

1-1-2017

# A Comparison of Maximal Syllable Structure in Four Linguistic Areas

Ricardo Napoleão de Souza

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/el\\_centro\\_research](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/el_centro_research)

---

## Recommended Citation

de Souza, Ricardo Napoleão. "A Comparison of Maximal Syllable Structure in Four Linguistic Areas." (2017).  
[https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/el\\_centro\\_research/5](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/el_centro_research/5)

This Working Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the El Centro de la Raza at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Research Supported by El Centro by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact [disc@unm.edu](mailto:disc@unm.edu).

## A Comparison of Maximal Syllable Structure in Four Linguistic Areas

Ricardo Napoleão de Souza  
*University of New Mexico*

Research on areal linguistics provides ample evidence that languages in contact situations may come to share grammatical features that cannot be explained ontogenetically (Campbell 1997b, Matras 2011). In terms of phonology, the literature suggests that languages in prolonged contact develop similar segmental and suprasegmental characteristics (e.g. Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001, Curnow 2001, Muysken 2008, Thomason 2001). However, the effects of contact-induced change on deeper phonological structure such as syllable patterns remain largely unexplored. This study aims to investigate the claim that languages in intense contact situations such as those in linguistic areas are subject to borrowing not only individual phonemes but also phonological structure (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Specifically, it looks at maximal syllable shape in languages belonging to four established *Sprachbünde*: the Caucasus Area (Chirikba 2008) in Europe, the Northwest Coast Area (Campbell 1997a) and the Pueblo Area (Bereznak 1995) in North America and the Southern Cone Area (Klein 1992) in South America.

Maximal syllable shape is the syllable type that contains the most possible segments in onset and coda positions, for instance CCCVCCCC in an English word like ‘strengths’ [stɹeŋkθs]. A core phonological characteristic of languages, maximal syllable shape has indeed served as a tool to categorize languages typologically (e.g. Maddieson 2013). Furthermore, studies on loan phonology show that syllabic patterns in borrowings are consistently adapted to a language’s native syllable structure (e.g. Peperkamp 2004). At the same time, there is evidence that even this property may be subject to contact-induced change (Matras & Sakel 2007), granted there is a large enough influx of loan words (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2007, Muysken 2008). Thus, the literature suggests that maximal syllable shape constitutes a solid parameter to examine language convergence under intense contact.

Following a top-down approach (Muysken 2008), the study presented here examined the maximal syllable shape in every language for which data were available in each of the four linguistic areas under investigation. Languages were compared within a single *Sprachbund* and, with the exception of isolates, measured against related languages elsewhere as a control. The data discussed here were obtained from three sources: reference grammars, a database of phonotactic structure (Donohue et al. 2013) and a large phonological database with information on syllable patterns (Maddieson et al. 2014-2016).

Results suggest that despite centuries of contact and a possibly large influx of borrowings, languages belonging to different families within the four *Sprachbünden* show little similarity in terms of maximal syllable structure. Rather, it is demonstrated that genetic affiliation is the most decisive factor in determining these patterns. These findings are novel in terms of providing an insight into the impact of language contact on phonological systems, a domain that still deserves attention in areal linguistics. Furthermore, they have implications to the *matter vs. pattern* hypothesis (Sakel 2007) in that it shows that syllabic *patterns* mirror genetic affiliation despite considerable borrowing (*matter*) from languages in a same area.

## References

- Aikhenvald, A. Y., & Dixon, R. M. (2001a). Introduction. In Aikhenvald & Dixon (Eds.) *Areal Diffusion and Genetic Inheritance*, pp. 1-23. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, A. Y., & Dixon, R. M. (2007). *Grammars in contact: a cross-linguistic typology* (Vol. 4). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bereznak, C. 1995. *The Pueblo region as a linguistic area*. PhD dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge LA.
- Campbell, L. (1997a). *American Indian languages: The historical linguistics of native America*. Oxford: OUP.
- Campbell, L. (1997b). Typological and areal issues in reconstruction. In Fisiak, J. (Ed.) *Linguistic reconstruction and typology*, pp. 45–72. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Chirikba, V. A. (2008) The problem of the Caucasian Sprachbund. In Muysken, P. (Ed.), pp. 25-94.
- Curnow, T. J. (2001). What language features can be “borrowed”? In Aikhenvald, A. Y., & Dixon, R. M. (Eds.) *Areal Diffusion and Genetic Inheritance*, pp. 412–36. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Donohue, M., Hetherington, R., McElvenny, J. & Dawson, V. (2013). *World phonotactics database*. Department of Linguistics, The Australian National University. <http://phonotactics.anu.edu.au>. Accessed in April 2016.
- Klein, H. E. M. (1992). South American languages. In Bright, W. (Ed.). *International encyclopedia of linguistics* 4, pp. 31–35. New York NY: OUP.
- Maddieson, I. (2013). Syllable Structure. In: Dryer, M.S. & Haspelmath, M. (Eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/12>, Accessed in June 2016.
- Maddieson I., Flavier S., Marsico E., & Pellegrino F. (2014-2016). *LAPSyD: Lyon-Albuquerque Phonological Systems Databases, Version 1.0*. Available online at <http://www.lapsyd.dcl.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/lapsyd/>. Accessed in June 2016.
- Matras, Y., & Sakel, J. (Eds). (2007) *Empirical Approaches to Language Typology [EALT]: Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Berlin/Boston, DE: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Matras, Y. (2011) Explaining convergence and the formation of linguistic areas. In Hieda, O., König, C., & Nakagawa, H. (Eds). *Geographical Typology and Linguistic Areas with special reference to Africa*, pp. 143-160. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Muysken, P. (2008) Conceptual and methodological issues in areal linguistics. In Muysken, P. (Ed.) *From Linguistic Areas to Areal Linguistics*, pp. 1-23. Amsterdam, NLD: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Peperkamp, S. (2004). A psycholinguistic theory of loanword adaptations. In *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 341-352.
- Sakel, J. (2007) Types of loan: matter and pattern. In Matras, Y., & Sakel, J. (Eds), pp. 15-30.
- Thomason, S. G. (2001). *Language contact. An introduction*. Edinburgh: EUP.
- Thomason, S. G., & Kaufman, T. (1988). *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.