

# STRIPPING IN SPANISH: FOCALIZED PP REMNANTS\*

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In this work I give an account for stripping and pseudostripping elliptical constructions in Spanish. Specifically, I propose that pseudostripping constructions involve conjunctions of two CPs, where the remnant in the second conjunct is dislocated in TopicP and TP is deleted. On the other hand, stripping structures are cases of constituent negation/affirmation, where the remnant is focalized. This proposal accounts for known differences in the syntactic behavior of these constructions regarding information structure—Topic and Focus—and hitherto unaccounted for optionality of ellipsis. In addition, it accounts for previously undescribed facts regarding binding and stranding of PP complements.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Stripping and pseudostripping

Stripping is a type of ellipsis where most of the elements in the second conjunct of a coordinate construction are deleted, except for an NP or a PP (referred here as the *remnant*) and a polarity marker that precedes it. While in some languages like English the polarity marker can only be a negation (1), in Spanish this marker can be either a negation or an affirmative marker, as shown in (2) (Depiante, 2000; Konietzko 2016; Merchant 2004; Morris, 2008; Vicente, 2006; Yoshida, Nakao and Ortega-Santos, 2012, 2015).

- (1) a. Juan read *Hamlet*, but **not** *María/El Quijote*.  
b. Juan went to the store, but **not to the market**.  
c. \*Juan didn't read *Hamlet*, but **yes** *María/El Quijote*.  
d. \*Juan didn't go to the store, but **yes to the market**.
- (2) a. Juan leyó *Hamlet*, pero **no** *María/El Quijote*.  
b. Juan no            leyó            *Hamlet*, pero **sí** *María/El Quijote*.  
Juan didn't        read            *Hamlet*, but yes *María/El Quijote*.  
'Juan didn't read *Hamlet*, but María did/, but he read *El Quijote*.'  
(Depiante 2000:100)  
c. Juan fue a la tienda, pero **no al mercado**.

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- d. Juan no fue a la tienda, pero **sí al mercado**.  
 Juan didn't go to the store, but yes to the market  
 'Juan didn't go to the store, but (he did go) to the market'

Pseudostripping constructions are similar to stripping in that only an NP or PP and a polarity marker are the only elements that remain after deletion. In pseudostripping, however, the remnant precedes the polarity marker, as shown in (3). Unlike in Spanish, pseudostripping constructions are ungrammatical in English, as seen in (4).

- (3) a. Juan leyó *Hamlet*, pero **María/El Quijote no**.  
 b. Juan no leyó *Hamlet*, pero **María/El Quijote sí**. (Depiante 2000: 101)  
 c. Juan fue a la tienda, pero **al mercado no**.  
 d. Juan no fue a la tienda, pero **al mercado sí**.
- (4) a. \*Juan read *Hamlet*, but **María/El Quijote not**.  
 b. \*Juan didn't read *Hamlet*, but **María/El Quijote yes**.  
 c. \*Juan went to the store, but **to the market not**.  
 d. \*Juan didn't go to the store, but **to the market yes**.

Besides the position of the polarity marker with respect to the remnant, stripping and pseudostripping also differ in their syntactic behaviour regarding optionality of ellipsis and binding. Among these, only optionality of ellipsis has been identified as a difference between both constructions in previous studies. In the next section I present the different behaviour that pseudostripping and stripping have. In addition, I introduce new data that shows that some PPs that are complements of N-heads can appear as remnants by their own. In section 3 I compare previous approaches to (pseudo)stripping in Spanish, and show how they can't account for their syntactic characteristics shown in section 2. I present a proposal to account for these constructions in 4, and in 5 I present the conclusions.

## 2. Syntactic behaviour

### 2.1 Optionality of ellipsis

There is a common assumption that ellipsis processes are optional. In other words, if an elliptical structure is grammatical, its non-elliptical counterpart is expected to be grammatical too. Several authors have pointed out that while this holds for pseudostripping it doesn't hold for stripping structures (Morris, 2008; Nakao, 2008, and Vicente, 2006). For instance, in the pseudostripping examples in (5) the verb following

the polarity marker can be pronounced or deleted. Conversely, in the stripping counterparts in (6) pronouncing the same verb leads to ungrammaticality.

- (5) a. Juan leyó libros, pero **revistas no** (leyó)  
 Juan read books, but magazines not read
- b. Compré libros de Química, pero **de Física no** (compré)  
 I bought books of Chemistry, but of Physics not bought
- (6) a. Juan leyó libros, pero **no revistas** (\*leyó)  
 Juan read books, but not magazines read
- b. Compré libros de Química, pero **no de Física** (\*compré)  
 I bought books of Chemistry, but not of Physics I bought

Although previous work on these constructions has noticed the difference between pseudostripping constructions in (5) and stripping in (6), an account for their different behaviour hasn't been provided. For example, Vicente (2006) recognizes that he "can only solve [the optionality of ellipsis] by stipulating that ellipsis is required to apply in the [stripping] structure" (f.n. 11). Similarly, Nakao (2008) states that pseudostripping and stripping are licensed by distinct features located in different heads, one being optional and the other one obligatory (p. 27). On the other hand, Konietzko (2016) — following (Ross, 1969; Merchant 2008)— proposes that ellipsis in stripping sentences is a repair process that prevents sending ungrammatical structures like the ones seen in (6) to PF.

## 2.2 Novel observations

Some PPs that are complements of N-heads can constitute remnants by their own in both pseudostripping and stripping constructions. In (7), for example, the heads of the NPs (*libros* and *pastel*, respectively) are deleted in the second conjunct, but their PP complements *de Física* and *de limón* remain along with the polarity marker.

- (7) a. Compré [DP [NP [N libros] [PP de Química]]], pero **no de Física**  
 I bought books of Chemistry, but not of Physics  
 'I bought books of Chemistry, but I didn't buy books of Physics'
- b. Compré [DP [NP [N libros] [PP de Química]]], pero **de Física no**.
- c. Pedro horneó [DP [NP [N pastel] [PP de chocolate]]], pero **no de limón**.  
 Pedro baked cake of chocolate but not of lemon  
 'Pedro baked chocolate cake, but not lemon cake'
- d. Pedro horneó [DP [NP [N pastel] [PP de chocolate]]], pero **de limón no**.

Another characteristic of these elliptical structures that has not been mentioned previously in the literature is the fact that the remnant in pseudostripping constructions can't be bound if coindexed with an element in the first conjunct. Conversely, the remnant of stripping constructions must be bound. As shown in (8a), remnants in pseudostripping can be coindexed with an element in the first conjunct and in the deletion site. Nevertheless, they cannot be bound by it. This is confirmed in (8b), where the appearance of a reflexive pronoun in the remnant leads to ungrammaticality. This suggests that the remnant in pseudostripping is not in a position where it can be c-commanded by an element in the first conjunct or in the deletion site. Therefore, it should be located in a different CP domain from the first conjunct and in a position higher than the deletion site.

- (8) a. Carla<sub>i</sub>    encontró   fotos    de Juan,   pero **de ella**<sub>i</sub>  
 Carla        found        pictures   of Juan,   but   of her<sub>i</sub>
- no    (encontró fotos Carla<sub>i</sub>)  
 not   (found pictures Carla<sub>i</sub>)  
 'Carla found pictures of Juan, but not of her[self]'
- b. \*Carla<sub>i</sub>    encontró   fotos    de Juan,   pero **de ella misma**<sub>i</sub>  
 Carla        found        pictures   of Juan   but   of herself
- no    (encontró fotos Carla<sub>i</sub>)  
 not   (found pictures Carla<sub>i</sub>)  
 'Carla found pictures of Juan, but not of herself'

Stripping structures, on the other hand, allow the presence of a reflexive pronoun in the remnant (9a), while the appearance of a non-reflexive one results in an ungrammatical sentence (9b). This leads to conclude that the real binder of the reflexive pronoun is not located in the elision site. Instead, it must be located higher in order to c-command the reflexive, but in a local domain (the same CP), in compliance with Principle A of Binding Theory. In the specific case of (9), the binder is the subject *Carla*, which would be located in the same clause as the reflexive pronoun.

- (9) a. Carla<sub>i</sub>    encontró   fotos    de Juan,   pero no   **de ella misma**<sub>i</sub>  
 Carla        found        pictures   of Juan   but not   of herself
- 'Carla found pictures of Juan, but not of herself'
- b. \*Carla<sub>i</sub>    encontró   fotos    de Juan,   pero no   **de ella**<sub>i</sub>  
 Carla        found        pictures   of Juan,   but not   of her<sub>i</sub>
- 'Carla found pictures of Juan, but not of her[self]'

In the next section I introduce previous work on pseudostripping and stripping constructions in Spanish. In addition, I show how these approaches cannot account for the syntactic behaviour of both constructions presented above.

### 3. Previous accounts for (pseudo)stripping in Spanish

#### 3.1 Movement to FocusP (Depiante 2000)

Depiante (2000) argues that both stripping and pseudostripping constructions involve movement of the remnant to FocusP followed by the deletion of TP or  $\Sigma$ P, which she locates above TP in Spanish (following Laka 1990). The difference between both structures relies on whether the remnant rises alone or with the polarity marker. While in pseudostripping the remnant crosses the polarity marker located in  $\Sigma$ P when rising to FocusP, in stripping sentences the negation and the remnant move together to FocusP, as shown in (10) and (11), respectively.

(10) Ana leyó *El Quijote*, pero  $[\text{FocusP } \text{María}_s \text{ } [\Sigma \text{ no } <[\text{TP } t_s \text{ leyó } \textit{El Quijote}]> ]]$   
 Ana read *El Quijote*, but María not

(11) Ana leyó *El Quijote*, pero  $[\text{FocusP } [\text{no María}]_s <[\Sigma \text{ } [\text{TP } t_s \text{ leyó } \textit{El Quijote}]> ]]$   
 Ana read *El Quijote*, but not María

(pp. 127, 133)

While Depiante's approach explains the position of the remnant with respect to the negative polarity marker in both constructions, it doesn't account for their different behaviour regarding optionality of ellipsis and binding. In addition, her account for stripping requires moving together  $\Sigma$ P and a lower DP, two elements that don't form a constituent. In order to move as a constituent, the DP remnant would have to rise to Spec $\Sigma$ P, crossing the  $\Sigma$ -head. However, this would cause the remnant to precede the polarity marker and, hence, the word order would not correspond to that of stripping structures.

#### 3.2 Movement to FocusP and TopicP (Vicente 2006)

Vicente (2006)<sup>1</sup> proposes that pseudostripping and stripping constructions involve a movement of the remnant to TopicP and FocusP, respectively, followed by a deletion of TP. He assumes, however, that  $\Sigma$ P is located between these two projections, what gives the correct order of the polarity marker with respect to the remnant, as shown in the representation in (12).

(12)  $[\text{TopP } \text{XP}_{\text{pseudostripping}} [\Sigma \text{ neg/affir } [\text{FocusP } \text{XP}_{\text{stripping}} <[\text{TP } ]> ]]]]$

This proposal is supported by data that shows that stripping—but not pseudostripping—remnants share characteristics with focalized elements: both give rise to existential presuppositions and to exhaustive interpretations. For instance, questions like (13a) can be answered with either a pseudostripping (13b) or a stripping construction (13c); however, the stripping construction gives rise to an existential presupposition. This is the pseudostripping sentence in (13b) is felicitous in a situation where nobody went to

<sup>1</sup> Similar analyses can be found in Morris (2008) for French, Nakao (2008) for English, and Konietzko, (2016) for German.

the movies with me, but the stripping counterpart in (13c) blocks this interpretation. On the other hand, it allows the presence of a contrastive phrase (13d).

- (13) a. Who did you go to the movies with?
- b. Con Clara no. De hecho, fui solo  
with Clara not. In fact I went on my own
- c. No con Clara. #De hecho, fui solo  
not with Clara In fact I went on my own  
(Modified from Vicente 2006, 199-201)
- d. No con Clara. pero sí con María  
not with Clara but I did with María.

Similarly, a question like (14a) can be answered with either a pseudostripping (14b) or a stripping construction (14c). However, while the pseudostripping answer in (14b) allows a reading where Clara and Susana didn't go to the party, the answer with stripping in (14c) has an implicature that both Clara and Susana attended the party, in contrast to María.

- (14) a. All three of María, Clara, and Susana said they would come to the party. But, in the end, which of them came?
- b. María no (y Clara tampoco).  
María not and neither did Clara.
- c. No María (#y Clara tampoco).  
not María and neither did Clara

Vicente's (2006) proposal offers an account for (pseudo)stripping constructions that is consistent with their characteristics regarding information structure (topicalization and focalization). Moreover, it accounts for the position of the remnant with respect to the polarity marker without proposing non-constituent movement. Nevertheless, it provides a unified explanation that requires remnants of both constructions to move to the Left Periphery of the structure, above the deletion site (TP). This approach is not sufficient to explain data that contains coindexed elements in elliptical contexts (as we demonstrated above that some remnants need to have their antecedent in the same CP and others don't). In addition, it can't account for the fact that the deletion of material in pseudostripping is obligatory, in contrast to stripping.

In the next section I propose an account for (pseudo)stripping constructions that is consistent with the syntactic characteristics introduced in section 2. This follows Vicente's (2006) observation that remnants of stripping structures are focalized, and they share properties with other focalized elements. However, the proposal presented here

differs in that remnant focalization can occur lower in the structure, and not just in the Left Periphery.

#### 4. Proposal

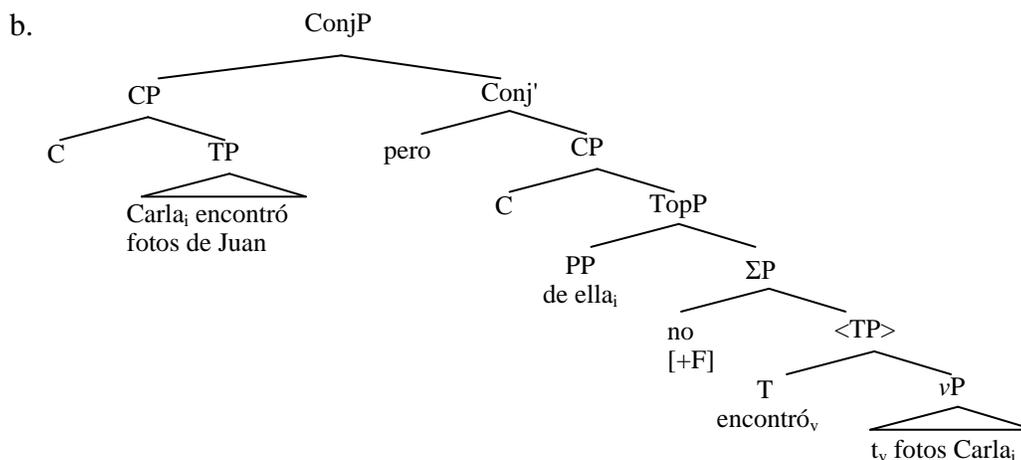
In order to give an account for the elliptical structures studied here, I follow Vicente (2006) in that pseudostripping remnants are topicalized, while stripping remnants encode Focus. In addition, I assume that  $\Sigma$ P is a phrase that holds polarity markers and it is located above TP in Spanish, in accordance with Laka (1990).

##### 4.1 Pseudostripping

For pseudostripping constructions, I propose that these occur in contexts with CP conjuncts, as it has been suggested previously in the literature (Morris 2008, Nakao 2008, Konietzko 2016). Remnants in these constructions are left-dislocated and base generated in TopicP<sup>2</sup>. Polarity markers are focus-sensitive elements that are generated in  $\Sigma$ P, and as so they introduce a contrastive reading between the first and the second conjunct (Nakao 2006, Konietzko 2016). I detach from previous work on elliptical structures that consider the existence of a special ellipsis feature that licenses deletion (see Merchant 2004, for instance). Instead, I propose that is the feature [+Focus] present in a  $\Sigma$ P with a polarity marker the one that allows—but not requires—the deletion of given information in the second conjunct (i. e. the material that is identical in both coordinated sentences). According to this, a sentence undergoing pseudostripping like that of (16a) would have the syntactic structure shown in (16b).

- (16) a. Carla<sub>i</sub>    encontró    fotos    de    Juan, pero **de** **ella**<sub>i</sub>  
 Carla    found    pictures    of    Juan but    of    her<sub>i</sub>

no (encontró fotos Carla<sub>i</sub>)  
 not (found pictures Carla<sub>i</sub>)  
 'Carla found pictures of Juan but not of her[self]'



<sup>2</sup> A similar analysis is proposed in Morris (2008) for pseudostripping constructions in French.

This proposal is consistent with several facts introduced above in section 2 and 3. First, analyzing pseudostripping as a process that occurs in CP conjuncts explains why it is not possible to have a reflexive pronoun acting as a remnant in these constructions. This is because its potential binder—located in the first conjunct—would not be able to c-command the reflexive pronoun, causing a violation to Principle A of Binding Theory. However, the appearance of a non-reflexive pronoun in the remnant would be grammatical, since its antecedent is not in the same local domain. Second, proposing that the feature [+Focus] introduces a contrastive reading and allows, but not requires, the deletion of given material accounts for optionality of ellipsis in pseudostripping.

In addition, there is independent evidence that supports the idea that pseudostripping remnants are located above TP. Specifically, remnants in these structures pattern like left-dislocated arguments in non-elliptical contexts. For instance, if the DP remnant in a pseudostripping construction is a DO or an IO, the non-elliptical version of the sentence requires clitic doubling of that DP, as seen in (17). This is something that occurs in Spanish only if the doubled DP is dislocated in the left-periphery (Anagnostopoulou 2006, Treviño and Ordoñez 1999):

- (17) a. Vi            a Carla,    pero a Juan    no \*(lo)        vi  
 I saw        Carla        but Juan        not him        I saw  
 'I saw Carla, but I didn't see Juan'
- b. Le    envié regalos    a María,    pero a Pedro    no \*(le) envié nada  
 her    I sent gifts        to María,    but to Pedro    not him I sent nothing  
 'I sent gifts to María, but I didn't send anything to Pedro'

The lack of pseudostripping in English is also explained by this approach. Previous work on stripping (Depiante 2000, Konietzko 2016) assume that pseudostripping is not possible in English because negation in this language needs to be affixed to an auxiliary. Thus, examples with pseudostripping like (18a) would be ruled-out by the Stranded Affix Filter (Lasnik 1981) since no auxiliary can serve as a morphological base for the negation. Conversely, they are grammatical if the negative marker is attached to an auxiliary, as in (18b). This analysis, however, encounters a problem when analyzing data that involves non-subject remnants. As shown in (18c) and (18d), sentences with a DO or an adjunct as remnants are not grammatical either, even if there is an auxiliary present.

- (18) a. \*John read *Hamlet*, but **María** not.  
 b. John read *Hamlet*, but **María** didn't.  
 c. \*John read *Hamlet*, but *El Quijote* didn't.  
 d. \*John read *Hamlet* in the bookstore, but **in the library** didn't.

Sentences in (18) can be explained with the proposal presented here and with the pseudostripping structure introduced in (16). It is only necessary to assume that NegP —

or  $\Sigma P$ — in English is located below TP (as argued by Laka 1990), and not above it like in Spanish. Since the negation and its [+Focus] feature can only delete the given material under their scope. In English, this material would be within  $\nu P$ . This would mean that pseudostripping in English is a case of VP-ellipsis.

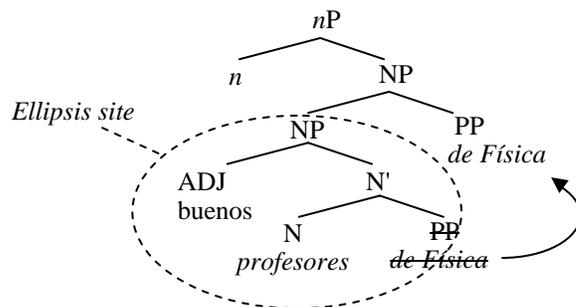
## 4.2 Stripping

In order to account for the syntactic behavior of stripping constructions, I propose that these do not occur in CP conjuncts —unlike pseudostripping. Instead, I argue that stripping is a case of constituent negation/affirmation that occurs in conjuncts at a DP or  $\nu P$  level. A conjunction of two DPs will give as a result a construction where a DO, an IO or a PP is the remnant. On the other hand, subject remnants will appear in  $\nu P$  conjuncts.

I will follow Ticio's (2005, 2010) account for NP-ellipsis in Spanish and propose that PPs that are complements of N-heads can rise to an adjunct position of that NP as a focalization process that allows deleting the lower segment of the maximal projection NP. For instance, a sentence like (19a) undergoing NP-ellipsis can leave a PP as a remnant, like in (19b). This can be explained with the representation in (20), where the PP complement *de Física* rises above the elision site for focalization purposes, allowing to delete the syntactic material below. Other material inside the ellipsis site (like prenominal adjectives) can't be focalized and, therefore, must be deleted. This is confirmed by the ungrammatical example in (19c).

- (19) a. Unos        buenos    profesores de    Física.  
       Some        good        professors of    Physics
- b. Unos        [e]    de    Física.  
       Some                of    Physics
- c. \*Unos        buenos    [e]    de    Física.  
       Some        good                of    Physics

(20)

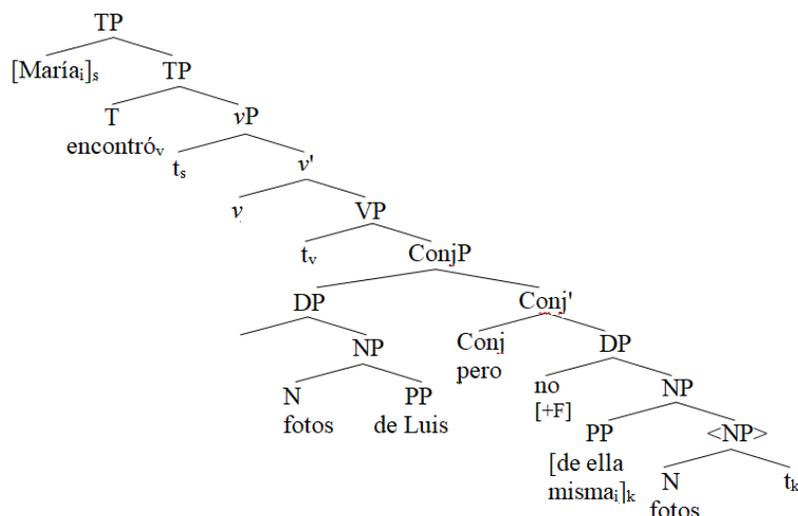


Based on these assumptions, the syntactic representation of a sentence with a PP remnant like (21a) would be the one in (21b), where the PP that is complement of the N-head rises to an adjunct position of the NP for focalization purposes. The polarity marker —which is not a sentential, but a constituent negation that is located in an adjunct

position of the DP (Konietzko 2016)—introduces a focus contrastive reading that allows the given material to be deleted. In this case, the elided material is the lower segment of the maximal projection NP. The presence of the reflexive pronoun in the remnant is grammatical as its binder, *María*, is located in the same CP domain.

- (21) a. *María<sub>i</sub> encontró fotos de Luis, pero no de ella misma<sub>i</sub>*  
*María found pictures of Luis, but not of herself.*

b.



Besides the binding restrictions accounted for above, there is also evidence from island environments that show that stripping structures cannot occur in CP conjuncts. For instance, if a sentence like (22a) were analyzed as in (22b), it would require moving the remnant *de fresa* out from an island boundary. This suggests that stripping constructions occur within a single CP and that any conjunction occurs at a lower level.

- (22) a. *Luis vio al hombre que compró helado de chocolate,*  
*Luis saw the man that bought ice-cream of chocolate,*

*pero no de fresa*

*but not of strawberry*

*'Luis saw the man that bought chocolate ice-cream, but not the one that bought strawberry ice-cream'*

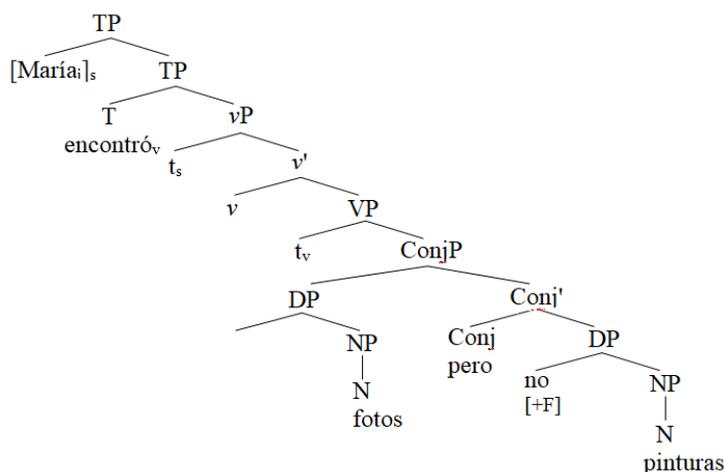
- b. *Luis vio al hombre* [<sub>CP</sub> *que compró helado de chocolate*],  
 [<sub>ConjP</sub> *pero* [<sub>no<sub>Σ</sub></sub> [<sub>de fresa<sub>k</sub></sub> <[<sub>TP</sub> *Luis no vio al hombre* [<sub>CP</sub> *que t<sub>Σ</sub> compró helado t<sub>k</sub>*>]]

If the structure in (21b) is the correct representation of stripping structures with PP remnants, then these constructions would be a type of NP-ellipsis that involves a

conjunction at a DP level. Moreover, following this approach, stripping structures with objects or subjects as remnants, like (23a) and (23b), respectively, do not involve any kind of deletion. This is shown by the structure in (24), which is a representation of sentence (23a).

- (23) a. María      encontró    fotos,      pero no    pinturas.  
          María      found        pictures    but not    paintings
- b. María      encontró    fotos,      pero no    Juan.  
          María      found        pictures    but not    Juan

(24)



The proposal presented here accounts for the differences regarding optionality of ellipsis between both constructions. While in pseudostripping a [+Focus] feature licenses the deletion of given material in TP, stripping structures are a case of constituent negation/affirmation at a lower level. The only instance where stripping constructions involve a deletion rule is when a PP that is complement of an N-head is focalized and moved outside from the NP-ellipsis site. This, however, doesn't require the existence of a different feature that licenses ellipsis other than [+Focus], which has already been suggested before as the trigger of NP-ellipsis and pseudostripping.

## 5. Conclusions

In this work I provided an analysis for stripping and pseudostripping constructions that is based on their syntactic differences involving information structure, binding and optionality of ellipsis. I propose that while pseudostripping occurs in conjunctions of CPs, stripping occurs in lower conjunctions within the same CP. In pseudostripping, the presence of a [+Focus] feature introduced by the polarity marker allows the deletion of the given material under its scope. This excludes the remnant, which is dislocated in TopicP. On the other hand, stripping doesn't require a special deletion rule other than NP-

ellipsis, which has already been attested in non-stripping elliptical environments where the remnant is a PP.

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