Why-stripping targets Voice Phrase*

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1. Introduction

This paper investigates the construction exemplified in (1), referred to as *why*-stripping by Yoshida, Nakao & Ortega-Santos (2013) (henceforth Yoshida et al.).

- (1) a. John at natto. Why natto?
 - b. They're leaving for Italy on Tuesday. Why on Tuesday?
 - c. Gazpacho soup is served cold. Why cold?

Yoshida et al. argue that this construction involves movement of a remnant (*natto*, *on Tuesday*, *cold* etc.) to the specifier of a Focus projection, the ellipsis of the complement of that projection (via clausal ellipsis such as that proposed for sluicing by Merchant 2001), and a base-generated *why* in [Spec, CP]. This paper agrees with Yoshida et al.'s analysis of *why*-stripping as movement plus ellipsis, but disputes the precise landing site of the movement. I argue that the Focus phrase to which the remnant moves does not merge as high as TP, but rather selects VoiceP (Collins 2005, a.o.). I will present various diagnostics to show that a TP is not present in the structure of *why*-strips like those in (1). I will also argue that subject *why*-stripping, such as *Mary left. Why Mary?*, shows various different properties from *why*-stripping of objects (such as (1a) above). I propose that subject *why*-stripping is to be analyzed as involving the ellipsis of a cleft sentence (*Why Mary it was t (that left)*), adding to the body of evidence suggesting that such clefts can be construed in ellipsis sites as a 'last resort' (van Craenenbroeck 2010).

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I review Yoshida et al.'s analysis of why-stripping. In section 3, I propose my amendment to their analysis, that the ellipsis site in why-stripping is a VoiceP rather than a TP. Section 4 provides the evidence for this

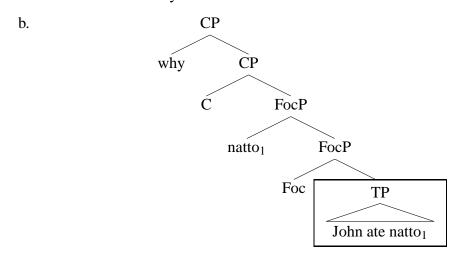
^{*}I would like to thank Kyle Johnson for his invaluable help and comments on this material. Thanks also to the NELS 43 audience, three anonymous NELS reviewers, and the audience of the UMass Syntax and Semantics Reading Group. All errors are of course mine. This work was supported by a University of Massachusetts Graduate School Fellowship.

amendment, and section 5 discusses evidence from negation and subject/object asymmetries for the possibility of eliding a cleft sentence in *why*-stripping. Section 6 concludes.

2. Yoshida et al. (2013)'s analysis

Yoshida et al. propose that the structure of *why*-stripping sentences is as in (2b) below, where the elided clause is marked with a box.

(2) a. John ate natto. Why natto?



In this structure, the remnant in a *why*-stripping sentence (here, *natto*) moves to the specifier of a Focus projection. Above this Focus projection is a base-generated *why* in [Spec, CP]. The rest of the clause is then elided. To account for the fact that this movement is not seen outside of elliptical contexts (that is, **Why* NATTO *did John eat?* is ungrammatical), Yoshida et al. argue that focus-marked elements are always moved to a focus position; in the usual case, this movement is covert, but if the TP containing the lower copy is elided, as it is in (2b), then a principle of Recoverability such as Pesetsky (1997)'s mandates that the higher copy is pronounced. As such, the focused element is only pronounced in a high clausal position in the environment of ellipsis such as *why*-stripping.

There are three main components to this analysis: (i) a *why*-stripping construction involves ellipsis of syntactic structure; (ii) the remnant moves to a position outside this ellipsis; (iii) the *why* is base-generated rather than moved. Yoshida et al. present a variety of tests in order to show that these components of the analysis hold. I will review some of these here, but this list will not be exhaustive; I refer the reader to Yoshida et al. for further details.

The presence of syntactic structure in the ellipsis site is motivated by Case and binding connectivity effects. Remnants in *why*-stripping show the Case and binding properties which they would show in non-elliptical counterparts, suggesting that the Case licensers and binders respectively are syntactically present.

- (3) a. A: He₁ is selling all of these pictures.
 B: *Why/how come (even) PICTURES OF JOHN₁?
 (Yoshida et al.'s (25a); a Condition C violation: cp. *Why is he₁ selling pictures of John₁?)
 - b. Peter will der Sekretärin gefallen. Warum der/*die Sekretärin? Peter wants the.DAT secretary please why the.DAT/*ACC secretary 'Peter wants to please the secretary. Why the secretary?' (Yoshida et al.'s (20a))

To show that the remnant has moved to its position, Yoshida et al. show that the remnant in *why*-stripping obeys the 'P-stranding generalization' investigated by Merchant (2001) and subsequent work. In languages in which prepositions are obligatorily pied-piped in movement structures, those prepositions must obligatorily appear in the remnants of *why*-stripping. By contrast, a language which allows preposition stranding, such as English, allows *why*-stripping remnants to be DPs without prepositions. Yoshida et al. cite data from German, a pied-piping language, to show this.

- (4) (Yoshida et al.'s (31a, 33))
 - a. A: John was talking to Mary. B: Why (to) Mary?
 - b. Anna hat mit Abel gesprochen. Warum *(mit) Abel?
 Anna has with Abel spoken why with Abel
 'Anna has spoken with Abel. Why with Abel?'

Following the logic put forward by Merchant (2001) for sluicing remnants, this contrast can be taken as evidence that the remnant in *why*-stripping has moved to its position, as the class of remnants available in a given language correlates with the class of moveable elements.

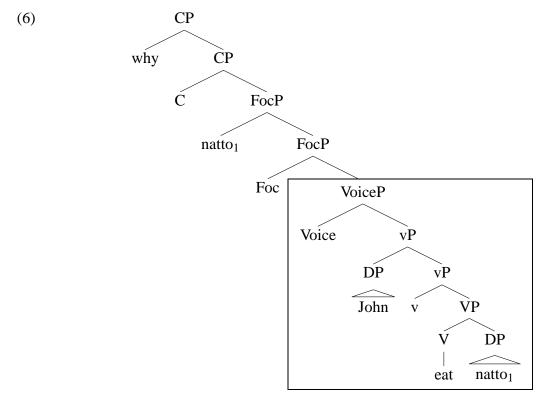
Finally, to show that the *why* in *why*-stripping has not moved to its position, Yoshida et al. point out that the focus-sensitive *why* which they claim is used in *why*-stripping does not appear to reconstruct under a quantifier like *every*. In the non-elliptical, non-focused variant (5a), *why* can take scope below *every* (i.e. prompting a pair-list answer of the form *Mary hates him because...* and *Tom hates him because...*), or *why* can take scope above *every* (prompting a general answer of the form *Because he's annoying*). By contrast, versions of this sentence in which *why* has a focused associate – which, perforce, include elliptical *why*-stripping sentences – has only the latter of these readings, i.e. the *why* > *every* reading. Yoshida et al. take this as evidence that the focus-sensitive *why* in *why*-stripping has not moved but has rather been base-generated in a high position (and so cannot reconstruct to a position below the quantifier).

¹See Bromberger 1992 and Stepanov & Tsai 2008, and references cited by Yoshida et al. for further discussion.

- (5) Yoshida et al.'s (98a, 99, 100a)
 - a. Why does everyone hate John? (why > every, every > why)
 - b. Why does everyone hate JOHN? (why > every, *every > why)
 - c. Everyone hates John. Why JOHN? (why > every, *every > why)

3. A proposed amendment: the FocusP selects VoiceP

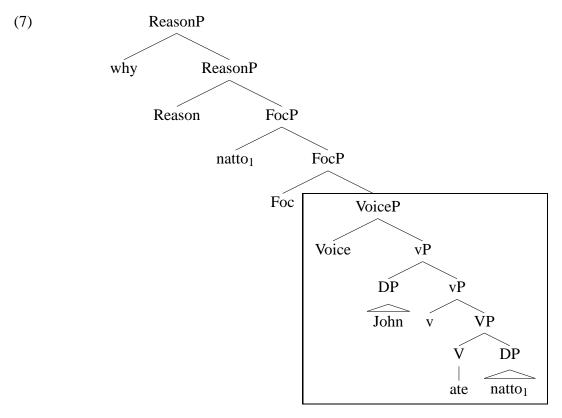
All of the diagnostics discussed above suggest that the general shape of the analysis in (2b) is essentially right, and I do not want to challenge that general shape here. However, I do wish to propose an amendment to it: namely, that the structure which is elided is not as big as TP (as in sluicing (Merchant 2001) or as in Yoshida et al.'s analysis of *why*-stripping), but rather is only as big as VoiceP. I assume Merchant (2013)'s variant of Collins (2005)'s syntax for VoiceP, where Voice is specified for [active/passive], selects a vP, and (in the passive case) is selected by a passive auxiliary occupying a v head. The syntax of a *why*-strip under this analysis is given in (6).



An immediate issue that this syntax raises is whether a CP, or the extended CP projection including FocP, can select VoiceP without the mediation of TP/an IP-layer.² This syntax is not without precedent: some analyses of the syntax of imperatives, for example, propose something similar to this, such as Zanuttini (1996), who suggests that a 'combined' CP/TP can select a VP. However, we might entertain an alternative analysis, one in which *why* is

²Thanks to a NELS reviewer for raising this issue.

merged low and there is no CP in the structure; we project up to a 'ReasonP' (Shlonsky & Soare 2011), perhaps just above FocP-VoiceP, in which *why* is base-generated. In the normal, full clause case, this *why* moves to a CP/left-peripheral position, but in the case of *why*-stripping, no structure is built above the ReasonP:



This syntax has the advantage that it would give us an explanation for why the *why* in *why*-stripping does not move; in a syntax like that in (7), the *why* has no left-peripheral position to move to and so remains *in situ*.³

However, there are reasons to believe that *why*-stripping does involve a CP/clausal left-periphery layer. The first reason comes from syntactic selection. As Yoshida et al. point out, *why*-stripping can be embedded, as in (8), and specifically it can be embedded below verbs which syntactically select only for CPs, such as *wonder* or *inquire*.

- (8) a. John kissed Mary. I wonder [CP why Mary]?
 - b. John kissed Mary. Bill then inquired [CP why Mary].

³Presumably, however, if *why* normally moves to a left-peripheral position, it does so to satisfy a formal requirement, such as an uninterpretable feature which has to be checked; it's not clear what would amnesty that formal requirement just in the case that there is no left periphery for *why* to move into. As I am about to reject the syntax in (7), however, I will not consider this problem further here.

Another reason to believe that *why*-stripping involves a full CP is the availability (for at least some speakers) of *how come*-stripping, shown in (9).⁴

(9) John kissed Mary. How come Mary?

Collins (1991) gives us reason to believe that *how come* is base-generated in CP. Under Collins' analysis, the reason *how come* does not prompt subject-auxiliary inversion (unlike *why*) is due to its being base-generated in the C position (and thereby barring movement of the auxiliary into that position). *How come*-stripping also passes all the diagnostics that we will see in the next section for selecting a VoiceP rather than a TP; so *how come*-stripping, at least, seems to be a case of CP selecting VoiceP. If this is taken as given, then it would be parsimonious to assume that *why* in *why*-stripping is also base-generated in CP.⁵ As such, *why*-stripping provides evidence for the conclusion that CP can, at least sometimes, select VoiceP, if we have evidence for the lack of TP in *why*-stripping structures. Presenting this evidence will be the focus of the next section.

4. Why VoiceP?

In this section, I adduce a number of data points supporting the hypothesis presented above that the ellipsis in *why*-stripping targets VoiceP rather than TP.

4.1 Perfect participles cannot be *why*-stripping remnants, passive participles can

The two below *why*-strips contrast:

- (10) a. John was fired, but I don't know why fired (rather than fêted).
 - b. John has resigned, ?*but I don't know why resigned (rather than applied for promotion).

To the extent that the *why*-stripping construction in (10b) is good, it receives a 'metalinguistic' or 'quotative' interpretation of the 'why was that word choice made' type, similar to that in (11).⁶

This is somewhat problematic for their remnant-movement analysis (and, by extension, the present analysis), because main verbs do not generally move on their own in English, or at least they do not move to a left-peripheral position; compare the ungrammaticality of the fragment answer *What did he do to his banana boat?* — *Sell* *(*it*), also analyzed as remnant movement plus ellipsis by Merchant (2004). However, to my ear

⁴Yoshida et al. note that only a subset of English speakers that they consulted accept *how come*-stripping. The reason for this variance between speakers is unclear. For me, *how come*-stripping is acceptable but rather more marginal than *why*-stripping.

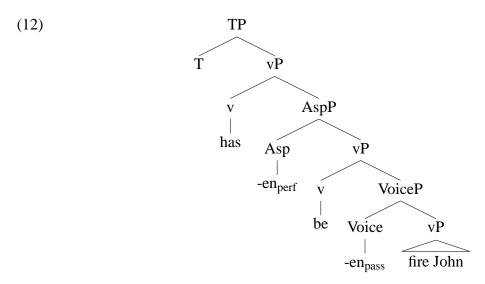
⁵See Stepanov & Tsai 2008 for arguments that English *why* is *always* base-generated in CP; if that's right, then the debate here becomes moot.

⁶Yoshida et al., citing an anonymous reviewer, claim that *why*-stripping examples with main verbs (to the exclusion of their objects) are acceptable.

⁽i) A: John should sell his banana boat. B: Why SELL? (Yoshida et al.'s (11b))

(11) [reading a press release with the first line 'Smith has resigned':] Why 'resigned'? Why not 'left to pursue opportunities elsewhere'?

The contrast in (10) can be captured by the hypothesis that *why*-stripping targets VoiceP. If we assume that the aspectual head that creates perfect participles is higher than VoiceP (as suggested by the fact that the passive auxiliary, selecting a VoiceP, can be made into a perfect participle: *John has been fired*; see also e.g. Cinque 1999), then perfect participles cannot be moved out of VoiceP.



The assumption here is that the passive participle head is within the VoiceP domain of ellipsis, while the perfect participle head outside it. Passive participles can therefore be created (and extracted) in *why*-strips, while perfect participles cannot.⁷

4.2 Why-stripping does not preserve negation

The following why-stripping sentence is peculiar if negation is not overtly expressed.

(13) Mary didn't fix her printer. She didn't fix her computer either. Why ?*(not) her computer?⁸

examples like (i) are only good as 'metalinguistic' examples of the type in (11), and, I would argue, should receive a similar analysis.

⁷This is not entirely in keeping with Collins (2005)'s analysis of VoiceP, in which there is no distinction between perfect and passive participles. In Collins' analysis, both perfect and passive participles are created within vP, and have to be licensed either by moving to [Spec, VoiceP] (if the clause is passive) or by the presence of the auxiliary *have*, which selects VoiceP; if we wanted to cleave to Collins' analysis, we could say that it is the lack of *have* in cases like (10b) that is responsible for their ungrammaticality.

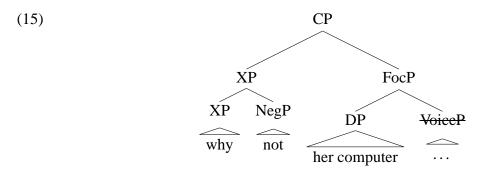
⁸The extended context (with both a printer and computer not fixed) is needed here because, as we will see in section 5, one way of possibly interpreting this *why*-strip on the current analysis would be [why her computer it was her computer she didn't fix].

The negation in the antecedent in (13) seems to resist being construed within the ellipsis site. This contrasts with sluicing, which elides a full TP (Merchant 2001): in sluices, negation can be construed within the ellipsis site unproblematically:

(14) Mary didn't fix her printer because she didn't have the parts. She didn't fix her computer, either, but I don't know why. (= I don't know why Mary didn't fix her computer.)

Again, the hypothesis that *why*-stripping targets VoiceP accounts for this difference. If sentential (non-constituent) negation is generated in a position higher than VoiceP (see e.g. Zanuttini 1996, Cinque 1999) then it cannot be contained within the ellipsis site. A *why*-strip like *Why her computer?* in (13) cannot therefore be interpreted as *Why didn't she fix her computer?*

We would then like to understand the status of the negation expressed in a *why*-stripping sentence like *Why not her computer?* If it is not sentential negation, this implies it is constituent negation of some sort; and if the possibility of sentential negation is linked to the presence of Tense, as suggested by Zanuttini (1996), then on the present analysis we would expect only constituent negation to be possible. Merchant (2006) points out that in languages which have adverbial or phrasal negation markers, that marker is used in those languages' equivalent of *why not* (as in *Mary won't leave.* — *Why not?*); if, however, a language has head negation, that head cannot be used in the *why not* construction, such languages rather using the word for *no* (e.g. Italian *perchè no?* 'why no?' but not **perchè non?* 'why not?'). Merchant argues that this follows if we suppose that *why not* represents adjunction of the negative marker to *why*; the reason why languages with negation heads do not use them in the *why not* construction is that a head could not adjoin to a phrasal adverb such as *why*. We could extend Merchant's syntax to the current case, as in (15). ¹⁰



Another possible analysis is that cases like *Why not her computer?* represent constituent negation of the remnant, here *her computer*. A third possible analysis would be to adjoin constituent negation in a position c-commanding the FocP. I won't choose between these options here, but will present some evidence to suggest that a constituent negation analysis is on the right track, namely that there appears to be a correlation between the set of negative polarity items licensed by constituent negation (even in a position not c-commanding the NPI), as shown in (16), and those licensed in *why not*-stripping, as shown in (17).

⁹Thanks to Marcel den Dikken for making this point.

¹⁰Merchant does not discuss the compositional semantics of *not* adjoined in such a position.

- (16) a. (i) Not everyone saw anything/any dancers.
 - (ii) (No-one saw a singer; and) not everyone saw a dancer, either.
 - b. (i) *Not everyone saw any dancers at all.
 - (ii) *Not everyone has a red cent.
- (17) a. (i) There were singers there, but why not any dancers?
 - (ii) I understand why there weren't singers there, but why not dancers, either?
 - b. (i) I understand why there wouldn't be *many* dancers, but ??why not any dancers at all? (OK: why no dancers at all?)
 - (ii) A: I don't have a red cent.B: I understand why you don't have *much* money, but *why not a red cent? (OK: why don't you have a red cent?)

While I do not take this up in detail here, this correlation suggests that the *not* we see in *why not*-stripping is some form of constituent negation. This is a positive result, as on the current analysis, it could not be sentential negation, as there is no possible syntactic position for sentential negation on the analysis proposed here.

4.3 Why-stripping preserves root modality but not epistemic

There is a contrast between (18a, b) and (19).

- (18) a. I understand why John can (/is allowed to) access the guest account. Why the superuser account, though?
 - b. I understand why nuclear fission can produce heat. Why light, though?
- [Detectives' conference debating possible hypotheses]
 I understand why Salander might be in Stockholm (a witness saw someone answering to her description).
 ??Why in Oslo, though? (OK: 'why might Salander be in Oslo?')¹¹

The contrast seems to be whether the modality in the antecedent is root modality (deontic (18a), circumstantial (18b)) or epistemic modality (19). Root modality appears to survive the ellipsis in *why*-stripping, while epistemic modality does not. The only interpretation (19) receives seems to be *Why is Salander in Oslo?*, an interpretation which the context does not license.

¹¹The interpretation being targeted in these cases in one in which *why* is understood as being 'external' to the modality. That is, the question being asked in (19) is 'What reason do we have to believe that Salander might be in Stockholm?', rather than 'What reason might Salander have to be in Stockholm?'

Again, the hypothesis that *why*-stripping targets VoiceP accounts for this. Assume, following Hacquard 2006 and references therein, that deontic and circumstantial modality are generated within vP, in a position below Tense and Aspect, but epistemic modality is generated above Tense. Then, if *why*-stripping constructions exclude Tense (and any structure higher than Tense), they are also expected to exclude epistemic modality, as illustrated below.

- (20) [CP Why [FocP the superuser account $\frac{\text{[VoiceP [vP John [ModP can [vP access t_1]]]]]}}{\text{[VoiceP [vP John [ModP can [vP access t_1]]]]]}}$]
- (21) $[CP Why [FocP in Oslo_1 {VoiceP [vP Salander [vP be t_1]]]}]]$ (no possible position for *might*, which would merge above TP)

The modality gets 'copied over' (via whichever mechanisms are used to resolve ellipsis) in the root modality case, but not the epistemic modality case. The fact that there is no possible position for the epistemic modality in (21) leads to the only possible reading being why is Salander in Oslo?

Again, this contrasts with sluicing, which (by assumption) does contain Tense in the ellipsis site, and which can 'copy over' epistemic modality:

I'm on a need-to-know basis as far as the Salander case is concerned. I have to take my detective colleagues' conclusions at face value. Salander might be in Oslo. I don't know why, though. I was just told so.
 (=I don't know why Salander might be in Oslo – I don't know what basis they have for concluding this as a possibility)

4.4 Interim summary

We have seen evidence from perfect/passive asymmetries, negation, and modality to suggest that the domain of ellipsis in *why*-stripping is not as high as TP, and is rather only as big as a VoiceP. I now turn to an asymmetry between subject and object DP remnants in *why*-stripping, and further data concerning negation within *why*-stripping. I argue that these data furnish both further arguments for *why*-stripping targeting VoiceP, and further arguments in favor of the analysis that ellipsis sites can sometimes contain cleft sentences (van Craenenbroeck 2010).

5. Eliding clefts in why-stripping

Firstly, let us consider an asymmetry in subject and object remnants in *why*-stripping. On the face of it, both subjects and objects can be the remnants of *why*-stripping.

- (23) a. John ate natto, but I don't know why natto.
 - b. Mary kissed Bill and John. Why John?

- (24) a. Mary left the party early, but I don't know why Mary.
 - b. James and Morag were snooping around. Why James and Morag?

However, I argue there is a difference between these two cases, namely that subject *why*-strips must satisfy a presupposition of uniqueness, while object *why*-strips need not, as shown in (25) and (26).

- (25) a. John ate the beans. He ate the natto too, but I don't know why the natto.
 - b. Mary kissed Bill and John. Why John?
- (26) a. Mary ate natto. John did too, #but I don't know why John. (OK: ... why John did.)
 - b. James and Morag were snooping around. #Why James? (OK: Why James and Morag? or: Why was James?)
 - c. Catriona is standing on one leg. Betsy is too, #but I don't know why Betsy. (OK: ... why Betsy is.)

I suggest that the hypothesis that *why*-stripping targets VoiceP accounts for this distribution. The leading idea is that apparent subject *why*-strips are actually clefts, as proposed for certain sluicing cases by Rodrigues et al. (2009) and van Craenenbroeck (2010). As cleft sentences, they bring about a presupposition of uniqueness (in the same way as *It was Mary that left* presupposes that only one individual left).

To see why this should be, consider the structure I propose for a sentence like *John ate natto*. *Why natto?*:

(27) [CP why [FocP natto {VoiceP [vP John v [vP ate t]]]]]

In this structure, the object can receive accusative Case vP-internally. It can then be extracted to [Spec, FocusP]. However, on the assumption that subjects receive their nominative case from T, then subjects in this structure cannot receive nominative Case; there is no T to license the nominative case on a subject. In other words, this structure is too 'small' for subjects to get Case. If we assume a principle like the Case Filter (Chomsky 1981), which states that DPs which do not receive Case cannot be pronounced, then subject arguments in *why*-stripping cannot be overtly expressed. This rules out subject extraction to [Spec, FocusP], because the subject does not receive Case from anywhere, and so cannot be pronounced. If the subject remains *in situ*, within the ellipsis site, it remains unpronounced and so can pass the Case Filter (which only bars the overt realization of DPs without Case).

When we see *why*-strips with subjects, such as (28), I propose that these sentences are eliding clefts.

(28) Mary left the party early. Why Mary [it was t (that left the party early)]¹²

¹²I abstract away from the precise syntax of the cleft here, or matters such as whether it is a short cleft (*it was Mary*), a long cleft (*it was Mary that left the party early*) or a reverse pseudocleft like *Mary was who*

The objects of clefts receive accusative Case in English (*It was her/*she who left*), and so can pass the Case Filter even when extracted, as in (28). This suggestion builds on recent work by van Craenenbroeck (2010) which suggests that construction of a cleft sentence in an ellipsis site is a procedure which can be used as a 'last resort' in the absence of a syntactically suitable antecedent. In this context, the 'last resort' procedure fixes our Case assignment problem. However, it also brings with it semantic effects, such as a presupposition of uniqueness. We can see another effect of this presupposition of uniqueness in the following contrast, alluded to in footnote 8.

- (29) a. Mary didn't fix her computer. Why her computer?
 - b. Mary didn't fix her printer. She didn't fix her computer either. ?#Why her computer?

While it was claimed in section 4.2 that negation is not preserved in *why*-stripping, it seems as if this is possible in (29a). However, I argue that (29a) represents a process of 'smuggling in' negation within the embedded clause contained within the cleft, as in (30).

(30) Why her computer it was her computer she didn't fix

However, using the cleft syntax to 'smuggle' in negation in this way results again in the uniqueness presupposition which clefts bring about. This is why (29b) is bad: if the context is set up so as not to support a uniqueness presupposition (i.e. that there was only one thing that Mary didn't fix), then the cleft syntax cannot be felicitously used, and there is no other site for negation within the VoiceP ellipsis site (as discussed in section 4.2). The contrast in (29), then, provides evidence both for the availability of clefts within the ellipsis site and for the ellipsis site not being 'big' enough to contain sentential negation.

Further evidence for the possibility of eliding clefts in *why*-stripping comes from the fact, noted by Yoshida et al., that Brazilian Portuguese *why*-stripping (31a) does not show the P-stranding generalization; that is, despite the fact that Brazilian Portuguese does not in general allow P-stranding, prepositions are nevertheless optional in *why*-stripping remnants. Brazilian Portuguese *why*-stripping patterns like Brazilian Portuguese sluicing in this way (as shown in (31b); Almeida & Yoshida 2007, Rodrigues et al. 2009). ¹³

- (31) a. O João falou com a Maria. Por que (com) a Maria? the J. spoke with the M. why (with) the M. 'João spoke with Maria. Why (with) Maria?'
 - b. O João falou com alguem, mas não sei (com) quem. the J. spoke with someone but NEG know.1SG (with) who 'João spoke with someone, but I don't know (with) who.'

left the party early (thanks to Anisa Schardl for raising this last possibility); although, as will become clear shortly in the discussion of negation, I believe that at least one of the two latter 'longer' clefts will have to be possibilities.

¹³The data in (31) are due to Luiz Amaral. Spanish speakers were also consulted, but judgments on Spanish data seemed more variable. That variability is also reported by Rodrigues et al. (2009) for the parallel cases of sluicing in Spanish.

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Given that Brazilian Portuguese in general does not allow P-stranding, a sentence like (31a) cannot have the form *Por que a Maria o João falou com t*. Following the argument of Rodrigues et al. (2009) for Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese sluicing alleviating P-stranding, I argue that the P-less cases of *why*-stripping involve the construction of a cleft in the ellipsis site, as in (32).

(32) O João falou com a Maria. Por que a Maria foi the J. spoke with the M. why the M. was 'João spoke with Maria. Why Maria it was'

These facts from Brazilian Portuguese provide crosslinguistic support for the notion that building clefts within the ellipsis site might be what is happening in the English subject *why*-stripping cases too.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that, while the general shape of the syntax proposed by Yoshida et al. (2013) for *why*-stripping is correct, the specific phrase which is elided is not as big as TP, but rather only a VoiceP. If this is accurate, it provides evidence that the clausal 'left periphery' or extended CP layer can select verbal heads such as VoiceP directly without mediation by TP or an 'IP layer'. The appearance of a presupposition of uniqueness in certain *why*-strips also adds to the growing body of evidence that cleft sentences can be constructed within ellipsis sites such as those created by *why*-stripping and sluicing, even if those clefts were not present in the antecedent.

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