# The cartography of *yes* and *no* in West Flemish[1]

Liliane Haegeman and Andrew Weir
*Ghent University/FWO Odysseus*

## 1 Introduction: aim and scope of the paper

### 1.1 A typology of West Flemish response particles

The empirical focus of this paper is the morphology and syntax of the response particles *ja* ('yes') and *nee* ('no') as illustrated below in (1) in the West Flemish Lapscheure dialect. The particles come in two variants: in one variant the response particles are marked for phi features. We will refer to these as agreeing particles. In the other variant the particles do not display thee features and we refer to them as on-agreeing or 'bare' particles. Agreeing particles are illustrated in (1), bare particles will be illustrated and briefly discussed below (3-5). The focus of our paper is the agreeing particles.

#### 1.1.1 Agreeing particles

Consider the data in (1), focusing on the form of the response particles. All particles obligatorily show agreement marking, and appear in a short form and an augmented form. (1a) illustrates an answer to a *yes*/*no* question; (1b) and (1c) illustrate 'reversal' responses to declaratives, i.e. responses whose function is to 'reverse' or deny a declarative statement (Farkas & Bruce 2010). Such responses consist of or are introduced by the specialised reversal particles, which seem to be composed of the agreeing particles *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' augmented with additional morphology, which we will refer to as 'reversal schwa'.

(1) a. Q: Een-k tyd?
Have-I time?
'Do I have the time?'
A: Ja-g.
Yes-you [Lapscheure]
A: Nee-g.
No-you [Lapscheure]

b Q: K'een tyd.
I have time.
'I have the time.'
$A_{REVERSE}$: Nee-g-e.
no-2sg-RVRS
'No you don't.'

c Q: K'een geen tyd.
I have no time.
'I don't have the time.'
$A_{REVERSE}$: Ja-g-e.
yes-2sg-RVRS
'Yes you do.'

[1] This research is funded by FWO Belgium as part of project 2009-Odysseus-Haegeman-G091409. We thank an audience at the 29th Comparative Germanic Syntax Workshop for comments.

Agreeing particles only occur in root contexts; they are a strict root phenomenon in the sense of Miyagawa (2013). Thus agreeing *ja/nee* cannot be embedded under complementizers like *dat* that introduce finite clauses (2).

(2) A: Is Valère geweest?
is V. been
'Has Valère been?'

B: *Kpeinzen dat ja-j.
I.think that yes-3sg.m
intended: 'I think so.'

The focus of the present paper is these agreeing forms of *ja* and *nee.* For completeness' sake we briefly discuss the distribution of bare forms of the particles in the next section, but we will not have much to say about them in the remainder of the paper.

In our discussion, we will mainly focus on syntactic issues, we intend to develop issues of semantic interpretation in separate work.

### 1.1.2 Bare particles

Bare forms of *ja* and *nee* occur in some root contexts (3) and in certain embedded contexts (5). Bare *ja* is used in answering to a knock on the door, or in answering a call (3a), or as an interjection (3b), or to preface an agreement to a course of action – (3c) is an attested example – or as a response to an imperative (3d). In these contexts agreeing *ja* is not acceptable.

(3) a. A: Marie! B: Ja/*Ja-k.
b. Ja,/*Ja-k, wat moet ik daar nu op zeggen?
JA/JA-1sg what must I there now on say
'What can I say to that?'
c. A: k'gaan t'achtnoene werekommen we!
I go in the afternoon back come PRT
B: 'kzeggen. "Ja, 't is goed 'e."
I say: JA it is good PRT
(Dialect recording Ghent University, Oostkerke 29.12.60)
d. A: Pakt da mo mee.
Take that PRT with
B: Ja / ??Ja-k.

Like agreeing *ja/nee* (2), bare *ja/nee* cannot be embedded under complementizers like *dat* that introduce finite clauses (4a). They can somewhat marginally be embedded under *van* (which can introduce a non-finite clause, as (6) shows). Note that in this case they do not alternate with the agreeing forms of the particles (on this use of *van* in Dutch and Flemish see van Craenenbroeck 2002, Hoeksema 2006, 2008). (5b) is attested.

(4) A: Is Valère geweest?
is V. been
'Has Valère been?'

B: *Kpeinzen dat ja/ja-j.
I.think that yes/yes-3sg.m
intended: 'I think so.'

(5) a. Kveronderstellen van ja/*ja-s/neen/*nee-s.
I suppose of yes/yes-3sg.f /no/*no-3sg.f
b. A: Boer, ga je der weer uitvallen, de?
Farmer, go you there again out drop, PRT?
B: k zeggen: "Kgeloven van ja."
I say: "I believe of *ja*" (UGhent, Dialect recording Oostkerke 29.12.66)

(6) Ik peinzen van morgent te goan.
I think of tomorrow to go
'I intend to go tomorrow.'

Finally, bare *ja/neen* can appear under *van* in construction with the verbs *knikken* 'nod' and *schudden* 'shake' (and some other verbs of 'motion of the body' like *gebaren* 'gesture'). In such contexts they again do not alternate with the agreeing particles.

(7) a. Ze knikte van ja/*ja-s.
she nodded of yes/yes-3sg.f
'She nodded her head yes.'
b. Ze schudde van neen/*nee-s.
she shook of no/*no-3sg.f
'She shook her head no.'
c. Ze gebaarde van ja/neen/*ja-s/*nee-s.
she gestured of yes/no/yes-3sg.f/no-3sg.f

As already indicated in section 1.1.1, where agreement morphology occurs on the particles it is obligatory. Agreeing particles thus do not alternate with the bare forms.

## 1.2 Focus of the paper

We restrict the discussion to agreeing response particles. To summarize the crucial data in (1): when used as root clause replies to *yes/no* questions or as root responses to declaratives, the response particles in the Lapscheure dialect obligatorily show a form of morphology which looks like agreement marking. As shown, this holds both for the simple answer forms in (1a) and for the reversal forms in (1b) and (1c). In (1a), for instance, the particles are followed by the element *-g*, which corresponds to the second person. The same component is also present in the augmented reversal particles in (1b) and (1c). The agreement morphology is obligatorily present in the contexts illustrated here. One of the prime goals of our paper is to investigate the nature of the agreement marking on the response particles.

The fact that the response particles are associated with agreement property is not unique to this dialect; in fact this property is shared with a number of other dialects of Dutch, although with considerable dialectal variation, as has been discussed in both the descriptive and the theoretical literature (e.g. Devos 1986, Paardekooper (1993), Barbiers, Bennis, De Vogelaer, Devos, & van der Ham (2005) and for a comparative approach also De Vogelaer and Van der Auwera (2010), among others). In the present paper, we do not speculate on the variation as such: we present an analysis of the patterns in just one dialect, though at times we will point to relevant contrasts with other dialects described in the literature, and in particular with the Wambeek dialect described in van Craenenbroeck (2010).

One hypothesis that comes to mind to account for the form of the particles in (1a) is to analyse these as the result of encliticisation of a weak form of the subject pronoun to the response particle. This is in fact the approach developed in Van Craenenbroeck (2010), mainly using Wambeek Dutch data. Based on a detailed study of the form of the agreement marking in the Lapscheure patterns, however, we will show that while such a cliticization analysis may be tenable for some dialects, it cannot be maintained for the Lapscheure dialect, and we will instead propose that what may look like a cliticized pronoun is in fact a specialised word-internal agreement marker on the particles.

We will argue that agreeing particles are merged in a root clause which displays V2 and we develop a cartographic account of the relevant structure. In a nutshell, we propose that West Flemish agreeing *ja/nee* are TP proforms (following Krifka 2013), which move to the left peripheral head Fin, both in order to satisfy V2, and in order to license the phi-features on Fin which are satisfying the Subject Criterion (Rizzi, 2003; Rizzi & Shlonsky 2006, 2007). We also propose that the reversal morphology displayed in (1b, 1c) drives movement to a high PolFocP (à la Holmberg 2001, 2007, 2013).

We suggest that the lack of agreement marking in embedded *ja/nee* as in (3-5) can be analysed as an alternation in finiteness: embedded *ja/nee* are non-finite and do not show agreement marking, while agreeing *ja/nee* are finite and do show agreement marking. We will not develop a finiteness analysis of the alternation in this paper, and will focus only on the agreeing particles, leaving the embedded non-agreeing particles for future work. We also set aside issues of the semantic interpretation of the particles for future work, focusing here only on their syntax.

### 1.3 Outline of the paper

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 is an overview of the empirical data we are concerned with. In section 3 we provide arguments against an PF ellipsis analysis of the pronominal marking on *yes/no*. Section 4 summarizes Van Craenenbroeck's analysis of *ja/nee* in the Wambeek dialect according to which *ja/nee* are merged in a full clausal structure and occur in construction with a null TP proform;we show the problems that arise when extending his analysis to the Lapscheure dialect. Section 5 presents our own analysis according to which *ja/nee* are themselves merged as the TP proform. Section 6 is a brief summary of the paper.

## 2 The data

### 2.1 The basic patterns in Lapscheure West Flemish

#### 2.1.1 Agreement marking

As shown in (1), in Lapscheure West Flemish the response particles *ja/nee* obligatorily show overt agreement. Additional illustrations are given in (8). In (8a), the agreement *-s* is that of the third person feminine and on the basis of these data it might be concluded that the agreement on *ja/nee* matches the subject of the preceding *yes/no* question, as stated in Van Craenenbroeck 2010: 211. For instance, in (8a) the subject of the question is a third person feminine DP *Marie*, and the response particles are associated with the ending *–s*, corresponding to what seems like an enclitic form of the third person pronoun *ze* ('she'). This is, however, not quite an accurate description of the facts. The actual form of the agreement is not determined directly by the subject of the *yes/no* question but rather it corresponds to the subject of what would have been the full answer to the *yes/no* question. In (8b), for instance,

the subject of the question is the second person, cf. the clitic *j* ('you') on the finite verb; the reply to this would have a first person subject, hence the response particle will be associated with a first person ending *-k*.

(8) a. Q: Goa Marie morgent kommen?
Goes Marie tomorrow come
'Is Marie coming tomorrow?
A: Ja-*(s) (ze goat morgent kommen).
yes-3sg.f (she goes tomorrow come)
'Yes (she is).'
A: Nee-*(s) (ze goat morgent niet kommen).
no-3sg.f (she goes tomorrow not come)
'No (she isn't).'

b. Q: Goa-j morgent kommen?
Go=you tomorrow come?
'Are you coming tomorrow?'
A: Ja-*(k) (kgoan morgent kommen).
yes-1sg (I=go tomorrow come)
'Yes (I am).'
A: Nee-*(k) (kgoan morgent niet kommen)
no-1sg (I=go tomorrow not come)
'No (I'm not).'

The full paradigm for the Lapscheure response particles is given in the second and third columns in Table 1. Anticipating later sections of the paper, the particles with reversal schwa are listed in the fourth and fifth column. We discuss these at length in section 2.1.2 below.[2]

| PERSON/NMB | *yes* | *no* | *yes*$_{\text{REVERSE}}$ | *no*$_{\text{REVERSE}}$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | Ja-k | Nee-k | Ja-ke | Nee-ke |
| 2SG | Ja-g | Nee-g | Ja-ge | Nee-ge |
| 3SG MASC | Ja-j | Nee-j | Ja-je | Nee-je |
| 3SG FEM | Ja-s | Nee-s | Ja-se | Nee-se |
| 3SG NEUT | Ja-t | Nee-t | Ja-te | Nee-te |
| 1PL | Ja-m | Nee-m | Ja-me | Nee-me |
| 2PL | Ja-g | Nee-g | Ja-ge | Nee-ge |
| 3PL | Ja-s | Nee-s | Ja-se | Nee-se |

Table 1. Response particles in the Lapscheure dialect.

Observe that while the particles carry marking that matches the subject of the reply and that effectively fully specifies the relevant features of the subject, this agreement cannot as such stand in for the subject of the full clausal reply (9a). When the response particle is followed by a full clausal reply, subject marking continues to show up on *ja/nee* and the clausal reply must contain its own overt subject, realised as a subject pronoun (9b,c) or as a full DP (9d). As will be shown in example (13) in the next section, the same obtains with the reversal particles.

[2] In isolation, *ja* is pronounced [ja]. When the pronominal marking is attached, regular phonological processes in West Flemish result in the pronunciation *joa* [jɔ:] e.g. *joa-k* [jɔ:k]. We continue to write *ja* for clarity.

(9) Q: Goa Marie morgent kommen?
Goes Marie tomorrow come
'Is Marie coming tomorrow?
a. A: *Ja-s goat morgent kommen.
yes-3sg.f goes tomorrow come
b. A: Ja-*(s) ze goat morgent kommen.
yes-3sg.f she goes tomorrow come
c. A: Ja-*(s) Marie goat morgent kommen.
yes-3sg.f Marie goes tomorrow come
d. A: Ja-*(s) morgent goa-ze kommen.
yes-3sg.f tomorrow goes=she come

### 2.1.2 Reversal particles

(10) illustrates the use of the reversal particles, which at first sight look like the agreeing particle augmented with what we will refer to as reversal schwa.

(10) a. Q: Marie goa morgent kommen.
Marie goes tomorrow come
'Marie will come tomorrow.'
A: Nee-s-e.
no-3sg.f-RVRS
'No she won't.'
b. Q: Marie goa morgent nie kommen.
Marie goes tomorrow not come
'Marie won't come tomorrow.'
A: Ja-s-e.
yes-3sg.f-RVRS
'Yes she will.'

Overt marking of reversal by *e* is only generally available in response to statements (with declarative word order) (Devos and Vandekerkhove 2005: 94). Functionally, such responses are an alternative to so called Short Do Replies (SDRs; see also van Craenenbroeck 2010), a way of expressing reversal with the verb *doen* 'do'.

(11) a. Q: Marie goa morgent kommen.
Marie goes tomorrow come
'Marie will come tomorrow.'
$A_{REVERSE}$: Ze doet/Z'en doet.
she does/she=NEG does
'No she won't.'

b. Q: Marie goa morgent nie kommen.
Marie goes tomorrow notcome
'Marie won't come tomorrow.'
$A_{REVERSE}$: Ze doet/ Z'en doet.
she does/she=NEG does
'Yes she will.'

*Ja/nee* with 'reversal schwa' can also co-occur with *doet*, though this is felt to be slightly redundant:

(12) a. Q: Marie goa morgent kommen.
Marie goes tomorrow come
'Marie will come tomorrow.'
A: Nee-s-e doet.
no-3sg.f-RVRS does
'No she won't.'
b. Q: Marie goa morgent nie kommen.
Marie goes tomorrow not come
'Marie won't come tomorrow.'
A: Ja-s-e doet.
yes-3sg.f-RVRS does
'Yes she will.'

As was the case with the particles used as replies to *yes/no* questions, reversal particles can be followed by a full clause which expands on the content of the reversal. Again the agreement found on the reversal particle is that which corresponds to the subject of the full clausal continuation, and as was the case with the particles in replies to *yes/no* questions, while it contains person and number information, the agreement on the particle cannot as such stand in for the subject in the full clausal continuation (13a). When the agreeing reversal particle is followed by a full clausal continuation, subject marking again shows up on reversal *ja/nee* and the clausal continuation also contains its own overt subject, realised as a subject pronoun (13b,c) or as a full DP (13d).

(13) Marie goa morgent niet kommen
Marie does tomorrow not come
'Marie isn't coming tomorrow.'
a. A: *Ja-se goat morgent (wel) kommen.
yes-3sg.f goes tomorrow (PART) come
b. A: Ja-*(se) ze goat morgent (wel) kommen.
yes-3sg.f she goes tomorrow (PART) come
c. A: Ja-*(se) Marie goat morgent (wel) kommen.
yes-3sg.f Marie goes tomorrow (PART) come
d. A: Ja-*(se) morgent goa-ze (wel) kommen.
yes-3sg.f tomorrow goes=she (PART) come

## 2.2 The shape of the agreement: Cross-dialectal microvariation

The dialect survey in Barbiers et al. (2005), which is based on the SAND questionnaires, shows agreement type marking on *ja/nee* is attested in many Dutch dialects, with a lot of variation in the exact shape that the agreement marking following *ja/nee* (pp. 53-5) takes. Barbiers et al point out (2005: 53):

> The clitics … look like obvious reduced forms of the weak pronouns *'k, je, ie, ze, 't, we, je* and *ze* ('I, you, he, she, it, we, you and they' respectively), which are attested in Standard Dutch as well. But in many cases, it is not immediately clear what might be the nature of a certain pronoun following *ja* ('yes') or *nee* ('no'). (Barbiers et al: p. 53)

We briefly illustrate some of this variation here. Observe that reversal forms are pointed out but not discussed by Barbiers et al. so we focus on the response particles in the present section.

In some dialects, the response particles *ja/nee* carry verbal agreement which is formally identical to the agreement found on the complementizer, and these agreeing particles are followed by an enclitic pronoun which is coreferential with the subject of the full clausal answer. This is shown for Waregem Flemish in (14a): the ending *–n* on *ja* corresponds to the ending on the finite verb *èèn* and to that on the complementizer *da* as illustrated in (14b):

(14) a. A: Èèn Piet en Jan gewonnen?
have Pete and John won
B: Ja-n-s.
yes-AGR.PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
b. Kpeize da-n Piet en Jan gewonnen èèn.
I.think that-AGR.PL Pete and John won have
(Van Craenenbroeck 2010, 217, Waregem Dutch)

In other dialects (such as the Wambeek Dutch investigated by van Craenenbroeck 2010), *ja/nee* do not display verbal agreement, but they are associated with an enclitic pronominal element which is "identical to the clitic pronoun that is right-adjoined to the complementizer in embedded clauses" (van Craenenbroeck 2010, 217).

(15) a. A: Kom Jef mergen?
comes Jeff tomorrow
'Is Jeff coming tomorrow?'
B: Jo-n.
yes-he$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
b. Ik paus dat-n mergen komt.
I think that-he$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ tomorrow comes

Here, we focus solely on West Flemish data from the dialect of Lapscheure, which shows a third, different pattern: (i) there is no verbal agreement, and (ii) (as also pointed out in Devos 1986:169 and 176-7) at first sight, the agreement marking on the particle more closely resembles the proclitic subject which appears to the *left* of verbs in a V2 pattern, not the enclitic subject that appears to its right. Drawing also on evidence from a related dialect, we will conclude that this marking must not be equated with the proclitic subject, though, and that instead it must be seen as a different instantiation of finite agreement specific to the particles.

## 2.3 The shape of the agreement marking

In this section we look more closely at the shape of the agreement on the response particles in order to determine if they correspond to any other manifestation of the subject in the dialect, in particular whether the agreement could be seen as an instantiation of the preverbal or postverbal subject clitic in the V2 pattern. In general, in the dialect we are describing, the weak subject forms that are enclitic to the finite verb and the subject pronominals preceding the finite verb are syncretic, but their realizations diverge for second person (both singular and plural) and for the third person expletive. Consider the data in (16): in initial position the weak subject pronoun (Haegeman 1991) is a glottal [ɦ], which we represent orthographically as <g>. In postverbal position (16b) and when appearing to the right of the complementizer (16c), the weak subject is a palatal [j], represented orthograpically as <j>. The agreement

marking on *ja* is a voiceless velar fricative [x]; note crucially that the palatal [j] is not available in this context (16d).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (16) | a. | G/*j'eet eur gezien.<br>you have her seen | Initial: [ɦ] |
| | b. | Toen ee-j/*g eur gezien.<br>then have-you her seen | Post V: [j] |
| | c. | da-j/*g eur gezien eet<br>that-you her seen have | Post C: [j] |
| | d. | Ja-g/*j.<br>Nee-g/*j. | Post *ja/nee*: [x] |

In existential patterns, the preverbal form of the existential pattern is *t* (17a), while the postverbal form (17b), which also is that found on the complementiser, is *der* (17c). The agreement marking on *ja* is realized as *t*; again the form *der* is not possible.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (17) | a. | T/*der is veel volk geweest.<br>it/*there is much people been<br>'There was a large crowd.' | Initial: [t] |
| | b. | Toen is der/*t veel volk geweest.<br>then is there/*it much people been<br>'that there were many people' | Post V: [dər/tər] |
| | c. | dat der/*t veel volk geweest is<br>that there/*it much people been has<br>'that there were many people' | Post C: [dər/tər] |
| | d. | Ja-t/*der.<br>Nee-t/*der. | Post *ja/nee*: [t] |

At first sight then, the agreement found on the particles is unlike the clitic pronoun that is right-adjoined to the complementizer in embedded clauses, as is the pattern described by Van Craenenbroeck (2010: 217) but is closer to the preverbal subject clitic. As we will see presently, though, it is not possible to fully assimilate the agreement on *ja/nee* with the preverbal clitic. We will actually conclude that in the dialect we are examining, a specialised agreement form is associated with the response particles. Firstly, we will discuss some reasons why a cliticisation analysis is untenable for the Lapscheure data. We will then propose our analysis in terms of agreement, and show how this accounts for the data discussed above.

## 3 Arguments against a PF-deletion analysis

At first sight a plausible analysis of the agreeing forms of *ja/nee* in the Lapscheure dialect might be one in which *ja/nee* are base-generated in a left-peripheral position with the cliticisation of the pre-verbal subject pronoun to *ja/nee*, and the rest of the clause undergoes ellipsis or PF-deletion (see Devos 1986: 169 for a first proposal). This is schematically represented in (18). Such elliptical accounts of *yes/no* responses have been argued for for a number of languages; see e.g. Kramer and Rawlins (2011), Holmberg (2013) and Servidio (2014).

(18) Is Valère geweest? – Ja-$j_1$ <$t_1$ is geweest>
is Valère been yes-3sg.m is been
'Has Valère been? – Yes.'

This account would assimilate *ja/nee* responses to analyses of fragment answers (Merchant 2004) or sluicing (Merchant 2001), which also propose PF-deletion of a clause.

(19) a. What did John eat? – Chips <he ate t>.
b. John ate something, but I don't know what <he ate t>.

However, a clausal PF-deletion analysis of response particles raises a number of problems for the syntax of the particles *ja/nee* that we are concerned with here.

### 3.1 Non-optionality of 'clausal silence'

Observe first of all that PF-deletion is usually optional: in particular both fragment answers and sluicing patterns alternate with the full clausal variant without ellipsis:

(20) a. What did John eat? – John ate chips.
b. John ate something, but I don't know what he ate.

However, for WF *ja/nee*, we cannot suppose that PF-deletion is optional. Indeed, as already shown in (9), what would be the overt source for the structure proposed in (18) would be ungrammatical. The agreement marking on *ja/nee* cannot itself function as the subject of the full clausal answer (21). Rather, a 'full' reply would be as in (22):

(21) Is Valère geweest? – *Ja-$j_1$ is geweest.
is Valère been yes-3sg.m is been

(22) a. Ja-j j=is geweest.
yes-3sg.m he=is been
b. Ja-j Valère is geweest.
yes-3sg.m Valère is been

Such examples seem best analysed as two separate clauses: in WF root clauses, the preverbal clitic never co-occurs with a second preverbal clitic or with a preverbal full DP (cf. Haegeman 1991):

(23) a. *Je je is geweest.
he he=is been
b. *Je Valère is geweest.
he Valère is been

Assuming that the presence of the subject marking on *ja-j* diagnoses that there is some form of clausal structure here, it seems that this clausal structure is *obligatorily* silent, while PF-deletion/ellipsis is generally taken to be an optional process.[3]

[3] Van Craenenbroeck 2010:221, citing Merchant 2003, points out that there are some cases where ellipsis is obligatory; for example, under subject-auxiliary inversion in English comparatives, verb phrase ellipsis is obligatory:

(i) Abby knows more languages than does her father (*know) (Merchant 2003:exx. (2, 3))

### 3.2 Absence of agreement marking in clearer cases of PF-deletion

In patterns which are less controversially analysed as PF-deletion, such as sluicing, subject marking never shows up in the Lapscheure dialect (as also discussed by van Craenenbroeck (2010:231) in relation to Waregem Dutch; see also Lobeck (1995) and Merchant (2001)).

(24) Z'èèn eentwien gezien, maar k'en weten nie wien (*s).
they=have someone seen but I=neg know not who(-they$_{CLITIC}$) [Lapscheure]

It is also not generally the case that subject marking/subject clitics can 'survive' PF-deletion of a clause in the way that an ellipsis analysis would suggest. This is true even in an answer to a polar question, as shown in (25). Subject marking appears only on the response particles *ja/nee*. So we conclude that there is something 'special' about *ja/nee* in allowing – and even requiring - agreement marking.

(25) Q: Ee-g genoeg geld?
have=you enough money
'Do you have enough money?'
A: Misschienst-*k.
possibly-1sg

### 3.3 Lack of extraction

Given a PF-deletion/ellipsis account, extraction should be possible from the deletion site, as it is in e.g. VP ellipsis in English.

(26) Apples, I like. Pears, I don't <like t>.

In English *yes/no* replies, left-peripheral topics are also possible, which can be interpreted as support for elliptical analyses such as those presented in Kramer & Rawlins (2011), Holmberg (2013), and Servidio (2014).

(27) A: Did you tell them?
B: John yes <I told t>, but Mary no <I didn't tell t>.

But in the WF dialect of Lapscheure, in such cases *wel/niet* are used rather than just *ja/nee*. Where *wel/niet* are followed by *ja/nee* with agreement marking, we take the latter to function as tags associated with the clause (cf. Smessaert 1995). For reasons of space, we will not go into the syntax of such tags, but we assume that they represent clauses separate from those which the topics *an Valère/an Tijs* have been extracted from.

(28) Q: Ee-j t an entwien gezeid?
Have-you it to anyone said
'Did you tell anyone?'

a. A: ?*An Valère ja-k, maar an Tijs nee-k.
to Valère yes-1sg but to Tijs no-1sg
b. A: An Valère wel, maar an Tijs niet.
to Valère well, but to Tijs not

---

Merchant's explanation of such cases is that PF-deletion is obligatory because it deletes an ungoverned trace of a moved comparative operator (we refer to Merchant for the full details). There does not seem to be any such problem which ellipsis needs to 'repair' in cases like (21) (although cf. footnote 5), so there is no immediate explanation for why (putative) clausal ellipsis should be obligatory here.

c. A: An Valère wel, ja-k, maar an Tijs niet.
to Valère well, yes-I, but to Tijs not

These patterns suggest that *ja/nee* do not involve PF-deletion of a clause. This conclusion is in line with that drawn by Van Craenenbroeck (2010), based mainly on the Wambeek data.

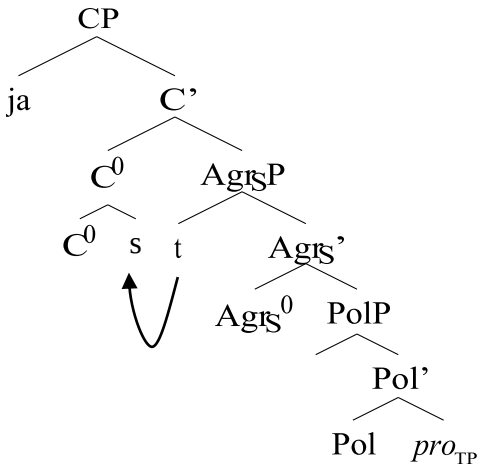
## 4 Van Craenenbroeck (2010): a TP pro-form

Given that our conclusions against a PF deletion account for agreeing *ja/nee* match those drawn by Van Craenenbroeck (2010) with respect to the syntax of *ja/nee* replies in the Wambeek dialect, it is instructive to explore to what extent his analysis of the Wambeek data carries over to our data, which at first sight seem to instantiate a similar pattern. A closer comparison of our data with those that constitute the empirical basis of his analysis, however, will reveal that we cannot fully carry over his account to our data. It transpires that our data are evidence for another kind of agreement marking on the response particles which has – to the best of our knowledge – not been discussed in the theoretical literature.

### 4.1 Summary

In his analysis of Wambeek Dutch, van Craenenbroeck (2010) proposes that *ja/nee* are merged in a full clausal structure and occur in construction with a null TP proform. The proform has the semantics of a predicate, and its referent is picked up from the surrounding discourse, in the same way as proposed by e.g. Hardt (1993) for VP ellipsis in English. For example, in answer to the question *Is Valère thus?* 'is Valère at home?', the proform *ja* 'yes' would denote the predicate [$\lambda x.$ *x* is at home]. Above this TP proform, a clitic subject is base-generated in [Spec, $Agr_SP$]; this subject argument saturates the predicate denoted by *pro*, and the clitic then moves to adjoin to C. *Ja* is base-generated in [Spec, C]. [4]

(29) (from van Craenenbroeck (2010)'s (23))




The hypothesis that there is a TP proform predicts the failure of extraction: the pro-form is structureless, and so extraction is not possible. This hypothesis also leads to an account for the differences between *ja/nee* and other instances of 'clausal silence' such as fragments answers and sluicing noted above: these are just different patterns altogether, and they are derived by PF deletion.

[4] There is an additional step of PF-deletion of $Agr_SP$, which we omit here; see footnote 5.

## 4.2 Some problems for the analysis

From van Craenenbroeck's analysis we will adopt the idea that a TP pro-form is involved in the *ja/nee* constructions of the dialect we are concerned with. However, there are some issues with the implementation of van Craenenbroeck's analysis which will prevent us from endorsing it in full. Some are general theoretical concerns, and some are specific empirical issues to the West Flemish data we are considering.

First, on the hypothesis that *ja/nee* are in construction with a null proform of TP, one might expect the null proform to alternate with a full TP, but examples like (30) show that this is not possible: 'clausal silence' is enforced. In order to rule out such examples and to enforce the 'clausal silence' with *ja/nee*, a mechanism is needed that makes the null TP pro-form the only option in construction with *ja/nee*. The nature of this mechanism is not clear.[5]

(30) *Ja-j is geweest.
yes-3sg.m is been

Van Craenenbroeck (2010:173ff.) makes crucial use of a projection labelled $Agr_SP$, which is a privileged projection associated with the subject. As acknowledged by Van Craenenbroeck (2010) himself, the status of $Agr_SP$, while part of earlier versions of the theory (Chomsky 1993), became debated in more recent versions of theory (Chomsky 1995). Interestingly, Van Craenenbroeck argues that the phenomena under discussion can perhaps be construed as empirical evidence for the existence of the projection $Agr_SP$. To anticipate our analysis below, we will retain van Craenenbroeck's hypothesis that the data of agreeing *ja/nee* answers offer evidence that there is a specialised projection for the clausal subject, but we will reinterpret this position in terms of Rizzi (2003)'s SubjP, a criterial position.

These conceptual issues aside, for the dialects that van Craenenbroeck investigates (chiefly Wambeek Dutch), an analysis in which a subject clitic encliticises to *ja/nee* may be empirically adequate. However, the patterns observed in the West Flemish dialect we are concerned with do not follow from his analysis. In particular, the problem for carrying over his analysis to our data arises because of the actual form of the agreement marking on *ja/nee*. If, as is proposed by van Craenenbroeck, *ja* occupies [Spec, C] and if the agreement marking is the result of the subject clitic moving up to C, then the agreement marking on *ja/nee* would be expected to be the form that shows up to the right of complementisers, or of finite verbs in the V2 position. This prediction is correct for the Wambeek Dutch data, as already shown in (15) above, but, as also already mentioned in section 2.3, and illustrated in (16, 17), if anything, for the West Flemish data we are concerned with, the agreement marking at first sight is more similar to the **pre**-verb form of the clitic (see also Devos 1986). So even if Van Craenenbroeck's analysis is plausible for the dialects in which the pronominal marking on *ja/nee* corresponds to the postverbal clitic form, it does not naturally extend to the West Flemish dialect under examination.

[5] Van Craenenbroeck actually assumes obligatory PF-deletion of $Agr_SP$ if a TP proform is used. This is (a) to ensure that no material which might be base-generated in $Pol^0$ or $Agr_S^0$ is pronounced, and (b) to ensure that the TP proform, which is not head-governed, is deleted to avoid an ECP violation (a form of 'rescue by ellipsis' in the same vein as Merchant 2003; see also footnote 3). But this does not ensure the property of clausal silence; as far as we can see, nothing in Van Craenenbroeck's analysis forces the use of a TP proform in construction with *ja/nee*. It should be possible to generate a full TP in construction with *ja/nee*, but as (30) shows, this is not possible at least in the Lapscheure dialect.

However, anticipating the discussion below, in the dialect we are concerned with, the agreement marking on *ja/nee* can also not be straightforwardly assimilated to the preverbal pronominal clitic. Indeed our conclusion will be that the agreement on *ja/nee* seems *sui generis*.

## 5 Our analysis

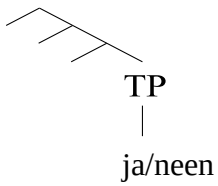
The chief questions which our syntactic analysis will address are the following: (i) why is a TP pro-form obligatory with conjugated *ja/nee* (i.e. why can a full TP not be generated in the same clause as *ja/nee*)? (ii) how can we account for the specialized agreement marking on *ja/nee*?

### 5.1 Explaining 'clausal silence': *ja/nee* as TP proforms

To enforce the presence of a TP pro-form with the response particles *ja/nee*, we will adopt Krifka (2013)'s analysis of *ja/nein* in German and propose that the particles *ja/nee* themselves are in fact the TP pro-forms. We assume that these pro-forms are anaphoric to an antecedent proposition. We will focus on the syntactic side of the analysis; for reasons of space we cannot develop the semantic side of our account here, and we refer to future work.

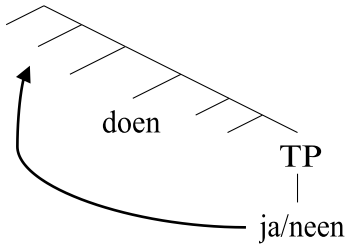
A first preliminary version of the syntactic analysis is presented in (31). Depending on the sentential polarity, TP is realised as the pro form *ja/nee*. That agreeing *ja/nee* cannot occur in construction with clausal material follows: *ja/nee* are the clauses themselves, or more accurately, they are TP pro-forms.

(31)




As it stands, we predict that *ja/nee* do not co-occur with any material that originates below the level of TP. We predict that they do co-occur with material that originates in the layers of structure dominating TP. Specifically, recall that that while agreeing *ja/nee* cannot co-occur with full clauses (**ja-j is geweest*), conjugated reversal *ja/nee* can co-occur with the auxiliary *doen* 'do'. Crucially, when this happens *doen* must follow agreeing *ja/nee.* As it stands, in (31) there is no space for inserting a verb 'below' TP. To capture the presence of *doen* in reversal responses we propose that *doen* is inserted in a position above TP and that the TP proform moves to the left periphery.

(32)




Indeed, as we will show below, we will assume that the TP proform *ja/nee also* moves to the left periphery in the absence of *doen.* We will refine our analysis below. Before doing so we will look more closely at the agreement marking on the particles.

## 5.2 A *sui generis* agreement marking

As already discussed, at first sight it appears as if the agreement marking on *ja/nee* is a clitic subject pronoun, as generally proposed in the literature, and this is likely correct for some of the dialects that have conjugated *ja/nee* (see Barbiers et al. 2005 and references cited there). For many dialects, the form of the pronominal marking on *ja/nee* corresponds to the postverbal subject clitic.[6] For such dialects, it seems plausible that the sequencing of the particle and the pronominal agreement marking is the result of cliticisation. This leads to analyses along the lines of that developed by Van Craenenbroeck (2010) in which the agreeing form of the particle is derived in the syntax where the sequence *ja/nee* + pronominal form has the same derivation as that adopted for deriving the sequence finite verb + pronominal form or complementizer + pronominal form.

Upon closer scrutiny of the phonological properties of the agreement marking in the dialect we are concerned with, however, we are led to conclude that while the agreement marking in the relevant West Flemish dialect may well have the subject pronoun system as its diachronic source, what originated as clitic forms of the subject pronouns have been reanalysed and these forms synchronically have the status of agreement inflection. Indeed, we will argue that the agreeing forms of *ja/nee* – including the augmented forms for reversals - are drawn from the lexicon with phi-features which are spelled out as agreement. Agreeing *ja/nee* interact with the clausal syntax, but the subject marking is not itself derived in the narrow syntax in the way that a syntactic cliticisation analysis would suggest.

Recall that in some Flemish dialects *ja/nee* show verbal agreement: in (33), for instance, the nasal ending *–n* on *ja* is identical to the third person plural ending on the finite verb and on the complementizer. In the same dialect, the pronominal marking *s* may well be assimilated then to the postverbal subject clitic, as assumed, for instance, by Van Craenenbroeck (2010).

(33) Q: Hebben ze al gegeten?
have they already eaten
'Have they already eaten?'

[6] However, concerning the appearance of pronominal marking on *ja/nee* , Devos (1986: 169) in fact points out:

> Dit enklitisch gebruik is van een andere aard dan na pv of voegwoord. Het pronomen kan immers beschouwd worden als onderwerp bij een zin die tengevolge van ellipsis weggevallen is, zodat het 'verzelfstandigd' is; de verzwegen pv die met het onderwerp kongrueert zou, indien uitgedrukt, op het pronomen volgen, b.v.
> Zal je het doen? Ja'k.
> =ja ik (zal dat doen)
> Het ligt voor de hand dat de vormen van het pron. die we hier kunnen verwachten, overeenkomen met de doffe subjektsvormen voor de pv in hoofdzinnen, en niet met de enklitische vormen na pv.

Translation (lhaw):
This enclitic use is of a different nature than after a finite verb or a conjunction. The pronoun can indeed be considered as the subject of a clause which as a result of ellipsis has been deleted, so that it has become independent; the silent verb form which agrees with the subject would, if expressed, follow the pronoun, e.g.
Zal je het doen? Ja'k.
Will you it do? Yes-I
=ja ik (zal dat doen)
=yes, I (will it do)
It is obvious that the forms of the pronouns that we can expect here correspond to the weak subject forms that precede the finite verb in main clauses and not with the enclitic forms that follow it.

A: Jaa-n-s. (Barbiers et al. 2005:54)
yes-AGR.3pl-they

In the dialect we are examining, however, the forms of *ja/nee* for relevant persons (1sg, 1pl, 3pl) do not display the nasal segments corresponding to the verbal agreement and to the agreement on complementizers. While this could be interpreted as this system 'losing' agreement on *ja/nee,* a plausible scenario in some of the relevant dialects, it is equally consistent with our hypothesis that the agreement is not as such lost but rather that what initially was genuine pronominal marking has itself been interpreted as the agreement. We do not speculate here on the possible causal link between loss of verbal agreement and the presence of 'pronominal agreement', although see de Vogelaer & van der Auwera (2010).

As previously mentioned, our main argument for analysing the marking on *ja/nee* as agreement comes from phonology. In West Flemish, unvoiced consonants generally voice intervocalically at word boundaries and at derivational morphology boundaries (De Schutter and Taeldeman 1986, Simon 2010). This is a pervasive phenomenon and it is illustrated in (34): in (34a), for instance, the voiceless third person ending [t] on *goat* ('goes') becomes voiced [d] when followed by a vowel-initial subject (*André*). In (34b), the voiceless fricative [s] on *zus* ('sister') becomes voiced [z] when followed by the diminutive morpheme. In (34c), the final voiceless [s] on the word *vis* ('fish') is voiced in a compound in which it is followed by a vowel initial noun *hoak* ('hook').

(34) a. *goat* 'goes' [ɦɔ:t] → *goat André* [ɦɔ:dɑndre]
b. *zus* 'sister' [zʌs] → *zuzeke* 'sister-DIM' [zʌzəkə]
c. *vis* 'fish' [vɪs] → *vishaak* 'fish-hook' [vɪzɔ:k]

However, while the intervocalic voicing is pervasive at the word level, at word-internal inflectional morphology boundaries, voicing of an underlyingly voiceless consonant does not take place. So, while the final voiceless [s] of *zus* and of *vis* do become voiced when followed by derivational morphemes or in compounding, it remains voiceless when followed by the vowel initial plural morpheme *-en*.

(35) *zus* [zʌs] → *zussen* [zusən] 'sisters' (not *[zʌzən])

*vis* [vɪs] → *vissen* [vɪsən] 'fish (pl.)' (not *[vizən])

Consider the paradigm for the dialect we are interested in in Table 2.

| | 1 pre-V | | 2 post-V | | 3 post-C | | 4 *ja* | | 5 *ja*+RV | | 6 *ja*+PRT | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg | k-goan | | goan-k | | dan-k | | ja-k | | ja-ke | | ja-k-eh | |
| 2sg | ge-goat | [ɦ] | goa-j | [j] | da-j | [j] | ja-[x] | [jɔ:x] | ja-[x]e | [jɔ:xə] | ja-g-eh | [jɔ:ɣe] |
| 3sgm | je-goat | | goat-je | [tʃ] | dat-je | [tʃ] | ja-j | | ja-je | | ja-j-eh | |
| 3sgf | ze-goat | [z] | goa-[s]e | | da-[s]e | | ja-s | [jɔ:s] | ja-[s]e | [jɔ:sə] | ja-z-eh | [jɔ:ze] |
| 3sgn | t-goat | | goat-t | | dat-t | | ja-t | | ja-te | | ja-t-eh | |
| 3ex | t-goat | | goat-er | | dat-er | | ja-t | | ja-te | | ja-t-eh | |
| 1pl | me-goan | | goa-me | | da-me | | ja-m | | ja-me | | ja-m-eh | |
| 2pl | ge-goat | [ɦ] | goa-j | | da-j | | ja-[x] | [jɔ:x] | ja-[x]e | [jɔ:xə] | ja-g-eh | [jɔ:ɣe] |
| 3pl | ze-goan | [z] | goan-ze | [z] | dan-ze | [z] | ja-[s] | [jɔ:s] | ja-[s]e | [jɔ:sə] | ja-z-eh | [jɔ:ze] |

Table 2. Voicing alternations in pronominal marking in Lapscheure.

Third person singular feminine and third person plural agreeing *ja/nee* have a final voiceless [s]. When they are followed by a discourse particle *eh*, the final [s] on *ja* becomes voiced, as shown in column 6. This is expected: word-final voiceless fricatives undergo intervocalic

voicing. However, when what we referred to as reversal schwa is attached to the same particles ending in the voiceless fricative [s] of the third person, the voiceless [s] on *ja/nee* does *not* become voiced, as shown in column 5.

Similarly, second person singular and plural agreeing *ja/nee* end in a final voiceless [x]. When these are followed by a discourse particle *eh* the final [x] on *ja* becomes voiced [ɣ], as shown in column 6. This is the result of the expected intervocalic voicing. However, when reversal schwa is attached to the particles, the voiceless fricative [x] of the second person marking on *ja/nee* does *not* become voiced. (36) and (37) summarize the observed patterns .

(36) a. *ja-s* 'yes-3sg.f' [jɔ:s] → *ja-s-e* 'yes-3sg.f-RVRS [jɔ:sə] NOT *[jɔ:zə]
b. *ja-s eh* 'yes-3sg.f PRT' [jɔ:ze]

(37) a. *ja-g* 'yes-2sg' [jɔ:x] → *ja-g-e* 'yes-2sg-RVRS' [jɔ:xə] NOT *[jɔ:ɣə]
b. *ja-g eh* 'yes-2sg PRT' [jɔ:ɣe]

These patterns lead us to the at first sight unexpected conclusion that, since it does not trigger intervocalic voicing, the reversal schwa *e* is neither a discourse particle (like *eh*) or a derivational morpheme and hence it must be inflectional morphology at the word level. If the reversal schwa in *ja-s-e* or in *ja-g-e* is indeed inflectional morphology on *ja*, this has consequences for the analysis of the agreement marking: in an analysis in which the agreement marking was a clitic pronoun, then such a clitic would have to 'infix' between the head *ja* and its inflectional morphology. This does not have a precedent elsewhere in West Flemish: for example, post-complementizer clitics appear after the agreement morphology, not before.

(38) dan ze / *da-ze-n Valère kennen
that-AGR.pl they / that-they-AGR.pl Valère know
'that they know Valère'

The consequence is that, if reversal schwa is part of the inflectional morphology, then the agreement marking on *ja/nee* is also a form of morphology at the word level, presumably inflectional morphology, and plausibly agreement morphology.

We argue, then, that even if verbal agreement (i.e. agreement parallel to that which shows up on complementisers) is not present on *ja/nee* in this dialect, there is nevertheless agreement on *ja/nee*. Thus what were originally forms of the subject clitic have been reanalyzed as agreement markers. This conclusion is reminiscent of the agreement patterns in some Italian dialects, in which what seem to be clitics have also been reanalyzed as agreement markers. For discussion of subject clitics as agreement markers in Italian dialects see also Rizzi (1982) and many others after him; for French see Culbertson (2010) and the references cited there.

The conclusion we arrive at is that the agreement marking on *ja/nee* is not a form of the post-verbal and post-complementiser clitic. In addition, note that it is also not a form of the preverbal clitic. Typically, both second person *ge* and third person *ze* have an initial voiced fricative, unlike the corresponding agreement markers. The dissociation between the pronominal clitic system and the agreement markers is even clearer in the West Flemish dialect of Heist. Of particular interest in this dialect is the second person system (see also Devos 1986: 176-7 for more discussion of such second person patterns and Barbiers et al 2005: 3.2.3.2.2 who briefly mention similar data in some other WF dialects). While both in pre- and post-verbal position the clitic form of the subject pronoun can be realized as *je* with

an initial palatal consonant, the agreement marking on *ja/nee* is realized by the voiceless velar fricative [x], which becomes voiced when followed by the discourse particle *eh* but which remains voiceless when followed by reversal schwa. In this dialect, then, postulating a clitic as the direct synchronic source for the agreement marking on *ja/nee* becomes even more delicate.

(39) a. Een-k tyd? – Ja-g/*j.
have I time yes-2sg

b. Een-k tyd? – $J_1$ ee tyd.
have I time 2sg have time

We add in passing that an ellipsis derivation in which the agreement marking on *ja/nee* is in fact the subject clitic is also undermined by such examples since the agreement forms on *ja/nee* are distinct from the subject clitic: in the Heist dialect, the agreement component in the second person form *ja-g* which is a velar fricative does not find a clitic source in the clausal syntax, in which proclitic is *je* with palatal onset.

One proviso is in place here: we do not wish to claim that the person/number morphemes on *ja/nee* in Flemish dialects can never be analysed as clitic forms of the pronouns. In particular, in those dialects which show both verbal agreement as well as an additional marking for person and number the latter may well be analysed as a clitic form of the pronoun. (40) is from Barbiers et al (2005:54). For such data an alternative analysis along the lines of van Craenenbroeck (2010) may well be on the right track.

(40) jaa-n-s
yes-AGR.3pl-they (Barbiers et al. 2005:54)

In this paper, we concentrate on the West Flemish pattern of the Lapscheure dialect in which the person and number marking on *ja/nee* is distinct from the pronominal system and we argue that at least in this case, the relevant marking itself constitutes the agreement morphology, meaning that *ja/nee* carry phi-features. With this established, we now need to consider why the phi-features on *ja/nee* are obligatorily subject-oriented, i.e. why they correspond to the features that would have been those of the subject if a full clause or a continuation had been used in the response.

To address this question we will now flesh out the details of the syntactic analysis of agreeing *ja/nee* as initially sketched in (32) above, and in particular we will elaborate on the movement analysis proposed there.

### 5.3 Agreeing yes/no and V2

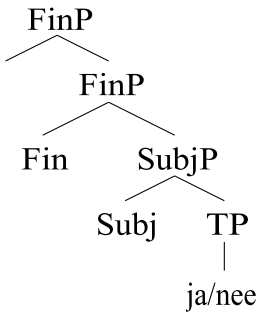
Recall from section 5.1 that we postulate that agreeing *ja/nee* are merged as TP pro forms which move to a left peripheral position in the course of the derivation. In this section we spell out our assumptions about this derivation. The core of our proposal is that we assume that the TP proforms *ja/nee* move to the left periphery in order to satisfy the V2 constraint. Observe that this analysis predicts the strict root property of agreeing *ja/nee* in the dialect we are concerned with, since this dialect in general does not display embedded V2 patterns.

#### 5.3.1 Background assumptions: Cartography and SubjP

In this section we first outline our assumptions of the syntax of V2 viewed from the cartographic perspective. In line with Haegeman (1996) and van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman

(2007), we assume that V2 is a requirement to fill the left peripheral Fin head, the lowest head in the articulated CP area. In addition, we adopt the hypothesis (Cardinaletti 1997, 2004, Rizzi 2003, Rizzi & Shlonsky 2006, 2007) that there is a specialised functional projection for subjects, the Subject Phrase. For motivation we refer to the literature. Based on these assumptions, the relevant structural configuration is as in (41). Geometrically SubjP corresponds to what used to be AgrSP in earlier versions of the theory (Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1993). However, unlike its precursor AgrSP, which did not have any specific semantic reflex, in Rizzi's analysis, SubjP serves the discourse function of encoding the 'subject of predication' of the clause.

(41)

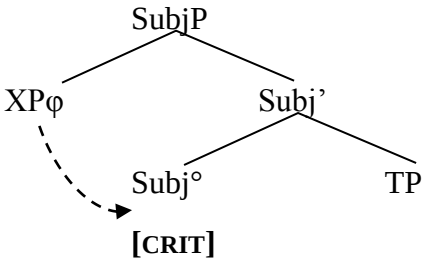



For Rizzi and Shlonsky, SubjP is a criterial projection. A criterial requirement is defined as in (42) (R&S 2007: 138, their (53)):

(42) For [+F] a criterial feature, X+F is in a Spec-head configuration with A+F.

Criterial configurations ([*wh*] (or [Int]), [Top], [Foc], [Rel] and [Subj]) lead to freezing of the constituent in the specifier position. The prediction is that once it has satisfied the Subject Criterion by moving to SpecSubjP, the subject is frozen in place and cannot be extracted from SpecSubjP, as for instance illustrated by the subject-object asymmetry shown by long extraction in the French interrogatives in (44) below.

(43) a.




(44) a. *Qui$_i$ crois-tu que [$_{SubjP}$ t$_i$ va partir]?
who think-you that will leave

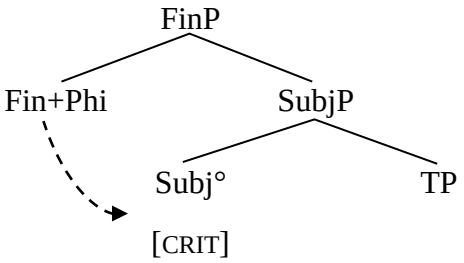
b. Que$_i$ crois-tu que [$_{SubjP}$ Jean a fait t$_i$ ]?
what think-you that Jean has done
'What do you think (that) John did?'

Whenever subjects are in fact extracted from finite clauses, as in French (44c), the grammar deploys a special mechanism to enable satisfaction of the SCrit. In French, this is manifested by the *que/qui* alternation, the replacement of the regular complementizer *que* by *qui*:

(44) c. Qui crois-tu qui va partir?
who think-you *qui* will leave
'Who do you think will leave?'

Rizzi & Shlonsky (2007: 138-9) propose that in (44c) *qui* is the reflex of a special instantiation of the left peripheral head Fin which is enriched with nominal (φ) features (cf. Taraldsen 2001). They represent this head as Fin+Phi; it is this head that satisfies the SCrit. In both (43) and (45) the relation between Subj and the item that satisfies the Subject Criterion is local. Following up on this, Rizzi & Shlonsky (2007: 138-139) restate the criterial condition as in (46).

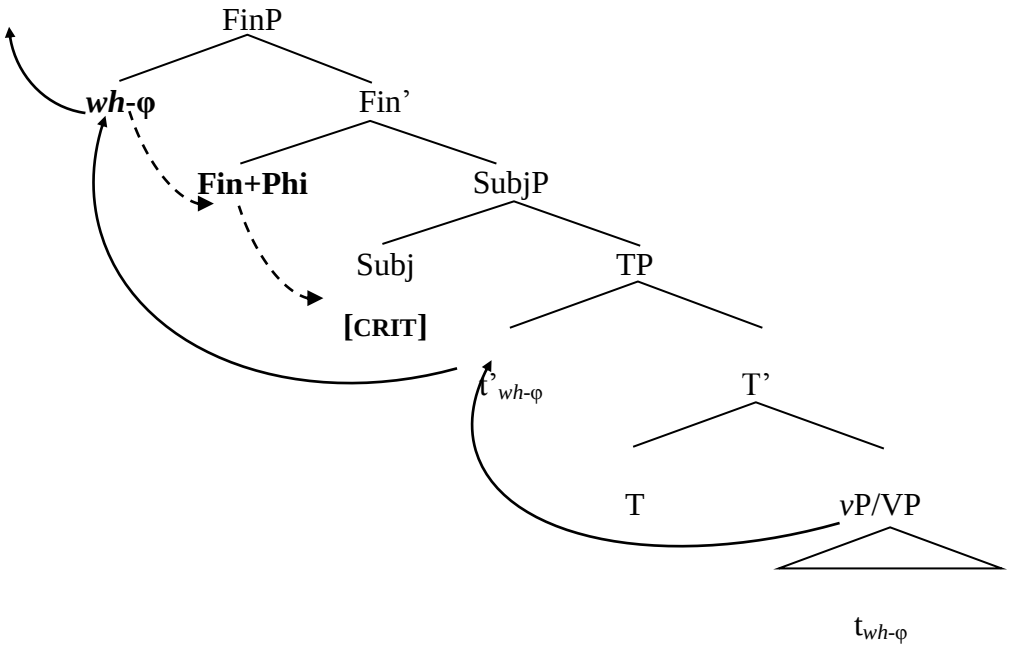
(45)




(46) For [+F] a criterial feature, X+*F* is locally c-commanded by A+*F*.

In Rizzi and Shlonsky's system the φ-features on Fin+Phi have to be independently checked by the presence of a constituent with (matching) φ-features in SpecFinP (47). On its way to its criterial landing site, the subject *wh*-phrase moves through SpecFin and licenses the φ-features of Fin+Phi.

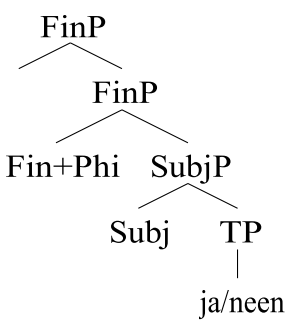
(47)




5.3.2 The syntax of *ja/nee* replies

Based on our assumptions outlined in the preceding section, we update the structure of WF *ja/nee* replies in (31) as (48).

(48)

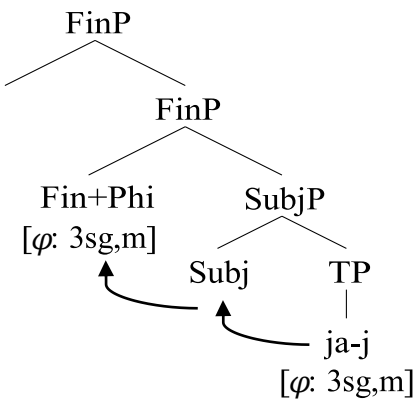


As mentioned, the specifier of SubjP is the subject of predication of the clause. In WF *ja/nee* replies, SubjP links the proposition expressed by *ja/nee* with the subject of predication.[7] Embedding TP under Subj thus ensures that the phi-features on agreeing *ja/nee* are those that would be appropriate for the subject if a full clause were used.

The clausal projection is then projected as normal. In particular, SubjP is selected by FinP; we propose that in this configuration too, Fin is featurally enriched, thus it is again instantiated as Fin+Phi as in the case of Rizzi and Shlonsky's analysis of subject extraction in French. The phi-features on Fin+Phi play the role of indicating the 'aboutness topic' of the utterance (i.e. they are in a sense the semantic argument of Subj): we assume that Fin+Phi here essentially has the semantics of a pronoun, and bears an index like pronouns do.

Following Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007)'s analysis, we assume that the phi-features on Fin+Phi have to be licensed. Assuming head movement is available in the narrow syntax (cf. Roberts 2010) and that single words can be ambiguous between XP and $X^0$ status (Muysken 1982, Muysken and Van Riemsdijk 1986), agreeing *ja/nee* can move as a head to Fin+Phi to license the nominal features on Fin+Phi. Specifically, the phi-features on Fin+Phi are licensed by the agreement marking on agreeing *ja-k, ja-s, ja-j*, etc. which moves to Fin+Phi (through Subj, to avoid a violation of the Head Movement Constraint).

(49)




Observe now that if *ja/nee* themselves instantiate TP/T, then de facto the movement of *ja/nee* to Fin+Phi is no different from the T-to-C/Fin movement that underlies V2 in the Germanic V2 languages.

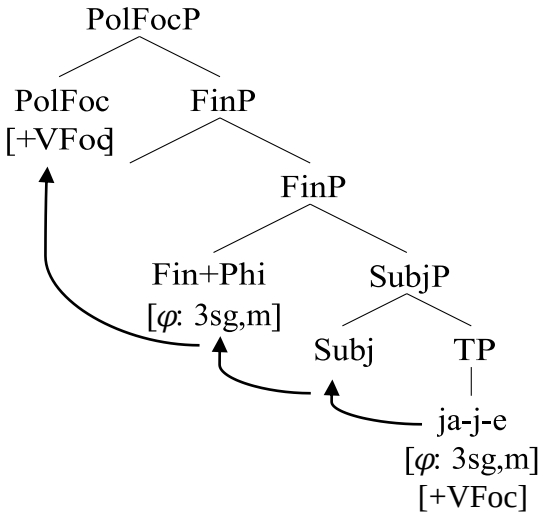
### 5.3.3 The syntax of reversal *ja/nee* responses

Recall that WF uses the forms *ja-s-e, nee-s-e*, with reversal schwa, in responses whose function it is to 'reverse' a preceding declarative statement. Following the literature (esp.

[7] Semantically, there is certainly more to say here. Subj does not seem to always link a proposition with an argument; for example, expletives can occupy [Spec, SubjP]. We assume, following Rizzi (2003) and Rizzi & Shlonsky (2007) that the necessity to fill [Spec, SubjP] (i.e. the Subject Criterion) is a formal requirement that can be satisfied by an expletive. On the semantic side, we could imagine that an expletive simply has no content (and the discourse linking of a proposition with a subject is 'vacuous' in this case), or alternatively perhaps that an expletive can express a situation or event argument as subject of predication. We leave detailed discussion of this aside here, although see Rizzi (2003) and Rizzi & Shlonsky (2007) for some discussion.

Holmberg 2001, 2007, 2013, van Craenenbroeck 2010), we assume that in addition to the phi-features encoded in the agreement marking, these responses have an additional Verum Focus feature that needs to be checked in a left-peripheral PolFoc projection.[8] Recall that we assume that *ja-s/nee-s* and *ja-s-e/nee-s-e* are not composed at the level of the narrow clausal syntax but enter the derivation as a word and are inserted as proforms. As discussed, *ja-s/nee-s* is inserted in TP/T. We adopt the same assumption for *ja-s-e/nee-s-e*: they are inserted as TP proforms. *Ja-s-e/nie-s-e* first raise to Fin+Phi to check its phi-features and to satisfy V2, and then they move onwards to check the Verum Focus feature:

(50)




### 5.3.4 The syntax of 'reversal *doet*'

#### 5.3.4.1 The empirical data

We have said that conjugated *ja/nee* move as heads through Fin+Phi to satisfy V2. But the 'emphatic'/reversal forms with the reversal schwa can also co-occur with the verb *doen* ('do'). We summarize the core empirical data first.

(51) Ja-s-e doet.
yes-3sg.f-RVRS does

*Doet* is only compatible with 'reverse/disagree' answers: As seen in (61) it cannot be preceded by agreeing *ja-s*, but it requires the form with the reversal schwa. We will refer to this use of *doet* by the shorthand 'reversal *doet*'.

(52) Q: Marie goa morgent kommen (?)
Marie goes tomorrow come
'Marie will come tomorrow.'

[8] This can be seen as a particular cartographic implementation of Holmberg (2001, 2007, 2013)'s left-peripheral ΣP/$C_{POLFOC}$/FocP. Holmberg proposes that *yes/no* response particles are base-generated in such a projection (an assumption also made by van Craenenbroeck (2010)), while we propose that – at least for West Flemish – they move there to check features, in a similar way to how Holmberg proposes that verb phrases can move to this position in Finnish and various other languages. In as much as our proposal involves the movement of a TP constituent to a left-peripheral position, it resembles Holmberg's analysis of Finnish; and see also Gribanova (2014) for verb movement to PolFoc in Russian. For French Authier (2013: 353) assumes that the polarity particles *oui/non* in French are located in SpecFinP. A comparison of the French patterns with those investigated here would obviously of interest, but is beyond the scope of our paper.

$A_{SAME}$: Ja-s (*doet).
yes-3sg.f does
$A_{REVERSE}$: Nee-s-e (doet).
no-3sg.f-RVRS does

Furthermore, in the dialect we are describing, a discourse particle *ba* can be generated along with reversal *ja-j-e/nee-j-e*. However, this combination is itself not compatible with reversal *doet* (for discourse particles with *ja/nee* see also Smessaert 1995, Devos & Vandekerckhove 2005; for similar restrictions in Wambeek Dutch see van Craenenbroeck 2010). This is illustrated in the data in (53): the reversal reply *ja-j-e* combines *either* with reversal *doet* (53b) or with *ba* (53c), but combining *ja-j-e* with both is unacceptable (53d).

To the best of our knowledge there is no discernable interpretive difference beween (53a) and (53b), except for the fact that (53b) sounds slightly redundant, because the reversal marking is expressed twice: once by reversal schwa and once by reversal *doet.* At the same time, (53a) and (53c) are also semantically equivalent, with (53c) perhaps adding some emphasis on the reversal. It comes as a surprise then that just as *ba* can be added to (53a) to yield (53c), without any marked change in interpretation, it cannot be added to (53b). See also Smessaert (1995:50-1) for a general discussion of the speech act particles in *ja/nee* responses and van Craenenbroeck (2010:150-155) for the restrictions below in Wambeek Dutch. Van Craenenbroeck does not provide an account for the restrictions.

(53) Hij komt morgent niet.
he comes tomorrow not
'He isn't coming tomorrow.'
(a) Ja-j-e.
yes-3sg.m-RVRS
'Yes he *is*.'
(b) Ja-j-e doet.
yes-3sg.m-RVRS does
'Yes he *is*.'
(c) Ba ja-j-e.
BA yes-3sg.m-RVRS
'But he *is*.'
(d) *Ba ja-j-e doet.
BA yes-3sg.m-RVRS

5.3.4.2 The syntax of reversal responses

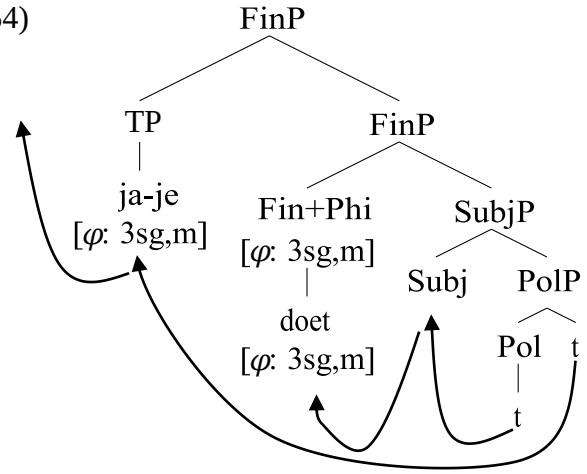
We first consider the derivation of (53b) in which reversal *ja-j-e/nee-j-e* combine with reversal *doet.*

(53) (b) Ja-j-e doet.
yes-3sg.m-RVRS does
'Yes he *is*.'

Since we assume that, like agreeing *ja/nee*, the reversal TP proforms *ja-s-e* and *nee-s-e* do not have internal syntax, reversal *doet* has to be merged somewhere outside these forms and outside and higher than TP. Thus it must be inserted in a head position above TP. Given that it follows *ja-s-e* and *nee-s-e*, the order must have been derived by leftward movement of *ja-s-e/nee-s-e.* We propose the representation in (54). *Ja-j-*e is inserted under TP/T, as before. We

propose that reversal *doet* is inserted as the head of PolP, a polarity projection dominating TP (cf. Laka 1990, Progovac 1993, 1994, Haegeman 2002, Holmberg 2001, 2013, van Craenenbrock 2010). Reversal *doet* head-moves to Fin+Phi (through Subj), as an instantiation of V2.

(54)



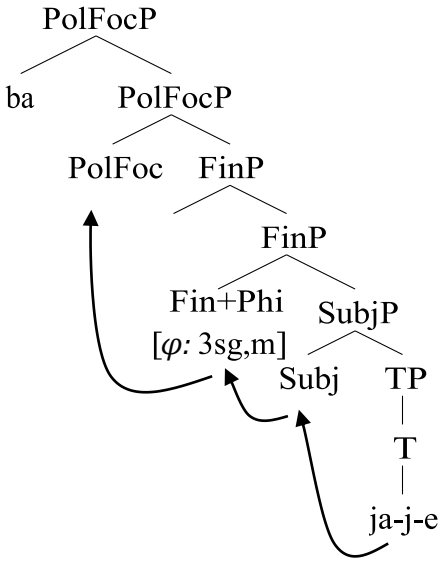

In our analysis of non-reversal type responses we assumed that *ja/nee* undergo head movement. This should not be possible in the configuration (54): this instantiation of head movement would cross the head *doet* in Fin+Phi. However, exploiting the ambiguity of XP/X status of *ja/nee*, the TP proform *ja-j-e/nee-j-e* can also undergo phrasal movement. Thus reversal *ja-j-e/nee-j-e* can cross reversal *doet* in Fin+Phi and reach the left peripheral specifier position associated with Verum Focus. We assume in (54) that the movement transits through SpecFin to license the features on Fin+Phi. We also assume that *doet* as a way to spell out reversal is only generated when required to satisfy V2, that is when there is no finite verb to move into Fin[9] and in the absence of head movement of *ja-s-e/nee-s-e*.

In the remainder of this section we show how the analysis developed here can handle the restrictions on the distribution of reversal *doet* and the distribution of *ba*. Recall from examples (53) above, that the discourse particle *ba* can be generated along with agreeing *ja/nee*, but that the resulting sentence is not compatible with *doet* (53d). We will assume that the ungrammaticality of (53d) is syntactic. Recall that reversal *ja-j-e/nee-j-e* have a Verum Focus feature that has to be checked in a left peripheral projection, say PolFocP. We propose that *ba* is base generated in the specifier of the left peripheral projection that attracts reversal *ja-j-e/nee-j-e*, i.e. PolFocP. If *ba* occupies the specifier position of the left peripheral projection which also has to host *ja-j-e/nee-j-e*, then the latter have to undergo head movement. (56) is the derivation of (53c) repeated here as (55):

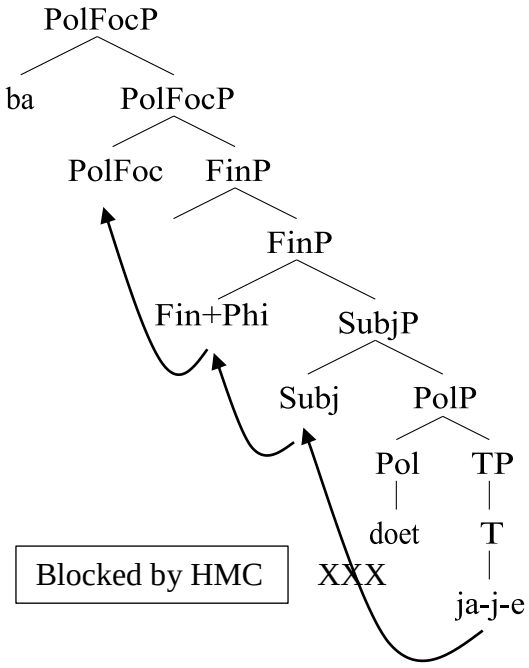
(55) Ba ja-j-e.
BA yes-3sg.m-RVRS
'But he *is*.'

[9] Note that 'reversal *doet*' is only available in the context of 'clausal silence'; it cannot be generated as a normal auxiliary in construction with other clausal material (i.e. an example like **hij doet morgent komen* 'he does tomorrow come' is ungrammatical, even on the reversal/verum focus reading). This supports the idea that the generation of *doet* is a last resort phenomenon, as also proposed by van Craenenbroeck (2010), although our precise implementation differs slightly from his.

(56)




(57)




If in the presence of *ba*, head movement of *ja-j-e/nee-j-e* is the only way to allow these two items to co-occur then this precludes the presence of reversal *doet*. Recall that reversal *doet* heads PolP. If reversal *ja-j-e/nee-j-e* also head moves (in order to ensure compatibility with *ba* ), then this will give rise to a locality violation. Our account thus derives the patterns in (53) straightforwardly, exploiting the ambivalent status of the preforms *ja/nee* as either head (T) or phrase (TP).

## 6 Summary and questions for future research

In the present paper we focus on the person and number marking on the response particles *ja* (‘yes’) and *nee* (‘no’) in the West Flemish dialect of Lapscheure, which displays a number of properties that set it apart from the dialect discussed in the earlier literature.

Based on phonological considerations we argue that person and number marking on *yes/no* in West Flemish is best analysed as word-internal agreement morphology. We also propose that the response particles be analysed as TP proforms which are integrated in a full clausal structure which is projected in line with the cartographic model elaborated in Rizzi (1997) and Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006, 2007). Concretely, TP is dominated by SubjP, a projection that is specialised to encode subject properties, and by FinP, the left peripheral projection which encodes the finiteness features of the clause. With Haegeman (1996) we assume that V2 is derived by movement of the finite verb to Fin. SubjP is a criterial projection. We assume that in certain contexts Phi-features generated on Fin suffice to satisfy the Subject Criterion. Agreeing *ja/nee* is generated as a TP pro form and moves to Fin in order to satisfy V2 and to license these Phi-features in Fin.

Our contribution is an in-depth analysis of one particular West Flemish dialect. Other (West) Flemish dialects show different patterns of pronominal marking/verbal agreement on *yes/no*, and it remains to be explained to what extent and how this microvariation can be captured in one comprehensive analysis. We hope to return to this in future work. In addition, our analysis of *ja/nee* as TP proforms raises the question of whether a proform analysis is appropriate for 'yes' and 'no' particles cross-linguistically, or whether in some languages a clausal ellipsis analysis is more appropriate. We would also seek to explain why subject marking on 'yes' and 'no' particles seems relatively rare cross-linguistically (although it is not restricted to dialects of Dutch; de Vogelaer & van der Auwera (2010) note that French *oui* is derived from *o+il*, a form incorporating the third person pronoun *il* (ultimately from Latin *hoc ille*, lit. 'yes that'), and point out (citing the *Grand Robert* dictionary) that Old French also had forms such as *o-je* 'yes I' and *o-tu* 'yes you').

Our analysis of West Flemish agreeing *ja/nee* hinges on a number of assumptions about the cartographic analysis of V2 and highlights the role of SubjP. In future work, we will explore the ramifications of our analysis for the analysis of V2 in general and for the analysis of subject doubling in Flemish.

The 'grammaticalisation' of pronouns into agreement morphemes postulated is reminiscent of the development of pronominal marking into agreement forms in construction with *pro*-drop, as reported in the literature on Romance. It merits exploration in this broader context.

We have focussed exclusively on agreeing *ja/nee.* It should be borne in mind that in some environments, *ja* or *nee* can show up without conjugation, and in fact conjugation marking is ungrammatical, this includes both root and embedded contexts. These environments merit independent study and will be studied in detail in independent work.

In addition to covering the properties of the WF response particles, our analysis contributes more generally to linguistic theory in at least four ways: (i) the paper bears on the general discussion of the syntax of speech acts (the papers in this volume, a.o.); (ii) it contributes to the general debate on whether response particles should be analysed as resulting from clausal ellipsis (e.g. Kramer & Rawlins 2010), as proforms (cf. Krifka 2013), or as a 'standalone' particle; (iii) the cartographic implementation of our analysis provides support for the central role of FinP in the derivation of V2 (Haegeman 1996, Van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007) and for the role of SubjP, a specialised functional projection that hosts the subject of predication (Rizzi 2004, Rizzi & Shlonsky 2006, 2007); (iv) the paper contributes to the literature on discourse-driven head movement (Roberts 2010, Gribanova 2014).

## References

Authier, J.-M. (2013). Phase-edge features and the syntax of polarity particles. *Linguistic Inquiry, 44*, 345-89.

Barbiers, S., Bennis, H., De Vogelaer, G., Devos, M., & van der Ham, M. (2005). *Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects* (Vol. I (Commentary)). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Cardinaletti, A. (1997). Subjects and clause structure. In: Liliane Haegeman (ed.), *The new comparative syntax*. London: Longman. 33-63.

Cardinaletti, A. (2004). Towards a cartography of subject positions. In: Luigi Rizzi (ed.), *The structure of CP and IP* (The Cartography of Syntactic Structures vol. 2). New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press. 115-165.

Chomsky, N. (1993). *A minimalist program for linguistic theory*. *MIT occasional papers in linguistics no. 1*. Cambridge, MA: Distributed by MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.

Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist program.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Culbertson, J. (2010). Convergent evidence for categorial change in French: from subject clitic to agreement marker. *Language* 86: 85-132.

De Schutter, G. and J. Taeldeman. (1986). Assimilatie van Stem in de Zuidelijke Nederlandse Dialekten. In: Magda Devos and Johan Taeldeman (eds.), *Vruchten van z'n akker: opstellen van (oud-) medewerkers en oud-studenten voor Prof. V. F. Vanacker*. Ghent: Seminaire voor Nederlands Taalkunde. 91–133.

de Vogelaer, G. and J. van der Auwera (2010). When typological rara generate rarissima: analogical extension of verbal agreement in Dutch dialects. In: Jan Wohlgemuth & Michael Cysouw (eds.), *Rara & rarissima. Collecting and interpreting unusual characteristics of human language,* 47-73. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Devos, M. (1986). Het persoonlijk voornaamwoord 2e pers enk in het Westvlaams. Geografie en historiek. In: eds. Devos M. and J. Taeldeman, eds. *Vruchten van zijn akker. Opstellen van (oud-)medewerkers and oud-studenten voor Professor V.F. Vanacker*. Seminarie voor Nederlandse taalkunde en Vlaamse dialectologie.

Devos, M. and R. Vandekerckhove (2005). *Taal in Stad en Land. West-vlaams*. Tielt: Lannoo.

Farkas, D. F. and K. B. Bruce (2010). On reacting to assertions and polar questions. *Journal of Semantics* 27: 81-118.

Gribanova, V. (2014). Discourse-driven head movement, VSO and ellipsis in Russian. Presentation at NELS 45, MIT, October 31.

Haegeman, L. (1991). Subject pronouns and subject clitics in West-Flemish. *The Linguistic Review* 7: 333-364.

Haegeman, L. (1996). Verb second, the split CP and null subjects in early Dutch finite clauses. *GenGenP*. Available on: http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/001059.

Haegeman, L. (2002). West Flemish negation and the derivation of SOV order in West Germanic. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*. Special issue on negation. Ed. Anders Holmberg. 25: 154 –189

Hardt, D. (1993). Verb phrase ellipsis: Form, meaning, and processing. University of Pennsylvania dissertation.

Hoeksema, J. (2006). Hij zei van niet, maar knikte van ja: Distributie en diachronie van bijwoorden van polariteit ingeleid door *van. Tabu* 35: 135-158.

Hoeksema, J. (2008). Van+ bijwoord van polariteit: Een geval van verplichte PP extrapositie? *Tabu* 37: 69-74.

Holmberg, A. (2001). The syntax of yes and no in Finnish. *Studia Linguistica, 55*, 141--74.

Holmberg, A. (2007). Null subjects and polarity focus. *Studia Linguistica, 61*, 212-36.

Holmberg, A. (2013). The syntax of answers to polar questions in English and Swedish. *Lingua, 128*, 31-50.

Kramer, R., & Rawlins, K. (2011). Polarity particles: an ellipsis account. In S. Lima, K. Mullin, & B. Smith (Ed.), *Proceedings of NELS 39.* Amherst, MA: GLSA.

Krifka, M. (2013). Response particles as propositional anaphors. *Proceedings of SALT 23 (pp. 1-18).* Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.

Laka, I. (1990). Negation in English: on the nature of functional categories and projections. MIT dissertation.

Lobeck, A. (1995). *Ellipsis: functional heads, licensing and identification.* New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merchant, J. (2001). *The syntax of silence.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merchant, J. (2003). Subject-auxiliary inversion in comparatives and PF output constraints. In Schwabe, Kerstin and Susanne Winkler (eds.), *The interfaces: deriving and interpreting omitted structures.* 55-77. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Merchant, J. (2004). Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27:661-738.

Miyagawa, S. (2013). Agreements that occur mainly in in the main clause. In Aelbrecht, L., Haegeman L, and R. Nye (eds). *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*. Benjamins: 79-112.

Muysken, P. (1982). Parametrizing the notion 'head'. *Journal of Linguistic Research* 2:57–75.

Muysken, P, and van Riemsdijk, H. (1986). Projecting features and featuring projections. In Pieter Muysken and Henk van Riemsdijk, eds., *Features and Projections*, 1–30, Dordrecht: Foris.

Paardekooper, P.C. (1993). Jaak/neenik enz. *Tabu*, 23: 143-173.

Pollock, J.-Y. (1989). Verb movement, Universal Grammar, and the structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20(3): 365-424.

Progovac, L. (1993). Negative polarity: entailment and binding. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 20: 149-180.

Progovac, L. (1994). *Negative and positive polarity*. Cambridge: CUP.

Rizzi, L. (1982). *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Rizzi, L. (2003). On the form of chains: Criterial positions and ECP effects. In L. L. Cheng, & N. Corver, *On Wh-movement.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Rizzi, L. & Shlonsky, U. (2006). Satisfying the Subject Criterion by a non subject: English Locative Inversion and Heavy NP Shift. In: M. Frascarelli (ed.), *Phases of interpretation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 341-61.

Rizzi, L., & Shlonsky, U. (2007). Strategies of Subject Extraction. In H.-M. Gärtner, & U. Sauerland (eds.), *Interfaces + recursion = language? Chomsky's minimalism and the view from syntax-semantics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 115-60.

Roberts, I. (2010). *Agreement and head movement: Clitics, incorporation, and defective goals*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Servidio, E. (2014). *Polarity particles in Italian. Focus, fragments, tags.* PhD diss. University of Siena.

Simon, E. (2010). Phonological transfer of voicing and devoicing rules. Evidence from L1 Dutch and L2 English conversational speech. *Language Sciences* 32: 63–86.

Smessaert, H. (1995). Morfo-syntaxis van het Westvlaamse *bè-jaa-k-gie*. *Tabu* 25(1): 45-60.

Taraldsen, K. T. (2001). Subject extraction, the distribution of expletives and stylistic inversion. In A. Hulk and J.-Y. Pollock (eds.), *Subject inversion in Romance and the theory of universal grammar*. New York: Oxford University Press. 163-82.

van Craenenbroeck, J. (2002). *Van* as a marker of dissociation. Microvariation in Dutch. In Zwart, J.-W. and W. Abraham. *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 41-68.

van Craenenbroeck, J. (2010). *Ellipsis in Dutch dialects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

van Craenenbroeck, J. & L. Haegeman (2007). The derivation of subject-initial V2. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38:1, 167-78.