [John saw ___] and [Bill hit ___]

In languages with rich case morphology such as Polish, ATB constructions are subject to a case matching requirement, that is, ATB movement is only possible if the case assigned at each extraction site is the same:

- (2) a. *Czego Jan nienawidzi _{GEN} a Maria lubi _{ACC}?
what.GEN Jan hates and Maria likes
b. *Co Jan nienawidzi _{GEN} a Maria lubi _{ACC}?
what.ACC Jan hates and Maria likes
‘What does Jan hate and Maria like?’ (Citko 2005:487)

However, as noted by Borsley (1983); Dyła (1984); Franks (1995); Bondaruk (2003) and Citko (2005, 2011), this case matching requirement can be circumvented if the extracted item is syncretic, i.e. has the same morphological form for the cases in question. Whereas the equivalent of ‘what’ in Polish has different forms in genitive and accusative (1), ‘who’ is syncretic for genitive and accusative, and subsequently, ATB movement is possible despite the case mismatch (3).

- (3) Kogo Janek lubi _{ACC} a Jerzy nienawidzi _{GEN} ?
who.ACC/GEN John likes and George hates
‘Who does John like and George hate?’ (Borsley 1983:170)

Taken at face value, this ‘repair by syncretism’ seems to pose a challenge to a postsyntactic view of morphology such as Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle & Marantz 1993; Harley & Noyer 2003; Embick & Noyer 2007), since it seems that a syntactic operation such as ATB movement is licensed by morpho-phonological form. However, if syntax operates on abstract feature bundles with no morphological reality, as DM assumes, then it is difficult to reconcile this view with the observation that the case matching appears to be sensitive to the form of the elements in question. While some authors have attempted to maintain a DM view in the face of these facts by appealing to underspecification (e.g. Citko 2005; Asarina 2011), we will show that none of these approaches is entirely satisfactory (see section 3.1.4).

In this paper, we argue that the ameliorating effect of syncretism on case matching violations in ATB dependencies can be made to follow naturally under the view that ATB movement and syncretism have a common denominator, namely *intersection of feature sets*. The central characteristic of ATB is a one-to-many relation between fillers and gaps. From a derivational perspec-

tive, we capture the fact that two items seem to ‘become one’ by assuming that ATB movement involves movement of two items in parallel to an external workspace, where they are intersected to create a new item bearing the shared features of the movees. We argue that this view of ATB movement, and indeed the idea that movement in general (i.e. Internal Merge) must first proceed via an external workspace is independently motivated. More importantly, under this view of ATB movement, the syncretism facts come for free if we assume that syncretic forms result from an underspecified exponent realizing a feature shared by both elements. For example, if a language has a syncretism between nominative and accusative, this can be captured by assuming that the syncretic form only realizes a feature such as $[-OBL(IQUE)]$ that is present in both the specification of nominative and accusative. Under an intersection approach to ATB, the result of intersecting the feature sets of two DPs, each bearing nominative and accusative, would result in a new item bearing $[-OBL]$, that is, the feature realized as the syncretic form. If two cases are non-syncretic, then their feature sets do not overlap. Intersection of case features thus results in the empty set, and therefore a crash in the derivation. In this way, the ameliorating effect of syncretism on case mismatches follows independently from the mechanism of ATB movement and must not be independently stipulated. Since ATB movement involves intersection of feature sets, the only way for DPs bearing different cases to successfully undergo ATB movement is if they happen to have a case feature in common that is also realized by a syncretic exponent. The following paper is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses the data surrounding ‘repair by syncretism’ in ATB constructions in more detail and discusses the problems surrounding two previous DM-based approaches to this problem by Citko (2005) and Asarina (2011). Section 3 provides the analysis of ATB based on intersection. In particular, section 3.1 discusses previous approaches to ATB movement, section 3.2 lays out a novel approach to ATB utilizing intersection of feature sets, section 3.3 shows how this approach can derive the syncretism facts in Polish and section 3.4 presents an analysis of syncretism repair in Right Node Raising constructions in Russian. Finally, section 4 concludes the paper.

2 Syncretism and case matching with ATB movement

In languages with rich case morphology, ATB constructions are characterized by an asymmetric dependency between one filler and two gaps. There are various restrictions on what kind of gaps are possible in these constructions (see section 3.1), one of the more interesting ones being case matching. In languages with rich case morphology, the case assigned by the verb to each of the ‘gaps’ has to match. For example in Polish, the verbs *widzieć* ‘see’ and *lubić* ‘like’ both assign accusative and ATB movement is licensed (4).

- (4) *Kogo* Janek widział $_{-ACC}$ a *Maria* lubiła $_{-ACC}$?
 who.ACC John saw and Mary liked
 ‘Who did John see and Mary like?’ (Borsley 1983:170)

However, if the cases assigned by the verbs differ, for example with *lubić* ‘like’ (accusative) and *nienawidzić* ‘hate’ (genitive), then it is not possible for a single wh-phrase to fulfil the conflicting case matching requirements of each verb simultaneously.

- (5) a. **Czego* Jan nienawidzi $_{-GEN}$ a *Maria* lubi $_{-ACC}$?
 what.GEN Jan hates and Maria likes
 b. **Co* Jan nienawidzi $_{-GEN}$ a *Maria* lubi $_{-ACC}$?
 what.ACC Jan hates and Maria likes
 ‘What does Jan hate and Maria like?’ (Citko 2005:487)

An interesting exception to this, discussed by Borsley (1983); Dyła (1984); Franks (1995); Bondaruk (2003) and Citko (2005), is if the forms of two cases happen to be syncretic. For example, in the inanimate *wh*-series, the accusative and genitive forms of ‘what’ are not syncretic (*co* vs. *czego*). However, this is the case for genitive and accusative forms of ‘who’ (*kogo*). What we then observe is that violations of the otherwise strict case matching requirement in ATB constructions can be repaired by syncretism:

- (6) *Kogo* Janek lubi —_{ACC} a *Jerzy* nienawidzi —_{GEN} ?
 who.ACC/GEN John likes and George hates
 ‘Who does John like and George hate?’ (Borsley 1983:170)

Furthermore, we find this effect in languages other than Polish. For example, in German it is also not possible to have ATB movement from positions with mismatching cases (accusative vs. dative):

- (7) **Wen / wem* hat der Hans (in der Stadt) —_{ACC} getroffen und (mit ihren Einkäufen) —_{DAT} geholfen?
 who.ACC who.DAT has the Hans in the city met and with their shopping helped
 ‘Who did Hans meet (in the city) and help (with their shopping)?’

However, as with Polish, this effect is ameliorated if the forms are syncretic:¹

- (8) *Was für Frauen* hat der Hans (in der Stadt) —_{ACC} getroffen und (mit ihren Einkäufen) —_{DAT} geholfen?
 what.ACC/DAT for women.ACC/DAT has the Hans in the city met and with their shopping helped
 ‘What women did Hans meet and help (with their shopping)?’ (Hartmann et al. 2016)

Furthermore, this effect is by no means restricted to ATB *wh*-questions. There are examples of syncretism repair with ATB relativization. In (9) and (10), the Polish relative pronoun *której* is syncretic for genitive and dative and is thus licensed in relative clauses with mismatching verbs.

- (9) *Dziewczyna, której* Janek nigdy przedtem nie widział —_{GEN} a dzisiaj pożyczyl —_{DAT} pieniędzy
 girl who.GEN/DAT John never before NEG saw and today lent money
 ‘The girl who John had never seen before and today lent some money’
 (Polish; Dyła 1984:704)
- (10) *Dziewczyna, której* —_{DAT} było zimno i z powodu tego —_{GEN} nie było na zajęciach
 girl who.GEN/DAT was cold and from reason this.GEN not was at class
 ‘The girl who was cold and therefore not in class’ (Polish; Franks 1995:64)

However, since there is no syncretism between accusative and genitive, a mismatch between the two cases is ungrammatical:

- (11) **Dziewczyna, którą* Janek lubi —_{ACC} a *Jerzy* nienawidzi —_{GEN}
 girl who.ACC John likes and George hates
 ‘The girl who John likes and George hates’ (Polish; Dyła 1984:703)

In addition, [Franks \(1995\)](#) discusses case mismatches in relative clauses in Russian. In (12), the relative pronoun *kotoroj* is syncretic for instrumental and dative, meaning that case matching is satisfied.

- (12) *deвушка, kotoroj ja byl uvlečen —INST i daval den'gi —DAT*
 girl who.INST/DAT I was carried-away-with and gave money
 ‘The girl who I was carried away with and gave money to’
 (*Russian; Franks 1995:63*)

ATB topicalization also shows a case matching requirement that is obviated by syncretism. The third person masculine personal pronoun in Polish is syncretic for genitive and accusative (*jego*), whereas its feminine pendant is not (*ją* vs. *jej*). Consequently, only the former is possible in ATB topicalization structures with mismatched verbs.

- (13) a. *Jego Janek lubi —ACC a Jerzy nienawidzi —GEN*
 him.ACC/GEN John likes and George hates
 ‘Him, John likes and George hates.’
 b. **Ją Janek lubi —ACC a Jerzy nienawidzi —GEN*
 her.ACC Janek likes and George hates
 ‘Her, John likes and George hates.’
 (*Polish; Dylą 1984:703*)

A similar effect is reported for German by [te Velde \(2005\)](#) (with an example that he attributes to [van Oirsouw 1993](#)) (14) and [Blümel \(2014\)](#) (15). The definite determiner in German is not syncretic for nominative and accusative (*dieser* vs. *diesen*) and is therefore impossible in ATB configurations. On the other hand, the form of the bare noun is invariant in all cases and therefore (14b) is reported to be grammatical by [te Velde \(2005\)](#).²

- (14) a. **Dieser Käse mag ich nicht —ACC und —NOM ist auch nicht gut für mich.*
 this.NOM cheese.NOM like I not and is also not good for me
 ‘I don’t like this cheese and it isn’t good for me.’
 b. *?Käse mag ich nicht —ACC und —NOM ist auch nicht gut für mich.*
 cheese.NOM/ACC like I not and is also not good for me
 ‘I don’t like cheese and it isn’t good for me.’
 (*German; te Velde 2005:229*)

- (15) *?Bär-en hat er —ACC geliebt und —DAT geholfen.*
 bear-PL.ACC/DAT has he loved and helped
 ‘He has loved and helped bears.’
 (*Blümel 2014:30*)

A similar repair effect in German is also discussed by [Ott \(2012\)](#) for cases of so-called ‘split topicalization’ as in (16) (cf. [Fanselow & Ćavar 2002](#)). Whereas the word for ‘women’ is syncretic in dative and accusative (*Frauen*), ‘men’ is not (*Männern* vs. *Männer*). Accordingly, only the syncretic form is possible in split topicalization (16).

- (16) a. *?Frauen vertraut er nur blonden —DAT und küsst er nur hübsche*
 women.ACC/DAT trusts he only blonde.DAT and kisses he only pretty.ACC
 —ACC
 ‘As for women, he only trusts blonde ones and kisses pretty ones.’
 b. **Männer(*-n) hilft sie nur blonden —DAT und küsst sie nur*
 men.ACC(-DAT) helps she only blonde.DAT and kisses she only
 hübsche —ACC
 handsome.ACC

‘As for men, she only helps blonde ones and kisses handsome ones.’

(*German; Ott 2012:35*)

Finally, we also find a similar ‘repair by syncretism’ effect in another ATB construction, Right-Node Raising (RNR). In many respects, RNR is similar to ATB movement, only to the right (see section 3.4 for further discussion). *Asarina (2011:174)* shows that, in Russian, RNR imposes case matching requirements on the displaced element. The feminine noun ‘plate’ is not syncretic in the nominative and accusative cases (*tarelka* vs. *tarelku*) and is therefore not licensed in RNR construction (17).

- (17) *On ne ostavil —_{ACC}, tak kak emu nadoela —_{NOM}, *tarelk-a/-u* s chürnoj
he not kept as him sick.of plate-NOM/-ACC with black
kaëmkoj.
border
‘He didn’t keep, as he was sick of, the plate with the black border.’

Interestingly, if the nominative and accusative forms are syncretic, as with the neuter noun *bljudce* (‘saucer’), then a case mismatch is permitted (18).

- (18) On ne ostavil —_{ACC}, tak kak emu nadoela —_{NOM}, *bljudc-e* s chürnoj
he not kept as him sick.of saucer-ACC/NOM with black
kaëmkoj.
border
‘He didn’t keep, as he was sick of, the saucer with the black border.’

Whether or not RNR actually involves movement is a controversial issue that we return to in section 3.4.

2.1 Interim summary

We have seen that in Polish and German, there are case matching effects that arise with ATB constructions in which there is a one-to-many relation between fillers and gaps.³ On an intuitive level, it seems that what look like *bona fide* syntactic constraints are sensitive to the morpho-phonological form of linguistic objects. Taken at face value, the existence of ‘repair by syncretism’ would seem to be incompatible with postsyntactic ‘late insertion’ approaches to morphology, e.g. Distributed Morphology (*Halle & Marantz 1993; Harley & Noyer 2003; Embick & Noyer 2007; Nevins 2015*). Proponents of this view assume that syntax operates on abstract feature bundles that do not contain any morpho-phonological information. Consequently, if matching violations can be overridden by paradigmatic identity of distinct cases, then this would seem to pose a serious challenge to this view. On the other hand, one could claim that the syncretism facts indicate that case matching should be a processing or PF constraint, rather than a syntactic one (*Smits 1991*). However, implementing a matching restriction in this module of the grammar would entail PF (or the parser) having access to syntax-specific information about the case-assigning properties of individual verbs. This seems to be undesirable if we want to maintain a strictly modular view of grammar. As a result, we seem to be faced with the problem of ‘domain leakage’, that is, whichever module of grammar case matching is implemented in, it will require access to information ordinarily reserved for a different module.

In what follows, we argue that this is not necessarily the case under the view that both the mechanism for ATB movement and the approach to syncretism share a common property; non-empty intersection of feature sets. In the following section, we propose a new approach to ATB that can explain the syncretism facts while still remaining compatible with a DM view of morphology.

3 An intersection approach to ATB constructions

In this section, we present a new take on ATB constructions in which the one-to-many relation between fillers and gaps is derived by an intersection operation that creates a single item from those originating in the gaps. It will be shown how this can directly derive the link between syncretism and ATB movement under the assumption that syncretism is derived by means of underspecification. First, section 3.1 discusses the main approaches to ATB in the literature and how these struggle to capture ‘repair by syncretism’ in a satisfactory way. Section 3.2 will lay out some of the core assumptions required for the analysis to follow. The following section 3.3 illustrates how an intersection-based approach to ATB can explain why case matching violations can only be repaired by syncretic forms and section 3.4 extends this analysis to Right Node Raising in Russian.

3.1 Previous approaches to ATB

A number of different theories of ATB movement have been proposed in the literature. Broadly speaking, they fall into one of two camps: Those that assume that there is ‘extraction’ from both conjuncts in parallel, what we might call ‘symmetric approaches’, and those that assume that genuine extraction only takes place from one conjunct and the other gap is not related to movement (‘asymmetric approaches’). Asymmetric approaches derive the second gap in an ATB structure either via a parasitic gap, sideward movement or ellipsis. Each of these approaches will be discussed in turn, considering the extent to which they can account for the syncretism facts. Subsequently, we will do the same for symmetric approaches which either assume genuine movement from both conjuncts or a multidominant structure.

3.1.1 Parasitic gaps

The first kind of asymmetric approach to ATB assumes that extraction only takes place from the first gap (e.g. Munn 1992, 1993, 1999; Franks 1995; Reich 2007), and the second gap contains a parasitic gap derived by empty operator movement (following the analysis of parasitic gaps in Chomsky 1981):

- (19) *Parasitic gap approach to ATB*
What_{t₁} does [_{&P} [_{TP} John like t₁] and [_{TP} Op₂ Mary hate t₂]] ?

Some motivation for this comes from the observation that certain reconstruction phenomena seem to behave asymmetrically, that is, they seem to only be able to reconstruct into the first conjunct.⁴ In terms of deriving syncretism, one could appeal to the fact that it has sometimes been argued that parasitic gaps also exhibit case matching effects similar to the ones we find in ATB (Huybregts & van Riemsdijk 1985; Bayer 1988; Kathol 2001; Himmelreich 2016).⁵ Consider the German examples from Bayer (1988:420) in (20) and (21). In (20), the parasitic gap is assigned dative by the verb *anbieten* ‘offer’, whereas the real gap is assigned genitive by *entsinnen* ‘remember’. There seems to be the familiar case matching requirement (20) that is alleviated by syncretism (21).

- (20) *Dieses Polizisten hätte er sich [ohne —_{DAT} schon mal Geld angeboten
this policeman.GEN has.SUBJ he REFL without already once money offered
zu haben] niemals —_{GEN} entsinnen können
to have never remember can
‘He would have never been able to remember this policeman without having once offered
money to (him).’

- (21) ?Der Polizei hätte er sich [ohne —_{DAT} schon mal Geld angeboten zu
 the police.DAT/GEN has.SUBJ he REFL without already once money offered to
 haben] niemals —_{GEN} entsinnen können
 have never remember can
 ‘He would have never been able to remember the police without having once offered
 money to (them).’

However, the idea that case matching in ATB is related to parasitic gaps is undermined by the fact that not all languages show case matching effects with parasitic gaps, as also discussed by [Himmelreich \(2016\)](#). [Bondaruk \(1996, 2003\)](#) shows that Polish, the language with the most widely discussed examples of case matching in ATB, does in fact not seem to impose the same case matching requirement on parasitic gaps. In (22), the form *którą* is unambiguously accusative and not syncretic for genitive. Nevertheless, a mismatch between the real gap and the parasitic gap is tolerated, in contrast to ATB constructions.

- (22) Którą książkę obejrzał —_{ACC} [nie zabierając —_{GEN}]?
 which book.ACC looked.through not taking
 ‘Which book did he look through without taking?’ ([Bondaruk 2003:230](#))

If the explanation for case matching in ATB constructions came from the fact that ATB involves parasitic gaps, then this difference in Polish would be entirely unexpected. Furthermore, there are a number of other more fundamental asymmetries across languages between ATB and parasitic gaps, in particular the much more restricted nature of parasitic gaps cross-linguistically (see [Salzmann 2012a](#) for relevant discussion).

3.1.2 Sideward movement

A closely-related approach involves the application of Nunes’ (2001; 2004) *Sideward Movement* operation to ATB ([Hornstein & Nunes 2002](#)). In this approach, the filler in the ATB configuration undergoes ‘interarboreal’ movement (i.e. between workspaces; cf. [Bobaljik & Brown 1997](#)). In the derivation of ATB, the moved item originates in the second clause of the conjunction, which is built in its own workspace (23a). It then undergoes sideward movement to the workspace in which the first conjunct is built, where it is merged as the object of *like* (23b). At a later step, the *v*Ps form a conjunct (now in the same workspace) (23c). Finally, the *wh*-phrase in the first conjunct is extracted to SpecCP (23d).⁶

- (23) *Sideward movement approach to ATB*
- a. Workspace 1: [_{vP} Mary [_{VP} hate ⟨what⟩]] ⇒
 - b. Workspace 2: [_{VP} like what] ⇒
 - c. [&P [_{vP} John [_{VP} like what]] & [_{vP} John [_{VP} like ⟨what⟩]]] ⇒
 - d. [_{CP} what ... [_{vP} [_{VP} like ⟨what⟩]]] & [_{vP} [_{VP} hate ⟨what⟩]]]
-

This approach can neatly derive the fact that there is a gap in both conjuncts, however it does suffer from a number of technical issues regarding cyclicity and activity (see [Salzmann 2012a:401f.](#) for critical discussion). More importantly for our present purposes, it is not clear that this approach can derive ‘repair by syncretism’ in any insightful way. Since there is only a single element to which case is assigned, we require that cases can be assigned multiple times to the same item, or ‘stacked’ (see e.g. [McCreight 1988](#); [Yoon 2004](#); [Merchant 2006](#); [Richards 2013](#); [Pesetksy 2013](#); [Assmann et al. 2014](#)). The case matching requirement could be straightforwardly captured by stipulating that only identical cases can be stacked, but it is unclear how syncretism could be

invoked as a repair without opening the door to pre-syntactic morphology (also see [Salzmann 2012a:431, fn.41](#) for discussion).

3.1.3 Ellipsis

A different kind of asymmetric approach derives one of the ATB gaps via ellipsis ([Ha 2008](#); [Salzmann 2012a,b](#)). In Ha's (2008) approach, it is the gap in the first conjunct that is derived by ellipsis (24a), whereas [Salzmann \(2012a,b\)](#) assumes that it is the second one (24b).

(24) *Ellipsis approaches to ATB*

a. *RNR & ATB (Ha 2008)*

What_{t₁} does [_{TP} John like_[E_{RNR}] ⟨what⟩] and [_{TP} Mary hate t₁] ?

b. *Derivational ellipsis (Salzmann 2012a)*

What_{t₁} does [_{TP} John like t₁] and_[E_{ATB}] [_{TP} Mary hate ⟨what⟩] ?

Ha appeals to ellipsis approaches to Right Node Raising (cf. [Hartmann 2000](#), but see section 3.4), whereas Salzmann follows Aelbrecht's (2011) Agree-based approach to ellipsis licensing. In essence, both approaches are similar in that they involve some special version of Merchant's (2001) [E]-feature (however, only [Salzmann \(2012a\)](#) predicts asymmetric reconstruction in the first conjunct). The ellipsis analysis, as all asymmetric approaches, faces the challenge that ATB has been argued to require a 'single identity reading', which seems to implicate a movement gap in each conjunct (see e.g. [Citko 2005:489](#), but cf. [Munn 1999](#), [Salzmann 2012a:402, fn.4](#)). However, instead, we will focus on the question of 'repair by syncretism'. [Salzmann \(2012a:431, fn.41\)](#) claims that 'once ellipsis is involved and if morphological mismatches are tolerated, one may expect case matches in ATB'. Indeed, one central characteristic of ellipsis is that it is known to tolerate form mismatches of various kinds (see e.g. [Fiengo & May 1994](#); [Merchant 2013](#)). While morphological mismatches under ellipsis provide a potentially interesting account of exceptions to a case matching requirement in ATB, it seems that an ellipsis-based account predicts that there should not be a case matching requirement at all. Consider example (2a), repeated below.

(25) *Czego Jan nienawidzi _{—GEN} a Maria lubi _{—ACC}?
 what.GEN Jan hates and Maria likes
 'What does Jan hate and Maria like?'

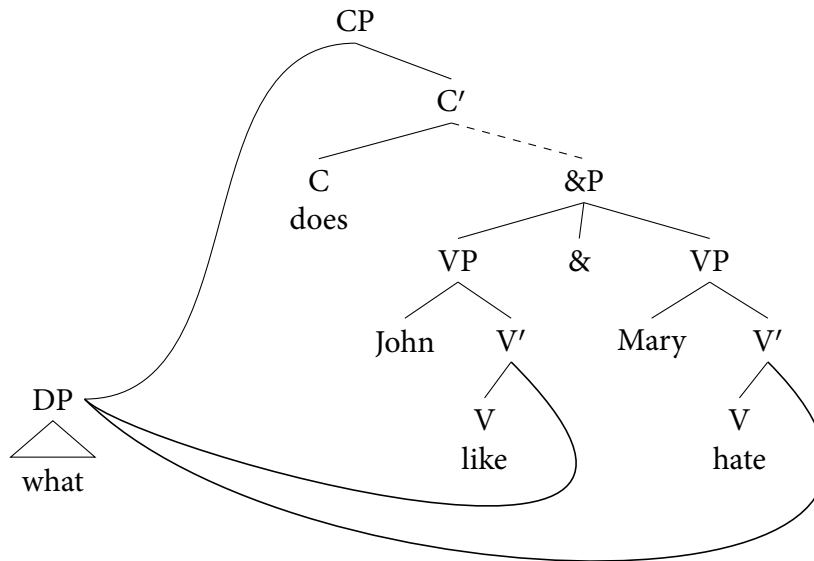
If, in the ellipsis approach to ATB, mismatches in case are assumed to be possible, then it is unclear how one can rule out (25).⁷

(26) Czego₁ [_{TP} Jan nienawidzi t₁] a_[E_{ATB}] [_{TP} Maria lubi ⟨co⟩] ?

3.1.4 Multidominance

Now, we turn to the symmetric approaches that assume that each of the ATB gaps is directly related to the filler. One particular approach that has gained much traction in recent years is the multidominance approach to ATB ([Citko 2005, 2011](#); [Gračanin-Yüksek 2007, 2013](#); [Bachrach & Katzir 2009](#)). This approach assumes that the filler is related to each gap, however this is not derived by movement. Instead, a multidominant view of syntax is adopted in which an element can be in more than one position simultaneously. In an ATB construction, the wh-phrase is associated with both gaps and its derived position in SpecCP, however it is only pronounced in one of these positions (27).

(27) *Multidominance approach to ATB*



This approach has the direct advantage that it can derive ‘single identity readings’ of ATB, that is, it is only possible to give a single individual answer, rather than a pair-list answer, to an ATB question:

- (28) A: Who does John like and Mary hate?
 a. B: Jane
 b. #B: John, Bill and Mary, Jane

For other arguments in favour of a multidominance approach to ATB, see Citko (2005, 2011). However, a problematic data point that is not often discussed in conjunction with the multidominance approach is the fact that, in some languages, ATB movement can have resumptive pronouns in the gaps. For example in Akan (Niger Congo: Ghana), \bar{A} -movement of animate DPs triggers obligatory resumption, also in ATB wh-questions (Saah 1994) (29).

- (29) [CP Hwáń₁ na [TP Kofi pé n_ó₁] nańsó [TP Ámmá tán n_ó₁] nó] ?
 who FOC Kofi like 3SG but Ama hate 3SG CD
 ‘Who does Kofi like (him) but Ama hate (him)?’

(Akan; Sampson Korsah p.c.)

Furthermore, Salzmann (2012b) shows that it is possible to have resumptive pronouns in both gaps in ATB relativization in Zurich German (30).

- (30) de Lehrer₁, wo [TP de Hans von em₁ schwärmt] und [TP d Susi über en₁ fluecht]
 the teacher C the Hans of him is.excited and the Susi about him swears
 ‘The teacher that Hans is excited about (him) and Susi hates swears about (him)’

(Zurich German; Salzmann 2012b:356)

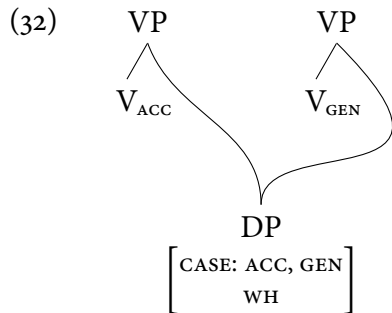
These data are problematic for multidominance accounts of ATB since, as is clear in (27), they assume that the wh-phrase is syntactically present in both of the gaps. Whereas the multidominance account straightforwardly derives the fact that ATB movement leaves gaps, it does not seem to be possible to account for resumptive pronouns if the filler is also structurally present in its base positions.⁸

Turning now to ‘repair by syncretism’, Citko (2005:486ff.) explicitly addresses the question of how her multidominance approach can derive the fact that syncretism can repair case matching violations. Citko puts forward an explanation based on underspecification couched in the framework

of Distributed Morphology. She assumes that ‘the lexicon contains a single *wh*-form, underspecified in such a way that it is compatible with both genitive and accusative’ (Citko 2005:487). Consider again example (3), repeated below, where syncretic forms license a mismatch in case.

- (31) Kogo Janek lubi _{—ACC} a Jerzy nienawidzi _{—GEN} ?
 who.ACC/GEN John likes and George hates
 ‘Who does John like and George hate?’ (Borsley 1983:170)

Citko assumes that the *wh*-phrase is simultaneously present in the object position of both verbs (and also in SpecCP, of course). The element receives both case features assigned by the verbs in question (GEN and ACC) (32).



Citko (2005:488) then states that ‘the lexicon contains a single form that is compatible with both accusative and genitive case feature by virtue of underspecification’ (*kogo*) and this can be inserted into the terminal. The ungrammaticality of case mismatches in the inanimate *wh*-series where there is no syncretism (2) (repeated below) is explained by the assumption that ‘there is no single lexical item that can be inserted into this slot without a feature clash, [...] the result is ungrammatical’.

- (33) a. *Czego Jan nienawidzi _{—GEN} a Maria lubi _{—ACC}?
 what.GEN Jan hates and Maria likes
 b. *Co Jan nienawidzi _{—GEN} a Maria lubi _{—ACC}?
 what.ACC Jan hates and Maria likes
 ‘What does Jan hate and Maria like?’ (Citko 2005:487)

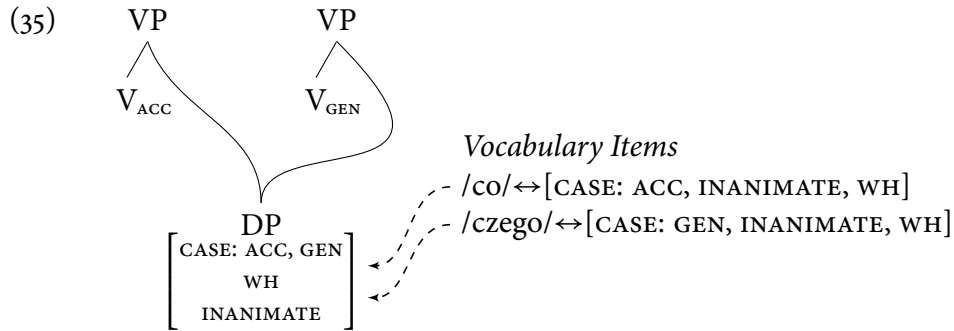
There are, however, a number of fundamental problems with Citko’s analysis. First, Citko seems to assume privative case features (GEN, ACC). As is clear from (32), the *wh*-phrase receives both ACC and GEN and bears [CASE:ACC,GEN] at the point at which Vocabulary Insertion takes place. In order for *kogo* to be inserted, the Vocabulary Item would have to bear either the features [CASE:ACC,GEN], [CASE:ACC] or [CASE:GEN]. The first option, which is actually not underspecification, would render it unfit for insertion into terminals with [CASE:ACC] and [CASE:GEN] specifications, that is, non-ATB environments where the *wh*-phrase is assigned only one case, following the Subset Principle (see (34) below). The second and third options would incorrectly restrict the distribution of *kogo* to either genitive or accusative contexts respectively, but do not capture the fact that the forms are syncretic.⁹

Furthermore, regarding the illicit case mismatches without syncretism in (33), Citko attributes the ungrammaticality to the fact that ‘there is no single lexical item that can be inserted into this slot without a feature clash’ (2005:488). However, this is not a standard approach in DM, where Vocabulary Insertion relies on underspecification and the Subset Principle to regulate competition between exponents (34).

- (34) *Subset Principle* (Halle 1997; our emphasis)
 The phonological exponent of a Vocabulary Item is inserted into a morpheme in the ter-

minal string if the item matches *all or a subset of the grammatical features specified in the terminal morpheme*. Insertion does not take place if the Vocabulary Item contains features not present in the morpheme. Where several Vocabulary Items meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal morpheme must be chosen.

Thus, if we have a terminal corresponding to an inanimate wh-phrase assigned both genitive and accusative, it is not true that we have a feature clash. Instead, the Subset Principle predicts that we should be able to insert either exponent since both fulfil the Subset Principle and are equally specific (35).¹⁰

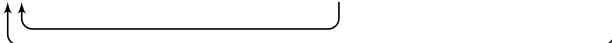


Consequently, we would expect that there should not be a case matching requirement to begin with. We could get around the first problem by decomposing the privative case features ACC and GEN into smaller features such as $[\pm\alpha]$ and $[\pm\beta]$ such that ACC: $[\pm\alpha, +\beta]$ and GEN: $[\pm\alpha, -\beta]$. By specifying *kogo* for $[\pm\alpha]$ only, it would be compatible with ACC: $[\pm\alpha, +\beta]$ and GEN: $[\pm\alpha, -\beta]$, as well as a situation where a terminal bears both ACC and GEN, i.e. $[\pm\alpha, +\beta, +\alpha, -\beta]$. The second problem, however, remains. Even if we leave aside the conceptual question of how a terminal can bear $+\beta$ and $-\beta$ simultaneously, we would still expect that either $/co/ \leftrightarrow [\pm\alpha, +\beta]$ or $/czego/ \leftrightarrow [\pm\alpha, -\beta]$ could be inserted into a terminal with both genitive and accusative features $[\pm\alpha, +\beta, +\alpha, -\beta]$ in accordance with the Subset Principle (34). In order for the derivation with the inanimate wh-phrase to actually crash, one would have to introduce an *ad hoc* condition on Vocabulary Insertion, which demands that features on the VI are not in conflict with features on the terminal (which only ever seems to be the case in ATB constructions). Insertion of either *co* or *czego* would be precluded by their respective case value of [ACC] or [GEN] conflicting with the additional case feature value on the terminal ([GEN] for *co* and [ACC] for *czego*). However, going down this route entails giving up the Subset Principle, one of the core assumptions of DM.¹¹ However, even though the rule should actually be able to spell out both feature matrices only one exponent exists on the surface. In effect, this ties insertion of a VI into a terminal's feature matrix to a potential insertion of the same VI in the other feature matrix on the terminal even though that second insertion never actually happens. Roughly paraphrased: A VI may be inserted into a terminal with two feature matrices as long as it remains unclear which of the two it actually realizes. Thus, this leads back to the additional ban against a feature clash for vocabulary insertion: A VI may only be inserted into a terminal if it is not in conflict with any features on that terminal (even if they are in a different feature matrix). Another potential problem is that if syntactic objects are understood as being just bundles of features duplicating an element's feature matrix is the same as duplicating the actual element itself.

Thus, while Citko's vague proposal based on underspecification may sound plausible initially, it actually emerges as deeply problematic, if not untenable, when implemented explicitly.

3.1.5 Parallel extraction

The last approach is the most traditional one and assumes that we can simply extract from both conjuncts simultaneously (36) (e.g. Ross 1967; Williams 1978; Dyła 1984; Blümel 2013, 2014).

- (36) *Parallel extraction approach to ATB*
What_{t₁} does [_{&P} [_{TP} John like t₁] and [_{TP} Mary hate t₁]] ?
- 

For reasons that are still poorly understood (but see section 3.2.2), this particular kind of extraction can circumvent the *Coordinate Structure Constraint*, stating that extraction from a single conjunct is not possible (Ross 1967; Grosu 1973). Furthermore, it is unclear how moving two items can result in a single filler (cf. Blümel 2013, Weisser 2015:147). This has typically been handled by construction specific rules (Ross 1967; Williams 1978), however this is something that the analysis to follow will explain. Since this approach is also symmetric, it shares with multidominance analyses the virtue of being able to explain single identity readings in ATB constructions. Regarding the question of ‘repair by syncretism’, current parallel extraction approaches have to more or less stipulate the case matching requirement in one way or another (e.g. Dyła 1984:702). For example, Blümel (2014) simply states the matching requirement as part of a ‘condition on chain formation’ (37b):

- (37) A movement chain must
- comprise non-distinct members (i.e. they must be featurally identical)
 - be headed by a syntactic object which receives an exponent compatible with all lower chain members.
- (Blümel 2014:30)

Since chain formation is most plausibly syntactic in nature, Blümel’s approach is clearly incompatible with a postsyntactic view of morphology (despite his claims to the contrary; Blümel 2014:31). The new approach that we pursue is also a symmetric extraction approach. However, the crucial difference to existing symmetric extraction approaches is that it can explain both the one-to-many relation between fillers and gaps and the syncretism repair property.

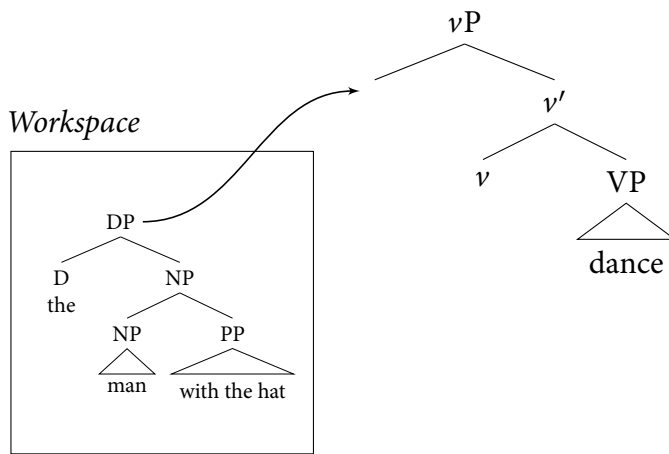
3.2 Theoretical assumptions

In the following, we propose an account of ATB dependencies that utilizes an intersection of the ATB-moved elements to create a single filler. In order to derive this, we will introduce new assumptions, or make some already existing ideas more explicit. The motivation for each of these assumptions will be discussed in turn.

3.2.1 Movement via an external workspace

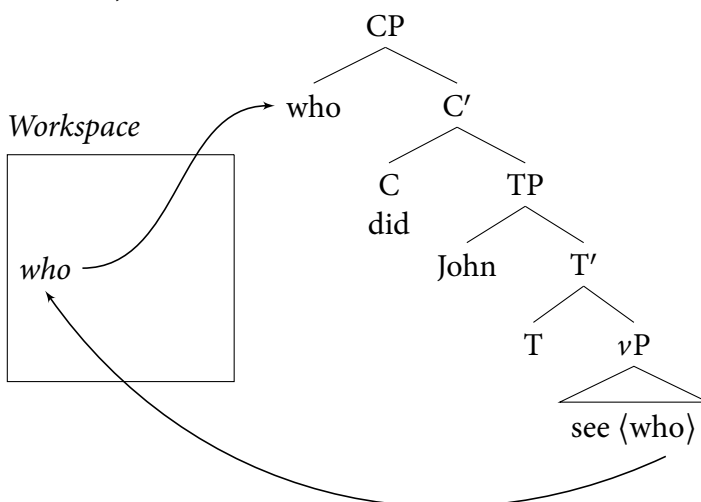
The existence of complex specifiers necessitates more than one workspace in a syntactic derivation. In (38), the complex subject *the man with the hat* undergoes External Merge with ν' as its specifier, however, this complex DP must have been built somewhere other than the current workspace, i.e. from another numeration, see e.g. Nunes & Uriagereka (2000:22), Nunes (2004:174), Putnam (2007:99), Di Sciullo & Isac (2008:287), and Collins & Stabler (2016:47).

(38)



This existence of an additional workspace has been exploited by Nunes (2001, 2004) who assumes that it is possible for elements to undergo ‘sideward’ movement to another workspace of the local tree. Furthermore, there has been an effort to dispense with a separate operation for movement, and instead view movement as a kind of Merge (e.g. Chomsky 1995; Starke 2001). In particular, movement is assumed to be a variant of External Merge, with the difference being whether the target of the operation is included in the same workspace (Collins & Stabler 2016:48). Both operations have in common that they obey Chomsky’s (1995) *Extension Condition*, stating that Merge must apply at the root node (i.e. extend the tree). We claim that one natural way to capture this is to actually decompose Internal Merge into two steps: Sideward Movement & External Merge. In the Copy of Theory of Movement, it seems that Internal Merge is already often (tacitly) assumed to consist of two steps: the first step creates a copy, and the second step involves External Merge of this copy at the root (this is made explicit in Putnam 2007, Stroik 2009 and Stroik & Putnam 2013:22). One question that is not often explicitly addressed is where exactly this moving copy is generated and stored. It seems desirable to assume that External Merge always accesses an item in a separate workspace. Thus, we assume that all instances of Internal Merge proceed in a two-step fashion as in (39): ‘sideward’ movement to an external workspace (creating a copy) followed by External Merge at the root node.

(39) Who did John see?



3.2.2 Parallel movement

Another assumption we make is that ATB involves parallel movement, that is, simultaneous movement from two distinct positions to a single landing site.

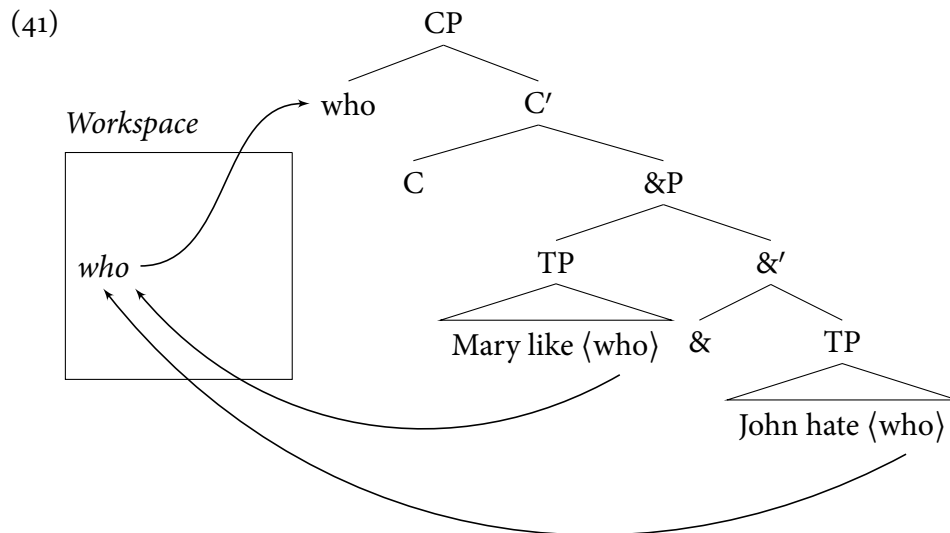
It has been long noted that ATB must take place from ‘parallel positions’ (Williams 1978; Franks

1993, 1995; Kasai 2004; Citko 2006). For example, ATB extraction from a subject and object position is not possible:

(40) *I know a man who [Bill saw t_1] and [t_2 likes Mary].

(Williams 1978:34)

Furthermore, Franks (1993, 1995) discusses ungrammatical examples of ATB movement from Russian, in which the case matching requirement is met, but the extraction is from different structural positions, and therefore illicit. Given the Strict Cycle Condition (SSC) (Chomsky 1973), we can derive the parallelism requirement by assuming that ATB involves simultaneous movement to an external workspace as in (41).



For reasons that will be made clear in the following section, parallel movement to an external workspace results in a single item, which is subsequently remerged into the structure. Assuming that the SSC holds across conjuncts (i.e. they are built in parallel), extraction from the same position (i.e. subject or object) will be possible, whereas extraction from different positions will result in a SSC violation. Parallel movement would therefore seem to be restricted to coordinate structures (but cf. Vicente 2016 for some possible exceptions). One possible reason for this could be that it is a Last Resort option to circumvent the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC, Ross 1967) that militates against extraction from a single conjunct. If we take a representational view of the CSC as in (42) (see Mayr & Schmitt 2013:41, Weisser 2015:197f., but cf. Kato 2005), then no extraction can take place from a single conjunct at any point of the derivation. Crucially, by moving in parallel we avoid both of the configurations banned by (42):

(42) *Coordinate Structure Constraint* (Weisser 2015:197)

In a structure [$\&P$ A [$\&'$ B]], movement (out) of either A or B is prohibited:

*[α ... [$\&P$ [A t_α] & [B β]]]

*[β ... [$\&P$ [A α] & [B t_β]]]

Furthermore, this general approach can help to make sense of an interesting restriction on ATB movement reported by Kasai (2004); Citko (2005, 2011). In multiple wh-fronting languages such as Polish, it is not possible to combine ATB extraction and multiple wh-fronting:

- (43) a. *Kogo₁ kogo₂ [TP Jan lubi t_1] a [TP Maria kocha t_2] ?
 who.ACC who.ACC Jan likes and Maria loves
 'Who does Jan like and Maria love?'
 b. *Kogo₁ komu₂ [TP Jan lubi t_1] a [TP Maria się przygląda t_2] ?
 who.ACC who.DAT Jan likes and Maria REFL looks.at

‘Who does Jan like and Maria look at?’

(Citko 2005:492)

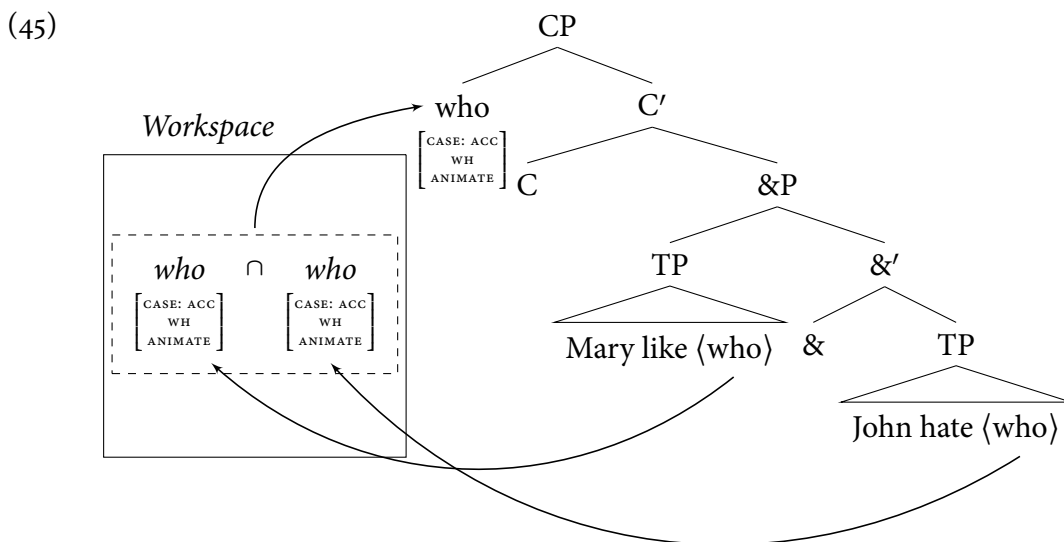
As Citko argues, this follows under a multidominance approach. Under a movement-based approach, these examples serve to show us that parallel extraction (somehow resulting in a single filler) is the only way to leave a coordination structure since multiple ATB wh-fronting entails two separate extraction operations that each violation the CSC as defined in (42). Revealingly, multiple wh-fronting is possible only if each filler corresponds to two gaps:

- (44) Co₁ komu₂ [TP Jan kupił t₁ t₂] a [TP Piotr wysłał t₁ t₂] ?
 who.ACC who.DAT Jan bought and Peter sent
 ‘What did Jan buy for whom and Peter send to whom?’
 (Citko 2011:57)

As a result, even in languages with the option of multiple wh-fronting, extraction from a coordinate structure must involve parallel movement. How exactly this parallel movement results in a single filler is discussed in the following section.

3.2.3 Feature set intersection

In the previous section, we established our assumption that ATB movement proceeds in parallel to an external workspace, however, how does ATB extraction result in a single filler if two elements are moved simultaneously? We suggest that parallel movement to an external workspace results in set intersection of the feature sets of the moving elements. Recall that parallel sideward movement is viewed as a Last Resort solution to circumvent the CSC and is therefore not the norm. We assume that the external workspace has a restriction that it can hold a single moving item. As a result of this restriction, something must happen if two items move in parallel. It seems we have two options: (i) intersection of feature sets, (ii) unification of feature sets. The latter option would run into the same problems shown for Citko’s DM approach in section 3.1.4, since the wh-phrase would bear both case values in a unification approach. Thus, we assume that if more than a single item is moved (via the external workspace), intersection of the feature sets of these items must take place. In a simple example of ATB movement in (45), both wh-phrases (with matching feature sets) are intersected in the external workspace, resulting in a single wh-phrase bearing the same features as the two moved items. This single element then re-enters the structure at the the landing site for ATB movement.



In this way, we can derive the asymmetric relation between fillers and gaps that is a hallmark of ATB dependencies. Furthermore, if the feature sets of the items do not intersect for a particular feature, for example animacy features with *who* ([+anim]) and *what* ([-anim]), then the

value of that feature will be empty and thus result in a crash (given *Full Interpretation*; Chomsky 1995). Example (45) is a somewhat trivial case, in which both of the intersected items have exactly the same features. However, as we show in the next section, this intersection operation has interesting, welcome consequences when cases do not match, but are syncretic.¹²

3.3 Deriving ATB with syncretic forms

This section will illustrate how ‘repair by syncretism’ follows naturally in an intersection approach to ATB movement on the basis of the examples from Polish. To begin with, we decompose standard case features in Polish into the smaller binary subfeatures [\pm subj(ect)], [\pm gov(erned)], and [\pm obl(ique)] (Jakobson 1962; Bierwisch 1967; Wiese 1999; Alexiadou & Müller 2008) in (46).¹³

(46) *Polish case decomposition and wh-phrases*

Case	Decomposition	wh _{anim}	wh _{inan}
NOM	[+subj –gov –obl]	<i>kto</i>	<i>co</i>
ACC	[–subj +gov –obl]	<i>kogo</i>	<i>co</i>
GEN	[+subj +gov +obl]	<i>kogo</i>	<i>czego</i>
DAT	[–subj –gov –obl]	<i>komu</i>	<i>czemu</i>
INS	[+subj –gov +obl]	<i>kim</i>	<i>czym</i>
LOC	[–subj –gov +obl]	<i>kim</i>	<i>czym</i>

Syncretism can then be captured by assuming that syncretic forms are underspecified and realize a feature that is present in both contexts.¹⁴ In other words, syncretic forms must have at least one feature in common (the one that the syncretic form realizes), i.e. their contexts’ feature sets must overlap. For example, one can see in (46) that animate wh-phrases in the genitive and the accusative share the feature [+gov]. Thus, the exponent *kogo* can be underspecified for only [+gov, +anim] and will therefore be inserted in both accusative and genitive animate contexts. We assume the following Vocabulary Items for Polish wh-phrases:

(47) *VIs for Polish wh-phrases*

<u>Animate series</u>	
DAT	/komu/ ↔ [–subj –gov –obl +anim]
NOM	/kto/ ↔ [+subj –gov –obl +anim]
INS,LOC	/kim/ ↔ [–gov +obl +anim]
ACC,GEN	/kogo/ ↔ [+gov +anim]
<u>Inanimate series</u>	
DAT	/czemu/ ↔ [–subj –gov –obl –anim]
GEN	/czego/ ↔ [+subj +gov +obl –anim]
INS,LOC	/czym/ ↔ [–gov +obl –anim]
NOM,ACC	/co/ ↔ [–obl –anim]

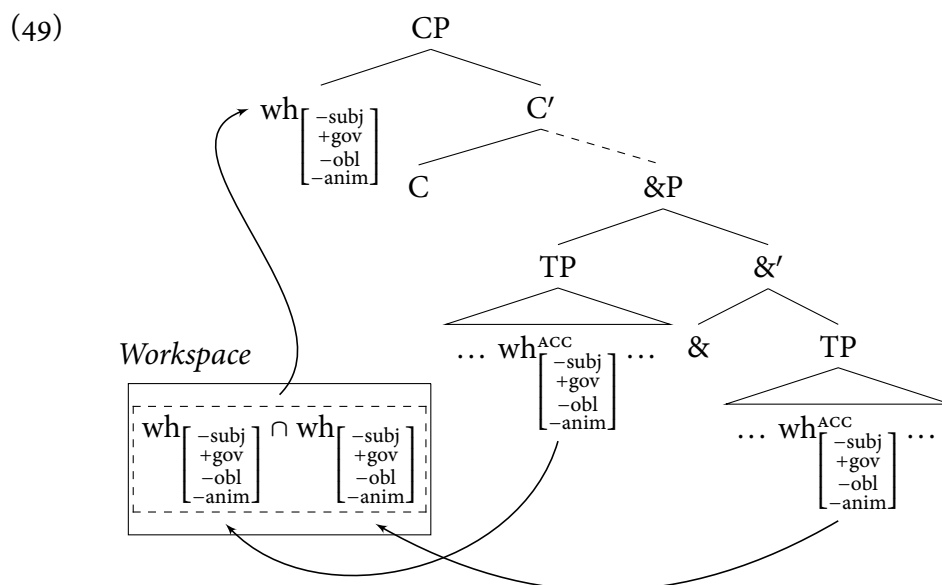
Although ATB is independently assumed to involve intersection in order to derive the one-to-many relation we observe between fillers and gaps, we also see that this will derive the case matching data, in particular, repair by syncretism in the following way: If we try to ATB-move two wh-phrases with mismatching cases, those with an overlapping feature will result in a successful intersection and – provided that there is a suitably underspecified VI – will be realized by that VI. We will show this in detail in the following sections.

3.3.1 ATB with matching cases (no syncretism)

An example of an ATB dependency with matching cases is given in (48) where both verbs assign accusative case to an animate wh-phrase.

- (48) Co Janek widział _{—ACC} a Maria lubiła _{—ACC} ?
 what.ACC John saw and Mary liked
 ‘What did John see and Mary like?’

As we saw in previous sections, both wh-phrases move in parallel via the external workspace. Given the assumption this workspace can only hold one item, both items undergo feature intersection. Since in this case both items have exactly the same case features the newly formed item is identical to each of the two moving items, that is, it bears a fully specified accusative case. This new item is then merged from the external workspace into SpecCP.



At Spell-Out, only one of the four wh-vocabulary items from the inanimate series (50), namely *co*, is specified for a subset of the wh-phrase’s morphosyntactic features and therefore available for insertion. All other VIs are specified for at least one feature-value that is not part of the terminal. Hence, the accusative marker *co* is inserted as expected in accordance with the Subset Principle.

- (50) *Vocabulary insertion:*
 /czemu/ ↔ [-subj -gov -obl -anim] ⊄ {-subj +gov -obl -anim}
 /czego/ ↔ [+subj +gov +obl -anim] ⊄ {-subj +gov -obl -anim}
 /czym/ ↔ [-gov +obl -anim] ⊄ {-subj +gov -obl -anim}
 /co/ ↔ [-obl -anim] ⊆ {-subj +gov -obl -anim}

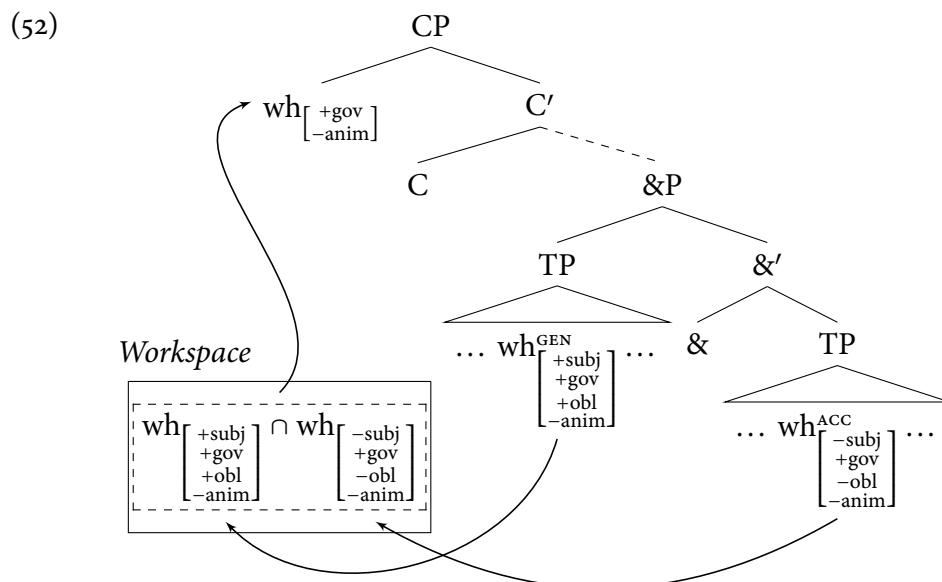
3.3.2 ATB with mismatching cases (no syncretism)

Now consider an example like (51) where one verb assigns genitive and the other accusative. Because the wh-phrases for both cases are not syncretic, the resulting sentences are ungrammatical.

- (51) a. *Czego Jan nienawidzi _{—GEN} a Maria lubi _{—ACC}?
 what.GEN Jan hates and Maria likes
 b. *Co Jan nienawidzi _{—GEN} a Maria lubi _{—ACC}?
 what.ACC Jan hates and Maria likes
 ‘What does Jan hate and Maria like?’

(Citko 2005:487)

Again, as this is ATB movement, both wh-phrases move in parallel into the external workspace where they are intersected. In contrast to the above example with matching cases, there is a case mismatch between the moving items. The resulting single wh-phrase is thus specified for only those features which are present on both movees. These are features that accusative and genitive have in common plus the animacy (and wh) feature which are the same on both items. Since both cases differ in their value for [\pm subj] and [\pm obl] but have the same [+gov] value the newly formed wh-phrase only bears the latter together with the [-anim] feature (52).



When vocabulary insertion takes place, none of the vocabulary items of the inanimate series fulfils the Subset Principle. All of them are specified for features like [\pm subj] or [\pm obl] which are not present on the terminal. Hence, none of them can be inserted. For reasons of recoverability, however, a wh-phrase cannot remain unrealized at PF and the failure of vocabulary insertion results in a crash of the derivation which explains why (51) is ungrammatical.

- (53) *Vocabulary insertion:*
 /czemu/ \leftrightarrow [-subj -gov -obl -anim] $\not\in$ {+gov -anim}
 /czego/ \leftrightarrow [+subj +gov +obl -anim] $\not\in$ {+gov -anim}
 /czym/ \leftrightarrow [-gov +obl -anim] $\not\in$ {+gov -anim}
 /co/ \leftrightarrow [-obl -anim] $\not\in$ {+gov -anim}

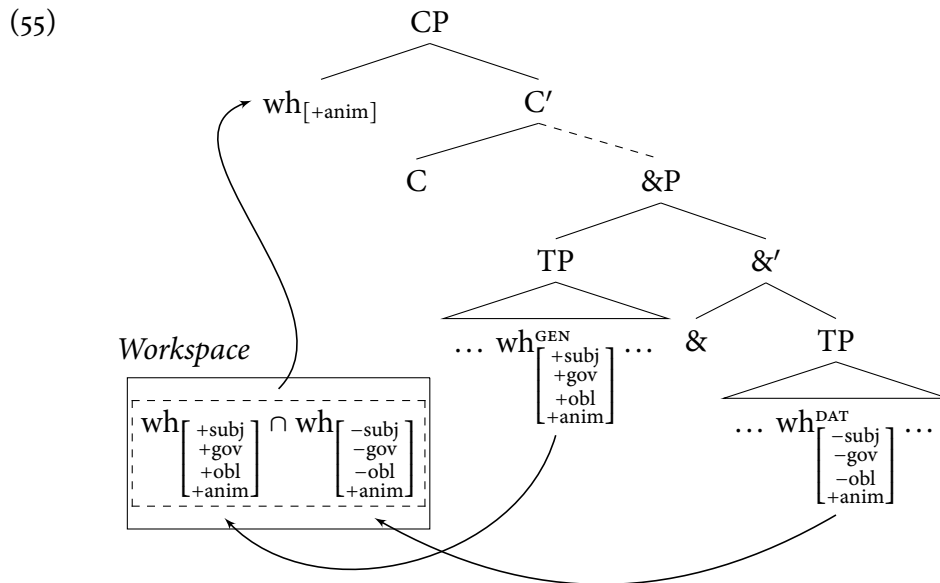
3.3.3 ATB with mismatching cases (empty intersection)

In addition, there is another way in which a case mismatch can lead to a crash and, thus, ungrammaticality. Consider a case mismatch like (54) where one verb *nienawidzić* ‘hate’ assigns genitive and the other verb *ufać* ‘trust’ assigns dative.

- (54) a. *Kogo Jan nienawidzi ---_{GEN} a Maria ufa ---_{DAT} ?
 who.ACC/GEN Jan hates and Maria trusts
 ‘Who does Jan hate and Maria trust?’
 b. *Komu Jan nienawidzi ---_{GEN} a Maria ufa ---_{DAT} ?
 who.DAT Jan hates and Maria trusts
 ‘Who does Jan hate and Maria trust?’ (Joanna Zaleska, p.c.)

As in the examples discussed above, both wh-phrases move to the external workspace in parallel and a new single wh-phrase is created by intersecting both of them. However, since genitive and

dative have different values for all three case features, the new item that is merged in SpecCP only bears an animacy feature but remains unspecified for case (55).



In other words, the newly formed wh-phrase is unvalued for case. Since there is no other case-assigner in the structure who at this point has not already assigned its case the item remains case-less until spell-out. A DP that does not have case, however, is in conflict with the Case Filter (or whatever ensures that DPs have case, e.g. *Full Interpretation*; Chomsky 1995). The derivation therefore crashes at the interface to PF.

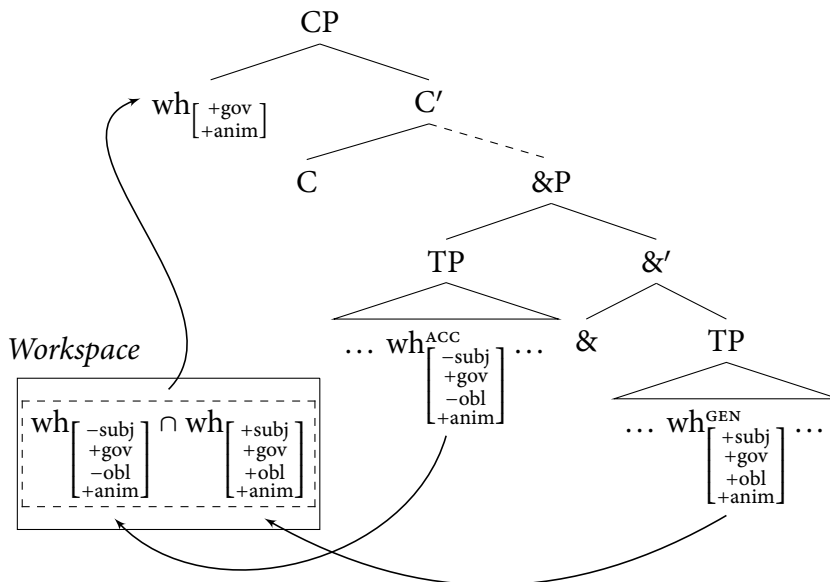
3.3.4 ATB with mismatching cases (with syncretism)

The interesting case now concerns ATB movement with mismatching cases that happen to be realized by the same (syncretic) form. Consider the, by now familiar, case in (56).

- (56) Kogo Janek lubi _{ACC} a Jerzy nienawidzi _{GEN} ?
 who.ACC/GEN John likes and George hates
 'Who does John like and George hate?' (Borsley 1983:170)

As usual, ATB movement proceeds via parallel movement to an external workspace where both wh-phrases are intersected to create a new single wh-phrase. Again, like in (52), accusative and genitive only have one feature-value in common which is [+gov], while they differ in the values for the other two case features [\pm subj] and [\pm obl]. The new wh-phrase is thus specified for [+gov] and, in contrast to (52), importantly also for [+anim] instead of [-anim].

(57)



In contrast to the inanimate series, the animate series of Polish *wh*-vocabulary items contains a VI that is syncretic for accusative and genitive. *Kogo* is underspecified for [\pm subj] and [\pm obl] in exactly the same way that the *wh*-terminal in SpecCP is. It therefore fulfils the Subset Principle and can be inserted. Since ATB and syncretism employ the same underlying mechanism, i.e. intersection of feature sets, a syncretic vocabulary item can repair a case mismatch in an ATB dependency.

(58) *Vocabulary insertion:*

/komu/ \leftrightarrow [-subj -gov -obl +anim] $\not\subseteq$ {+gov +anim}

/kto/ \leftrightarrow [+subj -gov -obl +anim] $\not\subseteq$ {+gov +anim}

/kim/ \leftrightarrow [-gov +obl +anim] $\not\subseteq$ {+gov +anim}

/kogo/ \leftrightarrow [+gov +anim] \subseteq {+gov +anim}

3.4 Right Node Raising in Russian

Now, we will show how this analysis can be extended to case matching in the Russian Right Node Raising constructions discussed in section 2. Recall that Russian imposes the same case matching condition on RNR as we find for leftward ATB extraction (59), and crucially this restriction can also be circumvented by syncretism (60) (Asarina 2011:174).

(59) *On ne ostavil ---_{ACC} , tak kak emu nadoela ---_{NOM} , *tarelk-a/-u* s chürnoj
 he not kept as him sick.of plate-NOM/-ACC with black
 kaëmkoj.
 border
 ‘He didn’t keep, as he was sick of, the plate with the black border.’

(60) On ne ostavil ---_{ACC} , tak kak emu nadoela ---_{NOM} , *bljudc-e* s chürnoj
 he not kept as him sick.of saucer-ACC/NOM with black
 kaëmkoj.
 border
 ‘He didn’t keep, as he was sick of, the saucer with the black border.’

Before we proceed to the analysis of these constructions, a few remarks on the analysis of RNR are required. Right Node Raising is a notoriously heterogeneous phenomenon and it is unclear what its correct treatment is (cf. Bošković 2004; Abels 2004; Bachrach & Katzir 2009; Barros

& Vicente 2011a; Larson 2012; Chaves 2014). Due its similarity to ATB extraction in terms of the asymmetry between fillers and gaps, similar proposals have been made for RNR: (i) ATB movement (e.g. Postal 1974; Sabbagh 2007), (ii) phonological ellipsis (e.g. Wilder 1997; Hartmann 2000) and (iii) multidominance (e.g. McCawley 1982; Gračanin-Yüksek 2013; Bachrach & Katzir 2009, to appear). The emerging consensus is that RNR is better viewed as a cover term for a group of superficially similar phenomena that correspond to a (proper) subset of the aforementioned analytical options (Barros & Vicente 2011a; Chaves 2014). Chaves (2014) assumes that RNR can involve ATB extraction and, while Barros & Vicente (2011a,b) do not argue in favour of an ATB analysis of RNR, they do not rule it out in principle (Barros & Vicente 2011a:46,fn.11). Furthermore, Sabbagh (2007) presents compelling arguments for a movement approach, for example the fact that a universal quantifier right-node-raised from a relative clause can out-scope an existential quantifier outside of that clause (61) (Sabbagh 2007:367).

- (61) John knows [someone [who speaks ___]] and Mary knows [someone [who wants to learn ___]] *every Germanic language* $(\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists)$

One common objection to the movement approach to RNR is that it is not subject to the same constraints as other rightward processes such *Heavy NP Shift* (HNPS) (e.g. Bachrach & Katzir 2009:286). For example, HNPS is subject to the *Right Roof Constraint* (i.e. clause-boundedness; cf. Ross 1967) (62a), whereas RNR is not (62b).

- (62) a. *John claimed [_{CP} that Sam loves ___] yesterday *the new headmaster*.
 b. John claims [_{CP} that Sam loves ___] and Mary claims [_{CP} that Sam hates ___] *the new headmaster*

However, the fact that RNR differs from other rightward process is not problematic, in fact there is evidence that RNR is distinct from HNPS since the two processes interact as in (63) (Wilder 1997, also see Kluck & de Vries 2013 for similar Dutch examples).

- (63) [John bought ___] and [Mary put ___ in the fridge (___)] *two bottles of champagne*.
 (Wilder 1997:84)

In order not to violate the *Right Edge Restriction* requiring RNR gaps to be rightmost in the conjunct (Wilder 1997, 1999), the gap in the second conjunct must be to the right of the PP *in the fridge*, i.e. created by HNPS. Furthermore, Bachrach & Katzir (2009:289) present interesting evidence that RNR also interacts with wh-extraction. In (64), normally ungrammatical extraction out of a Complex NP Island is facilitated by first right-node-raising the DP *an article about which animal* and then sub-extracting *which animal*.

- (64) Which animal_i did John say that Mary knew [a man [who wrote ___]] and [a woman [who published ___]] *an article about t_i?*

Whereas this island-violating extraction would not normally be possible, Bachrach & Katzir (2009) show that wh-movement can be fed by RNR. Although it is possible to enrich multidominance analyses with extra machinery to capture this observation (as Bachrach & Katzir 2009 do, also cf. de Vries 2013), by far the simplest explanation is that RNR is (at least in some cases) a syntactic operation and can therefore interact with other syntactic processes (see Clapp 2008). In general, we agree that an ‘eclectic’ approach to RNR is necessary and that one of these options should be rightward ATB movement (Chaves 2014). Furthermore, we saw that multidominance and ellipsis accounts struggle to adequately capture the fact that syncretism alleviates case matching violations. This leads us to the conclusion that a movement-based analysis of RNR must be invoked for examples in which syncretism repairs case matching violations.

In the theory developed here, the repair effect of syncretism in (64) can easily be accounted for under the premise that Right Node Raising involves actual movement to the right. For concreteness sake, we assume that RNR is rightward adjunction to the closest node dominating both extraction sites (Sabbagh 2007:387).¹⁵ As for Polish above, we assume that case features in Russian are decomposed into smaller binary features. For concreteness, we adopt the decomposition in (65) proposed by Müller (2004).

(65) *Russian case decomposition* (Müller 2004:364):

Case	Decomposition
NOM	[+subj –gov –obl]
ACC	[–subj +gov –obl]
GEN	[–subj +gov +obl]
DAT	[+subj +gov +obl]
INS	[+subj –gov +obl]
LOC	[–subj –gov +obl]

In keeping with standard approaches to syncretism, and the one adopted above for Polish, Vocabulary Items can be underspecified for some of these case features in order to capture the relevant patterns of syncretism we find in the language. In Russian, while feminine nouns such as *tarelk-* ‘plate’ take different case markers in accusative (66a) and nominative (66b), the neuter noun *bljudc-* ‘saucer’ is marked by the same suffix in both cases.¹⁶

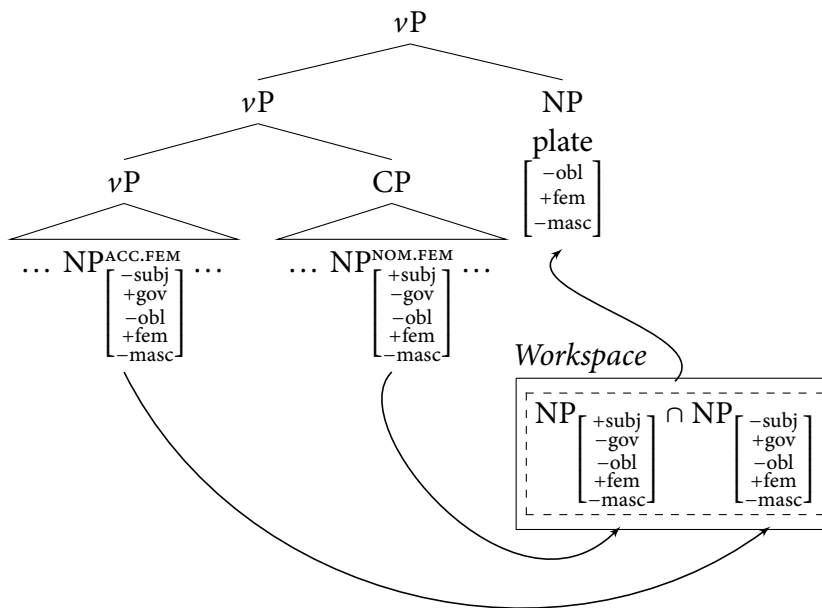
- (66) a. On ne ostavil tarelk-*u* / bljudc-*e*.
 he not kept plate-ACC saucer-ACC
 ‘He didn’t keep the plate/saucer.’
- b. Emu nadoel-a/-o tarelk-*a* / bljudc-*e*.
 him sick.of-FEM/-NEUT plate-NOM saucer-NOM
 ‘He’s sick of the plate/saucer.’ (Asarina 2011:174)

In order to capture the fact that /-e/ is inserted on neuters (specified as [–fem,–masc]) in both nominative and accusative environments, it is underspecified for case, realizing only the feature shared by the decompositions for nominative and accusative in (65), namely [–obl] (67a). The exponents, which are specified as [+fem,–masc], have a full case specification for nominative (67b) and accusative (67c), and can therefore also be used with the relevant case.

- (67) *VIs for relevant Russian case markers*
- a. /-e/ ↔ [–obl –fem –masc]
 b. /-a/ ↔ [+subj –gov –obl +fem –masc]
 c. /-u/ ↔ [–subj +gov –obl +fem –masc]

The derivation then proceeds analogously to the analysis of Polish ATB movement in the preceding section. First, the two nouns move from their respective base positions to an external workspace. Next, their feature sets are intersected to form a single set that is subsequently merged in clause-final position. For example (59) with *tarelk-a/-u* ‘plate’, the result of intersection is an NP bearing the features [–obl +fem –masc] (68).¹⁷

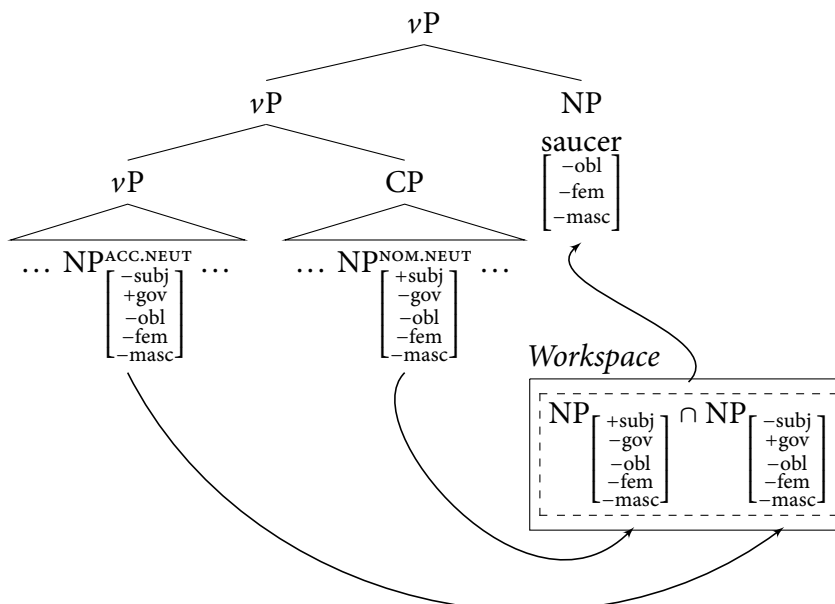
(68)



However, there is no VI in (67) that can be inserted into it in accordance with the Subset Principle. Both /-a/ and /-u/ have the right gender specification but their case features do not form a subset of the case features of the target node. Only the case features of /-e/ do so, however, /-e/ bears conflicting gender features, i.e. it is specified for [-fem] while the target is specified for [+fem]. According to our assumptions, this leads to a crash in the derivation.

In contrast, the case matching requirement can be circumvented if the moved noun has neuter gender like *bljudc-e* ‘saucer’, where nominative and accusative are realized by the same syncretic marker. In this case, the newly formed item bears the features [-obl -fem -masc] (69).

(69)



The Vocabulary items /-a/ and /-u/ are both not suitable for insertion because they do not fulfill the Subset Principle (due to having additional case features) and have conflicting gender features ([+fem] vs. [-fem]). However, the underspecified VI /-e/ can be inserted as it realizes the neuter gender features and, due to its syncretism in nominative and accusative, is specified only for the case feature that both nominative and accusative have in common ([-obl]). As a result, intersecting two neuter NPs with mismatching cases results in an item that is compatible with the case marker /-e/.

4 Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown how one can derive the fact that case matching requirements in ATB constructions can be circumvented by syncretism. On the face of it, these data seem to be incompatible with a postsyntactic view of morphology since morphological form seems to play a role in the licensing of ATB movement. Whereas existing approaches are forced to simply state ‘repair by syncretism’ as a fact, or their proposal turns out to be inconsistent, we have shown that an intersection-based approach to ATB can derive the syncretism facts in an elegant way. In this approach, intersection is the operation independently required to derive the one-to-many ‘sharing’ characteristic of ATB, since it is otherwise puzzling why movement of two items results in a single filler. Once intersection is established as the core mechanism for deriving ATB, the syncretism facts follow naturally (given an underspecification approach to syncretism), rather than having to be stated additionally. In particular, we have shown how the present approach can derive the classic facts of syncretism repair with case matching violations in Polish. Of course, any extension to other languages with similar effects, such as German or Russian, may entail a different case decomposition (as the patterns of syncretism will most likely differ), however the basic mechanism will remain the same.

Furthermore, we have argued that only a movement-based account with intersection can adequately derive the ameliorating effect of syncretism. The most (if not only) worked-out approach in multidominance theories, Citko (2005), is beset with a number of technical problems that become apparent once one tries to implement the proposal in a more explicit way. We have argued that this is particularly relevant to the debate about the correct analysis of Right Node Raising. In sum, this paper shows that a movement approach to ATB movement, which has fallen out of favour in recent times, is superior to a multidominance approach when it comes to deriving ‘repair by syncretism’. Of course, it is always possible to enrich other theories with further operations (e.g. intersection of feature sets) to derive the syncretism fact, but we have seen that this comes for free in the present approach, where intersection is independently assumed to be the central mechanism for deriving ATB constructions.

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Notes

¹However, note that [Hartmann et al. \(2016\)](#) show experimental evidence that case mismatches under ATB topicalization in German do not seem to be repaired by syncretism (but cf. (16) below). Nevertheless, they concede that ATB wh-movement examples such as (69) seem perfectly acceptable, in contrast to the sentences they tested.

²This does not seem to be the case for all speakers, as noted by [te Velde](#) himself. One plausible reason for this is that the example in (14b) violates the parallelism constraint on ATB movement proposed by [Franks \(1993, 1995\)](#) stating that ATB movement must take place from somehow parallel structural positions (also see [Kasai 2004](#); [Citko 2006](#)). Here, the movement originates from an object position and a subject position, see section 3.2.2 for further discussion.

³ There are also other constructions in which case matching has been reported. For example, in free relative clauses ([Gross & van Riemsdijk 1981](#); [Vogel 2001](#); [Trommer 2002](#); [van Riemsdijk 2006](#); [Himmelreich 2016](#)). The following examples from [Schütze \(2003:300\)](#) shows that only the form *was*, which is syncretic for nominative and accusative, is possible if the free relative requires a different case to the matrix verb:

- (70) a. *Ich zerstöre_{ACC} [CP *wer* / *wen* mich ärgert_{NOM}]
I destroy who.NOM who.ACC me.ACC annoys
'I destroy who(ever) annoys me.'
- b. Ich zerstöre_{ACC} [CP *was* mich ärgert_{NOM}]
I destroy what.NOM/ACC me.ACC annoys
'I destroy what(ever) annoys me.'

⁴However, this is only true for some diagnostics (Principle A, Principle C and Weak Crossover). Other diagnostics such as Strong Crossover, variable binding, idiom reconstruction and scope reconstruction behave symmetrically (see [Citko 2005](#); [Salzmann 2012a,b](#) for discussion). This suggests that the phenomena that seem to behave asymmetrically are probably sensitive to effects of linear proximity.

⁵Although the implementation of case matching with parasitic gaps inevitably involves restating the facts in some way, as [Kiss \(2001:109, ex. \(21\)\)](#) does:

- (71) In a parasitic gap construction, the Case of both the real gap and the parasitic gap must be properly transmitted to the phonologically realized operator.

⁶This approach is therefore not entirely asymmetric since, in a sense, extraction does take place from both conjuncts, but crucially movement to SpecCP proceeds only from the first conjunct and is therefore asymmetric.

⁷[Salzmann \(2012a:431, fn.41\)](#) conjectures that the empirical situation surrounding 'repair by syncretism' might be more complicated, citing some inconsistency in [Citko's](#) reported judgements. Nevertheless, the syncretism repair facts for Polish seem to be relatively robust going back to [Borsley \(1983\)](#). Furthermore, the supposedly controversial case (an accusative/dative mismatch), which we discuss as example (54), seems to conform to our expectations in being ungrammatical. In general, if it is the phonological form, rather than features, that actually matters for mismatches under ellipsis, it seems that the ellipsis approach would be better off claiming that no case mismatches are tolerated under ellipsis and then only phonologically matching forms (identical or syncretic cases) would be correctly predicted to be possible in ATB. On the other hand, this would imply pre-syntactic morphology for [Salzmann's \(2012a\)](#) syntactic implementation of ellipsis. For [Ha \(2008\)](#), the problem would be that RNR has been shown to feed ATB movement out of islands ([Bachrach & Katzir 2009:288f.](#)) and should therefore probably also be situated in the syntax.

⁸[Martin Salzmann \(p.c.\)](#) suggests that this might not necessarily be fatal for a 'big DP' approach to resumption, in which the DP starts out in the same phrase as the resumption pronoun and is extracted (e.g. [_{DP} DP [_{D'} D resumptive]]) (e.g. [Boeckx 2003](#)). If the ATB-moved item multiply dominated the specifier of both 'big DPs', then this might work. However, if one no longer has a movement approach, in which the resumptive pronoun is stranded, then it is unclear what the status of the 'big DP' is in such an analysis. A perennial problem is that these complex elements never occur overtly, so it is unclear what their motivation would be in a multidominance approach.

⁹One would be forced to have multiple entries for *kogo*, which would reduce the syncretism here to accidental homophony, see [Asarina \(2011\)](#).

¹⁰Furthermore, the way the analysis in [Citko \(2005\)](#) is presented seems to suggest that inanimate wh-phrases involve the absence of an [ANIMATE] feature. If this is the case, then the single Vocabulary Item for *kogo* 'who' would realize the features [CASE:ACC, GEN, WH] and constitute a subset of the terminal in (72). Furthermore, it would count as equally specific for insertion (since it also realizes three features of the terminal; [CASE:ACC, CASE:GEN, WH] and should therefore also be an option for insertion here; clearly an undesirable result.)

¹¹[Asarina \(2011\)](#) proposes a different way of dealing with conflicting case values on a single terminal in a multidominance analysis. When an element with a given feature matrix is assigned a second, different value for the already valued case feature, the whole feature matrix is duplicated to accommodate that value. The element then has

two feature matrices that differ only in the value for the case feature. As long as both matrices can be spelled out by the same morphological rule (i.e. one that does not make reference to the distinct feature and is thus underspecified), the result is grammatical.

¹²One might also wonder how it is possible to intersect complex wh-phrases such as *which book*. One option is that the wh-determiner and NP are intersected separately, but this may not even be necessary if we view complex DPs from a set-theoretic perspective (e.g. Chomsky 2013). For example, a complex wh-phrase is a set containing two elements: a set containing the features of the determiner and another set containing the features of the NP (72).

$$(72) \quad \textit{which book} = \{\{D, \text{ACC}, \phi\}_{\textit{which}}, \{D, \text{ACC}, \phi\}_{\textit{book}}\}$$

Thus it should be possible to intersect these complex objects directly, without first decomposing them:

$$(73) \quad \{\{D, \beta, \alpha, \phi\}_{\textit{which}}, \{D, \beta, \alpha, \phi\}_{\textit{book}}\} \cap \{\{D, \alpha, \gamma, \phi\}_{\textit{which}}, \{D, \alpha, \gamma, \phi\}_{\textit{book}}\} \\ = \{\{D, \alpha, \phi\}_{\textit{which}}, \{D, \alpha, \phi\}_{\textit{book}}\}$$

¹³Note that the features we use are arbitrary. However, for convenience, we adopt the conventional labels $\pm\textit{subject}$, $\pm\textit{governed}$ and $\pm\textit{oblique}$ without attributing these any semantic relevance. They could easily be replaced by $\pm\alpha$, $\pm\beta$, $\pm\gamma$.

¹⁴An alternative approach is to use postsyntactic rules (e.g. impoverishment rules) to derive syncretism (see Himmelreich 2016), however, we find this approach somewhat more *ad hoc* and are unsure of how it is compatible with ‘repair’ effects of syncretism.

¹⁵Note that the RNR example here involves movement out of an adverbial clause. We assume that the adverbial clause is adjoined to νP and the RNR-ed constituent adjoins above this node, as shown in the trees below.

¹⁶In reality, the situation for Russian is a little more complicated. Although there are three genders, these are distributed across four inflection classes that determine which case markers they combine with (see Müller 2004, Asarina 2011 and also Baerman et al. 2005:204).

¹⁷Following Bošković (2008) and Despić (2013), we assume that Russian, as an articleless language, does not project a DP layer.