

The 26th Annual

*Boston
University
Conference
on
Language
Development*



November 2, 3 & 4, 2001

**The Twenty-Sixth Annual
Boston University
Conference on Language
Development**

November 2, 3, and 4, 2001

**Organized by the Graduate Students
in the Program in Applied Linguistics**

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H. Timothy Bunnell

Speech Research Laboratory,
Alfred I. duPont Hospital
for Children, 1600 Rockland
Road, Wilmington, DE 19803,
U.S.A.

Irene B. Vogel

Department of Linguistics,
University of Delaware,
46 East Delaware Avenue,
Newark, Delaware, U.S.A.
19716-2551

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Welcome

We would like to welcome all of you to the twenty-sixth annual Boston University Conference on Language Development. This conference was started in 1976 and has been organized by graduate students in Boston University's Program in Applied Linguistics ever since. Over the years, various faculty members have generously given their time and energy as advisors to the conference, and several generations of graduate students have achieved continuity from one year to the next. The organizers have been honored to host participants from around the world, including linguists, psychologists, and other researchers of language acquisition and development. We thank them all for the research accomplishments they have shared with us here over the past quarter century. For the first time this year, we are pleased to have external funding for the conference in the form of a grant from the National Science Foundation.

At this year's conference, we are honored to have Susan Carey of Harvard University and Daniel Dinnsen of Indiana University as our featured speakers. Professor Carey will present Friday's keynote address, "Language and mind: Language learning and the pre-linguistic conceptual repertoire." Saturday's program will close with Professor Dinnsen's plenary address, which is entitled "A reconsideration of children's phonological representations." Both addresses will be followed by receptions.

The rest of the program is devoted to a wide range of papers chosen from submitted abstracts. This year we received nearly 300 submissions, each of which was sent out to five reviewers for anonymous review. Of these, 90 papers were selected for presentation. We are sorry not to have had space to include more of the many excellent submissions we received. We have also included abstracts for those individuals who generously agreed to serve as alternates in case of cancellations. Once again this year we will be publishing the Proceedings of the Conference, including both papers presented and those selected for alternate status. Information about ordering copies is available in your registration folders and at the Cascadilla Press table during the book exhibit.

We are committed to providing an on-going forum for work in the diverse field of language development here at Boston University. We hope you will enjoy the conference!

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For general information about the conference, visit our website at:

<http://web.bu.edu/linguistics/APPLIED/BUCLD/>

Acknowledgements

The Boston University Conference on Language Development is organized each year by students from the Program in Applied Linguistics. Every year, we depend upon the proceeds generated by registration and exhibition fees to cover the costs of hosting the conference, and we are very grateful to all our participants for providing this support. In addition, this year's conference is supported in part by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. BCS-0119394, for which we are also grateful.

We would like to thank the many graduate and undergraduate students who contributed their time and effort both throughout the past year and during this weekend. We are particularly thankful to the faculty and staff of the Program in Applied Linguistics for their support and encouragement. In addition, we are indebted to the School of Education for the resources they so generously made available to us throughout the year.

Our greatest thanks and appreciation go to our faculty advisor, Shanley Allen. In her first year as sole faculty advisor, Professor Allen has inspired and mentored us in innumerable ways throughout the process. We are deeply indebted to her for her guidance and unwavering support.

We would also like to acknowledge the efforts of the Office of Conference Services and the Office of Disability Services. The skill and patience of Staci Simoes of Conference Services have ensured that we have the proper equipment, facilities, and refreshments during the conference. We are also very grateful to Laurie Shaffer of Disability Services for providing sign-language interpreters.

Finally, we would like to thank the 85 reviewers listed below who read and rated the abstract submissions we received this year. The high quality of the abstracts makes it especially difficult to assemble a program of just 90 papers. We are particularly grateful for the thought and care with which they reviewed each submission.

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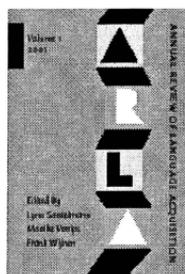
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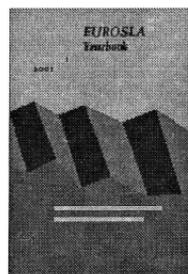
The annual conference of the European Second Language Association, now in its 12th year, provides an opportunity for the presentation of second language research with a genuinely European flavour. The theoretical perspectives adopted are wide-ranging and may fall within traditions overlooked elsewhere. Moreover, the studies presented are largely multi-lingual and cross-cultural, as befits the make-up of modern-day Europe. At the same time, the work demonstrates sophisticated awareness of scholarly insights from around the world.

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General Information

REGISTRATION AND SESSION LOCATIONS

All sessions will be held in the George Sherman Union, 775 Commonwealth Avenue. Registration will take place in the 2nd floor lobby. You may register on Friday starting at 8:00 AM. On Saturday and Sunday, registration will begin at 8:30 AM.

Please register before attending the sessions. We rely greatly upon registration fees to cover the costs of the Conference. We appreciate your willingness to wear your name badge; you may be asked to present it before entering sessions.

PLENARY EVENTS

The **Keynote Address** will be delivered by **Susan Carey** on Friday at 8:00 PM in Metcalf Hall (Large). A dessert reception will immediately follow in Metcalf Hall (Small).

The **Plenary Address** will be given by **Daniel Dinnsen** on Saturday afternoon at 5:30 PM, also in Metcalf Hall (Large). There will be a wine and hors d'oeuvres reception following the address in Metcalf Hall (Small).

A **memorial tribute to Peter Juszcyk** will be held on Friday at 12:30 PM in Metcalf Hall (Small).

A **symposium on research funding** will be held on Saturday at 12:30 PM in the Conference Auditorium.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Parking is available in: The Warren Towers Garage, 700 Comm. Ave. (entrance on Hinsdale St.) for \$12 on Friday; the lot at 766 Comm. Ave. (next to the Guitar Center) for \$10 on Friday and \$6 on Saturday; the School of Management at 595 Comm. Ave. for \$12 on Friday and \$6 on Saturday; the lot at Granby St. (near Burger King) for \$12 on Friday and \$6 on Saturday, and the lot on Babcock St. for \$12 on Friday. No parking garages are open on Sunday, but there is free on-street parking.

Temporary luggage storage space will be made available next to the registration desk. The area will be staffed during conference sessions only. Although a student volunteer will be watching the area, participants leave their luggage at their own risk.

Publishers' exhibits will be held in the Ziskind Lounge on Saturday and Sunday. For a list of exhibitors, see page 68.

NSF and NICHD consultation hours will be held in Ziskind Lounge. Peggy McCardle (NICHD) will hold hours on Friday from 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM and on Saturday from 2:00 PM to 5:00 PM. Cecile McKee (NSF) will hold hours on Saturday from 10:00 AM to 2:00 PM and from 3:00 PM to 5:00 PM.

Refreshments will be served in the Ziskind Lounge during breaks. A list of local restaurants is provided in your registration packet, and the Food Court on the ground floor of the George Sherman Union offers a wide selection.

The Registration desk provides the following services:

ASL Interpreters (please inquire when you arrive)
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The 27th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development is tentatively scheduled to be held on November 1, 2, and 3, 2002, at Boston University.

Friday morning, Session A: Metcalf Hall (Large)

Friday, 9:00 AM

Session A

Not by perception alone: Conceptual and semantic factors underlying children's extension of novel adjectives

Sandra R. Waxman, Northwestern University

Children's extensions of adjectives unfold within the context of basic-level categories (Waxman & Klibanoff 2000). Three-year-olds successfully map novel adjectives (e.g., *bumpy*) from one object (e.g., a horse) to other members of the same basic-level category (e.g., another horse), but fail to extend adjectives to members of different basic-level categories (e.g., a lizard). We seek to pinpoint this effect, teasing apart the perceptual vs. conceptual/semantic factors underlying basic-level categories. We held perceptual similarity constant, but varied conceptual/semantic status by introducing ambiguous stimuli either as "blobs of stuff" (non-objects) or as "pictures of things" (objects). Performance was dependent upon conceptual status. When stimuli were construed as objects, children had difficulty mapping across different basic-level categories (e.g., from a sailboat to a mitten). Yet when stimuli were construed as non-objects, children readily mapped across these perceptually-different stimuli. Adjectival extension is mediated by conceptual/semantic factors related to object kind, not merely to perceptual similarity.

Friday, 9:30 AM

Session A

Attention to different cues in noun learning: The effect of English vs. Spanish mass/count syntax

Eliana Colunga and Michael Gasser
Indiana University

There is a relationship between ontological kind, grammatical category and lexical category. Previous research suggests that this relationship informs children's word learning. English and Spanish differ in the way the grammatical categories of count and mass relate to the ontological kinds of object and substance. In this paper we look at the effects of this difference on word learning in both empirical experiments in children and neural network simulations. First, we look at the effect of count/mass syntax on the novel noun generalizations of English- and Spanish-speaking 2-3-year-olds and find that it has an effect on Spanish- but not English-speaking children of this age. Second, we show how a simple neural network predicts this difference. We discuss the implications of this for the nature of the learning mechanism.

How powerful are words in changing infants' object concepts?

Fei Xu, Northeastern University

Several researchers have argued in recent years that certain aspects of language development may influence conceptual development. Previous studies suggest that infants are not able to use object kind information in object individuation tasks until about 12 months of age, but when labels are provided, infants succeed at 9 months (Xu 2001). Current studies found that 1) when linguistic information is in conflict with perceptual information, infants rely heavily on linguistic information in establishing distinct objects; and 2) words, but not distinct emotional expressions, are privileged in object individuation.

BREAK 10:30-11:00

The emergence of grammatical devices for indicating location and orientation in Nicaraguan Sign Language

Ann Senghas, Barnard College of Columbia University

A new sign language has emerged within a young Deaf community in Nicaragua over the past 25 years. By comparing signers from the community's first cohort (now adults) to its second cohort (now adolescents), we can examine the process of language birth and change. As sign languages universally are found to have rich spatial morphology systems, one might expect spatial contrasts to emerge in the morphology of Nicaraguan Sign Language. The present study examines the use of spatial locative devices evident in descriptions of physical spatial locations. In a shielded communication task, second-cohort signers were more successful than first-cohort signers in communicating physical locations and orientations. The spatial devices for indicating location and orientation will be presented. Similarities and differences between these devices and those spatial devices emerging to express semantic roles will be discussed.

Input and maturation in L2 spatial semantics

Edward Munnich, University of Delaware
Barbara Landau, Johns Hopkins University

Given striking crosslinguistic differences in spatial semantics (e.g. Talmy 1983, 1985), we consider maturation and L1 input as possible impediments to acquisition of L2 spatial semantics. Participants were 60 non-native English speakers, divided evenly by age of immersion in English (0-7, 8-13, or 14+), and pre-immersion input (Spanish or Korean). Their task was to view spatial relationships (support, containment, vertical displacement), describe each in English, then rate predetermined descriptions (*in*, *on*, *over*, or *under*). Results showed a decline in spatial semantic competence with increasing age of immersion, offering some support for each hypothesis: Regardless of L1, later learners had difficulty with relationships involving functional information, but there were also relationships for which L1 groups differed—perhaps on the basis of L1 spatial semantics. We discuss a possible critical period for spatial semantics and review alternative explanations, suggesting ways in which spatial semantics resembles other aspects of linguistic structure.

A cross-linguistic study of spatial categorization

Peggy Li¹, Lila Gleitman¹, Barbara Landau², and Henry Gleitman¹
¹University of Pennsylvania
²Johns Hopkins University

Languages differ in how they choose to lexically encode spatial relationships. In English *putting a Lego on another Lego* and *putting a block on another block* are “put on” events. Korean, which focuses on tight-fittedness, differentiates the two events respectively with verbs *kkita* (to fit tightly) and *nohta* (to fit loosely). We ask whether learning language-specific distinctions influences speakers’ conceptualization or categorization of events in nonlinguistic tasks. We designed a categorization task for three- to four-year-old speakers of Korean or English. We provided subjects with a standard set of stimuli (e.g. *nohta* actions) and asked subjects to find among other stimuli (e.g. *nohta* and *kkita* actions) the ones like the standard. After the categorization task, subjects were asked to describe the actions. We compare their performance on the categorization task with their linguistic descriptions. We found that even though the two groups differed in the way they described the actions, their performance on the categorization task was very similar.

Friday morning, Session B: Conference Auditorium

Friday, 9:00 AM

Session B

A naturalistic, longitudinal study of language development in children with Williams Syndrome

Yonata Levy, The Hebrew University

Williams Syndrome (WS) is a neuro-developmental disorder of genetic origin which results in relatively spared language in the face of serious visuo-motor deficits. Research on the nature of language abilities in children with WS has mainly been carried out with schoolchildren and adolescents. Relatively little has been published on the early phases of acquisition in children with WS (Capirci et al. 1996; Mervis and Robinson 2000).

We report on a naturalistic, longitudinal study of 3 Hebrew-speaking children with WS. The study began when the children were combining 2-3 words and continued for 2 years. The talk charts the development over time of 13 grammatical variables in the language of these children. Findings suggest that the children follow a normal course of acquisition, one that does not differ from what has been observed in children with other neuro-developmental disorders (Levy et al. 2000). The theoretical impact of these findings on current conceptualizations of the notion of brain plasticity will be briefly discussed.

Friday, 9:30 AM

Session B

The default rule, sub-regularities, and irregulars in the morphology of German Williams Syndrome

Susanne Niedeggen-Bartke, University of Marburg

To date, the morphological profile of children with Williams Syndrome (WS) is discussed within two contradictory proposals. While Karmiloff-Smith et al. (1997) posit a deficit within the rule-based component, Clahsen et al. (1998) argue that the morphological profile is characterised by a deficit within the associative memory for language, while the rule-component is preserved. In the study presented here, experimental data from German WS subjects ($n = 4$, age range 6;7-8;7), their normally developing siblings ($n = 5$, age range 5;1-9;5), and a further control group of normally developing children ($n = 37$, age range 3;3-6;5) were investigated by analysing plural forms. The German plural system is an ideal test case, since its rich morphology allows us to examine the application of the default as part of the rule component as well as the associative storage component. Interestingly, within the irregulars, some sub-regularities are observed (e.g. nouns with feminine gender and ending with a schwa form the plural with the *-n* affix, fem. *Blume-Blumen*, flower-flowers). In case an incorrect plural form is provided, normally developing children make use of the default rule, but they also provide incorrect forms by obeying one or the other kind of sub-regularity. In contrast, WS subjects highly prefer the application of the default rule, although plurals are provided that suggest the application of a sub-regularity. Furthermore, WS subjects provide plural forms built neither by the default rule nor by a sub-regularity. These results support the theory outlined by Clahsen et al.: while the component of the default rule is preserved, a deficit within the associative system serving as storage component for sub-regular and irregular plural forms is deficient.

Relative clauses reflect grammatical competence in Williams Syndrome

Andrea Zukowski, University of Maryland

Williams Syndrome (WS) is a genetic disorder that results in overall cognitive impairment but relatively spared language and has been taken as evidence for language modularity. However, recent work has claimed that morphosyntactic abilities are impaired in WS, partly based on poor comprehension results with embedded relative clauses. We used a novel technique to elicit embedded relative clauses from 10 WS children and 10 younger unimpaired controls. We recorded 600 relative-clause-containing responses from the WS group, including 350 embedded in full sentences.

Nearly every WS child produced at least one example each of a center-embedded relative, a right-branching relative, a subject gap (SG) relative, and an object gap (OG) relative. Thus, almost every WS child has all of the components of grammatical knowledge necessary for embedded relative clauses. However, OG-relatives posed comparative difficulty for both groups, as exemplified in both lower rates of production (compared to SG-relatives), and in a novel error that was confined to OG contexts. The error pattern was identical for the two groups but exaggerated for the WS group.

We conclude that WS individuals have successfully internalized the grammar of relative clauses, but that an exaggerated influence of normal difficulties in real-time implementation of that knowledge may explain previous observations of apparent grammatical impairment.

BREAK 10:30-11:00

Path phrases and compounds in the acquisition of English

William Snyder, Sarah Felber, Bosook Kang, and Diane Lillo-Martin
University of Connecticut

Acquisitional evidence is used to test the hypothesis that English atelic path PP's (*slide down the banister*) depend, for their semantic interpretation, on the availability of root compounding (*slide+down*) in the covert syntax. Using longitudinal corpora of spontaneous speech from ten children (MacWhinney & Snow 1990), we find that age of first clear use of an atelic path PP (with an activity verb) is closely correlated with age of first clear use of a novel noun-noun compound ($r=.78$, $t(8)=3.54$, $p=.004$). We conclude that the semantic interpretation of an English path PP with an activity verb does indeed require covert compounding of the preposition and the verb.

The syntax-discourse interface and the interpretation of pronominals by Dutch-speaking children

Shalom Zuckerman, Nada Vasic, Dario L. Manzoni, and Sergey Avrutin
University of Utrecht

We investigated children's ability to interpret stressed and unstressed pronouns in constructions of type (1) and (2) (he = unstressed, HE = stressed), which relies on parallelism of syntactic positions.

- (1) First John touched Bill and then he/HE touched Mary.
- (2) First John touched Bill and then Mary touched him/HIM.

Question: Can children establish and, when necessary, switch reference in (1) and (2)?
Results: (1) Above chance performance with the discourse requirement for parallelism;
(2) Performance with stressed pronouns was at chance and significantly poorer than the performance with unstressed pronouns.

We also compared children's performance with their ability to interpret pronouns in ECM constructions (e.g. *Mary saw her dancing*). There is a significant correlation between the results of the stressed condition and results of the ECM study, which supports our conjecture of the discourse-based factor being at play in both.

The interaction of lexical semantics, syntax and discourse in the acquisition of factivity

Petra Schulz, University of Konstanz

Factivity results from the complex interaction of lexical-semantic, syntactic, and discourse-semantic factors. A factive interpretation requires a specific type of matrix predicate and complement clause, cf. factive (1) vs. non-factive (2).

- (1) Mary forgot that she bought wine.
- (2) Mary forgot to buy wine.

Discourse-semantically factive complements are analyzed as anaphoric expressions that are bound to a specific event in the discourse. This event binding takes place via Comp. Findings from two longitudinal corpora and from four comprehension experiments indicate that this complexity is mirrored in the acquisition process: 1) Children acquire the concept of factivity stepwise and are sensitive to the factors 'type of matrix predicate' and 'type of complement' from early on. 2) Children as young as four assign truth values to factive complements based on discourse-semantic properties. 3) Children recognize the syntactic restrictions of factive complements regarding long wh-movement and NEG-raising only after they have established Comp as an event binder in factive complements at LF.

Friday, 9:00 AM**Session C****Cross-language blending of /l/ gestures
by bilingual Korean-English children**

Sunyoung Oh, University of British Columbia

This paper investigates cross-language influences of the articulatory gestures of /l/ in the speech of bilingual Korean-English children. In English /l/, the tongue tip (TT) and tongue dorsum (TD) gestures occur almost simultaneously in syllable-initial position, whereas TD retraction occurs earlier than TT gesture in syllable-final position. In Korean, the gestural timing difference is also greater in syllable-final position; however, TT gesture precedes TD gesture and no TD retraction is observed. Allophones of Korean /l/ are distinguished by TT gesture, where syllable-initial allophones are post-alveolar while syllable-final allophones are alveolar. An ultrasound study of two bilingual Korean-English children was conducted to see how they perceive and produce Korean /l/ in two different syllable positions. The results showed that they produced /l/ using the correct TT gesture of Korean, but the TD retraction of English was incorrectly adopted. This implies that bilingual children blend articulatory gestures of both languages.

Friday, 9:30 AM**Session C****The role of language experience in the perception of /d/ vs. /ð/: A
comparison of French, English and English-French bilingual 4-year-olds**Linda Polka, Megha Sundara, Fred Genesee, Caroline Marcoux, and Lisa Campisi
McGill University

Polka et al (2001) reported that discrimination of the English /d – ð/ did not differ for English and French infants, although English adults clearly outperform French adults on this contrast. Their overall findings reveal a new developmental pattern in which English (native) listeners' perception improves for this contrast whereas French (non-native) listeners' performance remains unchanged. In this study, we tested monolingual English, monolingual French and bilingual 4-year-olds on the same contrast using the same stimuli and procedures to clarify when language effects emerge and whether they are affected by bilingualism. Two findings will be reported. First, a language effect (English > French) is evident by 4 years of age, confirming that language experience serves to facilitate perception of this contrast for English listeners. Second, bilingual children perform at a level intermediate to the two monolingual groups. Several factors contributing to the latter finding will be discussed.

Error patterns and transfer in Spanish-English bilingual phonological development

Jessica Barlow, San Diego State University

The productions of Spanish-English bilingual children in Southern California are examined, with specific emphasis on the substitution of [l] for other sounds. In Spanish productions, [l] substitutes for vibrants /r/ and /r/, and intervocalic /d/ (which corresponds to allophone [ð] in adult Spanish). This substitution is also evident in their English productions of target /ɹ/, intervocalic /ð/, and post-tonic /t/ (which corresponds to allophone [r] in adult English). It is assumed that this reflects cross-language transfer, with the characteristics of Spanish predominating. The substitution of sonorant [l] for obstruents [d, ð] is curious, given that children's substitution patterns generally maintain major class distinctions of the target system (obstruents→obstruents, sonorants→sonorants). It is assumed that Spanish /d/ is underlyingly an approximant [ð] (Bakovic, 1995); accordingly, all four sounds [l r ð] fall within the class of sonorants, making the substitution pattern less surprising.

BREAK 10:30-11:00

When comprehension meets production

Beverly A. Goldfield, Rhode Island College

A well-documented observation of first language learners is that comprehension precedes production. The accepted view is that comprehension provides the 'lexical store' for production; the child understands and responds to *dog* months before she uses the word. An alternative view is that the onset of speech provides its own motivation for acquisition, with spoken words filling social and communicative functions more explicitly than gestures and protowords. If this hypothesis is correct, production need not lag behind comprehension, even in the earliest stages of acquisition.

This study examines the relationship between words comprehended and words produced in 26 children followed from 8 to 14 months. Each month, parents completed the MacArthur Communicative Development Inventory (CDI). Results indicate that new words were comprehended and produced within the same month from the onset of speech, and the mean number of these items increased along with total vocabulary. Overall, approximately one-quarter of new spoken words were comprehended within the same monthly CDI.

Age and lexical diversity: Trends and correlates

Brian Richards, Pilar Durán, and David Malvern
University of Reading

This study uses a new measure of vocabulary diversity (vocd) to establish indicative norms for vocabulary diversity of British children acquiring English as their first language. We analyzed longitudinal data of 32 children from age 18 months to 5 years. We report descriptive statistics at each of the ten ages studied, identify developmental trends and relate these to the effects of varying the definition of what counts as a word type or word token, such as basing the analysis on root forms versus inflected forms. By comparing these, we study the relationship between the level of vocabulary diversity and the development of morphology. Finally, we explore the extent of individual differences in the trends of development. The results will provide researchers and practitioners with indications of typical values for lexical diversity at different ages, and of the trends of development in normally developing children.

From stall to revision: Changes in the nature of sentence production during the period of grammatical development

Matthew Rispoli and Melissa Menge
Northern Illinois University

Data are presented indicating that a major change in the way children produce sentences takes place during the time period in which children develop grammar. Analysis of language sample data from 54 children ranging in age from 2;0 to 4;0 shows that early in development, the vast majority of sentence disruptions are *stalls*. Stalls buy time for lexical search and grammatical and phonological encoding. With the development of grammar, there is a detectable increase in the relative frequency of *revisions*. Revisions entail the additional operations of monitoring output and comparing it to alternatives that might better express a message. As grammar develops, children's sentence production becomes less effortful and speedier, so that the additional steps in monitoring and revising can be accomplished in a shorter period of time.

SPECIAL SESSION

Tribute to Peter Jusczyk

Speakers: Richard Aslin, Paul Luce, James Morgan, Lila Gleitman

LUNCH BREAK 12:30-2:00

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Objects and Other Subjects

Grammatical Functions, Functional Categories and
Configurationality

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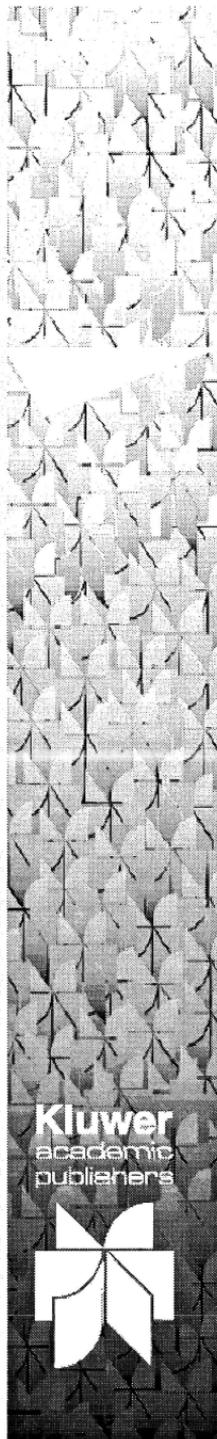
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Friday afternoon, Session A: Metcalf Hall (Large)

Friday, 2:00 PM

Session A

Lexical influences on interword variation

Holly L. Storkel, University of Kansas

Judith A. Gierut, Indiana University

When correct articulation of a target sound emerges in acquisition, a child will often produce the target sound in some but not all relevant words of the ambient language. We examined whether properties that influence lexical processing predict the words that are vulnerable to sound change and whether this is consistent across children with different presenting grammars, sounds with different featural markedness, and word contexts with different positional markedness. Word frequency and neighborhood density of words that changed from incorrect to correct in children's productions were compared to those that remained incorrect across time. Results showed that lexical characteristics did predict words vulnerable to sound change with variation in this influence accounted for by featural and positional markedness of the fricatives acquired. These results will be integrated with theories of lexical development to provide an account of the interaction between phonology and the lexicon.

Friday, 2:30 PM

Session A

Lexical neighborhood effects in 17-month-old word learning

George J. Hollich, Johns Hopkins University

Paul A. Luce, State University of New York at Buffalo

Five studies are reported in which 17-month-olds were tested on their ability to learn the referents of two novel targets after being exposed to their respective lexical neighbors, words differing by one phonetic segment from the target word. Frequency of exposure and the characteristics of the neighborhoods were varied across the experiments. Results indicated that brief exposure to dense lexical neighborhoods produced benefits at the segmental level, facilitating the learning of new words. More prolonged exposure to dense lexical neighborhoods induced lexical competition, inhibiting the learning of new words. Thus, it appears that lexical neighborhood effects can be created with as little as two minutes of exposure and with no semantic content. Priming effects can be induced with as little as twelve seconds of exposure. These results fit well with adult models of spoken language recognition and expand upon them by suggesting a time course for their development.

Evidence for episodic encoding in infant word recognition

Leher Singh, Heather Bortfeld, and James Morgan
Brown University

Individual instances of a word are encountered in varying forms, depending on context or indexical cues. To recognize words, infants must identify acoustically distinct tokens as phonetically and lexically equivalent. The use of acoustic cues to meaning differs across languages, so infants cannot know *a priori* which cues are lexically relevant. This is reflected by the fact that young infants, at 7.5 months, are highly sensitive to the physical form of an instance, rendering their word recognition capacities fragile. By contrast, at 10.5 months, infants are able to recognize dissimilar tokens of a word. Our studies show that reliance on acoustic similarity can lead to false recognition of phonetically distinct, but acoustically matched tokens at 7.5 months, but not at 10.5 months. Furthermore, robust recognition can be induced by familiarization with highly variable instances of a word. We suggest that the transition from fragile to robust recognition is marked by learning both acoustic and phonetic cues to meaning.

BREAK 3:30-4:00

Crosslinguistic contributions to learning the syntax of verbs

Katherine Demuth¹, 'Malillo Machobane², Francina Moloi², and Christopher Odato¹
¹Brown University
²National University of Lesotho

This paper reports on children's acquisition of Double Object Applicative constructions in the Bantu language Sesotho (SVOO). It finds that 4-year-olds perform above chance on placing the Animate Object immediately after the verb, but that 4–6-year-olds perform worse on the high frequency applicative verbs. It appears that children expected these verbs to occur in the more frequent surface syntactic frame where the Benefactive argument is pronominalized as a preverbal clitic and the Theme object optionally dropped (S) Ben-V (Th). The fact that children perform worse on verbs that frequently occur in alternative surface syntactic frames suggests that this type of frequency effect can negatively influence learners' performance on experimental tasks. The study points to the importance of both frequency effects and crosslinguistic research in informing current debates regarding the acquisition of argument structure (e.g. Pinker 1989, Tomasello 1992).

**Corpus-based studies of children's development
of verb-argument structures**

Elena V.M. Lieven, Heike Behrens, and Michael Tomasello
Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology

Naturalistic sampling in language development research (about one hour per week every 2-3 weeks) makes deciding whether an utterance reflects abstract syntax, the productivity of a lexically-specific frame or rote-learning, problematic. It is therefore difficult to decide what a child knows about verb argument structure at any particular developmental moment. We report a study in which we are collecting much denser databases from 6 English-speaking children for 1-2 hours per week, 5 days a week, between 2;0 and 3;0. Results from the first, pilot child suggest that while the majority of the early multiword utterances can be explained in terms of a productive, but lexically-specific, system, there is also evidence for the emergence of more general structures, albeit ones that are limited by comparison to the adult system. Samples of child and maternal transitives are then compared. The results indicate the ways in which maternal utterances reflect greater lexical, semantic and syntactic flexibility.

**Generalizing novel verbs to different structures:
Evidence for the importance of understanding meaning**

Letitia Naigles¹, Edith L. Bavin², Melissa Smith¹, Sharice Brown¹,
Kristin Fairwood¹, and Anthony Sharillo¹

¹University of Connecticut

²La Trobe University

This study investigates the role of verb understanding in whether young 2-year-old children generalize new verbs to different constructions. Previous research had found that two-year-olds can understand just-learned verbs in unattested frames when the verbs involve salient causative actions. In this study, two novel verb-action pairs involving less salient contacting activities were taught interactively to each child (MA=27 months). The modeled verb was presented in one of four frame types: transitive, intransitive, transitive and intransitive, and neutral. An intermodal preferential looking set-up then tested children's comprehension of the verbs in each of three frames: transitive (*She's pimming the plate*), intransitive (*She's pimming*), and neutral (*Pimming*). Unlike the previous findings, these children did not match the auditory and visual stimuli. Thus, even an appropriate method is insufficient to guarantee generalized frame use if children have not adequately learned the verb. Children need a meaning representation for a verb in order to generalize it.

Friday, 2:00 PM**Session B****The role of joint attention in argument realization in child Inuktitut**

Barbora Škarabela and Shanley E. M. Allen
Boston University

One of the characteristic features of child language is its high frequency of argument omissions. In this paper, we propose that the production of null arguments to represent new referents can be explained by the presence of joint attention, a social activity wherein the child and the interlocutor focus on the same referent while aware of each other's attention. To test this hypothesis, we explored the representation of third person subjects and objects in videotaped naturalistic data from four monolingual Inuktitut-speaking children, ranging in age from 2;0 to 3;6. We found that joint attention was present in fully 86% of the cases where null arguments were used to represent new referents, whereas it was present in only 18% of the cases where overt arguments were used to represent given referents. This strikingly high correlation between the argument form and joint attention strongly supports the hypothesis that joint attention is an important factor underlying the choice of argument form in child language.

Friday, 2:30 PM**Session B****Development of the use of demonstrative pronouns in Turkish**

Aylin C. Küntay and Asli Özyürek
Koç University

Previous work has shown that children acquire the meaning of demonstratives based on two principles: a) the speaker is the point of reference (Speaker Principle) and b) each demonstrative term contrasts with the others on the distance dimension in relation to the point of reference (Distance Principle) (Clark 1978). However, demonstratives in some languages do not encode the distance of the object but the joint attention of the participants on the object (Özyürek & Kita 2000). This study investigates the development of the use of demonstrative pronouns in a language with a three-way demonstrative system, Turkish. Conversational data were collected from 4-year-olds, 6-year-olds, and adults during a collaborative Lego-construction task. Results revealed that children do not use demonstrative terms in a contrastive way to manage joint attention on the given/new status of the referents as adults do. Children exposed to demonstrative systems encoding interactional factors such as joint attention have to learn to use other strategies than Speaker and Distance principles.

Young children's sensitivity to discourse cues in on-line pronoun interpretation

Hyun-joo Song and Cynthia Fisher
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The present studies explored young children's expectations about subject continuity in on-line pronoun interpretation. In Experiment 1, 4-year-olds and adults listened to stories while watching two side-by-side video screens. The last context sentence continued the subject of the preceding sentence as a pronoun. Target utterances either continued the subject of the preceding context or shifted to a new subject, using either a lexical noun or pronoun subject. Both adults and children were quicker to fixate the referent of a pronoun when it continued the previously established subject than when it shifted subjects. In Experiment 2, the continued subject of the last context sentence was realized as a lexical noun. Adults showed the same pattern as in Experiment 1 but 4-year-olds showed the effect for the first half of trials only. The present studies provide converging on-line evidence that children and adults expect subject continuity in pronoun interpretation.

BREAK 3:30-4:00

SLI children's delayed acquisition of passive

Mabel L. Rice¹, Kenneth Wexler², and Jennifer Francois¹
¹University of Kansas
²Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Children's comprehension of passive sentences, such as *The horse was kicked by the goat*, appears around 4-5 years of age in typically developing children. There has been limited empirical documentation of the acquisition of passives by children with SLI. In this study, we examined passive comprehension in 10-year-old children with SLI and found that they understood full passives as well as age controls. In a follow-up study, we found that 5-year-old children with SLI comprehend passives at a level commensurate with children 2 years younger, at equivalent levels of vocabulary comprehension (i.e., around 50%, a chance level of responding, which is below age controls [83%]). At the same time, the SLI children perform lower than the younger controls on grammatical tense (around 40% vs. 69%). Acquisition of passives for SLI children appears to track with receptive vocabulary, whereas grammatical tense levels are lower than expected.

Delay of Principle A effect in Down Syndrome

Alexandra Perovic, University College London

In an experiment designed to elicit knowledge of binding principles in individuals with Down Syndrome (DS), it was found that subjects had specific difficulties assigning appropriate interpretations to reflexives, governed by Principle A, as opposed to pronouns, constrained by Principle B, in the framework of standard Binding Theory. Contrary to the well known 'Delay of Principle B Effect', confirmed in typical acquisition, this pattern suggests that the process of the acquisition of binding in DS is qualitatively different from that in typical linguistic development, thus rendering the traditional 'slow-but-normal' characterisation of language development in DS untenable.

The findings also support Reinhart's (1985) and Chien & Wexler's (1990) fractionation of binding principles, where these constrain the distribution and interpretation of anaphoric elements only, whilst pronouns are regulated by constraints belonging to a module outside syntax proper. The pattern revealed by DS subjects is explained in terms of a specific syntactic deficit, related to their inability to establish the binding relation between an anaphor and its antecedent.

Determiner omission in language acquisition and language impairment: Syntactic and discourse factors

Sergio Baauw¹, Esterella de Roo², and Sergej Avrutin¹

¹Utrecht University

²Leiden University

It is a well-known fact that children go through a stage at which they often omit functional elements, in particular T(ense) and D(eterminers). It is also known that agrammatic Broca's aphasics also often omit these elements. In this talk we discuss the following questions: What are the grammatical and extra-grammatical factors that constrain this omission? Are these factors the same for both populations? Is there a relation between T and D omission (Hoekstra & Hyams 1997)? We analyzed the use of singular count nouns in the spontaneous speech of two Dutch speaking children, Niek and Matthijs (McWhinney 2000), and a group of 8 Dutch agrammatics. We conclude that two factors are responsible for D-omission: (i) a discourse factor, (ii) lexical learning; (i) is relevant for both children and aphasics and for both subjects and objects, while (ii) is relevant only for children and only for objects.

Friday afternoon, Session C: Terrace Lounge

Friday, 2:00 PM

Session C

Simultaneous acquisition of German and Italian: A longitudinal study of bilingual children in pre-scholar age

Manola Salustri, University of Sienna

It is well known that monolingual children set their parameters very early. A question that arises in the study of bilingual development is the extent to which parameters in the two languages are set separately (cf. Meisel 1989) or whether there is interference from one language to the other. In this paper I consider parameter setting in bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA), discussing the data from an original corpus of 3 bilingual German-Italian speaking children, Renzo, Samuele, and Marianna (age range 3;5-4;2). I focus on areas where the two grammars differ; specifically the *pro-drop*, *topic drop* and *V2* parameters. As Renzo's data are the most extensive, I will concentrate on those. I will also discuss data from one German child learning Italian as an L2, Anna, comparing her development to BFLA. In this case we show clear transfer effects from the German L1 grammar; the child carries the V2 parameter setting to Italian, and uses OVS word order:

- (1) Isegno vuole io
picture want I

Friday, 2:30 PM

Session C

Restructuring the CP in L2 German

Anne Vainikka, Johns Hopkins University
Martha Young-Scholten, University of Durham

New L2A German data from English speakers reveal two stages in CP acquisition:

- (1) a. [CP Spec C [AgrP Spec Agr [VP XP]]]
b. Ja, ich denke, dass ich habe ja vielleicht...
yes, I think that I have yes perhaps
c. Ich weiss nicht, wie es heisst auf Deustch.
I know not how it is-called in German
- (2) a. [CP Spec [AgrP Spec Agr [VP XP V]]C]
b. Ich möchte wissen, wenn ich flussig Deutsch sprechen können.
I would-like know when I fluently German speak can
c. Du musst das erinnern, dass du kommst aus...
you must it remember that you come from

By month 5, learners posit a head-initial AgrP and in month 8, a head-initial CP (1). After month 9, the finite verb is sentence-final in embedded wh-questions (2b), but second in embedded clauses with complementizers (2c). Accounting for this is the C-final structure in (2a), where the wh-phrase of (2b) occurs in Spec(CP) and the verb raises to final C. Finally, AgrP switches to target head-final and CP to head-initial:

- (3) [CP Spec C [AgrP Spec [VP XP V] Agr]]

How general is L2 learners' knowledge of English ellipsis?

Nigel Duffield, McGill University

Ayumi Matsuo, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics

It has recently been claimed (Duffield & Matsuo 2000) that advanced Dutch L2 learners of English are sensitive to the syntactic constraints governing VP-ellipsis, which requires the antecedent clause to be structurally parallel to the ellipsis; see Hankamer & Sag 1976. This structural parallelism constraint (SPC) has the effect of degrading ellipses with non-parallel antecedents, such as the passive and nominal cases below:

- (1) The garbage had to be put out. ???But I didn't want to.
- (2) The mention of her sister's name always annoyed Sally. ???Tom did, out of spite.

The present experiment extends DM's experiments to test the scope and generality of L2 learners' knowledge of the SPC. The experiment involves 20 native speakers and 20 Dutch L2 learners and uses the sentence completion task of DM and Tanenhaus & Carlson, supplemented by an offline grammaticality judgment task. Preliminary results indicate that DM's results do generalize across other ellipsis types; however, the particular antecedent plays a more significant role in determining acceptability than current theories would suggest.

BREAK 3:30-4:00

Morphological variability in endstate L2 grammars: The question of L1 influence

Lydia White, McGill University

Variability in suppliance of bound inflectional morphology and associated function words has been reported even in endstate L2 grammars (Lardiere 1998a, 1998b), but the extent of L1 influence in this domain is unclear. Data are presented from an endstate speaker of L2 English (mother tongue Turkish) and compared to data from an endstate speaker whose L1 is Chinese (Lardiere 1998a, 1998b). Turkish has rich verbal and nominal inflection but lacks articles. Production data (over 2000 utterances) were recorded and analysed, as well as grammaticality judgments. The Turkish speaker showed appropriate suppliance of English tense and agreement morphology, to a much greater extent than reported by Lardiere. In contrast, suppliance of articles was significantly lower than verbal inflection. Syntactic correlates (verb placement, overt subjects, case, etc.) were all completely accurate, suggesting no underlying impairment to grammatical features. The results support the hypothesis that presence of overt inflectional morphology in L1 sensitizes learners to equivalent inflection in L2.

First language attrition: The effects of second language

Ayşe Gürel
McGill University

L1 attrition has been studied very little from the generative perspective (e.g. Platzack 1996). Furthermore, L1 attrition has not been examined in relation to second language (L2) acquisition, and in particular, the effects of L2 on L1 have not been investigated until recently (e.g. Sorace 2000). This study examines the extent to which influence from L2 English can lead to attrition in the L1 Turkish grammar. The linguistic property under investigation is binding behaviors of overt and null subject pronouns in Turkish within the Overt Pronoun Constraint (Montalbetti 1984). Preliminary results suggest that Turkish speakers lose the contrast between overt and null subjects in the context of binding.

Dominant grammatical cues (but not weak) survive cross-language interference in early second language acquisition

Catherine L. Harris, Vicki A. Pardallis, and Triada Frangou
Boston University

Many theories of the sensitive period for second language acquisition assume that acquiring a language at birth will result in the attainment of native-like linguistic ability. Greek-English bilinguals who were born and raised in the United States were found to differ systematically from English and Greek monolingual speakers. When asked to pick the agent of a transitive sentence (in both English and Greek) early bilinguals were highly similar to English and Greek monolinguals, as long as sentences contained each language's most reliable cue to agency. For noncanonical English sentences such as *The pig the duck is chasing* (NNV), the bilinguals showed no knowledge of the strategy of picking the second noun. For Greek sentences lacking subject-verb agreement, the bilinguals failed to use Greek's secondary strategy, which is to use animacy. We conclude that bilingual language acquisition involves bidirectional transfer of language comprehension strategies, but that dominant strategies resist interference, while secondary strategies succumb.

DINNER BREAK 5:30-8:00

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Friday, 8:00 PM

Metcalf Hall (Large)

Language learning and the prelinguistic conceptual repertoire

Susan Carey
Harvard University

Theories of language acquisition face the questions of how the human language faculty built, during evolution, upon the conceptual capacities of prelinguistic primates and how, during human development, language acquisition builds upon the conceptual capacities of the prelinguistic infant. I shall bring data to bear on a case study of these questions. The case concerns certain fundamental aspects of the quantificational structure of natural languages: sortal concepts which provide principles of individuation and numerical identity and number representations. All three logical possibilities will be instantiated, with different aspects of the case study. For some aspects, language directly expresses preexisting conceptual distinctions. For others, the language faculty creates conceptual distinctions not marked in the prelinguistic conceptual scheme. And for still others, language depends upon representational resources provided neither by the prelinguistic conceptual scheme nor by the language faculty itself.

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Saturday morning, Session A: Metcalf Hall (Large)

Saturday, 9:00 AM

Session A

Unheeded cues: Prosody and syntactic ambiguity in mother-child communication

Jesse Snedeker, Harvard University
John Trueswell, University of Pennsylvania

These experiments test whether children spontaneously use prosodic cues to resolve attachment ambiguities. In Experiment 1 a referential communication task was used to simultaneously: 1) obtain productions of ambiguous PP-attachments from mothers; and 2) test whether their 5 year-old children could use the prosodic cues that they provided to interpret these utterances. Acoustic analyses revealed that mothers provided prosodic cues that disambiguated the meaning of the critical sentences. But the children did not use this information. Children's performance on ambiguous sentences was at chance and reliably worse than the adult controls. In contrast, their responses to unambiguous sentences were nearly perfect. Experiment 2 replicates this finding. Two additional experiments demonstrate that adult speakers provide strong prosodic cues to bracketing only when they are aware of the potential for miscommunication. We conclude that preschoolers do not use prosody to resolve structural ambiguity, presumably because it is an unreliable source of information.

Saturday, 9:30 AM

Session A

Effects of speech rate and sentence position on infant word recognition

Jim Morgan, Leher Singh, Heather Bortfeld, Karen Rathbun, Katherine White
Brown University

Our experience with words is episodic; tokens of a word type vary in lexically relevant and irrelevant ways. Word recognition involves mapping acoustically distinct tokens onto one lexical type. Younger infants' word recognition is easily disrupted by acoustic dissimilarity across encounters. When the lexicon is sparse it may take longer to map incoming tokens onto previously stored instances. One prediction of this hypothesis is that increased processing time will facilitate recognition. There is more time available in utterance-final position in normal speech. We investigated the effects of utterance-final position on word recognition in normal speech and utterance-medial and -final position on word recognition in slowed speech. As predicted, increased processing time facilitated word recognition, reflected by an utterance-final advantage in normal speech and an utterance-medial and -final advantage in slowed speech. Current studies confirmed an effect of increased processing time rather than of greater phonetic detail during encoding, as the utterance-final effect persisted when only recognition passages were slowed.

Learning at a distance: Statistical learning of non-adjacent regularities in human infants and tamarin monkeys

Elissa L. Newport¹, Richard N. Aslin¹, and Marc D. Hauser²

¹University of Rochester

²Harvard University

In previous work (Saffran, Newport, & Aslin 1996; Newport & Aslin 2000; Hauser, Newport, & Aslin 2001) we showed that human adults, infants, and tamarin monkeys can rapidly learn to segment words by acquiring statistical regularities in adjacent syllable sequences. Here we examine statistical learning of regularities among non-adjacent elements, comparing these same three types of subjects.

Two languages were constructed. In one, words were formed by statistical regularities between *non-adjacent syllables*. Words contained fixed syllables 1 and 3; syllable 2 varied (e.g., *dikitae*, *digutae*). In a second language, words were formed by statistical regularities between *non-adjacent segments*. Words contained fixed consonants; the vowels varied (e.g., *dokibae*, *dakube*). Adult subjects learned the second type of language easily, but failed to learn the first. Eight-month-old infants and tamarin monkeys showed the opposite pattern.

These results suggest differences among learners in the elementary units perceived in speech (syllables vs. segments), and therefore, in the types of patterned regularities they can acquire. Ongoing work investigates when infants begin to show the segmentally-based, adult pattern of learning.

BREAK 10:30-11:00

Words in order: The robustness of non-English sequences in created gesture systems

Amy J. Hammond and Susan Goldin-Meadow

University of Chicago

English speakers, when asked to describe a crossing-space scene using only their hands and not their mouths, produce gestures in a consistent order. Moreover, this order is not typical of English. As an example, when describing a mouse running to a hole, English-speaking gesturers consistently produce HOLE-MOUSE-RUN. The question we ask in this study is, how robust is this order? We asked adults to describe in gesture not only actors moving in space (the hole-running mouse), but also actors acting on objects (a cheese-eating mouse). We found that hearing adults adopted similar non-English orders when describing both scenes: CHEESE-MOUSE-EAT and HOLE-MOUSE-RUN. Thus, although the adults may have imported the idea to order their created gestures from English, the particular orders they used were their own invention and may reflect a natural way of ordering elements in scenes of this type.

Morphosyntax is easy, discourse-pragmatics is hard

Natalie Batman-Ratyosyan and Karin Stromswold
Rutgers University

We investigated how Turkish-speaking children use word order, inflection and discourse context to determine the thematic roles of sentential constituents. Thirty-one children (mean age 3;9) acted out 8 types of sentences. The 8 sentence types were defined by the orthogonal combination of word order (SOV/OVS), +/- discourse context and +/- object casemarking. Children performed best on SOV sentences, regardless of presence or absence of casemarking or context. This is consistent with Batman-Ratyosyan & Stromswold's (1999) imitation findings, and indicates that children treat SOV as the underlying word order of Turkish, even though the majority of Turkish sentences are not SOV. The youngest children relied exclusively on morphosyntactic cues (word order and casemarking) to determine thematic roles (they did worse when context was provided), whereas older children used both morphosyntactic and discourse information. Thus, children appear to require more exposure to a language to master its discourse/pragmatics than its morphosyntax. The acquisitional and linguistic implications of our findings will be discussed.

Argument/adjunct asymmetry in English-speaking children's acquisition of wh-question and subj-aux inversion

Sunyoung Lee, University of Hawaii at Manoa

This paper discusses the argument/adjunct asymmetry in English-speaking children's acquisition of wh-question and subject-auxiliary inversion, comparing the structure-based theory (Stromswold 1990, De Villiers 1991) with the input-frequency based theory (Rowland & Pine 2000). Structure-based theory proposes that English-speaking children learn subj-aux inversion with argument wh-questions earlier than with adjunct wh-questions. In contrast, input-frequency based theory proposes that children learn specific wh-word + auxiliary combinations earlier than the others depending on their frequency in children's input from caregivers, rejecting argument/adjunct asymmetry. An input study with samples of eleven caregivers' speech from CHILDES data found that there was more inversion in 'how' questions than in 'who' questions. In contrast, a production study with 32 children showed that children produced inverted 'who' questions more than inverted 'how' and 'why' questions. The results of the two studies show argument/adjunct asymmetry in acquisition of wh-questions and subj-aux inversion, supporting structure-based theory.

Saturday morning, Session B: Conference Auditorium

Saturday, 9:00 AM

Session B

The acquisition of implicit arguments in Japanese and related matters

Reiko Okabe, University of Tokyo
Tetsuya Sano, Meiji Gakuin University

After examining Japanese experimental data, we claim that children acquire implicit agents much earlier than expected in the previous accounts of passive development: Borer & Wexler's (1987) A-chain Maturation Hypothesis and Fox & Grodzinsky's (1998) hypothesis that children have trouble with theta-transmission and that they by default assign agent roles to *by*-phrases in actional passives. We first observe that even the children who have difficulty in comprehending full passives succeed considerably in rejecting short passives with a scenario without agents, although the previous studies predict contrary results. Also, although Verrips (2000) claims that Dutch children at first wrongly overgenerate implicit agents in unaccusatives, Japanese children correctly accept unaccusatives in scenarios without agents. Based on these results, we argue that children acquire implicit agents much earlier and suggest that children's difficulty with full passives lies in the discharge of the external theta-role from the passive affix to the *by*-phrase.

Saturday, 9:30 AM

Session B

Preposition stranding and the compounding parameter: A developmental perspective

Koji Sugisaki and William Snyder
University of Connecticut

Stowell (1981, 1982) proposes that there is a parameter that determines the availability of both P-stranding (e.g. *What did they talk about?*) and the V-Particle-NP construction (e.g. *Mary picked up the book*). While the V-Prt-NP construction requires only the positive setting of the relevant parameter, P-stranding requires several additional properties to be identified (i.e. the nature of prepositional Case, syntactic locations of each PP). Stowell's analysis predicts the following: English-speaking children should never acquire P-stranding significantly earlier than V-Prt-NP construction. Our investigation of ten longitudinal corpora for English from CHILDES has borne out this prediction. Given the recent proposal by Snyder (1995, in press) that verb-particle construction follows from the Compounding Parameter, which determines the possibility of various complex predicate constructions, our results suggest that P-stranding also stems from this parameter, and thus support its global nature.

Infants' and toddlers' comprehension of subject and object wh-questions

Amanda Seidl and George Hollich
Johns Hopkins University

In the current study, we test 13-, 15- and 20-month-olds' comprehension of wh-questions using the split screen preferential looking paradigm (SPLP). While there is no previous literature which suggests that children this young can comprehend these questions, some evidence suggests that infants at this age are beginning to comprehend some elementary sentential relations (Hirsh-Pasek & Golinkoff 1996). The most basic finding of the present study is that infants are able to comprehend simple matrix what-questions of both subjects and objects by twenty months of age and subject questions by fifteen months of age. A second finding from our study is that, in comprehension, subject questions precede comprehension of object questions. This is shown by the fact that only the 20-month-olds comprehend the object questions at a level that approximates their comprehension of subject questions.

BREAK 10:30-11:00

The acquisition of Spanish reflexive *se* in transitive verb-argument structures and singularity

Miren Hodgson, University of Massachusetts at Amherst

One of the roles of the Spanish reflexive clitic *se* used in transitive sentences in the perfective simple past has been interpreted and discussed as a marker of aspect, more specifically a marker of telicity (Zagona 1994, Nishida 1994). This study presents the acquisition of Spanish reflexive clitic *se* and introduces the notion of *singularity*: only the specified agent subject intervened in the accomplishment of the event and nobody else. An experimental study with 20 Spanish adults and 24 children aged 4-11 indicates that while adults require *se* to be interpreted as an aspectual and singularity marker, children 4-6 do not know its aspectual or singularity properties. Children aged 7-11 begin to have an intuition of *se* as a telic marker, but strongly recognize the clitic as a singularity marker. The results indicate that children initially learn *se* as a singularity marker, but only later do they acquire its telicity property.

Tense in early Dutch marks temporality, not aspect

Angeliek van Hout, Groningen University
Suzanne van der Feest, Utrecht University

Early tense production in English, French, German, Japanese, Brazilian Portuguese, and Hebrew shows that past tense is predominantly used on verbs whose lexical aspect is telic, while present tense is mostly used on atelics. This skewed pattern has led to the Aspect-First hypothesis: children initially misanalyze past morphology as markers of lexical aspect (Bloom et al. 1980) or grammatical aspect (Wagner, in press). Our experimental comprehension data from Dutch do not support either Aspect-First hypothesis. Our 3-year olds firmly established the simple present, simple past, and present perfect as temporality markers. However, subjects were not clear on the difference in grammatical aspect of the Dutch simple past (neutral) and present perfect (perfective). The acquisition device initially posits a perfective interpretation for past morphology. This initial postulation may be explained by a semantic application of the Subset Principle with perfective past forming a subset of aspectually neutral past meanings (cf. Olsen and Weinberg 1999).

Counting the outcomes: The effects of telicity on event construal

Laura Wagner, Harvard University
Ximena Acevedo, New York University

Events in the world do not map transparently into linguistic expressions. We investigated children's knowledge of how English codes telicity and their ability to use telicity information to influence their construal of events. Children (3-5 years) saw animated movies portraying events which permitted two different end-point construals: a girl paints a picture of a flower (the goal ending) but she does so with two, temporally separated brush strokes (the temporal-break endings). The event was described with either a telic predicate (*The girl painted a flower*) or an atelic predicate (*The girl painted*) and children counted how many times it happened. The dependent measure was whether children counted brush strokes or flowers. Telicity was signaled using: quantized direct objects, quantized passive subjects, unaccusatives, and PP-results. Children of all ages significantly shifted their counting criteria appropriately between goal endings (for telic predicates) and temporal-break endings (for atelic predicates).

Saturday morning, Session C: Terrace Lounge

Saturday, 9:00 AM

Session C

Bilingual babbling: Evidence for language differentiation in bilingual first language acquisition

Blagovesta Maneva, Fred Genesee, and Anicka Fast
McGill University

A central issue in bilingual acquisition is whether there is an initial stage when the neurocognitive representation of the two languages is undifferentiated. Differentiation is evident in the one-word stage of bilingual development onward. The question remains whether children exposed to two languages simultaneously have differentiated linguistic systems earlier. This paper reports on the results of analyses of the babbling of a child acquiring English and French in the home from birth. The infant was recorded twice monthly (one session with each parent) from the age of 10 to 15 months. Utterance and syllable structures, temporal organization, and vowel and consonant inventories of the child's babbling in each language were compared. Our results show evidence of language-specific features and, thus, of language differentiation in this early pre-linguistic stage of language development.

Saturday, 9:30 AM

Session C

Intra-phrasal code-switching: Evidence for parallel systems in a child learning Chinese and English

Hang Du, University of Arizona

The code-switching pattern of a child acquiring both English and Chinese as her first languages was analyzed. It was found that 96% of her mixed XPs consisted of a Chinese head and an English complement. The majority of these XPs were VPs which consisted of a Chinese verb and an English noun. While the early vocabulary of children acquiring English as their first language consists of more nouns than verbs, recent studies show that monolingual Chinese children have more verbs in their early vocabulary. This suggests that the vocabulary that typically dominates in each language seemed to affect how this child cashed out each language's syntactic rules when code-switching. Alternatively, this child's code-switching pattern might suggest that Chinese was her dominant language. In this case, a model of developmental code-switching is discussed. Either explanation supports the hypothesis that bilingual children are able to differentiate their two languages from early on.

Acquisition of Chinese and English compounds by bilingual children

Elena Nicoladis and Hui Yin
University of Alberta

Many factors have been thought to affect children's acquisition of compounds, although frequency in the input can account for almost all of the findings. The present study focused on effects of frequency in the input in Chinese-English bilingual children's acquisition of compounds. Using spontaneous production data from four children and their caregivers, aged 1;9, 2;0, 2;6 and 3;3, we found that all children heard more compounds in Chinese than in English. However, the children produced more compounds in their dominant language than in their non-dominant language. In English, the children all heard the same ratio of N-N to OV-*er* compounds, but only the oldest child produced any OV-*er* compounds. In Chinese, the English-dominant children heard more N-N compounds than V-V compounds while the Chinese-dominant children heard more V-V compounds than N-N compounds. The children's use of Chinese compounds mirrored the ratio of their input.

BREAK 10:30-11:00

**Distinctiveness of disyllables in the phrases
of spontaneous infant-directed speech**

Melissa A. Redford and Barbara L. Davis
University of Texas at Austin

In the present study, we investigated rhythmic regularities of disyllabic words in the context of multisyllable phrases in spontaneous, infant-directed speech. Our goal was to determine (1) whether the vowel-vowel duration patterns of disyllables are distinct from the vowel-vowel duration patterns of adjacent monosyllables in a phrase, and (2) whether position within a phrase affects distinctiveness. We concentrated on vowel duration because it is a primary correlate of linguistic stress in English (Lehiste 1970) and is the dimension manipulated in infant speech segmentation experiments that investigate rhythm (e.g., Morgan & Saffran 1995). The results indicated that the vowel pattern associated with disyllables was distinctive in phrase-final position, but not in phrase-medial position. This result suggests that word-related rhythmic regularities may be highlighted at the ends of phrases, which is consistent with the view that infants may initially segment speech from the end of phrases (e.g., Echols 1996).

The effect of perceived phonetic similarity on non-native sound learning by children and adults

Wendy Baker¹, Pavel Trofimovich¹, Molly Mack¹, and James E. Flege²

¹University of Illinois

²University of Alabama

This study examines whether child L2 learners' ability to perceive differences between L1 and L2 sounds determines their often more accurate L2 perception and production skills. To test this claim, beginning and advanced child and adult Korean learners of English judged differences between English and Korean vowels and performed English vowel perception and production tasks. As hypothesized, children displayed a superior ability to initially perceive differences between L1 and L2 sounds and eventually attained native-like accuracy for all L2 sounds, suggesting that children's L2 speech learning is less constrained by L1 phonology. Conversely, adults' perception and production skills were determined by the degree of L1-L2 perceptual similarity, implicating long-lasting effects of native-language phonology in adults' L2 speech learning. We present additional evidence that child learners' superior attainment in L2 speech learning may be determined by the developmental state of the L1 sound system at the time of L2 learning.

Benefits of childhood language experience for adult L2 learners' phonology

Janet S. Oh, Terry K. Au, and Sun-Ah Jun

University of California at Los Angeles

Childhood experience with a language seems crucial for native-like mastery of the language. The *absence* of such experience usually means non-native-like L2 phonology. However, it is not clear whether its *presence*—even if discontinued—can provide any benefits. This study investigates the benefits of early language experience in two types of adult learners of Korean: childhood speakers of Korean (N=15) and those who had prior passive exposure to Korean (N=6). Both groups were compared to first time learners (N=10) and native speakers of Korean (N=12) on their abilities to perceive and produce Korean sounds. Results indicate that even a few years of childhood speaking experience is enough to provide considerable benefits in both phonological perception and production. By contrast, passive exposure to a language seems to provide benefits only in perception and not in production. This suggests that childhood speaking experience is necessary to acquire a native-like production.

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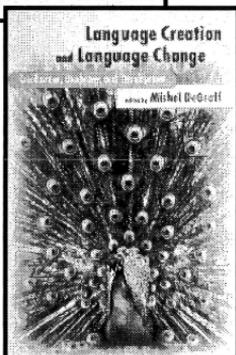
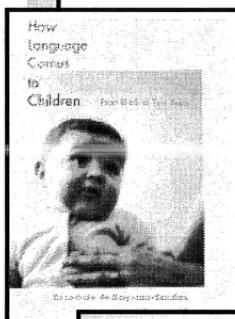
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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2

	Session A (Metcalfe Large)	Session B (Conference Auditorium)	Session C (Terrace Lounge)
9:00	S. WAXMAN: Not by perception alone: Conceptual and semantic factors underlying children's extension of novel adjectives	Y. LEVY: A naturalistic, longitudinal study of language development in children with Williams syndrome	S. OH: Cross-language blending of /l/ gestures by bilingual Korean-English children
9:30	E. COLLUNGA, M. GASSER: Attention to different cues in noun learning: The effect of English vs. Spanish mass/count syntax	S. NIEDEGEN-BARTKE: The default rule, sub-regularities, and irregulars in the morphology of German Williams syndrome	L. POLKA, M. SUNDARA, F. GENESEE, C. MARCOUX, L. CAMPISI: The role of lang. experience in the perception of /d/ vs. /ð/: A comparison of French, English and English-French bilingual 4-year-olds
10:00	F. XU: How powerful are words in changing infants' object concepts?	A. ZUKOWSKI: Relative clauses reflect grammatical competence in Williams syndrome	J. BARLOW: Error patterns and transfer in Spanish-English bilingual phonological development
BREAK (10:30-11:00)			
	Session A (Metcalfe Large)	Session B (Conference Auditorium)	Session C (Terrace Lounge)
11:00	A. SENGHAS: The emergence of grammatical devices for indicating location and orientation in Nicaraguan Sign Language	W. SNYDER, S. FELBER, B. KANG, D. LILLO-MARTIN: Path phrases and compounds in the acquisition of English	B. GOLDFIELD: When comprehension meets production
11:30	E. MUNNICH, B. LANDAU: Input and maturation in L2 spatial semantics	S. ZUCKERMAN, N. VASIC, D. MANZONI, S. AVRUTIN: The syntax-discourse interface and the interpretation of pronominals by Dutch-speaking children	B. RICHARDS, P. DURÁN, D. MALVERN: Age and lexical diversity: Trends and correlates
12:00	P. LI, L. GLEITMAN, B. LANDAU, H. GLEITMAN: A cross-linguistic study of spatial categorization	P. SCHULZ: The interaction of lexical- semantics, syntax and discourse in the acquisition of factivity	M. RISPOLI, M. MENGE: From stall to revision: Changes in the nature of sentence production during the period of grammatical development
12:30-1	SPECIAL SESSION Tribute to Peter Jusczyk (Speakers: Richard Aslin, Paul Luce, James Morgan, Lila Gleitman)		
	LUNCH BREAK (12:30-2:00)		

	Session A (Metcalf Large)	Session B (Conference Auditorium)	Session C (Terrace Lounge)
2:00	H. STORKELE, J. GIERUT: Lexical influences on interword variation	B. SKARABELA, S. ALLEN: The role of joint attention in argument realization in child Inuktitut	M. SALUSTRI: Simultaneous acquisition of German and Italian: A longitudinal study of bilingual children in pre-scholar age
2:30	G. HOLLICH, P. LUCE: Lexical neighborhood effects in 17-month-old word learning	A. KÜNTAY, A. ÖZYÜREK: Development of the use of demonstrative pronouns in Turkish	A. VAINIKKA, M. YOUNG-SCHOLTEN: Restructuring the CP in L2 German
3:00	L. SINGH, H. BORTFELD, J. MORGAN: Evidence for episodic encoding in infant word recognition	H. SONG, C. FISHER: Young children's sensitivity to discourse cues in on-line pronoun interpretation	N. DUFFIELD, A. MATSUO: How general is L2 learners' knowledge of English ellipsis?

BREAK (3:30-4:00)

	Session A (Metcalf Large)	Session B (Conference Auditorium)	Session C (Terrace Lounge)
4:00	K. DEMUTH, M. MACHOBANE, F. MOLOI, C. ODATO: Frequency effects and surface syntactic frames: Crosslinguistic contributions to learning the syntax of verbs	M. RICE, K. WEXLER, J. FRANÇOIS: SLI children's delayed acquisition of passive	L. WHITE: Morphological variability in endstate L2 grammars: The question of L1 influence
4:30	E. LIEVEN, H. BEHRENS, M. TOMASELLO: Corpus-based studies of children's development of verb-argument structures	A. PEROVIC: Delay of Principle A effect in Down syndrome	A. GÜREL: First language attrition: The effects of second language
5:00	L. NAIGLES, E. BAVIN, S. BROWN, K. FAIRWOOD, A. SHARILLO: Generalizing novel verbs to different structures: Evidence for the importance of understanding meaning	S. BAAUW, E. DE ROO, S. AVRUTIN: Determiner omission in language acquisition and language impairment: Syntactic and discourse factors	C. HARRIS, V. PARDALLIS, T. FRANGOU: Dominant grammatical cues (but not weak) survive cross-language interference in early second language acquisition

DINNER BREAK (5:30-8:00)

8:00	KEYNOTE ADDRESS Susan Carey: Language and mind: Language learning and the prelinguistic conceptual repertoire		
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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3

	Session A (Metcalf Large)	Session B (Conference Auditorium)	Session C (Terrace Lounge)
9:00	J. SNEDEKER, J. TRUESWELL: Unheeded cues: Prosody and syntactic ambiguity in mother-child communication	R. OKABE, T. SANO: The acquisition of implicit arguments in Japanese and related matters	B. MANEVA, F. GENESEE, A. FAST: Bilingual babbling: Evidence for language differentiation in bilingual first language acquisition
9:30	J. MORGAN, L. SINGH, H. BORTFIELD, K. RATHBUN, K. WHITE: Effects of speech rate and sentence position on infant word recognition	K. SUGISAKI, W. SNYDER: Preposition stranding and the Compounding Parameter: A developmental perspective	H. DU: Intra-phrasal code-switching: Evidence for parallel systems in a child learning Chinese and English
10:00	E. NEWPORT, R. ASLIN, M. HAUSER: Learning at a distance: Statistical learning of non-adjacent regularities in human infants and Tamarin monkeys	A. SEIDL, G. HOLLICH: Infants' and toddlers' comprehension of subject and object WH-questions	E. NICOLADIS, H. YIN: Acquisition of Chinese and English compounds by bilingual children
BREAK (10:30-11:00)			
11:00	Session A (Metcalf Large) A. HAMMOND, S. GOLDIN-MEADOW: Words in order: The robustness of non-English sequences in created gesture systems	Session B (Conference Auditorium) M. HODGSON: The acquisition of Spanish reflexive "se" in transitive verb-argument structures and singularity	Session C (Terrace Lounge) M. REDFORD, B. DAVIS: Distinctiveness of disyllables in the phrases of spontaneous infant-directed speech
11:30	N. BATMAN-RATYOSYAN, K. STROMSWOLD: Morphosyntax is easy, discourse pragmatics is hard	A. VAN HOUT, S. VAN DER FEEST: Tense in early Dutch marks temporality, not aspect	W. BAKER, P. TROFIMOVICH, M. MACK, J. FLEGE : The effect of perceived phonetic similarity on non-native sound learning by children and adults
12:00	S. LEE: Argument/adjunct symmetry in English-speaking children's acquisition of WH-questions and SUBJ-AUX inversion	L. WAGNER, X. ACEVEDO: Counting the outcomes: The effects of telicity on event construal	J. OH, T. AU, S. JUN: Benefits of childhood language experience for adult L2 learners' phonology
12:30	LUNCH SYMPOSIUM: Peggy McCardle (NICHD) and Cecile McKee (NSF): Federal funding—What's hot and how to apply		

2:00	Session A (Metcalfe Large) J. GIERUT, H. STORKEL, M. MORRISSETTE: Phonological masquerade: Similarity of structure can be different	Session B (Conference Auditorium) G. SUNDERMAN, J. KROLL: Development of lexical processing for words in a second language	Session C (Terrace Lounge) C. NAKASSIS, J. SNEDEKER: Beyond sarcasm: Intonation and context as relational cues in children's recognition of irony
2:30	J. MAYE, J. WERKER, L. GERKEN, K. KAUN: Infant sensitivity to distributional information can affect phonetic discrimination	S. BANDI-RAO: Inflecting denominal verbs: The role of semantics	M. DONALDSON, J. REID, C. MURRAY: Production of causal explanations by children with language impairments: What is difficult and why?
3:00	P. ESCUDERO, P. BOERSMA: One-to-multiple vowel mapping in the perception of Dutch learners of Spanish	A. ÖZYÜREK: Speech-gesture synchrony in typologically different languages and second language acquisition BREAK (3:30-4:00)	A. PAPAFRAGOU, P. LI: Evidential morphology and theory of mind
4:00	Session A (Metcalfe Large) J. LEWIS, J. ELMAN: Learnability and the statistical structure of language: Poverty of stimulus arguments revisited	Session B (Conference Auditorium) S. UZIEL-KARL: Acquisition of verb argument structure: Canonical mapping or verb by verb?	Session C (Terrace Lounge) D. DUCHARME, R. MAYBERRY: Learning to read French: When does phonological decoding matter?
4:30	M. CHRISTIANSEN, R. DALE: Integrating distributional, prosodic, and phonological information in syntax acquisition: A connectionist model	R. MEIER, A. CHEEK, C. MORELAND: Iconic versus motoric determinants of the form of children's early signs	K. REEDER, M. BOURNOT-TRITES: Biliterate and mathematical performance in an intensified French immersion education program: Some evidence for the interdependence hypothesis
5:30	BREAK (5:00-5:30)		
PLENARY ADDRESS Daniel Dinnsen: A reconsideration of children's phonological representations			

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 4

	Session A (Metcalfe Large)	Session B (Conference Auditorium)	Session C (Terrace Lounge)
9:00	M. MAGUIRE, E. HENNON, K. HIRSH-PASEK, R. GOLINKOFF, C. SLUTZKY, J. SOOTSMAN: Mapping words to actions and events: How do 18-month-olds learn a verb? C. SORRENTINO: Examining the animal bias in proper name representation	K. UD DEEN, N. HYAMS.: The form and interpretation of non-finite verbs in Swahili M. SWIFT, S. ALLEN: Contexts of verbal inflection dropping in Inuktitut child speech	J. PATER, J. BARLOW: A typology of cluster reduction: Conflicts with sonority H. GOAD, Y. ROSE: A structural account of onset cluster reduction
10:00	E. KAKO, L. GLEITMAN, K. LA MONT: Epiphany points: The role of highly informative exposures in word learning	M. SODERSTROM, P. JUSCZYK, K. WEXLER: English-learning toddlers' sensitivity to agreement morphology in receptive grammar	S. CURTIN, K. ZURAW: Explaining constraint demotion in a developing system
TIME	BREAK (10:30-11:00)		
11:00	Session A (Metcalfe Large) M. LUECK, A. HAHNE, H. CLAHSEN, A. FRIEDERICI: Developing brain potentials in children: An ERP study of German noun plurals H. BEHRENS: The acquisition of the German plural revisited	Session B (Conference Auditorium) J. MUSOLINO, J. LIDZ: Preschool logic: Truth and felicity in the acquisition of quantification K. YAMAKOSHI: The acquisition of WH/every interaction in English	Session C (Terrace Lounge) G. PERRY, C. HARRIS: Are there different sensitive periods for syntax, phonology and regular/irregular morphology J. MORTIMER: WH-movement in early and late childhood second language acquisition
11:30	J. DE VILLIERS, V. JOHNSON: The case of the disappearing 3rd person /s/	A. GUALMINI, S. CRAIN: Why no child or adult must learn De Morgan's Laws	J. BRUHN DE GARAVITO: Verb raising in Spanish: A comparison of early and late bilinguals
12:00	C. HUDSON, E. NEWPORT: Regularization during creolization: The learning of inconsistent linguistic input	I. NOVECK, F. CHEVAUX: Pragmatic development of "and"	E. VALENZUELA: The acquisition of topic constructions in L2 Spanish

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LUNCHTIME SYMPOSIUM 12:30-2:00

Saturday, 12:30-2:00

Conference Auditorium

Federal funding: What's hot and how to apply

Peggy McCardle, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development
Cecile McKee, National Science Foundation

Both new research investigators and seasoned researchers often find the labyrinth of government bureaucracy daunting when seeking support for their projects. We will attempt to demystify these processes and at the same time promote cross-agency understanding and cooperation in our efforts to find and fund the best science in child language. Professional scientific staff from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, NIH, and the National Science Foundation will explain the process of applying for a government research grant, give advice and helpful hints on preparation of the application, and explain the systems of peer review to which applications are submitted. Types of grant mechanisms available, how to decide which one is right for which project and investigator, and the roles of scientific professional staff in each agency will be discussed. Finally, research priorities and new or emerging topics/areas of agency interest will be presented. There will be ample time for questions and discussion.

LUNCH BREAK 12:30-2:00

Saturday afternoon, Session A: Metcalf Hall (Large)

Saturday, 2:00 PM

Session A

Phonological masquerade: Similarity of structure can be different

Judith A. Gierut¹, Holly L. Storkel², and Michele L. Morrisette¹

¹Indiana University

²University of Kansas

Thirty-four preschoolers participated in an experimental evaluation of their judgments about the structural similarity of syllable onsets. Children constituted two groups, with or without phonological delay. In an oddity paradigm, they judged which 2 of 3 members of an auditory triplet were most similar. Logically possible triplets of nonbranching and branching segments, 2- and 3-element clusters, and adjuncts were sampled. There were no differences in similarity judgments of children, normal or delayed. Main effects were found for triplet comparisons with (1) 3-element clusters judged most similar to adjuncts, not true clusters; (2) true clusters judged most similar to branching segments, not adjuncts; and (3) nonbranching segments judged most similar to true clusters, not branching segments.

Children's similarity judgments were governed by hierarchical principles associated with sonority and branching structure, not number or type of sounds. These findings bear on children's representations and hold potential for validating ranked phonological relationships.

Infant sensitivity to distributional information can affect phonetic discrimination

Jessica Maye¹, Janet Werker², LouAnn Gerken³, and Karla Kaun²

¹University of Rochester

²University of British Columbia

³University of Arizona

For nearly two decades it has been known that infants' perception of speech sounds is affected by native language input during the first year of life. However, definitive evidence of a mechanism to explain these developmental changes in speech perception has remained elusive. The present study provides the first evidence for such a mechanism, showing that the statistical distribution of phonetic variation in the speech signal influences whether 6- and 8-month-old infants discriminate a pair of speech sounds. We familiarized infants with speech sounds from a phonetic continuum, exhibiting either a bimodal or unimodal frequency distribution. During the test phase, only infants in the bimodal condition discriminated tokens from the endpoints of the continuum. These results demonstrate that infants are sensitive to the statistical distribution of speech sounds in the input language, and that this sensitivity influences speech perception.

One-to-multiple vowel mapping in the perception of Dutch learners of Spanish

Paola Escudero, McGill University
Paul Boersma, University of Amsterdam

We show that second-language perception can be problematic if an L2 phoneme has multiple correspondents in the native language. As an example, we test the perception of Spanish vowels by Dutch learners of Spanish. It turns out that most of the subjects have different perception strategies according to the language that they think they hear; when having to identify the vowels in Spanish CVC contexts by using Dutch vowel categories, most learners use fewer different categories and have different perceptual boundaries if they think that the language is Spanish rather than Dutch. The differences between these two modes of perception turn out to correlate with the subjects' performance on an identification task with Spanish response categories. Also, many learners show poorer identification performance for front than for back vowels. This remarkable effect turns out to correlate with the availability of an extra L1 category, on which two different Spanish vowels are mapped.

BREAK 3:30-4:00

**Learnability and the statistical structure of language:
Poverty of stimulus arguments revisited**

John D. Lewis, McGill University
Jeffrey L. Elman, University of California at San Diego

Recent research has shown that children are sensitive to the statistical structure of linguistic input (e.g. Saffran, Aslin, & Newport 1996a; Aslin, Saffran, & Newport 1998; Gomez & Gerken 1999; Newport & Aslin 2000). If UG is to account for only that which “can reasonably be supposed not to have been learned” (Chomsky 1975), these results dictate that poverty-of-stimulus arguments be reassessed. In this paper we illustrate the impact of admitting distributional evidence: Chomsky’s (1975) argument for the innateness of structure-dependence is shown to be untenable.

- 1) Is the boy who is smoking crazy?
- 2) * Is the boy who smoking is crazy?

Chomsky notes that questions like (1) are apparently absent in the child’s input, and thus the fact that children never produce questions like (2) suggests that “UG contains the principle that all such rules must be structure-dependent.” This conclusion, however, is shown not to hold for a learning model that utilizes the statistical structure of the input. Given input modeled on child-directed speech, a simple recurrent network (SRN—Elman 1990) is shown to generalize correctly to (1), and not (2).

The result demonstrates an important implication of the previous findings, and also indicates a means of assessing just how impoverished the stimulus really is.

**Integrating distributional, prosodic and phonological information
in syntax acquisition: A connectionist model**

Morten H. Christiansen and Rick A.C. Dale
Cornell University

Children acquire the syntactic structure of their native language with remarkable speed and reliability. Recent work in developmental psycholinguistics suggests that children may bootstrap basic syntactic structure by exploiting distributional, prosodic, and phonological cues. However, these cues are probabilistic and are individually unreliable. We present a series of simulations exploring the integration of multiple probabilistic cues in a connectionist model. The first simulation shows that multiple-cue integration promotes significantly better, faster, and more uniform syntax acquisition. Our second simulation illuminates the potential contribution of prenatal language experience to syntax acquisition through multiple-cue integration. In a third simulation, we demonstrate the robustness of the multiple-cue model when faced with potentially distracting cues, uncorrelated with grammatical structure. Finally, we simulate recent data showing that two-year-olds can integrate grammatical markers (function words) and prosodic cues in sentence comprehension. Together, the simulations underscore the computational feasibility of the multiple-cue approach to syntax acquisition.

Saturday, 2:00 PM**Session B****Development of lexical processing for words in a second language**

Gretchen Sunderman and Judith F. Kroll
The Pennsylvania State University

Research on lexical access in fluent bilinguals suggests that words in the first language (L1) are activated during comprehension in the second language (L2). The manner in which form-related competitors interact during word recognition has been captured by the Bilingual Interactive Activation Model or BIA (Van Heuven et al. 1998). While the BIA model addresses fluent bilingual processing, it makes no claims about the presence and development of form activation during acquisition. In this study we use a translation recognition task to examine the manner in which lexical form competition changes during development of L2 proficiency. We further ask whether lexical competition is modulated by the presence of semantic and syntactic cues. We predicted that with increasing proficiency, the deleterious effects of lexical form distractors will be reduced in the presence of cues to meaning and grammatical class.

Saturday, 2:30 PM**Session B****Inflecting denominal verbs: The role of semantics**

Shoba Bandi-Rao, New York University

In the English past tense system, verbs derived from nouns (denominal verbs) take the regular *-ed* inflection. Harris (1993) and Shirai (1997) have argued that the preference for the regular past tense form for denominal verbs is not a result of the speaker's sensitivity to a verb perceived as having a noun root; rather, it is a consequence of semantic similarity. This study addresses the issue by using non-native speakers of English, since for the most part they are unaware of extended meanings. Twenty adult ESL learners were presented with a written sentence completion task (similar to Kim et al. 1991). Existing and novel denominal verbs that are phonologically identical to high and low frequency irregular verbs were presented, along with the same verbs in their central, extended, and pseudo-different meanings. Results support the hypothesis proposed by Kim et al.—i.e., the addition of semantics to phonology in the input is not sufficient to account for the acquisition of the past tense.

Speech-gesture synchrony in typologically different languages and second language acquisition

Asli Özyürek, Koç University

Recent research has shown that speakers use their hand gestures in coordination with their speech. According to one view, iconic gestures are generated independently from speech and serve as a compensatory channel to express information not readily encodable in speech. However, according to another view, gesture and speech are generated from an interface mechanism between the two and thus the information conveyed in gesture is encoded in similar ways to the encoding possibilities in speech. This talk provides evidence for the latter view by comparing a) speech and gestures of speakers using two different typological languages, such as English and Turkish and b) English descriptions of Turkish speakers who learn English as a second language, to their native Turkish descriptions.

BREAK 3:30-4:00

Acquisition of verb argument structure: Canonical mapping or verb by verb?

Sigal Uziel-Karl, Tel Aviv University

The present paper uses longitudinal speech samples of four Hebrew-speaking children aged 1;5–3;0 to argue against nativist accounts of verb-argument structure (VAS) acquisition (e.g., Grimshaw 1981, 1990, Pinker 1984). These accounts hold that VAS acquisition is initially regulated by a supposedly innate “canonical mapping” scheme between syntactic functions and thematic roles. The Hebrew data reveal no one-to-one correspondence between thematic roles and syntactic functions, and no advantage to acquisition of prototypical over nonprototypical Agent-Patient verbs. Also, overextension errors suggest that canonical mapping alone is insufficient to direct children into acquisition of VAS in their language. Instead, it is claimed that children initially develop a mapping mechanism in a bottom-up fashion that they gradually extend and generalize based on linguistic experience. After this mapping mechanism is established, new verbs that enter their lexicon are fit into one of the already formed mapping patterns.

Iconic versus motoric determinants of the form of children's early signs

Richard P. Meier, Adrienne Cheek, and Christopher J. Moreland
University of Texas at Austin

In learning a lexical item, children must acquire three things: its form, the concept it signifies, and the mapping between form and concept. Children's attempts to articulate signs and words may be constrained by imperfect representations of the adult model or by immature articulatory systems. In American Sign Language (ASL), children's productions could also be guided by iconicity; many—but by no means all—mappings between form and concept are non-arbitrary. Children could seek to maximize iconic mappings.

We report two studies: We first examine the effects of children's errors on the judged iconicity of the signs they attempted. We then examine whether independently-attested constraints from general motor development predict the form of children's early signs. For both studies we report longitudinal data on the acquisition of ASL by four Deaf children of Deaf parents. Our results reveals that motoric factors—not iconic ones—constrain children's early sign productions.

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Saturday afternoon, Session C: Terrace Lounge

Saturday, 2:00 PM

Session C

Beyond sarcasm: Intonation and context as relational cues in children's recognition of irony

Constantine Nakassis, University of Pennsylvania
Jesse Snedeker, Harvard University

This experiment explores two questions about early irony recognition. First, have young children merely learned a strategy for detecting sarcasm or can they recognize less frequent forms of irony, such as ironic compliments? Second, does negative intonation facilitate the recognition of irony regardless of its type? We presented prerecorded stories to six-year-olds and adults. The final utterance was either: 1) a literal compliment; 2) an ironic compliment; 3) a literal insult; or 4) an ironic insult (sarcasm). Each final utterance was recorded once with positive intonation and once with negative intonation. Both adults and children detected ironic compliments as often as they detected sarcasm. Prosody had a small but reliable effect that was mediated by the type of irony; positive prosody facilitated the recognition of ironic compliments, while negative prosody facilitated sarcasm. We conclude that context and intonation are used as relational cues in early irony recognition.

Saturday, 2:30 PM

Session C

Production of causal explanations by children with language impairments: What is difficult and why?

Morag L. Donaldson, Jennifer Reid, and Claire Murray
University of Edinburgh

In order to assess the extent and nature of the difficulties that children with language impairments have in producing causal explanations, performance on a picture description task was compared for two groups of 5 to 7 year olds: 30 children with language impairments (the LU group) and 30 children with typical language development (the MS group). As predicted, the LU group produced significantly fewer correct causal sentences than the MS group across five sub-tasks (answering and asking causal questions; completing, imitating and independently producing causal sentences). The LU children were not reluctant to use causal connectives (e.g. *because*), but they had difficulties in using them appropriately, as well as in selecting and expressing relevant semantic content. Furthermore, they found imitation more difficult relative to question answering and sentence completion than the MS children did, suggesting that they had problems in coordinating the production of more than one clause even when the researcher provided a model.

Evidential morphology and theory of mind

Anna Papafragou and Peggy Li
University of Pennsylvania

In this paper, we set out to investigate the acquisition of evidential morphemes and its relation to nonlinguistic reasoning about sources of information. We looked at a class of Korean evidential morphemes: *-e* or *-ta* (direct perception) and *-tay* (hearsay/indirect evidence). We first asked whether by 3;0 or 4;0, Korean-speaking children were able to reliably distinguish *-e/-ta* from *-tay*. We then compared the performance of the same population of 3- and 4-year-old Korean children to that of their American peers in a range of nonlinguistic evidential reasoning tasks (similar to those in Pratt & Bryant 1990; O'Neill & Gopnik 1991). The Korean-speaking children performed better than the English-speaking children on these cognitive tasks. The results are discussed in the context of current approaches to theory of mind and the relationship between language and cognition.

BREAK 3:30-4:00

Learning to read French: When does phonological decoding matter?

Daphne Ducharme, Rachel Mayberry
McGill University

Previous research has shown that children use different strategies to recognize words across languages. Children reading English rely on rime analogies. Children reading French rely on sound-letter correspondence (Content 1991; Sprenger-Charolles et al. 1998). This study investigates the use of phonological decoding in 36 French children of varying proficiency using an original computerized word recognition task. Standardized French reading and vocabulary measures are administered to establish reading level. Preliminary results show that words with complex graphemic patterns, especially less frequent words, require more time to recognize. This effect is observed for young readers but not for proficient readers. Results also show a strong pseudo-homophone effect that diminishes with increasing reading proficiency. Together the findings provide support for a developmental model wherein word recognition procedures are used in successive stages. The complete data and theoretical implications are presented in the paper.

Biliterate and mathematical performance in an intensified French immersion education program: Some evidence for the interdependence hypothesis

Kenneth Reeder and Monique Bournot-Trites
University of British Columbia

A French Immersion school intensified the proportion of French used in its later elementary (4th-7th grade) curriculum from 50% to 80% of instructional hours by teaching mathematics in French. A 5-year (n=81) assessment investigated whether intensified L2 experience maintained earlier-noted gains in French ability but would come at a cost to L1 literacy or performance in mathematics. Using covariate techniques to help offset differences between the two program groups, assessments of French and English literacy over the four school years showed that intensified L2 was positively associated with enhanced descriptive writing in French. Although both groups performed above national norms in English reading, the intensified (80%) French group was comparatively weaker than the 50% group. Mathematics testing in 6th and 7th grades showed a positive association between intensified L2 education and all aspects of mathematics performance, despite being taught in the L2 but assessed in English. Our discussion links the results in English literacy and mathematics.

BREAK 5:00-5:30

PLENARY ADDRESS

Saturday, 5:30 PM

Metcalf Hall (Large)

A reconsideration of children's phonological representations

Daniel A. Dinnsen, Indiana University

Some long-standing problems concerning children's underlying phonological representations are reconsidered in the context of current Optimality Theory. The focus is on two common and theoretically challenging phenomena, namely children's overgeneralization errors and those error patterns that result in the complementary distribution of sounds. Both phenomena have in the past been argued to motivate underlying representations that are different from those of the target language, and both have been found to be resistant to change. Each phenomenon is illustrated with a representative case study, and each is examined from different theoretical perspectives. The requirements of Optimality Theory are shown to force a very different solution to these problems, offering several new insights into acquisition.

**Mapping words to actions and events:
How do 18-month-olds learn a verb?**

Mandy J. Maguire¹, Elizabeth A. Hennon¹, Kathy Hirsh-Pasek¹,
Roberta M. Golinkoff², Carly B. Slutzky¹, and Jennifer Sootsman²

¹Temple University

²University of Delaware

Verbs are available in children's earliest vocabularies. Yet, we know little about how infants map labels to actions. Three experiments using the intermodal preferential looking paradigm explore how 18-month-olds map labels to categories of actions. Each experiment varied only in the visual presentation for training. Experiment 1 tested if toddlers could extend a verb from one actor to a new actor. Experiment 2 asked about the nature of the referent by training with point-light displays (lights corresponding to joints of the human body). Experiment 3 examined toddlers' ability to form action categories when multiple actors perform the actions. Children can abstract an action referent and extend it to a novel actor when presented with point-light displays of one actor but not when given one live-action actor or multiple live-action exemplars. These results suggest that the difficulty with verb learning may lie in the ability to abstract out the correct information to categorize and label.

Examining the animal bias in proper name representation

Cristina M. Sorrentino, New York University

Preschool children accept proper names for animals and people, but not for non-animal individuals, such as bottles and cars. Two experiments test whether this restriction is specific to proper names, or whether any task that requires representing a unique individual would reveal that animals and people have higher individuality than do non-animals. Three-year-olds' and adults' performance on a task in which an animal or non-animal individual was designated with a familiar proper name or a definite description suggests that the Animal Bias is specific to proper names: children traced the identity of the individual under a definite description regardless of its kind, but only traced the identity of an animal under a proper name. Adults traced identity in all conditions. Preliminary data from two-year-olds contrasting identity-tracing under a proper name vs. a non-linguistic property provide further evidence that the Animal Bias is specific to proper names.

**Epiphany points: The role of highly informative exposures
in word learning**Edward Kako¹, Lila Gleitman², and Kristen La Mont²¹Swarthmore College²University of Pennsylvania

Does naturalistic input to children support the rapid, one-trial learning (“fast mapping”) often demonstrated in the laboratory? To address this question, we exposed adults to the linguistic contexts in which 24 common nouns were uttered to young children. Participants saw a total of six contexts per noun, guessing the word after each exposure. We identified “epiphany points” (EPs): exposures that markedly increased the number of correct responses. Words whose exposure sets contained EPs were guessed correctly by more subjects than other words. A subsequent group saw the exposure sets minus either the EP (where relevant) or a randomly chosen exposure; another group saw only the EPs and random exposures. EPs in isolation produced a higher proportion of correct answers than did the other five exposures combined. These results suggest that naturalistic input can support fast mapping, and that informative exposures may be especially instrumental in word learning.

BREAK 10:30-11:00

**Developing brain potentials in children:
An ERP study of German noun plurals**Monika Lueck¹, Anja Hahne¹, Harald Clahsen², and Angela D. Friederici¹¹Max Planck Institute of Cognitive Neuroscience²University of Essex

Previous studies using event-related brain potentials (ERPs) on adults have led to the identification of brain potentials associated with language processing. However, little is known about how these emerge during child language development. The present paper addresses this question and examines the processing of German plural nouns in adults and children aged 6;0-7;11, 8;0-9;11, and 11;0-12;11, adopting the ERP violation design.

Sentences containing correct or incorrect plural nouns were presented to participants auditorily. The results show that, despite the nearly perfect production abilities of even the youngest age group, children’s comprehension of inflected words clearly differs from that of adults. Most interesting in this regard is the development of a late positive component (P600) and the focusing of a negativity, which both appear to take place up to the age of 12. These findings demonstrate that event-related potentials enable us to shed light on fine-grained changes within the process of language development.

The acquisition of the German plural revisited

Heike Behrens, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology

The low-frequency German *-s*-plural has served as prime evidence for the dual mechanism model of inflection (Clahsen 1999). Based on a “high-density corpus” (140,000 utterances), the development of plural marking of a monolingual German boy over a two-year period is analyzed. Quantitative analyses of the 10,670 plural forms (3.5% error rate) show that *-s* is not overgeneralized more frequently than *-(e)n* and *-e* when computing the errors given the chance of error (Marcus et al. 1992). Qualitative analyses do not support an early default status of *-s*, either: Although *-s* shows the fewest constraints in adult language, it has the most phonological and metric constraints in acquisition. Plural marking in default conditions is subject to analogy, not rule. Instead, there is a subsequent acquisition of phonological, metric and semantic subsets, in line with alternative analyses of the German plural which propose a system with several regular plural markers.

The case of the disappearing 3rd person /s/

Jill G. de Villiers, Smith College

Valerie E. Johnson, Vanderbilt University School of Medicine

Three new studies address comprehension of 3rd person /s/ in both SAE and AAE speaking children aged 4, 5, and 6 years. SAE speaking children produce /s/ reliably at a young age, but older AAE speaking children do not have the form reliably in production (<30% in standard contexts). In these studies we explore whether either group has /s/ in comprehension, either as an indicator of subject number, of verb aspect, or of events versus noun compounds. In each study, only six year old SAE children were able to detect /s/ as a clue to meaning in a picture-choice task, and only via inference. This is in keeping with the notion that purely formal features do not have LF representation. The marker is clearly not a feature in AAE children’s grammar, hence is not properly described as “omitted” or “optional” in production.

**Regularization during creolization:
The learning of inconsistent linguistic input**

Carla L. Hudson and Elissa L. Newport, University of Rochester

Pidgins are often described as lacking grammatical structure, but a more precise description is that some grammatical forms are used inconsistently. Creoles, however, exhibit regular grammatical forms. Our research investigates how this regularization might occur, using an artificial language paradigm to examine the learning of pidgin-like inconsistency. In this study we asked whether competitive inconsistency—the use of multiple forms in the same context—leads to regularization. The crucial variation occurred in the determiners. All participants were exposed to a main determiner form, used in 60% of the NPs. Across conditions, the number and distribution of competitor forms varied, from 2 competitors (each 20%) to 8 (each 5%). After exposure to the language, participants were asked to produce novel sentences. Participants produced the main determiners more often than they had heard them; and this tendency increased with more low frequency competitors. These results suggest that adult learners will regularize certain kinds of pidgin-like variability.

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The form and interpretation of non-finite verbs in Swahili

Kamil Ud Deen and Nina Hyams
University of California at Los Angeles

Recent investigations into the semantic properties of children's non-finite root clauses reveal that root infinitives in Dutch, German, Swedish, French, etc. almost always express modal meanings. On the other hand, English bare verbs typically have a temporal meaning, denoting ongoing and past eventualities. Hoekstra & Hyams (1998) propose that the difference in meaning is related to the morphological composition of the non-finite form, viz. RIs have infinitival morphology, which has an irrealis mood feature, while the English bare form does not. Hyams (2001) proposes the semantic mapping hypothesis according to which (i) modal meaning in RIs comes from an active MoodP in the clause structure, and (ii) MoodP is licensed by mood or aspect features in the verb (or in an independent functional element). Thus, RIs have features to license MoodP, but the English bare form does not.

One factor limiting the explanatory power of the semantic mapping hypothesis is that thus far it has been tested against only one bare verb language: English. In this paper we will present data from four Swahili-speaking children (ages 1;8-2;10), which have direct bearing on this hypothesis. Among the results we will discuss are the following: (i) Swahili children produce few RIs (< 2%, comparable to other null subject languages); (ii) Swahili children do produce bare stems (impossible in the adult language); at an early stage approximately 36% of the verbs were bare; (iii) Mood markers are used correctly in almost all contexts (94% correct); errors involve the overgeneration of subjunctive morphology in future/intentional contexts, which adult Swahili marks in the indicative.

Contexts of verbal inflection dropping in Inuktitut child speech

Mary D. Swift, University of Rochester
Shanley E. M. Allen, Boston University

Recent research shows that typically developing children learning Inuktitut, a polysynthetic language spoken by the Inuit of arctic Quebec, do not go through an optional infinitive stage (Crago & Allen, in press). However, uninflected verbs do occur in the speech of typically developing children learning Inuktitut. This paper presents an analysis of the structural and discourse contexts in which uninflected verbs occur in the speech of four Inuit children between the ages of 2;0 and 3;6 and their caretakers. We discuss the role of verbal inflection in this morphologically complex language and identify multiple factors that contribute to verbal inflection dropping, including discourse-pragmatic principles of informativeness, emotionally charged situations, and specific morphosyntactic contexts. The Inuktitut data indicate that each of these factors can account for a subset of the uninflected verbs, and in some instances multiple factors converge, but no single factor accounts for the phenomenon as a whole.

English-learning toddlers' sensitivity to agreement morphology in receptive grammar

Melanie Soderstrom¹, Peter Jusczyk¹, and Kenneth Wexler²

¹Johns Hopkins University

²Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Three experiments using the Headturn Preference Procedure examined whether there is evidence for an Optional Infinitives effect in early receptive grammar. Experiment 1 compared 19-month-olds' preferences for passages with agreement morphology over passages without agreement (e.g. *She bake(s)*). Subjects significantly preferred the grammatical, agreeing passages over the ungrammatical, non-agreeing passages. This finding suggests that 19-month-olds have receptive knowledge of agreement—they disprefer a passage in which this inflection is omitted. In Experiment 2, 19-month-olds' preferences were compared for negated passages with and without agreement marking (e.g. *She not bake(s)*). Surprisingly, the infants significantly preferred the completely ungrammatical, agreeing form over the OI non-agreeing form. In Experiment 3, infants' preferences for agreeing and non-agreeing passages with a nonsense word *nep* inserted just before the verb (e.g. *She nep bake(s)*) were compared. Again, a significant preference for the agreeing passages was found.

BREAK 10:30-11:00

Preschool logic: Truth and felicity in the acquisition of quantification

Julien Musolino, Indiana University

Jeffrey Lidz, Northwestern University

This study was designed to tease apart the role of semantic and pragmatic knowledge in children's comprehension of the universal quantifier. That semantic and pragmatic knowledge is at play in the interpretation of the universal quantifier can be seen in (1).

(1) John didn't read every book.

The most natural interpretation of (1) is one in which John read only some of the books. Another situation which satisfies the truth conditions of (1) is one in which John read none of the books. However, this interpretation is highly dispreferred because a pragmatically more felicitous statement in this situation would be that John didn't read any books. In a recent experiment we found that adults and 5-year-olds differed in that only the former appeared to be sensitive to the pragmatic bias described above. That is, adults massively rejected sentences like (1) when used to describe a situation where John had read none of the books, while 5-year-olds overwhelmingly accepted these sentences.

The acquisition of *wh/very* interaction in English

Kyoko Yamakoshi, Cornell University

The syntax and the acquisition of *wh/very* interaction have been controversial topics. Object *wh*-questions with *every* like (1a) allow a pair-list answer (1b), whereas subject *wh*-questions like (2a) do not allow a pair-list answer:

- (1) a. Who did everyone pull?
b. -Daddy pulled Mommy, Mommy pulled the girl, and the girl pulled the boy.
- (2) a. Who pulled everyone?
b. -Daddy pulled everyone.

Roeper & DeVilliers (1991) and Lewis (2000) reported that even 5-year-olds incorrectly gave or accepted pair-list answers to questions like (2a).

In our experiment, which excluded a problem of the previous studies, the overgeneralization of the pair-list readings was not observed even in the results of the 3- and 4-year-olds. Our results show that children acquire the knowledge of *wh/very* interaction around the age of 5 and suggest that the knowledge of *wh/very* interaction is acquired earlier than was reported in the previous studies.

Why no child or adult must learn De Morgan's laws

Andrea Gualmini and Stephen Crain
University of Maryland at College Park

Downward entailing functions license logical inferences from statements of the form $OP_{DE}(A \text{ or } B)$ to ones of the form $OP_{DE}(A)$ and $OP_{DE}(B)$. To determine if young children know this semantic property of downward entailing operators, OP_{DE} , we conducted a Truth Value Judgment task with thirty children (age: 3;10 to 5;10—mean age: 4;07). Children were presented with sentences like *None of the pirates found the necklace or the jewel* in a context in which one of the pirates had found a jewel. If children know the properties of downward entailment, they should interpret the sentence as *None of the pirates found the necklace and none of the pirates found the jewel*; therefore, they should reject it in the context. By contrast, if children do not know the properties of the OP_{DE} *none*, they could interpret the sentence as meaning *None of the pirates found the necklace or none of the pirates found the jewel* and accept it. The finding was that children rejected the target sentence 87.5% of the time, showing mastery of the semantic properties of downward entailment.

Pragmatic development of *and*

Ira Noveck and Florelle Chevaux
Centre National de Recherche Scientifique

This work investigates the pragmatic development of the conjunction *and*. If accounts from various labs (e.g. Noveck 2001) on implicatures are to be generalized, an implicature related to *and* (*and then*) ought not to be considered automatic. This work presents stories followed by one of four kinds of conjunctive statements. The results show that seven-year-olds are as agreeable to a statement presented in a backward order (*Laurent went to the hospital and broke his ankle*) as they are to statements that recount the correct order (*Laurent broke his ankle and went to the hospital*). Ten-year-olds show more evidence of generating the implicature by disagreeing with the backward statements, but not nearly as much as adults. Once the conjunction is explicitly expressed as *and then* (*Laurent went to the hospital and then broke his ankle*), ten-year-olds routinely reject the statement. This lends further support to the claim that implicatures are effort-demanding.

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Sunday morning, Session C: Terrace Lounge

Sunday, 9:00 AM

Session C

A typology of cluster reduction: Conflicts with sonority

Joe Pater, University of Massachusetts at Amherst
Jessica Barlow, San Diego State University

A common pattern of onset cluster reduction in children's speech is retention of the least sonorous member of the adult cluster. Several studies have proposed analyses of this pattern in terms of a fixed ranking of onset sonority constraints. Position in the hierarchy correlates with a segment's degree of sonority, whereby onset glides violate the highest-ranked constraint, and onset stops the lowest (Barlow 1997; Gnanadesikan, to appear; Ohala 1999). We present data of other cluster reduction patterns in normal and delayed acquisition of English, in which even glides surface instead of stops. We treat these divergences from the sonority pattern as effects of constraints motivated elsewhere in the phonologies of these and other children. By ranking these constraints with respect to the sonority hierarchy, we account for deviations from the sonority pattern as well as emergent effects of the sonority constraints that occur when higher ranked constraints are not relevant.

Sunday, 9:30 AM

Session C

A structural account of onset cluster reduction

Heather Goad, McGill University
Yvan Rose, University of California at Berkeley

Several works on the development of clusters have shown that, when one member of a cluster is produced, the least sonorous segment survives ('sonority' pattern). We focus on a second pattern, where structural heads survive ('head' pattern). Gnanadesikan and Barlow show that to accommodate the sonority pattern, a structural difference need not hold between obstruent- vs. /s/-initial clusters; the consonant that survives is determined by sonority constraints. This is not so for the head pattern; in /s/+sonorant clusters, there is a mismatch between cluster head (sonorant) and least sonorous segment (/s/). This precludes an analysis that relies on sonority.

We provide a unified account for both patterns, where heads are preserved: the patterns differ in how head selection is determined. Children initially make decisions about headedness based on sonority, until the distributional facts are understood. This yields two reduction patterns: the sonority pattern (Stage 1) and the head pattern (Stage 2).

Explaining constraint demotion in a developing system

Suzanne Curtin and Kie Zuraw
University of Southern California

The gradual re-ranking of probabilistic constraints (Boersma 1998) accounts for stage-like development in child language. We provided Boersma's Gradual Learning Algorithm (GLA) with inputs of Dutch polysyllabic words and lexical frequencies, and examined various points during a learning simulation.

Initially, high-ranking ALLSyllLT caused truncation to monosyllables. Once ALLSyllLT was demoted, ALLFTLT kept productions maximally disyllabic. Truncation ceased when ALLFTLT was demoted, but PARSESYLL caused exhaustive footing. Finally, PARSESYLL was demoted, yielding adult-like productions. Markedness constraints were demoted in this order because all input data give evidence for demoting ALLSyllLT, but only longer words give evidence for demoting ALLFTLT, and only a subset of those give evidence for demoting PARSESYLL.

The results of our simulation demonstrate that a probabilistic, gradual learning procedure mimics prosodic development. The probabilistic grammar explains variability, the gradual learning procedure produces stage-like progression, and the algorithm's sensitivity to lexical frequencies explains the demotion order of markedness constraints.

BREAK 10:30-11:00

Are there different sensitive periods for syntax, phonology and regular/irregular morphology?

George Perry and Catherine Harris
Boston University

This study set out to examine the possible existence of distinct sensitive periods for the acquisition of three linguistically distinct components of English as a second language: phonology, syntax, and higher-order grammatical structures. The results indicate clear relations between subjects' age of arrival (AOA) in English-speaking countries and their performance on the tasks; as well as unique time-frame limitations for the acquisition of native-like performance in each area. Based on these findings, we conclude that there is a temporal sequence of sensitive periods for second-language acquisition. This work also explores the nature of the sensitive periods and sheds light on the cognitive and neurological aspects of sensitive periods for L2A. By tying in research examining sensitive periods in other neuronal and neuropsychological processes, a more precise elucidation of the second language acquisition-critical period hypothesis (L2A-CPH) than has previously been offered is presented.

Wh-movement in early and late childhood second language acquisition

Jennifer Mortimer, McGill University

The Sensitive Period Hypothesis for language acquisition holds that there are periods in development during which children are optimally suited to acquiring particular types of linguistic information from their environments. Constraints restricting wh-movement are acquired in early childhood among native English speakers. This study investigated the length of the sensitive period for wh-movement constraints by comparing the performances on wh-movement comprehension tasks of young ESL speakers of different ages and similar length of exposure to English. The participants were four groups of 11 children: two groups of L1 Chinese, Korean, and Japanese speakers (languages without wh-movement question formation), ages 6-7 and 9-13, with approximately three years exposure to English; and two groups of age-matched native English speakers. The younger ESL children, unlike the older ESL children, were significantly impaired on wh-extraction comprehension relative to the two English language control groups. This pattern of results is unexpected in light of the Sensitive Period Hypothesis.

Verb raising in Spanish: A comparison of early and late bilinguals

Joyce Bruhn de Garavito, University of Western Ontario

In Spanish, as in French, the verb raises to AgrS to check features. As a result, there is inversion in questions (1) and manner adverbs generally appear to the right of the verb (2).

- (1) a. ¿Qué escribió Lucía?
what wrote Lucía
b. *¿Qué Lucía escribió?
what Lucía wrote
- (2) a. Lucía escribe cuidadosamente sus tareas.
Lucía writes carefully her homework
b. *Lucía cuidadosamente escribe sus tareas.
Lucía carefully writes her homework

This paper looks at knowledge of verb raising in Spanish, comparing early and late Spanish/English bilinguals and monolingual Spanish speakers on a word order preference task. The results are very similar to those of White (1989; 1991a; 1991b). The participants performed flawlessly on questions, but treated (2a) and (2b) as similar. This is evidence that the difference between L1 and L2 is not related to age or to the availability of UG.

The acquisition of topic constructions in L2 Spanish

Elena Valenzuela, McGill University

Rizzi (1997) assumes that a parameter differentiates English and Romance topic-comment structures. In English, the null operator is available in topic constructions, thus [+ null operator], whereas in Romance languages such as Spanish, the parameter is set at [- null operator]. In English, the topic-comment construction is linked by way of a null operator, whereas in Spanish it is construed using clitic left dislocation (CLLD). Assuming that UG is accessible in the L2 and that feature properties are acquirable, topic and embedded topic constructions provide a suitable diagnostic for the acquisition of features associated with the CP. Advanced and near-native L1 English speakers of L2 Spanish as well as native Spanish speakers were tested. Results from two tests indicate that features which are set at different values in the L1 are acquirable in the L2.

ALTERNATES

On the dissociation of the nominal and the verbal functional domains in French language impairment

Marina Arabatzi, Lara Baranzini, Laurence Chillier, Stéphanie Cronel-Ohayon,
Sébastien Dubé, Julie Franck, Ulrich H. Frauenfelder, Cornelia Hamann, Luigi Rizzi,
Michal Starke, and Pascal Zesiger
University of Geneva

This paper reports on the longitudinal investigation of the use of determiners and verbal forms in the spontaneous speech of two French children with SLI and compares their developmental profiles to that of a normally developing, younger French child.

Whereas the normally developing child shows roughly similar profiles for determiner omission and non-finite verb forms, these phenomena do not have parallel profiles in the speech of the children with SLI. Moreover, these children manifest opposing patterns, suggesting a dissociation of these domains. One child produces non-finite verb forms at a high rate (70%) and determiner omission at a low rate (15.2%) at the beginning of recording; the other child has high rates of determiner omission (41.6%) and low rates of non-finite verb forms (8.3%). Concerning these two phenomena, both children reach target-like performance at the end of the study, though difficulties persist in other areas.

We conclude that children with SLI can follow different paths in the acquisition of the nominal and verbal functional domains, so that it is unlikely that the two systems should be strongly linked to the same theoretical principle.

Holism and locative argument structure in Korean-English bilingual grammars

Myong-Hee Choi and Usha Lakshmanan
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

This study investigated the interpretation of English and Korean locative argument structures by Korean-English bilinguals. The bilingual subjects were pre-tested on their knowledge of the syntax of English locative structures through a grammaticality judgment task. English and Korean versions of a picture-cued sentence interpretation task were administered to examine their spatial interpretations of the two forms of locative structures (theme-object and goal-object). Our findings indicated that the Korean-English bilinguals observed the holism constraint, associated with the English goal-object form, less strictly than the monolingual native-speakers of English did. Regardless of whether their syntactic representations of English locative-argument structures were native-like or not, the Korean-English bilinguals' interpretation of these structures was similar to their interpretation of their L1 (Korean) locative argument structures; specifically, the holism effect appears to be determined not by the mapping of the argument structure onto to the syntax but by the inherent semantics of the locative verb.

On the acquisition of German *nicht* (not) as sentential negation: Evidence from negative polarity items

Heiner Drenhaus, University of Potsdam

This paper provides evidence that an adverb like *jemals* 'ever' and its negative counterpart *niemals* 'never' might trigger the acquisition of *nicht* 'not' as sentential negation. Twenty children ranging in age from 3;5 to 6;6 were asked to repeat questions. These structures were combined with the adverbs *niemals* 'never' and *jemals* 'ever' in the unmarked (adult) position in front of the verb:

- (1) Wer will dem Mann das Buch jemals/ niemals geben?
Who wants the man[Dat] the book[Acc] ever/ never give?
'Who would ever/ never want to give the book to the man?'

The distribution of the elements in the children's repetitions and additionally the replacing of *niemals* with the negator *nicht* gives evidence that *jemals* and its negation *niemals* give children the clue to reanalyze *nicht* as a sentence negator.

We propose a minimalist account of the distribution of the data which relies on the idea of Formal Features (Chomsky 1995/1998).

**Is verb learning easier than noun learning for Japanese children?:
Three-year-old Japanese children's knowledge
about object names and action names**

Mutsumi Imai, Keio University
Etsuko Haryu, Aoyama-Gakuin University
Hiroyuki Okada, Fujitsu Laboratories, LTD

Whether there is an advantage for noun learning over verb learning has been much debated. To examine this issue, we tested whether it is easier for Japanese children to learn the meaning of a novel verb than of a novel noun. Being an argument-dropping as well as an SOV language, Japanese has properties that are said to be advantageous for verb learning. A novel noun or verb was introduced while children were seeing a video. How they map and generalize the word was then tested. The Japanese 3-year-olds mapped a novel noun to a novel object in a dynamic scene, and generalized it to the same object even though it appeared in a different action. In contrast, although they knew that verbs refer to the category of actions, their generalization of verbs was overly conservative, not yet understanding that a verb should be generalized by the sameness of the action per se, and the object in the action can be changed. These findings suggest that the learning of verb meanings is more difficult than the learning of noun meanings.

**Native vs. non-native knowledge of the effects
of discourse status on word order**

Hyeson Park and Lan Zhang
University of South Carolina

Through an extensive corpus study, Birner and Ward (1998) showed that argument reversal in constructions such as passives and inversion sentences reflected the 'given before new information' principle. According to Prince (1988), a native speaker's implicit knowledge of the information structure of a sentence is part of her linguistic competence. In this paper, we investigate, using a questionnaire method, whether non-native speakers obey the 'given before new' principle in the same way as native speakers do. Passive, dative, and inversion constructions were examined. The results show that: 1) Native speakers' intuition on the 'given before new' information structure appeared most clearly in the inversion (90%) and most weakly in the dative construction (60%). 2) Non-native speakers were sensitive to this principle only in the inversion sentences. The results are discussed in relation to the nature of linguistic input and weaknesses of the data collection method.

Adult L2 acquisition of negative polarity licensing

William Philip, Utrecht University

In this paper we report on an experiment in which adult Dutch native speakers acquiring English as an L2 successfully generalize the licensing conditions for English *any* from contexts of overt negation such as (1b) to contexts of implicit negation such as (2), without overgeneralizing to contexts such as (3).

- (1) a. **They got off at **any** station.*
b. *They did **not** get off at **any** station.*
- (2) a. *They **might** have gotten off at **any** station.* (epistemic)
b. *You **may** get off at **any** station.* (deontic)
- (3) a. **They **must** have gotten off at **any** station.* (epistemic)
b. **You **have** to get off at **any** station.* (deontic)

In the absence of guidance from UG, it is unclear how such subtle properties of a target language could be acquired. The semantic principle of UG governing the licensing of negative polarity items appears to be available to the adult as well as to child language learners.

On Aspectual Shifts in L2 Spanish

Roumyana Slabakova, University of Iowa
Silvina Montrul, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Lexical aspectual interpretations are not fixed, since pragmatic knowledge frequently interacts in curious ways with grammatical knowledge. In Spanish, for example, activity predicates can become accomplishments due to a grammatical aspectual operator such as the Imperfect, the presence of a quantified direct object, or the reflexive clitic *se*. Aspectual coercion (de Swart 1998), on the other hand, is governed by implicit contextual re-interpretation mechanisms (such as adverbials or other pragmatic information in the context) and is not always visible. We tested grammatically and pragmatically induced aspectual shifts using a meaning judgment task.

Forty intermediate and advanced English-speaking learners of Spanish took part in the experiment, as well as 15 native speaker controls. Results indicate that learners are more accurate with the grammatically signaled transitions than with the contextually coerced ones. We argue that pragmatics may be outside of UG-regulated linguistic competence, and acquisition of pragmatic contrasts is not guided by the same principles that guide the acquisition of the grammatical contrasts.

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Authors' Addresses

Ximena Acevedo
New York University
6 Washington Place, Room 312
New York, NY 10003
mxa200@nyu.edu

Shanley Allen
Boston University
School of Education
605 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, MA 02215
shanley@bu.edu

Marina Arabatzi
Laboratory of Experimental
Psychology
University of Geneva
40 Boulevard du Pont d'Arve
1205 Geneva
SWITZERLAND
marina.arabatzi@pse.unige.ch

Richard N. Aslin
University of Rochester
Dept. of Brain & Cog. Sciences
Meliora Hall-River Campus
Rochester, NY 14627
aslin@cvs.rochester.edu

Terry K. Au
UCLA Psychology Dept.
Box 951563
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1563
au@psych.ucla.edu

Sergey Avrutin
UiL OTS
Utrecht University
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
sergey.avrutin@let.uu.nl

Sergio Baauw
UiL OTS
Utrecht University
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
sergio.baauw@let.uu.nl

Wendy Baker
University of Illinois
Dept. of Linguistics
4088 FLB, 707 S. Matthews Ave.
Urbana, IL 61801
w-baker1@uiuc.edu

Shoba Bandi-Rao
New York University
239 Greene Street #832
New York, NY 10003
sqb4972@nyu.edu

Lara Baranzini
University of Geneva
40 Boulevard du Pont d'Arve
1205 Geneva
SWITZERLAND

Jessica A. Barlow
San Diego State University
Dept. of Comm. Disorders
San Diego, CA 92182-1518
jbarlow@mail.sdsu.edu

Natalie Batman-Ratyosyan
Rutgers University
Dept. of Psych. and Center for
Cognitive Science
New Brunswick, NJ 08903
nbr@ruccs.rutgers.edu

Edith L. Bavin
La Trobe University
School of Psych. Science
Bundoora 3083
Victoria, AUSTRALIA
e.bavin@latrobe.edu.au

Heike Behrens
MPI for Evolutionary
Anthropology
Inselstrasse 22
04103 Leipzig
GERMANY
behrens@eva.mpg.de

Paul Boersma
University of Amsterdam
Institute of Phonetic Sciences
Herengracht 338
1016 CG Amsterdam
NETHERLANDS
paul.boersma@hum.uva.nl

Heather Bortfeld
Brown University
Box 1978
Providence, RI 02912
Heather_Bortfeld@brown.edu

Monique Bournot-Trites
University of British Columbia
Dept of Language & Literacy
Education
2125 Main Hall
Vancouver, BC
CANADA V6T 1Z2
monique.bournot-trites@ubc.ca

Sharice Brown
University of Connecticut
406 Babbidge Rd U-20
Storrs, CT 06269-1020
sab98002@yahoo.com

Joyce Bruhn de Garavito
Univ. of Western Ontario
Dept. of Modern Langs. & Lit.
University College
London, ON
CANADA N6A 3K7
joyceb@uwo.ca

Lisa Campisi
McGill University
School of Comm Sci and Disord.
1266 Pine Avenue
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3G 1A8
lisa_campisi@hotmail.com

Susan Carey
Harvard University
Dept. of Psychology
William James Hall 1170
33 Kirkland St.
Cambridge, MA 02138
scarey@wjh.harvard.edu

Adrienne Cheek
University of Texas at Austin
Dept. of Linguistics
Austin, TX 78712
acheek@mail.utexas.edu

Florelle Chevaux
Institut des Sciences Cognitives
Centre National de Recherche
Scientifique
67 Blvd. Pinel
69675 Bron
FRANCE
chevaux@isc.cnrs.fr

Laurence Chillier
Laboratory of Experimental
Psychology
FAPSE, University of Geneva
40 Boulevard du Pont d'Arve
1205 Geneva
SWITZERLAND
laurence.chillier@pse.unige.ch

Myong-Hee Choi
Southern Illinois Univ. at
Carbondale
Dept. of Linguistics
Carbondale, IL 62901
mhchoi98@hotmail.com

Morten H. Christiansen
Cornell University
Dept. of Psychology
Ithaca, NY 14853
morten@siu.edu

Harald Clahsen
University of Essex
Department of Lang. & Ling.
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SQ
UNITED KINGDOM
harald@essex.ac.uk

Eliana Colunga
Indiana University
Dept of Psychology
1101 E. 10th St.
Bloomington, IN 47405
ecolunga@cs.indiana.edu

Stephen Crain
University of Maryland
Dept of Linguistics
1401 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, MD 20742
sc180@umail.umd.edu

Stéphanie Cronel-Ohayon
University of Geneva
40 Boulevard du Pont d'Arve
1205 Geneva
SWITZERLAND

Suzanne Curtin
University of Southern California
GFS 301
Los Angeles, CA 90089-1693
scurtin@cortex.psych.ubc.ca

Rick A.C. Dale
Cornell University
Dept. of Psychology
Uris Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853

Barbara L. Davis
University of Texas at Austin
Speech and Hearing Center
CMA 7.218
Austin, TX 78712
babs@mail.utexas.edu

Esterella de Roo
University of Leiden
ULCL
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden
NETHERLANDS
e.m.de.roo@let.leidenuniv.nl

Jill G. de Villiers
Smith College
Psychology Dept.
College Lane
Northampton, MA 01063
jdevil@smith.edu

Katherine Demuth
Brown University
Department of Cognitive and
Linguistic Sciences
Box 1978
Providence, RI 02912
Katherine_Demuth@brown.edu

Daniel Dinnsen
Indiana University
Department of Linguistics
Memorial Hall 322
1021 East 3rd Street
Bloomington, IN 47405
dinnsen@indiana.edu

Morag L. Donaldson
University of Edinburgh
Department of Psychology
7 George Square
Edinburgh EH8 9JZ
UNITED KINGDOM
morag.donaldson@ed.ac.uk

Heiner Drenhaus
Insitut fuer Linguistik
Postfach 60 1553
14415 Potsdam
GERMANY
drenhaus@ling.uni-potsdam.de

Hang Du
University of Arizona
The SLAT Program
Tucson, AZ 85712
dhang@u.arizona.edu

Sébastien Dubé
Laboratory of Experimental
Psychology
FAPSE, University of Geneva
40 Boulevard du Pont d'Arve
1205 Geneva
SWITZERLAND
sebastien.dube@pse.unige.ch

Daphne Ducharme
McGill University
1266 Pine Avenue West
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3G 1A8
daphne.ducharme@mcgill.ca

Nigel Duffield
McGill University
Dept. of Linguistics
1085 Dr. Penfield Ave.
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3A 1A7
nduffi@po-box.mcgill.ca

Pilar Durán
University of Reading
Bulmershe Court, Earley
Reading HG6 1HY
UNITED KINGDOM
p.duran@reading.ac.uk

Jeffrey L. Elman
Univ. of California San Diego
9500 Gilman Dr.
La Jolla, CA 92093-0526
elman@crl.ucsd.edu

Paola Escudero
McGill University
School of Comm. Sci.
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3G 1A8
p.r.escudero@reading.ac.uk

Kristin Fairwood
University of Connecticut
406 Babbidge Rd U-20
Storrs, CT 06269-1020
kri91280@aol.com

Sarah Felber
University of Connecticut
Linguistics Department
341 Mansfield Rd U-1145
Storrs, CT 06269-1145
sao99001@sp.uconn.edu

Cynthia Fisher
University of Illinois
Dept. of Psychology
603 E. Daniel Street
Champaign, IL 61820
cfisher@s.psych.uiuc.edu

James E. Flege
Univ. of Alabama
Speech & Hearing Sciences
CH20 Room 119
1530 3rd Ave. South
Birmingham, AL 35294-2042
jeflege@uab.edu

Julie Franck
Laboratory of Experimental
Psychology
FAPSE, University of Geneva
40 Boulevard du Pont d'Arve
1205 Geneva
SWITZERLAND

Jennifer Francois
University of Kansas
Child Language Program
1000 Sunnyside Ave.
3031 Dole Center
Lawrence, KS 66045-7555
jfranc@ku.edu

Triada Frangou
Boston University
Psychology Department
64 Cummington Street
Boston, MA 02215
tfrangou@bu.edu

Ulrich H. Frauenfelder
Laboratory of Experimental
Psychology
FAPSE, University of Geneva
40 Boulevard du Pont d'Arve
1205 Geneva
SWITZERLAND
ulrich.frauenfelder@pse.unige.ch

Angela D. Friederici
Max Planck Institute of Cognitive
Neuroscience
Stephanstrasse 1a
04103 Leipzig
GERMANY

Michael Gasser
Indiana University
Cognitive Science Department
Lindley Hall 215
Bloomington, IN 47405
gasser@cs.indiana.edu

Fred Genesee
McGill University
Psychology Department
1205 Dr. Penfield Ave.
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3A 1B1
genesee@ego.psych.mcgill.ca

LouAnn Gerken
University of Arizona
Dept. of Speech & Hearing Sci.
P.O. Box 210071
Tucson, AZ 85721-0071
gerken@u.arizona.edu

Judith A. Gierut
Indiana University
Learnability Laboratory
Dept. of Speech & Hearing Sci.
200 S. Jordan Avenue
Bloomington, IN 47405-7002
gierut@indiana.edu

Henry Gleitman
University of Pennsylvania
Psychology Department
3815 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104
henry@psych.upenn.edu

Lila Gleitman
University of Pennsylvania
Institute for Research in Cognitive
Science
3401 Walnut St., Suite 400A
Philadelphia, PA 19104
gleitman@psych.upenn.edu

Heather Goad
McGill University
Dept. of Linguistics
1085 Dr. Penfield Ave.
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3A 1A7
hgoad@po-box.mcgill.ca

Beverly A. Goldfield
Rhode Island College
Psychology Department
Mt. Pleasant Ave.
Providence, RI 02908
bgoldfield@ric.edu

Susan Goldin-Meadow
University of Chicago
Dept. of Psychology
5848 S. University Ave.
Chicago, IL 60637
sgsg@midway.uchicago.edu

Roberta M. Golinkoff
University of Delaware
School of Education
Newark, DE 19716-2901
roberta@udel.edu

Andrea Gualmini
University of Maryland
Dept of Linguistics
1401 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, MD 20742
agualmin@wam.umd.edu

Ayse Gürel
McGill University
Dept of Linguistics
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3A 1A7
agurel@po-box.mcgill.ca

Anja Hahne
Max Planck Institute of Cognitive
Neuroscience
Stephanstrasse 1a
04103 Leipzig
GERMANY

Cornelia Hamann
University of Geneva
Dept. of General Linguistics
2 rue de Landolt
CH-1211 Geneva
SWITZERLAND
cornelia.hamann@lettres.unige.ch

Amy J. Hammond
University of Chicago
Dept. of Psychology
5848 S. University Ave.
Chicago, IL 60637
ajhammon@midway.uchicago.edu

Catherine L. Harris
Boston University
Department of Psychology
64 Cummington Street
Boston, MA 02215
charris@bu.edu

Etsuko Haryu
Aoyama-Gakuin University
4-4-25 Shibuya
Shibuya-ku
Tokyo 150-8366, JAPAN
eharyu@cl.aoyama.ac.jp

Marc D. Hauser
Harvard University
Dept. of Psychology
33 Kirkland St. Room 980
Cambridge, MA 02138
hauser@wjh.harvard.edu

Elizabeth A. Hennon
Temple University Infant Labs
580 Meetinghouse Rd
Ambler, PA 19002
ehennon@inix.temple.edu

Kathy Hirsh-Pasek
Temple University
Department of Psychology
Weiss Hall
Philadelphia, PA 19122
khirshpa@nimbus.temple.edu

Miren Hodgson
Univ. of Massachusetts Amherst
193 Bartlett Ave.
Pittsfield, MA 01201
mhdgson@spanport.umass.edu

George Hollich
Johns Hopkins University
Dept. of Cognitive Science
137D Krieger Hall
Baltimore, MD 21218
ghollich@yahoo.com

Carla L. Hudson
University of Rochester
Dept. of Brain & Cog. Sciences
Rochester, NY 14627
hudson@bcs.rochester.edu

Nina Hyams
Univ. of California Los Angeles
Linguistics Department
Box 951543
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1543
hyams@humnet.ucla.edu

Mutsumi Imai
Keio University
Keio Univ. at Shonan-Fujisawa
Kanagawa 252-8520
JAPAN
imai@sfc.keio.ac.jp

Valerie E. Johnson
Vanderbilt Univ. School of
Medicine
Dept. of Hearing & Speech Sci.
Nashville, TN 37232
valerie.e.johnson@vanderbilt.edu

Sun-Ah Jun
Univ. of California Los Angeles
Linguistics Department
Box 951543
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1543
jun@humnet.ucla.edu

Edward Kako
Swarthmore College
Department of Psychology
Swarthmore, PA 19081-1390
ekako1@swarthmore.edu

Boook Kang
University of Connecticut
Linguistics Department
341 Mansfield Rd U-1145
Storrs, CT 06269-1145
bok99002@sp.uconn.edu

Karla Kaun
University of British Columbia
Department of Psychology
2136 West Mall
Vancouver, BC
CANADA V6T 1Z4
kkaun@axion.net

Judith F. Kroll
Pennsylvania State University
Dept. of Psych. & Prog. in Ling.
and Applied Lang. Studies
641 Moore Building
University Park, PA 16802
jfk7@psu.edu

Aylin C. Küntay
Koç University
Rumeli Feneri Yolu
Sariyer 80910
Istanbul
TURKEY
akuntay@ku.edu.tr

Kristen La Mont
University of Pennsylvania
Department of Psychology
3815 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6196
kalm@sas.upenn.edu

Usha Lakshmanan
Southern Illinois Univ. at
Carbondale
Dept. of Linguistics
Carbondale, IL 62901
usha@siu.edu

Barbara Landau
Johns Hopkins University
Department of Cognitive Science
243 Krieger Hall
3400 N. Charles St.
Baltimore, MD 21218-2685
landau@cogsci.jhu.edu

Sunyoung Lee
University of Hawaii at Manoa
750 Kaheka St. #1260
Honolulu, HI 96814
leesunyo@hawaii.edu

Yonata Levy
The Hebrew University
Psychology Department
Jerusalem 91905
ISRAEL
msyonata@mscc.huji.ac.il

John D. Lewis
McGill University
Dept. of Linguistics
1085 Dr. Penfield Ave.
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3A 1A7
jlewis@crl.ucsd.edu

Peggy Li
University of Pennsylvania
3401 Walnut St., Suite 400A
Philadelphia, PA 19104
pegs@cattell.psych.upenn.edu

Jeffrey Lidz
Northwestern University
Department of Linguistics
2016 Sheridan Road, Room 10
Evanston, IL 60208-4090
jlidz@northwestern.edu

Elena V.M. Lieven
Max-Planck-Institute for
Evolutionary Anthropology
04103 Leipzig
GERMANY
lieven@eva.mpg.de

Diane Lillo-Martin
University of Connecticut
Haskins Laboratories
Linguistics Department
341 Mansfield Rd U-1145
Storrs, CT 06269-1145
lillom@uconnvm.uconn.edu

Paul A. Luce
SUNY Buffalo
Dept. of Psychology
Buffalo, NY 14260
luce@acsu.buffalo.edu

Monika Lueck
Max Planck Institute of Cognitive
Neuroscience
04103 Leipzig
GERMANY
lueck@cns.mpg.de

*Malillo Machobane
The National University of Lesotho
Roma 180
LESOTHO
emmachobane@nul.ls

Molly Mack
University of Illinois
Dept. of Linguistics
4088 FLB
707 S. Matthews Ave.
Urbana, IL 61801
m-mack1@uiuc.edu

Mandy J. Maguire
Temple University Infant Labs
Ambler, PA 19002
mmaguire@astro.temple.edu

David Malvern
University of Reading
Bulmershe Court, Earley
Reading RG6 1HY
UNITED KINGDOM
D.D.Malvern@reading.ac.uk

- Blagovesta Maneva
McGill University
Psychology Department
1205 Dr. Penfield Ave.
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3A 1B1
satehsleiman@sprint.ca
- Dario L. Manzoni
Utrecht University
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
dario.manzoni@let.uu.nl
- Caroline Marcoux
McGill University
Psychology Department
1205 Dr. Penfield Ave.
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3A 1B1
carolinemarcoux@hotmail.com
- Ayumi Matsuo
Max Planck Institute
Wundtlaan 1
Nijmegen NL 6525
NETHERLANDS
Ayumi.Matsuo@mpi.nl
- Rachel Mayberry
McGill University
SCSD
1266 Pine Avenue West
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3G 1A8
rachel.mayberry@mcgill.ca
- Jessica Maye
University of Rochester
Department of Brain & Cognitive
Sciences
Meliora Hall
Rochester, NY 14627
jmaye@bcs.rochester.edu
- Peggy McCardle
Nat. Inst. of Child Health &
Human Dev.
6100 Executive Blvd. Suite 4B05
W. Rockville, MD 20852
pm43Q@NIH.GOV
- Cecile McKee
National Science Foundation
Linguistics Program
4201 Wilson Blvd., Suite 995
Arlington, VA 22230
cmckee@nsf.gov
- Richard P. Meier
University of Texas at Austin
Dept. of Linguistics
Austin, TX 78712
rmeier@mail.utexas.edu
- Melissa Menge
Northern Illinois University
Dept. of Communicative Disorder
303 Gilbert Hall
DeKalb, IL 60115
- Francina Moloji
The National University of
Lesotho
Roma 180
LESOTHO
emmachobane@nul.ls
- Silvina Montrul
University of Illinois at Urbana
Champaign
Department of Spanish, Italian &
Portuguese
4080 Foreign Languages Building
707 S. Mathews Ave MC-176
Urbana, IL 61801
montrul@uiuc.edu
- Christopher J. Moreland
University of Texas at Austin
Dept. of Linguistics
Austin, TX 78712
moreland@alumni.utexas.edu
- James L. Morgan
Brown University
Dept. of Cognitive & Ling.
Sciences
Box 1978
Providence, RI 02906
James_Morgan@brown.edu
- Michele L. Morrisette
Indiana University
Learnability Laboratory
Department of Speech & Hearing
Sciences
200 S. Jordan Avenue
Bloomington, IN 47405-7002
mmorris@indiana.edu
- Jennifer Mortimer
6744 Jedora Dr.
Brentwood Bay
British Columbia
CANADA V8M 1A5
jm_linguistics@hotmail.com
- Edward Munnich
University of Delaware
Department of Psychology
Newark, DE 19716
munnich91@alum.mit.edu
- Claire Murray
University of Edinburgh
Duddington Primary School
70a Duddington Road
Edinburgh EH15 1SW
UNITED KINGDOM
- Julien Musolino
Indiana University
Dept. of Speech and Hearing Sci.
200 S. Jordan Ave.
Bloomington, IN 47405-7002
musolino@indiana.edu
- Letitia R. Naigles
University of Connecticut
Storrs, CT 06269-1020
naigles@uconnvm.uconn.edu
- Constantine Nakassis
c/o Jesse Snedeker
1138 William James Hall
Harvard University
33 Kirkland Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
cnakassi@sas.upenn.edu
- Elissa L. Newport
University of Rochester
Dept. of Brain & Cog. Sciences
Meliora Hall-River Campus
Rochester, NY 14627
newport@bcs.rochester.edu
- Elena Nicoladis
University of Alberta
Dept. of Psychology
Edmonton, AB
CANADA T6G 2E9
elenan@ualberta.ca
- Susanne Niedeggen-Bartke
University of Marburg
W.-Roepke Str. 6A
35039 Marburg
GERMANY
bartke@mail.uni-marburg.de
- Ira Noveck
Institut des Sciences Cognitives
Centre National de Recherche
Scientifique
67 Blvd. Pinel
69675 Bron
FRANCE
noveck@isc.cnrs.fr
- Christopher Odato
Brown University
Department of Cognitive &
Linguistic Sciences
Box 1978
Providence, RI 02912
Christopher.Odato@brown.edu
- Janet S. Oh
Univ. of California Los Angeles
Psychology Dept.
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1563
janetoh@ucla.edu

Sunyoung Oh
University of British Columbia
Dept of Linguistics
E270-1866 Main Hall
Vancouver, BC
CANADA V6T 1Z1
sunyoh@interchange.ubc.ca

George M. J. Perry
Boston University
Department of Psychology
64 Cummington Ave.
Boston, MA 02215
gmjperry@bu.edu

Matthew Rispoli
Northern Illinois University
Dept. of Communicative Disorder
DeKalb, IL 60115
mrispolo@nu.edu

Reiko Okabe
University of Tokyo
3-32-13-205 Nakaizumi
Tokyo 201-0012
JAPAN
reiko@sannet.ne.jp

William Philip
Utrecht University
English Dept.
Trans 10
3512-JK Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
bill.philip@let.uu.nl

Luigi Rizzi
University of Siena
Scienze della comunicazione
Piazza San Francesco 8
53100 Siena
ITALY
rizzil@unisi.it

Hiroyuki Okada
Fujitsu Laboratories LTD
Computer Systems Laboratories
9-3 Nakase 1-Chome
Mihama-ku
Chiba City
Chiba 261-8588
JAPAN
OkadaHiroyuki@jp.fujitsu.com

Linda Polka
McGill University
School of Comm Sci and Disord.
1266 Pine Avenue
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3G 1A8
lpolka@po-box.mcgill.ca

Yvan Rose
University of Calif. Berkeley
Dept. of Linguistics
1203 Dwinelle Hall
Berkeley, CA 94720-2650
yrose@mac.com

Asli Özyürek
Koç University
Rumeli Feneri Yolu
Istanbul 89010
TURKEY
aozyurek@ku.edu.tr

Karen Rathbun
Brown University
190 Thayer St.
Box 1978
Providence, RI 02912
Karen_Rathbun@brown.edu

Manola Salustri
University of Sienna
CISCL
Piazza San Francesco 8
53100 Siena
ITALY
Manola@ucla.edu

Anna Papafragou
IRCS
University of Pennsylvania
3401 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104
anna4@linc.cis.upenn.edu

Melissa A. Redford
University of Texas at Austin
Dept. of Computer Sciences
Austin, TX 78712
redford@cs.utexas.edu

Tetsuya Sano
Meiji Gakuin University
English Department
1-2-37 Shirokanedai
Minato-ku
Tokyo 108-8636
JAPAN
sano@ltr.meijigakuin.ac.jp

Vicki A. Pardallis
6 Kapodistriou Street, 7th Floor
Athens 10682
GREECE
pardallis@bu.edu

Kenneth Reeder
University of British Columbia
Dept of Lang. & Literacy Ed.
2125 Main Hall
Vancouver, BC
CANADA V6T 1Z2
kenneth.reeder@ubc.ca

Petra Schulz
Universitaet Konstanz
Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft
Postfach 5560
78434 Konstanz
GERMANY
petra.schulz@uni-konstanz.de

Hyeson Park
University of South Carolina
Linguistics Program
Columbia, SC 29208
pusan2@hotmail.com

Jennifer Reid
University of Edinburgh
Crossgates Language Unit
97 Dunfermline Road
Crossgates, Cowdenbeath
Fife KY4 8AR
UNITED KINGDOM

Amanda Seidl
Johns Hopkins University
Dept. of Cognitive Science
Baltimore, MD 21218
seidl@cogsci.jhu.edu

Joe Pater
University of Massachusetts
Dept. of Linguistics
Amherst, MA 01003-7130
pater@linguist.umass.edu

Mabel L. Rice
University of Kansas
Child Language Program
3031 Dole Center
Lawrence, KS 66045-7555
mabel@ku.edu

Ann Senghas
Columbia University
Dept. Of Psychology
New York, NY 10027
annie@alum.mit.edu

Alexandra Perovic
University College London
Gower Street
London WC1E 6BT
UNITED KINGDOM
alexp@linguistics.ucl.ac.uk

Brian Richards
University of Reading
Bulmershe Court, Earley
Reading RG6 1HY
UNITED KINGDOM
B.J.Richards@reading.ac.uk

Anthony Sharillo
University of Connecticut
406 Babbidge Rd U-20
Storrs, CT 06269-1020
tonysharp@hotmail.com

Leher Singh
 Brown University
 Box 1978
 Providence, RI 02912
 Leher_Singh@brown.edu

Barbora Škarabela
 Boston University
 Program in Applied Linguistics
 64 Cummington Ave.
 Boston, MA 02215
 sbarbora@bu.edu

Roumyana Slabakova
 University of Iowa
 Department of Linguistics
 557 EPB
 Iowa City, IA 52242
 roumyana-slabakova@uiowa.edu

Carly B. Slutzky
 Temple University Infant Labs
 580 Meetinghouse Rd
 Ambler, PA 19002
 carlita33@excite.com

Jesse Snedeker
 Harvard University
 Dept. of Psychology
 33 Kirkland St.
 Cambridge, MA 02138
 snedeker@wjh.harvard.edu

William Snyder
 Univ. of Connecticut
 Haskins Laboratories
 Linguistics Dept.
 341 Mansfield Rd. U-1145
 Storrs, CT 06269-1145
 wsnyder@sp.uconn.edu

Melanie Soderstrom
 Johns Hopkins University
 Department of Psychology
 Ames Hall 3400, N. Charles St.
 Baltimore, MD 21218
 melsod@jhu.edu

Hyun-joo Song
 University of Illinois
 Dept. of Psychology
 603 E. Daniel Street
 Champaign, IL 61820
 hsong@s.psych.uiuc.edu

Jennifer Sootsman
 University of Delaware
 Infant Language Project
 School of Education
 Newark, DE 19716
 jsoots@udel.edu

Cristina M. Sorrentino
 New York University
 Dept. of Psychology
 6 Washington Place, Room 410
 New York, NY 10003
 mcs7@nyu.edu

Michal Starke
 University of Geneva
 40 Boulevard du Pont d'Arve
 1205 Geneva
 SWITZERLAND

Holly L. Storkel
 University of Kansas
 Department of Speech-Language
 Hearing
 1000 Sunnyside Avenue
 Lawrence, KS 66045-7555
 hstorkel@ku.edu

Karin Stromswold
 Rutgers University
 Dept. of Psychology and Center
 for Cognitive Science
 New Brunswick, NJ 08903
 karin@rucss.rutgers.edu

Koji Sugisaki
 2-32-17 Minami-Ikebukuro
 Tokyo 171-0022
 JAPAN
 koji.sugisaki@uconn.edu

Megha Sundara
 McGill University
 School of Comm Sci and Disord.
 1266 Pine Avenue
 Montreal, QC
 CANADA H3G 1A8
 msunda@po-box.mcgill.ca

Gretchen Sunderman
 Pennsylvania State University
 Dept. of Spanish, Italian &
 Portuguese
 342 N. Burrows
 University Park, PA 16802
 gxs26@psu.edu

Mary D. Swift
 Univ. of Rochester
 Center for Language Sciences
 Rochester, NY 14627
 mswift@ling.rochester.edu

Michael Tomasello
 Max Planck Institute for
 Evolutionary Anthropology
 Inselstrasse 22
 04103 Leipzig
 GERMANY
 tomas@eva.mpg.de

Pavel Trofimovich
 University of Illinois
 Dept. of Educational Psych.
 G70 FLB
 707 S. Matthews Ave.
 Urbana, IL 61801
 trofmvch@uiuc.edu

John Trueswell
 Univ. of Pennsylvania
 IRCS
 3401 Walnut Street
 Suite 400A
 Philadelphia, PA 19104-6228
 trueswel@psych.upenn.edu

Kamil Ud Deen
 Univ. of California Los Angeles
 405 Hilgard Avenue
 Los Angeles, CA 90095
 kamil@ucla.edu

Sigal Uziel-Karl
 Tel Aviv University
 P. O. Box 803
 Reut 71908
 ISRAEL
 sigal@alum.mit.edu

Anne Vainikka
 John Hopkins University
 Cognitive Science Dept
 Baltimore, MD 21218
 avainikka@vonneumann.cog.jhu.edu

Elena Valenzuela
 McGill University
 Department of Linguistics
 1085 Dr Penfield Avenue
 Montreal, QC
 CANADA H3A 1A7
 evalen@po-box.mcgill.ca

Suzanne van der Feest
 Utrecht University
 St. Ludgerusstraat 68
 3553 CS Utrecht
 NETHERLANDS
 suzanne@vanderfeest.nl

Angeliek van Hout
 Groningen University
 Dept. of English
 PO Box 716
 9700 AS Groningen
 NETHERLANDS
 angeliek.vanhout@let.rug.nl

Nada Vasic
 Utrecht University
 Trans 10
 3512 JK Utrecht
 NETHERLANDS
 nada.vasic@let.uu.nl

Laura Wagner
 Harvard University
 Dept. of Psychology
 11th Floor William James Hall
 33 Kirkland St.
 Cambridge, MA 02138

Sandra R. Waxman
Northwestern University
Dept. of Psychology
2029 Sheridan Road
Evanston, IL 60208-2710
s-waxman@northwestern.edu

Janet F. Werker
University of British Columbia
Department of Psychology
2136 West Mall
Vancouver, BC
CANADA V6T 1Z4
jwerker@cortex.psych.ubc.ca

Ken Wexler
Mass. Institute of Technology
Dept. of Brain and Cog. Sciences
77 Mass. Ave. NE20-409
Cambridge, MA 02139
wexler@psyche.mit.edu

Katherine White
Brown University, Box 1978
Providence, RI 02912
Katherine_White@brown.edu

Lydia White
McGill University
Dept of Linguistics
1085 Dr. Penfield Ave.
Montreal, QC
CANADA H3A 1A7
LWhite@po-box.mcgill.ca

Fei Xu
Northeastern University
125 NI
Boston, MA 02115
fxu@neu.edu

Kyoko Yamakoshi
2-14-1-612 Tsunashima-nishi
223-0053
JAPAN
cxp06061@nifty.ne.jp

Hui Yin
University of Alberta
Dept. of Linguistics
Assiniboia Hall
Edmonton, AB
CANADA T6G 2E9
hyin@ualberta.ca

Martha Young-Scholten
University of Durham
Dept of Linguistics and Engl Lang
Elvet Riverside
Durham DH1 3JT
UNITED KINGDOM
Martha.Young-
Scholten@durham.ac.uk

Pascal Zesiger
Laboratory of Experimental
Psychology, FAPSE
University of Geneva
40 Boulevard du Pont d'Arve
1205 Geneva
SWITZERLAND
pascal.zesiger@pse.unige.ch

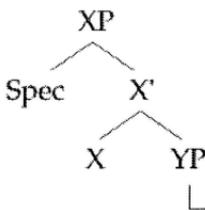
Lan Zhang
University of South Carolina
Linguistics Program
Columbia, SC 29208
zhanglan1127@hotmail.com

Shalom Zuckerman
Utrecht University
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
zuckerman@let.uu.nl

Andrea Zukowski
University of Maryland
1401 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, MD 20742
zukowski@glue.umd.edu

Kie Zuraw
University of Southern California
GFS 301
Dept. of Linguistics
Los Angeles, CA 90089-1693
zuraw@usc.edu

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Naigles, Letitia R.	Friday, 5:00 PM	Session A	20
Nakassis, Constantine	Saturday, 2:00 PM	Session C	50
Newport, Elissa L.	Saturday, 10:00 AM	Session A	29
.....	Sunday, 12:30 PM	Session A	56
Nicoladis, Elena	Saturday, 10:00 AM	Session C	36
Niedeggen-Bartke, Susanne	Friday, 9:30 AM	Session B	11
Noveck, Ira	Sunday, 12:30 PM	Session B	60
Odato, Christopher	Friday, 4:00 PM	Session A	19
Oh, Janet S.	Saturday, 12:00 PM	Session C	36
Oh, Sunyoung	Friday, 9:00 AM	Session C	14
Okabe, Reiko	Saturday, 9:00 AM	Session B	31
Okada, Hiroyuki	ALTERNATE		66
Özyürek, Asli	Friday, 2:30 PM	Session B	21
.....	Saturday, 3:00 PM	Session B	48
Papafragou, Anna	Saturday, 3:00 PM	Session C	51
Pardallis, Vicki A.	Friday, 5:00 PM	Session C	26
Park, Hyeson	ALTERNATE		66
Pater, Joe	Sunday, 9:00 AM	Session C	61
Perovic, Alexandra	Friday, 4:30 PM	Session B	23
Perry, George M. J.	Sunday, 11:00 AM	Session C	62
Philip, William	ALTERNATE		67
Polka, Linda	Friday, 9:30 AM	Session C	14
Rathbun, Karen	Saturday, 9:30 AM	Session A	28
Redford, Melissa A.	Saturday, 11:00 AM	Session C	35
Reeder, Kenneth	Saturday, 4:30 PM	Session C	52
Reid, Jennifer	Saturday, 2:30 PM	Session C	50
Rice, Mabel L.	Friday, 4:00 PM	Session B	22
Richards, Brian	Friday, 11:30 AM	Session C	16

Rispoli, Matthew	Friday, 12:00 PM	Session C	16
Rizzi, Luigi	ALTERNATE		64
Rose, Yvan	Sunday, 9:30 AM	Session C	61
Salustri, Manola	Friday, 2:00 PM	Session C	24
Sano, Tetsuya	Saturday, 9:00 AM	Session B	31
Schulz, Petra	Friday, 12:00 PM	Session B	13
Seidl, Amanda	Saturday, 10:00 AM	Session B	32
Senghas, Ann	Friday, 11:00 AM	Session A	9
Sharillo, Anthony	Friday, 5:00 PM	Session A	20
Singh, Leher	Friday, 3:00 PM	Session A	19
.....	Saturday, 9:30 AM	Session A	28
Škarabela, Barbora	Friday, 2:00 PM	Session B	21
Slabakova, Roumyana	ALTERNATE		67
Slutzky, Carly B.	Sunday, 9:00 AM	Session A	53
Smith, Melissa	Friday, 5:00 PM	Session A	20
Snedeker, Jesse	Saturday, 9:00 AM	Session A	28
.....	Saturday, 2:00 PM	Session C	50
Snyder, William	Friday, 11:00 AM	Session B	12
.....	Saturday, 9:30 AM	Session B	31
Soderstrom, Melanie	Sunday, 10:00 AM	Session B	58
Song, Hyun-joo	Friday, 3:00 PM	Session B	22
Sootsman, Jennifer	Sunday, 9:00 AM	Session A	53
Sorrentino, Cristina M.	Sunday, 9:30 AM	Session A	53
Starke, Michal	ALTERNATE		64
Storkel, Holly L.	Friday, 2:00 PM	Session A	18
.....	Saturday, 2:00 PM	Session A	44
Stromswold, Karin	Saturday, 11:30 AM	Session A	30
Sugisaki, Koji	Saturday, 9:30 AM	Session B	31
Sundara, Megha	Friday, 9:30 AM	Session C	14
Sunderman, Gretchen	Saturday, 2:00 PM	Session B	47
Swift, Mary D.	Sunday, 9:30 AM	Session B	57
Tomasello, Michael	Friday, 4:30 PM	Session A	20
Trofimovich, Pavel	Saturday, 11:30 AM	Session C	36
Trueswell, John	Saturday, 9:00 AM	Session A	28
Ud Deen, Kamil	Sunday, 9:00 AM	Session B	57
Uziel-Karl, Sigal	Saturday, 4:00 PM	Session B	48
Vainikka, Anne	Friday, 2:30 PM	Session C	24
Valenzuela, Elena	Sunday, 12:30 PM	Session C	64
van der Feest, Suzanne	Saturday, 11:30 AM	Session B	33
van Hout, Angeliek	Saturday, 11:30 AM	Session B	33
Vasic, Nada	Friday, 11:30 AM	Session B	13
Wagner, Laura	Saturday, 12:00 PM	Session B	33
Waxman, Sandra R.	Friday, 9:00 AM	Session A	8
Werker, Janet F.	Saturday, 2:30 PM	Session A	45
Wexler, Ken	Friday, 4:00 PM	Session B	22
.....	Sunday, 10:00 AM	Session B	58
White, Katherine	Saturday, 9:30 AM	Session A	28
White, Lydia	Friday, 4:00 PM	Session C	25
Xu, Fei	Friday, 10:00 AM	Session A	9
Yamakoshi, Kyoko	Sunday, 11:30 AM	Session B	59
Yin, Hui	Saturday, 10:00 AM	Session C	35
Young-Scholten, Martha	Friday, 2:30 PM	Session C	24
Zesiger, Pascal	ALTERNATE		64
Zhang, Lan	ALTERNATE		66
Zuckerman, Shalom	Friday, 11:30 AM	Session B	13
Zukowski, Andrea	Friday, 10:00 AM	Session B	12
Zuraw, Kie	Sunday, 10:00 AM	Session C	62

NOTES
