Allomorphy and abstractness: empirical considerations
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(1)

		-back		+back	
		-round	+round	-round	+round
+high –low	-peripheral	ɪ	Y	-	ʊ
	+peripheral	i	y	-	u
-high –low	-peripheral	ɛ	œ	-	ɔ
	+peripheral	e	ø	-	o
-high +low	-peripheral	-	-	a	-
	+peripheral	æ	-	ɑ	-

(2)

Input $/\text{aʀt}^{s}\text{t}/$	* MARK	IO-CORR(consonant) IO-CORR([±round]) IO-CORR([±high]) IO-CORR([±per]) IO-CORR([-back]) IO-CORR([-low])	DISTINCT	IO-CORR([+back]) IO-CORR([+low])
$/\text{aʀt}^{s}\text{t}/$			*!	
☞ $/\text{ɛʀt}^{s}\text{t}/$				**

(3)
a

Phonologically & morphologically less marked	**Phonologically & morphologically more marked**
/fogəl/SINGULAR „bird"	/føgəl/PLURAL „birds"
/namən/PAST-INDICATIVE „took"	/næmən/PAST-SUBJUNCTIVE „would have taken"
/fogəl/BASE „bird"	/føgəl-çən/AFF „bird+DIM"
/bəgʀɑb/BASE „bury"	/bəgʀæb-nɪs/AFF „bury+NOM"
/kʊnst/BASE „art"	/kʏnst-ləʀ/AFF „artist"

b.

/di/3-SINGULAR „says"	/diz/3-Plural „say"
/dɔʀ/SINGULAR INDICATIVE „sleep"	/dɔʀm/SINGULAR-SUBJUNCTIVE „would read"
/lu/MASC „wolf (male)"	/luv/FEM „wolf (female)"
/du/BASE „gentle"	/dus-mɔ̃/AFF „gently"

(4)

Input /diz/	LEFT ANCHOR-IO	CONTIGUITY-IO	IO-correspondence (vowel, ʀ)	DISTINCT	RIGHT ANCHOR-IO
/diz/				*!	
☞/di/					*

Verbsyncretism
   185 cases of stem allomorphy.

(5)   BASE/PRES   Participle   PAST
      A   B   B   /gɪs/, /gɔs/, /gɔs/ 'pour'
      A   A   B   /lez/, /lez/, /lɑz/ 'read'
      A   B   C   /vɛʀb/, /vɔʀb/, /vaʀb/ 'woo'
   * A   B   A   -

/vɪnk/_BASE, /vʊnk/_PART, /vɪnk/_PAST 'wave' single counter-example, but not really
winken _BASE, gewunken _PART, wink**te** _PAST

(6) a. Evaluation of lexical entries with allomorphy

{/ʃeʀ/_BASE, /ʃoʀ/_PART, /ʃɑʀ/_PAST}	IO-CORR	IO-BASE	*PAST = BASE	*PAST = PART
/ʃeʀ/_BASE, /ʃ**u**ʀ/_PART, /ʃɑʀ/_PAST	*!			
/ʃ**oʀ**/_BASE/PART, /ʃɑʀ/_PAST		*!		
/ʃeʀ/_BASE/PAST, /ʃoʀ/_PART,			*!	
/ʃeʀ/_BASE, /ʃoʀ/_PART/PAST				*!
☞ /ʃeʀ/_BASE, /ʃoʀ/_PART, /ʃɑʀ/_PAST				

b.

{/ʃeʀ/_BASE, /ʃoʀ/_PART, /ʃɑʀ/_PAST}	*PAST = BASE	Uniform Exponence	*PAST = PART
/ʃeʀ/_BASE, /ʃoʀ/_PART, /ʃeʀ/_PAST	*!		
☞ /ʃeʀ/_BASE, /ʃoʀ/_PART/PAST		**	
/ʃeʀ/_BASE, /ʃoʀ/_PART, /ʃɑʀ/_PAST		***!	

Containment Hypothesis (Bobaljik 2012)
The representation of the finite past tense properly contains that of the past participle.

[[[-]PAST]PAST FINITE]
       i. [ ] present (default, no defining features) (least marked)
       ii. [PAST] (past participle)
       iii [PAST, FINITE] finite past tense (most marked)

Elsewhere logic:
The *ABA pattern is unstatable: it is impossible to single out the middle member of the hierarchy to the exclusion to one of the other columns. To the extent that a particular ablaut form does in fact only surface in the participle, this situation can only arise when the use of this form in the preterite is bled by a more highly specified form for that context.

Alternative: Ranking of DISTINCT constraints with markedness and faithfulness constraints.

(7)	/kʀɪç/_BASE, /kʀɔiç/_SG-2/3	*ɔi	* 2/3 SG = BASE
	{/kʀɪç/_BASE, /kʀɔiç/_SG-2/3}	*!	
	☞ {/kʀɪç/_BASE, /kʀɪç/_SG-2/3}		*