### Preface

国公私立をとわず、日本中の大学・短大で改革の嵐が吹き荒れ、伝統的な英文学科の多くが「コミュニケーション」「国際」「文化」「情報」などの言葉を含む名称に看板を掛け替えています。しかしながら、看板が新しくなったとしても、そこで研究・教育される学問の中身は一朝一夕に変わるものではありません。いやむしろ、学問が多様化し学際化すればするほど、拠り所となる確固たる礎が必要なはずです。また、現実問題として、英語教職の免許取得のためには英語学概論などの基礎的科目がひきつづき重要な意義を持っています。

そのような社会状況の中で、本書は「英語言語学の第一歩」という表題にし、本文も英文で提示することにしました。「英語学」ではなく「英語言語学」としたのは、英語を中心的な対象としながらも、あくまで「一般言語学、理論言語学」という幅広い学問の一部であることを明確に表現したかったからです。さらに言えば、一般的な用語としても、「英語学」という呼称の代わりに「英語言語学」という名前が定着してほしいと希望しています。「言語学」という名前を表に出すことによって、英語学というものが単なる英語の勉強ではなく、人間というものの性質を総合的に捉えようとする〈認知科学〉の一部を構成するという意識をもたらしてくれると思います。また、本文を英文で執筆したのは、学生の英語力を向上させるだけでなく、国際化の中で、ひごろから英語で考え、英語で発表するための素地を作りたいと思ったからです。

本書の特色は次のようにまとめられます。

- 英語学・言語学がまったく初めての一年生にも分かりやすく, 英語言語学の全体 像を紹介する。
- 統語論, 意味論, 形態論, 音声学·音韻論, 語用論のほか, 英語史, 社会言語学, 心理言語学, 応用言語学の全領域をカバーし, 最初の章から最後の章までがスムーズな流れで読み通せるような構成を工夫した。
- 本文がやさしい英語で書かれていて、講義にも講読にも使える。
- 内容の理解を確認するための Comprehension Check と、本文の内容を深め発展させるための Exercises を付け、学生の主体的な学習を促す。
- 幾つかの Exercises では、インターネットのコーパスを使って用例集めの練習をする。
- 本文および関連事項を録音した CD を付け、耳からも理解を深める。

# Contents

Preface	•••••
Chantar 1 Why Study English Linguistics	4
Chapter 1 Why Study English Linguistics	
Knowledge of Language	
What Is English Linguistics?	
Components of Grammar	
How English Has Been Studied	
Comprehension Check	
Exercises	
現代理論言語学の発展	8
Chapter 2 How English Has Changed over	the Centuries 9
Three Stages in the History of English	9
Layers of Vocabulary	10
The Prehistory of English	10
The Old English Period	11
The Middle English Period	13
The Modern English Period	14
Sound Change	
Morphological and Syntactic Change	
Comprehension Check	
Exercises	18
これって、ほんとに英語なの?	19
Chapter 3 How Words Are Made: Morpho	logy21
Dividing Words into Parts	21
Compounding	22
Derivation	25
Conversion	26
Inflection	27
Minor Word Formation Processes	
逆形成	
Comprehension Check	
Exercises	

Chapter 4 How Words Mean: Semantics I	33
Kinds of Meaning	
Meaning as a Set of Properties	
Categorization and Prototypes	
Semantic Networks	
Synonyms and Antonyms	
Polysemy	
Metaphor and Metonymy	
Comprehension Check	
Exercises4	
コトバの価値判断4	13
Chapter 5 How English Phrases Are Formed: Syntax I What Is Syntax? Tests for Constituency Complements and Adjuncts Cross-categorial Parallelism Labeled Bracketings and Tree Diagrams Retrospect and Prospect 本文の理解を助けるために Comprehension Check Exercises	45 46 48 49 50 51
Chapter 6 How English Sentences Are Formed: Syntax I Auxiliary Verbs, Tense, and the Tense Element t	63 65 67 69 21
Chapter 7 How Sentences Mean: Semantics II	79 82 82 84
What Do Pronouns Refer to?	85

Comprehension Check Exercises	
Chapter 8 How to Communicate with Othe	r People: Pragmatics 93
What Is Pragmatics?	
Formal vs. Informal Style	
Politeness	
Speech Acts	
Conversational Implicature	
The Co-operative Principle	
Comprehension Check	
Exercises	
言葉にならない言葉	102
Chapter 9 The Sounds of English: Phonetic	es and Phonology 103
Sound and Meaning	
Intonation	
Word Accent and Syllable Structure	
Vowels and Consonants	
Comprehension Check	
Exercises	
長い母音の発音	113
Chapter 10 Regional Varieties of English:	Socialinguistics I 115
Englishes in the World	
Regional Dialects	
Intranational Variation	
International Variation	
Comprehension Check	
Exercises	
ニューヨークかヌーヨークか?	
Chapter 11 English in Society: Socioli	
Social Variation	
Standard vs. Nonstandard English	
Grammatical Variation	
Phonological Variation	
Lexical Variation	134

Language and Gender  Comprehension Check	137
Exercises いわゆる 「黒人英語」 という呼び名について	
Chapter 12 How English Is Acquired: Psycho	olinguistics 141
First Language Acquisition	141
Phonological Development	
Morphological Development	
Syntactic Development	
Semantic and Lexical Development	
Theories of Language Acquisition	
Comprehension Check	
Exercises	
英語の分かるサル ―― カンジ	
7.02 77.0 0 7 7.0	
Chapter 13 How English as a Second/Foreign La	nguage Is Acquired:
Applied Linguistics	
Second Language Acquisition	
Characteristics of Learner Language	
Learner Progress	
Influences Outside the Learner	
Individual Differences among Learners	
Comprehension Check	

### Chapter 1 Why Study English Linguistics



#### BASIC QUESTIONS

English linguistics (英語言語学, つまり英語学) というのは, どういう学問なのだろうか。高校までの英語の勉強と, どう違うのだろう。それを勉強すると, どのような発見があるのだろうか。

# KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGE CD Track 2

You may wonder why a 5-year-old American child can speak English far better than a Japanese university student who has studied the language for more than 6 years. Although we take it for granted, it's actually quite amazing that children can master a language at a very early age without being trained at school. This is not a matter of country, race, or intelligence. Any human being can acquire natural English if brought up in an environment where it is spoken, and this is true not only of English but of all human languages. Animals, however, are unable to achieve the miracle of language acquisition.

Of course, this doesn't mean that children born into an English-speaking environment start to speak perfect English as soon as they are born. Children start out by "babbling" and at a later stage make "mistakes" like *goed* for *went* and *foots* for *feet*—a phenomenon called **overgeneralization** (Chapter 12). Interestingly, almost all English-speaking children make this kind of mistake at about the same age (3 or 4 years old) no matter where they are raised. This is parallel to the fact that almost all Japanese children, at about the same age, overgeneralize the use of の and say things like 赤いの服 instead of 赤い服 or パパが買った のネクタイ instead of パパが買ったネクタイ. It is fascinating that such overgeneralizations are observed quite consistently among children who are in the process of acquiring their first language.

As the result of acquiring a language in childhood, speakers come to have a complex system of knowledge about that language. As an example of this knowledge, consider the meaning language acquisition = 言語の獲得,言語習得

**babble** = 喃語(意味のない音声)を発する

overgeneralization = 過剰一般化

### Chapter 2 How English Has Changed over the Centuries



### **BASIC QUESTIONS**

いまや英語は世界各地で話されているが、そのルーツはどこから来ているのだろうか。英語 はいつ頃から始まり、どのように変化してきたのだろうか。昔の英語は、今の私たちでも理 解できるのだろうか。日本語には「和語」、「漢語」、「外来語」の違いがあるが、英語にもそ のような違いがあるのだろうか。

### THREE STAGES IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH (CD) Track 6



The English language has a written history of thirteen or fourteen centuries. During that period, it has undergone many changes that have drastically affected its phonology (sound structure), morphology (word structure), and syntax (sentence structure). The gap between the English of the oldest documents, which date from the late 7th century, and the contemporary language is so great that modern speakers must study the earliest English essentially as a foreign language.

The history of English is typically divided into three major periods.

> **Old English** (OE): 650 — 1100 **Middle English** (ME): 1100 — 1500

Modern English (ModE): 1500 —

This classification is based on features such as **pronunciation**, inflectional endings, and word order. Old English is characterized by a complex system of endings on **nouns** and **verbs** and considerable freedom in the order of words. In Middle English, many of the endings which showed grammatical relations such as **subject** and **object** were lost and, to compensate for the loss, the word order of subject, object, and verb became fixed. The transition to Modern English is marked by a large-scale sound change called the Great Vowel Shift, which occurred for the most part during the 1400s. According to the above classification, contemporary English represents one stage of Modern English, but English since 1900 is sometimes called **Present-day English**.

Old English = 古英語 Middle English = 中英語 Modern English = 近代英語

pronunciation = 発音 inflectional endings = 屈折語尾 word order = 語順 noun=名詞 verb=動詞 grammatical relation = 文法関係(主語, 目的語など) subject = 主語 object = 目的語

Great Vowel Shift = 大母音推移

Present-day English = 現代英語

### Chapter 3 How Words Are Made: Morphology

#### **BASIC QUESTIONS**

高校生のときには英単語を丸暗記したが、単語の中身はどうなっているのだろうか。 単語は、どのような仕組みで作られるのだろうか。

### **DIVIDING WORDS INTO PARTS**

Most words can be divided into smaller parts. Just as the Japanese 電話 is composed of 電(electric) and 話(talk), telephone is separated into two Greek elements, tele-('far') and -phone ('sound, voice'). The smallest units of language that have a meaning are called morphemes. Words like table which cannot be divided any further consist of just one morpheme. If a morpheme can stand alone as a word, it is a free morpheme; otherwise, it is a bound morpheme. Morphology (also referred to as word formation) deals with how morphemes or words are joined to make up (larger) words.

Let us see how the following words are split into morphemes:

Book in (1) consists of one free morpheme. Bookstore in (2) is composed of two free morphemes, book and store. In (3), philosophy is divided into two bound morphemes, philo-(Greek for 'loving') and -sophy (Greek for 'wisdom'). The term morphology itself is made up of Greek elements (morpho- 'form' and -logy 'study, science'), as are many other academic terms.

In (4), apple is followed by the ending -s, which represents "plural." The -s is pronounced [z] in apples, but it has different pronunciations in desks and benches. Different forms (pronunciations) of the same morpheme are called **allomorphs** of that morpheme. "Allomorphic variation" is also found in the third person singular **present tense** verbal ending (loves, kicks,

word=語(単語)

morpheme = 形態素

free morpheme = 自由形態素 bound morpheme = 拘束形態素 word formation = 語形成

allomorph = 異形態

present tense = 現在時制

### Chapter 4 How Words Mean: Semantics I

### **BASIC QUESTIONS**

単語の意味が分からないときは辞書をひくが、「意味」というのは一体、何だろう。 辞書は 1 つ 1 つの単語の意味を別々に載せているだけだが、ネイティヴスピーカーが何千、 何万の単語を使いこなせるのは、単語が互いに何らかの意味のつながりを持っているからで はないだろうか。

What's in a name? That which we call a rose By any other name would smell as sweet.

— William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, II.ii.

でも,名前が一体なんだろう? 私たちがバラと呼んでいるあの花の名前がなんと変わろうとも,薫りに違いはないはずよ。

(中野好夫 訳)

### KINDS OF MEANING

When we come across a word we don't understand, we look it up in a dictionary. But what a dictionary shows us is not really the meaning of the word but merely a "translation" or roundabout explanation. The real meanings of words are concepts stored in our mind. The study of the **meaning** of words and sentences is called semantics, and this chapter will examine the meanings of words.

There are two kinds of word meaning: **conceptual meaning** (or **denotation**) and **associative meaning** (or **connotation**). The conceptual meaning of the word *rose* is 'plant of the rose family (the genus *Rosa*)'. But that is not all there is to roses. We have all seen, smelled, and touched actual roses (that is, **referents** of the word *rose*) at various times and places. Those experiences as well as cultural traditions have formed our subjective images of roses, which include elements such as their appearance and smell. Some of those images of roses are associated with the linguistic meaning of the word *rose*. Such associative meanings often show up in proverbs ("Life is not a bed of *roses*") and idioms.

conceptual meaning = 概念的意味 denotation = 明示的意味 associative meaning = 連想的意味 connotation = 暗示的意味 referent = 指示対象

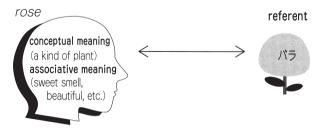


Figure 1 Relationship between meaning and referent 02

### Chapter 5 How English Phrases Are Formed: Syntax I

### BASIC QUESTIONS

第3章では単語の作り方を学んだが、単語はどのように句(phrase)に組み合わせられるのだろうか。高校の英文法では SVO などの五文型を学んだが、S(主語)、V(動詞)、O(目的語)はこの順序で一列に並んでいるだけなのだろうか。

### WHAT IS SYNTAX?

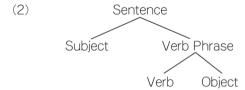
While morphology, as we saw in Chapter 3, deals with how words are formed, syntax is concerned with the way words are combined to make phrases and sentences. One of the most fundamental facts about the grammar of any human language is that the words of a sentence are not simply lined up one after the other, but are organized into **syntactic** units, or **constituents**. Thus, for example, the way the SVO(subject verb object) sentence pattern is taught in high school might suggest that the three elements involved are strung together and organized into a single group as in (1) below.

syntactic = 統語的な,構文上の unit = まとまり,単位 constituent = 構成素



As we will see below, however, there are many reasons to believe that these three elements are actually organized in a hierarchical structure like (2). The structure in (2) differs from (1) in including a syntactic unit called **verb phrase** that consists of V and O to the exclusion of S.

verb phrase (VP) = 動詞句



One way to appreciate the existence of syntactic constituents is to consider the ambiguity (double meaning) of a phrase like (3), whose two interpretations are given in (4).

### Chapter 6 How English Sentences Are Formed: Syntax II

### **BASIC QUESTIONS**

Jim <u>has</u> left, Sue <u>will</u> sing の助動詞 has や will は, 枝分かれ構造でどのような位置にあるのだろうか。また, I know <u>that</u> Jim has left, I wonder <u>if</u> Sue is singing の that や if はどのような単語だろうか。<u>Has</u> Jim left?, When <u>is</u> Sue singing? のような疑問文における助動詞の位置はどのように説明できるのだろうか。

# AUXILIARY VERBS, TENSE, AND THE TENSE ELEMENT T

In this chapter, we will examine the structure of the English sentence or **clause**, considering several hypotheses before settling on one that seems to fit all the facts. Our starting point will be (1), an abbreviated version of the tentative proposal concerning sentence structure that we made at the end of Chapter 5 (in the present chapter, we will ignore the internal structure of VP).

clause = 節 (こでは文(sentence)と同じこと) hypotheses = 仮説(hypothesis の複数形) tentative = 暫定的な



We may note immediately that examples like (2a) and (2b) are not covered by (1), since they contain an **auxiliary verb** between the NP *the girl* and the VP *refuse/refused the offer*.

auxiliary verb = 助動詞

- (2) a. The girl will refuse the offer.
  - b. The girl has refused the offer.

The suggestion that the auxiliaries *will* and *has* of (2) are not part of VP receives support from the fact that those auxiliaries are not affected by **VP-deletion**. Thus, consider (3a) and (3b), where the bracketed VP is subject to deletion:

VP-deletion = 動詞句削除

- (3) a. Sue will refuse the offer, and Jim will [refuse the offer] too.
  - b. Sue has refused the offer, and Jim has [refused the offer] too.

As you can see, the auxiliaries *will* and *has* remain even when the VP *refuse/refused the offer* is deleted.

We have seen that there is a syntactic element between NP and VP in examples with auxiliary verbs like those of (2). In fact, it

syntactic element = 統語的要素

# Chapter 7 How Sentences Mean: Semantics II

#### **BASIC QUESTIONS**

単語の意味は辞書に載っているが、文全体の解釈は辞書に載っていない。文全体の意味はどのようにして解釈されるのだろうか。

### SEMANTIC ROLES AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

In Chapters 5 and 6, we learned how English sentences are constructed. In this chapter, we will learn about various aspects of sentence meaning. To begin with, let us think about how a sentence depends on the properties of its verb.

Any speaker of English will be able to tell you that the sentence *The boys laughed* is grammatical, while \**The clown laughed the boys* is not. This is the result of the fact that the verb *laugh* can occur with a subject, but not with an object — alternatively, the fact that it occurs in the SV sentence pattern, but not in the SVO pattern. We may say that for each verb, the possible sentence patterns it can occur in are specified in the native speaker's mental dictionary or lexicon. Verbs with very similar meanings may occur in different sentence patterns. Compare in this regard *break* with *destroy*, and *eat* with *devour*.

- (1) a. The boy broke the window.
  - a'. The window broke.
  - b. The boy destroyed the window.
  - b'. \*The window destroyed.
- (2) a. The children ate the sandwiches.
  - a'. The children ate at eight.
  - b. The children devoured the sandwiches.
  - b'. \*The children devoured at eight.

In (1), *break* can be used either in the SVO pattern or in the SV pattern, but *destroy* is possible only in the SVO pattern. In (2), similarly, *eat* can be used in either the SVO or the SV pattern, but *devour* allows only SVO. In a word, *destroy* and *devour* are strictly **transitive**, while *break* and *eat* may be either transitive or **intransitive**.

transitive verb = 他動詞 intransitive verb = 自動詞

### Chapter 8 How to Communicate with Other People: Pragmatics

#### **BASIC QUESTIONS**

これまでの章では、人間の脳の中にある文法について学んだが、ことばというものは、人と 人のあいだで使われて初めてコミュニケーションの機能をはたす。人と人との会話はどのようにして成り立っているのだろうか。英語には「敬語」のようなものがないのだろうか。

### WHAT IS PRAGMATICS?

While semantics (Chapters 4 and 7) is concerned with native speakers' internalized knowledge of meaning, pragmatics, the topic of this chapter, deals with the external relations between people who talk with each other.



conversation = 会話

In order to build good interpersonal relations, people must be considerate to each other not only in their physical behavior but also in the language they use.

#### FORMAL VS. INFORMAL STYLE

Just as in Japanese we change our linguistic style depending on who we are talking to and on what occasion, so speakers of English choose, consciously or unconsciously, the most appropriate style for the situation they are in. The linguist Martin Joos once distinguished five different **styles**: (a) **frozen style** (the most formal style limited to ceremonies or dignified speeches and writings), (b) **formal style** (used on business and other formal occasions or in formal letters), (c) **consultative style** (ordinary colloquial conversation with no formality), (d) **casual style** (informal conversation between friends), and (e) **intimate style** (between two people of intimate relations such as husband and wife). It is recommended that foreign learners of English be able to distinguish the three styles in the middle, that is, (b), (c), and

formal = 改まった informal = くだけた, 格式ばらない style = スタイル(文体), スピーチレベルとも言う

frozen style = 凍結スタイル formal style = 正式スタイル consultative style = 協議スタイル casual style = 略式スタイル intimate style = 親密スタイル

### Chapter 9 The Sounds of English: Phonetics and Phonology



#### BASIC QUESTIONS

英語の発音というと、"I"と"r"の区別や、「ア」にもいろいろな種類があるといった、日本 語との違いを思い浮かべる。日本人の立場から、英語らしい英語の発音ができるようになる には、どのような点に注意すればよいのだろうか。

### SOUND AND MEANING (CD) Track 18



Language can be thought of as a device for connecting sound and meaning. At the level of the word, the sound-meaning connection is notoriously arbitrary and unsystematic. For example, there is no necessary connection between the sounds [kæt] or [neko] and the furry four-footed animal to which they both refer. Nor is it generally the case that individual vowels or consonants or sequences thereof have consistent meanings. Intonation, the distribution of high and low **pitches** in a sentence, is a partial exception to this rule, though, since particular sequences of pitches do tend to be associated with relatively stable, identifiable meanings. Let us start this chapter about the sounds of English with a look at one of the most basic meanings conveyed by intonation, the distinction between statements and questions.

arbitrary = 恣意的

pitch=ピッチ, 音の高さ

### INTONATION (CD) Track 19



As you already know, statements (declarative sentences) end with a falling intonation in English (and many other languages), and questions (interrogative sentences) that can be answered with "yes" or "no" end with a rising intonation:

- (1) a. Linguistics is easy. (statement: the pitch of easy drops from High to Low.)
  - b. Is linguistics easy? (question: the pitch of easy rises from Low to High.)

There is also, of course, a word-order difference between the statement and the question. As we saw in Chapter 6, this is due to the fact that in questions, auxiliaries and the copula be undergo inversion. Let us see what happens when we combine the rising

statement = 陳述文 falling intonation = 下降音調 interrogative sentence = 疑問文 rising intonation = 上昇音調

### Chapter 10 Regional Varieties of English: Sociolinguistics I

#### **BASIC QUESTIONS**

英語は、世界のさまざまな国でコミュニケーションの手段として、広範に使用されている。 地域によって、どのような違いがあるのだろうか。英語にも、日本語と同じように、標準語 と方言があるのだろうか。

### **ENGLISHES IN THE WORLD**

According to David Crystal's *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* (1995), English is spoken as a **native language** by some 377 million people around the world. It is used as the exclusive language of the majority of speakers in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. English has also become the predominant **second language** in such areas as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and substantial parts of Africa, where it coexists with other languages. English is a truly international language. However, the way in which English is spoken and written varies from place to place.

native language = 母語

second language = 第二言語

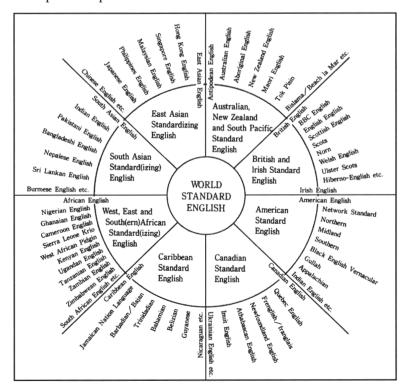


Figure 1 World Englishes

(T. McArthur "The English Languages?" English Today 1987)

# Chapter 11 English in Society: Sociolinguistics II



### **BASIC QUESTIONS**

電話で少し話しただけで、一度も会ったことのない相手の出身地だけでなく、社会的背景に ついても、ある程度見当がつくのはどうしてだろうか。

### SOCIAL VARIATION (CD) Track 22



In the previous chapter, the focus was on regional variation in English. In this chapter we turn our attention to social variation within a single **speech community**.

Every professional and occupational group has **jargon**—that is, language that is obscure or unintelligible to outsiders. An example is the technical terms of linguistics contained in this book, such as morpheme, polysemy, and dialect, which are not well understood by non-linguists. Likewise, students and faculty members of a particular university tend to use words and expressions whose meaning is clear only to those who belong to that group. The Japanese word フラ語, shortened from フランス語, for example, will be understood only by university students. You can probably think of similar examples like パン教(<一般教養)、 援部(<応援指導部), クラ友(<クラスの友達), and ビー部(<ラ グビー部). These examples illustrate how language signals group membership.

The way someone talks often reveals not only his or her regional origin but also, in many cases, his or her social background, including factors such as occupation and educational level. How people speak is strongly correlated with their membership in various groups. Those who belong to the same social group tend to speak in a similar way. These social speech varieties are called social dialects or sociolects.

social variation = 社会的変異 speech community = 言語共同体 jargon = 隠語 technical terms = 専門用語

social dialect, sociolect = 社会方言

### STANDARD VS. NONSTANDARD ENGLISH (CD) Track 23



In a modern society, there is usually one sociolect or variety of a language that is dominant with respect to the others. The term

### Chapter 12 How English Is Acquired: Psycholinguistics

#### BASIC QUESTIONS

幼児は特に教わらなくても、一定の年齢に達すると自然にことばを話すようになる。幼児は大人のことばの「真似」をして言語を身につけると考えられやすいが、本当にそうだろうか。 人間はどのようにしてことばを獲得(習得)していくのだろうか。

### FIRST LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

In Chapter 1, we pointed out how amazing it is that children can master their **first language** at an early age without explicit training. Do they learn their first language by imitating adult speech? Do their parents teach them how to form grammatical sentences? In this chapter, we will be concerned with how children acquire their first language.

first language = 第一言語 imitate = まねをする

### PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Babies begin to utter sequences of sounds such as "ba," "ma," and "na" around their sixth month of life. This is called **babbling**. Interestingly, those who are going to become native speakers of English and those who will learn Japanese as their mother tongue produce the same sounds when they babble. Also, both hearing and deaf infants go through this stage in a similar way.

babbling = 喃語

mother tongue = 母語

Data from fifteen languages show that  $[p \ b \ m \ t \ d \ n \ k \ g \ s \ h \ w \ j]$  are frequently found in babbling whereas  $[f \ v \ \theta \ \delta \ \int \ 3 \ l \ I \ \eta]$  are not. Babbling increases in frequency until about the twelfth month of life, at which point children begin to produce their first words. Tables 1 and 2 list consonants that English-speaking children are able to produce by ages two and four, respectively.

stops	fricatives	other	stops	fricatives	affricates	other
p b m	f	w	p b m	f v		W
t d n	S		t d n	sz∫	t∫ dʒ	lıj
k g			kgŋ			

Table 1 Consonants at age two Table

Table 2 Consonants at age four

We observe the following tendencies in the two tables as well as in the list of sounds that frequently occur in babbling: