

Regarding the morphological conditioning of this phenomenon, it is of interest to note that nouns in Nez Perce do not show default-to-opposite effects, and instead show a very different pattern: in the absence of any underlying accent, primary stress cannot move past the right edge of a nominal root, which forces non-penultimate stress with a certain set of prepositional suffixes.

- (6) a. pískis b. pískisne c. pískískin'ix (*pískiskín'ix)
 √pískis √pískis-ne √pískis-kin'ix
 'door' 'door-OBJ' 'from door'

The difference between nominal and verbal behaviour in Nez Perce raises the question of how phonological processes can be made specific to individual morphological categories. I propose that the retention of stress by nominal roots is best understood as a transderivational realization of the noun-specific faithfulness phenomenon described by Smith (1997). This is an alternative to lexical constraint indexation, as developed recently by Pater (2002, 2006), or to category-specific constraint re-ranking, previously applied by Crook (1999) to Nez Perce and developed for other phenomena by Anttila (2002) and Inkelas and Zoll (2005).

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