Data collection methods in field-based LDD

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Structure of the talk

- The role of data in language documentation and description
- Three paradoxes of LDD
- Different data and different methods for linguistically and situationally balanced corpus:
  - Cyclic corpus design
  - Different types of communicative events
  - Awareness of non-linguistic aspects of communicative events
- A set of principles for linguistic data collection in LDD
The role of data in LDD
Documentation = a large, annotated corpus

Corpus (Himmelmann 1998)

- Elicitations: Paradigms, wordlists, results of tests...
- Observed communicative events: Conversation, narratives, folk stories, proverbs...
- Staged communicative events: Descriptions of picture and video stimuli, games...
Data types in the corpus

- **Video, audio and image data**
  - Speech in cultural context

- **Written data**
  - Transcription, annotation and analysis of data, ‘born written’ data

- **Metadata**
  - Information about the content, format and structure of data
Description vs. documentation

“For description, the main concern is the production of grammars and dictionaries whose primary audience are linguists... In these products language data serves essentially as exemplification and support for the linguist’s analysis.” (Austin 2006: 87)

[... ] Language documentation, on the other hand, places data at the center of its concerns.” (Austin 2006: 87)
But exactly what data?

“A language documentation [...] conceived of as a lasting, multipurpose record of a language [...] should contain a large set of primary data which provide evidence for the language(s) used at a given time in a given community” (Himmelmann 2006: 7)

“The main goal of a language documentation is to make primary data available for a broad group of users.” (Himmelmann 2006: 15)

Which community/ies?

Which language/s?

Which audience(s)?
Homogeneity vs. heterogeneity

Do we aim at a monolithic record or the production, transmission, maintenance and change of linguistic and cultural behaviour?

How do we establish representativeness?

Do we document a snapshot or at documenting variation (of what)?
Data for who?

- We are aware of the disciplines that also have language as a centre of interest – but do we cater for their needs?
- We want to create data relevant for the speech community/ies, but we have little evidence for the use of our electronic corpora.

How can we create a true multipurpose record of a language?
The (new?) role of the consultant

- “…some older field manuals give advice on what kind of questions to ask or not to ask, … . In this manner, such manuals quite automatically assign a passive role to the speaker. If we regard fieldwork as a mutual teaching-learning event, this approach is no longer acceptable.” (Mosel 2006: 75)

What roles do we assume for ourselves and our consultants?
Data for who?

- We are aware of the disciplines that also have language as a centre of interest – but do we cater for their needs?
- We want to create data relevant for the speech community/ies, but we have little evidence for the use and impact of our electronic corpora.

How can we create a true multipurpose record of a language?
Data and methodology

“The major discovery of post-1957 “syntactic theory” is not “theoretical”, but methodological: That a huge amount of generalizations can best be found by adopting an “experimental” approach...What remains of the published body of research is the empirical part. So all the papers that are neatly divided into a “data/generalizations” part and an “analysis” part have a good chance of continuing to be useful”. (Haspelmath 2006: Linguistlist 17.2304)

If its data that is central, how can we assure that our data are, and will be, relevant? ?

How can we reach maximal transparency and explicitness in providing information about how and why we collected our data?
What status for negative evidence?

“With regard to the usual way of obtaining negative evidence (i.e. asking one or two speakers whether examples x, y, z, are “okay”), it is doubtful whether this really makes a difference in quality compared to evidence provided by the fact that the structure in question is not attested in a large corpus. Elicited evidence is only superior here if it is very carefully elicited, paying adequate attention to the sample of speakers interviewed, potential biases in presenting the material, and the like.” (Himmelmann 2006: 23)

How much methodological and theoretical awareness can we expect in language documentation?

Which methods are robust and widely accepted?
Three paradoxes
We create corpora…

The structure of the Jalonke corpus (Lüpke 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communicative event</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Rec. time (min)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Observed</td>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Historical 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Personal 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Story 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conversation</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other (speeches, songs, proverbs, procedural texts, etc.)</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staged</td>
<td>Action descriptions</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total recording time</td>
<td></td>
<td>1283 (ca. 21 h)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
... but do not systematically explore them

Why not?

- We don’t use the computational approaches developed by corpus linguistics.
- We don’t engage in genre and register studies.
- We don’t engage in Conversation or Discourse Analysis.
- Computational tools and methods haven’t been adapted yet to small field-based corpora.
- Detailed genre and register studies are beyond the scope of first documentations.
- The notation systems developed by CA and DA are too time-consuming to apply to field-based data.
We collect performances...

- This song was recorded ‘accidentally’ during a visit to a Jalonke village.
- The purpose of the visit was to distribute a Jalonke primer.

... but don’t have a concept of them

- We take video recordings of performances, but are mainly interested in the speech, not in the visual information, musical structure, etc. present in them.
- We don’t systematically record different performances, analyse, or compare them.
- We don’t try to establish of what genres they are instances of.
- We are more interested in the linguistic aspects than in the artistic, interactional, and rhetoric characteristics of performances.
- We come across performances in a very unsystematic way.
- A first classification of genres and registers is a huge task already.

Why not?
We document parts of oral history and literature...

- Most field linguists collect stories, integrate them into their corpus and use them for linguistic analysis and the creation of literacy materials.

... but are not really interested in them

- Most field linguists don’t study the literary genres they collect in their own right.
- Especially folk tales are often used for the creation of literacy materials for speech communities, but without any prior reflection on:
  - The differences between oral and written discourse.
  - The impact of writing down a specific performance.
  - The impact of editing (or not) the spoken text for the purpose of writing it.
  - The creation of a de facto standard in terms of orthographical, grammatical and stylistic patterns.
  - The creation of a de facto standard in terms of content and ‘authorized’ version.
Striving for good corpora for linguistic analysis
Corpus design: chances and challenges

- It is relatively straightforward to create a representative corpus of, e.g. English fiction in the 20th century or French phone conversation.
- We know what the population is and can use statistical techniques to arrive at a stratified sample.
- We can then test the linguistic representativeness of the sample by measuring frequencies, standard deviation, etc.

But: what is the population in the case of the speech of an endangered language community?
Cycles of corpus design (Biber 1995)

1. Pilot empirical investigation and theoretical analysis
2. Corpus design
3. Compilation of portion of the corpus
4. Empirical investigation

- Sociolinguistic investigation
  - Study of attitudes
  - Study of communicative practices

To be added for LDD
Data based on different types of communicative events
Data based on observed communicative events
“This lecture is about the fascinating theory on...”

**PRO:**
- Have a high degree of ecological validity.
- Yield phonologically, semantically and syntactically natural utterances.
- Give insight into the culture, if thematically balanced.
- Show high-frequency phenomena.

**CONTRA:**
- Can seem natural but factually aren’t because the cultural settings are not respected.
- Can contain pragmatic oddities.
- Are not very controlled.
- Many features are not quantifiable because a unique performance of one speaker.
- Don’t offer negative evidence and are not good for low-frequency phenomena.
Data resulting from conversation

A: “How do you like the summerschool so far?”
B: “All I can say is they start too early and don’t give us enough breaks!”

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**PRO:**
- Often seen as the non-plus-ultra in naturalness.
- Yields data that are naturalistic in every respect.
- Also gives important information about the culture.

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**CONTRA:**
- Is not controlled at all.
- Is very difficult to get.
- Is tedious and time-consuming to transcribe.
- Is even more time-consuming to analyse.
- Doesn’t offer negative evidence and insight into low-frequency phenomena.
Representativeness of a LDD corpus – Jalonke high frequency verb *kolon* ‘know’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Before</th>
<th>Target</th>
<th>After</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lettre 2 003</td>
<td>N ji lətərna səbəxi naaxan ma, kolon xa a</td>
<td>rakolon</td>
<td>i ra, maa o ra, n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lettre 2 015</td>
<td>E naxa, i na n ma numero de Komptena l a</td>
<td>kolon</td>
<td>, i marji n samba ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lettre 2 021</td>
<td>nxo xa nxo booretoo, nxo nxo boore</td>
<td>kolon</td>
<td>, on lanx’è ma moi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 003</td>
<td>kolon, nxa’cc</td>
<td>nxo walesooma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 003</td>
<td>kolon, e mun marji waleso</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 004</td>
<td>xa muxineè m’èe boore</td>
<td>kolon,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 011</td>
<td>kònco bai a m’an nxo</td>
<td>kolon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 011</td>
<td>a m’aa</td>
<td>kolon e mun naaxee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 011</td>
<td>nxo malan, nxo xa nxo malan, n’èè</td>
<td>kolon</td>
<td>nxo waleso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 029</td>
<td>A xili nde Damian, nan</td>
<td>kolon</td>
<td>bëëji xilla na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 032</td>
<td>a mun nèn ma fée</td>
<td>kolonxì</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 040</td>
<td>luu haa e è</td>
<td>kolon</td>
<td>naaxee xaranna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 065</td>
<td>l a</td>
<td>kolon</td>
<td>n konn’i mënn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 068</td>
<td>fareboronden’ i, kònco, i a</td>
<td>kolon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 074</td>
<td>na bai, i na boore</td>
<td>kolon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoro 074</td>
<td>n mun na fala i, i na boore</td>
<td>kolon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Causative**
- **Reciprocal**
- **Complement**
- **Passive**
- **Perfect**
- **Many transitive uses**
Representativeness of a LDD corpus – Jalonke low frequency verb

Past

NP subject

Goal PP

All uses are intransitive

Causative?

Perfect?

Transitive uses?

Passive?

???
Summary

- Observed communicative events that are investigated in a qualitative way allow to
  - Get a first impression of the most frequent syntactic and lexical environments of the most frequent constructions.
  - Formulate hypotheses and prepare elicitation sessions.

But: these data don’t tell us anything about the full distributional range, about low frequency items and constructions, and about their semantic properties.
OCVs: more avenues to pursue
Learn about ritual genres and how to represent them

Mask dance in Niamone, Senegal, 2008
Learn about material culture and its role for performance, memory and identity

Artefacts in Seleki, Senegal, 2008
Learn about musical performances and their link to language

Bards in Saare Kindia, Guinea, 2001
Learn about how historical and religious memory is maintained and transmitted
... not in order to analyse all these aspects of culture as expressed through languages, but to create the record necessary to investigate them in the future...
Data based on staged communicative events

(Very briefly, more detail in the afternoon classes!)
Types of stimuli

- Static stimuli:
  - Comics
  - Picture books
  - Photos

- Dynamic stimuli:
  - Acted videos
  - Animated videos
  - Staged life events

- Interactive stimuli:
  - Puzzle tasks
  - Map tasks
  - Matching games
General advantages and limits of stimuli

**PRO:**
- Are highly controlled, quantifiable and comparable.
- Yield phonologically, semantically and syntactically accurate data.
- Are free from linguistic interference of the metalanguage and from misunderstandings of context.

**CONTRA:**
- Cross-cultural applicability can be limited.
- Use is limited to visually depictable scenes.
- Do not allow a semasiological approach (investigation the different uses of a form), but only an onomasiological approach (studying the formal expression of a given function)
Data based on elicitation
Data resulting from translational equivalent elicitation of single words

“How do you say ‘bee’ in Gunyaamolo?”

**PRO:**
- Are easy when starting work on an unknown language.
- Give good data to work on phoneme inventory, basic lexicon, and for lexical comparison.
- Are quantifiable and highly controlled.
- Offer negative evidence.

**CONTRA:**
- Yield phonologically odd utterances.
- Can easily lead to misunderstandings due to the lack of context.
- Give wrong ideas on the extension and intention of elicited words.
- Impose taxonomies of the metalanguage.
- Translatable items are limited in number.
- Hyper-cooperative consultants may create neologisms and produce calques to be helpful.
Better: word lists as a result (Mosel 2004, 2006)

- There are suggestions to view wordlists as a result of elicitation rather than as an elicitation tool.
  - Collect lexical data organised in semantic, often usage-based domains (i.e building a canoe, farming, ...)
  - Let consultants lead the sessions and create the relevant taxonomies rather than imposing yours on them.
  - At an advanced stage of the research, run community workshops that at the same time work on standardisation, orthography, etc.
Data resulting from sentence translation

“How do you say ‘This is a nice city’ in Gunyaamolo?”

**PRO:**
- Sentence translation offers an easy way to see if something can be said, to help language learning and to prepare elicitation sessions

**CONTRA:**
- The contexts for and the felicity conditions of sentences are often not taken into account.
- Often, translation equivalents are mixed up with acceptability judgments, creating uncontrollable parameters.
Recommendations for sentence translations (Matthewson 2004)

- Provide a discourse context for the sentence prior to eliciting its translation.
- Ask for translations of complete sentences only.
- Try to make the source string a grammatical sentence.
- Assume that the result string is a grammatical sentence.
- Take sentence translations as cues about felicity conditions rather than as an absolute truth.
Data resulting from acceptability judgements

“Can I say ‘this book’ when the book is lying over there?”

**PRO:**
- Are controlled and quantifiable.
- Can give results for domains that are difficult to cover otherwise.
- Give comparable results for many fields.
- Offer negative evidence.

**CONTRA:**
- Very often do not test acceptability of the utterance, but rather of the context provided for it.
- Can therefore very often be contradicted by the same and/or different speakers.
- Often have other hidden factors like nature of instructions, order of presentations, frequency, training of consultants, etc., that influence the judgment.
Recommendations for judgment tasks (Lüpke, ms. Schütze 1996, 2005)

- Create detailed instructions for the rating of sentences.
- Develop a clear scale for ratings.
- Provide your consultants with some example sentences and your ratings of them before the task.
- Conduct some training tasks before the actual task.
- Document demographic details of the consultants and try to aim for a homogenous group in terms of education, literacy, handedness, et.

Summary

Elicited data that are inspected in a qualitative way allow to

- Get the full distributional range of a given item/construction.
- Test the semantic properties of that item/construction.
- Provide negative evidence, i.e. information on unattested structures/uses, ungrammaticality, etc.

But: these data are often influenced by the metalanguage/elicitation method and not naturalistic at all.
My conclusion
Why all kinds of data?

Field-based corpora are relatively small. Thus:
- They don’t show the full distributional range of a given item.
- They don’t offer negative evidence.

Elicitations

- Are highly controlled, but linguistically prompted. Thus:
  - They are likely to be influenced by the linguistic input.
  - Their ‘naturalness’ cannot be assessed.

Observed communicative events

Staged communicative events

Thus: They don’t' allow an active manipulation of parameters of variation by the researcher.

Often, texts do not permit the reconstruction of the real-world context for a given item.

Are relatively uncontrolled. Thus:
- They don’t allow an active manipulation of parameters of variation by the researcher.
- Often, texts do not permit the reconstruction of the real-world context for a given item.

Are very controlled, but not linguistically prompted. Thus:
- They permit the controlled variation of a situation.
- They allow the assessment of the real-world situation referred to.
- They yield data that are directly comparable across languages.
What kinds of data for what kinds of findings?
Labov’s four principles (Labov 1975)

I. The Consensus Principle: if there is no reason to think otherwise, assume that the judgments of any native speaker are characteristic of all speakers of the language.

II. The Experimenter Principle: if there is any disagreement on introspective judgments, the judgments of those who are familiar with the theoretical issues may not be counted as evidence.

III. The Clear Case Principle: disputed judgments should be shown to include at least one consistent pattern in the speech community or be abandoned. If differing judgments are said to represent different dialects, enough investigation of each dialect should be carried out to show that each judgment is a clear case in that dialect.

IV. The Principle of Validity: when the use of language is shown to be more consistent than introspective judgments, a valid description of the language will agree with that use rather than introspections.

(Labov 1975: 40)
... complemented by mine
V. The Principle of Explicitness. Analytical choices and decisions should be made explicit, i.e. the reasons to select a particular data collection method, to include or exclude a particular set of data, to work with a specific (group of) consultant(s) should be documented in metadata descriptions and annotations of primary data.
VI. The Principle of Transparency. Abbreviations, symbols, labels, meanings of tiers used in transcriptions, numeric variables in spreadsheets, etc., should be explained in metadata and annotations of primary data.
VII. The Principle of Salience. For the analysis of a particular research question, the most salient method for collection and analysis should be selected. For instance, descriptions of visual scenes rather than translation equivalents should serve as the basis for the analysis of spatial language.
VIII. The Principle of Triangulation. Wherever possible, analysis should be verified through triangulation, that is, through different methods of data collection, data from more than one consultant, different types of analysis, and comparison of data with those collected by other researchers, etc.
IX. The Principle of Longevity. Efforts should be made to make data valid beyond the scope of the individual research by not just seeking the data necessary to answer specific research questions or relating to one particular area of language use. So, for instance, when collecting data on topological relation markers, one should not limit oneself to stimuli-based data but complement them with observed discourse, etc.
A circle

- Observed communicative events
- Staged communicative events
- Elicitation