The cartography of *yes* and *no* in West Flemish

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The paper is an in depth study of the response particles *ja/nee* ('yes'/'no') in the Lapscheure dialect of Dutch, focusing on two properties:

(i) The particles show overt φ-feature marking (1).
(ii) In 'reversal' answers, the particles bear an additional marker which we term 'reversal schwa'.

There are co-occurrence restrictions between the reversal particles, sentential particles (*ba*) and 'reversal *doet*' (2) (cf. Van Craenenbroeck (2010)).

(1)   a. Q: Goa   Marie morgent   kommen?   A: Ja-s./Nee-s.
              Goes   Marie tomorrow   come   A: yes-3SG.F/no-3SG.F
          'Q: Is Marie coming tomorrow?   A: 'Yes/No.'   [Lapscheure]
       b. Q: Een-k   tyd?   A: Ja-g./Nee-g.
              have=I   time   yes-2SG/no-2SG

(2)   A: K'een   geen tyd.
              I=have   no   time
          B: Ja-g-e.   / Ba ja-g-e.   / Ja-g-e   doet. / *Ba ja-g-e doet.
              yes-2SG-RVRS   PRT yes-2SG-RVRS   yes-2SG-RVRS do
          'B: Yes you do.'

We develop a cartographic analysis of the above facts, arguing that *ja/nee* represent TP proforms (Krifka 2013). We analyse the pronominal marking as agreement marking, a reflex of the presence of φ-features which are merged in Fin to satisfy the Subject Criterion, along the lines of Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007, and which drive movement of *ja/nee* to the left periphery.