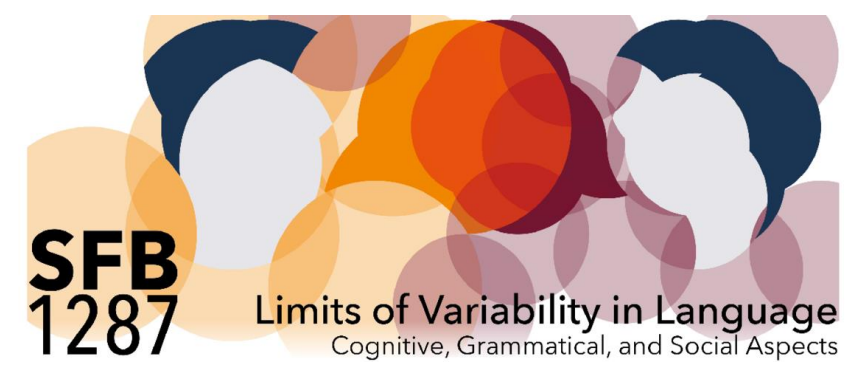


Agreement alternations and Defective Probes in Dutch



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The phenomenon

Position Dependent Agreement (PDA) in dialects of Dutch:

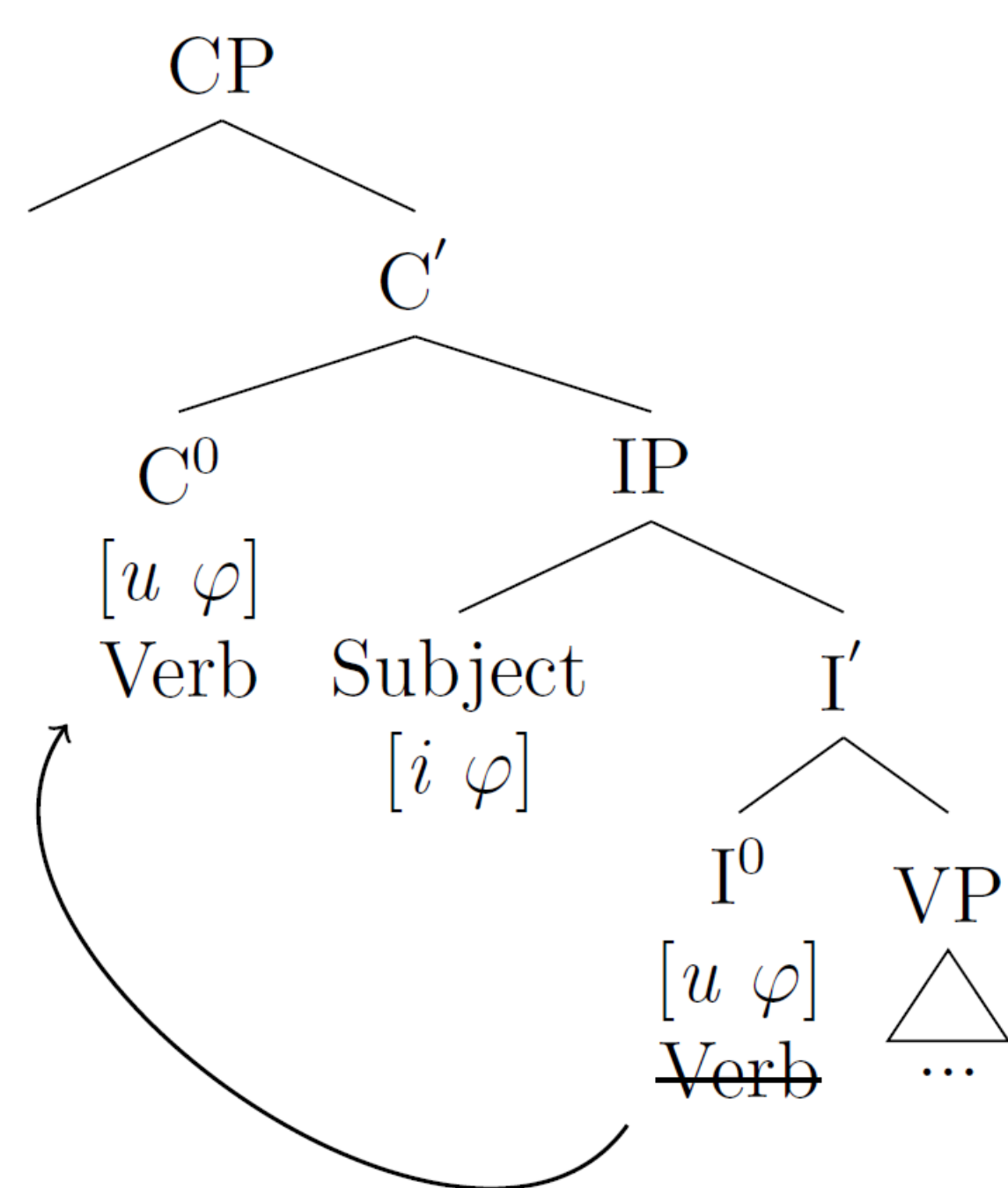
- | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| (1) a. Jij leef-t | b. Leef-∅ jij | Standard Dutch |
| you _{SG} live-AGR | live-AGR you _{SG} | |
| (2) a. Gellie leef-t | b. leev-ə gellie | Mol Dutch |
| you _{PL} live-AGR | live-AGR you _{PL} | |
| (3) a. Wiej leew-t | b. leew-∅ wiej | Losser Dutch |
| we live-AGR | live-AGR we | |

- SAND data *leven* ('to live'), 267 dialects (Barbiers et al. 2006)
- 19 robust patterns of PDA

Background

Dutch clause structure:

- In SV structures the verb is in I; in VS structures the verb is in C (Zwart 1997)
- Both I and C are ϕ -Probes (Carstens 2003, Van Koppen 2005, *i.a.*)



The make-up of ϕ -features:

- ϕ -features are binary (Halle 1997, Nevins 2007, *i.a.*)
- ϕ -features can have a default value (Harley & Ritter 2002)

	- Group	+ Group
+ Participant	+ Author	1P.SG 1P.PL
+ Participant	- Author	2P.SG 2P.PL
- Participant	- Author	3P.SG 3P.PL

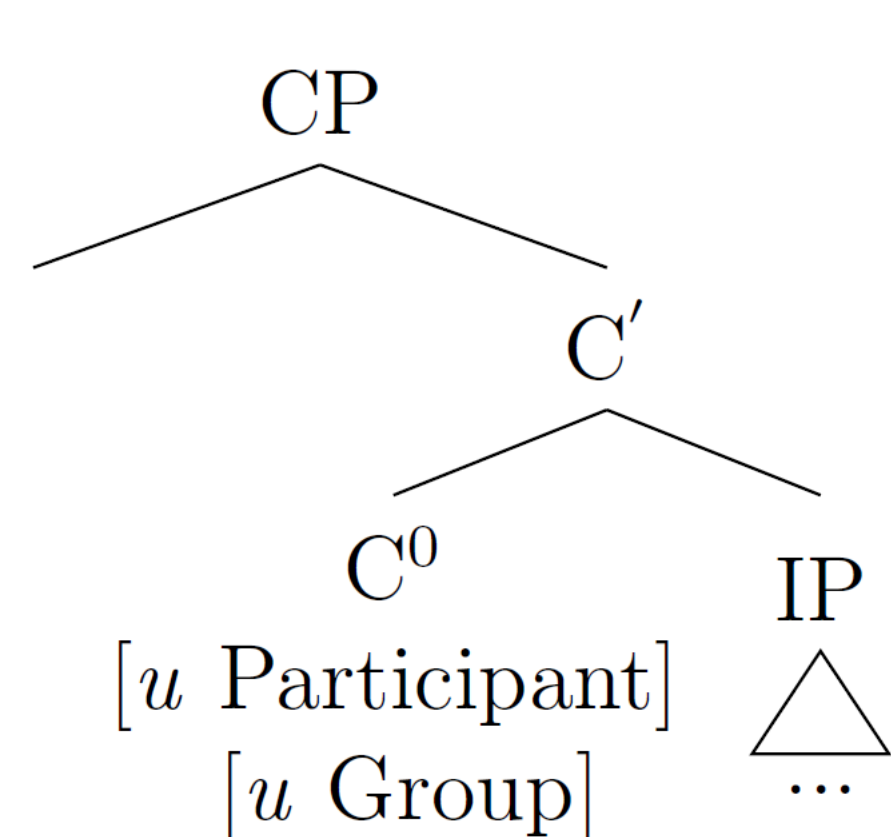
Table 1: Inventory of ϕ -features

Proposal

- PDA is the result of a *Defective Probe* in C: one or more ϕ -features are missing
- *Principle of Default Morphological Interpretation*: if a Probe is Defective, use the default value of the missing feature(s) for Morphological Insertion (MI)

Defective Probe: [*u* Participant] [*u* Group]

- Accounts for 4 patterns of PDA
- [Participant] and [Group] Agree; [+ Author] is used for MI



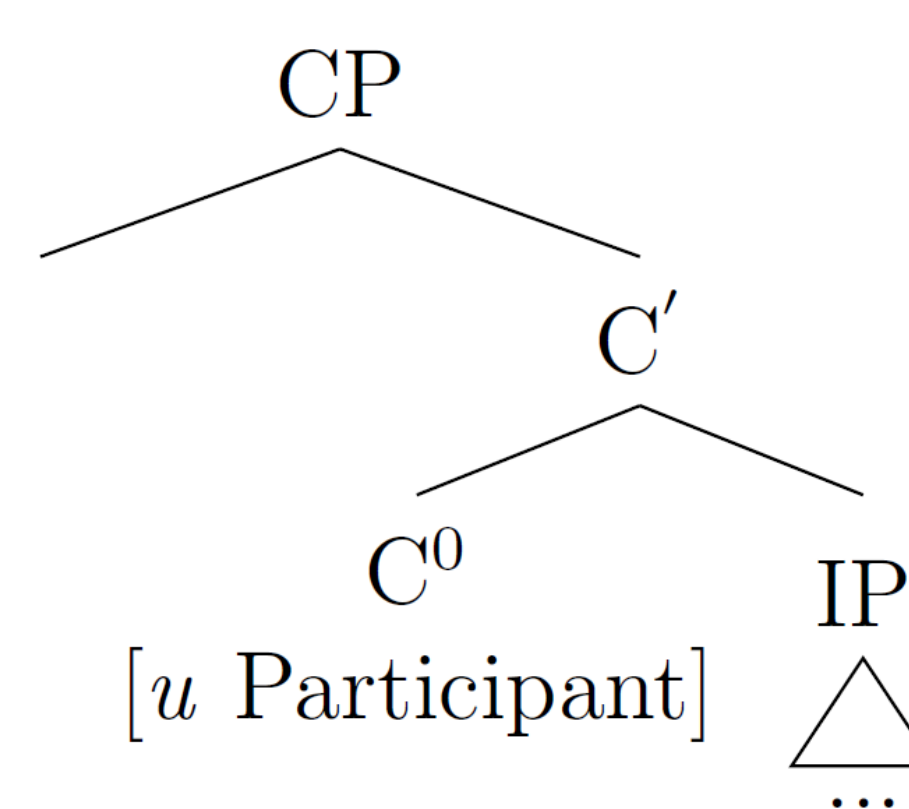
	SV	VS
1P.SG	∅	∅
2P.SG	-t	∅
3P.SG	-t	-t
1P.PL	-ə	-ə
2P.PL	-ə	-ə
3P.PL	-ə	-ə

Affix inventory:

- [+ Participant] [+ Author] [- Group] \Leftrightarrow ∅
- [+ Group] \Leftrightarrow -ə
- Elsewhere \Leftrightarrow -t

Defective Probe: [*u* Participant]

- Accounts for 1 pattern of PDA
- [Participant] Agrees; [+ Author] and [- Group] are used for MI



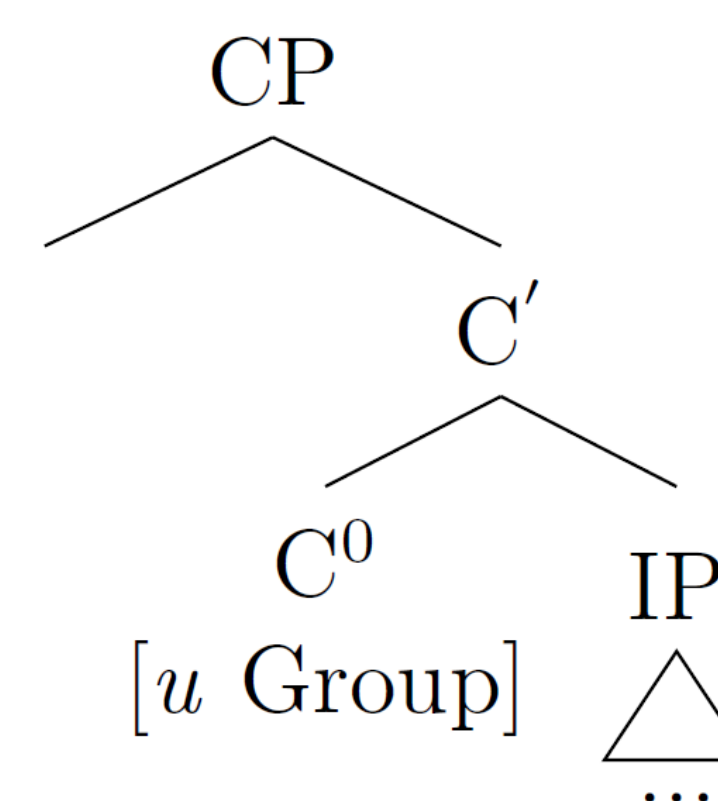
	SV	VS
1P.SG	∅	∅
2P.SG	-t	∅
3P.SG	-t	-t
1P.PL	-t	∅
2P.PL	-t	∅
3P.PL	-t	-t

Affix inventory:

- [+ Participant] [+ Author] [- Group] \Leftrightarrow ∅
- Elsewhere \Leftrightarrow -t

Defective Probe: [*u* Group]

- Accounts for 1 pattern of PDA
- [Group] Agrees; [+ Author] is used for MI
- [+ Author] implies [+ Participant]



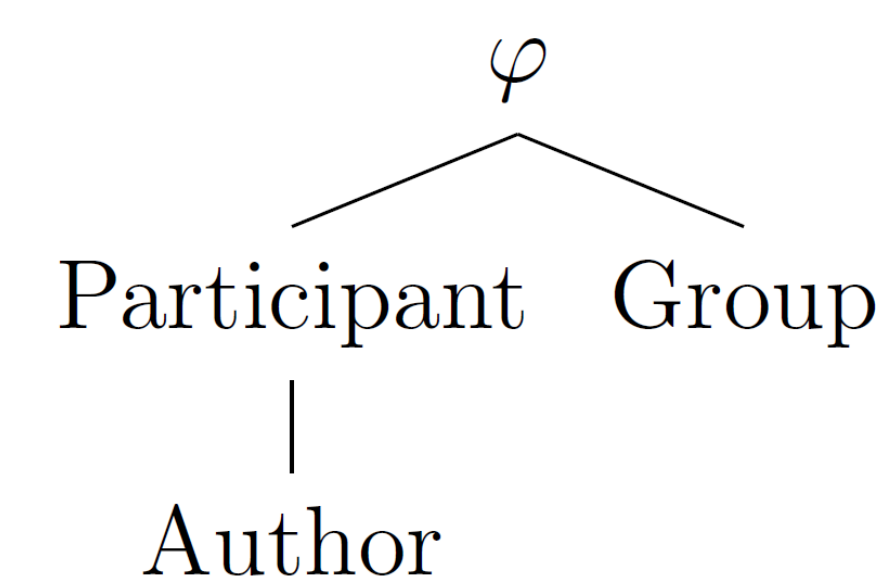
	SV	VS
1P.SG	∅	∅
2P.SG	-n	∅
3P.SG	-t	∅
1P.PL	-n	-n
2P.PL	-n	-n
3P.PL	-n	-n

Affix inventory:

- [+ Participant] [+ Author] [- Group] \Leftrightarrow ∅
- [- Participant] [- Author] [- Group] \Leftrightarrow -t
- Elsewhere \Leftrightarrow -n

Towards a ϕ -feature geometry

- Given 3 features, there are 6 possible Defective Probes; only 3 are attested:
 - ▶ [Participant] [Group] *not attested*
 - ▶ [Author] [Group] *not attested*
 - ▶ [Participant] [Author] *not attested*
 - ▶ [Participant]
 - ▶ [Author] *not attested*
 - ▶ [Group]
- Distribution can be captured with a ϕ -feature geometry (Harley & Ritter 2002), where Probe Defectivity is a way to reduce complexity (Harley 1994)



Conclusions

- Novel analysis of PDA in Dutch, taking into account dialect data
 - ▶ PDA results of the interplay between a Defective Probe and the affix inventory
- Novel argument for a ϕ -feature geometry, based on the distribution of Defective Probes
- The study of micro-variation corroborates and adds to results of typological studies

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