



Reduplication as a trigger of intersubjectivity:

Mandarin Chinese ideophones and reduplication in the CHILDES corpora

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Roadmap

Introduction

language acquisition and ideophones

Research question

how are ideophones and related constructions acquired in Chinese?

Material

CHILDES — childesdb

Quantitative results

Qualitative case studies

sun/moon; apple

Discussion

intersubjectivity

Conclusions

Introduction

Usage-based approach to acquisition

In Cognitive Linguistic approaches acquisition is mostly agreed as being usage-based and bottom-up.

Two big frameworks

- **Usage-Based theory** of language acquisition (e.g. Tomasello's e.g. 1992; 2003)
- **Emergentist approach** (e.g. MacWhinney & O'Grady 2015)

Chunking

There are competing form-meaning mappings (constructions), with chunks of language first learnt as a whole, only to be later analyzed in more discrete 'words'

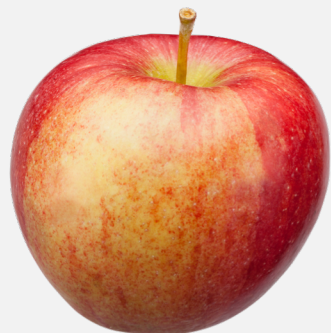
I mean I can remember when I was very young, much + young + er, and I applied for a job they said, well, are + n't + you planning to have children? Well, I mean, that's none of + their + business.

20 choices, 35 words, 25 words in prefabs
(Bybee 2010:60)

Frequency, salience, prototypicality

Important factors include **frequency**, but also **salience** and **prototypicality**.

- Skewed frequency of input facilitates learning (Goldberg & Casenhiser 2008).
- **Salience and prototypicality** (cf. Geeraerts 2000; 2017) also prove an important factor.



Apple (píngguǒ 蘋果)

- relatively high token frequency
- relatively early and high conceptual frequency
- relatively early and high referential frequency
- prototypical structure (fruit vs. e.g. 'apple of my eye')
- easily identifiable shape and colour

Nouns first? Or verbs first?

Across many languages, **nouns appear to be learnt earlier than verbs** (Gentner 1982; Gentner & Boroditsky 2001; Tomasello 2003; Imai et al. 2008; Waxman et al. 2013).

But for **verbs** there are cross-linguistic differences.

In 'verb-friendly' languages such as **Chinese** (Tardif 1996; Tardif 2006), **Korean** (Choi & Gopnik 1995; Kim, McGregor & Thompson 2000), and arguably **Japanese** (Ogura et al. 2006; Imai et al. 2008) **nouns are often dropped, and verbs — relational items — get a somewhat privileged status.**

Acquiring ideophones / mimetics

Imai & Kita (2014) have argued for a **lexical bootstrapping hypothesis**, which shows that 0;11 Japanese infants are already sensitive for some aspects of sound symbolism and mimetics.

Mimetics in Japanese are quite well-defined in terms of **construction** and often appear as an adverb, becoming part of the verb complex — relational items.

constructional schema	mimetic	Japanese	meaning
ABAB	<i>korokoro</i>	コロコロ	'small thing rolling'
ABN	<i>koron</i>	コロン	'small thing rolling once'
ABri	<i>korori</i>	コロり	'small thing rolling once'
...			

Acquiring ideophones / mimetics

Cross-linguistically, the concept of ideophones is generally **defined** as “marked words that depict sensory imagery, and which belong to an open lexical class” (Dingemanse 2011; 2012; 2019)

Chinese also has a large number of ideophones (cf. Mok 2001; Lu 2006; Bodomo 2008; Meng 2012; Van Hoey 2015; Van Hoey & Thompson 2019), **spanning onomatopoeia (sound ideophones) but also other modalities (visual and inner feelings being quite frequent).**

Chinese ideophones

霧 茫茫

wù mángmáng

mist hazy.IDEO

"It's foggy."

狗 吠 汪汪

gǒu fèi wāngwāng

dog bark woofwoof.IDEO

"The dog is barking woofwoof."



Instagram: @nickprometheus31

Chinese ideophones

這 篇 文章 讀起來 凌亂。

zhè piān wénzhāng dú-qǐ.lái líng~luàn

DEM CL paper read-MID in.a.mess.IDEO

“This paper reads sloppily.”

摸起來 滑滑的， 冷冷的。

mō-qǐ.lái huá~huá=de léng~léng=de

touch-MID slippery.IDEO=LNK cold.IDEO=LNK

“It feels slippery and very cold.”

Ree Lin's pet snake Seysey



RQ:

How are ideophones acquired in Chinese?

We want to know **how ideophones and ideophonized constructions are acquired in Mandarin Chinese.**

What are some **factors** that can help their acquisition?

Does this differ from other languages?

Material and methodology

CHILDES database

We are using the CHILDES database (MacWhinney 2000)

“CHILd Language Data Exchange System”

Collaborative effort to exchange recorded and transcribed transcriptions between infants or children and adults, in order to study how input relates to output, viz. how language is learned.

The data is stored in a standardized manner (CHAT ‘Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts’) and can be queried with CHILDES’s CLAN query builder.

CHILDES and chides-db

While the CHILDES project (since 1984!) is very impressive, it is **hard to master these idiosyncratic query languages**.

In this **age of data-science**, familiarity with R or python etc. should help us make use of CHILDES as well.

Sanchez et al. (2018) developed an R mirror of CHILDES, called **chides-db**:

- Improve efficiency
- Reduce errors and inconsistencies
- Share scripts and improve reproducibility
- Track previous instances of CHILDES

CHILDES and childe-db



CHILDES

<https://childes.talkbank.org>



childe-db

<http://childe-db.stanford.edu>

version 2018.1



childesr

<https://github.com/langcog/childesr>

version 0.1.1



**MATERIAL
for this study**

CHILDES — childes-db: Chinese

Mandarin	Cantonese	Taiwanese
AcadLang	HKU-70	Tsay
Beijing	Lee/Wong/Leung	
Chang1	PaidoCantonese	
Chang2		
Context		
LiZhou		
TCCM		
Tong		
Xinjiang		
Zhou1		
Zhou2		
ZhouDinner		
ZhouNarratives		

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ZhouNarratives		
XuMinChen		

CHILDES — **childes-db**: Chinese

	Mandarin	Cantonese	Total
Total utterances	435,452	281,371	716,823
Usable for age _{child}	237,887	281,371	519,258
Not usable for age _{child}	197,565	NA	197,565

For this study 237,887 utterances of Mandarin Chinese are usable

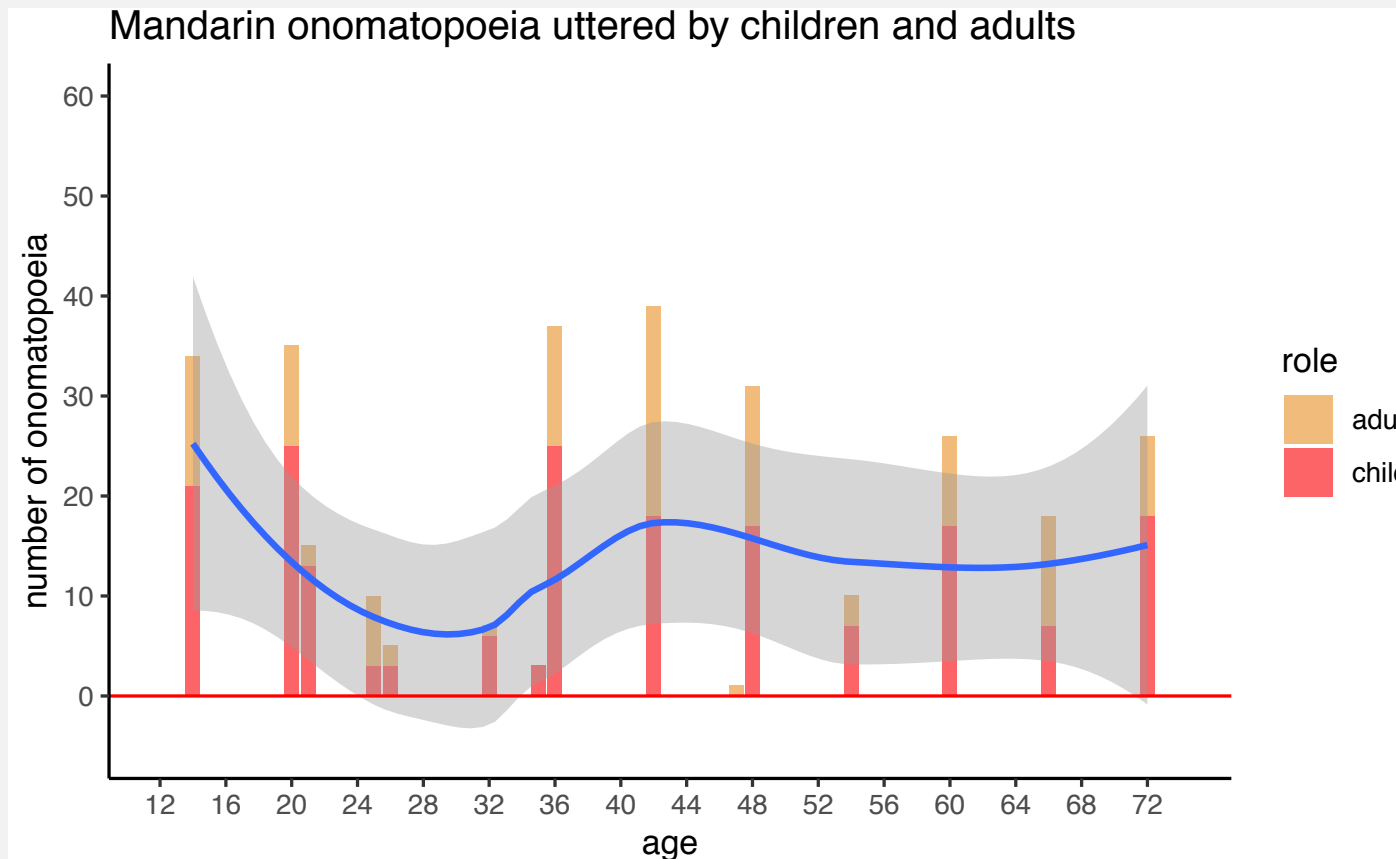
Methodology

1. **Quantitative** overview of onomatopoeia, ideophones, and reduplicative constructions, using simple exploratory techniques from datascience (using the R language and mostly `tidyverse` packages)
2. **Qualitative** case studies
3. Discussion on markedness, depiction and intersubjectivity

Quantitative results

Onomatopoeia

Glossed as 'on' (onomatopoeia)

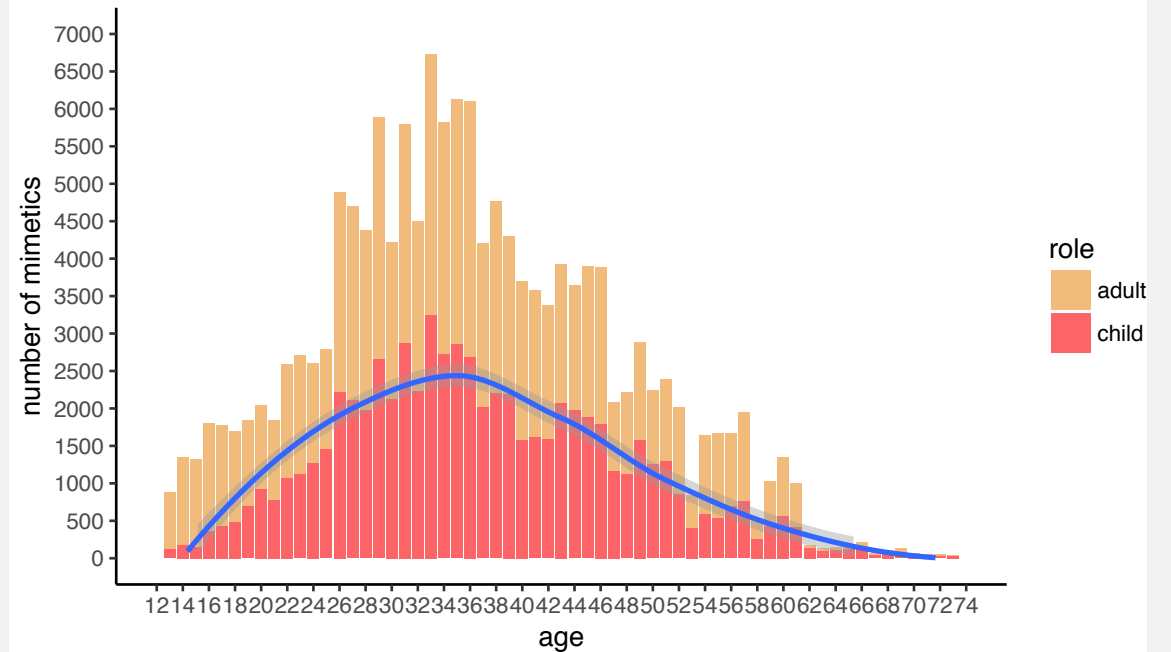


Age	Example utterance
1;2	嘎嘎 / 呱呱 / 呜呜
1;8	啪啪 / 呜呜 / 汪汪 / 咩 / 叽叽 喳喳 叽叽 喳喳
2;11	那个呜呜来了
3;0	有个小鸭子嘎嘎嘎嘎嘎
3;6	咚咚咚 咚咚咚
4;0	轮胎破掉了 轮胎啪 / 然后他就拿着枪 砰砰
4;6	这个噔噔噔
5;0	它就会咚
5;6	咔嚓咔嚓 / 眼汪汪的
6;0	怪呼呼戴顶帽子

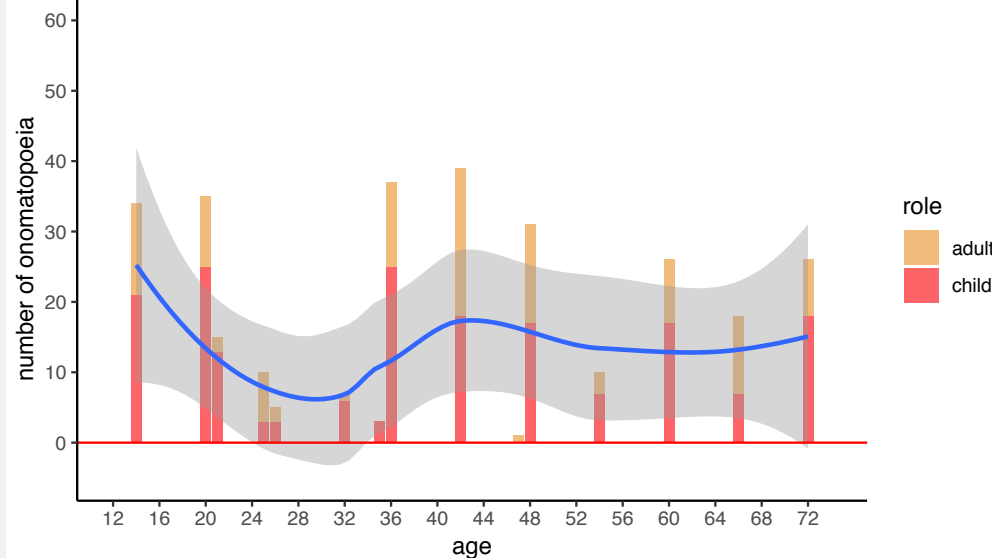
Onomatopoeia

- Weird shape of plot
- Normally bell curve
- But evidence of early usage

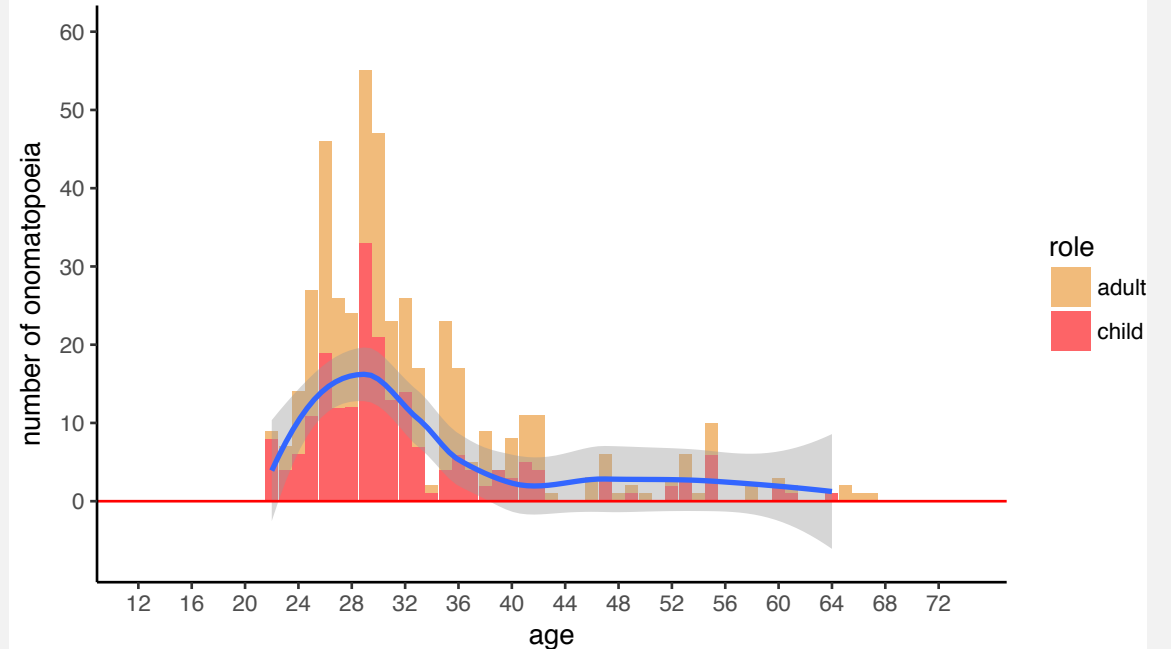
Japanese mimetics uttered by children and adults



Mandarin onomatopoeia uttered by children and adults



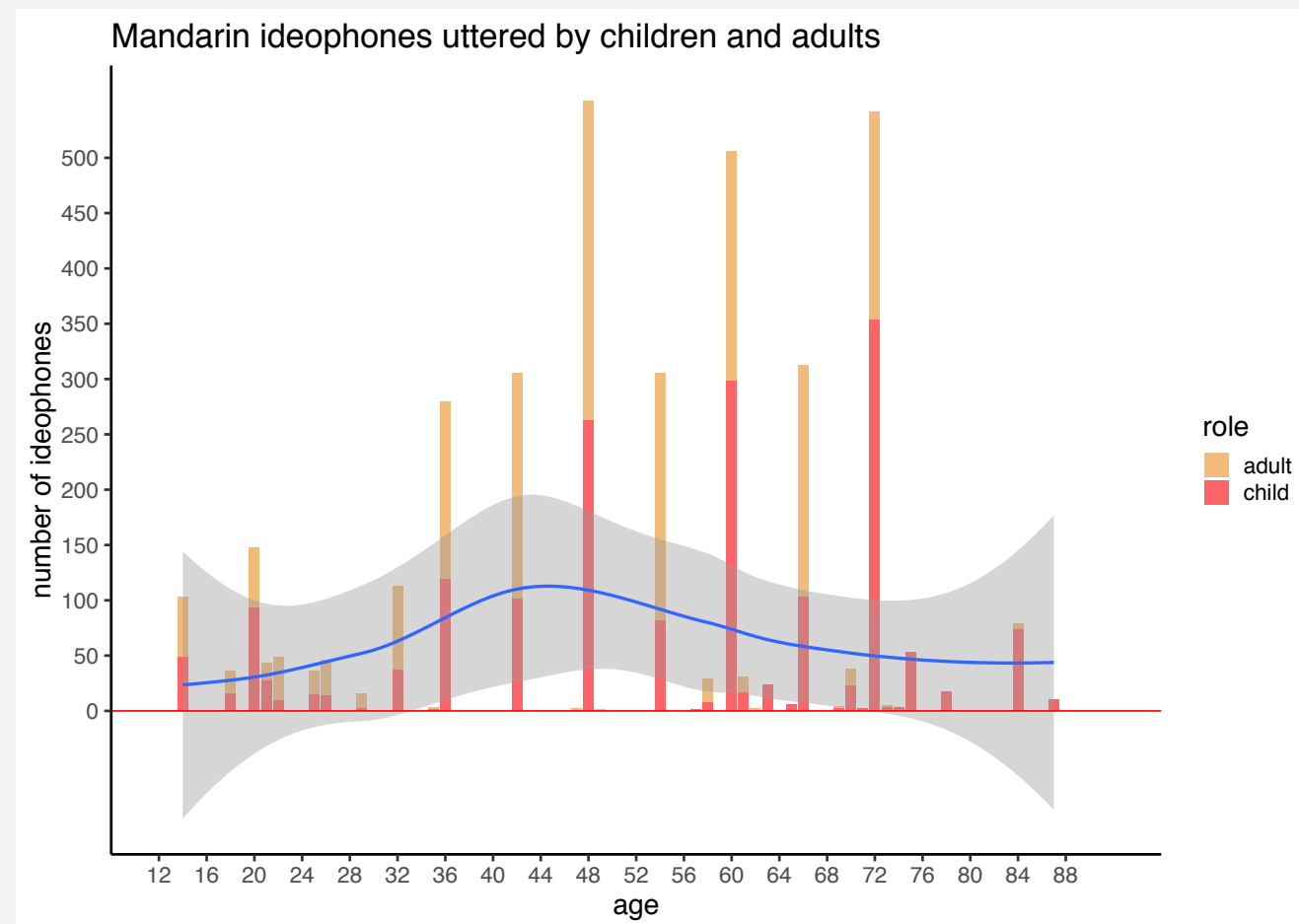
Cantonese onomatopoeia uttered by children and adults



Ideophones

A better result may be obtained by comparing the *childe-db* to the Chinese Ideophone Database (CHIDEOD, Van Hoey & Thompson 2019)

*Leaving out very frequent sentence particles like *a* 啊, *ba* 吧 etc.



Reduplicated items

Closer investigation of the previous groups showed that **reduplication occurs very frequently** in onomatopoeia and ideophones.

This prompted our interest into reduplicated items in general.

Let us look at the top 10 reduplicated items:

Reduplicated items

item	pinyin transcription	meaning	n
爸爸	<i>bàbà</i>	dad	1930
妈妈	<i>māmā</i>	mom	1448
然后然后	<i>ránhòu ránhòu</i>	and then, and then	533
谢谢	<i>xièxiè</i>	thank you	433
他他	<i>tātā</i>	he he	352
毛毛	<i>máomáo</i>	1. name; 2. hairy	325
圆圆	<i>yuányuán</i>	round	287
哥哥	<i>gēgē</i>	older brother	255
看看	<i>kànkàn</i>	look for a short while	185
甜甜	<i>tiántián</i>	sweet	176

Reduplicated items

	item	pinyin transcription	meaning	n
lexicalized	爸爸	<i>bàbà</i>	dad	1930
	妈妈	<i>māmā</i>	mom	1448
pragmatic	然后然后	<i>ránhòu ránhòu</i>	and then, and then	533
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ideophonized	看看	<i>kànkàn</i>	look for a short while	185
	甜甜	<i>tiántián</i>	sweet	176

Mostly interested in these items, because they often occur in a construction 'XXde' (XX的)

The XXde construction

1. $\left[\frac{\text{yuányuán} = \text{de}}{\text{圓圓} = \text{的}} \mid \text{ROUND.IDEOZ} = \text{LNK} \right]$

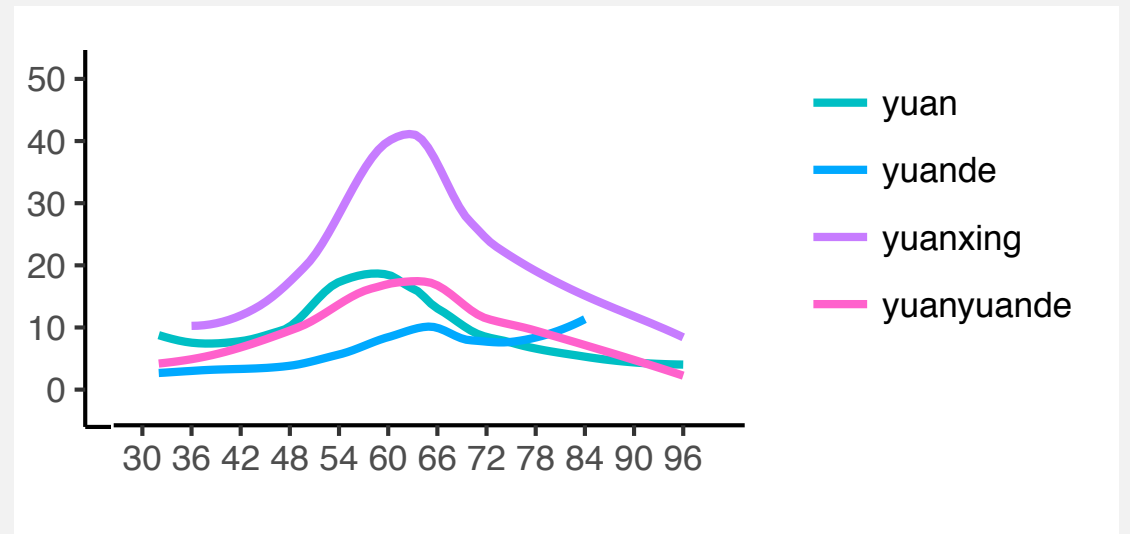
2. $\left[\frac{\text{yuán} = \text{de}}{\text{圓} = \text{的}} \mid \text{ROUND} = \text{LNK} \right]$

3. $\left[\frac{\text{yuán} - \text{xíng}}{\text{圓} - \text{形}} \mid \text{ROUND} - \text{SHAPE} \right]$

4. $\left[\frac{\text{yuán}}{\text{圓}} \mid \text{ROUND} \right]$

Different choices to be made on the speaker's side (onomasiological choice).

In the case of round objects later on are talked about by ROUND-SHAPE but earlier on by ROUND, **ROUND.IDEOZ=LNK**, and ROUND=LNK.



The XXde construction



$\left[\frac{\text{yuán} = \text{de}}{\text{圓} = \text{的}} \mid \text{ROUND} = \text{LNK} \right]$

Extension relationship
(Langacker 1987; 1991; 2008)

$\left[\frac{\text{yuan} - \text{xíng}}{\text{圓} - \text{形}} \mid \text{ROUND} - \text{SHAPE} \right]$

$\left[\frac{\text{yuan}}{\text{圓}} \mid \text{ROUND} \right]$

The XXde construction

$\left[\frac{XX = de}{XX = 的} \mid \text{ADJECTIVE. IDEOZ} = \text{LNK} \right]$

Elaborative relationships
(Langacker 1987; 1991; 2008)

$\left[\frac{yuányuán = de}{圓圓 = 的} \mid \text{ROUND. IDEOZ} = \text{LNK} \right]$

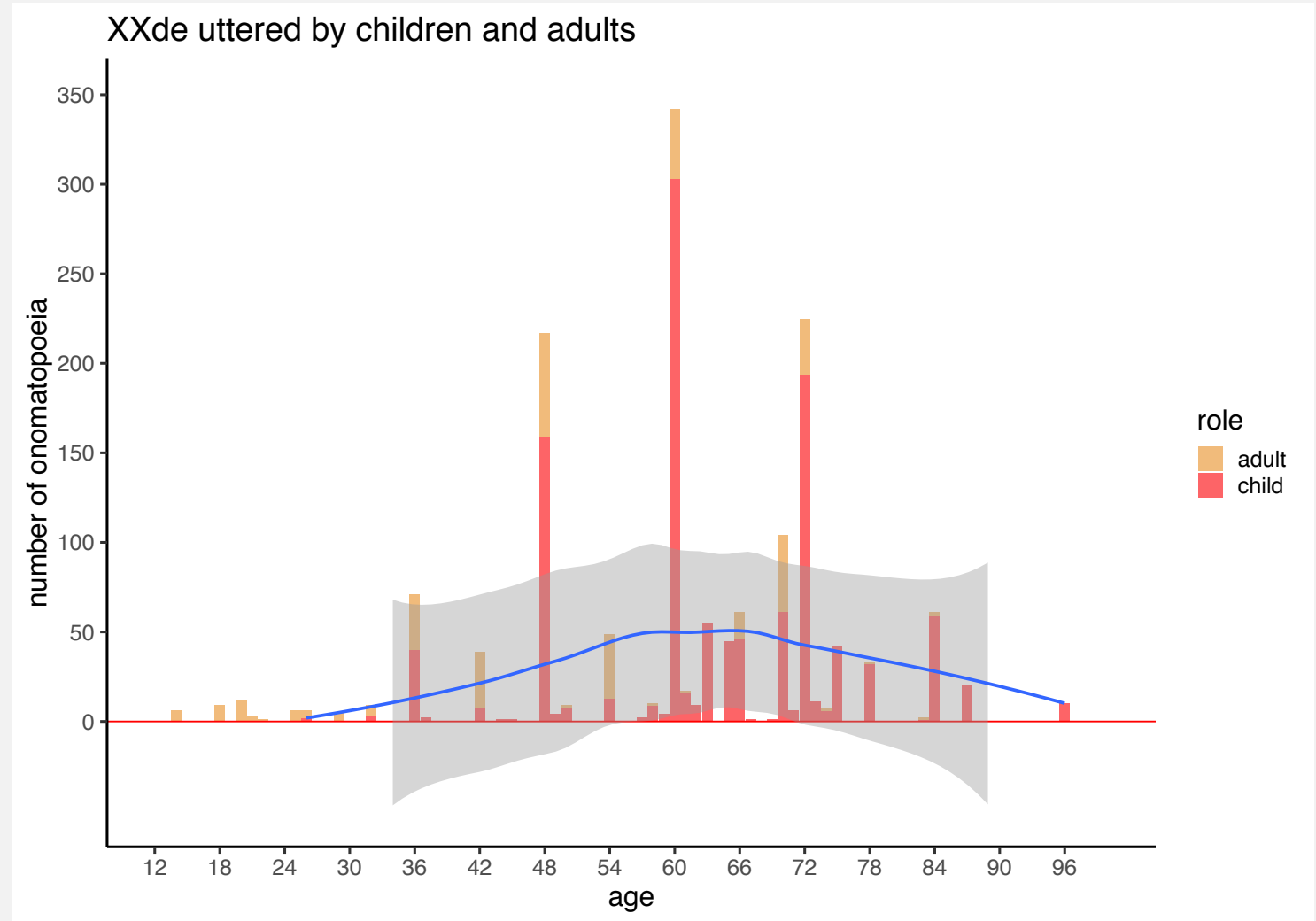
$\left[\frac{tiántián = de}{甜甜 = 的} \mid \text{SWEET. IDEOZ} = \text{LNK} \right]$

$\left[\frac{yuán = de}{圓 = 的} \mid \text{ROUND} = \text{LNK} \right]$

$\left[\frac{yuan - xíng}{圓 - 形} \mid \text{ROUND} - \text{SHAPE} \right]$

$\left[\frac{yuan}{圓} \mid \text{ROUND} \right]$

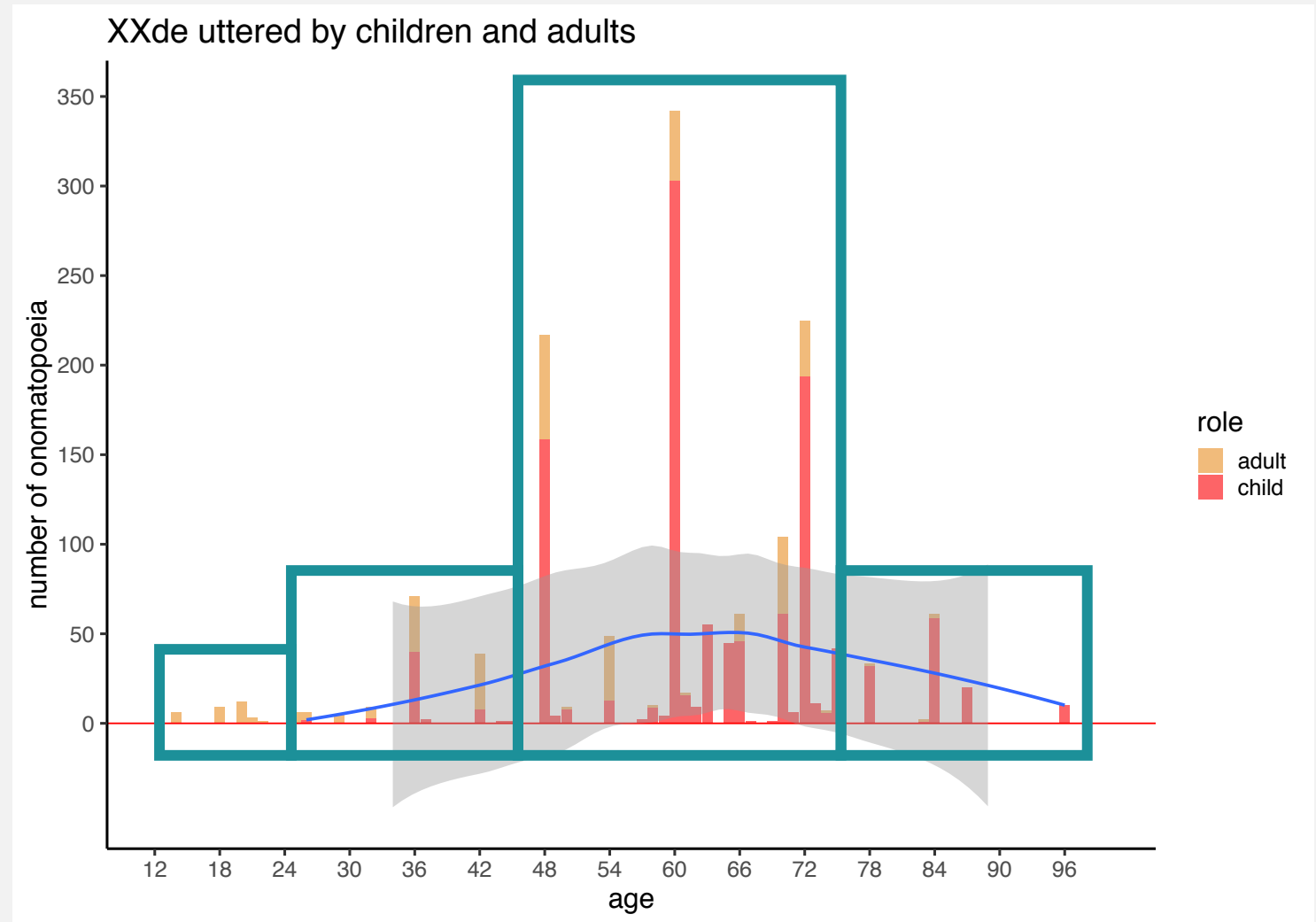
Reduplication: ideophonized constructions



Reduplication: ideophonized constructions

4 main periods

1. (0;0 – 2;0)
input from adult
2. (2;0 – 3;9)
rising out from child
3. (3;9 – 6;3)
child usage peak
4. (6;3 – ...)
child post-peak

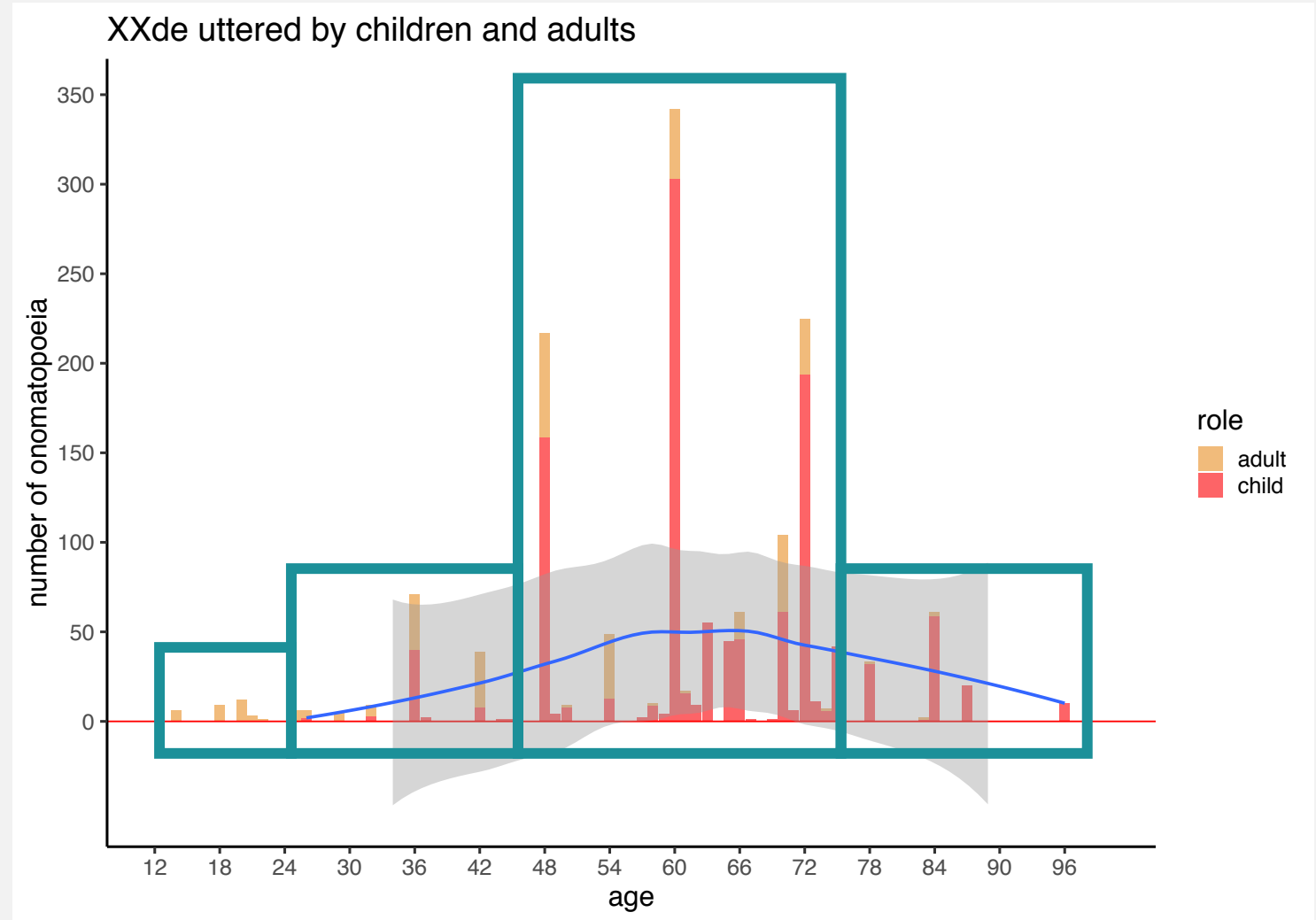


Qualitative case studies

Reduplication: ideophonized constructions

4 main periods

1. (0;0 – 2;0)
input from adult
2. (2;0 – 3;9)
rising out from child
3. (3;9 – 6;3)
child usage peak
4. (6;3 – ...)
child post-peak



The sun is round and the moon crooked (stage II)

A 这是什么颜色
A 圆圆的红太阳
C 我正准备画圆圆的红太阳呢
A 好哟
A 这太阳画得真漂亮
C 好啦
A 好啦
A 这画了几个太阳呀
A 一个太阳两个太阳三个五个太阳
A 你画个小鱼
A 好不好呀
C 这是什么笔呀
A 这是水彩笔
A 圆圆的太阳弯弯的月亮
A 画个弯弯的月亮
A 弯弯的月儿小小的船
C 弯弯的月儿小小的船

What colour is this?
A **round-round** red sun
I'm just about to draw a **round-round** red sun
Okay
You drew this sun really beautifully
Okay
Okay
How many suns did you draw here?
One sun, two suns, three suns, five suns
Let's draw a small fish
Can you do it?
What kind of brush is this?
This is a watercolour brush
A **round-round** sun and a **crooked-crooked** moon
Let's draw a **crooked-crooked** moon
A **crooked-crooked** moon, a **small-small** boat
A **crooked-crooked** moon, a **small-small** boat

Zhou1, age (2;8)
Transcript_id: 20336
Utterances: 201-217

Apples are red-red, hard-hard, fragrant-fragrant and sweet-sweet (stage III)

C 苹果的皮是红红的
C 而且里面的肉是白色的
A 嗯
C 它的把子黑黑的
A 摸上去
C 硬硬的
A 好闻上去
C 香香的
A 咬在嘴巴里面
C 甜甜的
A 很好那咬了一口苹果
不吃放在那边它就会怎么样
C 黑掉
A 很好

Apple skin is **red-red**
And the *meat* inside is **white-colour**
Yes
The stem is **black-black**
What does it feel like?
Hard-hard
Good, what does it smell like?
Fragrant-fragrant
And if you bite it?
Sweet-sweet
Very good. And if you bite the apple
but don't eat and put it over there, what will happen?
Become **black**
Very good

AcadLang, age (4;2)
Transcript_id: 11450
Utterances: 1-13

What is going on?

Around age 1;0 Mandarin acquiring infants already use a number of onomatopoeia / ideophones.

At around age 2;0 simple but real dialogues can occur between infants and adults, in which they get output that contains reduplicated constructions.

In these dialogues there is a certain object that the child is asked about and a **more contentful conversation** emerges.

This is possible because of the **joint attention** the child and the adult have towards the object.

Intersubjectivity: in three stages

1st order

Proto-mimesis

- neonatal imitation
- (simple) empathy
- mutual attention

Zlatev (2008:227)

Intersubjectivity: in three stages

1st order

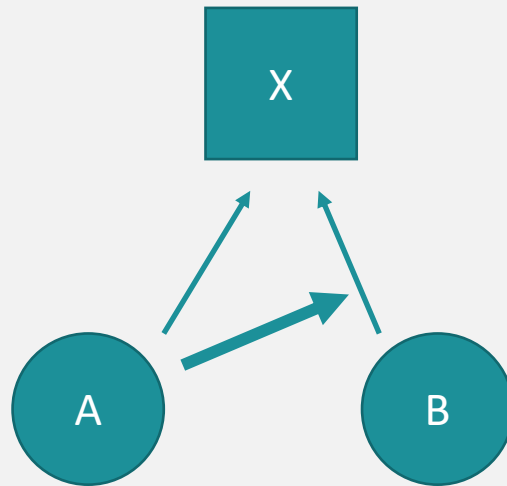
Proto-mimesis

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2nd order

Dyadic mimesis

- cognitive empathy
- shared attention
- understanding other's intentions



Zlatev (2008:227)

Intersubjectivity: in three stages

1st order

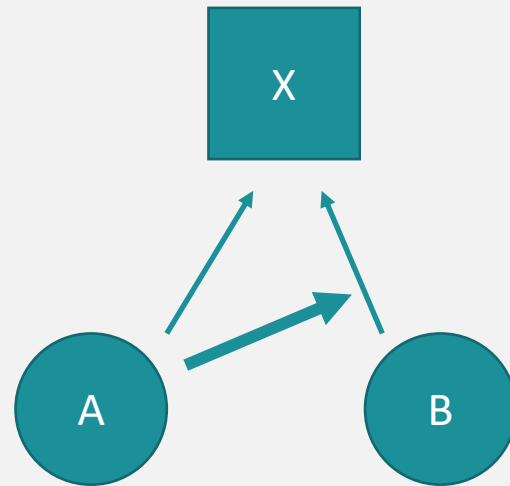
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2nd order

Dyadic mimesis

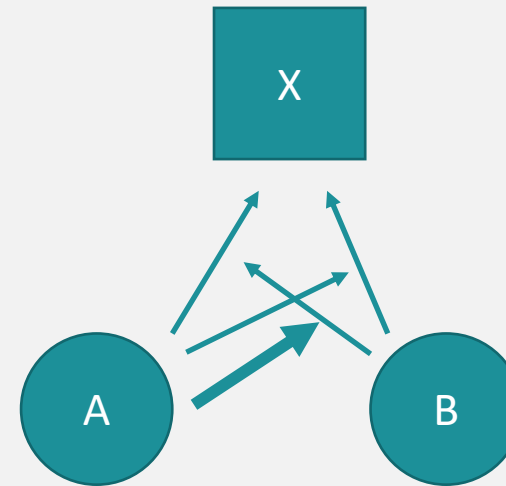
- cognitive empathy
- shared attention
- understanding other's intentions



3rd order

Triadic mimesis

- joint attention
- haven and understanding intentions



Protolanguage

- semantic conventions

Language

- (false) belief understanding

Zlatev (2008:227)

Reduplication as a trigger for intersubjectivity

Ideophones are

- marked
- words
- that depict
- sensory imagery,
- which belong to an open lexical class

Reduplicative constructions are

- marked
- constructions
- that depict
- sensory imagery,
- ~~• which belong to an open lexical class~~

Based mostly on the criteria of MARKEDNESS and DEPICTION, we believe that the function of these reduplicative constructions is multifold:

1. Draw attention to the object
2. Scaffold the language for the child
3. Depiction of what the object looks, feels, smells, tastes... like
("ideophones are the next best thing to having been there." Levinson, quoted by Dingemanse 2011:299)

Reduplication as a trigger for intersubjectivity

While reduplication are is thus an important factor facilitator for intersubjectivity, it is neither sufficient nor necessary — other means, e.g. gesture, exist to convey these language elements.

Important to note, is that

1. There is an onomasiological choice made at every scaffolding moment (from the adult's perspective)
2. This XXde construction persists well into adult language, so it is not (just) motherese/parentese.

Conclusions

Ideophones are starting to be learned early on, especially onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia / ideophones are acquired from about the age of 1;0 onwards.

In Cantonese and Japanese they frequency shows nice bell-curves, but in Mandarin it did not.

This is perhaps due to gaps in the data collection, or due to less salient constructions that would fit the idea of onomatopoeia / ideophones.

Still, the peaks seems to be around 3;0 and 4;0 — later than Japanese (2;8) or Cantonese (2;6).

Reduplication can act as a signal to trigger intersubjectivity through markedness and depiction

We have attempted to show that, based on corpus material, reduplication can act as a trigger for intersubjectivity — most notably to let the acquiring child ‘second-hand’ experience the sensory imagery of the object.

This is mostly limited to basic level items, or items that the child is referentially familiar with (sun, moon, animals, fruit...).

Furthermore, we acknowledge that this work is still “in its child’s shoes” (Dutch phrase), so more research is needed to investigate the interplay more comprehensively.

Evaluation of the material and methodology

As for material and methodology, the chldes-db as a mirror of CHILDES works well:

- + the data is open,

- +Scripts will (soon) be available at github.com/simazhi

- Many utterances are 'lost' because of lack of child_age

- Typical for corpora: you have to make do with what you have — we did not collect the data, but recycle it.

- + That means we did not manipulate it either

Thank you!
ご清聴ありがとうございました!

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