

# snippets

Issue 48 - October 2025

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# When Right Node Raising Allows Case Mismatches

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2024-047-sehi>

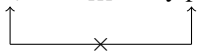
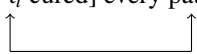
There are various analyses proposed for Right Node Raising (RNR), including ATB-movement (Ross 1967), ellipsis (Bošković 2004) and multidominance (Wilder 1999). In this snippet, I will present data from Turkish which is problematic for the current analyses of RNR.

I adopt and modify the examples of Sabbagh 2007, who shows that the pivot (the shared object) scopes over both conjuncts. The data in (1) also exhibits a so-called “morphological mismatch”: the verbs in the two conjuncts assign different cases to their objects, and the pivot bears the case assigned by the verb in the final conjunct. In the non-RNRed version in (2), different cases are realized on two distinct objects in each conjunct.

- (1) Bir hemşire iğne yap-tı, ve bir doktor tedavi-et-ti **her hastay-ı**.  
 a nurse give shot-PST, and a doctor cure-PST **every patient**<sub>ACC</sub>  
 ‘A nurse gave a shot to, and a doctor cured every patient.’  $\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$
- (2) Bir hemşire **her hastay-a** iğne yap-tı, ve bir doktor **her hastay-ı** tedavi-et-ti.  
 a nurse **every patient**<sub>DAT</sub> give shot-PST, and a doctor **every patient**<sub>ACC</sub> cure-PST  
 ‘A nurse gave a shot to every patient, and a doctor cured every patient.’  $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$

The interesting aspect of (1) is the existence of an inverse scope reading, unlike its non-RNRed counterpart (2), suggesting that the pivot in (1) c-commands both existential subjects.

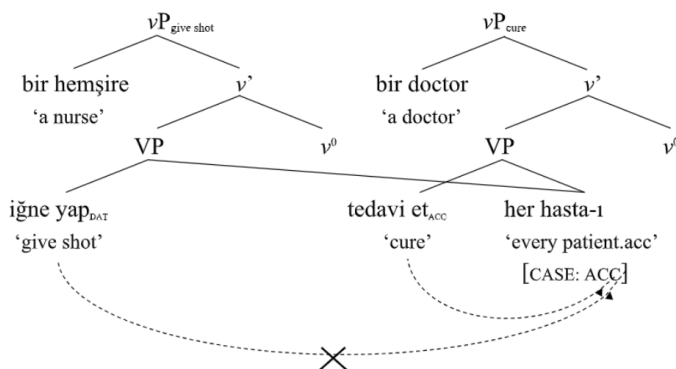
The ellipsis analysis of RNR proposed for Turkish (Ince 2009) straightforwardly derives the string in (1), but this analysis cannot derive inverse scope. In order to yield inverse scope, the pivot *her hastayı* ‘every patient’ needs to c-command the existential subject in each conjunct. One could argue that the accusative object in the second conjunct moves rightwards string-vacuously, to adjoin either to the second conjunct only, or the &P. From each of these positions, ‘every patient’ c-commands the subject of the second conjunct, as in (3) and (4). Both configurations would yield inverse scope in the second conjunct, but neither is sufficient for inverse scope to obtain in the first conjunct, where the universal object is deleted. In addition, in (3), the adjunction of every patient to &P violates the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC).

- (3) [CP [&P [TP A nurse [VP every patient<sub>DAT</sub> give shot]], and [TP a doctor [VP t<sub>i</sub> cured]]] every patient<sub>ACC</sub>]<sub>i</sub>  

- (4) [&P [TP A nurse [VP every patient<sub>DAT</sub> give shot]], and [TP [TP a doctor [VP t<sub>i</sub> cured] every patient<sub>ACC</sub>]]]  


Considering that Turkish allows object drop, one might argue that (1) is not an RNR configuration at all. However, even if the object in the initial conjunct is null, the object in the second conjunct still cannot scope over &P without violating the CSC.

The inverse scope observed in (1) is then only possible under ATB-movement and multidominance analyses of RNR. However, these analyses do not tolerate mismatches. ATB-movement requires a strict identity between moved objects (Citko 2005), prohibiting the adjunction of a single copy (from the final conjunct) to &P. As for multidominance, although case syncretism in ATB and RNR constructions ameliorates case conflicts (Citko and Gračanin-Yüksek 2021), dative and accusative cases are not syncretic in Turkish, and it is impossible for the accusative object to be shared by two VP's that assign cases different in form, as is shown in (5) (note that Turkish does not allow case stacking).

(5)



The data is therefore problematic for all analyses of RNR. Without finding new mechanisms for the proposed analyses, it is unclear how (1) could yield inverse scope without violating the CSC.

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