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### 3. SEMANTICS WITHOUT NATIVE INTUITION

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The study of preliterate languages has been dominated by practical considerations and by a limited number of academic concerns. It was the necessity of communicating with peoples without a written tradition that led, for example, to the writing of grammars and, to a far lesser extent, dictionaries. Christian missionaries have not been the only ones to contribute to our present knowledge of these languages, some now extinct, but their works made up the bulk of linguistic literature up to the emergence of descriptive linguistics (for a review see, for example, DOKI and COLE 1961 and WONDERLY and NIOA 1963). There are still enough such languages and enough people who have to learn them to justify serious discussion about the problems and strategies in learning languages for which there are only poor helps or none at all. The ideal field manual to deal with the perennial problems (learning phonology, grammar, and lexicon) has not yet been written (although HEALEY 1971, GODECHINSKY 1967, LARSON and SWALLEY 1969, and SAMARIN 1967 make contributions). Even when this book has been written, there will come the time to revise it in response to technological developments. (The tape recorder, although no longer an exotic instrument, has not been exploited by field workers to anywhere near its full potential. Yet it has been badly used by many).

### Linguistics and Languages

Opposed to, but not necessarily independent of, the practical motives for studying preliterate languages are academic ones. The study of languages for their own sake is part of our Western intellectual tradition. We have been interested for centuries in what language is, how and why languages differ, how they characterize man as different from animals, and how they figure in the obvious differences between man's ways of living. It has been only recently, however, that our theories and our methodologies have permitted us to gain really perceptive insights into these old questions.

Exciting as the past several decades have been, they have resulted mainly in a library of books and technical papers that revolve around a restricted number of topics. "Linguistic theory", for example, has resulted in grammars that are Praguian, Bloomfieldian, Firthian, Dokeian, Hjelmslevian, Chomskian, or what have you. But in the end, they are at their best just grammars. Besides, they too often reveal more about the linguistic models that produced these texts than they do about how man perceives the universe, talks about it, and relates to it.

This is not the entire picture, to be sure. Long ago there were attempts, which we now call naive, to fathom the implications of language, whether cultural, psychological, or some other. Recently some of these problems have been taken up again, and new ones added to them. We have become involved in typological studies, in trying to delimit linguistic universals, in describing the cognitive aspects of language, and so forth.

Indeed, some really hard problems are being examined today. And to make the task easier, we look at the languages we know best or for which there is the greatest amount of data. These are usually our own, generally Western languages, and for the most part in any case they are written, not preliterate, ones. The procedure has been to use written material in spite of the obvious fact that this is edited, attended-to language, not typical of how most people use language most of the time. Yet in contemporary linguistics of the transformational-generative type text analysis is eschewed in favor of "introspection". (The limitations and theoretical weaknesses of these procedures, particularly the latter one, are discussed by Labov 1970 and Gleason Ms 2).

But both approaches to the study of language -text analysis and introspection- obviously limit our field to relatively few languages, most of which have in some respects tended to converge as the result of cultural

diffusion. The result of this state of affairs is twofold: namely, that we fail to study language as a pan-human phenomenon (because of interests that are too narrow) and that we choose our linguistic problems according to the languages that we have easiest access to. The tail once again wags the dog.

Our problems must be determined by our sciences: linguistics, anthropology, and psychology -to mention the ones that have the greatest investment in linguistic data. And once the tasks are identified, they must lead whither they will. The call today, therefore, must be for greater, not less, examination of the "exotic" languages.

The foregoing preamble -at once historical, autobiographical, and propagandist- is now illustrated by the case of semantics.

### The Study of Semantics

This is perhaps still the least developed field within general linguistics. And whatever progress has been made is largely based on the study of written languages and often with specific languages in mind. Thus, the micro-grammars of generativists are based on data retrieved by introspection (on the part of the researcher or cooperative colleagues). Others have used written corpora: "raw" data that has to be analyzed with a specific goal in mind (as with Joos' *The English Verb*) or partially analyzed, that is, lexicographical, data (as with Weinreich's theorizations on the basis of dictionaries).

Few indeed have ventured into the analysis of the semantics of unwritten languages. (My own *Field Linguistics* said regrettably little on the subject). The exceptions must be mentioned. Nida, concerned for about 30 years with the world-wide translation of the Bible into other languages, has discovered practical value in decomposing messages into four semantic components ("event", "object", "quality", and "relation") (see Nida 1964 and 1969). Other missionaries, analyzing the structure of narrative discourse, have used the stratificational model to map semantic networks (for example, Taber 1966, Austin 1966, Stennes 1969, and Crowack 1968). On narrower topics, especially closed sets of words like kinship terms, much more has been done. This is the field that anthropologists call "cognitive anthropology" (very well represented by Tyler [ed.] 1969).

The goals of studying the semantics of preliterate languages are pre-

sumably the same as for the study of all languages. But there are two differences. In the first place, the study of unwritten languages is in some places undertaken with a sense of urgency. The languages are either dying out or they are undergoing change under the impact of some dominant and historically unrelated languages. In the second place, unwritten languages are studied for the light they may shed on fundamental linguistic and cultural (perhaps even cognitive) differences. Illustrative of the value of such cross-cultural studies is the study of color terms by BERLIN and KAY (1969) and that of R.M.W. DIXON (Ms) on adjectives.

It is doubtful, therefore, that we need special goals for the study of the semantics of preliterate languages, but it is quite clear that we need special procedures. How, for example, given the relative naivete of our linguistic assistants and the brief periods of time during which we are exposed to the language, often in a kind of cultural vacuum (away from where the language is really used), do we elicit the kinds of data we need and in the required amounts? This was the very question that I hoped to answer by my field investigation of Gbeya ideophones in 1966. The rest of this paper is devoted to discussing this research.

### Semantics of ideophones

The present research is concerned with the semantics of African ideophones. These are *words with attributive functions generally adjectival or adverbial from a class of words with open membership characterized by phonological or syntactic anomalies, or both.* (The term "ideophone" was coined by C.M. DOKI for use in describing Bantu languages. His definition is the following: "A vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity" [1935]: 118 ).

Ideophones deserve serious and intensive study for several reasons, among which are the following: (a) They characterize sub-Saharan Africa as a linguistic area since (probably) all Niger-Kordofanian languages and some Afro-Asiatic languages (but apparently not Khoisan languages) have ideophones; (b) They are extremely numerous in many African languages, ranking next only to nouns; (c) They provide the only or the most direct means for expressing many concepts, such as "tufted", "mucilaginous", "unblinking", "zigzagging", and so forth. (Ideophone-like words are found in many langua-

ges throughout the world, as is demonstrated in SAMARIN Ms 1). Therefore one does not talk an African language competently if he does not know how to use these words, and one has not really described an African language until he has described the grammar of ideophones with the same thoroughness as for nouns and verbs. Yet most foreign students of African languages are guilty of these two errors. (With respect to grammars see the "Survey of Bantu ideophones" by this writer. Recent exceptions are works like those of NEWMAN and VOELTZ).

The specific language under investigation is Gbeya, and Eastern (or as I prefer to call it, Ubangian) language spoken in the Central African Republic. (For classification and relationships see SAMARIN 1971b; for grammatical description see SAMARIN 1966). Study of the language was begun in February of 1954; a dialectal study of ideophones (not yet published) was done in 1962; and the formal investigation of Gbeya ideophones on a large scale was inaugurated in 1966 (briefly reported in SAMARIN 1971a).

The aim of this research is both specific and general: to describe Gbeya ideophones linguistically (grammatically and semantically) and sociolinguistically (how they are used, by whom, for what purposes, etc.), and to generalize on this experience for the benefit of African linguistic studies and for linguistics in general. (For one study of the use of ideophones, see SAMARIN 1969a). With respect to semantics I have been concerned, first, with determining whether or not ideophones were susceptible to rigorous analysis and then with determining what was their semantic structure. (These are logical priorities, not chronological facts. The field research was designed to test, probe, and accumulate data of different kinds at the same time. One could not expect to get back to the field for further study although one naturally hoped to).

It was necessary to measure variability, because it had been assumed that ideophones were marginal to language in the same way that interjections are assumed to be marginal. (Although this view was rarely put so baldly, it is implied in the names that were given to ideophones - "verbal gestures", for example - and by the little attention they attracted). In other words, a semantic description of ideophones would never be credible to many people without the demonstration that they were integral to a given language. This, I believe, has now been demonstrated for the Gbeya language. The results of a number of tests have already been reported on (SAMARIN 1969b and 1972).

The following report further confirms the belief that (a) Gbeya ideophones are used with no less uniformity than what one would expect for attributive words in most languages and that (b) these words are susceptible to rigorous analysis.

The procedure used was a very simple one. Although I was collecting exemplifications for the total list of ideophones in hand in 1966, that is, about 1500, I could not expect to get more than a half dozen for each one. Therefore, with a carefully chosen list of 20 words to represent different concepts (large, soft, empty, sound of pounding, etc.) and various phonological shapes, I tried to get as many exemplifying sentences as possible to represent the different parts of the Gbeya-speaking area. I succeeded in interviewing only 25 people for reasons beyond my control. (For some words there are slightly fewer for one reason or another). The subjects were simply asked to use the given word any way they wanted. The agreement among them is remarkable. (Remarkable in the light of what has been said about ideophones, not in the light of what we know about language). By way of illustration, the results for two sets are given here: on the one hand, *ḥong* and *ḥum* that represent a certain kind of sound, and, on the other hand, *ngbet ngbet*, *ngbit ngbit*, *ngbot ngbot*, and *ngbót ngbót* that represent largeness. (The symbols *ḥ* and *ḍ* represent implosive stops). See the Appendix.

The reward of all these efforts is the conclusion that we can proceed with our non-native analysis of exemplifying sentences (described below) with expectation that with a tolerable margin of error we shall be able to define Gbeya ideophones and on the basis of this dictionary proceed to account for them in terms of structural semantics. The rest of this paper deals with the steps that lead to that end.

### Field Methods

In this research it was never necessary to undertake what most investigators cannot avoid, namely, the collection of a corpus of lexemes. The task for a person who comes to a little-known language can be an onerous one indeed, especially if the investigator has little familiarity with the language and if he is in the field for only a year or so. In such cases he will have to exert himself to devise techniques for gathering the kinds of words he wants to examine. I had no such obligation, because my long experience among the Gbeya had already led to the collection of about 1500 ideo-

phonic adverbs. (In Gbeya ideophones constitute a sub-class of adverbs). Since they were recorded under all kinds of circumstances, one could assume that this was a random collection, fairly representative of the language.

Although it was not necessary to do so, I made an attempt to increase the size of my collection in only one fashion. I sought to recruit a number of Gbeyas who, after learning to use my orthography, would set out to record and exemplify as many ideophones as possible. This was to be "piece work", each field worker getting paid by the number of citations he brought in. The experiment was a failure. In spite of good rapport with the Gbeya community in Bangui (the capital of the Central African Republic), a large population indeed, and in spite of opportunities to talk with hundreds of people about my work on their language (at Sunday church services), only a few people responded to my invitation. And all but three of these gave up very soon despite the attractive wage. I believe that I would have been more successful in organizing a team of field assistants in the "bush", but circumstances beyond my control kept me in Bangui too long for me to do this.

(Much more needs to be said about the differences between working in a city and in the country. I am convinced that there are ecological and demographic differences that hinder or facilitate work, depending on what is undertaken. In this research the only people who were willing to cooperate for any length of time were those with some, even just a little, formal education begun in their childhood. People who had learned to read and write as adults, in this case in Protestant mission schools, found the work uninteresting, too demanding, or what have you. Only three young men remained for the duration of the period, one a *collégien* on summer holidays and two school drop-outs. All of them were assigned to the more important task of writing exemplifying sentences [see below]. I had, of course, many other occasional informants and assistants).

A number of other procedures utilized for various purposes elicited ideophones. The following are recommended. (a) Ask the question, "How many words like X can you think of?" Even when used with a group of very young children, in what I called a game and where everyone "won" a prize of candy, this procedure gave rise to scores of ideophones (eventually checked for accuracy with a panel of assistants). (b) Ask people to introduce ideophones while listening to a tape-recorded text. I used two machines: one on "play"; stopped whenever the assistant wanted to introduce comments. Oral literature is good for this purpose, because, at least in Africa, audience parti-

cipation is expected in the story-telling event. (c) Ask people to describe selected visual stimuli, real or pictorial. I had several people individually describe a corn-and-peanut garden; and one adult male described, very realistically and dramatically, photographic plates of African sculpture. (d) Finally, linguistic stimuli can be used in a number of ways. Sentences like "A mattress is..." and "The hoe is..." or "He is trembling..." and "He passed by ..." will easily elicit ideophones for "soft", "worn down", "trembling", and "quickly" once the Gbeya speaker understands what is wanted.

(I must confess that the last procedure was true for all the Gbaya languages I had access to [the same as in SAMARIN 1959], in addition to Karc, Kaba, and Ngbandi, but not Banda. I cannot explain my difficulty with the last language, because I have heard enough Banda to know that ideophones seem to be as common in Banda speech as in Gbeya speech. I should add, however, that I was using a single fill-in type elicitation instrument designed originally for Gbaya languages. Perhaps Banda is different enough with respect to the use of ideophones that different methods would be needed to elicit ideophones. Perhaps I would not have had any trouble at all if I had asked all my subjects to tell me about some experience in their lives when they had been badly injured or had almost been killed).

My corpus, like that for any responsible dictionary project (see GLEASON Ms 1), consists of sentences that illustrate the use of each ideophone. But Gbeya is no written language: I could not look for citations in published material produced for other purposes. An alternative, of course, was to depend on spoken discourse. A great deal of tape-recorded discourse is in my possession, and this will eventually be used, but for different purposes. But it would be a monumental project indeed to get enough discourse that would (a) produce a wide range of ideophones and (b) would reveal instances of different uses. Besides, I have found that use-in-context, without the assistance of native speakers, is far less illuminating than one might imagine. Therefore my exemplifications were elicited. That is, a number of Gbeya men who knew how to write (all in Sango, a few in both Sango and French) were asked to use each of the 1500 ideophones in a sentence, adding, wherever possible, an explanatory sentence about the word: for example, gan ngáy ná go 3 lube lube, wen-mo ne "It is not hard, so it is soft [with this particular quality], because..." (I said to them: "Explain to me now in writing, because I won't be able to ask you when I'm home.").

A grammatical metalanguage slowly emerged in the research even without our making a special effort to produce one. The expressions I noticed first meant "A is similar to B". For example: ... 3 kpém mɔ ín ngmáá (gan 3 záng ná) "(They) are the same; they aren't different" (lit. "are one thing with each other are different not"); A ín B 3 ne yá k3 ngmáá "A and B are siblings"; A ín B ne ín ngmáá "A and B go together"; A ín B yóó ká-tɛ-ngmáá "A and B stand side by side"; A 3 kpém B ái "A is the same as B", and so forth. These and other expressions not only showed - without my prodding - that the Gbeya could hyposthesize and put ideophones in positions where they would not normally go. These statements also led to my seeking synonyms and antonyms (see below).

What is needed in this kind of investigation is a set of linguistic stimuli that elicit explanations. I did not think of this early enough in my research, so not all of the exemplifications have the "because clause" mentioned above. It would have been very helpful to use the following also: A úsí dɔng-wáá k3... "A talks about..." (lit. "shows the path of [followed by a predication]"). It would also have been instructive to have the assistants assign the ideophones to different categories of quality, action, and so forth. My blind assistant did this spontaneously when, hearing a word read to him in isolation, he wanted to understand what word it was he was supposed to illustrate. He would ask his co-worker, for example, kórá mɔ wéndé? "You mean the word that refers to dried things?" (lit. "dried thing query"). It would appear that some ideophones could not be so characterized - that is, with a perfective verb functioning as an attributive - but they would have been in the minority I believe.

Each of the above-mentioned exemplifying sentences is translated into Sango, the local lingua franca, and then are listed as many synonyms and antonyms as the assistant desired. It would, of course, be too much to expect these to always be accurate comparisons. It was nevertheless assumed that something about the meaning of the stimulus word would elicit relevant semantic information. The results are extremely encouraging. For example, the "antonym" of an onomatopoeic ideophone is very often given as sélélé which itself means "no sound, quiet". Because there are some ideophones that refer both to sound and to something else as opposed to those that refer only to sounds, it will be instructive to see if this word is used consistently with the latter but inconsistently with the former - if at all.

These lists of related words will be eventually collated by a computer (see below), and a human will organize them like the set (incomplete here) illustrated on the last page of this text. These synonymic and antonymic chains will help, among other things, to validate the comparisons. Notice, in this example, how much self-validation emerges.

It would have been helpful, I see in retrospect, to have asked the assistants to mark those ideophones that could be used in the exemplifying sentence with or without changing the meaning. In this way we could have obtained information for grading the synonymy. As it is, this kind of information came unpredictably, mostly when I was working with an assistant: for example, *X and Y 5 dɔŋ wá kpém* "X and Y are the same" (and see also above).

I will face another problem with new words that will arise in these comparisons (that is, words that I did not have in my original list of 1500), because I cannot be certain that every one is accurately written. It is very likely, for example, that the assistants sometimes forgot to add the diacritic on "e" (for the phoneme /e/) to contrast with "e" (that is, /ɛ/). Cross referencing may isolate some of these errors, but I will undoubtedly have to check many previously unlisted words with an assistant.

Partial records were kept on the output of these assistants. The highest number of words thus processed was an average of 41 per day over a period of 16 days. This by an advanced *collégien* who was, however, actually less emotionally involved (being almost indifferent in his general behavior) in this project than the others were. The lowest output was 29 per day by a team consisting of my blind assistant and his amanuensis. (One can assume that they were less assiduous at their work than the other person in the same room. But their work is not better - or worse). For a total of 25 working days of about 8 hours per day there is an average of 34 per day. However, when I did this work myself with an assistant I on one day covered 38 words in three hours and fifteen minutes.

No artificiality can be detected in any of these exemplifications, all written on one side of 3" x 5" slips of paper. On the contrary, they constitute an extremely valuable corpus of authentic ethnographic statements by Gbeya about themselves. There are explicit statements about cuisine, traditional skills, pre-European customs, attitudes towards women (since all assistants were male - a mistake to be sure), etc. One learns, for example,

from the use of one ideophone that a husband can stand by his wife "gently", the same ideophone used for kissing a sleeping child's lips "gently" - subtle witness to marital affection not seen by people who are foreigners to the culture.

The requirement that the assistants translate each exemplification obviously cut down their output by almost one half, but these translations add to the value of the original sentences. They help to decipher poor handwriting and to comprehend what had been written. Since Sango has very few ideophones, being a pidgin, circumlocutions are necessary to express the same meaning. It was Sango, for example, that led me to understand that Gbeya *gungbang gungbang* referred to waves. In the Sango translation was the following: *ngó ní aláńdó ná mbéńí agá ná gbé ní* "the water arose and some more came underneath".

The unfortunate thing with this corpus, as it so often is in projects of this type, is that there are very few people who can use it. The researcher alone must be responsible for all of the processing and most of the analysis, since he cannot find people who can read Gbeya and Sango with understanding.

### Using a Computer

It would be possible to begin defining each of the ideophones on the basis of the exemplifications, but this would be very inefficient. Since, for example, there are several words for "light (in weight)", we must have them all in hand to see how they compare and what their areas of meaning are. Which ones of these, moreover, are given as synonyms of each other and which are given as the antonyms of specific words for "heavy", etc.? For these and other reasons the data will be computer analyzed.

So that the words can be sorted in a program written in SNOBOL, I am keypunching the following kinds of information on cards: (a) the ideophone itself, (b) the verbs it follows (for example *fɛŋga zólóló* "it-is-white [of this pure white quality]"), (c) synonyms, (d) antonyms, (e) glosses, and (f) the total number of different exemplifications. The only syntactic information being extracted is the verb-ideophone collocation. Once the collations are made, one can go back to the corpus for a sampling of sentences for syntactic analysis. In any case, I already have a file of 900 sentences for this purpose alone.

The actual keypunching takes relatively little time. Most of the time is taken up with organizing the slips (quite often 15 or 25 in number) and reflecting on them before deciding what must be keypunched. Deciding on the glosses takes, it seems, about a third of the total time for most words, especially since apparent homonyms are being separated as separate entries.

The program (written for this research by my colleague Peter A. REICH) will produce various kinds of lists :

- 1) One output with glosses, verbs, synonyms, and antonyms in columns, including all ideophones that were not in the original list but which turned up in the lists of antonyms and synonyms ; these, without their own glosses and so forth, will be back-referenced to the words that elicited them ;
- 2) Alphabetized English glosses with their ideophones : for example, HEAVY followed by all the words with this meaning ;
- 3) Alphabetized list of Gbeya verbs, followed by the ideophones with which they occur : gbɛ ... zɛ́ɛ zɛ́ɛ, kpír kpír, etc.
- 4) Ideophones classified in several ways according to phonological shape (to be used in analyzing sound-meaning correlations).

### Insight without intuition

The problem posed in this research is the following : How much semantic analysis can be done on a language without the benefit of a native's "intuition" ? The present research program is undertaken on the assumption that a great deal can be accomplished on the condition that there be a large enough corpus that is carefully collected. In this paper are described the steps that were taken to produce this kind of corpus for the Gbeya language. This is not to say that they were faultless. Indeed, a few errors already identified were mentioned. As the analysis proceeds, it is doubtless that others will emerge. Still more will be found by other researchers engaged in similar projects.

No project will be without serious handicaps, for the ideal is to have the native speakers of preliterate languages do the work themselves. But when that become possible, these will no longer be preliterate languages and conferences as this one will not be needed !

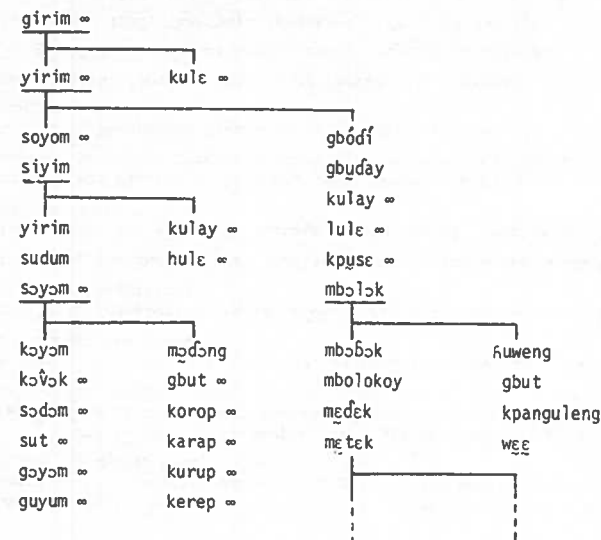


Figure 1. An incomplete network of synonyms and antonyms of Gbeya ideophones, starting with girim. The synonyms are listed at the left of each branching list, the antonyms at the right. Branchings start with underlined words. The symbol ∞ indicates repetition of the preceding unit. Notice the recurrence of words, sometimes in modified form, in different places in this network.

## APPENDIX

## CONSENSUS AMONG SPEAKERS OF GBAYA

Illustrative examples of the use of several sets of phonologically similar ideophones were elicited from a random sample of gbeya. The results for two of these sets are summarized below. The number of speakers whose sentences revealed a particular area of meaning is indicated within parentheses. Other kinds of agreement are not indicated: for example, the number of people who refer to the same event, the number who use a particular verb, etc. In many cases the agreement is high indeed. No attempt is made here to give an elegant definition of each ideophone.

song "sound of rifle shot" (8), "sound of fire popping or exploding" (4), "sound of dried fruit pod exploding" (2), "hitting someone with a hard object" (6), "clapping of hands" (1), "appearance of sprouting plant" (1).

bum "sound of falling object striking earth" (17), "sound of hitting soft or limp object" (5).

ngbet ngbet "cutting soft object (like fresh meat or sugar cane)" (10), "crunching sound (as in chewing gristle)" (6), "tapping sound" (1), "walk of very tall person" (1).

ngbit ngbit "cutting large pieces of soft object (especially fresh meat)" (21).

ngbot ngbot "cutting large pieces of soft object (like fresh meat, okra, pumpkin, end of piece of wood)" (16), "large bundle" (2).

ngbót ngbót "cut or break into small pieces (as of meat, string, roof grass)" (4), "patches of water in a dry river bed" (5), "sound of hitting someone with a switch" (2), "sound of nursing at breast" (1), "twitching ears and flicking hand from the wrist" (8), "large bundle or pile" (4).

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### 3. L'ÉTUDE SÉMANTIQUE SANS L'INTUITION NATIVE \*

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Ce sont surtout des considérations d'ordre pratique plutôt que des préoccupations académiques qui, le plus souvent, ont motivé l'étude des langues sans écriture. Ce fut la nécessité de communiquer avec des gens sans aucune tradition écrite qui nous amena, par exemple, à écrire des grammaires et, en moins grand nombre des dictionnaires. Si, jusqu'à l'apparition de la linguistique descriptive, les missionnaires chrétiens ne furent pas les seuls à apporter leur contribution à la connaissance que l'on a actuellement de ces langues, dont certaines ont disparu, ce sont pourtant leurs travaux qui représentent l'essentiel de cette littérature linguistique (pour un compte rendu, voir par exemple, DOKE et COLE 1961, et WONDERLY et NIDA 1963). Toutefois, il existe encore assez de langues sans écriture, et assez de gens qui doivent les apprendre pour justifier une discussion sérieuse sur les problèmes posés par l'apprentissage de langues pour lesquelles on ne dispose d'aucune aide ou presque, ainsi que sur les méthodes à employer dans ces cas. Le manuel de terrain idéal qui traiterait de problèmes constants (apprentissage de la phonologie, grammaire, lexique) reste encore à écrire (bien que les ouvrages de HEALEY 1971, GUDSCHINSKY 1967, LARSON et SWALLEY 1969, et SAMARIN 1967 constituent d'importantes contributions sur ce sujet). Et même si ce livre avait été écrit, le moment serait maintenant venu de le remanier en tenant compte des récents progrès technologiques. (Le magnétophone, même s'il n'est plus considéré aujourd'hui comme un instrument inusuel, n'a pas

\* C'est W.J. SAMARIN qui a tenu à ce titre français. Une traduction possible et compréhensible pour un non-anglophone serait: L'étude sémantique sans faire appel à l'intuition du locuteur (N.D.L.R.)

