Appendix

Constraint definitions

(1) a. DEPS: Assign -X violation for every activity X of segment S that is present in the output but not the input.

   b. DEPV: Assign -X violation for every activity X of vowel V that is present in the output but not the input.

   c. DEPμ: Assign -X violation for every activity X of mory μ V that is present in the output but not the input.

   d. FTBIN$_\sigma$: Assign -X violation for every φ_X that is not binary on the σ-level.

   e. STW: Assign -X violation for every heavy σ which is not in head-position of a head-φ_X.

   f. WTS: Assign -X violation for every head-σ in head-φ_X that is not heavy.

   g. PRIO: Assign -1 violation for every realization of allomorph B given the preference order A ≫ B.

Realization of a floating feet

- must be realized/dominate material due to *FLOAT/φ–>S (Wolf, 2007; Zimmermann, 2017c)

- don't dominate elements of their 'own' morpheme (ALTERNATION; van Oostendorp, 2007, 2012)

- in German, they may never shift the (lexical) stress of the base that was optimized in an earlier stratum, due to FAITH$_{STR}$ (Kiparsky, 2011; Bermúdez-Otero, in preparation)

- they must be realized adjacent to the 'rest' of the morpheme due to CONTIG (2)

(2) CONTIG (Zimmermann, 2017c)
   Assign -1 violation for every element that does not belong to morpheme A and is not dominated by material of morpheme A but is preceded and followed by material that belongs to A or is dominated by material of A.

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