

The life cycle of constraint rankings

Studies in early English morphophonology

RICARDO BERMÚDEZ-OTERO

Appendix D

Synoptic tableaux for Old English *a*-stem nouns

This appendix illustrates the derivation of *a*-stem noun forms in the grammars of Owun, Alfred, and Ælfric. It shows, in particular, how the constraint rankings established in (7,68) effect the mappings laid out in (7,71). The tableaux are arranged as follows:

<i>Ranking</i>		<i>Tableau</i>	
Stem level	System A	(7,68c(i)).....	§AppD.1
	System B	(7,68c(ii)).....	§AppD.2
	System C	(7,68c(iii)).....	§AppD.3
Word level	without anaptyxis	(7,68d(i)).....	§AppD.4
	with anaptyxis	(7,68d(ii)).....	§AppD.5

Candidates violating the top-ranked constraints in (7,68a) are generally not included, except to illustrate important points in §7.4 to §7.8. I assume Tesar & Smolensky's (2000: §3.1.2) definition of harmonic ordering for stratified domination hierarchies.

AppD.1 The stem level: System A

Stem level (System A)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	PARSE-σ	NONFIN	SONPK→σ	** _L μμ.	** _L CC	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
ʃip	[ω[.ʃip.]] ☞							*							
	[ω[.ʃi.pe.]]				*!			*						*	
ʃip-u	[ω[.ʃi.pu.]] ☞							(*)							
	[ω[.ʃip.]]							(*)						*!	*!
word	[ω[.wor.d]] ☞												*		
	[ω[.word.]]							*!		*!					
word-u	[ω[.wor.d]] ☞												*	*	*
	[ω[.word.]]							*!		*!				*	*
	[ω[.wor.].du.]					*!									

(continues)

(continued)

Stem level (System A)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	PARSE- $\bar{\sigma}$	NONFIN	SONPK $\rightarrow\sigma$	** $\mu\mu\mu$.	**[σ CC	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
wætr	[σ].[wæt.].r] \rightarrow								*				*		
	[σ].[wæ.te.].r]				*!								*		
	[σ].[wæ.ter.].]				*!			*							
wætr-u	[σ].[wæt.].r] \rightarrow							(*)					*	*	*
	[σ].[wæ.tru.].]							(*)			*!				
	[σ].[wæt.].ru.]					*!						*			
	[σ].[wæ.te.].r]				*!								*	*	*
	[σ].[wæ.ter.].]				*!			*						*	*
	[σ].[wæ.te.].ru.]				*!	*!									
tunġl	[σ].[tunġ.].l] \rightarrow								*	*			*		
	[σ].[tunġ.].gol.]				*!										
	[σ].[tunġ.].gol.]				*!			*							
tunġl-u	[σ].[tunġ.].l] \rightarrow								*	*			*	*	*
	[σ].[tunġ.].glu.]					*!					*				
	[σ].[tunġ.].lu.]					*!				*		*			
	[σ].[tunġ.].gol.]	*!		*!										*	*
	[σ].[tunġ.].gol.]			*!				*						*	*
	[σ].[tunġ.].go.lu.]			*!		**!									
	[σ].[tunġ.].go.lu.]			*!				*							
tunġol (restructured)	[σ].[tunġ.].gol.] \rightarrow														
	[σ].[tunġ.].gol.]							*!							
	[σ].[tunġ.].l]							*!	*!				*		*

(continues)

(continued)

Stem level (System A)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	PARSE-ǝ	NONFIN	SONPK→ǝ	**μμμ.	**[_o CC	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
tuŋgol-u (restructured)	[_o [.tuŋ.].[.go.lu.]]							(*)							
	[_o [.tuŋ.].go.lu.]						*!*								
	[_o [.tuŋ.].glu.]						*!*				*				
	[_o [.tuŋg.].lu.]						*!*		*			*			
	[_o [.tuŋ.].gol.]	*!												*	*
	[_o [.tuŋ.].[.gol.]]							(*)						*!	*!
	[_o [.tuŋg.].l]		*!						*	*	*		*	*	**
wæ:pn	[_o [.wæ:p.]n]								*	*			*		
	[_o [.wæ:].pen.]					*!									
	[_o [.wæ:].[.pen.]]					*!		*							
wæ:pn-u	[_o [.wæ:p.]n]								*	*			*	*	*
	[_o [.wæ:p.].nu.]						*!		*			*			
	[_o [.wæ:].pen.]	*!				*!								*	*
	[_o [.wæ:].[.pen.]]					*!		*						*	*
	[_o [.wæ:].pe.nu.]					*!	**!								
	[_o [.wæ:].[.pe.nu.]]					*!		*							
werod	[_o [.we.ro.]d]												*		
	[_o [.we.rod.]]							*!							
werod-u	[_o [.we.ro.]d]												*	*	*
	[_o [.we.rod.]]							*!						*	*
	[_o [.we.ro.].du.]						*!								
hæ:afod	[_o [.hæ:a.].fod.]														
	[_o [.hæ:a.].[.fod.]]							*!							
	[_o [.hæ:af.].d]								*	*!			*		*

(continues)

(continued)

Stem level (System A)		STRESS _{WELL}	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	PARSE- σ	NONFIN	SONPK $\rightarrow\sigma$	** $\mu\mu\mu$.	**[_{CC}]	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
hæ:afod-u	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fo.du.]] \rightarrow							(*)							
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fo.du.]						**!								
	[_ω [.hæ:af.].du.]						*!		*						
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fod.]	*!												*	*
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fod.]]							(*)						*!	*!
	[_ω [.hæ:af.]d]	*!							*	*			*	*	**
* ni:yten	[_ω [.ni:ry.][.ten.]] \rightarrow							*							
	[_ω [.ni:ry.].ten.]						*!								
	[_ω [.ni:yt.]n]			*!				*	*			*	*	*	
* ni:yten-u	[_ω [.ni:y.][.te.nu.]] \rightarrow							(*)							
	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.nu.]						*!	**!							
	[_ω [.ni:y.][.ten.]]							(*)						*!	*!
	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]	*!					*!							*	*
	[_ω [.ni:yt.].nu.]			*!					*	*		*			
	[_ω [.ni:yt.]n]	*!						*	*			*	*	*	

AppD.2 The stem level: System B

Stem level (System B)		STRESS _{WELL}	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	NONFIN	PARSE- σ	SONPK $\rightarrow\sigma$	** $\mu\mu\mu$.	**[_{CC}]	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
ʃip	[_ω [.ʃip.]] \rightarrow						*								
	[_ω [.ʃi.pe.]]				*!		*							*	
ʃip-u	[_ω [.ʃi.pu.]] \rightarrow						(*)								
	[_ω [.ʃip.]]						(*)							*!	*!
word	[_ω [.wor.]d] \rightarrow											*			
	[_ω [.word.]]						*!		*						

(continues)

(continued)

Stem level (System B)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	NONFIN	PARSE-σ	SONPK→σ	**μμμ.	**[σCC	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
word-u	[_o [.wor.]d] 												*	*	*
	[_o [.word.]]						*!			*				*	*
	[_o [.wor.].du.]							*!							
wætr	[_o [.wæt.]r] 								*				*		
	[_o [.wæ.te.]r]				*!								*		
	[_o [.wæ.ter.]]				*!		*								
wætr-u	[_o [.wæt.]r] 								*				*	*	*
	[_o [.wæ.tru.]]						*!				*				
	[_o [.wæt.].ru.]							*!				*			
	[_o [.wæ.te.]r]				*!								*	*	*
	[_o [.wæ.ter.]]				*!		*							*	*
	[_o [.wæ.te.].ru.]				*!			*							
tunġl	[_o [.tunġ.]]l] 								*	*			*		
	[_o [.tunġ.].gol.]				*!										
	[_o [.tunġ.][.gol.]]				*!		*								
tunġl-u	[_o [.tunġ.]]l] 								*	*			*	*	*
	[_o [.tunġ.].glu.]							*!			*				
	[_o [.tunġ.].lu.]							*!	*			*			
	[_o [.tunġ.].gol.]	*!			*!									*	*
	[_o [.tunġ.][.gol.]]				*!		*							*	*
	[_o [.tunġ.].go.lu.]				*!			**							
[_o [.tunġ.][.go.lu.]]				*!		*									
tunġol (restructured)	[_o [.tunġ.].gol.] 														
	[_o [.tunġ.][.gol.]]						*!								
	[_o [.tunġ.]]l]								*!	*!			*		*

(continues)

(continued)

Stem level (System B)		STRESS _{WELL}	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	NONFIN	PARSE-σ	SONPK→σ	**μμμ.	**I _c CC	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
tuŋgol-u (restructured)	[_ω [.tuŋ.].go.lu.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].go.lu.]]							(*)*!							
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].glu.]] [☞]							(*)			*				
	[_ω [.tuŋg.].lu.]]							(*)		*!		*			
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].gol.]]	*!												*	*
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].gol.]]						*!							*	*
	[_ω [.tuŋg.]]		*!						*	*			*	*	**
wæ:pn	[_ω [.wæ:p.n]] [☞]								*	*			*	*	
	[_ω [.wæ:].pen.]]				*!								*	*	
	[_ω [.wæ:].pen.]]				*!	*							*	*	
wæ:pn-u	[_ω [.wæ:p.n]] [☞]								*	*			*	*	*
	[_ω [.wæ:p.nu.]]							*!		*		*	*	*	
	[_ω [.wæ:].pen.]]	*!			*!								*	*	*
	[_ω [.wæ:].pen.]]				*!	*							*	*	*
	[_ω [.wæ:].pe.nu.]]				*!			**					*	*	*
	[_ω [.wæ:].pe.nu.]]				*!	*							*	*	*
werod	[_ω [.we.ro.]d]] [☞]												*	*	*
	[_ω [.we.rod.]]						*!						*	*	*
werod-u	[_ω [.we.ro.]d]] [☞]												*	*	*
	[_ω [.we.rod.]]						*!						*	*	*
	[_ω [.we.ro.]du.]]							*!					*	*	*
hæ:afod	[_ω [.hæ:a.]fod.]] [☞]												*	*	*
	[_ω [.hæ:a.]fod.]]						*!						*	*	*
	[_ω [.hæ:af.]d]]									*!			*	*	*

(continues)

(continued)

Stem level (System B)		STRESS _{WELL}	MAX-V ²	MAX-V̇	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	NONFIN	PARSE-ǫ̇	SONPK→σ	**μμμ.	**[_σ CC	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
hæ:afod-u	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fo.du.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fo.du.]							(*)*							
	[_ω [.hæ:af.].du.] [☞]							(*)		*					
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fod.]	*!												*	*
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fod.]]						*!							*	*
	[_ω [.hæ:af.].d]		*!							*			*	*	**
* ni:ytē	[_ω [.ni:y.][.ten.]] [☞]						*								
	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]					*!									
	[_ω [.ni:yt.].n]			*!					*	*			*		*
* ni:ytē-u	[_ω [.ni:y.][.te.nu.]] [☞]						(*)								
	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.nu.]					*!		**							
	[_ω [.ni:y.][.ten.]]						(*)							*	*!
	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]	*!				*!								*	
	[_ω [.ni:yt.].nu.]			*!						*		*			
	[_ω [.ni:yt.].n]		*!						*	*			*	*	

AppD.3 The stem level: System C

Stem level (System C)		STRESS _{WELL}	MAX-V ²	MAX-V̇	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	NONFIN	SONPK→σ	PARSE-ǫ̇	**μμμ.	**[_σ CC	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
ʃip	[_ω [.ʃip.]] [☞]						*								
	[_ω [.ʃi.pe.]]				*!		*							*	
ʃip-u	[_ω [.ʃi.pu.]] [☞]						(*)								
	[_ω [.ʃip.]]						(*)							*!	*!
word	[_ω [.wor.].d] [☞]											*			
	[_ω [.word.]]						*			*					

(continues)

(continued)

Stem level (System C)		STRESS _{WELL}	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	NONFIN	SONPK→σ	PARSE-ō	**μμ.	**[_σ CC	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
word-u	[_σ [.wor.]d] 												*	*	*
	[_σ [.word.]]						*!			*				*	*
	[_σ [.wor.].du.]								*!						
wætr	[_σ [.wæt.]r] 							*					*		
	[_σ [.wæ.te.]r]				*!								*		
	[_σ [.wæ.ter.]]				*!		*								
wætr-u	[_σ [.wæt.]r]							*!					*	*	*
	[_σ [.wæ.tru.]]						*!			*					
	[_σ [.wæt.].ru.] 								*			*			
	[_σ [.wæ.te.]r]				*!								*	*	*
	[_σ [.wæ.ter.]]				*!		*							*	*
	[_σ [.wæ.te.].ru.]				*!				*						
tunġl	[_σ [.tunġ.]] 							*		*			*		
	[_σ [.tunġ.].gol.]				*!										
	[_σ [.tunġ.][.gol.]]				*!		*								
tunġl-u	[_σ [.tunġ.]]							*!		*			*	*	*
	[_σ [.tunġ.].ġlu.] 								(*)	*					
	[_σ [.tunġ.].lu.]								(*)	*!		*			
	[_σ [.tunġ.].gol.]	*!			*!									*	*
	[_σ [.tunġ.][.gol.]]				*!		*							*	*
	[_σ [.tunġ.].go.lu.]				*!				**						
	[_σ [.tunġ.][.go.lu.]]				*!		*								
tunġol (restructured)	[_σ [.tunġ.].gol.] 														
	[_σ [.tunġ.][.gol.]]						*!								
	[_σ [.tunġ.]]						*!		*				*		*

(continues)

(continued)

Stem level (System C)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V̇	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	NONFIN	SONPK→σ	PARSE-σ̇	**μμμ.	**[_σ CC	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
tuŋgol-u (restructured)	[_ω [.tuŋ.].go.lu.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].go.lu.]]								(*)*!						
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].glu.]] [☞]								(*)		*				
	[_ω [.tuŋg.].lu.]]								(*)	*!		*			
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].gol.]]	*!												*	*
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].gol.]]						*!							*	*
	[_ω [.tuŋg.]]]		*!					*		*			*	*	**
wæ:pn	[_ω [.wæ:p.n]] [☞]							*		*			*		
	[_ω [.wæ:].pen.]]				*!								*		
	[_ω [.wæ:].pen.]]				*!	*							*		
wæ:pn-u	[_ω [.wæ:p.n]]						*!			*			*	*	*
	[_ω [.wæ:p.nu.]] [☞]								*	*		*	*	*	*
	[_ω [.wæ:].pen.]]	*!			*!								*	*	*
	[_ω [.wæ:].pen.]]				*!	*							*	*	*
	[_ω [.wæ:].pe.nu.]]				*!				**						
	[_ω [.wæ:].pe.nu.]]				*!	*									
werod	[_ω [.we.ro.]d]] [☞]												*		
	[_ω [.we.rod.]]]						*!								
werod-u	[_ω [.we.ro.]d]] [☞]												*	*	*
	[_ω [.we.rod.]]]						*!						*	*	*
	[_ω [.we.ro.]du.]]							*!							
hæ:afod	[_ω [.hæ:a.]fod.]] [☞]														
	[_ω [.hæ:a.]fod.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.hæ:af.]d]]									*!			*	*	*

(continues)

(continued)

Stem level (System C)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	NONFIN	SONPK→σ	PARSE-σ	** _μ μ _μ	** _σ CC	CONTACT	PARSE-seg	ANCHOR-R	MAX-V
hæ:afod-u	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fo.du.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fo.du.]								(*)*!						
	[_ω [.hæ:af.].du.] [☞]								(*)	*					
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fod.]	*!												*	*
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fod.]]						*!							*	*
	[_ω [.hæ:af.]d]		*!								*			*	**
* ni:yten	[_ω [.ni:y.][.ten.]] [☞]						*								
	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]					*!									
	[_ω [.ni:yt.]n]			*!				*		*			*		*
* ni:yten-u	[_ω [.ni:y.][.te.nu.]] [☞]						(*)								
	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.nu.]					*!			**						
	[_ω [.ni:y.][.ten.]]						(*)							*	*!
	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]	*!				*!								*	
	[_ω [.ni:yt.].nu.]			*!						*		*		*	
	[_ω [.ni:yt.]n]		*!					*		*			*	*	*

AppD.4 The word level (without anaptyxis)

Word level (without anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-σ	** _μ μ _μ	** _σ CC	DEP-V	CONTACT	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[_ω [.ʃip.]]	[_ω [.ʃip.]] [☞]						(*)								
	[_ω [.ʃi.pe.]]						(*)	*!							
[_ω [.ʃi.pu.]]	[_ω [.ʃi.pu.]] [☞]						(*)								
	[_ω [.ʃip.]]						(*)	*!							*
[_ω [.ʃip.]-a]	[_ω [.ʃi.pa.]] [☞]	See [_ω [.ʃi.pu.]] → [_ω [.ʃi.pu.]]													
[_ω [.ʃip.]-es]	[_ω [.ʃi.pes.]] [☞]						*								
	[_ω [.ʃi.pe.]s]				*!										

(continues)

(continued)

Word level (without anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-σ	**μμμ.	**[σCC	DEP-V	CONTACT	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[ω[.word.]]	[ω[.word.]] 						*			*					
	[ω[.wor.]d]				*!										
[ω[.wor.]d]-α	[ω[.wor.].da.] 								*						
	[ω[.word.]]						*!	*!		*					*
	[ω[.wor.]d]				*!		*								*
[ω[.wor.]d]-es	[ω[.wor.].des.] 														
	[ω[.wor.][.des.]]						*!								
	[ω[.words.]]						*!			*					*
	[ω[.word.]s]				*!					*					*
[ω[.wæt.]r]	[ω[.wæ.ter.]] 						(*)					*			
	[ω[.wæt.].re.]						(*)	*!				*	*		
	[ω[.wæ.tre.]]						*!	*!		*	*	*			
	[ω[.wæ.te.]r]				*!						*	*			
	[ω[.wæt.]r]				*!	*!									
[ω[.wæt.]ru.]	[ω[.wæt.].ru.] 								(*)				*		
	[ω[.wæ.te.].ru.]								(*)			*!			
	[ω[.wæ.tru.]]						*!			*					
	[ω[.wæ.ter.]]						*!	*!			*	*			*
	[ω[.wæ.te.]r]				*!		*				*	*			*
	[ω[.wæt.]r]				*!	*!	*								*
[ω[.wæt.]r]-α	[ω[.wæt.].ra.] 	See [ω[.wæt.].ru.] → [ω[.wæt.].ru.]													
[ω[.wæt.]r]-es	[ω[.wæt.].res.] 												*		
	[ω[.wæ.te.].res.]										*!				
	[ω[.wæt.][.res.]]						*!						*		
	[ω[.wæ.tres.]]						*!			*					
	[ω[.wæ.tre.]s]				*!					*					

(continues)

(continued)

Word level (without anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-σ	**μμμ.	**[_σ CC	DEP-V	CONTACT	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[ω[.tuŋg.]l]	[ω[.tuŋg.]gol.] ↗											*			
	[ω[.tuŋg.]glo.]							*!	*		*	*			
	[ω[.tuŋg.][gol.]]						*!				*	*			
	[ω[.tuŋg.]l]				*!	*!				*					
[ω[.tuŋg.]glu.]	[ω[.tuŋg.]glu.] ↗								(*)		*				
	[ω[.tuŋg.]lu.]								(*)	*!			*		
	[ω[.tuŋg.]go.lu.]								(*)*!			*			
	[ω[.tuŋg.][go.lu.]]						*!					*			
	[ω[.tuŋg.]gol.]	*!						*				*			*
	[ω[.tuŋg.][gol.]]						*!	*!				*			*
	[ω[.tuŋg.]l]				*!	*!		*		*					*
[ω[.tuŋg.]l]-a	[ω[.tuŋg.]gla.] ↗	See [ω[.tuŋg.]glu.] → [ω[.tuŋg.]glu.]													
[ω[.tuŋg.]l]-es	[ω[.tuŋg.]gles.] ↗										*				
	[ω[.tuŋg.]les.]									*!			*		
	[ω[.tuŋg.][gles.]]						*!				*				
	[ω[.tuŋg.]go.les.]								*!			*			
	[ω[.tuŋg.][go.les.]]						*!					*			
	[ω[.tuŋg.][go.le.]s]				*!							*			
[ω[.tuŋg.]gol.]	[ω[.tuŋg.]gol.] ↗														
	[ω[.tuŋg.][gol.]]						*!								
	[ω[.tuŋg.]l]				*!	*!				*					*
[ω[.tuŋg.][go.lu.]]	[ω[.tuŋg.]go.lu.] ↗								**					*	
	[ω[.tuŋg.][go.lu.]]						*!								
	[ω[.tuŋg.][gol.]]						*!	*!							*
	[ω[.tuŋg.]gol.]	*!						*						*	*
	[ω[.tuŋg.]glu.]			*!					*		*				*
	[ω[.tuŋg.]lu.]			*!					*	*			*		*
	[ω[.tuŋg.]l]	*!	*!	*!	*!			*		*					**

(continues)

(continued)

Word level (without anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK → σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-σ	**μμμ.	**[_c CC	DEP-V	CONTACT	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[_ω [.tuŋ.].gol.]-a	[_ω [.tuŋ.].gla.] ☞								(*)		*				*
	[_ω [.tuŋg.].la.]								(*)	*!			*		*
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].go.la.]								(*)*!						
	[_ω [.tuŋ.][.go.la.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].gol.]	*!						*							*
	[_ω [.tuŋ.][.gol.]]						*!	*!							*
	[_ω [.tuŋg.]]		*!		*!	*!		*			*!				**
[_ω [.tuŋ.].gol.]-es	[_ω [.tuŋ.].gles.] ☞										*				*
	[_ω [.tuŋg.].les.]									*!			*		*
	[_ω [.tuŋ.][.gles.]]						*!				*				*
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].go.les.]								*!						
	[_ω [.tuŋ.][.go.les.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.tuŋ.][.go.le.]s]														
[_ω [.wæ:p.]n	[_ω [.wæ:~].pen.] ☞												*		
	[_ω [.wæ:p.]ne.]							*!	*	*			*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~][.pen.]]						*!						*		
	[_ω [.wæ:p.]n]					*!	*!			*					
[_ω [.wæ:p.]nu.]	[_ω [.wæ:p.]nu.] ☞								(*)	*			*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~].pe.nu.]								(*)*!				*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~][.pe.nu.]]						*!						*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~].pen.]	*!						*					*		*
	[_ω [.wæ:~][.pen.]]						*!	*!					*		*
	[_ω [.wæ:p.]n]					*!	*!		*	*					*
[_ω [.wæ:p.]n]-a	[_ω [.wæ:p.]na.] ☞	See [_ω [.wæ:p.]nu.] → [_ω [.wæ:p.]nu.]													
[_ω [.wæ:p.]n]-es	[_ω [.wæ:p.]nes.] ☞									*			*		
	[_ω [.wæ:p.][.nes.]]						*!			*			*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~].pe.nes.]								*!				*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~][.pe.nes.]]						*!						*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~][.pe.ne.]s]						*!						*		

(continues)

(continued)

Word level (without anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-σ	**μμμ.	**[_σ CC	DEP-V	CONTACT	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[_ω [.we.ro.]d]	[_ω [.we.rod.]] ☞						*								
	[_ω [.we.ro.]d]				*!										
[_ω [.we.ro.]d]-a	[_ω [.we.ro.].da.] ☞								*						
	[_ω [.we.rod.]]						*!	*!							*
	[_ω [.we.ro.]d]				*!		*								*
[_ω [.we.ro.]d]-es	[_ω [.we.ro.].des.] ☞														
	[_ω [.we.ro.][.des.]]						*!								
[_ω [.hæ:a.].fod.]	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fod.] ☞														
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fod.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.hæ:af.]d]				*!				*						*
[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fo.du.]]	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fo.du.] ☞								**					*	
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fo.du.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.hæ:af.].du.]			*!					*	*					*
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fod.]	*!					*	*						*	*
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fod.]]						*!	*!							*
	[_ω [.hæ:af.]d]		*!	*!	*!		*	*		*					**
[_ω [.hæ:af.].du.]	[_ω [.hæ:af.].du.] ☞								(*)	*					
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fod.]							*!				*			*
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fo.du.]								(*)*!			*			
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fo.du.]]						*!					*			
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fod.]]	*!					*	*				*			*
	[_ω [.hæ:af.]d]				*!		*	*		*					*
[_ω [.hæ:a.].fod.]-a	[_ω [.hæ:af.].da.] ☞								(*)	*					*
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fod.]							*!							*
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fo.da.]								(*)*!						
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fo.da.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fod.]]	*!					*	*							*
	[_ω [.hæ:af.]d]		*!		*!		*	*		*					**

(continues)

(continued)

Word level (without anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-ō	** .μμμ.	** [σCC	DEP-V	CONTACT	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[_ω [.hæ:a.].fod.]-es	[_ω [.hæ:af.].des.] [☞]									*					*
	[_ω [.hæ:af.][.des.]]						*!			*					*
	[_ω [.hæ:a.].fo.des.]								*!						
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fo.des.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.hæ:a.][.fo.de.]s]				*!										
[_ω [.ni:y.][.ten.]]	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.] [☞]													*	
	[_ω [.ni:y.][.ten.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.ni:yt.]n]			*!	*!	*!				*					*
[_ω [.ni:y.][.te.nu.]]	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.nu.] [☞]								**					*	
	[_ω [.ni:y.][.te.nu.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.ni:y.][.ten.]]						*!	*!							*
	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]	*!						*						*	*
	[_ω [.ni:yt.].nu.]			*!					*	*			*		*
	[_ω [.ni:yt.]n]		*!	*!	*!	*!		*		*					**
[_ω [.ni:y.][.ten.]]-a	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.na.] [☞]	See [_ω [.ni:y.][.te.nu.]] → [_ω [.ni:y.].te.nu.]													
[_ω [.ni:y.][.ten.]]-es	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.nes.] [☞]								*					*	
	[_ω [.ni:y.][.te.nes.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.ni:y.][.te.ne.]s]				*!										
	[_ω [.ni:yt.].nes.]			*!						*			*		*

AppD.5 The word level (with anaptyxis)

Word level (with anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-ō	** .μμμ.	** [σCC	CONTACT	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[_ω [.ʃip.]]	[_ω [.ʃip.]] [☞]						(*)								
	[_ω [.ʃi.pe.]]						(*)	*!							
[_ω [.ʃi.pu.]]	[_ω [.ʃi.pu.]] [☞]						(*)								
	[_ω [.ʃip.]]						(*)	*!							*

(continues)

(continued)

Word level (with anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-σ	**μμμ.	**[σCC	CONTACT	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[_o [.fip.]-a	[_o [.fi.pa.]] →	See [_o [.fi.pu.]] → [_o [.fi.pu.]]													
[_o [.fip.]-es	[_o [.fi.pes.]] →						*								
	[_o [.fi.pe.]s				*!										
[_o [.word.]]	[_o [.word.]] →						*			*					
	[_o [.wor.]d				*!										
[_o [.wor.]d]-a	[_o [.wor.].da.]] →								*						
	[_o [.word.]]						*!	*!		*					*
	[_o [.wor.]d				*!			*							*
[_o [.wor.]d]-es	[_o [.wor.].des.]] →														
	[_o [.wor.][.des.]]						*!								
	[_o [.words.]]						*!			*					*
	[_o [.word.]s				*!					*					*
[_o [.wæt.]r	[_o [.wæ.ter.]] →						(*)						*		
	[_o [.wæt.].re.]]							(*)	*!			*	*		
	[_o [.wæ.tre.]]						*!	*!		*			*		
	[_o [.wæ.te.]r				*!								*		
	[_o [.wæt.]r				*!	*!									
[_o [.wæt.].ru.]]	[_o [.wæt.].ru.]]								(*)			*!			
	[_o [.wæ.te.].ru.]] →								(*)				*		
	[_o [.wæ.tru.]]						*!			*					
	[_o [.wæ.ter.]]						*!	*!					*		*
	[_o [.wæ.te.]r				*!			*					*		*
	[_o [.wæt.]r				*!	*!		*							*
[_o [.wæt.]r]-a	[_o [.wæ.te.].ra.]] →	See [_o [.wæt.].ru.]] → [_o [.wæ.te.].ru.]]													
[_o [.wæt.]r]-es	[_o [.wæt.].res.]]											*!	*		
	[_o [.wæ.te.].res.]] →														
	[_o [.wæt.][.res.]]						*!					*	*		
	[_o [.wæ.tres.]]						*!			*					
	[_o [.wæ.tre.]s				*!						*				

(continues)

(continued)

Word level (with anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V̇	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-σ̇	**μμ.	**[_σ CC	CONTACT	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[ω[.tuŋg.]l]	[ω[.tuŋg.].gol.]												*		
	[ω[.tuŋg.].glo.]						*!	*			*		*		
	[ω[.tuŋg.][.gol.]]						*!						*		
	[ω[.tuŋg.]l]				*!	*!				*					
[ω[.tuŋg.].glu.]	[ω[.tuŋg.].glu.]								(*)		*				
	[ω[.tuŋg.].lu.]								(*)	*!		*			
	[ω[.tuŋg.].go.lu.]								(*)*!				*		
	[ω[.tuŋg.][.go.lu.]]						*!						*		
	[ω[.tuŋg.].gol.]	*!						*					*		*
	[ω[.tuŋg.][.gol.]]						*!	*!					*		*
	[ω[.tuŋg.]l]				*!	*!		*		*					*
[ω[.tuŋg.]l]-a	[ω[.tuŋg.].gla.]	See [ω[.tuŋg.].glu.] → [ω[.tuŋg.].glu.]													
[ω[.tuŋg.]l]-es	[ω[.tuŋg.].gles.]										*				
	[ω[.tuŋg.].les.]									*!		*			
	[ω[.tuŋg.][.gles.]]						*!				*				
	[ω[.tuŋg.].go.les.]								*!				*		
	[ω[.tuŋg.][.go.les.]]						*!						*		
	[ω[.tuŋg.][.go.le.]s]				*!								*		
[ω[.tuŋg.].gol.]	[ω[.tuŋg.].gol.]														
	[ω[.tuŋg.][.gol.]]						*!								
	[ω[.tuŋg.]l]				*!	*!				*					*
[ω[.tuŋg.][.go.lu.]]	[ω[.tuŋg.].go.lu.]								**					*	
	[ω[.tuŋg.][.go.lu.]]						*!								
	[ω[.tuŋg.][.gol.]]						*!	*!							*
	[ω[.tuŋg.].gol.]	*!						*						*	*
	[ω[.tuŋg.].glu.]			*!					*		*				*
	[ω[.tuŋg.].lu.]			*!					*	*		*			*
	[ω[.tuŋg.]l]	*!	*!	*!	*!			*		*					**

(continues)

(continued)

Word level (with anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-σ	**μμμ.	**[_σ CC	CONTACT	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[_ω [.tuŋ.].gol.]-a	[_ω [.tuŋ.].gla.]								(*)		*				*
	[_ω [.tuŋg.].la.]								(*)	*!		*			*
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].go.la.]								(*)*!						
	[_ω [.tuŋ.][.go.la.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].gol.]	*!						*							*
	[_ω [.tuŋ.][.gol.]]						*!	*!							*
	[_ω [.tuŋg.]]		*!		*!	*!		*		*!					**
[_ω [.tuŋ.].gol.]-es	[_ω [.tuŋ.].gles.]										*				*
	[_ω [.tuŋg.].les.]									*!		*			*
	[_ω [.tuŋ.][.gles.]]						*!				*				*
	[_ω [.tuŋ.].go.les.]								*!						
	[_ω [.tuŋ.][.go.les.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.tuŋ.][.go.le.]s]				*!										
[_ω [.wæ:p.]n]	[_ω [.wæ:~].pen.]												*		
	[_ω [.wæ:p.]ne.]							*!	*	*		*	*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~][.pen.]]						*!						*		
	[_ω [.wæ:p.]n]				*!	*!				*					
[_ω [.wæ:p.]nu.]	[_ω [.wæ:p.]nu.]								(*)	*		*			
	[_ω [.wæ:~].pe.nu.]								(*)*!				*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~][.pe.nu.]]						*!						*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~].pen.]	*!						*					*		*
	[_ω [.wæ:~][.pen.]]						*!	*!					*		*
	[_ω [.wæ:p.]n]				*!	*!		*		*					*
[_ω [.wæ:p.]n]-a	[_ω [.wæ:p.]na.]	See [_ω [.wæ:p.]nu.] → [_ω [.wæ:p.]nu.]													
[_ω [.wæ:p.]n]-es	[_ω [.wæ:p.]nes.]									*		*			
	[_ω [.wæ:p.][.nes.]]						*!			*		*			
	[_ω [.wæ:~].pe.nes.]								*!				*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~][.pe.nes.]]						*!						*		
	[_ω [.wæ:~][.pe.ne.]s]				*!								*		

(continues)

(continued)

Word level (with anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-σ	**μμμ.	**[σCC	CONTACT	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[ω[.we.ro.]d]	[ω[.we.rod.]] ☞						*								
	[ω[.we.ro.]d]				*!										
[ω[.we.ro.]d]-a	[ω[.we.ro.].da.] ☞								*						
	[ω[.we.rod.]]						*!	*!							*
	[ω[.we.ro.]d]				*!			*							*
[ω[.we.ro.]d]-es	[ω[.we.ro.].des.] ☞														
	[ω[.we.ro.][.des.]]						*!								
[ω[.hæ:a.].fod.]	[ω[.hæ:a.].fod.] ☞														
	[ω[.hæ:a.][.fod.]]						*!								
	[ω[.hæ:af.]d]				*!				*						*
[ω[.hæ:a.][.fo.du.]]	[ω[.hæ:a.].fo.du.] ☞								**					*	
	[ω[.hæ:a.][.fo.du.]]						*!								
	[ω[.hæ:af.].du.]			*!					*	*					*
	[ω[.hæ:a.].fod.]	*!						*						*	*
	[ω[.hæ:a.][.fod.]]						*!	*!							*
	[ω[.hæ:af.]d]		*!	*!	*!			*		*					**
[ω[.hæ:af.].du.]	[ω[.hæ:af.].du.] ☞								(*)	*					
	[ω[.hæ:a.].fod.]							*!					*		*
	[ω[.hæ:a.].fo.du.]								(*)*!				*		
	[ω[.hæ:a.][.fo.du.]]						*!						*		
	[ω[.hæ:a.][.fod.]]	*!					*	*					*		*
	[ω[.hæ:af.]d]				*!			*		*					*
[ω[.hæ:a.].fod.]-a	[ω[.hæ:af.].da.] ☞								(*)	*					*
	[ω[.hæ:a.].fod.]							*!							*
	[ω[.hæ:a.].fo.da.]								(*)*!						
	[ω[.hæ:a.][.fo.da.]]						*!								
	[ω[.hæ:a.][.fod.]]	*!					*	*							*
	[ω[.hæ:af.]d]		*!		*!			*		*					**

(continues)

(continued)

Word level (with anaptyxis)		STRESSWELL	MAX-V ²	MAX-V	PARSE-seg	SONPK→σ	NONFIN	ANCHOR-R	PARSE-σ	**μμμ.	**[σCC	CONTACT	DEP-V	IDENT-stress	MAX-V
[_ω [.hæ:ɑ.].fod.]-es	[_ω [.hæ:ɑf.].des.]									*					*
	[_ω [.hæ:ɑf.].des.]]						*!			*					*
	[_ω [.hæ:ɑ.].fo.des.]								*!						
	[_ω [.hæ:ɑ.].fo.des.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.hæ:ɑ.].fo.de.]s]				*!										
[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]]	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]													*	
	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.ni:yt.]n]			*!	*!	*!				*					*
[_ω [.ni:y.].te.nu.]]	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.nu.]								**					*	
	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.nu.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]]						*!	*!							*
	[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]	*!						*						*	*
	[_ω [.ni:yt.].nu.]			*!					*	*		*			*
	[_ω [.ni:yt.]n]		*!	*!	*!	*!		*		*					**
[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]]-a	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.na.]	See [_ω [.ni:y.].te.nu.]] → [_ω [.ni:y.].te.nu.]													
[_ω [.ni:y.].ten.]]-es	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.nes.]								*					*	
	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.nes.]]						*!								
	[_ω [.ni:y.].te.ne.]s]				*!										
	[_ω [.ni:yt.].nes.]			*!						*		*			*