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PREFACE AND PRIORITIES

Stephen C. Levinson, Asifa Majid & Kobin H. Kendrick

This is the fourteenth volume of the Field Manual of the Language and Cognition (L&C) Department, at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen. The aim of the manual is to coordinate collaborative research projects in the field.

This year's field manual introduces new tasks and tasks from previous years. The new tasks explore associations across perceptual modalities and narrative structure across cultures. Tasks from previous manuals renew our commitments to the language of perception and the continued study of language use in social interaction.

The priority for the Interactional Foundations of Language project (IFL; formally the Multimodal Interaction project) continues to be collection and transcription of video-recorded interaction. A rich corpus of interactional data allows the researcher to address a broad range of research questions relevant to L&C and will be a prerequisite for full participation in many IFL subprojects in future years.

The major initiatives for the Categories across Language and Culture project include the Grammar of Perception, which continues as a subproject in its own right and also feeds into the new Perception in Interaction subproject. In addition there are two new tasks that focus on cross-modal associations, both of which offer researchers an opportunity to contribute to potentially high-impact research.

This manual also repeats the 'Landscape terms and place names elicitation guide', in connection with *Language, Cognition and Landscape (LACOLA)*, an ERC-funded project coordinated by Niclas Burenhult, which explores the relationship between language and landscape from a cross-cultural perspective.

Note on ethical practice in data collection

Fieldwork must be conducted in accordance with standard ethical practice in human science. (A useful reference is the 'code of conduct' of the DOBES Language Documentation Project based at the MPI[1]). You must have explicit permission from your consultants to video or otherwise record them. You must be satisfied that the people you are recording understand that you will be examining the data as a way of learning about exactly how people talk and otherwise behave in their community. Protecting the rights and privacies of the people you work with is crucial, especially when you intend to publicly display data that you have collected. If you anticipate that you will want to display video data (e.g., in public talks or publications), make sure that your consultants have agreed for you to do this, and that you do not publicly display sensitive material in any case. Carefully consider the consequences of making your data public.

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[1] Available at http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/ethical_legal_aspects/DOBES-coc-v2.pdf.

REGULATIONS ON USE

Stephen C. Levinson & Asifa Majid

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The materials are being released in the spirit of intellectual co-operation. In some cases the authors of entries have not had the chance to publish results yet. It is expected that users will share results garnered from use of these materials in free intellectual exchange before publication. You are encouraged to get in touch with us if you are going to use these materials for collecting data. These manuals were originally intended as working documents for internal use only. They were supplemented by verbal instructions and additional guidelines in many cases.

The contents of manuals, entries therein and field-kit materials are modified from time to time, and this provides an additional motivation for keeping close contact with the Language and Cognition Department. We would welcome suggestions for changes and additions, and comments on the viability of different materials and techniques in various field situations.

Contact

Email us via http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/contact/.

Language and Cognition Department
Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics
Postbox 310, 6500AH, Nijmegen, The Netherlands

TIPS FOR FIELD RECORDING

Gerd Klaas & Nick Wood
MPI Technical Group

Steps to be taken if you want to make a recording (audio and/or video)

1. Get used to your field equipment. Read the manuals before you use the equipment! Test the complete set up before you use it in the field.
2. When recording with a video camera, use a tripod. You will get a stable picture. If you film without a tripod, set the camera "steady shot" function on. (Note: Power consumption increases.)
3. Avoid video recording when the background is too bright. If you cannot avoid a bright background, learn how to use the 'backlight' setting on your camera. Filming towards the sun brings the electronics in most camcorders to its limits.
4. Use external microphones and don't forget to switch them on. On most microphones a small light will indicate that the battery is in good condition. For outdoor recordings some additional supplies might be useful:
   a) Windshields for microphones
   b) Some shields to protect the equipment from the direct sun. (Equipment exposed to sunlight for a longer time may heat up so that device specifications are no longer valid.)
   c) A white sheet of paper to set the "white balance" of the camcorder. (See also remarks on Tape labels and ID.)
5. Connect the microphone(s) to the recorder/camera. The connectors of newer equipment are sometimes tiny and sensitive to forces. So, look carefully before you insert a plug into a connector. And always check that it is plugged in (e.g., after you have replaced a tape, possibly disrupting the connection).
6. Connect headphones to the recorder/camera to monitor the sound processing.
7. Hum, noise can be caused by bad plug connections and/or the main power supply. Check all the cables and the wiring and/or use batteries instead.
8. Do not leave the camcorder in record/pause mode for a long time. (This uses more power and is also bad for the tape.) Some cameras will switch off after 5 minutes.
9. Try to avoid working with "Autofocus ON" . Moving objects in the scene can trigger the focus circuit and may cause problems. (A fly passing by, a leave in the wind, etc.) A fly or a bee can also disturb the sound processing heavily if turning around and around the microphone. Also windy situations can give serious problems. (Human ears may ignore these noises, a microphone never does!)
10. Do NOT point the viewfinder of the camcorder towards the sun. Its lens will leave burn spots inside the viewfinder and may cause damage. LCD screens can warm up so that no picture is visible (black screen).
11. Select a higher shutter speed (Approx. 500) if you are interested in analysing fast movements (i.e., gesticulations).
12. The first 5 to 15 seconds of videotape should never contain relevant data! This is due to necessary "pre-roll times" for editing and digitalisation machines.
    Instead:
    a) Make a short record (> 15 seconds). Write your ID and other relevant information a sheet of paper and record it also via the microphone.
    b) Don't erase this part of the tape. The information recorded will help to identify the tape in case the physical tape label gets lost.

c) Review and check the sound recording immediately. (In case of trouble check all cables, wiring, cassette protection, etc.)

d) If the picture/sound is bad (white stripes or no picture at all) the heads may be dirty. Use a Cleaning Tape for 10 seconds in play mode and don't rewind it. (Use in Video- and DAT recorder.) If the picture/sound isn't better, repeat the cleaning procedure. If the picture/sound is still bad, the device needs to be checked.

e) Directly after finishing recording, label the tape and slide the tab on the cassette into "Save" position to prevent from accidental erasure. (See also separate information on tape label)

13. Make sure that there is a constant video signal recorded on the tape. Do not produce any gaps between the different scenes you record. A new scene should start directly behind the last scene. This can be achieved with the help of the edit search button or other functions available at most camcorders. (Videotapes with gaps are difficult to digitise. This due to the different scenes which may contain identical timecodes. Find the information for solving this problem in the manuals for the recording equipment.) For audio it is better to separate the different recordings on the tape (Cassette and Tape). This makes it easier to find the certain pieces for digitising later if not the whole tape has to be digitised. DAT and Mini-Disc recorders set ID marks at the beginning of a recording which might be retrieved for digitisation.

14. Do not use the entire length of a tape. (Begin and end may cause problems with digitisation.)

15. NEVER use the LP mode (long play) on your recording devices! (Audio and video)

16. If the recording device switches the power off because the battery is empty, take the battery out and charge it as soon as possible.

17. Keep an eye on your batteries. Keep them charged.

18. If you want to copy sound from a video to an audiocassette, use the "LINE IN" connector from the audio device even if the dubbing cable also fits in the MIC input. MIC inputs are too sensitive for the strong line out signal of the camera.

19. If the moisture condensation sign appears in the viewfinder of your camcorder, open the cassette holder. Leave the power off, and wait for at least 30 minutes before next recording. (See manual.)

20. In a humid environment store your recording equipment in waterproof bags together with *silicon gel*. The waterproof bag will also protect the equipment against dust. Silicon gel packs must be dried from time to time. You can dry them on a barbecue grill (not in the fire). They are dry when the indication window of the cell shows "blue". One can get these drying cells at nearly every expedition store.

21. Keep your tapes and recording material in a cool and dry place as long as possible.

22. Seal your recorded tapes with aluminium foil – or have them checked separately – when you pass the security check in airports.

VIDEO DATA WORKFLOW FOR THE JVC GY-HM100

Jeremy Hammond & Mark Dingemanse

Abstract   The standard video equipment for 2011 is the JVC GY-HM100 camera. This camera records full HD footage on high capacity SD memory cards. The video files produced by this camera need some post-processing to be usable for annotation and transcription. In this document we describe how you should handle data from this setup in a typical fieldwork situation. This is not a manual for using the camera.

I. Before you start recording

1. Always make sure the camera contains two 32GB SD cards that are empty and unlocked.
2. Check which slot is selected for recording (it should be A). Switch with the A/B button found to the left of the slots.

II. After recording: backing up and processing files

After completing a recording, you have SD cards with raw video files. These files are 14-minute long chunks in a JVC-specific MP4 format. So if you have recorded 1 hour consecutively, you will have four such 14-minute long files. Two things need to be done: you should (A) backup the files and (B) process the files. You backup the files so that the TG can later create long sessions and archival copies of the data. You process the files if you want to start working on the recordings in the field.

> Note Make this a habit: flip the little yellow "LOCK" switch on SD cards that contain new data. This not only protects the data from being overwritten, it also serves as a marker that the card needs to be processed.

A. Backing up

1. Connect the SD card and connect your primary external hard drive (HD1) to the computer. Go to your file manager of choice (My Computer, Windows Explorer, Total Commander, etc.).
    o *First time only*: on HD1, create a folder called *Video*. Within it, create another folder called *Originals*.
2. On the SD card, do a search for all MP4 files and copy them to the *Originals* folder on HD1.[2]
3. Repeat this procedure for every SD card.

4. When all files are copied, remove the SD card, unlock it (yellow switch) and put it back in the camera. Format it using the camera (see §3 below).

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[2] Searching for all MP4's on the card is easier than traversing all subfolders. (But if you must know: the SD card contains a folder structure that looks like this: \PRIVATE\JVC\BPAC\CLPR\ . The sessions are in subfolders in the CLPR folder.)

5. Now, within the *Originals* folder on HD1, create folders that uniquely represent the sessions recorded. So if you recorded multiple sessions in one day, you will create multiple session folders.
    o Use only alphanumeric characters, underscore (_) and dashes (-) in session names. *No spaces or other funny characters.*
    o Choose session names that are meaningful and not too long. Including the date in the session name is useful for sorting (e.g., "20110204_Compound", "20110209_Pounding".)
6. Drag the MP4 files for the different sessions from the *Originals* root folder to their own session subfolders. It's easy to spot files that belong to one session: the four-digit session number in the original file name will be the same.[3]
7. That's it! You now have a transparent folder structure that stores the original files session by session. It should look like this:

HD1 [external harddisk 1]
    Video [folder]
        Originals [folder]
            20110209_Pounding [folder]
                263_0014_01.MP4 [original chunk 1 from session 0014]
                263_0014_02.MP4 [original chunk 2 from session 0014]

> Important   Every day, make a backup copy of HD1 itself on your secondary external hard drive (HD2). You can use the synchronisation function of Total Commander or a special tool like SyncToy to backup only new or changed files. Practice this before you go to the field. HD1 and HD2 should always be fully redundant to prevent data loss.

B. Processing the files [only necessary if you need to work on them in the field]

If you want to work with your recordings in the field, the video files have to be processed. The recordings come in a JVC-specific MP4 format and are divided into 14-minute chunks. The *JVC batch converter tool* converts these chunks into a readable format and recombines them to make a long file. You do this session by session. Here's how:

1. Start the *JVC Batch Converter* tool. You will find a shortcut to it on your desktop.
    o *First time only*: tell the JVC batch converter where the output should go. Check the option "Destination Directory" and select a folder for the output files.
    o Suggestion: use *HD1\Video\Working_copies* as the destination directory.
2. Specify the session name. If you have backed up the right way, you have already created session names. See instructions under A above. (Example session name: 20110209_Pounding.)
3. Select the type of output. "Medium size video" is perfect for creating working copies of manageable size.

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[3] The MP4 files all have names like this: 263_**0013**_*01*.mp4, 263_0014_01.mp4, 263_0014_02.mp4. The middle four digits identify **sessions** (0013 and 0014 in this example). The last two digits identify *session chunks* (01 and 02 for the second session in this example). So these three file names represent two sessions, one that consists of one chunk and one that consists of two chunks. The first goes in the 20110204_Compound folder, while the latter two go in the 20110209_Pounding folder to be merged later.

4. Go to your file manager of choice. Drag the MP4 files to be merged (or the session folder containing them) from within your Originals folder onto the "MP4 files" field in the JVC batch converter tool.
5. Click "Start". Now the JVC batch converter will go through the steps indicated on the right to process and concatenate the MP4 files in the order listed. It will create an mpeg and a wav file that ELAN can work with.
   o The concatenating process, especially the re-encoding to medium sized mpeg format, may take quite a long time. Best to do this at the end of the day and to leave it running overnight.
6. That's it! You now have a working copy of your session. If a session consists of more than one 14-minute chunk, these chunks will have been merged. At this point, your file and folder structure should look like this:

HD1
    Video [folder]
        Originals [folder]
            20110209_Pounding [folder]
                263_0001_01.MP4 [original file]
                263_0001_02.MP4 [original file]
        Working_copies [folder]
            20110209_Pounding_720.mpeg [merged video file, ELAN-ready]
            20110209_Pounding.wav [merged audio file, ELAN-ready]

What if I'm on low power?
If you are in a low power situation, concatenating and re-encoding the files to make working copies may take too much time and electricity. In that case, you can use the *FfmpegBatch* tool to make the 14-minute chunks ELAN-ready without merging or re-encoding them. These 14-minute chunks, and your transcriptions, can be merged later when you're back from the field.

What if I use another camera?
The JVC batch converter tool can only process files from the JVC camera. While that should be your main camera in the field, perhaps you use another model as a backup camera. In that case you can use two separate software tools to process and merge the video files: FfmpegBatch and ConcatMpeg. FfmpegBatch takes the MP4 (JVC) or MTS (Canon) video files and turns them into separate video and audio files. ConcatMpeg can merge these video and audio files into working copies of whole sessions. If you use another camera, make sure you can work with these tools before leaving for the field.

III. On reusing SD cards

Unlike DV tapes, you reuse SD cards after you have copied the original files to HD1 (and made a fully redundant backup copy on HD2). Always make sure your source files are in the "*Originals*" folder on HD1. Then you can reformat the SD cards through the camera.

1. Insert the SD cards in the camera, push the MENU button and navigate to MEDIA SETTINGS.
2. There, choose FORMAT and select the slot of the card to be formatted (e.g., SLOT A).
3. In the next menu choose "FILE" (do not format "file + management no."). A warning appears. Select YES to erase all data. Repeat this procedure for any other cards.

Note Never use the format "file + management no." option. This would disrupt the sequential numbering system that will uniquely identify all your sessions. For the same reason, never reformat the SD cards on the computer.

Note You cannot format a card in slot B while the camera is writing to slot A. So always make sure you have two empty cards before starting a session for which you might need both cards.

THE GRAMMAR OF PERCEPTION[4]

Elisabeth Norcliffe, N. J. Enfield, Asifa Majid & Stephen C. Levinson

Project	Categories across Language and Cognition.
Task	Questionnaire for eliciting descriptions of perception events; recording of narratives rich in perception event descriptions.
Goals	Elicit descriptions of perception events in order to establish how meaning is packaged and distributed in this domain, and to identify possible asymmetries in grammatical expression across the sense modalities.
Prerequisites	Basic understanding of grammatical relations and argument structure in the object language.
Outcome	The results of this questionnaire will feed into ongoing work on comparative codability of the senses, and, independently, will form the basis for a comparative multi-authored publication or special issue.

Background

This entry is intended as a companion to previous entries on the Language of Perception project (see Field Manuals 2007 - 2009). The overall aim of the Language of Perception project has been to build a picture of the linguistic codability of perceptual experiences, with the particular goal of documenting the extent and nature of *differential* codability of the senses within and across languages, and to establish what drives such differential coding. To what extent are sensory asymmetries hardwired in our cognitive architecture, and to what extent do they have a cultural basis?

So far we have focused mainly on the level of lexical elaboration in exploring these questions. Here we wish to complement this research by focusing on the grammatical level. In particular, we want to know:

1. How is meaning packaged and distributed in perception event descriptions within and across languages?
2. Do the grammatical resources/constraints available apply differently depending on the sensory modality being described?

The 2008 Field Manual provided a starting point for considering these questions, in the form of a general guide for eliciting cross-linguistically comparable descriptions of the constructions of a language used in describing perceptual events and states (see Enfield and Majid, 2008). This year we continue with this effort, in the form of a translation questionnaire, which provides a more structured framework for data collection. The final section of this entry contains an additional guide for eliciting sensory-rich narratives and conversations, to supplement the questionnaire-based data with data from spontaneous speech.

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[4] Many thanks to Lila San Roque and Lorena Pool Balam for valuable input into the content of this entry. This version is reprinted with minor modification to content from the 2010 Field Manual. The questionnaire remains unchanged.

Perception Verb Questionnaire

Overview

The goal of the questionnaire is to elicit cross-linguistically comparable data on the grammatical strategies used to describe perceptual events and states in your field language. To keep the questionnaire manageable, we focus here on a few core semantic components of perception events, taking typological observations outlined in Viberg (1984, 2001) as our departure point.

Viberg identifies a typologically common tripartite division within the perception verb class. First, he divides the class into two main groups: experiencer-based verbs vs. phenomenon-based verbs. Phenomenon-based verbs select the stimulus as the subject (e.g., *sounds* in *the music sounds loud*). Experiencer-based verbs select the experiencer as the subject, and the stimulus as the object. This class is further divisible into two classes: 'activity' verbs, which denote intentional, controlled activities (e.g., *look, listen*), and 'experience' verbs, which denote non-controlled, automatic processes (e.g., *see, hear*). A 'Viberg Table' for English perception verbs is given below (adapted from Levinson, Majid & Enfield 2007).

English	Activity	Experience	Phenomenon (Source = S)
VISUAL	*look at*	*see*	*(it) looks*
AUDITORY	*listen to*	*hear*	*(it) sounds*
TACTILE	*feel$_3$*	*feel$_1$*	*(it) feels$_2$*
GUSTATORY	*taste$_3$*	*taste$_1$*	*(it) tastes$_2$*
OLFACTORY	*smell$_3$*	*smell$_1$*	*(it) smells$_2$*

Table 1: English verbs of perception

As Viberg observed, many languages lexically conflate perceptual categories, both across the sensory modalities, and also across various combinations of the activity/experience/phenomenon-based classes. In Luo, for example, the verb *winjo* is used for both activity and experience-based auditory perception, and also for experience-based 'feel' (Viberg 1984). The questionnaire will elicit data on such possible lexical conflation patterns in your field language. However, it is designed not just to target lexicalisation patterns, but also the constructional resources available to a given language for distinguishing between meanings, even (or especially) where those differences may not be lexically apparent.

The questionnaire consists of three sections, each focused on a different semantic type of perception event description:

Controlled activities	§1
Non-controlled experiences	§2
Phenomenon-oriented descriptions	§3

It also incorporates several other cross-cutting dimensions which are known to be cross-linguistically variable in terms of their expressability and encoding patterns:

Subtypes of phenomenon-oriented descriptions

Phenomenon-oriented descriptions can be further divided into several types. They may provide an evaluation (positive or negative) of the stimulus object (*the girl looked beautiful, the boy looked ugly*), they may specify information about a property of the stimulus object (*the flower looked red, the music sounded loud*), or they may have an inferential sense, based on evidence acquired through a particular sense modality (*the boy looked tired*, *the wine tasted expensive*). The questionnaire targets evaluative, property-based and inferential phenomenon-oriented descriptions.

Person asymmetries

When a speaker talks about their own perceptual experiences, they are in a position of privileged access: they can assert the truth of such propositions with more certainty and authority than they can when they talk about other people's perceptual experiences. Because of this, first person oriented perceptual reports may attract special morphology or be realised by constructions not available to other person categories. The questionnaire spans first, second and third person reference, across different sentence types (declarative and interrogative), in order to elicit information about possible person asymmetries in the domain of perception.

Knowledge asymmetries are the focus of a separate subproject (see San Roque & Norcliffe, 2010). Data on person asymmetries collected in the Perception Questionnaire can also feed into the Knowledge Asymmetries subproject.

Sense modalities

Finally, each of the dimensions covered in the questionnaire is crossed by modality type (visual, auditory, tactile, gustatory, olfactory), in order to build a picture of where and how asymmetries across the senses are expressed in the grammar of perception.

Guidelines for use

The questionnaire contains a number of short scenarios. The scenarios provide the necessary context for the target sentences, which are printed **in bold.** Participants need only translate the target sentences.

Certain vocabulary items in the questionnaire are culturally specific and should be substituted for whatever is appropriate in your community (in keeping with the basic meaning of the scenario). Be sure to read through the questionnaire in full, and make the appropriate adjustments before commencing data collection with participants.

A set of appendices following the questionnaire contains extra questions. For the most part, these are supplementary scenarios that you might like to try if the scenarios in the main questionnaire get tired, or if the test frames in the main section aren't working in your language.

If possible, try to complete the questionnaire with several participants, so you can check for consistency between speakers. Pay close attention to sections where there seems to be little consistency across speakers (e.g., in terms of lexical items, constructional choice, etc.). If you have time, complete these sections with yet another set of participants, to get an idea of the space of variation.

The Questionnaire

1. Controlled activities

1.1   '*want to know' frames (first person)*
1.1.1   I went for a walk yesterday and saw something in the grass. It was a necklace. I wanted to know if it was valuable. I picked it up **and looked at it**.
1.1.2   My baby brother's heart was beating very fast. I wanted to know if he was sick. I put my head on his chest **and listened to it**.
1.1.3   My brother caught a baby rabbit yesterday and put it in a basket. I wanted to know how soft it was. I reached into the basket and **felt it**.
1.1.4   Yesterday I accidentally left the milk in the sun. I wanted to know if it was still good to drink. I poured some into a cup **and smelled it.**
1.1.5   Yesterday I made a pot of tea for my father. I wanted to know if it was sweet enough. Before I gave it to him, **I tasted it**.

1.2   '*want to know' frames (third person)*
1.2.1   John went for a walk yesterday and saw something in the grass. It was a necklace. He wanted to know if it was valuable. He picked it up **and looked at it**.
1.2.2   Mary's baby brother's heart was beating very fast. She wanted to know if he was sick. She put his head on his chest **and listened to it**.
1.2.3   Mary's brother caught a baby rabbit yesterday and put it in a basket. She wanted to know how soft it was. She reached into the basket and **felt it**.
1.2.4   Yesterday John accidentally left the milk in the sun. He wanted to know if it was still good to drink. He poured some into a cup **and smelled it.**
1.2.5   Yesterday Mary made a pot of tea for her father. She wanted to know if it was sweet enough. Before she gave it to him, **she tasted it**.

[→ Appendix A contains supplementary scenarios for third person agentive perception events, if the above set start to get tired.]

[→ Appendix B contains some additional test frames for eliciting agentive perception verbs if the 'want to know' frame is not suitable in your language.]

2. Non-controlled experiences

2.1   '*Suddenly'-frames; first person statements and second person questions*
2.1.1   My friend and I were sitting by the river when **suddenly I saw a fish in the water**. I asked my friend: **"Did you see the fish?"**
2.1.2   Last night I was almost asleep when **suddenly I heard a scream**. Today I asked my mother: **"Did you hear a scream last night?"**
2.1.3   My sister and I were sitting in the grass. **Suddenly I felt ants on my legs.** I asked my sister: **"Do you feel ants on your legs?"**
2.1.4   I was cooking yesterday with my mother when **suddenly I smelled smoke.** I asked my mother: **"Do you smell smoke?"**
2.1.5   My mother and I were eating soup. **Suddenly I tasted a piece of pepper**. I asked my mother: **"Did you taste pepper in the soup?"**

2.2   '*Suddenly'-frames; third person*

2.2.1   John was sitting by the river when **suddenly he saw a fish in the water**.

2.2.2   Last night John was almost asleep when **suddenly he heard a scream**.

2.2.3   Mary was sitting in the grass when **suddenly she felt ants on her face**.

2.2.4   Mary was cooking yesterday when **suddenly she smelled smoke.**

2.2.5   John was eating a bowl of soup when **suddenly he tasted a piece of pepper**.

[→ Supplementary scenarios, see Appendix C.]

2.4   *Third person questions*

2.4.1   **Did he see the fish?**

2.4.2   **Did he hear the scream last night?**

2.4.3   **Did he feel ants on his legs?**

2.4.4   **Does he smell smoke?**

2.4.5   **Did he taste the pepper in the soup?**

3. Phenomenon-oriented descriptions

3.1   *Positive valence; first person oriented*

3.1.1   I was walking outside at night. There was a full moon in the sky. **It looked very beautiful.**

3.1.2   I went outside today. A bird was singing in the tree. **It sounded very beautiful.**

3.1.3   My mother gave me a new blanket. **It felt very cuddly.**

3.1.4   My mother had cooked a stew. She gave me some. **It smelled delicious.**

3.1.5   My mother had baked some bread. She gave me some. **It tasted delicious.**

3.2   *Positive valence; third person oriented*

3.2.1   John was walking outside at night. There was a full moon in the sky. **It looked very beautiful**.

3.2.2   Mary went outside today. A bird was singing in the tree. **It sounded very beautiful.**

3.2.3   Mary's mother gave her a new blanket. **It felt very cuddly.**

3.2.4   Mary's mother had cooked a stew. She gave some to Mary. **It smelled delicious.**

3.2.5   Mary had baked some bread. She gave some to John to eat. **It tasted delicious.**

[→ see Appendix D for additional scenarios]

3.5   *Negative valence – third person oriented*

3.5.1   There was an old dog in the village. John was scared of him. **He looked very ugly**.

3.5.2   John was at a party. A group of musicians was playing music. **The music sounded terrible.**

3.5.3   John got up in the night to get some water and accidentally stood on a centipede. **It felt horrible** under his bare foot.

3.5.4   John found a dead pig in the forest. It was covered with flies **and smelled disgusting.**

3.5.5   John was making soup. He accidentally put too much salt it in. **It tasted terrible** and he threw it away.

[→ If you are finding interesting and systematic differences between first and third person descriptions, then continue with Appendix E.]

[→ See Appendix F for additional scenarios.]

3.9 *Property – third person oriented*

3.9.1 Mary was sitting by the river. **The water looked very clear**. She could see the stones on the bottom.

3.9.2 John could hear his parents in the room next door. **Their voices sounded very quiet** but he knew they were having an argument.

3.9.3 It was a sunny day and the little girl was playing outside with no shoes on. **The ground felt warm** under her feet.

3.9.4 Mary picked a flower and gave it to John. **It smelled very sweet.**

3.9.5 John was feeling sick. Mary gave him some tea. **It tasted bitter**.

[→Again, if you are finding interesting differences between first and third person descriptions, then continue with appendix G.]

3.11 *Inferential*

3.11.1 When my mother came home this afternoon **she looked sick**. (but she told me later that she felt fine).

3.11.2 This morning I talked with my sister. **She sounded sad** (but she told me later she was fine)

3.11.3 I picked a fruit. **It felt ripe**, so I cut it open (but actually it was still green)

3.11.4 I was thirsty and wanted to drink some water from the river. **It smelled safe** (but actually it made me sick)

3.11.5 I was hungry. I found some bread in the kitchen and I ate it. **It tasted old** (but my mother said that she had baked it this morning).

3.12 *Phenomenon-oriented with overt experiencers*

3.12.1 John and I were arguing about the colour of his shirt. **It looked red to me but John thought it looked orange.**

3.12.2 My sister and I were talking about my aunt. **She looked sick to my sister, but I thought she looked fine.**

3.12.3 My friend and I were talking about the music at the party. **It sounded loud to me but my mother thought it sounded too quiet.**

3.12.4 There was a bird singing outside our house. **It sounded beautiful to my mother but I thought it sounded unpleasant.**

3.12.5 My sister and I were thinking about swimming in the river. We put our feet in the water first because we wanted to know what it felt like. **It felt warm to me but my sister thought it felt cold.**

3.12.6 My friend and I were talking about my new scarf. **It felt very soft to her but I thought it felt scratchy.**

3.12.7 I had just cooked some rice. **It smelled burnt to me but my brother said it smelled good.**

3.12.8 My mother had just cooked some meat. **It smelled delicious to my brother but I thought it smelled yucky.**

3.12.9 My sister and I were eating bread. **It tasted fresh to her but I thought it tasted stale**.

3.12.10 My mother prepared a special tea for my brother and me. **It tasted delicious to me but my brother thought it tasted terrible.**

[→ see Appendix H if your language has polysemous forms that conflate different sense modalities.]

Appendices: Supplementary questions

Appendix A

1.3   '*want to know' frames (third person)*
1.3.1   John accidentally knocked a pot off the table. He wanted to know if it was cracked. He picked it up **and looked at it**.
1.3.2   There was a bird singing outside somewhere. He wanted to find it. John went outside **and listened to it**.
1.3.3   John's mother was weaving cloth. He wanted to know how soft it was. John leaned over and **felt a piece of it**.
1.3.4   John noticed a piece of fruit lying under the table. He wanted to know if it was rotten. He picked it up **and smelled it.**
1.3.5   John was cooking soup. He wanted to know if it needed more salt. **He tasted it**.

Appendix B

1.4   *Imperative frames*
1.4.1   **Look carefully at that pot**. Do you see the crack?
1.4.2   **Listen carefully to the music**. Do you hear the guitar?
1.4.3   **Feel his hand carefully.** Do you know who it is?
1.4.4   **Smell the fruit carefully**. Is it rotten?
1.4.5   **Taste the soup**. Is it too salty?

1.5   *'Persuade' frames*
1.5.1   **John persuaded his friend to look at the pot.**
1.5.2   **John persuaded his friend to listen to the music.**
1.5.3   **John persuaded his friend to feel the baby rabbit.**
1.5.4   **John persuaded his friend to smell the fruit.**
1.5.5   **John persuaded his friend to taste the soup.**

1.6   *Why-frames*
1.6.1   **Why did John look at the pot?** (Because he wanted to know if it was cracked)
1.6.2   **Why did John listen to the bird?** (Because he wanted to know where it was)
1.6.3   **Why did John feel the cloth?** (Because he wanted to know if it was soft)
1.6.4   **Why did John smell the fruit?** (Because he wanted to know if it was rotten)
1.6.5   **Why did John taste the soup?** (Because he wanted to know if it needed more salt)

Appendix C

2.3   *'Suddenly'-frames; third person*
2.3.1   John was walking through the forest. **Suddenly he saw a bright light in the distance**.
2.3.2   John was walking through the forest. **Suddenly he heard a noise in the trees.**
2.3.3   John was walking through the forest. **Suddenly he felt an insect on his arm.**
2.3.4   John was walking through the forest. **Suddenly he smelled smoke.**
2.3.5   John was eating a bowl of soup. **Suddenly he tasted a piece of hot pepper.**

Appendix D

3.3   *Positive valence; first person oriented*
3.3.1   My mother made me a new dress. I tried it on. **It looked very beautiful.**
3.3.2   I was at a party. There were some musicians playing music there. **The music sounded very beautiful.**
3.3.3   My mother had finished making a blanket. I picked it up. **It felt very cuddly.**
3.3.4   Mary had just baked a cake. She gave some to me. **It smelled delicious.**
3.3.5   Mary had just finished cooking soup. She gave some to me. **It tasted delicious.**

3.4	*Positive valence; third person oriented*
3.4.1	Mary made her sister a new dress. She tried it on. **It looked very beautiful.**
3.4.2	Mary was at a party. There were some musicians playing music there. **The music sounded very beautiful.**
3.4.3	Mary had finished making a blanket. John picked it up. **It felt very cuddly.**
3.4.4	Mary had just baked a cake. She gave some to John. **It smelled delicious.**
3.4.5	Mary had just finished cooking soup. She gave some to John to eat. **It tasted delicious.**

Appendix E

3.6	*Negative valence – first person oriented*
3.6.1	There was an old dog in the village. I was scared of him. **He looked very ugly**.
3.6.2	I was at a party. A group of musicians was playing music. **The music sounded terrible.**
3.6.3	I got up in the night to get some water and accidentally stood on a centipede. **It felt horrible** under my bare foot.
3.6.4	I found a dead pig in the forest. It was covered with flies **and smelled disgusting.**
3.6.5	I was making soup. I accidentally put too much salt it in. **It tasted terrible**.

Appendix F

3.7	*Negative valence – first person oriented*
3.7.1	I picked some flowers but accidentally left them in the sun all day. They wilted **and looked very ugly**. I threw them away.
3.7.2	My sister tried to sing for me but she had a sore throat. **She sounded terrible**.
3.7.3	A sick dog walked into our house yesterday. It vomited in our kitchen. I had to clean it up. **It smelled disgusting**.
3.7.4	I found a dead rat in my house. I had to pick it up and throw it outside. **It felt horrible.**
3.7.5	I tried to make bread yesterday. I baked it too long and it burnt. **It tasted terrible** and I had to throw it away.

3.8	*Negative valence – third person oriented*
3.8.1	Mary picked some flowers but accidentally left them in the sun all day. They wilted **and looked very ugly**. She threw them away.
3.8.2	Mary's sister tried to sing for her but she had a sore throat. **She sounded terrible**.
3.8.3	A sick dog walked into Mary's house yesterday. It vomited in the kitchen. She had to clean it up. **It smelled disgusting**.
3.8.4	Mary found a dead rat in her house. She had to pick it up and throw it outside. **It felt horrible.**
3.8.5	Mary tried to make bread yesterday. She baked it too long and it burnt. **It tasted terrible** and she had to throw it away.

Appendix G

3.10	*Property – first person oriented*
3.10.1	Yesterday I walked to the river. **The water looked very clear**. I could see fish under the surface.
3.10.2	My friends were practising a song in front of me. **Their voices sounded very quiet**. I told them to sing louder.
3.10.3	It was very hot today. In the afternoon I sat down outside and took off my shoes. **The ground felt warm under my feet.**
3.10.4	My little sister picked a ripe fruit from the garden and gave it to me. **It smelled very sweet.**
3.10.5	I had a bad cough. The doctor gave me a special herb. **It tasted bitter.**

Appendix H

Contrastive frames to try if your language has polysemous forms conflating different sense modalities:

4.1	*Contrasting modalities (experiencer-based)*

4.1.1	My sister was hiding somewhere outside. **I heard her but I couldn't see her.**
4.1.2	Somebody kicked a ball at me. **I didn't hear it, but I felt it** (it hit me on the head!).
4.1.3	I was sick. My mother put some medicine in my mouth. **I felt it on my tongue but I didn't taste it.**
4.1.4	I was in the forest and knew there was a wild pig close by. **I didn't hear it, but I could smell it.**
4.1.5	My friend asked me if I could smell the pepper in the soup. **I told him I couldn't smell it but I could taste it.**

4.2	*Contrasting modalities (phenomenon-oriented)*
4.2.1	**The woman looked old but she didn't sound old** (e.g., when she spoke).
4.2.3	**The fruit felt ripe but it didn't taste ripe.**
4.2.4	**The vegetable tasted fresh but it didn't feel fresh.**

Perception event descriptions in conversations and narratives

If possible, make some recordings of (free and/or structured) conversations and narratives that are rich in perception event descriptions. These data will be an important supplement to the questionnaire data.

Think about what topics are likely to generate the use of perception event descriptions. Do individuals that you work with have experience with temporary or permanent loss or impairment, or heightening, of a sensory faculty, or are they familiar with people who do? If your language has ideophones, do people make a lot of reference to sensory phenomena when they are describing the meaning and appropriate use of ideophones (see Dingemanse, 2010)?

Below are some suggestions for topics that may generate perceptually rich language, for particular sense modalities.

vision:	hunting, gathering, tracking, getting lost, visiting new places, looking for someone/something, natural disasters
hearing:	making music, listening to music, looking for something/someone, hunting, tracking, story-telling, bird calls, animal noises, natural disasters
touch:	acquiring/making textiles, curing/acquiring leathers/furs, making pottery, being blindfolded/blind
smell:	cooking, plant identification, hunting, gathering, tracking, festivals involving food, special foods, favourite foods
taste:	cooking, plant identification, festivals involving food, special foods, favourite foods, medicines

For more guidelines on how to elicit perception rich language, see "Ethnography of the senses" (Dingemanse, Hill, Majid & Levinson, 2008).

Analysis

With the data collected in the questionnaire and in the conversational/narrative materials we will pursue comparative analysis of the encoding of perception event descriptions, focusing on the grammatical expression of certain key semantic components of these events:

1. Participants
    a. experiencer (Ex)
    b. source (S)

2. Relations
    a. event
    b. sense modality
    c. property of source
    d. evaluation (Ex's attitude to S)

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MAPPING ACROSS SENSES:
TWO CROSS-MODAL ASSOCIATION TASKS

Mark Dingemanse, Tessa van Leeuwen & Asifa Majid

Project	Categories across Language and Cognition.
Task	Test-retest colour associations with (i) tones from a musical scale and (ii) characters from writing systems (if applicable).
Goals	To explore cross-modal mappings in different cultures using field tasks that can be rapidly and easily deployed with many subjects.
Prerequisites	You will need the focal colour card and colour blindness cards; a portable computer to present the stimuli and record the results; the response sheet for data input and playback; and the stimulus items in the folder "stimuli": 15 audio files and two presentations containing characters from the Roman alphabetical writing system..

Background

This entry describes two simple colour association tasks that can be run quickly in the field. The principal aim is to collect data on cross-modal associations. Cross-cultural work on tone-colour and character-colour associations is rare, so this puts fieldworkers in a unique position. If you are able to collect data from many people, you may also be able to identify a possible synaesthete. This would be a major find as no one to date with this condition has been documented in a non-literate community and, in general, little is known about how synaesthesia manifests itself outside of a Western context.

Task 1 involves associating tones with colours. Task 2 involves associating characters from the Roman alphabetical writing system with colours. In both tasks, the response required from participants is to indicate a colour by pointing to a chip on a 84-chip colour card. Piloting in Ghana suggests that adults and kids from the age of 12 upwards (literate as well as non-literate) find it easy to carry out this kind of task, and can do it fast. Although it might seem unusual, we do not require literate participants to do the letter-colour association task. It can work perfectly well with non-literate participants. The letters can simply be treated as shapes and the task is a simple shape-colour association task. Task 1 is obligatory; Task 2 is optional. They can easily be done in the same session. Together the tasks should take around 10-15 minutes.

Note: these tasks were foreshadowed in the previous field manual entry *Synaesthesia: a cross-cultural pilot* (Majid, van Leeuwen & Dingemanse 2009).
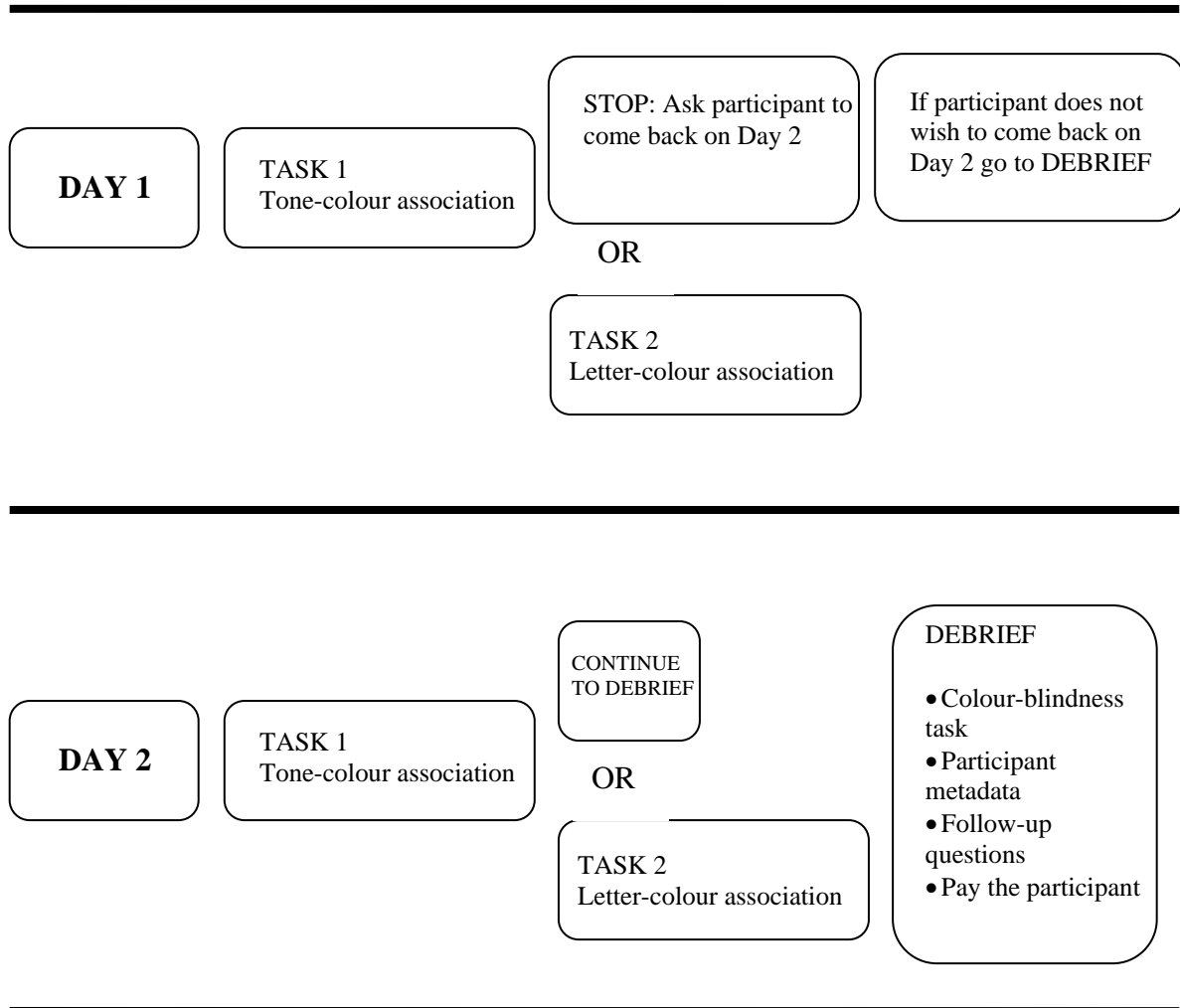
What you need

- Two days on which you can run this task at least 48 hours apart. The main constraint is to ensure that Day 1 participants will be able and willing to return on Day 2.
- Small rewards for every participant (as an incentive for them to come back on Day 2)
- A quiet place where you can administer the task to one person without others interfering (potential future participants should not be allowed to witness the task)
- Table and two chairs

- Focal colour card (84 colour chips on one page)
- Colour blindness cards
- Computer
- Two headphones and an audio splitter

Workflow

This cross-modal association task is simple but consists of a number of small steps. In order to help you keep track of what you need to do, consult this workflow diagram as needed.

DAY 1 → **TASK 1** Tone-colour association → **STOP: Ask participant to come back on Day 2** | **If participant does not wish to come back on Day 2 go to DEBRIEF**

OR

TASK 2 Letter-colour association

DAY 2 → **TASK 1** Tone-colour association → **CONTINUE TO DEBRIEF** | **DEBRIEF**
- Colour-blindness task
- Participant metadata
- Follow-up questions
- Pay the participant

OR

TASK 2 Letter-colour association

Task 1: Tone-colour association

This task is designed to elicit colour associations using a tonal scale of 12 simple tones.

Consultants

Aim to test at least 20 participants.

Stimuli

The stimuli consist of 12 audio files. You can play them directly from within the Excel sheet (cross-modal-colour.xls). There are two different fixed randomised orders, one for Day 1 and one for Day 2. You also need the focal colour card (Majid, 2008).

Procedure

Write down the responses during the session, either in a notebook or directly in the Excel data sheet. You can record the session but it is not necessary.

Consultants should listen to the stimuli over good quality headphones. Do not use the internal speakers of the laptop computer.

Before beginning the task, record the participant's name.

Day 1

Explain that you will be playing them sounds, one by one. Ask them to listen to the sound and then to point to the colour this sound makes them think of. Exemplify the pointing at a specific colour chip on the card. Below are some instructions. Pick the one most appropriate to your fieldsite (and modify as required).

- "Some people think sounds have colour. If you had to choose one colour for this sound, what would it be? Can you point to it."
- "What colour does this sound make you think of?"
- "What colour is this sound like?"

If your language lacks a superordinate term for "colour", then substitute something like "black, white, red". For example, "Some people think sounds are black, white, red..."

Play the first sound from the Day 1 worksheet in Excel. Repeat if the participant requests it. Write down the response according to the coordinates on the colour card, letter first (e.g., "a20"). Continue till you have played all 12 files. After finishing the task with a subject, take some time to write down your impression of the subject's performance (e.g., "takes a lot of time but is very definite", "went way too fast", "hovers over general area then picks specific colour", etc.).

Continue to Task 2. If you cannot or choose not to, then at this point you should conclude the data collection session. Ask the consultant to come back on Day 2 to get a small reward. (If they do not wish to come back, give them the small reward now.)

Day 2

Copy the participant's name from the Day 1 worksheet onto the Day 2 worksheet. Repeat the procedure from above.

Continue to Task 2 or conduct Debriefing now.

Task 2 (optional): Letter-colour association

This task is designed to elicit colour associations using the roman alphabet. If you want to do this task, it is best to do it right after you finish Task 1, while the participant is still with you.

Stimuli

The stimuli consist of characters from the Roman (English) alphabet, presented in randomised order in a PowerPoint presentation (one for each day).

Procedure

Write down the responses during the session, either in a notebook or directly in the Excel data sheet. You can record the session but it is not necessary.

Day 1

Open the file with the Day 1 slides. Explain to the participant that you will be showing letters, one by one. If the person is not literate, then you can tell them you will show them some shapes (instead of letters). Ask them to point to the colour the letter (shape) makes them think of. Exemplify the pointing at a specific colour chip on the card. See above for instructions.

Debrief the participant, telling them they need to come back on Day 2 to get a small reward.

Day 2

Open the file with the Day 2 slides. Repeat the procedure from above.

Show the first letter. Write down the response according to the coordinates on the colour card, letter first (e.g., "a20" — lowercase letter is fine). Continue till you have shown all characters. After finishing the task with a person, write down a quick impression of their performance, as above.

Debriefing

After concluding data collection you must elicit background information from the consultant.

(1) Run the colour blindness task. Guidelines from Majid & Levinson (2007: p23-24):

First, test your consultant for colour-blindness. This is a very simple task. You have 2 colour plates, made up of colour patches of different colours. Place the colour plates around 75 cm away the consultant. Ask the consultant to trace (with their index finger) the winding lines between the two x's. The tracing should be completed within 10 seconds.

Plate 1 (No. 21) – normally sighted trace the orange line but the majority of colour-blind are unable to follow this line. They may follow a different line.
Plate 2 (No. 18) – normally sighted trace the purple and red lines. In protanopia and strong protanomalia only the purple line is traced. In deuteranopia and strong deuteranomalia only the red line is traced.

If your consultant is unable to trace the indicated line, or takes an inordinate amount of time to do so, this may be evidence of colour-blindness. If your participant is colour blind we are still interested in their data!

(2) Elicit participant metadata including name, age, gender, literacy, schooling, linguistic background and musical training.

(3) Follow-up questions: If the participant's performance has been unusual in anyway, ask some additional questions ("Do you see the colours when you hear the sound?" "How do you know this is blue?"). These questions can help understand the performance, and also potentially reveal synaesthetes.

(4) Finally, give the participant a reward (as appropriate to your community – please keep a note of the reward).

Coding and analysis

Code the data using the response sheet supplied. You can record responses while running the task, or note them down and type them in later.

Important Make sure to turn off Excel's *autocomplete* function while recording the colour choices in Excel. (This function may "complete" 'a2' to 'a20' if there is a cell containing 'a20' above, so it could lead to errors.) You only need to do this once. Here's how to do it:

In Excel 2003:
1. Click on Tools > Options to bring up the *Options* dialogue box.
2. Click on the Edit tab.
3. Remove the checkmark from the *Enable Autocomplete for cell values* option box.
4. Click OK. Autocomplete should now be disabled.

In Excel 2007:
1. Click on Office Button > Excel Options to bring up the *Excel Options* dialogue box.
2. Click on the *Advanced* button in the left hand pane.
3. Remove the checkmark from the *Enable Autocomplete for cell values* option box.
4. Click OK. Autocomplete should now be disabled.

Outcomes

The data will be analysed for consistency across stimuli (within and across subjects) and across days (within subjects). The data will speak to published findings on the putative universality of cross-modal associations. A likely outcome is a publication of these findings in a jointly-authored paper. Should a synaesthete be identified in your community, we would tailor specific tests to explore their condition. This is a likely high impact follow-up and would lead to a separate publication.

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EMOTIONAL SOUND SYMBOLISM
Webb Phillips & Asifa Majid

Project	Categories across Language and Cognition.
Task	Participants will generate emotionally positive and negative words and the field researcher will then record a single person speaking these words.
Goals	To investigate the presence of emotionally sound-symbolic speech sounds in non-Indo-European languages.
Prerequisites	To conduct this task you need to translate the elicitation questions into your language of study, and you also need a recording device to capture consultants' responses.

Background

Locke (1690), and later, de Saussure (1916) argued that the connection between sound and meaning is arbitrary. This is a plausible contention. If there were natural associations between sound and meaning, then we would predict that languages would use similar sounds to denote similar meanings. In fact, the languages of the world differ dramatically in sound-meaning correspondences. Despite this, there is some evidence in support of sound symbolism. One of the first to address the issue empirically was Sapir (1929). He hypothesised, contra Locke and de Saussure, that there are universal sound-meaning correspondences — that the relationship between sound and meaning is not always arbitrary. He found that nonwords containing /a/ were taken to refer to larger objects than nonwords containing /i/. It should not be entirely surprising to find that certain communicative acts carry universal meaning. Darwin (1872) found that people from a variety of cultures agreed on the meanings of basic facial expressions of emotion. Ekman and Friesen (1971) replicated and extended Darwin's research, showing that the six basic emotions (anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise) and their expressions are not culture-specific, as had been thought previously (e.g., Mead, 1975), but rather are universal. Sauter and colleagues (Sauter, Eisner, Ekman, & Scott, 2010) have added to the picture by finding evidence that human emotional vocalisations are also recognised cross-culturally. Emotional expressions and vocalisations were likely the primary means of communication for our prelinguistic ancestors. Emotion may, thus, be a hotbed of sound symbolism. Indeed, Auracher et al. (2011) found across German, Russian, Ukrainian, and Mandarin that poems with frequent plosive sounds were rated as more happy, whereas poems with frequent nasal sounds were rated as more sad.

Research question

We have designed a series of experiments to test the hypothesis that certain classes of phonemes that share articulatory features may carry positive or negative emotional valence across languages. It is important to note that the set of speech sounds in each language differs. Thus to be clear, we are not proposing that a specific phoneme carries universal meaning, but rather distinctive features (specific manner or place features, for example) across languages may carry similar meanings. Although there may be specific sound-meaning correspondences for each basic emotion category, we are not focusing on emotion categories, but rather on emotional valence generally (i.e., positive vs. negative emotions).

Materials

The following materials come from the Affective Norms for English Words (ANEW), according to which these are the most positive and negative words in English. Words unlikely to exist in non-Western societies (e.g., christmas, millionaire) are excluded here.

Please translate the following instruction sentence, categories, and examples into your language of study.

"Tell me good and bad words in your language."

Bad
Bad things people do to each other (e.g., kill, torture)
Bad events (e.g., death, earthquake, flood)
Diseases (e.g., cancer, ulcer)
Ways of feeling bad (e.g., fear, sadness)
Bad insects (e.g., maggot, mosquito)
Bad people (e.g., murderer)
Bad qualities in a person (e.g., gloom, failure)
Disgusting substances (e.g., excrement, rotten food)
Other bad things (e.g., poison, poverty)

Good
Good places (e.g., paradise, waterfall, beach)
Ways of feeling good (e.g., happy, pleasure)
Good people (e.g., mother, baby, friend)
Good qualities in a person (e.g., friendly, lucky, beauty)
Good events (e.g., sunrise, wedding)
Good things to do (e.g., give a gift, help someone)
Good food (e.g., fruit, delicious)
Successes (e.g., triumphant, win, victory)
Other good things (e.g., rainbow, music)

Task

Ask several consultants (minimum 2, maximum 7) individually to generate good and bad (i.e., emotionally positive and emotionally negative) words. Assist the consultants using the provided categories and examples. Tell each consultant the emotional valence (e.g., bad), the category (e.g., bad things people do to each other), and list the examples of each category, where provided. Try to obtain 2-4 words per category, and then move on to the next category. For the categories "Other bad things" and "Other good things," try to collect 5-10 words each.

Start by saying (in your language of study): "Tell me good and bad words in your language. Let's start with bad things people do to each other: 'kill,' 'torture,' and any other words like that… Now let's move on to bad events: 'death,' 'earthquake,' 'flood,' and other words like that…" and so on for all the categories and examples.

Aim to collect at least 20 positive and 20 negative words from each participant. Once you have data from all consultants, select a single male consultant to record all of the words generated by all of the consultants, with a pause between each word.

Analysis

After data collection is complete, for each response, please write down the word that was spoken in the standard orthography, provide a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, an English translation of the word, and a close transcription in IPA. Additionally, make a note of the origin of any known or suspected loanwords. Once you submit this information and your recordings, we plan to (1) determine whether certain features are more likely to occur in emotionally positive or negative words than would be predicted by chance, and (2) play the words for Dutch speakers to test whether they can correctly identify the words as emotionally negative or positive.

Outcome

Depending on the outcome of the study, a jointly authored publication is possible.

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LANDSCAPE TERMS AND PLACE NAMES QUESTIONNAIRE[5]

Jürgen Bohnemeyer, Niclas Burenhult, N. J. Enfield & Stephen C. Levinson

Projects	Categories across Language and Cognition, Interactional Foundations of Language.
Task	Checklist/elicitation guide.
Goals	The landscape subproject is concerned with the interrelation between language, cognition and geography. Specifically, it investigates issues relating to how landforms are categorised cross-linguistically as well as the characteristics of place naming.

Background

Landscape terms reflect the relationship between geographic reality and human cognition. Smith and Mark (2001, 2003) explore universals in the ontology underlying landscape terms. Are 'mountains', 'rivers, 'lakes' and the like universally recognised in languages as naturally salient objects to be named? Smith and Mark have conducted cross-linguistic elicitation in European languages which suggested strong universal conceptualisations of landscape features. However, recent work by Mark and Turk (ms) on landscape categorisation in Yindjibarndi (northwestern Australia) points to considerable cross-cultural variation.

Place names (or toponyms) are at the intersection of spatial language, culture, and cognition. They provide a way to refer to space by naming the places referred to, rather than the objects or people that occur at the places. Presumably, places referred to by toponyms are places that play a marked role in the life of the language community. Thus the toponyms of a language community embody a knowledge structure that figures prominently in the spatial conceptualisation of the community's environment. At the same time, the way reference to places is distinguished from reference to objects, animals, or people *at* places is an important piece in the puzzle of the 'natural language metaphysics' that underlies spatial reference and conceptualisation in the language under study.

Our preliminary work on landscape terms and place names within this topic of 'Space' has revealed surprising differences in conceptualisation and categorisation of landforms, and it has raised interesting issues on the relationship between landscape categories and place names. The topic is also of central interest because it integrates into several of our fields of research, e.g., frames of reference, demonstratives, the human body, motion events, topological relations, gesture, interaction etc.

Research question

This questionnaire is designed to elicit basic information as to the linguistic characteristics of two aspects of geography: landscape categorisation and place naming.

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[5] This is a revised version of the 'Landscape terms and place names questionnaire' of the MPI Field Manual 2003. The questions relating to place names have in turn been largely extracted from Jürgen Bohnemeyer's 'Toponym Questionnaire' of the 2001 field manual. We refer to that questionnaire for the full background, motivation and examples relating to these questions.

The following over-arching research questions apply to landscape categorisation: How is landscape divided into categories, and how are categories named? Are there cross-linguistic differences in how landscape is divided into such categories? Do referents of landscape terms have well-defined boundaries or not? Which are the main determinants of landscape categorisation: physical environment, subsistence mode, other cultural factors? The answers to the questionnaire should first and foremost determine the basic semantic properties of landscape terms; however, issues relating to their structural properties are also relevant insofar as these are helpful in analysing semantic properties.

The following overarching questions apply to place names: How do we formally identify place names in the research language (i.e., according to structural criteria)? What places are place names employed to refer to (e.g., human settlements, landscape sites)? How are places semantically construed for this purpose? The answers to the questionnaire should determine the basic formal and semantic properties of place names and thus lay the ground work for further research on discourse about places.

Finally, the relation between place names and landscape terms needs to be investigated since this relation may not be simple. For example, there is evidence that in some languages the referents of place names are entirely different from those of landscape terms.

Task

The task is to be regarded as a checklist or elicitation guide. The idea is to make sure you have a comprehensive answer to each of the questions in the questionnaire. The questionnaire does not detail a general methodology for obtaining answers. You are likely to have answers to several of the questions in your existing database. For further probing, classical elicitation/interviewing (*in situ* or from photos) is recommended (three consultants). Further suggestions as to elicitation techniques (e.g., director-matcher tasks) are given in the questionnaire. If you elicit answers, you may directly transcribe the response, but recording of elicitation on video is preferable. If you are unable to run the whole questionnaire, detailed information on any subset of questions would still be of great interest.

Landscape terms

The following points are designed to help you elicit basic information about landscape terms in your research language. Elicitation can take the form of interviewing, preferably during 'fieldwalking'. In order to spur spontaneous discourse about landscape categories in a controlled setting, you may also want to try a director-matcher game with photos of various features of local geography.

(a) <u>Local geography</u>:
- Try to get an idea of the features of the local geography of your fieldsite and consider suitable scientific terminology to describe them. A useful geographical dictionary is available online at The Geography Portal:

  http://www.kesgrave.suffolk.sch.uk/learningzone/subjects/geography/diction.html

(Note that colloquial English is sometimes likely to be insufficient as metalanguage; technical terms are more precise).

(b) <u>Basic landscape categories</u>:
- Which are the landscape terms in the language? You are likely to have documented much of this vocabulary already, but try to expand it and make it as exhaustive as possible. Which are their structural characteristics? For example, are they basic (monomorphemic, unanalysable, simplex etc.) or derived in some way?
- What do these landscape terms really denote? Try to define the meaning of terms in as much detail as possible. Can speakers elaborate on the extent/delimitation of entities denoted by landscape terms? Be careful to probe if size, shape, colour or any other characteristics of landscape entities are encoded in categories. Ask consultants to describe and delimit geographical features *in situ* and/or from photos. It may be a good idea to ask several consultants to define/delimit the same individual landscape feature (e.g., a particular mountain), and also to compare different individuals of a particular feature.
- Semantic specifications are often *anthropocentric*. Since linguistic meanings reflect people's ways of thinking and speaking, it is no surprise that meanings of landscape terms may refer not only to inherent physical features of referents, but also to distinctions in how people can and/or typically do interact with those referents. The physical characteristics of landscape features determine their *affordances* for humans, and these affordances are possible candidates for semantic encoding in expressions referring to these features. Consider types of water feature (*lake, pond, stream, creek*). Some may afford boating, swimming, particular methods of fishing, while others may not. Some types of sloped land may afford certain methods of agriculture and not other methods. Consider different forest types. Some may afford unhindered passage on foot, while others may not. Some may yield certain types of forest food (mushrooms, grubs, roots), while others afford different types. Some landscape features may be defined by their distance from a person when visible (e.g., a *mountain* can be seen from more than a day's walk away, while perhaps a *hill* cannot). When thinking about the semantics of landscape terms, try to think not just about the inherent properties of the landscape features, but also about what these features mean for the ways in which people interact with, talk about, and conceive of them.

(c) <u>Subcategorisation</u>:
- Do landscape categories display subcategorisation, i.e., is the landscape lexicon hierarchical? If so, which is the linguistic evidence for such hierarchy? Describe the referential details of any such subcategories. Is it possible to distinguish several levels of categorisation? What strategies does your language use to create partonymic and taxonomic relationships within the landscape lexicon, if any? Is metaphor employed, for example (cf. English 'river mouth', 'foot hills')? If so, from which domains are metaphors drawn (body, kinship etc.)?

Place names

Here the task involves the compilation of an inventory of place names and a linguistic analysis of them according to the points set out in (a)-(c), below. Try to obtain information from several native speakers. Also, try to document the broader cultural significance of places denoted by place names by recording stories associated with them. Finally, if possible, document sites with whatever means are at your disposal: photographically, on video, and/or with a GPS (Global Positioning System) device.

(a) <u>The structural characteristics of place names:</u>
- Phonological aspects: do place names behave like other classes with respect to phonological characteristics or are they aberrant in some way (possibly reflecting conservatism, substrate influence, borrowing, etc.)?
- Morphological aspects: do place names have morphological properties that allow them to be identified as a form class? And are there affixes or morphological processes that occur only in/with place names? Are place names simple terms or binomials or both?
- Syntactic aspects: What is the maximal projection of place names? Determiner phrases, noun phrases, or other? Does this differ across subclasses of place names? If so, what is the distribution? Do place names take attributes? Can they occur in the predication base or subject of non-locative predicates? Is there any difference in the range of topological or path relators (case markers, adpositions, relational nouns) that combine with place names as opposed to other nouns in the language?

(b) <u>The semantics of place names:</u>
- Lexical aspects: What kinds of entities have place names?
- Referential/denotational aspects: How is the place denoted by a place name defined in relation to the physical entity that occupies this place? Are they exactly coextensive? Do people have clear intuitions about this? Are boundaries between named places sharp or fuzzy? Are referents of place names entirely different from those of landscape terms? What is the density of place names?
- Is there any evidence of hierarchical organisation of place names (so that X is considered a subpart of Y, which in turn is seen as a subpart of Z)?

(c) <u>Other issues:</u>
- Etymology: What is the origin of place names? Do they show an internal structure that reveals a naming strategy? How transparent are they?
- Sociolinguistics: What is the distribution of indigenous and non-indigenous place names in sociolinguistic terms? How are recently founded settlements named? Do non-indigenous place names have the same formal and semantic properties as indigenous place names? Does it occur exceptionally/occasionally/frequently that the same place has different names in different languages? In case it does happen, do different place names referring to the same place have exactly the same reference? Are indigenous place names borrowed into contact languages? In case this does happen, do the borrowed place names always have exactly the same reference?

Outcome

The intended result that we are hoping to obtain from each researcher has the format of a concise descriptive report based on the points (or any subset of them) given in the questionnaire. Comprehensive lists of the landscape terms and place names that your analysis is based on should be included. For examples of landscape reports which are already available, contact Niclas Burenhult (Jahai) and Stephen Levinson (Yélî Dnye). The results will be compared and discussed within the Landscape subproject.

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LINEARISATION IN NARRATIVES

Gunter Senft

Project	Categories across Language and Cognition.
Task	Collect narratives that are told in your speech community and, in addition, elicit narratives with pictures that first need to be sorted before the story depicted can be told.
Goals	The goal of this task is to find general as well as culture and/or language specific linearisation strategies in narratives.
Prerequisites	Video-camera, 4 wordless pictures each for six "Sir James" Stories.

Background

There is quite a lot of research done on linearisation and segmentation in discourse and in a number of text categories, for example, fund raising letters, medical documents, scientific explanations, and so on (see, e.g., Degand, Fabricius-Hansen & Ramm 2009 and the RST bibliography on the Rhetorical Structure Theory website[6]). Moreover, the topic of linearisation is also central for research in conversation analysis, although the term itself is not used (see, e.g., Jefferson, 1978). But what about culture-specific linearisation schemata that underlie narratives?

Narratives are conventionalised stories that tell fictional or non-fictional events of one or more protagonists. They are created in a special format and are told for an audience in a specific way, often by one narrator in a monologue, but also by more than one narrator—in the latter case in a joint venture kind of dialogue which may even involve the audience. The aim of narrating a story can be manifold, but most narrators aim to entertain and/or to educate their audience.

Research on narratives by Colby (1973), van Dijk (1977), Kintsch and Green (1978) and more recently Klapproth (2004; see also Senft, 2006) has shown that we can identify culture-specific schemata that underlie stories in different languages and cultures. Based on the tradition of schema theory (developed by Bartlett, 1932) and notions like "plans" (see Miller et al., 1960), "frames" (see Goffman, 1974; Tannen, 1979; van Dijk, 1977) and "scripts" that are understood as standard stereotypical event sequences (see Schank, 1975; Schank and Abelson, 1977a,b), this cross-linguistic/cross-cultural project will analyse the macrostructures of narratives (see Senft, 1992:414-419; Senft, 2010:145-147, 260-262) that can be detected not only across different languages but also within different narrative genres within languages (see Senft, 2010).

This subproject combines our interest in the interface between language and cognition with our more general cultural anthropological interests, because—as Klapproth (2004:404) rightly points out—"[t]o have a story is to have a world". Analyses of narratives—be it fairy tales, myths and other text sorts of this kind—will reveal not only general language- and culture-specific linearisation strategies but also provide an insight into what rhetorical

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[6] Rhetorical Structure Theory website: http://www.sfu.ca/rst.

devices (like flashbacks, foreshadowing and reference to geographic landmarks) story tellers use in and for their planning and ordering of the parts or episodes of their narratives. This project will concentrate on narratives that tell fictional events, but the documentation of stories where narrators report non-fictional events is not categorically excluded.

General research questions pursued with this project are: How do speakers of a language linearise narratives? Do they differentiate different forms or genres of narrative and do they metalinguistically label these text categories? If genres of narratives are differentiated, are these specific text categories linearised in a specific way or is it possible to isolate general linearisation strategies that hold for all kinds of narratives? Which linearisation strategies in narratives are language and culture-specific? If we compare narratives told in different languages and cultures, do we find linearisation strategies which are used despite the fact that these languages are unrelated with and different from each other? What rhetorical devices are used in and for their planning and ordering of the parts or episodes of their narratives? Are these rhetorical devices language and culture specific or not?

Tasks

The following tasks are only well suited for researchers working in communities where narratives are told as a linguistic and cultural practice. So please check whether narratives are told in your language community and find out how they are told.

There are two tasks: an open form of data collection and a controlled form of data collection. These tasks should be done on different occasions, not one after the other.

Open data collection

Collect narratives (at least 6 to 10; more if possible) and audio- and video-record the narrator(s). Make sure that there is an audience of native speakers who listen to the narrative. Depending on how long the narration is, ask narrators the following questions, either directly after they have told the story or some time later (as a rule of thumb a session with one consultant or a joint session with more consultants who narrate one story should not be longer than an hour):

– What is the title of this narrative?
– Why did you select this particular story from other possible stories you know?
– Where did you hear this story or who told you the story? Were you explicitly asked to memorise the story? If not, why did you memorise this story?
– Is this story still told to children? Are children eager to hear such stories, do they care about them or are they no longer interested in hearing them? If so, why?
– What do people think about this story? Is there a moral or a specific "message" that goes with it? Is it assumed to be educational?
– Are there personal property rights (or clan-rights, etc.) that go with this story? Can other people also tell this story?
– Are there different versions/parts of this story?
– What about the social status of people who can narrate this story? Stories in general?
– Is there a general name for this kind of narrative and are there other narrative forms that have different names? Are there narratives that are thought to be more important than others? The one s/he just told?

The answer to these questions should provide information about indigenous narrative text categories and possible metalinguistic labels for these genres, like story, joke, myth, etc.

Controlled elicitation of narratives

Using a series of four wordless pictures (see "Stimulus" below) and inspired by the work like that of Berman and Slobin (1994), the more controlled elicitation of stories aims to find out whether speakers of different languages recognise a plot structure in these pictures and if so, how they relate the events with each other, whether speakers of different languages tell the plot of these stories in different ways using different linearisation strategies and different narrative perspectives, or whether speakers of different languages use similar or at least comparable linearisation strategies in telling the stories depicted in the pictures.

Stimulus

The stimuli consist of six short stories taken from the "Der kleine Herr Jakob" ("Sir James") picture stories (Press 1997). Each of the stories consists of four pictures.

The following (relatively culture-neutral) stories were selected:

No. 1   Sir James, his neighbour and the apple tree
No. 5   Sir James and the proud fisherman
No 9   Sir James and the big parasol
No. 23   Sir James and the goat
No. 37   Sir James and his neighbour cut down trees
No. 38   Sir James's adventure with his big dog on a lake.

Procedure

Put the four pictures for the six stories in front of the consultant in the following order:

No. 1:	4	1	3	2
No. 5:	1	4	2	3
No. 9:	2	1	4	3
No. 23:	2	4	3	1
No. 37:	3	2	1	4
No. 38:	3	1	4	2

Ask the consultant to order the pictures so that they tell a story and then ask him or her to tell this story.

Another important step in the process will be for the researcher to arrange an audience for the story. Control that members of the audience are not among your future consultants.

Instruction

As the instruction for the consultant please use an equivalent of the following formulation in your language:

> Look, here are four pictures. Use them to create a story that tells what happens here. You can order them so that they tell something that happened to the little man. Please order the pictures and then tell the story.

Consultants

Try to work with as many consultants as possible (at least 8, but researchers may wish to work with more), male and female, young and old. This more controlled way of data elicitation should be done after the open data collection of narratives is finished. The open data collection of narratives is more important for the aims of this task than the controlled elicitation of stories. Nevertheless, ideally consultants who told narratives in the open elicitation should also participate in this form of data elicitation.

Camera position

Make sure that the video-camera is positioned in such a way that it captures the pictures and the narrator—and, if possible, also part of the audience. It must be possible to check the order of the pictures on the film.

Analyses

Data will be transcribed, glossed and analysed following the proposals provided by van Dijk (1977, especially pp. 23ff), Kintsch (1977), Schank and Abelson (1977a&b) and Senft (1992; 2010), who describe how to isolate the macrostructure of stories (i.e., their plots or plans and how to zoom in from these macrostructures on their more detailed scripts).

Outcome

The project will provide answers to the research questions mentioned in the paragraph about the background of the project. Participants in this task will meet regularly to discuss their data and their analyses. The project aims for a joint publication of the cross-linguistic/cross cultural results of the data analyses.

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BUILDING A CORPUS OF SPONTANEOUS INTERACTION[7]

N. J. Enfield, Kobin H. Kendrick, J. P. de Ruiter, Tanya Stivers & Stephen C. Levinson

Project	Interactional Foundations of Language, Categories across Language and Cognition.
Task	Collect high quality video recordings of spontaneous, naturally-occurring interaction for transcription.
Goal of task	To acquire a corpus of video data, for investigating the underlying structure(s) of interaction cross-linguistically and cross-culturally.
Prerequisites	Access to, and familiarity with, informal settings for conversation in a speech community; good command of the language, access to consultants to help with transcription and translation of recordings.
Outcome	Many of the research activities of the Interaction project depend on having an extensive and varied corpus of social interaction in your language. This task is an important prerequisite to the major comparative projects being undertaken in coming years.

Background

Research on video and audio recordings of spontaneous naturally-occurring conversation in English has shown that conversation is a rule-guided, practice-oriented domain that can be investigated for its underlying mechanics or structure (for overviews see Levinson, 1983; Heritage, 1984; Sidnell, 2010). Systematic study could yield something like a grammar for conversation. Over the past 40 years, a variety of practices and structures have been identified, including the following:

1) A system for TURN TAKING in conversation (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) has held up to moderate cross-linguistic investigation.

2) A description of SEQUENCE ORGANISATION in conversation has proven critical in identifying alternative organisations of overall structure in conversation (e.g., story telling) and in other speech exchange systems (e.g., news interviews or teacher-student encounters) (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2007).

3) An outline of REPAIR in English has identified practices for managing problems of speaking, hearing, and understanding in conversation (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 1992).

4) A description of STRUCTURAL PREFERENCE has shown how the design of a turn can facilitate a particular response such as a "yes" (e.g., "Are you going to the party?") or a "no" (e.g., You're not going?") (Sacks, 1973; Heritage, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984; Raymond, 2003). This has provided insight into how interaction is fundamentally organised, and also has been utilised in applied situations such as when communication fails to work well in a medical consultation.

Much existing research has relied on telephone calls between English-speaking participants. This project seeks to address two primary gaps in current research:

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[7] This revised version supersedes all previous versions (e.g., Field Manual 2010).

1) Social interaction primarily occurs, and is arguably designed for, face-to-face contexts where people have visual access to each other's behaviour, and to the common environment. Video recordings of face-to-face interaction provide access to the multimodal aspects of communication which play a role in any ongoing interaction (and hence in any interactional/linguistic practice).

2) Principles outlined in social interaction research to date have been claimed to apply universally. For example, the Sacks et al. (1974) model of turn-taking has been assumed, until proven otherwise, to operate in all languages and cultures. When languages other than English have been investigated, they have tended to be other European languages. This project aims to investigate structural properties of language use in typologically, areally and genetically diverse languages.

Research questions

What are the principles that underlie the structure of social interaction? Are these principles the same cross-linguistically/cross-culturally?

Task

The task includes two phases: first, the field researcher records episodes of spontaneous interaction and then, second, works with consultants to transcribe it.

Recording

Field researchers are asked to video-record a range of different "maximally informal speech events" involving a range of different participants. Maximal informality is defined as the situation in which the fewest structural constraints on interaction apply. This generalisation is meant to discriminate a maximally informal "genre" from explicitly restrictive environments such as ceremonies, speeches, trials, interviews, requested story tellings, etc. The equivalent of "hanging out", "gossiping", "chatting", or "doing nothing" would qualify. More informal situations might be identifiable in terms of *activities*: casual conversation has no explicit pre-determined goals, is often embedded in other activities (like peeling potatoes), is what you do while waiting to do something more important, and doesn't need elaborate initiation or termination. One could also use the *participants* as a clue: e.g., the kind of verbal activity characterising same-sex teenagers of the same hamlet in an idle moment. In particular, the following tend to apply in the kinds of situations we are after:

a) who the participants are is not pre-determined
b) the dialect or register is not pre-set to be formal
c) the order of taking turns at talking is not pre-allocated
d) what can be said is not pre-determined (e.g., unlike in a marriage ceremony)
e) where and how the participants are spatially positioned is not pre-determined

Note that the most informal situations are not necessarily the most frequently observed. The researcher is not always party to private activities, and may only see more formal ones. Also note (important!), constraints on interaction are never fully absent – we are looking for the *relatively* least constrained speech situation.

These recordings do not have to be very long (5-10 minutes is often enough). Ideally 10 recordings of 10-30 minutes in length involving 2-5 participants per interaction would suffice for an initial corpus from which to draw data for sub-projects.

Conversation is difficult to transcribe and understand, so you need to work with the best quality data possible. It is not easy to collect good quality interactional data. Do not expect that you will succeed in any given attempt to make a recording of interaction. You should expect all sorts of interruptions, technical and other unforeseen problems to thwart your attempts to record, and you may be unable to use many of the recordings you make. If you expect to meet these difficulties then you can aim to record as much material as you can, which will allow you to discard the low quality material, and pick the best material to work with.

A note on visual quality: Please read the instructions for video-recording at the beginning of this manual, and please pay special attention to exposure and to composition of the frame. By 'exposure' we mean getting the settings right for the level of lighting available. Try to avoid situations in which speakers are in dark areas where the background is bright. If you must film in such a situation, make sure you set the 'backlight' option on the camera. By 'composition of the frame', we mean getting certain things in the shot. Do not film close-up shots, as you will miss a lot of important information. People's whole bodies are important in interaction, especially their hands and arms. You will therefore have to leave enough space in the frame for large/wide gestures not to be cut off. Also, you should try to keep all participants in the shot, even when they are not talking. It is best if you can have the camera set up on a tripod, but if you need to film hand-held, that's okay too. Just be very careful to keep the camera as steady as humanly possible (e.g., by propping yourself against a post or wall if one is handy). Also, after you have set the frame composition, you should avoid using the 'zoom' at all costs. If you are interested in looking at eye gaze, we recommend you use more than one camera, one facing toward each of the participants.

Transcription

Once you have made some recordings, you will need to select sections which are of good quality (i.e., in both audio and visual quality) and work with consultants to transcribe the linguistic material in detail. Rather than transcribe one long recording, you may wish to begin with shorter segments from multiple recordings. Six 10-minute segments from six different conversations will be more useful in IFL subprojects than a single 60-minute segment. For transcription we recommend that you use Elan, if possible. A template with predefined annotation tiers and linguistic types is available on the IFL website.[8] For convenience, you may wish to do the transcription using the audio signal only – that is, by first exporting the audio from the video file. Note that if you are interested in one phenomenon in particular (e.g., repair), you might search the video data for instances and transcribe just those sequences of talk, including any possibly relevant talk before and after the target item. Most importantly with the transcription is to capture as many details of what is said as possible, including glottal cut offs, stretching of sounds, or other types of hesitations and perturbations, and changes in pronunciation or syntax. When working with consultants be sure that they do not "fix" ungrammatical or odd sounding turns but assist with capturing all details of the talk as produced.

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[8] http://www.mpi.nl/research/research-projects/interactional-foundations-of-language/tools

Analysis

The data that you collect and transcribe will be used to investigate interactional practices as linguistic systems from a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective. In the coming years, IFL subprojects will investigate a wide range of domains: other-initiated repair, place reference, requests and recruitments, timing and turn-taking, action formation and ascription, and perception.

Although each subproject will specify its own requirements, many IFL subprojects build on the methods of conversation analysis. A general overview of conversation-analytic methods can be found in Sidnell (2010:20-35) and more in-depth discussions in Schegloff (1996, 1997).

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METALANGUAGE FOR SPEECH ACTS[9]

N. J. Enfield & Stephen C. Levinson

Project	Interactional Foundations of Language, Categories across Language and Cognition.
Task	Collection of vocabulary in the domain of 'speech acts' and related social actions, analysis of their semantics and grammar.
Goals	To establish a basis for cross-linguistic comparison of native metalanguages for social action.

Background

People of all cultures have some degree of concern with categorising types of communicative social action. All languages will have words with meanings like *speak, say, talk, complain, curse, promise, accuse, nod, wink*, *point* and *chant*. But the exact distinctions they make will differ in both quantity and quality. How is communicative social action categorised across languages and cultures?

Such vocabulary constitutes a native metalanguage for communication. In societies with a literary tradition, such a metalanguage will be highly developed. Even in cultures without written language, metalanguages can be quite highly developed, for example in the area of genres or affective qualities (see e.g., Stross 1974, on Tzeltal, or Senft, in press, on Kilivila).

Many social actions have common names: *complaint*, *request*, *offer*, *confirmation. promise*. Sometimes when we are analysing social action we are in fact analysing the semantics of words like these. But if we are looking for universals in social action formulation, we cannot presuppose that words from one language – like *complaint* or *offer* – will have exact equivalents in another language. As part of a general goal to tease apart what is universal and what is culture-specific in the design of social action, it is useful to have a comparative grip on the native terminology for social actions. The aim of this task is to inventory the native terminology for communicative or social actions, done by speaking, or by complementary or equivalent moves in gesture – speech acts in effect. Speech acts are by definition actions that are done just by speaking the words (there may be non-verbal alternatives too, like offering someone a cigarette by passing him one).

In investigating the domain of native terminology for acts of speaking, try to think as broadly as you can. A somewhat formally constrained set is 'explicit performatives' (Austin 1962), like *promise*, *bet*, *order*, which by virtue of their very usage (under the proper conditions) actually constitute the act they name. (E.g., *I hereby christen this ship The Queen Mary*, or *I bet you sixpence it will rain tomorrow*.) A broader category encompasses any kind of descriptive terminology for acts of speaking. Wierzbicka (1987) describes around 300 verbs in English: *command*, *contradict*, *swear*, *admit*, *greet*, *testify*, *lecture*, *retort*, among a few hundred more. Stross (1974) lists over 400 Tzeltal expressions relating to speech and speech events. This broader category of descriptive terms for speech acts constitutes a kind of native metalinguistics (or at least metapragmatics). Note that this includes everyday terms like *say*,

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[9] This version is reprinted from the 2010 Field Manual.

speak, *tell*, and *ask*. Different languages carve up this space differently. For instance, while English uses *ask* both for questions (*He asked me the time*) and requests *(He asked me to pass the salt)*, Lao distinguishes these lexically (*thaam3* 'ask (someone a question)' versus *khòò3* 'ask (someone **for** something)').

For those carrying out the 'Social action formulation 10-minutes task', you will anyway be discussing different social actions with your language consultants, in their own language. Note down these native terms, and spend time with consultants figuring out what these mean. Assume they are different in meaning to their apparent equivalents in English, and try to figure out what the differences are. For those who are not working with conversational data, you will anyway have textual materials, perhaps with quoted conversation, and you should be able to use the same procedure there.

Methods

Lexicon based

Search your lexicon of the language for speech-act related terms in the English glosses. Interview consultants about these terms and their exact application. For example, if you have a gloss 'to ask', make sure you know which sense of English *ask* is relevant – to ask a question, vs. to ask for a favour. You are bound to have several terms of the 'say', 'tell', 'narrate' family – make sure you understand the differences, their argument structure ('say' might be transitive, 'speak' intransitive, etc.), and have some good examples of use. Try to generate more such terms, and build as exhaustive a list as you can.

Notions, verbal or nominal, to check include:

- asking questions, asking permission, asking for favours
- requesting, demanding, begging
- promising, threatening to do something, swearing to do something, offering, warning
- blessing, cursing
- greeting, parting
- thanking, apologising
- betting
- objecting
- asserting, telling, relaying, reporting
- gossiping, lying, joking, complaining, quarrelling
- chanting, incantations, divining
- proverbs, sayings, expressions
- etc.!

Add to this list according to local interests – perhaps there are special words (e.g., verbs) for uttering spells, using proverbs, damning trespassers, etc.

Also investigate terms for gestures and facial expressions:

- waving and other greeting forms (head toss, bow)
- beckoning
- smiling, frowning
- pointing
- nodding

–   etc.!

Check whether these words can be used to (a) describe an action in e.g., a text you have collected, (b) whether they can be used in a 1st person, present indicative frame to *do* the action in question, just by virtue of what is said (cf. English *I hereby christen this ship Queen Mary* versus **I hereby say hello*).

Theory based

Searle suggests that there are just 5 major classes of actions that can be done just by speaking:

1. *Representatives* which commit the speaker to the truth of what is said (asserting, swearing, etc.)
2. *Directives* in which the speaker tries to get the addressee to do something (requesting, questioning, etc.)
3. *Commissives*, in which the speaker commits to a future course of action (promises, threats, offers)
4. *Expressives* which express a psychological state, like thanking, apologising, congratulating
5. *Declarations* which effect changes in the social world thanks to an institution that gives them force, like declaring guilty, christening, cursing.

These categories may serve to guide your exploration of finer lexical distinctions discussed in section 1.

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