

# Phase voidance through movement

## Clitic interactions in Dutch dialects

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### Abstract

This paper argues that the phasehood of a projection can be voided as a result of movement of an element carrying an uninterpretable feature into the head or specifier of that projection. While our proposal is in line with recent theories regarding the dynamic nature of phases (see in particular (den Dikken 2007) and Gallego (2010)), it differs from those accounts in that the type of phase voidance under discussion here is a corollary of Richards (2007)'s discussion of the mechanism of Feature Inheritance (Chomsky 2007, 2008). Crucial evidence in support of phase voidance through movement comes from Dutch dialects, where the occurrence of an object clitic in the left periphery renders possible an otherwise illicit case of Agree-based subject clitic doubling. The fact that the presence of the object clitic causes such an anti-intervention effect we take to be evidence that it voids a left peripheral phase boundary.

**keywords:** phase theory, dynamic phases, clitic doubling, anti-intervention

## 1 Introduction

In the initial conception of Phase Theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001), the number of phases was limited and their definition rigid: only CP and (certain types of) vP qualified as phases. Over the years, however, this strict definition has been relaxed. On the one hand, other projections were also argued to be phasal in nature (see e.g. Svenonius (2004) on DP as a phase), while on the other hand (and more recently) the rigidity of phases has been called into question. Proposals such as den Dikken (2007), Gallego (2010), and Bošković (2014) have in common the idea that one and the same projection can, depending on other aspects of the derivation, sometimes be a phase and other times be non-phasal. In this paper we ascribe to and present new evidence in favor of this dynamic view on phasehood. We show that the definition of and reasoning behind the notion of Feature Inheritance (Chomsky 2007, 2008, Richards 2007) leaves open a logical possibility for voiding the phasehood of a functional head, namely by moving an element containing an uninterpretable feature into the edge of the phase and checking that feature there. We then proceed to argue that this logical possibility is attested in a specific type of clitic interaction in the left periphery of Dutch dialects. In those dialects, the presence of an object clitic in the left periphery renders possible an otherwise illicit case of Agree-based subject clitic doubling. The fact that the presence of the object clitic causes such an anti-intervention effect we take to be evidence that it voids a left peripheral phase boundary.

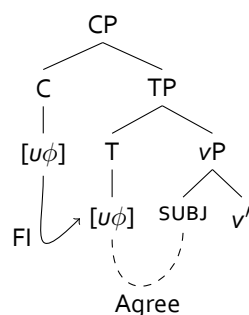
This paper is organized as follows. In the next section, we outline the theoretical background to our account, by introducing the notion of Feature Inheritance, pointing out its consequences for phase voiding, and comparing our account to existing analyses of dynamic phasehood. In section 3, we present the central data of this paper, and illustrate the anti-intervention effect caused by a left peripheral object clitic in configurations of subject clitic doubling. Section 4 provides a central prerequisite for our analysis. We distinguish between two types of subject doubling, one which is derived via movement, and one

which involves Agree. Section 5 then provides the central analysis, in which we argue object clitic movement into the left periphery voids the phasehood of FinP. Finally, section 6 briefly explores some of the microvariation pertaining to the data we discuss and concludes.

## 2 Feature Inheritance and dynamic phases

First introduced by Chomsky (2005), Feature Inheritance (henceforth FI) can be informally described as a mechanism that transfers the uninterpretable formal features of a phase head onto the immediately c-commanded non-phase head. FI arose as a way of understanding the somewhat ambivalent nature of T. On the one hand, T acts as a Probe in terms of  $\phi$ -feature checking and nominative case assignment, but on the other hand, it can only do so when it is itself selected by C. A T-head unselected by C, e.g. a raising or ECM infinitival, cannot initiate  $\phi$ -based Agree and hence seems to be lacking a set of uninterpretable or unvalued  $\phi$ -features (Chomsky 2005:9). This dual nature of T can be explained by assuming that T is not stored in the lexicon with uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features, but that it receives these features in the course of the derivation from another head, in particular the phase head C. Put differently, T only probes derivatively, after it has been selected by/merged with C. The representation in (1) shows how FI is supposed to work. Phase head C has  $\phi$ -features that are inherited by T. This turns T into a  $\phi$ -Probe: it probes into its c-command domain and agrees with the subject.<sup>1</sup>

(1)



Building on Chomsky's initial discussion, Richards (2007) shows that FI is not only empirically more attractive, but also theoretically desirable, in that it reconciles two at first sight conflicting premises of current minimalist theory. The first is that valuation and Transfer of uninterpretable features must take place simultaneously. The reason for this is that unvalued, and hence uninterpretable, features can no longer be distinguished from valued, interpretable ones when they enter into an Agree relation in which they receive a value. This means that there is no way to tell which features were originally unvalued and hence should be deleted at the interfaces. If uninterpretable features are not deleted by the time the derivation reaches the semantic interface, the derivation crashes (under the assumption that the semantic component cannot look back into the derivation to reconstruct whether the features were originally interpretable or not). This problem can be overcome when valuation and Transfer happen simultaneously. In this case the uninterpretable features can be valued and deleted in one go. They never reach the semantic interface and the derivation converges. Note that this implies that uninterpretable features should be the exclusive property of phase heads. Given that the derivation undergoes Transfer cyclically and that this cyclicity is driven by phase heads, the only points in the derivation at which valuation and Transfer can happen simultaneously is at the phase level. If uninterpretable features were not the properties of a phase head, then valuation would have to be delayed until the next phase head is merged and Transfer can take place, which would be an unmotivated and hence disallowed operation (see Epstein and Sealy (2002)).

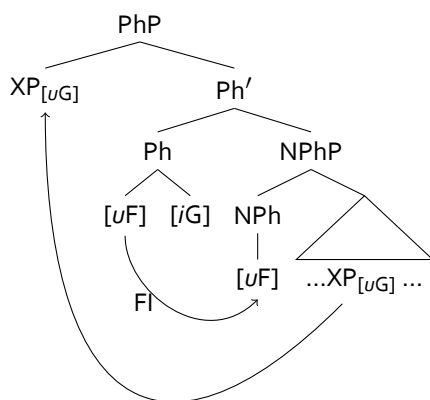
The second premise is the requirement that the edge and the complement of a phase be transferred separately. This differentiated Transfer is necessary to ensure cyclic computation: if the phase were transferred wholesale, it would be rendered inaccessible and no further computation would be possible.

<sup>1</sup>Throughout this paper we represent Feature Inheritance with a downward arrow labeled "FI", Agree-relations with a dashed line labeled "Agree", and movement dependencies with unlabeled upward arrows.

While both these premises seem reasonable and plausible in their own right, it looks as if they cannot be true at the same time. The first principle requires that an unvalued feature have a maximally short life span, in which it is both valued and transferred as soon as the phase head is merged. However, if uninterpretable features are exclusively properties of phase heads, they belong to the edge of the phase rather than the complement and as a result will not be transferred until the next higher phase head is merged. In short, the mechanism that ensures simultaneous valuation and Transfer—the uninterpretable features sit on a phase head—is at the same time the mechanism that *blocks* simultaneous valuation and Transfer—being on the phase head implies belonging to the edge of the phase and hence delayed Transfer.

As pointed out by Richards (2007), FI resolves this conflict. If the uninterpretable features are inherited by a lower non-phase head (e.g. from C to T, or  $v^*$  to V), they can be transferred and valued simultaneously, while at the same time adhering to the differentiated Transfer of the edge and complement of a phase. A corollary of this analysis—one that is also pointed out by Richards—is that a phase should minimally consist of one phase head (which carries uninterpretable features) and one non-phase head (which serves as the recipient of those features after FI). Another consequence of Richards’s reasoning is more germane to the central topic of this paper. Consider the situation in (2).

(2)

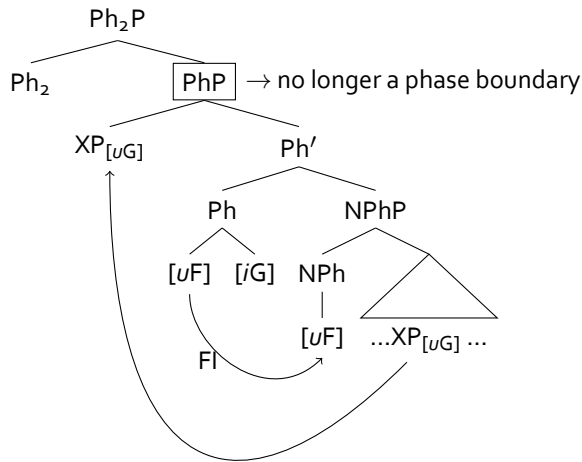


This structure contains a phase head Ph and a concomitant non-phase head NPh. Ph carries two features: an uninterpretable feature  $[uF]$  and an interpretable one  $[iG]$ .<sup>2</sup> The former is subject to FI and as a result is transferred onto the lower non-phase head NPh where it may undergo valuation (not shown in (2)). Note that there is no reason for the interpretable feature  $[iG]$  to undergo FI. This feature, however, serves as the trigger for movement of an XP, which carries the uninterpretable counterpart of this feature, from within NPhP to the edge of PhP.<sup>3</sup> It is the outcome of this movement operation that is of interest to us here: given that XP is now outside of the phasal domain NPhP, it will not be transferred at the point at which its uninterpretable feature is valued, which in turn will cause the derivation to crash at the C-I interface. What we take this to mean is that movement of XP to PhP voids the phasehood of Ph, which blocks spell-out of NPhP to the exclusion of the edge of PhP. Instead, the entire PhP should be spelled out wholesale. In other words, it should be turned into a phasal domain rather than a phase. This comes about through merger of the next higher phase head, which we label Ph<sub>2</sub> here:

<sup>2</sup>For expository purposes we have presented these two features as a branching structure below Ph in (2). No theoretical significance should be attached to this mode of presentation.

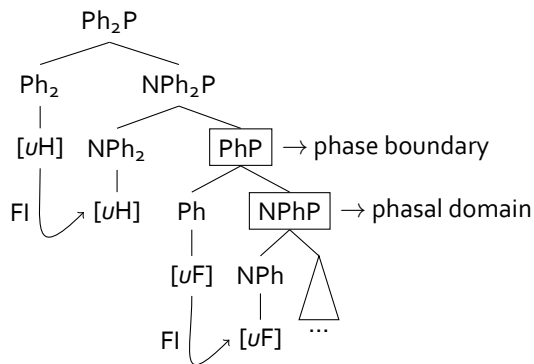
<sup>3</sup>As for the precise triggering mechanism behind this movement, either this is a case of so-called upward Agree (see Bjorkman and Zeijlstra (2014)), or the constituent bearing the uninterpretable feature is moved as a Last Resort option, similar to what Bošković (2007) proposes to be the trigger for successive-cyclic movement.

(3)



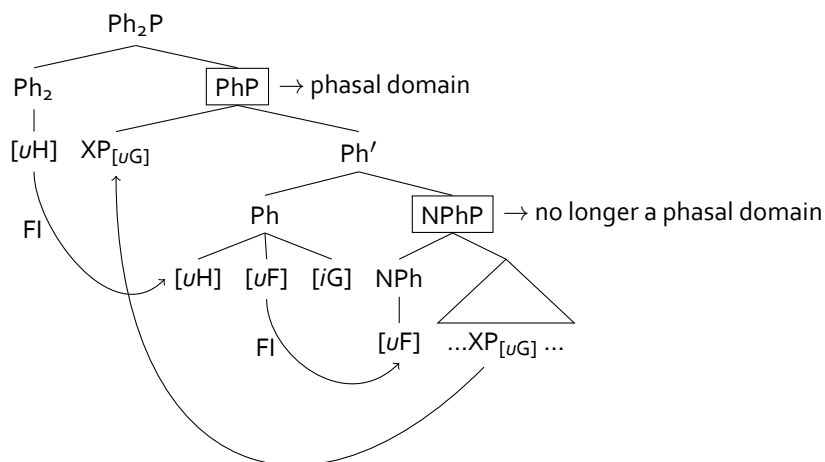
In this structure the entire PhP undergoes spell-out, and as a result the uninterpretable [uG]-feature, which was originally in the edge of the phase PhP, can now undergo valuation and Transfer at the same time. In addition, the derivation just sketched has important repercussions *vis-à-vis* locality. Given that these will form the main topic for the rest of the paper, it is worth going over them in more detail here. Let us first consider a structure in which there is no XP-movement, but simply two phases heads (Ph and Ph<sub>2</sub>), each with their own concomitant non-phase head:

(4)



In this structure, each phase head is endowed with its own (set of) uninterpretable feature(s): [uH] for Ph<sub>2</sub> and [uF] for Ph. These features are passed on to the immediately c-commanded non-phase heads, from where they can probe for matching interpretable features. Given that PhP is a phase boundary, the [uH]-feature of Ph<sub>2</sub> can only probe into the edge of PhP, not into its complement, NPhP. In other words, PhP forms a locality boundary for Agree induced by [uH]. Now consider again the situation in which an XP moves into the edge of PhP, thus voiding the phasehood of this projection:

(5)



Given that  $Ph_2$  is now merged directly with  $PhP$ , its  $[uH]$ -feature can probe into  $NPhP$ :  $PhP$  is no longer a phase boundary (but has become a phasal domain) and as a result,  $NPhP$  is no longer a separate phasal domain: it will be transferred together with the rest of  $PhP$ . In other words, phase voidance through movement of the type introduced here allows a higher phase head to probe into what was originally the complement of the lower phase head; its locality domain is extended. In the remainder of this paper we argue that certain clitic interactions in Dutch dialects exemplify precisely this situation, but before introducing those data, we first compare our proposal to some of the existing approaches to dynamic phasehood. One of the more recent such approaches is that of Bošković (2014). He proposes the following definition of phasehood:

- (6) “phrase  $X$ , which functions as a phase, ceases to function as a phase when another phrase  $Y$  is added on top of it in the extended projection of the same lexical category (with  $X$  being the highest projection in this domain when  $Y$  is absent).” (Bošković 2014:29)

Put differently, the highest phrase in an extended projection is a phase, regardless of which projection exactly it is. For example, if a nominal domain extends all the way up to  $DP$ , then  $DP$  is the phase, while if it only goes up as high as  $NumP$ , then  $Num$  is the relevant phase head. While Bošković’s approach at first glance differs considerably from ours, there is also a clear similarity: when comparing the two structures in (4) and (5), it is tempting to consider  $Ph_2P$  to be part of the extended domain of  $NPhP$  in (5), but not in (4). Accordingly, it forms the only phase boundary of that domain in (5), while there are two separate domains and hence two phase boundaries in (4).

Two other influential proposals of dynamic phasehood are phase sliding (Gallego 2006, 2010) and phase extension (den Dikken 2007). We give the relevant definitions in (7) and (8).

- (7) “ $v^*$ -to-T movement (...) “pushes up” the  $v^*P$  phase to the TP level, causing what I have called a *phase-sliding*” (Gallego 2006:98)
- (8) “Phase Extension: syntactic movement of the head  $H$  of a phase  $\alpha$  up to the head  $X$  of the node  $\beta$  dominating  $\alpha$  extends the phase up from  $\alpha$  to  $\beta$ ;  $\alpha$  loses its phasehood in the process, and any constituent on the edge of  $\alpha$  ends up in the domain of the derived phase  $\beta$  as a result of Phase Extension.” (den Dikken 2007:1)

While the two mechanisms are not identical (see Gallego and Uriagereka (2007) for relevant discussion), they share certain properties, which set them apart from the type of dynamic phasehood under consideration in this paper. Both for Gallego and for Den Dikken it is movement of the phase head itself that causes a change in the phasal organization of the clause. On the one hand, this differs substantially from our analysis, in that in this paper the phase head serves not as the source, but as the goal of the

phasehood-changing movement operation. On the other hand, however, all these accounts can be seen as part of the same family, in that they start from the hypothesis that movement operations taking place in narrow syntax can influence the phasal organization of the derivation. While we believe it might be worthwhile to explore the interaction between movement and phasality more broadly, such an undertaking would exceed the confines of this paper and as a result will have to be left as a topic for future research. Instead, we now turn to the empirical motivation for the type of dynamic phasehood proposed here, i.e. clitic interactions in Dutch dialects.

### 3 The data

#### 3.1 Introduction

In this section we present the facts of subject clitic doubling (henceforth SCD) in Dutch dialects that will be central to our analysis.<sup>4</sup> As discussed in van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008), SCD only occurs in embedded clauses and inverted main clauses. Some basic examples are given in (9) and (10).

- (9) da se zaai da gisteren nie geduin eit.  
 that she<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> that yesterday not done has  
 ‘that she hasn’t done that yesterday.’
- (10) Gisteren ei se zaai da nie geduin.  
 yesterday has she<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> that not done  
 ‘Yesterday she hasn’t done that.’

The subject in these examples is represented twice: once as the subject clitic *se* and once as the strong subject pronoun *zaai*. Following van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008) we consider the strong pronoun to be the ‘real’ subject of the sentence, while the clitic is the doubler.<sup>5</sup>

In this section we proceed in two steps. First, we present the basic patterns of subject clitic doubling, i.e. without an intervening object clitic. Secondly, we turn to those patterns in which an object clitic occurs and show that this makes grammatical one of the patterns that was ruled out without an object clitic.

#### 3.2 Subject clitic doubling without object clitic intervention

Recall from (9) and (10) that strong subject pronouns can be doubled by a clitic. As it turns out, they are the only type of subject that allows for this type of doubling. More specifically, full DPs are disallowed, as are coordinations, regardless of whether one or both of the conjuncts is/are pronominal. This is illustrated in (11)-(15).

- (11) \*da se de kinnerjn da suimen gonj duun.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> the children that together go do  
 INTENDED: ‘that the children will do that together.’
- (12) \*da se [aai en zaai] da suimen wel kunn oplossen.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> he<sub>strong</sub> and she<sub>strong</sub> that together PRT can solve  
 INTENDED: ‘that he and she can solve that together.’
- (13) \*da se [den burremiester en aai] da suimen wel kunn oplossen.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and he<sub>strong</sub> that together PRT can solve  
 INTENDED: ‘that the mayor and he can solve that together.’

<sup>4</sup>The data and generalizations presented here are based on our work with informants from the dialects of Aalst, Affligem, Asse, Blankenberge, Izenberge, Klemsterke, Lendelede, Merchtem, Nieuwkerken-Waas, Rumbeke, Wambeek, Waregem, and Wijtschate. Note, though, that not all dialects display all types of subject doubling. We return to this variation in section 6. For expository purposes, all the examples in this paper are from a single dialect, namely that of Wambeek.

<sup>5</sup>In our fieldwork for this paper we have looked exclusively at the behavior of SCD in embedded clauses. As far as we can tell, however, our analysis carries over to inverted main clauses.

- (14) \*da se [aai en den burremiester] da suimen wel kunn oplossen.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> he<sub>strong</sub> and the mayor that together PRT can solve  
 INTENDED: 'that he and the mayor can solve that together.'
- (15) \*da se [den burremiester en de pastoer] da suimen wel kunn oplossen.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and the priest that together PRT can solve  
 INTENDED: 'that the mayor and the priest can solve that together.'

The example in (11) shows that full lexical DPs such as *the children* cannot be doubled by a clitic. The sentences in (12)-(15) all contain a coordinated subject. They vary in whether no conjunct (cf. (15)), both conjuncts (cf. (12)), the first one (cf. (14)), or the second one (cf. (23)) is/are pronominal. As is clear from the judgments, though, none of these coordinations can be doubled by a subject clitic. Based on the data presented so far, then, the generalization for SCD in Dutch dialects seems to be exceedingly simple: only strong pronouns can be clitic doubled. As the next subsection will make clear, however, this simple picture becomes more complicated when we start taking object clitics into account.

### 3.3 Subject clitic doubling with object clitic intervention

In this subsection, we revisit the data from the previous two subsections, but this time with an intervening object clitic. Object clitics in these dialects occur in between the two parts of a clitic doubled subject. For strong subject pronouns, an intervening object clitic does not change the grammaticality of the sentence.

- (16) da se t zaai gisteren nie geduin eit.  
 that she<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> yesterday not done has  
 'that she hasn't done it yesterday.'

The same holds for full lexical DPs, the only difference being that this type of doubling was ungrammatical in the first place and remains ill-formed when an object clitic is added:

- (17) \*da se t de kinnerjn suimen gonj duun.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> the children together go do  
 INTENDED: 'that the children will do it together.'

For coordinated subjects, however, the picture is more diverse: as shown in (18)-(21), an intervening object clitic makes SCD of coordinated subjects possible, provided at least one of the conjuncts is pronominal.

- (18) da se t [aai en zaai] suimen wel kunn oplossen.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> he<sub>strong</sub> and she<sub>strong</sub> together PRT can solve  
 INTENDED: 'that he and she can solve it together.'
- (19) da se t [den burremiester en aai] suimen wel kunn oplossen.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and he<sub>strong</sub> together PRT can solve  
 INTENDED: 'that the mayor and he can solve it together.'
- (20) da se t [aai en den burremiester] suimen wel kunn oplossen.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> he<sub>strong</sub> and the mayor together PRT can solve  
 INTENDED: 'that he and the mayor can solve it together.'
- (21) \*da se t [den burremiester en de pastoer] suimen wel kunn oplossen.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and the priest together PRT can solve  
 INTENDED: 'that the mayor and the priest can solve it together.'

What differentiates the coordinated subjects in (18)-(20) from the one in (21) is the fact that in the former at least one of the two conjuncts is pronominal. These are the contexts in which the intervening object clitic *t* 'it' has an ameliorating effect. The fact that the object clitic is so selective in the SCD configurations it renders acceptable strongly suggest that we are not dealing with a superficial—e.g. prosodic or processing-based—phenomenon. This intuition is further confirmed by the fact that other elements

intervening between the two parts of a clitic doubled subject do not have the same ameliorating effect. Consider in this respect the following two examples.

- (22) ?da se zels zaai da gisteren nie geduin eit.  
 that she<sub>clitic</sub> even she<sub>strong</sub> that yesterday not done has  
 'that even she hasn't done that yesterday.'
- (23) \*da se zels [den burremiester en aai] da suimen kunn oplossen.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> even the mayor and he<sub>strong</sub> that together can solve  
 INTENDED: 'that even the mayor and he can solve that together.'

In these examples, the focus particle *zels* 'even' intervenes between the subject clitic and the doubled subject. This results in a slightly marked example in the case of regular SCD (see (22)), but it is certainly possible. When the doubled DP is a coordination, however, the attempt at clitic doubling fails, cf. (23). This shows that it is not the case that whenever something intervenes between a subject clitic and a coordinated subject (containing at least one pronoun), the attempted instance of SCD improves: only object clitics have this effect.<sup>6</sup> We can summarize the data outlined so far as in Table 1.

type of subject DP	without object clitic	with object clitic
pronoun	✓	✓
coordination with at least one pronominal conjunct	*	✓
coordination without a pronominal conjunct	*	*
full lexical DP	*	*

Table 1: Subject clitic doubling patterns in Dutch dialects

Accounting for the generalization presented in this table will be the main focus for the rest of the paper. Before being able to turn to the actual analysis of the object clitic anti-intervention effect, however, we need to provide some theoretical background on the dual nature of subject clitic doubling in Dutch dialects. This is the topic of the next section.

## 4 Theoretical background: two types of subject clitic doubling

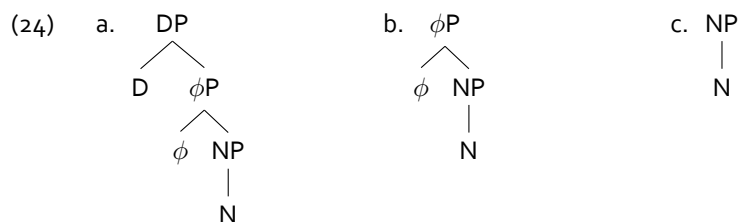
This section provides the necessary theoretical background for our analysis of the anti-intervention effect introduced above. In particular, we argue that the analysis of SCD in Dutch dialects falls into two different types. The first one is a so-called big DP-analysis, in which the doubler and the doublee start out as a single constituent and are split off from one another in the course of the derivation through movement. In the second analysis, we argue that the doubling clitic is the overt reflex of an Agree-relation between a left-peripheral  $\phi$ -probe and the subject.

### 4.1 Doubling as movement: the big DP analysis

We first make explicit our assumptions about the internal structure of pronouns. We argue that it is the structural make-up of clitics and strong pronouns that gives rise the big DP-type of SCD. In what follows, we base ourselves on Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002)'s typology of pronouns. They argue that pronouns come in three structural sizes: pro-DPs, pro- $\phi$ Ps, and pro-NPs. They can be represented as in (24).

<sup>6</sup>Note, though, that independent factors prevent us from testing this hypothesis more broadly. As pointed out by Craenenbroeck and Dikken (2006), hardly anything can intervene between the two parts of a clitic doubled subject. Adverbs are excluded, for example.





As is clear from these representations, the three types of pronouns stand in a subset relation to one another. For example, a  $\phi$ P-pronoun forms a proper subset of a DP-pronoun. It is this property we exploit in our big DP-analysis of SCD. In particular, subject clitics in Dutch dialects will turn out to be pro- $\phi$ Ps, while strong pronouns are pro-DPs. This will enable an analysis of SCD whereby the subject clitic is a subpart of the strong pronoun that has been subextracted out of it.

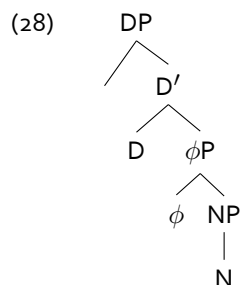
Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002) provide a number of tests to classify pronouns into one of the three categories in (24). Pro-DPs have the properties of R-expressions, which means that they are subject to Principle C, that they do not allow for bound variable readings, and that they can be used as an argument. At the other end of the scale, we find pro-NPs. They are not referential, but predicative. Hence, they are not subject to Principle C, they cannot be used as bound variables, and they cannot be arguments. Finally, pro- $\phi$ Ps occupy an intermediate position between pro-DPs and pro-NPs: on the one hand, they are not sensitive to Principle C, but on the other, they can be used as bound variables, and they can also be used as arguments. In this paper, we follow van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008), who have applied these tests to the pronominal system of Dutch dialects and have arrived at the following classification: while subject clitic pronouns are  $\phi$ Ps, both strong subject pronouns and clitic-doubled subjects behave as DPs. As an illustration of this, consider the following data:

- (25) Jef paust dat n      gui winnen, en Piet oek.  
 Jef thinks that he<sub>clitic</sub> goes win      and Piet also  
 ✓ strict:  $\lambda x [x \text{ thinks that Jef will win}] \ \& \ \lambda y [y \text{ thinks that Jef will win}]$   
 ✓ sloppy:  $\lambda x [x \text{ thinks that } x \text{ will win}] \ \& \ \lambda y [y \text{ thinks that } y \text{ will win}]$
- (26) Marie paust dat zaai      gui winnen, en Julia oek.  
 Marie thinks that she<sub>strong</sub> goes win      and Julia also  
 ✓ strict:  $\lambda x [x \text{ thinks that Marie will win}] \ \& \ \lambda y [y \text{ thinks that Marie will win}]$   
 \* sloppy:  $\lambda x [x \text{ thinks that } x \text{ will win}] \ \& \ \lambda y [y \text{ thinks that } y \text{ will win}]$
- (27) Marie paust da-se      zaai      gui winnen, en Julia oek.  
 Marie thinks that-she<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> goes win      and Julia also  
 ✓ strict:  $\lambda x [x \text{ thinks that Marie will win}] \ \& \ \lambda y [y \text{ thinks that Marie will win}]$   
 \* sloppy:  $\lambda x [x \text{ thinks that } x \text{ will win}] \ \& \ \lambda y [y \text{ thinks that } y \text{ will win}]$

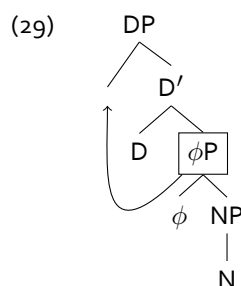
The example in (25) contains a clitic as subject of the embedded clause. When it occurs inside an ellipsis site, this subject can receive both a strict and a sloppy interpretation. This shows that a clitic subject can be used as a bound variable and hence that it is a pro- $\phi$ P. In (26) and (27) on the other hand, the subject is a strong and a clitic doubled pronoun, respectively, and the only available interpretation is a strict one, i.e. a bound variable reading is disallowed. Moreover, they are used as arguments in these examples. When combined, these two properties clearly indicate that both strong pronouns and clitic doubled subjects are pro-DPs. We now use this structural classification of the pronominal system as the basis for our big DP-analysis of SCD.

As pointed out above, the defining characteristic of the big DP-analysis of pronominal doubling is the fact that the doubled and doubling element are initially merged together in one complex 'big DP', which is split up by movement at a later point in the derivation (cf. Belletti (2005), Uriagereka (1995), Laenzlinger (1998), Grohmann (2000), van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002), Poletto (2008) and see also Kayne (2005)). In order to determine the structure of this big DP for our dialect Dutch doubling data, we start

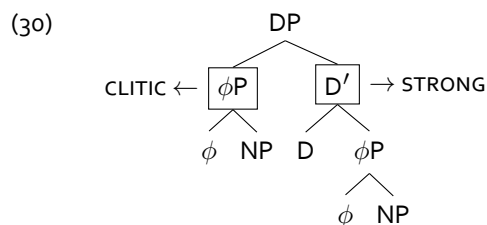
out from the classification given above. Given that strong subject pronouns are pro-DPs, they can be abstractly represented as in (28).



The first step in the derivation of a clitic doubled strong pronoun involves movement of  $\phi$ P to specDP, as shown in (29).



When the resulting structure is handed over to PF, the moved  $\phi$ P is spelled out as a subject clitic, while the remainder of the DP—which includes the lower copy of  $\phi$ P—is realized as a strong pronoun:



This sums up our big DP-analysis of SCD in Dutch dialects. In section 5 we examine how the structure in (30) is inserted into the clausal spine and how it interacts with the left periphery of the clause.

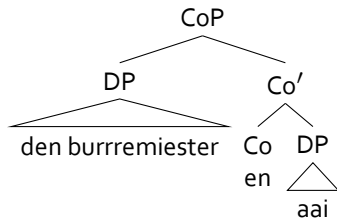
## 4.2 Doubling as agreement: doubling with coordinated subjects

Consider again an example of SCD with a coordinated subject:

- (31) da-se t [den burremiester en aai] suimen wel kunn oplossen.  
 that-they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and he<sub>strong</sub> together PRT can solve  
 INTENDED: 'that the mayor and he can solve it together.'

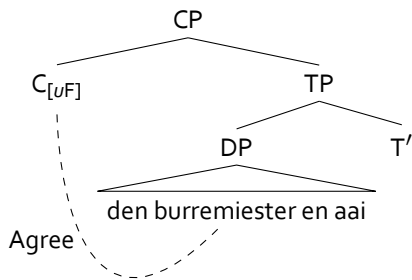
It is clear that the big DP-analysis from the previous subsection cannot account for the doubling pattern illustrated in (31): given that the coordinated subject *den burremiester en aai* 'the mayor and he' contains lexical material, it seems highly unlikely that a copy of (part of) this material can be spelled out as the subject clitic *se* 'they'. A possible representation of the coordinated subject is given in (32) (cf. Kayne (1994)).

(32)



This structure raises several problems for the big DP-analysis of SCD. First of all, there is no subconstituent of (32) that (a) has the  $\phi$ -feature specification of the subject clitic (first person plural), and (b) is itself a  $\phi$ P. Secondly, even if one were to somehow ATB-move the  $\phi$ Ps of the two conjuncts of the coordination (i.e. in spite of the fact that the two ATB-moving constituents are not identical), the first of these  $\phi$ Ps contains the lexical noun *burremiester* ‘mayor’ and it is hard to see how this can be spelled out as a pronominal clitic. Thirdly, there is no landing site available within CoP for this purported ATB-movement of the two  $\phi$ Ps. We therefore conclude that the big DP-analysis is unavailable for SCD with coordinated subjects. What we want to propose instead for this type of SCD is that it involves Agree between a left-peripheral functional head on the one hand and the coordinated subject on the other. The clitic is the morphological reflex on the Probe of this Agree-relation. This analysis can be represented as in (33).

(33)



What remains to be determined is the precise nature of the feature F. Given that subject clitics are marked for person, number, and gender, it is clear that the Agree-relation in (33) involves at least  $\phi$ -features. However, this alone cannot account for the distribution of SCD with coordinated subjects. Recall that this type of doubling is only allowed if at least one of the conjuncts is pronominal (cf. (18)-(21)). This means that there must be an additional property that is involved in this Agree-relation, a property that is specific to pronouns. We follow Bianchi (2005) in assuming that what differentiates pronominal DPs from non-pronominal ones is the fact that the former carry the feature [context-determined] (henceforth [CD]), which signals that pronouns “must be assigned a value by the context-determined assignment function” (Bianchi 2005:8). We furthermore assume that this feature can partake in Agree-relations and more specifically, that it is part of the feature set of the C-head in (33).

Summing up, in this subsection we have shown that SCD with coordinated subjects cannot be derived via the big DP-analysis. Instead, we have proposed an account whereby the clitic is the morphological reflex of an Agree-relation between a left-peripheral functional head and the coordinated subject. This Agree-relation values not only the  $\phi$ -features of that functional head, but also its [CD]-feature.

## 5 The analysis

### 5.1 Introduction

This section provides an analysis for the anti-intervention effect laid out in section 3. We proceed in four steps. In subsection 5.2 we introduce two main ingredients of our analysis, i.e. (i) object clitics bear an uninterpretable [Fin(initeness)]-feature and (ii) they move into the left periphery in narrow syntax. In light

of the reasoning developed in section 2, the combination of these two ingredients implies that the presence of object clitics in the left periphery voids the phasehood of FinP. Subsection 5.3 explores the consequences of this finding for the Agree-type of SCD, while in subsection 5.4 we focus on the big DP-type of clitic doubling. Finally, subsection 5.5 focuses on a type of clitic doubling that involves a coordinated subject but is nevertheless derived via movement, and show that the object clitic anti-intervention effect is lacking in this type of doubling. We conclude that the ameliorating effect of object clitics is only attested in those types of doubling that involve Agree.

## 5.2 Object clitics and the phasehood of FinP

### 5.2.1 Three properties of object clitics

In order to understand the role played by object clitics in subject clitic doubling, we need to determine the morphosyntactic feature content of object clitics. Consider in this respect the following examples.

- (34) { \*N /em } gezien emmen is nie genoeg.  
 him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub> seen have is not enough  
 ‘Having seen him is not enough.’
- (35) da ge { n /m } gezien etj is nie genoeg  
 that you him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub> seen have is not enough  
 ‘That you have seen him is not enough.’
- (36) En gou { \*n /em } elpen zeker!  
 and you him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub> help.INF surely  
 ‘And you’re gonna help him I suppose?’
- (37) En gou gotj { n /em } elpen zeker!  
 and you go him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub> help.INF surely  
 ‘And you’re gonna help him I suppose?’
- (38) Z’ei beleufd om { \*n /em } t’ elpen.  
 she.has promised to him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub> to help  
 ‘She has promised to help him.’
- (39) Z’ei beleufd da se { n /em } zou elpen.  
 she.has promised that she him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub> would help  
 ‘She has promised that she would help him.’

These examples represent a pairwise comparison between finite and non-finite contexts, and in each case the clitic is excluded from the non-finite one. In particular, the example in (34) shows that object clitics are unavailable in infinitival subjects, while (35) illustrates that a finite subject clause can host such a clitic. The contrast between (36) and (37) makes the same point for root infinitives versus finite root clauses, and the data in (38)–(39) show a similar split between infinitival and finite embedded clauses introduced by a complementizer. In summary, object clitics in the dialects under consideration here are restricted to finite clauses. Moreover, they have to appear in a very specific position inside the finite clause. This becomes clear in the following example:

- (40) lk paus da ge <n> gou <\*n> gezien etj.  
 I think that you him<sub>clitic</sub> you him<sub>clitic</sub> seen have  
 ‘I think you have seen him.’

The object clitic *n* ‘him’ can only occur to the immediate right of the subject clitic and hence in between the two parts of the clitic-doubled subject. A similar conclusion can be based on object clitics in the subject position of an ECM-infinitive:

- (41) lk em goed da ge <n> gou <\*n> me a aigen oegen etj zien lachen.  
 I have heard that you him<sub>clitic</sub> you him<sub>clitic</sub> with your own eyes have seen laugh  
 ‘I have heard that you saw him laugh with your own eyes.’

In this example, the object clitic *n* 'him' serves as subject of the ECM-infinitive *lachen* 'laugh'. It raises into the higher finite clause, as is witnessed by the fact that it precedes the adverb *me a aigen oegen* 'with your own eyes', which modifies the ECM-selecting verb *zien* 'see'. However, the example is only well-formed if *n* raises all the way up to the position in between the clitic doubled subject.<sup>7</sup> This shows once again that object clitics are not only confined to finite clauses, they also target a very specific (high) position inside such clauses. What is more, there is evidence suggesting that they arrive in this position via syntactic movement:

- (42) dan-*t*<sub>i/\*j</sub> den aigeneir van 't lemmeken<sub>j</sub> zelf ei muutn doewtuun.  
 that-*it*<sub>clitic</sub> the owner of the lam self has must kill  
 'that the owner of the lamb has had to kill it (not the lamb) himself.'
- (43) da den aigeneir van 't lemmeken<sub>j</sub> *et*<sub>i/j</sub> zelf ei muutn doewtuun.  
 that the owner of the lamb *it*<sub>weak</sub> self has must kill  
 'that the owner of the lamb has had to kill it (possibly the lamb) himself.'

In (42) the object clitic *t* 'it' has moved to a position to the left of the subject *den aigeneir van t lemmeken* 'the owner of the lamb'. In this configuration, the object clitic cannot be coreferential with the subject-internal DP *t lemmeken* 'the lamb'. By contrast, in (43), the weak object pronoun *et* 'it' occurs to the right of the subject, and coreference between the subject-internal DP and the object is allowed. What this contrast shows, is that the movement operation responsible for positioning the object clitic to the left of the subject feeds Condition C, and hence, that it is syntactic.

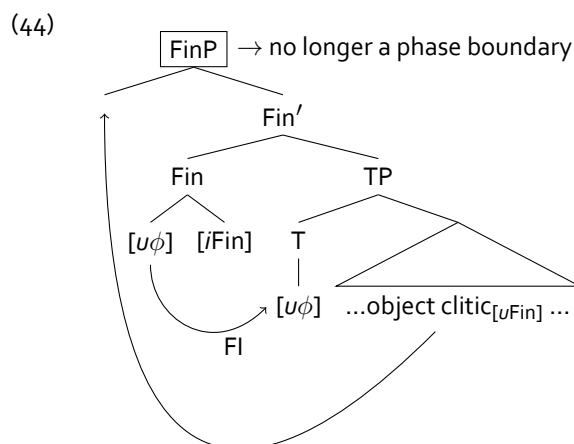
Summing up, we have identified three properties of object clitics in this section: (i) they only occur in finite contexts, (ii) they necessarily occupy a high position (to the left of a non-clitic subject), and (iii) they arrive in this position via syntactic movement. We implement these generalizations in our analysis as follows: object clitics are endowed with an unvalued [Fin]-feature, which has to be checked against the matching interpretable feature of the clausal Fin-head of finite clauses. This checking relation results in the object clitic undergoing syntactic movement to specFinP. In the next subsection we explore the consequences of this analysis for the approach to dynamic phasehood outlined in section 2.

### 5.2.2 Object clitic movement voids the phasehood of FinP

If we are correct in proposing that object clitics bear an uninterpretable [Fin]-feature and that they undergo syntactic movement into the left periphery, then a derivation involving an object clitic closely mimics the hypothetical situation that was outlined in structure (2) in section 2. Consider a more concrete version of that abstract representation in (44).

<sup>7</sup>Note that weak object pronouns *can* occur in the post-subject position in (41):

- (i) Ik em goed da ge gou em me a aigen oegen *etj* zien lachen.  
 I have heard that you you him<sub>weak</sub> with your own eyes have seen laugh  
 'I have heard that you saw him laugh with your own eyes.'



Fin is a phase head which transfers its uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features to the immediately c-commanded non-phase head, which in this case is T. At the same time, the interpretable [Fin]-feature of the Fin-head attracts the object clitic, which bears the uninterpretable counterpart of that feature, from within TP. As a result of this movement operation, the object clitic's uninterpretable feature surfaces in the edge of FinP, and given that the edge of a phase cannot contain any uninterpretable features at the point of valuation (see the discussion in section 2), FinP ceases to be a phase.

In the next subsection we argue that the instance of phase avoidance illustrated in (44) is precisely why an intervening object clitic has an ameliorating effect on Agree-based instances of subject clitic doubling in Dutch dialects: in the absence of an intervening locality boundary, a higher  $\phi$ -Probe can Agree with the subject in specTP and subject clitic doubling can ensue as a result.

### 5.3 Doubling via agreement: anti-intervention

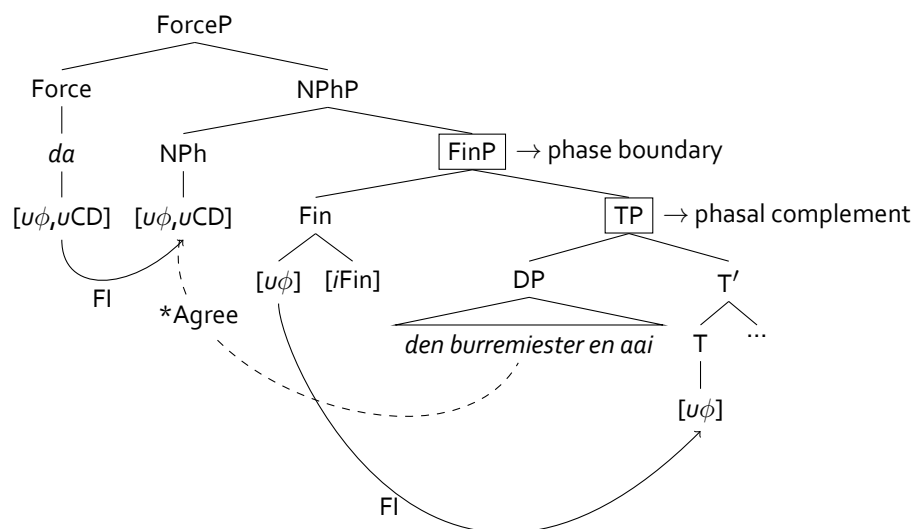
Consider again the central contrast we want to account for:

(45) \*da se den burremiester en aai da suimen gonj duun.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and he that together go do  
 INTENDED: 'that the mayor and he will do that together.'

(46) da se t den burremiester en aai suimen gonj duun.  
 that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and he together go do  
 'that the mayor and he will do it together.'

The third person plural subject clitic *se* 'they' cannot double the coordination *den burremiester en aai* 'the mayor and he' (see (45)), unless an object clitic intervenes (shown in (46)). Let us first take a look at the analysis of the ungrammatical example in (45). As was pointed out in subsection 4.2, the type of subject doubling illustrated here arises via Agree. More specifically, we assume that Force is merged with unvalued  $\phi$ - and [CD]-features, and that it passes on these features via Feature Inheritance to the immediately c-commanded non-phase head (which we will agnostically label NPh here). It is these features that will act as Probe in the Agree-relation underlying the instance of subject doubling shown in (46) and that will be spelled out as the subject clitic *se*. The problem, however, is that the phasal Fin-head intervenes between the Probe and the Goal (the subject in specTP) of this Agree-relation and as a result, doubling is ungrammatical in this configuration, as evidenced by (45). The tree in (47) illustrates this derivation.

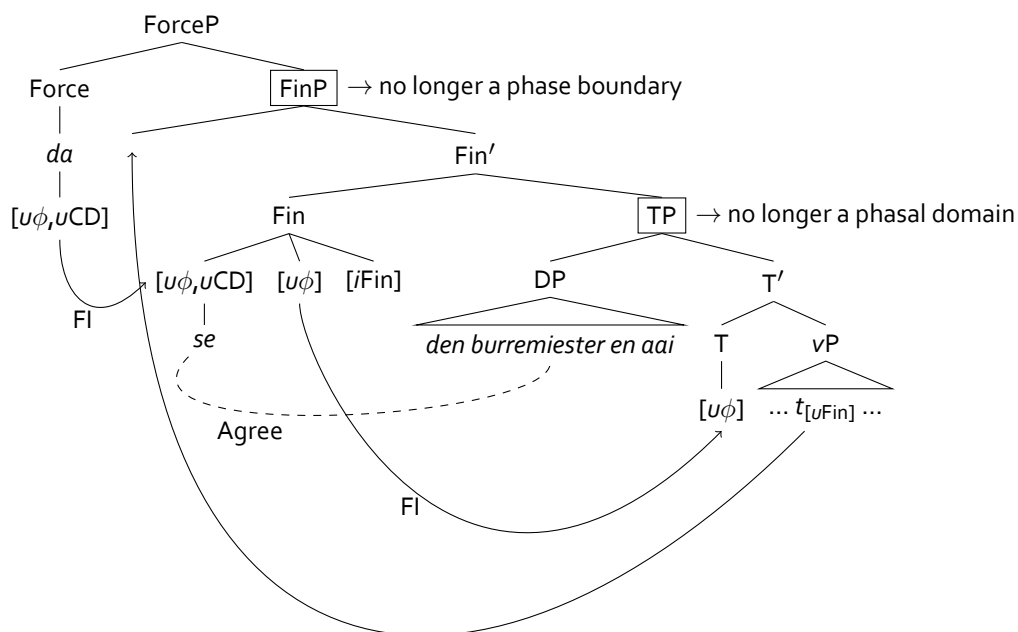
(47)



In this representation (which is completely parallel to the abstract schema in (4)), the Force-head passes on its uninterpretable  $[\phi]$ - and  $[CD]$ -features to NPh via Feature Inheritance, which uses them to Probe for the interpretable features of the subject. Given that a phase boundary (i.e. FinP) intervenes, NPh cannot probe into TP and the attempted Agree-relation fails. Rather than crash the derivation, this failed Agree-relation results in a default (in this case null) spell-out for the uninterpretable features on NPh (Preminger 2014). In the example in (46) on the other hand, the object clitic raises to specFinP in the course of the derivation. Given that this clitic bears an unvalued  $[Fin]$ -feature, its presence in the edge of FinP voids the phasehood of this projection, which in turn forces immediate Merge of the next higher phase head, Force. As a result, the  $[u\phi, uCD]$ -features of Force (now inherited by Fin) can Agree with the subject in specTP without an intervening locality boundary, and hence subject doubling is allowed. This derivation is represented in (48) (which in turn mirrors the structure in (5)).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Note that on the surface the structure in (52) seems to yield the wrong surface order: complementizer-object clitic-subject clitic instead of complementizer-subject clitic-object clitic. We assume that the cliticization of the subject clitic to the complementizer is driven by a late PF-operation, cf. Embick and Noyer (2001).

(48)



Summing up, moving an object clitic into the left periphery voids the phasehood of FinP, which in turn renders possible an Agree-relation between the  $[\phi, \text{CD}]$ -features of Force and the subject in specTP. It is this Agree-relation that gets spelled out as clitic doubling with a coordinated subject. This is our analysis of the object clitic anti-intervention effect attested in Dutch dialects. In the next subsection we illustrate why such an effect is lacking in the big DP-type of clitic doubling.

#### 5.4 Doubling via movement: no anti-intervention

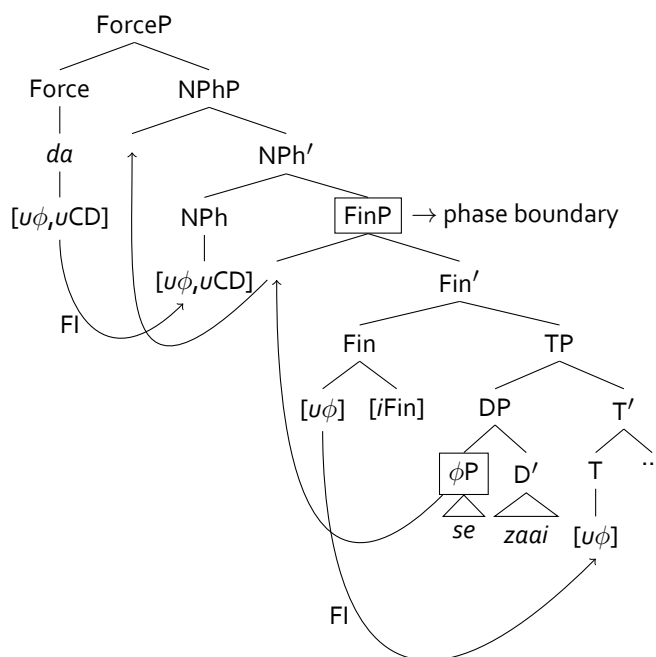
When the doubled subject is not a coordination but a strong pronoun, clitic doubling starts out (at least optionally, see subsection 5.6 below for further discussion) as a big DP that gets split up in the course of the derivation as a result of movement. Consider again a basic example of this type of doubling in (49).

- (49) da se zaai ie gisteren nie geweest is.  
that she<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> here yesterday not been is  
'that she wasn't here yesterday.'

The analysis of this example proceeds entirely parallel to the derivation outlined in (47), the sole difference being that in (49) the subject clitic *se* 'they' (which is a  $\phi$ P subextracted from the strong pronoun DP *zaai* 'they', cf. subsection 4.1) moves to the specifier of NPhP rather than merely undergoing Agree with its head. This one difference, however, has important repercussions for the possibility of subject clitic doubling in the absence of an intervening object clitic: given that the subject can move successively to its final landing site, the presence of an intervening phase boundary (i.e. FinP) does not block the clitic from checking the  $[\text{u}\phi, \text{uCD}]$ -features of NPh (which it inherited from Force). The structure in (50) illustrates the derivation of the example in (49).



(50)

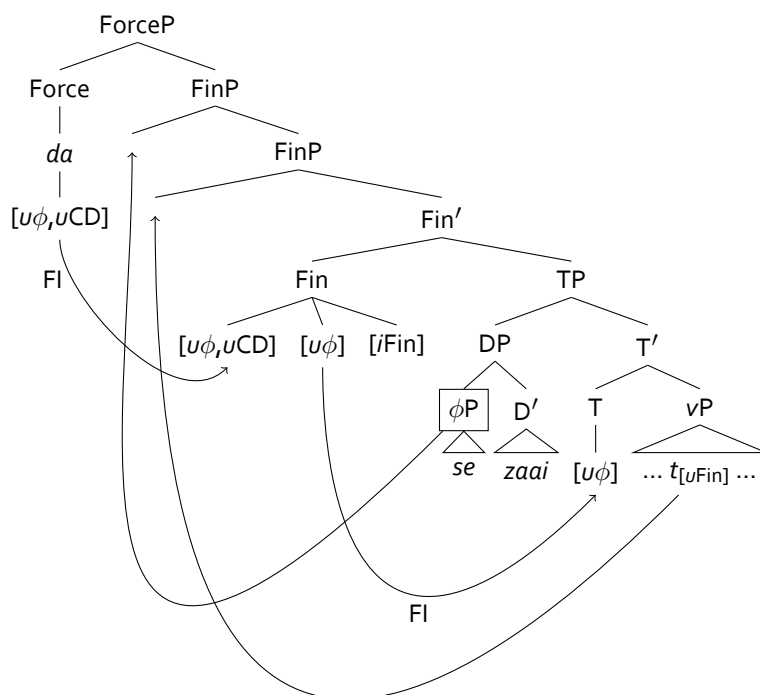


Recall from section 3 that an intervening object clitic does not alter the acceptability of the type of subject clitic doubling under discussion here:

- (51) da se t zaai gisteren nie geduin eit.  
that she<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> yesterday not done has  
'that she hasn't done it yesterday.'

In light of the derivation outlined in (50), this is entirely as expected: the movement of the object clitic into the left periphery voids the phasehood of FinP. This means that the subject clitic now no longer has to move successive-cyclically to specNPhP, but that it can check the  $[u\phi, uCD]$ -features originating from Force by moving into the (second) specifier of FinP. The structure in (52) gives the derivation for the example in (51).

(52)



Summing up, the selectivity in object clitic anti-intervention—anti-intervention with a doubled coordinated subject, but no anti-intervention with a doubled strong pronoun—is due to the mechanism underlying these types of doubling: Agree-based doubling is blocked by an intervening phase boundary, while movement-based doubling can proceed successive-cyclically and hence is not affected. Accordingly the former type of doubling improves when an intervening object clitic voids the offending phase boundary, while the latter type is unaffected by the presence of such a clitic. In the next subsection we explore an interesting mix between the two types of doubling: the doubled subject is a coordination, but the subject clitic is nevertheless derived by movement. As expected, this type of doubling also does not show any anti-intervention effect.

### 5.5 Doubling via movement with a coordinated subject

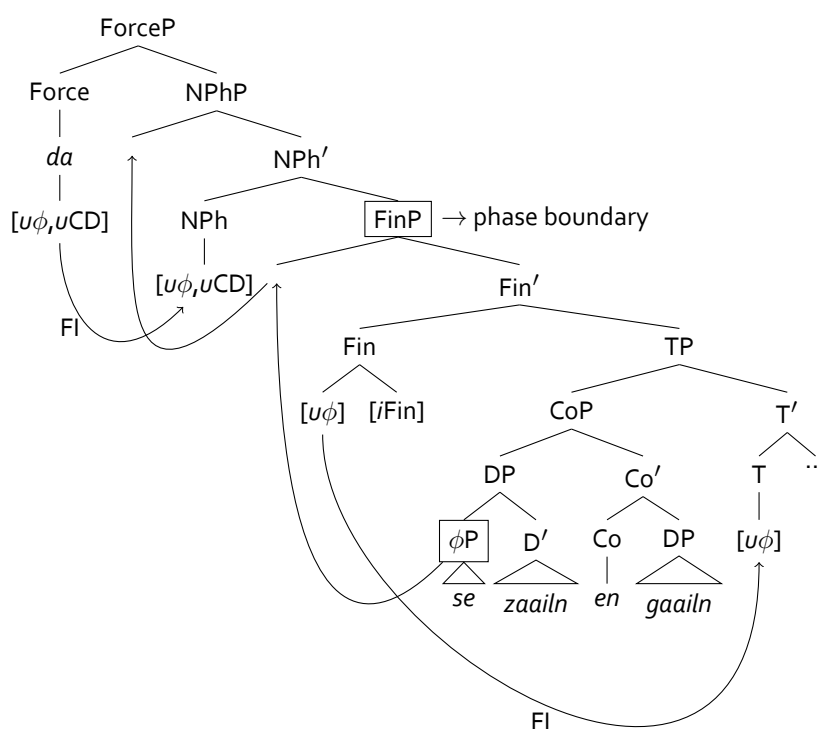
In the discussion presented so far, the distinction between Agree-based and movement-based SCD coincides with the type of doubled subject: a coordination requires Agree, while a doubled strong pronoun is derived via movement. In this subsection we focus on a third type of doubling, one that crosses these boundaries: the doubled subject is a coordination, but the type of doubling is movement-based. A representative example is given in (53).

- (53) Ik venj da se zaailn en gaailn da suimen moetj oplossen.  
I find that they<sub>clitic</sub> they and you<sub>pl</sub> that together must.2PL solve  
'I think you and they should solve it together.'

In this example, the subject clitic *se* 'they' doubles not the entire coordination making up the subject, but only its first conjunct. This is evident from the fact that while the subject clitic is third person plural (as is the first conjunct), the entire coordination is second person plural, which is also reflected in the verbal agreement. As argued by van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008), this type of doubling can be derived

in a manner completely parallel to the simple doubling cases exemplified in (49): the clitic starts out as  $\phi$ P-subpart of a big DP in the first conjunct of the conjoined subject, and in the course of the derivation it subextracts from this DP and moves into the clausal left periphery.<sup>9</sup> Given that this derivation involves movement rather than Agree, we correctly predict this type of first conjunct clitic doubling not to require an intervening object clitic, as is confirmed by the wellformedness of (53). The derivation of this example is given in (54).

(54)



For completeness' sake, it is worth pointing out that the presence of an intervening object clitic does not alter the wellformedness of (53), as is illustrated in (55). This is as expected: the presence of the object clitic voids the phasehood of FinP, which means the clitic moves to specFinP to check the  $[u\phi, uCD]$ -features that Fin inherited from Force. The derivation of this example proceeds completely parallel to the one in (52) and for that reason is not shown here.

- (55) lk venj da se t zaailn en gaailn suimen moetj oplossen.  
 I find that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> they and you<sub>pl</sub> together must.2PL solve  
 'I think you and they should solve it together.'

## 5.6 Summary and overview

In the preceding subsections we have presented our analysis of the object clitic anti-intervention effect introduced in section 3. A crucial role was played by the precise way in which a particular type of doubling is derived, i.e. via movement or Agree. In the former case, the subject clitic moves from within a big DP in specTP into the clausal periphery. Whether or not FinP is a phase is orthogonal to the possibility of

<sup>9</sup>See van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008) for discussion of why this movement does not fall foul of the CSC or the Subject Island.

this clitic reaching its destination and hence to the possibility of subject clitic doubling: if FinP is a phase, then the clitic has to move successive-cyclically through its edge, while if the phasehood of FinP is voided by an object clitic, one movement step suffices given that the clitic can check the relevant features of the Force-head from within specFinP. For Agree-based subject clitic doubling the story is quite different: when a phase head (i.e. Fin) intervenes between the Probe and Goal of this Agree-relation, the Probe cannot be spelled out as a subject clitic and subject clitic doubling is not an option. Only when an object clitic moves to Fin in the course of the derivation and voids the phasehood of FinP, can the Agree-relation proceed and is subject clitic doubling licensed.

One aspect of the analysis that has remained largely implicit so far is the question of which types of doubling can or must be analysed by which mechanism. For instance, consider again a simple clitic doubling example with a doubled strong pronoun in (56).

- (56) da se t zaai gisteren nie gezien eit.  
 that she<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> yesterday not seen has  
 'that she hasn't seen it yesterday.'

We have consistently analysed this type of doubling as involving movement. However, nothing we have said so far prohibits a derivation involving Agree for this example. More specifically, when the phasehood of FinP is voided—as it is here due to the presence of the intervening object clitic—either an Agree-based or a movement-based account is viable. It is only when the object clitic is absent (as in (49) for example) and FinP is a phase that the movement derivation remains as the only option. In Table 2 we present the typology of subject clitic doubling as it emerges from our discussion:

type of doubled DP	FinP is a phase (no object clitic)	FinP is not a phase (object clitic)
strong pronoun	movement	movement or Agree
first conjunct of a coordination	movement	movement or Agree
coordination with a pronominal conjunct	*	Agree
coordination without a pronominal conjunct	*	*
lexical DP	*	*

Table 2: Typology of subject clitic doubling based on (a) the type of doubled DP, (b) the doubling mechanism, and (c) the phasehood of FinP

Doubling of a strong pronoun or of the first conjunct of a coordination (provided it is also a strong pronoun) can be derived either via movement or via Agree. In the presence of an intervening object clitic, both options are equally viable and lead to a converging derivation. When such a clitic is absent, however, and FinP constitutes a phase boundary, only the movement option remains. For SCD-configurations whereby the clitic doubles an entire coordination with at least one pronominal conjunct, only the Agree-option is available. Accordingly, this type of doubling is only allowed in the absence of an intervening phase boundary, i.e. when an object clitic is present. Finally, the last two configurations—doubling of a coordination with no pronominal conjuncts or doubling of a lexical DP—allow neither the movement-based nor the Agree-based derivation. As a result, SCD involving a subject of these types always fails, regardless of the phasal status of FinP.

## 6 Conclusion

This paper has argued for a new implementation of the notion of dynamic phasehood. We started out from a hitherto unexplored corollary of Richards (2007)'s discussion of Feature Inheritance (Chomsky 2007, 2008), namely the fact that the phasehood of a projection can be voided as a result of movement of an element carrying an uninterpretable feature into the edge of that projection. We then proceeded to show that this configuration is instantiated in left peripheral clitic interactions in Dutch dialects, where the presence of an intervening object clitic renders possible otherwise illicit subject clitic doubling configurations involving coordinated subjects. The object clitic was argued to bear an uninterpretable [Fin]-

feature, which it checks by moving to specFinP in narrow syntax. This movement voids the phasehood of FinP, which in turn allows for an Agree-relation between a higher feature bundle and the subject in specTP. It is this Agree-relation that gets spelled out as subject doubling. Movement-based types of subject clitic doubling were shown not to be affected by an intervening object clitic due to the successive-cyclic nature of the relevant movement operation.

Before closing off the paper, we want to briefly discuss some of the dialectal variation we came across in investigating these issues. Of the thirteen dialects we looked at—see footnote 4 for a complete list—ten displayed the object clitic anti-intervention effect. Two of our dialects (the ones of Nieuwkerken-Waas and Aalst) did not show such an effect. More specifically, attempts at clitic doubling a coordinated subject always failed, regardless of whether an object clitic intervened. Consider a relevant minimal pair from the dialect of Nieuwkerken-Waas in (57)–(58).

- (57) \*K peis da me gij en ekik da wel samen aan kunn.  
 I think that we<sub>clitic</sub> you<sub>strong</sub> and I<sub>strong</sub> that PRT together on can  
 INTENDED: 'I think you and I should be able to handle that together.' (Nieuwkerken-Waas)
- (58) \*K peis da me t gij en ekik wel samen aan kunn.  
 I think that we<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> you<sub>strong</sub> and I<sub>strong</sub> PRT together on can  
 INTENDED: 'I think you and I should be able to handle it together.' (Nieuwkerken-Waas)

These examples show that clitic doubling a coordinated subject is ill-formed in Nieuwkerken-Waas, regardless of whether an object clitic intervenes between the two parts of the doubled subject. While we leave a full exploration of these and similar dialect data as a topic for future research, two analytical options readily present themselves. One would be to propose that in Nieuwkerken-Waas and similar dialects, object clitics are not endowed with an uninterpretable [ $\nu$ Fin]-feature, which would predict that they are not restricted to finite contexts. Another option would be to propose that the operation fronting the object clitic to its pre-subject position does not take place in narrow syntax. This would predict that the condition C effect attested in (42) would be absent in these dialects, and this is precisely an area where Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007:173n8) have found cross-dialectal variation. Given that we don't have the relevant data for the dialects of Nieuwkerken-Waas or Aalst, we leave their precise analysis open here, but we are confident they can be incorporated into the broader approach we are advocating here. A more puzzling case is presented by our thirteenth and final dialect, namely that of Izenberge. As shown in (59) and (60), this dialect allows for clitic doubling of a coordinated subject, regardless of whether an object clitic intervenes.

- (59) Ik peizen da' me gij en ik dat tegare wel gaan klaarzen  
 I think that we<sub>clitic</sub> you<sub>strong</sub> and I<sub>strong</sub> that together PRT go finish.off  
 'I think you and I will be able to get that done together.' (Izenberge)
- (60) Ik peizen da' me 't ik en gij tegare wel gaan klaarzen  
 I think that we<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> I<sub>strong</sub> and you<sub>strong</sub> together PRT go finish.off  
 'I think you and I will be able to get it done together.' (Izenberge)

While it is tempting to speculate on what might cause this dialect to differ from the others under investigation here—perhaps the feature bundle spelling out the clitic is situated lower in the left periphery and hence the Agree-relation with the subject is not bled by the phasal nature of FinP—we relegate a more detailed discussion of this dialect to a future occasion. One indication that the facts are not as clear-cut as (59)–(60) suggest is the fact that other person/number-combinations in the coordinated subject lead to less felicitous:

- (61) ??Ik peizen da' je zij en gij dat tegare wel gaan klaarzen  
 I think that you<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> and you<sub>strong</sub> that together PRT go finish.off  
 'I think she and you will be able to get that done together.' (Izenberge)

Summing up, with this paper we hope to have made a contribution to the growing body of literature on dynamic phasehood, and in particular to the way in which syntactic movement operations can affect the phasal organization of the derivation. The fact that multiple researchers have converged on this idea

from very different angles and with very different empirical motivation suggests that this is a path worth pursuing further.

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