

Ideas of the phoneme we've discussed:

Saussure:

American Structuralist Phonemicists:

Sapir's approach:

Sapir was trained (by Boaz) as an anthropologist. He looked at language as a **mental and social phenomenon** (by contrast with the behaviorist, mechanist climate in the US in the 1930s and 40s). Particularly active in the 1920s and 30s, he corresponded with Trubetzkoi and was the American most in touch with the European schools.

What would his definition of the phoneme be?

Phoneme =

Methodological criteria (compared with Pike's Phonemic analysis)?

Sapir claims that psychologically we are aware of phonemes and not sounds. How does he prove it? We can categorize his examples in terms of relations between phonetic and phonemic representation:

- 1) **Southern Pauite:**
- 2) **Sarcee (Athabaskan):**
- 3) **Nootka:**
- 4) **Nootka glottals:**
- 5) **English:**