CHAPTER V
ACQUISITION OF MORPHOLOGICAL PATTERNS OF ENGLISH

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5.1 Introductory Section: General Morphological Patterns of English

A child’s first meaningful speech consists of single-word approximations of some adult word. It is used consistently by the child to refer to a particular object or situation. De Laguna claimed that the child’s single-words accompany overt action and that as utterances increase in length they gradually become separated from gestures. The function which is first performed by a non-verbal gesture alone comes to be performed by a gesture in conjunction with a word, and eventually by combination of words alone. Werner and Kaplan made similar claims that single words are first used in conjunction with action. Letters and counting, while they might be learned through rote-memorising, are always applied to objects and accompanied by action.

A one-word utterance is considered to be equivalent to a whole sentence, i.e., if the child says ‘rabbit’ while looking at a picture, it stands for ‘see this is a rabbit’. The adult-like intonation contours of the child’s one-word utterances have been taken as evidence to substantiate the claim that one word utterances are whole sentences. While taking lessons in English vocabulary, Leopold (1939) pointed out that at the single word stage children are able to recognize the highly stressed and salient words in an utterance. This is true not only in case of acquisition of mother-tongue but also in case of L2, here English. Braine (1974) holds that one-word utterances are not comprehended by the adult by constructing full fledged grammatical sentences from the child’s one-word utterances. Instead, the child’s word functions as a pointer on the basis of which the adult takes cognizance of a complex situation.

Nelson (1974) and Anglin (1977) noted that the child’s first lexicon generally comprises frequently used names of foods, toys, and animals. The first half of the second year observes a slow growth of lexicon but the second half of year accelerates this growth rapidly. In case of child learning English as L2, with Hindi as L1, the acquisition of English lexicon though follows the same pattern as stated by Nelson and Anglin but the speed and amount of acquisition depends on its exposure to the language at home.

Child’s speech is typically confined to its own activities, to what it sees in its immediate environment as its comprehension or listening is determined by the adults around it. And the corpus it is exposed to, in case of English, is not wide in scope. It sticks to only those usage of words to which it is exposed mainly at the time of its lessons.
Moskowitz (1971) noted that the child’s first pronunciations of some words are superior to later pronunciations. It is as if the first attempts are direct interference of the phonological system. Once they are incorporated into the system, they get a simpler pronunciation. The adults by gestures and intonation, continually incites the child to speak, and encourage the child with sign of approval when it has spoken. This is a common practice now-a-days in Indian families.

The first single-word utterances are clearly separate utterances. There is a noticeable gap between them, and each has its own intonational contours and stress. The intonational contours consist of an initial rise in pitch to a peak, and then a terminal fall.

The child while acquiring English vocabulary does not speak in a sequence of clear, unique syntactic type. Word combinations appear, but they are limited to its lessons or while singing nursery rhymes or T.V. ads. However, the most frequent productions are single-word utterances. For learning a new word the child depends on special attention of adults to them or on T.V. ads. But those it hears on secondary sources other than from its family members, are not clear in their content and phonemic structure, so for the child their use is limited.

The early corpus acquired by the child are predominantly nominals. During the time of the first words, the child does not have uninterpretable vocalizations as it has by now a clearly developed L1 system. Thus English has a separate region in the case of the child with Hindi as L1.

In the period of the first English words, there is some evidence which suggests that syntactic understanding is taking place. It may be possible that if the child hears throughout English speech it may acquire a command of the connected speech. Or it may be thinking of these English words in context of Hindi syntax, like when it speaks [je ræbit he:] or [ei for æpil, æpil ma:næ seb].

Language becomes more autonomous as it develops; the child is learning to produce and comprehend utterances which do not depend on a supporting context for their interpretation. At times it invents not only the meaning of a word but the word itself. It learns a ready-made vocabulary of English. The adults help the child to catch the general idea by the suggestion of the words. It attaches to them ideas that the adults cannot expect and spontaneously generalize.
Gleason and Weintraub recognized that parental speech is often geared to controlling and directing the behaviour of their children. Parents either request repetition of the child’s actions and words or reject them. The child living in proximity to parents is influenced by their individual styles.

Furthermore, child’s language expressions in the early stages are tied to the situational context. Once the child begins to use two-word utterances it begins to acquire the inflexions that mark certain grammatical relations, e.g. the number and the progressive suffix [-ing].

Bogoyavlenskily (1973) studied the ability of 5 and 6 year old Russian children to understand certain words, to use certain suffixes creatively, and to explain their meaning. He found that the child learns suffixed words as a whole and develops inner appreciation of the semantic meaning of the suffix. With reference to the acquisition of English as L2 the points made by Bogoyavlenskily can be applied to the child at an age of three. Creation of novel forms may be operational in some children with a good English environment but not in case of general Hindi environment. The reason is that under certain circumstances in the development of human communications, frequently uttered and unique sound patterns may emerge prior to establishment of their unique meaning. This has been observed in case of the English nursery rhymes where the child sings the songs without even knowing their meaning.

Intonation in speech of the child is used to elicit attention, modulate arousal, affect communication and facilitate language comprehension with a developmental progression from the most general attention eliciting function in the early stages of English lessons to the more specific speech-processing functions by the middle or end of the third year. In the earliest period, the affective functions are primary, serving to orient the child to the human voice, with a new language different from L1, to maintain social interaction. Gradually, the child’s responsiveness to intonation becomes more differentiated.

In 1972, Snow drew attention to the fact that the mother’s speech to her young children is simpler and more redundant than to older children and adults. Since, that time, a special maternal speech register has been called ‘motherese’, and it has been argued that the special properties of categorical speech may play a causal role in language acquisition.
Furrow et al. also concluded that simple language by the mother facilitate language growth, whereas more complex language hindered language development. Even other people around use simple childish language. The complexity of the input, the child receives, plays a significant role in determining the complexity of the morphological system the child induces. The morphological structure in the adults speech can be thought of as a hidden figure incorporated within the larger picture of the adults.

In families using Hindi as their communication language, the child is surrounded with Hindi only. However, now-a-days English in its raw form is entering the speech of the Hindi speakers. Many English words have entered the corpus of Hindi. The child hears these words as indistinct from those of Hindi vocabulary. For the child, with Hindi as L1, the English words at an age of two make no distinct identity. The child starts getting lessons of English alphabets by the end of the second year or in the beginning of the third year. These alphabets are taught in the sequence : the alphabet + a common word which begins with it, as, “A for Apple”, “B for Bat”, “C for Cat”, “D for Dog”, and so on and so forth. These sequences are taught orally and may be accompanied with pictures. However ‘tata’ is a more common word taught to the child. In the end of the third year the child needs just 3-4 repetitions to produce words; as /lɛkt̪əl/-[let̪ə]-[let̪əl], /lɛkt̪ələ/-[lekt̪əl], [kai:t̪s], [kæts], [ræts] without understanding their meaning. In case of final /s/, it is articulated after a short pause when the stop has been released.

5.2 Free and Bound Morphemes

Free Morphemes

Between two-and-a-half and three years the child comes face-to-face with English vocabulary in true terms. As stated earlier ‘tata’ is taught to the child at its earliest. ‘Bye-bye’ has also become common now-a-days. At one-and-a-half year the child starts waving its hand at the sound of the word ‘tata’ or ‘bye-bye’ along with a hissing sound produced by it. As soon as the allophones of the consonants /t/ and /ʃ/ appear the child starts producing the words but this is not until the completion of 20 months. ‘Hello’ is used, though less frequently, while shaking hands, but more on receiving the phone-calls. It is frequently used in families having personal phones. The child hears it but produces it only in the middle of the third year. Thus ‘tata’, ‘bye-bye’ and ‘Hello’ are the free morphemes common in the child’s early English vocabulary.
The child starts acquiring the free morphemes in the form of nouns when it is taught English alphabets. The most common are names of fruits, animals and toys. Numbers up to ‘ten’ are also taught but zero is eliminated. All these are free morphemes. The phonetic drills taught with the help of English books for children also add to the free morphemes in its corpus.

Nursery rhymes, like ‘Johny-Johny’, ‘Jack and Jill’, ‘Pussy-cat’, ‘Humpty-Dumpty’ help in establishing the words as units in its corpus which can aid the child at the later stages when it starts using English as L2.

The free morphemes acquired by it are either monosyllabic or disyllabic in the very early stages. The phonetic drill consists of monosyllabic words. Very rarely it comes across polysyllabic words, one being the word /kʊkənəv/.

Some words which have been adopted in Hindi, yet they belong to English, are also acquired by the child, as for example, /mʌmɪ/ → [məmɪ], /dædɪ/ → [dædɪ], /kɒp/, /mɒg/, /tɪ:bi:/ /bɒv/. /bæt/, /kɪkt/, /ˈfɪʃ/, /pɛn/, /ˈpensɪl/, /kɒp/, /ˈkʊkənə/, /gæs/, /kɒf/, /ˈnɪkə/, /ʃes/ and /nəw/ do not become common even at the middle of the third year. /sɔri/, however, may be forced on the child on particular occasions. The free morphemes which have been adopted in Hindi and which are used in spoken Hindi by the elders are acquired by the child, as such, but those it learns through books or nursery rhymes are limited to the pictures in the books or nursery rhymes only. At the completion of the third year, it gets a fresh insight into the language. And it starts using its previous knowledge of English words, for example, it may say [je dʊg he, dʊg maːnə kʊtːə, dʊg bʰʊbu kʊtːə: he], [je billi: he, kæt maːnə billi:]. It gets engaged in mixing the English forms acquired with special help from adults into its L1.

/ɜː/, /ʌʃa:/, /kiːk/, /tʃɪn/, /bɒh/, /ʃ/, /bɒh/ are a few free morphemes; some of them bound to no languages.

Certain words are used by the child meaningfully, but is unable to express the meaning in L1. /tæt/ is one such word. At three or as in the first half of the fourth year the child acquires the meanings of many words and it is able to express a few in its own words.
Bound Morphemes.

All the words that enter into the child’s early English corpus are roots or stems, or the child treats them as free morphemes or as units. The singular nouns form the early vocabulary of English. Plural forms are absent. Even if a plural form exists, it is used to signify singularity. Plurality is beyond the understanding of the child even in the middle of the third year. Verbs used by the elders are roots or stems. The child responds to these verbs with gestures. It does not use the verbs, except for those now common in the families and on the streets due to the popularity of T.V. ads. and the game of cricket; for example /aut/ , /kænt/ , /kæt/ , /bæt/ , /θrədəu/ , /ʌv/ in [a:i 'ʌv rəs'na:] , /gəu/ , /kæm/. But these are also without inflexional endings, as the child uses them only in the present form. The child thus has no bound morphemes.

The main reason for absence of bound morphemes is that that it is not using English in its communication. Communication in English is necessary for it to pick up morphemes other than free morphemes. /θips/ , /greips/ and /draivər/ , /kədɪnekəv/ are exceptions, where the plural suffix [-s], the agentive suffix [-ər] and the noun suffix [-ən], respectively are acquired by the child at an age of two-and-a-half; or as soon as, the allophones of /s/ , /ʃ/ , /tʃ/ , /v/ are realized.

At school the child picks up the bound morphemes but their use is limited only to the class and the particular lesson. The [-ər] in [dəktər] , [ləkədər] , [mədər] , [fləbər] ; [-s] in /fəks/ , /bks/ , /bərs/ , /siks/ may help in acquisition of the [-ər] and [-s] suffixes in later stages.

5.3 Morphological Constructions

Inflexions

Even at the completion of three years the child has few words with inflexions. The reason is the absence of verbs and plurals from the corpus of most of the Hindi speaking adults. Further, even if they know them, they know only the roots not the words with other endings. Only nouns are gladly taught to the child. The verbs in the nursery rhymes are limited to the song itself.
Noun Plurals

As English is not a language of communication, in a family with Hindi as L1, the child comes across only ready-made nouns. The plural ending [-s] is heard only in a few words, as in /greips/, and /ljips/. It is hardly conscious of singularity or plurality. /ljip/, /zks/, /zksin/, /fut/, /lu:/, /lu:θ/ denote singular nouns in the child’s corpus. Even in the third standard it has to learn-by-heart these forms because they follow irregular rules. Of course the child does not learn ‘roots’ from its parents, since they do not say so. However, having produced ‘roots’ once by combination, and generalization it could listen to its own error and learn it as a whole by rote and produce ‘roots’ the next time. MacWhinney (1978) supports this process, as the child is always looking for a form to express such frequently occurring contexts and situations while listening to its own output, it takes the output again as input and locates the desired form in its L2 corpus.

/ ljips/ or / greips/, if favourite of the child, can enter the corpus with [-s] or [-t ] or their allophones as plural suffix, even at the age of two-and-a-half. /tθ/ also occurs in Hindi words. It is possible for the child to acquire /ljip/ or /greip/ instead of their plurals. It takes [-s] for granted, however, this [-s] and that which forms the final phoneme of nouns like /fks/, /zks/, /bks/ may help it in acquiring plural [-s] at later stages.

Verbs

Verbs are less common. Even at the completion of three years the child has only a few roots at its disposal. These roots are taught in rhymed sequences as ; [ʃit mane kʰana:], [rən mane ḥudna:], [drink mane pina:], and it repeats these sequences as they are. The progressive [-ing] is present in nursery rhymes which all children may not learn.

In nursery rhyme “Johnny Johnny” two progressive verbs; /tɪŋ/ and /telɪŋ/ get established. With this, roots and the progressive suffix [-ŋ], acquires a pattern which can help the child in later stages.

Adjectives and Adverbs

Adjectives and Adverbs, in the child’s speech, are mere imitations of the adults’ speech. Adjectives are context based and mostly free morphemes. /best/, /gud/, /greit/ may occur during the play. Except for /best/ and /greit/ other adjectives are of positive degree. /hɔt/ gets associated with a cup of tea or milk. /kuːl/ gets linked with icecream or a sweater. /big/ may be used while explaining the huge size of the elephant.
These adjectives are usually accompanied with gestures. The child thus has two possibilities:

1. it may produce the adjective along with the gesture, or

2. it may only act out the gesture at the shouts of other children or elders, as for /aut/ it may put up its hands.

The colours are not acquired at the age of three. The terms may be imitated by the child but they are not matched with the correct colour. But at the beginning of the fourth year there is a rapid insight shown by the child in case of colours. Acquisition of adjectives, formed by colours, like ‘blacky’, ‘reddy’, ‘whity’ is facilitated if there is a pet in the house, like black dog or white cat, or the colour of a favourite dress.

/i:/ as a suffix is added to form amusing adjectives from standard adjectives in child-parent speech, for example /swi:t/-/swi:ti:/, [kju:t]-[kju:ti:], /smi:t/-[smi:ti:]. These inflected adjectives are readily acquired by the child. These adjectives may be used as names of the children.

The inflected morphemes are learnt in the number system, not in 1-10, but when the child starts acquiring from thirteen onwards to nineteen. The /i:n/ suffix is easy for the child to articulate as both /i:/ and /n/ are well established. The only variations can be noted in the length of /i:/ and the allophones of /n/. The length retained by the child depends on its mood.

As for adverbs, they are rarely found in the child’s corpus. /fa:st/ is nowadays common in indoor-cricket. The child starts imitating it at about the end of the third year. Both in case of adjectives and adverbs, they occur only as single word sentences, accompanied with gestures. Ads. on T.V. also help the child but only at the age of four when it concentrates its attention on them.

**Derivational Affixes**

Words with derivational affixes occur not before the end of the third year. These affixes are usually suffixes in nature. The child learns the words with derivational suffixes as units. But it can be assumed that the patterns of the suffixes may have been coded in the child’s memory and can be used later. But no evidence of such memory can be presented, as the child learns other such words with such suffixes at a later stage. Nouns
forming from verbs such as ['tiːlər], ['draɪvaːr], using [-ər] as a suffix are heard in the middle of the third year. A frequent use of these words and others establishes them in its corpus along with the meanings. These words are directly used in its fluent speech in Hindi as English is not common. Other agentic nouns denoting the profession of the parents can be acquired by the child easily. The child can repeat such terms correctly at around three years, except for the correct pronunciation of the phonemes not yet acquired at this stage; /r/, /l/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, and some clusters /st/, /str/, /tr/, /dr/. For example, /ˈæktər/ → ['æktər] ~ ['ækkrər], /ˈlektər/ → ['lektər] ~ ['lektər], /miːˈkæniək/ ~ [miːˈkæniək].

The child inserts /i/ or /u/ or /u/ between complex or inarticulatable clusters to facilitate the shift of the tongue from one consonant to the next.

Words ending in suffix [-ən] can be heard in imitations, viz., /kʊdənekʃən/ ~ [kʊdənekʃən], /ˈækən/ ~ ['ækən] ~ [ækən]. Such imitations are mere repetitions on the part of the child. If it is asked to repeat /ˈækən/, it produces a variety of sound patterns in its attempt to model that of the adults, as [ˈeksən] ~ [ekən] ~ [ɛkəkən] ~ [eɪtən]. But such cases are very rare.

Adjectives ending in /i/ are also acquired by it by the end of the third year or at the beginning of the fourth year. The acquisition depends on the frequency of their use by the adults and child's ability to connotate the word. Some nursery-adjectives derived from original ones are [hɔtəː], /kʊldiː/> [koldiː], /gudiː/, /ʃətɪː/. It usually repeats such adjectives twice, sometimes on their own and sometimes watching the adults do so, as [ˈdɔrtiː] ~ ['dɔrtiː], [hɔtɪː] ~ [hɔtɪː].

The acquisition of adjectives by the child depends on their use by the elders. Once established in its corpus they are not lost, and are retained in the speech. As the realization of the consonants resumes shape the correct phonemes enter into the production of these adjectives.

The bound morpheme [-əri] occurs in words like /ˈdikənərɪ/ which may be used by brothers or sisters going to school. But not many words with [-əri] are heard at the age of three and even later. /prəˈfesər/ may be pronounced as [lupetər]. The confusing pronunciation of the word forces the child to mis-pronounce even the first phoneme. Even practice is of no help.
Overall, derivational suffixes are acquired in the fourth year but the words formed by them are simple, familiar to child as they are used frequently by the elders in presence of the child.

5.4 Morphological Processes:

Affixation

In the child’s English vocabulary words with suffixes are added at the very beginning. Prefixes are not acquired.

The suffixes that are common at about three years are [-i], [-oti], [-er], [-ful]. Words formed with such affixes and with simple articulation are acquired from the elders’ speech. Though the child imitates many simple words with these suffixes while taking lessons, they are retained only for the time being. They are lost the next moment. It requires the word to be used more frequently in some specific context. As the sound patterns get established, it slowly goes on differentiating any similar sound pattern denoting some other thing. Ervin-Tripp (1971) point out,

Children’s language development involves far more than grammar and phonology... children’s development skills include coming to say the right thing in the right way at the right time and place as defined by their social group.1

Progressive ending [-ing] are noted in children surrounded with English communication. Otherwise it is absent except for in the word; /ˈgud.mɛːnɪŋ/. The plural suffix [-s] is noted in /ˈgreɪps/, /ˈtʃɪps/. But the child is not conscious of plurality. It uses /ˈkeɪts/ for one or more cats. It has also been noted that the child retains the singulars in its speech.

Prefixes come up with complication of language at the school. According to Jakobson the language ‘development proceeds from the simple and undifferentiated to the stratified and differentiated.’2 Cases of transferring the suffixes to other English words are not common even by the end of the fourth year since the child has no use of these words except while taking lessons or those used in its Hindi speech. The child rarely comes across sentence formation in English. Only if it has personal pronouns at its disposal it may acquire the roots of the verbs. Past tense and future tense are not present. Simple present tense verbs are present. Emphatic past sentences consisting of one or more words are heard, for example, [went], [fetch], [fell], [broke], [are], [sat], [fall], [have], [open], [take], [give me],
Advertisements on T.V. help it to acquire some phrases or sentences such as 'give me more', 'baby cool'. But they are mere exclamations for the child. It produces them while playing, without any intentions. The acquisitions of such ads may be erroneous and repeatedly so, unless checked by others. Sometimes it itself listens to it and makes corrections.

**Modifications**

Usually modifications in adults' English follow grammatical rules. In case of the child it has very few grammatical rules to follow as it is overflooded with the new words entering its corpus. It acquires the words as they are heard by it and produces them as its capacity enables it to do so. Even in the fourth year the suffixes in tense, number and adjectives are present only in few cases.

A point to be noted in a child learning English as L2, in a Hindi environment, is that most of the grammatical rules are taught to it in school. In the early school age it memorizes the various plurals and tense forms of the words for the examinations. Only in the V or VI Standard it gets an insight into the formation of these words.

The child, while acquiring the English words at an early age of two or two-and-a-half, is also undergoing the stage of stabilization of various features of vowels and consonants. Thus the modifications are not of grammatical significance, but due to child's articulation and moods. Monosyllabic words show variation in the length of vowel in the beginning but gets stable by the end of the third year. In case of consonants the allophones or substituting consonants are used which get modified as the child gets mature. For example, /tʃa/→[tʃa]→[tʃa], /nʌ/→[nɔ], /jɛs/→[jes]→[jes], /mʌn/→[mon]→[mʊn]. In polysyllabic words the case is different as the vowels and consonants keep modifying towards stabilization. For example, /ˈkʊkəl/→[kʊkəl]→[kʊkə], /ˈkæməl/→[kæmə], /ˈkɛmbəl:/→[kæmbəl:]→[kæmə], /ˈkɜrəl/→[kɜrə]. /r/ is substituted with /l/ even at the end of the third year and only in the first quarter of the fourth year allophones of /r/ start appearing. Individual differences are noted in production of /r/ and /l/ at the end of the third year. A child may acquire /r/ by the thirtieth month. In the later half of the third year the rhythmic repetition of monosyllabic and disyllabic words is very common. It repeats the word in its attempt to model its articulation on that of the elders'. These repetitions present a large variety of modification which are within the capacity of the child.
Most of the modifications are partial in the mono-or-disyllabic words. In the case of compound words the dropping of consonants and variations in vocalic features are noted. In the middle of the second year the child tries to imitate the rhythms and contours of the adults who also produce childlike speech-patterns in order to get the attention of the child. In the early stages the compound words are not produced with all the phonemes. To maintain the articulation-length of the elders the child extends the vowels. For example in /tjublait/ the initial /u/ is replaced with allophones of /y, j/ is pronounced, /b/ is devoiced, final /u/ is dropped, /u/ and /ai/ are extended. In the middle of the third year /tjublait/ comes up.

/sʌn/ and /flauð/ are in the corpus in the last quarter of the second year, but [sʌn flauð] is as [sɔːflɪaː], which in the middle of the third year or by its end becomes [sɔːflɪaːbɔːl]–[sɔːflɪaːbɔː]. /mærigəuld/ follows the following pattern-[meigol]–[mælɪgɔːld] in which /d/ is released after a short pause.

/gudnait/ and /gudˈmɔːnɪɡ/ are very common in elders. They reinforce the child to reproduce them and the child begins doing so in the middle of the third year. The patterns produced are [gʊmɔːɡi] ~ [ɡʊmɔːɡi] ~ [ɡʊmɔːɡi] ~ [ɡʊmɔːɡi]. In case of /aːiskriːm/ the child is so fascinated with the word that it readily learns the contour. Though /s/ and /t/ are missing even at the end of the third year, it is able to emphasize the meaning with its sound patterns by over-extending the vowels, as [aːikiːm] where everything is stressed, or [aːikliːm]. In its repetitions or when corrected by the elders it does its best. If the adults are not satisfied it shifts to other words and avoids the word for the time being. It starts realizing its limitations at the end of the third year or in the first quarter of the fourth year. Also it starts correcting its errors if they are within its capacity. Those vowels or consonants which involve movement of lips are imitated by the child. In case of words with lip movement in the initial position the child imitates them as per its capacity. At the age of three thus /wɔːtəl/ → [wɔːtə], /ɔːl/, /wɔːl/ are correctly articulated.

Total modification is not possible to be delineated even in the third year because the child is not dealing with tenses or personal pronouns at this stage. Zero modification also need not be explained at this stage because number and tenses are not within the reach of the child. It is only in the IV or V standard that the child of a English medium school starts learning the rules of word formation.
Reduplication

In the young child reduplication is very common. In the babbling period repetition is the only thing for the child to do with its speech organs. The age at which it starts acquiring English vocabulary, repetition or word-play is at its extreme. The monosyllabic words undergo complete repetition while playing, in strong emotional conditions, as while playing cricket it may produce, [autaut], /gɔɡɔ/ → [gogo], [fa:stfa:st], [kɔmkɔm].

The child reduplicates to make the listener understand the speech, or while probing the memory for the next word, or on other occasions it is for mere fun. It appears, while observing repetitions between the age of 2½ - 3 years, that the child understands its limitations in modelling its speech on that of adults. Therefore to make the meaning clear it repeats the whole word. The patterns of repetitions vary with time, mood and the context. Usually while repeating the whole word it pauses for a while or two to observe the effect of its first production. If it feels that the other person is not getting the meaning it repeats it.

In case of exclamations there is no pause in between. In case of word-play rhythm plays its part. The same word is repeated in a sing-song way. In the latter case speech is slow and musical, as [aut-aunt-aunt-aunt]. These repetitions are self-induced. It may repeat a word a score of time unless its attention is diverted. It uses repetition while calling the pet animals in the house or while showing an object to the elders, denoted by a term it has learnt from the books. As for example, it may show a cat and say [kæt kæt]; a term it has learnt in its early lesson. The nursery rhymes are full of repetitions as ‘Johny Johny’, ‘Pussy cat Pussy cat’, ‘Baa baa black sheep’, ‘Twinkle-twinkle’.

Partial repetitions are noted in case of disyllabic and polysyllabic words. These repetitions are noted from the very beginning. The child produces the first element correctly but drops a few features of the next element, as in /dɔnɔdɔni/ [dɔnɔni], /twɛŋkəl twɛŋkəl-/ [bingəl bingəl]-[tindəlingəl]-[twɛŋkəl twɛŋkəl], /jespa:pa:/ → [je pa:pa:]. Only in case of / hɔmti dɔnti /, the partial repetition is word oriented.

Fee and Ingram’s (1982) observations suggest that reduplication is a strategy used by some children to master the structural complexity of polysyllables without simultaneously coping with greater phonetic complexity.
5.5 Allomorphs

According to L. N. Pandey:

... many morphemes appear to be separate but they resemble in lexicon, they don’t have mutual contradiction and their application and position in the sentence is fixed and they are not applied more than once in the same situation, or they are in complementary distribution, are known as allomorphs of the same morpheme.³

As is clear from the above definition, the child acquiring English as L2 should have plural and past tense allomorphs in its speech. But the only problem is that the child communicates in L1 and acquires vocabulary of L2 in the environment of L1. It hardly hears the allomorphs. Even if it has them in its corpus it is beyond its reason to use them in complementary distribution. It uses single words of L2 in its speech. As verbs are rarely acquired by it even at the age of 3½, the allomorphs of past tense are absent from its corpus.

Even at school the child learns the allomorphs in connected speech, but never realizes that /t/ ~ /d/ ~ /id/ are allomorphs of past tense, or that /s/ ~ /z/ ~ /z/ those of plurality. It uses them in words as unit-wholes without ever noting that they are lexically similar.

5.6 Compound Words and Assimilation

The child acquires the compound words, only those which the child comes across more frequently, in their rawest forms. The tendency to maintain the time period of articulation and to retain most of the sounds, matching with its repertoire at a particular stage leads the child into mixing or assimilating different sounds in the words. For example, /aɪskrɪm/ fascinates the taste of the child and it is pronounced more frequently in summer and whenever the child wishes or thinks of some cool thing. /s/ and /t/ when absent are dropped and the child produces the phonemic patterns [a:iki:m] ~ [aːikiː:m] ~ [aːɪtkliː:m].

Assimilation is observed every now and then as the child faces the problem of stabilization of most of the phonemes. In the middle of the second year it has unstable features getting stable. Thus there are many instances where the child’s production influence the structure of the morphemes or words. The unstable features of a phoneme get affected by the more stable feature of the surrounding phonemes. In case of a foreign language which is not used in the house, the child gets a new experience of its sound
patterns very different from those of its L1. It is used to the phonemic structure of words used in L1 as it hears it throughout the developmental stage. But in case of L2 the lessons are restricted to the moods of the elders and the child itself. 'A for apple', 'B for bat', are taught by the elders, while they are working, without paying any attention to the child. Another most important factor to be noted is that the child gets its early lessons by those, in most of the cases, who are themselves not good speakers of English. Thus the sound patterns the child hears from different elders are different. Even visitors start teaching to the child. Thus the child can be considered as clay moulded by different hands before getting a definite shape. It depends on the child to catch a track. For example, the child may hear /pærɪt/ as /baɛrɪt/ from its mother and it will produce /bɛrɪt/ though it has a very stable /p/ in its repertoire. Other example are /bɪk/ - [kʊk], /raɛbit/ - [bɛbit].

Assimilation appears in different forms. Adjacent and distant assimilation of both progressive and regressive nature are noted. Coalescent assimilation is also operating but it is mainly due to the consonantal clusters and sound patterns in a different phonemic environment which it hears exceptionally and only while taking lessons.

Regressive assimilation is noted in words as /bɪskɪt/- /bɪkɪt/ where the preceding phoneme adjacent or at a distance is either absent or unstable in its repertoire, whether of Hindi or English. As /s/ in /bɪskɪt/ is not realized even at the age of three thus the following /k/ gets assimilated instead of dental /t/ which is the right substitute for /s/. In /gudnait/, /d/ is not realized and the following /n/ shows its influence as it is more stable thus leading to [gunnait]. /d/ is also the final phoneme of /gud/ which is usually devoiced in the speech of adults. But the child uses /n/ to fill the gap as it has a tendency to maintain the temporal length of compound word. /ň/ is usually replaced by /l/, but in vicinity of /l/ /ň/ is readily replaced by /l/, as in /mɑ:lˈbɑ:t/ - [mɑ:lˈbɑ:t]. In other environments lateral allophones of /l/ are heard.

Regressive assimilation is also noted in case of those phonemes which the child has in its Hindi repertoire but have not adjusted to in the English phonemic environment as /ð/ and /θ/, /ʃ/ and /z/. The nearby phonemes influence them.

Progressive assimilation is more common in the case of English vocabulary. The reason may be that the child after pronouncing a phoneme finds movement more easy or fascinating and repeats it thus leading to progressive assimilation. As in /ˈsɪkstɪn/ the child has dental /t/ for initial /s/ and a second /k/ for final /s/ of the same
syllable and /t/ of second bound morpheme is dropped, thus [ʃikki:n]. /p/ in /pʌf/ influences /f/ and the child produces [pɔp] instead of /pʌf/.

The lateral /l/ influences with its laterality the final /r/ of [rulɔl]. The initial /l/ is replaced by lateral allophones of /r/. /n/ in /tenis/ affects with its nasality and a bilabial nasal /m/ replaces /s/. The other allophones or substituents of /s/ are ignored. In /tɔnɪp/ the lateral allophone or substituant of /r/ or /l/ is used in place of /r/ influencing the following /n/, and the child has [tɔllip] instead of /tɔnɪp/ even at end of the third year. So also in case of /mɔlɛriɔl/ - [mɛlɛlia:].

In compound word as /tɛiblɔlɛmp/ progressive assimilation is noted along with assimilation of voicing across the two members of the word. Also substitution of a bilabial /b/ with a velar /g/ is noted and of lateral /l/ with the bilabial /b/ replaced by a velar /g/. Thus the resulting word is [tɛgblɛmp]. Elders teach /θæŋkju:/ to the child and every now and then it is heard pronouncing it as [θæŋɡu:]. At an age of three it has [θæŋku:], which by the first quarter of fourth year changes to [θæŋɡju:] by the insertion of /ʃ/. In active children [θæŋɡku:] is correctly acquired by the end of the third year.

Coalescent assimilation is however not common as those used by adults. Distance assimilation is noted in cases where the child has confusion with the use of phonemes in the complicated phonemic structure of the words and hears it for the first time as in professor; /prɔfesɔl/ - [lupetɔl]. Confusion along with assimilation can be noted here.

Assimilation of voicing or of devoicing is also noted in the child’s speech, as in /bæŋk/ - [bæŋg], where the voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ influences voiceless /k/ and makes it voiced /ɡ/. In /dʌstbɪn/, the cluster /st/ is replaced by voiced /ɡ/ in vicinity of voiced bilabial plosive /b/. Another example is /hæŋki:/ - [hæŋɡi:].

In /futbɔl/ retroactive assimilation of voiced /b/ is noted changing /t/ to voiced velar /ɡ/. In /pʌmp/ the voiced bilabial influences final voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ thereby changing it to voiced bilabial /b/. In case of /sekind/, [sepind] is a possibility. In /ʃip/ the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative is replaced by voiceless alveolar affricate /ʃʃ/. /f/ or /s/, /ʃ/ and /d/ are influenced unless they get stable.

In case of speakers with Hindi as L1 their tendency is to articulate all the phonemes in a word correctly thus /læm/ and /kɔm/ become [læmb] and [kɔmb] in their speech.
As in case of other compound words, the child rarely has many to examine. /tʃəblaːt/ is common to the child. Since it has /lait/ in its corpus /tʃəblait/ is readily acquired. /j/ may be dropped while /t/ is replaced with allophones of Hindi /t/ and later of /t/. /krikitiˈbɔːli/, /bəˈθeɪdi/, /ˈpəusfis/, /ˈteɪbləməp/, /ˈfutbɔːli/, /ˈræbəˈpensil/, /kəpiˈpɛn/, /ˈskeilˈpensil/, /ˈsleitˈpensil/ are also common in the third year. /sənflauəl/, /ˈmeəregoʊld/, /ˈhaʊsˈflai/, /ˈkəliːflauəl/, /dəstbɪn/ are associated only with pictures in the book. They do not form a part of general communication. The child acquires them by practice. And it produces them only when asked or forced to do so. The correct forms appear with the realization and stabilization of the specific phonemes present in the morphemes. The child does not realize any link between /sən/ and /ˈsənflauəl/, /ˈhaʊs/ and /ˈhaʊsˈflai/. The relations are acquired only at the school level.

5.7 Morphophonemics

Alternations

The alternations occurring in the child’s speech are not semanite but structural. The sandhi or alternations in case of the young child are directed by its moods and its generating ability of articulation. This is because the child has no grammatical rules to follow at the very earliest. The very first instances of morphemes produced by it undergo many changes at the beginning, middle or end of both onset and coda. These changes vary from time to time, the time of change ranging from a few moments to days and months. The changes continue to occur until the child hits the most accurate sound patterns of a word that satisfies its capability of articulation. Then the change comes to a standstill. Not many adjectives or agentive nouns are formed by adding [-ɔɾ] or [-ɔɾ] in the beginning. The words ending in [-ing] or plural suffixes are also rare in the beginning.

However, changes in the medial sound patterns are observed, /maus/- [maut], /mais/- [maɪt], /draivəl/- [daɪvəl], /paudəl/- [paʊdəl] ~ [paʊdəl], /ˈsənflauəl/- [sənplaːbɔr] [sənflaːwɔr] with rounded /w/, /ˈkæŋɡəru/ - [kʰənu] ~ [kʰɪŋɡəlu].

These alternations are observed as progressing towards the perfect sound pattern of the word. And they are more numerous in the beginning, i.e., in the second and the third year as the child is in the stage of acquiring certain phonemes both in Hindi and English. In English since it comes across diphthongs it has to set them in its repertoire. As
these phonemes get stable in the child's idiolect they also become stable in the morphemes and once the word is acquired correctly the child does not go back to the incorrect forms. Recognition by the elders is the sole aim of the child and to get their praise the child tries to imitate their sound patterns. A single word when produced by different persons has different audible expressions and the child is ready to acquire all these forms of the word.

External sandhi is noted in cases where the child utters two or more words at a time. In nursery rhymes the child produces long sentences as /d3æk æn d3il went /pØ dø'hi l tu fets fæl dø u νɔtø/ - [d3æk n d3il gent øb øø 'til ku faet ø peg øν bɔgɔ], [d3æk bel da:un bɔk git tuəŋ d3il kem ɔl in fa:Ω], [hau bhai bɔŋɔ] for /hau ai 'wændɔ/, [hɔmpigɔmpί ɔkən ø bɔl, hɔmpigɔmpί hæd ø ɔl:1], [pusi kekt pukite] ber hæb ju gi:n).

By the third year if the child models its speech on an appropriate model it is able to reduce the incorrect sound patterns and the instances of external sandhi are reduced, as the Hindi speakers emphasise the production of all words in a sentence. Thus [ænd] becomes [n], [til]-[hil], and so on.

- In case of compound words the sound patterns change in the coda of the first word and the onset of the next word which have been discussed in other sections.

In case where the final phoneme is devoiced in the speech of foreigners it is voiced in the case of the Hindi speakers. Thus [bɔmb], [komb], [læmb], are present in the child’s vocabulary.

Since the child lacks noun plural morphemes of nouns the cases of regular and irregular alternations are absent. The child can imitate the plural nouns at the age of three or before it, but the meaning behind singularity and plurality is not clear to it. It can use the singular and plural forms of a noun at parallel for the singular, for example /ɔks/ and /ɔksɔn/ for an ox. Number system of English is acquired at the school stage.

In case of gender, too, the child has no idea of gender difference in the early stages. At about the age of three it begins to understand the difference but its semantic-understanding is satisfied with Hindi words. In English it has no words like /brɔdɔ/ or /sistɔ/ or /dɔg/ and /bit/. Only in special cases where the child is surrounded with more English environment that it comes across words: [grandpa-grandma],[brothersister],[uncle-aunty].

In case of verbs child has only the roots of verbs. Here it has to be kept in mind that a common Hindi-speaking child does not use English in its daily routine.
Phonemically conditioned alternations rarely present an alternation as the child clearly gets an idea of vowel sounds and consonantal sounds at around V-VI standard, that too depending on the teacher’s ability. Then only the child acquires the noun plural, verbs inflexions and articles that are phonemically conditioned. The three allomorphs /z/, /s/, /iz/ may enter the child's corpus in different words but their entity is limited for that particular word. The reason for non-transference of these grammatical allomorphs is the limited vocabulary of the child and the use of English words in its L1 instead of pure L2. Morphophonemically conditioned alternations are not noted even at the fourth year.

**Haplology**

Examples of haplology are noted in case of di-or polysyllabic words. /'kɔm'pliːt/ - [kɔmkiːt] here the child understands the loss of a cluster and fills it with a substitute /k/. Clusters with /t/ are always simplified by dropping the /t/ as in /'krʌntʃ/ - [kɔntʃ], /'laibrɔːri/ - [laibɔːli]. In compound words loss of phonemes is noted as in /'feikʰænd/ - [sekʰænd].

**Loss of Phonemes**

In the very first stage at around two years the acquisition of English vocabulary is full with example of dropping or missing phonemes. The initial consonants dropped in case of disyllabic or polysyllabic words or compound words may be present in the child’s Hindi idiolect. Usually this is very exceptional in monosyllabic words which form the majority in the early stages. However in later stages by two-and-a-half the child has most of the phonemes which are retained, but the clusters are simplified by dropping one of their elements in cases where the cluster is beyond the child's articulation, or if it has no gliding element to facilitate the tongue. Vowels may be reduced but never dropped.

A few examples are /kɔm'pliːt/ - [kɔmkiːt] here the child understands the loss of a cluster and fills it with a substitute /k/. Clusters with /t/ are always simplified by dropping the /t/ as in /'krʌntʃ/ - [kɔntʃ], /'laibrɔːri/ - [laibɔːli]. In compound words loss of phonemes is noted as in /'feikʰænd/ - [sekʰænd].

Loss of phonemes is noted even at the age of three in cases where the child is having unstable realization of phonemes or lacking them completely from its repertoire,
like /l/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/. The child uses a substitute in case of monosyllabic words. But in case of polysyllabic words with complicated clusters it drops them. In /bɔːθdeɪ/, /θ/ and final /v/ of /deiv/ are dropped and /ɔː/ is replaced by /ər/ or /əl/. The cluster /br/ is difficult even for the adults, so also for the child and it readily drops the /r/ in /bring/ - [briŋ]. In /ˈzɛikənθ/ the diphthong /eɪ/ is reduced to /e/ and /v/ is dropped, the result is [sekən]. Examples can be multiplied with the dropping of initial consonants since they are occurring in a new sound pattern which is difficult for the child.

In /ˈaɪskiːm/ , /s/ and /t/ are both dropped in the middle of the third year, later /r/ is substituted with /l/ resulting in /ˈaɪskiːm/ - [aikiːm] - [aikiːm]. In /ˈskrɪpiːn/ , the cluster is reduced and /l/ is added to give a gliding start to the articulation, thus [ikrɪ:piːn]. In /iskwɪrəl/ , /l/ gives glide to begin the articulation, while /r/ maintains it after the child has crossed the cluster by dropping /s/ and /l/.)

In nursery rhymes the child always drops most of the phonemes in the practising period as in /ˈhɔːmti dɔmti/ - [hɔːmi dɔːmi] , /ˈtwɪŋkl ˈtwɪŋkl/ - [tiŋkl tǐŋkɔl] or [tɔŋkl tɔŋkɔl] , /ˈθreɪ bægz ˈfʊl/ - [θi: get ʃ ʊl].

Metathesis

Reversal of syllables, clusters and phonemes has all possibilities in the first two years, as the child, as already stated, is acquiring a new sound pattern which too has very limited repetitions. Thus the child gets very few occasions to hear the same pattern again. The sound patterns do not establish well as it has already a large variety of patterns of L1 in its repertoire. Thus the child in a confused state misplaces the sounds or their patterns in the phonemic structure of a word for example, [ˈænimɔl] -eminɔl, /ətaːr/ [ɔːmalar], /ˈpɔkit/ - [pɔtɪk]. In /ˈpʌl/ - [pɔdɔl], the reversal is noted along with an extra /ə/, which is inserted in the cluster /pl/ to facilitate its articulation by the child whose organs are not ready to move rapidly from /p/ to /l/. /ˈkɔlidʒ/ appears as [kɔgliː], [kɔdʒil], /film/ as [fiml], /ˈmɔːning/ as [mɔːgin], /nekst/ as [nekts]. In the latter case /s/ is released along with the breath release of /k/ and /x/, as the cluster has three complex phonemes /kst/. In case of /ˈbɔːlɪdəʉ/ - [bɔdɛʃ], /g/ in place of /l/ can be considered either as progressive assimilation of plosiveness of /b/, or the child’s inability to retain /l/. In the latter case, thus, it replaces it with the most suitable phoneme in its idiolect. In /ˈʃæləkɔtʃ/ - [ʃɔkɔtʃ], /ʃ/ is a substitute for /s/.
The instances of metathesis decrease with practice of the phonemic structure of the words. And once established the pattern remains in the repertoire though it may sometimes find the earlier expression due to slip of the tongue or other factors operating at the time of the production. It has been noted that in the second half of the third year the child starts memorizing and correcting its error. In cases when it finds difficult to imitate the elders it asks them to repeat them. If it is unsuccessful it drops the words. The process of metathesis slows down as it acquires the various sound patterns with continuous use of the sound patterns.

**Palatalization**

Since the child in the early stages has a flexible tongue it glides along the roof of the mouth but not with the tip of the tongue. The front of the tongue hardly touches the palate, and so the main reason for the absence of palatals /t/, /d/, /l/, /dʒ/. With development the tongue gets accustomed to the various regions of the mouth. The child starts controlling the muscle movements and in the fourth year the phonemes at palatal point of contact appear.

**Addition of Phonemes**

Just like the loss of phonemes facilitate the production of certain words, so also the addition of phonemes facilitate the articulation especially in case of clusters. Vowels which usually ease the articulation, are used in clusters. Consonants are also used at random and sometimes influence the voiced or devoiced features of the surrounding phonemes. In /θaɪld/ - [θa:ɡild], /ɡ/ is a mere addition. In /ˈkriːm/ - /kɾ/ or /kl/, as /l/ is substitute of /ɾ/ is not articulated by the child, it inserts a short /i:/ to ease the shift of the tongue from velar constriction to an alveolar /l/ or /ɾ/ to get [kilikɪt]. [kɪliːm]. The vowel that is inserted is the short form of the vowel following the cluster, as a short /ɔ:/ in /ˈkɾækɔːdaiɬ/ - [kɔɾɔkɔːdaiɬ].

Clusters with /s/ + a consonant also follow the same track but sometimes the /s/ is dropped in polysyllabic words while in other cases is substituted by [s] or other allophones. Even when /s/ is realized by the child it may not occur in clusters. For example /ˈaɪskriːm/ - [aiːkɪliːm] - [aiːskɪriːm]. In the latter case the child inserts a pause after the first element /aiːs/ of the compound morpheme. The pause gives time for the muscles and the tongue to relax and shift to the next phoneme. Another example, is /swiːt/ - [siːwiːt].
It has been observed that some adults while using English words retain or insert a vowel similar or same, to that which follows the clusters. This is true of a child going to Hindi medium school and learning English as a separate language. In case adults use correct forms then also the child faces a problem and with imitation and practice it learns the correct forms. The child itself does not realize its error unless it is pointed out to it. Once the incorrect form of this type enters its repertoire especially /kir/ or /kil/, it takes time to change. If the child starts producing the word at an early stage and is made to realize its error it checks it. In case a child starts producing the word at school age then more practice and poking is required.

**Vowel Lengthening**

In absence of the vowel or consonantal sounds the child fulfils the gaps with the length of the vowels already present in the words. As the child is not using connected speech there is no possibility of using an extra long vowel followed by a voiced sound and a shorter one when followed by a voiceless sound. Articles and prepositions are also not present. However, a vowel lengthening has been observed. Emphatic speech of the child results in lengthening of all short and long vowels. While playing games the child uses longer vowels to make itself audible among its friends, or to support its presence and gain attention of the adults.

Exclamatory words as /θa:/ - [a:ha], /u/ - [u:], /ʌu/ - [a:u], /ʌut/ - [a:ut], /ʌv/ as in [ai ʌv ju:roʊsnə:], /ɔ/ in [dʒɔːni: ni], /i/ in [iːtiŋ], /e/ in [teɪliŋ] in the nursery rhymes show vowel lengthening. In nearly all nursery rhymes the child uses long vowels in content words like nouns and verbs. While repeating the same word again and again the child uses various lengths of the same vowel to get fascinating patterns of phonemic structure of a word, for example, /æniməl/ - [eɪnɪməl], /ræbit/ - [ræ:bit], /kæt/ - [kæt].

**Stress Shift**

Stress is closely associated with emotional moods of the child even in the babbling period. Stress becomes evident in the second half of the first year. This stress is noted in its expressions and on the face along with its speech, rather its shouts. As for stress in its English vocabulary, it stresses the initial sounds of mono-or polysyllabic words and
then the child-like rhythm of falling-rising nature is followed throughout. If clearly noted there is a falling intonation on the first syllable and then direct stress on the last syllable.

The adults try to use musical sound patterns of the words to suit the audible grasps of the child and to make all the sounds fully audible to the child. In case of adults the speech is understood even when some sound is less stressed or unstressed. But in case of the child the elders' main aim is to make the word structure clear along with it meaning. In case of a child acquiring L2 the elders emphasise the phonemic structure so that all the phonemes in the pattern get well established in its corpus. Secondly, the influence of the stress pattern of L1, where all syllables are properly pronounced, is noted in L2. Thirdly, the teaching of English is in the form of isolated words where the whole word is emphasized so the stress falls on all syllables equally. If the word is used along with Hindi words then for the child to pay special attention to the word, it is more stressed.

Since all syllables are stressed and a majority of them are monosyllabic, there is no question of stress shift.

**Change of Syllabic Vowel / Diphthong**

The type of change of syllabic vowel or diphthongs in past tense of the strong verbs is not present in the child's corpus in the early stage. Some diphthongs of English do not exist in those of Hindi, thus /εə/ is replaced with /el/, /ɔu/ with /oː/. /ɪə/ is usually replaced by /ə/ in the child's idiolect though it may be present in the speech of the adult models, for example, /skɔː:piːɔn/ - [iːkoːpɔn]. The child requires glides in case of consonantal clusters, but vowels are easily available to it. Thus diphthongs are reduced.

Those sounds which are present in its Hindi idiolect get easily assimilated in the English phonemic structures. But in Hindi instead of glides pure vowels are present which also replace the glides used in English words, as in /sneik/ - [iːnnek]. The child can also produce [inneik] if asked to imitate it, but [sne:k] gets established as the child finds it more suitable in communication. Thus the changes in case of syllabic vowels or diphthongs depend on the model the child is imitating. It can produce the word with diphthongs but it ignores them as it does not find them in the adults' speech.

An interesting case noted was the substitution of the sound sequence /es/ by /eə/ in /best/. The expectation is of [t] to appear in place of /s/ but the child avoids it as it
already has [j] in word final position and thus the syllabic /ð/ is used which is most easily available phoneme.

References:-

