THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY PROSODIC WORD STRUCTURE IN CHILD GERMAN: SIMPLEX WORDS AND COMPOUNDS

Dissertation

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1 Introduction

1.1 Investigating child phonology

At approximately 12 months of age, normally developing children produce their first meaningful words. These early words differ from their corresponding adult target word in several respects: Usually, the words do not comprise more than two syllables, and children are not yet capable of producing the complete sound inventory of the target language.

It has long been noticed that, despite the frequent segmental and prosodic errors, children do not randomly omit or substitute sounds and syllables of the adult target word. There is ample evidence that reduction processes are applied in a systematic way. This holds for the level of segmental structure (Jakobson 1948/65, Smith 1971, see Bernhardt and Stemberger 1998: 277-287, Fikkert 2007 for an overview), syllable structure (Fikkert 1994, Ota, 2003, see also Bernhardt and Stemberger 1998: 368-441, Fikkert 2007) and for foot and prosodic word structure (cf. Fikkert 1994, Demuth and Fee 1995, Archibald 1995, Gerken 1996).

The present study investigates the acquisition of prosodic word structure in German. The aim is to provide an empirical and theoretical analysis of the development of multisyllabic simplex words and compounds in early child German. Consistent with previous research, it will be shown that the children pass through a single-foot stage, a two-feet stage, and finally permit unfooted syllables. In accordance with Kehoe 1999/2000, I argue that the stages characterize the upper limit of words. For example, children's outputs are permitted to contain two feet at the two-feet stage. Some outputs do so, while others are persistently truncated to a single foot.

Previous research has stated that children's single foot stage corresponds to the minimality constraints found in adult language. For example, the foot represents the lower prosodic limit of content words in many languages. This observation is formulated by the so-called *Minimal Word Constraint* (Demuth and Fee 1995, Demuth 1996a for child language). The foot also represents the minimal stress domain in adult (cf. Hayes 1995) and child language (Fikkert 1994). Furthermore, morphological and prosodic processes often result in a bisyllabic foot in adult (cf. Fery 1997 for German clippings, Wiese 1996 for German plural formation) and child language (cf. Fikkert 1994 for truncation and epentheses, Salidis and Johnson 1997 and Ota 2003 for truncation and compensatory lengthening). Due to the importance of the foot in German phonology, it plays a crucial role in early child German.

It has also been emphasized that the shape of children's early feet is determined by languagespecific properties. The early vocabularies of children acquiring German, Dutch and English contain many bisyllabic words (Fikkert 1994, Demuth and Fee 1995, Lleó and Demuth 1999). In these languages the unmarked prosodic word corresponds to a bisyllabic trochee. By contrast, the early foot structure of children acquiring stress-final languages such as French is a monosyllable (Rose 2000, Demuth and Johnson 2003). These authors also reported that, due to the fact that French permits sub-minimal prosodic words, truncation to CV-syllables is found for a relatively long period of time. Prieto (2006) made a similar observation comparing child Catalan and Spanish. Catalan permits more monosyllables and iambic bisyllables than Spanish. Children acquiring Catalan truncate iambs to monosyllables for a longer period of time than children acquiring Spanish. For child Japanese, Ota (2003) showed that the moraic content of feet is respected at the beginning of word production. The mora constrains stress placement and syllable complexity in adult Japanese, and children are sensitive to these restrictions. And finally, in a cross-linguistic comparison of child German and child Spanish, Lleó and Demuth (1999) and Lleó (2001) showed that Spanish children start producing unfooted syllables at an earlier age than their German peers. The German children first passed through a two-feet-stage before they permitted unfooted syllables.

The brief review shows that most of the earlier research is based on the production pattern of multisyllabic simplex words in languages other than German. Although the acquisition of closely related languages such as Dutch and English has been studied to some extent (e.g., Fikkert 1994, 2001, Wijnen et al. 1994 for Dutch; Gerken 1991 and subsequent research, Demuth and Fee 1995, Pater 1997, Salidis and Johnson 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000 for English), a detailed investigation of the development of prosodic word structure is still lacking for German. Furthermore, it is unclear whether children are sensitive to the word-internal morphological and prosodic organization of simplex words and compounds. The present thesis compares the development of simplex words and compounds concentrating on the following two questions:

- 1) Which stages of word-prosodic development can be determined for simplex words and compounds in early child German?
- 2) Are these stages consistent with optimality-theoretic approaches to phonological development stating that child grammars reflect the re-ranking of universal constraints?

These two questions will be illustrated in more detail in subsections 1.2 and 1.3.

1.2 Empirical Analysis

The primary aim of the study is to identify and describe the developmental stages for early child German. The evidence is based on the truncation pattern of multisyllabic words. In adult German, these words differ with regard to the target number of syllables and the location of the main-stressed syllable. In German multisyllabic simplex words, main stress normally falls on the final or prefinal syllable. In contrast, compounds regularly receive main stress on the first constituent (and here usually on the first syllable). The children have to learn these prosodic regularities, and their knowledge should be reflected in the output. Therefore, one important aspect of the empirical part is to what extent the prosodic organization of the target word determines the structure of the output. If it plays no role, children are predicted to truncate simplex words and compounds in the same way at a given stage in their development. If children distinguish between simplex words and compounds, prosodic restrictions might apply differently to the various input prosodic shapes, and no shape uniformity is expected.

In this thesis, I argue for the latter position. This has implications for the representation and processing of compounds in early child language. Simplex words and compounds can be treated in a different way only if they are represented differently in a child's mental lexicon. A number of models of morphological processing have been suggested that address the representation and processing of complex words in adults. Most of them have focused on inflection (cf. Caramazza, Laudanna and Romani 1988) or derivation (cf. Hay 2003). The findings of the present study strongly support the view that children break up compounds into their constituents at a very early age. Several cues help children to detect morphological complexity at a pre-lexical level, such as boundary phonotactics, stress pattern, and the possible word constraint (Hay 2003, for an overview). On the lexical level, the increasing vocabulary allows children to create so-called mini-paradigms (Dressler, Kiliani-Schoch and Klampfer 2003). According to Dressler, children split the input into separate morphological constituents if there are paradigmatically identical constituents.

Surprisingly, the prosodic acquisition of compounds has rarely been investigated in opposition to simplex words (e.g., Fikkert 2001, Tzakosta 2004). In the thesis, I argue for four developmental stages. I show that the truncation pattern is different for simplex words and compounds and also within the group of simplex words. The findings are consistent with the hypothesis that children store words in their target-like form. As the target prosodic structure differs, there is no uniform output at a given stage. These empirical findings can be naturally explained by a constraint-based framework.

1.3 Theoretical Analysis

In the theoretical analysis, I adopt the position that children initially rank markedness constraints higher than faithfulness constraints (cf. Gnanadesikan 1995, Demuth 1995, 1996b, Smolensky 1996). In the course of development, markedness constraints are gradually demoted to the bottom of the hierarchy (Tesar and Smolensky 1996, 1998). The re-ranking predicts an increase of prosodic complexity over time.

In the theoretical analysis of the data, I demonstrate that the developmental stages in child German can be captured by different rankings of the same constraints. The constraints involved in the analysis are motivated by cross-linguistic research on child and adult language. Hence, the developmental pattern in child German is consistent with the widely accepted view that there are no qualitative differences between adult and child language (*continuity hypothesis*, Pinker 1982). The analysis also accounts for inter-individual variation in the data.

1.4 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is organized as follows: Section 2 introduces theoretical aspects of word-prosodic organization. It summarizes the general tenets and principles of prosodic phonology and provides an overview of the prosodic organization of simplex words and compounds in German.

Section 3 addresses the acquisition of prosodic words from an empirical perspective. I first summarize earlier findings on the development of simplex words. In the second part of the section, I discuss previous research on the development of compounds. The section ends with an outline of how learning takes place in optimality-theoretic grammars.

Section 4 is concerned with the methodology. I describe the data collection, transcription and the structure of the database. The section provides information about the data selected for the analysis. The section also describes how I dealt with problems arising in the annotation of compounds.

Section 5 analyzes the development of trisyllabic simplex words and compounds. It compares the production pattern of sWS simplex words and S-sW and SW-s compounds. These prosodic shapes are selected because they consist of footed syllables but differ in their stress pattern. The section describes the stages of development for these trisyllabic words and provides an analysis in terms of re-ranking.

In Section 6, I test whether the predictions drawn from the empirical and theoretical analysis can be applied to the other simplex words found in the database. These are the prosodic shapes WS, WSW, SWW, sWSW and sWWSW. I show that the output differs at the same stage, depending on the structure of the input. The theoretical analysis shows that the ranking proposed in Section 5 accounts for the production patterns at the four different stages.

Section 7 is concerned with the development of compounds. The compounds in the database show a greater range of target prosodic shapes than the simplex words, with only few tokens for a particular shape. A separate analysis is provided for SW-sW compounds but the other shapes are combined into three further categories. The first category includes compounds containing a bipedal constituent such as sWSW-s and sWS-sW. The second one summarizes shapes containing an unfooted syllable such as WSW-sW and WSW-s. The third category consists of the so-called pseudo-compounds. I demonstrate that the production pattern of compounds is consistent with the four stages proposed in the previous sections, and that the constraint-based analysis captures the observed output shapes.

Section 8 provides a discussion of the main findings. It ends with concluding remarks and suggests topics for future research.

2 Theoretical background: The word-prosodic organization of German

2.1 Introduction

The present study is concerned with the development of word prosodic structure from the perspective of prosodic phonology. The study links up with earlier research showing that the prosodic structure of children's early words is influenced by the principles and constraints of the prosodic hierarchy (cf., Fikkert 1994; Demuth and Fee 1995; Demuth 1995, 1996ab; Gerken 1996, Ota 2003).

This section provides the theoretical background for the later analysis. Subsection 2.2 introduces the basic work in prosodic phonology and common views on the stress system of German simplex words and compounds. The section starts with an overview of the aims and assumptions of prosodic phonology in subsection 2.2. The prosodic organization of German is outlined in 2.3. The section ends with a brief description of the prosodic organization of German simplex words and compounds in 2.4.

2.2 Prosodic phonology

Prosodic phonology is concerned with phonological rules and processes and how these rules apply to prosodic domains. The basic assumption of prosodic phonology is that prosodic rules or constraints apply to prosodic and not to morphological or syntactic domains. Morphosyntactic and prosodic structure are related because prosodic representations are derived from morphosyntactic constituency via mapping rules (cf., Inkelas and Zec 1995 for an overview).

The prosodic domains or constituents are arranged hierarchically to form the *prosodic* hierarchy which is organized according to size. Listed from top to bottom, the Prosodic Hierarchy consists of seven levels: the utterance, the intonational phrase, the phonological phrase, the prosodic word, the foot, the syllable and the mora. The full hierarchy of constituents is depicted in Figure 2-1:

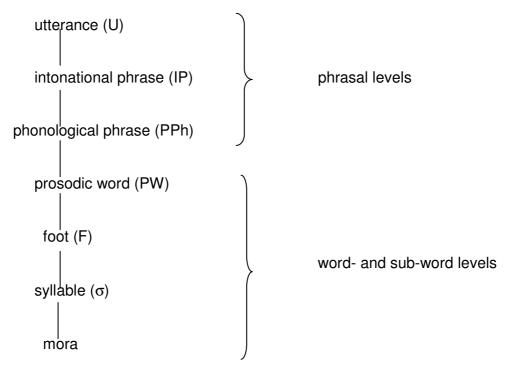


Figure 2-1. The prosodic hierarchy

Following rule-based accounts of prosodic phonology, the hierarchical order of the constituents is guaranteed by the *strict layer hypothesis* (Selkirk 1984, Nespor and Vogel 1986). The strict layer hypothesis requires that a given constituent n is immediately dominated by a constituent n+1. For example, it prohibits syllables to be associated directly with the prosodic word layer, thereby skipping the foot level.

The skipping of the foot level is one of the main problems that has been observed in many languages (see Selkirk 1995:443, and references therein). For example, German trisyllabic words with the main stress on the penultimate syllable do not parse the word-initial syllable gi into a foot in the target word Giraffe [gi^{1} &afa] 'giraffe'. Instead, gi is directly linked to the prosodic word (Figure 2-2). In Figure 2-2 and the following figures, 'PW' denotes a prosodic word, 'F' a foot, and ' σ ' a syllable.

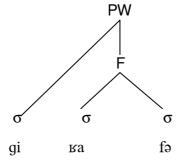


Figure 2-2. The prosodic representation of Giraffe 'giraffe'

Although non-exhaustive prosodic representations violate the *strict layer hypothesis*, they are frequent and well-formed in adult German. Evidence of this sort led to a new definition of the *strict layer hypothesis* in the form of four primitive markedness constraints: LAYEREDNESS, HEADEDNESS, EXHAUSTIVITY, and NONRECURSIVITY (Selkirk 1995). These constraints are defined in (1) below (Selkirk, 1995: 443):

(1) Primitive Constraints of the strict layer hypothesis

LAYEREDNESS: No C_i dominates a C_i, j>i,

e.g. "No syllable dominates a foot."

HEADEDNESS: Any C_i must dominate a C_i -1 (except if $C_i = \sigma$),

e.g. "A prosodic word must dominate a foot."

EXHAUSTIVITY: No C_i immediately dominates a constituent C_i , j < i-1,

e.g. "No prosodic word immediately dominates a syllable."

NonRecursivity: No C_i dominates C_i , j=i,

e.g. "No foot dominates a foot."

Selkirk argues that LAYEREDNESS and HEADEDNESS are universal properties of (adult) prosodic systems. Therefore, she proposes them to form undominated constraints. The ranking of EXHAUSTIVITY and NonRecursivity is language-specific. Figure 2-2 indicates that EXHAUSTIVITY must be dominated by other constraints in the grammar of German; otherwise the word-initial syllable *gi* cannot directly be associated with the prosodic word. German also violates NonRecursivity, for example when constructing compounds (see subsection 2.3.2. below).

2.3 Morphological complexity and the prosodic structure of words

2.3.1 Terminology

The prosodic structure of words depends on morphological units such as words, stems, and roots. The terms *word*, *stem*, and *root* are used in a different way in literature. I will outline below how they will be used in this thesis.

With respect to the term *word*, I refer to Selkirk (1982), who defines words as X⁰ categories. Words form the terminal elements of a syntactic tree. For the definition of the terms

root and stem, I follow Aronoff (1994). Aronoff defines roots as 'denoting the ultimate elements from which words are derived' (p. 5). The definition implies that German haus 'house', kind 'child' and lieb 'love' are roots because these morphemes cannot be decomposed into smaller morphological units. Stems are defined as 'the part of a complete word form that remains when an affix is removed' (p. 31). According to these two definitions, stems can (but do not have to) be identical with roots: free morphemes such as kind 'child' are roots that can be subject to derivation e.g., kind-lich 'child-like', and the stripping of the affix —lich from kind-lich resolves in the stem kind, too. Derived forms such as kind-lich can be stems as well if it is the input for further derivation e.g., to früh-kind-lich 'early childhood (adjective)'. Trivially, kind-lich cannot be a root because it does not represent a morphological primitive.

(2) Bisyllabic trochees in German plural formation (Wiese 1996:61-62)

Frau	~ Frauen	'woman'
Kind	~ Kin.d-er	'child'
Baum	~ Bäu.m-e (with umlaut)	'tree'
Va.ter	~ Vä.ter (with umlaut)	father'
Schwe.ster	~ Schwes.ter-n	'sister'
Au.to	~ Au.to-s	'car'

Keeping in mind the definitions of the terms *word*, *stem* and *root*, it becomes clear why the German unmarked prosodic *word* is a bisyllabic trochee (Wiese 1996, Féry 1997), but the unmarked *root* is a bimoraic monosyllable¹ (Golston and Wiese 1998). The unmarked status of trochaic *words* results from the observation that the German vocabulary contains many underived trochaic *words* (e.g. *'Tasse'* 'cup', *'Nase'* 'nose', *'Besen'* 'broom). Furthermore, derivational processes usually result in bisyllabic trochees in (2) above:

The unmarked root is a bimoraic monosyllable. According to Golston and Wiese (1998:175), this holds for 79% of the native roots. The overwhelming majority of these monosyllables contain a coda consonant (96%).

¹ Confusingly, the *Minimal Word* is a bimoraic monosyllable in German (Féry 1991, Hall 1999, see also Féry 2001) because bimoraic roots such as *See* [ze:] 'sea' form existing stems and content words in German.

After the basic morphological terms have been introduced, the remaining part of this section is concerned with the correlation between morphology and prosody.

2.3.2 The correlation of prosodic and lexical words

According to the tenets of prosodic phonology, prosodic and morphosyntactic constituency is connected via mapping rules. With regard to the level of the prosodic word the correspondence is straightforward: An existing lexical word always forms a prosodic word, and a prosodic word can only be created upon morphological categories such as lexical words, stems, or affixes. Formally, this is expressed by the following two constraints:

(3) Constraints relating morphological categories and prosodic words

LxWD ≈ PRWD: A lexical word corresponds to a prosodic word (Prince and Smolensky 1993).

MCAT = PRWD: Morphological categories correspond to a prosodic word, where MCAT = root, stem, lexical word, etc. (McCarthy and Prince 1995)

In German, the morphological categories (MCAT) forming prosodic words are lexical words, stems, and a subset of derivational affixes (Wiese 1996, Hall 1998, Raffelsiefen 2000).² As the present study is concerned with the correlation between lexical and prosodic words, I will refer to the more specific constraint LxWD ≈ PRWD and will not further regard MCAT = PRWD. LxWD ≈ PRWD requires that lexical words must be parsed into a prosodic word. Simplex words thus form single prosodic words. Examples are provided in (4):

² For more details on the prosodification of stems and affixes the reader is referred to Wiese (1996), Hall (1998), Raffelsiefen (2000).

(4) Simplex words forming a prosodic word

'Auto 'car' $[(Auto)_F]_{PW}$ * $[Au]_{PW}[to]_{PW}$

,Ele'fant 'elephant' $[(Ele)_F(fant)_F]_{PW}$ * $[(Ele)_F]_{PW}[(fant)_F]_{PW}$

,Manda'rine 'tangerine' $[(Manda)_F(rine)_F]_{PW}$ * $[(Manda)_F]_{PW}[(rine)_F]_{PW}$

Although the prosodic structure of the two feet in *Elefant* 'elephant' and *Mandarine* 'tangerine' satisfies word minimality conditions (i.e., they represent binary feet), these feet cannot form prosodic words because they do not refer to morphological categories of German. This stands in contrast to the morphological structure of compounds. Compound constituents do form lexical words and thus satisfy the morphological and prosodic requirements to be parsed as prosodic words of their own. In fact, the syllabification pattern and the behavior of secondary stressed vowels suggest the presence of a word-internal prosodic boundary (Raffelsiefen 2000). As the examples in (5) illustrate, onset maximization is blocked across the internal morpheme boundary, but is obligatory within German prosodic words. The examples in (5b) show that the vowels of the second constituents also cannot undergo laxing:

(5) Compounds forming a recursive prosodic word

a. Schoko'laden-,eis

'chocolate ice cream' $[[(\int oko)_F(la:dən)_F]_{PW}[(\widehat{ais})_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$ * $[(\int oko)_F(la:də)_F.(\widehat{nais})_F]_{PW}$

b. 'Abend-_{rot}

 $\text{`afterglow} \qquad \qquad [[(\exists a:pent)^{\mathsf{E}}]^{\mathsf{EM}}]^{\mathsf{EM}} \qquad \qquad \text{`$[(\exists a:pent)^{\mathsf{E}}]^{\mathsf{EM}}]^{\mathsf{EM}}}$

'Puste-,blume

'blowball' $[[(pu:stə)_F]_{PW}[(blu:mə)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$ * $[(pu:stə)_F(blu:mə)_F]_{PW}$

In bipedal simplex words, laxing of the secondary stressed vowel is permitted (6):

(6) Laxing of the secondary stressed vowel in simplex words

₋ Ele'fant	'elephant'	$_{ }[\epsilon]$ le $^{ }$ fant	,[e]le'fant
,Kroko'dil	'crocodile	ˌkr[ə]koˈdil	ˌkr[o]koˈdil
,Schoko'lade	'chocolate'	ˌsch[ɔ]koˈlade	sch[o]ko'lade

The German language shows a preference for compounding by aligning lexical words and prosodic words. This is contrary to other languages such as Greek, which predominantly create root compounds. The nature of the morphemes is important because the constituents of root compounds do not usually form prosodic words of their own (Peperkamp 1997:15, Nespor 1999³). I describe the prosodic organization of German simplex words and compounds in more detail below.

2.4 The word-prosodic system of German

2.4.1 Simplex words

The word-prosodic organization of German simplex words has been analyzed in several different ways. The most controversial issues regarding German word stress are a) whether or not stress rules apply differently to words of native and non-native origin, and b) whether or not the function of stress depends on syllable weight (see Jessen 1999 for an overview), For constraint-based analyses, I refer to Féry 1995, 2001.

The present thesis adopts the position that the assignment of stress applies in the same way to native and non-native words. I hold the view that the German stress system is sensitive to syllable weight (cf., Giegerich 1985, Vennemann 1991, Hall 1992, Ramers 1992, Féry 1995, 1996). The relation between stress, weight constraints and position has been strongly debated in studies on child phonology. Nevertheless, I will not present a closer examination thereof, as the development of syllable weight will not be examined in this study.

Most analyses propose that the rightmost foot of simplex words receives main stress (Giegerich 1985, Hall 1992, Wiese 1996, Féry 1996), and that the leftmost foot bears secondary stress if it branches into two syllables (Féry 1995, 1996, Lentge 2003). According to literature in this field, feet are left-headed in German. The basic mechanisms of stress assignment are illustrated in Figure 2-3 as a metrical tree. In the following, 'PW' denotes a prosodic word, 'F' a Foot, 'σ' a Syllable; subscribed 'S' indicates the strong, subscribed 'W' the weak branch of the tree.

³ Note that root compounds in Peperkamp (1997) correspond to stem compounds in Nespor (1999).

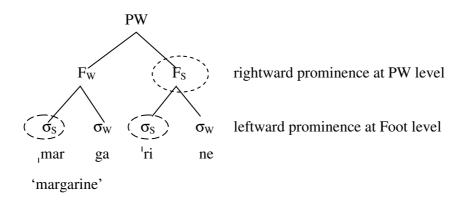


Figure 2-3. A metrical tree of German simplex words

Prosodic words receive penultimate main stress if they end in a light or in a schwa-syllable. These words end with a bisyllabic trochee. Examples are provided in (7) below for words with up to five syllables:

(7) Simplex words with main stress on the penultimate syllable

Target word	Gloss	Prosodic parsing	SW-structure
Tasse	'cup'	[[ˈtasse] _F] _{PW}	SW
Giraffe	'giraffe'	[gi[ˈraffe] _F] _{PW}	WSW
Margarine	'margarine'	$[[_{l}marga]_{F}['rine]_{F}]_{PW}$	sWSW
Lokomotive	'locomotive'	[[ˌloko] _F mo ['tive] _F] _{PW}	sWWSW

The main-stressed foot can also comprise a heavy monosyllable (examples in (8)). Féry (1995, 1996) observed that final superheavy syllables (CVCC or CVVC) always create a foot which attracts main stress. By contrast, if heavy syllables (CVC, CVV) are stressed they tend to occur in non-final positions.

(8) Simplex words with main stress on the ultimate syllable

Target word	Gloss	Prosodic parsing	Final syllable	SW structure
Kamel	'camel'	[ka [ˈmeːl] _F] _{PW}	CVVC	WS
Elefant	'elephant'	$[[_{l}ele]_{F}['fant]_{F}]_{PW}$	CVCC	sWS
Bibliothek	'library'	$[[_{l}bibli]_{F}o[_{l}the:k]_{F}]_{PW}$	CVVC	sWWS ⁴

Féry (1995) presents a corpus-based analysis of the stress pattern of German simplex words. As expected, bisyllabic words predominantly show penultimate main stress (2507 types; 79.2% in contrast to 918 types with ultimate stress; 26.8%). Penultimate main stress was found in the vast majority of bisyllabic native German words, but it also occurs in many loanwords with open syllables such as *Yoga* 'yoga', *Kino* 'cinema', and *Lama* 'lama'. The stress distribution of bisyllabic words is not surprising given the widely held assumption that the trochee forms the unmarked prosodic word in German.

Penultimate main stress is the most frequent stress pattern in trisyllabic simplex words (664; 50.6%); ultimate main stress was observed to a far lower rate (393; 29.9%). A minor group of trisyllabic words displays antepenultimate main stress in Féry's data (255 types, 19.4%). Antepenultimate stress is usually regarded as an exceptional pattern in German (cf., Giegerich 1985, Féry 1995, 1996, Wiese 1996, Jessen 1999, but see Hall 1992). The syllable structure is not homogeneous in these words. Some words are analyzed as pseudocompounds because parts of these words correspond to existing German words (such as 'Elfen,bein 'ivory' containing Elfe(n) 'elfin' and Bein 'leg'). Other words could be compounds with respect to their syllable structure, such as 'Tele,fon 'telephone' and 'Pingu,in 'penguin', comprising the bisyllabic initial pseudo-constituents tele and pingu and the final heavy syllables fon and in (Giegerich 1985, Féry 1996, Jessen 1999). It is not clear if the pseudo-constituents should be analyzed as prosodic words or just feet. In the present analysis, I distinguish between two types of pseudo-compounds. Pseudo-compounds class I contain lexical words or word-like

⁴ The study concentrates on quadrisyllabic words with main stress on the penultimate syllable (,Marga'rine 'margarine', ,Manda'rine 'tangerine', ,Schoko'lade 'chocolate', see Table 2-1) as the child database contains no instances of target quadrisyllabic or longer simplex words where main stress is not on the penultimate syllable.

bound morphemes. I assume that they are parsed with recursive prosodic structure like real compounds. Examples are *Ameise* 'ant', *Heuschrecke* 'grasshopper' and *Mikrofon* 'microphone'. The second type are monomorphemic ones, which I subsume under class II. Examples are proper names such as *Benjamin* and *Jonathan*, and words like *Pelikan* 'pelicane' and *Pinguin* 'penguine'. The pseudo-compounds are distinctive from trisyllabic words with antepenultimate stress and a light ultimate syllable such as *'Paprika* 'bell pepper', *'Radio* 'radio', *'Brokkoli* 'broccoli'. The prosodic parsing of trisyllabic words with antepenultimate stress is summarized in (9) below:

(9) Trisyllabic simplex words bearing main stress on the antepenultimate syllable

Target word	Gloss	Prosodic parsing	SW form	Word type
Ameise	'ant'	$[[({}^{\scriptscriptstyle I}A)_F][({}_{\scriptscriptstyle I}meise)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$	SsW	pseudo-compound
				class I
Heuschrecke	'grasshopper'	[('Heu) _F] _{PW}	SsW	pseudo-compound
		$[(schrecke)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$		class I
Benjamin	Proper name	$[[(Benja)_F]\ [(_Imin)F]_PW]_PW$	SWs	pseudo-compound
				class II
Pinguin	'penguine'	$[[('Pingu)_F]_{PW}\ [(_iin)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$	SWs	pseudo-compound
				class II
Paprika	'bell pepper'	[('papri) _F ka] _{PW}	SWW	simplex word
Radio	'radio'	[('radi) _F o] _{PW}	SWW	simplex word
Brokkoli	'broccoli'	[('brokko) _F li] _{PW}	SWW	simplex word

In quadrisyllabic and longer simplex words, ultimate main stress as in e.g., *Orthogra'phie* 'orthography' and *Biblio'thek* 'library' predominates (60%) penultimate main stress (28%) such as *Propa'ganda* 'propaganda' and *Abraka'dabra* 'abracadabra'. Initial main stress as found in *Imperativ* 'imperative' and *Abenteuer* 'adventure' is very rare in quadrisyllabic words (2%), and many of these words are regarded as pseudo-derived words. Féry (1995, 1996) found main

⁵ Unfortunately, Féry (1996) does not provide absolute numbers.

stress on the antepenultimate syllable in 10% of the data (e.g., A'quarium 'aquarium' and A'naphora 'anaphora').

Compound-like words that are derived from latin roots such as "Orthogra phie orthography", "Psycho-logie psychology", "Spektro-graph spectrograph", "Thermo-meter thermometer" (often called root compounds; e.g. Wiese 1996:131, Peperkamp 1997, Nespor 1999) are an intricate issue. These roots are more restricted in their distribution than native roots. Some researchers analyze the roots to project prosodic words as well (e.g., Wiese 1996). In line with Peperkamp (1997) and Nespor (1999), I consider non-native bounded roots to project a foot, but not a prosodic word. This position explains why the words show the same stress pattern as simplex words. Due to their similar prosodic pattern, I conflate root compounds with simplex words.

In sum, Féry's results strengthen the role of syllable structure for the assignment of lexical stress. The data are also consistent with the claim that main stress has to fall on one of the final three syllables in German simplex words (also called the *three-syllable-window*). The syllable structure determines if stress is assigned to the penultimate or the ultimate syllable. Feet are left-headed either at the mora level (in case of monosyllabic feet) or at the syllable level (in case of bisyllabic feet). At the level of the prosodic word, main stress is assigned to the rightmost foot. As I will describe in 2.4.2., simplex words crucially differ from compounds in the orientation of main and secondary stress.

2.4.2 Compounds

Compounding is a highly productive process of word formation in German, and the German vocabulary contains numerous compounds. According to Ortner et al. (1991), approximately 75% of the German noun vocabulary consists of compounds. Although there is formally no upper limit to the possible number of constituents, most compounds comprise two or three constituents. Due to their distribution in the database, the thesis will focus on bipartite compounds.

German compounds are primarily derived from existing words such as 'Sand-,kasten 'sand pit and 'Gummi-,bärchen 'jelly bear'. The German vocabulary also contains root compounds (e.g., ,Ortho-'graphie 'orthography') which will be analyzed with simplex words here (see subsection 2.4.1 above). Due to the requirement that lexical words must correspond to

prosodic words, the individual constituents and the complete compound represent prosodic words (Giegerich 1985, Féry 1996, 2001, Wiese 1996, Peperkamp 1997, Nespor 1999, Raffelsiefen 2000).

Figure 2-4 depicts the prosodic organization of word compounds. The figure illustrates that compound stress is assigned to the leftmost constituent at compound level. Secondary stress is assigned to the other constituent.

Word compounds

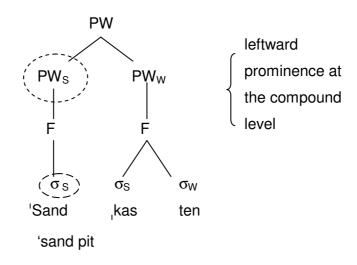


Figure 2-4. A metrical tree of German word compounds

I assume that German compounds are headed by a prosodic word (Löhken 1997, Féry, 2001 for German, Nespor 1999, Peperkamp 1997 for other Germanic languages). As a consequence, compounds violate the constraint of NonRecursivity (Selkirk 1995)⁶ because they project recursive prosodic words. Recursivity will become important for the analysis of the child data later in this thesis.

It must be noted that compound stress might also appear on the non-initial constituent for semantic or morphological reasons. A widely accepted semantic generalization is that exocentric compounds such as <code>,süß-'sauer</code> 'sweet and sour' and <code>,Mords-spek'takel</code> 'INT-spectacle' (the two examples from Raffelsiefen 2000:44) are stressed on the rightmost

⁶ Alternatively, it has been suggested that the stress pattern determines whether compounds are bound to a prosodic word or phonological phrase (Wiese 1996:299); or that compounds project a prosodic compound layer (Féry 1996:92). Others remain agnostic in that point (Giegerich 1985; Raffelsiefen 2000).

constituent. The leftward orientation of compound stress holds for most endocentric compounds, i.e., for compounds containing a semantic head (Selkirk 1982, Raffelsiefen 2000). Endocentric compounds with three or more constituents are likely to show non-initial compound stress (Giegerich 1985, Féry 1995). To date, a satisfying solution to the problem of non-initial German compound stress is still lacking.

The compound constituents underlay the stress rules of simplex words. Thus, the 'typical' German compound starts with a main-stressed syllable. Compound stress may also fall on a non-initial syllable of the constituent, e.g. if the constituent starts with an initial unfooted syllable (such as *To'maten-,soBe* 'tomato sauce', see (11)(10) below). In the child data, the majority of compounds is derived from monosyllabic or trochaic constituents where compound stress falls on the first constituent. Hence, only these compounds will be of interest in the present study. (10) provides examples of compounds with main stress on the word-initial syllable.

(10) Compounds bearing main stress on the compound-initial syllable

Target word	Gloss	Prosodic bracketing	SW structure
Gieß-kanne	'watering can'	$[[('gieß)]_F]_{PW}[(_Ikanne)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$	S-sW
Apfel-saft	'apple juice'	$[[('apfel)_F]_{PW}[(_isaft)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$	SW-s
Puppen-wagen	'doll's pram'	[[('puppen) _F] _{PW} [(_, wagen) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	SW-sW

(11) shows examples of word compounds where the main stress does not appear on the compound-initial syllable. These compounds represent a minor group in the child vocabularies.

(11) Compounds not bearing main stress on the compound-initial syllable

Target word	Gloss	Prosodic bracketing	SW structure
Koala-bär	'koala'	$[[ko ('ala)_F]_{PW}[(bar)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$	WSW-s
Tomaten-soße	'tomato sauce'	[[to ('maten) _F] _{PW} [($_{I}$ soße) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	WSW-sW
Polizei-auto	'police car'	$[[(,poli)_F('zei)_F]_{PW}[(,auto)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$	sWS-sW
Toiletten-papier	'toilet paper'	[[toi ('letten) $_F$] $_{PW}$ [pa ($_I$ pier) $_F$] $_{PW}$] $_{PW}$	WSW-Ws
Kassetten-	'tape recorder'	[[ka ('ssetten) $_{\rm F}$] $_{\rm PW}$ [re ($_{\rm I}$ korder) $_{\rm F}$] $_{\rm PW}$] $_{\rm PW}$	WSW-WsW
recorder			

In sum, the placement of main stress in simplex words and compounds can be generalized as depicted in Figure 2-5 (adopted from Raffelsiefen 2000, added by a superordinate prosodic word in compounds):

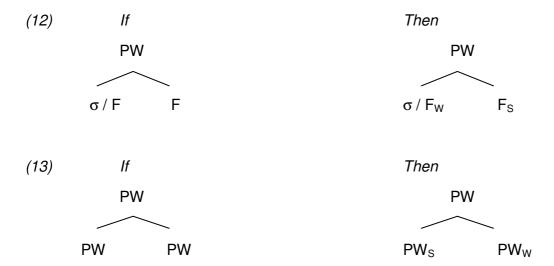


Figure 2-5. The stress rules for German simplex words and word compounds

The generalizations state that the rightmost foot is prominent *within* a prosodic word (12) whereas the leftmost prosodic word is prominent *between* two prosodic words (13). The first generalization (a) accounts for the regular stress placement in simplex words and in root compounds. The second one (b) applies to word compounds.

I argue in this thesis that children know about these regularities. Previous evidence suggests that children are aware of the prosodic constituency of simplex words. This study goes beyond the earlier research, showing that prosodic constituents also determine the production pattern of compounds. As I will point out in the next section, some evidence is already provided in the previous literature even if only few studies explicitly addressed the development of compounds from a prosodic point of view.

3 Empirical background: Previous research on the development of word-prosodic structure

3.1 Introduction

This section summarizes empirical findings on the development of prosodic word structure. It consists of three parts: The first part describes previous findings on the acquisition of the prosodic word (3.2). It sums up empirical arguments for the existence of (at least) three stages in the acquisition of simplex words: a single foot stage, a stage where bipedal words emerge and a stage where unfooted syllables are permitted. In contrast to simplex words, very few studies have addressed the acquisition of compounds. Subsection 3.3 discusses these findings from morphological and prosodic perspectives. Optimality-theoretic approaches to child language are outlined at the end in subsection 3.3.

3.2 The development of simplex words

3.2.1 Evidence for a single foot / minimal word stage

There is ample evidence that children pass through a stage during which outputs are restricted to a single foot. The main source of evidence originates in analyses of syllable truncations from target multisyllabic words (Fikkert 1994, Wijnen, Krijkhaar, and den Os 1994 for Dutch; Demuth and Fee 1995, Gerken 1994, 1996, Archibald 1995, Pater and Paradis 1996, Pater 1997, Salidis and Johnson 1997 for English; Fee 1996 for English and Hungarian; Vihman 1992 for French; Lleó and Demuth 1999 for German and Spanish; Adam 2002 for Hebrew; Ota 2001, 2003 for Japanese; Prieto 2006 for Spanish and Catalan; Hochberg 1988, Gennari and Demuth 1997, Demuth 2001a, Lleó 2006, for Spanish; Allen and Hawkins 1980 for Quiche Mayan; Demuth 1996a for Sesotho; but see Santos 2003, 2005 for Brazilian and Vigário, Freitas, and Frota 2006 for European Portuguese, Kehoe 1999/2000 for English). The examples provided in (14) illustrate the reduction of multisyllabic simplex words to a single foot (taken from Fikkert 1994:202-233):

(14) Reduction of multisyllabic words to a single foot at Stages 1 and 2 in child Dutch (Fikkert 1994)⁷

Target word	Phonetic form	Gloss	Child form	Child, age
banaan	/baːˈnaːn/	'banana'	[ba:n]	Robin, 2;1.07
Krokodil	/ˌkroːkoːˈdɪl/	'crocodile'	[di:w]	Robin, 1;10.7
Vakantie	/vaːˈkɑnsiː/	'vacation'	[ˈtɑsiː]	Robin, 2;0.18
Olifant	/'o:li:ˌfant/	'elephant'	[ant]	Tirza, 1;11.19
Helicopter	/ˌheːliːˈkɔptər/	'helicopter'	[ˈkɔptɛ]	Enzo, 2;1.17

The restriction to bisyllabic outputs parallels universal constraints on the size of prosodic words (Fee 1992, Fikkert 1994, Demuth and Fee 1995). According to the *minimal word hypothesis*, the early words correspond to single moraic or syllabic feet, which in turn form the minimal size of well-formed prosodic words in adult systems (Demuth and Fee 1995, Demuth 1996a, b). It is yet an open question whether children initially construct moraic and syllabic feet or syllabic feet only. Usually, researchers take compensatory lengthening following consonant deletion as evidence for moraic structure in child language (e.g., Fikkert 1994). However, Ota (2003:28-30) points out that, with respect to moraic structure, it is necessary to show that compensatory lengthening only occurred if segmental material is deleted from rimes and blocked if deletion targets syllable onset positions. In his literature review he states that there are some hints towards sub-syllabic structure in child language, but that the evidence is still inconclusive in general.

Although the issue of sub-syllabic structure is closely related to the internal organization of feet it will not be further addressed in this thesis. I follow the widely held assumption that children acquiring Germanic and Romance languages do not count the moraic content in their early productions (Fikkert 1994, Demuth 1996b, Pater and Paradis 1996, Pater 1997, Rose 2000, Kehoe 1999/2000, Lleó 2001, Adam 2002). It should be noted, however, that the children of this study hardly produced sub-minimal words. At first sight, the children seemed to respect the minimal word constraint. Only a fine-grained examination of the data can shed light on the

⁷ The table comprises data from Stage 1 (the monosyllabic stage) and Stage 2 (bisyllabic trochees).

question whether the children associate moraic structure with coda consonants or not. This will be addressed in future research (Grimm and van de Vijver, in prep.).

The present study concentrates on two further issues related to the early productions: The orientation of the head syllable in feet and the pattern of content preservation in truncated forms.

3.2.1.1 Location of head syllables

In their truncated forms, children adopt the foot structure from their ambient language (Demuth 1996, Prieto 2006, Goad and Prevost 2008). Children acquiring Germanic languages tend to create trochees (cf., Fikkert 1994, Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os 1994, Gerken 1991, 1994, Demuth and Fee 1995, Kehoe 1999/2000, but see Vihman, de Paolis and Davis 1998). If feet are right-headed in the target language (e.g. in French), children produce a high proportion of monosyllables (Paradis, Petitclerc, and Genese 1997, Archibald and Carson 2000, Rose 2000). Final stress in bisyllables is produced much earlier than in trochaic languages (Goad and Prevost 2008).

Interestingly, truncation to iambs was occasionally reported from languages with a trochaic stress system (Gennari and Demuth 1997 for child Spanish, Prieto 2006 for Catalan, Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os 1994:74 for Dutch WWS targets words). In an acoustic investigation of bisyllabic words produced by nine English- and five French-acquiring children, Vihman, de Paolis and Davis (1998) observed that four of the five French children, but also five of the nine English children predominantly produced stress-final bisyllables. These findings indicate that children adopt the foot shape from the ambient language (Demuth 1996a, Prieto 2006), but that children also sometimes develop their own production system. Precisely, I do not assume that the foot inventory of these children contains both trochees and iambs, as this violates universal properties of natural languages. I assume that these children pass through a stage where the constraint ranking selects iambic outputs for certain target forms. I will return to this issue later in this thesis since one girl of the study also creates trochees and iambs in parallel for a certain period of time. I show that right-headed feet result from the interaction of constraints in her grammar, rather than from a high-ranked constraint requiring right-headed feet. The optimality-theoretic analysis will employ a high-ranked constraint requiring left-headed feet like in adult German (cf., Fery 1995).

3.2.1.2 Content preservation

In truncated words children maintain prosodically salient material from the target word such as stressed and final syllables. Non-salient syllables, i.e. weak and word-medial ones, are systematically truncated. The truncatory pattern is highly consistent in target words with single stress. Children preserve the stressed syllable and, if present in the target word, a following weak one. For example, the child Robin in Fikkert's (1994) study realized Dutch *banaan* /ba: 'na:n/ 'banana' as [ba:n] (2;1.07), and *vakantie* /va: 'kansi:/ 'vacation' as ['tasi:] (2;0.18; preserved syllables are underlined).

Germanic languages regularly assign main stress to the final foot. For these words, the truncation pattern is highly systematic. The children select the stressed syllable from the main-stressed foot and the following weak one if present in the input (Fikkert 1994, Archibald 1995, Gennari and Demuth 1997, Kehoe and Stoel-Gammon 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000). For example, in Fikkert's (1994) data, the child Robin reduced *Krokodil* /ˌkroːkoːˈdɪl/ 'crocodile' to [diːw] (1;10.7), and Enzo *Helicopter* /ˌheːliːˈkɔptər/ 'helicopter' to [ˈkɔptɛ] (2;1.17).

The vocabularies of Dutch and German also contain bipedal words with main stress on the first foot. Some of these are often referred to as pseudo-compounds. Pseudo-compounds are words which could be compounds with respect to their lexical properties, stress pattern and/or syllable structure, such as German 'A,meise 'ant' or Dutch 'Oli,fant 'elephant'. Morphologically they are simplex words. For example, German 'A,meise is semantically and etymologically unrelated to meise 'titmouse' and a 'a'. Likewise, Dutch 'Oli,fant is unrelated to Olie 'oil', and fant does not exist as a lexical word in Dutch. Other initially stressed words contain single main stress and light syllables. Examples are German 'Paprika 'pepper' or 'Radio 'radio'.

The reduction pattern of pseudo-compounds varies across studies. Some children preserve the initial, main-stressed syllable (Pye 1983, Lewis, Antone, and Johnson 1999). Other researchers find that children maintain the final foot (Fikkert 1994, 2001, Adam 2002). Fikkert (1994: 228-9) reports that the Dutch children varied between pseudo-compounds and words with light syllables in that they realized the final, secondary stressed foot of pseudo-compounds but the initial, main-stressed one if there were only light syllables. The apparent inconsistency in Fikkert's data finds a natural explanation in her template-mapping model.

The review so far suggests that there is inter-individual variation. Individual children, however, do not seem to vary with respect to their preferred reduction strategy in simplex words. I turn back to the consistency issue later in this study as this is one essential property in which simplex words differ from compounds.

A further matter of debate is which weak syllable is maintained if the target word contains more than one to the right of a main-stressed syllable. Some researchers report that children preserve the weak syllable directly to the right of the main stressed one (Fikkert 1994, Wijnen, Krijkhaar, and den Os 1994, in part Gerken 1994, 1996). Others found that children prefer the final weak syllable (Echols and Newport 1992, Echols 1996, Pater 1997, Pater and Paradis 1996, Kehoe and Stoel-Gammon 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000, Adam 2002). The complexity of weak syllables (Gerken 1991, 1994) or the phonological features of the onset also seem to play a role. Children prefer the weak syllable with obstruent onsets and tend to omit syllables with sonorant onsets (Gnanadesikan 1995, Pater and Paradis 1996, Pater 1997, Kehoe and Stoel-Gammon 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000).

So far, a number of factors have been introduced which influence the preservation pattern at the single-foot stage. These are prosodic saliency and the target prosodic organization of feet and words. For the present study, constraints on foot headedness and the content preservation in children's truncated words will be of importance.

3.2.2 Evidence for a two-feet stage

To date, it is not clear to what extent children go through a two-feet stage. Partly, this is related to the lack of research on latter stages of prosodic development. A second reason is that there are different interpretations of what the two-feet stage looks like. On the one hand, it is defined as a stage where outputs obligatorily consist of two feet (cf., Fikkert 1994, Demuth and Fee 1995). On the other hand, some researchers describe the two-feet stage as a period where outputs are allowed to comprise two feet, and where monopedal and bipedal forms do co-exist (Kehoe 1999/2000). Under the first view, the outputs show relatively uniform prosodic shapes.⁸

⁸ According to Fikkert (1994) repair to bipedal outputs occurs in trisyllabic words with initial main stress and light syllables. She states that these words remain truncated to a monopedal output at the bipedal Stage 3. However, most of Fikkert's examples (i.e., *tekenen 'to mark'*, *hinkelen 'to hop'* and *schommelen 'to seesaw'*) are not morphologically simple. The children might have stripped off the affixes.

Bipedal target words then appear with their target number of syllables, and target words consisting of a single foot and a preceding unfooted syllable undergo repair to a bipedal form. I refer to these analyses by the term 'foot-based approach', as they take the foot as the basic unit of word expansion. Examples are provided in (15):

(15) The two-feet stage: foot-based approach (Dutch data from Fikkert 1994: 202-233)

Target word	Phonetic form	Gloss	Child form	Child, age	Comment
Krokodil	/ˌkroːkoːˈdɪl/	'crocodile'	[ˈkoːkəˈdɪɔ], [ˈdoːkɛˌdiːw]	Robin, 2;3.22, Noortje, 2;9.26	target and output ~ 2 feet
Olifant	/ˈoːliːˌfant/	'elephant'	['o:fi:'fant], ['o:vi:ˌant]	Robin, 2;4.8 Robin, 2;4.8	target and output ~ 2 feet
Helicopter	/ˌheːliːˈkɔptər/	'helicopter'	[ˈhɛijəˈkɔptə], [ˌheːləˈkɔptɛ]	Enzo, 2;2.14 Enzo, 2;3.14	target and output ~ 2 feet
Banana	/baː¹naːn/	'banana'	[ˈmaːˈnaːn]	Robin, 2;2.27	target ~ 1 foot + unfooted syllable, output ~ 2 feet
Spaghetti	/spa:'xɛti:/	'spaghetti'	[ˈmaːˈkɪtiː]	Robin, 2;3.22	target ~ 1 foot and an unfooted syllable, output ~ 2 feet

The second position is that the bipedal stage prosodic words are *permitted* to comprise two feet (Kehoe 1999/2000). Children license prosodically prominent input syllables in the output, i.e., stressed and edgemost syllables.⁹ In contrast to the foot-based approach, prosodically less

⁹ Even if the left and the right edge of the word are perceptually prominent (cf., Beckman 1999), the evidence from children's early productions suggests that children produce unstressed syllables from the right edge of a word earlier than unstressed syllables from the left edge (e.g., Slobin 1973, Pater 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000, Adam 2002).

prominent syllables can be omitted even from footed positions. ¹⁰ Unfooted input material, on the other hand, can be maintained in children's output if it occurs in prosodically prominent positions. I refer to these accounts as 'syllable-based accounts'.

In contrast to the foot-based approach that directly proposes a bipedal stage the syllable-based approach does not rule out the possibility of producing unfooted material *per se*. Rather, the precise prosodic shape of the output depends on the interaction of constraints. Outputs containing unfooted syllables are eliminated if constraints militating against unfooted syllables are ranked at the top of the hierarchy (such as PARSE-σ in Pater and Paradis 1996, Pater 1997, Ota 2001, 2003, or EXHAUSTIVITY in Lleó 2001). Likewise, two input stressed syllables might or might not survive with their two stresses – depending on the ranking of the constraints requiring preservation of prosodic prominence in the output.¹¹ The number and the placement of prominent syllables in the target word determine the structure of the output.

(16) The two-feet stage, syllable based approach (data from Kehoe 1999/2000:40)

Target word	Phonetic form	Child form	Child, age	Output shape
Giraffe	/dʒəˈræf/	[dwæf]	M6, 2;3	single foot
Banana	/bəˈnænə/	[ˈbani]	M6, 2;3	single foot
telephone	/ˈteləfəun/	[ˈtɛlfo]	F1; 2;4	single foot
dinosaur	/ˈdaɪnəˌsɔ:r/	[cs,nibb]	M6; 2;3	two feet
avocado	/ˌævəˈkaːdəʊ/	[ˌaˈkado]	M6; 2;3	two feet

The syllable-based approach predicts a greater variety of prosodic shapes in the output as compared to the foot-based approach. Examples for variation in the prosodic output shapes are provided in (16) above by data from children acquiring English. Note that Kehoe's original

¹⁰ Fikkert (1994: 220- 228) provides a few examples from Tirza's, Tom's, Robin's, and Eva' data where the children truncated medial weak syllables from trisyllabic words even if the syllables were footed. Fikkert refers to that Stage as Stage 3.

¹¹ It might be misleading to discuss syllable-based analyses within the present section because authors defending a syllable-based approach explicitly argue against shape constraints (Pater and Paradis 1996, Pater 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000). Notwithstanding, stress is assigned to the head of a foot; therefore a stressed syllable implies the presence of a foot.

coding ID of the children 27m6 and 28f1 (for age in months, sex, child number) is changed in the table to the standard notation (child, years; months).

Some models of prosodic development propose that the two feet in bipedal forms are first produced with *level stress* before children learn to realize secondary stress (Fikkert 1994, Archibald 1995, Demuth and Fee 1995). Level stress denotes a sort of stress error where syllables from different feet contain an equal amount of stress. There is also evidence for systematic *stress shifts* to the left. Main stress is incorrectly assigned to the leftmost foot for a certain period. After that, children correctly produce main stress on the final foot (Fikkert 1994, 2001, Kehoe 1999/2000). To my knowledge, no study has yet reported on systematic stress shifts to the right.

The existence and relevance of level stress and stress shifts in bipedal words are ongoing matters of debate. Both processes target word headedness constraints, and it is not clear whether errors regarding headedness occur systematically or not. Concerning level stress, it has sometimes been stated that children systematically realize prosodic units with equal prominence at a certain stage of development (cf., Fikkert 1994, Archibald 1995, Demuth and Fee 1995). Other researchers cast doubts on the systematic occurrence of level stress (Kehoe and Stoel-Gammon 1997, Bernhardt and Stemberger 1998). The same holds for stress shifts. Fikkert (1994) found that children systematically shifted main stress to the word-initial syllable in mono- and some bipedal outputs. Other studies report very marginal occurrences of stress shifts (Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os 1994, Kehoe and Stoel-Gammon 1997, Archibald and Carson 2000). Kehoe (1999/2000:58) points out that their low frequency of occurrence does not necessarily rule out the possibility that stress shifts are a systematic process in child language. In fact, optimality-theoretic approaches predict systematic stress shifts, depending on the course of re-ranking (Kehoe 1999/2000).

Some children do not produce words with two stresses at all but expand their words syllable by syllable. For example, Adam (2002: 82-88) reports that children acquiring Hebrew preserve one unfooted syllable to the left of the rightmost stressed syllable, e.g., ka'dur 'ball' > [a'dur], avi'ron 'airplane' > [vi'ron], hippopo'tam 'hippopotamus' > [po'tam]. In addition to the left-adjacent syllable, the Hebrew children also preserve the weak syllable to the right of the stressed one, e.g., pi'jama 'pyjama' > [pi'jama], avo'kado 'avocado' > [vo'kado], kleman'tina

¹² In Fikkert's (1994) Stage 4, main stress is assigned to the rightmost branching foot in bipedal words.

'tangerine' > [a'tina]).¹³ In a study of three children acquiring Spanish, Lleó (2006) observed prosodic words with initial unfooted syllables before bipedal ones. And finally, Ota (2003) finds that bipedal prosodic words and words with unfooted material emerge at the same time in child Japanese.

The findings from child Hebrew, Spanish and Japanese indicate that a bipedal stage does not obligatorily follow the single foot stage. This is interesting since Hebrew is analyzed as a language constructing syllabic trochees (Graf and Ussishkin 2002), and since in adult Spanish penultimate main stress is very common (Hayes 1995, Lleó 2001). There are a number of factors that influence the path of development. For example, the foot plays an important role as a domain of phonological processes in Germanic languages, but it is of less importance in Romance languages. Children from Germanic backgrounds might thus focus on the foot, whereas children from Romance languages first establish the prosodic word domain. Frequencies of certain prosodic shapes additionally influence the acquisition path. Adult Spanish, for example, contains considerably more trisyllabic words with an initial unfooted syllable than adult German. Thus, it might not be surprising that Spanish children produce initial unfooted syllables earlier than their German peers (Lleó and Demuth 1999, Lleó 2001). In contrast, Lleó and Demuth (1999) state that the German children entered into a bipedal stage and then permitted unfooted syllables. Due to the striking parallels to Fikkert's findings from Dutch, one could predict the same developmental pathways in Dutch and German. There is no longitudinal analysis of the acquisition of German that reports an asymmetry as was found in child English, i.e., that certain prosodic shapes are truncated and others are not (Kehoe 1999/2000).

Considering the evidence so far, we expect that German children exhibit a two-feet stage but it remains to be seen if their pattern resembles the foot-based or the syllable-based

Adam (2002) does not provide information on whether there is secondary stress in Hebrew. However, in a recent analysis, Graf and Ussishkin (2003) argue that Modern Hebrew assigns secondary stress to alternating syllables to the left of the main-stressed one, i.e., <code>/avi/ron</code> 'airplane', <code>/avo/kado</code> 'avocado', <code>/kleman/tina</code> 'tangerine', <code>/hip,popo/tam</code> 'hippopotamus'. The child data give rise to different interpretations I will not address here. In any case, they cast doubts on the role of prominence in the preservation pattern in child Hebrew: Regarding bipedal words, the children preferred non-initial unstressed syllables over word-initial (probably stressed) ones.

approach. I will show in this study that the data are in fact more consistent with a syllable-based approach to prosodic development.

3.2.3 The final stage: Target-like prosodic words

In the final stage, the children produce target-like prosodic words. Syllables omitted at the previous stages are now integrated into the output form, and words are realized with the target-like stress pattern. With respect to Germanic languages this means that the output contains unfooted syllables.

To sum up, the findings reported above motivate three main phases of prosodic word development: A single foot stage, one or more intermediate stages, usually characterized by bipedal productions, and a final stage where adult-like forms are produced. The outline of the earlier findings also shows that particularly children acquiring Germanic languages refer to monosyllabic or bisyllabic feet when adopting the target prosodic structure. The Dutch, German and English children select particular syllables from the target word and parse these syllables into feet.

Furthermore, the findings reported above provide ample empirical evidence for the role of the foot and the syllable as basic constituents in children's early word productions. By contrast, very few studies have aimed to provide empirical evidence for the role of the prosodic word constituent. Although there is no doubt that the early word productions form prosodic words, little research has been performed to show that the prosodic word plays an active role in the early production pattern. This is due to the fact that almost all previous studies investigated children's productions of simplex words, where grammatical words directly correspond to single prosodic words.

One source of empirical evidence for the role of prosodic word domain comes from words with nested prosodic words. In German, this is the case in some derived words (e.g. particle verbs such as *auf-machen* 'to open') and in compounds (Raffelsiefen 2000). Unfortunately, our knowledge of the role of the prosodic word domain in child language is poor because, apart from prosodic restrictions on grammatical morphemes, only few studies have so far addressed the prosody-morphology-interface in child language. The following subsection summarizes evidence from the early production pattern of derived words and compounds with a particular focus on the compound data available so far.

3.3 Sensitivity to morphological constituency in child language

The acquisition of grammatical morphemes has received a great amount of attention (cf., Gerken, Landau, and Remez 1990, Gerken 1991, 1994, 1996, Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os 1994, Peters 1997, Lleó and Demuth 1999, Lleó 1998, 2001, Demuth 2001ab). The broad interest in grammatical morphemes results from their inconsistent emergence in children's productions. Several suggestions have been made to explain why particular grammatical morphemes are produced and others are omitted. Their prosodification seems to play an important role; either because grammatical morphemes do not match a rhythmic production template (cf., Gerken 1991 and subsequent work), or because grammatical morphemes cannot be integrated into the prosodic representation the children derive from the target language (e.g., Lleó 1998, 2001, Lleó and Demuth 1999, Demuth 2001a,b). Interestingly, even if they are usually unstressed and therefore prosodically not salient, there is evidence that infants at and beyond 10 months of age perceive grammatical morphemes (Gerken, Landau, and Remez 1990, Höhle and Weissenborn 2003, Blenn, Seidl and Höhle 2003, Pelzer and Höhle 2006). Hence, the omission of grammatical morphemes cannot be explained by their lower perceptual saliency alone (Echols and Newport 1992, Echols 1994).

Out of the studies mentioned here, the production pattern of a girl acquiring Spanish studied by Demuth (2001a,b) is of particular interest. The child truncates bisyllabic functional morphemes, but not bisyllabic lexical categories to monosyllabic outputs. As Demuth points out, the syllable truncation cannot be explained by rhythmic well-formedness constraints; neither does it match universal principles of prosodic well-formedness which prefer footed over unfooted material. Demuth argues that the child has derived from her target language the two prosodic representations of the type $[\sigma(^{\dagger}\sigma\sigma)_{F}]_{PW}$ for the structure of the prosodic word and $\{\sigma[\sigma(^{\dagger}\sigma\sigma)_{F}]_{PW}\}_{PP}$ for the structure of the phonological phrase. Demuth's findings suggest that the girl knows about the morphological and prosodic status of grammatical morphemes and distinguishes it from prosodic constraints on lexical categories.

Demuth's data is consistent with the observation that children often substitute grammatical morphemes with monosyllabic fillers (cf., Peters and Menn 1993, Peters 1997). The production of such placeholders depends on the morphological and phonological regularities of languages. As suggested by Peters and Menn (1993), children produce morphemes earlier in languages where the morpheme boundaries coincide with syllable boundaries (i.e., Asian languages; as opposed to the non-concatenative Semitic languages or polysynthetic languages). If acquiring languages with fusing morpho-phonology (Peters and

Menn quote examples from Mohawk and K'iche, p. 765), children correlate syllables with morphemes because the morphological structure is not transparent to them.

The results of the perception and production studies suggest that children try to correlate larger strings of syllables with prosodic and morphological units. At least in languages with transparent morphology children can bootstrap morphological constituency from basic morphoprosodic correlations such as word stress or prosodic clitization. In addition, statistical information on segmental properties or phoneme sequencing helps children to segment the input into smaller meaningful units. The data of Demuth (2001a,b) indicate that the child knows about the morphological complexity of the syllable chunks she produces because grammatical and lexical categories are subject to different production constraints. In the following section, I argue that a similar proposal can be made with respect to another type of morphologically complex words, namely compounds.

3.4 The production pattern of early compounds

In contrast to grammatical morphemes, which have been extensively studied in the past, there is almost no research on children's perception and production of compounds from a prosodic point of view. There are a number of approaches to the acquisition of compounds from lexicalist (e.g., Marchman and Bates 1994, Dale, Dionne, Eley and Plomin 2000, Dressler, Kiliani-Schoch and Klampfer 2003, Krott and Nicoladis 2005), syntactic (Clark 1981, Clark, Gelman and Lane 1985 for modifier-head-relations), and semantic perspectives (Clark, Gelman and Lane 1985, Krott, Gagné and Nicoladis 2008). Comparing the productive use of French and (Austrian) German compounds, Dressler, Kiliani-Schoch and Klampfer (2003) provide evidence for productive compound formation around the age of 1;08 in the data of an Austrian German child, Jan.¹⁴ By contrast, the authors did not find productive formation of compounds in early child

¹⁴ Dressler, Kiliani-Schoch and Klampfer (2003) analyze the emergence of mini-paradigms as a clue to morphological processing (see p. 396 for an explanation of the term mini-paradigm). According that view, children have detected morphological complexity in compounds if they realize compounds in opposition to simplex words within the same month of recordings (p. 401), e.g., *Feuerwehr-auto* 'fire engine' opposed to *Auto* 'car'. The present paper does not refer to mini-paradigms because the concept cannot account for truncated compounds. Dressler, Kiliani-Schoch and Klampfer (2003: 403-411) also report the data of a late-

French. Apparently, the development of productive morphology is closely related to the richness of morphological processes in the target language.

Nicoladis (2006:118) points out that there is surprisingly little research on the prosodic acquisition of compounds. To date, the early production pattern of compounds has explicitly been addressed in Fikkert (2001, for child Dutch) and Tzakosta (2004, for child Greek). Tzakosta's (2004) database on child Greek contains only few compounds, and there was no evidence in the truncation pattern that the Greek children differed between simplex words and compounds. This might be due to the specific properties of compounding in Greek.¹⁵

The most comprehensive study on the development of compounds is provided by Fikkert (2001). The following review is mainly based on her analysis of the acquisition of Dutch compounds. Some compound data are taken from two further studies (Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os 1994 for Dutch; Lewis, Antone, and Johnson 1999 for English). The authors of these two studies include compounds in their analyses without keeping them separate from simplex words.

One of the parallels to simplex words is that compounds initially undergo truncation to a single foot. A closer examination of the data, however, reveals striking differences between simplex words and compounds. Analyzing the frequency and exact pattern of truncation, Fikkert observed three crucial differences to simplex words. First, compounds are truncated to a single foot to a significantly lower rate than simplex words. Children who regularly truncate simplex words (e.g., Eva, see Fikkert 2001: 73-74) do not necessarily also truncate compounds. Second, compounds survive as bipedal forms at an earlier age than simplex words – despite the fact that compounds emerge later in children's productive vocabularies than most of the longer simplex words. Third, simplex words show a consistent pattern of preserving the rightmost stressed syllable, but there is much more variation in compounds. For example, the child Noortje preserved the final foot of compounds – as she also did in simplex words. This is illustrated by the Dutch examples in (17) to (20) taken from Fikkert (2001: 74-77).

talking Austrian German child (Katharina) realizing compounds from age 2;3. Jan started to speak at age 1;3; Katharina at age 1;8.

¹⁵ Greek differs from Germanic languages in that compounding is relatively infrequent and in that Greek creates root compounds (see Nespor 1999 for more details).

(17) Reduction of compounds to the final foot in Noortje's data

Target word	Phonetic form	Gloss	Child form	Preservation	Child, age
vlieg-tuig	/'vli:x,teyx/	'airplane'	[haux]	final foot	Noortje, 2;3.20
sneeuw-pop	/'sne:w ₁ pop/	'snow man'	[pop]	final foot	Noortje, 2;4.4
thee-pot	/'te:ˌpɔt/	'tea pot'	[pot]	final foot	Noortje, 2:4.4

Tirza, by contrast, maintained the constituent she was more familiar with, regardless of its position within the compound (18).

(18) Reduction to the initial or final foot in Tirza's data

Target word	Phonetic form	Gloss	Child form	Preservation	Child, age
dieren-tuin	/'di:rəˌtœyn/	'zoo'	[tœyn]	final foot	Tirza, 1;8.5
zee-hond	/'ze:ˌhɔnt/	'seal'	[se:]	initial foot	Tirza, 1;10.22
zak-doek	/'zag _ı du:k/	'handkerchief'	[sa:k]	initial foot	Tirza, 1;11.8
hobbel- paard	/ˈhəbəlˌpa:rt/	'rocking horse'	[pant]	final foot	Tirza, 1;11.19

Eva, Elke and Jarmo preserved the two syllables from target bisyllabic compounds, but reduced them to single bisyllabic trochees. Fikkert does not provide truncated instances from tri- or quadrisyllabic compounds from Elke and Jarmo's databases; probably, there are not many such instances. Based on bisyllabic compounds it is difficult to determine if the children preserved the prosodic heads from both constituents or just processed the bisyllabic compounds like single trochees. (19) provides examples from the databases of Eva, Elke and Jarmo.

(19) Preservation of two syllables in the data of Eva, Elke and Jarmo

Target word	Phonetic form	Gloss	Child form	Preservation	Child, age
glij-baan	/'xlei,ba:n/	'slide'	[ˈdɛibaːn]	both feet	Eva, 1;9.8
zand-bak	/'zam _ı bak/	'sand pit	[ˈsamba]	both feet	Eva, 1;9.8
schild-pad	/'sxil,pat/	'tortoise'	[ˈxɪpat]	both feet	Elke, 2;3.26
vlieg-tuig	/'vli:χ,tœyχ/	'airplane'	[ˈfiːtœy]	both feet	Elke, 2;4.15
zand-bak	/ ['] zam _' bak/	'sand box'	[ˈsambak]	both feet	Elke, 2;4.29
kauw-gom	/ˈkauˌχɔm/	'chewing gum'	[ˈkɑuχɔ]	both feet	Jarmo, 1;11.20
schild-pad	/'sxıl _ı pat/	'tortoise'	[ˈtiːtaːt]	both feet	Jarmo, 1;11.20

Finally, Robin used different strategies to reduce compounds, and his data are not easy to interpret. Examples from his database are presented in (20). In *sesam-straat* he appears to preserve the first constituent *sesam*, but he maintaines the first or the second syllable of *auto* together with the second constituent *bus* in *auto-bus*. In view of the fact that children often preserve prosodically strong material from the target word (cf., Fikkert 1994, 2001), it is likely that Robin selected the initial syllable from *auto*. In *vlieg-tuig*, Robin applied prosodic reduction to a single trochee the same way as Elke and Jarmo did in their bisyllabic compounds.

(20) Different reduction strategies in the speech of Robin

Target word	Phonetic form	Gloss	Child form	Preservation	Child, age
sesam-straat	/'se:sam,stra:t/	'sesame street'	[ˈseːsaː]	(?) initial foot	Robin, 1;7.13
auto-bus	/'o:to:ˌbus/	'bus'	[sidc']	two syllables	Robin, 1;8.10
vlieg-tuig	/'vli:χ,tœyχ/	'airplane'	[ˈtiːtaː]	both feet	Robin, 1;8.24

Fikkert's summary nicely illustrates the individual variation in the preservation pattern of compounds. It is a crucial point, however, that her observations can hardly be explained if it is assumed that all children analyze simplex words and compounds alike.

Besides the variation, the truncation pattern points to two further differences between simplex words and compounds. First, if there is truncation it takes place at the word-internal morphological and prosodic boundary (except Elke's realization of *dieren-tuin* 'zoo' as ['ti:tœy] and Robin's realization of *auto-bus* 'bus' as ['ɔbɪs]). Secondly, systematic truncation to monosyllables appears to be unusual. Fikkert finds it in the data of Noortje and Tirza, but not in that of Eva, Elke, Jarmo, and Robin. As I will show later in the paper, the German data corroborate the Dutch ones in these two respects.

The vast majority of compounds reduced to bisyllabic trochees in the Dutch data are bisyllabic in their target form. The children (except Noortje) select the two stressed syllables from the target compound and produce them as single trochees. Fikkert (2001) argues that the children preserve the prosodic heads of compounds and map them onto a trochaic template – as they did with simplex words at Stage 2. However, due to the lack of truncated trisyllabic and longer compounds, the evidence remains rather tentative in Fikkert's study.

Some support for Fikkert's analysis is found in a study of Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os (1994). The authors investigated two children acquiring Dutch. Some of these data are presented in (21). Note that none of the reduced compounds provided in Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os (1994) result in a monosyllabic output even if the target compounds are constructed from monosyllabic constituents. Unfortunately, Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os do not transcribe secondary stress. Therefore it cannot be determined whether the two syllables from the compound constituents form a single foot or two feet.

The pattern Fikkert decribes seems somehow asymmetric to mine. Bisyllabic compounds are rarely truncated, and there is variation in the truncation pattern of trisyllabic compounds. Children sometimes maintain a constituent (e.g., Tirza in *dieren-tuin* 'zoo' and *hobble-paard* 'rocking horse') and sometimes select material from both constituents (e.g., Robin in *Auto-bus* 'bus'). This gives rise to a 'Gedankenexperiment': Could children treat bisyllabic compounds in a different way than longer ones? How would children perform if they perceived bisyllabic compounds as simple trochees, but more easily detected the morphological complexity in longer compounds as there is more room for alternation of prominence? At first, it would explain why there is little truncation of bisyllabic compounds to monosyllables (observed only in Noortje's and Tirza's data). Note that simple trochees hardly ever undergo truncation to monosyllables (Fikkert 1994: 201). Taken into account that compounds might differ depending on the number of syllables, I follow Taelman (2004) in annotating bisyllabic compounds as simple trochees (SW).

(21) Selection of the prosodic heads in two- and trisyllabic compounds in child Dutch (data from Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os 1994:71)

Child	Target word	Phonetic form	Gloss	Child form
М	zieken-huis	/ˈsikəˌhœys/	'hospital'	[ˈsikhʌys]
М	stof-zuiger	/'stof,sœyxər/	'vacuum cleaner'	[ˈkəkhʌyx]
М	vracht-auto	/ˈfraxtˌauto/	'lorry'	['fraxau]
D	neus-hoorn	/'nø:s _ı horn/	'rhinocerus'	[ˈnøːshɔːr]

Does the fact that the Dutch children seem to preserve the head syllables from simplex words and compounds imply that they do not recognize their morpho-prosodic complexities and treat simplex words and compounds alike? Although Fikkert (2001) remains non-committed regarding the prosodic input representation of compounds, she provides two arguments against a unified prosodic structure of simplex words and compounds: First, if compounds are parsed the same way as simplex words, they should undergo the same reduction strategies. As Fikkert points out, in her data only Noortje (but no other child) consistently truncates compounds to the rightmost stressed foot. Second, at Stage 3 Fikkert observes that at least compounds with illegal boundary phonotactics are parsed into minor prosodic words by some children (e.g., Eva). These compounds are not reduced to a single foot, but survive with the target number of syllables and two stresses. Fikkert argues that the child Eva parses compounds with illegal phonotactics as two prosodic words, but compounds with legal phonotactics as a single prosodic word.¹⁷

That phonotactics plays a role is suggested by data from an English child, Kyle, analyzed by Lewis, Antone, and Johnson (1999). The authors do not distinguish between simplex words and compounds in their analysis, and the data they provide include only a small number of compounds. The data suggest that the child truncates bisyllabic compounds to monosyllables if there is a phonotactically legal sequence of consonants (i.e., star-fish > [dæs], wal-nut > [want], bed-room > [bum], but see pan-cake > [kerk]), whereas phonotactically illegal bisyllabic compounds tend to be preserved with two syllables (e.g., oat-meal > [opma], gold-fish > [kafəs], $good\ night > [gonart]$, suit-case > [sukers], but see star-fish > [dæfis]; p. 51). If there is

¹⁷ The target illegal consonant sequences were not necessarily also maintained in the output.

truncation to a monosyllable, the output can often not be attributed to a particular syllable because, in many cases, the child selects the compound-initial consonant and merges it with material from the second syllable. In that respect, the child treats compounds with legal phonotactics and simplex words alike: Kyle regularly truncated bisyllabic trochees to monosyllables, contrary to the frequent observation that children do not truncate bisyllabic trochees (cf., Gerken 1991, 1994, Fikkert 1994, Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os 1994, Pater 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000). Hence, the bisyllabic outcome in the data of Lewis, Antone and Johnson (1999) indicates that the child analyzes words containing illegal consonant cluster differently from simplex words and compounds with legal boundary phonotactics. Unfortunately, the authors do not mark stress in their data, such that it cannot be decided whether the two syllables also form two feet.

The English child Kyle studied by Lewis, Antone and Johnson (1999) also appears to select the prosodic heads from trisyllabic compounds (e.g., *grass-hopper* > [gəhap] and *zoo-keeper* > [zukup]; p. 53). In doing so, the English data support Fikkert's findings from child Dutch in that a) they highlight the role of phonotactics for children's prosodic parsing, and b) the children try to preserve the prosodic heads from the compound constituents in their bisyllabic output. In addition, simplex words and phonotactically legal compounds show the identical pattern of preservation of the prosodic head syllables.

In this thesis, I put forward the idea that children distinguish between simplex words and compounds from early on. I argue that the equal preservation of the prosodic head does not necessarily imply that children represent all simplex words and compounds alike. Children are sensitive to morphological and prosodic regularities distinguishing simplex words from compounds. As outlined in sub-section 2.4, German simplex words differ from compounds not only in the placement of main stress, but also with respect to syllable structure, boundary phonotactics and vocalic behaviour. Hence, the children can rely on a number of cues to bootstrap morphological complexity, making it possible to parse simplex words and compounds in an adult-like way.

The advantage of this analysis is that variation in the preservation pattern of compounds can be explained by the internal prosodic organization of words. If the prosodic word is limited to a single foot, each constituent satisfies the size restriction. Children have to choose one foot, and, in fact, they do. Noortje maintains the foot from the second constituent. Tirza, by contrast, maintains the constituent 'that is known to her' (Fikkert 2001: 74); a fact that particularly clearly indicates the decomposition of compounds into smaller lexical and prosodic units. Moreover, decomposition and truncation take place even if the morpheme boundary contains

phonotactically legal phoneme sequences (e.g., dieren-tuin 'zoo' > [t α yn], zee-hond 'seal' > [se:], hobbel-paard 'rocking horse' > [pant], glij-baan 'slide'> [χ εi] all contain phonotactically legal consonant clusters).

Alternatively, one might propose that (some) children do not recognize the different prosodic organization of simplex words and compounds. For example, the two children studied by Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os (1994:71-75) consistently preserve the target main- and secondary-stressed syllables from the target words, independently of their respective prosodic complexities. However, as stated above, the study presents a very small number of compounds, so that it is difficult to detect variation between simplex words and compounds in the data. Therefore, the study is inconclusive with respect to the question of whether there are children who do not distinguish between simplex words and compounds.

Some examples from Lewis, Antone and Johnson (1999) and Fikkert (2001) indicate that children do not consistently distinguish simplex words and compounds. In particular, this seems to hold for bisyllabic compounds. As Fikkert (2001) states, the stress pattern alone does not provide robust information for children to distinguish simplex words from compounds. Therefore, children must focus on additional cues such as boundary phonotactics and syllable complexity in order to make this distinction. It remains a topic for further research to find out which cues are more easily accessible, and if some cues are more important than others.

In sum, a number of empirical observations made by Fikkert (2001) support the view that (the Dutch) children distinguish simplex words from compounds by means of their phonological structure. First, Fikkert reports that truncation is generally rare in compounds, but widespread in simplex words. Second, compounds emerge as bipedal forms at a time when simplex words are still limited to a single foot. Third, compounds vary with respect to the content of preservation — in contrast to simplex words, where the rightmost stressed foot is usually preserved. As I will show later in this thesis, in these respects, the production pattern of simplex words and compounds is largely consistent in child German and child Dutch. I argue that the production pattern of the simplex words and compounds can be accounted for if simplex words are represented in a different way than compounds, and that constraint-based approaches best account for the production data.

In order to present the theoretical background for the analysis of prosodic development in Section 6, I outline the basic assumptions on learnability and phonological development in an optimality theoretic framework below.

3.5 Learning optimality-theoretic grammars

3.5.1 The continuity hypothesis

Jakobson (1948/1968) was among the first researchers to propose universal similarities between child language, language impairment and language change. He does not assume a close relation between the phonological pattern of babbling and early words (*discontinuity hypothesis*). In contrast, more recent investigation has provided evidence for a continuity between babbling and first words. For example, babbling and the early words contain the same sound inventories and syllable structures (Leopold 1953/1971, Oller, Wieman, Doyle, and Ross 1975, Vihman, Kay, de Boysson-Bardies, Durand, and Sundberg 1994, Kent and Miolo 1995). These findings are important because they demonstrate a successive adaption to the target language beginning from the early vocalizations.

In generative approaches, continuity is also postulated with respect to the grammatical and cognitive pre-requisites of language acquisition (*continuity assumption*, Pinker 1984). In its strong formulation, the continuity assumption states that child and adult language refer to the same set of linguistic units and constraints, and that these units and constraints are inborn in humans. Several studies on prosodic development have provided evidence consistent with a strong interpretation of the continuity assumption (cf., Gnanadesikan 1995, Pater 1997, Ota 2001, 2003, Rose 2000).

In its weaker interpretation, the continuity hypothesis permits maturation of linguistic principles and mechanisms (*maturational hypothesis*, Borer and Wexler 1987). With respect to prosodic development, Demuth (1995a, 1996a) discusses (and rejects) the possibility that children initially have restricted access to the prosodic hierarchy. However, it has been suggested recently that children pose child-specific constraints (Fikkert, Levelt and van de Weijer, submitted) or child-specific domains of constraint application (Pater and Werle 2001 for consonant harmony).

The analysis presented in this study refers to prosodic units and constraints wellestablished in adult language. No additional assumptions about children's grammars are required.

3.5.2 The initial state of the grammar

It is a common observation that children's early words are largely unmarked with respect to their phonological organization, and that the amount of markedness increases during the course of development. Based on this very general finding, researchers assume that markedness constraints outrank faithfulness constraints at the initial state (Gnanadesikan 1995, Demuth 1995a, 1996a, Levelt 1995, Smolensky 1996, Pater 1997, Pater and Paradis 1996, Levelt and van de Vijver 1998/2004, Ota 2001, 2003, Rose 2000, Adam 2002, Davidson, Smolensky, and Jusczyk 2004, Hayes 2004, Prince and Tesar 2004).

Analyses of the acquisition of word-prosodic structure also employ alignment constraints. Alignment constraints and markedness constraints are often referred to as structural constraints. Both determine the prosodic well-formedness of children's early words. At the initial state, structural constraints outrank faithfulness constraints (cf., Pater and Paradis 1996, Pater 1997, see also Kehoe 1999/2000: 61 for a brief discussion).

Other proposals state that, at the initial state, all constraints are unranked with respect to each other (Tesar and Smolensky 1993), or that any initial ranking is possible (*Gradual Learning Algorithm*, Boersma 1997, 1998, Boersma and Hayes 2001), or that faithfulness outranks markedness constraints (Hale and Reiss 1998). If there is no initial ranking (cf., Tesar and Smolensky 1993, also possible in Boersma's *Gradual Learning Algorithm*), a great variability is predicted, which is not supported by empirical findings (cf., Bernhardt and Stemberger 1998, Adam 2002). Also, an initial grammar where faithfulness constraints outrank markedness constraints (Hale and Reiss 1998a,b) is problematic because phonological development then essentially relies on the presence of a lexicon. However, at the time children build up their lexical representations they already have acquired a large part of their phonological knowledge. This suggests that the lexicon cannot represent the initial basis for deriving a phonological grammar.

3.5.3 Development as re-ranking

In optimality-theoretic approaches, language development means re-ranking of constraints. The task of the learner is to change the initial ranking in such a way that faithfulness constraints ultimately dominate markedness constraints.

Learning algorithms differ with respect to the direction of re-ranking. Some assume constraint demotion only (constraint demotion algorithm, Tesar and Smolensky 1993, 1998,

2000). If markedness outranks faithfulness at the initial state (Smolensky 1996, see also Davidson, Smolensky and Jusczyk 2004) markedness constraints must be demoted. Due to its clear predictions on the course of re-ranking, the constraint demotion algorithm has received ample application in empirical studies of phonological development (Rose 2000, Adam 2002, Kehoe 1999/2000). I adopted it in this thesis as well.

Some analyses also allowed constraint promotion (cf., Gnanadesikan 1995, Demuth 1996b). Bernhardt and Stemberger (1998:258-263) refer to regression phases arguing that re-ranking most of all means promotion of faithfulness. In their model, constraint demotion plays a minor role.

Re-ranking in both directions is possible also in the gradual learning algorithm (Boersma 1997, 1998), which explains variation in adult and child language. It has successfully been tested with empirical data (cf., Boersma and Hayes 2001, Boersma and Levelt 2000, Curtin and Zuraw 2002).

The OT-analysis adopts the more restrictive *constraint demotion algorithm*. I emphasize that a less restrictive algorithm would account for the German data as well, but that it allows more intermediate stages than the constraint demotion algorithm.

3.5.4 The representation of the input

The precise nature of children's input representations is not directly accessible to linguistic research. A position taken since the 70s is that children's early representations are very similar to that of adults. That is, children's input representations consist of the adult string of sounds (cf., Smith 1973, Macken 1980, Curtin 2001, see also Menn 1980 for an overview).¹⁸

As Rose (2000:93) points out, there is a gap in research with respect to the question whether children's input representations are also completely prosodified. Complete prosodification is assumed in several analyses of child speech - given the essential role the input structure plays for children's outcome (Gnanadesikan 1995, Demuth 1996b, Rose 2000, Kehoe 1999/2000, Ota 2001, 2003). Fikkert (2001:70), by contrast, argues that children do not completely parse the melodic content of the (simplex) target word at Stage 1.

¹⁸ It is a matter of debate whether there is featural underspecification in child language, and the evidence is controversial. See Rose (2000:92) for a discussion.

¹⁹ See also Demuth (1996b:119) for concerns regarding a prosodification of the input representation.

In this thesis, I adopt the position that the output candidates are generated from an adult-like melodic and prosodic input representation. I assume that children perceive the segmental content and the prosodic prominence of stressed syllables (or vowels) from the adult output (cf., Echols and Newport 1992, Echols 1996, Lewis, Antone and Johnson 1999, Kehoe 1999/2000). Thus, children are not only able to store the position of the main-stressed syllable. They also perceive and store the syllabification of the adult surface form. Consequently, they can parse these syllables into feet and feet into prosodic words. This is possible because children have access to universal principles of prosodic organization. The children take the presence of stressed syllables as an indication for the edges of feet, and the prominence relations within the morphological word as a cue to the internal organization into feet and prosodic words. In doing so, children parse simplex words and compounds in an adult-like fashion. This is consistent with Lexicon Optimization, a strategy ensuring maximal equivalence between input and output form (Prince and Smolensky 1993). Even if there are hypothetical inputs leading to the same outputs under a given ranking, the strategy of Lexicon Optimization predicts a lower number of violations of faithfulness constraints. Hence, in absence of evidence against that view, it is assumed that input and output are fully prosodified.

The proposal that children prosodify compounds as recursive prosodic words is a strong claim that should be a subject of further empirical testing. As I have argued above, the input provides a number of phonological cues (e.g., stress pattern, phonotactics, vocalic behaviour) allowing children to detect the internal prosodic and morphological word boundary in compounds. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume this distinction. This thesis adopts the following positions from the literature:

- Child grammar is composed of universally motivated constraints, i.e., there is a strong continuity of child and adult language.
- At the initial state, markedness constraints outrank faithfulness constraints.
- There is only constraint demotion, not constraint promotion.
- The candidate set is generated on the basis of fully prosodified adult-like inputs.

These assumptions are important for the analyses later in this thesis.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The present study analyzes spontaneous productions and imitations of four children acquiring German. The children are typically-developing monolinguals growing up at Osnabrück (Northern Germany).

This section describes the data collection and preparation procedures. It consists of two major parts. The first one, section 4.2, provides information about the data collection and the compilation of the corpus (4.2.1), the transcription (4.2.2), the data checking (4.2.3) and the coding procedure (4.2.4). The second part, section 4.3, describes how the prosodic word structure was coded in the child data. This includes the coding of word-prosodic properties (4.3.1), of stress patterns (4.3.2) and of word-prosodic structure of simplex words and compounds (4.3.3). The section also illustrates how variation in the input forms is regarded (4.3.4). Finally, section 4.3.5 describes methodological problems arising particularly with respect to truncated compounds and how these problems are treated prior to the analysis.

4.2 The Osnabrück-Corpus

4.2.1 Participants

The parents and children of the study were recruited with the support of a local family initiative.²⁰ The recruitment took place several months before the children started to produce their first words.

Three girls and three boys were initially selected to participate in the study. Two of the three boys showed a very slow increase of their productive vocabularies, such that the recordings with them were cancelled in May 2003. These two boys produced less than 10 word types at 20 months of age so that they were at risk of becoming late talkers. Due to their

²⁰ Thanks to the Katholische Familienbildungsstätte (FaBi) in Osnabück for permitting me to contact the parents.

elimination, the study ended up with four children, three girls and one boy. The profiles of these four children are provided in Table 4-1. The names of the children are pseudonyms. The recorded periods are given in *year;month.day*.

Table 4-1. Profiles of the individual participants

Child	Sex	Siblings	Recorded period in	Age range of	Number of
			months	recording	Recordings ²¹
Sandra	F	No	9	1;02.10 - 1;11.0 ²²	23
Eleonora	F	No	10	1;0.07 – 1;10.25	30
Nele	F	No	12	1;01.22 - 2;0.19	22
Wiglaf	М	No	11	1;03.21 - 2;01.21	24

All four children are firstborns without siblings, being raised in monolingual German middleclass environments. Their parents either have a university degree or some other kind of professional training. During the recording time, the children were day-cared at home by their mothers. Apart from occasional colds, none of the children suffer from health problems or hearing impairments or have deficits in cognitive and motor development. Also, there were no complications during pregnancy and childbirth.

4.2.2 Data collection

Regular recordings started as soon as the parents identified the first meaningful words in the speech of their children. Sandra, Eleonora, and Nele produced their first words in September 2002; Wiglaf in October 2002. The recordings took place over a period of 9 - 12 months at the children's homes in presence of a parent (mostly the mothers) and the author.

During the earliest phase when the number of word productions increased very slowly, bi-weekly speech samples were taken for 45 - 60 minutes. As soon as the parents reported a rapid increase of the productive vocabulary ('vocabulary explosion'), weekly recordings took

²¹ These are the number of recordings including meaningful speech.

²² Sandra's recording period had to stop at age 1;11.0 because the family moved away.

place for 30 - 40 minutes.²³ The mean recording period is 10 months and 6 days; the mean number of recordings containing meaningful speech is 25 per child.

The speech samples were taken as audio recordings using a SONY TCD-D8 DAT-recorder and a SONY ECM-MS957 microphone. The microphone was placed in front of the child and adopted to the child's position if she or he moved through the room. In order to keep background noises as minimal as possible, the caretakers were asked to remove crackling or other noisy toys before starting the session.

The children were observed during natural interaction with their caretaker(s) and the author, while looking at picture books or playing with toys. As far as possible, the data represent spontaneous productions. The setting was controlled to some degree because, in order to elicit tri- and quadrisyllabic words, five plastic animals were introduced into the spontaneous interaction: *Papagei* 'parrot' [,papa¹gaī], *Krokodil* 'crocodile' [,kkoko¹di:l], *Elefant* 'elephant' [,ele¹fant], *Kamel* 'camel' [ka¹me:l], and *Giraffe* 'giraffe' [gi¹kafə]. Occasionally, the attention of the child was shifted to other objects to elicit longer object names. If the child was not willing to speak, she or he was asked to repeat particular target words from time to time but imitations did not follow a fixed criterion.

In natural interaction, parents usually pick up children's word productions and extend ('Yes, this is a X.') or expand them ('Yes, a green X.'). Such parental behaviour allows for the identification of a word and for separating it from babbling sequences.

4.2.3 Data transcription

The recordings were digitalized using Cool Edit/Adobe Audition software at a sampling rate of 44100 in 16bit stereo mode. The sound files of the children's utterances were edited in two different ways: To retain contextual information, the children's utterances were marked by a cue within the long sound file. For an easier handling of the sound data (e.g. for phonetic analysis), the children's utterances were also copied and saved as short sound files.

²³ I detected the onset of the vocabulary explosion by a list of the productive vocabulary the parents provided. The criterion was simple: Prior to the vocabulary explosion, it was no problem for the parents to draw up the word list. After the beginning of the vocabulary explosion, they felt unable to write down every word type their child produced.

The transcriptions comprise every word identified via parental repetition or direct confirmation (see section 3.2. above), except deictic *da* 'there'. Productions with speech overlaps or minor distortions were also regarded as long as the phonetic form could be identified.

The children's utterances were transcribed by the author in a narrow phonetic transcription according to IPA (1993/1996); the adult speech was disregarded. Children's sound inventory differed from that of Standard German: For example, at the early stage of word production, the children often realized target labiodental fricatives /f/ and /v/ as bilabial fricatives / ϕ / and / ϕ / or approximant / ϕ /. Further phenomena transcribed in the data are phonetically long consonants (geminates), aspiration of plosives, and lateral and nasal release of plosives. Vowels often had a centralized variant, and were sometimes nasalized.

At the prosodic level, the transcriptions encode main and secondary prominence and vowel length. It is rather *prominence* than *stress* that has been transcribed because once children entered into the multiword stage, sentence and word level stress are difficult to distinguish from each other on a merely perceptual level. Therefore, first-level prominence (i.e. main stress) was assigned to the most prominent syllable(s) of an utterance and second-level prominence (secondary stress) to syllables that were not main-stressed but still more prominent than surrounding weak ones.

In adult German, an intervocalic consonant is ambisyllabic if the first vowel is phonologically short but appears in a stressed position. Ambisyllabic consonants are marked in the transcriptions by a short underline at the bottom of the respective consonant, e.g. *Hammer* /'haməɐ/ 'hammer'. It is important to keep in mind that the underline denotes ambisyllabicity in the transcriptions (which has no diacritic symbol in IPA), not retraction.

4.2.4 Data checking

A sample of 1,086 utterances (12.6%) was checked for stress placement and syllable number by a second transcriber. The selected utterances all contain words comprising more material than a single foot in the adult form. The agreement was 92.4%.

4.2.5 Data coding

The recorded period comprises utterances produced at the single word and the multiword stage. Even during the early recording sessions, the children self-repeated their words, raising the problem of whether these word sequences should be broken into separate utterances or not. Sequences of words such as *Papa # Papa* ['phapa 'papa] 'daddy # daddy' (Nele, 1;01.22) occur in children's self-repetitions, but also in self-corrections such as *das da hin [reset]# hin* [tas'ta:hɪt # hɪn] 'this there [reset] # there' (Nele, 1;09.16), or in intonationally coherent multiword utterances. Multiword utterances sometimes contain even more than one proposition, such as *das da Kind nackig (Bauch-)nabel* ['dastaˌkɪntˌnati'na:bi] 'there child naked bellybutton (Nele, 1;10.14). Altogether, the corpus contains 5,550 single word utterances, 88 self-repetitions, and 2,971 multiword utterances.

I did not break down the word sequences into separate utterances because these data were not intended to be subjects of lexical or syntactic computation.²⁴ Moreover, the word sequences probably retain information on larger intonational units. Thus, the corpus allows for an investigation of the acquisition of larger prosodic units (cf., Gut 2000, Behrens and Gut 2005, Grimm 2006). I broke down sequences of words into minor utterances only if a) children's productions belonged to different conversational turns, and if b) the pause between the lexical items exceeded an arbitrary duration of 5 seconds. The proportion of single word utterances, self-repetitions, and word combinations is depicted in Table 4-2 for each child.²⁵ 'SWU' denotes single word utterances, 'REP' self-repetitions, and 'MWU' multiword utterances.

²⁴ Given that children occasionally repeat a lexical item 10 times or more the coding in the present study results in an unnaturally high MLU.

²⁵ The token calculation includes lexical words of adult German, i.e. content words and function words that appear in isolation in adult speech. Compounds and split particle verbs are counted as single lexical words.

Table 4-2. Overview of the number of utterances and words in the database

Child	SWU	REP	MWU	Sum utterances	Sum words
Eleonora	1,552	67	352	1,971	2,994
Nele	1,135	6	1,104	2,245	4,607
Sandra	1,269	12	407	1,688	3,048
Wiglaf	1,594	3	1,108	2,706	4,889
Total	5,550	88	2,971	8,610	15,538

The utterances are coded for the following general information: Name of the child, age of the child, utterance number, number of utterance within the recording session, child's production in phonetic form, adult target in orthographic form, adult target in phonetic form, spontaneous production or repetition of an adult form (henceforth called imitation).

The phonetic form of the German target words was extracted automatically from the machine-readable dictionary HADI-BOMP, a SAMPA-coded version of BOMP (*Bonn Machine-Readable Pronunciation Dictionary*, Portele, Krämer and Stock 1995; see also http://www.ikp.uni-bonn.de/dt/forsch/phonetik/bomp/ for more information about BOMP).²⁶

Utterances were regarded as imitated if there were less than two conversational turns between the adult model and the child's production. Children's productions counted as imitations of the adult model if the child's production was fully included in the adult utterance produced before. This means that if the child selected one or more words from the parental turn, the child's production was coded as an imitated utterance. If the child added a new word, the utterance was coded as a spontaneous production. Self-repetitions were regarded as imitations if the first word occurred in the adult speech before, regardless of the number of repetitions.

²⁶ I am particularly grateful to Stefan Breuer for automatically transcribing words not included in BOMP, and to Marko Sonntag for the automatic extraction and composition of the adult target forms.

4.3 The data of the present study

4.3.1 Data selection and annotation

Children's attempts to produce multisyllabic words (i.e., words containing more syllables than can be parsed into a single foot) were semi-automatically extracted from the corpus (total rate: 1,714 target words; 1,206 simplex words, 121 pseudo-compounds and 391 compounds. Table 4-3 illustrates the distribution of simplex words, pseudo-compounds and compounds in the database, given in absolute numbers and percentages.

Table 4-3. Distribution of simplex words, pseudo-compounds and compounds in the database in absolute numbers and percentages

Child	Simplex words	Pseudo-compounds	Compounds	Sum
Eleonora	410 (81.0%)	45 (8.9%)	51 (10.1%)	506 (100%)
Nele	311 (70.5%)	14 (3.2%)	116 (26.3%)	441 (100%)
Sandra	187 (55.3%)	31 (9.2%)	120 (35.5%)	338 (100%)
Wiglaf	298 (69.5%)	31 (7.2%)	100 (23.3%)	429 (100%)
Total	1,206 (70.4%)	121 (7.1%)	387 (22.5%)	1,714 (100%)

Based on these words, a token list was created and annotated for the morphological structure of the target word (i.e. simplex word, compound, pseudo-compound), the target number of syllables and the stress pattern. The children's productions were re-described for their actual word stress because the corpus transcription provides only utterance prominence, not word stress. Then, the child tokens were labelled manually for the following characteristics: number of syllables, whether they deviate from the adult target in syllable number or stress pattern (correct vs. incorrect), and the position of the token in multiword utterances or self-repetitions (initial vs. non-initial).

Incorrect realizations were coded for the presence of syllable and foot truncations, addition or deletion of secondary stress, stress shifts, level stress, and epentheses. Importantly, children's productions were regarded as *correct* realizations if they agreed to the target word with respect to the number of syllables and stress pattern, and as *incorrect* if they deviated from the adult form at least in one of the two characteristics. Changes of the syllable-internal

structure (e.g. cluster reduction, coda deletion, vowel shortening or lengthening) were disregarded.

4.3.2 Determining the stress pattern

The stress pattern is coded according to strong-weak (SW) relations. In the adult and child forms, 'S' denotes a main-stressed; 's' a secondary stressed and 'W' a weak syllable. For the adult words, the SW structure has been determined according to the stress patterns of Standard German. The morpheme boundary in compounds is indicated by a hyphen ('-'), syllable boundaries by a dot (.).

In children's productions, main or secondary stress is determined on the basis of their perceived prominence. The most prominent syllable of the word was categorized as main-stressed; syllables which are less prominent than main-stressed ones are coded as secondary stressed. Note that words can also appear with two main stresses in child speech (level stress). Every other syllable was classified as unstressed (weak).

No systematic acoustic analyses have been performed to evaluate the presence (or absence) of main or secondary stress in the child data. To date, it is not clear which acoustic parameters provide the most reliable cues for word stress in child German (e.g., Gies 2001, Lintfert and Schneider 2006, Lintfert and Vollmer 2007, Lintfert 2009). Lintfert and Schneider observed individual preferences in the use of the parameters in children up to 18 months of age. The children vary with regard to the use of the acoustic parameters. This explains why intensity was the most consistent cue to main stress in the data of Lintfert (2009), but not in the data of Gies (2001).

Figure 4-1 exemplifies a target word transcribed as level-stressed (8a) and as bearing target-like stress (b). There are clear differences in the values for F0 and intensity on the stressed and unstressed syllables. The figure represents two instances of the target word *Papagei* 'parrot' produced by Sandra at age 1;8.14 and 1;8.31.

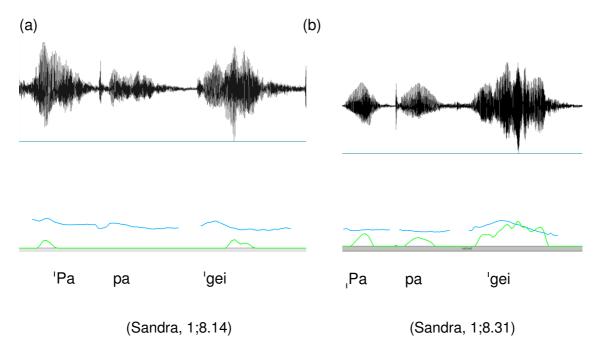


Figure 4-1. The target word 'Papa'gei 'parrot' produced with level stress (a) and target-like with ultimate main stress (b).

4.3.3 Determining the prosodic structure of simplex words and compounds

In determining the word-prosodic organization, I follow the assumption that a stressed syllable marks the left edge of a foot in German (cf., Féry 1995, Hayes 1995). Feet can be monosyllabic or bisyllabic: In the first case, the foot is constructed on a single stressed syllable (S), in the second case on a stressed syllable followed by an unstressed one (SW).

I propose that the foot inventory of German children contains only trochees. Therefore, if a strong syllable is surrounded by two weak syllables (WSW), I assume that the children parse a trochee and leave the initial syllable unfooted. For example, WSW words such as *Giraffe* 'giraffe' are parsed $gi('raffe)_F$ not $*(gi'raf)_F e$. Pre-tonic weak syllables remain unfooted also in WS words (e.g., $\underline{Ka}('me)]_F$ 'camel'). If a simplex word contains sequences of two post-tonic weak syllables, the second weak syllable remains unfooted because it cannot create a foot (e.g., \underline{SW} in $(K\ddot{a}ngu)_F \underline{ru}$ 'cangaroo', \underline{sW} in $(Loko)_F \underline{mo}('tive)_F$ ',locomotive'). ²⁷ Pseudocompounds are described with two stresses and count as bipedal in the target form (e.g., \underline{SW}

²⁷ In adult language, the syllables cannot create a foot because they are light. They can neither form the head of a foot nor can they be assigned to a complement position of a foot.

in $(Tele)_F(fon)_F$ 'telephone', $(Mikro)_F(fon)_F$,microphone', $(Benja)_F(min)_F$ (proper name), $(Jona)_F(than)_F$ (proper name) and SsW in $(Heu)_F(schrecke)_F$ 'grasshopper', $(Ei)_F(dechse)_F$ 'lizzard', $(A)_F(meise)_F$ 'ant').

The analysis investigated if the target words and children's productions correspond to a single trochaic foot, to two feet and if they contain unfooted syllables. Monosyllabic (S) or bisyllabic trochees (SW) were labelled 'single foot'. Productions containing two stressed syllables, each of them potentially followed by a weak syllable (i.e., sS, sWS, SWsW, Ss, SS, etc.), were labelled 'two feet'. I follow the common view that feet contain exactly one head (cf., Hayes 1995 for adult language, Fikkert 1994 for child language). Therefore, two stressed syllables cannot belong to the same foot. Productions containing syllables that are not parsed into trochaic feet were labelled 'unfooted' (such as <u>W</u>S, SW<u>W</u>, <u>W</u>SW). These productions also contain footed structure but they do not correspond exactly to a monopedal, or a bipedal form.

Table 4-4. Overview of the different prosodic structure of simplex data in the database

Syllables Target shape		Examples	Types/Tokens	Type-Token-	
Syllables	Target snape	Lxamples	Types/Tokens	Ratio	
	MO	Ka'mel 'camel',	04/040	0.000	
2	WS	Del'fin 'dolphin'	21/349	0.060	
0	-14/0	,Papa'gei 'parrot',	0/004	0.000	
3 sWS		,Ele'fant 'elephant'	9/384	0.023	
	WSW	Gi'raffe 'giraffe',	04/040	0.000	
3		Ba'nane 'banana'	31/313	0.099	
0	CIANA	Paprika 'pepper',	7 /77	0.004	
3	SWW	'Känguru ,cangarooʻ	7 /77	0.091	
4	-14/014/	,Manda'rine 'tangerine',	44/04	0.170	
4	sWSW	,Marme'lade 'jam'	11/64	0.172	
5	sWWSW	,Lokomo tive 'locomotive'	1/19	0.053	
Sum	1	1	80/1207	0.066	

Table 4-4 depicts the target prosodic shapes of simplex words occurring in the database. The numbers in the last column indicate the rate of different types and tokens in the child database.

A complete list of simplex word types included in the study and their prosodification is provided in Appendix A.

The overall type-token ratio of simplex words is 0.066, which is relatively low. This implies that the children use few different word types relatively often. There is some amount of variation, ranging from the very low type-token ratio of 0.023 in sWS words to 0.172 in sWSW words.

The prosodic shapes listed in Table 4-4 above include different syllable shapes: The WS group contains words with a heavy penultimate syllable (e.g., <u>Bal</u> kon 'balcony', <u>Del</u> fin 'dolphin') and a light penultimate syllable (e.g. <u>Ka</u> mel 'camel', <u>Pa</u> pier 'paper', <u>Sa</u> lat 'salad'). Likewise, the WSW group includes words with heavy antepenultimate syllables (<u>Trom</u> pete 'trumpet', <u>Gir</u> lande 'galand', <u>Kohl</u> rabi 'kohlrabi') and light antepenultimate syllables (<u>Gi</u> raffe 'giraffe', <u>Ba</u> nane 'banana', <u>To</u> mate 'tomato'). The group of SWW words only contains words with light syllables ('Känguru' cangaroo', 'Brokkoli 'broccoli', 'Radio 'radio').

Pseudo-compounds are analyzed as a category of its own. In the analysis, I assume two classes of pseudo-compounds. An overview is presented in Table 4-5.

Table 4-5. Overview of the different prosodic structure of pseudo-compounds

Syllables	Target shape	Example	Types/Tokens	Type-Token-Ratio
3	SsW	'A,meise 'ant', 'Ei,dechse 'lizzard'	3/39	0.077
3	SWs	Tele,fon 'telephone', 'Jona,than (proper name)	7/75	0.093
Sum	1		10/121	0.083

Pseudo-compounds display a type-token ratio of 0.083, thereby showing a larger range of types in SWs targets (0.093) as compared to SsW forms (0.077).

Table 4-6 illustrates different prosodic shapes of the compounds in the database. Note that the study focuses on the prosodic pattern of the early compounds and does not consider semantic transparancy. The analysis also disregarded morphological properties such as the word classes

of the constituents (although noun + noun compounds predominated), or the presence of linking morphemes such as the stem-final consonant —n in Schokoladen-eis 'chocolate ice-cream', Tomaten-soße 'tomato sauce', Kassetten-recorder 'tape recorder'. The derivational affix riesen-(e.g., Riesen-rad 'giant wheel'), and ur- (e.g. Ur-oma 'great grandmother') were included in the analysis because they have corresponding free morphemes and because they form a prosodic word of their own (Raffelsiefen 2000).

The children exclusively produced prosodically left-headed compounds, although the German vocabulary contains compounds with main stress on the final constituent as well, such as "Oster-'sonntag, 'easter sunday'. Appendix A provides a list of the compound types in the database. Though there is a wider range of target prosodic shapes in compounds than in simplex words, compounds with monopedal constituents predominate. Additionally, the majority of compounds in the database comprises two constituents. Very few compounds contain three constituents such as 'Fisch-öl-,kapsel 'fish+oil+capsule', and 'Fahr-rad-,helm 'cycle helmet'. Tripartide compounds are subsumed in the category 'other' as there are too few types and tokens to draw conclusions. The analysis includes bipartide, left-headed compounds with monopedal or longer constituents.

There is a higher overall type-token-ratio in 'real' compounds (0.372) compared to simplex words (0.066) and pseudo-compounds (0.083), with considerable variation between the different prosodic shapes. This suggests that the compound vocabulary is more differentiated than that of simplex words.

Table 4-6. Overview of the different prosodic organization in the compounds

Syll	Target shape	Example	Types/ Tokens	Type-Token-Ratio
3	SW-s	'Oster-,ei' easter egg', 'Riesen-,rad'giant wheel'	40/99	0.404
3	S-sW	'Müll-,eimer 'refuse bin', 'Sand-,kasten 'sand pit	46/106	0.434
3	S-Ws	'Luft-ba _ı llon 'balloon', 'Reiß-ver _ı schluss 'zip'	2/17	0.118
4	SW-sW	'Gummi-,bärchen 'jelly bear', 'Puppen-,wagen 'doll's pram'	39/108	0.361
4	WSW-s	Ko'ala-,bär 'coala'	1/13	0.077
4	S-WsW	<i>Kehr-ma,schine</i> 'road sweeper'	2/4	0.5
5	sWS-sW	Poli'zei-auto 'police car'	1/1	1
5	sWsW-s	,Schoko laden-,eis 'chocolate ice-cream'	1/1	1
5	WSW-sW	To maten-, soße 'tomato sauce', Jo'hannis-, beeren 'red currants'	2/3	0.667
6	SW-sWsW	'Fieber-,thermo,meter 'clinical thermometer'	1/17	0.059
6	WSW-WSW Ka'ssetten-re,corder 'tape recorder'		1 /2	0.5
	Other shapes		8/16	0.5
Sum			144/387	0.372

4.3.4 Variation in the target stress pattern

The word-prosodic pattern is subject to some variation in adult German speech. Several pseudo-compounds such as *Mikrofon* 'microphone', *Telefon* 'telephone', or *Pelikan* 'pelican' have stress variants showing either initial '*Mikro,fon, 'Tele,fon, 'Peli,kan* or final main stress

"Mikro fon, "Tele fon, "Peli kan (see Wiese 1996:278 for more examples). In the analysis, both variants are counted as correct variants.

Variation also occurs with respect to the number of syllables. The suffix –en (occurring in plural forms and as a linking morpheme in compounds) often undergoes place assimilation with the stem-final consonant. If the stem ends in a nasal consonant, the vowel is often not realized and the suffix-final consonant assimilates to the stem-final consonant (e.g., *Blumen* 'flowers' (pl.) > *Blum*). For example, the first constituent of the target word *Blumen-kohl* 'cauliflower' /'blu:mənˌko:l/ might appear as a disyllabic SW form /'blu:mən/ if unreduced, or /'blu:mm/ if assimilated. The time slot of the nasal affix can also be deleted, resulting in the monosyllabic form /blu:m/ (Kohler 1995: 210-211). In the data coding such assimilatory processes are considered as regular variants to the standard SW patterns, not as syllable truncations.

The children also produced plural forms. The analysis combines singular and plural forms if the plural form does not change the rhythmic pattern, i.e., 'A.,mei.se vs. 'A.,mei.se-n 'ant', Kar. 'toffel vs. Kar. 'toffel-n 'potato', To. 'ma.te vs. To. 'ma.te-n 'tomato'. Singular and plural forms are counted as different types if there were changes in the syllable number, e.g., ,E.le. 'fant vs. ,E.le. 'fan.t-en 'elephant', Del. 'fin vs. Del. 'fi.n-e 'dolphin'. Note that nasal assimilation in plural formation not only adds to the singular form but also shortens the derived form (such as in Ba. 'na.ne vs. Ba. 'nan(-en) [ba'na:n:] 'banana', Ro. 'sine vs. Ro'sin(-en) [vo'zi:n:] 'raisin', San. 'da.le vs. San. 'dal-n [zan'da:ln] 'sandal'). Therefore, some plural forms are counted separately from their singular forms, whereas others are not.

4.3.5 Further methodological issues

4.3.5.1 Notes on truncation processes in simplex words and compounds

Truncation in simplex words and compounds differs in one essential point: In simplex words, the truncated form can be (relatively) easily associated with an adult target word (e.g., [ˈgaɪ] with /ˌpapaˈgaɪ/ Papagei 'parrot'). The identification of truncated compounds is more complicated if the child truncates a complete constituent. For example, if a child produces *Tonne* [ˈdɔnə] 'bin' as Wiglaf did at age 1;08.06, how can it be determined if he attempted the simplex form *Tonne* 'bin' or the compound *Müll-tonne* 'refuse bin'?

To determine attempted compounds, I analyzed the *situational use* by the parents. The method was as follows: Outputs coded as compounds in the child database were examined regarding whether the parents used an underived alternative in the preceding or following two conversational turns.

An example of such a situation is illustrated in (22). Parents and children often interacted in recurring routines, e.g. they looked at the same picture books or played with the same toys. For example, Nele's mother often asked to name parts of her body: The arms, the legs, etc. In these situations, she also used to asked the child to name *Bauch-nabel* 'navel'. The mother always extended Nele's simplex output *nabel* to the compound *Bauch-nabel* 'navel'. Although *nabel* represents an existing lexical word and an adequate response in that situation, I assume that Nele's intake was a compound.

(22) Determining compound productions where the final constituent is preserved

Mother: Guck mal, was ist das denn?

Gloss: Look, what is this?

Child: (Bauch)nabel# (Bauch)nabel

Gloss: ,navel' # ,navel'
Phonetic form: ['napa 'napa]

Mother: Ja, der **Bauch-nabel**, ne.

Gloss: Yes, the navel, isn't it?

(Nele, 1;08.29)

The identification of an attempted compound is straightforward if children preserve the first compound constituent because the outcome is not adequate in that situation anyway. For example, in the situation illustrated in (23) below, Sandra's mother talks about *Gummi-bärchen* 'gummi bears' /'gomi,bæɐçən/. The mother always uses the compound *Gummi-bärchen* when talking about these sweets. Consider particularly the third turn of the mother when she requests Sandra to continue the word. The mother clearly indicates to Sandra that her response is incomplete and that she expects Sandra to produce the second constituent *bärchen* 'bear' (diminuitive). Sandra, however, repeatedly realizes the first constituent *gummi* 'rubber'which is situationally inadequate because the can did not contain *rubber*.

(23) Determining compound productions where the initial constituent is preserved

Mother: Guck mal, weißt du, was da [in der Dose] noch drin war?

Gloss: Look, do you know what was there [in the can]?

Child: **Gummi**(bärchen) # **Gummi**(bärchen)

Gloss: gummi (bears)# gummi (bears)

Phonetic form: ['kumi # 'gumi]

Mother: Was? # Was war (den)n da drin?

Gloss: What? # What was in there?

Child: **Gummi**(bärchen)

Gloss: gummi (bears)

Phonetic form: ['gumi]

Mother: **Gummi**? Weiter?

Gloss: Gummi? Further?

Child: Gummi-bärchen

Phonetic form: ['gumi,beçə]

Gloss: Gummi bears

Mother: Gummi-bärchen.

Gloss: gummi bears

(Sandra, 1;10.19)

Potential compounds are disregarded from the analysis if the parental responses and situations were ambiguous, for example, if the parents used a compound together with a non-compound alternate.

4.3.5.2 Comparing spontaneous productions and imitations

The corpus contains spontaneous productions and imitations. Quantitative comparisons are given in Table 4-7 below. To find out whether the production mode (spontaneous productions vs. imitations) influences the error rate, a Chi-square-Test (Pearson's χ^2) was performed for each child. Note that 'correctness' regards the number of syllables and stress pattern, not the segmental content of a target word. Outputs corresponding to the adult target in number of syllables and stress pattern are labelled 'correct', otherwise 'incorrect'. As the results show,

production mode has no significant impact on the error rate. Therefore, spontaneous productions and imitations were not further distinguished in the study.²⁸

Table 4-7. Statistical comparison of spontaneous and imitated productions

Child	Correctness	Spont.	Imitat.	Sum	Items	Comparison
Eleonora	Correct	64	34	98	506	$\chi^2(1) = 0.92; p > .1$
	Incorrect	245	163	408		
	Sum	309	197			
Nele	Correct	107	38	145	441	$\chi^2(1) = 1.26; p > .1$
	Incorrect	203	93	296		
	Sum	310	131			
Sandra	Correct	79	55	134	338	$\chi^2(1) = 0.54; p > .1$
	Incorrect	112	92	204		
	Sum	191	147			

4.3.5.3 Comparing initial and non-initial position

The words analyzed in the study were extracted from single word or multiword utterances. Prosodic errors might occur more often in initial positions than in non-initial ones, for example, because a preceding strong syllable serves as host for unfooted syllables (Lleó and Demuth 1999, Gerken 1996). Therefore, the distribution of incorrect and correct realizations was compared for for initial and non-initial position. Again, correct means that the child form corresponds to the adult target in number of syllables and stress pattern. The results show that the position does not influence the error rates.²⁹ Only in the data of Eleonora are words in utterance-initial positions slightly more prone to errors as compared to non-initial positions (see Table 4-8 below). Therefore, the word productions were combined for the positions.

²⁸ A Chi-Square-Test comparing Truncation (truncated, non-truncated) * Production mode (spontaneous, imitation) showed the same result. See Appendix B for more details.

²⁹ Single word utterances are disregarded (N = 923) because there is no non-initial position, and because they are characteristic for the earliest stages where children produce many errors.

Table 4-8. The statistical comparison of initial and non-initial position

Child	Correct- ness	Init	Non-init.	Sum	Items in total	Comparison
Eleonora	Correct	16	42	58	219	$\chi^2(1) = 3.56; p > .05$
	Incorrect	67	94	161		
	Sum	83	163			
Nele	Correct	28	54	82	240	$\chi^2(1) = 0.24; p > .5$
	incorrect	49	109	158		
	Sum	77	163			
Sandra	Correct	24	37	61	137	$\chi^2(1) = 0.88; p > .1$
	incorrect	36	40	76		
	Sum	60	77			
Wiglaf	Correct	18	56	74	195	$\chi^2(1) = 0.003; p > .5$
	incorrect	29	92	121		
	Sum	47	148			

5 Development of simplex words and compounds in child German

5.1 Introduction

This section analyses the developmental pattern of trisyllabic simplex words and compounds in child German. I suggest four stages of development. Contrasting simplex sWS words with SW-s and S-sW compounds, I argue that the children know the morphological and prosodic complexity of simplex words and compounds. Due to the different prosodic representation, developmental stages are not uniformly visible in different target shapes.

The analysis begins with the empirical observation that the trisyllabic simplex words and compounds are truncated to a single foot at Stage 1. At Stage 2, compounds, but not simplex words survive with two prosodic words, each comprising a single foot. At Stage 3, the children permit bipedal simplex words and bipedal compound constituents. The analysis predicts that unfooted syllables emerge at Stage 4.

In the optimality-theoretic analysis, I demonstrate that the developmental pattern can be explained by the re-ranking of the same set of constraints. The analysis is based on the assumption that the children parse compounds into recursive prosodic words. For the course of re-ranking, it is presumed that structural constraints successively become outranked by faithfulness constraints (cf., Gnanadesikan 1995, Demuth 1995, 1996b, Smolensky 1996). Furthermore, according to the *constraint demotion algorithm* (Tesar and Smolensky 1993, 1996), there is only constraint demotion.

The section is organized as follows: Subsection 5.2 describes the developmental pattern of trisyllabic sWS words. The development of trisyllabic SW-s and S-sW compounds follows thereafter in subsection 5.3. I rely mainly on the data of Wiglaf and Nele. Subsection 5.4 introduces the constraint set used in the analysis. The following subsection 5.5 provides a formal analysis of the developmental stages for the trisyllabic words under consideration. Finally, subsection 5.6 gives a summary of the analysis.

5.2 Trisyllabic simplex words with final main stress

Consistent with previous analysis of child German (cf. Lleó and Demuth 1999, Lleó 2001), the children of this study invariably truncate multisyllabic words to a single foot. From target sWS words, the children always select the main-stressed foot and truncate the initial one. The following realizations of sWS-targets from Wiglaf illustrate that the pattern is highly systematic.

(24) Stage 1, truncation of sWS words to S in Wiglaf's data

Target	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Elefant	'elephant'	/¡?elə¹fant/	[mant]	1;08.13
			[fant], [van], [fan:]	1;09.02
			[vant ¹], [fant]	1;09.09
			[van:], [fant]	1;09.19
			[fan]	1;10.13
Krokodil	'crocodile'	\'kRoko _l qi:J\	[ˈʔɨːjl]	1;07.25
			[tej:]	1;08.13
Papagei	'parrot'	/papa gai/	[mai], [mai]	1;05.26

sWS targets do not undergo changes in the prosodic output when children enter into Stage 2. As we will see in sub-section 5.3, Stage 2 only affects compounds. sWS words are realized as a bipedal form with target-like stress when children enter into Stage 3.

(25) Stage 3, realization of sWS words as bipedal output in Wiglaf's data

Gloss	Phonetic form	n Child form	Age
'elephant'	/¡?elə¹fant/	[,?e:lə¹fant¹]	1;10.28
		[,?e:le'fant], [,?e:lə'fant]	1;11.03
		['ʔeːlɛˌfan]	1;11.13
		[¡?e:lɛˈfant], [¡?e:lɛˈfantʾ]	1;11.19
		[ˌʔɛlɛˈfant], [ˌʔelɛˈfantˈ]	2;0.11
		[ˌʔɛle'fan], [ˌʔe:lɛ'fant], [ˌʔɛle'fan]	2;0.24
		[,?e:le'fant], [,?ele'fant']	2;01.07
'crocodile'	\'kRoko _l qi:l\	[ˌkɔkɔlˈdijɐ]	1;11.19
		[ˌkɔkəlˈdiːl], [ˌkokoˈtiːl]	1;11.23
		[ˌkɔkelˈdiːl], [ˌkɔkɔˈdiːl]	2;0.11
		[ˌkɔkəlˈdiːl], [ˌkɔkəˈdiːl]	2;0.24
		[ˌkɔkɔˌtiːl] , [ˌkxɔkoˈtiːəl]	2;01.07
'parrot'	/papa'gai/	[papaˈkaɪ]	1;10.13
		[papaˈkaɪ], [papaˈkaɪ]	1;10.28
		[papa'kaī], [pap:a'gaī], [papa'kaī]	1;11.13
		[papa'khat]	1;11.19
		[ˌpapaˈkɣaɪ], [ˌpapaˈkaɪ]	1;11.23
		['papa _ı kaı], [ˌbapa'kaı]	2;0.11
		[papa'gaī], [bapa'khaī]	2;0.17
		[papa'gaī]	2;0.24
	'elephant'	'elephant' /ˌ?elə'fant/ 'crocodile' /ˌkʁoko'di:l/	'elephant' /,?elə'fant/ [,?e:lə'fant] [,?e:le'fant], [,?e:lə'fant] ['?e:le,fan] [,?e:le'fant], [,?e:le'fant] [,?e:le'fant], [,?ele'fant] [,?ele'fan], [,?ele'fant], [,?ele'fan] [,?e:le'fan], [,?ele'fant] 'crocodile' /,kʁoko'di:l/ [,kokəl'di:l], [,kokə'ti:l] [,kokəl'di:l], [,kokə'di:l] [,kokəl'di:l], [,kokə'di:l] [,kokə,ti:l], [,kokə'di:l] [,kokə,ti:l], [,kokə'di:l] 'parrot' /,papa'gaī/ [,papa'kaī] [,papa'kaī], [,papa'kaī] [,papa'kaī] [,papa'kaī], [,papa'kaī] [,papa'kaī] [,papa'kaī], [,bapa'kaī] [,papa'kaī], [,bapa'kaī] [,papa'gaī], [,bapa'kaī] [,papa'gaī], [,bapa'kaī]

At Stage 4, unfooted syllables are permitted in the output. sWS words do not contain such syllables, thus the transition to Stage 4 is not directly visible in these words. Direct evidence for Stage 4 comes from WS and WSW shapes.

Eleonora and Sandra pass through the same four stages as Wiglaf. I will not go into further detail here. An interesting difference, however, is observed in the data of Nele. Nele first passes through Stages 1 and 2 like the other three children (26).

(26) Stage 1, truncation of sWS words to S in Nele's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Elefant	'elephant'	/¡?elə¹fant/	[fant], [fan]	1;09.24
			[fan], [fant], [fant], [fant]	1;10.0
			[fant], [fant], [fant], [font]	1;10.07
			[fant], [fant]	1;10.14
			[fant], [fant], [fant], [van]	1;10.23
			[fan:t ^h], [fant ^h]	1;11.0
Krokodil	'crocodile'	\'rkkoko qi: \	[ttuj]	1;08.12
			[kuii]	1;08.29
			[guil]	1;10.0
			[koi]	1;10.23
			[kvi]	1;11.14
Polizist	'police man'	/polifsist/	[tit], [tit]	1;07.25
			[tit ^h], [tit ^h], [tit ^h]	1;08.12
			[trt]	1;08.29
Papagei	'parrot'	/papa'gaī/	[ga]	1;06.11
			[gaī]	1;08.12
			[kait], [khai]	1;08.29
			[kaī]	1;09.24
			[kaī], [gaī]	1;10.0
			[kaī]	1;10.07

Again, Stage 2 only affects compounds. In the following Stage, however, Nele realizes sWS targets as bisyllabic iambs. I refer to this pattern as Stage 3". At Stage 3", Nele preserves the main-stressed syllable and adds a preceding one. Both syllables are preserved with their target-like prosodic role and position (27).

(27) Stage 3", realization of sWS words as WS in Nele's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Krokodil	'crocodile'	/'kroko _l qi:l/	[kɔˈkoj]	1;08.29
			[kuɪˈkuɪɪ], [kɔˈkɔɪ]	1;10.0
			[koˈkuu]	1;11.04
			[kʊˈkʊɪ], [kɔˈkiː]	1;11.14
			[guˈgʊɪ]	1;11.25
			[kɯˈkɯ͡ɪ], [kɯˈkɯɪ͡]	2;0.02
			[guˈguː]	2;0.19
Papagei	'parrot'	/papa'gai/	[kaˈkaɪ], [kaˌkaɪ], [kəˈkaɪ]	1;10.0
			[kɪˈkaɪ]	1;10.07
			[kaˈkaɪ]	1;11.04
			[kɔˈkaɪ], [ɡɔˈgaɪ], [gaˈgaɪ]	1;11.14

Nele only produces WS outputs of the two sWS-types *Krokodil* 'crocodile' and *Papagei* 'parrot', but with 9 tokens each in the database. In these words, the two preceding syllables are segmentally identical such that it cannot be decided by sWS words which syllable is selected. However, the same pattern is observed in WS targets, as I will demonstrate later in this thesis. Due to the similarities between sWS and WS targets, I assume that she preserves the weak one.

There is no evidence for distinct Stages 3 and 4 in Nele's data. In any case, Nele produces a few sWS words in a target-like way at the end of the recorded period.

(28)	Stage 3, realization of sWS wo	ords as bipedal out	tput in Nele's data
(/			,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Papagei	'parrot'	/papa'gaī/	[ˌkakaˈkaɪ], [ˌkakaˈkaɪ]	1;09.24
			[ˌkakaˈkaɪ]	1;11.25
Elefant	'elephant'	/¡?eləˈfant/	[ˌɛleˈfant], [ˌʔɛlɛˈfantʰ]	1;10.0
			[ˌʔɛle¹fant]	1;11.04
			[ˌʔɛlɛˈfantʰ], [ˌʔɛlɛˈfant]	1;11.14
			[,?ele'vant]	1;11.25
			[ˌʔɛlɛˈfant]	2;0.19

To sum up, the data of Wiglaf and Nele show that trisyllabic words with final stress systematically increase in their prosodic size. Despite individual differences, the children reduce the words to a single foot at Stage 1. At Stage 3, sWS targets emerge as a bipedal form in a target-like way.

The model proposed here assumes that not all prosodic shapes are affected by developmental trajectories in the same way. Thus, no change is detected at Stages 2 and 4. Asymmetries can also be observed in the acquisition of trisyllabic compounds, which I describe below.

5.3 Trisyllabic compounds

Like simplex words, compounds are truncated to a single foot at Stage 1. At first glance, the pattern does not seem to be as systematic as in simplex words. Differences are observed in two respects. First, truncation is far less frequent compared to simplex words. Only few compounds are truncated to a single foot in the database. Second, in contrast to simplex words, the children sometimes produce the initial constituent (containing the main-stressed syllable) and sometimes the final constituent (containing the secondary stressed one). Hence, we do not observe the same consistency of preservation as in simplex words. These two findings from German are consistent with Fikkert's data from child Dutch (Fikkert 2001). A closer examination of the German data shows that the children cut off the compound at the word-internal

morphological boundary and realize the bisyllabic constituent. This explains why Wiglaf produces the initial constituent from SW-s compounds (29).

(29) Stage 1, truncation of SW-s compounds to SW in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Riesen-rad	'giant wheel'	\rangle ra:t/	[ˈhiːsṇ], [ˈhiːsṇ], [ˈhiːsṇ]	1;09.09
			[ˈhiːsṇ]	1;09.19

If the compound starts with a monosyllabic constituent, the children produce the final, bisyllabic constituent (30):

(30) Stage 1: Truncation of S-sW compounds to SW in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Müll-tonne	'refuse bin'	/ˈmʏlˌtənə/	['dənə]	1;08.06
Farb-kasten	'paint box'	/ˈfaɐpˌkastən/	[ˈfastn̞]	1;10.13

At Stage 2, SW-s and S-sW compounds emerge with two feet. The examples in (31) and (32) illustrate that the children now produce these compounds in a target-like way. Therefore, the output pattern does not change at the following Stages 3 and 4. Remind that, contrary to compounds, simplex sWS words were persistently truncated to a single foot at Stage 2.

(31) Stage 2, target-like production of SW-s compounds in Wiglat's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Apfel-mus	'apple sauce'	/ˈʔap͡fəlˌmuːs/	[ˈʔap͡fəlˈmuːs]	1;10.13
Baby-buch	'baby book'	/ˈbeːbiˌbuːx/	[ˈpeːbiˌpɯːx]	1;10.13
Hammer- bank	'hammer bank' (a toy)	/ˈhaməɐˌbaŋk/	[ˈhamaˌbaŋkʾ]	1;10.13
Schlüssel- loch	'keyhole'	/\sel_lox/	[xcl,esYl]	1;10.28

(32) Stage 2, target-like production of S-sW compounds in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Hub-schrauber	'helicopter'	\acquest \partial \pa	['xur:p _i saube]	1;10.13
Pfann-kuchen	'pancake'	/ˈpfanˌku:xən/	[ˈpanːˌkuːxŋ]	1;10.13
Sand-kasten	'sandpit'	/'zant,kastən/	[ˈθanˌkastn̩]	1;10.13
Sand-kiste	'sandpit'	/'zant,kistə/	[ˈvanstˌkɪstə]	1;10.13
Sand-kuchen	'sand cake'	/'zant,ku:xən/	[ˈzʷanˌkɯxŋ]	1;10.13
Schein-werfer	'spotlight'	/'sain,verfee/	['vain,verfr]	1;10.28
Wasch-straße	'car-wash '	/¹va∫,∫tʁa:sə/	[ˈvasˌtasːə]	1;10.13
Wind-mühle	'windmill'	'vınt _ı my:lə/	[ˈvɪntʰˈhyːlə]	1;10.28

To summarize, two stages are evident in SW-s and S-sW compounds. At Stage 1, the children truncate compounds to a single foot, therby preserving the bisyllabic constituent. At Stage 2, compounds are realized with both constituents. The apparent variation turns out to be systematic because children maintain the bisyllabic constituent. This implies that the children know the morphological and prosodic boundaries.

Summing up the findings from the trisyllabic word shapes, the developmental stages can be generalized as follows. In (33) and (34) below, the right column indicates the upper limit of the prosodic word size.

(33) Stages of prosodic development in the data of Wiglaf, Sandra, and Eleonora

	Simplex words	Compounds
Stage 1	- correspond to a single trochaic foot	- correspond to a single trochaic foot
Stage 2	- correspond to a single trochaic foot	- comprise two feet
		- target-like stress
Stage 3	- one or two feet	- comprise two feet
	- deletion of unfooted syllables	- deletion of unfooted syllables
	- target-like stress	- target-like stress
Stage 4	- target-like outputs	- target-like outputs

Nele additionally passed trough Stage 3". Her developmental pattern is summarized in (34).

(34) Stages of prosodic development in the data of Nele

	Simplex words	Compounds
Stage 1	- correspond to a single trochaic foot	- correspond to a single trochaic foot
Stage 2	- correspond to a single trochaic foot	- comprise two feet
		- target-like stress
Stage 3"	- correspond to a trochaic or iambic	- each constituent corresponds to a
	foot	trochaic or iambic foot
Stage 3	- one or two feet	- comprise two feet
	- deletion of unfooted syllables	- deletion of unfooted syllables
	- target-like stress	- target-like stress
Stage 4	- target-like outputs	- target-like outputs

5.4 A formal analysis of the data

5.4.1 The constraints

Recently, a number of optimality-theoretic analyses of word-prosodic development structure have been presented, attempting to explain the acquisition of simplex words (Demuth 1995, 1996b; Pater 1997, Pater and Paradis 1996, Kehoe 1999/2000, Lleo 2001, Ota 2003). From these analyses, I adopt the following faithfulness constraints:

(35) Faithfulness constraints

- FAITHSTRESS: The stressed syllable from the head foot of a prosodic word has a stressed correspondent in the output prosodic word.³⁰
- Max-σ: Every syllable in the input has a corresponding syllable in the output.

FAITHSTRESS is restricted to the main-stressed syllable *within* a prosodic word. Following the definition in (35), the constraint does not directly refer to the syllable bearing compound stress because the compound does not directly dominate the head syllable of a foot. It has been argued that FAITH-constraints are related to the perceptual saliency of prosodic (and segmental) material (cf., Pater 1997, Pater and Paradis 1996, Bernhardt and Stemberger 1998). With respect to MAX-σ, I follow the work of Pater (1997) and Kehoe (1999/2000) who argue that MAX refers to syllables, not to segments. The analysis employs the following alignment constraints (McCarthy and Prince 1995):

(36) Alignment constraints

- ALIGN (FOOT, LEFT, PROSODIC WORD, LEFT): The left edge of every foot must be aligned with the left edge of a prosodic word (hf. ALIGNLEFT).
- FOOTFORM (TROCHEE) (ALIGN FOOT, LEFT, HEAD OF THE FOOT, LEFT): Feet are left-headed (hf. TROCHEE)

³⁰ The literature also refers to IDENT-σ (Ota 2003), MAX(HEAD) (Rose 2000), STRESS-FAITH (Pater 1997, Pater and Paradis 1996).

ALIGNLEFT requires feet to appear at the left edge of a prosodic word. High-ranked, the constraint militates against word-initial unfooted syllables and the presence of more than one foot. ALIGNLEFT is a gradient constraint; it counts violations by the number of syllables standing between the left edge of the word and a foot.

FOOTFORM(TROCHEE), abbreviated TROCHEE, requires stress-initial feet. The constraint is violated if a bisyllabic foot bears main stress on the final syllable. Here I do not consider TROCHEE to affect monosyllabic feet because I only propose a syllabic analysis of feet.³¹

The analysis further includes the following markedness constraints (Prince and Smolensky 1993, Selkirk 1995, McCarthy and Prince 1995):

(37) Markedness constraints³²

- PARSE-σ: Syllables must be parsed into feet.
- LxWD ≈ PRWD: Lexical words correspond to prosodic words.
- NonRecursivity: No C_i dominates C_i, j=i (no recursive prosodic structure).
- NoClash: Adjacent heads of feet are prohibited within the prosodic word.

PARSE- σ ensures that segmental material is organized into feet. I have argued in Section 3.3 that children have access to a fully prosodified structure when generating output candidates. Hence, the constraint Parse- σ cannot ensure the entire prosodic parsing. In order to build up a well-formed prosodic representation, constraints that require the parsing of segmental material into syllables (Parse-Segment), feet into prosodic words (Parse-Foot), and prosodic words into

³¹ Under a moraic analysis, monosyllabic feet also form trochees (cf., Kager 1999, Fery 1995, 1996). I disregard the moraic structure here because I assume that the children are not yet sensitive to syllable weight. ³² In contrast to several earlier analyses, the present one does not involve the markedness constraint FOOTBINARITY (FTBIN). This is because I did not examine the development of syllable weight but followed the assumption that children are not sensitive to the moraic content of syllables at the initial stages (cf., Fikkert 1994, 2001, Pater 1997, but see Salidis and Johnson 1997, Ota 2003). In adult language, FTBIN can be satisfied by bisyllabic or by bimoraic feet. Assuming that children do not create moraic feet, high-ranked FTBIN requires bisyllabic feet. This is against the empirical finding that truncation to monosyllables is very common in early child speech. Therefore, in the absence of a closer examination of the development of syllable weight it must be proposed that FTBIN forms a dominated constraint. In the present analysis, it had no impact on the selection of candidates.

higher domains (PARSE-PRWD) are involved as well. However, with the exception of PARSE- σ , I disregard these prosodic parsing constraints because they are not relevant for the analysis.

LxWD \approx PRWD ensures that a lexical word corresponds to a prosodic word (and hence forms a stress domain). The effect that simplex words form a single prosodic word, whereas compounds contain word-internal prosodic words is due to LxWD \approx PRWD. LxWD \approx PRWD is an undominated constraint that is vacuously satisfied in truncated simplex words. Therefore, it was explicitly included in few earlier analyses of child phonology (cf., Ota 2003). The present analysis goes beyond these previous analyses by demonstrating that LxWD \approx PRWD in fact influences children's prosodic outcome.

NonRecursivity is one of the primitive markedness constraints composing the *strict layer hypothesis* (Selkirk 1995; see subsection 2.2.1 for more information). In the present analysis, NonRecursivity militates against the nesting of prosodic words in compounds.

NoClash militates against adjacent head syllables. The constraint is ranked high in the grammar of adult German (cf., Fery 1995, 1996). Due to the effect of NoClash, secondary stress can be assigned only if there is a minimal distance of two syllables between the main and secondary stressed syllables. In adult German, NoClash determines the rhythmic pattern within prosodic words. It does not apply systematically between prosodic words: The frequent and regular occurrence of German compounds with adjacent stresses (for example in S-sW compounds such as 'Müll-,tonne 'refuse bin') indicates that NoClash does not affect prosodic heads belonging to different prosodic words.

Having introduced the set of constraints, I will go on to show how the pattern of sWS simplex words and SW-s and S-sW-compounds can be accounted for by the re-ranking of constraints.

5.4.2 Stage 1: Single foot stage

The analysis adopts two assumptions from the literature: First, at any stage in their development, the children store the input in a target-like fashion. This implies that simplex words are parsed as single prosodic words, and that compounds form recursive prosodic words. In fact, as the analysis shows, the data can elegantly be explained if it is assumed that children represent simplex words and compounds in a different way.

The second assumption is that structural constraints initially dominate faithfulness constraints. However, some re-rankings might have already been done within the sets of constraints.

Previous analyses propose an internal ranking of some faithfulness constraints at the initial state of word production. For example, Demuth (1996b) provides an analysis where FAITHSTRESS dominates FAITHSYLL, and Rose (2000) assumes a ranking of MAXHEAD >> DEP >> MAXSEG) at Stage 1. I adopt Demuth's analysis assuming that FAITHSTRESS already dominates MAX-σ. The alignment and markedness constraints are not internally ordered. The ranking at Stage 1 is provided in (38):

(38) The ranking at Stage1

NonRecursivity, LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Trochee, Parse, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ

Table 5-1 illustrates the evaluation of candidates for sWS words (i.e., $_/Papa'gei$ 'parrot' > [gai]). Of the structural constraints, only ALIGNLEFT and TROCHEE are included in the table because the other constraints do not have an effect on the selection of candidates. Syllabification is indicated by a dot '.'

Table 5-1. The evaluation of simplex sWS words at Stage 1

Input: / [(,pa.pa) _F ('gei) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	TROCHEE	FAITHSTRESS	МАХ-σ
a. [(,pa.pa) _F ('gei) _F] _{PW}	*!*			
b. [('pa.pa) _F (_i gei) _F] _{PW}	*!*	 	*	
c. [('pa ₁ .gei) _F] _{PW}			*!	* pa ₂
d. [(pa ₁ . 'gei) _F] _{PW}		*!		
e. ♥ [(gei) _F] _{PW}		 		** pa ,pa

The truncated output candidate e. optimally satisfies the ranking. Any bipedal candidate is eliminated due to the fatal violations of the high-ranked alignment constraint ALIGNLEFT (candidates b. and c.). Reduction to a bisyllabic trochee (see c.) incurs a fatal violation of FAITHSTRESS, and the candidate is eliminated. On the other hand, a bisyllabic iambic output (d.) is impossible because it incurs fatal violations of TROCHEE.

The following Table 5-2 shows that the same hierarchy accounts for the production pattern of trisyllabic compounds. Consistent with the data, the ranking predicts systematic variation at Stage 1.

Table 5-2. The evaluation of SW-s and S-sW compounds at Stage 1

1. Input: /[[('rie.sen) _F] _{PW} [(,rad) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	LxWd ≈ PrWd	NonRec	Мах-σ
a. [[(ˈrie.sen) _F] _{PW} [(ˌrad) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}		*!	
b. [('rie.sen) _F (_i rad) _F] _{PW}	*!*		
c. [('rie.sen) _F] _{PW} [(_I rad) _F] _{PW}	*!		
d. [('rad) _F] _{PW}			**! rie, sen
e. ∽ [(ˈrie.sen) _F] _{PW}			* rad
2. Input: /[[('müll) _F] _{PW} [(_I ton.ne) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	LxWd ≈ PrWd	NonRec	МАХ-σ
a. [[('müll) _F] _{PW} [(,ton.ne) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}		*!	
b. [('müll) _F (,ton.ne) _F] _{PW}	*!*		
c. [('müll) _F] _{PW} [(,ton.ne) _F] _{PW}	*!	\ \(\)	
d. [(ˈmüll) _F] _{PW}			**! ton, ne
e. ∽ [('ton.ne) _F] _{PW}			* müll

The target-like candidates 1a. and 2a. are eliminated because they fatally violate NonRecursivity. Candidates 1b. and 2b. satisfy NonRecursivity by parsing compounds into bipedal prosodic words. These candidates contain two lexical words that do not correspond to prosodic words (i.e., the two compound constituents). Therefore, they violate LxWD \approx PRWD twice and thus are ruled out. Candidates 1c. and 2c. illustrate that recursive structure cannot be avoided, leaving the two minor prosodic words undominated by a higher constituent. As a lexical (or grammatical) word, the whole compound also underlies the constraint LxWD \approx PRWD. Note that for the same reason, LxWD \approx PRWD also prevents compounds from being parsed as a phonological phrase (not depicted in the table).

The truncated candidates 1d.-e. and 2d.-e. only incur violations of the lower-ranked Max- σ . The table straightforwardly shows that the constraint Max- σ is responsible for the selection of the bisyllabic candidates 1e. and 2e. as the winning candidates.

The ranking proposed for Stage 1 does not exclude candidates that preserve two head syllables from the minor prosodic words. Remember that the Dutch children in Fikkert (2001) and Wijnen, Krijkhaar and den Os (1994) tended to preserve the head syllables from the two constituents. In order to ban such a pattern for German, a constraint I-O-Contiguity is necessary, requiring contiguous segments from the constituent to be maintained. I-O-Contiguity dominates Max-σ. The preservation of the prosodic heads as a single trochee, shown in Table 5-3 by the candidates 3a.-b. and 4 a.-b. fatally violate I-O-Contiguity because the syllables are not a contiguous part of the minor prosodic words. Hence, the bisyllabic constituents 3c. and 4c. are the winners.

Table 5-3. The content preservation of truncated compounds at Stage 1

1. Input: /[[('rie.sen) _F] _{PW} [(_I rad) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	I-O-Cont	МАХ-σ
a. [[('rie.rad) _F] _{PW}	*!	* sen
b. [('sen.rad) _F] _{PW}	*!	* rie
c. ∽ [('rie.sen) _F] _{PW}		* rad
2. Input: /[[('müll) _F] _{PW} [(,ton.ne) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	I-O-Cont	Мах-σ
a. [[('müll.ton) _F] _{PW}	*!	* ne
b. [('müll.ne) _F] _{PW}	*!	* ton
		* müll

In sum, the constraint ranking proposed in (38) accounts for the differences in the preservation pattern of trisyllabic simplex sWS and in complex SW-s and S-sW targets. The variation in the compound data shows that the children do not just select the final foot from the compounds as they do with regularly stressed simplex words. The preservation of the final foot of S-sW compounds is rather due to its bisyllabic structure. The preference for the bisyllabic constituent naturally falls out from the dominated constraint $Max-\sigma$ if it is assumed that each constituent

forms a single prosodic word in the input. Under these assumptions, the apparent variation in the compound data turns out to be highly systematic.

The following data of Eleonora, Nele, and Sandra confirm the systematic nature of the truncation pattern of compounds. Like Wiglaf, the three girls produce the first constituent from SW-s compounds (39):

(39) Stage 1, truncation of SW-s compounds to SW in the data of Nele and Eleonora

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Child, age
Oster-ei	'easter egg'	/'?o:stəe,?aī/	['?o:sta]	Nele, 1;09.29
Bauern-hof	'farm'	/ˈbauəɐnˌho:f/	[ˈpa͡ʊmə]	Eleonora, 1;09.09

Contrary to SW-s compounds, S-sW compounds are truncated to the final constituent. This is illustrated in (40).

(40) Stage 1, truncation of S-sW compounds to SW in the data of Nele, Sandra, and Eleonora

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Child, age
Wind-mühle	'windmill'	/'vɪntˌmy:lə/	[ˈmyːlə]	Eleonora, 1;08.15
Hand-feger	'hand brush'	/'hant,fe:gəɐ/	[ˌfeːga]	Eleonora, 1;09.09
Bauch-nabel	'bellybutton'	/ˈbauxˌna:bəl/	[ˈnapa]	Nele, 1;08.29
Staub-sauger	'vacuum cleaner'	/¹ʃtaup,zaugəɐ/	[ˈgaʊka]	Sandra, 1;08.14

5.4.3 Stage 2: Recursive prosodic words

At Stage 2, the children demote NonRecursivity below Max-σ:

(41) The ranking at Stage 2

NonRecursivity, LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Trochee, Parse- σ , NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity

NonRecursivity is vacuously satisfied in simplex words. Hence, its demotion does not lead to a change in the prosodic shape of the output. Like at Stage 1, the monosyllabic candidate d. is the winner, as illustrated in Tabl 5-4.

Tabl 5-4. The evaluation of simplex sWS words at Stage 2

Input: / [(,pa.pa) _F ('gei) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ	NonRec
a. [(,pa.pa) _F ('gei) _F] _{PW}	*!*			
b. [('pa.pa) _F (_i gei) _F] _{PW}	*!*	*		
c. [('pa ₁ .gei) _F] _{PW}		*!	* pa ₂	
d. ♥ [(gei) _F] _{PW}			** pa ,pa	

NonRecursivity militates against recursive structure in compounds. Its demotion at Stage 2 now allows recursivity, such that compounds can emerge with two prosodic words. Due to the structural constraints limiting the size of internal prosodic words, each constituent must comprise one foot only. In fact, as we will see later, longer constituents behave like simplex words in that they are truncated to a single foot at Stage 2.

The SW-s and S-sW outputs *Apfel-mus* 'apple sauce' and *Hub-schrauber* 'helicopter' from Wiglaf's database illustrate the selection of candidates at Stage 2 (Table 5-5 above).³³ It becomes clear that, due to the demotion of Nonrecursivity, the adult-like candidates 1c. and 2c.

³³ Due to the low token frequencies of compounds, there are no compound types in Wiglaf's database containing truncated and non-truncated instances. I decided to illustrate the candidate selection by attested instances, thus the example words vary from one stage to another.

are the winning ones. Candidates 1a. and 2a., forming bipedal single prosodic words, fatally violate LxWD ≈ PRWD and ALIGNLEFT and are eliminated. Truncation evokes violation of the faithfulness constraints FaithStress and Max-σ dominating Nonrecursivity. Thus, candidates 1b. and 2b. are ruled out as well. Note that FaithStress is violated because each internal prosodic word forms a stress domain. ALIGNLEFT, by contrast, is not violated by candidates 1c. and 1c. because the two feet are left-aligned with a prosodic word.

Table 5-5. The evaluation of SW-s and S-sW compounds at Stage 2

1. Input: Apfelmus	LxWD≈	A LIGN L EFT	FAITH	Мах-σ	NonRec
$/[[('Ap.fel)_F]_{PW}[(_imus)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$ /	PrWD	! ! ! !	STRESS		
a. [('Ap.fel) _F (,mus) _F] _{PW}	*!*	* *			
b. [('ap.fel) _F] _{PW}		 	*! mus	*! mus	
c. \bigcirc [[('Ap.fel) _F] _{PW} [(,mus) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}					*
2. Input: Hubschrauber	LxWD≈	ALIGNLEFT	FAITH	Мах-σ	NonRec
/[[('Hub) _F] _{PW} [(ˌschrau.ber) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	PrWD	1 	STRESS		
a. [('Hub) _F (,schrau.ber) _F] _{PW}	*!*	*			
b. [('schrau.ber) _F] _{PW}			*! hub	* hub	
c. \bigcirc [[('Hub) _F] _{PW} [(,schrau.ber) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}					*

After Stage 2, Nele shows a slightly different preservation pattern compared to Eleonora, Sandra, and Wiglaf. I referred to the transitional period as Stage 3". As the outputs at Stage 3" are maximally bisyllabic, I propose that Stage 3" precedes Stage 3. In the following, I demonstrate how a slight variation in the re-ranking accounts for the differences, and how Nele finally ends up with almost the same grammar as the other children.

5.4.4 Stage 3": The bisyllabic stage in Nele's speech

Contrary to the other three children, Nele first demotes TROCHEE. Her intermediate grammar at Stage 3" is presented in (42)

(42) Nele's grammar at Stage 3"

LxWd \approx PrWd, Trochee, AlignLeft, Parse- σ >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity >> Trochee

The ranking correctly predicts the production of the bisyllabic iambic output 1e. Table 5-6 depicts that the target-like candidate a. is ruled out because it violates ALIGNLEFT. Bisyllabic trochees such as candidate b. are impossible because they incur fatal violations of FAITHSTRESS. Furthermore, the optimal candidate cannot be truncated to a monosyllable (as in Stages 1 and 2) because truncation leads to fatal violations of Max-σ.

Candidates containing unfooted syllables (candidate d.) violate ALIGNLEFT and are eliminated. Unfooted syllables also violate the high-ranked constraint Parse- σ . This is not depicted in the table because ALIGNLEFT has the same effect.

Table 5-6. The evaluation of sWS words at Stage 3" in Nele's speech

Input: /[(,pa.pa) _F ('gei) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	FAITH STRESS	Мах-σ	TROCHEE
a. [(,pa.pa) _F ('gei) _F] _{PW}	*!*			
b. [('pa.gei) _F] _{PW}		*!	* pa	
c. [(gei) _F] _{PW}			**! pa, pa	
d. [pa ('gei) _F] _{PW}	*!		* pa	
e. ∽ [(pa.ˈgei) _F] _{PW}			* pa	*

The ranking also predicts that Nele reduces sWS constituents of compounds to WS. Unfortunately, there are no data in the database that support this prediction. Following Stage 3", it is predicted that Nele passes through Stage 3 like the other three children.

5.4.5 Stage 3: Bipedal simplex words and compound constituents

In order to allow prosodic words to survive with main stress on the final foot, ALIGNLEFT has to be demoted. I assume the following ranking at Stage 3.

(43) The ranking at Stage 3:

LxWd \approx PrWd, Trochee, AlignLeft, Parse- σ , NoClash >> FaithStress, Max- σ >> NoNRecursivity >> AlignLeft

Note that Nele shows a slightly different hierarchy with TROCHEE ranked between NonRecursivity and AlignLeft. However, the ranking has no effect on the outcome at Stage 3. Table 5-7 illustrates the candidate evaluation for simplex sWS words under the ranking in (43). The ranking correctly permits final main stress in bipedal words such as (,Papa)('gei). Stress shift (candidate a.) leads to exclusion because of its violation of FaithStress. The optimal candidate b. corresponds to the adult prosodic form. Syllable deletion incurs fatal violations of Max-σ and leads to the exclusion of candidates (candidate c). This also holds for the iambic candidate d. which was optimal in Nele's speech at Stage 3". As the table shows, sWS words have now to be realized in a target-like way in Nele's speech as well.

The candidate evaluation nicely shows the increasing role of the faithfulness constraints at Stage 3. In the table, the elimination of the non-optimal candidates results from their violations of faithfulness constraints.

Table 5-7. The evaluation of sWS words at Stage 3

Input: /[(,pa.pa) _F ('gei) _F] _{PW} /	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ	ALIGNLEFT
a. [('papa) _F (₁ gei) _F] _{PW}	*!		**
b. \bigcirc [('papa) _F ('gei) _F] _{PW}			**
c. [(gei) _F] _{PW}		*!* pa, pa	
d. [(paˈgei) _F] _{PW}		*! pa	

The demotion of ALIGNLEFT at Stage 3 has no consequences for SW-s and S-sW compounds. The fully faithful candidates 1c. and 2c. are identical to the winners in Table 5-5 above.

Table 5-8. The evaluation of SW-s and S-sW compounds at Stage 3

1. Input: Apfel-mus	LxWD≈	FAITH	Мах-σ	NonRec	ALIGNLEFT
/[[('Ap.fel) _F] _{PW} [(_i mus) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	PrWD	STRESS			
a. [('Ap.fel) _F (,mus) _F] _{PW}	*!*				**
b. [('Ap.fel) _F] _{PW}		*! mus	*! mus		
c. \bigcirc [[('Ap.fel) _F] _{PW} [(,mus) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}				*	
2. Input: Hub-schrauber	LxW□≈	FAITH	Мах-σ	NonRec	ALIGNLEFT
/[[('Hub) _F] _{PW} [(_i schrau.ber) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	PrWd	STRESS			
a. [('Hub) _F (ˌschrau.ber) _F] _{PW}	*!*				*
b. [('schrau.ber) _F] _{PW}		*! hub	* hub		
c. \bigcirc [[('Hub) _F] _{PW} [(,schrau.ber) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}				*	

The ranking predicts that sWS constituents in compounds are realized in a target-like way. In fact, as I will show in Section 7 below, Wiglaf produces *Poli'zei-,auto* 'police car' at age 1;11.23 as [boli'sai, auts], i.e. with a bipedal initial constituent.

5.4.6 Stage 4: Emergence of unfooted structure

At Stage 4, the children produce unfooted syllables. The trisyllabic words considered so far cannot provide evidence for Stage 4 because they do not contain unfooted syllables. In order to acquire unfooted structure, the children have to demote Parse-σ. The proposed ranking is given in (44). I will illustrate the effect of the ranking if other prosodic shapes are considered in the following section.

(44) The ranking at Stage 4 (Wiglaf, Eleonora, Sandra)

LxWd \approx PrWd, Trochee, Parse- σ , NoClash >> FaithStress, Max- σ >> NonRecursivity >> AlignLeft >> Parse- σ

5.5 Summary

This section contrasts the word-prosodic development of German trisyllabic simplex sWS words with SW-s and S-sW-compounds. I argue that there are three crucial differences between simplex words and compounds. First, simplex words undergo truncation to a single foot to a much larger extent than compounds. In fact, there are few instances of truncation to a single foot in the individual databases motivating a single foot stage in compounds. Second, children produce compounds with two feet/ two prosodic words earlier than bipedal simplex words. Third, while simplex sWS words are consistently reduced to the final monosyllabic foot, children vary with respect to whether they realize the first or the second constituent from compounds. The children consistently select the bisyllabic constituent. SW-s compounds are thus reduced to the initial, S-sW compounds to the final constituent.

These empirical observations suggest that children store simplex words and compounds in a different way. Following standard optimality-theoretic analyses, I argue that children store simplex words and compounds in their adult-like prosodic representation. That is, simplex words form a single prosodic word and compounds display recursive prosodic word structure. The asymmetric acquisition path results from a successive re-ranking of constraints targeting the word shapes in a different way. Development is understood as demotion of structural constraints, which corresponds to the *constraint demotion algorithm*. Consequently, the influence of faithfulness constrains increases over time, as it becomes evident at Stage 3.

In sum, children's grammars look as follows:

5.5.1 Stage 1

NonRecursivity, LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Trochee, Parse, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ

The ranking of structural over faithfulness constraints restricts any prosodic word to a single foot. Ranking NonRecursivity at the top of the hierarchy bans recursive prosodic structure in the output. Thus, only one compound constituent survives. Further structural constraints, most of all AlignLeft, ensure that compound constituents and simplex words are restricted to a single foot.

5.5.2 Stage 2

LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Trochee, Parse, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity

At Stage 2, NonRecursivity is demoted. Therefore, simplex words are subject to the same size restriction as at Stage 1, whereas compounds emerge with two constituents. Each constituent, however, must not go beyond a single foot because the constraints restricting the size of prosodic words are still ranked at the high. SW-s and S-sW compounds are produced in a target-like way at Stage 2. Truncation is predicted only if there are longer constituents.

5.5.3 Stage 3"

LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Parse- σ , NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NoNRecursivity >> Trochee

At stage 3", the child Nele demotes TROCHEE. Simplex sWS words are now realized as bisyllabic iambs. In the analysis, the iambic feet result from the interaction of constraints. In other words, there is no need to include constraints forcing iambic feet. SW-s and S-sW compounds are not affected by the ranking at Stage 3" as Nele acquired these compounds at Stage 2.

5.5.4 Stage 3

LxWd ≈ PrWd, Trochee, Parse-σ, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max-σ >> NonRecursivity>> AlignLeft

At Stage 3, ALIGNLEFT is demoted. The grammars of Eleonora, Sandra, and Wiglaf show the hierarchy presented above.

As Nele demoted TROCHEE at Stage 3", her grammar is slightly different at Stage 3:

LxWd \approx PrWd, Parse- σ , NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity >> Trochee >> AlignLeft

Simplex sWS words can comprise two feet at Stage 3. Due to the increasing role of the faithfulness constraints, the main-stressed syllable is maintained in its exact prosodic role. With respect to sWS words, children thus produce word-final main stress.

Given that compound constituents underlie the same size and shape restrictions, it is predicted that bipedal compound constituents survive with two feet, too. There are very few instances in the database but tentative evidence confirms the prediction.

5.5.5 Stage 4

LXWD \approx PRWD, Trochee, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity>> AlignLeft >> Parse- σ

At the final stage, the children demote PARSE- σ . The trisyllabic words considered in this section are not affected by the re-ranking. We will see in the next section that unfooted syllables emerge at Stage 4 due to the demotion of PARSE- σ .

In sum, although developments in the grammar were more striking in simplex words, there is evidence that the re-ranking targets the individual compound constituents, not the whole compound. Two observations, the variation in the preservation pattern at Stage 1, and the earlier production of compounds with prosodic words at Stage 2, support the assumption that children prosodify simplex words and compounds in a different way.

In this section, I have focused on the trisyllabic word shapes sWS, SW-s and S-sW. Given that there is a single grammar, the analysis makes empirical and theoretical predictions for other word shapes. The following sections examine to what extent the analysis also accounts for bisyllabic and quadrisyllabic words.

6 Predictions for simplex words

6.1 Introduction

The previous section analyzed the developmental pattern of simplex sWS words as well as SW-s and S-sW compounds from an empirical and theoretical perspective. In the present section, I show that the ranking makes correct predictions for other simplex word shapes of the database, and I provide empirical data supporting the predictions.

The section takes the constraint rankings for the four stages as proposed in Section 5 as a starting point. I illustrate how the evaluation selects the optimal candidates and provide empirical data supporting the predictions. Again, the data will mainly be extracted from Wiglaf's and Nele's databases.

The section is organized as follows: Subsection 6.2. is concerned with the development of bisyllabic words with final stress. Subsection 6.3. concentrates on trisyllabic words with penultimate stress. Trisyllabic words with antepenultimate main stress follow in subsection 6.4. Finally, subsection 6.5. analyzes quadrisyllabic and longer words. Subsection 6.6. provides a summary and discussion of the analysis of simplex words.

6.2 Bisyllabic words with final stress

6.2.1 Stage 1

The initial hierarchy NonRecursivity, LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Trochee, Parse, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ , predicts that WS words are reduced to a monosyllable. Table 6-1 exemplifies the evaluation of the word Ka'mel /ka'me:l/ 'camel'. The table displays the constraints relevant for the evaluation.

Table 6-1. The evaluation of simplex WS words at Stage 1

Input: / [ka. ('mel) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	TROCHEE	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ
a. [ka. ('mel) _F] _{PW}	*!			
b. [(,ka) _F ('mel) _F] _{PW}	*!			
c. [('ka.mel) _F] _{PW}			*!	
d. [(ka.'mel) _F] _{PW}		*!		
e. ∽ [(mel) _F] _{PW}				*ka

The initial unfooted syllable in the fully faithful candidate a. fatally violates ALIGNLEFT. Parsing the unfooted syllable into a foot of its own (candidate b.) leads to a violation of ALIGNLEFT. Hence, candidates a. and b. are ruled by ALIGNLEFT. Stress shifts to the left, as illustrated in candidate c., cannot be an option because FAITHSTRESS is fatally violated. Parsing the two syllables into a single iambic foot as depicted in candidate d. is impossible because it incurs a fatal violation of TROCHEE. Hence, the truncated candidate e., violating low-ranked MAX- σ is the winner.

Hence, the presumed ranking predicts truncation of WS targets to a monosyllable, not stress shift or epenthesis to a bisyllabic trochee. The following data taken from Wiglaf's and Nele's databases illustrate that truncation is indeed very common in WS words (45) and (46).

(45) Stage 1, truncation of WS to S in the data of Wiglaf

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Delfin	,dolphin'	/dɛlˈfiːn /	[mɨːn]	1;07.26
			[svi:n]	1;10.13
Kamel	,camel'	/ ka¹me:l /	[mel:]	1;10.13
Kaputt	,defective'	/ ka'put /	[p u t]	1;08.13
			['puts]	1;09.02
			[put ⁻]	1;09.19
Ballon	,balloon'	/ ba'ləŋ /	[boŋ]	1;10.13

(46) Stage 1, truncation of WS to S in the data of Nele

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Kamel	,camel'	/ ka'me:l /	[me:l]	1;08.12
			[me:v]	1;08.29
			[me:]	1;10.0
Kaputt	,defective'	/ ka¹put /	[pui:t]	1;08.29
			[put]	1;09.24
Salat	,salad'	/zaˈlaːt /	[laɪt]	1;08.29
			[lat]	1;09.24

6.2.2 Stage 2

At Stage 2, NonRecursivity is demoted. As the constraint does not affect simplex words, a monosyllabic outcome (candidate d.) is predicted like at Stage 1.

Table 6-2: The evaluation of simplex WS words at Stage 2

Input: / [ka. ('mel) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ	NonRec
a. [ka ('mel) _F] _{PW}	*!			
b. [(,ka) _F ('mel) _F] _{PW}	*!			
c. [('ka.mel) _F] _{PW}		*!		
d. ∽ [(mel) _F] _{PW}			*ka	

The examples in (47) and (48) provide empirical support for the analysis:

(47) Stage 2, truncation of WS to S in the data of Wiglaf

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Kamel	,camel'	/ kaˈmeːl /	[me:l]	1;10.28
			[me:l]	1;11.19
			[gi:l]	1;11.23
Kaputt	,defective'	/ ka'put /	[put]	1;11.03
			[put]	1;11.19
Ballon	,balloon'	/ baˈlɔŋ /	[tləŋ], [pləŋ]	1;11.03

(48) Stage 2, truncation of WS to S in the data of Nele

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Kamel	,camel'	/ ka¹me:l /	[me:v]	1;10.23
			[mæ:v]	1;11.0
			[me:l], [me:]	1;11.14
Ballon	,balloon'	/ ba'lɔŋ /	[lom]	1;10.23
			[lʌm]	1;11.0
Delfin	,dolphin'	/ del'fi:n /	[fi:n]	1;10.14
			[fim]	1;11.04
Kaputt	,defective'	/ ka¹put /	[p ^h ut]	1;10.0
			[p ^h u:t], [p ^h ut]	1;10.07
			[p ^h ut]	1;10.14
			[p ^h ut]	1;11.04

6.2.3 Stage 3"

Stage 3" is observed only in Nele's database. In the analysis presented in the previous section 5, I proposed that Nele demotes TROCHEE. As shown in Table 6-3, the demotion leads to bisyllabic iambic outputs in the case of WS targets.

Like in Stages 1 and 2, candidate a. containing unfooted syllables, and candidate b., parsing the two syllables into a bipedal form, incur fatal violations of ALIGNLEFT. Stress shift is impossible, as illustrated by candidate c. because FaithStress is fatally violated. However, contrary to Stage 1 and 2, truncation cannot be an option because Max- σ is violated. As Max- σ dominates Trochee, violation of Trochee is preferred over truncation. Therefore, the iambic candidate e. is the winner. We thus predict WS targets to be realized as bisyllabic iambs.

Table 6-3. The evaluation of simplex WS words at Stage 3" in Nele's data

Input: / [ka. ('mel) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ	TROCHEE
a. [ka.('mel) _F] _{PW}	*!			
b. [(,ka) _F ('mel) _F] _{PW}	*!			
c. [('ka.mel) _F] _{PW}		*!		
d. [(mel) _F] _{PW}			*! ka	
e. ∽ [(ka.'mel) _F] _{PW}				*

The following examples illustrate that Nele produces a considerable number of WS targets with final stress at Stage 3" (49).

(49) Stage 3", realization of WS tragets in the data of Nele

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Kamel	,camel'	/ ka¹me:l /	[əˈmeːɐ]	1;10.0
			[kʰiˈmiː]	1;11.25
Kaputt	,defective'	/ ka¹put /	[taˈpʊt], [ʔəˈpʊt]	1;09.24
			[təˈpʊt]	1;10.0
Salat	,salad'	/ zaˈlaːt /	[lɛˈlaːt]	1;10.0

6.2.4 Stage 3

The children demote ALIGNLEFT at Stage 3. Now the high-ranked markedness constraints PARSE-σ and NoClash come into play. Since they are ranked at the top of the hierarchy, they rule out candidates containing unfooted syllables (candidate a.) or bipedal ones (candidate b.). The table also shows that violation of ALIGNLEFT has no consequences due to its low position in the hierarchy. Candidates showing stress shifts to the left (candidate c.) violate FAITHSTRESS and are eliminated. Contrary to Nele at Stage 3", TROCHEE is still ranked at the top of the hierarchy. Thus, iambic candidates such as d. are eliminated due to their fatal violations of TROCHEE. Again, the winner is the truncated candidate e.

Table 6-4. The evaluation of simplex WS words at Stage 3 in the grammar of Wiglaf, Sandra, and Eleonora

Input: / [ka. ('mel) _F] _{PW} /	TROCHEE	Parse-σ	NoClash	FAITH	ΜΑΧ-σ	ALIGNLEFT
		 	 	STRESS		
a. [ka. ('mel) _F] _{PW}		*!				*
b. [(,ka) _F ('mel) _F] _{PW}		 	*!			*
c. [('ka.mel) _F] _{PW}		i 	i 	*!		
d. [(ka. mel) _F] _{PW}	*!	 	 		*	
e. ☞ [(mel) _F] _{PW}			 		*ka	

In fact, the three children persist to truncate WS targets to monosyllables. (50) provides examples from Wiglaf's database.

(50) Stage 3, truncation of WS to S in the data of Wiglaf

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Kamel	,camel'	/ ka ^l me:l /	[meːl]	2;0.11
			[meːl], [meː ^j l]	2;0.17
			[meːl]	2;0.24
Kaputt	,defective'	/ ka¹put /	[p ^h ʊt]	2;0.24
Ballon	,balloon'	/ baˈlɔŋ/	[lom]	2;0.11

For Nele's grammar, the demotion of ALIGNLEFT predicts a bisyllabic iambic output. Nele demoted TROCHEE at Stage 3" before, a constraint militating against iambic feet. Contrary to the other three children, the optimal output thus remains a bisyllabic iamb, identical to Stage 3". This is illustrated in Table 6-5.

Table 6-5. The evaluation of simplex WS words at Stage 3 in Nele's grammar

Input: / [ka ('mel) _F] _{PW} /	Parse-σ	NoClash	FAITH	ΜΑΧ-σ	TROCHEE	ALIGNLEFT
		1 1 1 1	STRESS			
a. [ka ('mel) _F] _{PW}	*!	 				*
b. [(,ka) _F ('mel) _F] _{PW}		*!				*
c. [('ka.mel) _F] _{PW}			*!			
d. [(mel) _F] _{PW}		1		*ka		
e. \sim [(ka. mel) _F] _{PW}					*	

Chronologically, Stage 3" and Stage 3 are indistinguishable. The following data illustrate that Nele consistently produces WS outputs at the end of the recorded period, but these outputs are also consistent with Stage 4.

6.2.5 Stage 4

Due to the demotion of PARSE- σ , unfooted syllables are permitted at Stage 4. Table 6-6 illustrates the selection of candidates after the re-ranking.

It becomes clear that the faithful candidate a. best satisfies the ranking; it only violates low-ranked constraints. As an effect of NoClash, the outranking of Parse- σ does not predict an intermediate bipedal stage. This is illustrated by the fatal violation of the constraint in candidate b. After Stages 1 to 3, where monosyllabic outputs are produced, the children realize WS words in a target-like way. Stress shift (candidate c.), complete footing as an iamb (candidate d.) and truncation (candidate e.) are impossible due to the violations of high-ranked structural or faithfulness constraints.

Table 6-6. The evaluation of simplex WS words at Stage 4 in the grammars of Wiglaf, Eleonora, and Sandra

Input: / [ka ('mel) _F] _{PW} /	TROCHEE	NoCLASH	FAITH	Мах-σ	ALIGNLEFT	PARSE-σ
		! !	STRESS			
a. ☞ [ka. ('mel) _F] _{PW}		 			*	*
b. [(,ka) _F ('mel) _F] _{PW}		*!			*	
c. [('ka.mel) _F] _{PW}		 	*!			
d. [(ka.'mel) _F] _{PW}	*!	 				
e. [(mel) _F] _{PW}				*!ka		

In fact, the examples in (51) show that Wiglaf produces WS words in an adult-like way at the end of the recorded period.

(51) Stage 4, realization of unfooted syllables of WS targets by Wiglaf

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Kamel	,camel'	/ ka¹me:l /	[kaˈmeːl]	1;11.13
			[kχaˈmeːl]	2;01.07
			[kʰiˈmeːl]	2;01.07
			[kʰaˈmel]	2;01.07
			[kaˈmeːl]	2;01.07
			[ˈkҳamel]	2;01.07
Kaputt	,defective'	/ ka¹put /	[a'but]	1;11.03

The other children produce outputs indicative of Stage 4, too. (52) and (53) provide examples from Eleonora's and Sandra's databases.

(52) Stage 4, realization of unfooted syllables of WS targets by Eleonora

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
			[kha'me:], [kxa'me:],	
Kamel	,camel'	/ ka'me:l /	[kʰɔˈmeːl]	1;10.25
			[khalme:l]	1;10.19
Ballon	,balloon'	/ baˈlɔŋ/	[baˈlɔŋ], [bəˈlɔŋ]	1;10.19
			[ʃpaˈlɔŋ], [baˈlɔŋ]	1;10.25
Kakao	,cocoa'	/ kaˈkaɔ /	$[k^{h}a'k^{h}\widehat{ao}]$	1,10.02
			$[k^h a' k^h \widehat{ao}], [ka'k \widehat{ao}]$	1;10.19
Delfin	,dolphin'	/ dɛlˈfiːn /	[həˈfiːn]	1;10.19

(53) Stage 4, realization of unfooted syllables of WS targets by Sandra

Target	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Kamel	,camel'	/ kaˈmeːl /	[kɛˈmel], [piˈmeːl]	1;10.0
			[kʰaˈmeːl], [kaˈmeːl]	1;11.0
Kaputt	,defective'	/ ka¹put /	[ka'phut], [ka'puth]	1;10.0
			[kʰaˈpʰʊt]	1;11.0

The outranking of PARSE- σ predicts that Nele persistently realizes WS targets as iambs. In contrast to Stages 3" and 3, where she parsed both syllables into an iambic foot, the initial weak syllable is unfooted in the output at Stage 4.³⁴ This is illustrated by candidate a. in

Table 6-7. The ranking at Stage 4 eliminates candidate d. which was the optimal candidate at the previous Stages 3" and 3.

Table 6-7. The evaluation of simplex WS words at Stage 4 in Nele's grammar

Input: / [ka ('mel) _F] _{PW} /	NoClash	FAITH	Мах-σ	TROCHEE	ALIGNLEFT	Parse-σ
		STRESS				
a. ☞ [ka ('mel) _F] _{PW}					*	*
b. [(,ka) _F ('mel) _F] _{PW}	*!				*	
c. [('ka.mel) _F] _{PW}		*!				
d. [(ka.'mel) _F] _{PW}				*!		
e. [(mel) _F] _{PW}			*! Ka			

The examples provided in (54) support the analysis.

³⁴ The transition from Stages 3" and 3 to Stage 4 does not change the rhythmic pattern at the word level. Evidence for a different footing could be provided by analyzing foot-related processes such as aspiration and glottal stop insertion. In German, these processes apply to stressed syllables. As German creates trochees, the processes might apply more consistently if the stressed syllable coincides with the left edge of a foot (Fery 2001).

(54) Stage 4, production of WS targets in a target-like way in Nele's database

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Kamel	,camel'	/ kaˈmeːl /	$[k^h \iota^l m \epsilon^l]$	2;0.2
Kaputt	,defective'	/ ka'put /	[taˈpʊt]	2;0.2
Kakao	,cocoa'	/ kaˈka͡ɔ /	[kaˈkaɔ]	2;0.2

In sum, with respect to WS words, the predictions of the constraint-based analysis are supported by the empirical findings from the database. As predicted, WS targets are produced as monosyllables for a long period by Wiglaf, Eleonora and Sandra. These children produce WS words in a target-like way very late, at Stage 4. Outranking TROCHEE at Stage 3", Nele permits iambic outputs of WS targets at an earlier stage. The rhythmic pattern of WS words will not change at the transition to Stages 3 and 4. The internal structure, however, develops from a footed iamb at Stages 3" and 3 to outputs permitting initial unfooted syllables. In that respect, all four children have acquired the target-like prosodic organization of WS words in German.

6.3 Trisyllabic words with penultimate stress

6.3.1 Stage 1

Following the assumption that markedness constraints initially outrank faithfulness constraints, a bisyllabic trochee is predicted to survive at Stage 1. The candidate selection is presented in Table 6-8 below. Throughout the subsection, I exemplify the candidate evaluation by the target word Gi'raffe /gi'ʁafə/ 'giraffe'.

Table 6-8 illustrates that the faithful candidate a. will be eliminated due to its violation of ALIGNLEFT. Violation of ALIGNLEFT also leads to the exclusion of candidates b. and c. Preservation of the first two syllables of WSW words with their exact prosodic role additionally incurs a fatal violation of TROCHEE in candidate c. However, preserving the first two syllables with a trochaic stress pattern is also impossible because it fatally violates FAITHSTRESS. Thus, candidate d. is eliminated. For the winning candidate, truncation of the initial unfooted syllable is predicted because it only incurs a violation of the low-ranked constraint Max- σ (candidate e.).

Table 6-8. The evaluation of simplex WSW words at Stage 1

Input: / [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	TROCHEE	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ
a. [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}	*!			
b. [(,gi) _F ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}	*!			
c. [(gi.'raf) _F] _{PW}	*!	*!		* fe
d. [(ˈgi.ra) _F] _{PW}			*!	* fe
e. ☞ [('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}				* gi

The empirical data confirm the prediction of the ranking. As the examples in (55) to (58) show, truncation of the initial unfooted syllable of WSW words is widespread in the databases.

(55) Stage 1, truncation of WSW targets to SW in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Giraffe	,giraffe'	/ giˈʁafə /	[ˈhafə], [ˈhafə]	1;08.13
			[ˈhafɛ], [ˈhafə]	1;09.02
			[ˈhafə]	1;09.19
Tomate	,tomatoʻ	/ to ma:tə /	[ˈmaːθə], [ˈmaːtə]	1;09.02
			[ˈmaːt]	1;09.09
			[ˈmaːkŋ]	1;09.26
Kassette	,tape'	/ ka¹sɛtə /	[ˈvɛtə]	1;09.09
Johanna	Proper name	/ jo¹hana /	[ˈhaṇa]	1;09.02
			[ˈhana]	1;09.09
Banane	,banana'	/ ba'na:nə /	[ˈmænɛ]	1;08.13
			[ˈmaːnə]	1;09.19
			[ˈmaːnə]	1;09.26
Kartoffel(n)	,potato' (pl.)	/ kaɐˈtɔfəl /	[ˈtɔfl̩n]	1;09.26

(56) Stage 1, truncation of WSW targets to SW in Eleonora's data

Target	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Giraffe	,giraffe'	/ giˈʁafə /	['xaxə], ['haxə]	1;06.15
			[ˈhaɸə], [ˈhaxə]	1;06.22
			[ˈʁafə], [ˈhafə]	1;07.15
			[ˈxafə], [ˈxafə]	1;08.0
			[ˈxafə], [ˈʁaːfə],[ˈhafə]	1;08.26
Gitarre	,guitar'	/ gi'taʁə /	[ˈtxaxə], [ˈtxaxə]	1;06.22
			[ˈkʰaxə]	1;06.29
			[ˈtaxə]	1;07.08
Melissa	Proper name	/ me'lɪsa/	[ˈlɛsa]	1;08.15
Kartoffel	,potato'	/ kaɐˈtɔfəl /	[ˈkɔfəl]	1;08.32
Tomate	,tomatoʻ	/ to¹maːtə /	['pʰaːtə]	1;06.15

(57) Stage 1, truncation of WSW targets to SW in Nele's database

Target	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Tomate	,tomato'	/ to ma:tə /	[ˈmaːta], [ˈnaːpi]	1;09.24
			[ˈnaːbi]	1;08.29
Banane	,banana'	/ ba'na:nə /	[ˈʔanɛ]	1;06.26
			[ˈnaːni]	1;08.12
			[ˈnană]	1;08.29
			[ˈnaːni]	1;09.24

(58) Stage 1, truncation of WSW targets to SW in Sandra's data

Target	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Giraffe	,giraffe'	/ gi'ʁafə /	['gɔxə], ['gafə]	1;08.21
			[ˈkʰafə]	1;08.31
			[ˈkʰafɛ]	1;09.06
			[ˈtafə], [ˈkʰafɛ]	1;09.26
Banane	,banana'	/ ba'na:nə /	[ˈmana]	1;05.20
			[ˈpana]	1;05.26
			[ˈnaːnə], [ˈmana]	1;06.01
			[ˈmana]	1;07.15
			[ˈmana]	1;07.29
Tomate	,tomatoʻ	/ to¹ma:tə /	[ˈmaːtɛ], [ˈmaːtə]	1;07.15
			[ˈmatə], [ˈmatʰə]	1;07.29
			[ˈmaːtə]	1;08.31
Kassette	,tape'	/ kaˈsɛtə /	[ˈtɛk͡ə]	1;08.31
Kartoffel	,potato'	/ kaɐˈtɔfəl /	[ˈkɔfəl, [tɔþəl]	1;08.31

6.3.2 Stage 2

The demotion of NonRecursivity at Stage 2 does not affect the production pattern of WSW words. Like in sWS and WS targets before, no change in the prosodic shape of the output is predicted. The winning candidate is the truncated candidate e.

Table 6-9. The evaluation of simplex WSW words at Stage 2

Input: / [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	TROCHEE	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ	NonRec
a. [gi. ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}	*!				
b. [(,gi.) _F ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}	*!				
c. [(gi.'raf) _F] _{PW}	*!	*!		* fe	
d. [(ˈgi.ra) _F] _{PW}			*!	* fe	
e. ∽ [(ˈraf.fe) _F] _{PW}				* gi	

In fact, the children persistently truncate WSW words to single trochees, omitting the initial weak syllable. I illustrate the production pattern by data from Wiglaf's database in (59) below:

(59) Stage 2, truncation of WSW targets to SW in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Giraffe	,giraffe'	/ gi'ʁafə /	[ˈʁafɛ], [ˈʁafə]	1;10.13
			[ˈxafə]	1;11.03
Kartoffel(n)	,potato' (pl.)	/ kaɐˈtɔfəln /	[ˈfctˈ]	1;10.13
			[ˈtɔfl̩n]	1;10.28
Tomaten	,tomato' (pl.)	/ to'ma:tən /	[ˈmaːtn]	1;10.28
Banane	,banana'	/ ba'na:nə /	[ˈmaːnə]	1;10.13
			[ˈmaːnə]	1;11.03

6.3.3 Stage 3"

The demotion of TROCHEE in Nele's grammar at Stage 3" does not incur a change in the prosodic output pattern. Nele still truncates the initial weak syllable of WSW words:

Table 6-10. The evaluation of simplex WSW words at Stage 3"

Input: / [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ	NonRec	TROCHEE
a. [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}	*!				
b. [(,gi) _F ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}	*!				
c. [(gi.'raf) _F] _{PW}	*!		* fe		*
d. [('gi.ra) _F] _{PW}		*!	* fe		
e. ∽ [(ˈraf.fe) _F] _{PW}			* gi		

The following examples in (60) provide empirical support for Stage 3":

(60) Stage 3", 7runcation of WSW targets to SW in Nele's data

Target	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Banane	,banana'	/ baˈnaːnə /	[ˈnaːni]	1;10.07
			[ˈnani̞]	1;10.14
			[ˈnaːnə]	1;11.04
			[ˈnaːnɛ]	1;11.14
Tomate	,tomatoʻ	/ to'ma:tə /	[ˈnaːpʰa]	1;10.07
			[ˈnapɨ], [ˈmaːta]	1;11.04
Giraffe	,giraffe	/ gi¹ʁafə /	[ˈlafi]	1;10.0
			[ˈlafi]	1;11.0
			[ˈlafi]	1;11.04

6.3.4 Stage 3

At Stage 3, the children outrank ALIGNLEFT. Due to the demotion of trochee in Nele's grammar, there are two different grammars for Stage 3. Both predict that WSW words are persistently truncated to SW.

Table 6-11 illustrates the evaluation in the grammars of Wiglaf, Sandra and Nele, who did not previously demote Trochee. Trochee is not included in the table as iambic candidates of WSW targets are governed by other constraints. The non-truncated candidates a. and b. are ruled out by their violations of Parse-σ and NoClash, respectively. Stress shift to the left leads to the violation of FaithStress. Hence, candidate c. is eliminated. Candidates d. and e. both violate Max-σ. As candidate d. additionally violates AlignLeft, it is ruled out. Hence, candidate e., which truncates the initial weak syllable, is the winner at Stage 3 in the grammars of Wiglaf, Eleonora and Sandra.

Table 6-11. The evaluation of simplex WSW words at Stage 3 (Wiglaf, Sandra, Eleonora)

Input: / [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW} /	Parse-σ	NoClash	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ	ALIGNLEFT
a. [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}	*!				*
b. [(,gi) _F ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}		*!			*
c. [('gi.ra) _F] _{PW}			*!	* fe	
d. [(gi.'raf) _F] _{PW}				* fe	*!
e. ∽ [('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}				* gi	

The following data support the predictions of the re-ranking at Stage 3. In fact, truncation of WSW words to a bisyllabic trochee is still found in the databases of the children:

(61) Stage 3, truncation of WSW targets to SW in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Giraffe	,giraffe'	/ gi'ʁafə /	[ˈkʰʁaf:ə]	2;0.11
Kassette	,tape'	/ kaˈsɛtə /	[ˈsɛtə]	2;0.17
Banane	,banana'	/ ba'na:nə /	[ˈmaːnə]	2;0.17
Antenne	,aerial'	/ ʔanˈtɛnə /	[ˈtɛnə]	2;0.11
Garage	,garage'	/ ga'ra:3 3 /	[ˌʀɜːzə]	2;0.11

(62) Stage 3, truncation of WSW targets to SW in Eleonora's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Kartoffeln	,potato' (pl.)	/ kaɐ¹tɔfəln /	['tʰɔfəln]	1;09.21
Tomate	,tomatoʻ	/ to'ma:tə /	[ˈmaːtʰε]	1;09.21
Melissa	proper name	/ meˈlɪsa/	[ˈlɪsa]	1;09.09
Giraffe	,giraffe'	/ gi¹ʁafə /	[ˈhafə]	1;09.09
			[ˈhafɛː]	1;09.21

(63) Stage 3, truncation of WSW targets to SW in Sandra's data

Target	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Giraffe	,giraffe'	\ di ratə \	[ˈtafə], [ˈkʰafɛ]	1;09.26
			[ˈkʰafə], [ˈkҳafɛ]	1;10.10
Banane	,banana'	/ ba'na:nə /	[ˈnaːnə]	1;11.0

Nele's grammar also predicts SW outputs at Stage 3. TROCHEE is not regarded in the table because iambic candidates of WSW targets are impossible due to other constraints. The evaluation is very similar to that of the other three children. Again, in Table 6-12, the truncated candidate e. is the winner.

Table 6-12. The evaluation of simplex WSW words at Stage 3 (Nele)

Input: / [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW} /	Parse-σ	NoCLASH	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ	ALIGNLEFT
a. [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}	*!				*
b. [(_i gi) _F ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}		*!			*
c. [('gi.ra) _F] _{PW}			*!	* fe	
d. [(gi.ˈraf) _F] _{PW}				* fe	*!
e. 🌣 [('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}				* gi	

As there are no changes in the output, I do not further provide data from her database.

6.3.5 Stage 4

Due to the demotion of PARSE- σ , unfooted syllables are permitted in the output. The children now produce WSW words in a target-like way. It does not matter if TROCHEE is ranked at the top of the hierarchy (as in the grammars of Wiglaf, Eleonora and Sandra), or beneath MAX- σ (as in Nele's grammar), the winning candidate is the fully faithful one (candidate a.). Table 6-13 illustrates the selection of candidates for the four children, disregarding TROCHEE.

Table 6-13. The evaluation of simplex WSW words at Stage 4

Input: / [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW} /	NoClash	FAITHSTRESS	ΜΑΧ-σ	ALIGNLEFT	Parse-σ
a. \bigcirc [gi ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}				*	*
b. [(,gi) _F ('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}	*!			*	
c. [('gi.ra) _F] _{PW}		*!	* fe		
d. [(gi.ˈraf) _F] _{PW}			* fe	*!	
e. [('raf.fe) _F] _{PW}			*! gi		

In fact, at the end of the recorded period, the children realized initial unfooted syllables in WSW words (examples in (64) to (67)).

(64) Stage 4, realization of WSW targets in a target-like way Wiglaf's data

Target	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Giraffe	,giraffe'	/gi ^l ʁafə /	[giˈʁafə]	1;11.23
			[kiˈʁaf̪ə], [giˈʁaf̪ə]	2;0.24
			[giˈʁafə]	2;01.07

(65) Stage 4, realization of WSW targets in a target-like way Nele's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Banane	,banana'	/ ba'na:nə /	[baˈnaːnə]	2;0.02
			[baˈnaːnə]	2;0.19
Giraffe	,giraffe'	/ gi'ʁafə /	[giˈlafi]	1;11.04
			[giˈlafə]	2;0.19
Girlande	,garland'	/ girland /	[giˈlandə]	2;0.02
Tomate	,tomato	/ to ma:tə /	[toˈmaːtə]	2;0.02
			[to ¹ ma:tə]	2;0.19

(66) Stage 4, realization of WSW targets in a target-like way Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Giraffe	,giraffe'	/ giˈʁafə /	[gʁiˈvafə]	1;10.10
			[tçi'txaf ϵ], [khi'kha:və], [1;11.0
			gi'txafe]	
Tomate	,tomato	/ to ma:tə /	$[t\mathfrak{d}^l mat^h \epsilon]$	1;09.26
			$[t^h o^l mat \epsilon]$	1;11.0
Garage	'garage'	/ ga¹ĸa:ʒə /	[kaˈkaːzə]	1;10.10
Rosine	'raisin'	\ euriz _i oa \	[RO ₁ zi:uɛ]	1;10.10
Banane	'banana'	/ ba'na:nə /	[baˈnaːnə]	1;11.0

(67) Stage 4, realization of WSW targets in a target-like way Eleonora's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Giraffe	,giraffe'	/ giˈʁafə /	[di _r avēj]	1;10.19
			[giˈʁaf͡ə]	1;10.25

To summarize, the proposed initial ranking predicts the omission of the initial unfooted syllable of WSW words. The re-rankings at Stage 2, Stage 3" and Stage 3 do not lead to a change of

the prosodic shape of the output. The intermediate grammars predict that truncation persists over a long period of time, independently of whether TROCHEE is maintained at the top of the hierarchy as in Wiglaf, Eleonora, Sandra's grammars or demoted at Stage 3" as in Nele's grammar. In fact, the empirical data show that truncation of WSW words is observed in the databases of all four children. Only at the very end of the recorded period do the children preserve the initial unstressed syllable of WSW words.

6.4 Trisyllabic words with antepenultimate main stress

Trisyllabic words with antepenultimate main stress and two light syllables occur rather infrequently in adult and child German. This subsection describes the characteristics in the four developmental stages.

6.4.1 Stage 1

At Stage 1, markedness constraints dominate faithfulness constraints. To realize an unmarked structure, trisyllabic SWW words survive as a bisyllabic output. The evaluation of SWW candidates is illustrated in Table 6-14.

Table 6-14. The evaluation of simplex SWW words at Stage 1

Input: / [('Radi) _F o] _{PW} /	Parse-σ	ALIGNLEFT	Мах-σ
a. [(ˈradi) _F o] _{PW}	*!		
b. [(ˈra.di) _F (ˌo) _F] _{PW}		*!	
c. ♡ [(ˈra.di) _F] _{PW}			* 0
d. ∽ [(ˈra.jo) _F] _{PW}			* di

The first two candidates are ruled out due to their fatal violations of the high-ranked structural constraints Parse- σ and AlignLeft. Hence, fully faithful outputs (candidate a.) are impossible at Stage 1. Due to AlignLeft being high-ranked, the children cannot repair the output to a

bipedal form. This is depicted by candidate b. Interestingly, the ranking renders two candidates to be optimal: Both candidates c. and d. omit a weak syllable such that they violate Max-σ.

There is no agreement in the literature with respect to the question which weak syllable children prefer in the output. Fikkert (1994) reported that the Dutch children of her study preserve the pre-final syllable that is footed with the stressed one. By contrast, several other studies found a preference for preserving the final syllable rather than the pre-final one (Pater 1997, Kehoe and Stoel-Gammon 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000, Adam 2002). In addition, the preservation pattern of SWW words seems to be influenced by onset sonority in child English. Children select the syllable with the less sonorant onset (Pater 1997), or they generally truncate weak syllables with sonorant onsets and preserve weak syllables with obstruent onsets (Kehoe and Stoel-Gammon 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000). The German data support the latter position, i.e., that the children preserve the final rather than the pre-final syllable, and that onset sonority additionally influences the preservation pattern. Due to the scarcity of SWW words in the databases – there are only four types with truncated tokens - these effects remain rather tentative. Note that Wiglaf did not produce truncated instances of SWW words at all. Therefore, the following examples in (68) to (70) are taken from the databases of Eleonora, Nele and Sandra.

Only Nele's database contains a single word type, 'Paprika 'pepper', suitable for illustrating the preservation of the final syllable if both onset consonants are obstruents (68):

(68) Stage 1, impact of onsets in the preservation patterns of SWW words

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Child, age
Paprika	,pepper'	/ babrika	['pʰakʰa]	Nele, 1;11.0
			['pʰaka]	Nele, 2;0.02
			[ˈpʰaka]	Nele, 2;0.19

Other types of SWW words, presented in (69) are consistent with the position that children preserve the weak syllable with a less sonorant onset (Pater 1997) or containing an obstruent onset (Kehoe and Stoel-Gammon 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000).

(69) Stage 1, preservation of the pre-final weak syllable in SWW words

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Child and Age
Radio	'radio'	\ra:qijo\	[ˈʔati]	Eleonora, 1;02.22
Radio	'radio'	/ˈʁaːdijo/	[ˈhaʊdi]	Nele, 1;08.29

Sandra merges segmental material from both weak syllables in 'Jaguar' ijaguar'. In 'Känguru' kangaroo', it cannot be clearly decided which syllable the vowel is taken from (70).

(70) Stage 1, merging of segmental material from both weak syllables³⁵

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Child and Age
Jaguar	ʻjaguar'	/'ja:guae/	[ˈjaːka]	Sandra, 1;08.21
Känguru	'kangaroo'	/ˈkɛŋguʁu/	[ˈtɨŋʊ]	Sandra, 1;09.06

So far, the data suggests that the children tend to preserve weak syllables of SWW words because of their prominence and segmental features. Formally, these observations are captured by adding the following structural constraints to the ranking:

(71) Further structural constraints

- RIGHT-ANCHOR (R-ANCH): Any element at the right edge of the input has a correspondent at the right edge of the output (McCarthy & Prince 1995; Pater and Paradies 1996, Pater 1997 for child language)
- *SON-ONSET (*SON-ONS): Sonorant onsets are not presented in the output (Kehoe 1999/2000).
- ONSET (ONS): Syllables have onsets (McCarthy & Prince 1993).

ONSET and *Son-Onset are ranked at the top of the hierarchy with the other markedness constraints. RIGHT-ANCHOR is equally ranked with FAITHSTRESS (Pater and Paradies 1996).

³⁵ An analysis of these data goes beyond the scope of the subsection.

Following the presumed ranking, the selection of the correct bisyllabic output for *'Paprika'* 'pepper' and *'Radio'* 'radio' is as depicted in Table 6-15.

Table 6-15. Content preservation in simplex SWW words at Stage 1

1. Input: / [('Pa.pri) _F ka] _{PW} /	Ons	*Son-Onset	R-Anch	Мах-σ
a. [('pa. a) _F] _{PW}	*!			*pri
b. [('Pa.pri) _F] _{PW}			*!	*ka
c. $^{\backsim}$ [('pa.ka) _F] _{PW}				*pri
2. Input: / [('Ra.di) _F jo] _{PW} /	Ons	*Son-Onset	R-Anch	Мах-σ
-4		1	l	
a. $[(ra.i)_F]_{PW}$	*!	 		
a. [('ra.i) _F] _{PW} b. [('ra.jo) _F] _{PW}	*!	*!		* di

ONSET militates against candidates deleting the onset consonant (candidates 1a. and 2a). Hence, omission of the onset is impossible in 1a. and 2a. Candidates preserving the weak syllable right-adjacent to the stressed one violate RIGHT-ANCHOR and are eliminated (1b. and 2b.). The ranking correctly predicts the variation in the preservation pattern of SWW words. If the weak syllables contain two obstruent onsets (e.g., 'Paprika 'pepper'), the output is produced with the final weak syllable (1c.). By contrast, if there is a sonorant onset as in 'Radi[j]o 'radio' (usually realized with the glide [j] in the onset position), the pre-final syllable is preserved (candidate 2c.). The analysis therefore shows that by adding a few well-motivated constraints, the free variation predicted in Table 6-15 is ruled out in favor of empirically attested patterns of content preservation.

6.4.2 Stage 2

Targeting only compounds, the demotion of NonRecursivity does not change the prosodic shape of SWW at Stage 2. Like at Stage 1, SW₁W₂ words are predicted to survive as bisyllabic SW₂ if there are two obstruents or SW₁ if the pre-final weak syllable contains an obstruent and

the final one a sonorant. Due to the small number of empirical data, I do not go into further detail here.

6.4.3 Stage 3"

The demotion of TROCHEE in Nele's grammar does not change the production pattern of SWW targets. Table 6-16 illustrates the selection of candidates on the basis of the example 'Radio 'radio'. Like in Stages 1 and 2, the ranking predicts the truncated bisyllabic candidate c. to be the winner. The trisyllabic candidates a. and b. are ruled out due to their violations of PARSE-σ and ALIGNLEFT.

Table 6-16. The evaluation of simplex SWW words at Stage 3"

Input: / [('Radi) _F jo] _{PW} /	Parse-σ	ALIGNLEFT	Мах-σ	TROCHEE
a. [('Radi) _F jo] _{PW}	*!			
b. [('ra.di) _F (,jo) _F] _{PW}		* *		
c. ∽ [(ˈra.di) _F] _{PW}			* jo	

Unfortunately, due to the scarcity of SWW outputs in Nele's database, there are no examples in the database supporting the analysis.

6.4.4 Stage 3

The outranking of ALIGNLEFT at Stage 3 predicts a bipedal outcome in the grammars of the four children. Table 6-17 represents the candidate evaluation for all children. The different ranking of TROCHEE in the grammars of Wiglaf, Sandra and Eleonora on the one hand and in the grammar of Nele on the other hand has no effect on the shape of the output.

The fully faithful candidate a. is still ruled out because of its violation of PARSE- σ . Contrary to the previous stages, the truncated candidate c. is also eliminated due to its violation of MAX- σ . The ranking predicts that the final syllable of SWW words creates a foot of its own.

Note that high-ranked NoClash (not depicted in the table) bans the parsing of *Radio* into $[(ra)_F(dijo)_F]_{PW}$, i.e. with a bisyllabic secondary stressed foot.

Table 6-17. The evaluation of simplex SWW words at Stage 3

Input: / [('Radi) _F jo] _{PW} /	Parse-σ	Мах-σ	ALIGNLEFT
a. [(ˈRadi) _F jo] _{PW}	*!		
b. ∽ [(ˈra.di) _F (ˌjo) _F] _{PW}			**
c. [('ra.di) _F] _{PW}		*! Jo	

The examples given in (72) to (74) support the predictions of the hierarchy.

(72) Stage 3, realization of SWW targets as bipedal output in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Brokkoli	,broccoli'	/ prokoli /	[ˈboˌkoːli], [ˈboˌɣoːli]	1;11.23
Känguru	,cangaroo'	/ ˈkɛŋguʁu /	[ˈkæŋuˈʁuː]	2;0.11

(73) Stage 3, realization of SWW targets as bipedal output in Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Känguru	,cangaroo'	/ ˈkɛŋguʁu /	[ˈɡejʊˌχɯː]	1;08.31
Brokkoli	,broccoli'	/ prokoli /	$['pok^{h}\epsilon_{_{l}}li]$	1;11.0

(74) Stage 3, realization of SWW targets as bipedal output in Eleonora's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Brokkoli	,broccoli'	/ ˌpĸokoli /	[ˈgʊliˌki]	1;07.08

6.4.5 Stage 4

At Stage 4, PARSE- σ is demoted. The re-ranking predicts that SWW words survive with unfooted final syllables.

Table 6-18 illustrates that candidate a., leaving the final syllable unfooted, is the winning candidate. In contrast to Stage 3, bipedal candidates are now ruled out by their violations of ALIGNLEFT. Truncation is impossible as it incurs a fatal violation of MAX- σ .

Table 6-18. The evaluation of simplex SWW words at Stage 4

Input: / [('Radi) _F jo] _{PW} /	Мах-σ	ALIGNLEFT	Parse-σ
a. ∽ [(ˈRadi) _F jo] _{PW}			*
b. [(ˈra.di) _F (ˌjo) _F] _{PW}		*!*	
c. [('ra.di) _F] _{PW}	*! jo		

To summarize, SWW words are truncated to a bisyllabic SW form at Stage 1. The presumed hierarchy does not make clear predictions with respect to the content of the preserved weak syllables. A closer examination reveals parallels to the preservation pattern reported from child English (Kehoe 1999/2000, Pater 1997, Pater and Paradies 1996) and child Hebrew (Adam 2002) in that the final weak syllable is maintained over the prefinal one. Also in line with earlier research, the segmental features of the onsets of the weak syllables influence the preservation pattern. The children prefer syllables with obstruent onsets over syllables with sonorant onsets. Unfortunately, there are only few types and tokens supporting this theoretical analysis.

Truncation to a bisyllabic output persists until Stage 2 in the data of Wiglaf, Eleonora, and Sandra or to Stage 3" in Nele's database. Stage 3 characterizes a transitional period, where SWW words undergo repair to a bipedal output. At Stage 4, the final syllables remain unfooted. The children have now acquired SWW words in a target-like way.

6.5 Quadrisyllabic and longer words

This subsection analyzes the predictions of the presumed ranking for quadrisyllabic and longer simplex words. There are two different prosodic shapes in the database: First, sWSW words such as "Marme lade 'jam' and, second, the sWWSW word "Lokomo live 'locomotive' as a single type.

6.5.1 Stage 1

At Stage 1, the ranking of markedness over faithfulness predicts a bisyllabic trochaic outcome. Table 6-19 illustrates the candidate evaluation for *Marme'lade* 'jam' and for *Lokomo'tive* 'locomotive'. Any bipedal candidate (i.e., candidates 1a., 1b., 1c. and 2a., 2b. and 2c.) is ruled out due to its fatal violations of ALIGNLEFT. The winners are the truncated bisyllabic candidates 1d. and 1d. These candidates only incur violations of the low-ranked constraint Max-σ.

Table 6-19. The evaluation of simplex sWSW and sWWSW words at Stage 1

1. Input: / [(,Mar.me) _F ('la.de) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	Parse-σ	FAITHSTRESS	ΜΑΧ-σ
a. [(,Mar.me) _F ('la.de) _F] _{PW}	*!*	 		
b. [('Mar.me) _F (,la.de) _F] _{PW}	*!*		*	
c. [(₁ Mar) _F ('la.de) _F] _{PW}	*!	 		*me
d. ∽ [(ˈla.de) _F] _{PW}				** mar, me,
2. Input: / [(,Lo.ko) _F mo ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	Parse-σ	FAITHSTRESS	ΜΑΧ-σ
a. [(,Lo.ko) _F mo ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!*	*!		
b. [('Lo.ko) _F (,ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!*		*	
c. [(¡Lo) _F ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!	i 		*ko
d. $^{\smile}$ [('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}		 		***mo, ti, ve

The empirical data show that the children in fact truncate sWSW and sWWSW words to bisyllabic trochees at Stage 1. The examples provided in (75) to (78) illustrate that they consistently select the final foot.

(75) Stage 1, truncation of sWSW and sWWSW targets to SW in Wiglat's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Indianer	,native american'	/ ¡?indi'ja:nəɐ /	[ˈsʲaːna], [ˈsaːna]	1;10.13
			[ˈjaːna]	1;11.13
Margarine	,margarine'	/ eu:ia pasam /	['hi:ni], ['hmi], ['hmə]	1;08.13
			[ˈhiːnə]	1;09.09
Marmelade	,jamʻ	/ cb:sl'emssm, /	[ˈhaːda]	1;08.13
			[ˈhaːtə]	1;09.09
Lokomotive	,locomotive'	/ lokomo'ti:və /	[ˈtɨːfə]	1;09.02
			[ˈtiːfə]	1;09.09
			[- φ:ɨtɨ]	1;09.19

(76) Stage 1, truncation of sWSW and sWWSW targets to SW in Eleonora's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Indianer	,native american'	/ ¡?indi'ja:nəɐ /	[ˈjaːna]	1;08.0
Limonade	,lemonade'	/ ˌlimoˈnaːdə /	[ˈnaːtə]	1;08.15
Marmelade	,jamʻ	/ cb:sl'emssm, /	[ˈlalɛ], [ˈdaːlɛ]	1;06.05
Schokolade	,chocolate'	/ "ſoko ^¹ la:də /	[ˈlaːdə]	1;09.09
			[ˈlatə]	1;10.19
Mandarine	,tangerine'	/ 'mauqa _r ı:uə /	[ˈnini]	1;04.08
			['ne:ne]	1;06.15
			[ˈnini]	1;06.22

(77) Stage 1, truncation of sWSW and sWWSW targets to SW in Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Apfelsine	,orange'	/ .?apfəlˈzi:nə /	[ˈziːnə]	1;09.26

(78) Stage 1, truncation of sWSW and sWWSW targets to SW in Nele's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Marmelade	,jam'	/ cb:sl'emssm,	[ˈlaːja]	1;08.29
			[ˈlali]	1;10.0
Lokomotive	.locomotive'	/ lokomo ^l tiva /	[ˈtiz̪i], [ˈdɨzi], [ˈtɪːvə]	1:08.12

6.5.2 Stage 2

Table 6-20 depicts the candidate evaluation under the ranking at Stage 2.

Table 6-20: The evaluation of simplex sWSW and sWWSW words at Stage 2

1. Input: /[(,Mar.me) _F ('la.de) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	Parse-σ	FAITH STRESS	Мах-σ	NonRec
a. [(,Mar.me) _F ('la.de) _F] _{PW}	* ! *	! !			
b. [('Mar.me) _F (,la.de) _F] _{PW}	*!*	! ! !	*		
c. [('Mar) _F (,la.de) _F] _{PW}	*!			*me	
d. ∽ [('la.de) _F] _{PW}				** mar, me	
2. Input:/[(,Lo.ko) _F mo('ti.ve) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGN LEFT	Parse-σ	FAITH STRESS	Мах-σ	NonRec
a. [(,Lo.ko) _F mo ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!*	*!			
b. [('Lo.ko) _F (₁ ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!*		*		
c. [(,Lo) _F ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!			*ko	
d. ∽ [('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}		! !		***mo, ti,	
		1 1 1		ve	

Quadrisyllabic and longer simplex words form a single prosodic word in adult German. Following the assumption that children parse the input in a target-like way, the outranking of NonRecursivity at Stage 2 does affect sWSW and sWWSW targets because it is vacuously satisfied by simplex words. Like at Stage 1, the bisyllabic candidates 1d. and 1d. are the winners. This is depicted in Table 6-20. The ranking does not predict a change in the output at the transition to Stage 2. As there are only few data, I do not provide examples.

6.5.3 Stage 3"

At Stage 3", Nele outranks TROCHEE. Table 6-21 shows that no changes are predicted with respect to the prosodic shape of the output. Therefore, like at Stages 1 and 2, the truncated candidates 1d. and 2d. are the winners. This is because TROCHEE is vacuously satisfied by the candidates. Any candidate changing the foot structure to an iamb incurs a violation of higher-ranked FAITHSTRESS and is ruled out.

Table 6-21. The evaluation of simplex sWSW and sWWSW words at Stage 3" in Nele's grammar

1 Input: / [(,Mar.me) _F ('la.de) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGN LEFT	Parse-σ	FAITHSTRESS	ΜΑΧ-σ	TROCHEE
a. [(,Mar.me) _F ('la.de) _F] _{PW}	*!*	1 1 1 1 1			
b. [('Mar.me) _F (,la.de) _F] _{PW}	*!*	i 	*		
c. [(,Mar) _F ('la.de) _F] _{PW}	*!	1 1 1 1 1 1		*me	
d. ∽ [(ˈla.de) _F] _{PW}		 		** mar, me	
2 Input: / [(,Lo.ko) _F mo ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGN LEFT	Parse-σ	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ	TROCHEE
a. [(,Lo.ko) _F mo ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!*	*!			
b. [('Lo.ko) _F (,ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!*	 	*		
c. [(,Lo) _F ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!	 		*ko	
d. \bigcirc [('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}		! ! !		***mo, ti,	
		! ! ! !		ve	

Examples showing persistent truncation of sWSW and sWWSW targets are presented in (79).

(79) Stage 3", truncation of sWSW and sWWSW targets to SW in Nele's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Marmelade	,jam'	/ cb:sl'emasm _ı /	[ˈlaːli]	1;10.07
			[ˈlalə]	1;11.14

6.5.4 Stage 3

Due to the outranking of ALIGNLEFT, bipedal outputs are permitted at Stage 3. Now, sWSW words will be produced in a target-like way. At the same time, the medial unfooted syllable will be truncated in sWWSW words.

Table 6-22 below exemplifies the consequences of the re-ranking for sWSW words. The fully faithful candidate a. is the winner because it only violates the outranked constraint ALIGNLEFT. Candidates showing stress shift to the left are eliminated due to their violation of FAITHSTRESS. It is reported that children sometimes pass through a period where they produce only the heads of the non-final foot (Kehoe 1999/2000, Pater and Paradies 1996). With respect to German, this is ruled out because it incurs a fatal violation of NoClash (candidate c.). Finally, truncation cannot be an option at Stage 3 because under the new ranking it causes fatal violations of MAX-σ.

Table 6-22. The evaluation of simplex sWSW words at Stage 3

Input: / [(,Mar.me) _F ('la.de) _F] _{PW} /	NoClash	Parse-σ	FAITHSTRESS	Мах-σ	ALIGNLEFT
a. \bigcirc [(,Mar.me) _F ('la.de) _F] _{PW}					**
b. [('Mar.me) _F (,la.de) _F] _{PW}			*!		**
c. [(,Mar) _F ('lade) _F] _{PW}	*!			*me	*
d. [('la.de) _F] _{PW}				*!* mar, me	

Examples supporting Stage 3 are presented in (80) to (82).

(80) Stage 3, realization of sWSW and sWWSW targets as bipedal output in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Schokolade	,chocolate'	/ˌʃokoˈlaːdə /	[ˌsokoˈlaːdə]	2;0.17
Lokomotive	,locomotive'	/ˌlokomoˈtiːvə /	[ˌlɔkaˈtiːfə], [ˌlɔkaˈti̩və]	1;11.03
			[ˌlɔkəˈtʰiːvə]	1;11.13

(81) Stage 3, realization of sWSW and sWWSW targets as bipedal output in Eleonora's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Schokolade	,chocolate'	/ˌʃokoˈlaːdə /	[ˌkχυkəˈladə]	1;10.19
Ventilator	,ventilator'	/ venti'la:toe /	[venti'la:toe]	1;10.25

(82) Stage 3, realization of sWSW and sWWSW targets as bipedal output in Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Michaela	proper name	/ _ı mıça'?e:la /	[al:æˈæːla]	1;08.21
			[ˌmɪçəˈʔeːla]	1;09.06
			[ˌmɪçaˈʔeːla]	1;11.0

The slightly different ranking in Nele's grammar of Stage 3 does not affect the candidate selection. Like the other three children, Nele realizes sWSW words in a target-like way at Stage 3 (83):

(83) Stage 3, realization of sWSW and sWWSW targets as bipedal output in Nele's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Elefanten	,elephant' (pl.)	/ ¡?elə¹fantən /	[ˌʔɛlɛˈfantn̩]	2;0.02
Schokolade	,chocolate'	/ˌʃokoˈlaːdə /	[ˌlɔkəˈlaːlə]	1;11.25
			[ˌlɔkəˈlalə]	2;0.02
			[ˌlʊkəˈlaːlə]	2;0.19

By contrast, sWWSW words still undergo truncation of the medial unfpooted syllable. Table 6-23 illustrates that the fully faithful candidate a. incurs a violation of PARSE- σ and is ruled out. Candidate b., truncating the medial unfooted syllable optimally satisfies the ranking and is selected as the winner. Candidate c. illustrates that it is impossible to parse the medial syllable into a separate foot because it violates the ban against adjacent heads, NoClash. Likewise, a monosyllabic initial foot is ruled out by NoClash. And finally, candidate d, truncated to a bisyllabic output, is eliminated due to the multiple violations of Max- σ .

Table 6-23. The evaluation of simplex sWWSW words at Stage 3

Input: / [(¡Lo.ko) _F mo ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW} /	NoClash	Parse-σ	Мах-σ	ALIGNLEFT
a. [(,Lo.ko) _F mo ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}		*!		**
b. \bigcirc [(,Lo.ko) _F ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}			*mo	**
c. [(,Lo.ko) _F (,mo) _F ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!	i 		***
c. [(,Lo) _F ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!	1 	*ko	*
d. [('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}		 	**!* mo, ti, ve	

The following data in (84), repeated from (80), illustrate that the children indeed truncate the medial syllable at a certain stage. Unfortunately, due to the infrequency of sWWSW words, instances indicative of Stage 3 are found only in the database of Wiglaf.

(84) Stage 3: Realization of sWWSW targets as bipedal output in Wiglaf's data

Target	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Lokomotive	,locomotive'	/ˌlokomo¹tiːvə /	[ˌlɔkaˈtiːfə], [ˌlɔkaˈtivə]	1;11.03
			[ˌlɔkəˈtʰiːvə]	1;11.13

6.5.5 Stage 4

The outranking of PARSE- σ at Stage 4 does not predict a change in the production pattern of sWSW words. With respect to sWWSW words, it predicts that the medial weak syllable will now be maintained. In Table 6-24 below, I only illustrate the predictions for sWWSW words.

The faithful candidate a. optimally satisfies the ranking. Truncation violates Max-σ leading to the elimination of candidates b., c. and e. Again, the output cannot be repaired to a tripedal output (candidate c.) because the repair violates ALIGNLEFT. Hence, candidate d. is ruled out as well. Note that candidates c. and d. are also eliminated due to their violations of NoClash which is not depicted in the table.

Due to the scarcity of sWWSW words in the database, there is no empirical evidence supporting the analysis.

Table 6-24. The evaluation of simplex sWWSW words at Stage 4

Input: / [(,Lo.ko) _F mo ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW} /	Мах-σ	ALIGNLEFT	PARSE-σ
a. ∽ [(ˌLo.ko) _F mo ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}		**	*!
b. [(,Lo.ko) _F ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!mo	**	
c. [(,Lo.ko) _F (,mo) _F ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}		*!**	
d. [(¡Lo) _F ('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!ko	*	
e. [('ti.ve) _F] _{PW}	*!** mo, ti, ve		

To summarize, the ranking predicts that sWSW and sWWSW survive as bisyllabic trochees at Stage 1 and 2. The words are still truncated to a single trochee at Stage 3" in Nele's grammar. That is, the demotion of NonRecursivity at Stage 2 and of Trochee at Stage 3" does not change the prosodic shape of the output. At Stage 3 the children permit bipedal outputs, and sWSW words emerge in a target-like way. At the same time, the children still omit the medial unfooted syllable in sWWSW words. The unfooted syllable is produced at Stage 4.

6.6 Summary and discussion: Simplex words

This section investigated the predictions of the re-ranking for different prosodic target shapes and supported them by empirical data. The proposed path of re-ranking and its consequences for different target shapes is summarized below.

6.6.1 Stage 1

NonRecursivity, LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Trochee, Parse, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ

Due to the ranking of structural over faithfulness constraints, outputs are limited to a single foot. The children consistently select the main-stressed syllable from simplex words.³⁶ If the target word bears final main stress, the output is systematically reduced to the final syllable. If there is a weak syllable right-adjacent to the main-stressed one, it is preserved as well. Words with penultimate main stress are thus realized as bisyllabic trochees.

Variation is observed in SWW words. Consistent with findings from the literature, segmental properties of the input syllable influence the output (e.g. Pater and Paradies 1996, Kehoe 1999/2000). There seems to be a preference to maintain the word-final weak syllable if the onsets of both weak syllables are identical with respect to their sonority. The preference for final syllables is functionally explained by their higher prosodic prominence. Formally, this is accounted by RIGHT-ANCHOR, a constraint requiring the preservation of the right edge of the prosodic word. The constraint is vacuously satisfied by words with final or prefinal stress. If the two weak syllables differ with respect to their sonority, the children select the syllable with the less sonorous onset. This explains why the pattern of content preservation varies in a systematic way in SWW words.

³⁶ Remember that pseudo-compounds are disregarded in this section.

6.6.2 Stage 2

LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Trochee, Parse, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity

The demotion of NonRecursivity at Stage 2 does not change the prosodic outcome of simplex words. Like at Stage 1, all simplex words are truncated to a single monosyllabic foot if the target word is stress-final, and to a bisyllabic foot otherwise.

6.6.3 Stage 3"

LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Parse- σ , NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity >> Trochee

Only Nele shows an intermediate stage where TROCHEE is demoted. The ranking predicts asymmetries in the production pattern: Simplex WS and sWS words are realized as bisyllabic iambs. By contrast, words with penultimate main stress survive as bisyllabic trochees. These words are not affected by the re-ranking at Stage 3".

6.6.4 Stage 3

In the following Stage 3, ALIGNLEFT is demoted. The grammars of Wiglaf, Eleonora and Sandra show the following ranking:

LxWd \approx PrWd, Trochee, Parse- σ , NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity >> AlignLeft

As Nele already demoted TROCHEE at Stage 3", her grammar looks as follows after the demotion of ALIGNLEFT:

LXWD \approx PRWD, PARSE- σ , NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity >> Trochee >> AlignLeft

Again, truncated and non-truncated outputs do coexist at Stage 3. In addition, the different hierarchies at Stage 3 predict slightly different inter-individual output patterns. It is common for all children to realize target bipedal words with two feet at Stage 3. Truncation affects initial unfooted syllables only in the data of Wiglaf, Eleonora and Sandra. By contrast, due to the demotion of Trochee, Nele truncates WSW words to SW but realizes WS words in their target-like rhythmic pattern WS. Note that she did not acquire the target-like shape of WS words (i.e., $[W(S)_F]_{PW}$) at Stage 3" because unfooted syllables are footed with the strong one to $[(WS)_F]_{PW}$).

Word-medial unfooted syllables are truncated by all children at Stage 3. SWW words, by contrast, survive as bipedal outputs in the grammars of the four children. Hence, the position of the unfooted syllable determines if there is truncation or repair to two feet. Truncation is found in initial or word-medial position, repair to two feet if the unfooted syllable is word-final.

6.6.5 Stage 4

LxWd \approx PrWd, Trochee, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity>> AlignLeft >> Parse- σ

Due to the demotion of PARSE- σ , unfooted syllables emerge at Stage 4. Wiglaf, Sandra and Eleonora now realize the initial unfooted syllables in WS and WSW targets, Nele does so in WSW words. All children are predicted to maintain the medial unfooted syllable in sWWSW words.

Table 6-25 summarizes the prosodic development of simplex words in German. Bold letters indicate the Stage at which the children acquired the target-like shape.

Table 6-25: The prosodic development of simplex words

	WS	sWS	WSW	SWW	sWSW	sWWSW
Stage 1	S	S	SW	SW	SW	SW
Stage 2	S	S	SW	SW	SW	SW
Stage 3": Nele	WS	WS	SW	SW	SW	SW
Stage 3:		sWS	SW	SWs	sWSW	sWSW
Nele	ws					
Wiglaf, Sandra, Eleonora	S					
Stage 4	WS	sWS	WSW	SWW	sWSW	sWWSW

In conclusion, the data are consistent with the view that the input prosodic organization influences the output. In particular, this is striking at Stage 3, where bipedal outputs of simplex words coexist with monopedal ones. Whether or not a target word undergoes truncation depends on the prosodic organization of the target word. Likewise, the prosodic structure of the target word determines whether in Nele's Stage 3" outputs survive as an iambic or as a trochaic form.

The acquisition pattern is mostly in line with findings from child Dutch and English. The early shape restriction to a single foot is consistent with formal accounts of template mapping (Fikkert 1994 for Dutch, Gerken 1991, 1994 for English), but also with input-output correspondence accounts (cf. Demuth 1995, 1996b, Pater and Paradis 1996, Pater 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000 for English, Adam 2002 for Hebrew). Germanic languages, among them German, take the trochaic foot as an unmarked prosodic word, and many phonological processes refer to the foot as their prosodic domain. Therefore, it is not surprising that German children reduce longer words to a single foot at the early stages.³⁷

Given the importance of the (bisyllabic) trochee in German, it is an open question which factors induce Nele to create iambic feet at Stage 3". Remember that bisyllabicity is *required* by the ranking at Stage 3". As the target stressed syllable has to be maintained in its prosodic role in the output, Nele produces bisyllabic trochees and iambs in parallel at Stage 3". This cannot be explained by linguistic unmarkedness because there is no iambic foot in adult German. Also,

³⁷ For example, no evidence for a single foot was found in child Portuguese, a Romance language (Santos 2003, 2005 for Brazilian Portuguese, Vigário et al. 2006 for European Portuguese)

the typical German word is a trochee, hence Nele's iambs cannot arise from a high word shape frequency.

Although it cannot be ultimately determined where Nele's iambs arise from, it is clear that the iambs form a kind of 'last resort' to save otherwise ill-formed structure. Iambs only appear if the ranking rules out the construction of trochees. Parsing the final two syllables from WS and sWS words as iambic output, Nele avoids unfooted syllables and maintains more material from the input than at the previous stage. Remember that at Stages 1 and 2, WS and sWS words survive as monosyllables. I have shown in the constraint-based analysis that Nele's production pattern can be easily explained assuming a slightly different way of constraint reranking.

6.6.6 Stress shifts to the left in bipedal words?

In contrast to earlier models of prosodic development (Fikkert 1994, Kehoe 1999/2000), the present analysis does not assume a bipedal stage with obligatory word-initial stress. Formally, this could be accounted for by a high-ranked constraint Leftmost, requiring the realization of main stress on the leftmost foot or syllable. Given that OT-learning algorithms allow for individual courses in their re-rankings, a stage of obligatory stress shifts is predicted by the theoretical model. Empirically, however, stress shifts are rare in bipedal outputs, and they cannot quantitatively define a developmental stage (Kehoe 1999/2000). Nevertheless, previous models proposed that stress shifts are systematic despite their sparse empirical support.

In the German data, stress shifts to the left are extremely rare in bipedal outputs. Thus, I did not regard stress shifts as a systematic pattern in the grammars of the children analyzed. However, it should be emphasized that, investigating other children or a dense database, stress shifts might be systematic in the acquisition of German, too.

6.6.7 The pattern of content preservation

There is an ongoing discussion in the literature with respect to two questions. First, it is an unresolved issue if children select the main-stressed or the rightmost stressed syllable from simplex words. In regularly stressed German words, the main-stressed syllable coincides with the rightmost stressed one. Irregular antepenultimate stress is found in SWW words but these

words lack secondary stress. Hence, the simplex words of the database cannot contribute to the discussion about the preservation of the head syllables.

The second issue is which weak syllable children select in SWW words at the single foot stage. Some studies report that they produce the weak syllable right-adjacent to the stressed one (Fikkert 1994, Gerken 1996). Other researchers observed a preference towards the rightmost weak syllable (Pater and Paradies 1996, Pater 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000, Adam 2002). In addition, segmental properties of the syllable onsets influence the preservation pattern. The data of the present study are in line with the latter position. The children tend to preserve the final syllable if both weak syllables have obstruent onsets and the weak syllable with the obstruent onset if there is a sonorant and an obstruent onset. Thus, <u>Paprika</u> 'pepper' survives as ['phakha] (Nele, 1;11.0) but <u>'Radio</u> 'radio' as ['haodi] (Nele, 1;08.29). The apparent variation can be accounted for by the interaction of prosodic prominence and segmental features. However, for German the evidence is rather tentative due to the low number of truncated SWW words in the database.

6.6.8 The role of the target prosodic structure of simplex words

The optimality-theoretic analysis predicts different output prosodic shapes, depending on the structure of the input. At Stages 1 and 2, outputs are monosyllabic or bisyllabic, depending on the position of the input stressed syllable. At the latter stages, truncated and non-truncated outputs coexist. Whether a target word is truncated or not depends on its number of syllables and the position of the stressed syllable. In other words, the input prosodic organization determines whether the output survives in a truncated or non-truncated way. The asymmetries result from the interaction of structural and faithfulness constraints. Due to the increasing role of faithfulness constraints over time, the correspondence between input and output form does not increase.

Faithfulness constraints already influence the structure of the output at Stage 1, a time when they are fully dominated by structural constraints. This is consistent with the tenets of Optimality Theory. Faithfulness constraints ensure that the stressed and a post-tonic weak syllable of the input survive in the output and thus they essentially determine the pattern of content preservation. Prosodic size and shape restrictions result from the structural constraints.

The empirical data suggest that the children distinguish simplex words by their target prosodic structure. The children do not randomly truncate syllables, but respect the internal prosodic parsing into syllables and feet when truncating simplex words.

With regard to simplex words, it can be concluded that the prosodic structure of the target form essentially determines the shape of the output. Children maintain a correspondence between input and output as far as possible. The findings clearly support optimality-theoretic accounts proposing that children (and adults) store phonological representations in a fully specified way.

We will see in the next section that the production pattern of compounds and pseudocompounds also supports the correspondence account.

7 Predictions for compounds

7.1 Introduction

This section examines whether the ranking proposed in section X. also correctly predicts the production pattern of compounds. It was shown earlier in this thesis that trisyllabic SW-s and S-sW compounds are initially truncated to a single foot. Interestingly, the reduction to a monopedal form still persists at a time when compounds are already produced with two feet. I have demonstrated in sections X and X. that a single ranking can account for the production pattern of simplex words and of trisyllabic SW-s and S-sW compounds. The question addressed in this section is to what extent the assumed grammars also explain the pattern of quadrisyllabic compounds and of compounds containing longer constituents. In addition, I will examine the predictions for pseudo-compounds.

The section is organized as follows: Subsection 7.2 is concerned with the development of quadrisyllabic SW-sW-compounds. Subsection 7.3 concentrates on compounds containing bipedal constituents. Compounds containing constituents with unfooted syllables are analyzed in subsection 7.4. Subsection 7.5 investigates to what extent the presumed re-rankings account for the production pattern of pseudo-compounds. Finally, subsection 7.6 provides a summary and discussion of the analysis of compounds and pseudo-compounds.

7.2 Quadrisyllabic compounds

7.2.1 Stage 1

The assumed ranking NonRecursivity, LxWD ≈ PRWD, ALIGNLEFT, TROCHEE, PARSE, NoClash >> FAITHSTRESS >> Max-σ predicts that a truncated candidate is selected at Stage 1. Table 7-1 illustrates the evaluation of the candidates by reference to the example *Gummi-bärchen* 'gummi bear'.

The fully faithful candidate a. fatally violates the high-ranked markedness constraint NonRecursivity and is ruled out. As illustrated by candidate b., the children cannot ban recursivity by parsing the constituents into two feet. This is due to ALIGNLEFT which militates

against bipedal outputs. For SW-sW compounds, the ranking predicts two optimal candidates, the initial and the final constituent (candidates c. and d.). Both candidates incur two violations of MAX-σ.

Table 7-1. The evaluation of SW-sW compounds at Stage 1.

Input: /[[('gum.mi) _F] _{PW} [(,bär.chen) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	NonRec	A LIGN L EFT	ΜΑΧ-σ
a. [[('gum.mi) _F] _{PW} [(,bär.chen) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	*!		
b. [('gum.mi) _F (_i bär.chen) _F] _{PW}		*!*	
c. ∽ [(ˈgum.mi) _F] _{PW}			** bär, chen
d. ∽ [('bär.chen) _F] _{PW}			** gum, mi

Truncation of quadrisyllabic compounds is infrequent in the database; altogether, there are six instances produced by Sandra and Eleonora. As either constituent forms a bisyllabic foot, the variation reflects the individual preservation strategies of the children. Sandra preserves the initial constituent from quadrisyllabic compounds and truncates the second constituent as depicted in (85):

(85) Stage 1, truncation of the second constituent in SW-sW compounds in Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Nagel-schere	'nail scissors'	/'na:gəl,∫e:ʁə/	[ˈnakə]	1;09.06
Gummi-bärchen	ı 'gummi bear'	/ˈgumiˌbæːɐçən/	[ˈgʊmi], [ˈgʊmi], [ˈgʊmi]	1;10.19

In contrast to Sandra, Eleonora maintains the final constituent of quadrisyllabic compounds (86).

(86) Stage 1, truncation of the first constituent in SW-sW compounds in Eleonora's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Puppen-wagen	'doll's pram'	/'pupənˌva:gən/	[ˈvakŋ]	1;07.15
Gummi-bärchen	'gummi bear'	/ˈgʊmiˌbæːɐçən/	[ˈpæçɪn]	1;09.09

7.2.2 Stage 2

Due to the demotion of NonRecursivity at Stage 2, SW-sW compounds emerge in a target-like way with two prosodic words. Table 7-2 illustrates the candidate evaluation under the presumed ranking of ALIGNLEFT >> MAX- σ >> NonRecursivity. The new ranking renders the fully faithful candidate a. to be the optimal one as it only incurs a violation of low-ranked NonRecursivity. High-ranked ALIGNLEFT still bans bipedal outputs such that candidate b. is eliminated. The truncated candidates c. and d. are eliminated due to their violations of Max- σ .

Table 7-2. The evaluation of SW-sW compounds at Stage 2

Input: /[[('gum.mi) _F] _{PW} [(,bär.chen) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	Мах-σ	NonRec
a. ∽ [[(¹gum.mi) _F] _{PW} [(ˌbär.chen) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}			*
b. [('gum.mi) _F (₁ bär.chen) _F] _{PW}	*!*		
c. [('gum.mi) _F] _{PW}		*!* bär, chen	
d. [('bär.chen) _F] _{PW}		*!* gum, mi	

The examples provided in (87) from Wiglaf's database support the analysis.

(87) Stage 2, target-like production of quadrisyllabic compounds in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Unter-hose	'underpants	/'?untər,ho:zə/	[ˈʔʊntaˌhɤzə]	1;10.28
Oster-hase	'easter bunny'	/'Poistar,haiza/	['?o:sta _t hasə]	1;10.13
Bade-hose	'bathing trunks'	/ba:dəˌho:zə/	[ˈbaːdəˌhoːzə]	1;10.28

Target-like instances of quadrisyllabic compounds are found in the databases of Sandra (88), Nele (89) and Eleonora (90), too:

(88) Stage 2, target-like production of quadrisyllabic compounds in Sandra's data

Target	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Mietze-katze	'pussy cat'	/mi:tsə,katsə /	[mi:təˌhætsɛ]	1;10.0
Gummi-bärchen	'gummi bear'	/ˈgumiˌbæːɐçən	[ˈgʊmɪçˌbe¢n̩]	1;10.19
Tannen-zapfen	'fir cone'	/ˈtanənˌt͡sapfən/	[ˈtʰanəˌhapm̩]	1;10.19
Butter-blume	'buttercup'	/ ˈbʊtəɐˌbluːmə /	[ˈpʊtəˌpluːmə]	1;11.0

(89) Stage 2, target-like production of quadrisyllabic compounds in Nele's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Apfel-schorle	'apple spritzer	/ '?apfəl,∫əvlə /	[?apəˌsoelə]	2;0.19
Katzen-babies	'baby cats'	/ 'katsən,be:bis/	[ˈkʰatiˌbebis]	1;11.0
Kuschel-hase	,cuddly bunny'	/ ˈkʊʃəlˌhaːzə /	[ˈkʊtiˌhali], [ˈktɪtiˌhaːzə]	1;11.04
Rasen-mäher	'lawn-mower'	/ ˈkaːzənˌmæːhəɐ /	[ˈdaziˌmeːɐ]	1;11.04

(90) Stage 2, target-like production of quadrisyllabic compounds in Eleonora's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Affen-baby	'baby monkey'	/ '?afən,bebi /	[ˈʔafmˌbibi]	1;10.25
Tausend-füßler	'centipede'	/ 'tauzənt _ı fy:sləɐ /	['thausə,thy:se]	1;10.25

7.2.3 Stages 3 and 4

The re-rankings at Stages 3 and 4 do not change the prosodic shape of the output of SW-sW compounds. I briefly outline the re-rankings at these stages below. Table 7-3 illustrates that the fully faithful candidate a. remains the optimal one under the new ranking. The parsing of SW-sW compounds into bipedal structure as shown by candidate b. should in principle be possible

after the demotion of ALIGNLEFT. However, it violates high-ranked LxWD \approx PRWD, because the minor lexical words do not correspond to prosodic words. Thus, candidate b. is eliminated. Like at Stage 2, truncation incurs fatal violations of the faithfulness constraint Max- σ . Therefore, candidates c. and d. are ruled out.

Table 7-3. The evaluation of SW-sW compounds at Stage 3

Input: /[[('gum.mi) _F] _{PW} [(,bär.chen) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	LxWd ≈ PRWd	Мах-σ	NonRec	ALIGNLEFT
a. ∽ [('gum.mi) _F] _{PW} (,bär.chen) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}			*	
b. [('gum.mi) _F (,bär.chen) _F] _{PW}	*!			**
c. [('gum.mi) _F] _{PW}		*!* bär, chen		
d. [('bär.chen) _F] _{PW}		*!* gum, mi		

At Stage 4, PARSE- σ is demoted, which means that unfooted syllables are now permitted. Note that SW-sW compounds do not contain unfooted syllables so that the constraint is vacuously satisfied. As depicted in Table 7-4 below, the re-ranking at Stage 4 cannot affect the outcome of SW-sW compounds.

Table 7-4. The evaluation of SW-sW-compounds at Stage 4

Input:/[('gum.mi) _F] _{PW} [(,bär.chen) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	LxWD≈	ΜΑΧ-σ	NonRec	ALIGNLEFT	Parse-σ
	PrWd				
a. $^{\frown}$ [('gum.mi) $_{F}$] $_{PW}$ [($_{I}$ bär.chen) $_{F}$] $_{PW}$] $_{PW}$			*		
b. [('gum.mi) _F (,bär.chen) _F] _{PW}	*!			**	
c. [('gum.mi) _F] _{PW}		*!* bär, chen			
d. [('bär.chen) _F] _{PW}		*!* gum, mi			

So far, this subsection has shown that the proposed re-ranking can account for the production pattern of compounds containing monopedal constituents. At Stage 1, SW-sW compounds are truncated to a single bisyllabic constituent. As both constituents satisfy the ranking, the children consistently applied additional strategies in the pattern of content preservation. At Stage 2, the

children permitted recursive structure, thus realizing SW-sW compounds in a target-like way. The demotion of ALIGNLEFT at Stage 3 and of PARSE-σ at Stage 4 did not change the internal structure of SW-sW compounds. We can thus conclude that SW-sW compounds are mastered at Stage 2, when they first emerge with recursive prosodic structure.

In the next subsection, I show that the re-ranking at Stage 3 does affect the pattern of a certain type of compounds, namely compounds containing bipedal constituents.

7.3 Compounds containing bipedal constituents

In this subsection, I analyze compounds containing bipedal constituents. Since they occur very infrequently in the database, I combine different shapes, often containing very few tokens. These are sWSW-s (e.g., *Schoko laden-,eis* 'chocolate ice cream'; Wiglaf, 1 token), sWS-SW (e.g., *Poli zei-,auto* 'police car'; Wiglaf, 1 token), SWs-sW (e.g., *Feuer,wehr-,auto* 'fire engine'; Wiglaf and Nele, 5 tokens) and SW-sWsW compounds (*Fieber-,thermo,meter* 'clinical thermometer', Sandra, 17 tokens). The subsection aims to show that the re-rankings affect these bipedal constituents in the same way. In the OT-analysis, I exemplify the production pattern by the most frequent compound *Fieber-thermometer* 'clinical thermometer', where the second constituent comprises two feet.

7.3.1 Stage 1

As has been demonstrated for the other prosodic shapes, the ranking predicts truncation to a single foot at Stage 1. Table 7-5 illustrates that non-truncated candidates such as a. and b. are ruled out due to their fatal violations of NonRecursivity and AlignLeft. Like in quadrisyllabic SW-sW compounds, the ranking predicts more than one optimal candidate. The table shows that the initial constituent (candidate c.) and the final foot (candidate d.) equally satisfy the ranking. Note that a further candidate $[(ther.mo)_F]_{PW}$, not depicted in Table 7-5, would be optimal, too.

Table 7-5. The evaluation of compounds comprising bipedal constituents at Stage 1

Input: $/[[('fie.ber)_F]_{PW}[(_ther.mo)_F(_tme.ter)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}/$	NonRec	ALIGNLEFT	ΜΑΧ-σ
a. [[('fie.ber) _F] _{PW} [(,ther.mo) _F (,me.ter) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	*!		
b. [('fie.ber) F (,ther.mo)F (,me.ter)F]PW		*!*, *!***	
c. ∽ [('fie.ber) _F] _{PW}			**** ther, mo, me, ter
d. ♥ [('me.ter) _F] _{PW}			**** fie, ber, ther, mo

Of those compounds containing bipedal constituents, only *Fieber-thermometer* 'clinical thermometer' is truncated to a single foot. The compound is produced by Sandra. Sandra realizes eleven truncated instances at age 1;08.14 consistently preserving the first constituent *Fieber*. This coincides with her strategy to select the first constituent of SW-sW compounds (see (85) above).

(91) Stage 1, truncation of the second constituent in Fieber-thermometer in Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Fieber-	'clinical	/ˈfiːbəɐˌtɛɐmoˌmeːtəɐ /	[ˈtibə], [ˈdibɛ], [ˈbiːba]	1;08.14
thermometer	thermometer'	/ mentae /	[tibə], [dibe], [biiba]	

7.3.2 Stage 2

The demotion of NonRecursivity at Stage 2 predicts that prosodic words survive with two constituents. The bipedal constituent is truncated to a single foot.

Table 7-6 illustrates that non-truncated outputs cannot be optimal because they fatally violate ALIGNLEFT (candidates a. and b.). Truncation to a single foot leads to exclusion, too because $Max-\sigma$ is fatally violated. The optimal candidate c. maintains one foot from each constituent.

Table 7-6. The evaluation of compounds containing bipedal constituents at Stage 2

Input: /[[('fie.ber) F]PW [(,ther.mo)F(,me.ter)F]PW]PW/	ALIGNLEFT	ΜΑΧ-σ	NonRec
a. [[('fie.ber) _F] _{PW} [(₁ ther.mo) _F (₁ me.ter) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	*!*		*
b. [('fie.ber) F (ther.mo) (me.ter)]PW	*!*, *!***		
c. \bigcirc [[('fie.ber) _F] _{PW} [(,me.ter) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}		** ther, mo	*
d. [('fie.ber) _F] _{PW}		***!* ther, mo, me, ter	

The database contains eight instances of compounds with bipedal constituents indicative of Stage 2. The examples provided in (92) illustrate that the children in fact selected a foot from each constituent. From the bipedal constituents —,thermo'meter, "Schoko'laden- and 'Feuer,wehr-, they maintained the main-stressed feet (meter)_F, (laden) _F, and (feuer) _F. This corresponds to the content preservation observed in simplex words and supports the position that the children analyze the constituents as independent morphological and prosodic words.

(92) Stage 2, truncation of compounds containing bipedal constituents in Sandra's and Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Name, age
Fieber- thermometer	'clinical thermometer'	/ˈfiːbəɐˌtɛɐmoˌmeːtəɐ/	[ˈpiːpəˌmʉːdi] [ˈbiːbaˌmɯːti]	Sandra, 1;08.14 1;08.21
Schokoladen-eis	'chocolate ice cream'	/ˌʃokoˈla:dənˌʔaɪs/	[ˈlaːxŋˌʔaɪs]	Wiglaf, 1;10.28
Feuerwehr-auto	'fire engine'	/ 'folor,verg, auto /	[ˈfɔɪjaˌʔautɤ]	Wiglaf, 1;10.28

7.3.3 Stage 3

At Stage 3, ALIGNLEFT is demoted. Now, truncation of bipedal constituents is ruled out, and the constituents survive in their target-like way. Table 7-7 illustrates that the fully faithful candidate a. is the winner with the aid of the example *Fieber-thermometer*. Candidate b. satisfies

NonRecursivity at the cost of LxWD \approx PRWD. This leads to its exclusion. The truncated candidates c. and d. fatally violate Max- σ and are therefore eliminated.

Table 7-7. The evaluation of compounds containing bipedal constituents at Stage 3.

$Input: /[[('fie.ber)_F]_{PW} \ [(_ither.mo)_F \ (_ime.ter)_F]_{PW}]_{PW} /$	LxWD≈	ΜΑΧ-σ	NonRec	ALIGNLEFT
	PrWd			
a. \bigcirc [[('fie.ber) _F] _{PW} [(,ther.mo) _F (,me.ter) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}			*	**
b. [('fie.ber) F (ther.mo) (me.ter)]PW	*!*			** ****
c. [[('fie.ber) _F] _{PW} [(,me.ter) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}		*!* ther, mo	*	
d. [('fie.ber) F]PW		*!*** ther,		
		mo, me, ter		

The majority of compounds containing bipedal constituents are consistent with Stages 1 and 2. Therefore, empirical evidence for the analysis is scarce. The database unfortunately does not contain a faithful instance of *Fieber-thermometer* 'clinical thermometer' but there is another example, *Polizei-auto* 'police car', in Wiglaf's recordings that supports the analysis (93):

(93) Stage 3, target-like realization of compounds containing bipedal constituents in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Polizei-auto	'police car'	/ˌpoliˈtsaɪˌʔauto/	[ˌboliˈsaɪˌʔautɤ]	1;11.23

7.3.4 Stage 4

As there are no unfooted syllables in the compound shapes under consideration, the demotion of Parse- σ at Stage 4 has no further effect on the output. Table 7-8 shows that Parse- σ is vacuously satisfied by these types of compounds.

Table 7-8. The evaluation of compounds containing bipedal constituents at Stage 4.

Input:	LxWD≈	ΜΑΧ-σ	Non	ALIGN	Parse-σ
$/[[('fie.ber)_F]_{PW}[(_ther.mo)_{F_t}me.ter)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}/$	PrWD		REC	LEFT	
a. \bigcirc [[('fie.ber) _F] _{PW} [(,ther.mo) _F (,me.ter) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}			*	**	
b. [('fie.ber) _F (,ther.mo) _F (,me.ter) _F] _{PW}	*!*			** ****	
c. [[('fie.ber) _F] _{PW} [(_I me.ter) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}		*!* ther, mo	*		
d. [('fie.ber) _F] _{PW}		*!*** ther,			
		mo, me, ter			

To summarize the results so far, the constraint-based analysis predicts that compounds containing a bipedal constituent undergo truncation to a single foot at Stage 1. Although the database is small, there is empirical evidence for Stage 1. At Stage 2, the demotion of NonRecursivity predicts that the children select one foot from each constituent. Stage 2 is also supported by the empirical data from Sandra's and Wiglaf's databases. At the following Stage 3, children demote AlignLeft. In consequence, bipedal constituents are permitted. As the outranking of Parse-σ at Stage 4 does not change the production pattern, it can be concluded that compounds containing bipedal constituents are mastered at Stage 3.

7.4 Compounds containing unfooted syllables

The last type of morphologically complex words considered in this thesis are compounds containing an unfooted syllable. The following analysis comprises a number of different prosodic shapes. These are S-Ws (e.g., 'Luft-ba,llon 'balloon', 'Reiß-ver,schluss 'zip'), WSW-WsW (e.g., Ka'ssetten-re,corder 'tape recorder'), WSW-Ws (e.g., Toi'letten-pa,pier 'toilet paper'), WSW-s (Ko'ala-,bär 'coala'), WSW-sW (e.g., To'maten-,soße 'tomato sauce').

7.4.1 Stage 1

The initial ranking of structural constraints over faithfulness constraints predicts that the compounds are reduced to a single foot. Although there is no empirical support for Stage 1 in the database, I exemplify what the evaluation of candidates would look like with reference to the compound *To'maten-,soße* 'tomato sauce'.

Table 7-9 shows that there are, again, two optimal candidates c. and d., which leaves room for individual preferences in the preservation pattern. The prediction is that Sandra selects candidate c. and Eleonora candidate d. Remember that the girls applied these strategies in SW-sW compounds and that Sandra preserved the initial constituent in *Fieber-thermometer* 'clinical thermometer', too.

Table 7-9. The evaluation of compounds containing unfooted syllables at Stage 1

Input: /[[to ('ma.ten) F]PW [(So.ße)F]PW]PW/	NonRec	ALIGNLEFT	ΜΑΧ-σ
a. [[to ('ma.ten) _F] _{PW} [(,so.ße) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	*!	*!	
b. [('ma.ten) F (so.Be)F]PW		*!*	* to
c. ∽ [('ma.ten) _F] _{PW}			*** to, so, ße
d. ∽ [('so.ße) _F] _{PW}		i 1 1 1	*** to, ma, ten

7.4.2 Stage 2

Due to the demotion of NonRecursivity at Stage 2, the compounds survive with two monopedal constituents. Table 7-10 shows that the fully faithful candidate a. cannot be the winner because the unfooted syllable incurs a fatal violation of ALIGNLEFT. Likewise, bipedal candidates such as c. are eliminated due to their violations of ALIGNLEFT. Candidates truncated to a single foot are ruled out because of their violations of MAX- σ (d. and e.).

Table 7-10. Stage 2, the evaluation of compounds containing unfooted syllables

Input: /[[to ('ma.ten) F]PW [(so.Be)F]PW]PW/	ALIGNLEFT	МАХ-σ	NonRec
a. [[to ('ma.ten) _F] _{PW} [(,so.ße) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	*!		*
b. \bigcirc [[('ma.ten) $_F$] _{PW} [($_i$ so.ße) $_F$] _{PW}] _{PW}		* to	*
c. [('ma.ten) F (So.Be)F]PW	*!*	* to	
d. [('ma.ten) _F] _{PW}		**!* to, so, ße	
e. [('so.ße) _F] _{PW}		**!* to, ma, ten	

Outputs consistent with Stage 2 are provided in (94):

(94) Stage 2, realizations of compounds containing unfooted syllables in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Luft-ballon	'balloon'	/'luftba _ı lɔŋ/	[ˈnʊfˌpɔŋ:]	2;0.11
Kehr-maschine	'road sweeper'	/ˈkeːɐmaˌʃi:nə/	[ˈgeːɐˌsiːmə],	1;11.19
			[ˈgeːɐˌsiːmə]	
Kassetten-recorder	'tape recorder'	/ka'sɛtənʁe'kɔɐdəɐ/	[ˈsɪtnˌkɔɐda]	1;11.13,
			[ˈsɛtṇˌkxəɐdə]	2;0.24

A few instances indicative of Stage 2 are found in Nele's and Sandra's databases (95). Eleonora did not produce compounds consistent with Stage 2.

(95) Stage 2, realizations of compounds containing unfooted syllables in Nele's and Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Child, age
Koala-bär	'coala'	/ ko'?a:la,bæ:ɐ /	[ˈkaːbiˌpeːɐ], [ˈkaːbaˌpeːɐ]	Nele, 1;10.0,
Toiletten-papier	'toilet paper'	/toˈlɛtənpaˌpiːɐ /	[ˈtɛtnˌpi:]	Nele, 2;0.19
Tomaten-soße	'tomato sauce'	/ to maiten zoise /	[¹mata s:osa]	Sandra, 1;09.06

7.4.3 Stage 3"

Out of the four children, only Nele demotes TROCHEE at Stage 3". In consequence, she permits bisyllabic trochaic and iambic prosodic words. For compounds containing unfooted syllables, the ranking at Stage 3" predicts that bisyllabic iambic constituents do not undergo truncation. I exemplify the effect of the re-ranking by the target word 'Luft-ba,llon 'balloon', which is in fact found in Nele's database.

Table 7-11 illustrates that the adult-like parsing of the compound is impossible because it incurs a fatal violation of ALIGNLEFT (and, not depicted, of PARSE-σ). The ranking is optimally satisfied if the bisyllabic constituent is parsed as an iambic foot. This is the case with candidate b. Truncation of the unfooted syllable (candidate c.) or of more syllables (candidate d.) leads to the exclusion of the candidates because they fatally violate MAX-σ.

Table 7-11. Demotion of TROCHEE in Nele's grammar at Stage 3":

Input: /[[('Luft) F]PW [ba(Ion)F]PW]PW/	ALIGNLEFT	Мах-σ	NonRec	TROCHEE
a. [[('Luft) _F] _{PW} [ba (,lon) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	*!		*	
b. \sim [[('Luft) _F] _{PW} [(ba,lon) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}			*	*
C. [[('Luft) _F] _{PW} [(,lon) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}		*! Ba	*	
d. [(ˌlon) _F] _{PW}		*!* luft, ba		

Two instances of Luft-ballon 'balloon' support the predictions of the OT-analysis (96).³⁸

³⁸ Note that the examples are also consistent with a rhythmic constraint as proposed in Gerken (1992, 1996) and Wijnen, Krijkhaar & den Os (1994). According to this view, the children would parse the input syllables of *Luft-ballon* into trochaic feet [(luft.ba)_F(lon)_F]_{PW} across the morphological boundary. However, there is independent evidence against rhythmic constraints (Demuth 2001 a,b). Also, a rhythmic constraint cannot explain a) why Wiglaf truncated the weak syllable in Luft-ballon (see (94) above), and why Nele preserved the weak syllable in simplex WS targets (e.g., *Ka'mel'* camel') at Stage 3", too.

(96) Stage 3, realizations of compounds containing unfooted syllables in Nele's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Luft-ballon	'balloon'	/ˈlʊftbaˌlɔŋ/	[ˈlapiˌlaʊm],	1;11.04
			['lype,pon]	2;0.19

7.4.4 Stage 3

Table 7-12 illustrates that each constituent of compounds such as To'maten-,soBe 'tomato sauce' comprises a single foot at Stage 3. Despite the demotion of ALIGNLEFT, candidate a. is ruled out due to its violations of the top-ranked constraint PARSE- σ . The constraint militates against unfooted syllables. The table also shows that the children cannot preserve the initial unfooted syllable by parsing it into a foot because this incurs a fatal violation of high-ranked NoClash. The winning candidate c. incurs a violation of Max- σ and NoNRecursivity. Candidate d., parsing the syllables into two feet, is ruled out because of its violations of LxWD \approx PRWD. Finally, truncation to a single foot is impossible because it causes fatal violations of Max- σ (candidate e.).

Table 7-12. The evaluation of compounds containing unfooted syllables at Stage 3

Input:/[[to ('ma.ten) _F] _{PW} [(,so.ße) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	Parse-σ	No	LxWD≈	ΜΑΧ-σ	NonRec	ALIGNLEFT
		CLASH	PrWd			
a. [[to ('ma.ten) _F] _{PW} [(,so.ße) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	*!	 - - - -			*	*
b. [[,to] _F ('ma.ten) _F] _{PW} [(,so.ße) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}		*!	 		*	*
c. \bigcirc [[('ma.ten) _F] _{PW} [(,so.ße) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}				* to	*	
d. [('ma.ten) _F (,so.ße) _F] _{PW}		i 1 1 1	1	* to		**
e. [('ma.ten) _F] _{PW}				**!* to,		
		, 	; ! ! ! !	so, ße		

As the demotion of ALIGNLEFT at Stage 3 does not cause a change in the output, the empirical evidence is identical to Stage 2 above.

7.4.5 Stage 4

At Stage 3, Parse- σ and NoClash ensured that the unfooted syllable of *To'maten-,soße* 'tomato sauce' is truncated. Due to the demotion of Parse- σ at Stage 4, the fully faithful candidate a. in Table 7-13 optimally satisfies the ranking. Candidates b., c. and d. are ruled out due to their violations of NoClash and Max- σ , respectively.

Table 7-13. The evaluation of compounds containing unfooted syllables at Stage 4

Input: /[[to ('ma.ten) _F] _{PW} [(,so.ße) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	No Clash	Мах-σ	ALIGNLEFT	PARSE-σ
a. \bigcirc [[to ('ma.ten) _F] _{PW} [(,so.ße) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}			*	*
b. $[(_ito)_F(^ima.ten)_F]_{PW}[(_iso.Be)_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$	*!		*	
c. [[('ma.ten) _F] _{PW} [(_i so.ße) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}		*! to		
d. [('ma.ten) _F] _{PW}		*!** to, so, ße		

A few instances from Sandra's database support the analysis:

(97) Stage 4, target-like realizations of compounds containing unfooted syllables in Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Luft-ballon	'balloon'	/ˈlʊftbaˌlɔŋ/	[ˈlufkaˌtən]	1;09.16
			[bɪŋəˌlɔŋ]	1;10.0
Reiß-verschluss	ʻzip'	/ ˈkaɪ͡sfəɐˌʃlus /	[ˈkaɪzəˈchaz], [ˌkaɪsəcˈchaz]	1;11.0

To summarize, the prediction for all children is that they truncate compounds containing unfooted syllables to a single foot at Stage 1. Unfortunately, there are no empirical data supporting Stage 1. At Stage 2, one foot from each constituent is realized. Unfooted syllables undergo truncation. Nele then enters into Stage 3" by outranking TROCHEE. At this stage, prosodic words are bisyllabic, forming either trochees or iambs. In Nele's database, there is evidence that compound constituents are in fact realized as iambs. At the following Stage 3, the children demote ALIGNLEFT. The new ranking, however, has no effect on the output because

additional structural constraints such as NoCLASH and PARSE- σ militate against preservation of the initial weak syllable. A target-like form is realized at Stage 4 after the demotion of PARSE- σ .

Table 7-14 summarizes the prosodic development of compounds in German. Bold letters indicate the Stage at which the children acquired the target-like shape. Note that, due to the variation in the target prosodic shape of compounds, the shapes in the table provide the maximal size of the output.

Table 7-14. The prosodic development of compounds

	SW-s	S-sW	SW-sW	Bipedal	Unfooted
				constituents	syllables
Stage 1	SW	SW	SW	SW	SW
Stage 2	SW-s	S-sW	SW-sW	SW-sW	SW-SW
Stage 3": Nele	SW-s	S-sW	SW-sW	SW-sW	WS-WS
Stage 3:	SW-s	S-sW	SW-sW	sWSW-sWSW	SW-SW
Stage 4	SW-s	S-sW	SW-sW	sWSW-sWSW	wsw-wsw

7.5 Pseudo-compounds

This subsection analyzes the predictions for pseudo-compounds. There are only few different word types, which comprise different prosodic shapes.

Analyzing pseudo-compounds is an intricate issue because the literature provides no clear position with respect to the structure of the input. Féry (2001:134) argues that words containing existing stems or bound stems such as *'Elfen,bein'* ivory' and *'Tele,fon'* telephone' should be analyzed as morphologically complex words. In contrast, words without embedded stems such as *'Peli,kan'* pelican' and *'Pingu,in'* penguin' are monomorphemic.

In the analysis, we thus have to consider two types of underlying forms. The first class of pseudo-compounds contains words that are parsed like real compounds, i.e. with recursive prosodic structure. Examples are *Ameise* 'ant', *Eidechse* 'lizzard', *Heuschrecke* 'grasshopper', *Mikrofon* 'microphone', *Nackedei* 'naked child', *Telefon* 'telephone'. I will refer to these pseudocompounds as Class I. The second type consists of monomorphemic words, referred to as

Class II. Examples in the database are *Benjamin* and *Jonathan* (proper names), *Pelikan* 'pelican' and *Pinguin* 'penguin'. In the analysis, I will consider to what extent the presumed differences in the prosodic organization predict differences in the output, and whether the predicted differences can be supported by empirical data. I start by analyzing Class I pseudocompounds below. Class II pseudo-compounds follow thereafter.

7.6 Pseudo-compounds class I

7.6.1 Stage 1

The initial ranking of structural constraints over faithfulness constraints predicts that all pseudo-compounds are truncated to a single foot. If it is assumed that pseudo-compounds Class I are parsed as recursive prosodic words, the bisyllabic pseudo-constituent should survive in the output.

In Table 7-15 below, I exemplify the evaluation by the word *Tele,fon* 'telephone'. Non-truncated candidates a. and b. are eliminated due to their violations of NonRecursivity and AlignLeft. Of the truncated candidates c. and d., candidate c. is optimal because it incurs fewer violations of Max-σ.

Table 7-15. The evaluation of pseudo-compounds Class I at Stage 1 if they form recursive prosodic words

Input: /[[('te.le) _F] _{PW} [(,fon) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	NonRec	A LIGN L EFT	Мах-о
a. [[('te.le) _F] _{PW} [(,fon) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	*!		
b. [[('te.le) _F [(_I fon) _F] _{PW}		*!*	
c. ∽ [(¹te.le) _F] _{PW}			* fon
d. [('fon) _F] _{PW}			** te, le

Empirically, the evidence for Stage 1 comes from Eleonora's realizations of *Telefon* and *Mikrofon* 'microphone'. This is shown in (98). *Ameise* 'ant', *Heuschrecke* 'grasshopper' and *Nackedei* 'naked child' are not truncated.

(98) Stage 1, realizations of pseudo-compounds Class I in Eleonora's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Telefon	'telephone'	/'te:ləˌfon	[ˈdeːja]	1;02.22
			[ˈteja]	1;04.08
			[ˈtɨja]	1;07.15
			[ˈtɨja]	1;08.26
Mikrofon	'microphone'	/ˈmɪkʁoˌfo:n/	[ˈmɪk̞ŋ]	1;10.25

By contrast, if it is assumed that pseudo-compounds Class I are analyzed as bipedal simplex words, the ranking predicts that *Telefon* is truncated to ['tefon] at Stage 1. Such a truncation pattern is attested from child Dutch (Fikkert 1994) and English (Gerken 1994), but preservation of the two head syllables as a single foot was not observed in the German data. In Table 7-16 below, the non-attested winning candidate is indicated by a bomb. Table 7-16 illustrates that the attested candidate c. cannot survive because of its violations of *SonOns.

Table 7-16. The evaluation of pseudo-compounds Class I at Stage 1 if they form bipedal prosodic words

Input: /[('te.le) _F (,fon) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	*Son-Ons	FAITHSTRESS	ΜΑΧ-σ
a. [[('te.le) _F [(,fon) _F] _{PW}	*!*	*		
b. [[('fon) _F] _{PW}			*!	
c. [('te.le) _F] _{PW}		*!		* fon
d. M [('tefon) _F] _{PW}				* le

One might wonder what the pattern of content preservation looks like if it is assumed that *Telefon* forms a recursive prosodic word (see Table 7-17). Remember from subsection 6.4 that a further constraint, I-O CONTIGUITY, ensures that adjacent syllables within a prosodic word are maintained. If I-O-CONT dominates R-ANCH, the ranking correctly predicts *Telefon* to survive with the initial two syllables (candidate b.). Candidate c. is ruled out due to its violations of I-O-

CONT and R-ANCH. R-ANCH is violated because the rightmost syllable of the minor prosodic word is not realized in the output.

Table 7-17. The content preservation pattern at Stage 1 if pseudo-compounds are parsed as recursive prosodic words

Input: /[[('te.le) _F] _{PW} [(,fon) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	NonRec	I-O-CONT	*SonOns	R-Anch	Мах-σ
a. [[('te.le) _F] _{PW} [(_I fon) _F] _{PW}] _{PW}	*!		*		
b. ∽ [('te.le) _F] _{PW}			*		* fon
c. [('tefon) _F] _{PW}		*		*!	* le

7.6.2 Stage 2

Due to the demotion of NonRecursivity at Stage 2, Class I pseudo-compounds should survive in a target-like way. The adult-like candidate a. optimally satisfies the ranking because it incurs a violation of low-ranked NonRecursivity. Bipedal candidates such as b. are eliminated because of their fatal violations of AlignLeft. Finally, truncated candidates such as c. and d. are eliminated due to their violations of Max- σ .

Table 7-18. The evaluation of pseudo-compounds Class I at Stage 2

Input: /[[('te.le) _F] _{PW} [(_I fon) _F] _{PW}] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	Мах-о	NonRec
a. $\mathcal{P}[[(\text{te.le})_F]_{PW}[(,\text{fon})_F]_{PW}]_{PW}$			*
b. [[('te.le) _F [(,fon) _F] _{PW}	*!*		
c. [('te.le) _F] _{PW}		*! fon	
d. [('fon) _F] _{PW}		*!* te, le	

The database contains a few instances supporting the analysis (99).

(99) Stage 2, realizations of pseudo-compounds Class I at Stage 2 in Wiglaf's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Telefon	'telephone'	/ 'te:ləˌfon /	['the:lə,fo:n]	1;11.03
Mikrofon	'microphone'	, mikro to:u \	[ˈmikəˌfoːn]	1;11.13
			[ˈmɪkoˌfon]	1;11.19
Ameise	'ant'	/ ˈʔaˌːma͡ɪzə /	['ʔaˌmasə], ['ʔaˌbaɪsə]	1;08.06
			['ʔaɪˌmaɪsɛ:]	1;10.13

Bipedal realizations of pseudo-compounds Class I are found in the databases of Eleonora, Sandra and Nele, too (100):

(100) Stage 2, realization of pseudo-compounds Class I in Eleonora's, Nele's, Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Name, age
Ameise	'ant'	/ 'ʔaˌ:maīzə /	['ʔaˌmenan], ['ʔaˌmena]	Eleonora, 1;06.29
Telefon	'telephone'	/ 'te:ləˌfon /	['tʰeːmaˌdɯ]	Sandra, 1;09.06
Nackedei	'naked child'	/ 'nakəˌdaɪ /	[ˈnakiˌna͡in]	Sandra, 1;09.26
Heuschrecke	'grasshopper'	\ polengary lega \	[ˈhɔrçˌlɛkə]	Sandra, 1;10.0
Eidechse	ʻlizzard'	/ ˈʔaɪˌdɛksə /	['ʔaɪˌditi], ['ʔaɪˌditi]	Nele, 1;10.14

As it was already the case with SW-s and S-sW compounds, the re-rankings at Stages 3 to 4 do not change the production pattern. Therefore, I will not go into detail with respect to these stages.

In sum, if it is assumed that pseudo-compounds Class I are organized into recursive prosodic words, the ranking predicts that they are mastered at Stage 2. The empirical data contain few truncated instances of these pseudo-compounds, which is in line with the prediction.

7.7 Pseudo-compounds class II

The database contains four different types of pseudo-compounds that are categorized as bipedal but are morphologically simplex words. These are 'Jona,than, 'Benja,min (proper names), 'Pingu,in 'penguin', and 'Peli,kan 'pelican'. This subsection examines the output pattern predicted by the re-rankings at the four Stages and provides empirical support for the analysis.

7.7.1 Stage 1

The following Table 7-19 illustrates that members of the second class of pseudo-compounds are truncated to a bisyllabic output, too. The bipedal candidate a. incurs fatal violations of ALIGNLEFT and is ruled out. The winning candidate b. comprises a single foot and shows a single violation of MAX- σ . Candidate c. truncates two syllables and, is eliminated due to its violations of MAX- σ .

Table 7-19. The evaluation of pseudo-compounds Class II at Stage 1

Input: /[('pin.gu) _F (,in) _F] _{PW} /	ALIGNLEFT	Мах-о
a. [('pin.gu) _F (,in) _F] _{PW}	*!*	
b. \bigcirc [('pin.gu) _F] _{PW}		* in
c. [('pin) _F] _{PW}		**! gu, in

The examples from Sandra's database given in (101) provide evidence that pseudo-compounds Class II are truncated to bisyllabic trochees.

(101) Stage 1, truncation of pseudo-compounds Class II in Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Benjamin	proper name	/'benja _ı min /	[ˈmɛna], [ˈbɛna]	1;08.05
			[ˈmɛna]	1;08.14

7.7.2 Stage 2

The demotion of NonRecursivity does not affect pseudo-compounds Class II because I do not presume recursive structure. Hence, the output remains identical to that of Stage 1. Due to the scarcity of data in the database, I do not go into detail here.

7.7.3 Stage 3

At Stage 3, the children demote ALIGNLEFT. As illustrated by candidate a. in Table 7-20, pseudo-compounds Class II now appear with their target-like number of syllables and stress patterns. The truncated candidates b. and c. are ruled out due to their violations of Max-σ.

Table 7-20. The evaluation of pseudo-compounds Class II at Stage 3

Input: /[('pin.gu) _F (,in) _F] _{PW} /	ΜΑΧ-σ	ALIGNLEFT
a. ∽ [('pin.gu) _F (ˌin) _F] _{PW}		**
b. [('pin.gu) _F] _{PW}	*! In	
c. [('pin) _F] _{PW}	*!* gu, in	

Only Sandra's database contains instances of pseudo-compounds Class II. They are presented in (102).

(102) Stage 3, realization of pseudo-compounds Class II with two feet in Sandra's data

Target word	Gloss	Phonetic form	Child form	Age
Jonathan	Proper name	/ 'jonata:n /	[ˈnonaˌtʰan]	1;09.06
Pinguin	'penguin'	/ 'pɪŋguˌin /	[ˈpʊŋiˌʔiːn], [ˈpɨŋɯˌʔiːn],	1;09.26
			['pɪŋgɯˌʔi], ['pɪŋgɯˌʔɯ͡m]	
			['pɪŋɔˌʔttlm]	1;10.0
			[ˈpɪŋʊ _ɪ ʔ͡ʊɪn]	1;10.19
Pelikan	'pelican'	/ 'pe:li _. kan /	[ˈpeːjlˌjkan]	1;08.31

7.7.4 Stage 4

At Stage 4, the children demote PARSE-σ. Pseudo-compounds Class II do not contain unfooted syllables, so that the re-ranking does not affect the output.

In sum, the analysis predicts that the two classes of pseudo-compounds are acquired in different ways. If it is assumed that pseudo-compounds Class I form recursive prosodic words, they should already be produced in a target-like way at Stage 2. In contrast, if it is assumed that pseudo-compounds Class II correspond to bipedal simplex words, they should emerge in a target-like way later on, namely at Stage 3. Hence, the prediction is that pseudo-compounds such as *Ameise* 'ant' and *Telefon* 'telephone' are mastered before pseudo-compounds such as *Pinguin* 'penguin' and *Pelikan* 'pelican'.

The empirical data do not clearly support a distinction between the two classes of pseudo-compounds. If it is assumed that pseudo-compounds Class I (such as *Ameise* 'ant' and *Eidechse* 'lizzard') form recursive prosodic words, and pseudo-compounds Class II (such as *Pinguin* 'penguin' and *Pelikan* 'pelican') do not, the ranking predicts the latter ones to appear with two feet at a later age than pseudo-compounds Class I. Sandra produced most of the pseudo-compounds. In her data, both types appear with two feet at almost the same time, precisely at age 1;09. At least for her grammar, a different prosodic organization of pseudo-compounds can hardly be motivated from an empirical perspective. Due to the lack of bipedal pseudo-compounds Class II, no conclusion can be drawn for the other three children.

The following overview summarizes the ages at which the children produce bipedal compounds and pseudo-compounds.³⁹ In Eleonora's and Wiglaf's speech, bipedal compounds and pseudocompounds emerge at almost the same age. Nele and Sandra produce bipedal compounds earlier than bipedal pseudo-compounds. One could tentatively infer that children differ with respect to whether they treat pseudo-compounds like real compounds or as a different morphoprosodic category.

Table 7-21. Emergence of bipedal compounds and pseudo-compounds

Child	Compounds	Pseudo-compounds Class I	Pseudo-compounds Class II
Eleonora	1;07.08	1;06.29	No data
Nele	1;09.24	1;10.14	No data
Sandra	1;07.15	1;09.06	1;08.31
Wiglaf	1;09.26	1;08.06	No data

Table 7-22 summarizes the prosodic development of pseudo-compounds in German. Bold letters indicate the Stage at which the children acquired the target-like shape.

Table 7-22. The prosodic development of pseudo-compounds

	Class I	Class II
Stage 1	SW	SW
Stage 2	SWs, SsW	SW
Stage 3": Nele	SWs, SsW	SW
Stage 3:	SWs, SsW	SWs
Stage 4	SWs, SsW	SWW

39 Due to the scarcity of pseudo-compounds, the ages indicate the first emergence of bipedal pseudo-

compounds and compounds.

7.8 Summary and Discussion

This section analyzed the word-prosodic development of German compounds and pseudo-compounds. In accordance with the *constraint demotion algorithm*, development is understood as a process that successively demotes structural constraints. Consequently, the influence of faithfulness constraints increases over time. The analysis started with the assumption that German children parse compounds as recursive prosodic words. Pseudo-compounds are divided into two classes: Class I, which I assume to form recursive prosodic words, and Class II, which form single prosodic words.

7.8.1 Stage 1

NonRecursivity, LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Trochee, Parse, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ

In the analysis, I showed that the initial ranking of structural over faithfulness constraints predicts the reduction to a single foot at Stage 1 independently of the prosodic organization of the input. In SW-s and S-sW compounds, the children maintain the bisyllabic constituent. In doing so, the children satisfy the low-ranked constraint Max-σ. Thus, the variation in the preservation pattern of compounds at Stage 1 is predicted by Max-σ.

In the database, a few pseudo-compounds Class I also undergo truncation. The children maintain the first two syllables from pseudo-compounds such as 'Tele,fon 'telephone' and 'Mikro,fon 'microphone', which is in line with the predictions of the OT analysis. Pseudo-compounds Class II, which are assumed to form single prosodic words, undergo truncation to the main-stressed and a weak syllable to the right. In that respect, these pseudo-compounds behave like simplex words.

7.8.2 Stage 2

LxWd \approx PrWd, AlignLeft, Trochee, Parse, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity

At Stage 2, NonRecursivity is demoted. Compounds and pseudo-compounds Class I now emerge with two monopedal prosodic words. In consequence, SW-s, S-sW and SW-sW compounds and the pseudo-compounds in the database are realized in a target-like way. Regarding compounds, truncation to a single foot affects bipedal constituents and constituents containing an unfooted syllable. Pseudo-compounds Class II are limited to a single foot, too.

7.8.3 Stage 3

LxWd \approx PrWd, Trochee, Parse- σ , NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NoNRecursivity >> AlignLeft

At Stage 3, the children outrank ALIGNLEFT. Prosodic words now comprise up to two feet. This implies that sWSW-s, SWsW-sW and SWs-sW compounds and pseudo-compounds Class II are realized in a target-like way. Unfooted syllables remain omitted until Stage 4.

7.8.4 Stage 4

LxWd \approx PrWd, Trochee, NoClash >> FaithStress >> Max- σ >> NonRecursivity>> AlignLeft >> Parse- σ

Stage 4 is characterized by the demotion of Parse- σ . The constraint does not affect pseudo-compounds as there is no unfooted material. Changes are predicted for compounds containing unfooted syllables. These compounds are produced in a target-like way.

Contrary to simplex words, only few studies have investigated the prosodic development of compounds so far. The results of the present study largely confirm Fikkert's (2001) finding that compounds are mastered earlier than simplex words.

In this thesis, I argue that children distinguish between simplex words and compounds on the basis of their morphological and prosodic structure. The analysis, however, leaves open a number of issues which require further consideration. In the remaining part of this section, I first discuss the role of the superordinate constituent in compounds (7.8.5) and then briefly review alternative explanations (7.8.6).

7.8.5 The role of the superordinate constituent in compounds

In this thesis, I assume that compounds form recursive prosodic words in children's phonological representations. It is a matter of debate whether recursivity is an inherent property of phonology. For example, Kabak & Revithiadou (2009) argue that recursivity results from the interaction between morphosyntax and phonology and suggest replacing the constraint NonRecursivity by independently motivated Alignment and Wrap constraints. The constraint NonRecursivity would then target morphosyntactic, not phonological domains. Note that the output is a recursive prosodic word, though.

With respect to the present data, this position could be followed. This implies that the truncation of compounds to a single constituent at Stage 1 is triggered by constraints against their morphological complexity. As far as I can see, Kabak & Revithiadou's (2009) proposal would not cause major difficulties for the present data. For child language, I had to assume that truncation may be due to prosodic (e.g., in the case of simplex words) or morphological restrictions in the shape of the output, as it is in adult language, too.

The analysis put forward in this thesis adopts the position that compounds form recursive prosodic words, and that truncation at Stage 1 is caused by high-ranked NonRecursivity banning recursive prosodic structure. One might wonder why size restrictions do not affect the superordinate prosodic word. In the analysis, the children cannot satisfy the markedness constraint NonRecursivity by parsing compounds into phonological phrases at Stage 1. This violates another high-ranked constraint, LxWD \approx PRWD, which requires the parsing of lexical words into prosodic words. It is the interaction between these two markedness constraints that basically leads to the selection of a truncated candidate at Stage 1. Truncation causes violations of the low-ranked faithfulness constraint Max- σ . The preservation of a bisyllabic truncated candidate over a monosyllabic one results from its lower number of violations of Max- σ .

Surprisingly, the superordinate prosodic word also plays a marginal role in stress preservation. In truncated compounds, the children preserve either the constituent containing the main-stressed syllable (such as 'Riesen-,rad 'giant wheel' > ['riesen], Wiglaf, 1;09.09, output given in orthographic form) or the constituent containing the secondary-stressed syllable (such as 'Müll-,tonne 'refuse bin' > ['tonne], Wiglaf, 1;08.06). The main criterion for a particular constituent to be selected is its syllable number, not the presence of compound stress. Only if both constituents form bisyllabic trochees, does one child (Sandra) prefer the initial constituent that bears compound stress. These observations indicate that maintaining the syllable bearing

compound stress is inferior to the satisfaction of Max-σ, a general constraint requiring faithfulness to input syllables. Only if either constituent satisfies Max-σ, can children also regard prosodic prominence at the compound level (Sandra).

The effect of FAITHSTRESS is clearly limited to the word-internal prosodic word. It requires faithfulness to the head syllable of the main-stressed foot of a prosodic word. Violation occurs if children truncate either constituent because then, the stressed syllable (i.e., the head syllable of the main-stressed foot) of the second word-internal prosodic word is not realized in the output. Following this definition, FAITHSTRESS does not refer to the main-stressed syllable of the whole compound because the superordinate prosodic word directly dominates a (subordinate) prosodic word, not a foot.

It remains an open question why the German children ignore compound stress at Stage 1. If children mainly concentrate on prosodically prominent material, the syllable bearing compound stress should be realized in the output due to its saliency. It is known that stress and location at word edges increase perceptual prominence (cf., Beckman 1999, see Pater and Paradis 1996, Pater 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000 for child speech). The German data clearly show that the highest perceptual prominence does not provide the most relevant factor for preserving syllables in the output. As compound stress consistently falls on the initial constituent in the compounds analyzed, children should consistently preserve the initial constituent (or at least the stressed syllable of the initial constituent). The absence of such a consistent preservation pattern in compounds shows that perceptual prominence interacts with the morphological and prosodic complexity of the input.

7.8.6 Alternative explanations

In this section, I briefly explain why lexical or semantic explanations fail to account for the German compound data. I concentrate on three common factors: Lexical frequencies, taxonomic constraints, and semantic concreteness.

7.8.6.1 Lexical frequencies

It has been argued that input frequency strongly influences the acquisition of multisyllabic words (Ota 2006). A detailed analysis as provided in Ota (2006) goes beyond the scope of this study. However, a simple comparison of the type frequencies of simplex words and compounds in the maternal input shows that pure lexical frequencies cannot explain the advantage of compounds.

For example, *Giraffe* 'giraffe' and *Kamel* 'camel' (117 and 105 tokens, respectively) occurred more frequently in parental speech than *Krokodil* 'crocodile' or *Marmelade* 'jam' (96 and 15 tokens, respectively). Nevertheless, *Giraffe* 'giraffe' and *Kamel* 'camel' are produced with a target-like prosodic pattern later than *Krokodil* 'crocodile' and *Marmelade* 'jam'. The differences are even more striking if we consider compounds: The most frequent compound, *Mieze-katze* 'pussy cat' has 20 instances in the input, and a large proportion of the compounds are hapaxes (74/146 types; 50.7%). Despite the rare lexical frequencies, the children acquired compounds at an early stage and realized them with two feet before they realized simplex words. This shows that the relation between lexical frequencies and the speed of acquisition is intricate, and that children compute the frequency of certain prosodic structures (Demuth 2006, and papers therein). Importantly, these observations suggest that morphological complexity should always be regarded when analyzing frequency effects in early child speech.

7.8.6.2 Lexical familiarity/semantic taxonomies

One might argue that children select the constituent they are more familiar with (e.g., Fikkert 2001 for the child Tirza), or the constituent denoting a basic-level object (Markman 1990). However, there is no reason to assume that the children in this study are more familiar with the first constituents of *Nagel-schere* 'nail scissors', *Oster-ei* 'Easter egg' and *Riesen-rad* 'giant wheel', nor do the first constituents form better *basic-level objects* than the second constituents.

7.8.6.3 Semantic concreteness

Following the literature, children's early words are concrete nouns (Gentner 1982). This also holds for early compounds (Dressler et al. 2003). Nevertheless, the children selected the more abstract constituent when truncating *Riesen-rad* 'giant wheel' to *riesen* 'giant' and *Oster-ei* 'easter egg' to *oster* 'easter', so that accounts regarding semantic properties fail to explain the truncation pattern.

In sum, the brief discussion of these alternatives demonstrates that a phonological account best captures the truncation pattern of compounds. From a lexical or semantic perspective, there is no reason to prefer the bisyllabic constituent over the monosyllabic ones. The phonological approach presented in the paper easily accounts for the regularities of simplex words and compounds without requiring additional assumptions.

The claim that children know about the morphological and prosodic complexity of compounds from early on certainly requires further empirical support. As the present study regards production data, we cannot be sure about the precise nature of children's representations. Taking into account the variety of cues indicating word-internal morphological and prosodic boundaries, I consider it very likely that compounds are stored with their target-like structure. More research is needed to shed light on the structure of the lexical representation in young infants, and to obtain a better picture of how the input is linked to the output form.

8 Conclusion and directions for further research

8.1 Conclusions

The goal of this thesis is to investigate the prosodic development of simplex words and compounds in child German. The thesis examines the development of the two word classes from an empirical and from a theoretical perspective. The empirical aim is to describe the development of prosodic words in German and to discuss the results in the context of earlier findings. The results are analyzed within Optimality Theory, which has been successfully used to explain phonological development (cf., Gnanadesikan 1995, Demuth 1995, 1996a, Pater 1997, Levelt 1995, 1996, Ota 2003, see Dinnsen 2001). The following sections summarize the main findings and arguments.

8.1.1 Empirical analysis

The empirical analysis focuses on word size restrictions and stress pattern of the output. The German data are consistent with findings from previous studies on prosodic development in several respects.

First of all, similar to children from other Germanic backgrounds, the German children pass through initial stages where prosodic words are limited to a single foot (Stages 1 and 2). Then, three of the four children produce prosodic words with two feet (Stage 3). Finally, unfooted syllables emerge at Stage 4. The analysis also supports Fikkert's (2001) observation that compounds are produced with two feet at a time when simplex words still undergo truncation to a single foot. This leads to a production asymmetry indicative of Stage 2.

A striking observation is that the fourth child, Nele, shows evidence for an additional Stage 3" following Stage 2. At Stage 3", she permits bisyllabic words with trochaic and iambic stress. Nele's production pattern corresponds to findings from child Hebrew (Adam 2002) and child Catalan (Prieto 2006). After Stage 3", Nele enters into Stage 3 (permitting bipedal words with final stress) and Stage 4 (permitting unfooted syllables).

A closer examination of the truncation and preservation pattern of simplex words and compounds provides evidence that the German children distinguish between simplex words and compounds. This implies that the children are aware of the morpho-prosodic complexity of the perceived input. The evidence is based on two observations. First, children consistently

preserved the main-stressed syllable of simplex words but varied with respect to whether they realized the main-stressed or secondary-stressed syllable of compounds (see also Fikkert 2001 for child Dutch). The variation can be explained by their preference to preserve the bisyllabic constituent of the compounds. Second, longer compound constituents underwent truncation the same way as longer simplex words. In other words, the restriction to a single foot affects the individual constituents, not the compound as a whole.

From an empirical perspective, the present thesis presents a number of findings that support earlier findings and extend the current knowledge base. New insights and research questions can be derived from the production pattern of compounds, but also from the finding that German children do not exclusively rely on trochaic feet in their early word productions, as indicated by Nele's Stage 3".

8.1.2 Theoretical analysis

The theoretical analysis starts with the assumption that adult and child language share the same set of constraints but differ in their rankings. The analysis includes independently motivated constraints such as the markedness constraints NonRecursivity, LxWD \approx Prwd, and the alignment constraints Trochee and AlignLeft. The faithfulness constraints FaithStress, and Max- σ are output-output constraints: These constraints directly relate the adult surface form and the child output. Hence, the two faithfulness constraints do not violate basic principles of OT such as *richness of the base*, stating that no constraint holds at the input level. In adopting universally motivated constraints, the present analysis presupposes continuity between adult and child language. According to the continuity hypothesis, differences in child and adult outputs arise from the ranking of constraints in the actual grammar, not from the constraint inventory or limited access to prosodic principles.

The analysis employs a number of constraints from a larger set of universal constraints. If they can be ranked freely, one could expect a huge number of different rankings of these constraints. In consequence, the children could pass through an indefinite number of intermediate stages. Therefore, I adopted the *constraint demotion algorithm* (Tesar and Smolensky 1996, 1998). This algorithm proposes that re-ranking involves constraint demotion, but excludes constraint promotion. In combination with the assumption that markedness constraints initially dominate faithfulness constraints (cf. Gnanadesikan 1995), it restricts the number of intermediate grammars but still allows some individual variation in the order of reranking. The slightly different production pattern at Stage 3" can be elegantly captured by OT-

approaches assuming that Nele, but not the other three children, demoted TROCHEE after Stage 2. Eleonora, Sandra and Wiglaf outranked ALIGNLEFT, hence immediately entering from Stage 2 into Stage 3.

Altogether, the present analysis supports earlier accounts analyzing prosodic development of underived lexical words in terms of successive re-ranking of universal constraints (cf. Demuth 1995, 1996a, Pater 1997, Kehoe 1999/2000, Lleó 2001, Ota 2003). The analysis goes beyond these approaches in showing that, at a given stage, the same grammar does not only account for simplex words, but also predicts the attested production pattern of early compounds. The analysis also accounts for the asymmetric truncation pattern at Stage 3, where some simplex words undergo truncation to a single foot, whereas others appear with two feet. Hence, the thesis shows that constraint-based accounts to child language capture both the non-uniformity of prosodic shapes and the individual variation between children.

8.2 Directions for further research

The results of the present study touched upon topics that deserve more attention. First, more research is necessary with respect to the morphology-prosody interface in early child language. As shown in the thesis, compounding provides a particularly insightful type of word formation to explore the role of the prosodic word domain in child language. I have dealt here with just one sub-type of compounding, namely compounds forming a recursive prosodic word (word-compounds in Peperkamp 1997, Nespor 1999). However, German compounds do not always form recursive prosodic words. Like in other languages, compounds vary as to whether they are composed from bare roots, existing words, or a combination of the two types (cf. Selkirk 1982, Peperkamp 1997, Nespor 1999). The respective morphological structure is reflected in the prosodic parsing: Whereas root compounds form a single prosodic word, word compounds constitute recursive prosodic words. The prosodic organization of pseudo-compounds is not clear. I have suggested that there are two classes. Pseudo-compounds Class I contain lexical words and thus form recursive prosodic words. Like root compounds, pseudo-compounds Class II form single prosodic words but show a different stress pattern.

⁴⁰ Here, I adopt Wiese's (1996) terminology. Root compounds in Wiese (1996) are identical to stem+stem compounds, and stem compounds in Wiese (1996) correspond to word+word compounds in Selkirk (1982), Peperkamp (1997), Nespor (1999).

Unfortunately, the database contains just one root compound, *thermo'meter*, produced by Sandra as a constituent of the compound *Fieber-thermometer* 'clinical thermometer'. Main stress is assigned to the rightmost foot in root compounds and simplex words. Hence, the preservation of the final main-stressed stem in the root compound *thermo'meter* > ['meter], is consistent with the prediction that children treat root compounds and simplex words alike.

A further issue that has not received attention in this study is the influence of additional factors on the production of compounds. The content preservation pattern in quadrisyllabic SW-sW compounds already indicates effects of phonological and non-phonological factors on the early truncation pattern. In quadrisyllabic compounds, Sandra preserved the initial constituent but Eleonora preserved the second one. Fikkert (2001) suggests that boundary phonotactics, semantic transparency of the compound and lexical familiarity of individual constituents play a role in the production pattern. Future investigation into the acquisition of compounds should not only regard semantic transparency and boundary phonotactics, but should also examine lexical properties of the constituents.

A third issue not addressed in this thesis is whether there are restrictions to the maximal number of constituents and/or the stress placement in the production of compounds. The present thesis analyzed the canonical compounds of German, i.e., compounds bearing compound stress on the initial constituent. German permits compounds to contain three, four, and more constituents. The analysis provided in this thesis in principle admits compounds of an indefinite length – as long as they form recursive prosodic words. However, it is very likely that there is an upper limit to the maximal size of compounds in early child speech. It is probable that there are restrictions parallel to the two-word-stage in early syntactic development.

Finally, the present thesis has not considered the question how exactly children learn about the morphological complexity of compounds. The production pattern suggests that the German children do not treat simplex words and compounds alike. In line with Fikkert (2001), I have argued that phonotactics plays a role in determining the morphological complexity of the input, as it does in the data of children acquiring Dutch and - tentatively - also in child English. This thesis cannot answer the question which properties lead the German children to recognize morphological complexity in their intake. To do so, further experimental research is needed to show how children perceive and process compounds and how the perception is related to production.

To conclude, the present thesis provides evidence that children distinguish between simplex words and compounds. The pattern of both simplex words and compounds has been

captured within a single optimality-theoretic approach explaining the developmental stages by re-ranking universal constraints. Some findings of this thesis require closer examination in future research. This holds in particular for compounds which have hardly ever been explicitly investigated in the literature. Future research on the development of compounds should consider a greater variety of languages and target prosodic shapes. In that respect, the present study has opened a window to examine factors that influence the acquisition of morphoprosodic regularities at the word level.

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A. List of Types

Simplex words

Bisyllabic words with ultimate main stress (total: 348/1206)

light penultimate syllable

Target word	Gloss	Token
Ka'mel	'camel'	105
ka'putt	'defective'	73
Ka'kao	'cocoa'	35
Pa'pier	'paper'	20
Sa'lat	'salad'	17
Re'nee	proper name	7
Hu'sar	'hussar'	4
Spi'nat	'spinach'	4
Ro'sin(en) (plural)	'raisin'	3
Fa'san	'pheasant'	2
Fa'gott	'bassoon'	1
Pi'lot	ʻpilot'	1
Pro'zent	'per cent'	1
Ba'nan(en) (plural)	'banana'	1
Wa'ggon	'carriage'	1
Zi'tron(en) (plural)	'lemon'	1

with a heavy penultimate syllable

Target word	Gloss	Token
Del'fin	'dolphin'	19
San'dal(e)n (plural)	'sandal'	4
Jas ¹ min	proper name	1

Trisyllabic words with antepenultimate main stress (total 187/1206)

Target word	Gloss	Token
'Radio	'radio'	37
'Paprika	'pepper'	15
'Brokkoli	'broccoli'	12
'Känguruh	'kangaroo'	5
'Gisela	proper name	4
'Kasperle	'puch' (diminuitive)	2

Trisyllabic words with ultimate main stress (total: 391/1206)

Target word	Gloss	Token
,Ele'fant	'elephant'	152
_' Papa'gei	'parrot'	117
,Kroko'dil	'crocodile'	96
,Mikro¹fon	'microphone'	7
,Poli'zist	'police man'	7
_, Karu'ssell	'marry-go-round'	6
,Appe'tit	'appetite'	3
_, Batte ['] rie	'battery'	1
_, Mama ['] gei	creation from 'parrot'	1
_, Peli ['] kan	'pelican'	1

Trisyllabic words with penultimate main stress (total 313/1206)

light antepenultimate

Target word	Gloss	Token
Gi ['] raffe	'giraffe'	117
Ba'nane, Ba'nanen (plural)	'banana'	57
To'mate, To'maten (plural)	'tomato'	40

Ga'rage	'garage'	16
Go'rilla	'gorilla'	10
Zi ^l trone	'lemon'	9
Gi'tarre	'guitar'	8
Ka'ssette	'cassette'	6
Se'lina	proper name	4
Me'lissa	proper name	3
Hy'dranten (Plural)	'hydrant'	2
Jo'hanna	proper name	2
Ro'sine, Ro'sinen (plural)	'raisin'	2
La'terne	'lantern'	1
Pu'llover	'pullover'	1
Sa'bine	proper name	1
Toi ^l lette	'bathroom'	1
Va'nille	'vanilla'	1

heavy antepenultimate syllable

Target word	Gloss	Token
Kar'toffel, Kar'toffeln (Plural)	'potato'	13
An'tenne	'aerial'	7
Del'fine (plural)	'dolphin'	4
Kohl ^l rabi	'kohlrabi'	2
Trom'pete	'trumpet'	2
Ros'witha	proper name	2
Gir'lande	'garland'	1

Quadrisyllabic words with penultimate main stress (total 64/1206)

Target word	Gloss	Token
,Schoko'lade	'chocolate'	17

_' Manda'rine	'tangerine'	10
_, Marme'lade	'marmalade'	10
_, Marga'rine	'margarine'	7
Ele'fanten (plural)	'elephant'	4
_ı Indi'aner	'native American'	4
_ı Micha ^ı ela	proper name	4
,Apfel'sine	'orange'	3
_, Limo'nade	'lemonade'	3
_, Sala'mander	'salamander'	1
__ Venti ['] lator	'ventilator'	1

Words with five syllables and penultimate main stress (total 19/1206)

Target word	Gloss	Token
Lokomo'tive	'locomotive'	19

Compounds

Trisyllabic compounds with a monosyllabic initial constituent (total 110/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
'Eich-,hörnchen	'squirrel'	14
'Staub- _i sauger	'vacuum cleaner'	10
'Wind- _ı mühle	'windmill'	10
'Gieß-,kanne	'watering can'	7
'Hub- _ı schrauber	'helicopter'	7
'Bauch-,nabel	'bellybutton'	4
'Erd-,beere, 'Erd-,beeren	'strawberry'	4
(plural)		
'Sand-,kasten	'sand box'	4

'Buch-,stabe, 'Buch-,staben	'letter'	2
(plural)		
'Haar-,shampoo	'hair + shampoo'	2
'Heu- _, schrecke	'grasshopper'	2
'Mäh-,drescher	'combine harvester'	2
'Pfann-,kuchen	'pancake'	2
'Schei(ben)-,wischer	'windscreen wiper'	2
[ˈʃaɪmˌvɪʃɐ]		
'Schein-,werfer	'spotlight'	2
'Sonn(en)-,brille	'sunglasses'	2
'Sonn(en)-,käfer	'sun + beetle'	2
'Spinn-,weben	'cobweb'	2
'Wasch-,straße	'car wash'	2
'Wein-,trauben	'grapes'	2
'Zahn-,pasta	'toothpaste'	2
'Arzt-,koffer	'medical bag'	1
'Blum(en)- ¡gießer	'flower + watering'	1
'Bus-,fahrer	'bus driver'	1
'Eis-,café	'ice + café'	1
'Farb-,kasten	'box of paints'	1
'Fern-,seher	'TV'	1
'Fuß-,boden	'floor'	1
'Hand-,feger	'hand brush'	1
'Lok-,führer	'locomotive driver'	1
'Mais-,kolben	'corn cob'	1
'Mal-,stifte (plural)	'crayon'	1
'Milch-,flasche	'milk bottle'	1
'Müll-,auto	'refuse lorry'	1
'Müll-,tonne	'refuse bin'	1
'Rot-,käppchen	'Little Red Hiding	1
		1

	Hood'	
'Salz- _ı stange	'pretzel stick'	1
'Sand- _i kiste	'sand box'	1
'Sand- _ı kuchen	'sand cake'	1
'Schnee- _, besen	'eggbeater'	1
'Schrau(ben)-,zieher	'screwdriver'	1
[,\Ranw'tzils]		
'Steck-,dose	'power socket'	1
'Ur- _ı oma	'great grandmother'	1
'Wohn-,wagen	'caravan'	1
'Zahn- _ı bürste	'toothbrush'	1

Trisyllabic compounds with an unfooted syllable (total 17/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
'Luft-ba _ı llon	'balloon'	15
'Reiß-ver,schluß	ʻzip'	2

Trisyllabic compounds with a final monosyllabic constituent (total: 101/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
'Bauern-,hof	'farm'	15
'Riesen- _r rad	'giant wheel'	10
'Apfel- _i saft	'apple juice'	6
'Heiken- _i dorf	name of a city	5
'Murmel-,bahn	'marble run'	5
'Oster-,ei	'easter egg'	5
'Auto-,bahn	'motorway'	3
'Eisen- _ı bahn	ʻrailway'	3
'Hampel- _ı mann	'jumping jack'	3

	'afternoon nap'	3
Muttor mal	(la jutla va a ul c)	
IVIULIEI-,IIIAI	Dirthmark	3
'Wasser-,hahn	'water-tap'	3
'Brio- _ı bahn '	'brio + railway'	2
'Fleder- _ı maus '	'bat'	2
'Hammer-,bank '	'hammer bank'	2
'Kinder- _ı sitz	'child's safety seat'	2
'Nacke-,dei	'naked child'	2
'Schoko-,eis '	'chocolate ice cream'	2
'Abend-,brot	'supper'	1
'Apfel- _ı mus '	'apple sauce'	1
'Baby-,buch	'baby book'	1
'Baby-,tee '	'baby tea'	1
'Blumen-,kohl '	'cauliflower'	1
'Feier-,tag '	'official holiday'	1
'Kinder- _' arzt '	'pediatrician'	1
'Klapper-,storch	'stork'	1
'Klebe-,band	'adhesive tape'	1
'Koffer- _r raum	'luggage space'	1
'Leber-,fleck	'mole'	1
'Neben- _ı mann	'neighbor'	1
'Nudel-,holz	'rolling pin'	1
'Oster-,nest	'easter + nest'	1
'Pausen-,clown	'pause + clown'	1
'Purzel-,baum	'tumble'	1
'Puste-,blume	'blow ball'	1
'Schlüssel-,loch	'keyhole'	1
'Tinten-,fisch	'octopus'	1
'Unter-,hemd	'undershirt'	1

'Wasser-,schlauch	'garden hose'	1
'Zipfel- _ı mann	'point + man'	1

Quadrisyllabic compounds with bisyllabic constituents (total 110/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
'Mieze-,katze, 'Mieze-,katzen	'pussy cat'	28
(plural)		
'Oster-,eier (plural)	'easter egg'	9
'Gummi-,bärchen	'jelly bear'	8
'Auto-,pizza	'car + pizza'	4
'Kuschel-,hase	'cruddly + bunny'	4
'Auto-,schlüssel	'car key'	3
'Eier-,becher	'egg cup'	3
'Puppen-,wagen	'doll's pram'	3
'Apfel- _ı kuchen	'apple pie'	2
'Auto-,fahrer	'car driver'	2
'Butter-,blume	'buttercup'	2
'Ellen-,bogen	'elbow'	2
'Höhlen-,decke	'cave + ceiling'	2
'Katzen-,babies	'baby cat'	2
'Kinder- _ı garten	'kindergarten'	2
'Kirchen-,glocken (plural)	'church bells'	2
'Mittag-,essen	'lunch'	2
'Oster-,hase	'easter + bunny'	2
'Rasen- _ı mäher	'lawn-mower'	2
'Tannen-,zapfen	'fir cone'	2
'Unter- _i hose	'shorts'	2
'Wäsche- _ı klammer	'clothespin'	2
'Affen- _ı baby	'baby ape'	1

'Apfel-,schorle	'apple cider'	1
'Bade-,hose	'bathing suit'	1
'Bauch-,nabel	'bellybutton'	1
'Butter-,brot	'butter ham'	1
'Finger- _ı puppe	'finger + puppet'	1
'Häschen-,futter	'bunny + forage'	1
'Hunde- _ı hütte	'doghouse'	1
'Käse-,kuchen	'cheesecake'	1
'Keller-,treppe	'basement stairs'	1
'Kinder- _ı tasche	'child's bag'	1
'Kinder- _ı wagen	'buggy'	1
'Nagel- _i schere	'nail scissors'	1
'Nasen-,tropfen	'nose drops'	1
'Regen- _ı tonne	'rain barrel'	1
'Tausend- _ı füßler	'centipede'	1

Quadrisyllabic compounds with an initial monosyllabic constituent (total 4/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
'Kehr-ma _i schine	'road sweeper'	3
'Wasch-ma _i schine	'washing machine'	1

Quadrisyllabic compounds with a monosyllabic final constituent (total 13/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
Ko'ala- _ı bär	'koala + bear'	13

Five syllables, compound-initial unfooted syllable (total 3/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
To'maten-,soße	'tomato sauce'	2
Jo'hannis-,beeren (plural)	'red currants'	1

Five syllables, compound-internal unfooted syllable (total 1/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
'Ameisen- _ı straße	'ant-trail'	1

Five syllables, initial bipedal constituent (total 1/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
Poli'zei-,auto	'police car'	1
Schoko'laden-ieis	'chocolate ice-cream'	1

Six syllables, final bipedal constituent (total 17/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
'Fieber-,thermo,meter	'clinical thermometer'	17

Six syllables, both constituents with unfooted syllables (total 2/387)

Target word	Gloss	Token
Ka'ssetten-re,corder	'tape recorder'	2

Other compound shapes (total 15/387)

Prosodic shape	Target word	Gloss	Token
S-s-s	'Fahr- _ı rad- _ı helm	'bike helmet'	1
S-s-sW	'Fisch-,öl-,kapsel	'fish + oil + capsule'	2
S-s-Ws	'Heiß-ˌluft-baˌllon	'hot-air balloon'	3
WS-SW	Mo'tor-,roller	'scooter'	1
WSW-WS	Toi'letten-pa _ı pier	'toilet paper'	1
S-sW-sW	'Sonn(en)- ˌkäfer- ˌpapa	'sun + beetle + daddy'	1
SW-s-sW	'Feuer-,wehr-,auto	'fire engine'	5
sWSW-sW	,Mozza'rella-,käse	'mozzarella + cheese'	1

Pseudo-Compounds

Pseudo-compounds class I (86 /121)

Target word	Gloss	Token
'Tele,fon	'telephone'	26
'A _ı meise, 'A _ı meisen (plural)	'ant'	24
['] Ei,dechse	'lizard'	13
'Mikro,fon	'microphone'	12
'Nacke,dei	,naked child'	2
'Heu _i schrecke	,grasshopper'	2

Pseudo-compounds class II (35/121)

Target word	Gloss	Token
'Pingu _i in	'penguin'	25
'Benja _ı min	proper name	7
'Peli,kan	'pelican'	2
'Jona,than	proper name	1

B. Statistical comparisons

Spontaneous vs. imitated production

Table B-1. The results of the Chi-square-test (Pearson's χ^2) comparing the truncation rate (truncated, non-truncated) depending on the production mode (spontaneous, imitated).

Child	Truncation?	Spont.	Imitation	Total	Comparison
Eleonora	non-truncated	104	77	506	$\chi^2(1) = 1.29; p > .1$
	truncated	205	120		
Nele	non-truncated	143	55	441	$\chi^2(1) = 0.64$; p > .1
	truncated	167	76		
Sandra	non-truncated	111	88	338	$\chi^2(1) = 0.11; p > .5$
	truncated	80	59		
Wiglaf	non-truncated	153	75	429	$\chi^2(1) = 0.72; p > .1$
	truncated	127	74		
Total	non-truncated	511	295	1714	$\chi^2(1) = 0.02; p > .5$
	truncated	579	329		

Initial vs. non-initial position

Table B-2. The outcome of the Chi-square-test (Pearson's χ^2) comparing the truncation rate (truncated, non-truncated) depending on the position (initial, non-initial), Words produced as single word utterances (N=923) are not regarded.

Child	Truncation?	Initial	non-initial	Total	Comparison
Eleonora	non-truncated	28	56	219	$\chi^2(1) = 1.21; p > .1$
	truncated	55	80		
Nele	non-truncated	35	72	240	$\chi^2(1) = 0.04; p > .5$
	truncated	42	91		
Sandra	non-truncated	36	51	137	$\chi^2(1) = 0.56; p > .1$
	truncated	24	26		
Wiglaf	non-truncated	29	93	195	$\chi^2(1) = 0.02; p > .5$
	truncated	18	55		
total	non-truncated	128	272	791	$\chi^2(1) = 1.11; p > .1$
	truncated	139	252		

C. Overview of the individual development

The foot-based development: Summary

	Simplex words	Compounds					
Stage 1	- correspond to a single trochaic foot						
Stage 2	- correspond to a single	- comprise two feet					
	trochaic foot	- target-like stress					
Stage 3	- one or two feet	- comprise two feet					
	- target-like stress	- target-like stress					
Stage 4	target-like outputs	no data					

The following Figures C-1 to C-3 depict the duration of the developmental stages for the three children show a foot-based development. The dark grey bars indicate the duration of a stage in simplex words, the light grey bars in compounds. The final column presents the precise periods a particular stage is observed in the data of the respective child.

Wiglaf (recorded from age 1;03.21 to 2;01.21)

	1;05	1;06	1;07	1;08	1;09	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;01	Stages observed at
Stage 1:										1;05.26- 1;10.28
sim										
Stage 1:										1;08.06- 1;09.09
com										
Stage 2:										1;05.26- 1;10.28
sim										
Stage 2:										1;09.26 – 2.01.24
com										
Stage 3:										2;0.11 – 2;0.24
sim										
Stage 3:										marginally at 1;11.23
com										
Stage 4:										2;0.24 – 2.01.21
sim										

Figure C-1. The developmental stages observed in the data of Wiglaf. Compounds are not depicted for Stage 3 as they did not change as compared to Stage 2. Stage 5 refers only to simplex words because there were no instances of compounds indicative of that stage in Wiglaf's speech.

Sandra (recorded from age 1;02.10 to 1;11.0)

	1;05	1;06	1;07	1;08	1;09	1;10	1;11	Stages observed at
Stage 1:								1;05.20 – 1; 08.31
sim								
Stage 1:								marginally from 1;07.08-
com								1;08.21
Stage 2:								1;05.20 – 1; 08.31
sim								
Stage 2:								1;08.21 – 1;11.0
com								
Stage 3:								1;08. 31 – 1;11.0
sim								
Stage 4:								1;09.16 – 1;11.0
sim								

Figure C-2. The developmental stages observed in the data of Sandra. Note that the production pattern of compounds is not provided for Stages 3, 4 and 5 as there are no compound data indicative of these stages in Sandra's database.

Eleonora (recorded from age 1;0.07 to 1;10.25)

	1;03	1;04	1;05	1;06	1;07	1;08	1;09	1;10	Stages observed at
Stage 1:									1;03.05 – 1;08.15
sim									
Stage 1:									1;04.06 – 1;09.09
com									
Stage 2:									1;03.05 – 1;08.15
sim									
Stage 2:									1;09.09 – 1;10.25
com									
Stage 3:									1;09.21 – 1;10.25
sim									
Stage 3:									1;09.09 (marginally)
com									
Stage 4:									1;10.19- 1;10.25
sim									

Figure C-1. The developmental stages observed in the data of Eleonora. No compound data are provided for Stages 3 and 5 because Eleonora's database does not contain instances representative for these stages.

Syllable-based development: Summary

	Simplex words	Compounds				
Stage 1	correspond to a single trochaic foot					
Stage 2	correspond to a	- comprise two feet				
	single trochaic foot	- target-like stress				
Stage 3"	correspond to a	each constituent				
	trochaic or iambic foot	corresponds to a trochaic or				
		iambic foot				
Stages 3 and 4	target-like outputs	no data				

The following Figure C-4 depicts the duration of the developmental stages for Nele, the child showing a syllable-based development. The dark grey bars indicate the duration of a stage in simplex words, the light grey bars in compounds. The final column presents the precise periods a particular stage is observed in her data.

Nele (recorded from age 1;01.22 – 2;0.19)

	1;06	1;07	1;08	1;09	1;10	1;11	2;0	Stages observed at
Stage 1: sim								1;06.11 – 1;10.0
Stage 1: com								1;08.29 – 1;09.24
Stage 2: sim								1;06.11 – 1;10.0
Stage 2: com								1;09.24 – 2;0.19
Stage 3": sim								1;10.0 – 2;0.02
Stage 3":								1;11.04 - 2;0.19
com								
Stage 3 and								1;11.14 – 2;0.19
4: sim								

Figure C-4. The developmental stages observed in the data of Nele. There are no compound data corresponding to Stage 5.

D. Agreement with the model

The following tables regard outputs which exactly correspond to the acquisition model.

Overall agreement

Name	Simplex words	Compounds	Pseudocompounds
Eleonora	304/410 (74.1%)	31/51 (60.8%)	34/45 (75,5%)
Nele	257/311 (82.3%)	89/116 (76.7%)	6/14 (42.0%)
Sandra	161/187 (86.1%)	75/120 (62.5%)	20/31 (64.4%)
Wiglaf	225/298 (74.0%)	69/100 (69.0%)	13/31 (41.9%)

Simplex words

WS targets

Eleonora, Sandra, and Wiglaf

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 3'	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	S			-	WS	
Eleonora	43/112 (3	88.4 %)		-	37/112 (33.0 %)	80/112 (71.4%)
Sandra	32/73 (43.8%)		-	31/73 (42.5%)	63/73 (86.3%)	
Wiglaf	44/80 (55	5.0 %)		-	9/80 (11.3%)	53/80 (66.3%)

Nele

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 3'	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	S		-	WS		
Nele	54/84 (64.3%)		-	15/84 (17.9 %)		69/84 (82.2%)

WSW targets

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	SW	•	1	WSW	
Eleonora	60/74 (81.19	%)		5/74 (6.8%)	65/74 (89.9%)
Nele	48/88 (54.59	%)		30/88 (34.1%)	78/88 (88.6%)
Sandra	46/66 (69.7%)			14/66 (21.2%)	60/66 (90.9%)
Wiglaf	61/85 (71.8%)			17/85 (20.0%)	78/85 (91.8%)

sWS targets

Eleonora, Sandra, Wiglaf

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3'	Stage 4	sum
Prediction	S		-	sWS	
Eleonora	93/158 (5	8.9%)	-	22/158 (13.9%)	115/158 (72.8%)
Sandra	2/31 (6.5%	%)	-	24/31 (77.4%)	26/31 (83.9%)
Wiglaf	14/92 (15	.2%)	-	46/92 (50.0%)	60/92 (65.2%)

Nele

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 3'	Stage 4	sum
Prediction	S		-	WS	sWS	
Nele	51/110 (46	5.4%)	-	19 (17.3%)	16 (14.5%)	86/110 (78.2%)

sWSW targets

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	sum
Prediction	SW	1	sWSW	1	
Eleonora	18/27 (66.79	%)	2/27 (7.4%)		20/27 (74.1%)
Nele	5/13 (38.5%)	6/13 (46.2%)		11/13 (84.6%)
Sandra	1/19 (11.1%)		4/9 (44.4%)		5/9 (55.6%)
Wiglaf	13/15 (86.7%)		2/15 (13.3%)		15/15 (100%)

sWWSW targets

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	SW		sWSW sWWSW		
Nele	3/3 (100%)		-	-	3/3 (100%)
Wiglaf	10/16 (62.5%))	3/16 (18.8%)	-	13/16 (81.3%)

SWW targets

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	sum
Prediction	SW		SWs	SWW	
Eleonora	13/39 (33.3%)		1/39 (7.7%)	10/39 (25.5%)	24/39 (61.5%)
Nele	9/14 (64.39	%)	0/14	1/14 (7.1%)	10/14 (71.4%)
Sandra	4/8 (50.0%)		2/8 (25.0%)	1/8 (12.5%)	7/8 (87.5%)
Wiglaf	3/16 (18.8%)		0/16	3/16 (18.8%)	6/16 (37.5%)

Compounds

S-sW targets

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	SW	S-sW			
Eleonora	10/19 (52.6%)	6/19 (31.6%)			16/19 (84.2%)
Nele	8/24 (33.3%)	14/24 (58.3%)			22/24 (91.6%)
Sandra	2/24 (8.3%)	17/24 (70.8%)	19/24 (79.1%)		
Wiglaf	3/41 (7.3%)	28/41 (68.3%)	31/41(75.6%)		

SW-s targets

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	SW	SW-s			
Eleonora	1/20 (5.0%)	9/20 (45.0%)			10/20 (50.0%)
Nele	2/39 (5.1%)	32/39 (82.1%))		34/39 (87.2%)
Sandra	0/10 (0%)	9/10 (90.0%)	9/10 (90.0%)		
Wiglaf	7/30 (23.3%)	14/30 (46.7%)	21/30 (70.0%)		

SW-sW targets

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	SW	SW-sW			
Eleonora	2/7 (28.6%)	2/7 (28.6%)			4/7 (57.1%)
Nele	1/28 (3.6%)	23/28 (82.1%)			24/28 (85.7%)
Sandra	4/57 (7.0%)	23/57 (40.4%)			27/57 (47.4%)
Wiglaf	0/14 (0%)	11/14 (78.6%)			11/14 (78.6%)

Compounds containing unfooted syllables

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	Single foot	Bipedal output	Bipedal	Unfooted	
			constituents	syllables	
Eleonora	0/5 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	0/5	1/5 (20%)
Nele	0/17 (0%)	9/17 (52.9%)	0/17 (0%)	0/17 (0%)	9/17 (52.9%)
Sandra	1/8 (12.5%)	2/8 (25%)	0/8 (0%)	5/8 (62.5%)	8/8 (100%)
Wiglaf	2/4 (50%)	2/4 (50%)	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	(4/4 (100%)

Compounds containing bipedal constituents

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	Single foot	Bipedal output	Bipedal constitue	ents,	
			target-like stress	;	
Sandra	11/14 (78.6%)	1/14 (7.1%)	0/14 (0%)		12/14 (85.7%)
Wiglaf	0/2 (0%)	1 /2 (50%)	1/ 2 (50%)		2/2 (100%)

Pseudo-compounds

Class I

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	Single foot	Two feet			
Eleonora	23/36 (63.9%)	8/36 (22.2%)			31/36 (86.1%)
Nele	1/14 (7.1%)	5/14 (35.7%)			6/14 (42.9%)
Sandra	0	3/6 (50%)			3/6 (50%)
Wiglaf	0	13/30 (43.3%)			13/30 (43.3%)

Class II

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Sum
Prediction	Single foot		Two feet		
Eleonora	3/9 (33.3%)		0/9		3/9 (33.3%)
Sandra	7/25 (28%)		10/25 (40%)		17/25 (68%)
Wiglaf	0/1		0/1		0/1

E. List of Tokens

Abbreviations: AD = adult, CH = child

Children's age is given in year; month. day

SW child = SW-structure of the child's utterance; with S = main-stressed, s = secondary stressed, and W = weak syllable

Word type: mon = simplex (monomorphemic), com = compound,

Mode: Sp = spontaneous, imit = imitated production

Position: SWU = single word utterance; n-ini = non-initial, and ini = initial position

Note: Due to technical reasons, the transcriptions in APPENDIX F) encode ambisyllabicity in very few cases. Ambisyllabicity is indicated by a small hyphen beneath the respective consonant (e.g. [n].

Eleonora

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	SW child Word type Gloss	Gloss	Mode	Mode Position
Eleonora 1;0.07	1;0.07	Radio	'sa:dijo	'ha:d ^j	S	mon	radio	Sp	SWU
Eleonora 1;0.07	1;0.07	Radio	'sa:dijo	'ha:di	MS	mon	radio	Sp	SWU
Eleonora 1;0.07	1;0.07	Radio	'ʁaːdijo	'hadi	MS	mom	radio	imit	SWU
Eleonora 1;0.07	1;0.07	Radio	'sa:dijo	'dadi	MS	mon	radio	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora 1;0.07 Radio	1;0.07	Radio	'ʁaːdijo	'a:dija	MMS	mon	radio	imit	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;03.22	Elefant	, Pela fant	'łe'0an	SS	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.02	Elefant	, ² elə'fant	mant	S	mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.02	Giraffe	gi'safə	'?afuf	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;04.02	Giraffe	ејва ¹ ig	'?afuf	SW	mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.02	Giraffe	gi'safə	'?afuf	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	<u>:</u> ⊑
Eleonora	1;04.02	Giraffe	gi'safə	'?afuf	SW	mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.02	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'aftuf	SW	mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.02	Mandarine	en:ia'abnam _'	ni'ni:	MS	mon	tangerine	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;04.02	Mandarine	en:ialabnand	ne'ne	MS	mon	tangerine	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;04.02	Mandarine	eu:ialabnam,	ne'ne	MS	mon	tangerine	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.02	Mandarine	en:ia'abnam _'	'nene	SW	mon	tangerine	Sp	: <u>=</u>
Eleonora	1;04.02	Papagei	papa'gar	taī	S	mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.02	Telefon	'te:la _r fon	't ^h eja	SW	mon	telephone	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.08	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	'dijaha:	SWW	mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.08	Mandarine	eu:iя¦apuam'	'ni:na	SW	mon	tangerine	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.08	Mandarine	eu:iandalki:nə	'nini	SW	mon	tangerine	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;04.23	Telefon	'te:la _l fon	de'ja	WS	mon	telephone	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Elefant	, Pela fant	p ^h an	S	mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Elefant	'aelə'fant	p ^h an	S	mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Elefant	, Pela'fant	pã ⁿ	S	mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Kamel	ka'me:l	'me:a	SW	mon	camel	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Kamel	ka'me:l	'meja ¹	SW	mon	camel	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Krokodil	kkoko'di:l	ltija	SW	mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Mandarine	eu:ia'abnam _'	ni'ni	MS	mon	tangerine	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Papagei	papa'gaī	garl	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Papagei	papa'gar	gaī	S	mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Radio	'ʁa:dijo	ha'dija	MSM	mon	radio	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Renee	ке'ne:	nen:	S	mon	proper name	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;04.30	Renee	ке'пе:	'ne'ne:	SS	mon	proper name	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;05.05	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	'k ^h i:jɛl	SW	mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;05.05	Radio	'ʁa:dijo	'?atija	SWW	mon	radio	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;05.23	Elefant	'sela'fant	pant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;05.23	Elefant	'aela'fant	ma:nt ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;05.23	Elefant	'aela'fant	ma:nt ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	ini
Eleonora	1;05.23	Papagei	papa'gar	kaī	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;05.23	Papagei	papa'gaī	gal	S	mon	parrot	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;05.23	Papagei	papa'gar	'p ^h ap ^h a	SW	mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;05.23	Papagei	papa'gaī	ka:īt	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;05.23	Telefon	'te:la _r fon	$a \omega_{\mathrm{q}} 1$	SW	mon	telephone	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;05.23	Telefon	'teːləˌfon	aə _ų 1,	SW	mon	telephone	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;05.23	Telefon	'te:la _r fon	'dija	SW	mon	telephone	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Elefant	'aela'fant	p ^h ant ^h	S	mon	elephant	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.05	Elefant	'aela'fant	p ^h ant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.05	Elefant	'aela'fant	p^{h} ant	S	mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Elefant	'aela'fant	p ^h ant ^h	S	mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Elefant	'aela'fant	p ^h ant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Elefant	'aela'fant	p ^h ant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Elefant	'aela'fant	p ^h ant ^h	S	mon	elephant	imit	ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;06.05	Elefant	}elə fant	p^{h} ant	S	mon	elephant	Sp	Ξ
Eleonora	1;06.05	Fagott	fa'gɔt	$k^{ m h}$ $3k^{ m h}$	S	mon	bassoon	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Kakao	ka'kaɔ	$k^{ m h}a 3 k^{ m h}$	S	mon	cocoa	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Kakao	ka'kaɔ	$k^{ m h}a\bar{ m o}$	S	mon	cocoa	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.05	Kakao	ka'kaɔ̃	k ^h aɔ	S	mon	cocoa	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.05	Kakao	ka'kaɔ	k ^h aɔ	S	mon	cocoa	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Kakao	ka'kaɔ	k ^h aɔ	S	mon	cocoa	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Kakao	ka'kaɔ	k ^h aɔ	S	mon	cocoa	Sp	<u>:</u> ⊑
Eleonora	1;06.05	Kakao	ka'kaɔ	$k^{ m h}$ ao $k^{ m h}$	S	mon	cocoa	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.05	Kakao	ka'kaɔ̃	k ^h aɔ	S	mon	cocoa	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.05	Kaputt	ka'put	$^{ m h}{ m dm}_{ m h}{ m d}$	S	mon	defective	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Marmelade	ep:alemaam'	'lalɛ	SW	mon	jam	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.05	Marmelade	ep:alemaam'	'la'le	SW	mon	jam	imit	<u>:</u> ⊑
Eleonora	1;06.05	Marmelade	ep:al.emaam'	'da:1ɛ	SW	mon	jam	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Papagei	papa'gar	gaı	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.05	Radio	'ʁa:dijo	'?atija	SWW	mon	radio	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;06.15	Ballon	ba'lɔŋ	'bıl:en	SW	mon	balloon	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Ballon	ba'lɔŋ	nelıd'	SW	mon	balloon	Sp	:iu
Eleonora	1;06.15	Ballon	ba'ləŋ	'banon	SW	mon	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.15	Ballon	ba'loŋ	bı'le:n	WS	mon	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.15	Ballon	ba'lɔŋ	brlen	WS	mon	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.15	Elefant	'aelə'fant	phant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.15	Elefant	'aelə'fant	p^{h} ant	S	mon	elephant	Sp	:E
Eleonora	1;06.15	Elefant	'aela'fant	pant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Elefant	, Pela'fant	pant ^h	S	mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Elefant	'aelə'fant	pant	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Fasan	fa'za:n	uain	S	mon	pheasant	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Fasan	fa'za:n	'va:na	SW	mon	pheasant	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	ехах,	SW	mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Giraffe	gi'safə	eXah'	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Gitarre	еяі'tа в	exeX,	SW	mon	guitar	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Gorilla	go'ʁɪla	'Xulala	SWW	mon	gorilla	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;06.15	Gorilla	go'ʁıla	'X ₃ yalala	SWW	mon	gorilla	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Gorilla	go'ʁɪla	'Xwla:	SW	mon	gorilla	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Gorilla	go'ʁıla	'Xwlala	SWW	mon	gorilla	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Gorilla	go'ʁıla	'kxohala	SWW	mon	gorilla	imit	Ξ
Eleonora	1;06.15	Gorilla	go'ʁıla	'kwlala	SWW	mon	gorilla	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.15	Kakao	ka'kaɔ	k ^h aɔ	S	mon	cocoa	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	mom	camel	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.15	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	mon	camel	Sp	<u>:</u> ⊑
Eleonora	1;06.15	Kamel	ka'me:l	ˈuːɨˌdˌ	SW	mon	camel	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Karussell	kaʁuˈsɛl	zel	S	mom	marry-go-round	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Karussell	kaʁuˈsɛl	'se?el	SW	mon	marry-go-round	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	'k ^h w'k ^h i	SS	mom	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Luftballon	'loftba _r loŋ	ucu _l eq _l	SS	com	balloon	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Luftballon	'luftba _r lon	pə _' nc:n	WS	com	balloon	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Mandarine	en:ia'abnam _'	eu:eu	MS	mom	tangerine	imit	iu.
Eleonora	1;06.15	Mandarine	manda'ʁiːnə	'ne'ne	SS	mon	tangerine	imit	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;06.15	Papagei	papa'gar	kaī	S	mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Paprika	'papʁika	$p^{i}k^{h}a$	MS	mon	pepper	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Paprika	'papsika	$^{1}p^{h}i:k^{h}a$	SW	mon	pepper	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Salat	za'la:t	$\mathfrak{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$ a: $\mathfrak{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$	S	mon	salad	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'p ^h a:tə	SW	mon	tomato	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.15	Zitrone	eu:oя1'isī	' χv :nt $^{ m h} arepsilon$	SW	mon	citron	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Apfelsaft	'apfəl _' zaft	'a'pj	SS	com	apple juice	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Elefant	'aela'fant	pãt ^h	S	mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'haxe	SW	mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Giraffe	ejaalig	'haxen	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	eфeu,	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Gitarre	ді'tакә	еХеХ1,	MS	mon	guitar	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Gitarre	gi'taʁə	exeX1,	SW	mon	guitar	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:¹	S	mon	camel	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Kamel	ka'me:l	mel	S	mon	camel	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Krokodil	kgoko'di:1	'kχυli	SW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;06.22	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	kxo:li	SW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	kolili	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	'kulili	SWW	mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	'kolili	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	'k ^h ∪lili	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	$^{1}\!\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{v:} \mathrm{li}$	SW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Krokodil	kĸoko'di:l	'golili	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	'gv:t ^h i	SW	mon	crocodile	Sp	ini
Eleonora	1;06.22	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	'çχ r li	SW	mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Mandarine	en:ia'abnam _'	'nini	SW	mon	tangerine	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Papagei	papa'gar	kaī	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Papagei	,papa'gar	kaī	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Papagei	,papa'gar	kaī	S	mon	parrot	imit	Ξ
Eleonora	1;06.22	Papagei	papa'gaī	p ^h apa'gar	sws	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.22	Telefon	noj'el:ət,	'tita	SW	mon	telephone	Sp	iE
Eleonora	1;06.22	Telefon	'te:la _j fon	'tija	SW	mon	telephone	Sp	n-ini

	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Telefon		'te:la _f on	'tija	SW	mon	telephone	Sp	SWU
Ameise		'az;maīzə	'?a _ı menan	SsW	mon	ant	imit	SWU
Ameise		'az:maīzə	'?a _r mena	SsW	mon	ant	imit	SWU
Ameise		'az,maīzə	'?a ₁ mena	SsW	mon	ant	imit	SWU
Ballon		ba'ləŋ	n9l1q ₁	SW	mon	balloon	imit	SWU
Ballon		ba'lɔŋ	'bılem	SW	mon	balloon	Sp	SWU
Ballon		ba'lɔŋ	'balen	SW	mon	balloon	imit	SWU
Delfin		del'fim	fin	S	mon	dolphin	imit	SWU
Delfin		dɛl'fi:n	en:iv	SW	mon	dolphin	imit	n-ini
Delfin		del¹fi:n	'vi:ane	SW	mon	dolphin	imit	Ē
Delfin		dɛlˈfiːn	ueij,	SW	mon	dolphin	imit	SWU
Elefant		'aela'fant	p^{h} ant θ	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Elefant		'aela'fant	p^hant^h	S	mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Elefant		'aela'fant	pant ^h	S	mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Elefant		}elə fant	pant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Elefant		'aelə'fant	pant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
					=			

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;06.29	Elefant	'aela'fant	bãt ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Giraffe	gi'safə	'hafə	SW	mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Gitarre	еяв1'18	exe _q X _l	SW	mon	guitar	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Gorilla	go'ʁıla	'hvla	SW	mon	gorilla	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.29	Gorilla	go'ʁɪla	'hvla	MS	mon	gorilla	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Gorilla	go'ʁɪla	'hvla	SW	mon	gorilla	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Gorilla	go'ʁɪla	'hvla	SW	mon	gorilla	imit	iri
Eleonora	1;06.29	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	'kolili	SWW	mon	crocodile	ds	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Krokodil	kĸoko'di:l	'golili	SWW	mom	crocodile	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	'golili	SWW	mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	'golili	SWW	mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	'golili	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Papagei	papa'gaī	kaï	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Papagei	,papa'gar	kaī	S	mon	parrot	Sb	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Papagei	,papa'gar	gaī	S	mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Papagei	papa'gaī	'kakaī	SW	mon	parrot	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;06.29	Papagei	papa'gaī	ˈgaːkaɪ	SW	mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Pinguin	ni,ugnıq'	'pekan	SW	mon	penguin	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Renee	ве'ne:	ne'ne:	MS	mon	proper name	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;06.29	Telefon	'te:la _f on	'tija	SW	mon	telephone	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;06.29	Telefon	noj el:ət	't ^h ija	SW	mon	telephone	Sp	ini
Eleonora	1;07.08	Apfelsaft	'apfəl _r zaft	'app, Las	SW-s	com	apple juice	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Brokkoli	'bʁokoli	'kulelki	SWW	mon	broccoli	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Brokkoli	'bsokoli	'gʊliˌki	SWs	mon	broccoli	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Elefant	, Pela fant	p ^h ant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Elefant	'aelə'fant	pant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sb	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Elefant	, Pela fant	pant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	:E
Eleonora	1;07.08	Elefant	ant	pant	S	mon	elephant	Sb	n-ini
Eleonora	1;07.08	Elefant	Pela fant	p ^h ant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;07.08	Gitarre	еяа, ј	'taxə	SW	mon	guitar	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Kamel	ka'me:l	k ^h e:n	S	mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Krokodil	kroko'di:1	'kuli	SW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;07.08	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	'golili	SWW	mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	'golili	SWW	mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	'guli	SW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	'gu'li	SS	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Osterhase	ez:eu'aets:oŁ	'}0:sasa	SWW	com	easter + bunny	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Papagei	papa'gaï	gaī	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Papagei	papa'gar	gaī	S	mon	parrot	dS	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Papagei	papa'gar	gaī	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Papagei	papa'gaī	gaī	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.08	Papagei	papa'gar	gaī	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Apfelsaft	'?apfəl _' zaft	'apəla	SWW	com	apple juice	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Apfelsaft	'apfəl _z aft	'ape,las	SW-s	com	apple juice	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Bauernhof	f:oh,nae0ed'	ф:хч	S	com	farm	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Elefant	, ² elə fant	f^{h} ant	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Elefant	, ² elə'fant	fant ^j	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Elefant	'aela'fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;07.15	Elefant	'aelə'fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;07.15	Elefant	, Pela fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;07.15	Elefant	'aela'fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Elefant	, Pela fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Elefant	'aela'fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Elefant	'aela'fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	Ξ
Eleonora	1;07.15	Elefant	, Pela fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	: <u>=</u>
Eleonora	1;07.15	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	'каfэ	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	:E
Eleonora	1;07.15	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	'каfэ	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;07.15	Giraffe	ejaalig	'hafə	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;07.15	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'hafə	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Giraffe	eja ₈ i's	'hafə	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	in in
Eleonora	1;07.15	Gitarre	ді'такэ	exeu,	SW	mon	guitar	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Kamel	ka'me:l	p ^h e:1	S	mon	camel	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Kamel	ka'me:l	'me:j	SW	mon	camel	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	mon	defective	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;07.15	Kaputt	ka'put	purt	S	mon	defective	Sp	Ē
Eleonora	1;07.15	Krokodil	kroko'di:1	'golili	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	Ē
Eleonora	1;07.15	Papagei	papa'gar	gaī	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Pinguin	'pıŋgu _r in	ເກ	S	mon	penguin	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Pinguin	'pıŋgu _r in	find	S	mon	penguin	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Pinguin	'pıŋgu _r in	fiŋ	S	mon	penguin	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Pinguin	'pıŋgu _' in	Piŋ	S	mon	penguin	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Pinguin	ni,ugnıd'	2tŋ	S	mon	penguin	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Puppenwagen	neg:av,nequq	'vakŋ	SW	com	doll's pram	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Radio	ˈʁaːdijo	'hadija	SWW	mon	radio	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Radio	'ʁa:dijo	a'tija	MSM	mon	radio	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;07.15	Radio	'ʁa:dijo	a'tija	MSM	mon	radio	Sp	Ë
Eleonora	1;07.15	Renee	se'ne:	'ne:ne	SW	mon	proper name	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;07.15	Telefon	'te:la _f on	'tɨja	SW	mon	telephone	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.0	Apfelsaft	'?apfəl zaft	'applas	SWW	com	apple juice	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.0	Apfelsaft	'?apfə1 zaft	'apə _l las	S-MS	com	apple juice	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;08.15	kaputt	ka'put	puts	S	mon	defective	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.15	kaputt	ka'put	puts	S	mon	defective	Sp	<u>:⊑</u>
Eleonora	1;08.15	Karussell	kaʁuˈsɛl	tel	S	mon	marry-go-round	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;08.15	Karussell	kaʁuˈsɛl	sel	S	mon	marry-go-round	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.15	Karussell	kaʁuˈsɛl	sel	S	mon	marry-go-round	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.15	Karussell	kaʁuˈsɛl	sel	S	mon	marry-go-round	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;08.15	Krokodil	kkoko'di:l	kolili	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.15	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	koli _l li	SWs	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.15	Krokodil	kkoko'di:l	'kvlili	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.15	Limonade	ep:au,omil	'na:tə	SW	mon	lemonade	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;08.15	Limonade	ep:au_omil	'na:tə	SW	mon	lemonade	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;08.15	Limonade	ep:au,omil	eu:au	SW	mon	lemonade	imit	<u>:⊑</u>
Eleonora	1;08.15	Melissa	me'lısa	lesa	SW	mon	proper name	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.15	Windmühle	el:km ₁ nnv'	el:km'	SW	com	windmill	Sp	: <u>E</u>
Eleonora	1;08.15	Windmühle	'vınt _ı my:lə	el:km'	MS	com	windmill	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;08.15	Windmühle	el:\text{ym\tauv\'}	el:km'	SW	com	windmill	Sp	n-ini

Child

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;08.26	Giraffe	gi'safə	'safə	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Giraffe	gi'safə	'ка'fе:	SS	mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Giraffe	ejea ^l ig	hafə'	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Giraffe	ејвајв	'hafə	SW	mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Kamel	ka'me:l	'k ^h e:me	SW	mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	'tokeli	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	't ^h oke:t	SW	mon	crocodile	Sp	iu.
Eleonora	1;08.26	Mikrofon	m:of'сахіти _,	'tyeto _r fon	SWs	mon	microphone	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Mikrofon	п:о1'сахітп	'k ^h e:t ^h 38 ₁ ?3n	SWs	mon	microphone	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Mikrofon	п:о]'саліп,	'k ^h e:fon	SW	mon	microphone	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Mikrofon	п:ој сяхіти	'k ^b eto _' fon	SWs	mon	microphone	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Mikrofon	п:о]'саліп,	'k ^h efono	SWW	mon	microphone	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Papagei	papa'gar	gaī	S	mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Renee	ке'ne:	he'ne:	MS	mon	proper name	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Renee	ке'ne:	he'ne:	WS	mon	proper name	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;08.26	Telefon	'te:lə,fon	'tɨja	SW	mon	telephone	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;09.09	Koalabär	ko'?a:laˌbæːɐ	aæq,зy [']	s-S	com	koala + bear	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.09	Koalabär	ko'ła:la _l bæ:e	'aloke'bæe	S-MMS	com	koala + bear	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.09	Melissa	me'lısa	'Irsa	SW	mon	proper name	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.09	Melissa	me'lısa	lısa	SW	mon	proper name	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.09	Papagei	papa'gaī	'gaī	S	mon	parrot	Sp	:Ľ
Eleonora	1;09.09	Puppenwagen	'popen'va:gen	'pupək'a:gŋ	SW-SW	com	doll's pram	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;09.09	Pusteblume	em:nlq'ets:nd	m:nl'es:nd	SW-s	com	blow ball	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;09.09	Schokolade	∫oko'la:də	ep:al,	SW	mon	chocolate	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;09.09	Schokolade	∫oko'la:də	'kɔkə _l aːdə	SWsW	mon	chocolate	Sp	iu
Eleonora	1;09.21	Balkon	bal'koŋ	mc _q d	S	mon	balcony	Sp	iu
Eleonora	1;09.21	Balkon	bal'koŋ	'bal'koŋ	SS	mon	balcony	Sp	iu:
Eleonora	1;09.21	Ballon	hallon	mcl	S	mon	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Ballon	hallon	mcl	S	mon	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Ballon	ba'loŋ	mcl	S	mon	balloon	Sp	in
Eleonora	1;09.21	Bauernhof	'bauaen,ho:f	'ban _ı ho:f	S-S	com	farm	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Bauernhof	'baoan _' ho:f	'ban _ı ho:f	S-s	com	farm	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;09.21	Bauernhof	'baoan _' ho:f	'ban _ı ho:f	S-s	com	farm	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Bauernhof	'baoan _' ho:f	'ban _ı ho:f	S-S	com	farm	Sp	Ē
Eleonora	1;09.21	Bauernhof	'baoan,ho:f	'ba?an _' ho:f	SW-s	com	farm	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Delfin	del'fi:n	'dɛlt'fin	SS	mon	dolphin	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;09.21	Elefant	'aela'fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Elefant	, ² elə'fant	'fekə'fant ^h	sws	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;09.21	Giraffe	gi¹safə	'hafe:	SW	mon	giraffe	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Giraffe	gi'safə	'gikχafε	SWW	mon	giraffe	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Gisela	'gizəla	'gi:zəla	SWW	mon	proper name	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Gisela	'gizəla	'gi:zəla	SWW	mon	proper name	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Gisela	alezig	'gi:zəla	SWW	mon	proper name	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;09.21	Gisela	'gizəla	alizala	SWW	mon	proper name	imit	<u>:</u>
Eleonora	1;09.21	kaputt	ka'put	p ^h ut	S	mon	defective	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Kartoffeln	kae'tɔfəln	uletc _u t,	SW	mon	potato (plural)	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Klapperstorch	у́аст∫¦aedelл'	'klapa _t 29ç	SW-s	com	stork	imit	SWU
Eleonora	1;09.21	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	tko'ti:l	WS	mon	crocodile	Sp	ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Eleonora	1;09.21	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	'tʁɔtʔeli	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	<u>:</u> ⊑
Eleonora	1;09.21	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	'tkætili	SWW	mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;09.21	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'ma:t ^h e	SW	mon	tomato	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Tomate	to'ma:ta	'ma:t ^b ɛ	SW	mon	tomato	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'maːtʰɛ	SW	mon	tomato	imit	n-ini
Eleonora	1;09.21	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'ma:t ^h e	SW	mon	tomato	imit	Ξ
Eleonora	1;10.02	Elefant	'aelə'fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Eleonora	1;10.02	Elefant	, Pela fant	fant	S	mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;10.02	Elefant	}elə fant	fant ^h	S	mon	elephant	Sp	Ξ
Eleonora	1;10.02	Garage	е2:29	e2:a%,	SW	mon	garage	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;10.02	Garage	да'ва:3э	epːɐҲˌ	SW	mon	garage	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;10.02	Garage	ga'ʁa:ʒə	'ьа:də	SW	mon	garage	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;10.02	Garage	да'ва:3э	ер:вя;	SW	mon	garage	Sp	n-ini
Eleonora	1;10.02	Garage	да'ва:3э	'ка:dә	SW	mon	garage	Sp	<u>:</u> ⊑
Eleonora	1;10.02	Garage	да'ва:3ә	'k <u>X</u> a:3ε	SW	mon	garage	imit	: <u>=</u>
Eleonora	1;10.02	Garage	ва'ва:3э	¹kʁa:ʒɛ	SW	mon	garage	imit	n-ini

Eleonora

Eleonora

Eleonora

Eleonora

Eleonora

Eleonora

Eleonora

Child

Eleonora

Child

Eleonora

Mode Position	Sp n-ini	imit SWU	imit n-ini	imit SWU	imit ini	- IMS
Gloss	penguin	penguin	per cent	centipede	telephone	ventilator
SW child Word type Gloss	mom	mon	mon	сош	mom	mon
SW child	SWW	SWW	WS	SW-sW	SW	SWSW
CH phonetic	'p ^h ijui:	ninjuin'd'	pxəfsent	as:\function thy:sa	'teja _l 0 ^h %n	ventilla:toe
AD phonetic	ni,ugu,in	'pıŋgu _r in	pkotsent	'tavzənt _ı fy:sləe	'te:la _f on	yenti'lartar
AD target	Pinguin	Pinguin	Prozent	Eleonora 1;10.25 Tausendfüßler	Telefon	Ventilator
Age	1;10.25	1;10.25	1;10.25	1;10.25	1;10.25	1:10.25
Child	Eleonora 1;10.25 Pinguin	Eleonora 1;10.25 Pinguin	Eleonora 1;10.25 Prozent	Eleonora	Eleonora 1;10.25 Telefon	Eleonora 1:10.25 Ventilator

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;06.11	Papagei	papa'gar	ga	S	Mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Nele	1;06.26	Banane	ba'na:nə	'}ane	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Nele	1;07.09	Appetit	-lapalti:t	'apə _t tit ^h	SWs	Mon	appetite	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;07.25	Apfelsine	-lapfəl'zi:nə	hapə'tit	sws	Mon	orange	imit	SWU
Nele	1;07.25	Hubschrauber	'hu:p,∫ʁā∪bəɐ	'hıpi	MS	Com	helicopter	imit	SWU
Nele	1;07.25	Paprika	'papʁika	'k ^h ak ^h ə	SW	Mon	pepper	imit	SWU
Nele	1;07.25	Polizist	polifsist	tit	S	Mon	police man	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;07.25	Polizist	polifsist	'tit	S	Mon	police man	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;08.12	Appetit	-apə'ti:t	,tap'eqaf	sws	Mon	appetite	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.12	Banane	ba'na:nə	'na:ni	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.12	Banane	ba'na:nə	'na:ni	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.12	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.12	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.12	Krokodil	kroko'di:l	'twja	SW	Mon	crocodile	imit	SWU

Nele

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;08.12	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	tuij	S	Mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.12	Lokomotive	ev:it'omodol,	'ti <u>z</u> i	SW	Mon	locomotive	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.12	Lokomotive	ev:it'omoyol,	'dɨzi	SW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;08.12	Lokomotive	ev:it'omoyol,	'dɨzi	SW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	in
Nele	1;08.12	Papagei	papa'gar	gaī	S	Mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.12	Paprika	'papʁika	taːˈta	MS	Mon	pepper	Sp	in
Nele	1;08.12	Paprika	'papʁika	'teta	SW	Mon	pepper	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;08.12	Polizist	poli'fsist	tit ^h	တ	Mon	police man	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;08.12	Polizist	polifsist	tit ^h	တ	Mon	police man	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;08.12	Polizist	polifsist	tit ^h	S	Mon	police man	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.12	Polizist	poli ^f sıst	ţit ^h	S	Mon	police man	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.29	Banane	en:na'pa	'nană	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Nele	1;08.29	Bauchnabel	'baūx _' na:bəl	'napa	SW	Com	bellybutton	Sp	ï
Nele	1;08.29	Bauchnabel	'baox _' na:bəl	'napa	SW	Com	bellybutton	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;08.29	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:a	S	Mon	camel	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;08.29	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:a	S	Mon	camel	imit	n-ini

Word type Gloss
camel
defective
crocodile
crocodile
crocodile
jam
parrot
parrot
parrot
pepper
pepper
police man
radio
radio
salad
tomato

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;08.29	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'naːbi	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;08.29	Tomate	et:ma:tə	'naːbi	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;08.29	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'nabi	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;09.24	Banane	eu:na:nə	'naːni	SW	Mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;09.24	Banane	ba'na:nə	'nani	SW	Mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;09.24	Bauernhof	'baoan _h o:f	ˈbauɐˌhɔːf	SW-s	Com	farm	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;09.24	Delfin	dɛl¹fi:n	'finan	SW	Mon	dolphin	imit	SWU
Nele	1;09.24	Delfin	dɛl¹fi:n	euij,	SW	Mon	dolphin	imit	SWU
Nele	1;09.24	Elefant	'aela'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;09.24	Elefant	'aela'fant	fan	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;09.24	Elefant	, ² elə'fant	fan	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	iui
Nele	1;09.24	Kaputt	ka'put	ta'put	WS	Mon	defective	Sp	ini
Nele	1;09.24	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;09.24	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;09.24	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;09.24	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;09.24	Salat	za'la:t	lat	S	Mon	salad	imit	SWU
Nele	1;09.24	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'maːta	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Abendbrot	'?a:bent bso:t	'?aße,pot ^h	SW-s	Com	dinner	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Ballon	ba'ləŋ	'lel¢m:	SW	Mon	balloon	imit	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Ballon	ba'ləŋ	'lelɔm	SW	Mon	balloon	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Banane	ba'na:nə	'na:'nɨ:	SS	Mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Delfin	del'fi:n	fi:n	S	Mon	dolphin	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Delfin	del'fi:n	fi:n	S	Mon	dolphin	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Delfin	dɛl'fi:n	fi:n	S	Mon	dolphin	imit	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Delfin	dɛl¹fi:n	fi:n	S	Mon	dolphin	Sp	Ē
Nele	1;10.0	Delfin	del'fi:n	fam	S	Mon	dolphin	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Delfin	dɛlˈfiːn	emij,	SW	Mon	dolphin	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Delfin	dɛlˈfiːn	eu:I ₁	SW	Mon	dolphin	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Delfin	dɛl¹fi:n	'fi:n	S	Mon	dolphin	Sp	<u>:</u>
Nele	1;10.0	Eidechse	'andeksə	'te ke:	SS	рсош	lizard	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Eidechse	'andeksə	'da'de:	SS	Pcom	lizard	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;10.0	Eidechse	'andeksə	'qadi:	SW	Pcom	lizard	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	'aelə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	}elə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	, Pelə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	'felə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	, Pelə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	'Pelə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	}elə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	:E
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	, Pelə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	in:
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	, Pelə'fant	e _l le:'fant	WsS	Mon	elephant	Sp	ini
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	, Pelə'fant	ele:f.'fant	sWs	Mon	elephant	Sp	ini
Nele	1;10.0	Elefant	, ² elə'fant	ele'fant	SWs	Mon	elephant	dS	ini
Nele	1;10.0	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	'lafî	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	'lafî	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	'lafî	SW	Mon	giraffe	dS	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	'lafi	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;10.0	Koalabär	ko'?a:laˌbæːɐ	'kaːbiˌpeːɐ	SW-s	Com	koala + bear	imit	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Koalabär	ko'?a:laˌbæːɐ	'ka:ba _i pe:e	SW-s	Com	koala + bear	imit	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Koalabär	ko'?a:laˌbæːɐ	,ka'ßaija	sSW	Com	koala + bear	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Krokodil	kroko'di:1	kɔˈkɔɪ	WS	Mon	crocodile	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Krokodil	kroko'di:1	ku'kwī	WS	Mon	crocodile	Sp	i <u>.</u>
Nele	1;10.0	Krokodil	kroko'di:1	guï	S	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Marmelade	ep:al,emaam	'lali	SW	Mon	jam	Sp	.i.
Nele	1;10.0	Mittagsschlaf	'mıtaks ʃlaːf	'mıta _l la:f	SW-s	Com	afternoon nap	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Mittagsschlaf	'mıtaks ʃlaːf	'mıta _l la:f	SW-s	Com	afternoon nap	imit	.i.
Nele	1;10.0	Mittagsschlaf	'mıtaks ʃlaːf	'mıta la:f	SW-s	Com	afternoon nap	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Ostereier	aeiefaets:0f	'loste, la se	SW-sW	Com	easter egg (plural)	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Papagei	papa'gaī	kaī	S	Mon	parrot	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Papagei	papa'gaī	ka'kaijə	WSW	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.0	Papagei	papa'gaī	ka'kaï	WS	Mon	parrot	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.0	Papagei	papa'gar	ka'kaï	WS	Mon	parrot	Sp	iu.
Nele	1;10.0	Papagei	papa'gaī	kə'kaī	WS	Mon	parrot	Sp	ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;10.07	Elefant	}elə'fant	'e:li _, fant	SWs	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.07	Elefant	}elə fant	'Pele _r fant	SWs	Mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Nele	1;10.07	Hubschrauber	'hu:p,∫ка̂∪bае	'hw:ßa	SW	Com	helicopter	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.07	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.07	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.07	Kaputt	ka'put	p ^h ot	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.07	Kaputt	ka'put	p ^h ot	S	Mon	defective	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;10.07	Kaputt	ka'put	$p^{h} \sigma t$	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.07	Kaputt	ka'put	p ^h ut	S	Mon	defective	imit	SWU
Nele	1;10.07	Kaputt	ka'put	p ^h ut	S	Mon	defective	Sp	: <u>u</u>
Nele	1;10.07	Kaputt	ka'put	p ^h u:t	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.07	Kartoffeln	kae'tɔfəln	'tafn	SW	Mon	potato (plural)	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.07	Kassette	ka'setə	'tıti	SW	Mon	cassette	Sp	Œ
Nele	1;10.07	Kassette	ka'setə	tete	SW	Mon	cassette	Sp	: <u>u</u>
Nele	1;10.07	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	'ko'kuī	SS	Mon	crocodile	imit	:E
Nele	1;10.07	Marmelade	ep:al _' emaam _'	'la:li	SW	Mon	jam	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;10.14	Ostereier	aeisfaets:0f	'20:sta 2aīa	SW-sW	Com	easter egg (plural)	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.14	Ostereier	aeiefaets:0f	'}osta }aīa	SW-sW	Com	easter egg (plural)	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.14	Sandalen	zan'da:lən	Jen'dain	SM.	Mon	sandal (plural)	Sp	: <u>i</u>
Nele	1;10.14	Waschmaschine	'vaʃmaʃi:nə	'dati	SW	Com	washing machine	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.23	Ballon	ba'ləŋ	mcl	S	Mon	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.23	Ballon	ba'lɔŋ	mcl3l'	SW	Mon	balloon	imit	SWU
Nele	1;10.23	Eiscafe	'aska fe:	'ʔaīsˌkafe:	S-sW	Com	cafe	imit	SWU
Nele P	1;10.23	Eisenbahn	'auto,ba:n	'łaʊtoˌba"	SW-s	Com	motorway (means railway)	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.23	Elefant	'aelə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.23	Hundehütte	etxh _e bnoh'	'}unt'huti	WS-WS	Com	doghouse	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.23	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:a	S	Mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.23	Kohlrabi	ko:l'ʁa:bi	korha:bi	sSW	Mon	kohlrabi	imit	SWU
Nele	1;10.23	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	ejcy _l	SW	Mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.23	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	koī	S	Mon	crocodile	Sp	<u>:</u> ⊑
Nele	1;10.23	Malstifte	etJtl∫ltam'	'm:aī,tɪfə	S-sW	Com	crayon (plural)	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;10.23	Motorroller	aelся¹ao1,oш	'motala	SWW	Com	scooter	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.23	Osterei	'40.stae ₁ ?aī	'Prosta _a ı	SW-s	Com	easter egg	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.23	Papagei	papa'gar	'kakaī	SW	Mon	parrot	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;10.23	Puppenwagen	neg:av,nequq'	ˈbʊbmˌvaːgŋ	SW-sW	Com	doll's pram	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;10.23	Salat	za'la:t	ə'la:t	WS	Mon	salad	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;10.23	Sandalen	zan'da:lən	na'dam	WS	Mon	sandal (plural)	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.0	Ballon	ba'lɔŋ	lam	S	Mon	balloon	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.0	Bauchnabel	'baūx _ı na:bəl	'nab i	SW	Com	bellybutton	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.0	Bauernhof	J:ou'uae@eq.	'ba.af	SW	Com	farm	Sp	: <u>=</u>
Nele	1;11.0	Eichhörnchen	'aıçıhæençən	'an honta	S-sW	Com	squirrel	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.0	Elefant	}elə fant	van	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.0	Elefant	, Pela fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.0	Elefant	, Pela fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.0	Elefant	}elə fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.0	Elefant	}elə fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.0	Elefant	'gelə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	imit	in:

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;11.0	Papagei	papa'gar	ga'gaī	SS	Mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.0	Paprika	'papʁika	'p ^h ak ^h a	SW	Mon	pepper	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.0	Rosinen	nen:iz'оы	u:iż¦iz*u	sws	Mon	raisin (plural)	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.0	Rosinen	neu:iz,oя	uːizˈezʌᠰ	sws	Mon	raisin (plural)	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.0	Sandalen	zan'da:lən	tam	S	Mon	sandal (plural)	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.0	Wasserhahn	'vasəe _r ha:n	'vasa _ı ha:n	SW-s	Com	water-tap	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Banane	ba'na:nə	'na:na	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Delfin	dɛl¹fi:n	fi:n	S	Mon	dolphin	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Eidechse	'andeksə	'anditi	SWW	Pcom	lizard	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Elefant	, ² elə'fant	}ele fant	sWs	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'lafî	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.04	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	gi'lafi	MSM	Mon	giraffe	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;11.04	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	gilafi	WSW	Mon	giraffe	imit	Ë
Nele	1;11.04	Kaputt	ka'put	p^{h} ut	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.04	Kaputt	ka'put	$p^{ m h} \sigma t$	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.04	Kaputt	ka'put	p ^h ut	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;11.04	Koalabär	ko'?a:la _ı bæ:ɐ	'kaba _' be:ɐ	SW-s	Com	koala + bear	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	ko'kun	MS	Mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Kuschelhase	'kuʃəlˌha:zə	'kuti'haīsi	SW-SW	Com	cuddly + bunny	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Kuschelhase	'k∪∫əl¦ha:zə	'kʊtiˌhali	SW-sW	Com	cuddly + bunny	Sp	ii
Nele	1;11.04	Kuschelhase	'k∪∫əl _ı ha:zə	'kuti _ı haī	SW-s	Com	cuddly + bunny	Sp	:E
Nele	1;11.04	Kuschelhase	'k∪∫əl _ı ha:zə	'kuti _ı ha:zə	SW-sW	Com	cuddly + bunny	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Luftballon	'luftba _, log	'lapi _, laʊm	SWs	Com	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.04	Marmelade	ep:al'emaem,	elal'	SW	Mon	jam	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Mittagessen	'mıtak ²esən	'mıta _r 9esņ	SW-sW	Com	lunch	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Papagei	papa'gaī	ka'kaï	WS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Rasenmäher	aeq:æm'uez:¤я,	'dazi _ı me:ɐ	SW-sW	Com	lawn-mower	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.04	Riesenrad	'ki:zən _ı ʁa:t	'hi:sənat	SWW	Com	giant wheel	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Sandkasten	'zant _ı kastən	'zan _ı k ^h asņ	S-sW	Com	sand box	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Sonnenkäferpapa	'zɔnənˌkæ:fəɐˌpapa	sən kefe'bapa	ws-ws-s	Com	sun + beetle + daddy	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.04	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'napi	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;11.25	Kassette	ka'setə	'sıti	SW	Mon	cassette	imit	ii
Nele	1;11.25	Katzenbabies	'katsən _' be:bis	'kati _' bebi:s	SW-sW	Com	cat + babies	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.25	Kindergarten	'kındəe _l gaetən	'k ^h ına _ı ga:tņ	SW-sW	Com	kindergarten	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.25	Kindertasche	e∫at¹aebnıxl'	'kına _r taçə	SW-sW	Com	child's bag	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.25	Klebeband	'kle:bəˌbant	'kebɛˌbant ^h	SW-s	Com	adhesive tape	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.25	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	guˈgʊɪ	WS	Mon	crocodile	Sp	in
Nele	1;11.25	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	'kekr	SW	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.25	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	,ku'kvī	SS	Mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.25	Maiskolben	'maīs _t kɔlbən	'maīs _t koīpm	S-sW	Com	corn cob	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.25	Papagei	papa'gaī	,kaka'kaī	sws	Mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.25	Riesenrad	'ki:zən _ı sa:t	'hi:zṇ _l hɪt ^h	SW-s	Com	giant wheel	imit	iu
Nele	1;11.25	Schokolade	Joko'la:də	la0lokə'lalə	MSMMs	Mon	chocolate	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.25	Schokolade	Joko'la:də	el:al'elcl	sWSW	Mon	chocolate	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;11.25	Schokolade	"Jokoʻla:də	loka'la:la	sWSW	Mon	chocolate	Sp	in
Nele	1;11.25	Schokolade	"Joko'la:də	lokə'lalə	wsws	Mon	chocolate	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.25	Selina	ze'li:na	lizizi'lina	WWWSW	Mon	proper name	imit	ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	1;11.25	Selina	ze¹li:na	le'zizili	MSMM	Mon	proper name	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;11.25	Selina	ze'li:na	hılihı'li:na	WWWSW	Mon	proper name	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.25	Selina	ze¹li:na	si'li:na	sSW	Mon	proper name	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;11.25	Spinnweben	'∫pın've:bən	'pım,febm	S-sW	Com	cobweb	imit	SWU
Nele	1;11.25	Spinnweben	'∫pın've:bən	ˈmdɜjˌmɪdˌ	S-sW	Com	cobweb	Sp	n-ini
Nele	1;11.25	Tomaten	to'ma:tən	tx:'bna:tņ	MSM	Mon	tomato (plural)	imit	: <u>=</u>
Nele	1;11.25	Tomaten	to'ma:tən	tomi'ma:tņ	sWSW	Mon	tomato (plural)	Sp	SWU
Nele	1;11.25	Tomaten	to'ma:tən	tomi'ma:tņ	swsw	Mon	tomato (plural)	imit	n-ini
Nele	1;11.25	Vanille	elın'av	llls.	SW	Mon	vanilla	imit	<u>:</u>
Nele	1;11.25	Zitrone	fsi'tso:na	euix1,	SW	Mon	citron	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.02	Arztkoffer	'?a:vfst,kofəv	'}a:t _, k ^h ɔfɐ	S-sW	Com	medical bag	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.02	Banane	ba'na:nə	'na:nə	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Nele	2;0.02	Banane	ba'na:nə	ba'na:nə	WSW	Mon	banana	imit	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Banane	ba'na:nə	ba'na:nə	WSW	Mon	banana	imit	Ē
Nele	2;0.02	Bauernhof	'baoan _' ho:f	'baoe _l hv:f	SW-s	Com	farm	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Eidechse	'andeksə	'?aīsdɛkə	SWW	Pcom	lizard	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	2;0.02	Elefant	, Pelə'fant	'ʔɛnə'fant ^h	SWS	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.02	Elefant	'}elə'fant	, 7ele'fantņ	sWSW	Mon	elephant	Sp	Ē
Nele	2;0.02	Elefant	'aela'fant	'fele'fantn	SWSW	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Feuerwehrauto	'fɔiəaˌve:aˌʔāoto	'fare _, ʔaʊtʰ	SW-s	Com	fire engine	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.02	Girlande	epualaıß	gi'landə	MSM	Mon	garland	imit	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Hubschrauber	'hu:р∫ва́0bэв	'puhava	SWW	Com	helicopter	imit	SWU
Nele	2;0.02	Kakao	ka'kaɔ	ka'kaɔ	WS	Mon	cocoa	imit	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Kakao	ka'kaɔ	ka'kaɔ	WS	Mon	cocoa	imit	Ë
Nele	2;0.02	Kamel	ka'me:l	$k^h r^l m \epsilon^l$	WS	Mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.02	Kamel	ka'me:l	'keme	SW	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Kamel	ka'me:l	'keme	SW	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Kamel	ka'me:l	'keme	MS	Mon	camel	Sp	ini
Nele	2;0.02	Kaputt	ka'put	ta'put	WS	Mon	defective	Sp	Ë
Nele	2;0.02	Koalabär	ko'?a:laˌbæ:ɐ	'ga:bɨˌpeɐt	SW-s	Com	koala + bear	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Krokodil	kroko'di:l	kw'kwï	SM	Mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.02	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	ku'kwī	WS	Mon	crocodile	Sp	ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	2;0.02	Luftballon	'loftba _, loŋ	lukepon	SWW	Com	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Luftballon	'loftba _l loŋ	'lm _t ke _t boŋ	Sss	Com	balloon	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.05	Mittagessen	'mıtak lesən	7m'mıta ₁ 2esn	SW-sW	Com	lunch	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.05	Paprika	'papsika	'p ^h aka	SW	Mon	pepper	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.02	Salat	za'la:t	la:t	S	Mon	salad	imit	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Schokolade	∫oko'la:də	lala lala	sWSW	Mon	chocolate	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.02	Spinat	∫pi _, na:t	'pina:t	SW	Mon	spinach	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Tomate	to'ma:tə	to'ma:tə	WSW	Mon	tomato	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.02	Tomate	to'ma:tə	to _i ma:tə	WSW	Mon	tomato	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Apfelschorle	elac∫'le <u>J</u> deŁ	elacs'edał	SW-sW	Com	apple cider	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.19	Banane	ba'na:nə	ba'na:nə	WSW	Mon	banana	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Banane	ba'na:nə	ba'na:nə	MSM	Mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.19	Banane	ba'na:nə	ba'na:nə	WSW	Mon	banana	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Banane	ba'na:nə	a'pa:nən	WSW	Mon	banana	Sp	izi
Nele	2;0.19	Eidechse	'ʔaī _ı dɛksə	'faīdete	SWW	Pcom	lizard	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Eidechse	'an deksə	'andete	SWW	Pcom	lizard	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Nele	2;0.19	Eidechse	'an deksə	'faidete	SWW	Pcom	lizard	Sp	. <u></u>
Nele	2;0.19	Elefant	- - Pela fant	'ʔɛlɛˌfantʰ	SWs	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Elefant	- - Pela fant	}ele fant	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	gilafə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Giraffe	gi'safə	gilafə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	gi'lafə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	gilafə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.19	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	gilafə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	ï
Nele	2;0.19	Hubschrauber	aeqовя∫d:nų,	aqnes'dny,	S-sW	Com	helicopter	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Hubschrauber	'hu:p,∫ка̂∪bэв	aqnes'dny	Ns-S	Com	helicopter	Sp	n-ini
Nele	2;0.19	Hubschrauber	aeq <u>o</u> eя∫'d:nų	hupsauba	MS-s	Com	helicopter	Sp	ii
Nele	2;0.19	Kamel	ka'me:l	'k ^h ı'mɛ	SS	Mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.19	Kasperle	'kaspərlə	'kaspela	SWW	Mon	clown	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.19	Kasperle	'kaspəelə	ka'kaspal:	SSW	Mon	clown	Sp	SWU
Nele	2;0.19	Koalabär	ko'?a:laˌbæ:ɐ	'pala'beïë	S-MS	Com	koala + bear	dS	SWU
Nele	2;0.19	Koalabär	ko'?a:la _l bæ:ɐ	'ka:la _' bala	SW-sW	Com	koala + bear	imit	SWU

Position	Mode	Gloss	Word type	SW child	CH phonetic	AD phonetic	AD target	Age	Child
SWU	Sp	pepper	Mon	SW	'p ^h aka	рарыіка	Paprika	2;0.19	Nele
n-ini	imit	marble run	Com	SW-s	'mxmə _r ba:n	"musmal,ba:n	Murmelbahn	2;0.19	Nele
n-ini	imit	marble run	Com	SW-s	'mxmə _' ba:n	"mused lemanm"	Murmelbahn	2;0.19	Nele
n-ini	imit	marble run	Com	SW-s	'mxmə _' ba:n	'musmal'ba:n	Murmelbahn	2;0.19	Nele
n-ini	imit	marble run	Com	SW-s	'mxmə _' ba:n	mad'lemanm'	Murmelbahn	2;0.19	Nele
ini	imit	marble run	Com	SW-s	n:ad emcm	n:pallemanm'	Murmelbahn	2;0.19	Nele
		cheese							
SWU	imit	mozzarella +	Com	ws-wsw	motahe.'hela _l kæ:zə	moza'ʁɛlaˌkæːzə	Mozzarellakäse	2;0.19	Nele
n-ini	Sp	balloon	Com	SWs	led'adrl'	'loftba _l loŋ	Luftballon	2;0.19	Nele
n-ini	Sp	balloon	Com	SWsW	lupa baŋka	'loftba _l ləŋ	Luftballon	2;0.19	Nele
SWU	Sp	lantern	Mon	SW	eua3 _y 1,	euaa1'al	Laterne	2;0.19	Nele
n-ini	Sp	crocodile	Mon	SWs	nn'etcg'	ksoko'di:1	Krokodil	2;0.19	Nele
n-ini	Sp	crocodile	Mon	SW	'kukmı	ksoko'di:1	Krokodil	2;0.19	Nele
iĒ	Sp	crocodile	Mon	WS	:nbˌnb	ksoko'di:l	Krokodil	2;0.19	Nele
SWU	imit	koala + bear	Com	SW-s	'kala _' bæ:ɐ	ko'?a:laˌbæːɐ	Koalabär	2;0.19	Nele
SWU	Sp	koala + bear	Com	SW-s	'kala _' bæe	ko'?a:laˌbæːɐ	Koalabär	2;0.19	Nele
Position	Mode	Gloss	Word type	SW child	CH phonetic	AD phonetic	AD target	Age	Child

n-ini	n-ini	SWU	n-ini	n-ini	NMS
Sp	Sp	Sp	imit	Sp	imit
pepper	tumble	chocolate	WC	WC paper	tomato
Mon	Com	Mon	Mon	Com	Mon
Ss	SW-s	sWSW	WSW	SW-s	WSW
'p ^h a _l ka	'pɔːtnˌba͡ʊn	Joka'la:la	tc'leta	ˈtɛtṇˌpiː	to'ma:tə
'papʁika	'poetsəl'baom	Joko'la:də	to'leta	to'letanpa,pi:e	to'ma:tə
Paprika	Nele 2;0.19 Purzelbaum	Schokolade	Toilette	Toilettenpapier	Tomate
Nele 2;0.19 Paprika	2;0.19	Nele 2;0.19	Nele 2;0.19 Toilette	Nele 2;0.19	Nele 2;0.19 Tomate
Nele	Nele	Nele	Nele	Nele	Nele

Sandra

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Sandra	1;05.20	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	imit	n-ini
Sandra	1;05.20	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;05.20	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;05.20	Banane	eu:na:na	'mana	SW	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;05.26	Banane	ba'na:nə	'pana	SW	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;05.26	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana:	SW	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;05.26	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;05.26	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;05.26	Tomate	et:ma:to	'pat:a	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;05.26	Tomate	et:ma:to	'mɔɪta	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;06.01	Banane	ba'na:nə	'na:nə	SW	mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;06.01	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	imit	n-ini
Sandra	1;06.01	Banane	eu:na:na	'mana	SW	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;06.01	Banane	ba'na:nə	'maja	SW	mon	banana	imit	Ë
Sandra	1;07.08	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Sandra	1;07.08	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.08	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.08	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.08	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	Sp	iri
Sandra	1;07.08	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	Sp	ï
Sandra	1;07.08	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.08	Miezekatze	'mi:fsəˌkafsə	ˈmiːtθəˌhatə	SW-sW	Com	pussycat	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.15	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.15	Kaputt	ka'put	$\beta u t^h$	S	Mon	defective	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;07.15	Miezekatze	'mi:tsə katsə	ˈmitθəˌhatθi	SW-sW	Com	pussycat	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;07.15	Salat	za'la:t	la:t ^h	S	Mon	salad	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;07.15	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'marte	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;07.15	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'ma:tə	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;07.29	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mana	SW	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;07.29	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.29	Kamel	ka'me:l	mel	S	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Sandra	1;07.29	Kamel	ka'me:l	mel	S	Mon	camel	Sp	iui
Sandra	1;07.29	Miezekatze	'mi:tsəˌkatsə	'miːˌtaʊtθi	S-sW	Com	pussycat	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.29	Miezekatzen	'mi:tsə katsən	ˈmiːtðəʔɛˌtatθṇ	SWW-sW	Com	pussycat (plural)	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.29	Miezekatzen	'mi:tsə _r katsən	'mi:təˌhatθın	SW-sW	Com	pussycat (plural)	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.29	Papier	pa'pi:e	arid	S	Mon	paper	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;07.29	Tomate	to'ma:tə	e _u teu,	MS	Mon	tomato	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;07.29	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'matə	SW	Mon	tomato	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;08.05	Benjamin	'benja _ı min	mcu _l	S	Pcom	proper name	Sp	ini
Sandra	1;08.05	Benjamin	'benja _ı min	'mena	SW	Pcom	proper name	Sp	ini
Sandra	1;08.05	Benjamin	'benja ₁ min	'mena	SW	Pcom	proper name	Sp	iui
Sandra	1;08.05	Benjamin	'benja _l min	'benamın	SWW	Pcom	proper name	Sp	ini
Sandra	1;08.05	Benjamin	'benja ₁ min	'bena	SW	Pcom	proper name	imit	ini
Sandra	1;08.05	Elefant	'aela'fant	e:a βαυθ	sws	Mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.05	Giraffe	gibafə	'tia ₁ gaθ	SWs	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.05	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'k ^h ihafə	SWW	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.05	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	'g ^h ija,ßɔf	SWs	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU

Position	ïË	n-ini	SWU	n-ini	Ξ	SWU	SWU	SWU	SWU	SWU	iri	SWU	Ë	SWU	SWU	
Mode	dS	dS	Sb	Sp	Sp	imit	Sp	dS	Sp	dS	Sp	Sp	dS	imit	Sp	
Gloss	camel	camel	camel	defective	defective	crocodile	pussycat (plural)	pussycat (plural)	pussycat (plural)	pussycat (plural)	pussycat (plural)	pussycat (plural)	proper name	clinical thermometer	clinical thermometer	
Word type	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Mon	Com	Com	Com	Com	Com	Com	Pcom	Com	Com	
SW child	MS	SW	MS	S	S	SW	SW-sW	SsW	S-SW	SS-s	S-sW	ws-s	SW	SW	SW	
CH phonetic	me:l	el:əm'	ə'me:l	put^{h}	put ^h	eycy,	ˈmiːtaˌtafsn̩	'miːˌtatanθ	'mi'tatņ	'mi'ta _r tθə	ˈmeːˌdatθṇ	mi:'datsən	'mena	eq:ij,	edin,	
AD phonetic	ka'me:l	ka'me:l	ka'me:l	ka'put	ka'put	ksoko'di:1	'mi:fsə kafsən	'mi:tsəˌkatsən	'mi:fsə kafsən	'mi:tsəˌkatsən	'mi:tsəˌkatsən	'mi:tsəˌkatsən	'bɛnja _ı min	aet:em'omast'aeq:ij,	aet:emoomestaed:if'	
AD target	Kamel	Kamel	Kamel	Kaputt	Kaputt	Krokodil	Miezekatzen	Miezekatzen	Miezekatzen	Miezekatzen	Miezekatzen	Miezekatzen	Benjamin	Fieberthermometer	Fieberthermometer	
Age	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.05	1;08.14	1;08.14	1;08.14	
Child	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	

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Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Sandra	1;08.14	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.14	Kamel	ka'me:l	mel	S	Mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;08.14	Kamel	ka'me:l	mel	S	Mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;08.14	Känguru	ижидики	'kækæ	SW	Mon	kangaroo	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.14	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	bitl	S	Mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.14	Miezekatze	'mi:tsə _k atsə	'mi'tafsn	S-SW	Com	pussycat	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.14	Miezekatzen	'mi:tsə _l katsən	'mi:khats _' en	S-Ws	Com	pussycat (plural)	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.14	Staubsauger]seboez	cg:v1	SW	Com	vacuum cleaner	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;08.21	Benjamin	¹bɛnja ₁ min	'neme	SW	Pcom	proper name	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;08.21	Delfin	del'fi:n	pi:n:	S	Mon	dolphin	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;08.21	Fieberthermometer	aet:emo'mest'aeq:iJ	'bi:ba _ı mu:ti	SW-sW	Com	clinical thermometer	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;08.21	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	exc6 ₁	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;08.21	Giraffe	gi'ваfэ	ejab	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;08.21	Jaguar	ja:guae	ja:wa	SW	Mon	jaguar	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.21	Jaguar	'ja:guae	'ja:ka	SW	Mon	jaguar	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Sandra	1;08.31	Pelikan	'pe:li _, kan	pesi'kait'	sws	Pcom	pelican	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.31	Pinguin	'ningu'in	piŋ	S	Pcom	penguin	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.31	Tintenfisch	'tınten _ı fi∫	½yd,etit [']	SW-s	Com	octopus	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;08.31	Tomate	to'ma:tə	ma:tə	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	: <u>=</u>
Sandra	1;08.31	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'ma:tə	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	n-ini
Sandra	1;08.31	Zitrone	eu:oя1;ist	eu:&1,u:ist	WSW	Mon	citron	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Ballon	ba'ləŋ	licd	S	mon	balloon	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Ballon	ba'ləŋ	mcd	S	mon	balloon	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Eierbecher	aeŝap'aejag'	'ʔaīˌbɛça	S-sW	Com	dno 669	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Eierbecher	aesad'aeïaf'	'ʔaīaˌbeça	SW-sW	Com	dno 669	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Eierbecher	aeŝaq'aejag _'	'Ŷaīəɐˌbɛça	SW-sW	Com	dno 669	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Ellenbogen	neg:od'ne13f'	'fele'bo:dņ	MS-MS	Com	elbow	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Fieberthermometer	aet:em'omast'aeq:iJ	'pi:be _l muti	SW-sW	Com	clinical thermometer	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Fieberthermometer	aet:amomastaed:il'	'pe:ba	SW	Com	clinical	Sp	Ξ

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Моде	Position
Sandra	1;09.06	Fieberthermometer	aet:am'omast'aeq:if'	'be:ˌba	Ss	Com	clinical	Sp	n-ini
							thermometer		
Sandra	1;09.06	Fieberthermometer	aet:amomastaed:if'	'be:ˌba	Ss	Com	clinical	Sp	n-ini
							thermometer		
Sandra	1;09.06	Gießkanne	'gi:s _l kanə	'kis _ı kanə	S-sW	Com	watering can	imit	NMS
Sandra	1;09.06	Gießkanne	'gi:s _l kanə	'ki _r kasə	S-sW	Com	watering can	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Gießkanne	'gi:s kanə	'kınıkasə	S-sW	Com	watering can	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Gießkanne	'gi:sˌkanə	'gi:s kanə	S-sW	Com	watering can	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Giraffe	gibafə	'k ^h afe	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Jonathan	'jona _t a:n	'nona _t t ^h an	SWs	Pcom	proper name	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Känguru	'кеŋдиви	'tɨŋυŋʊ	SWW	Mon	kangaroo	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Känguru	'кеŋдиви	ˈtɨŋʊ	SW	Mon	kangaroo	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	kəkw'ki:1	sWS	Mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Luftballon	'loftba _l loŋ	tieticd,	SW	Com	balloon	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Mähdrescher	аеʃзяр':æш _і	ae53q'ep:æu,	SW-sW	Com	combine harvester	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.06	Mähdrescher	ае∫зяр':æш,	'me:ta _t teçəe	SW-sW	Com	combine harvester	imit	SWU

	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
1;09.06 Michaela	ela	mıça'?e:la	mıçə'fe:la	MSMs	Mon	proper name	imit	Ē
1;09.06 Nagels	Nagelschere	'na:gəl,∫є:кә	'nakə	SW	Com	nail scissors	Sp	SWU
1;09.06 Pelikan	LI LI	'pe:li kan	'pe:ŋa͡ʊwaʊ	SWW	Pcom	pelican	imit	SWU
1;09.06 Pinguin	ii	ni _, ugu _, in	'gumi	SW	Pcom	penguin	Sp	SWU
1;09.06 Pinguin	nin	ni _, ugn _i n	'bumi	SW	Pcom	penguin	Sp	SWU
1;09.06 Sonr	Sonnenbrille	el134 uencz	elıd _' nct'	S-sW	Com	sunglasses	imit	SWU
1;09.06 Sonı	Sonnenbrille	elıad _' nencz'	elıq _' nct'	S-sW	Com	sunglasses	imit	SWU
1;09.06 Stau	Staubsauger	l∫taop,zaogae	'gaūka	SW	Com	vacuum cleaner	Sp	SWU
1;09.06 Telefon	fon	noj elist	't ^h e:ma _ı dш	SWs	Pcom	telephone	imit	SWU
1;09.06 Torr	Tomatensoße	to'ma:ten _z zo:se	'matə _r s:55	SW-sW	Com	tomato sauce	imit	SWU
1;09.16 Autc	Autopizza	'autopitsa	'?aoto ₁ p ^h it ^h a	SW-sW	com	car + pizza	Sp	iui
1;09.16 Aut	Autopizza	'autopitsa	, Paoto photsa	WS-Ws	сош	car + pizza	Sp	n-ini
1;09.16 Aut	Autopizza	'autopitsa	, Paoto p ^h itsa	WS-Ws	сош	car + pizza	Sp	n-ini
1;09.16 Aut	Autopizza	'autopitsa	, auto phitsa	ws-ws	com	car + pizza	Sp	n-ini
1;09.16 Ballon	on	ba'ləŋ	ba'lv:	SS	mom	balloon	imit	SWU
1;09.16 Ballon	uc	ba'lɔŋ	ba'l:ɔm	WS	mom	balloon	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Sandra	1;09.26	Apfelsine	apfəl'zi:nə	eu:iz _'	SW	mon	orange	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Apfelsine	apfəl'zi:nə	'apol'zi:no	SWsW	mon	orange	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Apfelsine	gafjal'zi:nə	'apəl'si:nə	SWsW	mom	orange	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Ballon	ba'lɔŋ	ba'loŋ	SM	mom	balloon	imit	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Ballon	ba'lɔŋ	ba'lɔŋ	MS	mom	balloon	imit	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Ballon	ba'lɔŋ	ba'loŋ	SM	mom	balloon	imit	iri
Sandra	1;09.26	Eichhörnchen	'aıçıhæençən	'autghagh	S-sW	Pcom	squirrel	imit	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Eichhörnchen	'aıçıhæençən	'Pavtç _h ançn	S-sW	Pcom	squirrel	imit	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Eichhörnchen	'aıçıhæençən	'au tiçən	S-sW	Pcom	squirrel	imit	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Eichhörnchen	'aıçıhœençən	<u> Partç</u>	S	Pcom	squirrel	imit	Ξ
Sandra	1;09.26	Elefant	}elə fant	'fe:le'fat ^h	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Elefant	}elə fant	, Pele'fat ^h	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Elefant	}elə fant	}ele'fat	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Giraffe	gi'ваfэ	'tafa	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'k ^h afe	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'k ^h afe	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Sandra	1;09.26	Giraffe	gi'safə	eJa _ų y,	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Giraffe	gi'safə	kie'k ^h afa	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	ï
Sandra	1;09.26	Kamel	ka'me:l	ka'me:1	MS	Mon	camel	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Kamel	ka'me:l	le:im	SW	Mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Kamel	ka'me:l	'me:j¦	SW	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Kaputt	ka'put	p^{h} ot	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Kaputt	ka'put	ha'put	SW.	Mon	defective	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Käsekuchen	nex:nylez:æyl	'kʰɛːsa'kɯxŋ	SW-SW	Com	cheesecake	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Kellertreppe	'ке ватава	edait¦aela [,] k	SW-sW	Com	basement stairs	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Kinderarzt	'kındəe ?aefīst	'k ^h ina ₁ 2ats	SW-s	Com	pediatrician	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Krokodil	kBoko'di:1	ej:i _u a'ca	MSM	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;09.26	Krokodil	kroko'di:l	kokə ^l k ^h i:1	sws	Mon	crocodile	Sp	izi
Sandra	1;09.26	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	kɔkə'di:1	sws	Mon	crocodile	Sp	izi
Sandra	1;09.26	Leberfleck	'le:ba _l flɛk	'fe:ka _ı vek	SW-s	Com	mole	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;09.26	Miezekatze	'mi:tsə _r katsə	'mitə _r tatsə	SW-sW	Com	pussycat	Sp	SWU

Sandra

Age

Child

Sandra

Sandra

Sandra

Sandra

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
	1;10.10	Kamel	ka'me:l	pi'me:1	SM	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
i	1;10.10	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
1	1;10.10	Kamel	ka'me:l	kɛ'mel	MS	Mon	camel	Sp	ï
	1;10.10	Kamel	ka'me:l	'me:1	S	Mon	camel	Sp	: <u>E</u>
1	1;10.10	Kaput	ka'put	ka'put ^h	MS	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
	1;10.10	Kaput	ka'put	ka'p ^h ut	SM	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;10.10	Kaput	ka'put	$_{ m h}^{ m h} a^{ m h} { m m}$:t	SS	Mon	defective	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;10.10	Kaputt	ka'put	$k^h a^l p^h ut$	MS	Mon	defective	imit	n-ini
Sandra	1;10.10	Kaputt	ka'put	$k^{h}a^{l}p^{h}ut$	SM	Mon	defective	Sp	Ë
Sandra	1;10.10	Kaputt	ka'put	ka'put ^h	MS	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;10.10	Kaputt	ka'put	ha'put ^h	SM	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;10.10	Luftballon	'loftba _r loŋ	cl _l eti3d'	SWs	Com	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;10.10	Luftballon	'loftba _l loŋ	lcl _{eftid}	SWs	Com	balloon	Sp	iui
Sandra	1;10.10	Luftballon	'loftba _r loŋ	gcl'amuld _,	SWS	Com	balloon	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;10.10	Miezekatzen	'mi:tsəˌkatsən	'mi:tə _l hŒtsɛ	SW-sW	Com	pussycat (plural)	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;10.10	Miezekatzen	'mi:tsəˌkatsən	'mitə'tafsp	MS-MS	Com	pussycat (plural)	Sp	n-ini
4									

	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	еро М	Position
1;10.10 Miezekatzen		'mi:tsəˌkatsən	mitə'tafsp,	ws-ws	Com	pussycat (plural)	dS	ini
1;10.10 Müllauto		'myl _t aoto	'myl _t ?avt ^h ho	S-sW	Com	refuse lorry	imit	SWU
1;10.10 Pinguin		'pnggu _i n	uimf'cûid'	SWs	Pcom	penguin	Sp	SWU
1;10.10 Rosine		eu:izioa	ko'zi:ne	WSW	Mon	raisin	Sp	n-ini
1;10.10 Rosinen		nen:izioя	hɔ'li:n	WS	Mon	raisin (plural)	imit	ini
1;10.10 Rosinenbrötchen	tchen	neşt:юяd _' nen:iz'оя	neşī:øXd'en:iz _i ch	Wsw-SW	Com	tea-cake	imit	n-ini
1;10.10 Salamander		zala'mandər	'zi:nə _r mana	SWsW	Mon	salamander	imit	SWU
1;10.10 Zahnpasta		fsa:n _, pasta	'tsan _i pat¢a	S-sW	Com	toothpaste	imit	NMS
1;10.19 Eichhörnchen	en	neşnası, hænçən	eśauc'hæç	S-sW	Pcom	squirrel	Sp	SWU
1;10.19 Fischölkapsel	les	'fi∫,²ø:l,kapsəl	ˈfʏçølˌkʰapsəl	SW-sW	Com	fish + oil + capsule	Sp	iui
1;10.19 Gummibärchen	hen	neşa:æd _i mug'	ýsmuý ľ	SW	Com	jelly bear	Sp	iu
1;10.19 Gummibärchen	hen	'gumi _l bæ'eşan	'gum i	SW	Com	jelly bear	Sp	n-ini
1;10.19 Gummibärchen	hen	'gumi _l bæ:eçən	ˈgumi'beçn	SW-SW	Com	jelly bear	Sp	ini
1;10.19 Gummibärchen	chen	'gumi,bæægen	eɔ́aq,imnb,	SW-SW	Com	jelly bear	Sp	SWU
1;10.19 Gummibärchen	chen	neşa:ædˌimogˈ	ˈdəqˈɔ͡ɪɯngˈ	SW-sW	Com	jelly bear	Sp	ini
1;10.19 Gummibärchen	hen	neşa:ædˌimogˈ	'gumi	SW	Com	jelly bear	Sp	NMS

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Sandra	1;10.19	Krokodil	kroko'di:1	le:it ¹	S	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;10.19	Milchflasche	eʃalʃˈɔ͡lɪmˌ	eðalJ¹ðım,	S-sW	Com	milk bottle	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;10.19	Nebenmann	'ne:bən _ı man	'ne:bmman	SWW	Com	neighbor	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;10.19	Pinguin	ni,ugn'in	ˈpɪŋʊˌʔv̄ɪn	SWs	Pcom	penguin	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;10.19	Salzstange	'zalts,∫taŋə	'zaī taŋə	S-sW	Com	pretzel stick	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;10.19	Tannenzapfen	'tanən _ı tsapfən	't ^h anə _r hapm	SW-sW	Com	fir cone	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Banane	ba'na:nə	'na:nə	SW	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Banane	ba'na:nə	ba'na:nə	MSM	mon	banana	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Brokkoli	'bʁokoli	'pɔkʰɛˌli	SWs	Mon	broccoli	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Butterblume	'botae,blu:ma	'pote _i plu:me	SW-sW	Com	buttercup	imit	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Butterblume	'botae,blu:ma	em:nled'atoq	SW-WsW	Com	buttercup	imit	Ξ
Sandra	1;11.0	Eichhörnchen	'aıçıhæençən	'ʔaɪçˌhøːtçə	S-sW	Pcom	squirrel	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Elefant	, Pela fant	Pe:lɛˈfaːtʰ	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Elefant	, Pela fant	Pe:lɛˈfaːtʰ	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	Ξ
Sandra	1;11.0	Elefant	, Pelə'fant	Pele'fat ^h	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Elefant	Pelə ['] fant	Քelɛˈfatʰ	sWS	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Sandra	1;11.0	Elefant	, Pela fant	Pele fat ^h	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Elefant	'aela'fant	Pele'fat ^h	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Elefant	'aela'fant	, Pele'fat ^h	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Fledermaus	'fle:dəɐˌmaʊs	'fle:ta _ı maos	SW-s	Com	bat	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Giraffe	gi'safə	tçi'txafe	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	k ^h i'k ^h a:və	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	iu
Sandra	1;11.0	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	gi'txafɛ	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	зваяе	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Höhlendecke	eyap'uel;øų,	eyaj'el:øu	SW-sW	Com	cave + ceiling	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Höhlendecke	eyap'uel:øu,	'hø:ləˌtakə	SW-sW	Com	cave + ceiling	Sp	in
Sandra	1;11.0	Kamel	ka'me:l	k ^h a'me:1	MS	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Kamel	ka'me:l	k ^h a'me:l	WS	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Kamel	ka'me:l	k ^h a'me:1	WS	Mon	camel	imit	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Kamel	ka'me:l	ka'me:l	MS	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Kamel	ka'me:l	ka'me:l	WS	Mon	camel	Sp	iE
Sandra	1;11.0	Kamel	ka'me:l	'kax'me:l	SS	Mon	camel	Sp	ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Sandra	1;11.0	Kamel	ka'me:l	hax'k ^h e:1	SS	Mon	camel	Sp	<u>:</u>
Sandra	1;11.0	Kaput	ka'put	k ^h a'p ^h ut	MS	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Kaput	ka'put	ka'p ^h ut	MS	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Kaputt	ka'put	k ^h a'put	MS	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Kaputt	ka'put	ka'p ^h ut	MS	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Kaputt	ka'put	kap ^h ot ^h	SW	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Kohlrabi	ko:l'ʁa:bi	'voso'sabi	swsw	Mon	kohlrabi	imit	ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Krokodil	kroko'di:1	tote'ti:l	sws	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	kokə'di:1	sws	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	kɔkɛ'tiːl	sws	Mon	crocodile	Sp	iri
Sandra	1;11.0	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	'kəkə'dse:n	sws	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	k ^b okətʁ'ti:l	sws	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Sandra	1;11.0	Michaela	mıça'?e:la	mıça'fe:la	swsw	Mon	proper name	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Michaela	mıça'?e:la	mıça'fe:la	swsw	Mon	proper name	Sp	SWU
Sandra	1;11.0	Miezekatzen	'mi:tsə katsən	'mirtə _r tarten	SW-sW	Com	pussycat (plural)	Sp	NMS
Sandra	1;11.0	Miezekatzen	'mi:tsəˌkatsən	'mi:təˌtaˌsɛn	SW-ss	Com	pussycat (plural)	Sp	SWU

Mode	ral) Sp ini		ral) Sp ini	ds ds	ds ds ds	S S S S	ds ds ds ds ds	Sp Sp Sp iiii	Sp S	S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	Sp S	S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S
	pussycat (plural)	pussycat (plural)	-	pussycat (plural)	pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural)	pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural)	pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) nose drops	pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) nose drops pepper	pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) nose drops pepper zipper	pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) nose drops pepper zipper	pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) nose drops pepper zipper zipper	pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) nose drops pepper zipper zipper proper name fir cone	pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) nose drops ripper zipper zipper proper name fir cone fir cone tomato (plural)	pussycat (plural) pussycat (plural) nose drops pepper zipper zipper proper name fir cone tomato (plural)
Com		Com	800	E 00	Com	E CO CO	Com Com	Com Com Mon	Com Com Com	Com Com Com	Com Com Mon	Com Com Mon Com Com	Com Com Mon Mon Mon	Com Com Won Com
Ns-S		Ws-WS	SW-sW		SW-ss	SW-ss Ws-SW	SW-ss Ws-SW	SW-ss Ws-SW S-sW	SW-ss Ws-SW S-sW SWWS	SW-SS S-SW SWS SWS	SW-SS WS-SW SWWS SWS SWS	SW-SW SWS SWS SWS SWS SWS SWS	SW-SW SWS SWS SWS WS-SW SWS WS-WS WSW	SW-SW SWS SWS SWS WS-WS WSW WSW WSW WSW
mrthatsn	-	mita _r tedin'	'mitə _r tatn		'mitəˌtaˌtɛn	'mitə _t a _t en mi _k e'tetn	'mitəˌtaˌtɛn miˌkɛˈtɛtn 'na:ˌtʁɔfmฺ	'mitə,ta,ten mi,ke'tetn 'na:,tʁɔfmฺ ,papapʁı'ka:	'mitə,ta,ten mi,ke'tetn 'na;,tʁɔfm papapʁı'ka: 'ʁaīzə,çlʊs	'mitə,ta,ten mi,ke'tetn 'na;,tsɔfm ,papapʁɪ'ka: 'ʁaīzə,çlʊs 'ʁāsəç,çlʊs	'mitə,ta,ten mi,ke'tetn 'na;,tʁɔfm papapʁı'ka: 'ʁaɪzə,çlʊs 'ʁaɪsəç,çlʊs	'mitə,ta,ten mi,ke'tetn 'na;,tsɔfm ,papapsı'ka: 'saīzə,çlus 'saīsəç,çlus sa'pi:nə 'tʰanə,tʰapfm	'mitə,ta,ten mi,ke'tetn 'na:,tkɔfm ,papapʁı'ka: 'ʁaɪzə,çlus 'ʁaɪsəç,çlus sa'pi:nə 'tʰanə,tʰapfm tʰo'ma:te	'mitə,ta,ten mi,ke'tetn 'na;,tsɔfm ,papapsı'ka: 'saīzə,çlus 'saīsəç,çlus sa'pi:nə 'tʰanə,tʰapfm tʰo'ma:te 'veçə'klame
('mi:tsəˌkatsən	'mi:tsəˌkatsən	'mi:tsə katsən		'mi:tsə _r katsən	'mi:tsəˌkatsən 'mi:tsəˌkatsən	'mi:Tsəˌkatsən 'mi:Tsəˌkatsən 'nazənˌtsəpFən	'mi:tsəˌkatsən 'mi:tsəˌkatsən 'nazənˌtʁɔpfən 'papʁika	'mi:Tsəˌkatsən 'mi:Tsəˌkatsən 'nazənˌtsəpfən 'papʁika 'ʁaisfəɐˌʃlʊs	'mi:tsəˌkatsən 'mi:tsəˌkatsən 'nazənˌtsəpfən 'papʁika 'ʁaisfəɐˌʃlʊs	'mi:Tsəˌkatsən 'mi:Tsəˌkatsən 'nazənˌtsəpfən 'papʁika 'ʁaisfəɐˌʃlus 'ʁaisfəɐˌʃlus	'mi:Tsə,katsən 'mi:Tsə,katsən 'nazən,tsəpfən 'papsika 'bansfəe,flos 'bansfəe,flos za'bi:nə 'tanən,tsapfən	'mi:tsəˌkatsən 'mi:tsəˌkatsən 'nazənˌtsəpfən 'papʁika 'ʁaisfəɐˌʃlus 'ʁaisfəɐˌʃlus 'ʁaisfəɐˌʃlus 'tanənˌtsapfən to'ma:tən	'mi:Tsəˌkatsən 'mi:Tsəˌkatsən 'nazənˌtsəpfən 'papʁika 'ʁaisfəɐˌʃlos za'bi:nə 'tanənˌtsapfən to'ma:tən
	Miezekatzen	Miezekatzen	Miezekatzen		Miezekatzen	Miezekatzen Miezekatzen	Miezekatzen Miezekatzen Nasentropfen	Miezekatzen Miezekatzen Nasentropfen Paprika	Miezekatzen Miezekatzen Nasentropfen Paprika Reißverschluß	Miezekatzen Miezekatzen Nasentropfen Paprika Reißverschluß	Miezekatzen Nasentropfen Paprika Rei ßverschluß Rei ßverschluß Sabine	Miezekatzen Miezekatzen Nasentropfen Paprika Reißverschluß Reißverschluß Sabine Tannenzapfen	Miezekatzen Miezekatzen Nasentropfen Paprika Reißverschluß Reißverschluß Sabine Tannenzapfen Tomaten	Miezekatzen Miezekatzen Nasentropfen Paprika Rei ßverschluß Sabine Tannenzapfen Tomaten Wäscheklammer
)	1;11.0	1;11.0	1;11.0	7.1). -,-	1;11.0	1;11.0	1;11.0	0.11;1 0.11;1 0.11;1	1;11.0	0.11;1 0.11;1 0.11;1 0.11;1	1;11.0 1;11.0 1;11.0 1;11.0 1;11.0 1;11.0	0.11;1 0.11;1 0.11;1 0.11;1 0.11;1 0.11;1	1;11.0 1;1
	Sandra	Sandra	Sandra	Copper	Salidia	Sandra	Sandra Sandra	Sandra Sandra Sandra	Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra	Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra	Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra	Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra	Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra	Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra Sandra

Wiglaf

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;05.26	Papagei	papa'gaï	maī	S	Mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;05.26	Papagei	papa'gar	mai	S	Mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;07.11	Papagei	papa'gaī	pa:p	S	Mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;07.26	Delfin	del'fi:n	mɨ:n	S	Mon	dolphin	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;07.26	Jasmin	jas'mi:n	mi:n	S	Mon	proper name	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;07.26	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	' ?i .j]	SW	Mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.02	Banane	ba'na:nə	'ma:nə	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.02	Banane	ba'na:nə	'ma:nə	SW	Mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.02	Garage	да'ва:3э	'ha:3ə	SW	Mon	garage	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.02	Garage	ез:ва:Зэ	'ha:də	SW	Mon	garage	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.02	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.02	Staubsauger	¹∫tā0pˌzaogəe	'taoto	SW	Com	vacuum cleaner	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Antenne	fan'tenə	euat	SW	Mon	aerial	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Antenne	fan'tena	'te'ne	SS	Mon	aerial	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Banane	ba'na:nə	'ma:nɛ	SW	Mon	banana	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Bananen	ba'na:nən	'ma:nən	SW	Mon	banana (plural)	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Garage	да'ва:3э	'hasə	SW	Mon	garage	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Kamel	ka'me:1	'meja	SW	Mon	camel	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Kaputt	ka'put	bot	S	Mon	defective	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Trompete	ет:әd'тсят	pe:te	SW	Mon	trumpet	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Papagei	papa'gaï	'pa'pa:s	SS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Papagei	papa'gaï	'pa _, pa:	Ss	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'az',maīzə	'a:maīsə	SWW	Pcom	ant	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'az',maīzə	'arbaīse	SWW	Pcom	ant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'?a:ˌmaīzə	'a'vaīzə	SSW	Pcom	ant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'a:'maīzə	'a'ma:sə	SSW	Pcom	ant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'?a:ˌmaīzə	'a'masə	SSW	Pcom	ant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'?a:ˌmaīzə	'a _{masə}	SsW	Pcom	ant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'az',maīzə	'a'baīsə	SsW	Pcom	ant	Sp	in
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'?a:ˌmaīzə	a'vaīse	MSs	Pcom	ant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'az;maīzə	'a'vaīsə	sSW	Pcom	ant	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'?a:ˌmaīzə	-a'βaīsə	sSW	Pcom	ant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Ameise	'azı'maīzə	?a'maīsə	WSW	Pcom	ant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;08.06	Mülltonne	euct _l Ivm'	eucp ₁	SW	Com	refuse bin	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Antenne	Pan'tenə	eua1,	SW	Mon	aerial	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Banane	ba'na:nə	'mæne	SW	Mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Bananen	ba'na:nən	'ma:nən	SW	Mon	banana (plural)	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Giraffe	gi'bafə	'hafe	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	'hafe	SW	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Giraffe	ејвя¦в	eJau	SW	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Kamel	ka'me:1	'm:e:ja	SW	Mon	camel	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Kamel	ka'me:l	'mirja	SW	Mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Elefant	}elə fant	mant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	tej:	S	Mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Krokodil	kroko'di:1	'ejmt'	SW	Mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Margarine	еп:iя'ввавт'	'hi:ni	SW	Mon	margarine	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Margarine	eu:iяˌagaamˈ	'hıni	SW	Mon	margarine	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Margarine	eu:iя¦agaam'	'hıni	SW	Mon	margarine	imit	iu.
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Margarine	еп:ія ввавт	'hıni	SW	Mon	margarine	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Margarine	еп:ія ввавт	euıų,	SW	Mon	margarine	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Margarine	eu:iя¦agaam'	euıų	SW	Mon	margarine	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Marmelade	ep:al,emaam'	'ha:da	SW	Mon	jam	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Lokomotive	ev:it'omodol,	ev:It'	SW	Mon	locomotive	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Papagei	papa'gaï	pa'paï	WS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Papagei	papa'gar	pap:ai	SW	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Ameise	'ar,maïzə	'ła:maīshe	SWW	Pcom	ant	Sp	Œ
Wiglaf	1;08.13	Ameise	'az:maīzə	'a'maïsə	SSW	Pcom	ant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Antenne	an'tenə	eūa1,	SW	Mon	aerial	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Banane	ba'na:nə	'matnə	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Garage	да'ка:3э	haːsə	SW	Mon	garage	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Giraffe	gi'safə	'ha <u>f</u> e	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	eJ̄eų,	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Kaputt	ka'put	'puts	S	Mon	defective	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Kaputt	ka'put	a'put	MS	Mon	defective	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Johanna	jo'hana	'ha <u>n</u> a	SW	Mon	proper name	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	a:id _{ed}	aid	SW	Mon	paper	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	aid	S	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	aiid	S	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	a:id ₋ pd	aiid	S	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	aid	S	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	aiːɨd	SW	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	a;id,ed	aų:ɨdˌ	SW	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	aːɨd	SW	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pire	aːɨdˌ	MS	Mon	paper	dS	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	a:id ed	ae:id	MS	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	'pi:a	SW	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	azid _'	MS	Mon	paper	Sp	i.i.
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	a:id	SW	Mon	paper	Sp	ï

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	aːid	SW	Mon	paper	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	aːid	SW	Mon	paper	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	pa'pi:e	aːid	SW	Mon	paper	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papier	a:id ₋ pd	aːiq,	SW	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Tomate	t:en'ma:tə	ˈmaːθə	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'ma:tə	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Elefant	'aelə'fant	van	S	Mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Elefant	'aela'fant	fan:	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Elefant		fant	S	Mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Elefant	'aela'fant	'vantən	SW	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Lokomotive	ev:it'omoyol,	eJ;it,	SW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Lokomotive	ev:it'omodol,	eJ:it ₁	SW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Lokomotive	ev:it'omodol,	egit,	SW	Mon	locomotive	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Lokomotive	ev:it'omoyol,	eJıt,	SW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Lokomotive	ev:it'omodol,	eJI1,	SW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	<u>:</u> ⊑
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Lokomotive	lokomo'ti:və	eJeij,	SW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papagei	papa'gaï	pa'paī	WS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papagei	papa'gar	pa'paī	WS	Mon	parrot	Sp	Œ
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papagei	papa'gaï	'papaï	SW	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papagei	papa'gaï	'papaï	SW	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papagei	papa'gaï	pa paī	SS	Mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papagei	papa'gaï	'pa'paī	SS	Mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Papagei	papa'gar	'pa'paī	SS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.02	Ameise	'az'maīza	'az'masə	sSW	Pcom	ant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Antenne	-gan'tena	eua1,	SW	Mon	aerial	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Banane	ba'na:nə	'maːnə	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Garage	да'ва:3э	'ha:sə	SW	Mon	garage	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Giraffe	gi'ваfэ	'haxfa	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Giraffe	ејвај	eJau	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Giraffe	gi'safə	'hafə	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Giraffe	gi'safə	ejaų,	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'hafə	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Kassette	ka'setə	'veta	SW	Mon	cassette	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Johanna	jo'hana	'hana	SW	Mon	proper name	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Papier	aːidˌad	aːid	S	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Tomate	to'ma:tə	'maːtə	SW	Mon	tomato	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Elefant	'aelə'fant	vant	S	Mon	elephant	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Elefant		vant	S	Mon	elephant	imit	Ē
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Elefant	'aelə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Margarine	eu:ixlagaem'	eu:ih	SW	Mon	margarine	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Marmelade	maemala:də	'ha:tə	SW	Mon	jam	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Lokomotive	ev:it'omodol,	eJ:it,	SW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Papagei	papa'gaï	pa'p:aī	WS	Mon	parrot	Sp	Ë
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Papagei	papa'gar	'va'p:aī	SS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Ameise	'ar,maīzə	a:ˈmartθə	MSM	Pcom	ant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Riesenrad	'ki:zən _ı ka:t	'hi:sṇ	SW	Com	giant wheel	imit	Ë
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Riesenrad	'si:zən _ı sa:t	ˈhiːsṇ	SW	Com	giant wheel	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Riesenrad	'ki:zən _ı ʁaːt	'hi:sṇ	SW	Com	giant wheel	imit	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Riesenrad	'si:zən _r sa:t	ˈhiːsṇ	MS	Com	giant wheel	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Riesenrad	ˈʁiːzənˌʁaːt	hi:sp	MS	Com	giant wheel	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Riesenrad	'si:zən _ı sa:t	hi:sņ	SW	Com	giant wheel	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.09	Riesenrad	'si:zən _ı sa:t	'hi: _' sent	S-S	Com	giant wheel	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Antenne	an'tena	euat	SW	Mon	aerial	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Banane	ba'na:nə	'maːnə	SW	Mon	banana	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Garage	да'ка:3э	'ha:sə	MS	Mon	garage	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'ha:fə	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'hafə	MS	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Papier	pa'pi:e	ae:id	SW	Mon	paper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Tomaten	to'ma:tən	'maːtṇ	MS	Mon	tomato (plural)	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Tomaten	to'ma:tən	ˈmaːkŋ	SW	Mon	tomato (plural)	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Elefant	'-lelə'fant	van:	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Elefant	'elə'fant	fant	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Lokomotive	ev:it'omodol,	excv'	SW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Lokomotive	ev:it'omodol,	еф:і1,	SW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Papagei	papa'gar	pa'paï	MS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Autoschlüssel	'Paoto_Slysal	'aviotosal	SWW	Com	car key	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Autoschlüssel	'Paoto, street	'autose'	SWW	Com	car key	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Ameisen	'az; _' maīzə	2a'maīsņ	WSW	Pcom	ant (plural)	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.19	Riesenrad	'ki:zən _ı ka:t	hi:sņ	SW	Com	giant wheel	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.26	Banane	eu:na:nə	eu:am	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.26	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'hafə	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.26	Kartoffeln	kae'tɔfəln	uljc1,	SW	Mon	potato (plural)	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.26	Kaputt	ka'put	but	S	Mon	defective	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.26	Tomaten	to'ma:tən	'maːkŋ	SW	Mon	tomato (plural)	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.26	Papagei	papa'gar	pa'paī	WS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.26	Staubsauger	¹∫tā0p₁za0gəɐ	'taop _' saoga	S-sW	Com	vacuum cleaner	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;09.26	Staubsauger	'∫ta∪p ₁ za∪gəe	'taop _' saoga	S-sW	Com	vacuum cleaner	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Banane	ba'na:nə	'ma:nə	SW	Mon	banana	Sp	iu.
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Ballon	ba'ləŋ	ûcq	S	Mon	balloon	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Delfin	del'fi:n	svi:n	S	Mon	dolphin	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	'ʁafɛ	SW	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Giraffe	gi'safə	'gafə	SW	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Kartoffel	kae'tɔfəl	ˈtɔfi]	SW	Mon	potato	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Kamel	ka'me:1	mcl:	S	Mon	camel	Sp	Ë
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Trompete	tкэт'ре:tэ	pe:tə	SW	Mon	trumpet	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Indianer	aeu:ja:noa	's ^j a:na	SW	Mon	native American	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Indianer	aeu:ajipudi	'sa:na	SW	Mon	native American	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Elefant	, Pela fant	fan	S	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Papagei	papa'gar	papa'kaī	sws	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Apfelmus	'apfal _m u:s	'apfəl'mu:s	S-MS	Com	apple sauce	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Ameise	'?a:ˌmaīzə	'?aī _, maīse:	SsW	Pcom	ant	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Osterhase	'}o:stae _l ha:za	'90:sta _l hasə	Ws-WS	Com	easter + bunny	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Staubsauger	'Staup _r zaugae	'taok' saoge	Ms-S	Com	vacuum cleaner	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Staubsauger	aeg∪az₁q∪at∫'	'tao _' saoge	Ms-S	Com	vacuum cleaner	dS	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Babybuch	'be:bi _r buːx	'pe:bi _. pm:x	SW-s	Com	baby book	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Brokkoli	'bsokoli	'pw:ki puń:i	MsWS	Mon	broccoli	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Brokkoli	'bʁokoli	'pypi _r kwlili	SWsWW	Mon	broccoli	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Farbkasten	'faep,kastən	'fastņ	SW	Com	box of paints	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Hammerbank	'haməe _' baŋk	'hama _ı baŋk [¬]	SW-s	Com	hammer bank	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Hubschrauber	'hu:p,∫ʁāʊbəɐ	'xw:p _' saobe	S-sW	Com	helicopter	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Pfannkuchen	'pfan _l ku:xən	'pan:ˌkuːxŋ	S-sW	Com	pancake	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Pfannkuchen	'pfan _l ku:xən	'fan:kmxə	MMS	Com	pancake	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Waschstraße	'va∫,∫tsa:sə	'vas _t as:ə	S-sW	Com	car wash	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Zahnbürste	fsa:n by esta	etsa:kd'm:ret	MS-S	Com	toothbrush	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Zahnpasta	fsa:n,pasta	'va:m _ı pasta	S-sW	Com	toothpaste	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Sandkiste	'zant _ı kıstə	'vanst _ı kıstə	S-sW	Com	sand box	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Sandkasten	'zant _ı kastən	'θan _ı kastņ	S-sW	Com	sand box	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Sandkasten	'zant _ı kastən	'ðan _ı kastņ	S-sW	Com	sand box	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.13	Sandkuchen	'zant _ı ku:xən	'z ^w an _ı kmxŋ	S-sW	Com	sand cake	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Bananen	ba'na:nən	'maːṇː	S	Mon	banana (plural)	Sp	in:
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Kartoffeln	kae'tɔfəln	ujtct,	SW	Mon	potato (plural)	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Kamel	ka'me:1	me:l	S	Mon	camel	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Pullover	aen:ol,nd	aj:xl _i	SW	Mon	pullover	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Tomaten	to'ma:tən	'maːtṇ	SW	Mon	tomato (plural)	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Zitronen	isi'tro:nan	'tso:n:	S	Mon	citron (plural)	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Elefant	'?elə'fant	'}e:lə'fant'	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Schokoladeneis	Joko'la:dən Paīs	'la:xŋ _r ʔāīs	SW-s	Com	chocolate ice-cream	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Papagei	papa'gaï	pa _l pa'kaī	WsS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Papagei	,papa'gaī	papa'kaī	sWS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Papagei	,papa'gaī	papa'kaī	sws	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Papagei	,papa'gaī	papa'kaī	sWS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Unterhose	ez:oq'aetuoŁ'	'qunta _ı hyzə	SW-sW	Com	shorts	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Scheinwerfer	aeJaan'nzefj	ajasn'usan	S-sW	Com	spotlight	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Scheinwerfer	aeJasu'\ziu'\	ajasn'usen	S-sW	Com	spotlight	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Schlüsselloch	xcl _l esyll'	xcl'esxl'	SM-s	Com	keyhole	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Schneebesen	'Jne:'pe:zən	'ne:'pɨsṇ	S-SW	Com	eggbeater	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Schokoeis	'Joko _' Païs	zokļ'?aīs	sW-S	Com	chocolate ice-cream	imit	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Schokoeis	'∫oko 2aīs	sokl'?aīs	sW-S	Com	chocolate ice-cream	imit	:u
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Schraubenzieher	'∫ка́∪bən _ı tsi:həв	'vaom _r tsi:ja	S-sW	Com	screwdriver	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Badehose	ez:ou ^l epaq	ez:oq'ep:aq	SW-sW	Com	bathing suit	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Fahrradhelm	fa:e, sa:t, helm	'vaxat _ı helm	SW-s	Com	bike helmet	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Feuerwehrauto	'fɔrəe,vere,ʔaoto	ˈfɔijaˌʔaʊtɤ	SW-sW	Com	fire engine	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Kindersitz	strz aepury.	'kınasıts	SWW	Com	child safety seat	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Windmühle	el:km,tniv'	el:yh'atnıv'	S-SW	Com	windmill	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Waschstraße	'va∫,ftsa:sə	'vas'tʁaːsə	S-SW	Com	car wash	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Weintrauben	'vaīn _t kaūbən	'vaīn,tʁâopm	S-sW	Com	grapes	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Weintrauben	'vaınıtkaobən	fain'tsaobm	s-SW	Com	grapes	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;10.28	Radio	'sa:dijo	'ɣa:dijo	SWW	Mon	radio	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Ballon	ba'lɔŋ	fich	S	Mon	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Ballon	ba'ləŋ	tlaŋ	S	Mon	balloon	Sp	<u>:</u> E
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Ballon	ba'loŋ	ûcld	S	Mon	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	ejex	SW	Mon	giraffe	imit	:ii
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Kamel	ka'me:1	'me,jɛl	Ss	Mon	camel	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Kaputt	ka'put	ta:'put	SS	Mon	defective	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	:E
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Kaputt	ka'put	a'but	MS	Mon	defective	Sp	Ξ
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Elefant	'aela'fant	, Pe:18 fant	sWS	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Elefant	'aela'fant	, ² e:lə fant	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Mikrofon	n:of'саміт,	n:ol'etim	sWS	Pcom	microphone	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Lokomotive	ev:i¹omoyol,	loka'tirfə	sWSW	Mon	locomotive	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Lokomotive	ev:i¹omoyol,	evit'akcl,	sWSW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Papagei	papa'gaī	papa'kaī	sws	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Papagei	papa'gar	papa'kaī	sws	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Unterhemd	'Puntae _l hemt	'qunta _h em	SW-s	Com	undershirt	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Unterhose	ez:oq'aetun¿	'qunta _h e:sə	SW-sW	Com	shorts	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Ameisen	'az',maīzə	'aımaısı	SsW	Pcom	ant (plural)	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Staubsauger	'Staop,zaogae	'tavk' savka	S-sW	Com	vacuum cleaner	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Staubsauger	¹∫tā0p₁zā0gəe	taok'saoka	ws-s	Com	vacuum cleaner	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.03	Telefon	'te:lə _r fon	n:oJ'el:a _t 1'	SWs	Pcom	telephone	imit	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Banane	ba'na:nə	eu:am _'	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Gitarre	еяв1 і	'gitxaxə	SWW	Mon	guitar	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Giraffe	ејвај	giˈʁafə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Giraffe	gl'вагр	eja¼ig	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Kassettenrecorder	ka'setənке'kəvdəк	'srtn _r koeda	SW-sW	Com	cassette recorder	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Pilot	pi'lo:t	bi'lur.t	MS	Mon	pilot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Indianer	aeuːefˌipuɪŁˈ	'ja:na	SW	Mon	native American	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Elefant		'fe:le fan	SWs	Mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Elefant	, Pela fant	geːˈfan	SS	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Mikrofon	"mikso'fo:n	'mikə _r fo:n	SWs	Pcom	microphone	imit	Ë
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Lokomotive	lokomo'ti:və	ev:i ^t l'excl _'	sWSW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	:E
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Papagei	papa'gar	pap:a'gaī	sws	Mon	parrot	dS	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Papagei	papa'gar	'papakaī	SWW	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Papagei	papa'gaï	'papa _ı kaı	SWs	Mon	parrot	Sp	ini
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Papagei	papa'gar	papa'kaī	sws	Mon	parrot	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Papagei	papa'gar	,papa'kaī	sWS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Papagei	papa'gaï	papa'kaī	sws	Mon	parrot	Sp	ï.
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Erdbeere	ея:әq'tазŁ	ея:әd'tæt	S-sW	Com	strawberry	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Eisenbahn	'aizən'ba:n	'assp,ban	SW-s	Com	railway	Sp	i.i.
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Autofahrer	'?aoto,fa:hsəe	'aoto,faːʁəɐ	SW-sW	Com	driver	imit	.i.
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Autofahrer	' ?а 0t0 ₋ fa:hкэв	'auto _r fa:ке	SW-sW	Com	driver	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Scheibenwischer	ae∫ıvınedīa}'	'vain _t fise	S-sW	Com	windscreen wiper	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Buchstabe	eq:atʃ\xnq,	'bu,sta:bə	S-sW	Com	letter	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Buchstaben	"bux _l sta:bən	ˈpɯːstabm	SWW	Com	letter (plural)	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Brokkoli	'bsokoli	bokuli	SWW	Mon	broccoli	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Brokkoli	'bsokoli	bokə'li:	sws	Mon	broccoli	imit	.ii
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Brokkoli	'bsokoli	il'e ^w ox _l od	WsWS	Mon	broccoli	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Feuerwehrauto	'fɔiəa've:a'faoto	voie Pauts	SW-sW	Com	fire engine	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Kindersitz	stiz aebnix!	'kına _ı sıts	SW-s	Com	child safety seat	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Kirchenglocken	ueyclg'ue5a1y,	ˈkɨːçṇˌlɔkŋ	SW-sW	Com	church bell (plural)	Sp	:E
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Kirchenglocken	nexclg'ue5a1x	ˈkɨçṇˌtlɔkŋ	SW-sW	Com	church bell (plural)	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Heikendorf	'haikən _ı dəef	'haīkŋ _, dɔɐf	SW-s	Com	name of a village	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Kofferraum	'kɔfəɐˌʁāʊm	'kɔfa _ı ʁāom	SM-s	Com	luggage space	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.13	Lokführer	aeaːƙjˌኣclˌ	'lɔk _ı fy:ʁa	S-sW	Com	locomotive driver	Sp	ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	giˈʁafə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	ejr¤afj	MSM	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Giraffe	eja ₈ ig	giˈʁafə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kartoffeln	kae'tɔfəln	ka'tɔfəln	MSM	Mon	potato (plural)	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:j	SW	Mon	camel	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kamel	ka'me:l	'me,jl	Ss	Mon	camel	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kaputt	ka'put	put	S	Mon	defective	Sp	ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Elefant	}elə fant	יde:le'fant ⁻	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Elefant	'-lela'fant	, ² e:le¹fant	sWS	Mon	elephant	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Krokodil	kBoko'di:1	ajib'lcaca _'	sWSW	Mon	crocodile	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Mikrofon	"u:oJ'схыг	'mɪko _' fon	SWs	Pcom	microphone	Sp	SWU

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Mikrofon	п:o1'саЯіті	'mıkəfon	SWW	Pcom	microphone	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Mikrofon	"u:oJ'саЯіт	mıko'fo:n	sws	Pcom	microphone	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Mikrofon	n:oJ'cаміт	mıko'fo:n	sws	Pcom	microphone	Sp	ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Papagei	papa'gaī	'papakaï	SWW	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Papagei	papa'gaī	papa'k ^h aï	sws	Mon	parrot	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Busfahrer	aeя:ag'snq,	'pus _' vaːʁɐ	S-sW	Com	bus driver	Sp	:E
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Fingerpuppe	ednd'aetiij,	ednd'aeûın,	SW-sW	Com	finger + puppet	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kindergarten	'kındəp _' gaɐtən	'kına _ı ga:tņ	SW-sW	Com	kindergarten	imit	Œ
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Heikendorf	'haīkən _ı dəef	'haīkŋ dɔɐf	S-MS	Com	name of a village	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Heikendorf	'haīkən _ı dəef	'haīkŋ dɔɐf	S-MS	Com	name of a village	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Heikendorf	'haīkən _ı dəef	haīkŋ'dɔɐf	sW-S	Com	name of a village	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kehrmaschine	'ke:ema _, Si:nə	eu:is'a:əb'	Ms-S	Com	road sweeper	Sp	Ë
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kehrmaschine	'ke:ema _, Si:nə	em:is'a:əb'	S-sW	Com	road sweeper	Sp	Ē
Wiglaf	1;11.19	Kehrmaschine	'ke:ema,∫i:nə	em:is'a:əb'	S-sW	Com	road sweeper	Sp	Ē
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	giˈʁafə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Kamel	ka'me:1	gi:l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Sandalen	zan'da:lən	da:ln	S	Mon	sandal (plural)	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Salat	za'lart	sa'la:t	SS	Mon	salad	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Krokodil	kkoko'di:1	koko'ti:l	sWS	Mon	crocodile	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Krokodil	kgoko'di:1	l:loyes di:l	sWS	Mon	crocodile	imit	iui
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Mikrofon	п:of'сахіт	miko'fo:n	sws	Pcom	microphone	Sp	.iu
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Mikrofon	п:оქсяхіт,	mıko'fo:n	sWS	Pcom	microphone	Sp	.ii
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Mikrofon	пзоЧсаміт	mıko'fo:n	sWS	Pcom	microphone	Sp	.i.
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Papagei	papa'gaī	papa'kaī	sWS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Papagei	papa'gaï	papa'kaī	sWS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Papagei	papa'gar	papa'kyaī	sWS	Mon	parrot	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Polizeiauto	polifsa, auto	boli'sar fauts	sWS-SW	Com	police car	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Autoschlüssel	'auto sel		sSW	Com	car key	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Scheibenwischer	ae∫ıv'nedīa}'	fsain, vise	S-sW	Com	windscreen wiper	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Brokkoli	'bsokoli	'bo _r ko:li	SsW	Mon	broccoli	imit	iu.
Wiglaf	1;11.23	Brokkoli	'bsokoli	'bo ₁ yo:li	SsW	Mon	broccoli	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Antenne	an'tenə	eua1,	SW	Mon	aerial	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Ballon	ba'lɔŋ	mcl	S	Mon	balloon	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Garage	да'ка:3э	'ка:zэ	SW	Mon	garage	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Giraffe	gi'safə	'k ^h ʁaf:ə	SW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Giraffe	gi'safə	ki'bafə	sSW	Mon	giraffe	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Kamel	ka'me:l	'me:1	S	Mon	camel	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Hydranten	hy'dʁantən	hya'dkantņ	sWSW	Mon	hydrant (plural)	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Hydranten	hy'dкantən	hya'dkantņ	sWSW	Mon	hydrant (plural)	imit	ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Elefant	}elə fant	'}ele'fant	sWS	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Elefant	, Pela fant	, ² ele,fant	sWS	Mon	elephant	imit	iu
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Batterie	batɛˈʁiː	'patʁiː	SW	Mon	battery	dS	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	kokel'di:l	sWS	Mon	crocodile	dS	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	l:ib'cxcx	sWS	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Mikrofon	"u:oJ'саміт	noj'exim'	SWS	Pcom	microphone	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Papagei	papa'gaī	'papak'	SW	Mon	parrot	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Papagei	papa'gaī	'papa _r kaī	SWs	Mon	parrot	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Papagei	papa'gar	bapa'kaī	sWS	Mon	parrot	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Steckdose	ez:op'\at\[ez:op'yats	S-sW	Com	power socket	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Blumengießer	aes:ig'uem:nlq	'blum _' gi:sa	S-sW	Com	flowers + watering	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Känguru	'keŋguʁu	'kæŋu'ʁuː	SWS	Mon	kangaroo	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Hammerbank	'haməe _' baŋk	'hama _ı baŋ	SW-s	Com	hammer bank	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Heikendorf	'haīkən _ı dəef	haīkŋ'dɔɐf	sW-S	Com	name of a village	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Luftballon	'loftba _l loŋ	nofpon	S-S	Com	balloon	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Luftballon	'luftba _l loŋ	ˈluodˈbou]:	S-S	Com	balloon	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Radio	'ʁaːdijo	'ʁaːt ^j o	SW	Mon	radio	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Radio	'ʁaːdijo	'ʁaːt¹o	SW	Mon	radio	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.11	Radio	'sa:dijo	'ʁaːtjo	SW	Mon	radio	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Spinat	ʃpiˌnaːt	'bi _, na:t ^h	Ss	Mon	spinach	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Banane	ba'na:nə	'ma:nə	SW	Mon	banana	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	gija'ʁaf:hə	sWSW	Mon	giraffe	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Kakao	ka'kaɔ̃	k ^h a5	S	Mon	cocoa	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Kamel	ka'me:l	mer ^j l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Kassette	ka'setə	seta	SW	Mon	cassette	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Salat	za'la:t	so'la:t ^h	SS	Mon	salad	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Elefant	Pela fant	Pele'fant	sWS	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Elefant	, Pela fant	}elə fant	sWS	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Schokolade	∫oko'la:də	ep:aloyos	sWSW	Mon	chocolate	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Krokodil	ksoko'di:l	l:ib'cxcx	sWS	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Lokomotive	ev:it'omoyol,	'lɔkˌtiːvə	SsW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Lokomotive	ev:it'omoyol,	ev:it'kcl	sSW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Lokomotive	ev:it'omoyol,	ev:it'xcl	sSW	Mon	locomotive	Sp	SWU
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Papagei	papa'gar	'bapa'kʁa <u>ı</u>	SWS	Mon	parrot	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Papagei	papa'gaï	papa'gaī	sWS	Mon	parrot	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Papagei	papa'gaï	bapa'k ^h aī	sWS	Mon	parrot	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Brokkoli	'bsokoli	p ^h oko'li	sWS	Mon	broccoli	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Brokkoli	'bsokoli	boko'lik	sWS	Mon	broccoli	Sp	<u>in</u>
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Fußboden	uep:oq's:nJ,	'fu:d'bon	S-sW	Com	floor	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Feuerwehrauto	fore, vere, faoto	mtone,aotu	SW-sW	Com	fire engine	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Feuerwehrauto	'fɔrəe,vere,?aoto	otos'aeicj	ws-ws	Com	fire engine	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Pinguin	'pıŋgu _l in	n:if'ugu'q	sWS	Pcom	penguin	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Paprika	'papʁika	pap'ʁika	MSM	Mon	pepper	imit	ini
Wiglaf	2;0.17	Zipfelmann	'tsıpfəl _ı man	nam _l efqist	SW-s	Com	point + man	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Spinat	ʃpiˌnaːt	spi'na:t	WS	Mon	spinach	Sp	<u>ic</u>
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Banane	ba'na:nə	'maːnə	SW	Mon	banana	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	ki'ʁa <u>f</u> ə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	е <u>f</u> вя¦iв	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Giraffe	gi'bafə	е҈Тва	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Giraffe	giˈʁafə	е <u>Т</u> вя	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:1	S	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Kamel	ka'me:1	me:l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Kamel	ka'me:1	me:l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Kamel	ka'me:l	me:l	S	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Kassettenrecorder	ka'setənке'kəvdəк	epacXxl'utas,	SW-sW	Com	cassette recorder	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Kaputt	ka'put	$\mathrm{p^h ot}$	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Kaputt	ka'put	$\mathrm{p^h ot}$	S	Mon	defective	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Johannisbeeren	jo'hanıs _ı be:ʁən	'haːˌbeːɐn	S-S	Com	currant (plural)	imit	SWU
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Waggon	va'goŋ	'mal'kɔŋ	SS	Mon	wagon	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Elefant	}elə fant	le'fant	SS	Mon	elephant	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Elefant	, Pela fant	, ² e:lɛ'fant	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Elefant	'?elə'fant	4ele'fan	sws	Mon	elephant	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Elefant	, Pela fant	, Pele, fant	sws	Mon	elephant	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Schokolade	,∫oko'la:də	soxo'la:tə	MSMs	Mon	chocolate	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Krokodil	kroko'di:1	kokəl'di:l	sws	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	l:ib'excx	sws	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Mikrofon	и:оქ.сяҳтш'	'mıkʁofon	MMS	Pcom	microphone	dS	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Papagei	papa'gar	'papa'gaī	SWS	Mon	parrot	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Papagei	papa'gaï	papa'gaī	sws	Mon	parrot	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Erdbeeeren	'qeutbe:sen	'as'biren	S-S	Com	strawberry (plural)	Sp	ic
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Uroma	'qure ₁ qorma	'?u ₁ ?o:ma	S-sW	Com	great grandmother	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Staubsauger	'∫tā∪p _r zaūgas	'taok'taoge	S-SW	Com	vacuum cleaner	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Briobahn	'bʁioˌbaːn	'bxij _ı ba:n	SW-s	Com	brio + railway	Sp	in
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Briobahn	'bʁioˌba:n	pxi:j'ba:n	sW-S	Com	brio + railway	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Paprika	рарыіка	'papxika	SWW	Mon	pepper	Sp	in
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Wohnwagen	'vo:n'va:gen	'v*:n _i va:gŋ	S-sW	Com	caravan	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;0.24	Regentonne	'ке:gən _' tɔnə	eūcj'ti:aя	SW-sW	Com	rain barrel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Giraffe	eje ¹ leafə	ejваl'g	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Giraffe	eje ₈ i's	gi'safə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Giraffe	eje ₈ ij	gi'safə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Giraffe	eja ₁ ig	gi'safə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Giraffe	ві'ваға	giˈʁafə	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Giraffe	gi'safə	edва'ig	MSM	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Giraffe	gi'ʁafə	'gikafə	SWW	Mon	giraffe	Sp	n-ini

Child	Age	AD target	AD phonetic	CH phonetic	SW child	Word type	Gloss	Mode	Position
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Kamel	ka'me:1	kҳa'me:l	MS	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Kamel	ka'me:1	kxa'me:l	MS	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Kamel	ka'me:1	k ^h i'me:1	MS	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Kamel	ka'me:l	k ^h a'mel	MS	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Kamel	ka'me:1	ka'me:1	MS	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Kamel	ka'me:1	'kҳamel	SW	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Kamel	ka'me:1	'kҳamel	SW	Mon	camel	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Elefant	elə fant	, ² e:le'fant	SWs	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Elefant	Pela fant	'ael'fant	SS	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Elefant	'Pelə'fant	Pele'fant'	sws	Mon	elephant	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Krokodil	ksoko'di:1	le:it'oxcxx'	sws	Mon	crocodile	imit	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Krokodil	kroko'di:1	koko,ti:1	sws	Mon	crocodile	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Gießkanne	'gi:sˌkanə	'gi:skҳanə	SWW	Com	watering can	Sp	n-ini
Wiglaf	2;01.07	Wasserhahn	'vasəe _r ha:n	'vasa _ı han	SW-s	Com	water-tap	Sp	n-ini