

Linearization and Local Dislocation: Derivational Mechanics and Interactions*

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1. Introduction

On the assumption that the syntax generates hierarchical representations that are accessed by both sound and meaning systems, it is an empirical question how the syntactic representation and the representation(s) referred to in different morphophonological processes relate to one another. In Chomsky and Halle [7:9], for example, this question is posed in terms of how two conceptions of *surface structure*, “output of the syntactic component” and “input to the phonological component,” relate to one another, with identity being a possibility that is excluded because of the existence of cases in which these two notions appear to differ. What is then required is a theory of the possible relationships between syntactic and phonological structures, on the assumption that in spite of some differences, the overall patterns are systematic. In terms of current models of syntax and its interfaces, this amounts to giving a theory of PF.

Since this set of questions was initially formulated, research in this area has identified a range of cases in which syntactic structure and phonological structure do not line up with one another, in a number of domains (prosodic phonology, cliticization, bracketing paradoxes, etc.). To the extent that phenomena of this type require syntactic and phonological representations that are distinct from one another, the further question is how great the differences are. I take it that the possible deviations are highly restricted in their scope, something that amounts to assuming a “restrained” view of PF. Within the context of a derivational framework, the program is to specify the different

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