

Bootstrapping into Attitudes

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Collaborators



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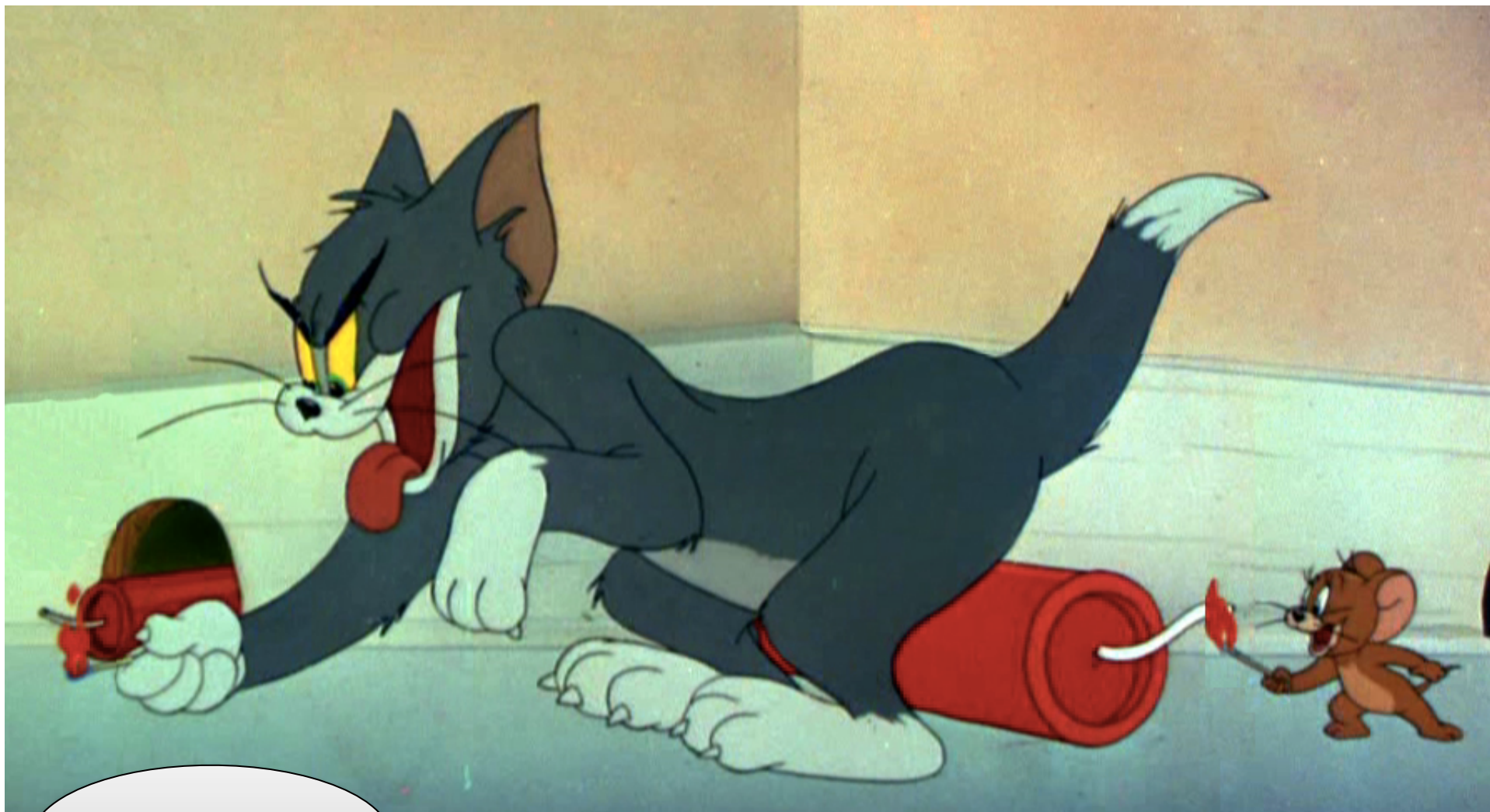
Naho Orita



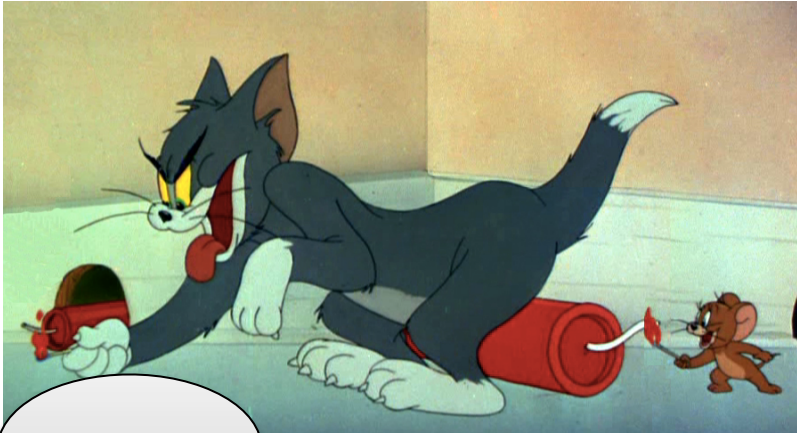
Morgan Moyer



Erin Eaker



...dax...



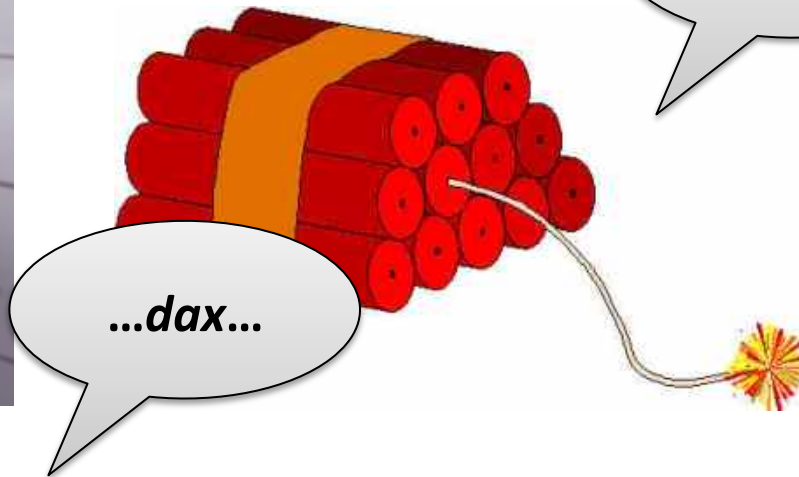
...dax...



...dax...



...dax...



...dax...

Bootstrapping into Attitudes

- Not all meaning can be gleaned from situational context alone.
- Attitudes not directly observable. Meaning of attitude verbs (*think, want, know...*) hard to access without *linguistic context*.

Gleitman 1990; Gillette *et al* 1999; Papafragou *et al* 2004; Gleitman *et al* 2005



*The torp daxes that the
vam is in the siltap.*

Syntactic bootstrapping

- Children learning meaning of new words work from **constrained space of hypotheses**.
- Principled links between certain semantic and syntactic properties.
 - **Syntactic properties** easier to observe.
 - Syntactic properties provide evidence to the learner about **semantic properties**.

(Gleitman 1990, Pinker 1989, Lidz 2006...)

Pragmatic challenge 1:

Sentence vs. speaker meaning

Often what people *mean* goes further than what they *say*.

S: “Some students turned in their homework”.

***Implicature:** Not all students turned in their homework*

Sentence vs. speaker meaning

- What if the child only heard *some* in enriched contexts, might she lexicalize *enriched meaning*?
 - Probably not for *some*.

Noveck, 2001; Chierchia et al. 2001, Papafragou & Musolino 2003, a.o.

- Enough exposure to non-enriched contexts?
- Expectations about meaning complexity?

Sentence vs. speaker meaning challenge:

Can children always extract *literal* content of an expression from the meaning conveyed?

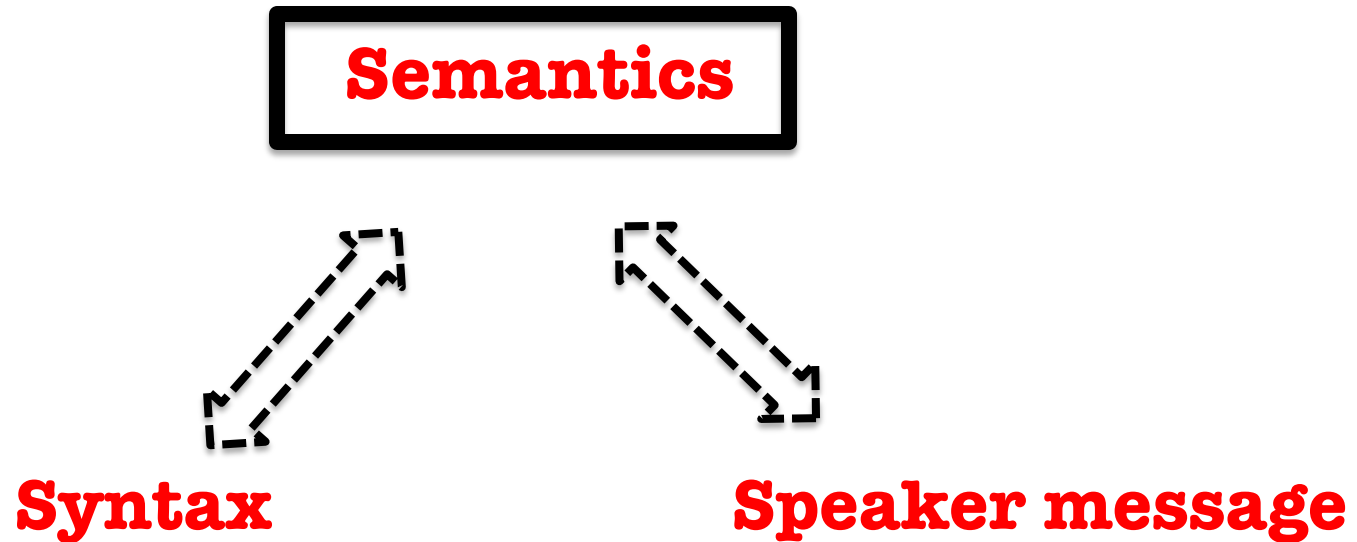
Pragmatic challenge 2: not at issue content

- Certain words impose requirements on state of discourse as conditions for use.
- Utterances made against a variety of background assumptions. How does the child detect which are required by the conventional meaning of an expression?

Not at issue content

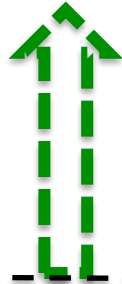
Sentences do not come with ‘#’ any more than they come with ‘*’.

The pragmatic challenge

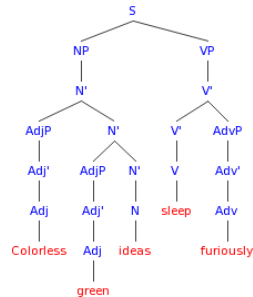


The pragmatic challenge

Semantics



Syntax



Speaker message



The pragmatic challenge

Given that children lack direct access to *semantics*, and only ever hear *speaker meanings*, how do they untangle semantic and pragmatic contributions?

- Might the child *lexicalize an implicature*?
- Might she *miss a presupposition*?

The pragmatic challenge & Attitudes

- **Attitudes** not directly *observable*.
- Some attitudes associated with *presuppositions*.
- Prone to *pragmatic enrichments*:
 - Attitude verbs report speech acts and mental states, and thus are often used for indirect speech acts.

Bootstrapping into Attitudes

- *When* and *how* do children learn attitude meanings?
- What role do *syntax* and *pragmatics* play?

Goals:

- Better understanding of young children's *semantic* and *pragmatic* competence, and acquisition process.
- Inform theories of interfaces between *syntax-semantics* and *semantics-pragmatics*.

Bootstrapping into Attitudes: Road Map

- ‘Speaker vs. sentence meaning’ challenge:
the case of *want* and *think*
- ‘Not at issue content’ challenge:
the case of *think* vs. *know*

think vs. want

'sentence vs. speaker meaning' challenge

Early understanding of attitude verbs

Cross-linguistically, *think* is acquired late, but *want* isn't.

Previous research suggests that children:

- Don't fully master *think* until almost age 5.
- They seem to master *want* at least by age 3.

Early understanding of attitude verbs

Young children consistently misinterpret *think* sentences.

Typical *think* Fail!

(1) Dora *thinks* that Swiper is behind the chest.

Context:

Swipe is behind the curtain

Dora thinks he's behind the chest



Adults: *-True!*

3-4 year olds: *-False!*

Early understanding of attitude verbs

However, young children do **not** seem to have the same difficulties with *want* sentences.

Typical *want* Success!

(2) Dora *wants* Swiper to be behind the chest.

Context:

Swiper is behind the curtain

Dora thinks he's behind the chest



Adults: *-True!*

3-4 year olds: *-True!*

want

Whether ***want*** is used to report a desire that ***conflicts with reality***, or ***with the child's own desire***, 3 year olds know that (2) can be true, even if the complement is false.



Kate Harrigan

Harrigan et al, in prep.

Conceptual Development Hypothesis

- *think* is acquired late because the concept it expresses, i.e., BELIEF, is itself acquired late.
- *want* is acquired earlier because the DESIRE concept is acquired earlier.

Tardiff & Wellman (2000), Perner et al (2003), a.o.

Conceptual Development Hypothesis

Children don't understand that others can have **beliefs** different from their own until they're 4.

They don't have a “**Theory of Mind**”, as evidenced by their consistent failure at **False Belief Tasks**.

Doubting the conceptual hypothesis

However:

- *Infants* show understanding of false beliefs in implicit measures.

Onishi & Baillargeon 2005, Song, et al. 2008, Southgate et al. 2007...

- Perhaps **belief concept** in place early on. Failures at *explicit False Belief tasks* due to extra task demands.

Children's understanding of *think*

Pragmatic Hypothesis:

Children learn the right semantics for *think* and know that people can be mistaken in their beliefs, but this knowledge is obscured.

Their difficulty with *think* is in figuring out what people *mean* when they *say* '*think*'...

Untangling *sentence* & *speaker* meaning

FB scenario: Swiper is behind the curtain, but Dora thinks he's behind the chest.

(1) Dora thinks that *Swiper is behind the chest*.

-FALSE!

(2) *Swiper is behind the chest*.

-FALSE!

Children seem to respond to the truth of the **complement** rather than truth of **entire clause**.

Understanding *think*

Even ***adults*** sometimes respond to the truth of the complement.

A: Why is John not in his office?

B: Mary thinks he's out of town.

C: Nuh-uh! He's here!

C doesn't deny that Mary holds a particular belief, but denies the content of the *complement* directly.

Understanding *think* in context...

Basic use of *think*...

Sometimes we use *think* to *report a belief* which we may not endorse (**basic use**):

*Dora **thinks** that Swiper is behind the chest.
(that's why she's looking for him there)*

Pragmatic enrichment with *think*

Sometimes we use *think* to *endorse* someone's claim (*pragmatically-derived “endorsement” use*):

A: Why is John not in his office?

B: Mary thinks he's out of town.

What B said: Mary thinks John is out of town.

What B meant: John is probably out of town.
(*I heard it from Mary*).

Pragmatic enrichment with *think*

A: Why is John not in his office?

B: Mary thinks he's out of town.

- **Literal** content of B's utterance doesn't answer A's question.
- **Relevance Implicature**: B's answer addresses A's question if B **endorses** John's thought.
- **Quantity implicature**: not *full* endorsement (cf. '*Mary is out of town*')
[Simons 2007]

Pragmatic enrichment with *think*

- Speakers sometimes use *think* sentences to '*proffer*' the content of complement clause.
- The complement clause carries the '*main point*'; main clause plays *evidential* function.

[Simons 2007]

Pragmatic enrichment with *think*

Perhaps children systematically assume *endorsement* uses, even when adults do not?

Pragmatic enrichment with *think*

So that whenever children hear someone *say*:

“Mary thinks John is out of town”

They assume he *means*:

“John is (probably) out of town”

And they say:

“*false!*” if John is not out of town.

Pragmatic enrichment with *think*

Why would children systematically assume enriched uses?

- Uses of *think* with endorsement enrichments frequent in *adult* speech.
- Reinforced by the fact that many instances of *think* are with 1st person subjects.

cf. Diessel & Tommassello (2001)

Pragmatic hypothesis

If children's difficulty with *think* is primarily **pragmatic**, and not *conceptual*, they should be able to respond to *literal* content in the right contexts.



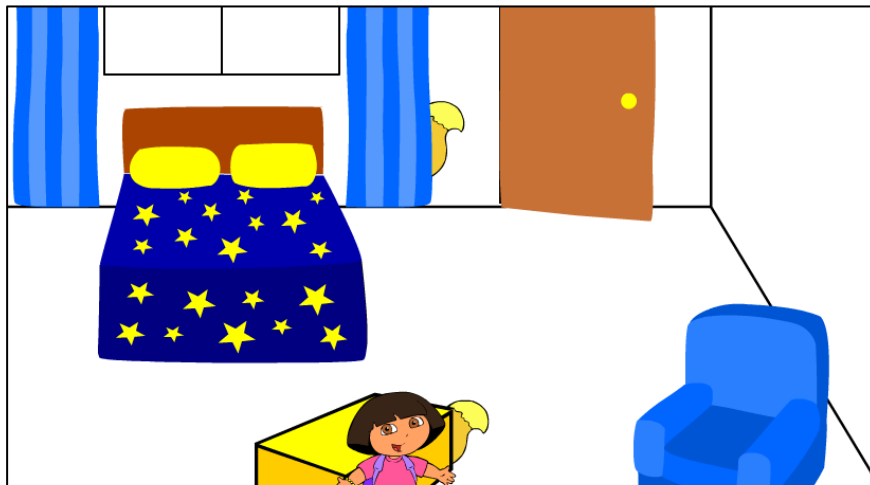
Lewis et al. 2012; Lewis 2013; Lewis et al, *in prep.*

Shevaun Lewis

3 year olds' understanding of *think*



Dora is looking for Swiper...



A game of hide and seek

Typical False Belief Fail

(1) Dora thinks that Swiper is behind the chest.

FB context:

D. thinks Swiper is behind the chest

sentence true

Swiper is behind the curtain

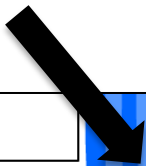
complement false



3 year olds: **False!**

Typical False Belief Fail

(1) Dora thinks that Swiper is behind the chest.



Pragmatic Hypo: kids say **False!** because they assume *endorsement*

Conceptual Hypo: kids say **False!** because they can't conceive a false belief.

- Can children respond to *literal* meaning as well (i.e., belief attribution?)
- Can they *reject* a *think* sentence that is *false*, based on a wrong attribution of belief?

think Fail?

(2) Dora thinks that Swiper is *behind the curtain*.

FB context:

D. thinks Swiper is behind the chest

Swiper is behind the curtain

sentence FALSE

complement TRUE



think Fail?

(2) Dora thinks that Swiper is *behind the curtain*.

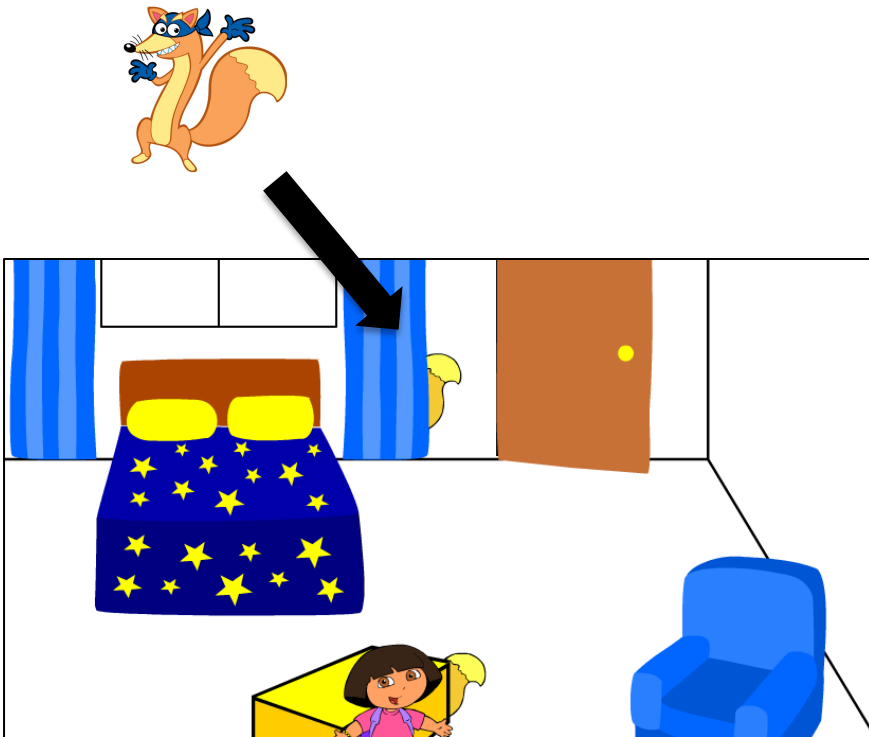


If children understand the belief attribution that *think* expresses, they should **reject** (2), regardless of the truth of the complement.



think Fail?

(2) Dora thinks that Swiper is *behind the curtain*.



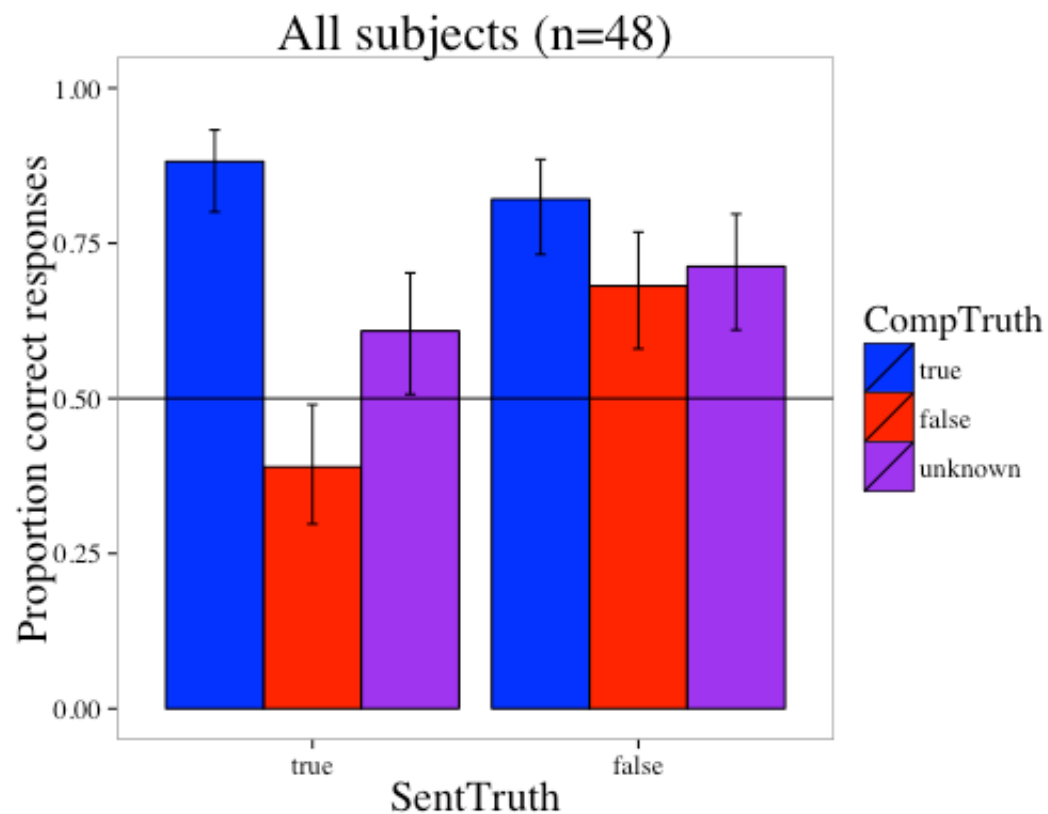
Pragmatic Hypo: kids say *False!*
(respond to *belief ascription*)

Conceptual Hypo: kids say *True!*
(complement true; no False Belief)

Pragmatic Hypothesis Predictions

- When the sentence is **true**, children assume ***endorsement*** and respond to ***truth of the complement***.
- When the sentence is **false**, children ***reject*** it, ***regardless*** of the truth of the complement.

Results



3 year olds' responses highly influenced by complement truth when the sentence is ***true***.

3 year olds reject ***false*** sentences, regardless of complement truth.

Results

- *Like adults*, children reject sentences when the ***literal*** meaning is false.
- They further reject sentences when they take the ***speaker meaning*** to be false, even in cases where adults do not.

think

Hypothesis:

- Children have roughly right semantics for *think*.
- Difficulty is **pragmatic**: children assume enriched meaning for *think p*, in which speaker endorses truth of *p*, even when adults do not
(either default pragmatic enrichment or lexicalized enrichment)

think vs. want

What about *want*?

- Why are children so good with *want*?
- Why don't they ever respond to the truth of the complement, as with *think*?

want

Hypothesis:

- Children have the right semantics for ***want***.
- Children don't respond to the complement with ***want***, because ***want*** doesn't trigger the kinds of endorsement enrichments ***think*** does.

A: Where is John?

B: #(I want) him to be in Miami.

B: (I think) he's Miami.

think vs. want

Why does ***think*** lend itself to endorsement enrichments and ***want*** doesn't?

thinko = ***think*** but no endorsement interpretation

wanto = ***want*** but endorsement interpretation

- Why no ***thinko*** and ***wanto*** in natural language?
- Why no ***thinko*** and ***wanto*** in *child* language?

Semantics of attitude verbs:
think vs. want

think vs. want: semantic sketch

Two semantic classes of attitude verbs:

- **Representational attitudes** express *judgments of truth*:

think, believe, claim, argue...

- **Preference attitudes** express *preferences*:

want, wish, order, demand...

Bolinger 1968, Searle&Vanderveken 1985, Stalnaker 1984, Heim 1992, Villalta 2000, 2008, Anand&Hacquard 2013...

think vs. want: semantic sketch

- *think* (but not *want*) expresses a **judgment of truth**, which a speaker can endorse *directly*:

(1) Mary thinks that John is in Miami, **which is true**.

(2) Mary wants John to be in Miami, **#which is true**.

(3) Mary **correctly** thinks that John is here.

(4) #Mary **correctly** wants John to be here.

- Or *indirectly* (via relevance implicature):

A: Where is John?

B: Mary thinks (correctly) he's in Miami.

think vs. want: semantic sketch

Because of their *semantics*:

- *think* gets *endorsement of truth* enrichments.
- *want* doesn't.

thinko & wanto in child language?

- Kids don't know *a priori* '*want*' means **WANT** (*preference*) and '*think*' means **THINK** (*judgment of truth*).
 - Why don't they ever assume endorsement enrichments for *want*? **WANTO?**
 - Given how good they are accepting *want* sentences with a false complement, why *do* they respond to complement truth with *think*? **THINKO?**
- What gives away *want* and *think*'s semantic classes?

Syntactic Bootstrapping

Syntax cues semantic class.

- **Finiteness of complement?**

...Elmo DAXES **that** Ernie **is** behind the bench...

...Elmo DAXES Ernie **to be** behind the bench...

?Constraint: finite complements = judgments of truth
infinitival complements = preferences

Syntactic Bootstrapping

?**Constraint:** finite complements = judgments of truth
infinitival complements = preferences

- What about German or Mandarin, which lack same finiteness distinction for *think* and *want*?

(1) Maria **denkt**, dass Peter heute noch **kommt**.

(2) Maria **will**, dass Peter heute noch **kommt**.

*Maria **thinks/wants** that Peter today still comes*

Syntactic cues

Finiteness just one of several syntactic cues that split the attitude pie in the same two halves (within and across languages)...

Syntactic cues

Mood selection in Romance languages:

- (1) Marie **veut** que Jean **soit** à Boston.
Marie **wants** that Jean be-**SUBJ** in Boston
- (2) Marie **pense** que Jean **est** à Boston.
Marie **thinks** that Jean be-**IND** in Boston

Bolinger 1968, Farkas 1992, Giannakidou 1998...

Syntactic cues

German: *V2 complementation*

- (1) Maria **denkt**, dass Peter heute noch **kommt**.
- (2) Maria **will**, dass Peter heute noch **kommt**.
*Maria **thinks/wants** that Peter today still comes*
- (3) Maria **denkt**, Peter **kommt** heute noch.
- (4) *Maria **will**, Peter **kommt** heute noch.
*Maria **thinks/*wants** that Peter **comes** today still*

Meinunger 2006, Truckenbrodt 2006, Scheffler 2008...

Syntactic cues

Syntactic cues differ cross-linguistically, even if the ***semantic classes*** are the same:

- Finiteness (English...)
- Mood (Romance...)
- V2 complements (German)

Issue: Children do not know they're speaking French vs. English vs. German...

The universality challenge

A syntactic bootstrapping account has to be abstract enough to be 'universal', but language-specific enough to be useful to the learner.

Syntactic cues

Cues varies across languages, but **converge** in making a distinction in whether a verb allows syntax of (declarative) *'main clauses'* in its complement (Dayal & Grimshaw 2009).

English

John is in Boston.

Mary *thinks* **John is in Boston.**

Mary *wants* **John to be in Boston.**

French

John est à Boston.

Mary *pense* que **John est à Boston.**

Mary *veut* que **John soit à Boston.**

German

John ist in Boston.

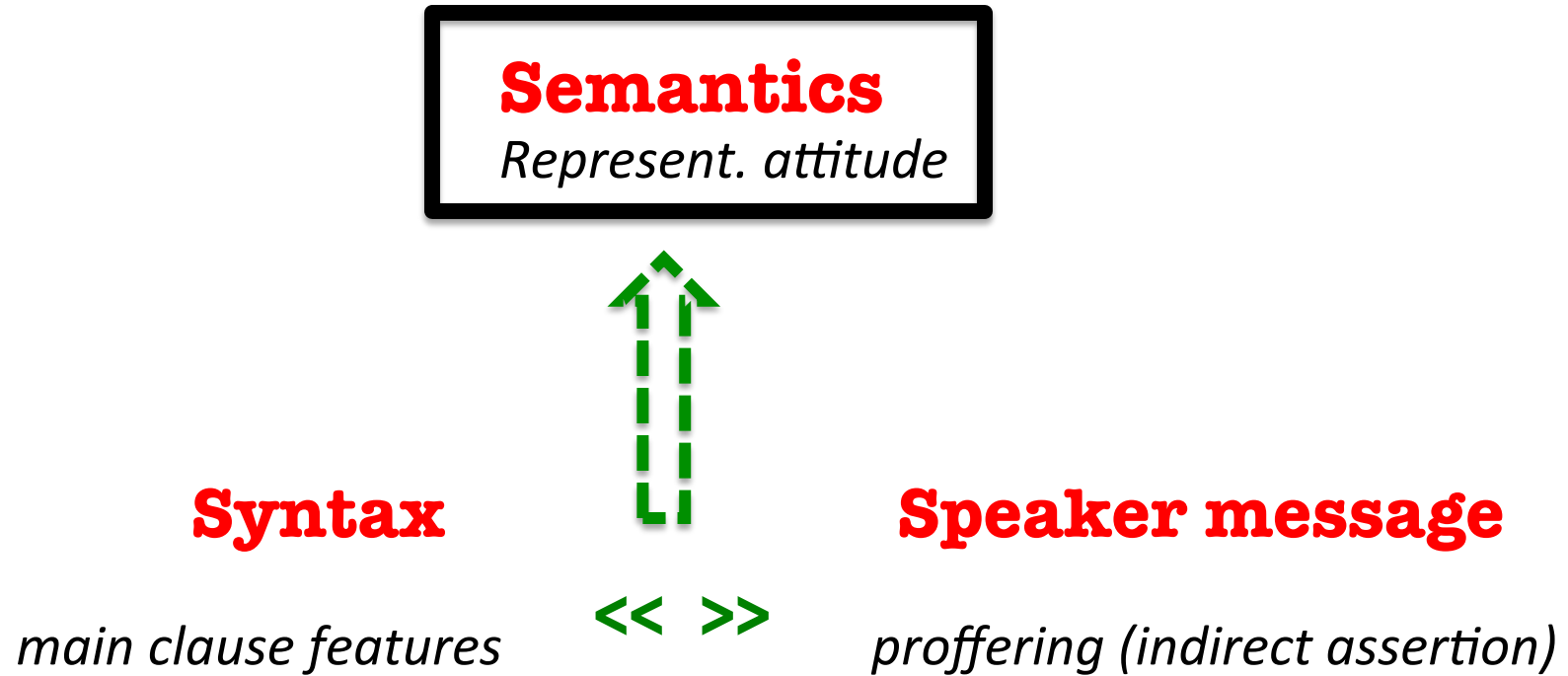
Marie *denkt*, dass **John ist in Boston.**

Mary *will*, dass **John in Boston ist.**

Syntactic cues

	main clause	complement of <i>think</i>	complement of <i>want</i>
English	finite	✓finite	✗finite
French	indicative	✓indicative	✗indicative
German	Verb 2	✓Verb 2	✗Verb 2

main clause syntax & representationality

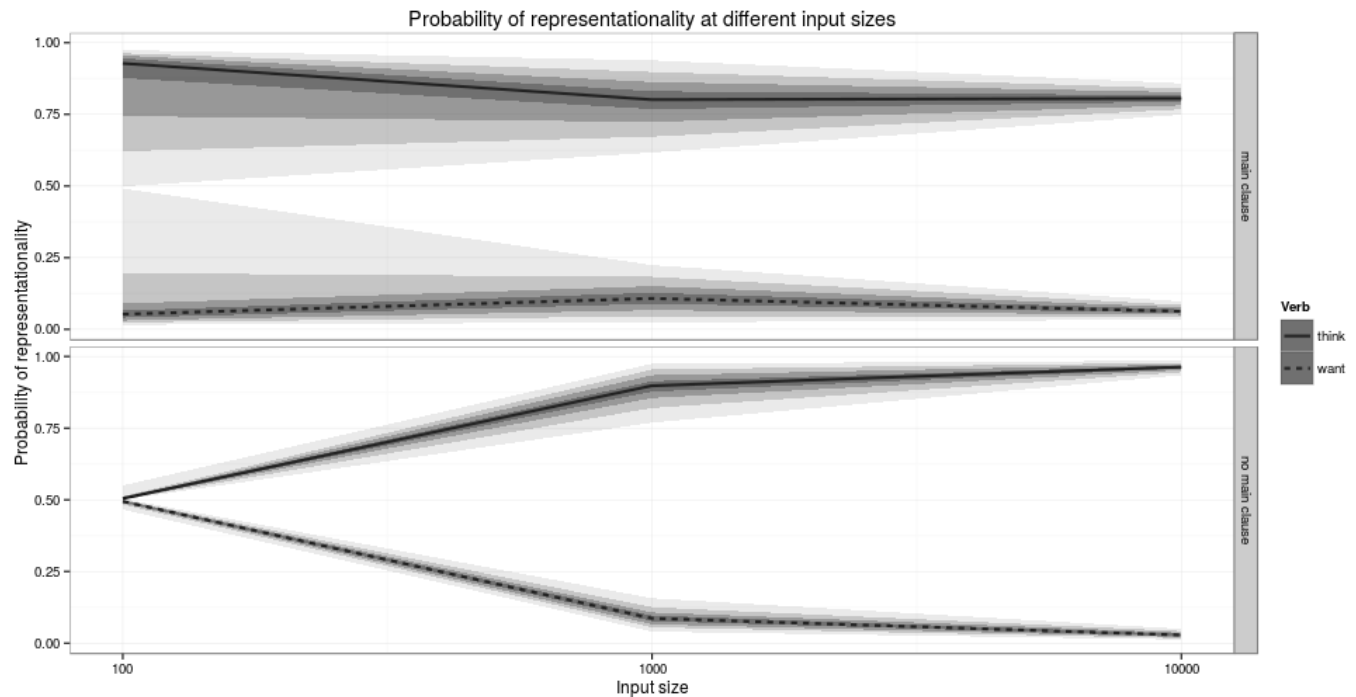


Addressing the Universality Challenge

- No need to specify *particular* syntactic properties.
- The learner only needs to note whatever *syntactic features* appear in (*declarative*) *main clauses*, and look for same features in *embedded clauses*.

What Would a Learner Do?

A learner looking for syntactic features in complement clauses that match **main clauses** quickly discovers the **representational/preferential** split.



Aaron White

think vs. want: summary

- Children differentiate *think* and *want* early on.
- Even when they are not fully adult-like, they know to treat *think* and *want* differently.

Proposal:

Syntax gives away *semantic class*, via the types of *pragmatics* enrichments these verbs trigger.

think vs. know

'Not at issue' challenge

think vs. know

- *Think* and *know* both express belief:
 - (1) John thinks that Mary is out of town.
 - (2) John knows that Mary is out of town.
- *Know* further presupposes truth of its complement.

think vs. know

Can children differentiate *think* and *know*?

- Do they understand that *think* is *non factive*?
- Do they understand that *know* is *factive*?

think: sentence v. speaker meaning

Three year olds tend to assume endorsement uses of *think*.

- **Default** pragmatic enrichment?
- **Lexicalization** of enriched meaning?

child think = adult know??

think

(1) Dora thinks that Swiper is behind the chest.

*3 year olds: **False!***

(2) Dora thinks that Swiper is behind the curtain.

*3 year olds: **False!***



Context:

*Dora thinks Swiper behind the chest
Swiper is behind the curtain*

child think = know?

(1) Dora *knows* that Swiper is behind the chest.

3 year olds: False!

(2) Dora *knows* that Swiper is behind the curtain.

3 year olds: False!



Context:

*Dora thinks Swiper behind the chest
Swiper is behind the curtain*

***know*: not at issue content**

Can the child detect ***know***'s ***presupposition***?

think vs. know

- Children said to not distinguish ***think*** and ***know*** until age 4, and to not use meaning difference for quantity implicatures.

- (1) I **think** that the toy is in the blue box.
- (2) I **know** that the toy is in the red box.

Cf. Harris 1975; Abbeduto & Rosenberg 1985; Moore et al. 1989...

- Not surprising given endorsement uses with ***think***.
- *Can kids distinguish **think** and **know** under negation?*

3 year olds understanding of *think vs. know*

Task: Find the toy!

- (1) Lambchop **thinks** that it's in the blue box.
- (2) Lambchop **knows** that it's in the blue box.
- (3) Lambchop does**n't think** that it's the blue box.
- (4) Lambchop does**n't know** that it's in the blue box.



Dudley et al, to appear

Rachel Dudley



Results

- As a group, 3 year olds differentiate *think* and *know*.
- All 3 year olds have *non factive think*.
- Some 3 year olds have *factive know*.
- Some 3 year olds have *non factive know*.

think

- Three year olds seem to have adult-like **non factive** semantics of *think*.
- Tendency to assume endorsement with *think not* due to **factive** representation of *think*.

Hypothesis: Difficult with *think* sentences is in determining when *beliefs* are relevant in context (cf. Lewis 2012).

factivity

- What gives away *know*'s **factivity** (and *think*'s **non factivity**)?
 - ~~*Speakers' commitment to complement p?*~~
 - State of the discourse? (was 'p' *mentioned* before?)
 - Syntax?
- And why don't *all* children figure out *know*'s **factivity** at the same time?

Syntactic clue?

Principled link between *factivity* and ability to take *declarative and interrogative complements**?

(1) John knows that Mary left.

(2) John thinks that Mary left.

(3) John knows whether Mary left.

(4) *John thinks whether Mary left.

Cf. Hintikka 1975; Karttunen 1977; Ginzburg 1995; Egge 2007...

**at least for doxastics*

What's in the input?

Could *factivity* variation be due to *input* variation?

- What kinds of discourses do *think* and *know* appear in in child-directed speech?
- Have adult-like children heard more uses of *know* with both interrogative and declarative complements than non adult-like children?

Correlations between types of *think* and *know* sentences in input and performance on factivity task?



Rachel Dudley

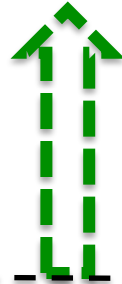
In conclusion...

Child attitudes

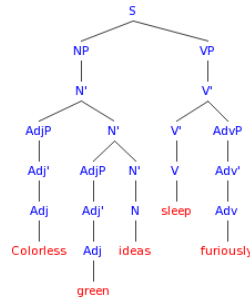
- *think/know vs. want*: Robust **meaning** difference.
 - Robustly tracked by **syntax**.
 - May help child early on.
- *think vs. know*: much more subtle **meaning** difference, which some 3 year olds can detect.
 - **Syntax** may help adult-like 3 year olds.
 - Syntactic cues not as reliable or salient?

The pragmatic challenge

Semantics



Syntax



Speaker message



Indirect speech acts and syntax

Representational (*think*):

- **Report**: *judgment of truth*
- **Enrichment**: *indirect assertion* (*D thinks*) *S is behind the chest*
- **Syntax**: declarative main clauses (assertions)

Preferentials (*want*):

- **Report**: *preference*
- **Enrichment**: *indirect request* (*D wants you to*) *go to your room*
- **Syntax**: imperatives

Rogatives (*ask*):

- **Report**: *question*
- **Enrichment**: *indirect question* (*D is asking*) *where is S*
- **Syntax**: interrogative main clauses

Indirect speech acts and syntax

- How frequent are *request* and *question enrichments* in child-directed speech? Do they ever trip up the learner?
- Can and does the learner exploit *syntactic parallels* between *direct/indirect requests* and *direct/indirect questions* to learn semantics of preferentials and rogatives?

Child pragmatics

Are children “bad” at pragmatics?

- This question presupposes children have prior access to *literal* content that inferences are based off.
- However, what children ever get to hear are *speaker* meanings, not *literal* meanings.
- Children are in fact *good* at understanding *speakers'* meanings. Sometimes *too* good.

Thank you!

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Project collaborators:

Jeff Lidz, Shevaun Lewis, Aaron White, Kate Harrigan, Rachel Dudley, Naho Orita, Morgan Moyer, Erin Eaker, Meredith Rowe.

Research assistants:

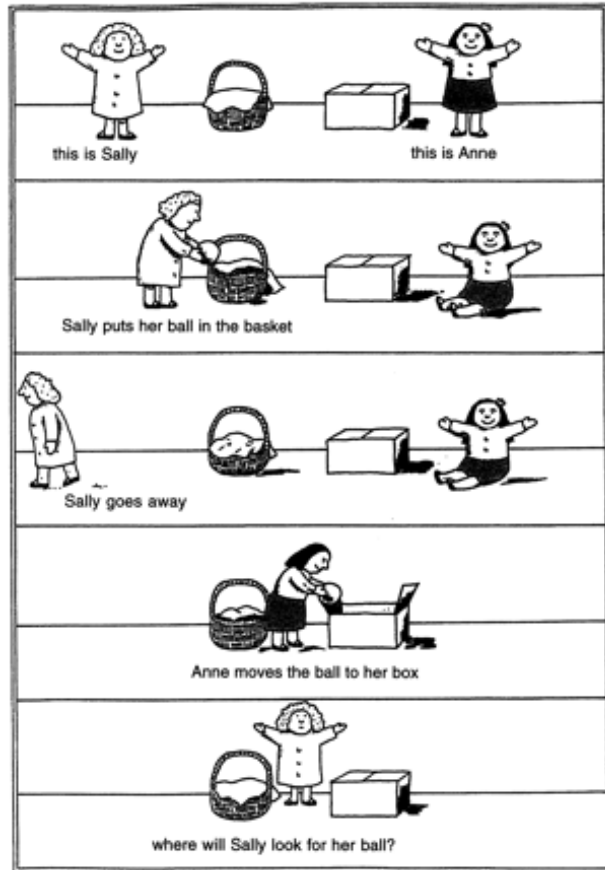
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False Belief Understanding



Baron-Cohen, Leslie & Frith (1986)

Change of Location Task (Wimmer & Perner 1983)

Where will Sally look for her ball?

- Adults and 5-year-olds:
in the basket
- 3-4 year-olds: *in the box*

Cf. Wellman, Cross and Watson 2001 for meta-analysis

want

- 3-year-olds have difficulty maintaining multiple perspectives:
 - conflict with reality?
 - conflict with own attitude state?
- These conflicts are always present with *think* but not with *want* in experimental contexts.

want

Typical experimental context for **think**:

Scenario: Ernie is NOT behind the bench.

(1) Elmo **thinks** that Ernie is behind the bench.

- Conflict with *reality*
- Conflict with *child's own belief state*

want

Typical experimental context for *want*:

Scenario: Ernie is NOT behind the bench.

(1) Elmo **wants** Ernie to hide behind the bench.

- **No** direct conflict with *reality* due to future orientation with *want*
- **No** conflict with *child's own desire state*

Children's understanding of *want*

Exp 1: Test *want* with forced present-orientation in situations that **conflicts with reality**.

Exp 2: Test *want* in situations where reported desire conflicts with child's own desire.

Results: 3 year olds succeed at both

Cf. also De Villiers 2005; Rackoczy *et al.* 2007



Kate Harrigan

Children's understanding of *want*

- 3 year olds are adult-like in understanding of *want*, even when the desire reported conflicts with reality, or with the child's own desire.
- Difficulty with *think* can't just be difficulty processing an attitude state representation that conflicts with reality, or with their own attitude state.

hope

- Hope shares semantic and syntactic properties with each *think* and *want*.
- How does *hope* fare compared to *think* and *want* in child language?



Endorsement *want*?

want doesn't get the kinds of endorsement interpretations *think* gets. But *hope* does.

Bill: Where is Jane?

Sue: #I want her to be in Miami.

Sue: I hope she's in Miami.

x hopes p: x believes that p is possible

[Portner 1992, Scheffler 2008, Anand & Hacquard 2012]

hope

hope shares **meaning components** with both *want* and *think*:

- It expresses a *desire*.
- It expresses a *doxastic possibility*, which allows endorsement uses.

hope

hope shares **syntactic properties** with both *want* and *think*:

	Finite comp	Infinitival comp	Mood	Slift	V2
<i>think</i>	✓	*	indicative	✓	✓
<i>want</i>	*	✓	subjunctive	*	*
<i>hope</i>	✓	✓	both	✓	✓

Hope















Froggy hopes to get...
Froggy hopes that...



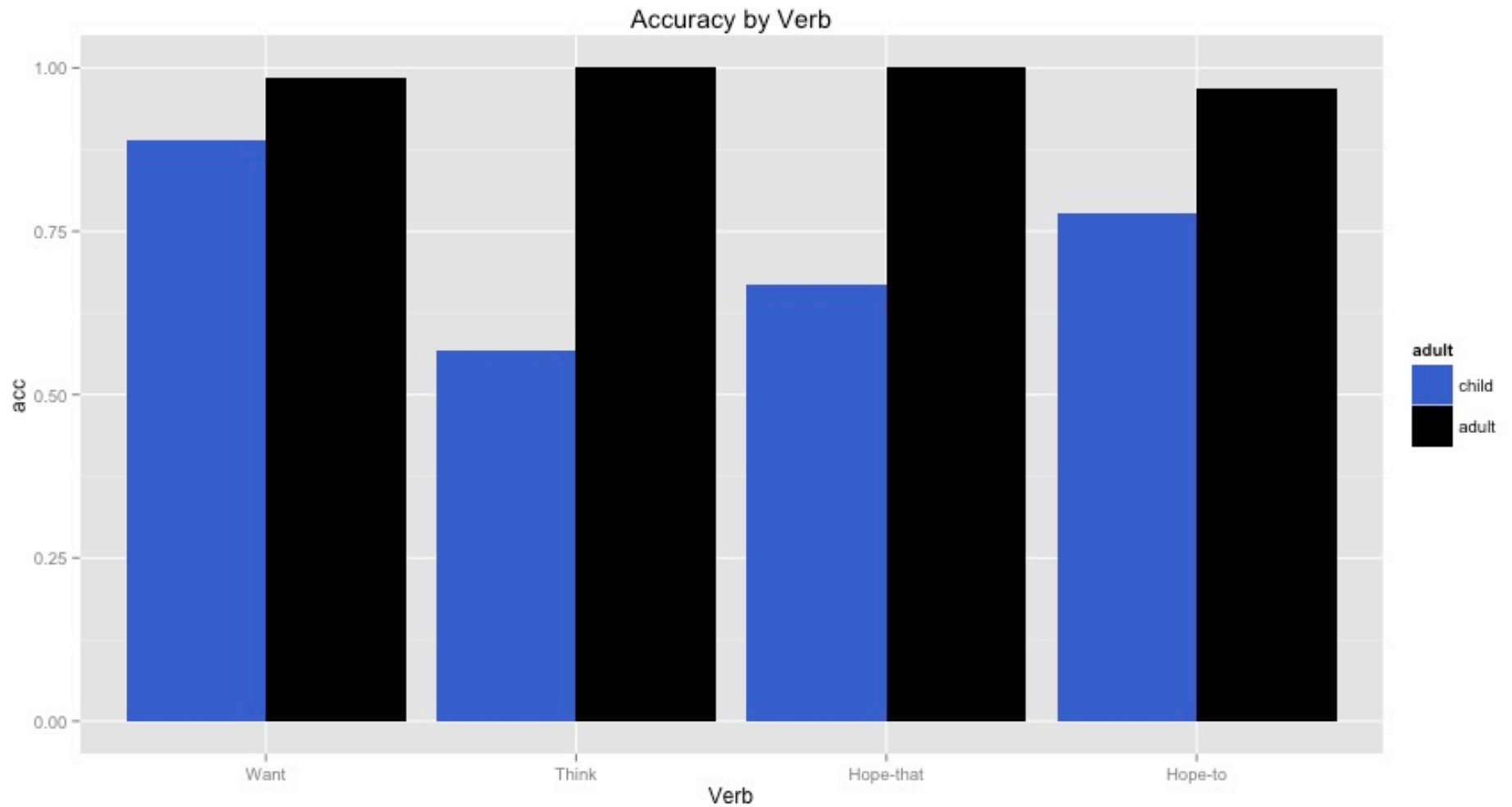
I like hearts and not stars!
When it's yellow, I guess star,
when it's red, I guess heart!

Hope: Design

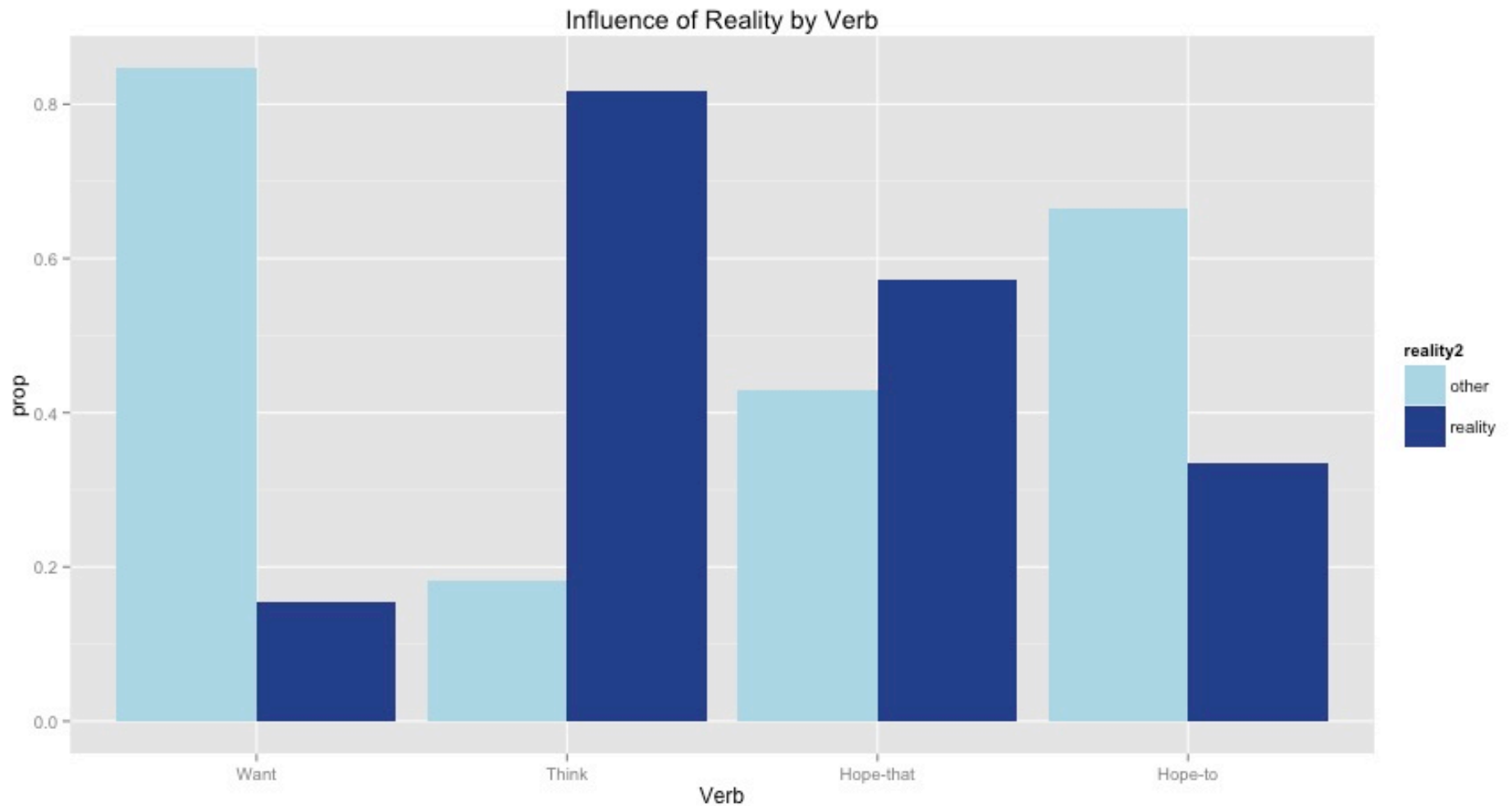
Breakdown of conditions: Adult-like responses

Clue	Actual		Want	Think	Hope	
			✓	✓	✓	1
			x	x	x	2
			✓	✓	✓	3
			x	x	x	4
			✓	x	✓	5
			x	✓	x	6
			✓	x	✓	7
			x	✓	x	8

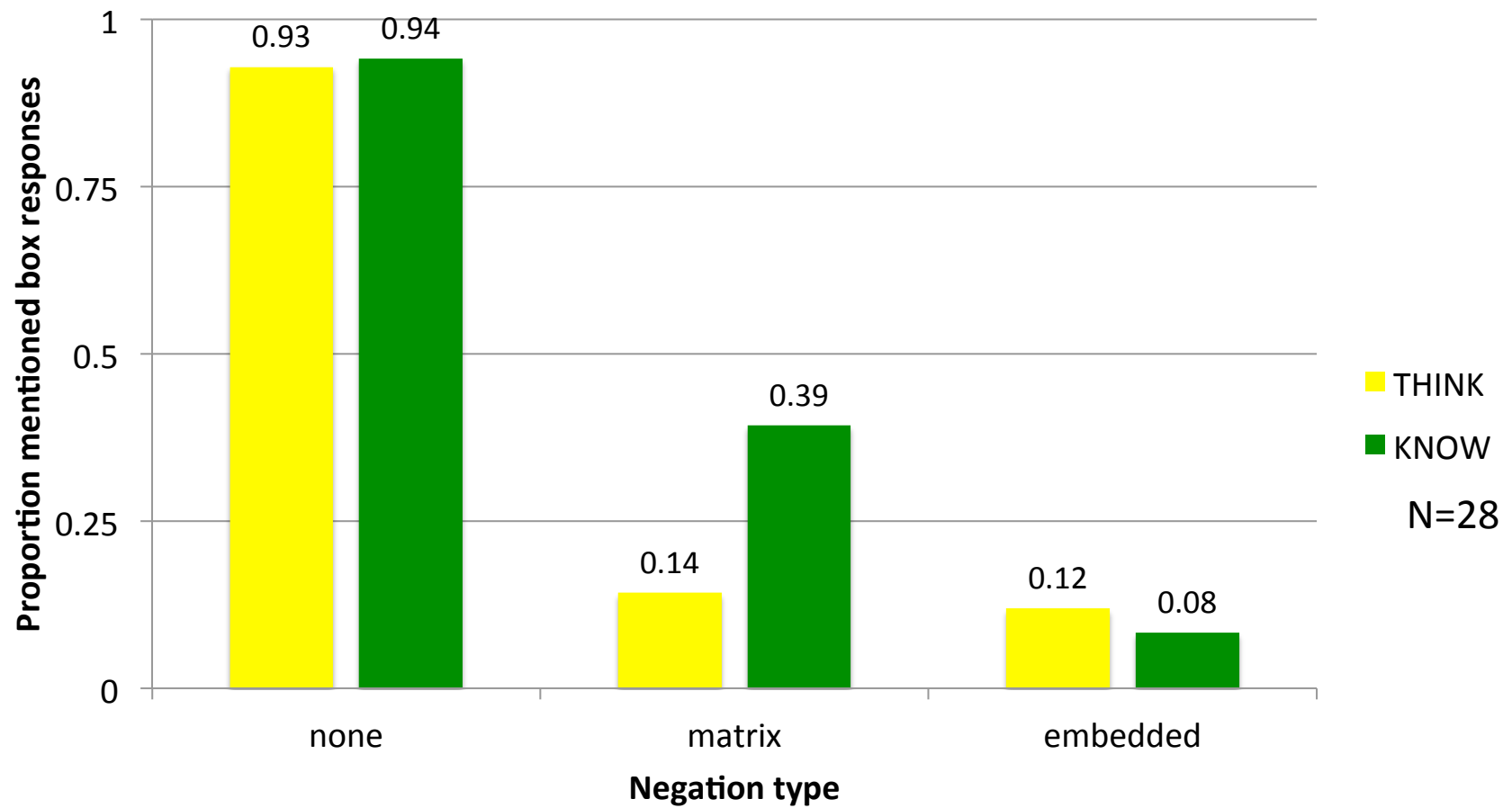
Results: *hope vs. think vs. want*



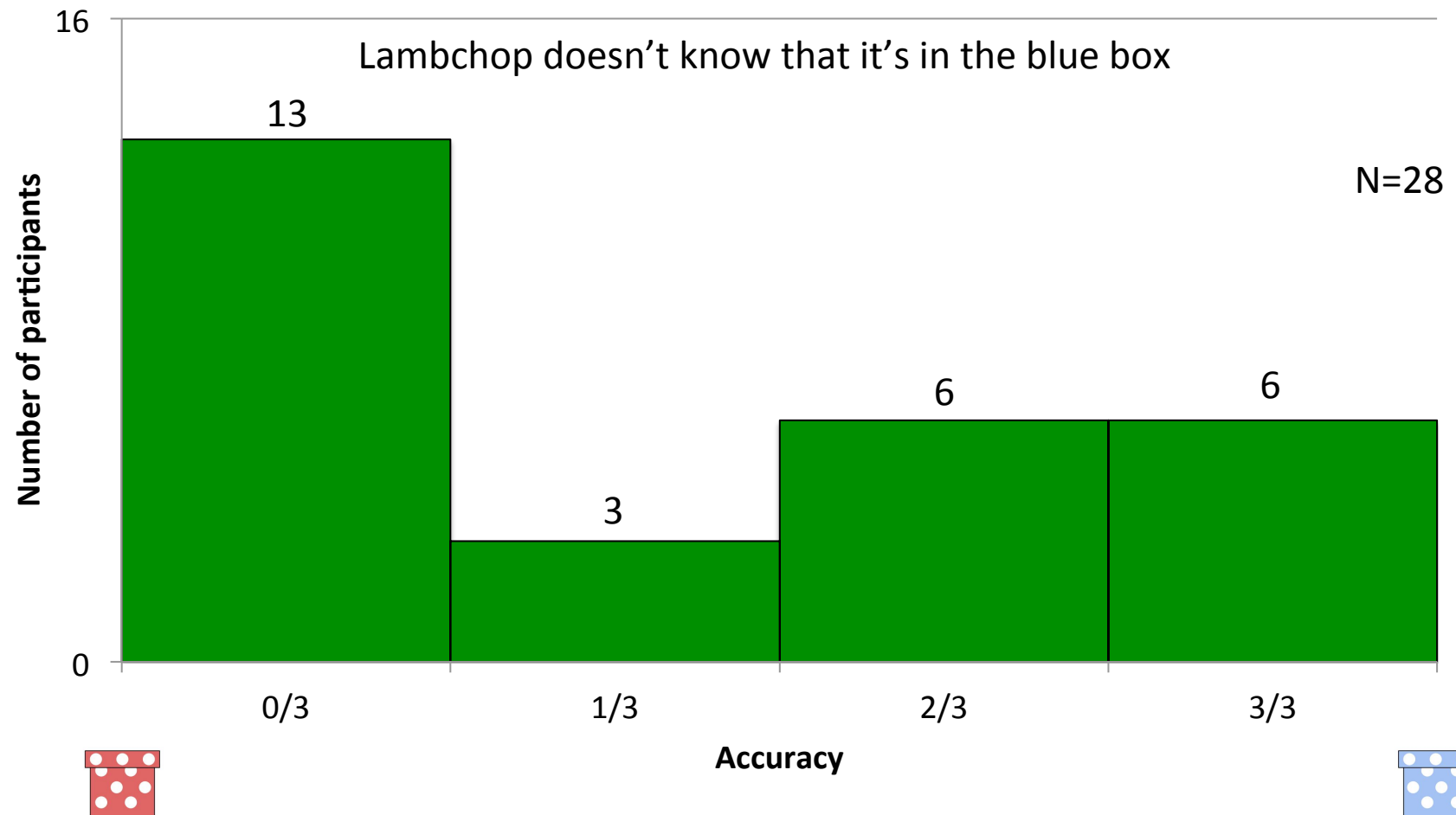
Results: *hope* vs. *think* vs. *want*



Results: *think vs. know*



Individual measure: accuracy on know-matrix



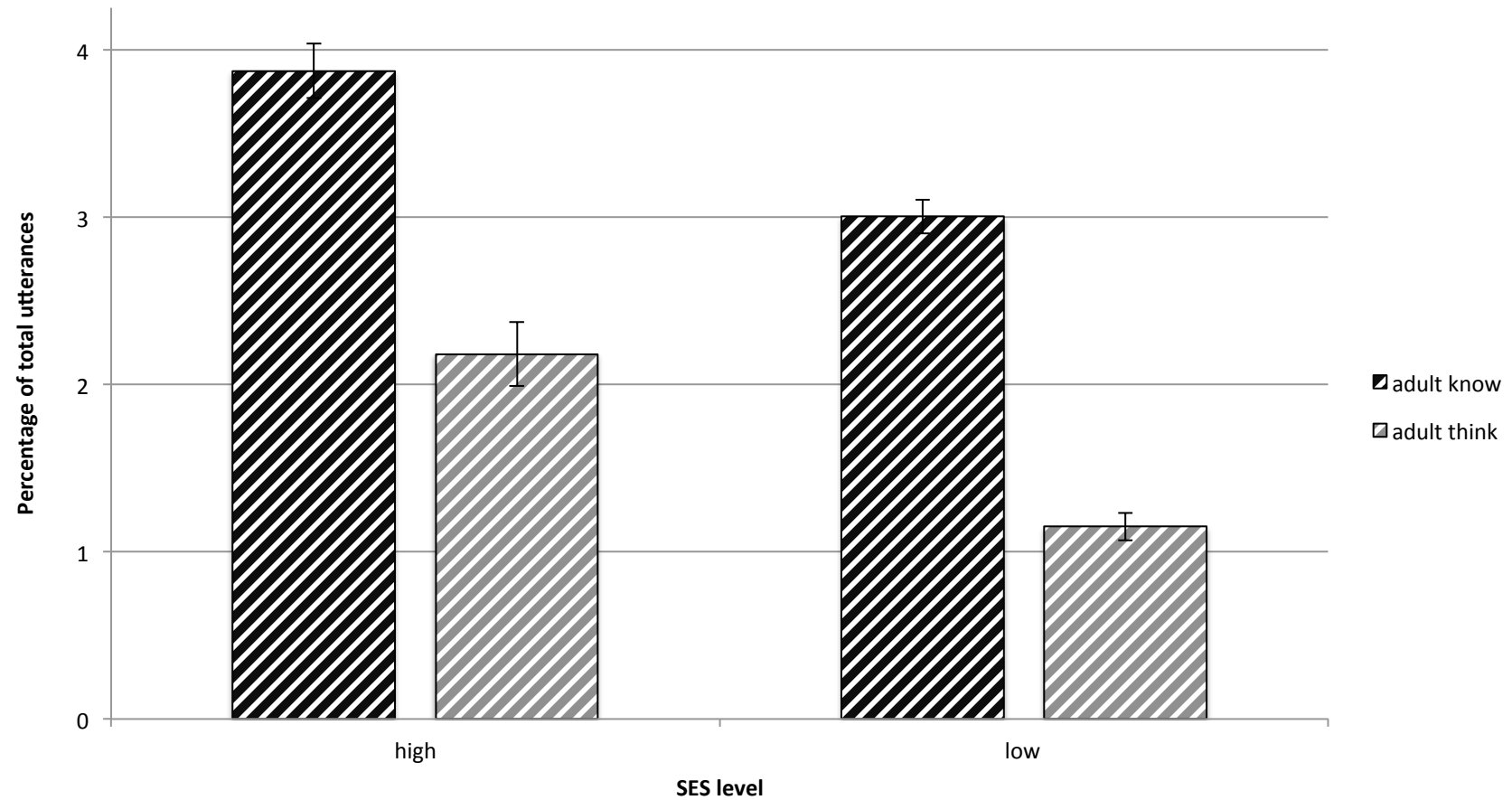
think vs. know

- Children from low SES backgrounds show delays on FB and vocabulary tasks, compared to children from high SES backgrounds.
- Quantitative and qualitative corpus analysis of child-directed speech from low vs. high SES backgrounds.
- ‘Where is the toy’ task in children from low vs. high SES backgrounds.

Dudley et al, *in progress*



know vs. think: corpus study



know vs. think: corpus study

