In this talk I will explore the underappreciated implications of a central claim in metrical phonology about the nature of stress, namely the idea that stress is primarily a property of structures, not (as implied by IPA notation and years of experimental phonetic research) individual syllables. I will illustrate the importance of this point of view for understanding the so-called phonetic correlates of stress in a variety of languages: the phonetic correlates of stress on a given syllable $\sigma$ are best thought of as the phonetic correlates of a prosodic structure in which $\sigma$ is prominent. In particular, I will show that the link between stress and intonational pitch accent (pitch prominence on a specific syllable) is indirect and is mediated by prosodic structure. At the same time, I reject the presumed link between stress and rhythm, which is still current in metrical stress theory: I argue that prosodic prominence structure is not necessarily rhythmic, and need not be based on a universal idea of foot structure.

Typologically, the foregoing ideas imply that (a) tone languages can have stress, but also that (b) languages (tonal or otherwise) don’t necessarily have to have stress at all. I will discuss examples that are consistent with these two suggestions.