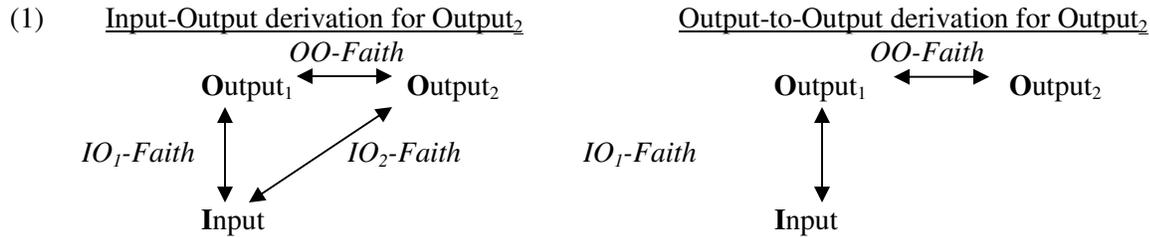


## Output-to-Output Derivation Revisited

**Goal:** Benua (1995) posits two different kinds of word derivation: Input-Output derivation and Output-to-Output derivation, and argues that words with class 2 affixes and truncated forms are transderived by Output-to-Output derivation as in (1). This argument has two serious problems; 1) there exists correspondence between the ‘transderived’  $output_2$  and the ‘input’ also in the Output-to-Output derivation, and 2) the notion of ‘transderivation’ implies serialism, even though she tries to explain it under OT. In this paper, I argue that ‘transderived’ forms are also derived directly from the ‘input’ through three sets of data from the Low Southern American English and Korean. By ranking IOC higher than Output-to-Output Correspondence (OOC),  $output_2$  can be explained under the monostratal constraint-based OT theory without invoking ‘transderivation.’



**1. Benua (1995)** While both  $Output_1$  and  $Output_2$  are derived simultaneously from Input in Input-Output derivation, Output-to-Output derivation yields  $Output_2$  from  $Output_1$ , another full-fledged word. Therefore, the mapping from the Input to  $Output_1$  is prior to the mapping from  $Output_1$  to  $Output_2$ , and  $Output_2$ , being blind to Input, can not be more faithful to Input than  $Output_1$ . Furthermore,  $Output_2$  may violate some phonological constraints of a language to keep the *Identity effect* with  $Output_1$ .

### 2. IOC in Output-to-Output derivation

**2.1 Linking /r/ in the Low Southern American English** In the Low Southern English dialect, /r/ at the syllable-coda position is not pronounced (e.g., *appear* [əpiə]). However, the *linking-r* appears with a vowel-initial class 2 affix (e.g., *appearing* [əpiəriŋ]). If  $output_2$  were derived from  $output_1$ , being blind to the input, the linking-/r/ resulting from IOC cannot be explained.

**2.2 Final Consonant-cluster Simplification in Korean** In Korean, a final consonant-cluster undergoes simplification when it occurs before a consonant or at the end of a word (e.g., *salm* [sam] ‘life’). However, when such words combine with a vowel-initial postposition, both consonants surfaces (e.g., *salm + i* [sal.mi] ‘life+SM’). If the process is blind to the stem itself, where deleted segments such as *l* come from is unexplainable.

**2.3 Korean Hypocoristics** A Korean first name generally consists of two sino-Korean syllables, and both  $C_1V_1+C_2V_2$  and  $C_1V_1C_2+V_2$  surface as  $C_1V_1.C_2V_2$  due to the ONSET constraint. Under Benua (1995), hypocoristic truncations should not be able to distinguish  $C_1V_1.C_2V_2$  sequences originated from  $C_1V_1.C_2V_2$  and  $C_1V_1C_2.V_2$ . However, they are different depending on whether the input is  $C_1V_1+C_2V_2$  or  $C_1V_1C_2+V_2$ . Korean hypocoristics are clearly formed by truncating the first syllable of the two sino-Korean Inputs rather than  $Output_1$ .

**3. Transderivation vs. Monostratal Constraint-based OT** All the above three cases can be explained by positing the IOC between  $Output_2$  and Input, and none of the cases can be attributed to phonological constraints of the languages. Under this analysis,  $Output_2$  can be explained under the monostratal constraint-based OT by ranking IOC higher than OOC. The phonological irregularities of allophonic alternations presented in Benua (1995) can still be explained by ranking phonological constraints over OOC, and IOC will be vacuously satisfied for all the allophonic alternations under OT.

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