

## **Late vocabulary insertion and even later metrification in Blackfoot**

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One aspect of the phonology-syntax interface concerns the timing of vocabulary insertion relative to other syntactic and phonological operations. This talk focuses on patterns of prosodically-conditioned allomorphy in Blackfoot (Algonquian; ISO-639-3: bla) and what this can tell us about the relative timing of operations. I argue that root exponence in Blackfoot must occur after linearization, because it is sensitive to the presence or absence of prefixes within a phrase. Root exponence is also post-syntactic and phonologically optimizing, because the distribution of allomorphs and regular phonological processes (epenthesis, deletion) both serve to avoid [+cons] segments at morphological junctures within a phrase. Finally, root exponence must occur before metrification (syllabification and stress assignment), because processes like vowel coalescence and vowel shortening in closed syllables interact opaquely with the constraint against [+cons] segments. Together, these show that post-syntactic operations must be ordered as follows: (1) linearization, (2) vocabulary insertion and certain morphophonological processes, (3) metrification. This architecture has further implications for interactions with phases or phonological cycles.