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研究課題名 (英文) Non-native maternal speech: A discursive analysis of a Thai mother's Japanese to her child

研究代表者

中村 ジェニス (Nakamura, Janice)

国際基督教大学・教育研究所・研究員

研究者番号：1 0 6 2 2 1 3 6

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研究成果の概要 (和文)：本研究は、日本語で育児を行うことを決めたタイ人の母親の言語使用に焦点をあてる。子供が1歳2ヶ月から2歳半までのビデオ・データを分析した結果、母親は日本語を使用することを決めたにもかかわらず母語のタイ語と第二言語である英語を折に触れて使用し、特にタイ語の幼児語や談話標識を多用することによって、子供の断続的なタイ語の発話行為が見られた。母親は日本語をほぼ正確に使用したが、子供の日本語には更に誤用が少なかった。母子双方に比較的多くの誤用が見られた助詞について分析した結果、両者の誤用の特徴は異なり、母親の言語インプットは子供の初期言語使用の正確性に負の影響を与えないことが明確になった。

研究成果の概要 (英文)：This study examines the speech of a Thai mother who chose to use Japanese to her child from birth. Video data from ages 1;2 to 2;6 revealed that, despite the mother's avowal to speak Japanese, her native Thai and her L2, English were occasionally used. She reverted to Thai most often and made use of Thai baby words and discourse particles. This led to some intermittent production by the child but proportionately more Thai baby talk than Thai discourse particles were produced. The mother's Japanese speech was mostly accurate with a low percentage of errors. The rate of child errors was even lower than the rate for maternal errors. Analysis of particle use errors, which were higher than most other errors types for mother and child, showed different characteristics in their errors, suggesting that nonnative maternal input did not adversely affect the accuracy of the child's early speech production.

研究分野：人文学

キーワード：nonnative maternal speech Japanese Thai language use errors baby talk particles

1 . 研究開始当初の背景

When migrant parents have low fluency, use of a nonnative language does not benefit their children's language development. Golberg et al. (2008) discovered that migrant children's English vocabulary was higher for those whose mothers spoke less English than those who spoke more. Likewise, Paradis and Kirova (2014) found that Canadian-born children did not perform better at narrative tasks than foreign-born children even though they received more English exposure at home. Rather, children's development in the societal language relate to the length of time spent in a preschool/school program and the richness of their English experiences outside school, suggesting that the use of English by non-proficient migrant parents is not particularly helpful (Paradis 2011).

Place and Hoff (2011) and Hoff et al. (2014) found that it was the portion of native input that predicted English vocabulary and grammatical complexity. They suggest that the value of nonnative input is undermined by limited proficiency and nonnative input is generally less useful to language acquisition than native input. There is still a paucity of research on this subject but evidence from Hoff et al. (2013) show that native speakers use richer vocabulary. Comparison of L1 and L2 speech to children revealed that L1 speakers used a higher number of word types and longer Mean Length of Utterance (MLU) than L2 speakers.

2 . 研究の目的

While these studies show qualitative differences between native and nonnative inputs, they investigated children who were simultaneous bilinguals or early L2 learners. As far as the author is aware, there has yet been any research on children who were raised solely or mainly in a nonnative language by migrant parents. In Japan, many migrant mothers speak only or mostly Japanese to their children even though it is not their native language (Ishii 2010, Jabar 2013, Yamamoto 2005) and their varying levels of proficiency is likely to affect the quality of the input that their children receive. The impact of nonnative input on the child's language development is potentially larger than in bilingual studies because the child receives only nonnative input from his mother and little or no exposure to her mother tongue. Given these potential implications, this paper will examine, probably for the first time, nonnative maternal speech that is used to raise a child as a monolingual speaker of the societal language. A case study method was chosen because the researcher managed to recruit a Thai mother, Sri, who explicitly expressed her intention to speak her third language, Japanese, to her child, Ken from birth. Two aspects of Sri's speech are of

interest. The first is the implementation of her language policy because bilingual studies have shown that parental reports of language use do not necessarily reflect actual language use (Goodz 1989; Haskell 1998; Kasuya 1998). This study will determine the extent to which the mother's Japanese-only policy transpires in practice and whether other languages are used. The second area of interest is the errors in her Japanese speech. While both native and nonnative speech may deviate from the norm, native speakers' mistakes (e.g., slips of the tongue) are unsystematic deviations that are usually noticed and corrected immediately by the speaker (Corder 1967). In contrast, not only do nonnative speakers make more slips in their L2 than in their L1 (Poulisse 1999), they make repetitive and systematic errors that reflect a lack of proficiency (Corder 1967; Götz 2013). Therefore, a mother potentially exposes her child to higher number of uncorrected and repetitive errors in a nonnative language. This study will expand on previous findings that show nonnative input is less beneficial to language acquisition by determining if maternal errors influence the accuracy of the child's speech. Specific questions that will be addressed are:

- i. Does the mother consistently provides input in Japanese or does she resort to other languages in her linguistic repertoire?
- ii. To what extent are non-Japanese language forms used by the mother reproduced by the child?
- iii. What types of errors does the mother make in Japanese?
- iv. To what extent do maternal errors in Japanese influence the accuracy of the child's speech?

3 . 研究の方法

(1) Participants

Sri is married to a Japanese man and has been a full-time housewife in Japan since the birth of her first child. Her first child was a girl and Ken (a boy) is her second child and the child participant of this study. While Thai is Sri's native language, it is not used for communication in the family. Japanese, her third language, is used by both parents with their children and between siblings. Sri was Ken's primary caregiver and the main source of his linguistic input in Japanese.

(2) Procedure

Data for this study come from 17 monthly video recordings of the mother-child dyad at their home from ages 1;2 (year; month) to 2;6.

(3) Transcription and coding

Each 30-minute video was transcribed by a research assistant and validated by the researcher. Non-Japanese utterances were coded as Thai (THA), English (ENG) or mixed (MIX). Mixed

utterances were further analyzed as Japanese-Thai, Japanese-English, Thai-English and Japanese-Thai-English. Proper nouns, such as those used to address Thai family members, were excluded.

Maternal utterances were also coded for errors, which are defined as clear deviations from the speech of native-speaking mothers in Standard Japanese. To ensure that only utterances which were clear deviations were included, additional validation work on errors was performed by a second research assistant. Errors in utterance were coded multiply into the following five types:

- i. Incorrect inflection (IF)
- ii. Incorrect particle use (PU)
- iii. Incorrect choice of word/phrase (WC)
- iv. Omission of a particle (PO)
- v. Omission of other parts of speech (OT)

Child utterances that deviated from that of a native-speaking adult were also coded into the error types above in order to capture developmental errors and those that may be influenced by maternal input.

4. 研究成果

(1) Maternal language use

Despite the mother's avowal to speak only Japanese (JPN), she occasionally produced Thai, English and mixed utterances. Figure 1 shows that Thai was used frequently in the earlier months. The percentage of Thai utterances was as high as 13.5% of total utterances when Ken was age 1;2. However, from when the child was age 1;11, more English and mixed utterances were used. Out of the four types of mixed utterances, Japanese and Thai combinations ($n=243$, 79.5% of all mixed utterances) were most frequently produced (cf. Figure 2). Further analysis of Thai and mixed utterances revealed that Thai discourse particles and baby talk were the most commonly used linguistic forms (cf. Figure 3).

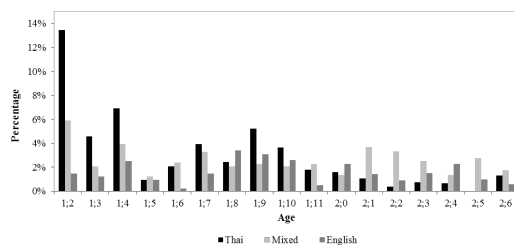


Figure 1. Thai, English and mixed utterances produced by the mother as a percentage of total utterances

Thai baby talk was most frequently produced in the earlier months. Not many types of baby words were used but they were used repetitively in daily routines. From age 1;9 onwards, more Thai discourse particles than Thai baby words were featured in Sri's Thai and mixed utterances. Sri most often inserted the Thai discourse particle, *na*, at the end of an utterance

for emphasis.

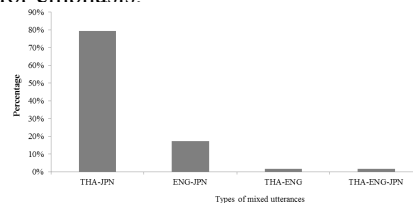


Figure 2. Thai-Japanese, English-Japanese, Thai-English and Thai-English-Japanese utterances produced by the mother as a percentage of total mixed utterances

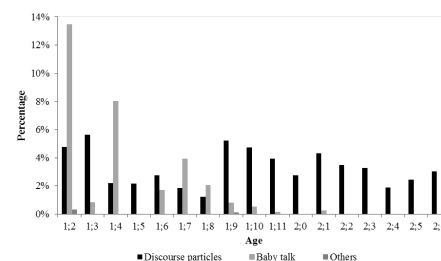


Figure 3. Maternal utterances containing Thai discourse particles, Thai baby talk and other forms of speech in Thai as a percentage of total utterances

(2) Child language development and use

Maternal use of Thai and English had minimal influence on the child's language use. As shown in Figure 4, Thai, English and mixed utterances were sparse and intermittent. Only in the earlier months of the study, a relatively high percentage of Thai utterances were produced and they were predominantly baby talk. The percentage of Thai, English and mixed utterances gradually decreased from age 1;11 and none were produced after age 2;3.

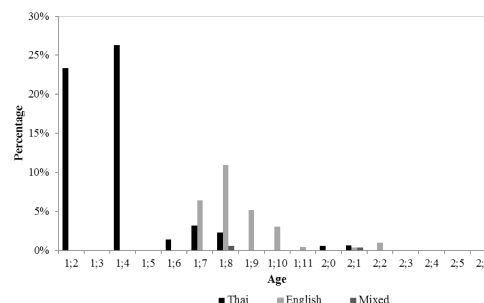


Figure 4. Thai, English and mixed utterances produced by the child as a percentage of total utterances

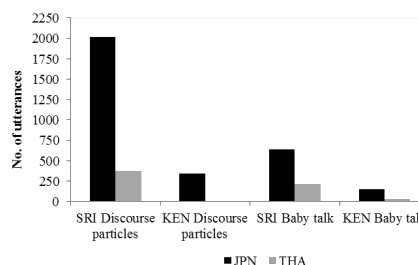


Figure 5. Discourse particles and baby talk produced by Sri and Ken from ages 1;2 to 2;6

Figure 5 compares Sri's and Ken's use of discourse particles and baby talk in Japanese and Thai. Sri produced more discourse particles and baby talk in Japanese than in Thai and this probably contributed to their greater production

by Ken. Nevertheless, while her use of Thai baby talk led to some child production of Thai baby talk, few Thai discourse particles were produced despite the fact that they were used more frequently by her.

(3) Errors in the use of Japanese

The results revealed a high level of accuracy in Sri's speech. Only 407 (3.65%) of the sum of her Japanese utterances and mixed utterances with Japanese (n=11,151) contained errors (cf. Table 1). The number of errors (n=519) is higher than the number of erroneous utterances (n=407) because an utterance can have more than one error type. The accuracy in Ken's speech is higher than his mother's with only 0.38% (n=11) of the sum of his Japanese utterances and mixed utterances with Japanese (n=2,860) being erroneous. Sri's most common errors were inflectional ones. They appeared in 1.38% (n=154) of her Japanese and mixed utterances but in only 0.07% of Ken's utterances.

Table 1. Types of errors made by Sri and Ken

	IF	PU	WC	PO	OT	Total	Erroneous utterances
Sri	154	129	106	84	46	519	407
%*	1.38	1.16	0.95	0.75	0.41		
Ken	2	6	1	3	0	12	11
%*	0.07	0.21	0.03	0.10	-		

* percentage of Japanese utterances and mixed utterances with Japanese (n=11,151 for Sri and n=2,860 for Ken)

Incorrect particle use was the second most frequent type of maternal error (n=129, 1.16% of Japanese utterances and mixed utterances with Japanese). Many of them involved the incorrect use of sentence-internal particles. Particle errors were also higher than other error types for Ken (n=6, 0.21%). To determine if maternal particle use errors influencing child ones, these errors were further analyzed according to type. As shown in Table 2, almost half (n=64) of Sri's errors involved incorrect use of the topic marker *wa*. In contrast, half of Ken's particle use errors (n=3) involved the subject marker *ga* whereas only 12.3% (n=16) of Sri's errors involved it. He faced some difficulty using sentence-internal case particles such as *ga* accurately and overgeneralized it twice at age 2;1 for the comitative particle *to* and once at age 2;6 for the question particle *ka*.

Table 2. Types of particle use errors

	Sri	%	Ken	%
<i>wa</i> *	64	49.2	0	-
<i>ga</i>	16	12.3	3	50.0
<i>ni</i>	3	2.3	2	33.3
<i>de</i>	25	19.2	0	-
<i>no</i>	13	10.0	0	-
<i>wo</i>	4	3.1	0	-
<i>mo</i>	0	-	1	16.7
<i>to</i>	2	1.6	0	-
<i>ne</i>	1	0.8	0	-
<i>wa</i> **	2	1.6	0	-
Total	130+		6	

* topic marker ** sentence-final particle + differs from number of particle use errors in Table 2 (n=129) because one utterance had two types of particle errors.

Further investigation revealed that the Ken's

ga errors were different from Sri's (cf. Table 3). While she tended to overgeneralize *ga* for the topic marker *wa*, Ken did not make such errors. Likewise, his overgeneralizations of *ga* for the comitative *to* and question *ka* particles were not found in Sri's speech. This indicates that the characteristics of their errors were different.

Table 3. Particle *ga* errors

	Redundant use	<i>wa</i> *	<i>wo</i> *	<i>ni</i> *	<i>mo</i> *	<i>to</i> *	<i>ka</i> *	Total
Sri	4	7	3	1	1	-	-	16
Ken	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3

Discussion

Sri's Japanese-only policy was not strictly adhered to because she occasionally made use of Thai and English. The discrepancy between language policy and practice corroborates with previous findings that parental reports of language use do not necessarily reflect actual language use. However, while bilingual studies show the tendency of native-speaking parents to switch to a non-native language, this study demonstrated how a mother who has already chosen to speak a non-native language reverted to her native Thai and, to a lesser extent, her L2, English. This suggests that, regardless of the language that bi- or multilingual parents' claim to speak to their children, they may tap into their full linguistic resources in actual language practices. Sri particularly made use of Thai baby words at an early stage of Ken's development. However, as his age increased, fewer Thai baby words were used. They were probably an instinctive move she took to bond with Ken that she did not regard by Sri as a deviation her Japanese policy because they were mostly onomatopoeic.

Thai discourse particles were also fairly often used by the mother. Nevertheless, these forms were hardly produced by Ken possibly because the child was more exposed to linguistic patterns punctuated by Japanese discourse markers than Thai ones by his mother. The greater exposure probably helped him to produce the Japanese *ne* at age 1;7. Contrarily, the Thai *na* was appeared later at age 2;0 and there were only two more further productions. The minimal production of Thai discourse particles also contrasts with the higher frequency of Thai baby talk produced by Ken. This difference can be attributed to the higher proportion of Thai baby talk than discourse particles in Sri's speech.

The results also show that, while Sri made errors in her speech to Ken, her speech was predominantly accurate with only a small proportion of errors (3.65%). Ken's speech was also mostly accurate with an error rate that was even lower than his mother's (0.38%). Particle errors were higher than most of the other error

types for both Sri and Ken and analysis of these errors revealed different error characteristics. Sri tended to overgeneralize the topic marker *wa* whereas Ken tended to overgeneralize the subject marker *ga*. Further scrutiny of the overgeneralizations of *ga* revealed that, while Sri tended to substitute *ga* for *wa* or used *ga* redundantly, Ken replaced *ga* for the particles *to* and *ka*. The different characteristics of their errors indicate that the mother's particle errors were unrelated to those made by her child.

Ken's errors were developmental rather than influenced by Sri's errors. According to Morikawa (2006), although Japanese-speaking children acquire particles early, they do not completely master their use and continue to make errors beyond the age of three. As the subject marker *ga* is of the earliest particles Japanese children acquire (Hirakawa 2004, Kuriyama 2001), its overgeneralizations are common, particularly for the object marker, *o* (Morikawa 1997). While Ken did not exhibit this *ga*-for-*o* overgeneralization, his *ga*-for-*to* overgeneralizations reflects the similar use of particles that are typically acquired early, i.e. *ga*, for those that are typically acquired later, i.e. *to* and *wo*. Likewise, the two verbal inflection errors he made were probably developmental. Although verbal inflections are typically used by Japanese-speaking children by age 2;0, it is common in the beginning for a given verb root to have a single inflection (Clancy, 1985). For example, Ken produced the past tense form *yatta* (did it) instead of the correct instructive form *yatte* because this was the first and only inflection of the verb produced up to this age. Moreover, even when particles have been acquired, they may still be omitted from use. In the parental checklist, Sri documented *kore wa Kento no* (this is Kento's) as one of his longest utterances at age 1;10, indicating that he was already capable of using the topic *wa* and possessive *no* particles at this age. However, all of the particle omission errors Ken made involved the omission of the possessive particle *no*, suggesting that newly-acquired particles were not necessarily used in all relevant post-acquisition utterances. Input frequency effects help explain the lack of influence of maternal errors on the child. There were generally too few tokens of errors, particularly inflection and particle use ones, in the Sri's speech for Ken to build memory representations of them. The higher token frequency of correct forms in her speech and that of native speakers around Ken probably helped entrench his understanding and use of correct forms.

Conclusion

The results of this study contribute to our understanding of maternal use of a nonnative

language from birth in a monolingual context and to the debate on how native and nonnative inputs may impact child language development differently. It addresses the first research question on the extent that the Thai mother used her other languages by finding that, while adhering to a Japanese-only policy most of the time, there was some use of her native Thai and second language, English. Sri reverted to Thai the most by producing Thai baby words and discourse particles. Thai baby words were probably used as a strategic and temporary measure to facilitate early word production whereas crosslinguistic influence was seen in her use of Thai discourse particles in place of Japanese ones. In answer to the second question on the child reproductions of his mother's non-Japanese and mixed utterances, use of Thai was identified in a few limited contexts but there were proportionately more Thai baby talk than Thai discourse particles. With regard to the third question on the types of errors the mother made in Japanese, the results revealed a tendency to make inflection and particle use errors. To answer the final question on the effect of maternal errors on the accuracy of the child's speech, no discernible influence was found because child errors demonstrated different characteristics from maternal ones. This shows that maternal errors did not adversely affect the accuracy of the child's early production because they were low and not picked up by the child. Input frequency effects were arguably at play because the child was largely exposed to one language, Japanese, and its correct forms from his mother.

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5 . 主な発表論文等

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6 . 研究組織

(1)研究代表者

中村 ジェニス (NAKAMURA, Janice)
国際基督教大学・教育研究所・研究員
研究者番号 : 10622136