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 ḁ (Bliss & Glougie 2010; Gick et al. 2012; Weber 2017; Windsor 2017).

(1) a. áyaamoyí’poyiwḁ  b. amoyí’poyít
   a–[yaam–oyi–i’po/yi]–Ø–wa  [yaam–oyi–i’po/yi]–t–Ø
   ‘S/he is joking/jesting.’  ‘Jest!’

The verbal complex is the domain of obligatory stress, indicated by ﾞ 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.

(2) a. paahpoyít [paahpo–yi]–t [shake–AI]–3 ‘tremble!’
   b. áaksipahpoyiwḁ aak–[pahpo–yi]–wa FUT–[shake–AI]–3 ‘she will shiver’

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(preverbPWD(preverbPWd(stem)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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generalization</th>
<th>Preverbs</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Verbal complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No glides at left edge</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devoicing at right edge</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligatory stress</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No continuants at left edge</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimal size</td>
<td>CV, VC</td>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>CVVC, CVCC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


