# JANUA LINGUARUM

## STUDIA MEMORIAE NICOLAI VAN WIJK DEDICATA

endenda curat C.H. VAN SCHOONEVELD Indiana University

Series Minor, 72

# CHILD LANGUAGE APHASIA AND PHONOLOGICAL UNIVERSALS

by

ROMAN JAKOBSON HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND MASSACHUSETSS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

MOUTON PUBLISHERS · THE HAGUE · PARIS · NEW YORK

Original title: Kindersprache, Aphasie und allgemeine Lautgesetze Translated by Allan R. Keiler

#### LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER 68-17891

First Printing 1968

First edition: 1968 Second printing: 1972 Third printing: 1980

ISBN 90 279 2103 2

© Copyright 1968 by Mouton Publishers, The Hague, The Netherlands No part of this book may be translated or reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publishers

Printed in the Netherlands

Til min venn Alf

#### PREFACE

It is now a quarter of a century since the first appearance of Roman Jakobson's *Kindersprache*, probably the most characteristic of his writings on phonology. My impression is that it has never been as well known as it ought to be in this country, and that it is not as well understood as it should be, either. Whatever the reasons for this might be, if in fact it is the case, an English translation is obviously the best remedy. There are, in addition, however, other reasons which warrant a translation.

I mentioned that the *Kindersprache* is perhaps the most representative of Jakobson's phonological writings. It is certainly the most comprehensive, as it is his fullest and most detailed discussion not only of phonological typology, but of the related problems of language acquisition and phonemic regression. And although most of the problems in these areas have been discussed in English versions by Jakobson, this is the only work to integrate them so fully within the same volume. One should remember that comprehensiveness is in many ways the essence of Jakobson's investigations, which provide explanations for a wide variety of facts that would otherwise remain disparate and only accidentally related.

Finally, the importance and influence of such a classic work as the *Kindersprache* are significant, and in fact, have grown rather than diminished in recent years, at least for a great many researchers in linguistics, psychology and language pathology. The reason for this, I think, is that one finds for the first time, in the *Kindersprache*, a formal linking of the problems of linguistic universals and of language acquisition, i.e., the view that any explanation of the latter is to be found in the innate character of the former. The interrelating of these problems has become, of course, one of the

#### PREFACE

crucial tasks of recent inquiries into the relation of linguistic structure to language acquisition, so that many of the questions so important to Jakobson, and treated in his 1941 monograph, have in a sense re-emerged again as focal problems in current thinking. To some degree, therefore, Jakobson's monograph can be considered as one of the first really insightful contributions to problems that have now become among the most important and stimulating ones in linguistic research.

I am indebted to Roman Jakobson for generously giving his time for discussion of the translation and to Professors Herbert A. Youtie and Gerda Seligson, who read the entire manuscript and made considerable criticisms and corrections, as well as Nancy Dorian, Anne G. Miller and Shirley Barlow for their invaluable help.

A. R. Keiler

Seattle, Washington March, 1967

### CONTENTS

<b>PREFACE.</b>	7
I. THE PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD LANGUAGE	
and Aphasia as a Linguistic Problem	13
1. Types of Linguistic Activity	13
2. Interaction between Child Language and the Lan-	
guages of the World	13
3. Occasional and Constant Agreements	18
4. Recording and Analysis of the Beginnings of Child Language	19
5. Principle of Least Effort and Cessation of Babbling	20
	24
	 25
8. Supposed Exceptions to Order of Phonological	
	27
9. Dissolution of the Phonological System	31
	34
11. Linguistic Character of Aphasic Sound-Deafness and	
Sound-Muteness	38
II. STRATIFICATION OF THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM	46
12. Relative and Absolute Chronology of Phonological Development	46
-	47

#### CONTENTS

	14.	Identical Laws of Solidarity in the Phonological Devel-	
		opment of Child Language and in the Synchrony	
		of the Languages of the World	51
	15.	Late or Rare Phonological Acquisitions	57
	16.	Relative Degree of Sound Utilization	58
	17.	Panchrony of the Laws of Solidarity	<b>59</b>
	18.	Laws of Solidarity and Speech Pathology	59
	19.	Normal Speech Disturbances	62
	20.	Uniformity of Stratification	64
III.	Fot	INDATION OF THE STRUCTURAL LAWS	67
	21.	Atomistic Attempts at Explanation	67
	22.	Inherent Direction of Development	68
	23.	Split Consonant $\infty$ Vowel	68
	24.	Opposition Nasal-Oral in Consonants and Vowels .	71
	25.	Splitting of Consonants into Labials and Dentals and Vowels into Wide and Narrow	73
	26.	Splitting of Consonants into Front and Back	79
	27.	Agreements Between the Systems of Sound and	.,
	27.	Colour	82
	28.	Classification and the Structure of Higher Units	84
	29.	Place of the Dentals in the Consonant System	87
	30.	Secondary Gradations of Phonological Oppositions	89
IV.	Cor	NCLUDING OBSERVATIONS	92
	31.	Prospects	92
	32.	Glottogony	93
	33.	Principle of Language Change	93
Віві	LIOG	RAPHY	95

What is truly unifying are the relationships of foundation.
HUSSERL

There is no difference in principle in the phonetic systems of the world, although there are, naturally, many phonemes with relatively limited distribution.

ALF SOMMERFELT (1928)