snippets

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Contents

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

1. Purpose.

The aim of *Snippets* is to publish specific remarks that motivate research or that make theoretical points germane to current work. The ideal contribution is the ideal footnote: a side remark that taken on its own is not worth lengthy development but that needs to be said. One encounters many short comments of this kind in the literature of the seventies. We feel that there no longer is a forum for them. We want *Snippets* to help fill that gap.

2. Content.

We will publish notes that contribute to the study of syntax and semantics in generative grammar. The notes are to be brief, self-contained and explicit. They may do any of the following things:

- point out an empirical phenomenon that goes against accepted generalizations or that shows that some aspect of a theory is problematic;
- point out unnoticed minimal pairs that fall outside the scope of any existing theory;
- point out an empirical phenomenon that confirms the predictions of a theory in an area where the theory has not been tested;
- explicitly describe technical inconsistencies in a theory or in a set of frequently adopted assumptions;
- explicitly describe unnoticed assumptions that underlie a theory or assumptions that a theory needs to be supplemented with in order to make desired predictions;
- call attention to little-known or forgotten literature in which issues of immediate relevance are discussed.

We also encourage submissions that connect psycholinguistic data to theoretical issues. A proposal for a pilot experiment in language acquisition or language processing could make for an excellent snippet.

The earliest Linguistic Inquiry squibs exemplify the kind of note we would like to publish. Some of them posed unobserved puzzles. For instance, a squib by Postal and Ross in LI 1:1 ("A Problem of Adverb Preposing") noted that whether or not we can construe a sentence-initial temporal adverb with an embedded verb depends on the tense of the matrix verb. A squib by Perlmutter and Ross in LI 1:3 ("Relative Clauses with Split Antecedents"), challenging the prevailing analyses of coordination and extraposition, noted that conjoined clauses neither of which contain a plural noun phrase can appear next to an "extraposed" relative that can only describe groups. Other squibs drew attention to particular theoretical assumptions. For instance, a squib by Bresnan in LI 1:2 ("A Grammatical Fiction") outlined an alternative account of the derivation of sentences containing believe and force, and asked whether there were principled reasons for dismissing any of the underlying assumptions (among them that semantic interpretation is sensitive to details of a syntactic derivation). A squib by Zwicky in LI 1:2 ("Class Complements in Phonology") asked to what extent phonological rules refer to complements of classes. None of these squibs was more than a couple of paragraphs; all of them limited themselves to a precise question or observation.

3. Submission details.

Snippets is an electronic journal. We will publish issues roughly twice a year, and all issues will remain on the website.

Snippets is intended as a service to the linguistics community. Consequently, authors are advised that, when they submit to *Snippets*, we understand them as allowing their submission to be reproduced if published. At the same time, the rights for the notes themselves will remain with the authors. As a result, citation of *Snippets* material will have to indicate the author's name and the specific source of the material.

We will accept electronic submissions at the address snippetsjournal@gmail.com. Electronic submissions may take the form of (a) the text of an e-mail message, or (b) an attached file. The attached file should be a simple text file, a Word file (Mac or Windows), or a Rich Text Format (RTF) file. All submissions must state the name and affiliation of the author(s), and a (postal or electronic) return address.

Submissions are to be a maximum of 500 words (including examples), with an additional half page allowed for diagrams, tables and references. Given that we envision the submissions themselves as footnotes, the submissions may not contain footnotes of their own. The ideal submission is one paragraph; a submission of five lines is perfectly acceptable. We will not consider abstracts.

4. Editorial policy.

Submissions will be reviewed by our editorial board, and review will be name-blind both ways. We will provide a response within 3 months of the moment when we acknowledge receipt of a submission. At the same time, we do not guarantee more than a simple yes/no response to the submitter. We will not require revisions (barring exceptional cases). We allow resubmission (once) of the same piece.

1.

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On the role of gemination in passives: the case of Abruzzese

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In his crosslinguistic survey of passive constructions, Keenan (1985:251) observes that reduplication and gemination are not possible morphological expressions of the passive voice. That this is not true of reduplication has since been shown i.a. for Older Egyptian (Reintges 2003) and Hanis Coos (Coosan, Oregon Coast; Keenan and Dryer 2007). As far as we know, the accepted wisdom regarding the role of gemination in passive formation, however, remains that passives cannot be realised via this mechanism.

Here we show that this is also not universally true: Abruzzese, a central Italian variety, features an active/passive distinction which is signalled solely by means of *Raddoppiamento fonosintattico* (RF), a sandhi phenomenon involving the gemination of initial consonants (cf. Nespor and Vogel 1986, Loporcaro 1997):

(1) a.　ACTIVE:　So　　viste　　　　Si　　viste
　　　　　　　　　am-1S　seen　　　　　are-2S　seen
　　　　　　　　　'I have seen'　　　　'You (s) have seen'

　　b.　PASSIVE:　So　　[v]viste　　　Si　　[v]viste
　　　　　　　　　am-1S　　seen　　　　are-2S　seen
　　　　　　　　　'I am seen'　　　　　'You(s) are seen'

As (1) shows, active and passive structures in Abruzzese involve the same auxiliary (a form of BE) and differ only in respect of the presence vs absence of RF on the element immediately following the auxiliary. That (1) in fact entails a productive gemination process, involving an RF trigger, and not simply a lexically encoded morphophonological difference between active and passive participles is shown by (2):

(2) So　　[s]sembre viste　　allà
　　 am-1S always　　seen　　there
　　 'I am always seen there'

Here the adverb immediately adjacent to the auxiliary, *sembre*, undergoes RF, while the participle does not; the structure, however, receives a passive interpretation and contrasts with the corresponding RF-lacking active.

(1) and (2), then, suggest that languages can productively harness gemination as a means of realising the active/passive distinction. What remains to be explained is what the gemination trigger is. Biberauer and D'Alessandro (2006) show that it is the auxiliary, which, being an oxytone, fits the phonological profile of RF triggers. More specifically, they propose, adopting Chomsky's (2001) Derivation by Phase model, that when the auxiliary is sent to Spellout as part of the same spellout domain as adjacent material, as it is where (defective) passive vP is present, it is able to induce RF on the immediately adjacent element; where it is sent to Spellout separately, as with active vPs, where the contents of VP are sent to Spellout independently of the contents of the vP and TP, this is not possible. The relevant difference is schematised in (3) (outline indicates material sent to Spellout upon completion of the vP-phase):

(3) a. [$_{TP}$ *so* [$_{vP}$ *so* [$_{VP}$ *viste*]]] (active)

　　　　viste and *so* sent to PF separately → no RF

　　b. [$_{TP}$ *so* [$_{vP}$ *so* [$_{VP}$ *viste*]]] (passive)

　　　　so viste sent to PF together → RF: *viste* → ***vviste***

What led to Abruzzese employing gemination in passives, when this appears to be a crosslinguistically otherwise unattested phenomenon, remains a question for future research. Here we conclude simply that this option exists alongside reduplication, internal vowel change and various types of affixation.

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2.

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More on instrumental denominal verbs

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Some denominal verbs exhibit asymmetry with regard to their semantic relationship with the associated noun. For example, (1a) is acceptable, but (1b) is anomalous.

(1) a. He hammered the desk with his shoe.
    b. # She taped the picture to the wall with pushpins.

Acquaviva (2008) follows Kiparsky (1982, 1997) in attributing the 'tape/hammer' asymmetry to a difference in the internal structure of the derived verbs. Verbs like 'tape' are denominal verbs, while verbs like 'hammer' are derived from a category-free root shared with the noun, as in Hale and Keyser 1992. Thus the noun 'hammer' plays no role in the derivation of the verb 'hammer.'

Harley and Haugen (2007) show some problems with this approach, but attributing the semantic difference between these two classes of verbs to a purely verb-internal structural difference also presents another problem:

(2) a. He used his shoe as a hammer.
    b. # She used pushpins as tape.

Whatever is causing the contrast between (1a) and (1b) cannot be a fact about the internal structure of verbs, or the contrast between (2a) and (2b) would not be predicted.

A fairly consistent difference in the semantics of nouns may account for the contrast. Some nouns are defined by their functions, and some are defined by their forms. 'Hammer' will allow formally dissimilar objects (shoes) to exemplify hammers as long as they are used with the appropriate function. The associated denominal verb will do the same. Nouns defined by their forms, on the other hand, like 'tape,' will fail to tolerate as exemplars formally dissimilar objects (pushpins, glue) with the same function. Functionally unrelated objects (audiotape, police barrier tape, ticker tape) with similar forms will be acceptable exemplars, but cannot necessarily be used as instruments for the relevant function.

Kiparsky (1997) claims that 'hammer'-type verbs are manner-of-motion verbs rather than denominals, and supports this by asserting that compounds used as verbs, since they cannot be root-derived, are always denominal, and thus never allow instrumental adjuncts. He provides examples like (3) as support.

(3) a.   # You have to padlock the door with a latch.
    b.   # He snowplowed the sidewalk with a shovel.

However, this may be an illusion, created because compound nouns are commonly defined by form rather than function. Consider the following attestations:

(4) a.   ... the eternal hour of night that is day searchlit with the fires of hades...
          (www.wewrite.org/Articmes/BLACKH.rtf. June 5 2009.)

    b.   ...And I'm sure it is good criticism -- clear and sharp, cut with a knife, not
          pitchforked with a rusty old hedge machine.   (Rodriguez 2002: 226)

This is completely parallel with the ability of the associated nouns to host instrumental adjuncts, as in (5).

(5) a.   ... the radiation from an HH object can be used as a searchlight ...
          (Williams and Viti 2003: 109)

    b.   Can't I use my wit as a pitchfork and drive the brute off?
          (http://www.yourdictionary.com/pitchfork. June 5 2009.)

    Ultimately, the possibility of instrumental adjuncts is not a diagnostic of root-derived verbs.

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3.

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An argument for the existence of null DPs

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This snippet presents a simple argument against a WYSIWYG ("What You See is What You Get") principle banning the use of covert elements in syntax (see e.g. Hudson 1986, Cullicover and Jackendoff 2005). The debate in this area typically revolves around rather intricate properties of traces, PRO, and other postulated null elements. This snippet attempts to establish the existence of a certain class of null DPs in a relatively theory-independent manner.

It is well known that Heavy NP Shift of the first object in the English double object construction is impossible:

(1) a.   I told [the man who I met last Friday] a story.
    b.   * I told t_1 a story [the man who I met last Friday]$_1$.

Curiously, shifting of the object in (2b) is also degraded:

(2) a.   I told [the man who I met last Friday] about John.
    b.   * I told t_1 about John [the man who I met last Friday]$_1$.

As shown in (3), there is no general ban on shifting an object past an argument PP on its right:

(3) a.   I told [the story that I heard last Friday] to Bill.
    b.   I told t_1 to Bill [the story that I heard last Friday]$_1$.

Furthermore, whereas the *about* PP in (2) is compatible with the modifier *all*, as shown in (4a), this modifier is not permitted in the superficially similar (4b):

(4) a.   I told John (all) about Bill.
    b.   I talked to John (* all) about Bill.

These facts are straightforwardly explained if (2a) and (4a) are taken to be double object constructions, with the *about* phrase attaching to a null DP:

(5)   I told John [THE FACTS [about Bill]]

("The facts" is intended only as a rough gloss – it is not the aim of this snippet to probe the semantics of the construction.) In further support of this analysis, note that

stranding of *about Bill* in (4) under VP ellipsis – (6a) – is comparable in acceptability to its parallel with an ordinary double object verb – (6b) – and not to stranding of a true PP argument – (6c):

(6) a.   ?* I told John about Mary and Bill did about Jane.
    b.   ?* I gave John a book and Mary did a magazine.
    c.   I gave books to Jane and Mary did to Bill.

       If the preceding arguments suffice to establish the presence of a null DP in (5), this obviously speaks against any strong version of a WYSIWYG principle. Although nothing in this snippet argues directly against WYSIWYG theories of control or raising, it does seem that such theories cannot be correct in virtue of any more general principle of this sort.

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4.

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Does English resumption really help to repair island violations?

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Ross (1967) discovered island constraints that block long-distance dependency formation across certain structures, but he also noted that island violations do not arise when resumptive pronouns are used. This finding has led to many proposals on the nature of island constraints (Boeckx 2008; Cinque 1990), but a magnitude estimation study by Alexopoulou and Keller (2007) questions the presence of 'island repair' effects in English. For example, they examined the relative acceptability of relative clause (RC) island violations and their counterparts with resumptive pronouns (1), but found no difference in acceptability.

(1) Who$_1$ does Mary meet the people that will fire **t$_1$/him$_1$**.

       This is rather surprising, given that many linguists have reported English judgments that support Ross's original observation. One possible reason is that island repair effects are restricted to the subject position (McDaniel and Cowart 1999), but another potential reason is the property of the specific *wh*-phrase in (1). Erteschik-Shir (1992) observes that in a language like Hebrew where resumption can be used in the absence of island violations, resumptive pronouns need antecedents with a restrictive focus, i.e., they must refer to a set of individuals that are known to the speaker/hearer. Alexopoulou and Keller used the bare *wh*-phrase *who,* which does not meet this pragmatic condition. Moreover, the participants may have treated *him* as a deictic pronoun. This would cause a vacuous quantification and render the sentence ungrammatical.

       We conducted a 7-point-scale acceptability judgment study that addresses these methodological concerns. Our experimental materials consisted of 16 sentence sets, and each set consisted of four conditions as shown in (2).

(2) The director remembered *which hairdresser*…

    a/b. …the cameraman speculated that the actor had kissed ___/**her**.   (no island)

    c/d. …the cameraman hated the actor that had kissed ___/**her**.   (RC island)

We used d-linked *wh*-phrases that meet the restrictive focus condition (Pesetsky 1987), and also avoided the deictic reading of the pronoun by ensuring that the *wh*-phrase is the only NP in the sentence that matches the pronoun in gender bias (based on Kennison and Trofe 2003), number and animacy features. We manipulated two factors (islandhood and resumption) to examine island repair effects and the baseline cost of resumption, and counter-balanced these items across four lists together with 36 fillers of similar length and complexity.

The data from 16 native speakers of American English (Figure 1) showed a main effect of island [$F(1,15) = 70.9$, p. $< .001$] and resumption [$F(1,15) = 50.7$, p. $< .001$], as well as a significant interaction of the two factors [$F(1,15) = 25.8$, p. $< .001$]. The pair-wise comparison revealed that resumption significantly degraded the no-island condition [2a vs. 2b: $t(1,15) = 7.2$, p. $< .001$], while there was no difference between the two RC island conditions [2c vs. 2d: $t(1,15) = 1.7$, p. $= .109$].

These results indicate that resumption does not improve English RC island violations even when the *wh*-phrases meet the restrictive focus condition and the antecedent is made clear. This finding lends further support to Alexopoulou and Keller's claim that English resumption in object positions does not repair island violations.
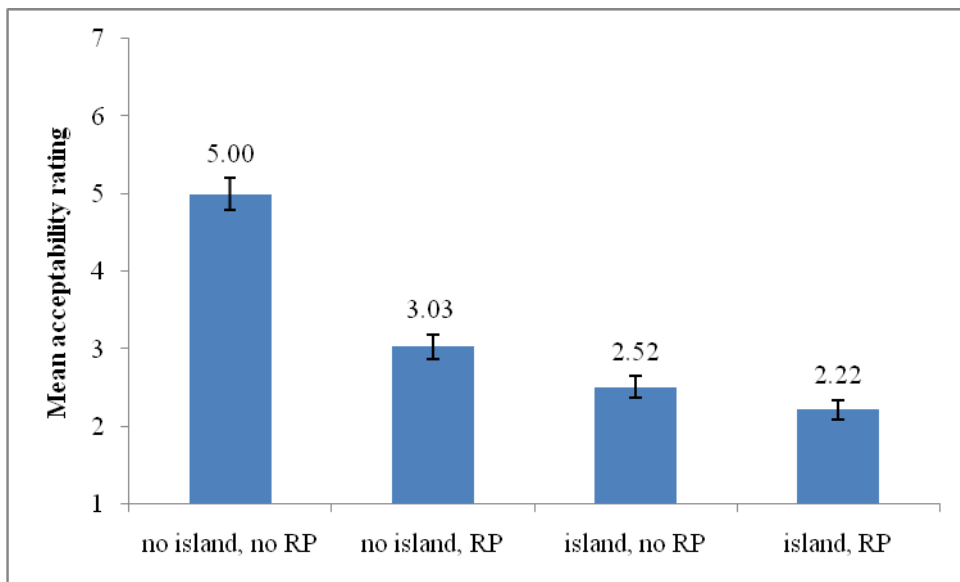

Figure 1. Mean acceptability rating on resumption and island (n=16)

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5.

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Evidence for the bimorphemic analysis of 'everything' from relative clauses

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In his recent squib discussing post-nominal attributive adjectival modification in English, as illustrated in (1a,b), Kishimoto (2000) proposes a bimorphemic analysis for indefinite pronouns.

(1) a. everything interesting
    b. * a book interesting (cf. an interesting book)

According to Kishimoto, *every* and *thing* in (1a) are two independent items within the syntax. The two elements later undergo PF-Merger (cf. Halle and Marantz 1993) into a single word in the post-syntactic morphological component. Kishimoto further argues that (1a) is derived by N-raising, as in (2).

(2) [$_{DP}$ every [$_{Num}$ thing$_i$ [$_{NP}$ interesting [$_{NP}$ t_i]]]] (adapted from Kishimoto 2000: 560)

In (2), the adjective is base-generated to the left of the NP that dominates *thing*. The surface order obtains as the result of the N-raising of *thing* across the adjective to the Num head. Kishimoto's argument for the bimorphemic analysis comes from (3b). It is well-known since Postal 1969 that a lexical word, including compounds, forms an opaque domain for adverbial modification (3a). Notice, however, that *almost/virtually/nearly* can successfully modify part of what appears to be a single word *everyone* in (3b), on a par with (3c), which contains the fully phrasal DP *every student*.

(3) a. A very [hot dog]
    b. Almost/virtually/nearly everyone
    c. Almost/virtually/nearly every student   ((3a,b) from Kishimoto 2000: 561)

    Kishimoto's contribution contains two claims: 1) the bimorphemic treatment of indefinite pronouns and 2) N-raising. Larson and Marušič (2004) and Marušič and Žaucer (2009) present evidence against 2) but 1) has been unchallenged. This squib provides an argument *for* 2) from amount relatives (Carlson 1977; Grosu and Landman 1998).

    Consider (4a, b).

(4) a. I need to find someone that knows **everything there is** about websites.
    b. **Everyone there was** on US Airways Flight 1549 was saved thanks to Chelsey Sullenberger.

In (4a,b), *everything/everyone* serves as the relative pronoun modified by the existential. Under the Raising analysis of Vergnaud 1979 / Kayne 1994, one could imagine the derivation in (5), which involves the movement of *everything* from the immediately post-verbal position to [Spec, CP].

(5) [$_{CP}$ Everything$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C [$_{TP}$ there is t_i about websites]]]
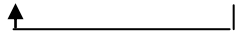
On this analysis, arguably *everything* would have to have the kind of semantics that we normally attribute to the determiner *every*: the relative clause would serve as the restrictor to this quantifier. This assumption is questionable. Moreover, the analysis is untenable due to the *Definiteness Effect* (Milsark 1974), which prohibits the occurrence of a term like *everything* in the immediately post-verbal position (6a,b).

(6) a.   * There is everything about websites.
     b.   * There was everyone on the US Airways Flight 1549 saved thanks to Chelsey
           Sullenberger.

A more appropriate analysis for (4a,b), then, would be the one in (7), where what undergoes movement in the syntax is only the restictor part of e*verything*.

(7) [$_{DP}$ Every [$_{CP}$ thing$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C [$_{TP}$ there is t_i about websites]]]]
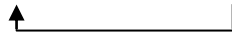
The Definiteness Effect does not arise in (7) because *every* is base-generated in the TP-external position independently from its restrictor.

    In sum, (4a,b) provide further support for the bimorphemic analysis of indefinite pronouns.

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6.

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Nominative case without Tense in the Niigata dialect of Japanese

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It has been commonly held in the literature on Japanese syntax that nominative case is assigned to an NP by [+tensed] T (Takezawa 1987) whereas genitive case is assigned by N to whatever NP is contained within a larger nominal constituent in the configuration [$_{NP}$ NP/PP α] (α = projection of N) (Mihara 1994). These two case assignment options are illustrated in (1a,b). These options also yield *ga-no* Conversion (Harada 1971) in (1c), where the subject may be marked as nominative or genitive.

(1) a. [$_{TP}$ Shunsuke- ***ga/*no***   Tokyo-o   hoomonsita]
          Shunsuke-Nom/Gen Tokyo-Acc   visited
          'Shunsuke visited Tokyo.'

    b. [$_{NP}$ Shunsuke-***ga/no***   Tokyo-e-no   hoomon]
          Shunsuke-Nom/Gen Tokyo-Goal-Gen   visit
          'Shunsuke's visit (to Tokyo)'

    c. [$_{NP}$ [$_{TP}$ Shunsuke-***ga/no***   Tokyo-o   hoomonsuru]   riyuu]
              Shunsuke-Nom/Gen Tokyo-Acc   visit   reason
          'the reason Shunsuke will visit Tokyo'

There are several proposals concerning structural and morphological aspects of case assignment in Japanese; see aforementioned work as well as Kuroda 1965, 1978, Marantz 1991, Harley 1995, and Fukui and Nishigauchi 1992. Details aside, however, the most prevailing assumption still seems to be that *-ga* is assigned to an NP by [+tensed] T within the TP whereas *-no* is assigned to an NP by N within a larger nominal constituent. This configurational approach to case marking predicts that *-ga* may never be found within DPs without [+tensed] T in Japanese.

My ongoing research on a particular variety of Japanese spoken around the city of Niigata reveals that this variety allows the possessor of a nominal to be marked with -ga, as in (2a-c), an option not available in standard Japanese. [Note: noppe is a famous soup served in Niigata.] Notice that genitive case can appear in the same environments in the Niigata variety as in the standard variety.

(2) a. ora-den-***ga***/ ***no***   tambo
          I-Pl-Nom/Gen   rice field
          'our rice field'

    b. omesan-**ga**/**no**   annya
          you-Nom/Gen   son
          'your son'

    c.   baachan-**ga**/**no**   noppe
         grandma-Nom/Gen   noppe
         'grandma's noppe'

This case alternation is also found with nominals with two possessors, as shown in (3).

(3) a.   Omesan-***no*** annya-***no***   sigoto   salkin   doo-da-bane?
          you-Gen   eldest son-Gen   job   these days   how-Cop-Q
          'How is your eldest son's job these days?'
    b.   Omesan-***ga*** annya-***no***   sigoto   salkin   doo-da-bane?
    c.   Omesan-***no*** annya-***ga***   sigoto   salkin   doo-da-bane?
    d.   Omesan-***ga*** annya-***ga***   sigoto   salkin   doo-da-bane?

The examples above show that the standard generative assumption that nominative case is tied to [+tensed] T does not hold *across the board* in Japanese.

       A series of new questions arise. Why is case alternation permitted in this variety, not in the standard variety? What is the nature of nominative case in this dialect? One might analyze -*ga* in this dialect as an inherent case assigned by the head noun. Saito 1985 supports this position for standard Japanese based on the impossibility of subject scrambling.

       The data discussed here necessitates reconsideration of the standard configurational approach to Japanese case marking. I hope this squib revives the interest of linguists in the nature of nominative case in this language.

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7.

7.

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Merchant says that MaxElide works for instances of wh-movement followed by VP deletion but it's not clear how or how it does

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Consider the following two cases. In (1), an example of sluicing, the wh-phrase moves to matrix Spec-C and the IP is deleted (here and throughout deletion sites are put in strikethrough). The same derivation in (2), however, does not allow for VP-deletion.

(1) They said Nick heard about a Balkan language but I don't know [$_{CP}$ which (Balkan language) ~~[$_{IP}$ they [$_{VP}$ said [$_{CP}$ Nick [$_{VP}$ heard about t$_{wh}$]]]]~~].

(2) *They said Nick heard about a Balkan language but I don't know [$_{CP}$ which (Balkan language) [$_{IP}$ they did ~~[$_{VP}$ say [$_{CP}$ Nick [$_{VP}$ heard about t$_{wh}$]]]~~]].

  Merchant (2008) argues that the grammaticality difference in (1)–(2) can be explained under (3):

(3) MaXElide (Definition):
  Let XP be an elided constituent containing an A'-trace. Let YP be a possible target for deletion. YP must not properly contain XP (XP $\not\subset$ YP).

Let us apply (3) to (2). Take the elided XP to be the VP *[say Nick heard about t$_{wh}$]* and YP the IP *[they did [$_{VP}$ say Nick heard about t$_{wh}$]]*. According to (3), both IP and VP are possible targets for deletion and both contain an A'-trace (actually the same), but IP properly contains VP. Deletion, then, targets the "Max(imal)'' category IP. Whence, the only grammatical derivation is (1), predicting that sluicing is favored over VP-deletion.

  Interestingly, though, (2) becomes a lot better as in (5) ((4) is the corresponding sluicing derivation):

(4) They said Nick heard about a Balkan language, but I don't know [$_{CP}$ which (Balkan language) ~~[$_{IP}$ Nick [$_{VP}$ heard about t$_{wh}$]]~~.

(5) (?) They said Nick heard about a Balkan language, but I don't know [$_{CP}$ which (Balkan language) [$_{IP}$ he did ~~[$_{VP}$ hear about t$_{wh}$]~~].

Let us now apply MaxElide to (5). Take XP to be the VP *[hear about t$_{wh}$]* and YP the IP *[he did [$_{VP}$ hear about t$_{wh}$]]*. Both IP and VP are possible targets for deletion and both contain an A'-trace (the same). Again, IP properly contains VP. Although MaxElide is clearly violated in (5), it does not give an ungrammatical output (albeit

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slightly deviant ?) comparable to that of (2). Whence, sluicing (cf. (4)) is not favored over VP-deletion (cf. (5)).

The interesting difference between (2) and (5) is that the source of the elided VP in (5) does not include the matrix antecedent VP as in (2) but only the embedded one. The same seems to hold for (6) and (7) (the ungrammatical (6) cited from Fox and Lasnik 2003: 143, ex. 24):

(6) *It appears that a certain senator will resign, but [$_{CP}$ which senator it does [$_{VP}$ appear [$_{CP}$ that t$_{wh}$ [$_{VP}$ will resign]]]] is still a secret.

(7) It appears that a certain senator will resign, but [$_{CP}$ which senator will [$_{VP}$ resign]] is still a secret.

VP-deletion with A'-traces seems to comply with a sort of "MinElide" principle; something like "delete the most minimal VP possible." In other words, the source of VP-deletion in (5) and (7) seems to favor a more minimal derivation by excluding the matrix VP. But if something like MinElide is possible (and/or preferable) for VP-deletion (of the form (5–7)), what prohibits us from assuming that the same is true with sluicing (of the form) (1)?

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