

Covert Derivations in strict-CV

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The autosegmental hypothesis, even though it was first developed to explain suprasegmental or syllable-based processes, was conceived as a way to restrain the number of derivations in the standard generative framework. Work once done by rules was then replaced by Well Formedness Conditions or general principles as a way to limit the number of intermediate stages between deep and surface form. The main consequence in adopting WFC is the enrichment of structure and a new organisation of the segmental "string".

In the framework of government phonology, both strict-CV and GP2.0 share the premises of autosegmental phonology: OCP (alternation of units CV* or ON*), Association conventions/LCC (linearization of the output representation) are seen as WFC on representations. The former has restricted representation to a mere skeleton of C and V units while the latter (re)introduced structured O and N (both units can project).

The main difference is thus related to the hypothesis on the underlying representation. Strict-CV tends to chose the null hypothesis: the underlying representation is given by the linear surface string. On the other hand, underlyings forms in GP2.0 are not entirely recoverable from the surface, which is due to the use of structured representations.

Our claim is that enriched representations *a la GP2.0* are less demanding with regards to derivations. In fact, there is no derivation in this framework because principles like m-command are constraints on structure and not on the output.

Contrastively, strict-CV uses proper government and licensing as shorthand for rules to derive the desired output. Lateral relations are covert terms for intermediate steps and are a consequence of the impoverishment of representation. The less structure there is the more derivation is needed.