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幼兒漢語中的互動常規與情意言談
研究成果報告(精簡版)

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Affect talk in Mandarin parent-child interaction

Abstract

This study aimed to investigate language socialization of affect in Mandarin parent-child interaction. Natural conversations between Mandarin-speaking two-year-olds and their parents were analyzed, focusing on the lexicon of affect words and the conversational interactions in which these words were used. The results showed that the children tended to use the type of affect words which encoded specific affective states, with the children as the primary experiencers. The parents, on the other hand, tended to use affect words not only to encode affective states but also to express evaluative characterizations. They often used affect words to negotiate with the children the appropriate affective responses to a variety of stimuli or to socialize the children's behaviors into culturally approved patterns. In addition, it was found that the structure of conversational sequences served as a discourse-level resource for affect socialization. The findings were further discussed in relation to Clancy's (1999) model of language socialization of affect.

Introduction

　　Research on human emotions has received much attention in the disciplines of psychology, anthropology and linguistics. In the area of child language acquisition, the development of 'emotion talk' also deserves attention. In order to become communicatively competent, it is important for language-learning children to learn how to express and talk about feelings in appropriate ways, and to recognize others' moods and emotions (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

　　Previous studies have raised the controversial question of the role of nature vs. nurture in the development of human emotions. Hochschild (1979) contrasts two models of emotional development: the biological model and the socialization model. In the first model, emotion is related to biologically given instincts or impulses. In this view, emotions are regarded as organismic functions and are fixed or universal phenomena. In the second model, emotions are viewed as subject to socialization influence. As suggested by Hochschild (1979), 'we do feel, we try to feel, and we want to try to feel (p.563).'

　　Previous studies of emotions, however, have focused mostly on the measurement and development of emotional behavior, such as infants' facial expressions and the relationship of emotional expressions to particular situations (e.g., Izard, 1977; Malatesta & Haviland, 1982; Ortony et al., 1988; Scherer, 1982). The perspectives these studies adopted were derived mainly from the biological model. The ways in which emotions are socialized, however, have been less researched. In other words, we have little knowledge about how socialization shapes children's emotion experience and emotion expression.

　　Thus the purpose of this study was to investigate the socialization of affect in Mandarin parent-child interaction. Following Ochs & Schieffelin (1989) and Clancy (1999), I took affect to be a broader term than emotion; affect includes not only emotion but also feelings, moods, disposition and attitudes associated with persons and/or situations. While affect can be conveyed verbally or nonverbally, this study focused on how Mandarin-speaking children and their parents display affect through linguistic means. As pointed out by Schieffelin & Ochs (1986), language plays a very important role in this socialization process. While languages afford a variety of linguistic means for encoding feelings (Irvin, 1982), the affect lexicon is a major source and has received the most attention. For the purpose of this study, I focused on

the affect lexicon and analyzed how affect words were used in parent-child interaction in the socialization process.

Language Socialization

The notion of language socialization involves sociological, anthropological, and psychological approaches; it concerns the study of social and linguistic competence within a social group. According to Schieffelin & Ochs (1986), socialization is the process by which children become competent members of their social group. The process begins at the first moment of social contact, and language plays an important role in this process. It has been shown that conversational activities involving small children are related to culture belief, values, and social order. Language thus can serve as a major source for children to learn the information concerning the world views of their culture. As also suggested by Bernstein (1975) and Cook-Gumperz (1973), children are acquiring social knowledge as they acquire knowledge of language structure and use. The socializing function of input language was also pointed out by Gleason & Weintraub (1978). Gleason & Weintraub emphasized the role of input in instructing children in specific cultural and social information, including appropriate uses of language. Similarly, in Fischer's (1970) framework, linguistic socialization concerns 'the learning of the use of language in such a way as to maintain and appropriately and progressively change one's position as member of society' (pp.107-108).

It appears that the notion of language socialization concerns two major perspectives, namely *socialization through the use of language* and *socialization to use language* (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). In other words, we can investigate how language is a medium or tool in the socialization process; in addition, we can investigate acquisition of the appropriate uses of language as part of acquiring social competence. As the process of language acquisition and the process of socialization are integrated, the notion of language socialization can be expressed in the following two claims:

1. The process of acquiring language is deeply affected by the process of becoming a competent member of a society.
2. The process of becoming a competent member of society is realized to a large extent through language, by acquiring knowledge of its functions, social distribution, and interpretations in and across socially defined situations, i.e., through exchanges of language in particular social situations.

(Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984, p. 277).

As for the process of language socialization, it has been suggested that language socialization is an interactive process. That is, the child is not a passive recipient but rather an active contributor to the outcome of interactions (Ochs, 1986, Ochs & Scheiffelin, 1983, Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, Wentworth, 1980). The interactional character of socialization is also consistent with the Vygotskian framework, which emphasizes the facilitative role of competent members. That is, novices develop skills in the 'zone of proximal development' with the guidance and collaboration from competent members (Cazden,1981, Rogoff & Lave, 1984; Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1985, Wertsch, Minick & Arns, 1984).

Socialization of Affect

According to Saarni (1993), socialization of emotion refers to how people come to feel as they do as a result of their relationships over time with others. However, it appears that the expression of emotion is culture- and language- specific. For example, one language may have a lexical item for an emotion but other languages may not have an equivalent label. Or, one language may have distinct lexical items for emotions that other languages do not differentiate lexically (Clancy, 1999; Russel, 1991; Wierzbicka, 1992). In other words, lexicons of affect are not universal representations of biologically given feeling states. As a result, acquisition of an affect lexicon is itself a socialization process to culture-specific ways of organizing emotional experience. When children begin to use affect words to interact with adults, language becomes an important vehicle for the cultural shaping of emotional experience (Clancy, 1999, Wierzbicka, 1992). In other words, children's acquisition and uses of affect terms may reflect the structure of children's emotional experiences (Lewis & Michalson, 1982).

Previous research on the linguistic expression of affect has been based mainly on cross-cultural longitudinal investigations of children learning to talk. Ochs (1986) investigated linguistic conventions associated with affect in Samoan and how young children acquire knowledge of these conventions over developmental time. Linguistic expressions of affect in Samoan included particles, interjections, pronouns, articles, phonology, address/reference terms, and adjectives of affect. It was found that Samoan children used linguistic expression of affect from the single-word stage; most of the grammatical forms for expressing positive and negative affect were acquired before the age of four. Thus, the study supported the idea that children can express

affect through conventional linguistic means from a very early point in developmental time.

Ochs (1988) further demonstrated the role of language in the socialization of love, fear and shame in Western Samoa. Ochs reported that caregivers in Western Samoa may use affect arousal as a control strategy to stop a small child from doing something harmful, distasteful, or otherwise 'wrong'. The feelings most commonly elicited and socialized by the caregivers include love, fear, and shame. Samoan caregivers often try to evoke empathy or love in a small child, particular when they want the child to behave in a certain way. For example, caregivers may use grammatical structures or lexical items that express love to create or evoke a feeling of love and to induce the child to act in ways that display this feeling, i.e., to act sympathetically or supportively. Caregivers may also use fear to stop children from carrying out a wrongdoing. They warn and threaten the children by using a construction that predicates that some further action will take place, as in the elliptical predication *Sasa*! ('(I'm going to) hit (you)!'). In addition, caregivers may elicit the feelings of embarrassment and shame in a child to deter the child from doing certain acts like lying, stealing, or selfishly holding back food or money from others.

In Schieffelin (1986), Kaluli adults' interactions with children were investigated. The study focused on how Kaluli adults verbally tease and shame children to achieve a variety of ends. Instead of physical intervention, Kaluli adults prefer verbal manipulation through teasing and shaming when trying to influence others, especially small children. For the Kaluli, teasing and shaming are systematically part of interactions with children. They are used to teach children how to be part of Kaluli society, to include them rather than set them apart. By doing so, Kaluli adults also socialize their children to do the same. In addition, Schieffelin (1990) further demonstrated language socialization of appeal, reciprocity and gender-appropriate behaviors in the Kaluli culture.

Lewis and Michalson (1982) raised five questions on the socialization of emotions: (1) how to express emotions; (2) when to express emotions; (3) how emotions are managed; (4) how emotions are labeled; and (5) how emotional states are interpreted. By focusing on the fourth question, Lewis & Michalson studied maternal emotion labeling that occurs during English mother-infant interaction. The participants of the study consisted of 111 one-year-olds and their mothers. The mother and the infant had a 15-minute free play in a playroom, followed by the mother's departure from the playroom for not more than 2 minutes. The mother and the infant

then had a 5-minute reunion, in which attachment behaviors can be observed. The mothers' use of emotion terms during the reunion was analyzed. It appeared that mothers' use of specific emotion labels was influence by the mothers' socioeconomic status, verbal performance, maternal behaviors, and infants' behaviors. The study demonstrated that mothers use emotion labels prior to their children's acquisition of language. The authors suggested that mothers who produce emotion labels provide their child with a linguistic experience that should facilitate the child's acquisition of emotion terms and that mothers who use a greater number of and more differentiated emotion terms may have children whose emotion experiences are more differentiated.

Affect socialization in Japanese culture has also been studied. Clancy (1999) investigated how affect was socialized through language in three middle-class Japanese mothers and their two-year-old children. The results showed that the mothers and their two-year-olds shared extensive affect lexicon. These lexical expressions often occurred in clusters when the focus of talk was associated with affect. The affect lexicon consisted primarily of adjective and verbs that encode specific emotional states or more general evaluations with affective connotations. In addition, formulas *arigatoo* ('thank you') and *gomen* ('sorry') also occurred frequently. Clancy's results were consistent with studies of English-speaking children in that English-speaking children also resort primarily to adjectives and verbs to express affect at this stage (Beeghly, Bretherton & Mervis, 1986; Brown & Dunn, 1991; Wellman, Harris, Banerjee & Sinclair, 1995). Clancy also found that the most frequent targets of evaluation were food and the child's actions. In contexts of eating, frequent affect words included *oishii* ('delicious'), *hoshii* ('want') and *ii* ('good'). The child's actions were typically evaluated with *ii* ('good'), *-tai* ('want') and *suki* ('like'). To illustrate how the affect lexicon functions in the socialization process, Clancy further analyzed one of the most frequent affect words *kowai* ('be scary, be afraid of'). The word was examined in terms of the contexts in which it was used, the experiencers who experienced fear, the stimuli that aroused fear and the structure of conversational sequences. From the analysis, Clancy proposed a model of the socialization of affect through language. Japanese children experience the socializing potential of affect talk in three ways: modeling of the affect lexicon by caregivers, direct instruction in the use of certain words, and participation in negotiations in which caregivers react to children's use of affect words. Following Schieffelin & Ochs (1986) and Vygotsky (1978), Clancy suggested that affect talk provides a foundation for children's mental representations of their own and others' affect and serves as a crucial vehicle of the socialization of affect.

In Clancy's (1986) another study, empathy in Japanese early caregiver-child interaction was investigated. The study focused on those features of Japanese mothers' speech that might be shaping the development of communicative style. In Japanese society, empathy or indirection is a preferred communicative style. In the study, it was found that Japanese caregivers strongly emphasize sensitivity to the needs, wishes, and feelings of others. Japanese caregivers use various directive strategies for the socialization of empathy.

Instead of examining affect lexicon, Suzuki (1999) investigated language socialization of affect through morphology in Japanese mother-child conversation. Suzuki analyzed the suffix –*chau* used by a Japanese mother to her two-year-old son. Verbs inflected with –*chau*, a suffix expressing completion of a situation, carry negative connotations involving damage or physical harm to an entity. Thus, the mother's use of -*chau* reflected her negative affect upon completion of certain events or actions. By analyzing its form, frequency, meanings, and the way it was used in interaction, Suzuki demonstrated that –*chau* was a powerful tool of socialization, with which the mother regulated her child's behavior and taught the child how to display affect. The framework of language socialization sheds new light on the analysis of the acquisition of –*chau*.

As seen above, the work in cultural, linguistic and psychological anthropology has contributed to the study of the linguistic expression of affect and its role in language socialization. As suggested by Lewis & Michalson (1982), the acquisition of affect terms may reflect the interface between language acquisition, cognitive capacity and emotion experience; in addition, it may also reflect the underlying properties of the social experience of that culture.

In this study, affect words used in early Mandarin parent-child conversation were analyzed from the language socialization perspective. The analysis focused on the content, functions and conversational structures of the affect lexicons in the speech of the parents and children.

Methods
Participants and Data

The participants of this study were two Mandarin-speaking two-year-olds, LIN (a girl) and RON (a boy), and their parents. The children were visited in their homes. Natural parent-child conversations were audio- and video- taped to capture both the

linguistic data and the contextual information. Both LIN's and RON's parents were college professors and the two families were of a similar socio-economic status. During the data collection sessions, LIN interacted mainly with her mother while RON interacted mainly with his father. The data analyzed in this study included four hours of recording from each parent-child dyad. The collected data were transcribed using the CHAT convention (MacWhinney, 1994) for analysis.

Data Analysis

Following Clancy (1999), every word with affective content or connotations in the speech of the parents and children were identified. The following types of affect words were included (p. 1400):

1. Predicates that encode a specific affective state and can take an experiencer as subject (e.g., *gaoxing* 'be glad').
2. Predicates that describe a referent in terms of the affect it evokes (e.g., *youqu* 'interesting).
3. Words having clear positive/negative valence (e.g., *hao* 'good), including evaluative characterizations of people and their actions (e.g., *yonggan* 'brave') and descriptions of physical properties or sensory perceptions with affective connotations (e.g., *haochi* 'delicious').
4. Predicates referring to actions with affective motivations (e.g., *ku* 'cry') and physical events or states with predictable positive or negative affective consequences (e.g., *shoushang* 'get hurt').
5. Formulaic expressions of gratitude, apology, and regret (e.g., xiexie 'thank you').

The frequency of affect words for each speaker was calculated, including all uses except for verbatim self-repetitions in the same conversational turn. In addition, the affect words were examined in terms of nonverbal contexts in which they occurred and their role in the structures of conversational sequences. As suggested by Freeman (1992) and Kuebli, Butler & Fivush (1995), the organization of the conversational sequence in which emotion words occur also provides opportunities for socialization.

Furthermore, the affect talk in the parent-child interactions was examined in terms of Clancy's model of language socialization of affect to see whether the model can also explain our Mandarin parent-child conversation data.

Results

Table 1 presents the total affect words in the parents' and the children's speech. As seen in the table, LIN produced 187 tokens of affect words while her mother supplied 578 tokens. LIN's mother used about 3 times as many affect words as LIN. RON and his father, on the other hand, provided 207 and 409 tokens of affect words, respectively. RON's father used about 2 times as many affect words as RON.

Table 1: Total affect words in the parent-child interaction

	LIN		RON	
	Child	Mother	Child	Father
Total Affect words	187	578	207	409

Further analysis was conducted to examine the types of affect words used in the children's and the parents' speech. A quantitative analysis was conducted to investigate the distributions of the five types of affects words; in addition, a qualitative analysis was conducted to examine how these affect words were used in the conversational interactions.

Children's affect words

The children's affect words were classified according to the five categories of affect words. Table 2 and Figure 1 present the token and the percentage of each type of affect words in the children's speech.

Table 2: The types of affect words in the children's speech

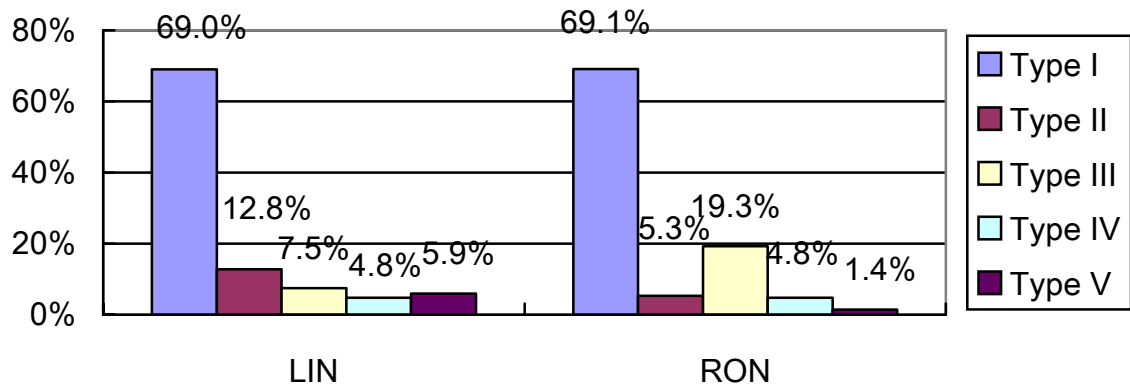| Word Types	LIN		RON	
	Tokens	Percentage	Tokens	Percentage
Type I	129	69.0	143	69.1
Type II	24	12.8	11	5.3
Type III	14	7.5	40	19.3
Type IV	9	4.8	10	4.8
Type V	11	5.9	3	1.4
Total	187	100.0	207	100.0

Figure 1. The distributions of affect words in the children's speech

As seen in Table 2 and Figure 1, most of the children's affect words belonged to Type I (about 69% for both children). In other words, the children tended to use affect words to encode specific affective states, which was consistent with previous studies of Japanese-speaking children (Clancy, 1999) and English-speaking children (Brown & Dunn, 1991; Wellman et al., 1995). In addition, it was found that in these cases the primary experiencers of the affective states were the children themselves. These encoded affective states included positive emotions such as 'xihuan' ('like'), 'kuaile' ('happy'), 'gaoxing' ('glad') and negative emotions such as 'haipa' ('afraid') and 'shengqi' ('angry').

Example 1 shows how RON used a positive Type I affect word 'xihuan' ('like') to encode his own affective state.

Example 1

```
*FAT:     lai  #   RON.
          come    RON
          'Come here, RON.'
*FAT:     zhe      shi  nide [= handing RON a doll].
          this     be   yours
          'This is yours.'
*FAT:     zhe      shi  Daniel [%English],  dui     budui?
          this     be   Daniel              right   not right
          'This is Daniel, right?'
*RON:     xihuan   ni [= holding the doll].        ←
          like     you
```

'(I) like you.'

In this example, the father was handing a doll named Daniel to RON, and RON was able to express the affective state involved, with he himself as the experiencer ('(I) like you').

Example 2, from LIN's data, shows how a negative state was encoded. In the example, LIN was saying that she was not afraid of entering a room alone.

Example 2

| *LIN: | cai | bu | pa | ne. | ← |
| | just | not | afraid | PAR | |

'(I'm) not afraid.'

| *MOT: | cai | bu | pa. |
| | just | not | afraid |

'(You're) not afraid.'

| *MOT: | wo | bushi | shuo | pa | bu | pa | de | wenti. |
| | I | not | say | afraid | not | afraid | ASSOC | problem |

'I'm not talking about whether you're afraid or not.'

| *MOT: | ershi | qing | ni | buyao | dao | beiren | fangjian | qu. |
| | instead | ask | you | not | arrive | others | room | go |

'(I'm) asking you not to enter others' rooms.'

As seen in the example, LIN encoded the negative affective state 'pa' ('afraid') by negating the existence of the state. The experiencer was also the child herself.

In addition to encoding the positive and negative affective states, by far the most frequent Type 1 expressions, however, have to do with the children's wants and needs, that is, the use of the affective words 'yao' or 'xiangyao' ('to want').

Example 3

| *LIN: | wo | yao | he | neinei. | ← |
| | I | want | drink | milk | |

'I want to drink milk.'

| *MOT: | yao | he | neinei | a? |
| | want | drink | milk | PAR |

'(You) want to drink milk?'

*MOT: deng   yixia   o.

           wait   a while   PAR

           'Just a second.'

As seen in the above example, the children's use of 'yao' (want) often not only expressed their affect states but also functioned as requests. By expressing their 'wants', they expected the parents to carry out actions to fulfill their requests.

While the primary experiencers of the affective states were the children themselves, the children sometimes may use Type I words to describe the affective states of the characters in the storybooks they were reading with the mothers or in the pretend plays they were currently engaged in. In Example 4, LIN and the mother were reading a storybook about a lion and a rat. In this example, we observed that the child used several Type I affective words which denoted the story characters' affective states.

Example 4

*MOT: xiao   laoshu   you   meiyou haipa?

           little   rat   have   not   afraid

           'Is the little rat afraid?'

*LIN: ta   hao   haipa.   ←

           3sg   so   afraid

           'He's very afraid.'

*MOT: hao   haipa   o.

           so   afraid   PAR

           '(He's) very afraid.'

*LIN: /m -: / .

           Hmmm

           'Hmmm.'

*LIN: # zhe   ge +...

            this   CL

           'This…'

*LIN: shizi bu   gaoxing.   ←

           lion   not   happy

           'The lion is not happy.'

*MOT: shizi bu   gaoxing.

lion   not   happy
                 'The lion is not happy.'
*LIN: shizi   shengqi.   ←
                 lion   angry
                 'The lion is angry.'
*MOT: /m/   ta   shengqi le   o .
                 Mm   he   angry   CRS   PAR
                 'Yes, he's angry.'

In the example, LIN used three affective words to encode specific affective states: 'haipa' ('afraid'), 'bu gaoxing' ('not happy'), and 'shengqi' ('angry'). The experiencers of these affects were the rat and the lion in the story.

As seen in the above example, stories appear to be rich contexts for affect talks. Similar results were also reported in research on English-speaking children (Bretherton and Beeghly, 1982; Beeghly et at., 1986; Brown and Dunn, 1991; Kuebli et al., 1995) and Japanese-speaking children (Clancy, 1999). By attributing affect to the story characters, the children demonstrated the understanding of the appropriate affects in specific contexts. In addition, by describing the story characters' affective states, the children may expand their understanding of various affective states, which they may not have personally experienced.

Parents' affect words

In addition to the children's use of affect words, the parents' use of affect words were also examined. The parents' affect words were also classified according to the five affect word types. The results are presented in Table 3 and Figure 2.

Table 3: The types of affect words in the parents' speech

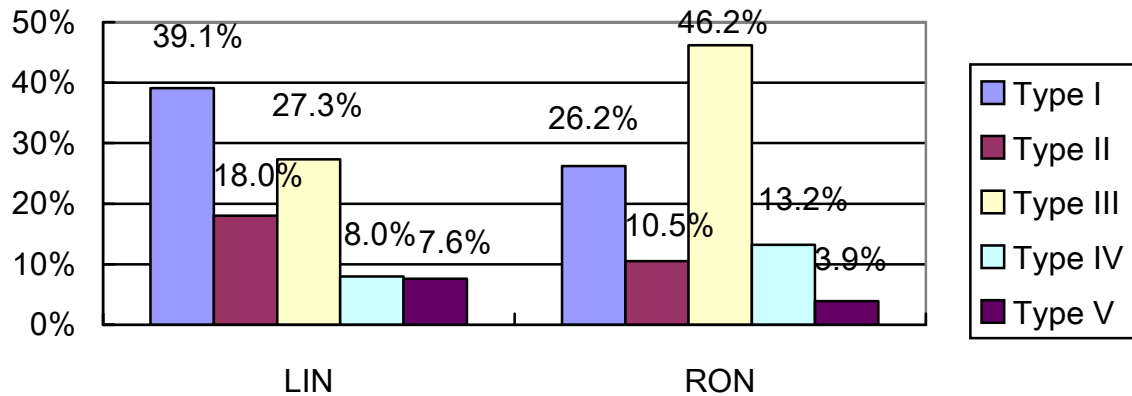| Word Types	LIN's mother		RON's father	
	Tokens	Percentage	Tokens	Percentage
Type I	226	39.1	107	26.2
Type II	104	18.0	43	10.5
Type III	158	27.3	189	46.2
Type IV	46	8.0	54	13.2
Type V	44	7.6	16	3.9
Total	578	100.0	409	100.0

Figure 2. The distributions of affect words in the parents' speech

As seen in the table and the figure, the distributions of the parents' affect words displayed different patterns from the distributions of the children's. While both children tended to use Type I affect words, the parents' affect words, on the other hand, belonged mostly to Type I and Type III.

However, it is interesting to note that while both the parents used mostly Type I and Type III words, the two parents' affect words also presented different distributional patterns. As seen in the table and the figure, Lin's mother used Type I words more than Type III words (39.1% vs. 27.3%) but RON's father used Type III words more than Type I words (46.2% vs. 26.2%). In other words, LIN's mother tended to use Type I words to encode affective states while RON's father tended to use Type III words to express evaluative characterizations. Interestingly, in Table 2 and Figure 1, we observed that RON also used more Type III words than LIN. It appeared that to some extent the children's use of affect words reflected the distribution patterns in the parental speech.

As Type I and Type III were the major affect word types used by the parents, the parents' uses of these two types of affect words were further examined. In the analysis of Type I words, it was found that while the children's Type I words were used mainly to encode the children's own affective states, only a few of the parents' Type I words were used to encode the parents' own affective states. Instead, the parents often used Type I words to query the children's affect, to attribute affect to the children, or to confirm, accept or reject the children's states of affect.

Example 5 shows how the parents used Type I words to reject the children's states of affect. In Example 5, LIN and the mother were reading a storybook.

Example 5

*MOT: eryu.
         Alligator
         'Alligators'
*LIN: hao   kepa   o.
         so   scary   PAR
         '(They are) scary.'
*MOT: hao   kepa.
         so   scary
         '(They are) scary.'
*MOT: weisheme?
         why
         'Why?'
*MOT: bu pa [/]   bu   pa [/] bu   pa.   ←
         not afraid   not afraid not afraid
         'Don't be afraid. Don't be afraid. Don't be afraid.'
*LIN: mama   zai   zheli.
         mother DUR   here
         'Mommy is here.'
*MOT: dui.
         right
         'You're right.'
*MOT: mama   zai   zheli   bu   pa.
         mother DUR   here   not   afraid
         'Mommy is here, (so) don't be afraid.'

As seen in the example, LIN said that alligators were scary and her mother comforted the child by saying that she did not need to be afraid since the mother was there accompanying her. Thus, the mother comforted the child by rejecting the child's state of affect.

The parents may also use Type I words to attribute affect to the children, as seen in Example 6. In the example, RON and the father were playing with some magnets of various shapes and colors.

Example 6

```
*DAD:      zhe   shenme [% pointing at a yellow magnet on the table] ?
           this   what
           'What's this?'
*DAD:      RON   zui   xihuan   de     a!              ←
           RON   most   like     NOM   PAR
           'This is what RON likes the most!'
*DAD:      zhe   ge    shi     shenme?
           this   CL    be      what
           'What's this?'
```

As seen in the example, the father was pointing at a yellow magnet and saying that it was what RON liked the most, thus attributing the affective state to the child.

In addition to confirming/accepting/rejecting the children's states of affect and attributing affect to the children, the parents used Type I words most frequently in the cases of querying the children's affective states, as shown in Examples 7.

Example 7

```
*MOT:      ni    xi    bu    xihuan  youyong?
           you   like   not   like     swim
           'Do you like swimming?'
*LIN:      xihuan -: .
           like
           'I do.'
```

From the above, we observed that the parents used Type I words to negotiate with the children the appropriate affective responses to a variety of stimuli. In other words, through the use of Type I words, the parents socialized the children's understanding of who (including children themselves) would experience what affect in response to what stimuli.

As for the parents' use of Type III words, it was found that these affect words were mainly evaluative expressions which characterized the children or their actions, as seen in Example 8 and Example 9.

Example 8

*FAT: o -:   fang   de   dui   ya.
        oh   put   CSC   right   PAR
        'Oh, you are arranging them in a right way.'
*FAT: hen   bang   a.   ←
        very   excellent PAR
        '(You're) excellent.'

In Example 8, RON and the father were playing with some magnets. As RON was arranging some magnets on a board, the father was giving a comment. It appeared that RON arranged the magnets in a right way. In line 2, the father used an evaluative expression 'excellent' to characterize and praise the child.

Example 9

*FAT: zheyang   weixian.   ←
        this way   dangerous
        'This is dangerous.'
*FAT: ni   hui   diedao.
        you   will   fall down
        'You will fall down.'

In Example 9, the child was playing with a drivable toy car. As the father saw that the child was trying to drive the toy car with only one of his legs inside the car, the father warned the child about the danger of such behavior. The father's utterance in line 1 showed how the father used an evaluative expression 'dangerous' to characterize the child's behavior.

The parents also used Type III words in book-reading or pretend play contexts, in which the parents expressed affect through evaluating the story characters or the characters' actions, as shown in Example 10.

Example 10

*MOT: tamen   yao   gai   fangzi o.
        they   want   build   house   PAR
        'They want to build a house?'
*MOT: keshi   you   shei   a?
        but   have   who   PAR

‘But who is there?’

*LIN: huai   yelang.

             bad   wolf

             ‘A bad wolf.’

*MOT: huai   yelang   lai   le   o.   ←

             bad   wolf   come PFV PAR

             ‘A bad wolf has come.’

In Example 10, LIN and the mother were reading a story book. As seen in Line 4, the mother used an evaluative expression ‘bad’ to characterize the wolf in the story.

From the above, we observed that by evaluating the children and their actions and by evaluating story characters and the characters’ actions, the parents thus used these Type III evaluative expressions to directly or indirectly socialize the children’s behaviors into culturally approved patterns.

The socialization of affect through language

A model of the socialization of affect through language has been proposed by Clancy (1999). It is suggested that children experience the socializing potential of language in three ways: (1) through modeling, i.e., observing their parents’ use of affect words, (2) through direct instruction, i.e. being told by their parents to say or refrain from saying particular affect words, and (3) through negotiation, i.e., participating in conversational sequences in which their parents react to their use of affect words. It appears that this model can also be applied to our Mandarin parent-child data. In our data, the children also experienced the socialization of affect through modeling, direct instruction and negotiation.

Modeling

As suggested above, through modeling the children can observe their parents’ use of affect words. The data showed that in our Mandarin parent-child interaction, modeling can occur when the parents expressed their own affect, as shown in Example 11. In Example 11, the mother and the child were reading a storybook, the mother realized that she had misidentified some of the story characters so she said sorry to the child and then made a correction.

Example 11

```
*MOT:    mami     gaosuo  le #    duibuqi.
         mommy    mistake PFV     sorry
         'I made a mistake; I'm sorry.'
*MOT:    zhege    shi     Xiaowanzi de      hao     pengyou #
         this     be      Xiaowanzi ASSOC   good    friend
         jiaozuo  Xiaoyu.
         called   Xiaoyu
         'This is Xiaowanzi's good friend, Xiaoyu.'
*MOT:    zhe  ge  shi     Xiaowanzi    de         jiejie.
         this CL  be      Xiaowanzi    ASSOC      sister
         'This is Xiaowanzi's sister.'
```

As seen in the example, by saying 'I'm sorry', the mother modeled the use of the affect word in an appropriate context, thus providing the child with the information about the relationship between a particular stimulus, an experiencer, and a type of affect (Clancy, 1999).

The analysis showed that modeling also occurred when the parents attributed affect to third parties, as seen in Example 12. In this example, the child was stepping on a toy penguin.

Example 12

```
*RON:    wo   cai       qi-e.
         I    step on   penguin
         'I'm stepping on the penguin.'
*FAT:    ni   buyao    cai      qi-e.
         you  not      step on  penguin
         'Don't step on the penguin.'
*FAT:    qi-e      hui   tong.        ←
         penguin   will  pain
         'The penguin will feel the pain.'
```

As seen in the example, the father attributed the feeling of pain to the toy penguin, a third party. Through the modeling, the child not only observed the use of the affect word but also experienced the socialization process of behavioral appropriateness and empathy.

Direct instruction

In addition to modeling, the parents also used direct instruction for the socialization of affect. That is, the parents would directly ask the children to say or not to say particular affect words, as seen in Example 13. In this example, the grandaunt was visiting the family. As the grandaunt gave the child some chocolate, the father and the grandfather then taught the child what he should say in response.

Example 13

*FAT:	you	meiyou	gen	gupo	xiexie?	←
	have	not	to	grandaunt	thank	
	'Did you say 'thank you' to Grandaunt?'					
*GRF:	yao	xiexie	gupo.	←		
	have to	thank	grandaunt			
	'(You) have to thank Grandaunt.'					
*RON:	xiexie	gupo.				
	thank	grandaunt				
	'Thank you, Grandaunt.'					

In the example, we observed that both the father and the grandfather used direct instruction to socialize the child to use the formulaic expression of gratitude, namely 'thank you' to the grandaunt.

Example 14 demonstrates another case of direct instruction. In the example, the father and the child were playing with some toys and were involved in a pretend play.

Example 14

*FAT:	ni	naqu	gei	agong	chi.				
	you	take	give	grandpa	eat				
	'You serve Grandpa this.'								
*FAT:	shuo	agong #	zhe	shi	hen	la	hen	la	hen
	say	grandpa	this	be	very	spicy	very	spicy	very
	la	de	niupai.						
	spicy	ASSOC	steak						
	'Say "Grandpa, this is a very very very spicy steak."'								

```
*RON:   zhe     shi    hen     la      hen    la     de
        this    be     very    spicy   very   spicy  ASSOC
        niupai [= giving a plate to Grandpa].
        steak
        'This is a very very spicy steak.'
*GFT:   o #    xiexie    xiexie.
        oh     thanks    thanks
        'Oh, thank you, thank you.'
*GFT:   aiyou #   hao  la      hao  la      hao  la.
        VOC       so   spicy   so   spicy   so   spicy
        'Wow, (it's) very very very spicy.'
```

In this pretend play, we observed that the father directly taught the child what the child should say in the context. In line 2, the father used the verb 'say' to elicit the child's repetition of his own utterance 'Grandpa, this is a very very very spicy steak'. We observed that in line 2 the father in fact assumed the child's perspective and directly spoke from the child's perspective.

Negotiation

In addition to modeling and direct instruction, the children also experienced socialization processes of affect through negotiation, which involved the children's use of affect words and the parents' reaction to these affect words. Such negotiations often followed some common conversational sequences.

Example 15 reveals one of the common sequences: Question (P)—Answer (C) —Acknowledgment (P). That is, the sequence involved a question by the parent, an answer by the child, and an acknowledgment by the parent, as seen in Example 15. In Example 15, the mother and the child were telling a story.

Example 15

```
*MOT:   xiao    laoshu    you    meiyou    haipa?
        little   rat       have   not       afraid
        'Is the little rat afraid?'
*LIN:    ta   hao   haipa.
         3sg  so    afraid
         'He's very afraid.'
```

*MOT: hao   haipa   o.
           so   afraid   PAR
           '(He's) very afraid.'

Another common sequence is shown in Example 16: Assertion (C) — Agreement (P). That is, the child's assertion was followed by the parent's agreement.

Example 16

*LIN: shizi   shengqi.
          lion   angry
          'The lion is angry.'
*MOT: /m/   ta   shengqi   le   o.
          Mm   3sg   angry   CRS Oh
          'Yes, he's angry.'

Example 17 shows another sequence: Assertion (C) — Counterassertion (P). Such sequence involved an assertion by the child and a counterassertion by the parent.

Example 17

*RON: agong   de   toufa tai   shao le   la.
          grandpa GEN hair too   little CRS PAR
          'Grandpa's hair is too little.'
*FAT :   buhui   la # agong   de   toufa bijiao   chang.
          not   PAR grandpa GEN hair   compare long
          'No, Grandpa's hair is longer.'

Discussion

This study has investigated the use of affect words in Mandarin parent-child interaction. Some interesting findings have been obtained from our analyses. As seen above, both the parents and the children frequently used Type I words to encode specific affective states, often with the children as the experiencers. Through the use of Type I words, the parents socialized the children's appropriate affective responses to a variety of stimuli. It appears that in Mandarin parent-child interaction, talking about the children's affective states, rather than the parents' or other third parties', is the focus in the affect socialization. The result is consistent with those reported in the

studies of English parent-child interaction (Brown & Dunn, 1991; Wellman et al., 1995) and Japanese parent-child interaction (Clancy, 1999). The finding may reflect the children's ego-centricity in that the children may not be able to readily understand and express other people's affective states. However, the analysis also shows that stories or pretend plays can be good contexts for children to learn to talk about third parties' affective states. In addition, stories and pretend plays can expand the variety of affect experiences which can be talked about by the children and the parents, thus expanding the children's affect understanding. For some affective states, especially negative ones, stories and pretend plays may provide a less threatening context for the conversational interaction (Brown & Dunn, 1991).

In addition to Type I words, it was found that the parents also used Type III words frequently. In fact, RON's father used more Type III words than Type I words. As observed above, the parents used Type III words mainly to evaluate the children or their actions; it appeared that these words were used by the parents to socialize and control the children's behavior. In other words, it is the most overt form of 'socialization through the use language' (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). The fact that RON's father used more Type III words than LIN's mother may reflect the differences between maternal and paternal speech. Differences between fathers and mothers in the style and amount of talk to children are well documented (e.g., Pine, 1994; Snow, 1995). Brachfeld-Child, Simpson & Izenson (1988) reported that fathers make greater efforts than mothers to control the situation and to direct their children's behavior. Thus, we may speculate that the different distributions of affect word types in our parental speech data may reflect the different speech styles fathers and mothers use to socialize the children's affect and their behavior. That is, fathers may tend to discipline and evaluate their children more often than mothers do; thus, more Type III words can be found in father's speech. However, another possibility should be noted. Since LIN is a girl and RON a boy, it is possible that parents tend to talk to their sons and daughters in different ways in affect talk. That is, socialization of affect experience may proceed differently for girls and boys (Leaper, Anderson & Sanders 1998; Kuebli et al., 1995). Thus, our results may reveal that parents usually try to control their sons' behavior more often than their daughters', thus using more Type III words to their sons. Therefore, from the analysis we may speculate that parents' and/or children's genders influence the frequency of the parents' use of the different types of affect words. However, since we have only limited data, with one mother-daughter dyad and one father-son dyad, the study was not designed to yield conclusive results concerning the effect of parents' and/or children's genders. Therefore, further studies focusing on gender differences will be needed in order to

investigate gender-related patterns in parent-child affect talk.

Interestingly, while RON's father used more Type III words than LIN's mother, RON also used more Type III words than LIN. It appeared that to some extent the children's use of affect words reflected the input distribution patterns. In fact, in the data we observed that RON shared extensive affect lexicon with his father, and LIN, with her mother. A number of studies have reported early gender differences in children's talk about emotions (Cervantes & Callanan, 1998; Dunn, Bretheron & Munn, 1987; Golombok & Fivush, 1994). Thus, whether our finding also reveals child gender differences in affect expressions is worth further investigation. Furthermore, while the finding may reflect parental input distribution and child gender differences, it may also have to do with conversational topics. We observed in the data that the parents' and the children's affect expressions often occurred in clusters as affect-related topics were the focus of talk, a finding also reported in Clancy (1999). It appeared that when talking about affect-related topics, both the parents and the children tended to use the same types of affect words in the interaction.

As for the model of socialization, we have analyzed three ways of socialization: modeling, direct instruction and negotiation. As suggested by Clancy (1999), modeling is a major source of information about the relationships between particular stimuli, experiencers, and types of affect. Thus, modeling of affect words is probably the primary basis for the acquisition of the affect lexicon by children. Direct instruction, on the other hand, involves didactic teaching. Thus, it can be regarded as a direct method of socialization (Saarni, 1993), and is also the most overt form of what Schieffelin and Ochs have called 'socialization to use language' (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). As for negotiation, it has been suggested that in negotiation, the parents provide socialization via 'reinforcement contingencies' (Saarni, 1989). That is, negotiation occurs while the children's attention is focused on affect, and can involve acceptance or rejection of the children's affect from the parents (Clancy, 1999). Thus, the parent's responses were contingent to the children's affects and can reinforce the children's understanding of the affect expression. In addition, the predictable conversational sequences in negotiation can also serve as a discourse-level resource for affect socialization. Therefore, negotiation can be a powerful form of socialization.

Given that so little research has been done on affect talk in Mandarin parent-child interaction, it is hoped that this study has shed some light on our understanding of the socialization process of affect expressions and affect lexicon in

Mandarin child language. For further research, longitudinal studies are needed in order to discover the developmental patterns of affect talk. Furthermore, as mentioned above, future studies should also investigate how parental and child genders may influence affect talk in parent-child interaction.

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Appendix

Transcription symbols:

#	pause between words
-:	previous word lengthened
+…	trailing off
[/]	retracing without correction
[% text]	transcriber's comments
[= text]	explanation

Abbreviations in the glosses:

ASSOC	associative
CL	classifier
CRS	currently relevant state
CSC	complex stative construction
DUR	durative aspect
GEN	genitive
PAR	particle
VOC	vocative
3sg	third person singular pronoun

行政院國家科學委員會

出席國際會議報告書

黃瓊之

國立政治大學

民國九十六年七月

本人於 96 年 7 月 17 日至 20 日參加由英國里丁大學 (The University of Reading) 所主辦的國際研討會 The Child Language Seminar 2007。此研討會集合了來自世界各地研究兒童語言的重要學者，從語言學及心理學的角度，作研究的分享與交流。三天的研討會，讓參與研討會的成員享受了一次豐富的學術饗宴。

今年適逢 CLS 研討會 30 週年，在開幕式中，會議主辦人 Judi Ellis 及 Paul Fletcher 特別針對本會議 30 年來的發展做了報告。今年的會議有來自 31 個國家的投稿稿件，十分踴躍，也創下了歷年的記錄。不僅在質與量上提升，論文的主題也更多樣化。另外，主辦人也提到本會議經過 30 年，可觀察到語言習得領域研究的發展。他們特別提到三方面的發展：研究方法的進步、不同語言研究的增加、及包含正常發展及語言障礙的研究。

本次會議包括 3 篇 plenary talks, 62 篇口頭報告及 61 篇壁報展示。Plenary talks 的主講者包括 Dorothy Bishop (University of Oxford), Catherine Snow (Harvard University), Anne Baker and Jan de Jong (University of Amsterdam)。其中 Dorothy Bishop 和 Anne Baker and Jan de Jong 的 plenary talks 與 language disorders 有關，主題分別為 The nature of bilingual specific language impairment 和 Unraveling causal links between deficits in children with language disorders。而 Catherine Snow 的主題為 Teaching all-purpose academic vocabulary to middle-grade students; Wielding a subtle school-reform lever。 四位學者的精彩演講在會中帶動了很多的討論。

Catherine Snow 的 plenary talk 指出在都市學校裡，來自低收入家庭或少數種族兒童，常因字彙能力的不足而影響了他們在課堂情境及課堂言談中進行學習。在其研究中發現，這些學生的字彙中常常缺少一些通用的學術字彙(all-purpose academic vocabulary)，然而一般的教學常常忽略了這點。因此此研究與都市學區合作，教導 12-14 歲的兒童如何運用學術字彙，也提供老師們一些教授學術字彙的教學策略。並探討此教學對英語為母語的兒童及以英語為第二語言的兒童的有效性。

至於口頭報告部分，為了 CLS 研討會 30 週年慶，本次會議口頭報告的議程在第一天特別安排了兩個 special sessions：Bilingual/L2 language development in relation to SLI 和 Early lexical development and its links to grammar。第二天和第三天則包括各種與兒童語言習得相關的主題，以三個 parallel sessions 的方式進行。

在口頭報告中，由 Hintat Cheung, Chia-ying Hsieh & MeiShuang Lai 所發表的論文 The late acquisition of comparative construction in Mandarin Chinese 分析兒童對漢語中「比」結構的習得。此研究以兩個實驗進行。第一個實驗包括對三歲到六歲的兒童進行一個理解測驗及一個產出測驗。理解測驗中顯示所有年紀的兒童都能瞭解測驗中的程度副詞。在產出測驗中，發現三歲的兒童比六歲的兒童使用比較少的比較結構，而且比較常出現「很」及「最」用法的錯誤。然而六歲的兒童也並非全無錯誤。第二個實驗包含對三歲到五歲的兒童進行語法判斷測驗及產出測驗，結果顯示五歲的兒童在兩個測驗中都比三歲的兒童表現好。研究指出兒童在比較結構上的錯誤並非是過度概化的結果。

本人所發表的論文，題目是 Communicative functions of other-repetition in child language. 本論文以溝通功能的角度分析幼童在親子互動中重複對方語言的現象。研究對象包括兩位說漢語的兩歲幼童，語料是幼童與父母在家中的自然對話。語料的分析著重在語言重複的形式、功能及言談情境。研究發現幼童語言的重複現象可分為不同的形式（如 reduced repetition, exact repetition, modified repetition and expanded repetition）、而不同形式的重複常有著不同的言談功能（如模仿父母的語言、回答問題、表達同意等）。研究結果支持 Ochs Keenan 所提的：幼童語言的重複並非都是模仿 (All repetition are not imitations)。同時本研究也分析幼童重複對方語言時的言談情境，發現一些語言重複的形式和功能常發生在某些語言情境中。如當 reduced repetition 用來表達模仿的功能時，常發生在社交常規中(social routines)。本研究顯示幼童的重複話語現象常能反映其言談溝通的能力。

本人論文發表之後，很高興獲得了聽眾不少正面的回應。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。尤其是一些與會學者從心理學及語言學不同的觀點提出了具有啟發性的看法。

除了口頭報告之外，壁報展示也提供了另一種研究成果交流的方式。壁報展示分成兩天進行，並有安排時段使與會者與壁報作者互動。同時壁報作者多準備了講義，方便有興趣者攜回參考。此次壁報展示的研究主題十分多元，吸引了很多與會者的參觀及討論。

此次參加「The Child Language Seminar 2007」不僅有機會發表本人的研究論文之外，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、豐富的學術經驗。