

Phonological domains within Blackfoot: Towards a family-wide comparison

This paper describes domain-sensitive phonological generalizations in Blackfoot. I show that the verbal complex and the stem form distinct phonological domains. Data comes primarily from Frantz & Russell (2017), supplemented by fieldwork.

The verbal complex The left edge of the verbal complex prohibits glides. The stem (in brackets) in (1a) begins in *y* after a prefix; the glide deletes at the left edge of the verbal complex, (1b). The right edge of the verbal complex is the site of final devoicing, indicated by *q* (Bliss & Glougie 2010; Gick et al. 2012; Weber 2017; Windsor 2017).

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|--------|-------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------|
| (1) a. | áyaamoyí'poyiwą | b. | aamoyí'poyit |
| | a-[yaam-oyi-i'po/yi]-Ø-wa | | [yaam-oyi-i'po/yi]-t-Ø |
| | IPFV-[twisted-mouth-speak/AI]-IND-3 | | [twisted-mouth-speak/AI]-2SG.IMP-CMD |
| | 'S/he is joking/jesting.' | | 'Jest!' |

The verbal complex is the domain of obligatory stress, indicated by \acute{V} above (Weber 2016).

The stem domain The verbal complex may begin in a non-continuant (a plosive or a nasal), (2a), but the stem never begins with a non-continuant after a prefix. There are several types of root alternations; shown here is epenthesis of *i* after consonants or vowels. These alternations crucially do not occur within the stem, where *i* is epenthesized to avoid illicit consonant clusters.

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|--------|---------------|----|-------------------|----|-------------------|
| (2) a. | paahpoyít | b. | áaksipahpoyiwą | c. | nitáípahpoyi |
| | [paahpo-yi]-t | | aak-[pahpo-yi]-wa | | nit-a-[pahpo-yi] |
| | [shake-AI]-3 | | FUT-[shake-AI]-3 | | 1-IPFV-[shake-AI] |
| | 'tremble!' | | 'she will shiver' | | 'I'm trembling' |

The stem is not a domain of obligatory stress. Stress can fall on a prefix instead, (2b) and (2c).

Analysis I propose that the verbal complex is a Phonological Phrase (PPh), while the stem is a Prosodic Word (PWd). Preverbs have the same left edge restrictions as stems, but no evidence of right edge restrictions. Therefore, I argue for the recursive structure in (3).

- (3) ${}_{PPh}({}_{PWd}({}_{preverb}{}_{PWd}({}_{preverb}{}_{PWd}({}_{stem}{}_{PWd}){}_{PWd}){}_{PWd}){}_{PWd}-suffixes)_{PPh}$

The structure and generalizations (Table 1) are unique in two ways: (1) preverbs do not have the same generalizations as independent words (e.g. Branigan, Brittain, & Dyck 2005; Newell & Piggott 2014; Russell 1999), and (2) the verbal complex (not the stem) is the domain for stress assignment. I report on a preliminary set of prosodic diagnostics meant for a family-wide comparison.

Table 1: Blackfoot prosodic generalizations

Generalization	Preverbs	Stem	Verbal complex
No glides at left edge	✗	✗	✓
Devoicing at right edge	✗	✗	✓
Obligatory stress	✗	✗	✓
No continuants at left edge	✓	✓	✗
Minimal size	CV, VC	CVC	CVVC, CVCC

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