

Boas and hearing bias, Malinowski and context

Alessandro Duranti

Anthropology 4, Winter 2021

Lecture 3: Phonetic descriptions, bias in hearing sounds, Malinowski's
pragmatic meaning and the context of situation

Overview

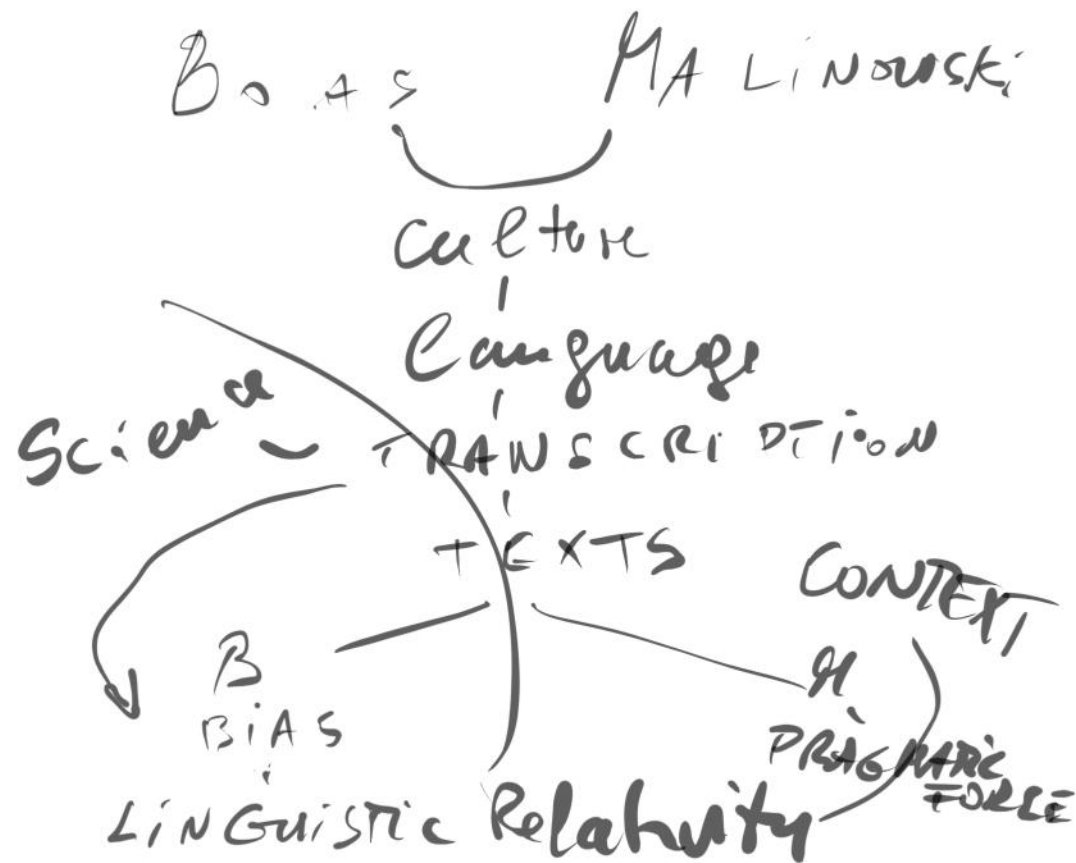
1. A sketch to think about what Boas and Malinowski were after.

A diagram to think about transcription as a method that connects “data” to “theory” (broadly conceived).

2. Review of some ideas from first week.

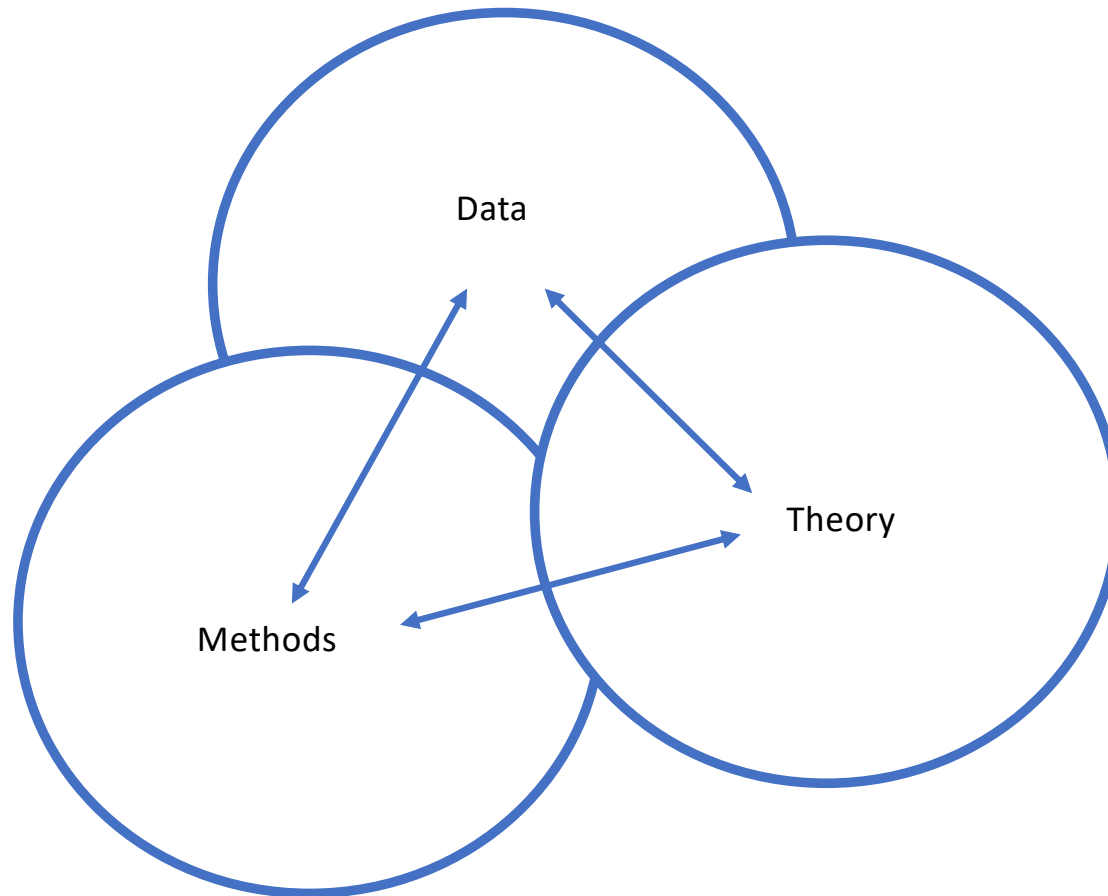
3. Linguistic diversity, the I.P.A. and an appreciation of diversity by looking at Aymara sounds.

from iPad about Boas & Malinowski

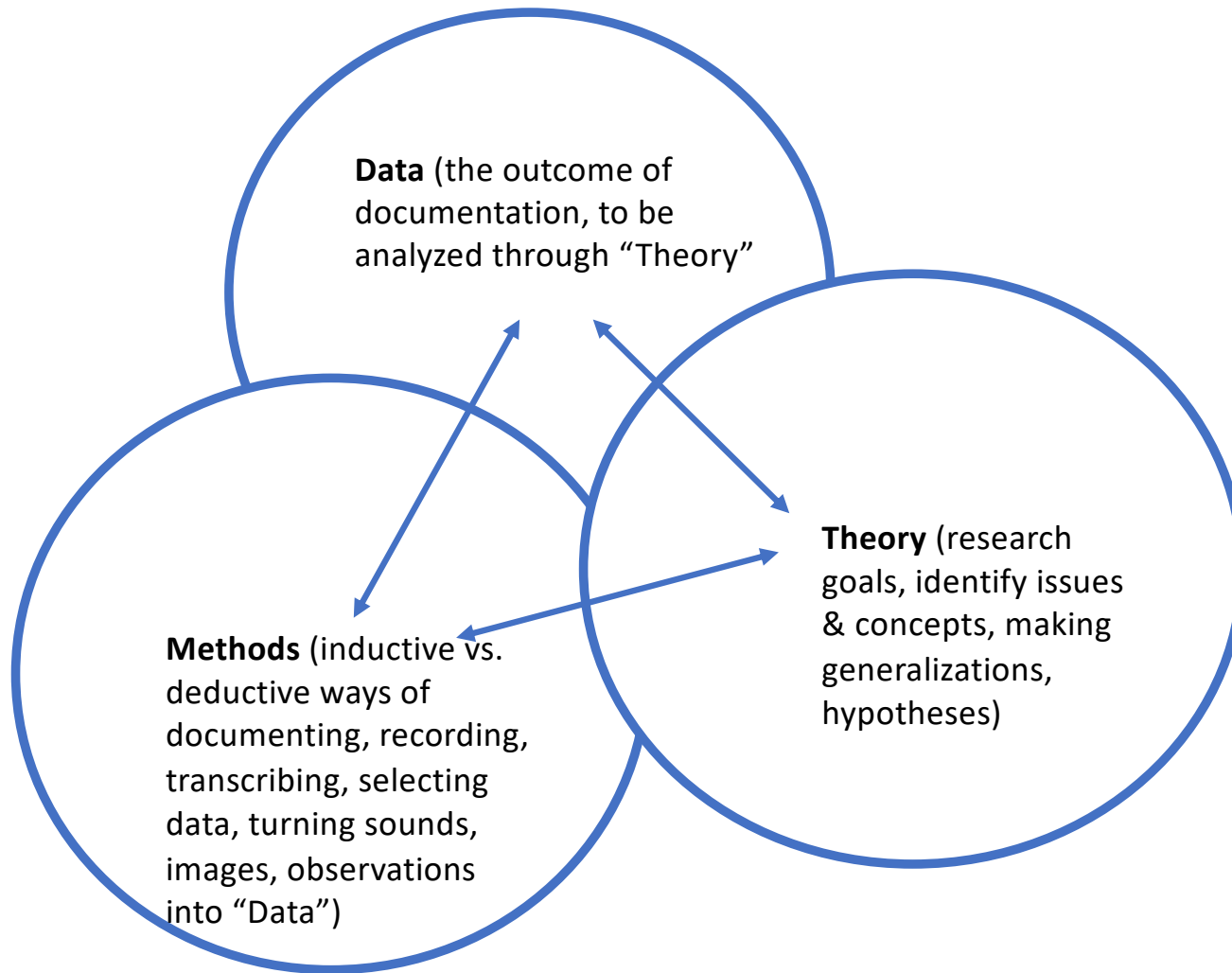


A figure to think about interaction among methods, data, and theory

1. A figure to think about transcription as a method that connects “data” to “theory” (broadly conceived).
2. Review of some ideas from first week.
3. Linguistic diversity, the I.P.A. and an appreciation of diversity by looking at Aymara sounds.



Methods, Data, and Theory are 3 dimensions of research projects. They are interdependent, i.e., they interact and influence each other.



Some ideas from first week

1. Boas developed an **inductive** method for documenting American Indian languages, which included working with native speakers to collect texts and use them to document local traditions and write grammars and dictionaries.
2. The example of **elicitation** of Aymara words and sentences gave you a feel for how a linguist works and what one can learn from a few sentences (quite a lot).
3. Aymara is an example of the **language diversity** encountered early on in documenting American Indian (or Native American) languages.

Example of linguistic diversity

1. **Sound system.** Boas and others encountered sounds they were not familiar with and they needed to represent them consistently.

(The International Phonetic Alphabet or IPA was developed independently in Europe at around the same time Boas was coming up with his own phonetic symbols)

2. **Grammatical structure** (of words, phrases, and sentences). Linguists needed categories to distinguish different functions of grammatical elements (e.g., prefixes, infixes, suffixes, article, adjective, verb, tense, aspect, present, future, optative, etc.).

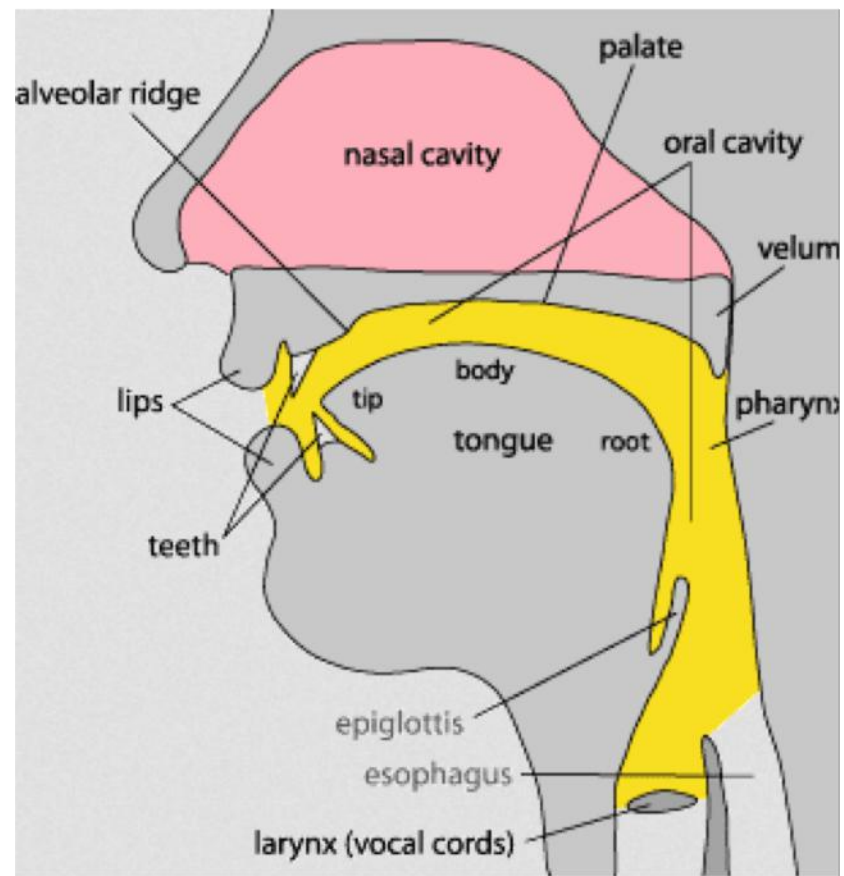
Language as a human faculty

Vocal tract to speak

Face and hands to sign



A young boy signs "I love you."



IPA symbols for consonants

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

© 2005 IPA

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d			ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ	n			ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ		r						ʀ		
Tap or Flap		ⱱ	ɾ			ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative			ɬ ɮ								
Approximant		ʋ	ɹ			ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant			l			ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

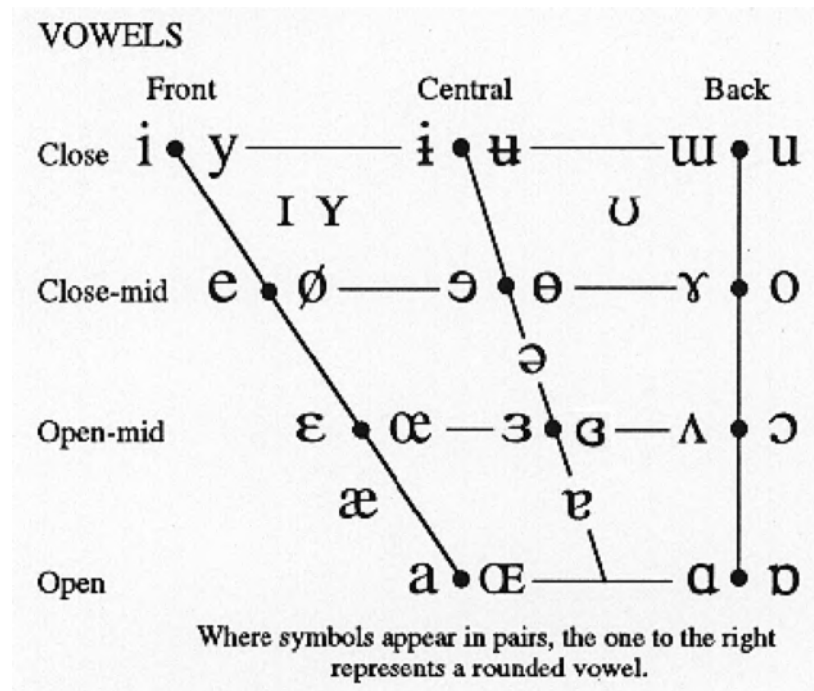
CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

Clicks	Voiced implosives	Ejectives
◌◌ Bilabial	ɓ Bilabial	ʼ Examples:
◌ Dental	ɗ Dental/alveolar	pʼ Bilabial
◌! (Post)alveolar	ɟ Palatal	tʼ Dental/alveolar
◌≠ Palatoalveolar	ɡ Velar	kʼ Velar
◌ Alveolar lateral	ɠ Uvular	sʼ Alveolar fricative

OTHER SYMBOLS

ɱ	Voiceless labial-velar fricative	ɕ ʑ	Alveolo-palatal fricatives
ʋ	Voiced labial-velar approximant	ɺ	Voiced alveolar lateral flap
ɥ	Voiced labial-palatal approximant	ɧ	Simultaneous ʃ and x
ʜ	Voiceless epiglottal fricative	Affricates and double articulations	
ʢ	Voiced epiglottal fricative		
ʡ	Epiglottal plosive		
kp ts			

IPA symbols for (known) vowels in human languages



Distinctive sounds (phonemes)

3 goals for transcribing linguistic sounds:

1. Getting the sounds right and transcribing them in a consistent way.
2. Figuring out which sound differences matter for meaning differences (phonemes). A language has a subset of the possible sound differences that are meaningful or phonemes (p/ph, ph/p', p/b).

English, sound differences that matter (phonemes)

Spelling phonemic transcription of minimal pairs

ice ~ *eyes* /ays/ ~ /ayz/

sit ~ *seat* /sɪt/ ~ /si:t/

tin ~ *thin* /tɪn/ ~ /θɪn/ (/t/ of *tin* is pronounced aspirated [t^hɪn])

thin ~ *this* /θɪn/ ~ /ðɪs/

These differences in sounds matter:

(non-use ~ use of vocal chords) (voiceless ~ voiced)

/s/ ~ /z/, /p/ ~ /b/, /t/ ~ /d/, /k/ ~ /g/, /θ/ ~ /ð/, etc.

← Aymara consonants in Aymara orthographic conventions

CUADRO III.1 CUADRO FONÉTICO: CONTOIDES DEL AYMARA						
	Bilabiales	Dento-Alveolares	Alveo-Palatales	Velares	Post-Velares	Glotal
Sordas						
Oclusivas						
Simples	p	t		k	q	
Aspiradas	ph	th		kh	qh	
Glotalizadas	p'	t'		k'	q'	
Africadas						
Simple		č				
Aspiradas		čh				
Glotalizada		č'				
Fricativas						
Llanas				x _{<}	x _{>}	h
Sibilantes		s	š			
Sonoras						
Nasales	m	n	ɲ	ŋ		
Laterales		l	ļ			
Vibrante simple		r				
Semiconsonantes	w		y			

Aymara consonants in I.P.A. symbols



TABLE 3.1 Segmental phonemes of Muylaq' Aymara

		Bilabial Alveolar Palatal Velar Uvular					
[-son]	stop	plain	p	t	tʃ	k	q
		asp	p ^h	t ^h	tʃ ^h	k ^h	q ^h
		glot	p'	t'	tʃ'	k'	q'
[-son]	fric			s		h	χ
	lat			l	ʎ		
	nas		m	n	ɲ		
	glide		w		j		
	flap			ɾ			

Aymara consonantal oppositions in I.P.A. symbols

TABLE 3.2 Consonantal oppositions for stops

/p/ : /p ^h /	/paja/ 'two'	/p ^h aja-/ 'cook'					
/p ^h / : /p'/	/lap ^{hi} / 'leaf'	/lap'a/ 'louse'					
/p/ : /p'/	/pataka/ 'hundred'	/p'ata-/ 'dig'					
/t/ : /t ^h /	/uta/ 'house'	/ut ^h a-/ 'exist'					
/t ^h / : /t'/	/t ^h ant ^h a/ 'old'	/t'ant'a/ 'bread'					
/t/ : /t'/	/-ta/ 2SIMPLE	/-t'a/ MOMENTANEOUS					
/k/ : /k ^h /	/kuna/ 'what'	/k ^h unu/ 'snow'					
	/kupi/ 'right side'	/k ^h upi/ 'lloque plant' (<i>kageneckia lanceolata</i>)					
/k ^h / : /k'/	/k ^h utʃi/ 'pig'	/k'utʃi/ 'happy'					
/k/ : /k'/	/kusa/ 'good, well'	/k'usa/ 'chicha'					
/k/ : /q/	/tʃika/ 'middle'	/tʃiqa/ 'true, correct'					
/q/ : /q ^h /	/haqi/ 'person'	/haq ^{hi} / 'gulch'					
/q ^h / : /q'/	/manq ^h a/ 'inside'	/manq'a-/ 'eat'					
/q/ : /q'/	/qala/ 'rock'	/q'ala/ 'all'					
/tʃ/ : /tʃ ^h /	/tʃuxu/ 'thin'	/tʃ ^h uxu/ 'urine'					
/q/ : /q ^h /	/haqi/ 'person'	/haq ^{hi} / 'gulch'					
/tʃ ^h / : /tʃ'/	/witʃ ^h u/ 'var. plant'	/witʃ'u/ 'var. soft feces'					
/tʃ/ : /tʃ'/	/tʃaqa-/ 'lose'	/tʃ'aqa-/ 'drip'					

<i>nental phonemes of Muxyilaq' Aymara</i>					
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
plain	p	t	tʃ	k	q
asp	p ^h	t ^h	tʃ ^h	k ^h	q ^h
glot	p'	t'	tʃ'	k'	q'
		s		h	χ
		l	ʎ		
	m	n	ɲ		
	w		j		
		r			

Questions? Comments?

Boas (1889)

- 1) Each language has a **limited repertoire** of
 - a) **basic** linguistic **sounds** (phonemes) and
 - b) possible linguistic **sound combinations**
- 2) pronunciation of sounds is affected by **surrounding sounds**
- 3) Previously acquired sounds influence how speakers hear new and unfamiliar linguistic sounds and sound combinations (early version of what B.L. Whorf will call **Linguistic Relativity**).

Still more instructive are the misspellings of one and the same collector when he endeavors to spell the same word at various times. I will give here some examples gleaned from my own collections of Eskimo texts and words and of languages of British Columbia. The words are spelled in the alphabet of the Bureau of Ethnology:

ESKIMO.

Operníving	Upernívik	Uperdnívik
Kikertákdjua	Kekertákdjuak	Kekertáktuak
Nertsédluk	Neqtsédluk	
Kaímut	Kaífun	
Saúmia	Caúmia	

From Boas 1889 "Alternating Sounds," p. 51.

“... the nationality even of well-trained observers may readily be recognized. ... It is found that the [Eskimo] vocabularies of collectors, bear evidence of the phonetics of their own [native] languages. This can be explained only by the fact that each apperceives the unknown sounds by the means of the sounds of his own language.” (Boas 1889: 51)

“Still more instructive are the misspellings of one and the same collector...” (ib.)

“For this reason I maintain that there is no such phenomenon as synthetic or alternating sounds, and that their occurrence is in no way a sign of primitiveness of the speech in which they are said to occur; that alternating sounds are in reality alternating apperceptions of one and the same sound.” (Boas 1889: 52)

“... the study of one language may occasion a bias in the study of the phonology of the language up immediately after.” (ib.)

Repertoire of sounds

“The classification [of sounds] is made according to the sounds that are known to exist in our language.” (Boas 1889: 51)

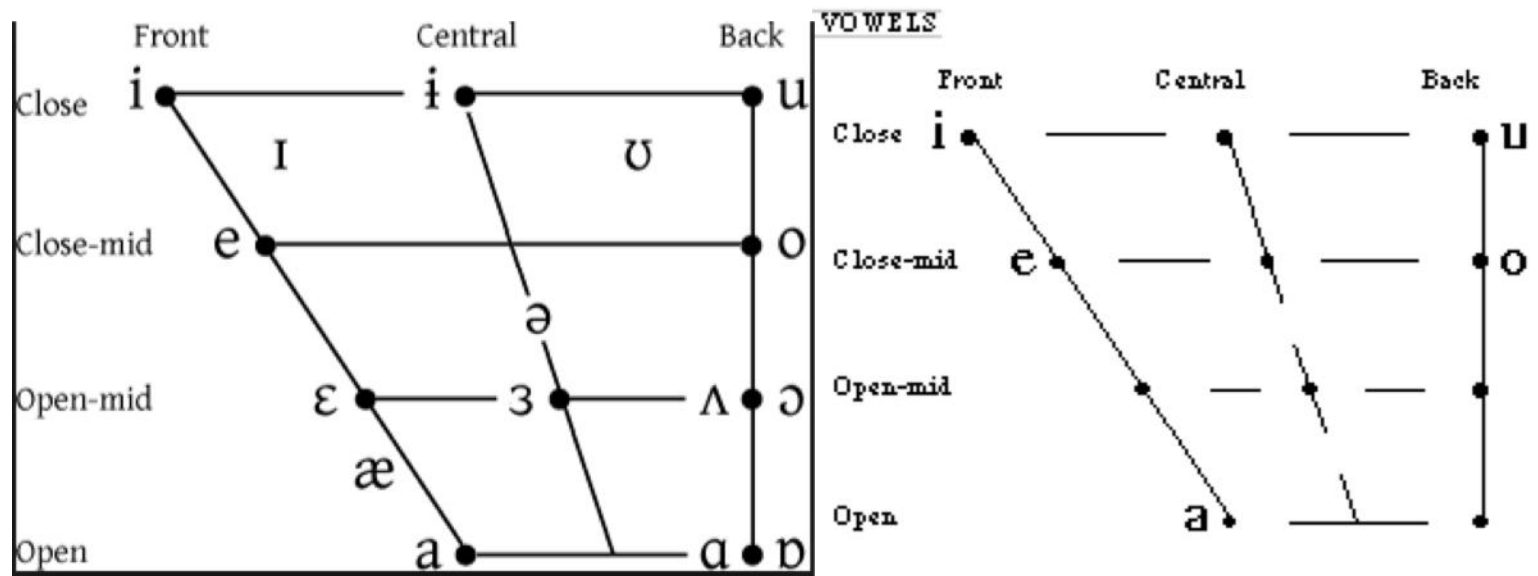
examples of what some non-native English speakers hear:

Engl. *th* [θ] heard as [z] or [t]

English difference among [e], [ɛ], [æ] may be reduced to [e] or [ɛ] (*bed* vs. *bad*) or

no difference heard between first Consonant of up and apple

English vs. Spanish vowels



Haida (*Xaat Kil*) speakers



15,000 speakers in 1774 – European arrival



Haida consonants

Skidegate Haida consonants^{[27][28]}

		Bilabial	Alveolar		Postalveolar / Palatal	Palatal~Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
			central	lateral					
Plosive	plain ¹	b̥	d̥			ɡ̊	ɢ	(ʕ) ³	ʔ
	aspirated		tʰ			kʰ	qʰ		
	ejective		tʼ			kʼ	qʼ		
Affricate	lenis			ḑḑ̥	ḑ̥ʒ̥				
	fortis			ṭṭʰ	ṭʃ̥ ²				
	ejective		ṭsʼ	ṭṭʼ					
Fricative	voiceless		s	ʃ		x	χ	(ħ) ³	h
Nasal	plain	m	n			ŋ			
	glottalized	mʔ	nʔ						
Approximant	plain			l	j	w			
	glottalized			lʔ					

Not hearing what's there

Boas (1889: 52) reports that at first he could not distinguish between “we” and “you” in Haida, later heard the difference (he calls it “slight hiatus”, probably a glottalized stop):
d'aléngua vs. daléngua

Flipping the test

A “second and better crucial test” is to ask the native speakers of another language to speak our language (Boas 1889: 53)

r in German (Boas’ native language) was pronounced as *r*, *w*, *g* etc.

3 goals for transcribing linguistic sounds:

1. Getting the sounds right and transcribing them in a consistent way.
2. Figuring out which sound differences matter for meaning differences (phonemes).
3. Getting the meaning of the words (and its parts, morphemes) as understood by the native speakers.

New concept introduced by Malinowski: Interpretation in the “Context of situation”

In the Pacific: The beginning of British social anthropology



Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942)



In the Trobriands (1915-16, 1917-1918)

Ethnography = “to grasp ... the
native’s point of view”

“The final goal **is to grasp ... the native’s point of view**, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world.”

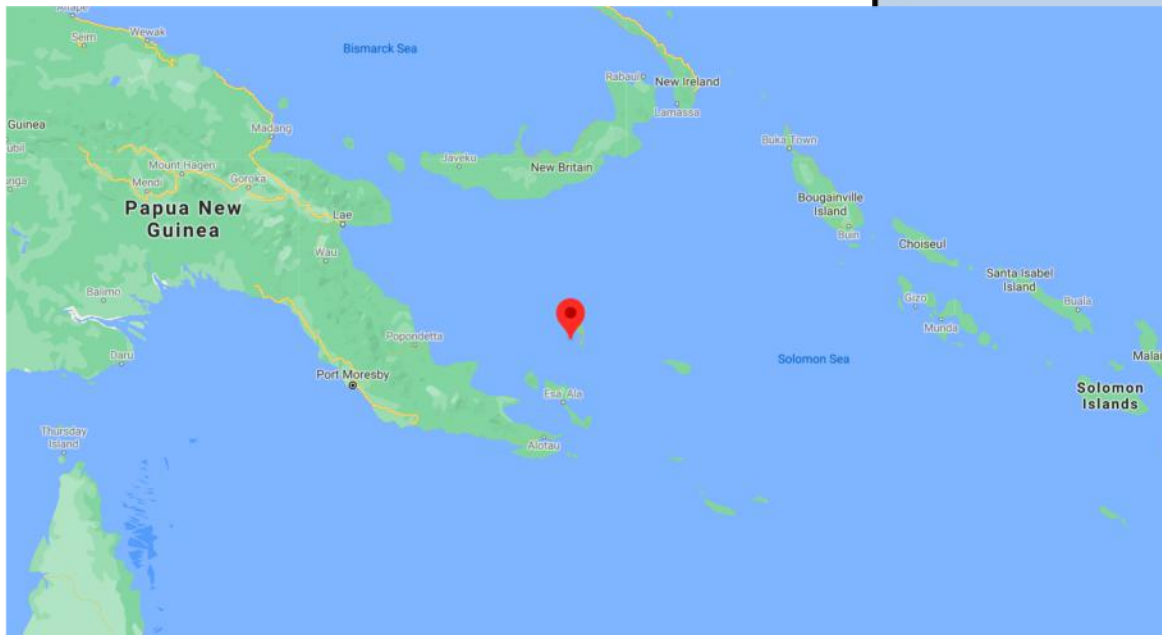
(Malinowski, *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1922, emphasis added)

The meaning of words

“As regards the terminologies, the reader will see that my aim is not to introduce a false precision into native ideas, but rather to ascertain precisely **what a certain word means to the native and how it is used by him.**”

(Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*, 1935:4, emphasis added)

Malinowski lived in the Trobriand Islands
and collected texts in the language
Kiriwina (now called Kilivila).



1923 “The problem of meaning in Primitive Languages”

“Language, in its primitive function, to be regarded as a *mode of action*, rather than as a countersign of thought” (p. 296 in Summary)

“Meaning of words rooted in their pragmatic efficiency.” (p. 297)

First sentence in chapter: “Language, in its developed literary and scientific functions, is an instrument of thought and of the communication of thought.” (p. 297) [A few years later, Malinowski will change his mind and conclude that language is always an instrument of action, in any society, including in the west]

“an error”: pragmatic speech is in all languages

“This pragmatic speech, words which do infinitely more than impart information or tell a story, words which are meant directly / to effect action and influence it, occurs to a far wider extent in our own civilisation than might at first appear. And it seems to me that, even in the most abstract and theoretical aspects of human thought and verbal usage, the real understanding of words is always ultimately derived from active experience of those aspects of reality to which the words belong.” (Malinowski 1935: 57-8)

... in one of my previous writings, I opposed civilised and scientific to primitive speech, and argued as if the theoretical uses of words in modern philosophic and scientific writing were completely detached from their pragmatic sources. This was an error, and a serious error at that.” (ib. 58)

“the real linguistic fact is the full utterance within its **context of situation**.”
(Malinowski 1935b: 11, emphasis added)

“the words of one language are never translatable into another.” (ib.)

“the word is progressively defined by reference to the **ethnographic description** ...” (ib. p. 16)

Buyagu ‘garden-site’ vs. *odila* ‘bush’.

“... it is impossible to define a word by mere equation.” (ib. p. 17)

“It is what we might call their *context of culture* which supplies us with the relevant elements whereby we can translate these words.” (p. 18)

General principles on p. 21.

“words do not exist in isolation.” (p. 22) The dictionary is useful but theoretically dangerous.

The context of cultural reality (p. 22)

Importance of “the context of pragmatic speech, i.e. of utterances inextricably bound up with action.”

Enters the portable tape recorder (1960s)

Recording of **spontaneous speech**, at a normal speed, becomes possible.

What is it being used for?

Starting in 1960s, ethnographers of speaking studied **speech events**

Some sociologists (“conversation analysts”) started to study **conversation**.

Listen to this recording.
Can you transcribe it?





`ai e le kama `ā, (Samoan orthography)

[ʔay e le kama ʔa:] (← I.P.A. symbols)

Translation by native speaker of Samoan who is fluent in English:

‘the man bites them, huh?’ (free translation)

`ai e le kama `ā,

? ? ? ? ?

George Pratt (1893) A
Grammar and Dictionary of
the Samoan Language. 3rd
Revised Edition.

`ai = eat (bite?)

e = ergative marker Agent

Le = article 'the'

kama

`ā

‘āmi‘ami, to fetch one after another.
‘Aami‘a, *s.* the name of a shrub.
‘Aamu, *v.* to whisper discontents with ridicule.
‘Aano, *s.* flesh; the kernel; substantial food.
‘Aapa, *v.* to stretch out the hand in order to take hold of something.
‘Aapo, *v.* (*pl of* ‘apo), to nurse.
‘Aapu, *v.* to draw the wind, (applied to a sail).
‘Aaša, *a. & v.* glowing hot.
‘Aasi, *v.* to scratch; to scrape *tutuga*.
‘Aata, *v.* (*pl of* ‘ata), to laugh. (Seldom used).
Aatasi, *s.* a species of cress.
‘Aati, *v.* to eat in, as an ulcer; to gnaw off (as the skin of sugarcane).
‘Aato, *a.* complete in counting entire tens: (as, *e sefulu* ‘aato, &c.)
‘Aava, *a.* bitter, acrid; scorching hot (of the sun).
‘Aava, *v.* to be bitter; to be scorching hot; *pass.* ‘avasias.
Ae, *int.* used in chasing a wounded bird, or in forbidding a dog running at something.
A‘e, *v.* to go up; to ascend, as from fishing, from banishment; also used of the waves.
A‘e, *adv.* up.
‘A‘e, *v.* to ascend, as to the top of a house, a tree, or a mountain; *pl.* fe‘a‘ei and tausili; *pass.* ‘a‘ea, to be taken (as a fortress).
Aea, *s.* a score.
‘A‘ega, *s.* a stick used as a ladder.
A‘ega, *s.* an ascent; food prepared before going to catch pigeons.
‘A‘egafale, *v.* to be provoked; to be angry with.
A‘egafale, *s.* a number of houses built at the same time.
Aemaise, *c.* also, together with, (as *amaise*); especially.
‘Aeno, *s.* a species of land crab.

‘Āi, *s.* a fence, a railing.
‘Āi, *v.* to fence in; *pass.* āia.
Ai, *s.* a concession made in deference to another party.
Ai, *pr.* who, whosoever.
Ai, *pr.* him, her, it, that, which.
Ai, *adv.* there; probably, very likely.
Ai, *prep.* from, (as *nai, mai*).
Ai, the reflective particle, referring back to the nominative, or to the cause, time, place, consequence, reason, &c.
‘Ai, *v.* to eat; *pl.* ‘a‘ai; *pass.* ‘aina.
‘Ai, *s.* a present of raw food, (an introduced word); the stone with which children play hide and seek; a count towards the number which determines the game.
A‘i, a particle denoting the cause, means, or instrument.
Aia, *v.* to be galled or chafed.
Aiā, *v.* (mostly preceded by a negative), to have no authority in or over.
A‘ia‘i, *a.* true, genuine; *adv.* very, truly, really.
‘Ai‘aiga, *v.* incomplete; partly consumed; applied also to the moon, when either waxing or waning.
‘Āi‘aiga, *v.* to go out to beg food.
‘Aiau, *v.* (*lit.* to eat the gall), to be cowardly; (also *ate‘ai*).
‘Aialii, *v.* to supply a chief with food and otherwise to assist him in expectation of getting property in return.
‘Aialiiga, } *s.* the office of ‘aialii.
‘Aialiitaga }
‘Aiisi, *v.* (from ‘ai and isi), to beg food.
Ai‘oi, *v.* to beg, to entreat, to implore.
‘Aioge, *s.* one who removes to another land on account of a scarcity of food.
‘Aiuli, *v.* to make much of by supplying with good things, and giving the best of everything to.

George Pratt (1893) A
Grammar and Dictionary of
the Samoan Language. 3rd
Revised Edition.

GOS	(172)	LĀ
<p>GOSE, s. a cat. <i>Syn.</i> GELL.</p> <p>GOTO, v. 1. to sink. 2. To be swamped, as a canoe. 3. To set, as the sun, &c. <i>Pl.</i> GOGOTO; <i>intens.</i> GOTOGOTO. <i>Pei 'o le la, a goto e toe oso mai.</i></p> <p>GOTO, a. setting, of the sun, or moon, or stars. <i>'Ua pulapula a la goto.</i></p> <p>GOTOUGA, v. <i>lit.</i> to sink like an uga, to sink to the bottom.</p> <p>GU, a dark-coloured artificial fly-hook.</p> <p>GU, v. 1. to growl. 2. To make a murmuring noise, as voices in the distance.</p> <p>GUGE, s. the name of a fish.</p> <p>GUGU, s. rheumatism. <i>'O lona gugu.</i></p> <p>GUGU, v. to scranch. As PA'AGUGU.</p> <p>GĪGĪ, a. dumb.</p> <p>GĪGĪ, v. to be dumb.</p> <p>GUGA, a. rheumatic.</p> <p>GUGUTU, v. to be a great talker without regarding truth; <i>recip.</i> FEGUTUGUTUA'I.</p> <p>GULU, v. to sleep. A jocular term; <i>redup.</i> GULUGULU.</p> <p>GUTAU, v. <i>lit.</i> to have the mutterings of war.</p> <p>GUTU, v. to excel, to be very great. <i>'Ua gutu le va'a.</i></p> <p>GUTU, v. 1. to eat one's food by oneself alone. 2. To trespass against oneself. <i>'Ua gutu iā Vave le sa o Vave.</i></p> <p>GUTU, s. 1. the mouth of men, animals, wells, bottles, &c. 2. The beak of a bird. 3. An opening, as of a cave, or through the reef, &c.</p> <p>GUTUA, v. having a mouth.</p> <p>GUTUĀ, v. to talk impudently.</p> <p>GUTUAITU, s. 1. a man full of words; in a bad sense. 2. A scold.</p> <p>GUTUAOFO, a. sore-mouthed. <i>Syn.</i> GUTUSOLOSOLO.</p> <p>GUTUAVA, s. the inner sides of an opening in the reef.</p> <p>GUTUFAGU, s. one kind of bread-fruit.</p>	<p>GUTUFILOA, a. prominent-mouthed.</p> <p>GUTUGUTU, v. to promise and not perform.</p> <p>GUTULEI, s. the name of a bird.</p> <p>GUTUMA'A, s. a noisy blustering bully.</p> <p>GUTUMĀLŌ, v. to use strong language because a conqueror.</p> <p>GUTUMAMAFO, s. a boaster. <i>See</i> LOTOVITI.</p> <p>GUTUMANU, s. the first stage of the taro shoot.</p> <p>GUTUMO'O, a. small-mouthed.</p> <p>GUTUMULU, v. to eat by the sly.</p> <p>GUTUPAGO, s. a contentious man.</p> <p>GUTUPOTO, v. to be a clever talker. <i>See gutupoto ia te tala saloa.</i></p> <p>GUTUSALU, v. to bespatter with praises, to mix the talk with many compliments.</p> <p>GUTUSEGA, a. beardless.</p> <p>GUTUSOLOSOLO, a. sore-mouthed. <i>Syn.</i> GUTUAOFO.</p> <p>GUTUSUA, a. jesting; <i>redup.</i> GUTUSUA.</p> <p>GUTUSUMU, a. small and prominent-mouthed.</p> <p>GUTUTAVALE, s. a great talker.</p> <p>GUTUVALE, v. to use bad language.</p>	
L.		
<p>THE eighth letter in the Samoan alphabet; it is pronounced for the most part, and by some natives always, as the English. When it is preceded by a, o, or u, and followed by i, it has, with most natives, the sound of a soft, not a rolling r, as in <i>malu</i>, pronounced <i>mariu</i>; <i>Apolima</i>, pronounced <i>Aporima</i>.</p> <p>LA, <i>adv.</i> there. <i>Le la le, o i ai.</i></p> <p>LA, s. 1. the sun. <i>Malay, LAEL.</i></p> <p>2. A sail. <i>Malay, LAYER.</i> <i>'O le la o la va'a.</i> 3. A branch of a tree.</p> <p>LA, v. to be intensely hot, of the sun; <i>pass.</i> LĀINA, to be exposed to the sun.</p> <p>LĀ, <i>pron.</i> they two. Abbreviated</p>		

Look for
'boy' in
Pratt's
English-
Samoan
Dictionary:

Boy, *n.* tama.

BLA	(351)	BRA
BLAMEWORTHY, <i>soan.</i> e tatau ona ta'u sesē.		BOIL, <i>n.</i> ma'i faafoa.
BLANK, <i>soan.</i> pa'epa'e "blank paper," pepa le tusia.		BOIL, <i>v.</i> tunu.
BLANKET, <i>n.</i> ie mamoe.		BOILER, <i>n.</i> ulo.
BLASPHEMY, <i>v.</i> [blā-sim] faifai i le Atua.		BOISTEROUS, <i>soan.</i> 1. afā, savili 2. e fai ma faatusa i le amio.
BLASPHEMY, <i>n.</i> [blas-fēmi] o le faifai i le Atua.		BOLT, <i>n.</i> faamau.
BLAZE, <i>v.</i> [blēz] fa'amumū, <i>n.</i> mumū.		BONE, <i>n.</i> [bōn] ivi.
BLEACH, <i>v.</i> [blēch] faapa'epa'e i le la, &c.		BONFIRE, <i>n.</i> o le afi tele e fai i le aso e faafafaga ai le nuu.
BLEAK, <i>soan.</i> le punitia (i nuu maalili); maalili.		BONY, <i>soan.</i> [bōni] iviivia, pae'e; <i>of persons</i> , tino vale.
BLEAT, <i>v.</i> [blit] tagi (a mamoe).		BOOK, <i>n.</i> [būk] tusi.
BLEED, <i>v.</i> [blid] toto; <i>let blood</i> , tu'u le lima; <i>t. t.</i> blēd.		BOOM, <i>n.</i> [būm] puma, te'i la (o vaa).
BLESS, <i>v.</i> faamanuia.		BOOR, <i>n.</i> [bōr] utāfanua, fa'alevao.
BLESSED, <i>soan.</i> Amuia!		BOOT, <i>n.</i> [būt] seevae.
BLESSING, <i>n.</i> manuia (alofo o le Atua).		BOOTY, <i>n.</i> [būti] vete.
BLIND, <i>soan.</i> tānase; <i>to chiefs</i> , tānuafe.		BORDER, <i>n.</i> [boa-da] <i>of country</i> tua'oi; <i>of garment</i> , tafatafa.
BLINK, <i>v.</i> faasegosego.		BORE, <i>v.</i> [boā] vili.
BLISS, <i>n.</i> manuia e silisili.		BORN, <i>v.</i> fanau.
BLISTER, <i>v.</i> manunu.		BORROW, <i>v.</i> nonō.
BLOATED, <i>soan.</i> venia.		BOSOM, <i>n.</i> [bu-sōm] fatafata.
BLOCK, <i>n.</i> o se ogālaau tele; o se polatata; <i>v.</i> pupuni; faalavelave.		BOTANY, <i>n.</i> o le Tala i laau.
BLOOD, <i>n.</i> [blōd] toto.		BOTH, <i>soan.</i> 'o i laua 'uma.
BLOODY, <i>soan.</i> ūtoa; toto lima.		BOTTLE, <i>n.</i> [bōtli] fagu; <i>for water</i> , vai.
BLOSSOM, <i>n.</i> fuga. <i>Upu</i> , bloom.		BOTTOM, <i>n.</i> taele.
BLOT, <i>v.</i> nini; <i>n.</i> o le vaitusi ua eleelea ai le laupepa. "Blotting paper" = miti vai.		BOUGH, <i>n.</i> [baū] la laau.
BLOTCH, <i>n.</i> po'u.		BOUGHT, <i>v. t. t.</i> o le <i>v.</i> "buy" [bāt] faatau.
BLOW, <i>v.</i> with <i>breath</i> , ula; <i>of the wind</i> , matagi; <i>agi le matagi</i> or <i>savili</i> ; <i>n.</i> o le ta.		BOUNDARY, <i>n.</i> [baun-dā-ri] tua'oi.
BLUE, <i>soan.</i> [blū] lanu moana, uli, &c.		BOUNTIFUL, <i>soan.</i> [baun-ti-ful] matamau.
BLUNDER, <i>n.</i> sesē tele.		Bow, <i>v.</i> [bāu] ifo; <i>n.</i> o itu vaa i le taumua.
BLUNT, <i>soan.</i> mata-tupa, tulali, tugagi.		Bow, <i>n.</i> [bō] āufana.
BLUSH, <i>v.</i> and <i>n.</i>		BOWELS, <i>n. pl.</i> [bau-els] ga'au.
BLUSTER, <i>v.</i> fapaātapata.		BOWL, <i>n.</i> [bōl] tanoa.
BOAR, <i>n.</i> po'a.		BOWSTRING, <i>n.</i> [bō-strig] fu'a.
BOARD, <i>n.</i> laupepa.		BOX, <i>n.</i> [boks] utolaau, pusa or puha.
BOAST, <i>v.</i> [boet] mitamita.		BOY, <i>n.</i> [boi] tama.
BOAT, <i>n.</i> [bōt] tulula.		BOYISH, <i>soan.</i> faatama itiiti.
BODY, <i>n.</i> tino.		BRACE, <i>n.</i> [brēs] o le mea e sisi a'i, pe taofi a'i; <i>v.</i> fusi; nonoa; faamau.
BOG, <i>n.</i> fusi.		BRACELETS, <i>n. pl.</i> [brēs-lets] taulima.
		BRAMBLE, <i>n.</i> la'au tuitui.
		BRACKISH, <i>soan.</i> māi, fa'asualua, tuitainono.
		BRAG, <i>v.</i> mitamita.
		BRAIN, <i>n.</i> [brēn] fa'ai.



`ai e le kama, `ā,
eat Erg Art boy Tag
'the man bites (them), doesn't he?'

Hypothesis: kama = tama /t/ -> /k/

What does 'them' refer to?

We need to know about both the grammar of Samoan and the "context of situation", previous talk, topic.



`ai e le kama, `ā,
eat Erg Art boy Tag
'the man bites (them), doesn't he?'

Grammar: In Samoan the (direct) object (like the Subject in Aymara or Spanish) does not need to be expressed. Its “presence” is implied by the preposition *e* in front of *le kama*, which makes the verb *`ai* into a transitive verb as opposed to intransitive (in English, *eat* can also be either intransitive, *John ate*, or transitive, *John ate the lasagna*).

Context of the conversation? Previous talk? What is the topic?

Break

Questions? Comments?

Review, 1

1. Both Boas and Malinowski studied native languages as instruments for the study of culture. They shared similar goals like the production of transcripts and collection of texts, but they also emphasized different concepts.
2. The scientific study of linguistic sounds includes a classification of the possible linguistic sounds (represented in the I.P.A.)
3. Each language presents a subset of the possible linguistic sounds and speakers learn to pay attention to some features as meaningful (phonemes).
4. A bias in hearing certain sound differences in other languages is caused by limitations of their native language(s).

Review, 2

5. The scientific study of so-called “primitive” languages by Boas and his students showed that **there are no “primitive” languages**. The progressive reassessment of “otherness” continues to be a major concern in anthropology (“we vs. they”, “us vs. them”).
6. Malinowski also revised earlier differentiation between “primitive” and “civilized” (from 1923 to 1935) and claimed that language is **a mode of action** for all societies (the “pragmatic view” of language).
7. To get to the meaning of an utterance, we need to pay attention to the **“context of situation”** (Malinowski).
8. Think about what constitutes the “context” for Malinowski and in the demonstration given by Prof. Duranti using the recording of a Samoan utterance.

