

## How to void a phase Anti-intervention effects with clitic doubling in Dutch dialects

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### MAIN THEORETICAL CLAIMS

- Phases are not absolute (“once a phase always a phase”)
- The phasehood of Fin° can be voided if it acquires unvalued features during the derivation

### CENTRAL DATA

- Subject clitic doubling with coordinations in Dutch dialects
- Anti-intervention effects with object clitics

#### OUTLINE OF THE TALK

- Data
- Theoretical background: two types of doubling
  - A classification of dialect Dutch subject pronouns
  - Doubling as movement: the big-DP analysis
  - Doubling as agreement: doubling with coordinated subjects
- Analysis
  - Core of the analysis
  - Doubling via agreement: anti-intervention
  - Doubling via movement: no anti-intervention
- Comp-agreement vs. clitic doubling
- Conclusion

### 1. DATA

#### Basic pattern of subject clitic doubling:

(1)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{complementizer} \\ \text{finite verb} \end{array} \right\}$	subject <sub>i</sub>	subject <sub>2</sub>	...
		clitic	✓strong pronoun	
			*coordination	
			*DP	

#### strong pronoun

- (2) da **se** **zaai** ic gisteren niet geweest is.  
that she<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> here yesterday not been is  
‘that she wasn’t here yesterday’

[Wambeck Dutch]

#### coordination (I): pronoun & pronoun

- (3) \* da **ze** [**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 out.come  
INTENDED: ‘that he and she can solve that together.’

[Wambeck Dutch]

#### coordination (II): DP & pronoun

- (4) \* da **ze** [**den burremiester en aai**] da suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and he that together will do  
INTENDED: ‘that the mayor and he will do that together.’

[Wambeck Dutch]

#### coordination (III): pronoun & DP

- (5) \* da **ze** [**aai en den burremiester**] da suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> he and the mayor that together will do  
INTENDED: ‘that he and the mayor will do that together.’

[Wambeck Dutch]

#### coordination (IV): DP & DP

- (6) \* da **ze** [**den burremiester en de pastoer**] da suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and the priest that together will do  
INTENDED: ‘that the mayor and the priest will do that together.’

[Wambeck Dutch]

#### DP

- (7) \* da **ze** **de kinnerjn** da suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> the children that together will do  
INTENDED: ‘that the children will do that together.’

[Wambeck Dutch]

#### Anti-intervention with object clitics:

(8)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{complementizer} \\ \text{finite verb} \end{array} \right\}$	subject <sub>i</sub>	object	subject <sub>2</sub>	...
		clitic	clitic	✓strong pronoun	
				✓coordination with a pronominal conjunct	
				*coordination w/o a pronominal conjunct	
				*DP	

#### strong pronoun

- (9) da **se** **t** **zaai** nie geduin cit.  
that she<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> not done has  
‘that she hasn’t done it.’

[Wambeck Dutch]

#### coordination (I): pronoun & pronoun

- (10) da **ze** **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 out.come  
‘that he and she can solve it together.’

[Wambeck Dutch]

#### coordination (II): DP & pronoun

- (11) da **ze** **t** [**den burremiester en aai**] suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and he together will do  
‘that the mayor and he will do it together.’

[Wambeck Dutch]

### coordination (III): pronoun & DP

- (12) da ze t [aai en den burremiester] suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> he and the mayor together will do  
'that he and the mayor will do it together.'  
[Wambeck Dutch]

### coordination (IV): DP & DP

- (13) \*da ze t [den burremiester en de pastoer] suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and the priest together will do  
INTENDED: 'that the mayor and the priest will do it together.'  
[Wambeck Dutch]

### DP

- (14) \*da ze t de kinnerjn suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> the children together will do  
INTENDED: 'that the children will do that together.'  
[Wambeck Dutch]

(15)	Type of subject DP	no object clitic	object clitic
	pronoun	✓	✓
	coordination with a pronominal conjunct	*	✓
	coordination with no pronominal conjunct	*	*
	non-pronominal DP	*	*

## 2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: TWO TYPES OF DOUBLING

### 2.1 A classification of dialect Dutch subject pronouns

Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002): a three-way split in the typology of pronouns:

- (16) a. pro-DPs                      b. pro-φPs                      c. pro-NPs
- DP                                      φP                                      NP
- D    φP                                      φ    NP                                      |
- φ    NP                                      |                                      N
- |                                      N

Tests to determine the categorial status of a pronoun:

test		pro-DP	pro-φP	pro-NP
1	Condition C	+	-	-
2	Bound variable			
a	simple QP	-	+	-
b	sloppy identity under ellipsis	-	+	-
3	argument	+	+	-

Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2008): based on these (and similar) tests it can be shown that while subject clitics in Dutch dialects are φPs, strong and clitic doubled pronouns are DPs:

- (17)
- |         |                |    |
|---------|----------------|----|
| subject | clitic         | φP |
|         | strong         | DP |
|         | clitic doubled | DP |

example: sloppy identity under ellipsis

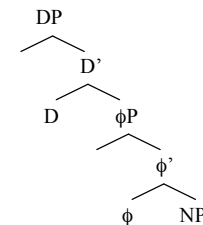
- (18) Jef paust dat n gui winnen, en Piet oek.  
Jef thinks that he<sub>clitic</sub> goes win, and Piet also  
= λx [x thinks that Jef will win] & λy [y thinks that Jef will win] ✓ [strict]  
= λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win] ✓ [sloppy]
- (19) Marie paust da zaai gui winnen, en Julia oek.  
Mary thinks that she<sub>strong</sub> goes win, and Julia also  
= λx [x thinks that Mary will win] & λy [y thinks that Marie will win] ✓ [strict]  
≠ λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win] \* [sloppy]
- (20) Marie paust da ze zaai gui winnen, en Julia oek.  
Mary thinks that she<sub>clitic</sub> she<sub>strong</sub> goes win, and Julia also  
= λx [x thinks that Mary will win] & λy [y thinks that Mary will win] ✓ [strict]  
≠ λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win] \* [sloppy]

### 2.2 Doubling as movement: the big-DP analysis

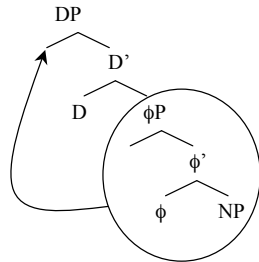
note: if subject clitic = φP and strong pronoun = DP, then a subject clitic is a structural subset of a strong pronoun

big DP-analysis of pronominal doubling: the doubled and the doubling element are initially merged together in one complex 'big DP', which is split up—usually by movement—at a later point in the derivation (cf. Uriagereka 1995, Laenzlinger 1998, Grohmann 2000, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002, Belletti 2005, Poletto 2006, Taraldsen 2006; cf. also Kayne 2002)

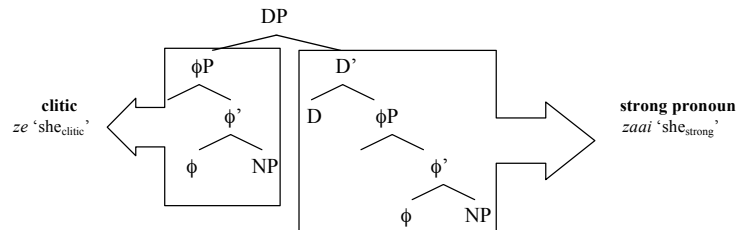
### (21) structure of strong subject pronouns



(22) structure of a clitic doubled subject (STEP ONE: MOVEMENT)



(23) structure of a clitic doubled subject (STEP TWO: DOUBLE SPELL-OUT)



2.3 Doubling as agreement: doubling with coordinated subjects

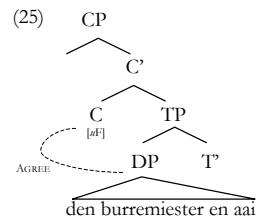
**problem:** the big DP-analysis of clitic doubling cannot account for doubling of coordinations:

- (24) da ze t [den burremiester en aai] suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and he together will do  
'that the mayor and he will do it together.'

[Wambeck Dutch]

→ given that the NP-portion of *den burremiester en aai* 'the mayor and he' contains (a coordination with) lexical material, it cannot be spelled out as the clitic *ze* 'she'

**proposal:** this type of doubling is the result of an Agree-relation between (unvalued features of) a C-head and the subject



**note:** this C-head must be distinct from the one triggering comp-agreement:

- (26) Iedere vint peist da-n de burgemeester en ie da t'hope moeten oplossen.  
every man thinks that-PL the mayor and he that together must solve  
'Every man thinks the mayor and he should solve that together.'

[Blankenberge Dutch]

→ we return to the distinction between comp-agreement and agreement-driven clitic doubling in section four

**technical implementation of the analysis:** the Agree-relation in 25) is triggered by the feature [C(ontext)-D(ependent)], which signals that pronouns "must be assigned a value by the context-determined assignment function" (Bianchi 2005:8) → only pronouns (or coordinations containing at least one pronoun) can be doubled

**supporting evidence:** Bianchi (2005): bound variable pronouns do not carry a [C-D]-feature → clitic doubling with coordinations is not allowed with bound variables:

- (27) Elke man<sub>i</sub> paust da ze t aai<sub>i/k</sub> en zaai suimen muuten oplossen.  
every man thinks that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> he and she together must solve  
'Every man thinks he and she should solve that together.'

[Wambeck Dutch]

- (28) Elke man<sub>i</sub> paust da aai<sub>i/k</sub> en zaai da suimen muuten oplossen.  
every man thinks that he and she that together must solve  
'Every man thinks he and she should solve that together.'

[Wambeck Dutch]

3. Analysis

3.1 Core of the analysis

3.1.1 Two properties of object clitics

- (i) object clitics are disallowed in non-finite contexts

**subject infinitives**

- (29) <\*n/em> gezien emmen is ni genoeg.  
<him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub>> seen have-<sub>INF</sub> is not enough  
'Having seen him is not enough.'

[Wambeck Dutch]

**root infinitives**

- (30) En gou <\*n/em> helpen zeker?  
and you <him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub>> help-<sub>INF</sub> surely  
'And you're gonna help him, I suppose?'

[Wambeck Dutch]

**ECM-clauses**

- (31) 'K em goed da-ge <n/\*em> gou <n/\*em>  
I have heard that-you<sub>clitic</sub> <him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub>> you<sub>strong</sub> <him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub>>  
Marie <n/\*em> uin de kinjren etj zien introduceern.  
Mary <him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub>> to the children have see introduce  
'I have heard that you saw Mary introduce him to the children.'

[Wambeck Dutch]

### infinitival clauses with a complementizer

- (32) Z' ci geprobeed om <\*n/ em> t' elpen.  
she has tried to <him<sub>clitic</sub> / him<sub>weak</sub>> to help  
'She has tried to help him.'

[Wambeck Dutch]

**implementation:** object clitics carry an unvalued [Fin]-feature that needs to be valued by (matching features on) a finite Fin-head

(ii) object clitics move in narrow syntax to a position in the left periphery

→ object clitics surface in a very specific left-peripheral position (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002; Van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007)

- (33) da ge (n) gou (\*n) gezien etj.  
that you<sub>clitic</sub> him<sub>clitic</sub> you<sub>strong</sub> him<sub>clitic</sub> seen have  
'that you have seen him.'

[Wambeck Dutch]

→ object clitics feed Condition C (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002; Van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007):

- (34) a. dan-t<sub>i/j</sub> den aigencir van 't lemmeken<sub>i</sub> zelf ci muutn doewtuun.  
that-it<sub>clitic</sub> the owner of the lamb self has have.to kill  
'that the owner of the lamb has had to kill it (not the lamb) himself.'  
b. da den aigencir van 't lemmeken<sub>i</sub> et<sub>i/j</sub> zelf ci muutn doewtuun.  
that the owner of the lamb it<sub>weak</sub> self has have.to kill  
'that the owner of the lamb has had to kill it (not the lamb) himself.'

[Wambeck Dutch]

**implementation:** object clitics move in narrow syntax to a position in the left periphery, i.e. they target the [Fin]-feature on Fin<sup>o</sup>

### 3.1.2 No unvalued features on phase heads

Richards (2007): Feature Inheritance is the optimal way of reconciling two at first sight conflicting premises:

- Premise 1** Value and Transfer of  $\mu F$  must happen together.  
**Premise 2** The edge and non-edge (complement) of a phase are transferred separately.  
**Conclusion**  $\mu F$  must spread from edge to non-edge (i.e. from C to T,  $\mu^*$  to V, etc.).

in other words:

- Feature Inheritance is motivated by the fact that the  $\mu F$  of a phase head must be valued and transferred at the same time.
- This requirement is met when the non-phase head of its complement inherits its  $\mu F$ .

**consequence:** a head that acquires  $\mu F$  in the course of the derivation cannot be (or is no longer) a phase head

### 3.1.3 Movement of the object clitic voids the phasehood of Fin

**conclusion from section 3.1.1:** object clitics have a [ $\mu$ Fin]-feature and move to Fin<sup>o</sup> in narrow syntax

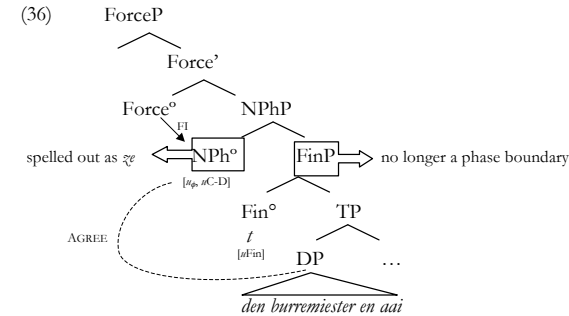
**conclusion from section 3.1.2:** heads that carry unvalued features during the derivation are not phase heads

**consequence:** object clitic movement to Fin<sup>o</sup> voids the phasehood of FinP (on FinP as a phase, see Branigan 2005, López 2009). In other words, in clauses that contain an object clitic, FinP ceases to be a phase.

### 3.2 Doubling via agreement: anti-intervention

- (35) da ze t [den burremiester en aai] suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> it<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and he together will do  
'that the mayor and he will do it together.'

[Wambeck Dutch]

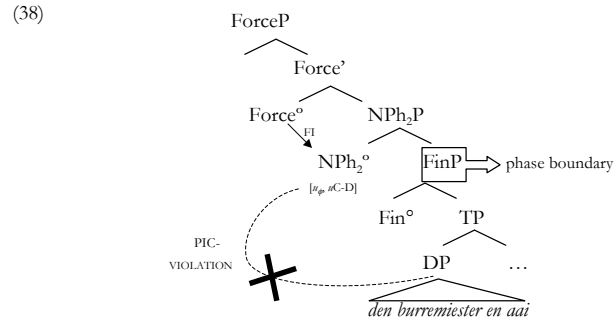


**main ingredients of the analysis:**

- the unvalued features of (the higher phase head) Force<sup>o</sup> are inherited by a lower non-phase head NPh<sup>o</sup>
- movement of the object clitic to Fin<sup>o</sup> voids the phasehood of FinP
- because FinP is no longer a phase, NPh<sup>o</sup> can probe the subject in specTP and value its phi- and [C-D]-features
- this valued feature bundle is spelled out as the subject clitic ze 'they'

- (37) \*da ze [den burremiester en aai] da suimen gonj duun.  
that they<sub>clitic</sub> the mayor and he that together will do  
INTENDED: 'that the mayor and he will do that together.'

[Wambeck Dutch]



#### main ingredients of the analysis:

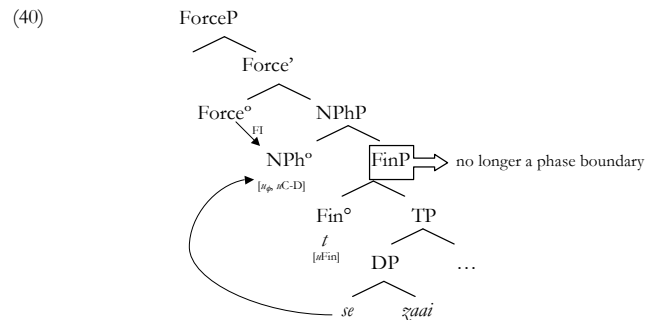
- the unvalued features of (the higher phase head) Force° are inherited by a lower non-phase head NPh°
- there is no object clitic movement to Fin°, so FinP remains a phase boundary
- because FinP is a phase, NPh° cannot probe the subject in specTP (PIC-violation)
- lack of Agree does not lead to a crashing derivation (Preminger 2011), but to a default (in this case: null) spell-out of the Probe

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

#### 3.3.1 The basic cases

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

[Wambeck Dutch]

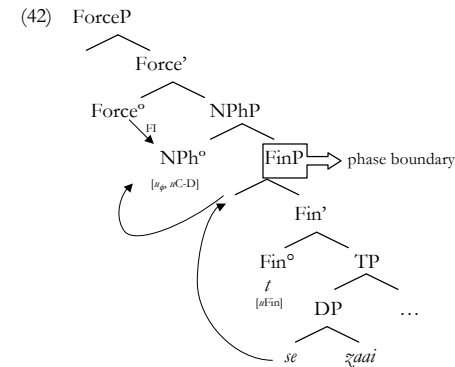


#### main ingredients of the analysis:

- the unvalued features of (the higher phase head) Force° are inherited by a lower non-phase head NPh°
- movement of the object clitic to Fin° voids the phasehood of FinP
- because FinP is no longer a phase, the subject clitic can move to specNPhP without any intermediate stopovers

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

[Wambeck Dutch]



#### main ingredients of the analysis:

- the unvalued features of (the higher phase head) Force° are inherited by a lower non-phase head NPh°
- there is no object clitic movement to Fin°, so FinP remains a phase boundary
- because FinP is a phase, movement of the clitic needs to make a stopover in the phase edge specFinP

### 3.3.2 First conjunct clitic doubling

**Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2008):** there is a second case of doubling via movement, i.e. first conjunct clitic doubling

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

[Wambeck Dutch]

- the clitic *se* 'they' subextracts from the first conjunct and moves to a head position inside the CP-domain (see Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2008 for considerations concerning the subject island and CSC)

**prediction:** given that first conjunct clitic doubling involves movement, it should not be sensitive to the phasal status of FinP, i.e. there should be no anti-intervention from object clitics:

- (44) 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<sub>2pl</sub> solve  
'I think they and you should solve that together.'

[Wambeek Dutch]

## 4 Comp-agreement vs. clitic doubling

### 4.1 No anti-intervention with comp-agreement

Comp-agreement is not sensitive to intervention of object clitics:

- (45) a. Ik vin da-n ie en zie da saom moetn uplosn.  
I think that<sub>-3pl</sub> he and she that together must solve  
'I think that he and her should solve that together.'  
b. Ik vin da-n t ie en zie saom moetn uplosn  
I think that<sub>-3pl</sub> it he and she together must solve  
'I think that he and her should solve that together.'

[Blankenberge Dutch]

The Compagr Probe has different features than Force<sup>o</sup>: it has phi-features but no [C-D]-feature

- (46) k peinzen **da-n** Pol en Valère Marie kenn-en.  
I think that<sub>-3pl</sub> Pol and Valère Marie know<sub>-pl</sub>  
'I think that Pol and Valère know Marie.'

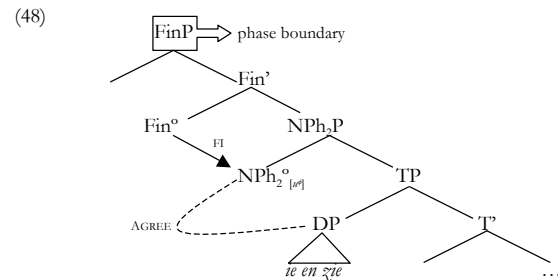
[West Flemish]

**Proposal:** the Compagr Probe is Fin<sup>o</sup>.

### 4.2 Analysis

- (47) Ik vin da-n ie en zie da saom moetn uplosn.  
I think that<sub>-3pl</sub> he and she that together must solve  
'I think that he and her should solve that together.'

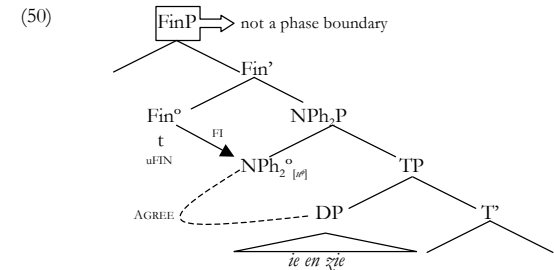
[Blankenberge Dutch]



Object movement does not have an effect on the Compagr-Probe (Fin<sup>o</sup>)

- (49) Ik vin da-n t ie en zie saom moetn uplosn  
I think that<sub>-3pl</sub> it he and she together must solve  
'I think that he and her should solve that together.'

[Blankenberge Dutch]



## 5 Conclusion

### 5.1 Summary

#### Data

(51) Type of subject DP	no object clitic	object clitic
pronoun	✓	✓
coordination with a pronominal conjunct	*	✓
coordination with no pronominal conjunct	*	*
non-pronominal DP	*	*

#### Analysis

- Two types of subject doubling:
  - Doubling via movement: clitic is part of pronominal subject DP (Big DP) and moves into the CP-domain
  - Doubling via Agree: clitic spells out phi-features of Force, Force agrees with subject
- Object clitic intervention:
  - The CP-domain has two phi-feature probes: Force<sup>o</sup> and Fin<sup>o</sup>.
  - Fin<sup>o</sup> is phase and intervenes between Force<sup>o</sup> and the subject
  - Object clitic moves to Fin<sup>o</sup> and voids the phasehood of Fin<sup>o</sup>
  - Force<sup>o</sup> can probe the subject

(52) Type of doubling

Type of subject DP	FinP is a phase (no object clitic)	FinP is not a phase (object clitic)
Pronoun	Doubling via movement	Doubling via movement <i>or</i> Doubling via Agree
coordination pronominal conjunct (First Conjunct)	Doubling via movement	Doubling via movement <i>or</i> Doubling via Agree
coordination with a pronominal conjunct (Full)	*	Doubling via Agree
coordination with no pronominal conjunct	*	*
non-pronominal DP	*	*

5.2 Question for further research

1. Not all dialects have an ameliorating effect of object clitic intervention:

(53) \* 'k peis dame 't zij en ekik wel samen aan kunn.  
I think that-we it they and I part together solve  
[Nieuwerkerken Waas Dutch]

- Possible explanations for dialects of this type:
  - subject clitics do not move in syntax but at PF (Van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007:173, note 8)
  - object clitics are not sensitive to finiteness and hence have no [*u*Fin]-feature

2. How does our view on phases relate to existing accounts?

**Bošković (to appear: 3):** “X, which works as a phase, ceases to work as a phase when another phrase Y is added on top of X in the extended projection of the same lexical category (with X being the highest projection in this domain when Y is absent).”

**Den Dikken (2007:1, example (3)):** “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.”

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