
Non-syncretic mismatches in ATB-movement – why the genitive of negation is special

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ATB-movement is generally subject to a case-matching requirement: The same case must be assigned to the filler in both conjuncts (Dyła 1984). In this paper, we will discuss an instance of ATB-movement in Russian that is grammatical despite a non-syncretic case mismatch. The data come from the genitive of negation. While similar mismatches have been documented for other Slavic languages (Bondaruk 2003, Rothert 2022), we will present a comprehensive picture of the empirical facts in Russian and provide the first analysis.

In Russian, the genitive of negation appears on direct objects instead of the accusative. The case mismatch is possible with genitive in the first conjunct and accusative in the second as in (1a). The reverse order is ungrammatical; (1b).

- (1) a. [Kakix knig] Katja daže ne videla __,
 which.PL.GEN book.PL.GEN Katja even not saw
 a Maša uže čitala __?
 but Masha already read
 ‘Which books has Katja not even seen but Masha already read?’
b. *[Kakix knig] Maša uže čitala __, a Katja
 which.PL.GEN book.PL.GEN Masha already read a but Katja
 daže ne videla __?
 even not saw
 ‘Which books has Katja not even seen but Masha already read?’

Genitive of negation also appears on subjects of unaccusative (or passive) verbs instead of the nominative. However, a case mismatch is not possible if such a genitive is combined with the nominative, irrespective of the order.

We will argue that Gen-Acc mismatch is possible because genitive featurally contains accusative, but neither accusative nor genitive contains nominative (cf. Christopoulos & Zompì 2022, Akkuş et al. 2025). Mismatch is grammatical if the case features assigned in the first conjunct fully subsume the case assigned in the second conjunct. This requires an asymmetric approach to ATB-movement and we will present an account in terms of Sideward Movement (Nunes 2004).

References: • Akkuş, F., Embick, D. & M. A. Salih (2025). *Case and the Syntax of Argument Indexation: Sorani Kurdish and Beyond*. OUP. • Bondaruk, A. (2003). Parasitic gaps and ATB in Polish. *JSL* 11, 221–249. • Christopoulos, C. & S. Zompì (2022). Taking the nominal (back) out of the accusative: Case features and the distribution of stems in Indo-European paradigms. *NLLT* 41, 879–909. • Rothert, J. (2022). *An experimental investigation of the case matching requirement in Polish ATB movement and RNR*. MSc thesis, Potsdam.