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In our work concerning phonetic balkanisms we concentrated on the distribution of sounds. Here we present some conclusions resulting from a comparison of the distributional characteristics of segments which are not motivated by the direct context, but which are due to the position of segments in the syllable and in the word. Our investigation revealed the occurrence of certain specific features in microregions extending beyond the territory of the Balkan Sprachbund. This caused the necessity of widening the scope of our study to include Romance material. Apart from Balkan and Romance languages, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish material has been taken into consideration.

Among Balkan languages, and generally in most European languages, certain similarities and common tendencies can be observed, while differences do not exceed certain limits. The similarities concern the phenomenon which could be called approximation to the symmetrical and sonorous syllable pattern. However, this should be treated neither as a Balkan fe-

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ature nor as a universal tendency. By sonorous syllable pattern we understand here a pattern in which distribution of segments is based on the principle of increasing inherent loudness of sounds before the syllable peak, and falling loudness of segments after the peak. In languages in question this is reflected in the order of sonorants /S/ and obstruents /O/ in consonant clusters. In the sonorous syllable pattern the sonorant must stand neither between two obstruents, nor between an obstruent and a juncture. In such positions it has to undergo syllabification or the cluster is simplified. Against the European background the Balkan languages are not distinguishable by anything special, except for one specific feature which consists in the presence of the NO- clusters /N - nasal sonorant/ in word initial position in some of them. On the contrary, as far as the syllable problem is concerned, we observed here some differentiation, while similarities concern trivial features.

With regard to syllable pattern, Balkan

languages can be divided in two ways:

/1/ into languages with sonorous syllable pattern and languages in which there are considerable deviations from the sonorous pattern, and /2/ into languages with relatively symmetrical syllable pattern /i.e. ones in which initial as well as final consonant clusters are allowed/ and languages with nonsymmetrical syllable pattern.

Among the Balkan languages we do not find two identical situations. In Bulgarian and Macedonian only the combinations of OS- at the beginning and -SO at the end of the word are allowed. In Macedonian, apart of this, fixed order of sonorants in multisoronant cluster is required, which is motivated by differences of loudness of subsequent segments and position in the syllable. These restrictions do not apply to Bulgarian. In Albanian and Roumanian, nasal sonorants partially belong to the distributional class of obstruents. In Albanian restrictions for nasal sonorants, as for other sonorants, remain at the end of the word, in Roumanian - at the beginning of the word. Thus, the NO- clusters are allowed in initial position in Albanian, and -ON clusters in final position are allowed in Roumanian. Greek has a sonorous syllable pattern, as has Macedonian, but it differs from Macedonian by relative asymmetry. Greek is the only Balkan language with

nonsymmetrical syllable pattern, where word final consonants and final consonant clusters are considerably reduced. The difference between languages with nonsymmetrical syllable pattern and the ones with symmetrical pattern slowly decays as a result of the introduction of symmetrical structures, mainly through borrowings. However, this fact does not seem to be connected with language contacts within the territory of the Balkans but mainly with invasion of Anglicisms which introduce consonants or consonant clusters in final position of the word. Thus, this dichotomy has a relative character - it results from comparison of the generalized situation, from the impression we get while ignoring structures of the lowest frequency - various "untypical" structures. In Greek there are several loanwords with final consonants and final consonant clusters. Such foreign words still make up quite a small part of the Greek vocabulary - in texts words with final consonant clusters occur rarely, and some native speakers assimilate them according to the native pattern. If this language periphery is left aside, then for Greek we observe the word pattern with an open or relatively open last syllable. However, some groups of borrowings with final consonant clusters of -SO type do not undergo assimilation, which is an evident proof of changes in the standing syllable pattern.

Thus, taking into account the complete lexical material, the differentiation into symmetrical syllable pattern vs non-symmetrical pattern has no justification, and Greek belongs to the same type as the South Slavonic languages. /Mutatis mutandis the same applies to the Turkish language in which consonant clusters appear in final but not in initial position/. However, differences in frequency of various syllable structures still remain, which creates some general view of the situation - impression of existence of restrictions which are already out of date.

All that has been said here about Greek also applies to several Romance languages in which, as in Greek, initial consonant clusters of sonorous structures occur, but, with the exception of several loanwords, final consonant clusters are not allowed. Words can end with vowels or single consonants, the inventory of which is very limited. Such situation is found in Spanish, Portuguese and Italian. In Portuguese domestic words /s/, /r/ and /l/ can stand at the end of the word; in the Andalusian dialect of Spanish - only /l/, /r/ and /n/; the same applies to Italian; in common Spanish also /s/ and /θ/; in Greek - only /n/ and /s/. The differences between these languages concern mainly the combinations of obstruents which are due to genetic difference. What is significant in these languages and especially in their

colloquial realizations, various interventions occur adapting the foreign structures according to the domestic pattern, cf. Port. Nova Iorque, clube, dial.Ital. lapisse /stand. lapis/, Greek Grup||grupa||grupos, etc.

Final consonant clusters appear in Catalan and Occitan. They have simple sonorous structures and are less numerous than in French or Roumanian.

We are of the opinion that the stated similarity of syllable/word pattern is worthy of consideration as a typological feature. This feature consists in the nonsymmetrical syllable pattern with uncomplicated initial consonant clusters of sonorous structures and with open or relatively open syllable rhyme; the inventory of consonants which can stand at the end of the word in each of these languages is very limited. What is significant is that all these languages are concentrated in the basin of the Mediterranean and, with regard to syllable pattern, they stand in opposition to the Central and North European languages. The example of the Čakavian dialect of Serbo-Croat can also be instructive here. Compared with the standard Štokavian Serbo-Croat, Čakavian shows the tendency to simplify the structure of the syllable rhyme. Thus, with respect to the phonemic syllable pattern, one should speak of the Mediterranean community rather than of the Balkan Sprach-

bund.

The only indubitable Balkanism partially connected with the syllable problem is the occurrence of consonant clusters of the type 'nasal sonorant + occlusive', which can occur in the same order in any position in a word on the limited territory of the Balkans. The situation is as follows: in contemporary Greek, in the colloquial variant of Demotic, there is a strong tendency for functional identification of the opposition: voiced vs voiceless occlusive with the opposition: occlusive with the nasal implosion vs occlusive without the nasal implosion, that is, cf. /p/ vs /b/ = /p/ vs /mb/, /t/ vs /d/ = /t/ vs /nd/, etc., with simultaneous reduction of the clusters with voiceless occlusives, which undergo voicing. Similar tendencies occur in Albanian, where additionally, unlike in Greek, the NO clusters occur also in word initial position. In standard Albanian the opposition /b/ vs /mb/ vs /p/ vs /mp/, etc. is phonologically relevant, but in dialects the situation is obviously differentiated. In dialects we find such phenomena as: voicing of obstruents after a nasal sonorant, prenasalization of voiced occlusives, occasionally adding an occlusive after a nasal sonorant, etc. More detailed informations and exemplification can be found in our study: Bałkańsko-romańskie paralele w zakresie syntagmatyki fonologicznej, Języko-

we studia bałkanistyczne II, Wrocław 1987.

The schemes of syllable patterns can be featured using a line the level of which corresponds to the loudness of subsequent segments:

