

## **Quantifying sonority on the fringes of stress**

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A growing body of work (Broselow et al 1997, Ahn 2000, Gordon 2006, Gordon et al 2012, Lunden 2013, Ryan 2014) explores various potential phonetic correlates of phonologically predictable stress (e.g. duration, intensity, intensity integrated over duration) both in the acoustic and perceptual domains. This literature has focused on weight-sensitive stress systems sensitive to vowel quality, vowel length, and/or the distinction between open vs. closed syllables; it has not treated stress systems that appear more closely linked to fundamental frequency, including tone-driven stress systems (De Lacy 2002), and those sensitive to phonation type, e.g. Kwak'wala (Boas 1947, Shaw 2009). This paper explores the possibility that these apparent tonally-driven types of stress patterns may also be correlated with duration and/or intensity measures. Phonetic data from a number of languages suggest a close relationship between the phonetic properties of duration and/or intensity and both tone- and phonation-sensitive stress systems, suggesting that a broader spectrum of stress patterns than previously thought may be amenable to an account based on the same phonetic exponents claimed to be relevant for other types of stress systems.