Case variation in coordination: Danish vs. Faroese

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Abstract:

This paper is primarily concerned with inter- and intra-individually variable case-form mismatches inside coordinate determiner phrases (CoDPs). For English, the phenomenon is both socially salient (e.g. O'Conner and Kellerman 2009, among many others) and well studied (Angermeyer and Singler 2003, Quinn 2005, Grano 2006, Parrott 2007: Ch. 6). The most prominent theory of (default) case (Schütze 2001, incorporating Johannessen 1998) explains English variation in CoDPs mostly with parameterized syntactic mechanisms. The parametric theory does not make clear cross-linguistic predictions, and accordingly there has been little cross-linguistic investigation of case variation in CoDPs. This paper therefore has two main purposes. The first is to argue for a theory of (default) case (Parrott 2007, 2009a, following Emonds 1986, and incorporating McFadden 2004, 2007) within the Distributed Morphology (DM) framework (Halle and Marantz 1993, Embick and Noyer 2007). In contrast with the parametric theory, the DM theory makes testable cross-linguistic predictions that, *inter alia*, connect the (non) attestation of case mismatches in CoDPs with Germanic case typology. Thus, the paper's second purpose is to present some results from investigations, utilizing diverse empirical methods, into case variation in CoDPs for Danish and Faroese. These results are consistent with predictions made by the DM theory.

1. Introduction and structure[1]

The following paper is primarily concerned with inter- and intra-individually variable case-form mismatches inside coordinate determiner phrases (CoDPs). For English, the phenomenon is both socially salient (e.g., O'Conner and Kellerman 2009, among many others) and fairly well studied (Angermeyer and Singler 2003, Quinn 2005, Grano 2006) (Parrott 2007: Ch. 6). Perhaps the most prominent theory of (default) case (Schütze 2001,

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incorporating Johannessen 1998) explains English variation in CoDPs primarily by means of parameterized syntactic mechanisms, though it must also invoke extra-grammatical "viruses" (e.g. Sobin 1997, 2009). It is not clear that this parametric theory makes cross-linguistic predictions, and accordingly there has been very little investigation of case variation in CoDPs for languages other than English (there is some in Johannessen 1998; see also Sigurðsson 2006 for cross-linguistic facts about case with a focus on the post-copular/predicate nominal construction, but not on CoDPs).

This working paper therefore has two main purposes. The first is to argue for a particular, developing theory of (default) case (Parrott 2007: Ch. 6, 2009a, following Emonds 1986, and incorporating McFadden 2004, 2007) that is situated within the Distributed Morphology (DM) framework (Halle and Marantz 1993, Embick and Noyer 2007). In contrast with the parametric theory, this DM theory makes testable cross-linguistic predictions that, *inter alia*, connect (Germanic) case typology with the (non) attestation of variable case mismatches in CoDPs. Thus, the theory makes the strong prediction that case mismatches in CoDP should be completely unattested and unacceptable for language varieties, like German, with 'transparent' case morphology on productive nominal categories. Conversely, the theory makes a somewhat weaker implicational prediction for language varieties, like English, with 'vestigial' case morphology limited to a subset of pronouns. Namely, case variation in CoDPs is possible only in vestigial-case languages, but is predicted to occur if oblique forms are the default pronominal case.

The paper's second purpose is to present some preliminary results from investigations, utilizing diverse empirical methods, into case variation in CoDPs for two varieties of Scandinavian (i.e. North Germanic): vestigial-case Danish, and transparent-case Faroese. The paper will conclude that the emerging cross-linguistic facts from North Germanic tend to support the DM theory against the parametric one.[2]

2. English case variation in coordination

For most varieties of English (e.g. as spoken in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia, or New Zealand), pronominal case-form variation in co–ordi–nation is extremely socially salient. Not only are case mismatches in CoDPs the object of much derision among 'prescriptivists' (e.g., Loving 1990, Honey 1995, O'Conner 1996, O'Conner and Kellerman 2009, Garner

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[2] Some refinements to the DM theory will be required in order to account for the other mainland Scandinavian varieties, but this takes us beyond the present paper's scope. For some details, see Parrott (2008, 2009a, 2009b).

1998, Casagrande 2008, among many, many others), but virtually all native speakers are consciously aware of the phenomenon and have overt (and covert) attitudes toward it.

Because it is methodologically and theoretically relevant below, I give examples from letters posted to a recent *Salon.com* article that reviews a book about, and mildly critical of, prescriptivism in English.[3] Remarkably, the review itself does not mention case variation at all. The responding letters' spontaneous complaints conflate case-mismatch in CoDPs with various other kinds of orthographic, stylistic, morphological, and lexical variation; all are characterized as equally grievous errors whose perpetrators are worthy of scorn. Note that the last three letter writers below acknowledge the role that explicit instruction plays in case variation.

(1)   Excerpts from letters to the editor that mention case mismatches

    a.   But "irregardless," "between you and I," […] are simply mistakes. I do not think it makes me a language cop to hold the line, and it does not seem to me that the line should move merely because a majority or significant minority of speakers are all mistaken together.[4]

    b.   I do grit my teeth, as an earlier poster does, at "irregardless", "between you and I" […].[5]

    c.   Redundancies ("attempt to try") and the ironic "I" as a direct object or object of a preposition (the common error of the nouveau riche or anyone who nodded off in grammar class but now wishes to sound educated) are my favorites. One is verbose and the other is a dead giveaway.[6]

    d.   There are phrases that people are using nowadays that just drive me nuts, e.g, "I shoulda went," "Me and him (or her) went to the movies," "One-year anniversary," "Between you and I [mostly spoken by people who believe they're actually correct]" […].[7]

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[3] "Memo to grammar cops: Back off!" By Laura Miller. Review of Jack Lynch (2009) *The Lexicographer's Dilemma*. New York: Walker and Company. [http://www.salon.com/books/review/2009/10/25/lexicographers_dilemma/index.html]

[4] By "G. L." [http://tinyurl.com/yz9sa8q].

[5] By "Yehlaina" [http://tinyurl.com/yl7n7mj].

[6] By "highlyunlikely" [http://tinyurl.com/ycmjln2].

[7] By "Older and Wiser" [http://tinyurl.com/yj9v9s3].

e.   Then there's the constant misuse of "myself." (The British love to do this, too.) I received a letter saying, "Please don't hesitate to contact my assistant or myself." […] I mock people in my head. (Not kind, I know, but better than correcting them out loud.) I like to believe the above comes from English teachers drumming into their students' heads not to use "me" as a subject ("Me and my brother went...) -- so people substitute "myself" for "me." I've also heard this on T.V.: "Between you and I" Because for heaven's sake, you should never use the word "me." (T.V. writers never went to school, I've decided.)[8]

Despite such harsh stigmatization, English case variation in CoDPs has been fairly well studied using diverse empirical methods. These include intuition questionnaires (Quinn 2005 in person, Grano 2006 online), online written corpora (Grano 2006), and naturalistic observation of spoken or written attestations (Angermeyer and Singler 2003, Parrott 2007: Ch. 6).

At least four basic types of variable mismatches can be distinguished. The following attested examples are from Parrott (2007: Ch. 6). Here and below, mismatches are in **bold**, and '*' means both unattested and un-acceptable, unless otherwise noted. First of all, 'oblique forms' (OFs = *me, her/him, us, them*) occur in either or both conjuncts of a CoDP that is the subject of a finite clause.

(2)   OFs in subject CoDPs

    a.   **Me** and **her** party!

    b.   My sister and **her** don't have any mutual friends.

    c.   **Her** and Britney are trying to grow up.

    d.   Bush and **them** spend more money in one week in Iraq than it would take to fix up all our homes.

Next, 'subject forms' (SFs = *I, she/he, we, they*) occur in CoDPs that are the objects of a preposition (3a) or a verb (3c) (and also subjects of a non-finite clause). However, mismatched SFs display ordering asymmetries, such that first-person singular (1sg) SFs always appear in the last conjunct, as in (3a-b), and third-person singular (3sg) SFs always appear in the first conjunct, as in (3c-d).

(3)   SFs in object CoDPs

    a.   And if our troops do lose, it's Night of the Living Dead for you and **I**.

    b.   * It's Night of the Living Dead for **I** and you.

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[8] By "RDisdier" [http://tinyurl.com/yleg5jo].

> c. Dr. Mohammed Hazim in Baquba, pleaded for his governor to protect **he** and his colleagues from "organized terrorism of the police and army."
>
> d. * The doctor pleaded for his governor to protect his colleagues and **he** from "organized terrorism of the police and army."

Finally, 'mixed' OFs and SFs appear in CoDPs that are both subjects (4) and (5). SFs in 'mixed' CoDPs obey the 1sg/3sg ordering asymmetry observed above. Notice that in 'mixed' coordinates, at least one pronoun is always mismatched regardless of the CoDP's syntactic position.

(4) 'Mixed' O/SFs in subject CoDPs

    a.   **Him** and I were working at the time.

    b.   *I and **him** were working at the time.

    c.   *He and **me** were working at the time.

    d.   ***Me** and he were working at the time.

(5) 'Mixed' O/SFs in object CoDPs

    a.   This is starting to make him and **I** both feel really bad.

    b.   *This is starting to make **I** and him both feel really bad.

    c.   *This is starting to make **he** and me both feel really bad.

    d.   *This is starting to make me and **he** both feel really bad.

In summary, English OFs appear in either or both conjuncts of subject or object CoDPs. SFs in either subject or object CoDPs display ordering asymmetries, so that 1sg *I* always occurs in the last conjunct, immediately following the coordinate head, while 3sg *(s)he* always occurs in the first conjunct(s), before the coordinate head. Note that coordinated plural pronouns—especially SFs—appear to be quite rare in usage (see also Grano 2006). One reason for this could be pragmatic: if there is enough shared contextual information for a plural pronoun inside a CoDP, there is usually enough shared context for a plural pronoun instead of a CoDP. For example, (2d) above could be *They spend more money in one week in Iraq than it would take to fix up all our homes*.

3. A parametric theory (Schütze 2001, Johannessen 1998, Sobin 1997, 2009)

Schütze (2001) adopts a Minimalist theory of syntax (Chomsky 1995) augmented with a Distributed Morphology (DM) theory of the post-syntactic morphological component (or, 'morphology') (Halle and Marantz 1993). He maintains a standard approach to abstract syntactic Case, which is responsible for the "structural licensing" of nominal phrases (see Lasnik

2008 for an overview). Case assignment/checking operations in narrow syntax are UG endowed and thus uniform across languages. In contrast, Schütze proposes five distinct, parameterized mechanims for "morphological case marking" (2001: 209). According to Schütze, the first four of these "apply in the syntax," but "some or all of them" could equally well apply in the morphology—but if so, crucially before default case (2001: 209-210).

(6) Five mechanisms for morphological case marking

    i.   case assignment by a head (e.g., by V or T)

    ii.   case matching with a semantically related constituent (e.g., left-dislocation)

    iii.   case spreading from a head to its constituents (e.g., adjectives within DP)

    iv.   case from semantics (e.g., "adverbial cases" such as "ablative of instrument")

    v.   case by default ("when none of the other mechanisms has applied")

On Schütze's theory, default case is a mechanism of the morphology—crucially, not of the syntax. The default mechanism provides case forms to nominals that have not had a Case feature assigned/valued in the syntax, and have also not received case marking by any of the other mechanisms in (6i-iv) above. Importantly, default case cannot 'rescue' a nominal from its syntactic licensing requirements. Schütze proposes, but does not choose between, two different morphological mechanisms that could implement default case: either "Feature Filling" rules, or "Elsewhere Insertion" of Vocabulary items. The former option would involve a morphological rule that inserts a parametrically determined case feature by default for any nominal lacking case after Spell-Out. The latter option would involve Vocabulary wherein the parametrically determined case exponent is the elsewhere item, thus inserted by default into any target terminal lacking a case features. This is illustrated below for English, where Acc (or more accurately, in present terms, the OF) is the elsewhere exponent and hence the default case. Notice that there is only one Vocabulary item specified for case in English, in order to avoid a large number of superfluous homophones (i.e., for Acc or Dat, not to mention other possible case values like Vocative or Ablative).

(7) English pronominal Vocabulary ala Schütze (schematic and 1sg)

    a.   D[φ +Nominative]   ⇔   /SF/

          elsewhere   ⇔   /OF/

b.   D[1sg +Nominative]   ⇔   /ai/
       elsewhere   ⇔   /mi/

For Schütze, both the default-case forms (e.g., Nom vs. Acc or /SF/ vs. /OF/) and the default-case environments (e.g., CoDPs or isolation, etc.) are independent micro-parametric options: "Different languages make use of default case in different sets of constructions, while employing strategies such as case matching or spreading in others" (2001: 228). Thus, Schütze adapts Johannessen's (1998) proposal that the coordinate head (Co^0) parametrically 'shares'/assigns/checks syntactic Case features with/to/on all of its conjuncts, or only the specifier, or the complement. For Schütze, the parameter is not stated in terms of the Co^0 head, but is more general: case may or may not 'spread' from the head D to all of the constituents in DP. If it does, as in German, pronouns and other nominals inside a CoDP receive the same case that was assigned/checked to/on that CoDP in the syntax. If it does not, as in English, pronouns inside a CoDP receive default case in the morphology. Note that Schütze's 'DP-spreading' parameter is independent of the default-case parameter; these are independent of any other default-construction parameters; and all of them are independent of a language variety's case typology. For clarity, some of these parametric options are listed below for German and English.

(8)   Schütze's independent parameter settings for English and German
       German

       a.   Default case   =   Nom
       b.   DP-spreading   =   yes → case spreading in CoDP
       c.   Isolation   =   case matching

       English

       a.   Default case   =   Obl (OF)
       b.   DP-spreading   =   no → default case in CoDP
       c.   Isolation   =   default case

Finally, following Emonds (1986) and Sobin (1994b), Schütze denies that Nom (i.e., SF) pronouns in CoDPs—even subject CoDPs—are "a bona fide option for any grammar of English" (2001: 214). Instead, English SFs in CoDPs are the result of prescriptively transmitted 'viruses' (Sobin 1994a, 1997, 2009, Lasnik and Sobin 2000). These are described as 'extra-grammatical' rules that check Nom case at or after Spellout. Unlike syntactic case mechanisms, however, viral rules can refer to linear ordering and specific lexical items. Thus, the virus infecting English checks Nom case on a 1sg pronoun that is right-adjacent to *and*. Consequently, this virus

produces 'overcorrection'—that is, 1sg SFs in object coordinates as in (3-5) above.

4. A DM theory (Parrott 2007, 2009, Emonds 1986, McFadden 2004, 2007)

In this paper, I also adopt a Minimalist theory of syntax (Chomsky 1995, 2000, et seq.) augmented by DM (Embick and Noyer 2007, Halle and Marantz 1993). However, departing from Schütze and standard approaches, but following Marantz (2000), McFadden (2004, 2007), and Sigurðsson (2006, 2008), among others, I assume that there are no abstract Case features operative in the narrow syntactic computation. In other words, whatever syntactic mechanisms are responsible for licensing of nominal phrases are dissociated from the post-syntactic mechanisms responsible for case morphology.

4.1. English 'vestigial' case

English, Danish, and similar Germanic language varieties have 'vestigial' case: phonologically distinctive case forms are limited to a subset of the personal pronouns (= D[φ]). The theory advanced here implements ideas from Emonds (1986) in a DM-theoretical framework, namely that English pronominal case forms are not exponents of case features, but instead are allomorphs of a pronoun's structural position. Schematic Vocabulary for English pronoun allomorphs are given in (9), which state that a pronoun's exponent is the SF when the pronoun itself is the specifier of finite T, and the OF in all other contexts.

(9)   English pronominal case-form allomorphy (schematic)

   [D φ] ⇔ /SF/   /   [TP __ [T[±past] ...]]
   [D φ] ⇔ /OF/   *elsewhere*

Vocabulary for English 1sg and 3sg pronouns are given in (10). These state that, for instance, a 1sg pronoun's exponent is /ai/ when the pronoun itself is the specifier of finite T, and /mi/ in all other contexts. The same holds for all other 1st- and 3rd-person pronouns (2nd-person pronouns are syncretic for case form in English).

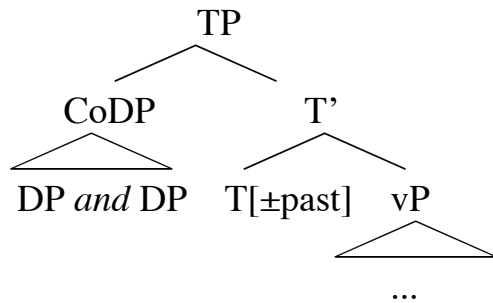(10)   English pronominal case-form allomorphy (1sg and 3sg)

   a.   [D +auth +part -pl]   ⇔ /ai/   /   [TP __ [T[±past] ...]]
         [D +auth +part -pl]   ⇔ /mi/   *elsewhere*

b.　　[D -auth -part -pl ♂] ⇔ /hi/　/　　[TP __ [T[±past] ...]]
　　　[D -auth -part -pl ♂] ⇔ /hɪm/　　*elsewhere*
　　　[D -auth -part -pl ♀] ⇔ /ʃi/　/　　[TP __ [T[±past] ...]]
　　　[D -auth -part -pl ♀] ⇔ /həɹ/　　*elsewhere*

On this theory, OFs are default exponents simply because they are elsewhere Vocabulary items. This is quite similar to Schütze's "Elsewhere Insertion" from (7) above, most notably because all environments other than finite subjects are default contexts—including isolation and post-copular predicates, of course, but also 'Accusative' verbal and 'Dative' prepositional objects.

A crucial difference is that on the present theory, there are no case features in the Vocabulary whatsoever, only structural information about the insertion context. As a direct consequence, it is not necessary to postulate any kind of case or feature spreading parameter for CoDPs. A pronoun inside of a CoDP is either the specifier or the complement of the coordinate head Co^0 (Johannessen 1998, Munn 1994); as illustrated in (11) below, only the CoDP itself is specifier of finite T[±past]. Therefore, any pronoun inside of a CoDP is not the specifier of finite T[±past] and must receive elsewhere OF exponence.

(11)　A finite-subject CoDP

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                TP
               /  \
          CoDP      T'
          /  \     /  \
   DP and DP  T[±past]  vP
                        /\
                       ...
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So far, the theory advanced here accounts for the ordinary distribution of English pronominal case allomorphs, as well as for mismatched OFs of all persons and numbers in either conjunct of a CoDP, as in (2) above. An attractive feature of the theory is that it considerably simplifies matters in both the syntax and the morphology: multiple syntactic or morphological operations for Case/case assignment/checking, as well as multiple construction-specific default-case parameters, are no longer necessary.

The next step is to capture mismatched SFs, with their characteristic pronoun-specific ordering asymmetries, in finite-subject and 'mixed' CoDPs, as in (3), (4), and (5) above. Rather than postulating extra-grammatical viruses of uncertain explanatory potential, the present theory departs from Emonds (1986), utilizing DM technology in a novel way to explain sociolinguistic variation in morphosyntax. I have proposed that as a result

of explicit and pervasive prescriptive instruction, English speakers may, but need not, learn 'supplementary' Vocabulary for pronouns in coordination (Parrott 2007: Ch. 6, 2009a). This learning takes place after the developmental period, usually during formal education. English speaking children are repeatedly taught not only to use SFs in subject CoDPs, but that it is polite to put themselves (i.e., the 1sg pronoun) last in coordination (see also Quattlebaum 1994, Angermeyer and Singler 2003). Thus, many or most individuals learn to use the 1sg SF exponent following *and*. What they have learned is not a virus outside of the ordinary mechanisms of grammar, but rather just another Vocabulary item, as given in (12a) below. This Vocabulary item states that a 1sg pronoun receives the SF exponent /ai/ when the pronoun itself is linearly right-adjacent to the coordinate head Co^0. Again, supplementary Vocabulary contains no case features, and moreover do not refer to surrounding structural context, only to linear adjacency. Therefore, the supplementary Vocabulary in (12) can be inserted regardless of a CoDPs syntactic position, accounting for mismatches like (3) above.

(12)   Supplementary pronominal Vocabulary for English

    a.   [D +auth +part -pl]   ⇔ /ai/   /   [CoDP … [Co^0] * __ …]

    b.   [D -auth -part -pl ♀] ⇔ /ʃi/   /   [CoDP … __ * [Co^0] …]

    c.   [D -auth -part -pl ♂] ⇔ /hi/   /   [CoDP … __ * [Co^0] …]

In coordination, 1sg pronouns are evidently most frequent (Grano 2006), likely for pragmatic reasons, as well as social salience. For such reasons, most English speakers only learn the supplementary Vocabulary item for 1sg SFs (12a).[9] The new item joins their acquired pronominal Vocabulary, but it is not more or less featurally specified, but merely contains different information about the insertion context. Therefore, by hypothesis, supplementary Vocabulary do not compete for insertion according to the familiar 'elsewhere' principle. This, then, is the mechanism of intra-individual (i.e., sociolinguistic) variation on the present theory: given the morphological option of non-competing Vocabulary items, speakers have a socially meaningful 'choice' of exponents when a 1sg pronoun follows *and* (or *or*).

    An individual Vocabulary inventory, including (12a) but no other supplementary items, is given in (13). Non-competition of Vocabulary is indicated by the dotted-dashed line. An individual with the Vocabulary in

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[9] It is, of course, possible to learn additional supplementary Vocabulary for 3sg pronouns, as in (12b-c), or even more elaborate pronominal Vocabulary. Elaboration would take us beyond the scope of this working paper, but see Parrott (2007, 2009a) and forthcoming work for some details.

(13) can variably produce OFs in any conjuncts of subject or object CoDPs, as in (2) above; 1sg SFs in the final conjunct of subject or object CoDPs, as in (3a) above; and 'mixed' subject or object CoDPs, as in (4a) and (5a) above. Notice, however, that an individual with the Vocabulary in (13) will not produce 1sg SF in initial conjuncts of any CoDPs, as in (3b), (4b), and (5b) above, nor 3sg SFs in any conjuncts of any CoDPs, as in (3c-d), (4c-d), and (5c-d).

(13)   Individual Vocabulary inventory I (12a)

[D +auth +part -pl]   ⇔ /ai/   /   [CoDP … [Co0] * __ …]

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[D +auth +part -pl]   ⇔ /ai/   /   [TP __ [T[±past] ...]]
[D +auth +part -pl]   ⇔ /mi/   *elsewhere*
[D -auth -part -pl ♂] ⇔ /hi/   /   [TP __ [T[±past] ...]]
[D -auth -part -pl ♂] ⇔ /hɪm/   *elsewhere*
[D -auth -part -pl ♀] ⇔ /ʃi/   /   [TP __ [T[±past] ...]]
[D -auth -part -pl ♀] ⇔ /həɹ/   *elsewhere*

4.2. German 'transparent' case

German, Faroese, and similar Germanic language varieties have 'transparent' case: phonologically distinctive case forms (syncretisms notwithstanding) are found on virtually all nominal elements, such as numerals, nouns, all kinds of pronouns, all kinds of determiners, or adjectives. Adopting McFadden's (2004, 2007) specific DM implementation, case forms in transparent-case languages, here exemplified by German, are exponents of case features assigned by post-syntactic morphological rules. Let us suppose, following McFadden (2004), that a general rule (14) assigns a case feature [+case] to all Ds.[10]

(14)   Morphological case insertion rule for German

D   →   D[+case]

The 'structural' Acc case is assigned by a rule that refers to other DPs in the syntactic structure. The feature [+inferior] is assigned to the D complement of *v* when there is another DP in the specifier of *v*.[11]

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[10] In later work, McFadden dispenses with this kind of rule, and default Nom is simply the exponent for any D lacking a case feature.

[11] This has been considerably simplified for present purposes; in order to deal with ECM and similar constructions, McFadden's rule is relativized to apply within phases. I will leave aside such issues.

(15)   Acc case rule for German (adapted from McFadden 2004: 225)

[+case] ⇔ [+case +inferior]   /   [$_{vP}$ DP [v … [$_{DP}$ __ …]]]

The 'semantic' or 'inherent' Gen(itive)[12] and Dat(ive) cases are assigned to D by specific heads. Most commonly, the feature [+oblique] is assigned to D complements of prepositions, as illustrated in (16).

(16)   Dat case rule for German P (adapted from McFadden 2004: 225)

[+case] ⇔ [+case +oblique +inferior]   /   [$_{PP}$ … P [$_{DP}$ __]…]

Notice that the rule in (16) adds not only an [+oblique] feature, but also an [+inferior] feature. This is because, by hypothesis, there is an markedness hierarchy of case features, so that the presence of a more-marked feature entails the presence of less-marked features, as schematized in (17).

(17)   Case feature/value entailment

    a.   [+genitive] →   [+oblique] =   * [+genitive -oblique]

    b.   [+oblique] →   [+inferior] =   * [+oblique -inferior]

On this theory, then, Nom case is a default exponent of [+case] when no other case feature has been assigned.

(18)   Case features of German (adapted from McFadden 2004: 221-223)

    a.   [+case +genitive +oblique +inferior] =   Genitive

    b.   [+case +oblique +inferior]   =   Dative

    c.   [+case +inferior]   =   Accusative

    d.   [+case]   =   Nominative

These case features are contained in Vocabulary that provide exponence both to German definite articles, exemplified in (19) with masculine singular, and to pronouns, as in (20).

(19)   D[+def], masc. sing. (adapted from McFadden 2004: 221-223)

    [+case +genitive +oblique +inferior -fem]   ⇔   /des/

    [+case +oblique +inferior -fem]   ⇔   /dem/

    [+case +inferior -fem, -neut]   ⇔   /den/

    [+case -fem -neut]   ⇔   /dɛɹ/

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[12] McFadden (2004) does not elaborate on Genitive case, nor will I here. He does note that Genitive case on the complement of N appears structural rather than inherent.

(20)   Pronoun D, masc. 3sg (adapted from McFadden 2004: 221-223)

[+case +oblique +inferior -fem -auth -part -pl]   ⇔   /im/

[+case +inferior -fem -neut -auth -part -pl]   ⇔   /in/

[+case -fem -neut -auth -part -pl]   ⇔   /ɛɹ/

A characteristic, indeed defining, property of transparent case languages like German or Icelandic is non-nominative (a.k.a., 'quirky') Acc or Dat subjects of certain experiencer and thematically similar verbs. Very often, the case of a non-nominative subject is variable, as exemplified in (21).

(21)   German Acc/Dat verbs (adapted from McFadden 2004: 215)

a.   % Mich   durstet nach Bier.
     me.ACC *thirsts after beer*

b.   % Mir   durstet nach Bier.
     me.DAT *thirsts after beer*
     "I am thirsty for beer." (Lit: "I thirst for beer.")

To account for Dat subjects, McFadden proposes that the feature [+oblique] can be assigned to a DP Merged in the specifier of an applicative verbal head, as in (22). (The DP is later moved to the specifier of finite T, leaving a copy that can be 'seen' by post-syntactic morphological rules.)

(22)   Appl. Dat rule for German (adapted from McFadden 2004: 225)

[+case] ⇔ [+case +oblique +inferior] / [$_{vAPPLP}$ [$_{DP}$ __…] [vAPPL…]]

An Impoverishment rule, as in (23), will derive Acc subjects. Like all Impoverishment rules, a more marked feature [+oblique] is deleted, allowing insertion of a less specified Vocabulary item (the Acc exponent).

(23)   German Obl. Impov. rule (adapted from McFadden 2004: 219)

[+case +oblique +inferior] → [+case ∅ +inferior] / __{√DÜRSTEN…}

Following Nevins and Parrott (2009 [Online], In press), Impoverishment rules may apply variably, capturing variable Dat/Acc subjects like (21), or the more famous 'Dative Sickness' of Icelandic (e.g., Jónsson and Eythorsson 2005, Thráinsson 2007).

4.3. The morphological transparency hypothesis and the acquisition of case

The theory advanced above raises an obvious question: why are the morphological mechanisms of pronominal case-form allomorphy in English different from those in German? Why can't English pronoun Vocabulary simply contain case features, as for Schütze (7), or as in German (20)?

Emonds (1986) hypothesized that the acquisition of morphosyntactic exponence is limited by what is phonologically distinctive in the child's

environmental linguistic input. Emonds formalizes the notion that morpho-syntactic features must be morphophonologically 'transparent' for acquisition:

(24) Morphological transparency (Emonds 1986: 106-107)

Definition. A syntactic category C is "morphologically transparent" on B if and only if a productive number of pairs of simple B which contrast with respect to C also differ phonologically.

(25) Transparency as a constraint on acquisition (Emonds 1986)

Morphological Transparency. An abstract (e.g. case) feature C of a category B is realized on the lexical head of B in a language if and only if the C is morphologically transparent on B.

Parrott (2009a) implements Emonds's definitions in DM:

(26) Morphological transparency in DM (Parrott 2009a)

A morphosyntactic feature F (e.g., [±inferior]) is morphologically transparent on an abstract terminal morpheme M (e.g., D^0) if and only if a productive number of pairs of simple M which contrast with respect to F also differ phonologically.

(27) Transparency constraint on acquisition (Parrott 2009a)

A morphological operation (e.g., feature insertion) or object (e.g., Vocabulary item) that modifies M may contain a morphosyntactic feature F if and only if F is morphologically transparent on M.

Further elaboration is beyond the scope of this working paper; see Parrott (2009a) and forthcoming work for additional details.

4.4. Some cross-linguistic predictions

The theory sketched in the preceding sections makes cross-linguistic predictions about the connections between case mismatch in CoDPs, case typology, non-nominative subjects, and default case forms. These predictions can be expressed as implicational hierarchies, as schematized below. Beginning with (28): if a language has transparent case (TransCase) it will have non-nominative subjects (NonNomSub), and vice-versa, as indicated by the double arrows ('⇔') below. Furthermore, if a language has transparent case, it will have Nom as the default (Def=Nom), and case mismatches in CoDP will be impossible (*MisCaseCoDP).

(28) Transparent-case languages

TransCase ⇔ NonNomSub → Def=Nom → *MisCaseCoDP

Turning to (29), an initial, strong prediction is that if a language has vestigial case (VestCase), non-nominative subjects will be impossible (*Non-

NomSub), and vice versa. Furthermore, if a language has vestigial case, it will have OFs as the default (Def=OF), and case mismatches in CoDP will be attested (MisCaseCoDP).

(29)   Vestigial-case languages (initial)

VestCase   ⇔ *NonNomSub → Def=OF → MisCaseCoDP

However, this prediction is in fact too strong. Dutch, Afrikaans, Swedish, and some varieties of Norwegian are all vestigial case languages (e.g., König and van der Auwera 1994), but apparently have SFs as the default (Sigurðsson 2006). Moreover, in Swedish and certain varieties of Norwegian, case mismatches in CoDPs are evidently unattested and impossible (see e.g., Thráinsson 2007, Parrott 2008, 2009a, b, Hilton and Parrott 2009). Therefore, it seems that a more refined prediction for vestigial case languages is that they can have either SFs or OFs as the default; if the former, case mismatches in CoDPs will not be attested, and if the latter, they will.

(30)   Vestigial-case languages (revised)

$$\text{VestCase} \Leftrightarrow *\text{NonNomSub} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{Def=OF} & \rightarrow \quad \text{MisCaseCoDP} \\ \text{Def=SF} & \rightarrow *\text{MisCaseCoDP} \end{cases}$$

5. Faroese

Faroese is a transparent-case language (Thráinsson *et al*. 2004), which for historical and political reasons has a high degree of contact with Danish. Virtually all Faroese speakers (at least, in recent generations) are fluent in Danish. Most foreign media (films, TV, etc.) are translated into Danish and not Faroese.

The default case is Nom. While Faroese does have non-Nom subjects, case mismatches in CoDPs are unattested (Thráinsson *et al*. 2004).

I participated in fieldwork at four locations in the Faroe Islands as a part of the 3rd NLVN Training Seminar and 5th NORMS Dialect Workshop held during August 2008 (norms.uit.no/index.php?page=foroyar).

I interviewed 40 Faroese native speakers, both older and younger men and women. I spoke English, with Helge Sandøy assisting me as an interpreter. Carson Shütze observed. Informants were presented with sentences written on a sheet of paper, and were asked whether they could say such sentences, whether they ever heard other adults say such sentences, whether they heard children say such sentences, and whether they heard foreigners say such sentences. Interviews were informal, with ample oppor-

tunity for informants to expand on their views, discuss the sentences, and correct them by hand on the sheet of paper.

CoDP mismatches included several permutations of mismatched elements and conjunct orders. Other constructions were tested, but are not discussed here.

Due to a technical problem on my part, the sentences were written in all capitals. However, this permitted an interesting ambiguity: several informants interpreted *HANA* as a name rather than an Acc pronoun in (32e-f).

All of the 40 informants said that they could not use mismatched case forms in CoDPs. They did not express any prescriptive or other social attitudes toward the mismatches. Their rejection of the mismatches was unequivocal: many informants laughed at the sentences or said that they were 'nonsense.' Only 5 informants reported that they could imagine another Faroese person using such mismatch sentences, whereas 25 could imagine children saying the sentences. All 40 informants agreed that the mismatched CoDP sentences could possibly be used by foreigners attempting to learn Faroese.

The sentences presented to Faroese speakers are given in (31), (32), and (33) below. Mismatches are in **bold**. The (a) or (b) sentences illustrate 'correct,' non-mismatched case in coordination, and were not presented to informants. The sentences starred with '*' were judged unacceptable by informants.

(31)   Mismatched Acc full DPs in Nom CoDPs

   a.   Hundurin   og kettan   runnu eftir fuglinum.
        dog.the.NOM and cat.the.NOM ran   after bird.the.DAT
        'The dog and the cat chased the bird.'

   b.   *Hundurin   og **kettuna**   runnu eftir fuglinum.
        *dog.the.NOM and **cat.the.ACC** ran   after bird.the.DAT*

   c.   ***Hundin**   og kettan   runnu eftir fuglinum.
        ***dog.the.ACC** and cat.the.NOM ran   after bird.the.DAT*

   d.   ***Hundin**   og **kettuna**   runnu eftir fuglinum.
        ***dog.the.ACC** and **cat.the.ACC** ran   after bird.the.DAT*

(32) Mismatched Acc pronouns in Nom CoDPs

    a.   Sigga   og eg (/ Eg og Sigga) sóu ein film   í gjár.
        Sigga.NOM and I.NOM (/)   saw a film.ACC yesterday
        'Sigga and I / I and Sigga saw a film yesterday.'

    b.   Hon   og eg (/ Eg og hon) sóu ein film   í gjár.
        she.NOM and I.NOM (/)   saw a film.ACC yesterday
        'She and I / I and she saw a film yesterday.'

    c. *Sigga   og **meg**   sóu ein film   í gjár.
        Sigga.NOM and me.ACC saw a film.ACC yesterday

    d. ***Meg**   og Sigga   sóu ein film   í gjár.
        me.ACC and Sigga.NOM saw a film.ACC yesterday

    e. ***Hana**   og **meg**   sóu ein film   í gjár.
        her.ACC and me.ACC saw a film.ACC yesterday

    f. ***Meg**   og **hana**   sóu ein film   í gjár.
        me.ACC and her.ACC saw a film.ACC yesterday

(33) Mismatched Nom pronouns in Dat CoDPs

    a.   Rói   møtti Siggu   og mær (/ mær og Siggu) í biografinum.
        Rói.NOM met Sigga.DAT and me.DAT (/)   in theater.the.DAT
        'Rói met Sigga and me / me and Sigga at the theater.'

    b.   Rói   møtti henni og mær (/ mær og henni) í biografinum.
        Rói.NOM met her.DAT and me.DAT   in theater.the.DAT
        'Rói met her and me / me and her at the theater.'

    c. *Rói   møtti Siggu   og **eg**   í biografinum.
        *Rói.NOM met Sigga.DAT and **I.NOM** in theater.the.DAT*

    d. *Rói   møtti **eg**   og Siggu   í biografinum.
        *Rói.NOM met **I.NOM** and Sigga.DAT in theater.the.DAT*

    e. *Rói   møtti **hon**   og **eg**   í biografinum.
        *Rói.NOM met she.NOM and **I.NOM** in theater.the.DAT*

    f. *Rói   møtti **eg**   og **hon**   í biografinum.
        Rói.NOM met **I.NOM** and **she.NOM** in theater.the.DAT

6. Danish

Danish is a vestigial-case language like English, except that Danish has case-form distinctions in both numbers of the second person. OFs are the default in Danish, occurring invariably in isolation, the post-copular/predicate position, and other environments (see also Parrott 2009a); non-Nom subjects are impossible.

    Variably mismatched pronominal case forms in CoDPs are socially salient (e.g., Oxenvad 1976, Hansen 1988, Bjerre 2006, among others) and

well attested (e.g., Allan, Holmes and Lundskær-Nielsen 1995, Jørgensen 2000, Hansen and Heltoft 2007, Pedersen 2008, Parrott 2009a) in Danish. I have had many informal conversations with native speakers of Danish, both linguists and laypeople, about case mismatches in CoDPs. As in English, virtually all Danish speakers are aware of them. Most will simply acknowledge using them; some will deny using them but attribute them to others; some express prescriptive attitudes toward them. For example, one woman described them to me as "rubbish Danish."

Hilton and Parrott (2009) carried out a preliminary corpus study of case mismatches in CoDPs for Danish and Norwegian. We utilized a 2.58-million-'word' subset of the DGCSS/LANCHART Corpus (Gregersen 2007, In press), which consists in total of approximately 7 million 'words' of sociolinguistic interviews conducted at various locations in Denmark from the 1970s until the present. Hilton and Parrott (2009) searched the Copenhagen (1.75 million 'words') and Odder (830,000 'words') sections of the corpus. We found 513 CoDPs containing a pronoun (0.0198% of words); of these, 92 (17.93% of CoNPs) were mismatches. Examples from the corpus are given in (34a-c) below; (34d) is from a written corpus and is given to exemplify the attestation of 'mixed' CoDP objects in Danish (Parrott 2009a).

(34)   Mismatches **bold** (Hilton and Parrott 2009: a-c, Parrott 2009a: d)

    a.   **hende** og hendes bror har selvfølgelig gået i de samme institutioner
       her   and her brother have of course gone to the same institutions

    b.   der er to år   mellem min bror   og **jeg**
       *there are 2 years between my brother and **I***

    c.   øh jamen [**ham** og jeg] vi kørte hjem i går
       *uh well   **him** and I   we drove home yesterday*

    d.   En terapi   med [hende og **jeg**] ville have været [….]
       *a   therapy with her   and **I** would have been*

7. Conclusions and ongoing research

As predicted on the DM theory discussed in Section 4, but not on the parametric theory outlined in Section 3, variable case mismatches in coordination are attested in vestigial-case Danish but impossible in transparent-case Faroese. Therefore, we may conclude that the mechanisms of case for Danish are virtually identical to those for English, as in Section 4.1, and furthermore that the mechanisms of case for Faroese are very similar to those for German, as in Section 4.2.

More empirical research is of course necessary, and new results are most imminent for Danish. Quantitative grammatical and sociolinguistic analysis over (nearly) the entire LANCHART corpus is currently underway. Pronouns are coded for case, person, number, and gender; CoNPs are coded for their syntactic position. Speakers are stratified by age, sex, geographic location, education, and profession. Hypotheses include the following: a) 1sg pronouns will be most common in CoNPs, followed by 3sg, while plural pronouns will be very rare; b) less education and low-literacy professions will favor oblique forms (OFs) in subject CoNPs (34a), more education but low-literacy professions will favor both subject forms (SFs) in objects (34b) and 'mixed' S/OF CoNPs (34c-d), and individuals using S/OFs 'correctly' will be rare and have both more education and high-literacy professions; c) nevertheless, all types of mismatch will be attested (34a-d); d) no changes will be observed in real or apparent time.

Vestigial-case languages such as Swedish, with default SFs and no case mismatches in CoDPs, pose many questions for the DM theory presented above. Most especially, if we want to maintain the hypothesized transparency constraints on the acquisition of morphology, why do children learning Swedish not acquire the same mechanisms for case as their Danish- or English-learning counterparts? I do not have a ready answer, but I hope to more adequately address the issue in future work.

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