Finiteness and response particles in West Flemish

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Abstract

The empirical focus of the chapter is the morphosyntax of the morphologically marked response particles *ja* and *neen* in the Lapscheure dialect of West Flemish. Building on Krifka (2013)'s analysis of the corresponding German response particles *ja/nein* as TP pro-forms, we analyse morphologically marked Flemish *ja/neen* as TP pro-forms.

First we show that the morphological marking on these particles is *sui generis*: it does not correspond to the marking found on verbs nor does it correspond to a clitic form of the subject pronoun.

We develop a cartographic analysis of the syntax of the morphologically marked response particles in the dialect, endorsing Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006, 2007)'s proposal that a finite TP is dominated by a specialised projection for the subject, SubjP, a criterial projection. The pronominal marking on *ja/neen* is an instantiation of finiteness. If all finite clauses have SubjP then the finite TP pro-form realised by morphologically marked *ja/neen* is also dominated by (the criterial) SubjP. In the absence of

an overt subject, following Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006, 2007), we assume that the Subject Criterion is satisfied by nominal φ-features generated on Fin and that morphologically marked *ja/neen* moves to Fin in order to license these features. Our analysis predicts that West Flemish morphologically marked *ja/neen* are a root phenomenon.

In addition to the variant with pronominal marking, there is also a bare variant of the *ja/neen* pro-forms. The presence and absence of the pronominal marking on *ja/neen* correlates fairly closely with the distribution of finite and non-finite clauses, and we correlate the presence vs. absence of pronominal marking with a finiteness opposition.

Keywords:

West Flemish, *yes/no*, pronominal marking, pro form, cartography, SubjP, Subject Criterion, FinP, root phenomenon.

1   Introduction: the domain of finiteness

The literature on morphological finiteness is generally focussed on finiteness encoding on verbal elements, where verbs (both lexical verbs and auxiliaries) are taken to come in finite and non-finite varieties. Finiteness

has also been shown to impact on the morphology of subject pronouns: specifically nominative case is often related to finiteness (but see Mensching 2000, Szabolcsi 2005, Eide 2009, Cowper to appear, among many others). Recently, for instance, Cowper (to appear) reaches the following conclusion: "the traditional understanding of finiteness, namely that it consists of the ability to assign structural (nominative) case to a subject, and the possibility of having φ-feature agreement encoded on the verb, is essentially correct." (Cowper to appear: 36). Finiteness has also been related to the functional architecture of the clause, with proposals that it is encoded in FinP, the lowest functional projection of the articulated CP (Rizzi 1997, Adger 2007).

Less attention has so far been paid to the fact that constituents which are at first sight not verbal in nature may also appear to come in finite vs. non-finite variants. One case in point is the response particles *yes/no* in some Flemish dialects of Dutch. In many Flemish dialects these particles display what looks like verbal agreement marking and combine with what looks like a nominative subject clitic, which seems to suggest that finiteness can be encoded outside the 'verbal domain'. In these dialects, the morphological marking on the response particles is that associated with the verbal domain. However, there are also dialects in which the pronominal marking on the particles is *sui generis*. The Lapscheure dialect of West Flemish is one case in point: response particles come in two forms, morphologically marked response particles and their bare alternatives. This paper proposes an

analysis of this morphological marking in terms of finiteness. One significant ingredient of our analysis will be the claim that the morphological marking on the response particles cannot be equated to other manifestations of finiteness in the dialect. Our conclusion on the nature of the morphological marking on the Lapscheure response particles departs significantly from the existing literature on morphologically marked response particles in other Flemish dialects. However, in spite of the fact that the marking in the Lapscheure dialect is not isomorphic to that found in the verbal domain, the pronominal marking does reflect finiteness restrictions: the bare forms are restricted to what would be non-finite domains, while the marked forms pattern with finite root clauses. The precise implementation of our analysis also leads to the conclusion that finiteness and (nominative) case marking are not intrinsically linked.

The focus of the paper is the morphologically marked response particles *ja* and *neen* in the Lapscheure dialect. Building on Krifka (2013)'s analysis of the German response particles *ja/nein* as TP pro-forms, we analyse the Flemish response particles as TP pro-forms. We develop a cartographic analysis of the syntax of the morphologically marked response particles, in which a crucial role is played by the functional projection SubjP and the associated Subject Criterion (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006, 2007).

We also show that the presence and absence of the morphological marking on *ja/neen* correlates closely with the distribution of finite and non-finite clauses, and we propose that the presence or absence of morphological marking is therefore to be understood in terms of a finiteness opposition. Though space prevents us from going into this point in detail, closer examination of the 'non-finite' variant of *ja/neen* will provide support for the hypothesis that non-finite infinitival clauses do not constitute one homogenous class (see a.o. Landau 2004, Wurmbrand 2014 for recent discussion).

1.1   *The empirical data: finite response particles*

Response particles in the Lapscheure dialect of West Flemish show morphological marking which at first sight looks like pronominal marking. In (1a), for instance, the response particle *ja* has an ending *-k* which, as shown by the gloss, corresponds to the first person, while in (1b) the particle is accompanied by *-g*, which corresponds to the second person. These endings are also found on the response particle *nee*.

(1)   a.   Q: Oa-j gelyk?
                    Had-you right?
                    'Was I right?'
                A: Ja-k. / Nee-k.
                    Yes-I / No-I   [Lapscheure]
        b   Q: Oan-k gelyk?
                    Had-I right?
                    'Was I right?'
                A: Ja-g.   / Nee-g.
                    Yes-you / No-you   [Lapscheure]

Morphological marking on response particles is found in many Flemish dialects of Dutch, although with considerable dialectal variation; see Paardekooper (1993), Barbiers, Bennis, De Vogelaer, Devos, & van der Ham (2005) and De Vogelaer and Van der Auwera (2010) for a survey of the variation and for references). We concentrate on the Lapscheure dialect, but where relevant we will point out differences with other dialects. Though there is some literature on the specific forms and possible derivations of the response particles with pronominal marking, virtually no attention has been paid to the fact that the dialects in question also have bare response particles, lacking pronominal marking. One attested example is (2), and this pattern would also be licit in the dialect we are focussing on here:

(2)   A: Boer, ga je der weer uitvallen, de?
              Farmer, go you there again out drop, PRT?
              'Are you going to quit again?'
       B: k zeggen: "Kgeloven van ja."
              I say: "I believe of *ja*"
              (UGhent, Dialect recording Oostkerke 29.12.66)

The forms with pronominal marking and those without are in near-complementary distribution. Whilst in cases like (1) the bare form of the particle *ja* is possible, it is a *non sequitur*. *Ja* in (3) is not a polarity reply but would convey something like 'I can understand you', and is perhaps to be compared to English 'okay' (see also Krifka, 2013); witness the fact that it does not alternate with a bare form of *nee*. On the other hand, as shown in

(4), a variant of (2), the bare forms *ja* and *nee* do not alternate with a form with pronominal marking, even though they do function as a polarity response:

(3)   a.   Q: Oa-j gelyk?
           Had-you right?
           'Was I right?'
          A: #Ja./*Nee.
           Yes /No   [Lapscheure]
    b   Q: Oan-k gelyk?
           Had-I right?
           'Was I right?'
          A: #Ja./ *Nee.
           Yes /No.   [Lapscheure]

(4)   A: Ga je der weer uitvallen, de?
             Go you there again out drop, PRT?
        B: *Kgeloven van ja-k/ nee-k.
            I.believe of yes-I/ no-I

Observe that the preposition *van* can also introduce non-finite clauses, as illustrated in (5):

(5)   kpeinzen van em doa te zien
          I.think   of him there to see
          'I expect to see him there.'

There therefore appears to be a correlation between the distribution of 'bare' *ja/neen* and non-finite clauses, and pronominally marked *ja/nee* and finite clauses, respectively. We will therefore propose that the presence/absence of the pronominal marking on the response particles correlates with finiteness, and we will provide an account for the distribution of the morphologically marked forms of the response particles and their unmarked counterparts.

In the course of the elaboration of the analysis of the morphologically marked particles, we will also turn to the properties of 'reversal' answers. In the dialect, a response particle which 'reverses' a declarative statement bears the pronominal marking but in addition it bears extra morphology, instantiated by a schwa, which we will refer to as 'reversal schwa'. This is illustrated in (6): while the 'agreeing' response whose polarity is the same as that of the declarative is *ja-s*, with third person feminine marking, a response that reverses the polarity of the positive 'antecedent' clause must be expressed by *nee-s-e*, which has third person feminine marking as well as the extra schwa. With a positive antecedent, the reversal schwa does not occur in an agreeing response with the particle *ja* and is obligatory in a disagreeing response with the particle *neen.* With a negative antecedent, reversal or disagreement is expressed by the reversal schwa on *ja,* and in an agreeing response the particle *nee* is incompatible with the reversal schwa. The relevant pattern is illustrated in (6) and (7). For completeness' sake, note also that bare *ja/neen* are also unavailable in these contexts.[2] Overt marking of reversal by *-e* is only generally available in response to statements (with declarative word order) (Devos and Vandekerkhove 2005).

(6)   Marie goa   morgent   kommen.
        Marie goes   tomorrow   come
        'Marie will come tomorrow.'
        A$_{SAME}$:   Ja-s.
                          yes-3sg.f
                          'yes she will.'

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[2] This is a simplification: as discussed above, *ja* is licit to indicate that the speaker has heard the statement, but it cannot function as a polarity response particle.

A_{SAME}:	*Ja-s-e.
	yes-3sg.f −RVRS
A_{SAME}:	* Ja.
A_{REVERSE}:	*Nee-s.
	no-3sg.f
A_{REVERSE}:	Nee-s-e.
	no-3sg.f-RVRS
	'No she won't.'
A_{REVERSE}:	*Neen.

(7) Marie goa   morgent   niet kommen.
    Marie goes   tomorrow   not come
    'Marie will come tomorrow.'

A_{SAME}:	Nee-s.
	no-3sg.f
A_{SAME}:	*Nee-s-e.
	no-3sg.f-RVRS
	'No she won't.'
A_{SAME}:	*Ja.
A_{REVERSE}:	*Ja-s.
	yes-3sg.f
	'yes she will.'
A_{REVERSE}:	Ja-s-e.
	yes-3sg.f −RVRS
A_{REVERSE}:	*Neen.

Though they have been signalled occasionally (De Vogelaer 2005, Barbiers et al 2005, Devos 1986, Devos and Vandekerckhove 2005), to the best of our knowledge the Flemish reversal forms have not been analysed in detail in the literature.

1.2   Aim and scope of the paper

Our paper has a number of different goals. A first goal is that of documentation: we will provide a detailed survey of the morphology and distribution of the response particles, and we will inventorize the contexts in which the morphologically marked and the bare varieties of *ja/nee* can occur.

The latter point has, as far as we know, not been systematically undertaken in the literature. A second goal is to provide a syntactic analysis for the distribution of the morphologically marked and the bare (i.e. non-morphologically marked) particles. Though these particles constitute one word utterances, we will argue that they have the syntax of full clauses.

Response particles such as German *ja/nein* have been independently argued to be TP pro-forms (e.g. Krifka 2013). We will show that West Flemish *ja/nee* are also amenable to such an analysis. But we also argue that, as full TPs show a finite/non-finite opposition, so too should TP pro-forms. We will argue that the presence or absence of pronominal marking on *ja/nee* represents a finiteness opposition: TP pro-forms can be finite or nonfinite, with pronominal marking appearing only on the finite forms.

To implement our analysis of the pronominal marking on the TP pro-forms, we will adopt the cartographic approach to clause structure, and in particular the assumption that finiteness is encoded syntactically in a designated left peripheral head (see Rizzi 1997) and the assumption that the canonical subject position of finite clauses is to be set apart from the specifier of TP. We will argue that morphologically marked *ja/nee* bear agreement morphology and move to Fin in order to license the presence of φ-features on Fin which are required to satisfy the Subject Criterion (Rizzi 2006, Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007).

1.3   Organisation of the paper

The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 presents the data on the form and distribution of morphologically marked and bare response particles in the Lapscheure dialect. Section 3 argues against accounts of the morphological marking on *ja/nee* in terms of PF ellipsis or invoking null TP pro-forms and presents the ingredients of the analysis to be pursued here, notably Krifka's proposal that response particles be seen as TP pro-forms. This section also presents arguments against analysing the pronominal marking on *ja/neen* as a manifestation of (enclitic) subject pronouns. Section 4 presents the syntax of morphologically marked response particles, showing that they pattern distributionally with root V2 clauses, whose derivation they also largely mirror. The account is framed in the cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997) and makes crucial use of Rizzi's SubjectP (Rizzi 2006) and of Rizzi & Shlonsky's (2006, 2007) hypotheses about the role of FinP in facilitating subject extraction. Section 5 turns to the distribution of bare response particles and relates the opposition between morphologically marked and bare particles to a finiteness opposition. The section also provides evidence for a non-unitary treatment of non-finite clauses. Section 6 is a summary of the paper.

2   The data

2.1   Response particles in Lapscheure West Flemish

In (1, 6, 7) we have illustrated morphological marking on the response particles for first, second and third person, i.e. with referential subjects. As shown in (8), the marking is also obligatory with non-referential subjects. (8a) illustrates the case of weather verbs: as can be seen the response particles also bear what looks like a pronominal form corresponding to the non-referential subject in the question. In (8b) we illustrate the existential pattern, with the non-referential subject clitic *er* in the canonical (postverbal) subject position of the *yes-no* question. In response particles, a non-referential *-t* ending shows up on the particle. We return to this form presently (section 2.2). As before, the marking is obligatory: omission of the endings would render the responses in (8) ungrammatical.

(8)   a.   Q: Goa   t   morgent   regenen?
                    Goes   it   tomorrow   rain
                    'Will it rain tomorrow?'
            A: Ja-t.   / Nee-t.
                    yes-3sg   no-3sg
                    'Yes (it will)/No (it won't).'
        b.   Q: Goa   der   morgent   eentween   kommen?
                    Goes   there   tomorrow   someone   come
                    'Will there be someone coming tomorrow?'
            A: Ja-t.   / Nee-t.
                    yes-3sg.expl   no-3sg.expl
                    'Yes (there will)/No (there won't).'

In Table 1 we provide a survey of the finiteness paradigm for the response particles.[3]

PERSON/NMB	*Yes*	*No*
1SG	Ja-k	Nee-k
2SG	Ja-g	Nee-g
3SG MASC	Ja-j	Nee-j
3SG FEM	Ja-s	Nee-s
3SG NEUT	Ja-t	Nee-t
1PL	Ja-m	Nee-m
2PL	Ja-g	Nee-g
3PL	Ja-s	Nee-s

Table 1. Finiteness morphology on response particles

2.2 Morphological marking and subject clitics

A type of morphological marking on *yes/no* is common in many dialects of Dutch (Barbiers et al. 2005 and references cited), but its exact morphological status is not clear. The dialect survey in Barbiers et al. (2005), which is based on the questionnaires used to compile the *Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects* (SAND), shows a lot of variation in the form of the marking following *ja/nee* (2005, 53-5), and no fully clear generalisation emerges.

> 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 2005, 53)

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[3] 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.

In the Wambeek dialect investigated by van Craenenbroeck (2010), the response particles are associated with a pronominal element, which, according to van Craenenbroeck, is "identical to the clitic pronoun that is right-adjoined to the complementizer in embedded clauses" (van Craenenbroeck 2010, 217). The form of the clitic that is right-adjacent to the complementizer is also that found to the right of the finite verb in V2 clauses. We will come back to this point in section 3.2.1, where we will illustrate the data. We will show that in the Lapscheure dialect under consideration here the morphological marking on the particles cannot be equated with the post-complementizer or post V2 clitic.

For completeness' sake, we add that in other Flemish dialects, in addition to what looks like pronominal marking, *ja/nee* also carry what looks like verbal agreement (the same as that found on complementizers or on the finite verbs in Flemish dialects). This is illustrated in (9). The dialect we are focussing on does not display this agreement.

(9)   a.   A: Èèn Piet en Jan gewonnen?
                 have Pete and John won
              B: Ja-n-s.
                 yes-AGR.PL-they_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)
       c.   Dat doet-n   niet.
              That does-he_CLITIC   not
              'He doesn't do that.'   (ex: Van Craenenbroeck 2010, 142)

In the Lapscheure dialect, (i) there is no such verbal agreement on finite response particles, and (ii) the pronominal marking does not match perfectly with the clitics that appear to the right of verbs or complementizers (see esp. Devos 1986). In order to detect this we need to take a closer look at the forms of the clitic subject in the dialect of Lapscheure (see Haegeman 1990 for full description). In general, in the dialect we are describing, the post-V and post-C subject clitics look identical to the pronominal marking on *ja/neen*, as illustrated for the first person in (10); the first-person clitic and marking on *ja/neen* are in all cases realised as a velar voiceless stop [k], orthographically represented as <k>. This form of the clitic is also found in a pre-verbal position.

(10)   a.   Toen een-k eur gezien.   Post V: [k]
                then have-I her seen
         b.   dan-k eur gezien eet   Post C: [k]
                that-I her seen   have
         c.   Ja-k.   Post *ja/nee*: [k]
                Nee-k.
         d.   K'een eur gezien.   Initial: [k]
                I have her seen

Post-V and post-C clitics, however, are distinct from the second person singular and third person expletive marking on *ja/nee* (11) and (12). As seen in (11), the post-V/C second person clitic is realised as a palatal approximant, [j], represented orthographically as <j>. The morphological marking on *ja/neen* is a voiceless velar fricative [x], which we represent orthographically as <g>. The pronominal marking on *ja/neen* is similar to

the pre-V/C form of the subject clitic, which is a voiced glottal approximant

[ɦ], as shown in (11d).

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

So, the pronominal marking on *ja/neen* in this dialect is different from that

discussed by Van Craenenbroeck for Wambeek Dutch and illustrated in

section 3.2.1. Rather than being like the post-V or post-C subject clitic, if

anything, the morphological marking in the Lapscheure dialect is

reminiscent of the preverbal one. The same is true for existential patterns

already illustrated in (8) and repeated here in (12). In postverbal position

and to the right of the complementizer, the expletive *der* is used. However,

the pronominal marking on *ja/neen* takes the form *-t*. Again, this form is

more like that in preverbal position, in which the expletive used in

existential patterns is a clitic form of the third person neuter pronoun *t*,[4]

similar to German *es*, used in the same position.

(12)	a.	Toen is ter/*t veel volk geweest.	Post V: [dər/tər]
		then is there/*it much people been	
		'that there were many people'	
	b.	dat der/*t veel volk geweest is	Post C: [dər/tər]

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[4] Note that while the pronominal marking on *ja/neen* probably has a diachronic relation with the pre-verbal clitic forms, our hypothesis is that synchronically they are not to be identified. See section 3.4 and Haegeman and Weir (to appear) for further discussion.

>   that there/*it much people been has
>   'that there were many people'
>   c. Joa-t/*der.   Post *ja/nee*: [t]
>   Nee-t/*der.
>   d. T/*der is veel volk geweest.   Initial: [t]
>   it/*there is much people been
>   'There was a large crowd.'

As illustrated above, the morphologically marked response particles can be used all by themselves as a response to a polarity question. The response particles can also be accompanied by a full clause, explicitizing the answer further, possibly providing additional information. If a full clause is used, subject marking is present on *ja/neen* and then the subject appears again in the main clause, whether as a subject pronoun (13a, c) or a full DP (13b). Observe that both the morphological marking on the particle *and* a second instantiation of the overt subject are obligatory. Utterances in which the subject is only expressed once, by the morphological marking on the subject in (13d), by the preverbal clitic subject in (13e) or by a full DP (13f) are all strongly ungrammatical.

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

> f.   A:*Ja Marie goat morgent   kommen.
>   yes Marie goes tomorrow come

In (13), the morphological marking -*s* on the response particle encodes third person feminine. On the basis of such data it might be concluded that the morphological marking on *ja/neen* always matches the features of the subject of the preceding *yes/no* question. For instance, in (13a) above 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 the clitic form of the third person pronoun *ze* ('she'). As can be seen in our first examples, though, this is, however, not quite an accurate characterisation of the facts. The precise feature composition of the morphological marking is not determined by the subject of the *yes/no* question, but rather the morphological features are those of what would be the subject of the full answer to the *yes/no* question. In (1a) above, for instance, the subject of the polarity 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*.

So far, the responses with finite *ja/neen* all had as their antecedents a root clause. For completeness' sake, note that morphological marking on *ja/neen* does not necessarily match the subject of a matrix antecedent. This is shown in (14). While the first reply (A1) targets the matrix polar question, the second reply (A2) targets the indirect polar question: the choice of either

18

reply depends on what is 'at issue': the main clause ('do you know' in (14))

or the embedded clause. Depending on the target clause, the response

particle gets the appropriate morphological marking.

(14)   Q: Weet-je   gie of da Valère a   thus is?
              know=2sg you if that Valère already home is
              'Do you know if Valère is already home?'
         A1: Ja-k./Nee-k.
              yes-1sg/no-1sg
              'I (don't) know.'
         A2: Ja-j./Nee-j.
              yes-3sg.m/no-3sg.m
              'He is (not) home.'

2.3   *Bare* ja/neen

As already mentioned in relation to (1), bare *ja* without morphological

marking is not as such ungrammatical in the dialect. It has a number of uses,

which we will list here. As a reaction to a polar question, as for instance in

(1), *ja* is basically a *non sequitur*; it is not a reply to the polar question,

rather, it means something like 'I can hear you', 'I understand the question'.

In this use, *ja* does not alternate with *neen* and the morphological marking

on *ja* is ungrammatical. There are a number of other contexts in which bare

ja does not function as a reply to a polar question and in which it does not

alternate with bare *neen.* In these uses too morphological marking on *ja* is

ungrammatical. Typical instances are answering the door, or responding to a

call or an address, when the particle is used as an interjection similar in

interpretation to 'well', in an agreement to a course of action, or as a

response to an imperative. In the latter two uses, bare ja again corresponds

to English *okay*.

(15) a   Answering the door: Ja/*Ja-k/ *Neen/*Nee-k.
      b.   A: Marie!
             B: Ja/*Ja-k/*Nee-(k).
      c.   Ja,/*Ja-k/*Nee-(k), wat moet ik nu   zeggen?
             JA/JA-1sg/Nee-1sg, what must I now say
             'Well, what can I say to that?'
      d.   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)
      e.   Response to imperatives:
             A: Pakt da   mo mee.
                    Take that PRT with
             R: Ja / ??Ja-k.

We will set the above examples aside, since they do not involve the

response to a polar question or to the polarity of a declarative antecedent

and they could arguably involve an altogether different use of the particles.

In a number of other contexts, however, both bare *ja* and bare *neen* can

appear in responses to polar questions or to the content of declaratives and

in these the morphological marking is ungrammatical. A first important

restriction is that while, as we have shown, the response particles may take

the polarity of an embedded clause as their antecedent (see (14)), *ja/neen*,

marked or bare, cannot be embedded under complementizers like *dat* which

introduce finite clauses. This is shown in (16).[5]

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[5] For a discussion of cross linguistic variation in the embeddability of *yes/no* see Authier
(2014: 347-8) and the references cited there.

(16)　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.'

However, as we have already shown in examples (2) and (4), bare *ja/neen*, though not their morphologically marked counterparts, can (sometimes somewhat marginally) be embedded under *van*. Importantly, *van* can also introduce a non-finite clause in West Flemish, as was shown in (5) (on this use of *van* in Dutch and Flemish see van Craenenbroeck 2002, Hoeksema 2006, 2008).

(17)　a.　　Ze peinst van ja/*ja-s.
　　　　　　 she thinks of   yes/yes-3sg.f
　　　　 b.　　Ze peinst   van neen/*nee-s.
　　　　　　 she thinks of no/*no-3sg.f

Finally, bare *ja/neen* – but not morphologically marked *ja/neen* – also appear under *van* in construction with motion verbs such *knikken* 'nod' and *schudden* 'shake', *gebaren* 'gesture', *teken doen* 'gesture'.

(18)　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
　　　　 d.　　Ze deed teken van ja/neen/*ja-s/*nee-s.
　　　　　　 she made sign of   yes/no/yes-3sg.f/no-3sg.f

What emerges from the inventory above is that, if we put the non-polarity use of root *ja* aside, morphologically marked and bare *ja/neen* are in strict complementary distribution, very much as would be the case with finite/non-finite forms of a verb. In contexts where morphologically marked *ja/neen* is possible, it is obligatory; in contexts where bare *ja/neen* is possible, the morphologically marked variant is excluded. Neither form is available in finite embedded clauses.

For completeness sake, we add that the reversal schwa (*ja-s-e/nee-s-e*) only occurs with morphologically marked *ja/neen*; there is no bare counterpart of reversal particles.

3   The ingredients of the analysis

From the discussion in the preceding sections we retain that morphologically marked and bare *ja/neen* are in complementary distribution, and that their distribution correlates with finiteness. The reversal variants of *ja/neen* are morphologically marked and we will develop a syntactic account of reversal *ja/neen* built on the account for morphologically marked *ja/neen*. Henceforth, when we refer to morphologically marked *ja/neen* this will include reversal *ja/neen*.

One point emerging quite clearly is that while interpretively *ja/neen* may target the polarity of embedded antecedent propositions (14), the morphologically marked variants of *ja/neen* themselves are not embeddable.

Even though descriptively they consist of just one word, then, morphologically marked *ja/neen* have the distribution of root clauses. In this respect morphologically marked *ja/neen* align not just with finite clauses per se, but with finite V2 clauses which in the WF dialect are not embeddable. In our account the syntax of morphologically marked *ja/neen* will be assimilated to that of V2 root clauses. Before examining the distribution of morphologically marked and bare *ja/neen*, we provide an account of the nature of the pronominal marking on morphologically marked *ja/neen*. We first consider some possible accounts that we believe do not capture the relevant data, before turning to our own analysis.

3.1   *Against a PF ellipsis account*

In line with the recent literature on response particles (see e.g. Kramer and Rawlins (2011), Holmberg (2013) and Servidio (2014) a.o.) we might interpret the data in terms of an ellipsis account. Recall that superficially the morphological marking on the response particles in the dialect we are looking at is closely similar to the pre-verbal clitics in a V2 clause (cf. (10-12)). So one might envisage a derivation in which *ja/neen* are base generated in a relatively high left-peripheral position, say PolFocP, and are in construction with a full V2 clause with subsequent encliticisation of a pre-verbal subject pronoun to *ja/neen*, and PF-deletion of the rest of the clause. Such an account is proposed in Devos (1986, 169) and a formal rendering of her proposal is represented very schematically in (19).

(19)   Is Valère geweest? –[Ja-j$_1$ [$_{FinP}$ <t$_1$ is geweest>]]
         is Valère been   yes-3sg.m   is been
         'Has Valère been? – Yes.'

This account would assimilate *ja/neen* responses to analyses of fragment answers (Merchant 2004) as in (20a) or sluicing (Merchant 2001) as in (20b), both of which are derived by PF-deletion of a clause.

(20)   a. What did John eat? – Chips <he ate t>.

         b. John ate something, but I don't know what <he ate t>.

Van Craenenbroeck (2010) provides a number of arguments against a straightforward clausal PF-deletion analysis of polarity particles, at least for Flemish morphologically marked *ja/neen*. Further arguments are given in Haegeman and Weir (to appear). For reasons of space, we will only point out some of these arguments here and we refer the interested reader to the literature. One argument against the PF-deletion approach is that it is usually optional, as shown for sluicing in (21):

(21)   John ate something, but I don't know what he ate.

However, the absence of clausemate material is never optional for morphologically marked *ja/neen*. The purported overt source for the structure proposed in (19), given in (22a), would be ungrammatical.

(22)   a. Is Valère geweest? – *Ja-j is geweest.

Rather the overt version would be as in (22b) or (22c), with an intonation break between the morphologically marked *ja/neen* and the following full V2 clause:

(22)   b. Ja-j, j'is geweest.

        c. Ja-j, Valère is geweest.

As already suggested by the intonation break, these examples look like two separate root clauses: in WF root clauses a preverbal clitic never co-occurs with a second preverbal clitic, with a preverbal strong pronoun or with a preverbal full DP:

(22)   d. *Je je is geweest.
        e. *Je jij is geweest.
        f. *Je Valère is geweest.

If the presence of the morphological marking on *ja-j* is taken to suggest that there is some form of clausal structure here, it must be the case then that this clausal structure is *obligatorily* silent. This would require at least a modification of a simple PF deletion account.

We also note that in patterns which are less controversially analysed as PF-deletion, such as sluicing, there is no morphological marking in the relevant dialects (as discussed by van Craenenbroeck (2010:231); see also Lobeck (1995) and Merchant (2001))

(23)   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 does not seem to generally be the case, then, that subject marking/subject clitics can 'survive' PF-deletion of a clause in the way that an ellipsis analysis would suggest. This is also true in a case where a fragment answer answers a polar question, e.g.

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

These data suggest that morphologically marked *ja/neen* are to be treated as separate from fragment answers or regular instances of PF ellipsis such as sluicing.

3.2   A TP pro form

3.2.1   *Morphologically marked* ja/neen *in Wambeek Dutch*

In the Wambeek dialect, investigated by van Craenenbroeck (2010), the response particles are associated with morphological marking. This marking is illustrated in *jo-n* in (25a). The third person masculine marking *-n* on *jo* ('yes') is "identical to the clitic pronoun that is right-adjoined to the complementizer in embedded clauses" (van Craenenbroeck 2010, 217), as illustrated in (25b). The form of the clitic that is right-adjacent to the complementizer is also that found to the right of the finite verb in V2 clauses as shown in (25c).

(25)   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
c.   Dat doet-n   niet.
        That does-he$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ not
        'He doesn't do that.'   (Van Craenenbroeck 2010, 142)

In his analysis of the Wambeek Dutch morphologically marked response particles, Van Craenenbroeck (2010) also argues against the PF-deletion approach. He proposes that morphologically marked *ja/neen* are base generated in the left periphery and that a null TP pro form is dominated by an Agr$_S$P projection, whose specifier is the subject clitic. This subject clitic right-adjoins to C in the same way that postverbal subject clitics adjoin to C or adjoin to the finite V in the V2 pattern.[6, 7]

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[6] For more details on the motivation of the analysis as well as on its semantics, we refer to Van Craenenbroeck's own work. Van Craenenbroeck actually does assume PF-deletion of Agr$_S$P. This is (a) to ensure that no material which might be base-generated in Pol^0 (which immediately dominates the TP pro-form) or Agr$_S^0$ is pronounced, and (b) to license the TP pro-form, which would otherwise be ungoverned; PF-deletion is a form of 'rescue by ellipsis'. See van Craenenbroeck for full details. However, the silence of the TP part of the clause is derived by the use of a TP pro-form.

[7] The TP pro-form analysis accounts for another difference between *ja/neen* and other forms of 'clausal silence' such as fragment answers and sluicing, namely that while the latter allow for extraction from the ellipsis site, extraction from what would be the ellipsis site is not available with finite *ja/neen*. See Van Craenenbroeck (2010). This effect is also found in WF.

(26)   (from van Craenenbroeck (2010)'s (23))
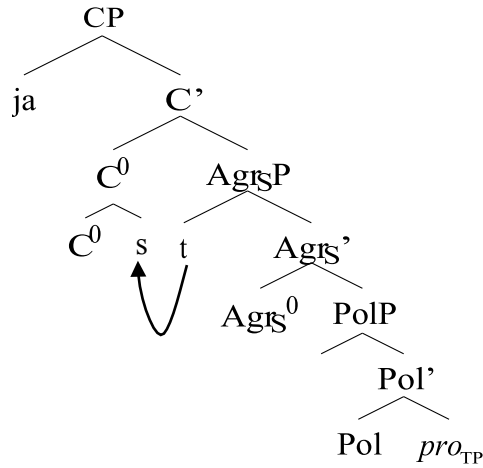
In the spirit of van Craenenbroeck's analysis, we endorse the idea that a TP

pro-form is involved in morphologically marked *ja/neen* constructions.

However, empirical differences between the morphological marking in

ja/neen in dialect we are investigating and that in the Wambeek dialect

prevent us from fully adopting his analysis and we will therefore elaborate

an alternative. For some conceptual objections to van Craenenbroeck's

analysis we refer to Haegeman and Weir (to appear).

For the Wambeek data, postulating that *ja* is in [Spec, C] and that the

subject clitic right-adjoins to C correctly predicts that morphological

marking on *ja/neen* is isomorphic with the form that shows up after

complementizers, or after verbs in V2 position. However, as already

discussed in section 2.2, in the dialect we are concerned with, the

morpohological marking on the polarity particles does not always resemble

the post-C/V form of the clitic   (Devos 1986). We repeat some of the

relevant data in (27); see also (11) and (12).

(27)   a.   da-j/*g   eur gezien eet   post-C: [j]
             that-you her seen   have
       b.   Ja-g/*j.   post-*ja*: [x]

Note that since the TP pro-form in (26) is by hypothesis opaque, the subject

clitics on *ja/neen* must originate TP-externally and for this reason Van

Craenenbroeck (2010) invokes a specialised projection, labelled Agr$_S$P,

which hosts subject clitics.   Because Agr$_S$P lacked a semantic reflex

(Chomsky 1995:349-355), its status in the theory was challenged, a point

Van Craenenbroeck acknowledges. He in fact suggests tentatively that the

appearance of a subject clitic in this high position may perhaps be taken as

empirical support for the existence of Agr$_S$P (2010:249). We will endorse

Van Craenenbroeck's hypothesis that there is a dedicated projection for the

subject but we will reinterpret it as Rizzi (2006)'s SubjP. However,

differently from van Craenenbroeck, we do not assume that the

morphological marking in *ja/neen* originates in SubjP.

3.3   Morphologically marked ja/neen*, TP pro-forms and V2*

Rather than postulating that morphologically marked *ja/neen* are merged in

the CP area and are in construction with a null TP pro-form, we follow

Krifka (2013)'s analysis of *ja/nein* in German and we propose that

morphologically marked *ja/neen* themselves *are* the TP pro-forms. For a

semantic analysis of this proposal we refer to Haegeman and Weir (to

appear). This hypothesis is schematically represented in (28): TP is realised

as *ja/neen* (depending on polarity) and moves to a left-peripheral position.

The fact that morphologically marked *ja/neen* cannot occur in construction

with clausal material is explained: morphologically marked *ja/neen are*

themselves the clauses, or more accurately, they are TP pro-forms. We

discuss the landing site of *ja/neen* and the nature of the morphological

marking below.

(28)
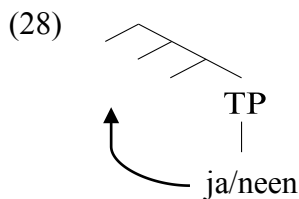
In the previous discussion we tacitly assumed that morphologically marked

ja/neen are incompatible with clause-mate material (26). This

incompatibility will immediately follow from (28), because *ja/neen* are

themselves the clause. However, the assumption is actually a simplification:

reversal *ja/neen*, which is always morphologically marked, can co-occur

with the auxiliary *doen* 'do'.

(29)   a.   Marie goa   morgent   kommen.
              Marie goes   tomorrow   come
              'Marie will come tomorrow.'
              A~REVERSE~: Nee-s-e   doet.[8]
                          no-3sg.f-RVRS does

---

[8] In the Lapscheure dialect both *ja-s-e* and *nee-s-e* combine with *doet*. In the Wambeek dialect, only *jou* ('yes') can combine with SDR (Van Craenenbroeck 2010: 131). There is considerable variation in the judgements across dialects (Van Craenenbroeck 2010: 275, note 8)

           'No she won't.'
b.   Marie goa   morgent   nie kommen.
          Marie goes   tomorrow   not   come
          'Marie won't come tomorrow.'
          A_{REVERSE}: Ja-s-e   doet.
             yes-3sg.f-RVRS does
             'Yes she will.'

The patterns in (29) alternate with Short Do Replies in (30) (SDRs; see also van Craenenbroeck 2010), in which reversals are expressed simply by means of *doet* ('do');

(30) 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   not come
               'Marie won't come tomorrow.'
          A_{REVERSE}:   Ze doet/ Z'en   doet.
                   she does/she=NEG does
                   'Yes she will.'

SDRs have the syntax of subject initial V2 sentences. We assume, following Haegeman (1996), that V2 is a requirement to fill the Fin head in an articulated left periphery (see also Roberts 2004, Van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman 2006). SDR clauses are V2 clauses with the finite verb (here *doet* 'does') in Fin and the subject in SpecFin (see Haegeman (1996) for more discussion). Assuming that morphologically marked *ja/neen* originates as a TP pro-form, and that this is also true for (morphologically marked) reversal

ja/neen, and given that reversal *ja/neen* precedes *doen,* we postulate that

ja/neen moves to the left, as schematized in (31a):

(31) a.

doen

TP
|
jase/neese
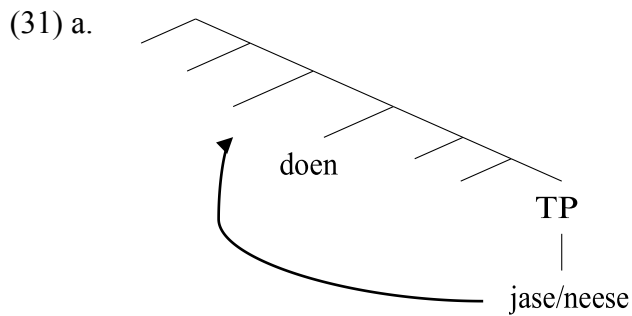
The derivation in (31a) comes down to saying that morphologically marked

reversal *jase/neese* undergoes movement to the left periphery. We will

assume that a similar derivation holds for neutral morphologically marked

ja/neen and that this particle also moves to the left periphery. Details of the

trigger for the movement and the precise landing sites in (31a) and (31b)

will be discussed in sections 4.2-4.

(31) b.

TP
|
ja/nee
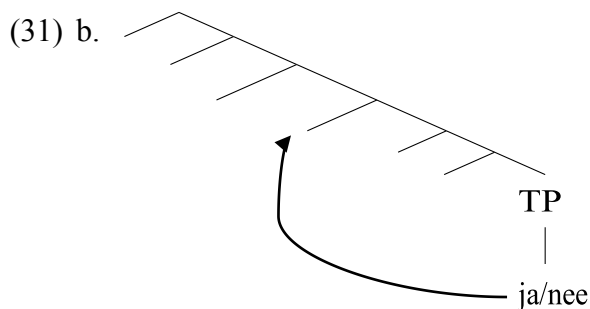
3.4   The nature of morphological marking on ja/neen

The question that now arises is what the nature of the morphological

marking is. At first sight it might appear as if we can analyse the

morphological marking on *ja/neen* as an instantiation of the preverbal clitic in V2 clauses. Thus, based on (31b) we might propose a derivation much along the lines of Van Craenenbroeck (2010) according to which what would be a preverbal clitic in a V2 pattern right adjoins to the polarity particle.

(32)
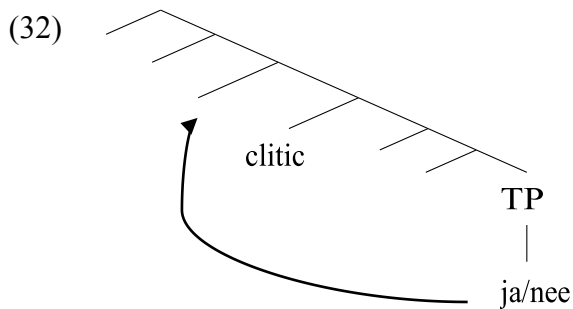
However, a closer look at the phonological properties of the morphological marking shows there are some flaws in this proposal. Consider the following. West Flemish unvoiced consonants generally voice intervocalically at word boundaries and at derivational morphology boundaries (De Schutter and Taeldeman 1986, Simon 2010):

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

However, when morphological marking on *ja/neen* is realised by voiceless consonants, these consonants do *not* become voiced when the reversal schwa *e* is attached. 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	
									ja-	[jɔːxə]	ja-g-eh	
2sg	ge-goat	[ɦ]	goa-j	[j]	da-j	[j]	ja-[x]	[jɔːx]	[x]e			[jɔːɣe]
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	[jɔːs]	ja-[s]e	[jɔːsə]	ja-z-eh	[jɔːze]
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	
									ja-	[jɔːxə]	ja-g-eh	
2pl	ge-goat	[ɦ]	goa-j		da-j		ja-[x]	[jɔːx]	[x]e			[jɔːɣe]
3pl	ze-goan	[z]	goan-ze	[z]	dan-ze	[z]	ja-[s]	[jɔːs]	ja-[s]e	[jɔːsə]	ja-z-eh	[jɔːze]

Table 2. Voicing alternations in pronominal marking in Lapscheure.

Third person singular feminine and third person plural agreeing *ja/neen* have a final voiceless [s]. When followed by the 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 reversal schwa appears after this voiceless [s], it does *not* become voiced, as shown in column 5.

Similarly, second person singular and plural agreeing *ja/neen* end in a final voiceless [x]. When the morphologically marked particles are followed by the 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 appears on *ja/nee*, the voiceless fricative [x] of the

second person marking does *not* become voiced. (34) and (35) summarize

the observed patterns.

(34) a.   *ja-s* 'yes-3sg.f'   [jɔːs]
        → *ja-s-e* 'yes-3sg.f-RVRS   [jɔːsə] NOT *[jɔːzə]
      b.   *ja-s eh* 'yes-3sg.f PRT'   [jɔːze]

(35) a.   *ja-g* 'yes-2sg'   [jɔːx]
        → *ja-g-e* 'yes-2sg-RVRS'   [jɔːxə] NOT *[jɔːɣə]
      b.   *ja-g eh* 'yes-2sg PRT'   [jɔːɣe]

This leads to the perhaps surprising conclusion that, since it does not trigger

intervocalic voicing, the reversal schwa *e* is an integral part of the word *ja-s-*

e, i.e. *e* is not derivational morphology, nor is *-e* a separate word of its own.

The hypothesis that the reversal schwa in *ja-s-e* is an integral part of the

word has consequences for the analysis of the pronominal marking. If this

marking originated as a clitic pronoun, this clitic would have to somehow

'infix' between the head *ja* and the reversal schwa. To the best of our

knowledge, such clitic infixation does not have a precedent elsewhere in the

dialect: for example, post-complementizer clitics appear after the agreement

morphology, not before.

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

We interpret 'reversal schwa' as an instance of inflectional morphology

because it does not trigger intervocalic voicing.[9] Since the pronominal

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[9] De Vogelaer (2005: 126, 134, 147-8) suggests that the *ja/neen* with morphological
marking are considered as residues of earlier stages of the language and that their internal

marking on *ja/neen* occurs internally to 'reversal schwa', we analyse the marking on *ja/neen* also as a form of inflectional morphology, more specifically agreement morphology. This morphology is *sui generis*: it is only found on the polarity particles. We argue, then, that even in the absence of verbal agreement on *ja/neen* in this dialect (cf. the discussion of (9a)), there is nevertheless agreement. It is likely that the agreement has developed from a subject clitic source much in the way that agreement markers in some Italian dialects have developed from subject clitics (see also Rizzi (1982) and many others after him, for French see Culbertson (2010) and the references cited there). We will not pursue this line here but hope to return to it in future research.

Recall that we postulate that *ja*/*neen* is a TP pro-form and moves to the left periphery. We argue that the movement of morphologically marked *ja*/*neen* can be seen as similar to the T-to-C movement of the finite verb which derives the V2 pattern. Thus our proposal is tantamount to saying that one word utterances consisting of response particles are in fact full finite clauses. In the next section we make an explicit proposal for the derivation.

4   The syntax of morphologically marked *ja/neen*

In this section we spell out the derivation of polarity responses. The core of our proposal is the assumption that *ja/neen* are TP pro-forms which move to

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structure is not syntactically derived. Though we agree with this proposal we do assume that the marking remains syntactically relevant.

the left periphery. The movement is analogous to that which places the finite verb in the C domain, giving rise to Verb Second. In this section we flesh out the details of the syntactic analysis of morphologically marked *ja/neen*.

We also have to account for the restriction that the morphological marking on *ja/neen* is subject-oriented, i.e. why the φ-features encoded on *ja/neen* correspond to the φ-features of the subject of the full clausal continuation in the response. This property suggests that subjecthood is a key component in the derivation, a point that was also reflected in Van Craenenbroeck's (2010) analysis, where a designated projection for the canonical subject, there labelled SpecAgrsP, was assumed. In order to bring out the privileged role of the clausal subject we will subscribe to recent proposals by Rizzi (2006) and also Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006, 2007) who postulate subjecthood as a primitive in the functional hierarchy.

4.1 *Background assumptions: Cartography and SubjP*

Following a.o. Rizzi (1997) and Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006, 2007) we adopt the articulated functional structure in (37). A specialised functional projection for subjects, the Subject Phrase (for motivation see Cardinaletti 1997, 2004, Rizzi 2006, Rizzi & Shlonsky 2006, 2007) dominates TP. SubjP corresponds to what used to be Agr_SP in earlier versions of the theory (Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1993) and was discarded in later Minimalist work (Chomsky 1995: 349-355). In Rizzi's conception, unlike its precursor Agr_SP, SubjP is interpreted: it serves the discourse function of encoding the 'subject

of predication' of the clause.[10] Following Rizzi (1997), FinP is the lowest
projection in the CP domain and encodes the finiteness of the clause. V2 is
seen as a requirement to fill the left peripheral Fin head, the lowest head in
the articulated CP area (Haegeman (1996), Roberts (2004) and van
Craenenbroeck & Haegeman (2006)).

(37)

```
        FinP
       /\
        FinP
       /\
   Fin    SubjP
          /\
      Subj    TP
               |
             ja/nee
```
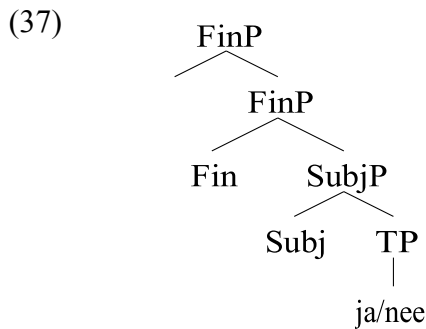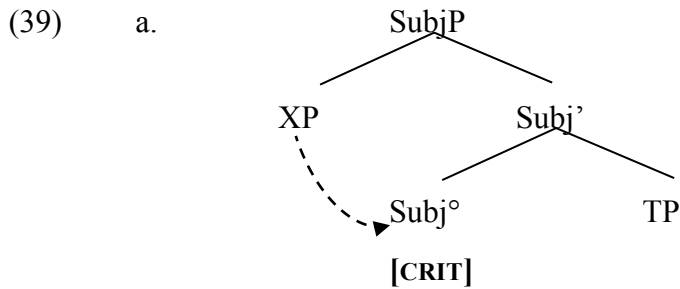
Following Rizzi (2006) and Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006, 2007) we also
assume that SubjP is a criterial projection. A criterial requirement is defined
as in (38a) (R&S 2007: 138, their (53)), where X is a head and A is a
constituent:

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

In effect, the Subject Criterion is one way of encoding of the requirement
that clauses must have subjects. Criterial configurations ([*wh*] (or [Int]),

---

[10] On the semantic side, there is more to develop here, because expletives can occupy [Spec,
SubjP]. We assume, following Rizzi (2006) and Rizzi & Shlonsky (2007), that the necessity
to fill [Spec, SubjP] (Rizzi's 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 (i.e. a sentence containing an expletive in subject position simply has no subject of
predication), 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 (2006) and Rizzi & Shlonsky (2007) for some discussion.

[Top], [Foc], [Rel] and [Subj]) lead to freezing of the constituent in the specifier position. As a result of Criterial Freezing, a constituent in SpecSubjP is frozen in place. This is illustrated by the well-known subject-object asymmetry in the case of long extraction in French interrogatives (40).
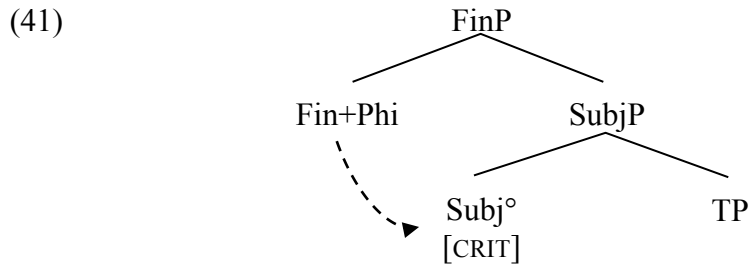
(39) a.

```
              SubjP
          ┌─────┴─────┐
         XP          Subj'
          ┊       ┌────┴────┐
          └┄┄►Subj°         TP
              [CRIT]
```

(40) 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?'

To allow subjects to escape from finite clauses, as in French (40c), it is assumed that the Subject Criterion also is satisfied by an alternative mechanism. In French, the implementation of such a mechanism is reflected in the so-called *que/qui* alternation, whereby the finite complementizer *que* is replaced by *qui*:

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

Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007:138) propose that the form *qui* (40c) spells out Fin enriched with nominal (φ) features (Taraldsen 2001). In (41) we represent this instantiation of Fin as Fin+Phi. For Rizzi and Shlonsky, Fin+Phi satisfies the SCrit by virtue of its local relation with the head Subj; this leads to them restating the criterial condition as in (38b).

(41)

```
                    FinP
                   /    \
              Fin+Phi    SubjP
                    ⌇    /    \
                    ⌇  Subj°    TP
                    ⌇  [CRIT]
                    ↓
```

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

In addition, in Rizzi and Shlonsky's implementation, the φ-features on
Fin+Phi have to be independently and locally checked by a constituent with
(matching) φ-features in SpecFinP. In the French subject extraction case, the
moved subject *wh*-phrase will ensure this checking: on its way to its higher
criterial landing site, the *wh*-phrase transits through SpecFin and checks the
φ-features of Fin+Phi. (42) summarises the derivation.

(42)

```
                    FinP
                   /    \
              wh-φ       Fin'
                   ⌇    /    \
                   ⌇ Fin+Phi   SubjP
                   ⌇       ⌇   /    \
                   ⌇       ⌇ Subj     TP
                   ⌇       ↓ [CRIT]  /    \
                   ⌇            t'wh-φ     T'
                   ⌇                     /    \
                   ⌇                    T      vP/VP
                   ⌇                           /  \
                   ⌇                          twh-φ
```
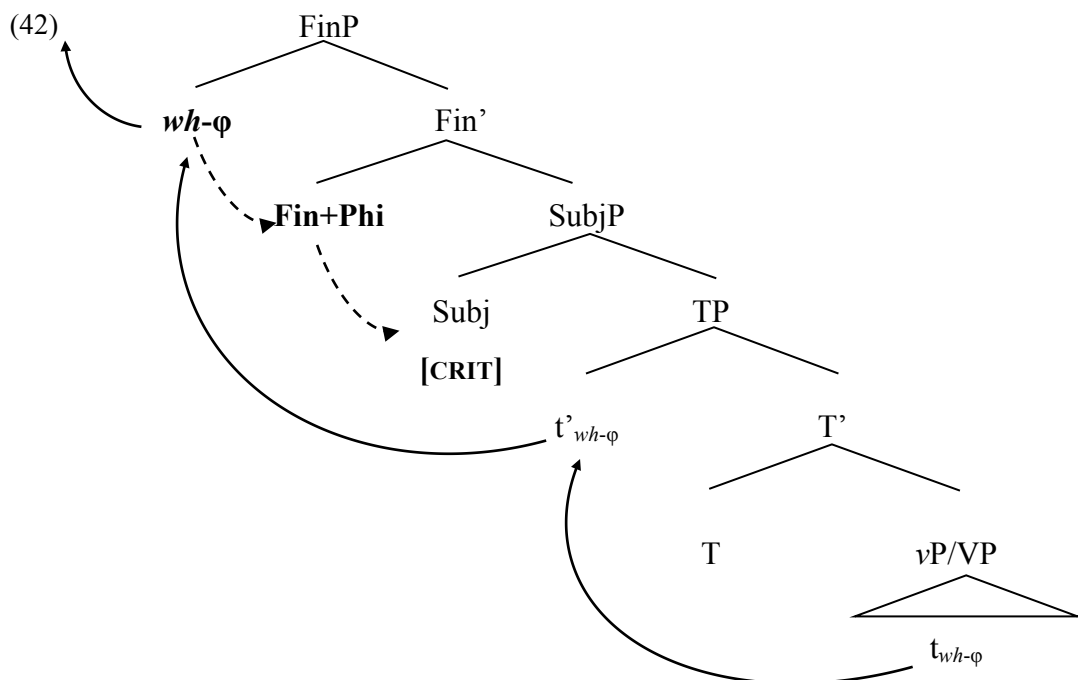
We will adopt Rizzi and Shlonsky's implementation in our own analysis.

4.2 *Morphologically marked* ja/neen *and the satisfaction of V2*

Let us assume that *ja/neen* is inserted as a TP pro-form in the functional
structure in (37). In *ja/neen* responses there is no filler for the specifier of
SubjP. In line with Rizzi & Shlonsky (2007)'s analysis of subject extraction,
we assume that the Subject Criterion can be satisfied by nominal φ-features
present on Fin. We assume that, along with φ-features, a pronominal index
(here represented as *n*) can be generated in Fin, which is given the role of
the 'subject of predication' (i.e. it is the semantic 'argument' of the Subj
head). Like Rizzi and Shlonsky, we assume that the φ-features of Fin
themselves must be checked locally. We argue that this is achieved precisely
by the morphological marking on *ja/neen*. *Ja/neen* are inserted with their φ-
features and move to check Fin's φ-features. One underlying assumption is
that single words such as *ja/neen* dominated by XP may pattern either as X°
or as XP (cf. Muysken 1982, Muysken and Van Riemsdijk 1986). If *ja/neen*
are in fact TP/T° then the movement of *ja/neen* to Fin instantiates the
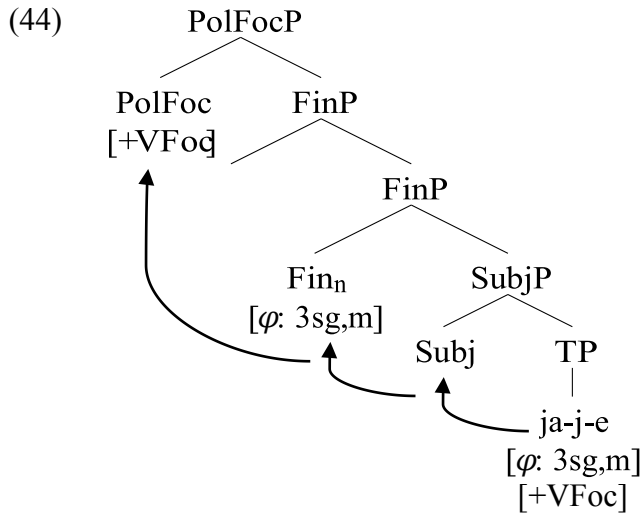regular case of T-to-C in the V2 languages.

(43)
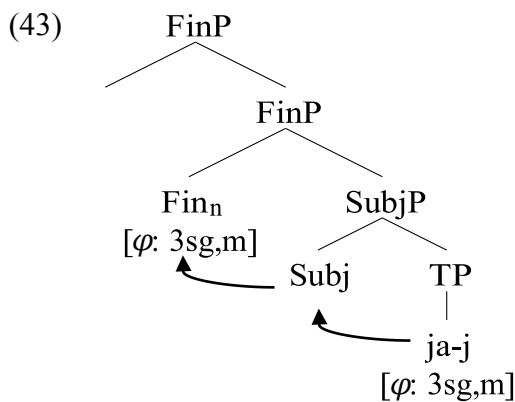
Recall that the Subj head anchors the subject of predication. This restriction ensures that the φ-features on *ja/nee* (and the matching φ-features on Fin which are being checked) must be those that would be appropriate for the subject if a full clause were used.

In a nutshell, the derivation of pronominally marked *ja/neen* responses hinges crucially on the assumption that *ja* and *neen* are TP pro-forms, and that TP is dominated by SubjP. In the absence of an overt subject, SubjP necessitates the presence of an enriched Fin, which itself in turn triggers movement of the morphologically marked *ja/nee* TP pro-form to the left periphery.

4.3   The syntax of reversal ja-s-e and nee-s-e

The reversal particles serve to 'revert' the polarity of the antecedent declarative. Suppose that polarity reversal is encoded by a Verum Focus feature that needs to be checked in a left-peripheral PolFoc projection.[11] We assume that the particles are also inserted as TP pro-forms. Like neutral *ja-s/nee-s*, *ja-s-e/nee-s-e* raise first to Fin to check the latter's φ-features, and then onwards to check the Verum Focus feature:

---

[11] This can be seen as a cartographic implementation of Holmberg's (2001, 2007, 2013) 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.
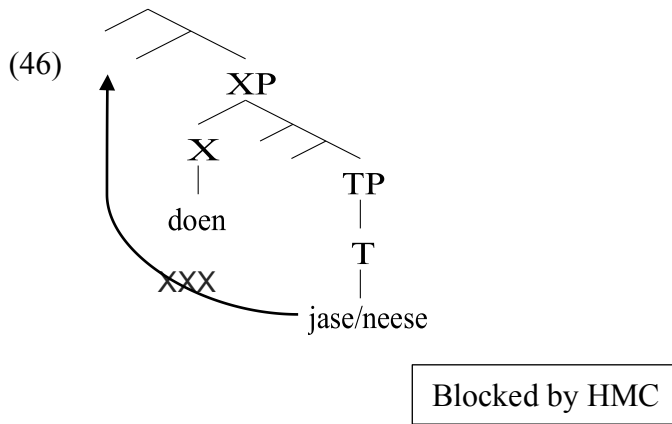
(44)

```
                    PolFocP
                  /        \
            PolFoc         FinP
            [+VFoc]       /    \
                       FinP
                      /    \
                  Fin_n    SubjP
                [φ: 3sg,m]  /   \
                        Subj    TP
                                |
                              ja-j-e
                            [φ: 3sg,m]
                             [+VFoc]
```

4.4. *Reversal* ja/nee *and SDR*

In our representations in (43) and (44), morphologically marked *ja/neen* head-move through Fin to check the φ-features on Fin. Recall from (29) that the 'emphatic'/reversal forms with the reversal schwa can also co-occur with the verb *doen* as used in SDR. We outline the essence of the analysis of this pattern here but refer to Haegeman and Weir (to appear) for a slightly more articulated derivation. (45) is the relevant example:

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

Our assumption is that *doen* is merged outside the reversal TP pro-form *jase/neese*, which itself does not have internal structure, and that *jase/neese* moves past it. However, if, like the neutral form of the response particle in (43), *jase/neese* undergoes head movement, then the resulting derivation in (46) would violate the Head Movement constraint (Travis 1984).
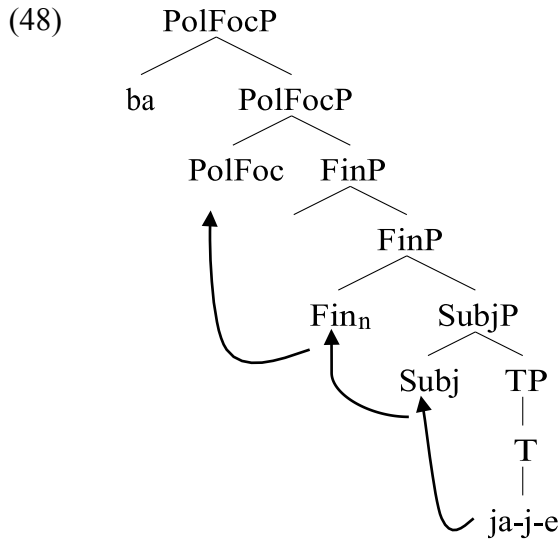
(46)

```
              XP
          X      
          |       TP
        doen      |
       XXX        T
              jase/neese     |
```

Blocked by HMC

Exploiting the XP/X^0 ambiguity of one-word items (cf. Muysken 1982), we propose that in (45) *doet* fills Fin (and hence also satisfies V2) and that reversal *jase/neese* undergoes phrasal movement to [Spec,FinP] and onwards to [Spec,PolFocP]. Support for this derivation comes from the distribution of the discourse particle *ba* in *ja/nee* responses. (For the distribution of discourse particles with *ja/nee* see also Smessaert 1995, Devos & Vandekerckhove 2005; for similar restrictions in Wambeek Dutch see footnote 8 and van Craenenbroeck 2010).

Consider first (47a) and (47b). Both are reversal responses to the content of the declarative. There is no discernable semantic difference between the two, except that *doet* sounds slightly redundant, as the reversal is expressed by both the schwa on morphologically marked *ja* and by *doet*. As shown in (47c) and (47d) the discourse particle *ba* is compatible with reversal *ja/neen* but it is in complementary distribution with *doet*. It is unlikely that the

contrast between (47c) and (49d) is due to some semantic effect, given that

(47a) and (47b) have the same interpretation.

(47) 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 does

We propose that (47d) is ungrammatical for syntactic reasons. We assume

that *ba* is generated in the Spec of the left peripheral projection (say

PolFocP) that attracts the reversal particle. This entails that the only way for

ba to be compatible with the reversal particle is for the latter to move to the

head of the projection. But if this is the case then the particle must undergo

head movement, and this is incompatible with the presence of *doet* in Fin.

(48)

```
                PolFocP
              /        \
            ba        PolFocP
                     /      \
                PolFoc      FinP
                           /    \
                        FinP
                       /    \
                  Fin_n      SubjP
                            /     \
                        Subj       TP
                                   |
                                   T
                                   |
                                 ja-j-e
```

Thus the ambivalence of the TP pro-form in fact is at the basis of the fact that in *ba* and *doet* are in complementary distribution.

5   The distribution of bare *ja/nee*

5.1   The data

So far, our discussion has focussed on the morphologically marked forms of the response particles in the Lapscheure dialect. However, as already pointed out in section 2.3, the response particles also show up in a bare form. In this section we will look at the morphologically marked/bare alternation in more detail. To the best of our knowledge, this piece of the puzzle has not been discussed at all in the literature. We will concentrate on those instances in which there is an alternation in polarity between bare *ja* and *neen*. We tentatively assume that the uses of bare *ja* in which it does not alternate with *neen* (see section 2.3, examples (15)) represent a distinct use as a discourse particle and we set this aside here. For reasons of space we illustrate our

discussion with examples with *ja,* but in the appropriate context this alternates with *neen.*

Bare *ja/neen* can convey polarity in domains embedded under the preposition *van* in two kinds of cases, neither of which allows a morphologically marked version of *ja/neen* as an alternative.

In construction with verbs of gesture such as *knikken* 'nod' and *schudden* 'shake' (and some other verbs of 'motion of the body' like *gebaren* 'gesture', *teken doen* 'gesture'):

(49) a. Ze knikte van ja/*ja-s.
          she nodded of   yes/yes-3sg.f

In construction with bridge verbs such as *zeggen* 'say', *peinzen* 'think', *geloven* 'believe', etc. (see van Craenenbroeck 2002).

(50) b. Ze peinst van ja/*ja-s.
          she thinks of yes/yes-3sg.f

Distributionally, these two cases pattern differently, reflecting a different status. Under *knikken/schudden* etc., *van ja/van neen* appear in the middle field and cannot extrapose, and thus pattern with nominal/PP arguments. Conversely, in clauses embedded under bridge verbs, *van ja/van neen* obligatorily extrapose to the right and thus pattern with clausal arguments.

(51) a. omdat   ze van ja knikte
          because she of yes nodded

      b. *omdat ze knikte van ja

      c. omdat   ze peinst van ja
          because she thinks   of yes

      d.   *omdat ze van ja peinst

A second difference is that under verbs of gesture *ja/neen* do not alternate with *wel/niet*; this alternation is available under bridge verbs.

(52)   a.   *omdat   ze van wel   knikte
                     because she of   wel   nodded

        b.   omdat   ze peinst van wel
                     because she thinks of   wel

We propose that when in construction with the 'verbs of gesturing' like *knikken* 'nod' and *schudden* 'shake', *van ja/van neen* represents a nominal use of *ja/neen,* in the same way as we see in (53) below.

(53)   a. Laat jenen ja nen ja zyn en jenen neen nen neen.
          let   your yes a   yes be and your no   a   no
          'Let your yes be yes, and your no, no.' (Matthew 5:37)

        b. Den neen in Schotland was te verwachten.
          the no   in Scotland   was to expect
          'Scotland's no (vote) was to be expected.'

By contrast, under bridge verbs *van ja* 'of yes'/*van neen* 'of no' has clausal distribution. In this context, 'clausal' *van ja/neen* has the response function and picks up on the polarity of a preceding (root or embedded) polar question.

(54)   A: Goa Valere   kommen?
               Goes Valere come
               'Is Valere coming?'
        B: Kpeinzen van ja.
               I think   of   *ja*
               'I think so'
        B':   *Kpeinzen van ja-j.
                I think   of   *ja*-3.sg

(55)   A: Weet-je gie of   da Valere ga   kommen?
               Know-you whether that Valere goes come
               'Do you know if Valere is coming?'

> B: Kpeinzen van ja.
>   I believe   of *ja*
>   'I think so'
> B':   *Kpeinzen van ja-j.
>   I believe   of *ja*-3.sg

We propose that, when embedded under bridge verbs such as *peinzen* 'think' or *geloven* 'believe', bare *ja/van neen* corresponds to the TP pro-form that we have argued for above. This hypothesis gives rise to at least three questions, which we will deal with below:

- If 'clausal', bare *ja/neen* is available in response to polar questions in *van*-complements of bridge verbs, why is bare *ja/neen* not possible in root clauses, where the morphologically marked forms are the only option on the relevant interpretation?

- More generally, why can't the TP pro-form show up in response to polar questions in other contexts where TPs appear independently, such as in embedded finite clauses? I.e. why is *ja/neen* ungrammatical in (56), regardless of whether it is morphologically marked or not?

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

      B: *Kpeinzen dat (je) ja(-j).
         I.think   that he yes(-3.sg)
         intended: 'I think so.'

- What rules out the person marking in non-finite contexts, such as *peinzen/geloven van ja/*ja-k*?

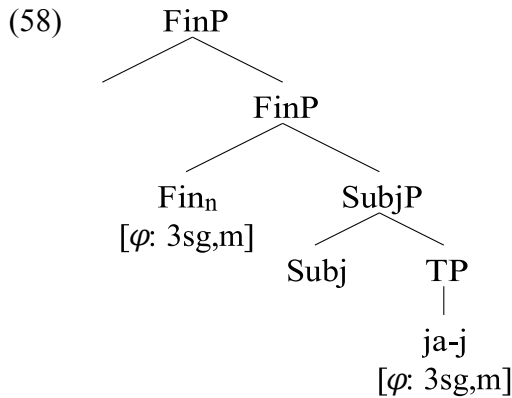## 5.2 *Morphological marking on* ja/neen *and finiteness*

The analysis which we have elaborated for the syntax of morphologically marked *ja/neen* in fact is tantamount to saying that morphologically marked *ja/neen* has the syntax of a finite clause, i.e. a clause with a finite TP. Our overall answer to the questions that emerge in the preceding section is then that, in the same way that verbs bear φ-features in finite contexts but do not bear φ-features in non-finite contexts, the presence or absence of morphological marking on *ja/neen* in fact must be interpreted in terms of a *finiteness opposition*. The hypothesis is that bare *ja/neen* corresponds to a non-finite TP and that, hence, the distribution of morphologically marked *ja/neen* and bare *ja/neen* is a function of finiteness.

5.2.1 *Finite clauses: Root contexts*

By assumption, root contexts are finite, and so only morphologically marked (i.e; 'finite') *ja/neen* are acceptable in root contexts.

(57)　Q:　Goa　Marie da　doen?
　　　　　Goes Marie that do?
　　　　　 'Will Mary do that?'
　　　A:　Ja-s./#Ja.
　　　　　yes-3sg.f/ja

We assume that morphologically marked *ja/neen* correspond to a finite TP and that the finite TP is dominated by SubjP. Hence, the subject criterion is activated, and it is satisfied in the way discussed in the preceding sections.

(58)

```
            FinP
           /\
            FinP
           /  \
       Finₙ    SubjP
     [φ: 3sg,m]  /\
             Subj   TP
                    |
                  ja-j
                [φ: 3sg,m]
```

5.2.2 Finite clauses: embedded contexts

We might expect that the morphologically marked (=finite) TP pro-form could also show up in finite complement clauses, say those introduced by the complementizer *dat* under bridge verbs. In fact, regardless of the presence vs. absence of morphological marking and regardless of the presence of the complementizer *dat*, in such contexts no form of *ja/neen* is acceptable. Below we will discuss these examples in turn.

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

        a. B: *Kpeinzen   dat ja/neen.
              I.think   that yes/no

        b. B: *Kpeinzen   dat ja-j/ nee-j
              I.think   that yes-3sg.m/nee-3sg.m

        c. B: *Kpeinzen   dat je ja/neen/ja-j/nee-j.
              I.think   that he yes/no

        d. B: *Kpeinzen   ja-j/ nee-j
   I.think   yes-3sg.m/nee-3sg.m

(59a) is straightforwardly ruled out: by hypothesis, the complementizer *dat* selects for a finite clause and bare *ja/neen* is a non-finite form. (59a) is ungrammatical for the same reason that (59a') is ungrammatical.

(59)   a'.   B: *Kpeinzen dat Valère niet (te) kommen.
   I.think   that V.   not (to) come

(59b) cannot be ruled out this way, however, since by our hypothesis morphologically marked *ja-j* is 'finite'. Recall that we assume that morphologically marked *ja/neen* constitute a TP pro-form dominated by SubjP and that, in the absence of an overt subject, the Subject Criterion is satisfied by nominal φ-features on Fin. We suggest that (59b) is ruled out by the fact that the nominal φ-features on Fin would need to be licensed by the movement of φ-marked TP into a local configuration. However, in (59b), the TP pro-form *ja-j/nee-j* cannot move to Fin to check the latter's φ-features, because movement to Fin (i.e. verb-second) does not take place in embedded clauses in West Flemish. Whatever rules this out in general also rules it out in (59b).[12] Observe furthermore that phrasal movement to SpecFin of *ja-j/nee-j* is also excluded, because – again for independent reasons – finite embedded clauses in WF are incompatible with any movement to the left periphery.

---

[12] Admittedly the restrictions on embedded V2 still need to be independently accounted for. Observe that the WF agreement features on the complementizer cannot be straightforwardly equated with the nominal features on Fin which are needed to satisfy the Subject Criterion as complementizer agreement is generally obligatory in all embedded clauses and the features associated with CA cannot be used to independently satisfy the Subject Criterion. This requires further work.
For arguments against Feature Inheritance see Haegeman and Van Koppen (2013), who have shown that the features on C need not be identical to those on T.

(60)

VP
V ForceP
kpeinzen
dat FinP
FinP
Fin$_n$
[φ: 3 sg,m]
SubjP
Subj TP
ja-j
XXX XXX [φ: 3 sg,m]
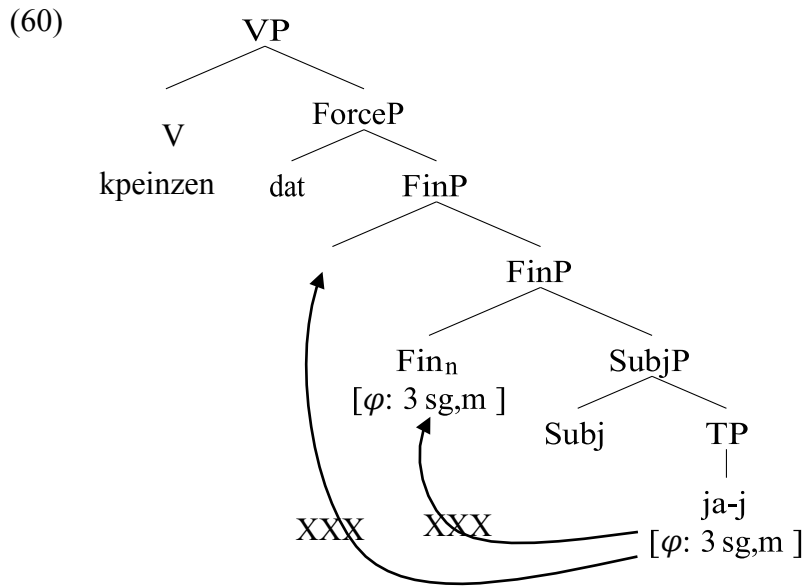
(59c) illustrates another alternative: base-generating a subject pronoun in [Spec, SubjP] and pairing it with morphologically marked *ja/neen*.

(61)

VP
V ForceP
kpeinzen
dat FinP
FinP
Fin SubjP
je SubjP
Subj TP
ja-j
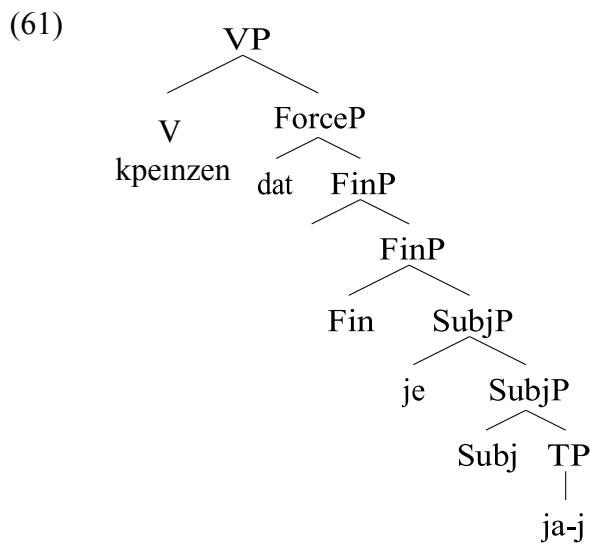
Here, the selectional requirement of *dat* is satisfied since morphologically marked *ja/neen* is finite, and the Subject Criterion would be satisfied directly by the base-generated pronoun, without there being any need for

nominal phi-features on Fin, or movement to Fin to TP to check φ-features. We propose that this is independently ruled out because a subject pronoun base-generated in [Spec, SubjP] has no means of getting Case.[13] Observe that in terms of our account these data would then pose a challenge for the traditional view which postulates that finiteness and nominative case licensing are intrinsically linked (see Cowper to appear, cited in section 1). Note that subject pronouns do not appear in construction with morphologically marked *ja/nee* in root contexts either (whether before or after), so on our analysis the 'finiteness' of *ja/nee* does not in general suffice to license the presence of an overt subject pronoun.

(62)   Q: Is Valère geweest?
        A: *Je joaj./Joaj je./Neej je./Je neej.

(59d), lacking *dat,* embeds the morphologically marked variant of the response particles directly under a bridge verb. This would be tantamount to embedding a root clause. As discussed, though, the dialect in question precludes such embedded root phenomena, including embedded V2 or the absence of overt complementizers.

There is therefore no way of generating the morphologically marked pro form *ja* in embedded finite *dat*-clauses: in such patterns an overt subject pronoun is unavailable and satisfying the Subject Criterion via movement of

---

[13] This entails that the agreeing complementizer cannot all by itself license nominative case (pace Haegeman and Van Koppen 2013) and that incorporation of the clitic to C is also insufficient for case licensing.

morphologically marked *ja/neen* to SpecFinP would violate whatever rules out movement to the embedded left periphery in West Flemish. We predict, then, that morphologically marked *ja/neen* cannot show up anywhere that finite TPs can, but rather only in root position (and when they are in root position, they must be 'finite', i.e. morphologically marked).

5.2.3   Clausal *van*

As discussed, bare *ja/neen* can appear in construction with bridge verbs. Based on its distribution we assume that *van ja/neen* is clausal. As shown in (5), repeated below as (a) *van* can embed a non-finite clause in West Flemish, but not a finite clause, regardless of whether the complementizer *dat* is present.

(63)   a.   kpeinzen van em morgen te zien
            I-think   of   him tomorrow to see
            'I think I'll see him tomorrow.'
       b.   *kpeinzen van dan-k em morgen goan zien
             I-think   van that-I him tomorrow will see
       c.   *kpeinzen van ik em morgen goan zien
             I-think   van I him tomorrow will see

We will thus assume that *van* selects a non-finite clausal complement,[14] and so *van* can only select for non-finite (that is, not morphologically marked) *ja/neen*. This is what we see:

(64)   A: Goa-j em morgen zien?
            Goes you him tomorrow see

---

[14] This is a shortcut. In particular it is not clear that clausal *van* in *van ja/neen* can be assimilated to control *van*. See Servidio 2014: 90 ff, for a detailed discussion of the contrast between Italian non-finite *di* and *di* in *credo di sì*.)

B.   kpeinzen van ja/*ja-k.
       I think of yes/yes-1sg.f

For completeness' sake we add that in addition to bridge verbs illustrated above, non-finite clausal *van ja* also appears under a set of one argument verbs with an expletive subject, such as 'it could be that', 'it seems that'. As was the case with the preceding cases, *van ja/neen* is extraposed and cannot remain in the middle field, and *ja/neen* alternates with *wel/niet.*

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

        a. B: t zou   keunen van ja.
              it may can   of *ja*
              'It could be.'

        b. B: *t zou van ja keunen
               it may of *ja* can

        c. B: t zou keunen van wel.
              it may can   of   well

The distributional restrictions on bare/morphologically marked *ja/neen* are identical to those discussed above.

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

        a. B: *t zou keunen (dat) ja/neen.
               it may be   that yes/no

        b. B: *t zou keunen (dat) ja-j/ nee-j
                it may be   that yes-3sg.m/nee-3sg.m

        c. B': *t zou keunen (dat) je ja/neen/ja-j/nee-j.
                it may be   that he yes/no

At this point the full inventory of verbs selecting clausal *van ja/van neen* needs to be established.

5.2.4   Non-finite clauses

We propose that bare *ja/neen* are pro-forms for a non-finite TP and thus we correctly predict that they do not appear in contexts that require a finite TP. However, it is not the case that bare *ja/neen* can show up in all contexts in which non-finite TPs can be found. We provide a survey of the crucial data here. It emerges that only the prepositional complementizer *van* can embed *ja/neen*, and that even with this complementizer there are restrictions.

In addition to *van*, the dialect also uses the non-finite complementizer *voor* ('for') to introduce control pattens; *voor* does not allow embedding of *ja/nee* to alternate with a control pattern. Observe that in this context *wel* is also not available:

(67) S: Eet-je   t gelezen?
        has=he it read
         'Has he read it?'
    A: j'ee   geprobeerd vur het te lezen.
        he has tried   C   it   to read
        'He has tried to read it.'
    A': *j'ee   geprobeerd vur ja.
        he has tried   C   yes
    A': *j'ee   geprobeerd vur wel.
        he has tried   C   well

The restriction is not just related to the choice of complementizer. In the control context *voor* may actually alternate with *van*. In such a context*, van* itself also does not allow embedding of *ja/nee*.

(68) S: Eet-je t gelezen?
        has =he it   read
         'Has he read it?'
    A: j'ee   geprobeerd van het te lezen.
        he has tried   C   it   to read

'He has tried to read it.'
A': *j'ee   geprobeerd van ja.
    he has tried   C   yes
A': *j'ee   geprobeerd van wel.
    he has tried   C   well

The restriction is related to the nature of the infinitival complement. In (63a),

peinzen ('think') has an epistemic interpretation and embeds a propositional

(control) complement. In (69) below, the non-finite control complement of

peinzen has an intentional reading, meaning 'I intend to', 'I plan to'. With

this irrealis interpretation, the *van ja* complement is not available. In (69b)

the response *peinzen van ja* is not quite felicitous, as it would have to mean:

'I think it will be the case', 'I expect that to be the case', and would seem to

suggest that the future activity is not within the subject's direct control.

(69)   a.   Kpeinzen van morgen   no de cinema te goan.
                      I-think   of   tomorrow to the cinema to go
                      'I'm thinking of going to the cinema tomorrow.' (=I intend to)
    b.   A: Goa-j   morgen   no de cinema?
                      Go-you tomorrow to the cinema
                      'Are you going to the cinema tomorrow?'
        B: #kpeinzen van ja.
                    I-think   of yes

Under non-bridge verbs, non-finite clauses with what seem to be realis

readings are (perhaps marginally) possible, and they would be introduced by

van, as shown in (70a). In such contexts, though, non-finite *van ja* cannot

appear.

(70)   a.   ?Kzyn blye van da   morgen   niet meer te moeten doen.
                    I.am glad of that tomorrow not more to have.to do
                    'I am glad I don't have to do that tomorrow.'
    b.   Q: Moet je   dat morgen   nog doen?
               must you that tomorrow yet do
               'Do you still have to do that tomorrow?'

> A: *Kzyn blye   van neen.
>   I.am   glad   of no
>   (intended: 'I'm glad that I don't.')

The data discussed here are relevant in the wider context of the discussion of finiteness marking, and in particular they provide confirmation for proposals in the literature that non-finite clauses, and specifically control clauses, are not a homogeneous group, which means in turn that the opposition finite vs. non-finite is too coarse (see a.o. Landau 2004, Wurmbrand 2014, Cowper to appear). Non-finite *ja* and *neen* seem to be limited as pro-forms for one particular clause type, that of the propositional (i.e. realis) complements to bridge verbs (see also Van Craenenbroeck (2002) and Hoeksema (2006, 2008) for discussion).

Various avenues suggest themselves for understanding and formalizing this restriction. At this point we do not take a stance and we only sketch two major routes that could be envisaged. One line of approach would be purely semantic: one might propose that *ja* and *neen* are anaphoric to the Question under Discussion (Roberts 2012/1996), that they can only be understood as propositional/realis, and that this is the reason why they cannot appear in control/intentional contexts, or under factive predicates which 'background' their clausal complements. Another more cartographic approach might be to speculate that the interpretive distinctions which are identified are syntactically encoded and that, in a more fine grained structure (cf. Cinque 1999, Wurmbrand 2014), the response particles are the pro-forms of a specialised functional projection which is present in realis complements but

not irrealis, control, or factive complements, and whose precise nature remains as yet to be determined. See also Servidio (2014: 90-91) for discussion on the cartography of *di si* in Italian. We leave this issue for future work.

6 Summary of the paper

The empirical focus of the paper is the morphosyntax of the morphologically marked response particles *ja* and *neen* in the Lapscheure dialect. Building on Krifka (2013)'s analysis of the German response particles *ja/nein* as TP pro-forms, we also analyse morphologically marked Flemish *ja/neen* as TP pro-forms.

In the first part of the paper we first argue that the morphological marking on these particles is *sui generis*: it does not correspond to the marking found on verbs nor does it correspond to a clitic form of the subject pronoun. We develop a cartographic analysis of the syntax of the morphologically marked response particles in the dialect. We endorse Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006, 2007)'s proposal that a finite TP is dominated by SubjP. We assume that the pronominal marking on morphologically marked *ja/neen* is an instantiation of finiteness. This means that the finite TP pro-form realised by morphologically marked *ja/neen* is dominated by SubjP, a criterial projection. In the absence of an overt subject, the Subject Criterion (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006, 2007) is satisfied by nominal φ-features generated on

Fin. Morphologically marked *ja/neen* has to move to Fin in order to license these features. Our analysis predicts that West Flemish morphologically marked *ja/neen* are a root phenomenon.

As 'verbal' TPs come in finite and non-finite variants, we might expect that TP pro-forms also should, and we have shown that this is indeed the case: in addition to the variant with pronominal marking, there is also a bare variant of the *ja/neen* pro-forms. We have shown that presence and absence of the pronominal marking on *ja/neen* correlates fairly closely with the distribution of finite and non-finite clauses, and we propose that the pronominal marking is therefore to be understood in terms of a finiteness opposition. Closer examination of the non-finite variant of *ja/neen* provides support for the hypothesis that non-finite infinitival clauses do not constitute one homogenous class, an issue which itself should be addressed in future work.

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