

XP predicate-fronting in Tagalog

THE ISSUE: In the literature (Aldridge 2004; Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis 1992; Mercado 2002, *in press*; Rackowski 2002; Richards 2000), it has either been assumed or proposed that the predicate-initial nature of Tagalog declarative sentences containing verbal predicates is due to the various head movements that V° undergoes until it reaches I° . With respect to Tagalog copula sentences, Aldridge (2004) and Mercado (*in press*) suggest that these constructions involve XP predicate-fronting of the non-verbal predicate to Spec-IP. However, evidence from quantifier float and from the positioning of contrastively focused prepositional phrases in restructuring sentences suggest that V1 in Tagalog declarative sentences with verbal predicates results from the evacuation of DPs and PPs to some functional projection outside the theta-domain and from the remnant XP-fronting of verbal predicates to Spec-IP.

THE DATA: I assume Sportiche's (1988) analysis of quantifier float as quantifier stranding. The sentence in (1) is an example of quantifier float in Tagalog. I do not assume that quantifiers are adverbs (see Bobaljik (2003) and references therein) because floated quantifiers do not appear in positions that adverbs can appear in (compare (1) to (2)). As the sentence in (1) shows, the quantifier must be right adjacent to the verb.

If quantifiers are base-generated in the tree in a [_{QP}Q DP] configuration and the QP itself is base-generated in an argumental position, a V-fronting account would encounter problems in formulating a story in which the quantifier undergoes head movement with the verb. An XP predicate-fronting analysis, however, can easily account for the data in (1): the DP that *lahat* 'all' quantifies over evacuates the XP predicate to some functional domain outside the theta-domain, leaving behind the quantifier. When the XP predicate raises Spec-IP, the quantifier, because it is stranded in the XP predicate, also raises.

More compelling evidence comes from the position of focalised prepositional phrases in restructuring sentences. Mercado (2002) analyses restructuring in Tagalog as the head movement of the embedded verb to the matrix verb. On its way up, the embedded V° right-adjoins to C° and pied-pipes the complementiser as it raises and right-adjoins to the matrix V° . This seen in the alternation in (3).

It becomes immediately clear that Mercado's analysis of Tagalog restructuring is untenable when faced with restructuring sentences that contain focalised PPs. Contrastively focused prepositional phrases appear in between the complementiser and the embedded verb, as shown in (4). Again, a V-fronting analysis cannot account for the appearance of a PP, which is phrasal, in a cluster that supposedly contains only heads. The XP predicate-fronting analysis proposed in this talk can very easily explain this word order: the PP evacuates the XP predicate and the XP predicate raises to Spec-IP. According to Mercado (*in press*), PPs raise from their base-positions to Spec-IP when contrastively focused. In the account presented here, focalised PPs raise to Spec-IP from the functional projection outside the theta-domain to which they have evacuated.

THE IMPLICATIONS: The evacuation of the DPs and the PPs to the some functional projection outside the theta-domain provides an explanation for Tagalog scrambling. When there are three arguments in a sentence, all these arguments can appear in any order, following the verb, as in (5). In the analysis presented here, because the evacuation of DPs and PPs to a functional projection outside of the theta-domain is motivated only by a need to escape the XP predicate, it is not necessary for them to evacuate in any order nor is it necessary for them to land in that functional projection in any order. This can explain why there is no change in meaning in the different variants in (5).

