

Morphology, there is no affix that corresponds to the specification, so the elsewhere affix will be inserted.

This proposal predicts that in varieties with a Defective Probe as in (7), also other types of C agreement will be homophonous for 1P and 2P, but T agreement not necessarily. This prediction is born out: we find PDA also for 2P.PL as well as 1P/2P homophonous complementizer agreement, providing further support for the proposal.

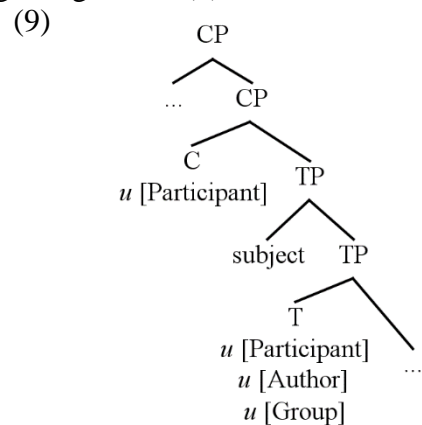
Even more Defective Probes – In addition to PDA with 2P.SG, several varieties of Dutch have an even more impoverished verbal paradigm and PDA with 2P.SG, 1P.PL and 2P.PL; in VS, the inflection is homophonous to 1P.SG. A full paradigm is given in (8).

(8)

	SV	VS
1P.SG	∅	∅
2P.SG	-t	∅
3P.SG	-t	-t
1P.PL	-t	∅
2P.PL	-t	∅
3P.PL	-t	-t

Affix inventory:

[+ Participant] [+ Author] [- Group]	⇔	∅
Elsewhere	⇔	-t



The current proposal provides a straightforward analysis: C is an even more Defective Probe and only bears u [Participant] (9). When there is agreement in C, the defaults for [Author] and [Group] will be interpreted at Morphology: [+ Author] and [- Group]. When C agrees with a [+ Participant] (1P.SG, 2P.SG, 1P.PL or 2P.PL), this will result in a 1P.SG interpretation at Morphology. Hence, the \emptyset affix is inserted, leading to PDA for 2P.SG, 1P.PL, and 2P.PL.

Implications – I argue for a syntactic account of PDA based on Defective Probes. Defective Probes are attractive from a learnability perspective, as it makes concrete the idea that the child only posits features that it has morphological evidence for. Since Defectivity of Probes is restricted by the person geometry, the current proposal makes strong empirical predictions, in contrast to alternative, morphophonology-based accounts. For instance, 3P should never exhibit PDA, since even in the absence of [Participant], the defining feature of 3P, [- Participant], will be interpreted at Morphology, as it is the default value. This prediction is correct: PDA with 3P is completely absent in the Dutch language area (Don, Fenger & Koeneman 2013). In addition, the current observation that PDA is only attested when the 2P.SG affix is syncretic refutes Ackema & Neeleman's (2003) morphophonological account, that requires PDA to make reference to a unique specification of the 2P.SG affix: in all and exactly those dialects that have a morphologically unique 2P.SG affix, PDA does *not* occur; whereas in exactly those dialects where the 2P.SG affix is not unique, PDA *does* occur.

Conclusion – I argue that position-dependent agreement in Dutch is syntactic and the result of Defective Probes. The consequence is that T cannot inherit its features from C, but that they are dissociated (Haegeman & Van Koppen 2012): both T and C can bear unvalued phi-features and enter into Agree independently.

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