
Explaining microvariation in split A'-phenomena in Dutch dialects

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This paper demonstrates a connection between three A'-movement phenomena. Specifically, novel data on Dutch dialects shows an implicational relation between Topicalization (T), what-for-constructions (WFCs), and Split Topicalization (ST). On the basis of these three phenomena, speakers of Dutch can be categorized into three groups: Group A contains the speakers of Dutch who allow T and WFCs (1); Group B contains the speakers of Dutch who allow T, WFCs and split WFCs as in (2); Group C contains the speakers of Dutch who allow T, WFCs, split WFCs and ST as in (3).

- (1) [Wat voor zout] hebben jullie gekocht?
what for salt have you bought
'What kind of salt did you buy?'
(2) [Wat] hebben jullie [voor zout] gekocht?
(3) Zout heb ik een heleboel gekocht?
salt have i a whole heap bought
'As for salt, I bought a lot.'

In terms of the syntactic analyses of the phenomena in (1)-(3), a shared property is the involvement of A'-movement, though the constituent size that is undergoing movement differs per phenomenon. T and non-split WFCs involve A'-movement of a full DP (De Vries, 2009). Split WFCs involve A'-movement of NumP (Barbiers et al., 2010). Finally, I assume ST to involve A'-movement of nP (see also Ott, 2012). An overview is presented below in Table 1.

Phenomenon	T / WFCs	Split WFCs	ST
<i>Level of extraction</i>	<i>Extraction of DP</i>	<i>Extraction of NumP</i>	<i>Extraction of nP</i>
Group A	Yes	No	No
Group B	Yes	Yes	No
Group C	Yes	Yes	Yes

The microvariation among Dutch dialects with respect to T, split WFCs and ST can be explained by focusing on the functional categories that are involved: the locus of variation is suggested to lie in the properties of D, Num, and n (cf. Borer, 1984). An implicational hierarchy on the functional sequence from D to Num to n explains the availability of (split) A'-movement phenomena.

References: • Barbiers, S., Koenenman, O. & M. Lekakou (2010). Syntactic doubling and the structure of wh-chains1. *Journal of Linguistics* 46(1), 1–46. • Borer, H. (1984). Parametric Syntax. Dordrecht, Foris. • De Vries, M. (2009). The left and right periphery in Dutch. • Ott, D. (2012). *Local instability: Split topicalization and quantifier float in German* (Vol. 544). Walter de Gruyter.