

The goal of this paper is mapping out the verb prosody of the varieties of Serbo-Croatian (henceforth, S-C), which have undergone a switch from a pitch-accent system to a stress system and consider these data in the context of prosodic theory. Many if not all stress varieties have developed an innovative system, in which verbs have no lexical prosody, but surface with a morphologically conditioned stress pattern. This constellation, which has independently emerged in a number of ‘peripheral’ varieties of standard S-C, may very well be unique within Slavic. We argue that two typologically unmarked properties of stress systems emerge when a pitch-accent system collapses into a stress system, viz. (a) stem-based stress and (b) morphologically conditioned verb stress (e.g. Alderete 2001).

Standard S-C is a pitch-accent system based on the central, Neo-Štokavian dialects, in which the distribution of tone guides the distribution of stress (for a recent overview, see Werle 2009). High tone is associated either to one or to two syllables in a word and stress is always on the leftmost syllable endowed with a high tone. The former prosodic pattern (two adjacent syllables with a high tone, stress on the first of them) is usually referred to as rising accent, whereas the latter pattern (stress and tone co-occur on one syllable) is referred to as falling accent. Falling accents can only occur word-initially. In (1) some examples of nouns with rising (a) and falling (b) accents are provided. Capitalisation is used to represent the presence of a high tone, double vowels represent vowel length.

All accounts of S-C prosody agree that the prosody (i.e. tone and vowel length) is lexically encoded, so that stems like *tema* contrast underlyingly with stems like *škola* and stems like *muzika* contrast underlyingly with stems like *kapara* or *terasa*.

In a considerable part of the S-C language area the local dialect had a rather different prosodic system and, as a consequence of the standardisation process, in these areas the standard prosody has undergone significant simplifications. In quite a few regional centres a stress system without tone and vowel length has emerged. Importantly, this happened both in those areas where a stress system without vowel length had existed in the local dialect (e.g. in Niš), but also in those areas where all local dialects have a pitch-accent system (e.g. in Bor, Zagreb and Rijeka), in both cases with very similar results. We term such stress varieties spoken in urban areas “creolised standard varieties” (henceforth CSV’s). In the nouns in (1), the new stress pattern can be derived relatively straight-forwardly from the standard system, by removing all the tone and length information from the phonological representation.

As can be read off the examples in (2), the words which we have seen in (1) now display much less contrast than in the classical standard system. The disyllables actually allow only one possible pattern, whereas for trisyllables some lexical encoding is still required, but there is only a two-way contrast (antepenultimate vs. penultimate). The nominal system of CSV’s therefore has purely stem-based prosody, unlike that of the classical standard S-C. The simplification pattern is even more prominent in verbs, where, as illustrated for in the present tense in (3), stress always falls on the syllable before the tense ending. As the three examples of present tense verb forms in (3) show, the location of stress in the classical standard language is no longer the predictor of stress in CSV. The pattern in CSV is overall similar to that attested in Non-Neoštokavian dialects (illustrated in 3c by a simplified representation, disregarding tonal information and vowel length), with one crucial difference: the type with stress on the present-tense ending (*stoj-í*) is missing. Another class in which the standard stress pattern won in CSV’s is illustrated in the verb forms in (5), prefixed versions of those in (4). In order to appreciate these examples, the infinitive form (e.g. *ú**b**-iti*) needs to be taken into account, as its ending also needs to remain unstressed. For the verbs in (4) there is no avoiding stressed endings (because the stem *b*-contains no stressable elements) and the substrate dialect pattern is probably preferred because it keeps the paradigm uniform. However, in the verbs in (5) the substrate dialect ‘unnecessarily’ keeps the stress on the ending, so that CSV goes with the standard in the present tense form and introduces a relative prosodic innovation in the negated present tense form. In sum, the emergent CSV system has a morphologically conditioned verb stress, which is the second unmarked property of stress systems we observe.

(1a)	Rising accent	tEEmA 'theme'	mUzIka 'music'	terAsA 'terrace'		
(1b)	Falling accent	škOOla 'school'	kApara 'down payment'			
(2)		téma škóla	múzika kápara	terása		
(3a)	Classical standard			stOj-II	tOvAr-ii	UrAAAd-ii
(3b)	Creolised standard varieties			stój-i	toVár-i	urád-i
(3c)	Non-Neoštokavian dialects (stress only)			stoj-í 's/he stands'	toVár-i 's/he loads'	urád-i 's/he does'
(4a)	Classical standard		b-Iti	b-Ijee	nE b-Ijee	
(4b)	Creolised standard varieties		b-íti	b-íje	ne b-íje	
(4c)	Non-Neoštokavian dialects		b-íti 'to beat'	b-íje 's/he beats'	ne b-íje 's/he does not beat'	
(5a)	Classical standard		Ub-Iti	Ub-ijee	nE ub-ijee	
(5b)	Creolised standard varieties		úb-iti	úb-ije	ne úb-ije	
(5c)	Non-Neoštokavian dialects		ub-íti 'to kill'	ub-íje 's/he kills'	ne ub-íje 's/he does not kill'	

## References

- Werle, Adam. 2009. Word, Phrase, and Clitic Prosody in Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian. University of Massachusetts Amherst PhD dissertation. Amherst: GLSA.
- Alderete, John (2001). Morphologically governed accent in Optimality Theory. New York & London: Routledge.