行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

漢語親子對話中的移位指涉
研究成果報告(精簡版)

中　華　民　國　100 年 10 月 28 日

1.   Introduction

It is well-known that Mandarin permits omitted arguments. In Mandarin, overt reference forms can be omitted provided that the referent can be understood from the context (Huang, 2000; Li & Thompson, 1981, Wang et al., 1992). In other words, Mandarin speakers' referential choice may be discourse-motivated. Previous studies have indicated that adult speakers show sensitivity to discourse-pragmatic factors presumed to underlie the differential use of referring expressions in discourse (Chafe, 1994, 1996; Du Bois, 1985, 1987; Givon, 1983; Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski, 1993; Kumpf, 1992).

In language acquisition research, grammar and discourse are frequently treated as separate domains that do not interact in any significant way. Given the success of the discourse-pragmatic approach in explaining the distribution of referring expressions in adult language, recently a few studies have investigated the child's referential choice from this use-oriented perspective. It has been reported that the child's referential choice can also be explained by pragmatic principles (Allen, 2000; Clancy, 1993; 1997; Guerriero, Oshima-Takane & Kuriyama, 2006; Huang, 2011; Narasimhan, Budwig & Murty, 2005; Serratrice, 2005).

An important pragmatic feature which may influence referential choice is displacement. This feature characterizes a referent that is not present in the immediate context of the conversation. Displacement is one of language's essential functions. Research on child language acquisition has shown that children's speech at the early stage of development is restricted to the 'here-and-now' (Brown, 1973; Sachs, 1983; Eisenberg, 1985; Weist, 1989). The development of the capacity to refer to objects and events temporally or spatially displaced from the immediate context represents a crucial conceptual and linguistic breakthrough for young children. Thus, how children learn to talk about the 'there-and-then' has been of much interest to researchers in

linguistics and psychology (Adamson & Bakeman, 2006; Eisenberg, 1985; Huang, 2000; Lucariello and Nelson, 1987; Morford and Goldin-Meadow, 1997; Sachs, 1983; Veneziano, 2001).

Previous studies have identified several characteristics of the child's initial conversation about displaced reference: the predominance of the adult's scaffolding, the reference to routine events and the reference to the immediate past/future. However, few studies have examined the referential expressions the child uses for displaced reference. Since displaced reference can not be achieved through the aid of the immediate contextual information, a greater communicative demand is placed on the child to be linguistically informative when talking about the 'there-and-then'. Referential strategies for displaced reference thus constitute a link between grammar, discourse pragmatics, and cognitive development. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate Mandarin-speaking children's referential choice for displaced reference. The children's referential choice for displaced reference was further examined in relation to the new vs. old information status, a factor which has been shown to influence Mandarin speakers' referential choice (Gundel, et al., 1993; Hickmann & Hendriks, 1999; Huang, 2000; Li & Thompson, 1981; Wang et al., 1992). In addition to the speech of Mandarin-speaking children, this study also analyzed the speech of the children's mothers in order to understand the similarities and differences between the children's and the mothers' referential strategies for displaced reference.

2. Methods

2.1 Participants and data

The participants of this study were two Mandarin-speaking two-year-old girls and their mothers, who lived in the northern part of Taiwan. One of the children had a younger sister and the other was the only child. The parents of both of the children

had received post-graduate education. The data used in this study consisted of eight hours of natural mother-child conversation video-taped at the children's homes, with four hours of data with each child. The collected data were transcribed using CHAT convention (MacWhinney, 2000) for analysis.

2.2. Coding scheme

The children's and the mothers' utterances were examined to indentify the instances of here-and-now references and displaced references. Referential forms used for these references were analyzed. In addition, further analysis was conducted to examine whether these references involved new information or old information. The coding scheme is as follows.

1. Types of references

    (a) Here-and-now references: Referring to a referent that is present in the physical context of the conversation

    (b) Displaced references: Referring to a referent that is not present in the physical context of the conversation

2. Referential forms

    (a) Null forms: Absence of overt form

    (b) Pronominal forms: Including pronouns and demonstratives

    (c) Nominal forms: Including bare nouns, noun phrases, and proper names

3. Information status

    (a) New information: A referent that has not been previously talked about in the conversation at hand

    (b) Old information: A referent that has been previously talked about in the conversation at hand

3. Results

Analysis was conducted to examine the types of referents the children and the mothers referred to, i.e., whether they referred to displaced referents or here-and-now referents. The results are shown in Figure 1. Figure 1 shows that the two children referred mainly to here-and-now referents, and that they referred to displaced referents for only about 10% to 20% of the time. Similarly, the referents mentioned in the mothers' speech were also mostly here-and-now referents; displaced referents occurred only about 10% of the time in the mothers' speech. The results suggested that the conversations of the mother-child dyads focused mostly on the here-and-now.
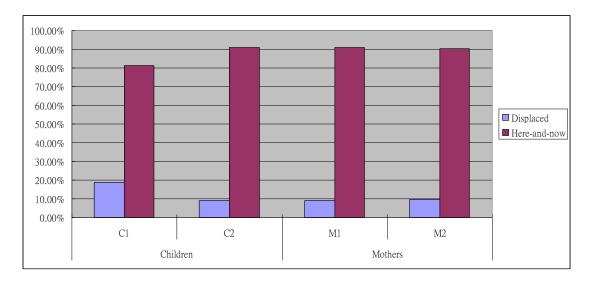

Figure 1: Proportions of displaced and here-and-now references

Table 2 shows the distributions of referential forms used for displaced references and for here-and-now references. As seen in Figure 2, the distributions of referential forms for the two types of references revealed very different patterns of use. When referring to displaced referents, the children and the mothers used a high rate of nominal forms; the percentage of nominal forms became much lower when they referred to here-and-now referents. In contrast, both the children and the mothers used

null forms and pronominal forms to refer to here-and-now referents more frequently than they used these forms to refer to displaced referents. The results suggested that the children and the mothers were sensitive to the feature of displacement in their referential choice.
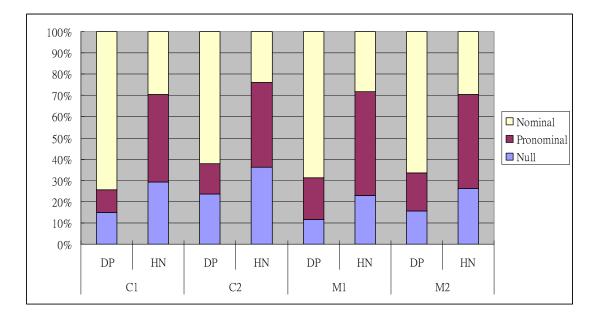

Figure 2: Distributions of referential forms for displaced and here-and-now references

The referential forms used for the two types of references were further examined in relation to the new vs. old information status. The results are presented in Figures 3a and 3b. We observed that the general distributions of referential forms in the new information condition were different from those in the old information condition; the children and the mothers used much less null forms and much more nominal forms for new information than for old information. A closer look at the results revealed that null forms were used most frequently for here-and-now references with old information, and least frequently (close to 0%) for both displaced and here-and-now references with new information. In contrast, nominal forms were used most frequently for displaced references with new information, and least frequently for

here-and-now references with old information. There appeared to be a cumulative

effect of the factors of displacement and information status.
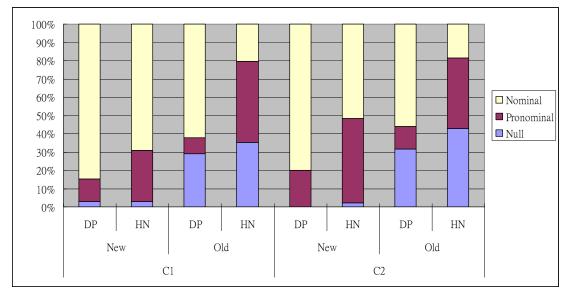

Figure 3a: Distributions of referential forms for displaced and here-and-now

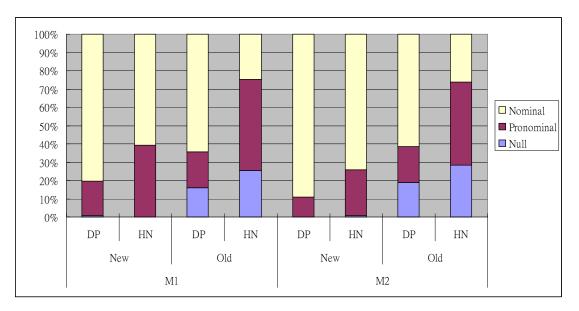references in new vs. old conditions in children's data

Figure 3b: Distributions of referential forms for displaced and here-and-now

references in new vs. old conditions in mothers' data

4. Conclusion

The results of this study showed that Mandarin-speaking children demonstrated

different referential strategies for here-and-now and for displaced references; the children tended to use nominal forms for displaced references, and null forms and pronominal forms for here-and-now referents. Their referential choice appeared to be influenced by the feature of displacement. The children's referential choice was also influenced by the new vs. old information status, and there appeared to be a cumulative effect of the factors of displacement and information status. The results also revealed that the children's referential strategies were similar to those of the mothers, suggesting that the children's and the mothers' referential strategies may be explained by similar pragmatic principles.

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國科會補助專題研究計畫項下出席國際學術會議心得報告

<div align="right">日期：　100　年 6 月 30 日</div>

計畫編號	NSC 99-2410-H-004-205-		
計畫名稱	漢語親子對話中的移位指涉		
出國人員 姓名	黃瓊之	服務機構 及職稱	國立政治大學語言學 研究所副教授
會議時間	100 年 6 月 26 日至 100 年 6 月 27 日	會議地點	日本大阪
會議名稱	The 13th Annual International Conference of the Japanese Society for Language Sciences		
發表論文 題目	A functional analysis of parental other-repetition in Mandarin parent-child interaction		

　　本人於 100 年 6 月 26 日至 27 日參加由日本語言科學學會(the Japanese Society for Language Sciences)所主辦的國際研討會 The 13th Annual International Conference of the Japanese Society for Language Sciences。此研討會集合了許多來自世界各地研究語言科學的學者，會中也有不少來自台灣的教授及學生。與會學者從語言科學的各個面向，作研究的分享與交流。兩天的研討會，讓參與研討會的成員享受了一次豐富的學術饗宴。

　　本次會議包含了 26 篇 individual papers 和 21 篇 posters，另外還包括了 2 場 plenary talks 及 1 場 invited symposium。Plenary talks 邀請演講的學者分別為 Professor Niko Besnier (University of Amsterdam)及 Yasuhiro Katagiri (Future University Hakodate)，前者的講題為 Language on the Edge of the Global: Linguistic Practices, Agency, and the Complexity of the Local 而後者則為 Cultural parameters in conversational interactions。Invited symposium 的主題則為 Reconsidering 'communicative competence': Findings and suggestions from fieldwork/empirical research。精彩的內容讓與會者收穫豐富。

　　兩天共 26 篇的 individual papers 分成三個平行場次進行，讓與會者依興趣選擇參加。發表的論文中有 4 篇是來自台灣的研究，顯示台灣的學者及學生積極參與國際學術研討會發表研究成果。會議的第二天安排了 1 小時 20 分鐘的時間讓 21 篇 posters 的作者在作品前和與會者進行面對面的說明及討論，其中也包括了 2 篇來自台灣的研究。近距離的互動不僅讓與會者對各個研究展示有更清楚的瞭解，也讓各研究發表者能獲得和與會者即時交流的機會。

　　本人的 individual paper 題目是 A functional analysis of parental other-repetition

in Mandarin parent-child interaction。本研究的目的是從 discourse-pragmatic 的觀點探討說漢語的父母在與幼童的自然對話中，重複幼童語句時的語言形式與語用功能。本人的論文獲得了不少與會學者正面的回應，同時一些意見及問題也對我繼續發展本篇論文有很大的幫助。

此次參加 JSLS2011 不僅有機會發表本人的研究成果之外，也有機會與不同領域、不同國家的學者做學術討論與交流，是次很有意義、很豐富的學術經驗。

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標題:JSLS 2011
日期:Fri, 1 Apr 2011 12:53:02 +0900

Dear Chiung-chih Huang,

On behalf of the organizing committee for JSLS 2011, I apologize for the delay in informing you of our decision regarding your submission.

We are pleased to inform you that your abstract has been accepted as an oral presentation (paper) at JSLS 2011.

In order for us to secure your place at the conference, we must receive e-mail confirmation of your intention to present at JSLS 2011 by April 8, 2011. Please send your confirmation to: jsls2011-wg@cyber.sist.chukyo-u.ac.jp

Please use the following format in your reply:

-----------------------cut------------------------

Title:

Author(s):

I (will/will not) present a paper at JSLS 2011.

-----------------------cut------------------------

We would also like you to submit a 4-page paper for inclusion in the conference handbook. More information about this will be sent after we receive your confirmation.

We look forward to your response.

JSLS 2011 Review Committee
(Yahiro Hirakawa, Chair)

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ps.
Dear all
The conference will be held as scheduled (June 25-26, 2011). Osaka and its vicinity are not impacted by the earthquake on March 11th in the northern Japan. All the public transportations and facilities are running normally. Please visit this website often to check for further updates.

JSLS 2011 Conference Chair
Keiko Ikeda

A functional analysis of parental other-repetition in Mandarin parent-child interaction

Chiung-chih HUANG (National Chengchi University)

Abstract

This study investigated the types and functions of parental other-repetition in Mandarin parent-child interaction from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. The subjects of this study were two Mandarin-speaking parent-child dyads. The data included six hours of natural conversations recorded when the children were between the ages of 2;1 and 3;1. Parental other-repetitions were classified into four repetition types: exact, reduced, modified, or expanded. The different types of repetitions were further analyzed to examine their pragmatic functions. It was found that the parents used the different types of repetition for a variety of communicative purposes such as acknowledging the receipt of information, asking for clarification, asking for confirmation, targeting the next action, and reformulating the child's utterances. The results also showed that the parents' use of other-repetition reflected the particular nature of child-directed speech, and the parents' attempts to foster interaction.

1 Introduction

Other-repetition, repetition of utterances by other speakers, has been noted as a pervasive phenomenon in language behavior, especially in parent-child interaction. Both parental speech and child speech are characterized by repetitiveness. Previous research on other-repetition in parent-child interaction has mainly been concerned with its role as a learning mechanism. Children's other-repetition has often been referred to as 'imitation', and has been investigated to determine the role of this imitative behavior in the learning of vocabulary and syntax (Moerk, 1977; Stine & Bohannon, 1983; Tager-Flusberg & Calkins, 1990). On the other hand, other-repetition in parental speech has been studied in the framework of modeling strategies or negative evidence (Nelson 1977, 1981; Nelson et al., 1985; Bohannon & Stanowicz, 1988). The results, however, have been inconsistent.

This study adopted a different approach to examine parental other-repetition. We assumed that other-repetition in parental speech was motivated by communicative purposes. As suggested by Užgiris, et al. (1989), maternal other-repetition needed to be considered not only as models of linguistic forms but also as acts in communicative exchanges, and needed to be studied as part of verbal interaction sequences. Thus, from a discourse-pragmatic perspective, this study investigated the types and functions of parental other-repetition in Mandarin parent-child interaction.

2 Methods

The subjects of this study were two Mandarin-speaking parent-child dyads. The data included six

hours of natural conversations recorded when the children were between the ages of 2;1 and 3;1. Parental other-repetitions were classified into four repetition types (Užgiris, et al., 1989; Pérez-Pereira, 1994), as shown below:

(1) Exact: The reproduction includes all of the words of the model utterance in the same order without any changes or additions. E.g., *dianhua. /dianhua.* (Telephone. / Telephone.)

(2) Reduced: The reproduction involves omission of functors, morphemes or content words from the utterance or the target part of the utterance. E.g., *baozhe xiao wawa. /xiao wawa.* (Holding a little doll. / A little doll.)

(3) Modified: Using part or all of an utterance as a model, the speaker changes the person of the verb, the pronoun, the order of the elements, or the complement, etc. E.g., *wo yao jiang. / ni yao jiang.* (I want to speak. / You want to speak.)

(4) Expanded: One part of the utterance is imitated or repeated and another part is created by the speaker without a preceding model. E.g., *huai yelang. / huai yelang lai le* . (Bad wolf. / Bad wolf has come.)

The different types of repetitions were further analyzed to examine the pragmatic functions of Mandarin parental other-repetitions within the framework of communicative exchanges.

3 Results

The results demonstrated that the data contained 1745 and 2529 utterances by the two parents, respectively. Among these utterances, 128 and 249 other-repetitions were observed. The proportions of other-repetitions in the two parents' speech were 7.34% and 9.85%. Qualitative analyses revealed that the parents used the four different types of other-repetition to perform a variety of communicative functions, as summarized below:

(1) Acknowledging the receipt of information: The parents used exact or modified repetition to acknowledge that the information expressed in the children's preceding utterances had been received by the parents. (EXA, MOD)

(2) Asking for clarification. The parents used exact repetition to ask the children to provide related information in order to clarify the trouble-sources, usually produced with a rising intonation. (EXA)

(3) Asking for confirmation: The parents used exact or reduced repetition to offer candidate understandings for the children to confirm (or disconfirm), usually ended with an utterance final particle, usually *ou* or *a/ya*. (EXA, RED)

(4) Targeting the next action to project further elaboration: The parents made the repeated information in reduced repetition a target before adding new information about it in subsequent utterances. (RED)

(5) Targeting the next action to project dispreferred actions: The parents used reduced repetition to project rejections or disagreement, usually produced with a rising intonation. (RED)

(6) Giving correction: The parents used modified repetition to correct the children's preceding utterances by replacing the children's incorrect words with correct ones. (MOD)

(7) Asking questions or providing answers: The parents used modified repetition to ask questions or to provide answers by replacing a non-question word with a question word, or vice versa. (MOD)

(8) Reformulating the child's utterances: By using expanded repetition, the parent added some elements to the child's preceding utterance to make it more comprehensible or more grammatical while preserving the meaning of the child's utterance. (EXP)

(9) Elaborating on the child's utterances: New information was added in expanded repetition to move the conversational topic forward. (EXP).

Table 1. Summary table of repetition types, pragmatic functions and structural features

	EXA	RED	MOD	EXP
Receipt of information	✔		✔ (deictic shifting)	
Request for clarification	✔ (+ rising intonation)			
Request for confirmation	✔ (+ *ou* or *a*/*ya*)	✔ (+ *ou* or *a*/*ya*)		
Projecting further elaboration		✔		
Projecting dispreferred responses		✔ (+ rising intonation)		
Correction			✔ (incorrect words ⇨ correct ones	
Question or answer			✔ (non-question word ⇔ question word)	
Reformulation				✔
Elaboration				✔ (+ new information)

4 Discussion

The results of the present study demonstrated that other-repetition was a prominent aspect of the parents' speech, and that the parents used the different types of other-repetition to perform a variety of communicative functions. It appears that the parents' use of other-repetition also reflected the particular nature of parent-child interaction. In the parent-child communication, the parents were

interacting with a partner who had limited cognitive and verbal skills. Other-repetition appears to reflect the parents' attempts to foster interaction through appropriate responsiveness, and the responsivity demonstrated by parental other-repetition has been singled out as the principal component of development-fostering relationships (Užgiris, et al., 1989). In addition, there appear to be some differences between other-repetition in adult conversation and in parental speech to children, suggesting that parents make some adjustments of their use of other-repetition in their child-directed speech.

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國科會補助計畫衍生研發成果推廣資料表

國科會補助計畫	計畫名稱: 漢語親子對話中的移位指涉
	計畫主持人: 黃瓊之
	計畫編號: 99-2410-H-004-205-　　　　學門領域: 心理語言學

無研發成果推廣資料

99 年度專題研究計畫研究成果彙整表

計畫主持人：黃瓊之		計畫編號：99-2410-H-004-205-

計畫名稱：漢語親子對話中的移位指涉

成果項目			量化			單位	備註（質化說明：如數個計畫共同成果、成果列為該期刊之封面故事...等）
			實際已達成數（被接受或已發表）	預期總達成數(含實際已達成數)	本計畫實際貢獻百分比		
國內	論文著作	期刊論文	0	0	100%	篇	
		研究報告/技術報告	1	1	100%		
		研討會論文	0	0	100%		
		專書	0	0	100%		
	專利	申請中件數	0	0	100%	件	
		已獲得件數	0	0	100%		
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	100%	件	
		權利金	0	0	100%	千元	
	參與計畫人力（本國籍）	碩士生	2	2	100%	人次	
		博士生	0	0	100%		
		博士後研究員	0	0	100%		
		專任助理	0	0	100%		
國外	論文著作	期刊論文	2	2	100%	篇	
		研究報告/技術報告	0	0	100%		
		研討會論文	1	1	100%		
		專書	0	0	100%	章/本	
	專利	申請中件數	0	0	100%	件	
		已獲得件數	0	0	100%		
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	100%	件	
		權利金	0	0	100%	千元	
	參與計畫人力（外國籍）	碩士生	0	0	100%	人次	
		博士生	0	0	100%		
		博士後研究員	0	0	100%		
		專任助理	0	0	100%		

其他成果 (無法以量化表達之成果如辦理學術活動、獲得獎項、重要國際合作、研究成果國際影響力及其他協助產業技術發展之具體效益事項等，請以文字敘述填列。)	特殊優秀人才獎勵（國科會）		

	成果項目	量化	名稱或內容性質簡述
科教處計畫加填項目	測驗工具(含質性與量性)	0	
	課程/模組	0	
	電腦及網路系統或工具	0	
	教材	0	
	舉辦之活動/競賽	0	
	研討會/工作坊	0	
	電子報、網站	0	
	計畫成果推廣之參與（閱聽）人數	0	

國科會補助專題研究計畫成果報告自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現或其他有關價值等，作一綜合評估。

1. 請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估 ■達成目標 □未達成目標（請說明，以 100 字為限） 　　　□實驗失敗 　　　□因故實驗中斷 　　　□其他原因 　說明：
2. 研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形： 論文：□已發表 □未發表之文稿 ■撰寫中 □無 專利：□已獲得 □申請中 ■無 技轉：□已技轉 □洽談中 ■無 其他：（以 100 字為限）
3. 請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面，評估研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）（以 500 字為限） 兒童語言習得研究指出兒童在語言習得的初期侷限於當下的「這裡和現在」，而能指涉在時間或空間上移位的物體或事件代表著兒童在概念和語言上的重要突破。本研究從語用觀點探討說漢語的幼童的移位指涉的習得。在語言習得研究中，語法和語用言談常常被當作是分開的、沒有任何顯著互動的領域。由於以言談語用的方式來解釋成人語言中指涉詞的使用已獲的很好的研究成果，因此本研究試圖以語法與語用的互動來探討幼童的移位指涉。研究結果顯示幼童指涉詞的選擇會受到指涉對象是否現存於當下語境的語用因素影響。另外，移位的因素也與新舊訊習的因素有累積效應，進而影響指涉詞的使用。幼童移位指涉的策略與母親的策略大致相似，顯示兩歲幼童對指涉詞的選擇也能符合言談語用上的原則。本研究成果不僅對漢語移位指涉的習得有進一步的認識，也對以語法與語用的互動來探討漢語語言習得議題提供了先例及進一步發展的可能性。