

parallel to Nelson's (1973) longitudinal survey of the lexical acquisition of 18 American toddlers.

When Laura was 15 months and 12 days old, she uttered her fiftieth spontaneously produced meaningful word, the syllable "pay", to request Joanna's lunch pail. By 16 months her lexicon contained 52 actively used words, 39 of which were among her original first 50 spontaneously produced words. For this reason, the overview of Laura's lexical acquisition concentrates on the period of development from 0;9(8), when Laura, in response to a photograph of her father uttered her first meaningful words "ah dada", to 1;4(0) when there is no doubt that she knows and uses 50 words.

The striking feature of Laura's lexical acquisition throughout the 7-month period from the utterance of her first word to the end of her sixteenth month is that the process of vocabulary growth is inseparable from the development of her communicative competence as a whole. While for research purposes it is possible to speak of a process of lexical acquisition and to roughly assign meanings to Laura's words, the fact of the matter is that she gradually invented her own system of communication. In effect, she discovered a way to use a minimum number of words in conjunction with the situational context to convey a variety of highly meaningful messages to her listener. Laura's system of communication was effective as long as her listener could use situational context to figure out the referent of her word and the intention of her utterance. The important point to note is that by the end of her sixteenth month Laura could communicate in a wide range of day-to-day situations. However, if her language were to be measured against the standard of conventional English, she could barely talk. The reality of this larger communicative process is unavoidably and unfortunately obscured in the following summary of her lexical acquisition. It should nevertheless be kept in mind.

The Form of Laura's Words

One possible way to conceptualize the acquisition, evolution and differentiation of Laura's first 50 words is to emphasize the form of the word as the unit of analysis. The emergence and disappearance of Laura's words can be charted as well as any changes in the meanings expressed by her stable words. Table I presents Laura's first 50 spontaneously produced "words" in their order of acquisition. As can be seen, the term word is being used rather liberally to refer to any recognizable union of a phonetic form and a meaning.

Table I
The form and meaning of Laura's first 50 spontaneously produced words

	Child's word	Adult's word	Context of first use	Range of use in order of occurrence	Range of use at 16 months
1.	Dada/daddy 0;9(8)	Father	L noticed a photograph of Father.	Father; doll; baby in a photograph; Laura herself in a mirror; to M in a photograph; to people in general; to J specifically; to call attention to herself; occasionally to any man.	Father, sometimes is used to designate any man.
2.	Ma/um-ma 0;9(8)	Milk	To request a cup of milk.	Milk only	Discontinued. Replaced by ba, 1;1(11).
3.	Bye 0;9(29)	Bye/bye-bye	In response to the gesture of waving.	Social routine to mark departure; non-existence.	From 1;1(9) to 1;3(8) the word was discontinued but the gesture was retained. Productive from 1;3(8) onward.
4.	Hi 0;11(4)	Hi	L is talking on a toy telephone.	Greeting; a way to call attention to herself; notice.	Hi + noun frequently used as greeting, attention getting device and expression of notice.
5.	Dat 0;11(4)	That?	Request for food from the table which L cannot reach from her high chair.	Request for the name of an unknown object (a) which L is holding (b) to which L is pointing.	Discontinued as a request for food. Infrequently used as a request for information.
6.	Oh-oh 0;11(7)	Oh-oh	As L's doll fell out of the stroller.	To falling objects whether accidentally or deliberately dropped, to express notice of perceptually unexpected events; to spills; to indicate that J has hit her.	The entire range of use remains productive.

Table 1 *continued*

	Child's word	Adult's word	Context of first use	Range of use in order of occurrence	Range of use at 16 months
7.	Mama/Mommy 0;11(10)	Mother	In response to the sound of M's voice coming from another room.	Mother; request for care. Discontinued 1;1(0)-1;1(28)	Mother.
8.	Irma 0;11(13)	Irma (temporary housekeeper)	As L watched Irma make the bed.	Irma; mother, 1;1(0) possible meaning = caretaker.	Discontinued c. 1;2(0) when Irma left the household.
9.	Bow-wow 0;11(17)	Dog	L is sitting by an open window. A dog is barking but not visible.	To the sound of (a) barking, (b) an airplane, (c) car engine, (d) birds, (e) any outside noise audible in the house; to a toy dog; to sight of car; to sight of dog.	Dogs and barking only.
10.	Twee 1;0(7)	Tree	As L touched the bark of a tree in a botanical garden.	Trees; the sole of L's orthopedic shoe; shoes; sock.	Trees. Shoes. L will not substitute the word shoe for this second meaning.
11.	Hikee/Hi kee 1;0(9)	Hi, kitty	To the family's cat as he entered the room.	To express notice of the cat; to greet M first thing in the morning; to express notice of dogs (Bow-wow. Hi kee).	To greet cats; to express notice of cats.
12.	Ch/chee 1;0(9)	Cheese	As M handed J a piece of cheese.	To request first and second servings of cheese at the table or from the refrigerator.	The entire range of use remains productive.
13.	Ba 1;0(9)	Ball	To identify a picture of a ball in her baby book.	Ball; round objects including a grapefruit, an orange, a seedpod and the doorbell buzzer; to request first and second servings of liquid in a cup.	The entire range of use remains productive.
14.	Hikoo 1;0(12)	?	As M came to get L from the crib.	Greeting routine for several days.	Discontinued.
15.	Hidee/ Hi dee 1;0(13)	Hi, daddy Hi, Joanna	To F as she snuggled in our bed early in the morning.	To greet F; to greet J.	Discontinued as a greeting to F. Developed into Hi, Dee-Dee as a way to greet J.
16.	Da 1;0(23)	Down	As a request to get down from her high chair.	To request locational or positional change. Used where the words up, out and in would be situationally appropriate.	Specifically used for request to get down from her high chair or in other situations where down is the appropriate request for positional change.
17.	Cookie 1;0(23)	Cookie	L is eating a cookie. L showed it to M.	Cookies; novel round foods; music on the hi-fi or car radio; rocking in the rocking chair; ice cream; the rocking chair.	The entire range of use remains productive.
18.	More 1;0(23)	More	To request a second cup of milk.	Used only once.	Discontinued until 1;5(7).
19.	Baba 1;0(23)	Banana	L is eating a banana.	Bananas.	Bananas. The form baba is also used for L's nursing bottle.
20.	Bot/Bobbie, Bobbie, Baba 1;0(23)	Nursing bottle	As L noticed her nursing bottle in the sink.	To her own and other babies' nursing bottles; to baby oil bottle; to milk bottle.	Baba = nursing bottle. Bobbie = other kinds of bottles.
21.	Dee-dee Tee-tee Tidee 1;0(23)	Thank you	In response to being given something. M answers "you're welcome".	Response to receiving something; response to assistance.	Very rarely used around 1;4(0). (Reappeared 1;4(18) as Tatu and used actively thereafter.)

Table I *continued*

	Child's word	Adult's word	Context of first use	Range of use in order of occurrence	Range of use at 16 months
22.	Caca 1;0(24)	Cracker	L is showing M a graham cracker.	Non-productive.	Discontinued. Meaning subsumed under cookie 1;2(0).
23.	Bur 1;0(24)	Bird	As L noticed a robin on the lawn.	The sight of birds; plastic hen in barnyard set; pictures of birds; birdsong.	The entire range of use remains productive.
24.	Z/C 1;1	Horsie (toy bouncing horse)	As L tried to climb onto her rocking horse.	L's rocking horse; a friend's wheel toy horse; to request help in getting on her horse.	The entire range of use remains active, but the form is changed from Z to C.
25.	Kee/kitty 1;1(1)	Kitty/cat	Differentiated from the fusion hikee.	To express notice of, greet, or talk about the family cat and cats in general.	The entire range of use remains productive.
26.	Dee-dee 1;1(5)	Bell; ring	To request that M make the bell on an old alarm clock ring.	Discontinued 1;1(11) when L broke the clock.	Discontinued.
27.	Um-mm 1;1(11)	Umm good	To initiate a game in which M pretends to eat. M says "Umm good!"	To initiate food game; to the taste of foods which L likes.	The entire range of use remains productive.
28.	Pooh 1;1(15)	Pooh	As L is in the act of defecating.	To call attention to bowel movement, urine and flatulence; to request a diaper change; to J's bare bottom; to spills of any kind which must be cleaned with a paper towel.	Bowel movement.
29.	Lolo/Lola 1;1(20)	Pacifier	L's pacifier was sitting in front of her high chair. L repeated lolo lolo until M gave it to her.	To request and talk about pacifiers.	Pacifiers.
30.	Broo 1;1(21)	Broom	L said "oh-oh broo" as a broom which she was dragging crashed to the floor.	As L notices or plays with the broom or dust mop; to request either item.	The entire range of use remains productive.
31.	Aw 1;1(22)	Off	L is trying to pull her bathrobe off.	To request assistance in taking off clothing and shoes.	Used infrequently but appropriately.
32.	Key 1;1(24)	Key	L noticed M's keys on the kitchen counter and asked to have them.	To request keys both when they are visible and when they are in M's purse; to photograph of keys.	The entire range of use remains productive.
33.	But 1;1(16)	Button	L is pulling at F's pajama button. F: "Oh-oh, what are you doing?" L: "But."	To buttons on shirts only.	Very rarely used.
34.	Ah 1;1(29)	Up	L is holding M's legs and begging to be picked up.	To be picked up; to be put into the high chair or the stroller.	The entire range of use remains productive. Most frequently used as a request to be held.
35.	Dee-Dee 1;2(0)-1;3(3)	Joanna	J is annoying L.	Two forms of referring to J, dada and Dee-Dee coexist until 1;3(3).	1;3(3) onward Dee-Dee is L's name for J.
36.	Boo 1;2(10)	Spoon	L is banging her spoon in her bowl.	To identify her spoon; to request a second portion of whatever food she was eating; fork.	The entire range of use remains productive.

Table 1 *continued*

	Child's word	Adult's word	Context of first use	Range of use in order of occurrence	Range of use at 16 months
37.	Powba 1;2(14)	Powder	L said "powba" repeatedly until M put talcum powder on her stomach.	Non-productive.	Discontinued until 1;5(7) when it reappeared as "power".
38.	Gen 1;2(14)	Again	To request that M continue tickling her.	To request repetition of an action.	To request repetition of an action.
39.	Ooo/hoo-oo 1;2(18)	Hot	To her food which is hot.	To hot food; to hot car seat; to hot pavement; to cold car seat; to ice cubes; to the oven.	To things which are hot; to the oven.
40.	Papu 1;2(20)	Newspaper	L is carrying a throwaway newspaper which comes once a week.	To L's specific newspaper; to newspapers; to paper.	The entire range of use remains productive.
41.	C 1;2(20)	Swing	To request that M swing her on her swing.	To request that M swing her; to the sound of the telephone; to toy telephone; to photograph of telephone; to a hairbrush; to a sock; to her rocking horse.	Discontinued for sock. Otherwise the entire range of use remains productive.
42.	Baby 1;2(22)	Baby/baby doll	As L noticed a rubber doll which her swimming teacher uses.	Used interchangeably with "dada" to refer to dolls; to babies and to Laura herself.	The entire range of use remains productive. "Dada" is discontinued and replaced completely by baby.
43.	Car 1;2(22)	Car	As L noticed a passing car.	To the sight and sound of cars; truck; bus.	The entire range of use remains productive.
44.	Me 1;2(26)	Me?	L is angry and wants M to hold her.	To call attention to Laura. Often volitional and accompanied by whining.	Very rare. It is not clear whether me is a pronoun <i>per se</i> or an attention-getting device.
45.	Guckie 1;2(28)	Duckie	To ducks on a toy block.	To ducks on a toy block.	Discontinued. (L no longer plays with the blocks.)
46.	Goggie 1;2(28)	Doggie	To dog on a toy block.	To dog on a toy block.	Discontinued. (L no longer plays with the blocks.)
47.	Hay 1;3(8)	Hair	As L touches people's hair.	To identify hair.	Hair.
48.	Out 1;3(9)	Out	To request that M help her out of a wading pool.	To get out of pool or bathtub; to get out of her high chair or crib.	The entire range of use remains productive.
49.	Beh 1;3(12)	Bread	To request more bread.	To request bread.	Requests for bread.
50.	Pay 1;3(12)	Pail	To request J's lunch pail.	J's lunch pail.	J's lunch pail.