Interactions between tone and stress: a typology of their convergence and separation

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Prosodic systems are generally of two types. The first type is metrical, in which the prominent syllable, selected by metrical structure, is the bearer of stress. The second type is tonal, with prominence characterized by lexical tone. However, in addition to prosodic systems that feature only one type of prominence, there are also hybrid prosodic systems, those in which both tone and stress create prominence (e.g., Hayes 1995, Hyman 2006, de Lacy 2002, Yip 2002).

In this talk I expand the typology of hybrid prosodic systems. I adopt de Lacy’s (2002) proposal, cast in Optimality Theory, that the foot is an important representational device for capturing this type of prosodic systems. However, the foot plays a crucial role not only for characterizing hybrid systems in which lexical tone and stress converge on the same syllable, as argued by de Lacy, but also those in which lexical tone and stress systematically occur on adjacent syllables, a new type of case that I present in this talk, based on the data from Standard Serbian (Lehiste & Ivić 1986, Godjevac 2000, Smiljanić 2002, Zsiga & Zec 2013, forthcoming). De Lacy’s theory captures only the former type, analyzed as a co-occurrence of tone with the head of the foot. This, I argue, is overly restrictive. I propose a revised model, and a new Optimality Theory analysis, that also covers the adjacency of tone and stress, construed as a case of all prominence residing within a single foot, but with tone systematically falling on its non-head syllable. I conclude the talk by presenting two loanword patterns that minimally depart from the standard system, thus exemplifying further types of interactions between tone and stress in hybrid prosodic systems that crucially arise by virtue of exploiting potentials for minimal constraint re-rankings.