言語科学レクチャーシリーズ
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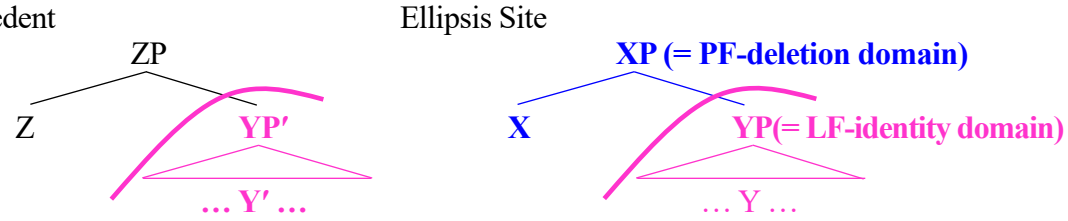
省略における境界線をめぐる冒険：ズレてるくらいがちょうどいい？

Yosuke Sato
Tsuda University
yosukes@tsuda.ac.jp

1. Introduction

(1) The Sister-Proxy Identity Constraint (SPIC) on Syntactic Identity on Ellipsis
Syntactic identity on PF-deletion of an XP demands that the sister of the X – YP – find a syntactically identical antecedent YP′.

(2) Visual Illustration of the SPIC at Work



(3) Merchant's (2013a) Syntactic Identity Condition as formulated in Chung (2013:3)
The heads in the verbal spine of the elided constituent must be syntactically identical to the corresponding heads in the antecedent.

A Shoppers Catalogue of Ellipsis Mismatches (an incomplete list thrifted from Sato 2025a)

a. Voice mismatch under VP-ellipsis and pseudogapping in English
b. Polarity/finiteness/illocutionary force/tense mismatch under sluicing in English
c. Antecedent-ellipsis site size mismatch under antecedent-contained sluicing in English
d. Antecedent-ellipsis size mismatch under small clause predication in English
e. Causative-inchoative (argument structure) mismatch under VP-ellipsis in English
f. Case particle and focus mismatch under argument ellipsis in Japanese
g. Category mismatch under NP-ellipsis in Japanese
h. Argument structure mismatch under gapping in Japanese
i. Subset copy principle and inflection mismatch under VP-ellipsis in English

<<Organization of the Talk>

Section 2: support the SPIC from (im)possible mismatch cases, both known and new, listed above
Section 3: derive the SPIC from third factor principles of C_{HL} (zero search, immediate visibility)
Section 4: discuss another type of ellipsis mismatch, PF-LF mismatch, in tautological conditionals
Section 5: wrap up

2. The Sister-Proxy Identity Constraint (SPIC) in Action

2.1. *Voice Mismatch under VP-Ellipsis and Pseudogapping in English*

✧ It is well-known that both VP-ellipsis and pseudogapping accept voice mismatches in English as long as discourse and/or information structural factors are properly controlled for (Miller 1991; Kehler 2000, 2002; Coppock 2001; Kertz 2010; Tanaka 2011a, b, *pace* Merchant 2008, 2013a, b).

(4) Voice mismatch under VP-ellipsis in English
   a. The janitor must remove the trash whenever it is apparent that it should be.
      [antecedent → active; ellipsis site → passive]
   b. The system can be used by anyone who wants to.
      [antecedent → passive; ellipsis site → active]

(Merchant 2013a: 78, 79)

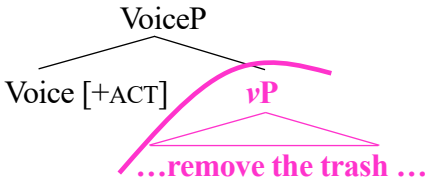
(5) Voice mismatch under pseudogapping in English
   a. ? Actually, I have implemented it (= a computer system) with a manager, but it should have been by a computer technician.
      [antecedent → active; ellipsis site → passive]
   b. ? A new system can be used by anyone who could the older versions.
      [antecedent → passive; ellipsis site → active]

(Tanaka 2011a: 476)

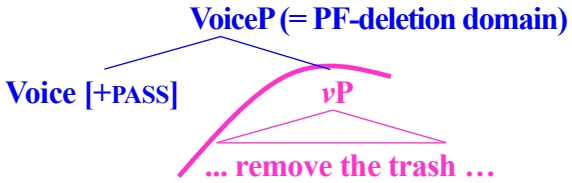
✧ Suppose that both VP-ellipsis and pseudogapping involve PF-deletion of the VoiceP. As per the SPIC, syntactic identity must be met over the *v*P level, which is sister to the Voice head. The examples above meet this requirement, as shown in (6).

✧

(6) Antecedent



Ellipsis Site



Prediction #1: The voice mismatch, available under VP-ellipsis and pseudogapping, should be unavailable under sluicing/TP-ellipsis. The VoiceP complement of the head of the to-be-elided TP contains conflicting voice values in violation of syntactic identity.

(7) Voice mismatch under sluicing in English
   a. * Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know who by.
      [antecedent → active; ellipsis site → passive]
   b. * Joe was murdered, but we don't know who.
      [antecedent → passive; ellipsis site → active]

(Merchant 2013a: 81)

Prediction #2: Mismatches originating in regions above VoiceP should, in principle, be tolerated under sluicing/TP-ellipsis. Such mismatches are outside the domain (i.e., VoiceP, sister to the T head of the TP ellipsis domain) where the syntactic identity requirement is checked as per the SPIC.

(8) a. The baseball player went public with his desire [$_{TP}$ to be traded]$_{A}$. He doesn't care where [$_{TP}$ ~~he will be traded~~]$_{E}$. (**finiteness mismatch**)
b. [$_{TP}$ Your favorite plant is alive]$_{A}$, but you can never be sure for how long [$_{TP}$ ~~it will be alive~~]$_{E}$. (**tense mismatch**)
c. I don't think that [$_{TP}$ California will comply]$_{A}$, but I don't know why [$_{TP}$ ~~it won't comply~~]$_{E}$. (**polarity mismatch**) [1]
d. Always [$_{TP}$ save a little from each paycheck]$_{A}$. Once you're older, you'll understand why [$_{TP}$ ~~you should always save a little from each paycheck~~]$_{E}$. (**illocutionary force mismatch**)

((8a, b, d) from Rudin 2019: 266, 267; (8c) from Kroll 2019: 2)

2.2. *Syntactic Size Mismatch under Antecedent-Contained Sluicing*

✧ Yoshida (2010) and Yoshida and Gallego (2013) observe that in antecedent-contained sluicing, the antecedent of the elided TP is actually the matrix verb phrase, not the matrix TP. They take this observation to indicate that this mismatch is licensed by the mutual entailment condition on ellipsis, a case of semantic identity (Merchant 2001).

(9) a. John isn't [$_{VP}$ inviting anyone/someone without saying who [$_{TP}$ ~~John is inviting~~]$_{E}$]$_{A}$.
b. John must [$_{VP}$ select a color without knowing which one [$_{TP}$ ~~John selects~~]$_{E}$]$_{A}$.

(Yoshida 2010: 350)

✧ Takita (2013) shows, however, that voice mismatch is blocked under antecedent-contained deletion in German and Russian. If semantic identity were at stake, the voice-mismatched example below should be grammatical. This indicates that this construction requires syntactic identity between the antecedent clause and the elided TP.

(10) Hans wurde von jemandem geküßt, ohne zu wissen, wer *(ihn küßte).
Hans was by someone kissed without to whom who.NOM him kissed
'lit. Hans was kissed by someone without knowing who$_{NOM}$ (kissed him).'
[antecedent → passive; ellipsis site → active]

(German: Takita 2013: 667)

✧ The SPIC captures the seemingly inconsequential behavior of antecedent-contained sluicing. The sluice/TP undergoes PF-deletion because the verbal constituent, sister to the T head, is identical to the antecedent verbal constituent, as shown in (11).

(11) [$_{TP}$ John$_1$ [$_{VP}$ t_i kissed someone] without knowing [$_{CP}$ who$_2$ C [$_{TP}$ he$_1$ [$_{VP}$ t_1 kissed t_2]]]].

syntactic identity domain

PF-deletion domain

[1] A note is in order regarding (8c). One might think that this example is problematic for the SPIC because the NegP complement of the ellipsis site (i.e., the TP) is negative whereas that of its alleged syntactic antecedent is positive. This is not a problem for the proposed account. A growing body of work (Kroll 2019, 2020; Sakamoto 2024; Yagi et al. 2022; Sato 2025b, among others) argues that polarity reversals under sluicing are obtained by a non-syntactic means, i.e., through the Excluded Middle Assumption (Bartsch 1976; Gajewski 2005, 2007) instead of literally having sentential negation within the ellipsis site. Thus, the seeming presence of negation in the syntactic structure underlying the elliptical clause in (8c) is an illusion and hence is consistent with the SPIC.

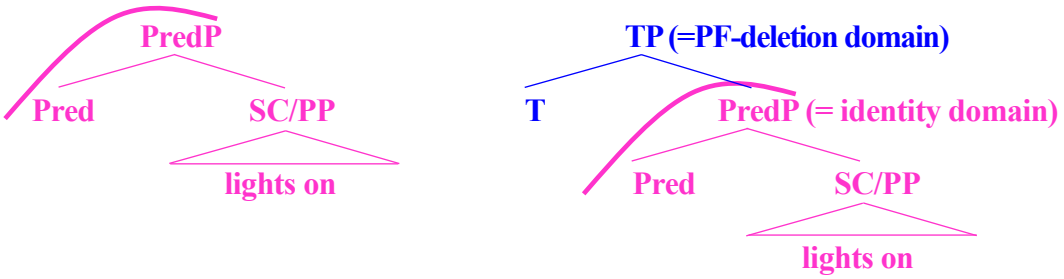
✧ As a further extension of the present approach to the size mismatch exhibited by antecedent-contained sluicing, we might also consider a case, recently explored in depth by Anand et al. (2025) and Stockwell (2023), where a small clause antecedent is paired with an ellipsis of a somewhat larger clausal constituent, as in (12).

(12) The bodies were discovered just before 1 a.m. when an employee of the shop happened to drive by, noticed [$_{SC}$ lights still on]$_{A}$ almost three hours after closing time and went inside to see why [$_{TP}$ ~~lights were on~~]$_{E}$.

(Anand et al. 2025: 355)

✧ Bowers (1993) and den Dikken (2006) argue that the small clause structure is headed by Pred(ication) Phrase. That is, the small clause syntax contains an additional functional layer above the projection of the lexical category involved.

(13) Antecedent small clause Ellipsis Site



2.3. *Argument Structure Mismatch under VP-Ellipsis in English*

✧ Sugimoto (2018) and Nakamura and Sugimoto (2015) observe that VP-ellipsis in English allows a causative/inchoative alternation. Importantly, the causative variant in an antecedent clause licenses ellipsis of the inchoative variant in an elliptical clause, but not vice versa.

(14) Causative/inchoative alternation under VP-Ellipsis in English
a. John believed that the sunshine would melt the big snowballs, but they didn't.
[antecedent → causative; ellipsis site → inchoative]
b.*John believed that the big snowballs would not melt, but the sunshine did.
[antecedent → inchoative; ellipsis site → causative]

(Sugimoto 2018: 146, 147)

✧ This observation runs counter to the widely held generalization in the literature (Sag 1976; Johnson 2004; Hauser et al. 2007; Merchant 2013a; Rudin 2019) that argument structure alternation is uniformly prohibited under (VP-)ellipsis.

✧ Some subset relation seems relevant. Our system captures this one-way mismatch pattern under the tripartite decompositional structure for causative variants, as opposed to the bipartite decompositional structure for inchoative/anti-causative variants, of the kind proposed by Alexiadou et al. (2006), Harley (2009, 2013), and Pylkkänen (2002), among others.

(15) OK: Causative VP_A → Inchoative VP_E
Causative VP_A: [$_{VoiceP}$ EA … Voice [$_{vP}$ …v_{CAUSE} [$_{\sqrt{P}}$ √break IA]]]
Inchoative VP_E: [$_{vP}$ IA v_{BECOME} [$_{\sqrt{P}}$ √break IA]]

(16) *: Inchoative VP_A → Causative VP_E
Inchoative VP_A: [$_{vP}$ IA v_{BECOME} [$_{\sqrt{P}}$ √break IA]]
Causative VP_E: [$_{VoiceP}$ EA … Voice [$_{vP}$ … v_{CAUSE} [$_{\sqrt{P}}$ √break IA]]]

Prediction #3: This analysis predicts that the causative-inchoative alternation as shown in (14a) should be blocked in the causative→inchoative sequence when √-materials contained within the lowest layer are mismatched. This prediction is indeed borne out.

(17) a. John believed that the war would raise oil prices, but they$_1$ didn't ~~[$_{vP}$ vBECOME [$_{\sqrt{P}}$ √rise t_1]]~~.
b. *John believed that the virus would kill the patient, but he$_1$ didn't ~~[$_{vP}$ vBECOME [$_{\sqrt{P}}$ √die t_1]]~~.
(adopted from Sugimoto 2018: 149, 150, with notations added by the author)

2.4. *Case Particle and Focus Mismatch under Argument Ellipsis in Japanese*

✧ It is well-known that so-called argument ellipsis in Japanese tolerates case particle mismatches (Takahashi 2006, 2012; Saito 2007), but we have not figured out how and why this happens!

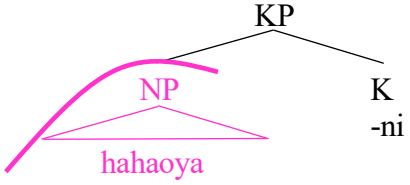
(18) Taroo-wa zibun-no hahaoya-**{o/*ni}** oikaesita.
Taro-TOP self-GEN mother-ACC/DAT chased.away
'Taro chased his mother away.'

(19) Case particle mismatch under control case in Japanese
Taroo-wa zibun-no hahaoya-ni$_A$ atta-ga, Hanako-wa zibun-no
Taro-TOP self-GEN mother-DAT met-but Hanako-TOP self-GEN
hahaoya-**{o/*ni}** oikaesita.
mother-DAT/ACC chased.away
'intended: Taro met his mother, but Hanako chased her own mother away.'

(20) Case particle mismatch under argument ellipsis in Japanese
Taroo-wa zibun-no hahaoya-ni$_A$ atta-ga, Hanako-wa **Δ$_E$** oikaesita.
Taro-TOP self-GEN mother-DAT met-but Hanako-TOP chased.away
'intended: Taro met his mother, but Hanako chased Δ (=her own mother) away.'
(Saito 2007: 217)

✧ If the SPIC is right, we can provide a straightforward solution to this puzzle. Let us assume that traditional case-marked NPs such as *hahaoya-ni* 'mother-DAT' and *hahaoya-o* 'mother-ACC' have K(ase)P as their highest extended projection, as shown in (21a, b) (see Travis and Lamontagne 1992, Bittner and Hale 1996, Kayne 1994 and Whitman 2001).

(21) a.



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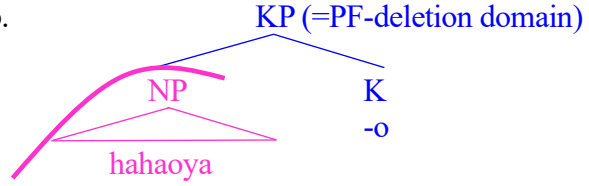
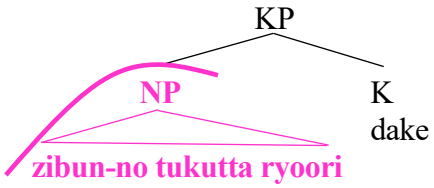


✧ The analysis can yield an illuminating account of an otherwise mysterious observation originally due to Akiyama (2014) (see also Moriyama 2017, Kishimoto and Moriyama 2022, Yamashita 2018, 2019 and Sato 2022) that argument ellipsis cannot target an argument marked with *dake* 'only'.

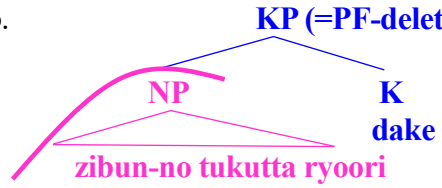
(22) Taroo-wa zibun-no tukutta ryoori-dake$_A$ tabeta. Hanako-mo Δ_E tabeta.
Taro-TOP self-GEN made food-only ate Hanako-also ate
'lit. Taro ate only foods that he cooked on his own. Hanako also ate Δ.'
[^{OK} focus-exclusive reading; *focus-inclusive reading]

➔ This interpretive restriction is exactly what we predict if we assume that particles such as *dake* 'only' also belong to a class of KPs dominating their host NPs.

(23)a.



b.



Prediction #4: Suppose that we embed a *dake*-marked phrase in (22) *further under another KP*. Then, we will have a double-decked KP, $[_{KP2}\ [_{KP1}\ NP\ K_1]\ K_2]$. The SPIC predicts that the elliptical object taking this outer KP as its antecedent should permit the focus-inclusive reading. This is correct.

(24) Taroo-wa zibun-no tukutta ryoori-dake-o$_A$ tabeta. Hanako-mo Δ_E tabeta.
Taro-TOP self-GEN made food-only-ACC ate Hanako-also ate
'lit. Taro ate only foods that he cooked on his own. Hanako also ate Δ.'
[^{OK} focus-exclusive reading; ^{OK} focus-inclusive reading]

◆ The interpretive asymmetry between the double-decked KP and the singled-decked KP is obtained not only with direct objects but also with other argument positions such as subjects and indirect objects.

(25) Taro-wa zibun-no ronbun-dake$_A$ saiyoos-areru-to omotteiru. Hanako-mo
Taro-TOP self-GEN paper-only accept-PV-COMP think Hanako-also
Δ_E saiyoos-areru-to omotteiru.
accept-PV-COMP think
'lit. Taro thinks that only his paper will be accepted. Hanako also thinks Δ will be accepted.'
[^{OK} focus-exclusive reading; $^{??}$ focus-inclusive reading]

(26) Taro-wa zibun-no ronbun-dake-ga$_A$ saiyoos-areru-to omotteiru. Hanako-mo
Taro-TOP self-GEN paper-only-NOM accept-PV-COMP think Hanako-also
Δ_E saiyoos-areru-to omotteiru.
accept-PV-COMP think
'lit. Taro thinks that only his paper will be accepted. Hanako also thinks Δ will be accepted.'
[^{OK} focus-exclusive reading; ^{OK} focus-inclusive reading]

(27) Taroo-wa syuuron-no saisindorafutu-o zibun-no koohai-ni-dake$_A$ okutta.
Taro-TOP MA.thesis-GEN latest.paper-ACC self-GEN junior- DAT-only sent
Hanako-wa hakuron-no saisindorafuto-o Δ_E okutta.
Hanako-TOP PhD.thesis-GEN latest.paper-ACC sent
'lit. Taro sent the latest draft of his MA thesis only to his junior. Hanako sent the latest draft of her PhD thesis Δ.'
[^{OK} focus-exclusive reading; *focus-inclusive reading]

(28) Taroo-wa syuuron-no saisindorafutu-o zibun-no koohai-dake-ni$_A$ okutta.
Taro-TOP MA.thesis-GEN latest.paper-ACC self-GEN junior- only-DAT sent
Hanako-wa hakuron-no saisindorafutu-o Δ_E okutta.
Hanako-TOP PhD.thesis-GEN latest.paper-ACC sent
'lit. Taro sent the latest draft of his MA thesis only to his junior. Hanako sent the latest draft of her PhD thesis Δ.'
[^{OK} focus-exclusive reading; ^{OK} focus-inclusive reading]

2.5. *Further Extensions of the SPIC in Japanese and English*

There are three other cases of ellipsis mismatch that the SPIC may shed light on.

- ◆ Category mismatch under NP-ellipsis in Japanese
- ◆ Causative/inchoative alternation under gapping in Japanese (Nakamura 2022)
- ◆ Subset copy principle under VP-ellipsis in English (Oku 1998)

2.5.1. Category mismatch under NP-ellipsis in Japanese

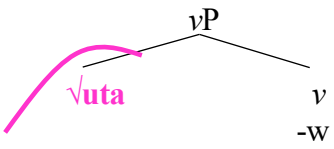
(29) Kazuya-ga kinoo 2000-nin-no fan-no-mae-de hisasiburini
Kazuya-NOM yesterday 2000-CLF-GEN fun-GEN-front-in in. a. while
utatan-nda-yo! Kare-no Δ-wa itukiitemo iyasareru-naa.
sang-COP-SFP he-GEN TOP whenever.I.listen heal-SFP
'intended: Kazuya sang in front of 2000 fans yesterday for the first time in a while. His songs heal me whenever I listen to them.'

◆ This category mismatch is impossible without any linguistic antecedent in (29), even with the help of a richly specified context such as that in (30), which otherwise would make the content of the elided NP pragmatically recoverable.

(30) [Speaker A has been a big fan of Kazuya for many years. She is currently at his solo concert where he completed his first few songs and she is already moved to tears by his songs. She says to her boyfriend, who is next to her at the concert:]
Kare-no Δ-wa itukiitemo iyasareru-no-yo!
he-GEN TOP whenever.I.listen heal-SFP-SFP
'intended: His songs heal me whenever I listen to them.'

✧ Let us assume, following the framework of Distributed Morphology (see Marantz 1997, 2001, 2007 and Arad 2003), that so-called syntactic categories such as verbs and nouns are not atomic but instead roots whose category is determined by the nature of a higher categorizing functional head.

(31)a.



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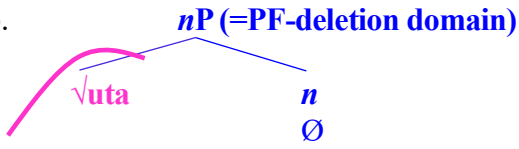


2.5.2. Causative/Inchoative Alternation under Gapping in Japanese

✧ Nakamura (2022) reports on an argument structure mismatch under gapping created by homophonous causative alternation verbs.

(32)a. Kaze-ga ikioi-o masi-ta. (*masu*$_{tr}$→causative/transitive verb)
wind-NOM momentum-ACC increase$_{TR}$-PST
'The wind has increased its intensity.'

b. Kaze-no ikioi-ga masi-ta. (*masu*$_{intr}$→inchoative/intransitive verb)
wind-GEN momentum-NOM increase$_{INTR}$-PST
'The wind's intensity has increased.'

(33)* Tikazukitutuaru taihu-no seide, kaze-wa ikioi-o **masi$_{TR}$**,
approaching typhoon-GEN due.to wind-TOP momentum-ACC increase$_{TR}$
kawa-wa mizukasa-ga **mas$_{INTR}$**-iteiru.
river-TOP water.level-NOM increase$_{INTR}$-PRS.PERF
'Due to the approaching typhoon, the wind has built in intensity, and the river has swollen.'

(34)? Tikazukitutuaru taihu-no seide, kaze-wa ikioi-o **Ø$_{VTR}$**, sosite
approaching typhoon-GEN due.to wind-TOP momentum-ACC and
kawa-wa mizukasa-ga **mas$_{INTR}$**-iteiru.
river-TOP water.level-NOM increase$_{INTR}$-PRS.PERF
'Due to the approaching typhoon, the wind has built in intensity, and the river has swollen.'

(35)* Tikazukitutuaru taihu-no seide, kaze-wa ikioi-ga **masi$_{INTR}$**,
approaching typhoon-GEN due.to wind-TOP momentum-NOM increase$_{INTR}$
kawa-wa mizukasa-o **mas$_{TR}$**-iteiru.
river-TOP water.level-ACC increase$_{TR}$-PRS.PERF
'Due to the approaching typhoon, the wind has built in intensity, and the river has swollen.'

(36)? Tikazukitutuaru taihu-no seide, kaze-wa ikioi-ga **Ø$_{VINTR}$**, sosite
approaching typhoon-GEN due.to wind-TOP momentum-NOM and
kawa-wa mizukasa-o **mas$_{VTR}$**-iteiru.
river-TOP water.level-ACC increase$_{TR}$-PRS.PERF
'Due to the approaching typhoon, the wind has built in intensity, and the river has swollen.'

2.5.3. Subset Copy Principle under VP-Ellipsis in English

(37) a. Mary is leaving, but John will not [$_{VP}$ Δ]. (= leave)
b. Mary left, and soon John will [$_{VP}$ Δ]. (= leave)
c. Mary has left, and soon John will [$_{VP}$ Δ]. (= leave)

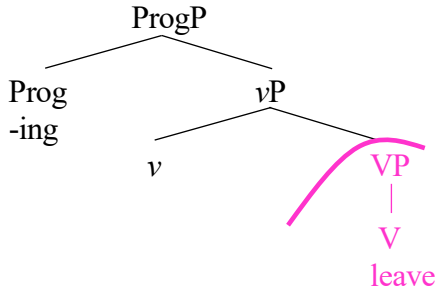
(Oku 1998: 18, 20, 22)

(38) The Subset Copy Principle
LF-Copy can copy a subset of the features of the antecedent to construct the contents of the elliptic site.

(Oku 1998: 19)

➔ The fundamental question raised by this mismatch pattern is why ellipsis can 'ignore' inflectional morphology. The principle is real but where is it derived from? Yes, the SPIC!! It allows/forces ellipsis to look just one step deeper than the target elliptic constituent.

(39) a.



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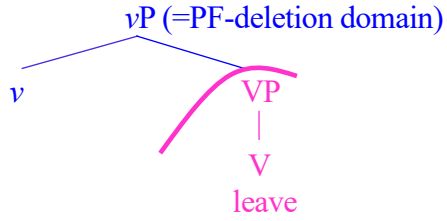


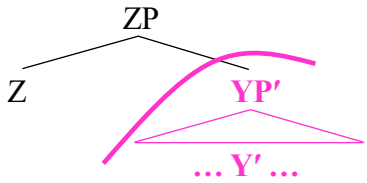
3. Why the SPIC, not Others? Non-Simultaneous Transfer and Computational Efficiency

✧ The time is ripe to address the question why (1), repeated as (40), and visually represented in (41), holds true in natural language. **More generally, why is there mismatch under ellipsis at all? Why is language so 'badly' designed?**

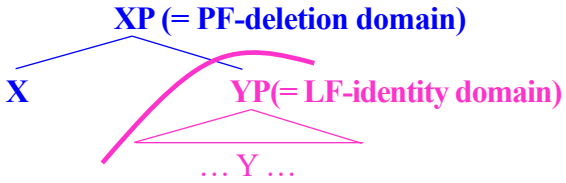
(40) The Sister-Proxy Identity Constraint (SPIC) on Syntactic Identity on Ellipsis
Syntactic identity on PF-deletion of an XP demands that the sister of the X – YP – find a syntactically identical antecedent YP′.

(41) Visual Illustration of the SPIC at Work

Antecedent



Ellipsis Site



➢ PF-deletion requires syntactic identity over a certain circumscribed domain, so the PF component must be able to access this identity information during the course of syntactic derivation.

➢ By striving for zero search and immediate visibility, the C_{HL} is designed as a computationally efficient system (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005) that can only see what is right and immediate in front of it. The configuration in (41) is the best possible solution to these design specifications.

<<Theoretical Ramifications>>

✧ The proposed deduction also indicates that there is no need to resort to such things as E-feature in Merchant's (2001, 2008, 2013a, b) sense, which imposes a hybrid intermodular function on an identical constituent XP to the effect that it may only undergo ellipsis if it stands in the mutual identity relationship with a salient antecedent YP.

✧ With the advantage of hindsight, E-feature is a hyper-lexical panacea, a sign of *featuritis* (Boeckx 2015), with no morphosyntactic reflex elsewhere in any language. The loci for such a feature in various forms of ellipsis when it is employed as a descriptive tool are somewhat arbitrary. On these grounds, the E-feature should be eliminated from any serious explanatory theory of ellipsis.

4. LF-Relevant Domains are Sometimes Bigger than PF-Deletion Domains

It seems that LF-relevant domains are sometimes larger than, and hence properly contain, PF-deletion domains, seemingly in contrast to the SPIC's spirit

→ Rooth 1992; Takahashi and Fox 2005; Griffiths 2019; Stockwell 2020

(42) Parallelism/Contrast Condition on Verb Phrase Ellipsis
For ε to be elided, ε must be inside a phrase E that has an antecedent A such that either:
i. $[\![A]\!] \in F(E)$ and $[\![A]\!] \neq [\![E]\!]$; or
ii. $[\![A]\!] \subseteq F(E)$

(Stockwell 2020: 2)

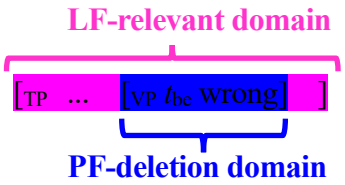
"The focus membership condition, $[\![A]\!] \in F(E)$, requires that the ordinary semantic value of A be a member of the focus value of E. In other words, A must be an alternative to E. Further, the contrast condition, $[\![A]\!] \neq [\![E]\!]$, requires that the ordinary meanings of A and E contrast. That is, A must be a *proper* alternative to E." (Stockwell 2020:15)

(43) Tautological conditional (no contrast over TP)
a. If $John_i$ is wrong, then he_i is wrong.
b. * If $John_i$ is wrong, then he_i is [$_{VP}$ wrong]. (Stockwell 2020: 6)

(44) Tautological conditionals (contrast over TP)
a. If John is wrong, then Mary is wrong.
b. If John is wrong, then Mary is [$_{VP}$ wrong]. (Stockwell 2020: 7)

(45) Contradictory conjunctions (contrast over TP)
a. $John_i$ is wrong and he_i isn't [$_{VP}$ wrong].
b. $John_i$ is wrong and he_i isn't [$_{VP}$ wrong]. (Stockwell 2020: 10)

(46) Tautologous distinctions (contras over TP)
a Either $John_i$ is wrong, or he_i isn't [$_{VP}$ wrong].
b. Either $John_i$ is wrong, or he_i isn't [$_{VP}$ wrong]. (Stockwell 2020: 10)

(47) 

But this is not the problem for SPIC at all! Here, semantic contrast, not syntactic identity, is calculated for PF-deletion!!

5. Conclusions

Take-Away: Ellipsis mismatch is the norm rather than exception, contrary to common wisdom!

- Ellipsis-identity domains are fundamentally misaligned in ellipsis phenomena in natural language. This misalignment is actually good news.
- Yes, because this 'bad' design is forced under certain third-factor considerations imposed on the design of CHL (no probing and immediate visibility).
- The SPIC yields a new light on the relationship between identity and ellipsis within the MP. It helps to construct a maximally restrictive theory of ellipsis via best-design considerations.

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Contact Information:

Yosuke Sato
Department of English, College of Liberal Arts
Tsuda University
2-1-1 Tsuda-machi, Kodaira-shi, Tokyo JAPAN 187-8577
Email: yosukes@tsuda.ac.jp
TEL: +81-42-342-5150
Research HP: https://sites.google.com/view/yosuke-sato-linguistics