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Immobile wh-phrases in Tagalog

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I argue that overt movement cannot always be triggered by a need to create a specifier for the head bearing the Probe, as commonly assumed. In Tagalog, I claim, the best description of the behavior of wh-phrases is that they must become linearly adjacent to C; I show that Tagalog wh-phrases in fact occupy several different structural positions which are consistent with this linear requirement.

1. Introduction

This paper will bring some new data to bear on the question of how "overt movement" is to be characterized. I will argue that Probes which trigger overt movement cannot require movement to a position c-commanding them, as standardly assumed. The account will be consistent with accounts like that of Richards (2010; 2016), which only require that movement land in a position which is linearly close to the triggering Probe.

The data will all come from Tagalog. We will see, first, that Tagalog wh-movement is generally obligatorily overt. However, there is a class of wh-phrases in Tagalog (*wh-predicates*), which I will argue are incapable of overt wh-movement. We will see that wh-predicates can form wh-questions just if they are linearly adjacent to the interrogative complementizer which begins the clause, and that they are never in the structural position occupied by other kinds of wh-moved phrases.

2. Wh-predicates in Tagalog

Tagalog is a predicate-initial language. Predicates of any lexical category are typically initial in the clause:

(1)   a.   Na-sa   unibersidad ang lola   ninyo
                PRED-DAT university   ANG grandmother your.PL
                'Your grandmother is at the university'

          b.   Mabilis ang butiki
                fast   ANG house.lizard
                'The house lizard is fast'

          c.   Pangulo si   Duterte
                president ANG Duterte
                'Duterte is president'

          d.   Bibilh-in   ni   Juan ang mga libro-ng ito
                FUT.buy-ACC UNM Juan ANG PL   book-LI this
                'Juan will buy these books'

And wh-questions, whether matrix or embedded, may have initial predicates as their wh-phrases:

(2)   a.   **Na-saan**   ang lola   ninyo?
                PRED-where ANG grandmother your.PL
                'Where is your grandmother?'

          b.   **Gaano kabilis** ang butiki?
                how   **fast**   ANG house.lizard
                'How fast is the house lizard?'

    c.   **Ano-ng klase-ng Pangulo** si   Duterte?
        what-LI kind-LI president ANG Duterte
        'What kind of president is Duterte?'

    d.   **Aanh-in**   ni   Juan ang mga libro-ng ito?
        FUT.what-ACC UNM Juan ANG PL   book-LI this
        'What will Juan do with these books?'

(3)   a.   Hindi ko¹   alam [kung² **na-saan**   ang lola   ninyo]
        not   UNM.I know   C$_{MVMT}$ **PRED-where** ANG grandmother your.PL
        'I don't know where your grandmother is'

    b.   Hindi ko   alam [kung **gaano kabilis** ang butiki]
        not   UNM.I know C$_{MVMT}$ **how   fast**   ANG house.lizard
        'I don't know how fast the house lizard is'

    c.   Hindi ko   alam [kung **ano-ng klase-ng Pangulo** si   Duterte]
        not   UNM.I know C$_{MVMT}$ **what-LI kind-LI president** ANG Duterte
        'I don't know what kind of president Duterte is'

    d.   Hindi ko   alam [kung **aanh-in**   ni   Juan ang mga libro-ng ito]
        not   UNM.I know C$_{MVMT}$ **FUT.what-ACC** UNM Juan ANG PL   book-LI this
        'I don't know what Juan will do with these books'

The boldfaced material in (2–3) actually has two reasons to be initial in the Tagalog clause. Not only are these predicates, in a generally predicate-initial language, but they are wh-phrases, and wh-movement is obligatory in Tagalog:³

(4)   a.   *Pumunta **saan** si   Maria?
        NOM.went where ANG Maria
        'Where did Maria go?'

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¹ As a reviewer points out, *ko* is one of a number of pronominal clitics in Tagalog; this is why it appears here before the predicate *alam* 'know', rather than after it as a non-pronominal DP would.

² I have glossed the complementizer *kung* with C$_{MVMT}$, which is intended to indicate that it is a complementizer that triggers movement of an operator to itself. This is not the complementizer used in ordinary declarative clauses, but it is used in embedded questions, in relative clauses with non-DP relative operators (see Otsuka and Tanaka 2016; Hsieh 2018 for further discussion), and in adjunct clauses with meanings like *if* or *when* (and see Larson 1985; Enç 1987; Bhatt and Pancheva 2006, along with much other work, for arguments that *if* and *when*-clauses in other languages involve operator movement).

³ Here there is apparently some cross-speaker variation: Law and Gärtner (2005) describe speakers of Tagalog who accept (4b). Speakers that I have consulted have rejected it. All that will be important for the claims to be made here is that speakers who reject (4b) exist; speakers with the grammar described by Law and Gärtner will also be consistent with the paper's claim, though they will not offer the same kind of evidence for it.

    b. *Bumili   ng   isda **ang alin-g   babae**?
        NOM.bought UNM fish ANG which-LI woman
        'Which woman bought fish?'

But in fact, we will see evidence that wh-predicates in Tagalog are incapable of wh-movement; they must remain in situ. One piece of evidence for this conclusion comes from long-distance wh-questions. It turns out that wh-predicates in Tagalog cannot be extracted long-distance:

(5)   a. ***Na-saan**   ninyo   sinabi   [-ng __ ang lola   ninyo]?
        PRED-where UNM.you.PL ACC.said   C   ANG grandmother your.PL
        'Where did you say your grandmother was?'

    b. ***Gaano kabilis** sinabi   ng   dalubhasa [na __ ang butiki]?
       how   fast   ACC.said UNM expert   C   ANG house.lizard
       'How fast did the expert say the house lizard was?'

    c. ***Ano-ng klase-ng Pangulo** ang sinasabi   ng   mga diyaryo   [na __ si D.]?
       what-LI kind-LI president ANG ACC.saying UNM PL   newspaper C   ANG D.
       'What kind of president are the newspapers saying Duterte is?'

    d. ***Aanh-in**   sinabi   ng   guro   [na __ ni   Juan ang mga libro-ng ito]?
       FUT.what-ACC ACC.said UNM teacher C   UNM Juan ANG PL   book-LI this
       'What did the teacher say Juan would do with the books?'

Long wh-movement is not generally banned in Tagalog:[4]

(6)   a. Saan ninyo   sinabi   [-ng i-nilagay ninyo __   ang mga libro]?
       where UNM.you.PL ACC.said   C OBL-put UNM.you.PL ANG PL   book
       'Where did you say you put the books?'

    b. Ano ang sinabi ng   guro   [na babasah-in   ni   Juan __]?
       what ANG said   UNM teacher C FUT.read-ACC UNM Juan
       'What did the teacher say that Juan would read?'

Tagalog wh-predicates, then, are subject to a special restriction; unlike other wh-phrases in Tagalog, they cannot move across clause boundaries.[5] Demonstrating that wh-predicates cannot wh-move in monoclausal questions in Tagalog is harder to do, since predicates and wh-phrases are both typically clause-initial. I turn to that task in the next section.

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[4] It is unlikely that the moving phrase in (6b) is actually the DP *ano* 'what'; DP wh-questions in Tagalog generally involve some kind of cleft construction, so the moving phrase would be a (null) relative operator, yielding a structure something like that of 'What is the (thing which) the teacher said that Juan would read?'. See Richards (1998), Aldridge (2002), Mercado (2004), Hsieh (2020) for further discussion.

[5] A reviewer asks how the meanings in (5) are expressed. Speakers pressed on this issue typically offer paraphrases with structures and meanings like that of "What will Juan do with the books, according to the teacher?".

3. Wh-predicates in monoclausal wh-questions

Much of the literature on Tagalog agrees that predicate-initial word order is created by movement of the predicate to a syntactic position higher than the arguments of the clause (Kroeger 1993; Richards 1993; 2000; Rackowski 2002; Aldridge 2004; and much other work). Certain kinds of material can intervene between the fronted predicate and overt complementizers, indicating that the landing site of predicate fronting is not C:

(7) Sinabi   ni   Maria [na **hindi** naintindih-an   ng   propesor ang tanong niya]
     ACC.said UNM Maria   C not   understood-DAT UNM professor ANG question her
     'Maria said that the professor did not understand her question'

In (6), the predicate of the embedded clause, *naintindihan* 'understood', is separated from the embedding complementizer *na* by the negative morpheme *hindi*. Data like (6) have been taken to argue (for example, by Richards 2003 and Aldridge 2004), not only that the landing site of predicate fronting is not C, but that it should not be the sister of C, either; there must be a certain amount of syntactic space between C and the position of the predicate.

Negation is not the only kind of material that can occupy this space. Certain kinds of phrases may be fronted to positions before the predicate, where they are followed by an invariant morpheme *ay*. Thus, for example, the ordinary word order in (8a) alternates with the inverted one in (8b), and the resulting inverted structure can also appear in embedded clauses, as in (8c):

(8) a. Pilipina si   Maria
         Filipina ANG Maria
         'Maria is Filipina'

     b. Si   Maria ay Pilipina.
         ANG Maria AY Filipina
         'Maria is Filipina'

     c. Hindi ko   alam kung si   Maria ay Pilipina.
         not   UNM.I know C$_{\text{MVMT}}$ ANG Maria AY Filipina
         'I don't know whether Maria is Filipina'

I will refer to the process in (8b–c), following Schachter and Otanes (1972), as *ay-inversion*. It is generally optional, and if it has effects on information structure, they are quite subtle. *Ay*-inverted material precedes negation:

(9) a. Si   Maria ay hindi Pilipina.
         ANG Maria AY not   Filipina
         'Maria is not Filipina'

    b. *Hindi si   Maria ay Pilipina
       not   ANG Maria AY Filipina

Descriptively, then, the Tagalog clause can begin with at least the following items, in this order:

(10)   C   [*ay*-inverted phrase]   Neg   Predicate

To this description we may add the landing site of ordinary fronted wh-phrases. In embedded questions, these must precede *ay*-inverted phrases, and follow the complementizer:

(11)   Alamin   muna bago ka   magsimula-ng tumaya **kung kailan ikaw**   **ay**
    ACC.know first   before ANG.you NOM.start-LI   NOM.bet C_{MVMT} when   ANG.you AY
    hihinto.
    NOM.FUT.stop
    'Figure out first before you start betting **when you will stop**'
    (http://www.casinopatnubay.com/pagseset-ng-budget/, accessed 5/22/20)

In embedded wh-questions, the order in (11) is the only possible one for these elements. In particular, an *ay*-fronted phrase cannot intervene between the interrogative complementizer *kung* and the fronted wh-phrase:

(12)   *Alamin   muna **kung ikaw**   **ay kailan hihinto.**
    ACC.know first C_{MVMT} ANG.you AY when   NOM.FUT.stop
    'Figure out first **when you will stop**'

We can think of (12) as an illustration of what it means to say that Tagalog has obligatory wh-fronting; wh-fronting is to a position just to the right of the embedding complementizer *kung*, and the wh-phrase cannot be separated from this position. We can update the description in (10) as follows:

(13)   C   [*wh*-phrase]   [*ay*-inverted phrase]   Neg   Predicate

The description in (13) is not exhaustive; there are other kinds of things that can precede the Tagalog predicate, such as fronted topics and certain kinds of adverbs. But this description will suffice for our purposes.

    The fact that the wh-phrase follows the complementizer *kung* rather than preceding it is surprising on conventional assumptions about the architecture of the clause; if wh-movement lands in the specifier of CP, we should expect the wh-phrase to precede the complementizer. The literature contains several plausible proposals about this problem, any of which would be consistent with the point being made here. Kroeger (1993), Otsuka and Tanaka (2016), and Hsieh (2020) claim that Tagalog wh-movement is to the specifier of a projection below the one headed

by *kung.* Sabbagh (2014) posits wh-movement to the specifier of *kung,* together with conditions on how Tagalog syntactic structure is mapped onto prosodic structure which guarantee that the wh-phrase must be linearized after the complementizer.

More generally, a natural question to ask at this point would be how the facts in (13) should be represented in a tree. We might consider one extreme in which each of the elements involved occupies its own dedicated maximal projection:[6]

(14) a. Hindi ko   alam [kung bakit si   Maria ay hindi umalis]
         not   UNM.I know C~MVMT~ why ANG Maria AY not   NOM.left
         'I don't know why Maria didn't leave'

   b.
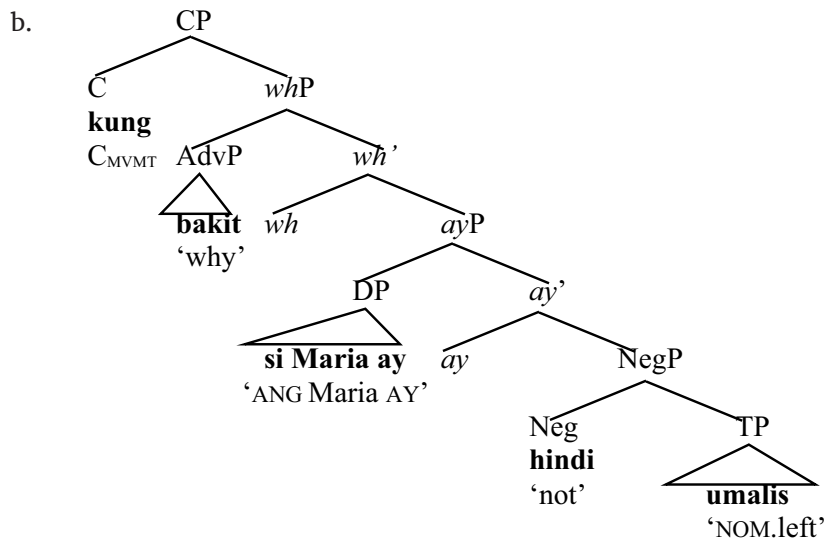
A logically possible opposite extreme would posit a single projection hosting all of the material after C, perhaps with the predicate occupying the head of the projection, and the rest of the material in various adjunct and specifier positions:

(15) a. Hindi ko   alam [kung bakit si   Maria ay hindi umalis]
         not   UNM.I know C~MVMT~ why ANG Maria AY not   NOM.left
         'I don't know why Maria didn't leave'

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[6] There can be multiple *ay*-inverted phrases, each with its own *ay* (Schachter and Otanes 1972: 498):

(i) Bukas   ay kami   ay pupunta
     tomorrow AY ANG.we.EXCL AY NOM.FUT.go
     'We'll go tomorrow'

Thus, if we decide to posit *ay*P, it either cannot have *ay* as its head, or we would have to be willing to countenance multiple *ay*Ps.

b.
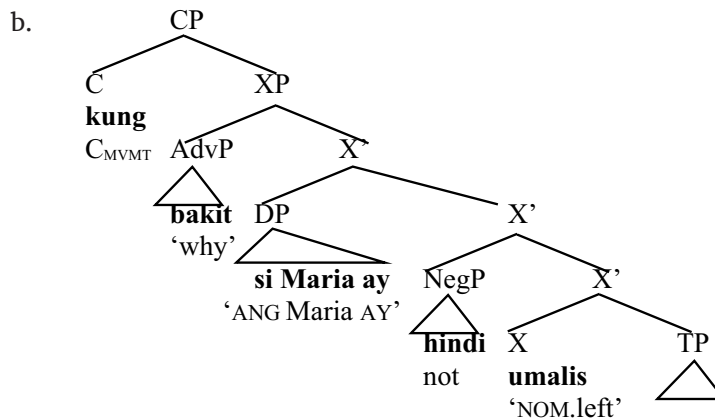
One argument against the radically impoverished structure in (15b) comes from the behavior of ellipsis in Tagalog. Tagalog has sluicing (and Sprouting):

(16) a. May dumating, pero hindi ko   alam kung sino.
       EXIST NOM.came but   not   UNM.I know C_{MVMT} who
       'Somebody came, but I don't know who'

b. Umalis   si   Maria, pero hindi ko   alam kung bakit.
   NOM.left ANG Maria but   not   UNM.I know C_{MVMT} why
   'Maria left, but I don't know why'

Tagalog also allows ellipsis of the material following negation:

(17) Hindi ko   alam kung nagbigay ako   ng   pera   sa   simbahan, pero
     not   UNM.I know C_{MVMT} NOM.gave ANG.I UNM money DAT church   but
     sinabi   ni   Maria na hindi ⟨——⟩
     ACC.said UNM Maria C   not
     'I don't know whether I gave money to the church,
     but Mary said that I didn't ~~give money to the church~~'

On the other hand, an *ay*-inverted phrase may not precede an ellipsis site:

(18) *Si   Maria ay hindi umalis,   pero si   Juan ay ~~umalis~~
      ANG Maria AY not   NOM.left but   ANG Juan AY NOM.left
      'Maria didn't leave, but Juan did leave'

In a structure like the one in (14b), the facts in (16–18) are easy to describe: Tagalog can elide *ay*P and TP, but not NegP.[7] In (15b), on the other hand, description is less straightforward.

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[7] As a reviewer points out, we must also exclude a representation of (18) involving ellipsis of the TP complement of a null (positive) version of Neg. As it happens, ellipsis of the null complement of Neg must independently be ruled out; a version of (17) in which *hindi* 'not' is removed is ungrammatical (with the intended meaning '…but Mary said that I did').

Whether we want to posit all the structure in (14b) is unclear, but at least with our current understanding of how ellipsis is licensed, it is hard to see how the structurally impoverished structure in (15b) can be the right one.

We now seem to have found a kind of case in which the position of the predicate and the position of a fronted wh-phrase can be linearly (and, I have just argued, structurally) distinguished; material can intervene between these two positions. Where does a wh-predicate appear?

The fact is that wh-predicates are incompatible with *ay*-inversion in embedded questions:

(19) a. *Alamin   muna **kung ikaw   ay na-saan   ngayon**
          know.ACC first   C_MVMT ANG.you AY PRED-where now
          'Figure out first where you are now'

     b. *Alamin   muna **kung na-saan   ikaw   ay ngayon**
          know.ACC first   C_MVMT PRED-where ANG.you AY now
          'Figure out first where you are now'

Neither of the orders in (19) is possible.[8] We can relate the ill-formedness of (19a) to the contrast in (11–12), repeated here as (20):

(20) a. Alamin   muna bago   ka   magsimula-ng tumaya **kung kailan ikaw**
          know.ACC first   before ANG.you NOM.start-LI   NOM.bet C_MVMT when   ANG.you
          ay   hihinto.
          AY   NOM.FUT.stop
          'Figure out first before you start betting **when you will stop**'

     b. *Alamin   muna **kung ikaw   ay kailan hihinto.**
          know.ACC first   C_MVMT ANG.you AY when   NOM.FUT.stop
          'Figure out first **when you will stop**'

As (20) reminds us, we have already seen that wh-phrases cannot be separated from the complementizer by *ay*-inverted phrases. But in (19b), we can see that fronting the wh-predicate across the *ay*-inverted phrase is also unacceptable. The ill-formedness of (19b) is reminiscent of the facts in (5), repeated as (21):

(21) a. ***Na-saan**   ninyo   sinabi   [-ng __ ang lola   ninyo]?
          PRED-where UNM.you.PL ACC.said   C   ANG grandmother your.PL
          'Where did you say your grandmother was?'

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8 The only grammatical version of (19) lacks *ay*-inversion:

 (i) Alamin   muna kung na-saan   ka   ngayon
      know.ACC first   C_MVMT PRED-where ANG.you now
      'Figure out first where you are now'

b. ***Gaano kabilis** sinabi ng dalubhasa [na __ ang butiki]?
   how fast ACC.said UNM expert C ANG house.lizard
   'How fast did the expert say the house lizard was?'

c. ***Ano-ng klase-ng Pangulo** ang sinasabi ng mga diyaryo
   what-LI kind-LI president ANG ACC.saying UNM PL newspaper
   [na __ si D.]?
    C ANG D.
   'What kind of president are the newspapers saying Duterte is?'

d. ***Aanh-in** sinabi ng guro [na __ ni Juan ang mga libro-ng ito]?
   FUT.what-ACC ACC.said UNM teacher C UNM Juan ANG PL book-LI this
   'What did the teacher say Juan would do with the books?'

Wh-predicates, like other wh-phrases, must be adjacent to the interrogative complementizer, but in every case in which fronting a wh-predicate would not be string-vacuous, fronting is blocked; they cannot front across clause boundaries, as (21) shows, but they also cannot front within their clause, as we see in (19).[9]

    The facts in matrix wh-questions are somewhat more complicated. Here it is possible for *ay*-inverted phrases to precede wh-predicates:[10]

(22)   Ang Diyos mo ba ay na-saan?
       ANG God your Q AY PRED-where
       'Where is your God?'   (Psalms 42:10, *Magandang Balita Bible*)

We might understand the fact in (22) as telling us that Tagalog is like many languages in having kinds of movement to the left periphery which are restricted to root clauses; in this particular case, we would say, *ay*-inversion takes place to a higher position than it could in an embedded question, landing above the (null) complementizer and allowing the linear adjacency requirement between C and the wh-predicate to be satisfied.[11]

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[9] I have only shown this for fronting across *ay*-fronted constituents, and not for negation. Wh-fronting of predicates across negation is independently ruled out, perhaps as an instance of the inner island effect of Ross (1984), properly understood:

  (i)   *Where isn't your grandmother?
  (ii) *Which president do you not think [Mary will be]?

[10] Matrix non-predicate wh-phrases can also be preceded by *ay*-inverted material:

  (i) Ngunit ang karunungan ay saan ba nagbubuhat?
     but ANG wisdom AY where Q NOM.come.from
     'But where does wisdom come from?'   (Job 32:8, *Magandang Balita Bible*)

[11] I have omitted the question particle *ba*; like the pronoun mentioned in footnote 2 above, *ba* is a clitic, so its placement in the sentence is not entirely determined by the syntax.

(23)
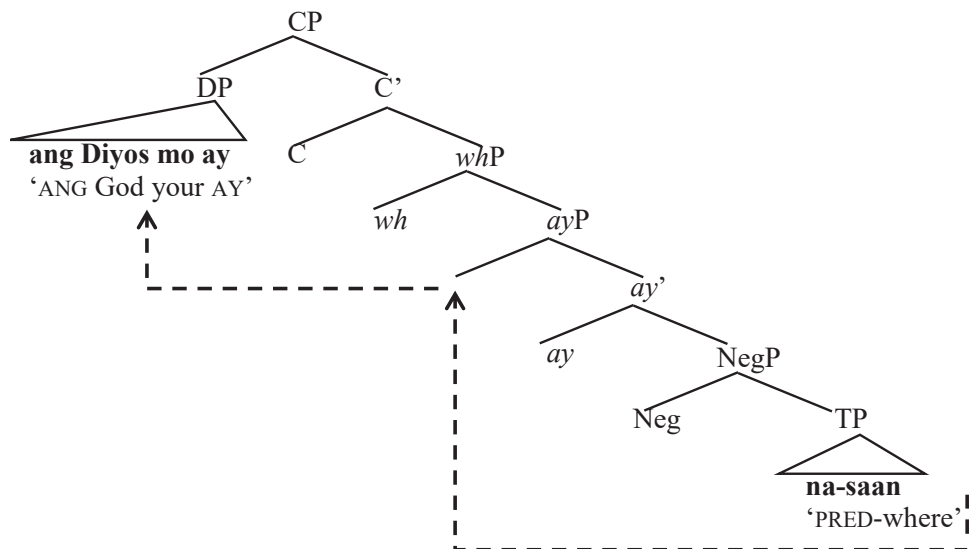
The second movement step in (23) would be the one which is banned in embedded clauses but licit in matrix questions.[12] The question of why such root phenomena should exist, in Tagalog or any other language, is a very interesting one that lies beyond the scope of this paper;[13] for further discussion of root phenomena in other languages, see Emonds (1969; 2004), Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010), Haegeman (2012), Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014), Miyagawa (2022), and much other work.

   Putting matrix questions aside, then, let us review what the facts of embedded questions seem to teach us.

(24)   a.   Hindi ko   alam kung **saan** i-nilagay ni   Juan ang libro
             not   UNM.I know C$_{\text{MVMT}}$ where OBL-put UNM Juan ANG book
             'I don't know where Juan put the book'

       b.   Hindi ko   alam kung **na-saan**   ang libro
             not   UNM.I know C$_{\text{MVMT}}$ PRED-where ANG book
             'I don't know where the book is'

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[12] Alternatively, we might handle this kind of root phenomenon by allowing *ay*P to be generated above CP just in root clauses.

[13] In an approach like that of Richards (2010; 2016), in which the placement of the wh-phrase is determined by constraints imposed by the interface with PF, it is tempting to build an explanation around the fact that in Tagalog (as in many other languages) matrix C is reliably phonologically null, unlike embedded C. Since wh-movement in matrix questions is obligatory in Tagalog, however, we cannot simply say that this null C is free of any conditions on its relation with the wh-phrase, at least if we are to rely on these conditions to drive wh-movement.

We have now seen evidence that the boldfaced wh-phrases in (24) are in different syntactic positions. *Saan* 'where' in (24a) is in a comparatively high structural position, preceding the positions of negation and *ay*-inverted phrases. The predicate wh-phrase *na-saan* 'PRED-where' in (24b), on the other hand, is in a comparatively low structural position, the predicate-initial position typically occupied by predicates. In fact, we have seen that wh-predicates cannot move to any position higher than the one generally occupied by predicates.[14]

The description in (25) covers the data under discussion:

(25)   In Tagalog, wh-phrases must be linearly adjacent to C.

On this view, the wh-phrase in (24a) satisfies (25) via actual wh-movement, while the wh-phrase in (24b) satisfies (25) because of the general processes that typically make predicates initial in Tagalog. In fact, we have now seen that if a wh-predicate cannot satisfy (25) while staying in the ordinary position of predicates, then (25) is violated and the result is ill-formed; wh-predicates cannot undergo the kind of wh-movement that we see in (24a).

The condition in (25) would be a natural consequence of an approach to overt movement like that in Richards (2010; 2016). In that theory, overt movement takes place because of conditions that require Probes and Goals to share prosodic structures of certain kinds. I claim that the construction of prosodic structure begins earlier in the derivation than we have classically believed, and that operations in the narrow syntax can be driven by the need to improve the prosodic representation. The approach posits a requirement that the smallest string containing C and the wh-phrase have the wh-phrase as its most prosodically prominent element. In languages like Tagalog, I claim, the most prosodically prominent element is the leftmost phrase in a given string.[15] The upshot of this would be that in the smallest string containing C and the wh-phrase, the wh-phrase must be the leftmost phrase. A wh-phrase which immediately follows C will obey this condition, regardless of how much syntactic structure intervenes between them, as long as no phrase is pronounced between C and the wh-phrase. On this kind of account, then, we expect to find generalizations like (25).

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[14] I will refer interested readers to Richards (2009) for some discussion of why this might be. Briefly, I propose there that Tagalog nonverbal predicates involve a null copula, which cannot be stranded by movement (I compare the Tagalog null copula to the AAVE one in (ib) (Labov 1969)):

(i)   a.   He Ø fast in everything he do.
        b.   *How beautiful you Ø !

[15] This is, for me, one setting of a binary parameter; there are also languages in which the most prosodically prominent element is the rightmost phrase.

Generalizations like (25) are not the mainstream way of understanding overt movement. On standard approaches, overt movement takes place because of features on a head which require that head to have a specifier (often, a Goal with which a Probe on the head has Agreed). Wh-movement takes place, on this view, because a particular head demands a specifier, and we never expect to find a wh-phrase in any syntactic position other than the specifier of that head. Can some version of this kind of approach account for the Tagalog data?

It is always dangerous to bet against the ingenuity of future syntacticians, of course, but it is difficult to see how any account of this kind can succeed. This is particularly clear if we are justified in positing anything like the structurally rich approach represented in the tree in (13b); ordinary wh-movement in Tagalog lands in the specifier of one kind of functional projection, and predicate wh-phrases reside in a completely distinct functional projection, and the two are separated by some structural distance.[16] It is hard to see how a single structural condition could cover all the cases.

4. Conclusion

The best generalization about Tagalog wh-questions appears to be that the wh-phrase must immediately linearly follow the interrogative complementizer.[17] For most wh-phrases, this requirement is satisfied by wh-fronting, which lands in a position to the right of the complementizer and to the left of negation and *ay*-inverted phrases. Such wh-fronting is generally obligatory in Tagalog, as we have seen. But we have also learned that wh-predicates must satisfy the general condition on wh-questions in Tagalog in a different way; they must be linearly adjacent to the interrogative complementizer, but they cannot move in order to get there, even if the movement would only take them past an intervening *ay*-phrase. In other words, the requirement that wh-movement must be overt in Tagalog cannot be associated with a particular syntactic position;

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[16] Even if we were to claim that phrases like *ay*P and NegP are only present when they are occupied by material, we would still be left with the central distinction; there is some host for wh-movement which is above the ordinary position of predicates (and above *ay*P and NegP, when they are present), and this host is the landing site for ordinary wh-movement but not for wh-predicates. The account would fall short of its goal of finding a single structural configuration for wh-phrases to occupy.

[17] We can think of the literature positing a ban on Vacuous Movement in English (George 1980; Chung and McCloskey 1983; Chomsky 1986) as arguing for a similar claim for English; English wh-phrases need only be linearly adjacent to C, and string-vacuous movement therefore does not take place. Similarly, some work on information structure (e.g., Pereltsvaig 2004; Fanselow 2007; Neeleman et al. 2009) argues that notions like topic and focus are best analyzed in terms of linear positions rather than structural ones. Other work has posited a general condition of Anti-Locality (Abels 2003; Grohmann 2003; Erlewine 2016; Brillman and Hirsch 2016; Brillman 2017), banning movement which does not cross certain kinds of material. Whether this kind of proposal can be reduced to the idea defended here is another question I will have to leave for future research.

fronted wh-phrases and wh-predicates do not occupy the same syntactic position (the *ay*-inverted phrase intervenes between them), but both can (and must) satisfy the condition on wh-phrases in Tagalog. An account of the standard kind, which says that wh-fronting is obligatory in some languages because a particular head demands that the wh-phrase land in its specifier, appears to fail for Tagalog. Overt wh-movement is obligatory in Tagalog, but there is no single structural position occupied by all Tagalog wh-phrases. We are used to saying that wh-movement is driven by a need to fill the specifier of CP, but I have argued that this is a mistake. Wh-movement, if I am right, is driven by a need to make sure that a particular domain has a wh-phrase at its linear left edge, regardless of where that left edge appears in syntactic structure.

Abbreviations

I use the abbreviations of Rackowski (2002) to gloss Tagalog's "Philippine-type" voice system; NOM indicates that the verb agrees with the underlying Nominative argument, ACC for the Accusative argument, DAT for a Dative argument, and OBL for an Oblique argument. ANG is the marker of the argument agreed with by the verb (this morpheme has two allomorphs, *si* for proper names of human beings and *ang* for other nominals). The other two nominal cases are DAT, for datives, and UNM(arked), which is for nominals not marked ANG or DAT. The other abbreviations used here are FUT (Future), LI (Linker), PRED (Predicate), and PL (plural).

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Competing Interests

The author has no competing interests to declare.

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