

FDSL 8 ABSTRACT  
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### **Optimality and Dynamic Spell-Out**

This talk explores the mechanics of Spell-Out from the perspective of Slavic language data, arguing for a strongly derivational approach. Minimalism dictates a reevaluation of the division of labor between syntax and PF. Much regarded in traditional generative grammar as syntax proper can be seen as a response to PF demands. Linearization in the mapping to PF is one manifestation of this shift in the burden: the syntax creates hierarchical structure, but leaves unspecified the linear order of the concatenated elements. This is instead a property imposed on language by virtue of the temporal exigencies of articulation. It is argued that linearization should be done “on-line”, in a dynamic rather than in a static fashion (à la M. Richards and contra Fox & Pesetsky) or through single access to a set of ranked constraints (as in OT models). Linearization in fact reapplies at different points in the derivation, making use of different kinds of information. I show that, following Kayne’s Linear Correspondence Axiom, *initial* linearization exploits asymmetric c-command, but that later PF side linearization can exploit prosodic properties of specific lexical items. Other Spell-Out effects concern decisions such as copy pronunciation, lexification, prosodification, and ellipsis, all of which I contend are dynamic in character. Reviewing work by Franks, Bošković, Lambova and others, I discuss how copy pronunciation interacts with PF factors in complex ways. The curious role of morphological syncretism in letting otherwise infelicitous constructions “slip by” is examined from the perspective of the organization of the grammar. (The selection of a particular lexical item with underspecified morphosyntactic features in one Spell-Out domain affects acceptability when that item is shared with another domain.) I also discuss how choice of allomorph can depend on very superficial phonological factors.

First, a version of Uriagereka’s Multiple Spell-Out model is presented. The LCA, combined with MSO, provides an elegant account of why Specifiers are always linearized to the left and also derives Multiple WH Fronting word order. An attempt is then made to reconcile optimality theoretic and derivational generative approaches by imposing constraints to optimize PF desiderata on the output of each Spell-Out domain. In this context I consider whether cyclic phasal domains are sent to PF as “punctuated” or (quasi)-uniform Spell-Out paths (in the terminology of Boeckx). I show how, by rejecting phases (as Boeckx does) and by optimizing Spell-Out, certain clitic phenomena can be handled. I conclude that, as the paths approach “uniformity”, ordering puzzles disappear and distinctions between OT and derivational conceptions trivialize.