1. Introduction[1]

1.1 *Why*-Stripping

It is well known that a variety of focused elements may appear in the so-called Stripping or Bare-Argument Ellipsis construction in English (Depiante 2000, Fiengo and May 1994, Hankamer and Sag 1976, Kim 1998, Lobeck 1995, May 1991, McCawley 1988, Merchant 2004, Reinhart 1991, Ross 1969 among many others). In a typical example of Stripping in (1a), a fragmental DP, in this case *sushi* which is accompanied by *not*,[2] indicates the same interpretation as the negative clause in (1b). This fragmental phrase gets a contrastive focus interpretation against another element, *natto* in the first conjunct.

(1) a. John ate natto, but <u>not</u> *sushi*.
     b. John ate natto, but John didn't eat *sushi*.

This construction is similar to Sluicing. Sluicing such as (2a) involves a fragmental wh-phrase, but has the same interpretation as the full interrogative sentence in (2b). The latter observation leads many researchers to analyze Sluicing as a type of sentential ellipsis (Ross 1967, among many others).

(2) a. John ate something, but I don't know *what*.
     b. John ate something, but I don't know *what* he ate.

The focused phrase in Stripping can be accompanied by focus particles (e.g., *only, also, even*, etc.), modal adverbs (e.g., *always, possibly, maybe,* etc.) and negation, *not*. To this catalogue of elements that appear in Stripping, we add *why*. This type of Stripping with *why*, which we call *Why*-Stripping, can be typically seen in a conversation, as shown in (3a), or in a coordination structure, as shown in (3b). In these structures the phrase following *why* normally receives focal stress (indicated by SMALL CAPS).

(3) a. A: John was eating natto.   B: Why NATTO (and not another food)?
     b. John was eating natto, but why NATTO (and not another food)?

One main outcome of this research is that *Why*-Stripping is clausal ellipsis, where *Why*-Stripping such as "Why NATTO?" corresponds to a full (interrogative) sentence in the same way as the above two constructions. In keeping with this view, we call a clause or a sentence that involves Stripping a *stripped clause/sentence* (*why NATTO* in (3)), and a clause or a sentence that the

[2] See Merchant (2006) and Jones (2004) for details about the syntax of *not* in a stripping context.

stripped clause refers to an *antecedent clause/sentence* (*John was eating natto* in (3)). Also, we call the phrase that follows *why* in *Why*-Stripping a *remnant* (e.g., NATTO in (3)), and the phrase in the first clause that corresponds to the remnant a *correlate* (e.g. *natto* in (3)).

As far as we know, there are no previous studies investigating the syntax of *Why*-Stripping in detail. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is as follows: our very first goal is to reveal the basic properties of this construction. We point out that *Why*-Stripping shows various signature properties of ellipsis (such as connectivity effects) in the same way as Sluicing and Stripping, while there are some important differences among these three constructions. More specifically, we show that (i) *Why*-Stripping involves movement of the remnant (e.g. NATTO) in the same way as other types of clausal ellipsis constructions; (ii) *Why*-Stripping does not involve movement of the wh-element (i.e., *why*) in contrast to Sluicing; and (iii) *Why*-Stripping involves clausal ellipsis and this ellipsis is obligatory in English, meaning that the non-ellipsis counterpart of *Why*-Stripping (e.g. **Why NATTO John was eating*?) is ungrammatical. To explain these three properties, we adopt and defend the following analysis: First, *why* and the remnant are located in the CP-domain. Specifically, we claim that *why* is base-generated in the highest Spec_CP and the remnant moves to the lower Spec_CP under the articulated CP hypothesis (van Craenenbroeck 2010b, Rizzi 1997, 2001, among others). Second, the movement of the remnant is focus-movement (Birner and Ward 1998, Erteschik-Shir 2007, Merchant 2004, Prince 1981, among others). We argue that this focus movement is an overt manifestation of the focus-association with *why* in non-ellipsis contexts (Bromberger 1992), and that it occurs overtly to satisfy Pesetsky's (1997) recoverability condition on ellipsis. Given these arguments, we will conclude that *why* in English should be classified into two subtypes and the one that induces a focus association does not undergo wh-movement (Bromberger 1992, Rizzi 2001 cf. Collins 1991, Ko 2005, Lasnik and Saito 1984, 1992, Rizzi 1990, among many others).

1.2 Basic properties of *Why*-Stripping and related constructions

Before turning to our analysis, we would like to summarize some basic properties of *Why*-Stripping. There seems to be more than one variant of *Why*-Stripping, that is, a *Why*-interrogative clause accompanied by a non-wh remnant, but it is not totally clear whether all of the *Why*-Stripping constructions have the same derivation or not. Given that a detailed analysis of all the variants of *Why*-Stripping is beyond the scope of this study, we will outline which variant we will concentrate on.

1.2.1 An Exclamative and a Quotative Use of *Why*-Stripping

Why-Stripping can be used as an exclamative sentence, and thus one can utter *Why*-Stripping sentence without expecting an answer, as exemplified in (4B), which merely indicates the speaker's surprise and/or irritation.

(4)   A: John was eating natto.   B: I can't believe it! Why NATTO!

In this study, however, we concentrate on the interrogative use of *Why*-Stripping such as (3). Furthermore, Merchant (2006: 22, fn.1; his example) mentions the quotative use of *Why*-Stripping:

(5)   A: The answer is no.
        B: Why 'NO'? Why not 'yes'?

This quotative use seems to be a subcase of the epistemic use of *why*. Hempel (1965) distinguished between reason-seeking *why*-questions (which illustrate the epistemic use of *why*) and explanation-seeking *why*-questions (which are the kind of questions discussed throughout this paper). The former seek reasons that justify believing that something is the case (e.g., "What is the reason for believing that the answer is 'no'?" in (5B)), whereas the latter are usually motivated by knowledge that a specific event has occurred (e.g., the knowledge of the fact that John was eating natto). We expect our approach to extend to *Why*-exclamatives and the quotative/epistemic use of *why*, but this topic goes beyond the scope of the present paper.

1.2.2   *Why*-Stripping, Stripping and Sluicing

At a quick glance, *Why*-Stripping looks like a combination of Sluicing and Stripping: there is both a clausal ellipsis with a wh-remnant (*why*), on the one hand, and a clausal ellipsis with a DP-remnant (*natto*), on the other. However, it is easy to show that *Why*-Stripping is not a simple combination of Sluicing and Stripping. For example, the wh-phrase that can appear in this type of Stripping seems to be restricted to *why* (and *how come*, which we will discuss in Section 4). Examples with other wh-phrases all give rise to unacceptability, as the examples in (6) indicate. Sluicing, on the other hand, is compatible with any type of wh-phrase (cf. (2); Merchant 2001, Ross 1969 among many other).

(6) a. A: John was eating natto. B: Why NATTO? (= (3a))
     b. A: John was eating natto. B: How come NATTO?[3]
     c. A: John was eating natto. B: *How/*When/*Where NATTO?
     d. A: Someone was eating natto. B: *Who NATTO?
     e. A: Something made John eat natto. B: *What NATTO?

Additionally, unlike Stripping in (7b), *Why*-Stripping can appear in embedded contexts, as shown in (7a).

(7) a. John was eating natto, but I'm wondering why NATTO (and not other things)?
     b. *John was eating natto, but I think (that) not sushi.

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[3] We will call sentences like (6b) *How come*-Stripping. Even though there are speakers who accept *How come*-Stripping, this construction is normally not as acceptable as *Why*-Stripping. We consulted 10 native speakers of English, only 3 of which regularly accept *How come*-Stripping. Interestingly, when *How come*-Stripping involves negation, the acceptability improves noticeably; all the 10 speakers accepted (ib).

(i) a. A: The boss decided to promote Mary. B: *How come Mary?
     b. A: The boss decided to promote Mary. B: How come not me/us?

At this point, we do not have any good explanation for this contrast, and we need to leave this issue for future research. In the remainder of this paper, we report judgments of *How come*-Stripping based on those of the 3 native speakers who accept *How come*-Stripping in the first place.

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In this respect, *Why*-Stripping behaves more like Sluicing than Stripping, as Sluicing is allowed in embedded contexts (e.g. (2); see Lasnik 2001 and Merchant 2001 for a discussion of matrix Sluicing). In addition to these differences, the remnant in *Why*-Stripping (e.g. NATTO in (3)) is 'repeated from' the antecedent clause (though see Section 1.2. for an example with a non-linguistic antecedent), while the remnant in Stripping (e.g., *sushi* in (1a)) is 'contrasted with' another phrase in the antecedent clause (e.g. *natto* in (1a)). In this study, we show the systematic differences and similarities among the three constructions in order to reveal the derivation of *Why*-Stripping.

1.2.3   *Why*-Stripping and Sluice Stripping

One of the most notable properties of *Why*-Stripping is its restriction on the remnants. As we have seen above, *Why*-Stripping involves two remnants: the Wh-phrase *why*, and a non-wh-remnant (e.g., NATTO in (3)). As the examples in (6) show, there is a restriction on the type of wh-phrase that can participate in *Why*-Stripping: only *why* and *how come*. There is, however, a construction that looks very similar to *Why*-Stripping, in which a wh-phrase (not *why* or *how come*) and a non-wh-remnant co-occur, namely, "*Sluice Stripping*" (see Nevins 2008). A typical example from Nevins (2008) is the following:

(8)   Lou will ask Doris about syntax, but I can't imagine *who about phonology*.

This construction also involves a wh-remnant *who* and a non-wh-remnant *about phonology*.[4]
    Sluice Stripping, however, shows a sharp contrast with *Why*-Stripping in that the non-wh remnant is 'contrasted with', rather than 'repeated from' its correlate (in the same way as regular Stripping: e.g., *about syntax* vs. *about phonology*). On the other hand, *Why*-Stripping requires a 'repeated' remnant as shown in (9a), (unless it is accompanied by negation).

(9)   a.   A: John ate natto.   B: Why NATTO?
       b.   A: John ate natto.   B: *Why SUSHI?

As we will discuss briefly these two constructions have different derivations (see section 2.2.3).

1.2.4   Non-Wh-remnants in *Why*-Stripping

Despite this heavy restriction on the wh-remnant, a wide variety of non-wh-remnants may show up in *Why*-Stripping. Besides the typical examples involving DP remnants, *Why*-Stripping can accommodate PPs, VPs, and CPs as its remnants, as can be seen in (10).

(10)   a.   A: John danced with Mary.   B: Why/How come [PP WITH MARY]?

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[4] In Nevins (2008), examples like (8) are reported to be acceptable in English. Among the 10 speakers we consulted, however, only 6 speakers accepted examples like (8). In this study, we follow Nevins and assume that Sluice Stripping as in (8) is possible. All judgments on Sluice Stripping are given by the 6 speakers who accepted this construction without any problem. Ultimately, a further refinement of ellipsis structures involving a wh- and a non-wh-remnant beyond *Why* and Sluice Stripping might be in order. The reader may see Grebenyova (2006), Van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2006), Ince (2007) and Ortega-Santos et al. (2013) for discussion.

     b.   A: John believes many strange things. One day he said that ghosts exist.
                      Another day he said that trolls exist.
          B: Why/How come [$_{CP}$ THAT TROLLS EXIST]?

Why-Stripping can also host some elements that are normally not the target of certain syntactic operations: (11a) is an example with an attributive adjective, (11b) is an example with a bare verb, and (11c) is an example with a bare preposition.

(11)   a.   A: John made too weak an espresso.   B: Why/How come [$_{AP}$ too weak]?
        b.   A: John should sell his banana boat.   B: Why/How come [$_V$ sell]?[5]
        c.   A: Veterans are honored after death, but not before.[6]
            B: Why/How come [$_P$ after]?

These elements that serve as the non-wh-remnants in (11) are normally not a target of syntactic operations, such as movement, as illustrated in (12).

(12)   a.   *Too weak, John made t_{AP} an espresso.
        b.   *Sell, John should t_V his banana boat.
        c.   *After, veterans are honored t_P death, not before.

The patterns we have seen so far raise two fundamental questions about *Why*-Stripping: why are the wh-remnants restricted to *why* and *how come*, and what mechanism is responsible for the licensing of the non-wh-remnants? We try to answer these questions in later sections.

1.2.5   Matrix and Embedded *Why*-Stripping and the need for a linguistic antecedent
Another puzzle in the syntax of *Why*-Stripping involves the behavior of matrix vs. embedded *Why*-Stripping. Although *Why*-Stripping can appear in an embedded context as well as a matrix context ((7)), we observe that only matrix *Why*-Stripping is licensed without a linguistic antecedent, as the contrast in (13) shows.

(13)   [*Context:*   John, eating sushi, miso-soup, and also natto.]
        a.   Why natto?
        b.   *I don't understand why natto.

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[5] This example was pointed out by one of the NLLT reviewers. We would like to thank the reviewer for leading our attention to this type of example. Note that Bare-verb-ellipsis as in (11b) is different from Fragment Predicate Answers such as (i) in that the object is obligatorily pronounced in the latter structure, in spite of the fact that it is recoverable from the context (Hankamer 1979: 42; see Merchant 2004: 698-700 for recent discussion).

(i)   A: What did he do for his sister?   B: Funded *(her).

Moreover, Bare-verb-ellipsis involves a non-finite form, in contrast to Fragment Predicate Answers.

[6] This example is constructed based on a closely-related case reported in Gallego (2011).

It has also been pointed out, in the context of Sluicing, that embedded Sluicing is not licensed by a non-linguistic antecedent, unlike matrix Sluicing (van Riemsdijk 1978).

(14)   [*Context:*   Hankamer, standing in front of a table-tennis table, a second bat in his hand, looking at the bystanders:
       a.   Who?
       b.   *I wonder who.   (van Riemsdijk 1978: 234-235)

This difference is related to the distinction between Deep Anaphora and Surface Anaphora (Hankamer and Sag 1976). As has been argued in the literature, Deep Anaphora does not require a linguistic antecedent and does not have an ellipsis derivation, unlike Surface Anaphora. We assume, following the previous literature, that Deep Anaphora corresponds to a pronominal element. The previous contrast, therefore, suggests that matrix *Why*-Stripping and matrix Sluicing may have Deep Anaphora counterparts. We illustrate the discussion in the paper with both matrix and embedded *Why*-Stripping, to make sure that (at least in the latter case), we are dealing with a Surface Anaphora, that is to say, an ellipsis construction with full-fledged syntactic structure as we will argue below.[7]

This interpretation is further strengthened by the following observation: there are variants of *Why*-Stripping that can only be licensed in the matrix context. One of them is an idiomatic use of *Why*-Stripping as in (15).

(15)   [*Context:*   Hankamer enters the room. He looks rather upset.]
       Why the long face?

This idiomatic expression is not acceptable in the embedded context.

(16)   *I understand that things have been a little difficult for you lately, but I don't understand why the long face.

Another instance of *Why*-Stripping that is not licensed in the embedded context is the one involving the bare verb *bother*:

(17)   A: I want John to stop smoking, but he does not stop smoking.
       B: Why bother?

Although (17B) looks very similar to *Why*-Stripping with a bare verb non-wh-remnant (e.g. (11b)), the verb *bother* in this example is not 'repeated from' the antecedent clause; in this respect, it is another instance of *Why*-Stripping without an antecedent. As stated, such a use of *Why*-Stripping is not licensed in embedded context, (18B), while *Why*-Stripping with a bare verb non-wh-remnant repeated from the antecedent clause allows embedding as shown in (19).

(18)   A: I want John to stop smoking, but he does not stop smoking.
       B: *I don't understand why bother.
(19)   A: John should sell his banana boat.   B: I wonder why/how come [$_V$ sell].

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[7] Note, however, that Merchant (2004:716-732) argues that being pragmatically controlled is not necessarily a hallmark for Deep Anaphora.

Again, such a distinction between matrix and embedded *Why*-Stripping/Sluicing suggests that matrix *Why*-Stripping/Sluicing, but not embedded *Why*-Stripping, has a Deep Anaphor counterpart. In what follows, we show that matrix and embedded *Why*-Stripping both show properties of clausal ellipsis, i.e., matrix *Why*-Stripping has both Deep Anaphora and Surface Anaphora options. However, because a detailed analysis of the contrast between embedded and matrix *Why*-Stripping goes beyond the scope of the present study, we basically point out that the same properties hold true in both contexts and we leave the difference between the two open for the future study.

2. *Why*-Stripping compared to Sluicing and Stripping
2.1 Clausal Ellipsis in *Why*-Stripping
An important question regarding the syntax of *Why*-Stripping is how the fragmental string, with *why/how come* and the non-wh-remnant, surfaces. The rough comparison between *Why*-Stripping and two other fragmental constructions, Sluicing and Stripping, suggests that *Why*-Stripping surfaces as a result of clausal ellipsis. In what follows, we try to establish this claim by pointing out that the arguments for clausal ellipsis analyses of Sluicing and Stripping also apply to *Why*-Stripping.

First, the remnant in *Why*-Stripping shows various connectivity effects. These connectivity effects suggest that *Why*-Stripping is associated with the same syntactic structure as its antecedent clause. In a language with rich Case morphology like German, we can see that the remnant shows Case connectivity effects.[8] Like the remnants in Sluicing and Stripping, the remnant in *Why*-Stripping must bear the same Case as that of its correlate. The German examples in (20)-(23) illustrate this point (note that this generalization is true irrespective of whether the ellipsis structure is embedded).[9]

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[8] Case Connectivity effects are not seen in English. As shown in (i), the remnants of *Why*-Stripping and Stripping can bear Accusative Case even though the correlates have Nominative Case. If these constructions involve clausal ellipsis, such a Case Mismatch should not be allowed.

(i) a. A: You should go to the cinema. B: Why ME?
     b. A: She should go to the cinema, but not HIM.

Still, in many environments beyond *Why*-Stripping and Stripping, DPs receive so-called Default Case, e.g., when a pronoun appears in a coordination structure functioning as a subject as in (ii) (see Schütze 2001 for details):

(ii) John and me will be late.

Thus, we conclude that the apparent lack of the Case connectivity in English is due to an independent factor, namely, the availability of Default Case in this language (see Merchant 2004: 700-4 for discussion of other alternatives compatible with the ellipsis analysis).
[9] The following example from German suggests that the ellipsis derivation is possible in the matrix *Why*-Stripping without a clear linguistic antecedent.

(i) Situation: Peter exaggeratedly praised the secretary for her hard work.

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(20) *Matrix Why-Stripping*
    a. A: Peter will **der** Sekretärin gefallen. B: Warum **der/*die** Sekretärin?
       Peter wants **the.**$_{DAT}$ secretary please   why **the.**$_{DAT}$/***the.**$_{ACC}$ secretary
       "Peter wants to please the secretary." "Why the secretary?"
    b. A: Peter will **die** Sekretärin loben. B: Warum ***der/die** Sekretärin?
       Peter wants **the.**$_{ACC}$ secretary praise   Why ***the.**$_{DAT}$/**the.**$_{ACC}$ secretary
       "Peter wants to praise the secretary" "Why the secretary?"

(21) *Embedded Why-Stripping*
    a. A: Peter will **der** Sekretärin gefallen, aber ich weiß nicht warum
       Peter wants **the.**$_{DAT}$ secretary please but I know not why
       der/*die Sekretärin.
       the.$_{DAT}$/***the.**$_{ACC}$ secretary
       "Peter wants to please the secretary, but I don't know why the secretary."
    b. A: Peter will **die** Sekretärin loben, aber ich weiß nicht warum
       Peter wants **the.**$_{ACC}$ secretary praise, but I know not why
       *der/die Sekretärin.
       *the.$_{DAT}$/**the.**$_{ACC}$ secretary
       "Peter wants to praise the secretary, but I don't know why the secretary."

(22) *Sluicing*
    a. Er will **jemandem** schmeicheln, aber Sie wissen nicht, **wem/*wen**
       He wants **someone.**$_{DAT}$ flatter but they know not **who.**$_{DAT}$/***who.**$_{ACC}$
       "He wants to flatter someone, but they don't know who."
    b. Er will **jemanden** loben, aber Sie wissen nicht, ***wem/wen**
       He wants **someone.**$_{ACC}$ praise but they know not ***who.**$_{DAT}$/**who.**$_{ACC}$
       "He wants to praise someone, but they don't know who."

(23) *Stripping*
    a. Peter will **der** Sekretärin gefallen, aber nicht **dem/*den** Chef.
       Peter wants **the.**$_{DAT}$ secretary please, but not **the.**$_{DAT}$/***the.**$_{ACC}$ boss
       "Peter wants to please the secretary, but not the boss."
    b. Peter will **die** Sekretärin loben, aber nicht ***dem/den** Chef.
       Peter wants **the.**$_{ACC}$ secretary praise, but not ***the.**$_{DAT}$/**the.**$_{ACC}$ boss
       "Peter wants to praise the secretary, but not the boss."

Following previous analyses of Sluicing and Stripping, the Case connectivity effect strongly suggests that the remnant enters in the same Case configuration as that of the correlate, and thus

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    A: Warum *der/die Sekretärin?
       why ***the.**$_{DAT}$/**the.**$_{ACC}$ secretary
       "Why the secretary?"

The native speaker of German we interviewed told us that if it is clear that the secretary is praised, the accusative case should be used and the dative case is quite odd. If this judgment holds for other speakers as well, it may weaken our speculation that matrix *Why*-Stripping without an antecedent is derived via Deep Anaphora (see section 1.2.5 for discussion) and we may eventually claim that all examples of *Why*-Stripping involve an ellipsis.

there is an underlying structure in *Why*-Stripping that licenses the specific Case of the remnant.

Second, both matrix and embedded *Why*-Stripping show Binding Connectivity effects. A pronoun in the remnant is bound by a quantifier in the antecedent clause in (24a/b).

(24)   *Variable binding context: Why-Stripping*
    a.   A: No linguist$_1$ here recommended his$_1$ own book.
            B: Why/How come (even) HIS$_1$ OWN BOOK?
    b.   No linguist$_1$ here recommended his$_1$ own book., but I don't understand why/how come his$_1$ own book.

On the other hand, an R-expression in the remnant cannot be bound by a DP in the antecedent clause (e.g. (25a/b)), but if the DP is in the genitive position, the coreference is possible (e.g. (25c/d)).

(25)   *R-expression context: Why-Stripping*
    a.   A: He$_1$ is selling all of these pictures.
            B: *Why/how come (even) PICTURES OF JOHN$_1$?
    b.   *I heard he$_1$ is selling all of these pictures, but I don't understand why/how come (even) PICTURES OF JOHN$_1$.
    c.   A: His$_1$ mother is selling all of these pictures.
            B: Why/How come (even) PICTURES OF JOHN$_1$?
    d.   I heard his$_1$ mother is selling all of these pictures, but I don't understand why/how come (even) PICTURES OF JOHN$_1$.

Exactly the same holds true in Sluicing ((26) and (28)) and Stripping ((27) and (29)).

(26)   *Variable binding: Sluicing*
        No linguist$_1$ here recommended some of his$_1$ own books, but I don't know which of his$_1$ own books.
(27)   *Variable binding: Stripping*
        No linguist here recommended Chomsky's books, and his$_1$ own books as well.
(28)   *R-expression context: Sluicing*
    a.   *He$_1$ is selling a lot of pictures, but I don't know which pictures of John$_1$'s.
    b.   His$_1$ mother is selling a lot of pictures, but I don't know which pictures of John$_1$'s.
(29)   *R-expression: Stripping*
    a.   *He$_1$ is selling some pictures, but only these pictures of John$_1$'s.
    b.   His$_1$ mother is selling some pictures, but only these pictures of John$_1$'s.

Binding connectivity effects suggest that *Why*-Stripping involves a structure in which an antecedent may c-command a reflexive remnant, thus fulfilling Binding Condition A in the variable binding examples, while its structure has an antecedent that binds an R-expression remnant, thus disobeying Binding Condition C in the ungrammatical R-expression examples.

Third, the remnant in *Why*-Stripping can be accompanied by a preposition, but the preposition must be the same as that of the correlate (that is, 'repeated from' the antecedent, as discussed in 1.2.2). For example, (30a/b) shows that the remnant cannot bear the semantically empty preposition *of*, but it can bear the preposition that is the same as that of the correlate. The

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same holds true in Sluicing and Stripping, as shown in (30c) and (30d), respectively.

(30)   a.   *Matrix Why-Stripping*
            A: John relies on Mary.   B: Why/How come ON/*OF MARY (but not others)?
       b.   *Embedded Why-Stripping*
            John relies on Mary, but I don't understand why/how come ON/*OF MARY (but
            not others).
       c.   *Sluicing*
            John relies on someone, but I don't know on/*of who.
       d.   *Stripping*
            John relies on Mary, but not on/*of Susan.

These examples show that the remnant PP enters into a selectional relation with a specific verb, namely, the verb found in the antecedent clause. [10] These three types of connectivity effects all suggest that *Why*-Stripping involves clausal ellipsis, much like Sluicing and Stripping.
       Fourth, like Sluicing and Stripping, the preposition can be omitted in *Why*-Stripping with a PP remnant, as shown in (31).

(31)   a.   *Matrix Why-Stripping*
            A: John was talking to Mary.   B: Why/How come (TO) MARY?
       b.   *Embedded Why-Stripping*
            John was talking to Mary, but I don't understand why/how come (TO) MARY.
       c.   *Sluicing*
            John was talking to someone, but I don't know (to) who.
       d.   *Stripping*
            John was talking to Mary, but not (to) Susan.

The omission of the preposition, however, is subject to a language-specific restriction: A language that does not allow P-stranding under wh-movement, that is to say, a non-P-stranding

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[10] Under Sluicing, when the verb in the matrix clause is compatible with multiple prepositions, it seems that the preposition of the remnant can differ from that of the correlate as long as the interpretation of the matrix clause and the sluiced clause remains constant. For example, a verb like *talk* can take multiple prepositions, and the type of PP in the stripped clause can be different from the PP in the antecedent clause. However, a semantically empty preposition like *of* still cannot appear in the structure.

(i)   John was talking to someone, but I don't know to/with/*of who(m).

In this type of example, the PPs are "connected" to the matrix verb in terms of selection; that is to say, these prepositions are those that are selected by the matrix verb. Therefore, this observation is compatible with an ellipsis analysis.
       Furthermore, this type of example can be interpreted as evidence that a strict parallelism must hold between the material that falls into the scope of the ellipsis and the antecedent constituent, but the element that escaped the scope of ellipsis does not need to adhere to such a strict parallelism. See Merchant's (2007, 2008) closely-related discussion.

language such as German (e.g. (32)), does not allow P-omission in *Why*-Stripping, (33)-(34), either.[11]

(32)   a.   Mit wem hat Sie gesprochen?
                With who has she spoken
        b.   *Wem hat Sie mit gesprochen?
                Who   has she with spoken
                "Who has she spoken with?"   (Merchant 2001: 94)

(33)   *Why-Stripping*
        A: Anna hat mit Abel gesprochen. B: Warum *(mit) Abel?
        A: Anna has with Abel spoken.   B: Why   with Abel?
        A: "Anna has spoken with Abel"   "Why with Abel?"

(34)   *Embedded Why-Stripping*
        A: Anna hat mit Abel gesprochen, aber ich weiß nicht warum *(mit) Abel?
           Anna has with Abel spoken   but I   know not   why   with Abel
           "Anna has spoken with Abel, but I don't know why with Abel."

This so-called P-stranding generalization holds true for Sluicing (Merchant 2001) as well as Stripping (Depiante 2000). As expected, P-stranding, or P-omission, yields ungrammaticality in Sluicing ((35)) and Stripping ((36)) in German.

(35)   *Sluicing*
        Anna has mit jemandem gesprochen, aber ich weiß nicht, *(mit) wem.
        Anna has with someone   spoken,   but I   know not,   with whom
        "Anna has spoken with someone, but I don't know with who"

(36)   *Stripping*
        Anna has mit Abel gesprochen, aber nicht *(mit) Edgar.
        Anna has with Abel spoken,   but not   with Edgar.

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[11] Marcel Den Dikken (p.c.) pointed out to us that the Dutch counterpart of (33) is acceptable. However, when the negation is present, it is unacceptable.

(i)   A: Anna heeft met Abel gesproken.
           Anna have with Abel spoken
           "Anna has spoken with Abel."
        B: Waarom (met) Abel   B: Waarom niet *(met) Peter?
           Why   (with) Abel?   Why   not   with Peter?
           "Why (with) Abel?"   "Why not (with) Peter?"

Furthermore, the preposition is obligatory in the embedded context. This difference between embedded cases and matrix cases corresponds to the deep/surface anaphora distinction in the matrix and embedded context. Turning to the German data in (33), our informant told us that the P-omission is less acceptable, but it is not clear how bad the P-omission example is. It is possible that the matrix P-omission is better than the embedded P-omission. If this is the case, the German data also support the position that the matrix case may have deep anaphora derivation, but the embedded case is surface anaphora.

"Anna has spoken with Abel, but not with Edgar."

P-stranding (un)availability is a property of movement such as wh-movement. Thus, the P-stranding generalization indicates that the remnant in these constructions undergoes movement out of the underlying clause (Merchant 2001). [12]

    Fifth, much like Sluicing (and also Stripping), *Why*-Stripping allows a remnant that has an implicit correlate. A sluiced wh-phrase typically has an indefinite phrase in the previous context as its correlate (e.g. *something* in (2a) correlates to *what*). However, Sluicing with an implicit correlate is possible as discussed in detail in Chung et al. (1995) in the context of the operation called *Sprouting*. A typical example of a Sprouting-type Sluicing is in (37).

(37)   *Sluicing*
      John served dinner, but I don't know to who.

Why-Stripping and Stripping with an implicit correlate are also possible.

(38)   a.   *Matrix Why-Stripping*
          A: John served dinner.   B: Why/How come (even) TO BILL?
          [*Context*: Both A and B know that John hates Bill, and both believed John would never do something such as serve Bill dinner.]
   b.   *Embedded Why-Stripping*
          John served dinner, but I don't understand why/how come (even) TO BILL.
   c.   *Stripping*
          John served dinner, but not to his father.

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[12] There are various exceptions and counterexamples against this generalization reported in the literature, e.g., Brazilian Portuguese (Almeida and Yoshida 2007) and Serbo-Croatian (Stjepanovic 2008), among others. It has been claimed that P-drop under clausal ellipsis constructions is associated with an underlying cleft, which means that the syntactic form of the ellipsis site is different from the antecedent clause, e.g., Rodrigues et. al (2008), a.o. If true, the apparent counterexamples to the P-stranding generalization would be explained away. See Merchant (2001), Van Craenenbroeck (2010a) and Martín González (2010) for relevant discussions. Be that as it may, we would like to note that the same exception seems to hold true for the P-omission in *Why*-Stripping. An example from Brazilian Portuguese in (i) shows that P-omission in *Why*-Stripping is acceptable. Thus, such examples further support the parallelism between Sluicing and *Why*-Stripping.

(i)   O   João dançou com a Maria mas eu não sei porque (com) $^?$a Maria/ela, e não
      The John danced with the Mary, but I not know why (with) the Maria/her, but not
      (com) a Cristina.
      with the Cristina.
      "John danced with Maria, but I don't know why Mary/her, but not Cristina."

A native speaker of Brazilian Portuguese that we consulted pointed out that P-less *Why*-Stripping with a name (e.g., *a Maria*) is slightly less acceptable than a pronoun (e.g., *ela*), but the acceptability of both cases does not differ compared to an example with a preposition.

In the Sprouting context, P-omission is not allowed in any of these three constructions (Chung 2005 is the first who reported examples of Sluicing of this type). Thus, in this respect as well, *Why*-Stripping shows a strong parallelism to Sluicing and Stripping. Inasmuch as Sluicing and Stripping are arguably derived from clausal ellipsis, this constitutes still another argument for the clausal ellipsis analysis of *Why*-Stripping.

Sixth, a parallelism is found in the need for the ellipsis site and the antecedent clause to be matched for voice (Merchant 2007, 2008). Merchant points out that Sluicing does not tolerate voice (active/passive) mismatches, unlike VP-ellipsis. He cites the following contrast: In (39a), the active verb *remove* serves as the antecedent of the ellipsis of the passive verb *removed*, while the ellipsis of the passive sentence in (39b) cannot be licensed by the active antecedent clause.

(39) a. *VP-ellipsis*
          The janitor must remove the trash whenever it is apparent that it should be
          [removed].   (Merchant 2008: 3)
      b. *Sluicing*
          Someone must remove the trash, and it is apparent *who by/*by who [the trash
          must be removed]. [13]

Merchant (2007, 2008) points out that Stripping does not tolerate the voice mismatch, either.

(40) *Stripping*
      a. Max brought the roses, but not Amy.
      b. *Max brought the roses, but not by Amy.   (Merchant 2007: 6)
      c. The roses were brought by Max, but not by Amy.

Similarly, *Why*-Stripping does not tolerate the voice mismatch as shown in (41) and (42).

(41) *Matrix Why-Stripping*
      a. A: Max brought the roses. B: Why/How come MAX (but not John)?
      b. A: Max brought the roses. B: *Why/How come BY MAX (but not by John)?
      c. A: The roses were brought by Max. B: Why/How come BY MAX (but not by John)?
(42) *Embedded Why-Stripping*
      a. Max brought the roses, but I don't understand why/how come MAX (but not John).
      b. *Max brought the roses, but I don't understand why/how come BY MAX (but not
          John).
      c. The roses were brought by Max, but I don't understand why/how come BY MAX
          (but not by John).

The fact that *Why*-Stripping obeys the requirement that the voice must be matched in the antecedent clause and the stripped clause suggests that *Why*-Stripping, Sluicing and Stripping obey a similar licensing condition on ellipsis, i.e., a parallelism must be observed between the

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[13] Merchant (2008) does not use this exact example in (39b). We constructed (39b) as an example closely-related to (39a). We consulted 10 native speakers and they all recognized the acceptability difference between (39a) and (39b).

antecedent and the elided clause. Merchant (2008) suggests that this is the indication of syntactic parallelism, and we follow his argument that clausal ellipsis requires syntactic parallelism.

All of these properties have led many researchers to claim that Stripping and Sluicing involve movement of the remnant plus clausal ellipsis, as illustrated in (43).

(43) a. John ate something, but I don't know [**what₁** ~~John ate t₁~~]. *Sluicing* (= (2a))
  b. John ate natto, but not [**sushi₁** ~~John ate t₁~~].   *Stripping* (= (1a))

Connectivity effects follow if the remnant in its base position is in the same syntactic configuration as the correlate. The P-stranding generalization follows if the remnant undergoes movement, whereas the ban on mismatches follows if the stripped clause has the same structure as the antecedent clause. Furthermore, the restrictions on the voice mismatches indicate that *Why*-Stripping involves clausal ellipsis, but not VP-ellipsis or any smaller categories (see Merchant 2007, 2008 on the asymmetries between Sluicing and VP-ellipsis in terms of the voice mismatches). The fact that *Why*-Stripping has all of these properties suggests that it consists of a full-fledged clausal structure and a displaced remnant (the exact role of *why* in the structure, e.g., where it is internally merged, will be discussed in section 3.1.3). Therefore, *Why*-Stripping such as B's utterance in (44a) should have an underlying sentential structure similar to (44b), which is parallel to A's utterance. Below, we provide evidence for this analysis.

(44) a. A: John was eating natto. B: Why NATTO ~~he was eating~~? (= (3a))
  b. B: Why was John eating NATTO (and not another food)?

2.2 Movement and Locality in *Why*-Stripping
2.2.1 On the Directionality of the Movement of the Remnant
  So far, we have shown that *Why*-Stripping involves clausal ellipsis in the same way as Sluicing and Stripping. The ellipsis analysis, however, raises a question of how *why* and the remnant escape ellipsis. In the case of Sluicing (e.g. (43a)), the wh-phrase is assumed to escape the elided clause via wh-movement (Ross 1969; Merchant 2001, among others). Some authors claim that the remnant of Stripping (e.g. (43b)) undergoes focus movement (Depiante 2000, Merchant 2004). Then what about the case of *Why*-Stripping? By comparing the three constructions further, we show that *Why*-Stripping also involves movement of the remnant, and this movement is related to the focus property of *why*.

If we assume that non-constituents cannot be the target of ellipsis,[14] the struck-through portion in (45) cannot be elided as it is.
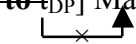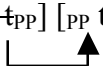
(45) B: [CP Why ~~[C: was [TP John [VP eating~~ NATTO]]]] (but not other food)?

The fact that the object DP *natto* can be the remnant in *Why*-Stripping suggests that it has undergone movement out of the ellipsis site. We have already shown in section 2.1 that the P-stranding generalization is evidence for movement of the remnant. Specifically, it provides evidence for *leftward* movement; rightward movement does not allow P-stranding (Drummond, Hornstein and Lasnik 2011, Jayaseelan 1990, Lasnik 1999, Pesetsky 1995, Riemsdijk 1978, Ross 1967 among others), as exemplified by the Heavy NP Shift example in (46).

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[14] See, however, Wilder (1997) for an argument that non-constituents can be target of ellipsis.

(46)   John will talk to a girl who wrote an excellent article on syntax tomorrow.
    a.   John will talk t_{PP} tomorrow [$_{PP}$ *to* a girl who wrote an excellent article on syntax].
    b.   *John will talk *to* t_{DP} tomorrow [$_{DP}$ a girl who wrote an excellent article on syntax].

If the remnant in *Why*-Stripping was to undergo rightward movement (e.g. (47)) like in Heavy NP-Shift structures, P-stranding and thus P-omission should be prohibited because such movement cannot leave the preposition in the scope of ellipsis, contrary to the fact (((31)).

(47)   a.   Why [~~John talked to~~ t_{DP}] Mary

    b.   Why [~~John talked~~ t_{PP}] [$_{PP}$ **to** Mary].

    Note also that long-distance *Why*-Stripping is possible as shown in (48) and (49) (see also Section 2.2.3).

(48)   a.   A: Every linguist$_1$ here claimed that *NLLT* should publish a certain kind of review on his$_1$ oldest book.
            B: Why his$_1$ oldest book (not the latest book)?
    b.   Every linguist$_1$ here claimed that *NLLT* should publish a certain kind of review on his$_1$ oldest book, but I don't understand why his$_1$ oldest book (not the latest book).
(49)   a.   A: No linguist$_1$ believes that *NLLT* would publish his$_1$ best paper.
            B: Why his$_1$ best paper?
    b.   No linguist$_1$ believes that *NLLT* would publish his$_1$ best papers, but I don't see why his$_1$ best paper.

In these examples, the bound variable reading of the pronoun is possible and, in such a case, the binding relation must go across the embedded clause because the quantifier is in the subject position of the matrix clause.[15] Under the movement analysis of *Why*-Stripping put forth here, it

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[15] Using *every* as the antecedent for the pronoun (e.g. (48)) could run into the problem of E-type reading, and it could obscure the long-distance interpretation. This potential problem does not arise with the quantifier *no* in (49). The judgment is somewhat delicate but the native speakers who we interviewed confirmed that the bound variable reading in these examples is possible (10 out of 10 speakers).

    Another possible test for the long-distance reading is to employ the *each the other* dependency, where *the other* is licensed only if there is *each* as shown in the contrast between (ia) and (ib,c). ((ia) is from Lasnik 2005a: 264, while (ib) and (ic) are modified from Lasnik 2005; see also Fiengo and Lasnik 1973).

(i) a. $^?$*How many of <u>the other</u> linguists did the philosopher criticize?
   b.   <u>Each</u> of the linguists criticized some of <u>the other</u> linguists.
   c.   How many of <u>the other</u> linguists did <u>each</u> of the linguists criticize?

indicates that the movement of the remnant is unbounded. This is another indication that the relevant movement is leftward movement, because rightward movement is subject to the so-called Right Roof Constraint and, thus, is clause-bounded (Baltin 1978, Grosu 1972, 1973, Ross 1967 among others).

The existence of leftward movement of the remnant is further supported by *Why*-Stripping with VP-remnants, which was first reported in Collins (1991). Let us first summarize the basic properties of *Why*-Stripping with a VP.

Collins points out that *why* allows so-called "tenseless clauses" as shown in (50) (Collins 1991: 34).

(50)   Why [go to the store], when there is orange juice at home?

Other wh-phrases do not permit this type of tenseless clause. Collins backs up his argument by giving examples of *where* and *how*, as in (51a) and (51b), but other wh-phrases also do not permit tenseless clauses, as in (51c) and (51d).

(51)   a.   *Where go now?
        b.   *How fix the car?
        c.   *When go to the store?
        d.   *Who go to the store?

Collins does not analyze these tenseless-clause remnants and he leaves the question open as to why this construction is restricted to *Why*-Interrogatives. It is possible, however, that tenseless clauses are a subtype of *Why*-Stripping where a VP serves as the non-wh-remnant. If tenseless clauses are indeed an example of *Why*-Stripping, they should have the following structure in (52) under our analysis of *Why*-Stripping.

(52)   [CP Why [VP go to the store] [~~TP... tVP ...~~]]]

If this is the case, we expect that these constructions should show similar properties to the other cases of *Why*-Stripping, and indeed they do. For example, tenseless clauses show binding connectivity effects. An anaphor in a tenseless clause can be bound by an NP in a separate clause ((53a)), and a name in a tenseless clause cannot be bound by a pronoun in a separate clause

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Making use of the *each the other* dependency, we can come up with the following example.

(ii) a. A: <u>Each</u> of the linguists believed that the philosopher criticized some of <u>the other</u> linguists.
        B: Why SOME OF <u>THE OTHER</u> LINGUISTS?
    b.   <u>Each</u> of the linguists believed that the philosopher criticized some of <u>the other</u> linguists, but I don't understand why SOME OF <u>THE OTHER</u> LINGUISTS.

For both (i) and (ii), judgments are somewhat delicate (6 out of 10 speakers provided the judgments reported above while 4 speakers did not have any clear judgments, even for simpler cases like (i)). However, as long as examples in (ii) are as acceptable as in (i), we can conclude that long-distance *Why*-Stripping is possible.

((53b)).

(53) a. A: John$_1$ criticized himself$_1$.
        B: Why CRITICIZE HIMSELF$_1$, when there is someone else to criticize?
      b. A: He$_1$ criticized Mary.
        B: *Why not CRITICIZE JOHN$_1$, if he is the one who caused the trouble?

Furthermore, tenseless-clause remnants show properties of VP-fronting. As Huang (1993) points out, unlike the movement of an argument ((54a)), the movement of VP does not reconstruct to the intermediate scope position ((54b)). Thus, anaphor binding is affected as seen in the following data (Huang 1993: 107, see also Heycock 1995, Takano 1995):

(54) a. Which picture of himself$_{1/2}$ did John$_1$ think Bill$_2$ saw?
      b. Criticize himself$_{*1/}{}^{ok}{}_2$, John$_1$ thinks Bill$_2$ would not.

Exactly like VP-fronting, an anaphor in tenseless clauses cannot be bound by the subject in a higher clause, as shown in (55).

(55) A: John$_1$ says Bill$_2$ criticized all the members in the team.
      B: Why CRITICIZE (EVEN) HIMSELF$_{*1/}{}^{ok}{}_2$ when there is someone else to criticize?

On the contrary, an anaphor in the argument NP can pick up the higher subject as its antecedent as in (56B).

(56) A: John$_1$ says Bill$_2$ sold a lot of pictures.
      B: Why (even) PICTURES OF HIMSELF$_{1/2}$?

These properties suggest that a tenseless clause is an instance of *Why*-Stripping in which the VP remnant undergoes VP-fronting. [16, 17]

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[16] Collins (1991) also claims that *how come*, unlike *why*, does not allow tenseless clauses.

(i) *How come [go to the store], when there is orange juice at home?

Under our analysis where tenseless clauses with *why* are instances of *Why*-Stripping, this fact is unexpected because *how come* licenses *How come*-Stripping; (i) could well be derived as *How come*-Stripping with a VP remnant.
    However, some speakers (3 out of 10 native speakers who accept *How come*-Stripping in the first place; see footnote 3) accept tenseless clauses with *how come* in some contexts. For example, they accept both examples in (ii):

(ii) a. Why keep playing this game, if it is so boring?   *Why-Stripping*
      b. How come keep playing this game, if it is so boring?   *How-Come-Stripping*

An informal Google search gives more than 300 hits of the instance of "how come VP" (we counted the number of "how come VP" examples out of simple search of the string "how

This said, *Why*-Stripping with a VP remnant gives us further support for the position that the non-wh-remnant moves leftward, rather than rightward. This is because, at least in English, VP does not move rightward.

(57)   Bill should not criticize himself today.
    a.   Criticize himself$_1$, Bill1 should not t$_{VP}$ today.
    b.   *Bill$_1$ should not t$_{VP}$ today criticize himself$_1$.

Taken together, the P-stranding facts, the availability of long-distance readings, and the *Why*-Stripping examples with a VP remnant strongly suggest that *Why*-Stripping involves leftward movement of the non-wh-remnant.

2.2.2   The Ellipsis Requirement
Why-Stripping differs from Sluicing (in English) with regard to the obligatory ellipsis property (see section 3.1.2 for discussion concerning the crosslinguistic variation of this requirement). As has been noted in (43), Sluicing can be analyzed as regular wh-movement followed by clausal ellipsis (Lasnik 2001, 2005a, Merchant 2001, Ross 1969, among many others). Note that the non-ellipsis counterpart of Sluicing, simple wh-interrogative clauses, is generally grammatical (except for the cases of island violations such as (65) below). That is, (58a) can be readily restated as its non-elliptical counterpart (58b).

(58)   *Sluicing*
    a.   John ate something, but I don't know what.   (= (2))
    b.   John ate something, but I don't know what he ate.

However, this is not true for *Why*-Stripping. Rather like Stripping, the ellipsis of *Why*-Stripping is obligatory, at least in English. Therefore, if the movement of the remnant takes place without ellipsis, the examples are generally unacceptable as shown in (59)-(61).

(59)   *Matrix Why-Stripping*
    a.   A: John was eating natto.   B: Why/How come NATTO?
    b.   A: John was eating natto.
            B: *Why/How come NATTO {was he/he was} eating?
(60)   *Embedded Why-Stripping*
    a.   John was eating natto, but I don't understand why/how come NATTO.
    b.   *John was eating natto, but I don't understand why/how come NATTO {was he/he
            was} eating.
(61)   *Stripping*
    a.   John was eating natto, but not sushi.

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come"). Specifically, tenseless clauses using *keep* as a verb (e.g., *How come keep drinking it?*) seem to be used productively. Although the issue of why tenseless clauses with *how come* are less productive than those with *why* remains as an open question, the data is not incompatible with our analysis.
[17] These tenseless-clause remnants in *Why*-Stripping often occur without a linguistic antecedent. For discussion of *Why*-Stripping without a linguistic antecedent, see Section 1.2.

b.   *John was eating natto, but not sushi, {was he/he was} eating.

In this respect, *Why*-Stripping is similar to Stripping but different from Sluicing.

2.2.3   Locality

Now let us turn to the locality restrictions that apply to *Why*-Stripping remnants. We have observed in (48)-(49) that the *Why*-stripping remnant can establish a long-distance dependency. In this respect, *Why*-Stripping is also similar to Sluicing and Stripping as shown in (62).[18]

(62)   a.   *Sluicing*
            Every linguist$_1$ here claimed that *NLLT* should publish a certain kind of review on his$_1$ oldest book, but I don't know what kind of review on his$_1$ oldest book.
       b.   *Stripping*
            Every linguist$_1$ here claimed that *NLLT* should publish a certain kind of review on his$_1$ oldest book, but not other kinds of reviews on his$_1$ oldest book.

Why-Stripping is also similar to Sluicing with respect to its island insensitivity. In both constructions, apparent island violations do not give rise to unacceptability in contrast to closely related structures involving no ellipsis. This phenomenon is known as island amelioration effects (Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey 1995, Lasnik 2001, 2005a, Merchant 2001, Ross 1969, among many others). For example, both *Why*-Stripping and Sluicing are acceptable even if the correlate is embedded inside an island. (63)-(65) are examples of Complex NP constraint violations and (66)-(68) are examples of Adjunct Island violations (Merchant 2001, Ross 1967, 1969, among many others). In both types of examples, bound variable pronouns are employed to ensure the island-crossing interpretations (see the discussion in 2.2.1).

(63)   *Complex NP Constraint: Matrix Why-Stripping*
       A: No linguist$_1$ recommended [$_{DP}$ a book that contains his$_1$ own article].
       B: Why HIS$_1$ OWN ARTICLE?
(64)   Complex NP Constraint: *Embedded Why-Stripping*
       No linguist$_1$ recommended [$_{DP}$ a book that contains his$_1$ own article], but I don't understand why HIS$_1$ OWN ARTICLE.
(65)   *Complex NP Constraint: Sluicing*
       No linguist$_1$ recommended [$_{DP}$ a book that contains one of his$_1$ own articles], but I wonder which one of his$_1$ articles.
(66)   *Adjunct Island: Matrix Why-Stripping*
       A: No politician$_1$ hated a political commentator$_2$ [$_{Adjunct}$ because he$_2$ criticized his$_1$ campaign].
       B: Why HIS$_1$ CAMPAIGN?[19]

[18] There is no agreement in the previous literature as to whether long-distance Stripping is possible in English. Lobeck (1995: 27), for example, claims that it is ungrammatical in contrast to Depiante (2000). We consulted with 10 native speakers and they all accepted examples of long-distance Stripping like (62b). Therefore, we assume that long-distance Stripping is generally possible.
[19] We consulted 10 native speakers of English, and all of them found these examples acceptable.

(67)   *Adjunct Island: Embedded Why-Stripping*
No politician$_1$ hated a political commentator$_2$ [$_{Adjunct}$ because he$_2$ criticized his$_1$ campaign], but I wonder why HIS$_1$ CAMPAIGN.

(68)   *Adjunct Island: Sluicing*
No$_1$ politician$_1$ hated a political commentator$_2$ [$_{Adjunct}$ because he$_2$ criticized his$_1$ campaigns], but I wonder how many of his$_1$ campaigns.

In terms of island amelioration, however, Stripping shows a sharp contrast with Sluicing and *Why*-Stripping. As has been pointed out in the literature, Stripping is sensitive to islands (Depiante 2000, May 1991, Reinhart 1991 among others).[20] For example, if the correlate is

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[20] However, it does not seem to be the case that Stripping is sensitive to *any* type of island. Left-Branch island violation (Kennedy and Merchant 2000, Merchant 2001, Ross 1967, 1969 among many others) is not observed under Stripping, as shown in (ia). In this respect, Stripping patterns with Sluicing and *Why*-Stripping, (ib) and (ic), respectively.

(i)   a.   *Stripping*
John made [$_{DP}$ a strong espresso], but not too strong.
   b.   *Sluicing*
John made [$_{DP}$ a strong espresso], but I don't know how strong (*he made [$_{DP}$ a t$_{how}$ espresso]).
   c.   *Why-Stripping*
A: John made [$_{DP}$ too strong an espresso].   B: Why TOO STRONG (but not weak)?

Similarly, comp-trace effects (Chomsky 1986, Lasnik and Saito 1992, Merchant 2001, Perlmutter 1971 among many others) are not seen in Stripping (iia), Sluicing (iib), or *Why*-Stripping (iic).

(ii)   a.   *Stripping*
John says that Mary will win, but not Susan.
   b.   *Sluicing*
John says that someone will win, but I don't remember who.
   c.   *Why-Stripping*
A: John says that Mary will win.   B: Why MARY (but not Susan)?

These observations may point to the generalization that Stripping can violate the so-called PF-islands (such as Left Branch Condition (LBC) and *that*-trace effects), but it is constrained by propositional islands (such as Complex NPs and Adjunct islands) in Merchant's (2001) classification. Sluicing and *Why*-Stripping, on the other hand, are not constrained by any type of island. We have a speculative explanation for the island-sensitivity of Stripping to (propositional) islands in Section 3.3. At this point, we do not have an account of why PF-islands are not observed even under Stripping. Still, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the LBC facts are explained under Kennedy and Merchant's 2000 analysis of LBC. They claim that LBC is violated when a language lacks the appropriate spell-out for the D-head with a specific feature (e.g. [+wh]), causing a PF violation. Thus, if the relevant head is elided under any types of ellipsis, including Stripping, the lack of LBC can be expected.

embedded inside a relative clause, Stripping is not acceptable, (69). We will return to this asymmetry in Section 3.3.

(69) a.   *John loves [DP a girl who is learning Italian], but not Spanish.
      b.   *John left [Adjunct because Mary invited David], but not Bill.

Putting aside the Stripping examples, the above data suggest that Sluicing and *Why*-Stripping share the same locality conditions.

With regard to the locality properties of *why* itself, there is yet another unexpected asymmetry between *Why*-Stripping and Sluicing: Sluicing with a *why* remnant shows very strict locality effects, in contrast to both Sluicing with other wh-phrases (such as the *how many* phrase in (68) or *which one* in (65)) and *Why*-Stripping. For example, as Merchant (2001) shows, *Why*-Sluicing does not ameliorate a relative clause island violation as shown in (70) (Merchant 2001: 129).

(70) *He wants to interview someone who works at the soup kitchen for a certain reason, but he won't reveal yet why.
      [*intended reading*: … but he won't reveal yet the reason someone he would want to interview should work at the soup kitchen.]

Furthermore, long-distance *Why*-Sluicing cannot escape a finite clause (Merchant 2001, Lasnik 2005b), as shown by the following example:[21]

(71) *Mary said John left for a certain reason, but I don't know why. (Merchant 2001: 129)
      [*intended reading*: … but I don't know what Mary says is the reason why John left.]

If *Why*-Stripping were a simple combination of Sluicing of *why* and Stripping, then we would expect *why* in *Why*-Stripping to show locality effects similar to those found in *Why*-Sluicing. However, unlike *Why*-Sluicing, *Why*-Stripping does not exhibit the strict locality effects we have seen. (See footnote 32 in Section 3.1.3 for a caveat).

In this context, it is interesting to note that Sluice-Stripping (Nevins 2008; e.g. (8), repeated as (72a)) shows a sharp contrast with *Why*-Stripping in terms of its locality. First, the wh-element and the non-wh remnant of Sluice-Stripping cannot come from an embedded clause as shown in (72b), a requirement that is absent in *Why*-Stripping, (73c).

(72) a.   A phonetician talked about syntax, but I don't know who about semantics.
      b.   *No phonetician₁ thought that a syntactician talked about his₁ paper, but I wish I could remember who ~~no phonetician₁ thought that t_who talked~~ about his₁ presentation.
(73) No linguist₁ thinks that a student should talk about his₁ supervisor's paper, but I don't understand why (about) HIS₁ SUPERVISOR'S PAPER (not his presentation).

As we can see, the embedded case of Sluice-Stripping shows a sharp degradation in acceptability,

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[21] See Nakao and Yoshida (2007) for an account of why there is no island-repair effect with *Why*-Sluicing.

suggesting that Sluice-Stripping cannot be long-distance. Additionally, unlike *Why*-Stripping (e.g. (74b), see also (31a/b) in Section 2.1.), Sluice-Stripping does not allow P-omission in the case of the non-wh-remnant (e.g. (74a)).

(74) a. Someone talked about syntax, but I don't know who *(about) semantics.
      b. The phonetician talked about syntax, but I don't understand WHY ^{OK}(ABOUT) SYNTAX.

These examples suggest that *Why*-Stripping and Sluice-Stripping have different derivations. Especially, the type of movement that the non-wh-remnant undergoes must be different. As Nevins argues, it is most likely that Sluice-Stripping involves rightward movement of the non-wh-remnant, which is clause-bounded (Ross 1967) and does not allow P-stranding (Drummond, Hornstein and Lasnik 2011, van Riemsdijk 1978, Ross 1967, among others).[22]

Summarizing the discussion so far, these ellipsis constructions show the locality properties summarized in the following table:

(75) Locality Property differences

Construction	Island-insensitivity	Simple Embedding	P-omission
Why-Stripping	√	√	√
Sluicing	√	√	√
Stripping	*	*	√
Sluice-Stripping	*	*	*
Why-Sluicing	*	*	--

Even though there are substantial similarities between these constructions as has been observed above, the differences in locality properties suggest that *Why*-Stripping is not a simple combination of Sluicing and Stripping.

3.   Analysis
In this section, we propose an analysis of *Why*-Stripping that can capture all of the properties of *Why*-Stripping that we have seen so far. First, adopting the articulated CP hypothesis, we will show that the proposed leftward movement of the remnant is focus movement to the CP layer below *why*. This movement is followed by IP-deletion. Thus, all the evidence in the previous sections for the movement-and-deletion analysis is captured. Second, *why* in *Why*-Stripping is base-generated in the upper CP-layer without wh-movement. Thus, unlike *Why*-Sluicing, *Why*-Stripping is free from the stricter locality condition peculiar to *why*-movement (e.g. (70), (71)). Third, we will argue that the obligatory ellipsis in *Why*-Stripping (as well as Stripping) obtains because focus movement is forced to be overt only when it is included in the ellipsis site. Crosslinguistic variation concerning this requirement is also accounted for.

3.1   Movement in *Why*-Stripping and the Split-CP Hypothesis
3.1.1. The focus-association of *why* and focus movement

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[22] Closely-related approaches in terms of rightward movement exist for Gapping (see Jayaseelan 1990; see also Yoshida, Wang and Potter 2012) and for Multiple Sluicing (Lasnik in press). See Ortega-Santos et al. (submitted) for further discussion of the asymmetries between *Why* and Sluice Stripping.

In the introduction, we mentioned that the remnant in *Why*-Stripping receives emphatic stress. This follows naturally from our analysis of *Why*-Stripping, where the remnant is focused. Note that *Why*-Stripping is felicitous when it is followed by another stripped clause as in (76).

(76)　A:　　John was eating natto.
　　　 B:　　Why/How come NATTO [but not SUSHI/SOMETHING ELSE]?

In (76), the stripped clause headed by *not* makes it clear what the remnant of *Why*-Stripping is contrasted to. (76) implies that John might have eaten something other than natto (for example, sushi), but he didn't. [23]

　　　In turn, in assuming that the remnant is focused, it is natural to hypothesize that the movement of the remnant is a focus-driven movement (in the same way as Stripping; See 2.2.1.).[24] It has been suggested that focus fronting is possible in English (Birner and Ward 1998, Erteschik-Shir 2007, Prince 1981, a.o.). Thus, we can assume that the remnant undergoes focus movement in *Why*-Stripping as well (though see section 3.2 for a refinement of this proposal). If the remnant undergoes focus movement, it is natural to think that the landing site of the movement of the remnant would be the focus projection. In keeping with previous research, we take the projection of focus in English to be in the left-periphery of the clause, or in other words, in the CP-domain (van Craenenbroeck 2010b, Rizzi 1997, 2001 among many others).

　　　The word order in *Why*-Stripping, where *why* precedes the remnant, suggests that *why* resides in a position higher than the position of the remnant in the CP-domain. *Why* is a Wh-phrase and *Why*-Stripping is a kind of wh-interrogative. Therefore *why* should also be in the CP-domain. The articulated CP hypothesis (van Craenenbroeck 2010b, Rizzi 1997, 2001, among others) can accommodate both of these two elements in the CP-domain. Taken together, we can assume the following structure for *Why*-Stripping (and, by extension, for *How come*-Stripping).

(77)　$[_{CP1}$ Why/How come $[_{CP2}$ NATTO$_1$ $[_{TP}$ ~~he was eating t₁~~]]]

　　　As noted above, we assume that the remnant undergoes focus movement. This movement and the focusing of the remnant, however, must somehow be related to the presence of *why* or *how come*. As we have discussed in the introduction, Stripping in wh-interrogatives is possible only with *why* or *how come* (though Stripping with *how come* is not as acceptable as that with *why*, as mentioned in footnote 3).[25] Below we argue that *why* and *how come* induce focus

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[23] Furthermore, NATTO in (76) is contrasted to the other 'given' components of the event; that is to say, it is a question about *why natto is being eaten*, as opposed to, say, *why John is the one eating it*. Thus, even if the follow-up tag is absent, we take the remnant to be focused.

[24] See, however, Horvath (2007), who argues against the position that the formal focus feature drives movement, based on the data in Hungarian.

[25] The fact that only *why* and *how come* are compatible with Stripping, is due to their ability to be base-generated in the highest Spec_CP and thus do not induce Relativized Minimality effects (Rizzi 1990): As *why* is not moved to the highest Spec_CP position, a focus element does not "intervene" *why* and its trace. Other wh-phrases, on the other hand, undergo movement, and thus a focus fronted element should induce RM effects. This prediction can be tested in non-ellipsis contexts using Neg-Inversion, which involves focus fronting (Culicover and Winkler 2008). The acceptability contrast in following examples suggests that this is indeed the case. The *why*

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movement, in keeping with the focus-association property of *why* noted in Bromberger (1992).

Bromberger (1992) points out that the *Why*-interrogative has a unique property unlike the other wh-interrogatives: *Why* can induce focus association with a constituent in the clause. He shows that a *Why*-interrogative clause like (78) can be uttered with a normal intonation contour, where normally *why* receives the stress, but it can also be uttered with an emphatic stress on one of the words in the sentence as well (Bromberger 1992: 160).

(78)   Why did Adam eat the apple?

The answer for the *Why*-question in (78), thus, differs depending on which word receives the emphatic stress. For example, if the emphatic stress falls on *Adam* as in (79A), this sentence implicates that "someone other than Adam might have eaten the apple, but didn't." On the other hand, if *the apple* receives the emphatic stress as in (80A), the sentence implies that "there was something other than the apple that Adam might have eaten, but he didn't." We point out that the same holds for *how come* questions as shown in the A' examples below, suggesting that *why* and *how come* have very similar properties in terms of focus association. In this paper, we refer to *why/how come*-questions involving a focused phrase as "the *Why*-(*How come*)-Focus construction" and distinguish it from regular *why/how come*-questions.

(79)   A: Why did ADAM eat the apple? / A': How come ADAM ate the apple?
        B: Because he (Adam) is the one that Eve worked on.
(80)   A: Why did Adam eat the APPLE? / A': How come Adam ate the APPLE?
        B: Because it (the apple) was the only food around.

According to Bromberger (1992), even though constituents in the other wh-interrogatives can receive emphatic stress, the position of the stress does not affect the answer to the question. Bromberger cites the following examples with *when* (Bromberger 1992: 161). Examples in (81) and (82) show that regardless of the position of the stress, the *when*-question tolerates the same answer, i.e., the answer for the wh-question is not affected by where the focal stress falls.

(81)   A: When did ADAM eat the apple?
        B: At 4 p.m. on July 7, 24,000,000 B.C.
(82)   A: When did Adam eat the APPLE?
        B: At 4 p.m. on July 7, 24,000,000 B.C.

Note that the focus-association induced by *why/how come* can be long-distance. For example, *why/how come* can be associated with a DP in an embedded clause, or a DP in a

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example is much more acceptable compared to the non-*why* examples.

(i)   a.   I wonder why not a single thing did he give to Mary
        b.   *I wonder to whom not a single thing did he give
        c.   *I wonder who not a single thing did he give to.

We are grateful to Marcel Den Dikken for directing our attention to this important point. See section 3.1.2 for related discussion on other languages.

relative clause.

(83) A: Why does John think [that the girl should learn FRENCH (but not Italian)]?
　　 A': How come John thinks [that the girl should learn FRENCH (but not Italian)]?
　　 B: Because French is a beautiful language.
(84) A: Why does John love [the girl who is learning FRENCH (but not Italian)]?
　　 A': How come John loves [a girl who is learning FRENCH (but not Italian)]?
　　 B: Because French is a beautiful language for him.

This long-distance focus association is very similar to that of *only*, i.e., *only* also triggers a long-distance focus association (Krifka 2006, Rooth 1985, 1996). For example, Krifka (2006) cites the following example where association with focus is free of syntactic islands (Krifka 2006: 108).

(85) John only introduced [the man that JILL admires most] to Sue.

The examples of long-distance focus association suggest that the relation between *why* and the focused element is not mediated by movement of *why* from around the focused phrase. As has been shown in the literature (Huang 1982, Lasnik and Saito 1984, 1992 among many others), the movement of *why*, whether overt or covert, is strongly restricted by islands (due to the ECP effect). Otherwise, if the focus relation is mediated by the movement of *why* from the same clause as the focus phrase (though, see also footnote 32 in Section 3.1.3), an example like (84) should be excluded as an island violation, contrary to the fact.

There is evidence suggesting that the interpretation of the *Why*-question with focus-association and *Why*-Stripping are basically the same. Specifically, the *Why*/*How come*-Interrogatives with emphatic stress on the object and subject DP ((86a) and (87a), respectively) and their *Why*/*How come*-Stripping counterparts ((86b) and ((87b)) both tolerate the same answer: (86c) and (87c), respectively.

(86) a. B: Why/How come was John/John was eating NATTO?
　　 b. B: Why/How come NATTO?
　　 c. A: Because natto was the only Japanese food available.
(87) a. B: Why/How come was JOHN/JOHN was eating natto?
　　 b. B: Why/How come JOHN?
　　 c. A: Because John was the only person who didn't know what natto is.

These observations, together with the fact that only *why* and *how come* license *Why*/*How come*-Stripping, lead us to conclude that (i) the remnant in *Why*/*How come*-Stripping is the constituent that has focus association with *why/how come*, (ii) the focus movement is related to the focus association induced by *why/how come*.

3.1.2. Crosslinguistic predictions

If *why* and *how come* induce focus association, and if the movement of the remnant in *Why*/*How come*-Stripping is related to the focus association induced by them, we expect that in a language where focus is expressed via fronting rather than emphatic stress alone, focus movement in wh-interrogatives is allowed only in *Why*/*How come*-interrogatives. Rizzi (2001)

shows this exact point in Italian[26, 27] (see also Kandybowicz 2011 for a similar observation in Krachi, a Kwa language of Ghana; Uriagereka 1999 also cites data showing that focus fronting in wh-questions is found with *why* in Basque and Hungarian, but is fairly restricted otherwise (Uriagereka 1999: 412)). Here we would like to cite examples from Romanian and Serbo-Croatian to further support this point.

First of all, Romanian (Roxana Malene and Anca Sevcenco, p.c.), like Italian, allows explicit focus movement as shown in (88b):

(88) a.   John a   mancat natto.
            John was eat   natto.
            "John ate natto."
      b.   NATTO, a mancat (John)

Also in Romanian, *why* induces focus association; the answer for the *Why*-question is affected by the position of an emphatic stress as in (89).

(89) A: De ce John a   mancat NATTO?
            Why John was eat   natto
            "Why did John eat NATTO?"
      B: Pentru ca natto era singura mancare Japoneza disponibila.
            because natto was only   food   Japanese available
            "Because natto was the only Japanese food available."

Furthermore, the constituent that is focused in the *Why*-interrogative can move. In (90), the focused phrase *natto* is moved from the object position to the position right next to *why*.

(90) A: Ion   manc-a   natto.   B: De ce NATTO pro manc-a t$_{natto}$?
            John eating-was natto.   Why natto   pro eating-was?
      A: "John was eating natto."   B: Lit. "Why natto he was eating?"

Crucially, if *why* is replaced with another wh-phrase, this word order is not allowed as shown in the unacceptability of (91B').

(91) A: Cineva   manc-a   natto.
            Someone eating-was natto.
            "Someone was eating natto."
      B: Cine manc-a   natto?   B':   *Cine NATTO manc-a?
            Who eating-was natto?   Who natto   eating-was?
            "Who was eating natto?"   "Who natto was eating?"

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[26] Note that D-linked wh-phrase can be followed by a focused phrase in some languages. We return to this point in section 3.1.4.

[27] Rizzi (2001: 294) shows that *come mai* 'how come' in Italian follows this same pattern, as expected under the current approach. In the subsequent discussion on Romance languages, we will concentrate on the patterns with *why* for the sake of exposition, putting aside the data of the Romance counterpart of *how come*.

The fact that only *why* (and supposedly *how come*; see footnote 27) allows for focus movement in wh-interrogative clauses in Romanian supports the claim that only *why* induces focus association. We find a similar state of affairs outside of Romance. For instance, in Serbo-Croatian, overt focus movement, which is attested in the language, is acceptable in *Why*-questions (S. Stjepanovic, p.c.):

(92)   A: Ivan vidi Mariju.   B: Zasto MARIJU   Ivan   vidi?
            Ivan sees Marija   why   Marija-acc Ivan-nom sees?
            "Ivan sees Marija."   "Why does Ivan see Marija?"

This contrasts with other wh-elements, which are incompatible with focus movement as in (93):

(93)   A: Ivan negdje   vidi Mariju.
            Ivan somewhere sees Marija-acc
            'Ivan sees Marija somewhere.'
       B: Gdje Ivan   vidi Mariju?   B':   *Gdje MARIJU   Ivan   vidi?
            Where Ivan-nom sees Marija-acc   Where Marija-acc Ivan-nom sees
            'Where does Ivan see Marija?

The fact that a number of genetically unrelated languages show such a close relationship between *why* and focus movement, e.g., Hungarian, Basque, and Krachi, provides further support for our claim that focus association is generally induced by a reason adjunct wh-phrase.

3.1.3.   Base-generation of *why*
       We have just argued that the remnant in *Why*-Stripping undergoes focus movement associated to *why*. Then, how did *why* get to the position where it is? Under widely accepted analyses, *why* in *Why*-interrogatives undergoes regular wh-movement. Thus, *Why*-interrogatives show well-known island effects (Collins 1991, Lasnik and Saito 1984, 1992 among many others). However, Bromberger argues that when *why* in *Why*-interrogatives is associated with a focused element, it does not move. He argues that the logical-form that properly captures the semantics of *Why*-interrogatives inducing focus association (e.g. (79), (80)) does not involve a 'mid-sentence trace', and, therefore, *why* must be base-generated in the Spec_CP position (see also Ko 2005, Stepanov and Tsai 2008).[28] In addition, Rizzi (2001) shows several differences between *Why*-Interrogatives and other wh-interrogatives in Italian and he also concludes that *why* does

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[28] Stepanov and Tsai (2008) assume that focus operates via existential closure, unlike our proposal that focus is licensed via movement (see (101) below). They argue that *Why*-questions trigger different answers, (e.g. (79), (80)), because the focus operator is inside the scope of *why* as shown in (i), contrary to the position of other wh-phrases such as *when* in (ii) (e.g. (81), (82)).

(i)   (Why) ($\exists$x: x = Adam) (x ate the apple)
(ii)   ($\exists$x: x = Adam) (When t) (x ate the apple at t)

Thus, their argument also reaches the same conclusion as ours: *why* in this type of example is base-generated in the CP domain.

not move.[29] Besides the focus association and focus movement facts (which we illustrated using examples from Romanian and Serbo-Croatian), *why* seems to be generated higher than other wh-adjuncts, as intervention effects caused by negation are absent for *why* but not for other wh-elements as shown in (94) (see Shlonsky and Soare 2012: 566 for recent discussion; their data).

(94) a. Why didn't Geraldine fix her bike?
    b. *How didn't Geraldine fix her bike?

If *why* is base-generated higher than negation, it does not have to move past negation to reach its final landing site, (94a). Other adjuncts, however, do need to move past negation and a Relativized Minimality violation is triggered, (94b). Based on closely-related properties, Rizzi argues that *why* is base-generated in Int(errogative)P, which is generated higher than Foc(us)P. This is how *why* and the focused phrase can co-occur in the left periphery.

　　Furthermore, the fact that other wh-interrogatives are not compatible with focus-moved phrases indicates that other wh-phrases are located in FocP, and, therefore, the position is not available for the focus-moved phrases.[30, 31]

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[29] Rizzi as well as Bromberger note that when *why* is "construed" in an embedded clause it moves as other wh-phrases do. Based on the island facts in (84), we argue against this position (See footnote 35 for further discussion.)

[30] Rizzi points out that *why* does not trigger the Subject-Aux inversion in Italian (his data; see also Alboiu 2002, Suñer 1994 for Romanian and Spanish, respectively; see Uriagereka 1999 for Basque and Hungarian).

(i) Perché Gianni è venuto?
    Why Giannni has left?
    "Why has Gianni left?"

He takes this observation as further evidence in favor of the base-generation of *why* in IntP. While we accept Rizzi's view to be essentially correct, there is crosslinguistic variation regarding Subject-Aux inversion in *Why*-interrogatives. Specifically, inversion is obligatory in this context in English. As an anonymous NLLT reviewer notes, Shlonsky and Soare (2011) argue that *why* is externally merged in the left-periphery and it undergoes short distance movement to IntP. If correct, we could suggest that this short distance movement of *why* triggers inversion in English, though for all other purposes its height (both in its external merge and the final landing site) is compatible with the observations concerning focus fronting and intervention effects caused by negation (and the locality facts to be discussed below). We leave this issue for future research.

[31] Rizzi notes that the incompatibility between wh-phrases other than *why* and focused phrases in Italian is a matrix phenomenon, whereas in an embedded clause, wh-phrases can co-occur with focused phrases, i.e., in an embedded context, there can be an 'extra' position for the focused phrase available as shown in (i).

(i) Mi domando A GIANNI che cosa abbiano detto (non a Piero).
    I wonder TO GIANNI what they-have said (not to Piero).
    "I wonder what they have said TO GIANNI"

If, as Rizzi and Bromberger argue, the *why* that co-occurs with a focused phrase is base-generated in Spec_CP, and if the *why* in *Why*-Stripping in English is the same element as the *why* with focus in Italian, the *why* in *Why*-Stripping should also be base-generated in Spec_CP. Thus, it should not show the properties of movement. This seems to be the right prediction. As we have seen earlier, *Why*-Stripping does not show the strict locality effects peculiar to *Why*-Sluicing. An example like (71) (repeated here as (95)) shows that *why* in *Why*-Sluicing cannot even escape from an embedded finite clause.

(95)   *Mary said John left for a certain reason, but I don't know why. (= (71))

In contrast, *Why*-Stripping does not show such restriction; even though it is 'associated with' the phrase inside the embedded clause, it has not moved out of the embedded clause (see also (48)-(49)).

(96)   A: Mary denied that John was eating <u>natto</u>. B: Why NATTO?

In keeping with the view that the locality effects of *Why*-Sluicing are related to the movement of *why* (see Nakao (2009) for a detailed discussion on the movement of *why* in *Why*-Sluicing), the contrast between (95) and (96) suggests that *why* in *Why*-Stripping does not move – at least from the position of the phrase it induced the focus association with[32] – exactly as Bromberger's and Rizzi's analyses predict.[33]

There is another piece of evidence which suggests that *why* does not move in *Why*-Stripping and in the *Why*-Focus construction. Collins (1991) points out that *why* in *Why*-

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In contrast, such a word-order is not licensed in English as (ii) shows.

(ii)   *I wonder to JOHN (but not Peter) what they have said (not to Peter).

Irrespective of the treatment that the data in (i) should receive, it is worth noting that the inverted word order in which the wh-element precedes the Focused XP as in *Why*-Stripping is judged as fairly deviant in Italian:

(iii) *?Mi domando che cosa A GIANNI abbiano   detto, (non a Piero).
        I wonder what   TO GIANNI they-have said   (not to Piero).

[32] This does not exclude the possibility that *why* is base-generated somewhere inside the matrix IP, while the focus-associated phrase is base-generated inside the embedded clause as in (96), as one of the anonymous *NLLT* reviewers points out. Our point, however, is that the focus association effect cannot be analyzed as an instance of base-generation of *why* and the focused phrase in the same clause followed by (long-distance) movement of *why*. Furthermore, we put forward the base-generation analysis of *why* based on the arguments in Rizzi (2001) and other works we cite here.

[33] We do not argue for the position that *why* in the non-focus construction is never base-generated ((94) provides evidence for the base-generation of *why* in a context without focus association.). We merely argue that *why* in focus constructions (*Why*-Focus constructions and *Why*-Stripping) is base-generated in the higher Spec_CP. Unfortunately, at this point, we cannot tell when *why* in non-focus construction is base-generated in the higher Spec_CP.

interrogatives shows scope ambiguity with a quantifier in the subject position, but *how come* does not. The example in (97) shows ambiguity in terms of the scope relation between *why* and *every*, when the sentence is uttered with normal intonation. Note, when *why* is interpreted under the scope of *every*, the pair-list answer is allowed. Unlike *why*, however, *how come* does not show the ambiguity and it is not compatible the pair-list answer.

(97)   a.   Why does everyone hate John?   (why > every, every > why)
        b.   How come everyone hates John?   (how come > every, *every > how come)

However, if *John* is focused as in (98), this scope ambiguity seems to disappear and *why* takes a higher scope than the universal quantifier, i.e., the pair-list answer is not possible.[34]

(98)   Why does everyone hate JOHN (but not BILL)?   (why > every, *every > why)

In a similar vein, *Why*-Stripping and *How come*-Stripping such as (99a/b) do not show the scope ambiguity either and *why* scopes over *every*.[35]

(99)   a. A: Everyone hates John.   B: Why JOHN (but not Bill)?
        b. A: Everyone hates John.   B: How come JOHN (but not Bill)?

This pattern is predicted if *why* is base-generated in a position higher than the site of *every* inside the elided TP/IP of *Why*-Stripping and there is no trace/copy of *why* below *every*. Collins concludes that this is exactly the case for *how come*, and we would like to conclude that the same is true for *why* in the *Why*-Focus construction. If *why* is base-generated in the Spec_CP position in *Why*-questions with focus association and in *Why*-Stripping, unlike *Why*-questions without focus association like (97), then these scope facts follow straightforwardly.

Based on the discussion so far, we can conclude that *Why*-Stripping has the basic

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[34] As is expected, wh-questions other than *why*-questions do not show differences in the scope interpretation regardless of whether a DP is focused, as the following examples show.

(i)   a.   Where/When did everyone meet John?
       b.   Where/When did everyone meet JOHN?

Both in (ia) and (ib), the adjunct wh-phrase *where* or *when* can take either the scope higher or lower than *everyone*, and thus, the pair-list answer is allowed in both cases.

[35] An anonymous *NLLT* reviewer points out that if a long-distance construed *why* undergoes movement, as Rizzi and Bromberger suggest, we expect the scope ambiguity between *why* and the matrix subject quantifiers in the following example.

(i)   A: Everyone thinks that JOHN will win. B: Why JOHN?
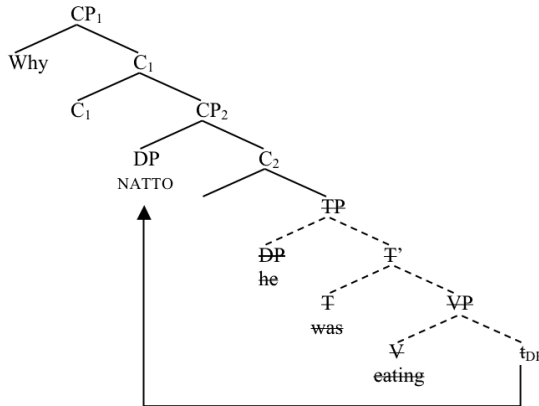
However, 5 native speakers we interviewed (all are linguists) did not find the pair-list reading and they can only find the interpretation in which *why* takes wider scope than *everyone*. This judgment further suggests that *why* is base-generated in the high position even when it is long-distance construed.

structure illustrated in (100), where *why* is base-generated in the higher CP position, and that the remnant moves from its original position to the lower CP position.

(100)   [CP1 Why [CP2 NATTO [TP ~~he was eating t~~natto]]]?[36]

To summarize, based on the contrast between *Why*-interrogatives (including *Why*-Sluicing) and the *Why*-Stripping/*Why*-focus construction, we propose that there are two distinct types of *why*s. Specifically, we propose that the *why* that induces focus association and that appears in *Why*-Stripping is base-generated in a higher CP (IntP). The focused constituent can usually stay in-situ but moves to the Focus projection if clausal ellipsis follows. The *Why*-Stripping construction is interpreted as a question and, therefore, it is plausible that *why* is in IntP (or it could also be on ForceP) and marks the clause type as an interrogative clause. This assumption can derive the fact that *Why*-Stripping can appear where *Why*-Interrogatives can appear (see (86)-(87)). The structure of *Why*-Stripping under this analysis is as in (101).

(101)

3.1.4. Further support for the proposed analysis
We have seen that *Why*-Stripping and *Why*-Focus basically have the same properties and the same meaning. From here, we try to show that the two factors, namely, that *why* is generated in the highest position in the C-domain and that *why* is the wh-phrase that induces focus-association, are both necessary for the licensing of *Why*-stripping.

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[36] Unlike *how come* (Collins 1991), matrix *why* usually induces Subject-Aux Inversion (SAI). Nevertheless, the auxiliary in *Why*-Stripping does not escape the elided TP. This is compatible with Lasnik's (2001) analysis where SAI does not occur under ellipsis (such as Sluicing, as shown in (i)) because the defective T, which usually causes SAI, is deleted.

(i)   A: John will meet someone.
      B: [CP Who1 ~~[TP John will meet t1]~~]?/ *[CP Who1 **will** ~~[TP John t~~will~~ meet t1]~~]?

This analysis assumes that the necessity of SAI is calculated at PF, where deletion of TP occurs. On the other hand, if SAI happens in overt syntax rather than PF, as Hartmann (2011) claims, a different explanation may be needed. We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this latter possibility.

An initial hint that focus association plays a crucial role in the licensing of *Why*-Stripping comes from the observation that elements which are not normally affected by long-distance movement can be the non-wh-remnant. The most prominent example is bare verbs and bare prepositions as in (102).

(102)　a.　　A:　　John should sell his banana boat.　　B:　　Why SELL?
　　　　b.　　A:　　Veterans are honored after death, but not before death.
　　　　　　　B:　　Why AFTER?

As the following examples show, bare verbs or bare prepositions do not move higher than the subject in English.

(103)　a.　　*[$_V$ Sell], John should t$_V$ his banana boat.
　　　　b.　　*It is [$_V$ sell] that John should (do) t$_V$ his banana boat.
　　　　c.　　*[$_P$ After], veterans are honored t$_P$ death, not before death.
　　　　d.　　*It is [$_P$ after] that veterans are honored t$_P$ death, not before death.

On the other hand, these elements can be focus associated with *why* in *Why*-Interrogatives.

(104)　a.　　Why should John SELL his banana boat (not LEND his banana boat)?
　　　　b.　　Why are veterans honored AFTER death (not BEFORE death)?

Therefore, if one of the conditions on the survival of the non-wh-remnants through the ellipsis in *Why*-Stripping is focus association, i.e., any item that is focus-associated to *why* can survive ellipsis, the seemingly problematic bare V and bare P remnants follow straightforwardly.[37] Clearly, an analysis assuming base-generation of *why* in the left-periphery without assuming focus association would not be able to capture these facts.[38]

　　　　Another piece of evidence suggesting that a high position of the wh-element in the C-domain is not sufficient for the licensing of *Why*-Stripping comes from the syntax of D-linked wh-phrases. It has sometimes been argued that D-linked wh-phrases are also generated in the higher positions in the C-system (van Craenenbroeck 2010, to appear, among others). In languages that allow for overt focus movement in *why*-clauses (e.g., Italian, Spanish), interrogatives involving D-linked wh-phrases also allow for focus movement, as predicted under theories which take both *why* and D-linked wh-elements to be very high in CP in contrast to other wh-elements. For example, (105) illustrates the fact that D-linked wh-phrases are compatible with focus fronting in Spanish (Buesa García 2011:5, his data).

(105)　¿Cuál de los libros JUAN compró ayer　　(no Carlos)?
　　　　Which of the books JUAN bought yesterday (not Carlos)?
　　　　"Which of the books did JUAN buy yesterday (not Carlos)?"

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[37] See discussion on the example (124) in Section 3.2 for the actual mechanism of how a bare V or P appears in the focus position via movement.
[38] In section 3.2, we introduce how exactly V and P survive the ellipsis in relation to the discussion of the obligatory ellipsis requirement.

However, D-linked wh-phrases do not show focus association and, as a consequence, it is predicted that they fail to license Stripping-like structures. The prediction is fulfilled.

(106) A: Alguno de estos tíos estaba comiendo natto.
           One   of these guys was   eating   natto
           "One of these guys was eating natto."
       B: *¿Cuál de estos tíos NATTO?
           Which of these guys natto?
           "Which of these guys natto?"

To sum up the discussion in this section, evidence has been provided that for the Stripping-like ellipsis construction with a wh-phrase to be possible, two crucial conditions must be satisfied: First the wh-phrase must be base-generated in the higher C-position and, second, the non-wh-remnant needs to be focus-associated with the wh-phrase. We have also seen that if these two conditions are met, even elements such as a bare V and a bare P which are not normally the target of movement can be the remnant in these Stripping-like ellipsis constructions.

3.1.5. More on the relation between the *Why*-Focus construction and *Why*-Stripping
Kawamura (2007) points out that *Why*-questions with a focused element are ambiguous: While such questions can ask about the cause of the event as a whole (a reading *why* shares with other wh-elements), it can also ask about the specific component of the event that is focused (a reading that only *why* and *how come* share). This can be illustrated with the following scenario:

You met with Bill. He was hungry, so you went to a restaurant and had dinner. He ate spaghetti and a Philly steak. After that, he was still hungry, so he decided to have dessert. There were two options: a chocolate peanut muffin and an apple. Bill is allergic to peanuts so he decided to have an apple. Afterwards, you talk to a friend about Bill's meal and you tell him/her the list of things Bill ate (spaghetti, a Philly steak, and an apple).

Crucially, in this scenario there are two reasons why Bill ate the apple: He was still hungry (which is the reason why he kept on eating) and, moreover, he is allergic to peanuts (which is the reason why he chose an apple). Both reasons can answer the following *why*-question without any focalized item:

(107) A: Why did Bill eat an apple?
       B1:   Because he was still hungry after eating the other food.
       B2:   Because there were only two options for dessert, a chocolate peanut muffin and an apple, and he is allergic to peanuts.

When *the apple* is focalized, the most likely answer is B2:[39]

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[39] Marcel Den Dikken (p.c.) notes that the effect in (108) is not particularly strong possibly because there might be a tendency for speakers to interpret the stressed direct object as information focus as opposed to contrastive focus due to its final position. According to him, when this factor is controlled for, the effect is more salient:

(108) A: Why did Bill eat AN APPLE?
      B1:   (#)Because he was still hungry after eating the other food.
      B2:   Because there were only two options for dessert, a chocolate peanut muffin and an
             apple, and he is allergic to peanuts.

B1 becomes felicitous, though, in a slightly different context where *an apple* is focalized by virtue of the previous linguistic context where it appears in contrast to (108). In this scenario, both answers are felicitous:

(109) B: Bill ate the spaghetti because he is crazy about pasta, and he ate the Philly steak
             because he was craving meat.
      A: I see. But I would like to know: why did he eat AN APPLE?
      B1:   Because he was still hungry after eating the other food.
      B2:   Because there were only two options for dessert, a chocolate peanut muffin and an
             apple, and he is allergic to peanuts.

This means that *why* usually associates with the focalized item, that is to say, with a specific component of the event, but under certain limited contexts, it does not have to. Under the scenario in (109), *why* is behaving just as any other wh-element, e.g., *when*.[40]
    One may wonder whether *Why*-Stripping is ambiguous as well. According to our informants, this is not the case. In particular, we can use the scenario in (109) to test the interpretation that *Why*-Stripping receives:

(110) B: Bill ate the spaghetti because he is crazy about pasta, and he ate the Philly steak
             because he was craving meat.
      A: I see. But I would like to know: why AN APPLE?
      B1:   (#)Because he was still hungry after eating the other food.
      B2:   Because there were only two options for dessert, a chocolate peanut muffin and an
             apple, and he is allergic to peanuts.

As shown by the infelicity of (110B1), *Why*-Stripping forces the reading where *why* is specifically associated with the focused phrase. The fact that *Why*-Stripping obligatorily exhibits a focus association effect in the same way as (108) corroborates our claim that movement in *Why*-Stripping is related to focus association. The non-focus associated reading of *why* (e.g. (109B1)), on the other hand, does not induce the type of focus movement we assume here and

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(i)   A: Why did Bill take AN APPLE from the dessert tray?
      B1:   (#)Because he was still hungry after eating the other food.
      B2:   Because there were only two options for dessert, a chocolate peanut muffin and an
             apple, and he is allergic to peanuts.

[40] In such a special context, the focus association effect of *why* is not obligatory. Given that the non-focus associated *why* does not have to be base-generated in [Spec_CP1] (as the low reading of *why* in (97a) indicates), the prediction should be that *why* with a focused element and no focus association could have a low reading under such a special context, in contrast to (98). We would like to see if this prediction holds.

thus does not have a *Why*-Stripping counterpart, just like the other wh-phrases such as *when* do not.

3.2   The Obligatory Ellipsis Requirement

One of the remaining properties of *Why*-Stripping that we have to capture is the obligatory ellipsis requirement (see section 2.2.2). Like Stripping, the derivation of *Why*-Stripping must involve clausal ellipsis. In English (and possibly also Portuguese, see Costa 2004, cf. Costa and Martins 2011), focus is normally marked by stress and the focused phrase does not need to move overtly. In the case of *Why*-interrogatives, if the focused phrase is moved overtly, the example is not acceptable ((111b), repeated from (59a)). Thus, it seems that ellipsis is obligatory in this construction.

(111)   a.   Why was John eating NATTO (but not sushi)?
        b.   *Why <was> NATTO <was> John eating (but not sushi)? [41]
        c.   Why NATTO ~~John was eating~~ (but not sushi)

However, we argue that it is not that ellipsis is obligatory, but rather that ellipsis *forces* the movement of the remnant, i.e., movement of the non-wh-remnant is obligatory when ellipsis takes place. The intuition behind this analysis is the following: Focus in English is manifested by emphatic stress, which is a phonetic effect.[42] Therefore, if a focused phrase is located in an environment where the stress cannot be 'expressed,' the sentence should be ungrammatical. We claim that ellipsis such as *Why*-Stripping is such a context and that focus movement becomes overt only in such a case.

Usually, focal stress is expressed in-situ in English (e.g. (111a)), which indicates that the feature that induces English focus movement (to [Spec_CP2] under our assumption; see (101)) is weak. Under the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995, Nissenbaum 2000, Nunes 2004 among many others), the in-situ focus is understood as that the lower copy of a non-trivial chain is pronounced. According to this view, (111a) has the representation in (112), in which the upper copy of the focus phrase NATTO is deleted, and the lower copy is pronounced.

(112)   [$_{CP1}$ Why [$_{CP2}$ ~~NATTO~~ [$_{TP}$ John was eating [$_{+F}$ **NATTO**]]]]?

In turn, the alternative in (111b) is not allowed because the weak feature usually does not induce overt focus fronting. When the focus phrase inside the TP is elided by TP-deletion as shown in (113), on the other hand, we claim that Pesetsky's (1997) 'recoverability condition' in (114) is violated.

(113)   [$_{CP1}$ Why [$_{CP2}$ **NATTO** ~~[$_{TP}$ John was eating [$_{+F}$ NATTO]]~~]]?

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[41] Note that the example is ungrammatical irrespective of the position of the Aux, *was*.

[42] With regard to the interaction between syntax, focus, and phonetics within the standardly accepted T-model, we follow Irurtzun (2007)'s proposal that the F-Structure of a sentence is built up derivationally from the elements that are assigned a [+F] formal feature as they enter the numeration. Within this view, narrow syntax creates a well specified F-Structure and the interface components can 'read' it and apply some operations on it.

(114) *Recoverability* (Pesetsky 1997: 342)
        A syntactic unit with semantic content must be pronounced unless it has a sufficiently local antecedent.

Focused phrases are either new information or contrasted information and thus have semantic content. Furthermore, in the context of *Why*-Stripping, there is no 'local antecedent' that can mark the focus information. Thus, the recoverability condition requires it to be pronounced. To save the situation, we claim that the higher copy of the focused phrase is pronounced only when the lower copy cannot be pronounced due to ellipsis, as shown in (115). This is how the word order of *Why*-Stripping is observed only in an elliptical context (see Nakao 2008 for the same line of approach to Stripping).

(115) [$_{CP1}$ Why [$_{CP2}$ **NATTO** was [$_{TP}$ ~~John eating~~ [$_{+F}$ ~~NATTO~~]]].

        Further support for this view comes from another paradigm, namely, *Sluicing Plus A Demonstrative In Non-insular Germanic* construction (*Spading*; van Craenenbroeck 2010). Richards (2001) argues for the possibility of a weak feature causing overt movement under ellipsis. He makes the following assumptions: (i.) the choice of which copy to pronounce is determined by the two principles in (116); and (ii.) it is not the case that a weak feature *must* give rise to covert movement.

(116) a.   PF must receive unambiguous instructions about which part of a chain to
              pronounce.
        b.   A strong feature instructs PF to pronounce the copy in a chain with which it is in a
              feature-checking relation.

Van Craenenbroeck (2010) applies this line of analysis to Spading in Wambeek Dutch.[43] Spading is a type of Sluicing followed by a demonstrative *da* 'that,' which is exemplified in (117).

(117) A: Jef eid iemand gezien.   B: Wou da?
              Jeff has someone seen   who that$_{DEM}$
              "Jeff has seen someone."   "Who?"

He claims that Spading is derived from the cleft construction in (118a). The cleft sentence is argued to have the TP-structure in (118b), with a focus feature on the demonstrative *that*. When the C2 head, which has a weak [F] feature is Merged as in (118c), the demonstrative *that* is allowed to move overtly as shown in (118d), because otherwise it would be elided inside the TP. After that, the wh-phrase *who* moves through the (extra) Spec_CP2 to CP1, as shown in (118e). Note that the Recoverability condition demands the focused demonstrative to move because it does not have a close antecedent (which is also focused). Thus, a similar analysis can properly explain the distribution of Spading as well.

(118) a.   Wou is da   da   Jef gezien eit?
              who is that$_{dem}$ that$_C$ Jef seen   has

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[43] We thank the anonymous *NLLT* reviewer who mentioned this point.

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"Who is it that Jeff has seen?"

b.   [$_{TP}$ **that$_{DEM[+F]}$** is who $_{[+Op,+Q]}$ that$_C$ Jeff seen has]

c.   [$_{C'2}$ C2 $_{[+Op.strong, F.weak]}$ [$_{TP}$ **that$_{DEM [+F]}$** is who$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ that$_C$ Jeff seen has]]

d.   [$_{CP2}$ **that$_{DEM}$** [$_{C'2}$ C2 $_{[+Op.strong, F.weak]}$ [$_{TP}$ **that$_{DEM[+F]}$** is who$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ that$_C$ Jeff seen has]]]

e.   [$_{CP1}$ who$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ C1$_{[Q strong]}$ [$_{CP2}$ **that$_{DEM}$** [$_{CP2}$ ~~who$_{[+Op, +Q]}$~~ [$_{C'2}$ C2 $_{[+Op.strong, F.weak]}$ ~~[$_{TP}$ **that$_{DEM[+F]}$** is who$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ that$_C$ Jeff seen has]]]]~~.

In sum, the fact that the focused phrase in *Why*-Stripping and the demonstrative in Spading move overtly only under ellipsis is explained by Richards' theory, in combination with Pesetsky's recoverability condition stated in (114).

    We have claimed above that English focused phrases do not usually move overtly, unless the focused material is included in the ellipsis site and, thus, overt movement is forced by the recoverability condition. In other words, overt focus movement should not be allowed in English when the recoverability condition is satisfied. Under this assumption, (119) is apparently problematic.

(119)   John ate NATTO, but I don't understand why NATTO.

In this example, the focused element *NATTO* is expressed in the first clause and the same exact focused phrase is again expressed in the second clause; thus, the second *NATTO* looks like it is 'recoverable' even if it is deleted. Nevertheless, it does not go unpronounced.

    The availability of (119) may suggest another possible understanding of the recoverability: The existence of a focused phrase does not render the focused remnant 'recoverable' under the deletion. We can speculate that the relevant information that needs to be overtly manifested is the *Why*-focus association effect with the specific occurrence of *why* in the latter clause. The former NATTO, although focused, is unrelated to *why* in the latter clause, and thus [+F] on the latter NATTO does not count as recoverable under ellipsis even in this context.

    If the focused phrase in *Why*-Focus association must always be overtly expressed to satisfy the recoverability condition as in (119), the example in (120) is in turn problematic. This sentence can have the same interpretation as (119), but the focused phrase is not overtly manifested.[44]

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[44] Similarly, an anonymous reviewer gives the following contrast to show that a focused phrase associated with *only* cannot be elided.

(i)   A: John only ate HAGGIS.

          B: *And Sally only did too.   B': ?And Sally only did NATTO.

On the other hand, Beaver and Clark (2008: 180) report an example where a focused phrase associated with *only* is elided.

(ii)   A: Mary never feeds NUTRAPUP to Fido.

        B: Whaddya mean? She ONLY does.

             (… She wouldn't dream of feeding him anything less.)

(120) John ate NATTO, but I don't understand why.

Note, however, that *Why*-questions can refer to a particular part of an event even without a focalized element, and thus can yield a reading equivalent to the *Why*-focus construction, as we have seen in (107B2). Therefore, the mere fact that (120) could be interpreted in the same way as (119) does not necessarily mean that its underlying structure involves the focalized phrase NATTO as illustrated in (121a). Rather, we assume that the neutral phrase *natto* without a focal stress underlies ellipsis as shown in (121b).[45]

(121) a. John ate NATTO, but I don't understand [$_{CP1}$ why [$_{CP2}$ **NATTO** [$_{TP}$ John ate [$_{+F}$ **NATTO**]]]]?
       b. John ate NATTO, but I don't understand [$_{CP1}$ why [$_{CP2}$ ~~[$_{TP}$ John ate [**natto**]~~]]]?

We leave the question open as to whether *natto* without a phonetic stress may involve the feature [+F] and movement to [Spec_CP2] in the same way as the focalized phrase NATTO with a phonetic stress. We merely claim here that the phrase *natto* (even if it happens to have the same interpretation as the *Why*-focus NATTO) does not need to recover the phonetic focus information and thus can be elided, making (120) acceptable.

The current approach explains why elements that are not normally the target of movement can be the remnant in *Why*-Stripping.

(122) a. A: John should sell his banana boat.   B: Why SELL?
       b. A: Veterans are honored after death (but not BEFORE (death)).
           B: Why AFTER?

As we have seen, verbs and prepositions can be focus-associated to *why* in *Why*-Focus constructions.

(123) a. Why should John SELL his banana boat (not LEND (his banana boat))?

An example like (ii) suggests that it is not always the case that the focus-associated element cannot be elided. Note, importantly, that the non-ellipsis counterpat of (iiB) as in (iii), *nutrapup* may not receive focal stress.

(iii) A: Mary never feeds NUTRAPUP to Fido.
       B: Whaddya mean? She ONLY feeds nutrapup/NUTRAPUP to Fido.

This suggests that when the focused element is repeated like in (iii), it may not receive focal stress. If this is the case, it is plausible to assume that the focus element that is elided in the ellipsis example in (ii) is a non-stressed focus element. As the element is not stressed, it does not need to escape from the ellipsis. This leads to the possibility that the driving force behind the movement of the focused phrase in *Why*-Stripping is phonetic effect of focus, i.e., the focal stress, rather than semantic focus.

[45] We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that this type of example may be derived from the 'deaccented' counterpart of the antecedent clause: "John ate NATTO, but I don't understand why he ate natto/it."

b.   Why are veterans honored AFTER death (not BEFORE (death))?

Now, assuming a recoverability condition, the only elements that must be pronounced for the reason of focus are the verb and the preposition. Other elements, including auxiliaries, complement DPs, and subject DPs all have a local antecedent. Therefore, the recoverability condition allows these elements to be unpronounced.[46] As the phrases following *not* in the examples in (123) suggest, when the verb or the preposition is contrasted, the object DPs can be omitted. As Gallego (2011) independently suggests in a discussion on the syntax of PPs in a different environment, we assume that these "given" DPs may undergo ellipsis.

Exactly the same holds in the fragmental focus question illustrated in (124).

(124) a.   A: John only should SELL his banana boat.
               B: Only SELL (his banana boat)?
       b.   A: Veterans should only be honored AFTER death.
               B: Only AFTER (death)?

In the examples in (124), the focus-associated elements again are working as remnants in the fragmental construction. Furthermore, Stripping, which is also a focus sensitive ellipsis construction, shows the same property, i.e., a bare verb or a bare preposition can be the remnant if its correlate in the antecedent clause is focused.

(125) a.   John should LEND his car, not SELL (his car).
       b.   Veterans are honored AFTER death, not BEFORE (death).

To sum up the discussion in this section, this analysis provides a unified explanation for languages showing overt focus movement (e.g., Italian or Romanian) and those languages that do not (always) show this movement overtly, (e.g., Portuguese (see Costa 2004, cf. Costa and Martins 2011) and English, though the latter case is somewhat controversial (Birner and Ward 1998, Erteschick-Shir 2007; Prince 1981; see section 3.1.1)). In particular, both kinds of

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[46] This view is able to explain the existence of the *why not* construction (Merchant 2006), where *not* functions as a non-wh-remnant. Specifically, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, *why* can also be combined with polarity markers under clausal ellipsis.

(i)   A: Anna is not leaving.
         B: Why not? [i.e., Why isn't Anna leaving?] (Merchant 2006:22, fn1)

According to Merchant (2006), in these structures *why* is a phrasal adverb and *not*, which is phrasal as well, adjoins to *why*. Note that *why not* also licenses *Why*-Stripping:

(ii)   Even an ordinary man must be respected. Then, why not Mary?

This is expected as both *why* and *not* participate productively in ellipsis processes (e.g., see (1a) for a case of Stripping with *not*). Though a detailed study of the structure in (ii) goes beyond the goal of this paper, we hypothesize that this is a case of *Why*-Stripping with one additional operation, the adjunction of *not* to *why*.

languages are argued to have the same syntax in the *Why*-Stripping construction, yet the crosslinguistic variation concerning the relationship between overt movement and the need for ellipsis, as discussed in section 3.1.1, is also captured. Languages showing overt focus movement do not necessarily show ellipsis in the focus movement context, (see (89)-(91) for Romanian), though ellipsis can take place if it is recoverable (in the sense of Pesetsky 1997; see also Brunetti 2003). Conversely, in English-like languages, overt movement, understood as the pronunciation of the upper copy of the focused item, takes place to escape the ellipsis site and, therefore, the ellipsis appears to be obligatory.

3.3   The problem of Island Repair

The discussion so far explains most of the observed properties of *Why*-Stripping. Connectivity effects are observed because *Why*-Stripping has underlying clausal structure (in the same way that Sluicing and Stripping do). The P-stranding generalization holds because its remnant moves (in the same way as in Sluicing and Stripping) and its locality constraints are looser than those of *Why*-Sluicing because *why* in *Why*-Stripping does not move (unlike wh-phrases in Sluicing). What we have not accounted for, however, is the asymmetry in locality constraints between (regular) Sluicing, *Why*-Stripping and Stripping observed in section 2.2.3. Why is it that Sluicing and *Why*-Stripping are island-insensitive while Stripping is constrained by some islands?

   One popular approach to island-repair phenomena in Sluicing is the one in Merchant (2001). He proposes that islands are PF-phenomena and a violation made at PF can be deleted by PF-deletion in Sluicing. According to this view, (126a) has a derivation illustrated in (126b), which involves an island-violation, but this violation is remedied because of the deletion of the TP at PF.

(126) a.   Each of the politicians hated a political commentator who criticized the other politicians, but I am not sure how many of the other politicians. (= (65))
       b.   … [$_{CP}$ [how many of the other politicians]$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~each of the politicians hated~~ [$_{island}$ ~~a political commentator who criticized t$_1$~~]].

We can apply the same explanation to the derivation of *Why*-Stripping. The island violation made in (127b) is ameliorated by TP-deletion and the sentence (127a) is saved.

(127) a.   A: Each of the politicians hated a political commentator who criticized the other politicians.
              B: Why THE OTHER POLITICIANS?   (= (63))
       b.   …[$_{IntP}$ Why [$_{FocP}$ [$_{+F}$ THE OTHER POLITICIANS]$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~each of the politicians hated [$_{island}$ a political commentator who criticized t$_1$~~]]].

   On the other hand, the island-sensitivity of Stripping remains mysterious. Why is the violation made in (128b) not repaired by the TP-deletion in the same way as the above?

(128) a.   *John loves [$_{DP}$ a girl who is learning Italian], but not Spanish. (= (69a))
       b.   … but not [$_{FocP}$ Spanish$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~John loves [$_{island}$ a girl who is learning t$_1$~~]]].

Merchant (2004) claims that so-called Fragment Answers are derived via focus movement followed by clausal ellipsis (in the same way as our analysis of Stripping). He shows that

Fragment Answers are sensitive to islands as shown in (129):[47] the Fragment Answer "*Charlie*" cannot take *Ben* inside an island as its correlate (the following is Merchant's judgment).

(129)   A: Does Abby speak [$_{island}$ the same Balkan language [that *Ben* speaks]]?
      B: *No, *Charlie*.

      Merchant (2004) explains the contrast between the island sensitivity of Fragment Answers ((127)) and insensitivity of Sluicing (his example (130a); see also (126)) in the following way: Following Fox (1999), he assumes that wh-movement targets every maximal projection, and further assumes that every intermediate trace gets a *-feature when it crosses an island. As a result, the vP-adjoined intermediate trace and the TP-adjoined intermediate trace in (130b) are marked with a *.

(130)   a.   John wants to hire [$_{island}$ someone [who speaks a Balkan language]],
           but I don't know which.
      b.   [$_{CP}$ which$_1$ C [$_{TP}$ *t$_1$ [$_{TP}$ John [$_{vP}$ *t$_1$ [$_{vP}$ want to hire [$_{island}$ someone who speaks
           t$_1$]]]]]]
      c.   [$_{CP}$ which$_1$ C ~~[$_{TP}$ *t$_1$ [$_{TP}$ John [$_{vP}$ *t$_1$ [$_{vP}$ want to hire [$_{island}$ someone who speaks~~
           ~~t$_1$]]]]]~~]

Under Sluicing, however, the whole TP undergoes PF-deletion. Both of the *-marked, offending traces/copies are deleted at PF, as shown in (130c), and the resulting structure is acceptable.
      In Fragment Answers (and presumably in Stripping), on the other hand, the remnant phrase moves to the Spec position of the focus phrase FP, which Merchant claims is projected higher than CP. In this configuration, the remnant leaves one more trace than it does in the case of Sluicing; as illustrated in (86b), another intermediate trace is left in the CP projection, in addition to the ones in vP and TP.

(131)   a.   A: Does Abby speak [$_{island}$ the same Balkan language [that *Ben* speaks]]?
           B: *No, *Charlie*. (= (129a))
      b.   [$_{FP}$ Charlie$_1$ F [$_{CP}$ *t$_1$ C [$_{TP}$ *t$_1$ [$_{TP}$ Abby [$_{vP}$ *t$_1$ [$_{vP}$ speaks [$_{island}$ the same
           language that t$_1$ speaks]]]]]]]]
      c.   [$_{FP}$ Charlie$_1$ F [$_{CP}$ *t$_1$ C ~~[$_{TP}$ *t$_1$ [$_{TP}$ Abby [$_{vP}$ *t$_1$ [$_{vP}$ speaks [$_{island}$ the same~~
           ~~language that t$_1$ speaks]]]]]~~]]

Merchant argues that when the TP is deleted at PF as shown in (131c), this topmost intermediate trace fails to be deleted because it is outside of the deletion site. The clausal deletion does not save all of the violation in this case. Thus, he attributes the difference between the two types of elliptical constructions to the position of the traces left by the movement of the respective

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[47] Building on this observation, Merchant suggests that Fragment Answers and Stripping have the same type of derivation. Still, Stainton (2006:138) shows that if Fragment Answers function as the answer for a sluiced wh-question they can violate islands. In this context, Merchant (2010) points out that Stainton's examples may have different derivation from the Fragment Answers that Merchant (2004) investigated. Despite this controversy, in this study we basically assume that Stripping and Fragment Answers have the same type of derivations and are subject to the same restrictions.

remnants, rather than to the kind of movement.[48]

Why-Stripping involves focus movement similar to that of Fragment Answers and Stripping, nonetheless, it allows island amelioration in clear contrast to the latter structures. Because of this, we speculate the following: In contrast to Fragment Answers and Stripping, where the focus movement lands above CP, in *Why*-Stripping the remnant moves to a focus position directly above TP and under CP (our IntP). This way, there is no extra *-marked intermediate trace in the latter case and the island insensitivity is expected.

(132)   …[$_{IntP}$ Why [$_{FocP}$ [$_{+F}$ OTHER POLITICIANS]$_1$ ~~[$_{TP}$ *t$_1$ [$_{TP}$ each of the politicians [$_{vP}$ *t$_1$ [$_{vP}$~~ ~~hated [$_{island}$ a political commentator who criticized t$_1$]]]]]]~~].

Thus, we can tentatively capture the asymmetry between the island repair properties we have presented for *Why*-Stripping and the properties of Fragment Answers and Stripping.

We admit that the claim that Stripping and *Why*-Stripping target two different FP positions is merely speculative at this point. However, if Merchant's speculation is on the right track, that FP is lower than CP in Stripping, then this is the best speculation we can make based on his analysis.[49] This analysis raises an interesting question regarding which position in C is targeted by which focus element and why such a difference exists. In future work, we would like to examine how convincing the assumption is that there are two types of focus movement (the one in Fragment Answers and Stripping vs. the one in *Why*-Stripping) and what the reason for such a difference is.

4.   Conclusions

Through the comparison of the *Why*-Stripping construction to other closely related ellipsis constructions, this study has argued for the following points: First, by comparing *Why*-Stripping to Sluicing and Stripping, we revealed that *Why*-Stripping involves movement of the remnant and clausal ellipsis similar to these two constructions. Pointing out the tight relation between *Why*-Stripping and *Why*-Focus constructions, we have shown that the movement of the remnant is related to the focus-association induced by *why* (and *how come*). We also concluded that *Why*-Stripping involves the movement of the remnant followed by clausal ellipsis because of the signature properties of clausal ellipsis and the movement properties that *Why*-Stripping shows.

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[48] Nakao (2009) points out several drawbacks of this line of analysis. For example, she argues that the assumption that only intermediate copies (but not the pronounced copy) gets a * is unnatural, and claims that the difference in island sensitivity between Sluicing and Fragment Answers/Stripping comes from the timing of movement (i.e. Stripping causes island-violation in the PF component after spell-out, while the island-repair by ellipsis is calculated at the timing of Spell-out). However, because focus movement in *Why*-Stripping also only occurs in an ellipsis environment, its island-insensitivity would be unexpected under this approach without a further argument to dissociate Fragment Answers/Stripping and *Why*-Stripping.

[49] As an anonymous reviewer notes, there are a number of alternatives in the literature that derive the presence/absence of island sensitivity in a wide array of contexts from parallelism requirements on ellipsis, (Fox and Lasnik 2003, Griffiths and Lipták To appear, Park and Park 2011, Saab 2010). Such proposals may provide for an alternative treatment of the data at hand, where the postulation of two FP's would be unnecessary in English. We leave this line of analysis for future research.

Furthermore, we have pointed out several differences between *why* in *Why*-Stripping and *why* in regular *Why*-Interrogatives. Based on these differences, we have argued that there are two distinct types of *why*: the one inducing focus-association and participating in *Why*-Stripping constructions, and another that functions as a regular wh-phrase in wh-interrogatives. Adopting Collins's (1991) analysis of *how come*, we argued that focus-inducing *why* (the one that participates in *Why*-Stripping) is base-generated in the higher CP-position. With regard to the movement of the remnant, this analysis applies both to languages which show overt focus movement (e.g., Romanian, a.o.) and to languages which usually express focus in situ (e.g., English). In the case of the latter languages, focus movement is manifested under ellipsis due to a recoverability condition on ellipsis.

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