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I compare two so-called chameleon affixes (Kiparsky 2020), in Sekani (Athabaskan, Hargus 1985) and Tigrinya (Semitic, Wolf 2009). In Sekani and Tigrinya, when POSS affixes are affixed to a nominal root, they bleed a general phonological process. In Sekani, POSS affixation bleeds nasalisation of the final root vowel, cmp. the root in isolation in (1a) to the root with affixation of POSS in (1b). In Tigrinya POSS affixes bleed a process of stem-final i-epenthesis, cmp. the root in isolation in (1c) to the root with affixation of a phon. conditioned vowel-initial allomorph of the POSS in (1d).

- (1) a. tsɔ̃ ‘shit’ c. kälbi: ‘dog’
 b. sə-tsɔ̃n-è kälb-u
 I SG-shit-POSS ‘my shit’ dog-3SG.MASC.POSS ‘his dog’

The same POSS affixes linearly follow affixes that counterbleed nasalization in Sekani and i-epenthesis in Tigrinya, see example (2).

- (2) a. sa-ts’ə-də-l-ʔon-i-è [sats’ədɪʔðè] *Sekani*
 ʔ-UNSP.SBJ-DER-ASP-compact.obj.in.position-NMLZ-POSS ‘my pendant’
 b. siʃl-tat-u [siʃlɪtatu] *Tigrinya*
 picture-PL-3SG.MASC.POSS ‘my picture’

I assume, embedded in a stratal approach to morphophonology (Bermúdez-Otero 2018), that the POSS affixes are default stem-level (SL) affixes, where they show bleeding interactions. They become word-level (WL) affixes, where they exhibit counterbleeding interactions, when they follow another WL affix. In Sekani, WL

√picture, POSS, PL	PL=WL	SCOPE	POSS=SL	
a. [[√picture- PL] _{WL} -POSS] _{WL}			*	affixation of the POSS in (2a) comes about through WL affixation of the
b. [[√picture- POSS] _{SL} -PL] _{WL}		*!		NMLZ, which provides the required
c. [[√picture- PL] _{SL} -POSS] _{SL}	*!			nominal environment for possession.

In Tigrinya, to avoid stem-level affixation of POSS, the order PL < POSS must be determined by a global evaluation that is faithful to semantic scope. I suggest that affix ordering and stratal association is computed in OT, where SCOPE determines the semantically transparent order of affixes. SCOPE ranked above POSS=SL, requiring the POSS to be a SL affix, computes the correct order and strata (candidate a.). Phonology remains cyclic, read off of the morphological strata, yet, Tigrinya provides evidence for a global computation of morphology.

References. Bermúdez-Otero, R. (2018). *Stratal phonology*. In S. J. Hannahs & A. R. K. Bosch (eds), *The Routledge handbook of phonological theory*. Abingdon: Routledge, 100-134. • Hargus, S. (1985). *The lexical phonology of Sekani*. Los Angeles: UCLA. • Kiparsky, P. (2020). Morphological units: stems. In *Oxford research encyclopedia of linguistics*. Oxford: OUP. • Wolf, M. (2009). Local ordering in phonology/morphology interleaving: evidence for OTCC. In *83rd LSA annual meeting*, San Francisco, CA.