

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF BROADCASTING: 1920-1950

Radio before Television

Volume One: Introduction: The Arts of Language
“A Word in Your Ear”/“I Know What I Like”

Edited and with notes by Patrick D. Hazard/Folkways Records FB 9171



Lister Sinclair, Andrew Allan and George Probat collaborated to create one of the most significant classics of educational broadcasting, “Ways of Mankind”, half-hour radio essays explaining the basic concepts of anthropology to the layman.

The programs “I Know What I Like” and “A Word in Your Ear” are from a series of radio programs entitled “Ways of Mankind” produced and copyrighted by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and are reproduced herewith with their permission.

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DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF BROADCASTING: 1920-1950

Descriptive Notes are inside pocket.

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SIDE 1

INTRODUCTION
(GRUNTS & WOLF WHISTLE)
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(PLACE, TIME, CLASS & FOOD)
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A WORD IN YOUR EAR

and I KNOW WHAT I LIKE

Languages As Arts

Radio Before Television, Vol. I, Edited by Patrick D. Hazard

MASS COMMUNICATION IN SEARCH OF A MEMORY

Patrick D. Hazard

There are a number of hopeful signs that historians and mass media professionals are finally getting together to create a collective memory for mass communication. In 1960 the Mass Communications History Center at the University of Wisconsin held a conference to consider strategies for approaching the seemingly impossible task of preserving and organizing the output of the newer media as historical documents. This is a staggering assignment because the media are as ephemeral as they are voluminous. In some cases (radio before acetates, TV before kinescopes), it was already too late to conserve programs so that historians and critics can devise out of them a "usable past" for media personnel. Even after these methods of recording programs were devised, the industry has often been more preoccupied with present problems and future sales curves than with a remembrance of broadcasts past.

Now a new sense of history is rapidly developing in the broadcast industry. Spurred by scholars like Milo Ryan of the University of Washington (whose *History in Sound* is a guide to the rich CBS holdings he saved for KIRO, Seattle) and encouraged by the Wisconsin Center and the Oral History Project at Columbia, industry trade groups like the

Broadcast Pioneers are hastening to overcome decades of neglect by conserving programs, business records, and individual memories before they are all irrevocably lost. A Documentary History of Broadcasting, 1920-1950, of which this NAEB reissue is the inaugural release, will aid in this process of self-discovery. Endorsed by the Broadcast Pioneers, this series will donate its profits to support a fellowship in the history of broadcasting at a university to be determined by the Board of Directors of the Pioneers.

Your ideas for future releases in this archive of the best that radio has thought and said (supplemented by typical programs to round out the historical portrait) are solicited. Basically, the archive will have three areas: entertainment, information, and marketing. In some cases, programs will merely be reissued. For others, original radio documentaries on certain genres are contemplated: soap opera, adventure serials, comedy, variety, and discussion, to name a few. Eventually it is hoped that aural essays on thematic topics can be "written": Presidential use of radio, topical humor in comedians like Bob Hope and Will Rogers, and changing styles of advertising are examples now being considered. In this way we hope to use radio itself to help it create its own sense of its past. For it is the conviction motivating this archive that only media with deep roots in the past of their crafts and their country can realize fully the potential in both of them. To help foster such a sense of the past we solicit your support of this venture.

It is peculiarly appropriate that "Ways of Man-kind" programs on Language and on Art should inaugurate this effort to help give man communication a memory. For that series used a new medium eloquently to explain to a twentieth century society the significance of the discipline which affords a bridge between humanities and social sciences. The side on "Art" reminds us that that is what the newer media are, basically - new art forms, awaiting geniuses for their fullest development. The side on "Language" emphasizes still another perspective: broadcasting is the latest extension of the human sensorium that makes a human community possible. Speech, writing, printing, graphics, and broadcasting: that is a microcosm of human history. And, as always, what we say to each other with new languages is what finally counts. These recordings also broke forever the assumption that educational broadcasting can't be exciting. Adequately financed, educational broadcasting has all the verve and reach of commercial entertainment. Moreover it would seem well produced educational radio is cheaper over the long haul since it can be run and rerun for the fractional audiences of the educational stations. (There is the further economy that these records are ideal classroom materials). Like any literary classic, Lister Sinclair's aural essays also hold up beautifully to "rereading".

Finally, why is it that the land of know how, the country of tinkers like Edison and Ford, must go to Canada to spend Ford Foundation money for Andrew Allan's superlative productions? It may be that we can learn something from our Northern neighbor about how government sponsored repertory radio is conducive to esthetic excellence in a way our system has not been -- for educational purposes at any rate. Significant history begins with good questions. Here is surely such a one.

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currences that are far away, imagine the future. Through language we can learn about experiences that we *will* probably never have, such as an arctic exploration; and experiences that we *can* never have (somebody else's dream). Language expresses also the relationship between things in time and space; it allows for the expression of the conditional as well as the actual, the potential as well as the real. With language we can relate cause to effect, action to actor, event to circumstance. All these things can be done in all languages, even though they are done differently.

Words are the symbols for reality. They classify the events of our environment, and all of them generalize and divide the infinite variety that the real world presents. "Boy" is as much a generalization as "love," and even the name of a person assumes a unity that growth and change of mood cannot destroy. Though we may say that "he is beside himself with rage," we still see him as the same person and call him by the same name. In English we think in terms of "parts of speech": nouns are the names of things; verbs are the names of actions; adjectives and adverbs are attributes of things and actions. Though the same word may be both noun and verb, we treat one as the name of a thing, the other as the name of an action. The importance of this distinction is so great that we are compelled always to distinguish between them, but if we reflect upon verbs and nouns we begin to see that our notion is arbitrary—a grammatical convention. A wave of the hand or an ocean wave is a noun, but both are action rather than thing. Modern physics gives reason to consider such a solid thing as stone to be molecular action, while we readily talk about electricity as a thing. And in English each act must have an actor. There must be an agent responsible, and our language requires that we provide one even when it is unnecessary. We say, "It is raining"—though "rains" is more what we mean.

Other languages do not make these same distinctions. Words do not necessarily divide into nouns and verbs. The act and actor may be part of the same word, and the actor less important than the action. To speakers of such a language, the world is seen with different eyes. Trees and boys and love still exist, of course. But language expresses the relationships between things in time and space, and these relationships are differently perceived. "The world in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached." That is the way the linguist and anthropologist

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LANGUAGE

Language is necessary for culture; yet it is a part of culture. We cannot conceive of the development of technology, art, religion, and social relations without an elaborate means of communication. We can see this clearly if we remember that culture is learned behavior—and if we try to imagine how it would be to learn most of the things we know without having them explained to us. How language began or whether it came before other elements in culture is only a matter of speculation; but because language is so important we are sure it must have existed very early in human history.

Man is the only animal with speech. It is his truly distinctive feature. We know the parrot imitates the sounds of human speech, but this is not language. Scientists have made many efforts to teach apes to speak, but never successfully. One spent six months trying to teach an orangutan to talk, and she seemed to have learned "cup" for water and "papa" for her teacher. Then she died—presumably not from the mental exertion. Two young psychologists had a chimpanzee live with them and grow up with their baby. The chimp learned everything faster than the baby did—except speech. Apes have the physical equipment to make sounds: larynx, tongue, palate. Apparently they lack the mental ability to use language. It is doubtful if the reason given by one anthropologist—that they have nothing to say—is the true one.

Many animals communicate with one another. We know of crows and their keeping watch; we know about mating calls. Gibbons, the small agile apes of southeast Asia, have a "vocabulary" of different calls that mean certain things, such as "danger," "get away," and the like. But there is all the difference in the world between these calls and true language. Animals can express only immediate states of mind.

Language, on the other hand, is the re-creation of experience in sound. It can not only communicate the subjective feeling of the speaker, but also describe objectively. Above all, it is not bound to the immediate, but can call forth events from the past, discuss oc-

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Edward Sapir expressed the fact that the language a people speak imposes a classification of things and events, and projects a whole logic upon the world.

This idea may be shocking, because everyone has started to learn his language before his earliest memory. But it is this fact of the early learning of language that makes the influence of language understandable. Before we learn to speak we have had few experiences—we have used our senses, we have felt pain and pleasure, we have distinguished a few persons in our environment, we have learned to crawl or perhaps to walk a little. But most of the things we later do we first experience in words. Our mothers usually express in words the things that are happening to us. The world in large measure comes to us in words—particularly the doing of things or the seeing of relations. Our habits tend to follow these words, our thoughts to follow our grammar.

Of course, all of us think that the way we speak of the world is the way it really is. And in the cultural sense, that is the way it is to each speaker. But the real world is far too complex to be recorded in ordinary spoken language; indeed the ability to speak means the ability to agree upon certain important generalizations, and to overlook the many individual differences among things. Since every tree is ultimately unique, we could have no botany if a separate word were used for each tree. It cannot be otherwise.

Language, then, is part of culture, as well as being crucial to it. We learn our language as part of the pattern of our cultural behavior—just as we learn to like certain foods, to make certain tools, to believe in certain gods. But because we learn other parts of our culture through the language we speak, language inevitably becomes the lens through which we see our culture and the whole world. Language pervades every other aspect of culture. Since language sets the world view of its speakers, we must learn to appreciate the differences that different languages imply if we are to understand the peoples of the world. We must also learn to appreciate the effects of our own language upon our own thought if ultimately we are to get beyond the limitations our culture imposes upon us, and understand the world as seen by other cultures or the world of scientific reality.

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A Word in Your Ear

LISTER SINCLAIR

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Two narrators take us to scenes that show the relationship between language and culture. One of them is "Here," who likes to point out things about our own language; the other is "There," who finds his examples in distant lands. The other characters are self-explanatory.

HERE  
Watch your language! Remember whom you're speaking to! To the ladies, speak Italian; to the gentlemen, French; to the birds, English; to the dogs, German; and Spanish should be spoken only to God!

[MUSIC]

HERE  
All people have language with which to express their feelings.

THERE  
But language is not the same as expressing your feelings. Some people think animals have language because they can often express their feelings; as when in the arctic wilderness, we hear the wolf. *(An arctic wolf howls in the distance.)*

HERE  
But there is all the difference in the world between that wolf and this. *(A human "wolf-whistle" is heard.)*

THERE  
The four-legged wolf howl expresses its feelings there and then, and so does the wolf-whistle. But the whistler can back up his expression with language.

HUMAN  
How about taking in a show on Saturday night?

HERE  
And that is a communication about another time and another place. It is true language,

not just expression of feeling. And all human beings have language—from the Eskimo by the Arctic Ocean, warm in his kayak with his suit of furs, to the Patagonian by the Antarctic Ocean, shivering in his canoe with a fire in it, because he wears almost no clothes at all. From one extreme to the other, all people have language.

[MUSIC]

THERE  
What's more, all these languages are adequate. They all do the job—communication. Their variety, both of sound and structure, is incredible, but each stands relatively unchanging with its own traditions and flavor. For instance, the Persian speaks.

PERSIAN  
In Paradise, the serpent spoke Arabic, the most persuasive of all languages; Adam and Eve spoke Persian, the most poetic of all languages; and the angel Gabriel spoke Turkish, the most threatening of all languages.

HERE  
On the other hand, in the Highlands of Scotland, the tradition goes that Scots Gaelic was the language spoken by Adam and Eve in Paradise.

THERE  
As for English, many other peoples think it sounds like the twittering of birds, rapid, shrill, and mysterious. To the Navaho, whose speech is precise in the exact intonation of every syllable, English is just a lot of slop. And to anyone who speaks a language rich in vowels, such as Italian or Japanese, English, with its clustering clots of consonant strengths, is enough to give a crocodile the lockjaw.

HERE  
For we often think that whatever we speak

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six hundred years ago.

WICLIF
Oure Fadur that art in heuenes, halwid be thi name; thi kyngdom cumme to; be thi wille don as in heuen and in erthe; gif to vs this day oure breed ouer other substance; and forgeve to vs oure dettis, as we forgeve to oure dettours; and leede vs nat in to temptacioun, but delyure vs fro yuel. Amen.

THERE
Then, quite soon after the Norman Conquest, English had a tang of French to it. But let's jump back beyond 1066 and listen to English in its hard Teutonic infancy as Anglo-Saxon—the Lord's Prayer in the year 1000 A.D.

ANGLO-SAXON
Faeder ure thu the eart on heofonum; si thin name gehalgod. To-become thin rice. Gewurthe thin wille on eorhtan swa swa on heofonum. Urne gedaeghwamlican hlaf syle us to daeg. And forgyf us ure gyltas swa swa we forgyfath urum gyltendum. And ne gelaed thu us on costnunge ac alys us of yfele. Sothlice.

HERE
Language then is a function of time. And even modern English still keeps the record of that Norman Conquest. The Saxons became the servants, and looked after the beasts while they were alive, and their names are still the Saxon ones.

SAXON
Ox. Calf. Sheep. Swine.

THERE
Compare the German: Ochs. Kalb. Schaf. Schwein.

HERE
But when they were killed, their meat was served up to the Norman master; and on the

table those animals' names are still the Norman ones.

NORMAN
Beef. Veal. Mutton. Pork.

THERE
Compare the French: Bœuf. Veau. Mouton. Porc. Language reflects culture.

[MUSIC]

HERE
Language is a function of age. We don't expect a child to talk like a college professor.

INFANT
Simple harmonic motion can therefore be represented graphically by a sine or cosine curve.

THERE
Nor do we expect a college professor to talk like a child.

PROFESSOR
What's the matter? said the doctor.

What's the matter? said the nurse.

What's the matter? said the lady with the alligator purse.

[MUSIC]

THERE
Language is also a function of sex. Among the Carayahi Indians of Brazil, the women and the men speak different languages. For example, the word for girl is *yadokoma* in the women's language, but *yadoma* in the men's. The men and women speak a slightly different language.

HERE
And in English? Here's a traveler chewing his cigar in the smoking room of the Santa Fe Chief. But he's speaking the women's language.

SALESMAN
I don't want to be catty, but, my dear, it was

ourselves is the proper thing—that what the other fellow speaks is scarcely more than a string of grunts.

WIFE
I see by the paper there are over fifteen hundred different languages spoken in the world today.

HUSBAND
(Engrossed in the sports section.) Oh.

WIFE
And it says there are more families of languages among the American Indians than in the whole of the Old World.

HUSBAND
Uh.

WIFE
Well, everyone knows Indians don't talk properly. They just grunt.

HUSBAND
Uh-uh.

WIFE
You aren't listening. *(Pause.)* Are you?

HUSBAND
(Now puts down his paper.) Hmmm?

WIFE
Are you listening?

HUSBAND
(With the false enthusiasm of one who hasn't been.) M-hm!

WIFE
I say Indians don't talk properly. They just grunt.

HUSBAND
Hub?

WIFE
Grunt!

HUSBAND
Uh!

WIFE
What do you think?

HUSBAND
U-u-u-u-u-u-u-uh—language is language, and grunts are grunts.

[MUSIC]

HERE
One man's speech is another man's jargon, but all people have language, and these languages are highly diverse in form. But always we begin by speaking as we think, and end by thinking as we speak. Our language is an expression of our culture, shaped by the way we are brought up; and on the other hand, the way we are brought up is shaped by our language.

THERE
For, as we know from our own language, English, language reflects place, time, age, sex, and circumstance. And this is true of other languages.

HERE
Language reflects place.

THERE
As everybody knows, very often the most foreign thing about a foreign country is the foreign language.

HERE
And English-speakers can't visit one another's country without meeting the great Transatlantic Rift.

AMERICAN
Lookit, Jack, when you get off the streetcar, get off the pavement, get on the sidewalk, go two blocks, turn right, there's a drugstore on the corner, take the elevator down to the garage. You can't miss it.

ENGLISH
All right, chum. You mean, when I get off the tram, get off the road, get on the pavement, take the second turning to the right, there's a chemist's shop on the corner, take the lift down to the garage. What do you mean, I can't miss it?

THERE
Language then, is a function of place.

[MUSIC]

HERE
And language is a function of time. Listen to the Lord's Prayer as it sounded nearly

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simply too terrible. I really thought I should have died. I just wanted to sink right through the floor. My gracious me, I thought, if Bert and Charlie aren't wearing that same cunning Homburg hat.

HERE  
Unfortunately, in our society the men's language is taboo to women—that is to say, they are supposed not to know it. So I'm afraid we aren't give you an example of a lady speaking the men's language. Sailors present.

[MUSIC]

THERE  
Language is a function of occasion. There is a time for one kind of speech, and a time for another. Sir James Frazer tells us that in Siam there is a special language to be used when discussing the Siamese King. The hairs of his head, the soles of his feet, the breath of his body, indeed every single detail of his person, both outward and inward, have particular names. When he eats or drinks or walks, a special word indicates that these acts are being performed by the sovereign, and such words cannot possibly be applied to the acts of any other person whatever.

HERE  
We do not perhaps carry things quite as far as that, but nonetheless a fellow may be greeted casually when he comes into the office.

AMIABLE  
Hi, Charlie boy, how's the kid? What've you got to say for yourself?

HERE  
But a few minutes later, when the board meeting convenes, he is addressed more formally.

AMIABLE  
And now, Charles, we trust you have overcome the hardships of your journey. Would you be so good as to present your report regarding market conditions in the west.

THERE  
The Chinese are famous for their elaborate forms of greeting. But other languages are far more complicated. For example, the Nootka Indians of Vancouver Island not only distinguish, by their choice of words, the sex of a person speaking, the sex of the person spoken to, and whether the speaker is more or less important than the person spoken to; but also, on top of this, have a special way of talking to a man who is left-handed, and a special way of talking to a man who is circumcised.

HERE  
English cannot go this far. But, even so, language must be suitable to the occasion. Queen Victoria certainly knew this when she expressed her dislike of Gladstone.

QUEEN VICTORIA  
Mr. Gladstone always addresses me as if I were a Public Meeting.

HERE  
And imagine a politician proposing in the language he uses on the platform.

POLITICIAN  
Unaccustomed as I am to private proposals, I kneel before you today, unwilling—nay, reluctant—to assume the burdens of matrimonial office, but nonetheless prepared to bow to your opinion, and dedicate myself unselfishly if I receive an unmistakable draft.

[MUSIC]

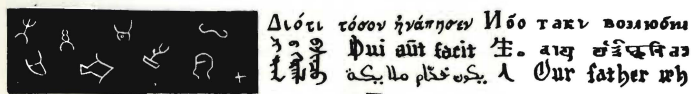
*(The Wedding March.)*

THERE  
Language, therefore, by reflecting place, time, age, sex, and circumstance, is a function of society. Language reflects culture.

HERE  
The easiest way to see this is through vocabulary. The Eskimos have no word for coconut, and the Samoans have no word for snow.

ESKIMO  
And neither do the Eskimos.

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HERE

I beg your pardon?

ESKIMO

We Eskimos have no word for snow. Ask me the word for snow, and I ask you: What kind of snow? Snow is to us Eskimos too important to be dismissed with one word. We have many words telling us, for instance, when it fell, and describing its exact condition to us. For the knowledge is vital, and our lives may depend on it.

THERE

Since language reflects society, whatever is important in society has many words in the language. The Arabs have a thousand words for sword. And the Siberian Chuckchee, who live on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, have thirty or so words describing the skins of the caribou. Here is just one of them:

CHUCKCHEE

Cechenyaqilhm.

THERE

This Chuckchee word means that the underleg of the caribou skin is greyish, and that it is light grey on the groins, but that the prevailing body color is brown. And there are innumerable similar examples. The Yurok Indians of California place a high value on woodpecker scalps and obsidian blades. And besides the ordinary set of numerals (1, 2, 3, and so forth) they have two extra sets—one for counting woodpecker scalps, and another one for counting obsidian blades.

HERE

English is full of relics of vocabulary that remind us that other days thought other things important. There was a time when English-speaking men lived very much by hunting. They had special words for congregations of animals: a flock of sheep and a herd of cattle, but a pride of lions, a skulk of foxes, and a gaggle of geese.

They also had special words for the carving of each of the animals and birds of the chase

when they arrived on the table ready to eat. Nowadays if we have a pile of game birds we have carved, the cook will say:

COOK

Hey, mac!

MAC

Yeah?

COOK

Cut up them birds, will you?

HERE

For nowadays one game bird is much like another: out of season.

THERE

But to the Elizabethans, game birds were the very meat of life, and their carving required a special and ornate vocabulary.

COOK

You, sirrah!

MAC

Anon?

COOK

Dismember that heron, unbrace that mallard, allay that pheasant, wing that partridge, display that quail, unjoint that bittern, thigh that woodcock, lift that swan, and rear that goose. As for that curlew—

MAC

Aye, sir?

COOK

Unlatch it!

[MUSIC]

("Come to the Cookhouse Door.")

HERE

A noble handful that has been replaced by other rich treasures of vocabulary as our language (like all other languages) has changed to reflect our culture.

ESKIMO

As we Eskimos found out when I was sent down to study your culture. Your language is like ours, very often. Our Eskimo language, like many other North American Indian languages, is polysynthetic.

11

NORWEGIAN MOTHER

Jan, ble snill!

HERE

Both mean the same thing: be friendly, be kind. So the misbehaving Scandinavian child is unfriendly, unkind, uncooperative.

THERE

Things are very different in Germany.

GERMAN MOTHER

Hans, sei artig!

THERE

Be in line! The misbehaving German child is not conforming, it is out of step, out of line. A mother of the Hopi Indians of the southwest United States has the same idea, only in a more gentle spirit.

HOPi MOTHER

No, no, no, no—that is not the Hopi way.

THERE

Hopi is the right thing, the proper way to do things, the way the affairs of the tribe, and indeed of the Universe, are managed. The Hopi child that misbehaves is not bad, or imprudent or unfriendly, or, quite, out of line. He is not on the Hopi way; he is not marching in step with the Hopi view of destiny and of life.

HERE

So, even in the words a mother says to her misbehaving child, we can detect again how language reflects culture.

MOTHER

Johnny, be good!

FRENCH MOTHER

Jean, sois sage: be wise!

SWEDISH MOTHER

Jan, var snell: be friendly!

GERMAN MOTHER

Hans, sei artig: get back in line!

HOPi MOTHER

No, no, no, no: that is not the Hopi way!

[MUSIC: "Rock-a-bye Baby."]

THERE

East of New Guinea, in the southern Pacific, lie the Trobriand Islands. The people who live

there are great mariners, lively and active. But they take no interest in things changing. If a thing changes, then it becomes something else, and they call it something else.

HERE

Just as we do not introduce an old gentleman with a long white beard as the bouncing baby boy Jim Jones.

JIM

(A very old man.) Very pleased to make your acquaintance.

THERE

(Confidentially to HERE.) Buster here isn't any more a bouncing baby boy than I am.

JIM

Ah, but you see, once upon a time I was, in the long, long ago.

HERE

(Dismissing him briskly.) But he isn't now. In fact, we don't think of him as a kind of modified infant, but as something else—an old gentleman, a different kind of animal.

THERE

Now the Trobriand Islanders think like this all the time. They raise a yam crop, and a first-rate yam has a special name.

TROBRIAND ISLANDER

Taytu.

THERE

But an overripe yam is not overripe taytu; it's different. It is:

TROBRIAND ISLANDER

Yowana.

THERE

And a yowana with underground shoots isn't yowana any more, but . . .

TROBRIAND ISLANDER

Silisata.

THERE

Though with new tubers on the underground shoots, it isn't silisata of any kind, but now:

TROBRIAND ISLANDER

Gadena.

THERE

Among the Trobriand Islanders, in short, the

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HERE

How's that—polysynthetic?

ESKIMO

Not an Eskimo word but an English word—polysynthetic. One word means a whole phrase, one word has in it the compressed wreckage of a phrase. Thus suppose we wish to say in Eskimo: "When they were about to go out they would take the boot-stretcher using it to thrash the dogs because they usually stay in the entrance passage."

That is twenty-six words in English. In Eskimo it is six words: *Anilerunik*: ("when they were about to go out"). *Kammiut*: ("the boot-stretcher"). *Tingussaat*: ("they would take it"). *Anaataralongo*: ("using it to thrash with"). *Qimmit*: ("the dogs"). *Torsooneetaomata*: ("because they usually stay in the entrance passage").

HERE

But where does English contain words that are the compressed wreckage of a phrase, as you put it?

ESKIMO

In English, not exactly like Eskimo, but nearly like. The other day I saw a newspaper headline: "UNRRA DP'S LAUD UNESCO." Back to my dictionary I go. There I find the word *laud*—nothing else. The other words are missing. Then it is explained to me. These other words are not normal English; they are instead the compressed wreckage of phrases. Four words, "UNRRA DP'S LAUD UNESCO," means: "United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency Displaced Persons Laud the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization."

ESKIMO

Seventeen words compressed into four. Well, that's about average for Eskimo!

[MUSIC]

THERE

Again, language reflects culture. As modern life sets up more elaborate agencies and organizations, modern language adapts itself,

name of a thing alone is all you need say about it.

HERE

How different with us. Consider the case of a fellow being shown a new baby. (A baby starts to cry.) It is red-faced, boiled-looking, dribbling, cross-eyed, and squalling. The fond parents are watching you like hawks. You have to say something. But what?

FELLOW

How intelligent-looking?

HERE

But it looks like a moron!

FELLOW

How beautiful?

HERE

Just look at the ugly little beast!

FELLOW

How small and tiny?

HERE

For that, they'll kill you. He's three thirty-seconds of an ounce overweight: he's a giant!

FELLOW

How exactly like his father?

HERE

Say that, and he'll punch you right on the nose. There's nothing you can say. All you can do is shuffle around from one foot to the other and look as foolish as the baby.

THERE

But in the Trobriand Islands, the whole thing's simple. Show a Trobriand Islander the same messy, bellowing brat, and he says:

TROBRIAND ISLANDER

How baby!

THERE

How baby—which nobody can deny, and everyone's happy!

HERE

Yet our language is like the Trobriand in some ways, just as our society is like theirs in some ways. They place a high value on yams, and have an elaborate yam vocabulary. We place a high value on other things, and have an

and forms words and builds polysynthetic forms almost like the Eskimo. Other languages besides English have been doing this. German, for example. *Gestapo* stands for *Geheime Staats Polizei* ("secret state police"). *Flak* is the compressed wreckage of *Flugzeugabwehrkanone* ("anti-aircraft cannon.")

HERE

As we think, so we speak; as we speak, so we think. As we are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, as we are taught our manners and the way things are done in the world we live in, so we are taught our language. And as we learn our language from our mother's lips, we also learn the customs and attitudes of our society. For language reflects these customs and attitudes—that is, language reflects culture.

THERE

(A child wails and misbehaves.) Over here, for instance, is a child misbehaving; and here comes its mother. She's going to tell it to behave properly. But let us notice carefully what word she uses.

MOTHER

John, be good! (The child subsides.)

HERE

Be good. The English-speaking child that misbehaves is bad, or naughty, or wicked. So is the Italian-speaking child, or the Greek-speaking one.

THERE

But listen to what the French mother says to her child.

FRENCH MOTHER

Jean, sois sage!

THERE

Sois sage: be wise. The French-speaking child that misbehaves is not bad, it is foolish, it is imprudent, it is injudicious.

HERE

In the Scandinavian countries, things are different again.

SWEDISH MOTHER

Jan, var snell!

even more complicated and exact vocabulary to describe the special objects of our interest.

Just look here. (The traffic noises of a busy street.) Standing on a downtown street corner, we have a Trobriand Islander, who has come to study our society. He's talking to a guy and writing down the answers.

TROBRIAND ISLANDER

What is the name of that thing on wheels going by now—the green one?

GUY

That's a Plymouth.

TROBRIAND ISLANDER

Plymouth. There is another green one, also a Plymouth.

GUY

No, it's green, but it ain't a Plymouth. That's a Studebaker. Studie has a kind of turret in the middle.

TROBRIAND ISLANDER

Then here is a great big Studebaker.

GUY

No, the big one with the kind of turret, that's a Cadillac.

TROBRIAND ISLANDER

Here is another big one. This is a Cadillac?

GUY

No, no—look at the back! That's a Lincoln.

HERE

And so it goes on of course. That Trobriand Islander will be there for a week. And then we'll break it to him that there's a difference between one year's model and the next. A week! He'll be there for a year.

THERE

But when he goes home, he'll talk to his friends just as our travelers come home and talk to us.

TROBRIAND ISLANDER

They are a very peculiar people attaching fantastic importance to little differences among their automobiles, so that a certain kind of small automobile is called a Plymouth; but

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with a turret in the middle, it is not a Plymouth with a turret, but a Studebaker. Quite a different word. And a big thing like a sort of Studebaker with other differences here and there is not a big Studebaker, but a different word again, a Cadillac. And so it goes on. They are a very peculiar people.

[MUSIC]

THERE  
Now we come to the most striking and interesting example of language reflecting culture—the wonderful and varied language of the Navaho Indians.

[MUSIC]  
(Navaho "Night Way.")

THERE  
The Navaho Indians live in the great red desert of the southwest United States, not very far from the Grand Canyon, in Arizona. Their nomadic life is filled with uncertainties, and they seek security and balance in ritual and ceremony, by which they find their place in the natural harmony of the universe, and health and a sense of belonging.

HERE  
Now life on this vast, unconsidering mountain desert is very much influenced by forces the Navaho do not command—the long drought, the sudden torrential rain, the sweep of epidemic disease.

THERE  
And the Navaho view of the Universe seems to be connected with what they have learned from the country that is their home.

events associated with things, among which our own acts are only a few among many.

HERE  
Our own outlook is centered on things. Our language is centered on nouns, which are the names of things. The first words our children learn might well be the names of things.

MOTHER  
Man. Ball. Boat. Bird.  
NAVAHO  
Our Navaho outlook is focused on actions and events, our language on verbs. The first words our children learn may well be those expressive of actions.

NAVAHO MOTHER  
Standing. Rolling. Sailing. Flying.

HERE  
Navaho words, like those of Eskimo, are often polysynthetic, the compressed wreckage of phrases. Take a single word.

NAVAHO  
Ná sh'ááh  
HERE

And it means: "I am causing a round object to turn over, to turn upside down."

THERE  
Navaho has many words for what we speak of as moving—a word for a round object moving, a fabric moving, and many more. And pronouns and adverbs are only parts of the verb, for the verb is central in Navaho speech just as actions are central in Navaho thinking.

HERE  
We try to control nature.

NAVAHO  
We seek to understand it, and our place within it.

HERE  
To us, the world is made up of beings and things that act on other beings and things.

NAVAHO  
To us Navaho, the world is one of actions and

NAVAHO  
Dying is taking place with John.

HERE  
We are active toward nature; we think of our world as full of objects doing things to other objects: our language is centered on nouns, the names of things.

NAVAHO  
We Navaho see ourselves as part of nature, in harmony with it: our world is one of actions to which we, and other things, are linked. Our language centers on the verb, expressive of acting.

THERE  
Finally, here is an editorial in a Navaho newspaper. The writer is angry. He wants to know why a school is not built at Kayenta, though other places have schools. But he expresses his indignation in the Navaho way.

NAVAHO  
The school at Kayenta, in vain we are hoping

HERE  
We have a few verbs that are perhaps similar. The word *shrug* must carry with it the idea of *shoulder*; you can't shrug your stomach.  
THERE  
In English we say, "John is dying," just as we say, "John is walking," or "John is working"—for we speak even of death as though it were an act performed. But the Navaho, translated, says something like:

for it. Many children here have no school to attend. To one who comes here to see, there are 300 or more children who are in this state, who have no school. Therefore let a school become a reality here at Kayenta. Long ago this matter was brought up. Why is this so, please?

[MUSIC]

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## ARTS

Everywhere the anthropologist goes, he finds people singing, dancing, telling stories, adorning themselves, and devoting special care to decorating and shaping things to their own taste. When he digs up remains of ancient cultures, he finds not only tools and weapons but evidences of an effort to make things beautiful. Even as far back as the Old Stone Age there were decorated objects, statuettes, and elaborately colored cave paintings. We do not know how far back such efforts go, but we are reasonably certain they are as old as our species. Culture everywhere produces art.

Art is not easy to define. People generally "know what they like"; they know what art is for them. But they react differently to other people's art. Philosophers have tried to define the nature of art and to establish universal principles of esthetics, but with little success. Perhaps it is adequate to say that art is the product of human imagination and creativity done for its own sake, for the pleasure in the doing. All peoples derive pleasure from such activity—though there is much variety in the form it takes, the importance it has, and the meaning they give to it.

We do not know what the oldest art form is. We do know that all peoples have dancing, all peoples decorate themselves, all peoples have vocal music and some form of instrumental accompaniment, if only the beating of sticks. We know, too, that all people tell stories, and have a sense of style—of artistry—in the telling. While the making of pictures is not found everywhere, the decoration and special shaping of objects is. These last are the oldest forms of art we know about, because they are the ones that remain after the people are gone.

We do not know what makes art universal—what there is about the human animal that makes him want to create things, and in the creation to form them in a way that gives special satisfaction to the eye or ear. But perhaps we can say that it is this talent more than any other that makes man a special creature—differing not only in capacities from other animals, but in spirit as well. In this way man has altered the environment not only to suit his needs but also to suit his tastes.

Esthetic judgment is a product of culture. What we see as beautiful, what we do that is satisfying to our senses, is established as a part of a cultural pattern. In part, this is habituation. But art also reflects the spirit of a culture. Perhaps the most dramatic example of such a relation was seen in Nazi Germany, where the thunderous and martial music of Wagner had official sanction. Another example comes from the island of Bali. Here the people are devoted to music—and indeed to all the arts. The music consists of highly

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elaborated orchestration of gongs, xylophones, and stringed instruments. Balinese symphonies are the product of many hands, each doing simple things but the whole forming a complex unit. This form of music reflects the sense of unity in the village life, and the subordination of individual action to the general interest, so typical of Balinese culture. The music also reflects the Balinese world outlook, for it is elaborate in detail and delicate in tone, but lacking in dramatic climax—to the point of monotony to Western ears. The Balinese, similarly, tend to avoid dramatic displays of emotion in their daily life, though they are meticulously careful about protocol.

Again, we may notice the relation of art to culture in the differences between European and Chinese painting. The Europeans, especially since the Renaissance, have emphasized portraiture and the individual object, just as European culture places emphasis upon individual accomplishment and personal differences. Chinese art tends to emphasize landscapes, where a few small figures may be seen as minor elements in a greater whole. Even in portraits of their emperors, the Chinese artists give elaborate treatment of the garments and reduce the faces almost to a mask. Chinese culture does not emphasize the individual but sees him as one element among many in the world. Art, like language, reflects culture.

Art moreover influences culture. It is often an active force not only expressing but also supporting action. The clearest examples are those artistic expressions that reinforce the sense of unity among men, such as national anthems and military music. It is true also of such ceremonies as the British coronation of a new monarch, in which the nation expresses its unity. Similarly, the elaborate ceremonials of the Hopi Indians express their group unity. It is not surprising, when we know the culture of these Indians, to learn that very small children toddle along with the dancers as best they can, included in the ceremonial unity as they are in the social unity.

In the United States, we too have our songs of unity. There is no fraternity or college campus in America that does not have its songs, and the singing together is as important in the expression of unity as are the sentiments in the lyrics.

Literature is doubtless the most influential of the arts because of its versatility. The literature of a people expresses values, creates models for behavior, re-enforces group sentiments, inspires action, according to the demands of the people's culture.

The arts are the dividend in culture. Other animals are themselves beautiful, and some by instinct sing or dance or build nests. But man is unique in his creative capacities, and in devoting the time he can spare to the creation of works of esthetic satisfaction.

18



# But I Know What I Like

LISTER SINCLAIR

HERE and THERE, the two narrators, again show us through the world—this time to demonstrate the universality of art and its social uses.

[MUSIC]

HERE

Art is universal. Every society has some kind of art: every society has literature; every society has music; and every society has its own special arts as well. Art is what we do for its own sake. Books must be written to tell us things; but that they should be beautifully written is the work of the art of literature. Houses must be built to shelter us; but that they should be beautifully built gives rise to the art of architecture. As the fellow from New England fully realized when he said:

NEW ENGLANDER

I'm building my house myself. Doing it with



my own hands, and the wife, of course, helping with the heavy work. Then when it's all finished, nailed up tight ready to go, I'll bring

down a fellow from Boston to put on the architecture.

[MUSIC]

HERE

All societies, then, have some sort of art. All societies look for the beautiful.

THERE

But they don't all look in the same place. The Japanese consider flower arranging one of the fine arts, and also the ceremony of tea drinking, which is an elaborate social occasion as well.

HERE

In our own society we consider gardening one of the arts—though our ideas are very different from what the seventeenth century considered one of the high spots of the art of gardening. Cardinal Richelieu's celebrated water-garden at Ruel, in France.

JOHN EVELYN

The garden has in its midst divers noble brass statues, perpetually spouting water into an ample basin, with other figures of the same metal. On one of the walks, within a square of tall trees, is a basilisk of copper, which, managed by the fountaineer, casts water near sixty feet high, and will of itself move round so swiftly that one can hardly escape a wetting. At the further part of this walk is a plentiful, though artificial, cascade, which rolls down a very steep declivity, and over the marble steps and basins with an astonishing noise and fury. In the middle stands a marble table, on which a fountain plays in divers forms of glasses, cups, crosses, fans, crowns, et cetera. Then the fountaineer represented a shower of rain from the top, met by small jets from below. And at going out, two extravagant musketeers shot us with a stream of water from their musket barrels.

[MUSIC]

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made it into pots and jars and urns to hold the olive oil. So much was for commerce, which said that urns must be made for olive oil; then the potter's art arose and said that they must be beautifully made. And so they were.

READER

(Very softly.) Thou still unravish'd bride of quietness,

Thou foster-child of silence and slow time, Sylvan historian, who canst thus express A flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme.

HERE

(Starting on a new point.) Art then often arises from the circumstances of society—the Grecian urn from the olive-oil trade; the Navaho blanket from the chill nights of the southwest desert; and the paintings of the cave man from the attempt to make magic to guarantee good hunting.

THERE

This talk of pictures makes it worth mentioning that not every society has such things as pictures.

HERE

Indeed?

MOSLEM

Very much indeed. You Christians do not, it



seems, know your own Ten Commandments. But we Mohammedans, who revere Moses as a great prophet, always remember the words of the Second Commandment: "Thou shalt

not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth." The Hebrews of the olden time respected this commandment; and Islam, the faith of Mohammed, respects it to this day. Nowhere in Islam will you find a picture of anything whatever made by one of the faithful. But alas, we are all human, and this is not the only commandment broken of men.

[MUSIC]

THERE

So it appears that not every art is universal—though certainly many are. The art of adorning the human body, for example.

HERE

We do it by clothes, by dressing our hair, and by coloring our faces and shaping our bodies. The Chinese used to shape their feet; the North American Indians used to shape their heads; we usually shape the parts in between. We wear clothes for warmth and for modesty—though improved heating changes the first, and fashion changes the second. Nonetheless, added to these necessary uses, there is the art of the tailor, the dressmaker, and the hairdresser.

THERE

Though nowadays we do not go quite as far as the eighteenth century, when a lady's hair was cemented up with false hair and frameworks, and then left for weeks, while madam slept with her neck resting on a wooden collar.

HERE

We do not have time to go into the many things that human beings have made the object of art of one kind or another: tattooing, telling stories, making wine, breeding goldfish, striking coins, decorating boomerangs, designing clocks, catching foxes, making pictures out of corn pollen or butterfly wings, spinning ropes, carving statues—all these things and

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HERE

The water-garden was an art in seventeenth-century France. The same country also made cookery into an art, so that the great chef Brillat-Savarin could say in his *Anatomy of Taste*:

BRILLAT-SAVARIN

Architecture is a branch of cookery.

THERE

A useful reminder when you meet a cook who thinks cookery is a branch of chemistry. Every society has its special arts: and very often the form of the art has risen out of the nature of the society. Consider, for example, the case of the Grecian urn:

KEATS

O Attic shape! Fair attitude! with brede Of marble men and maidens overwrought, With forest branches and the trodden weed; Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought As doth eternity: Cold Pastoral!

When old age shall this generation waste, Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—that is all Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

THERE

Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn" is one of the glories of our art of literature; and, by the way, it expresses the attitude of the artist in all societies. But the Grecian urn itself is a piece of art that springs from the very roots of ancient Greek society. Let us call up from the past a citizen of ancient Athens.

[MUSIC]

(Greek shepherd's pipe.)

GREEK

Ancient Athens was a city on the sea, locked in by the barren rocky hills of Attica, upon whose stony sun-baked slopes only one tree would grow with ease; and that was the olive. The flocks were pastured between the olive

groves, and—Pardon, sir, what music is that I hear?

THERE

Something to try and make you feel at home, old Greek. It is a Greek shepherd playing upon a clarinet-like pipe that he has made with his own hands.

GREEK

In two thousand years that sound has hardly changed. (Pause.) I know the tune. It came into Greece at the dawn of the Golden Age, at the time of the Persian wars; and the Greek shepherd on the hill remembers it still upon his homemade pipes. (Pause.)

THERE

(Giving a gentle reminder.) The Grecian urn?

GREEK

Pardon. Athens, as I have said, had two things only: the sea before her, and the olive trees behind her. Clearly she had to trade, and by sea. She became a great maritime nation, in her day the queen of the ocean. But her chief treasure, her commodity, the thing she could exchange in trade was the olive, and the pre-



cious sweet oil that comes from the olive. Now this oil must be placed in something; and so we took the clay of the Athenian hills and

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many more have been fine arts to somebody, sometime, somewhere.

THERE

Art is universal. Every society has forms of art, and the nature of the society gives rise to the nature of the art. Art in fact is a part of society. This is true of every art, but we'll show you how it works for the art of music. (After all, we can't make a noise like a Rembrandt.)

[MUSIC]

("Music, Music, Music.")

HERE

Music. Music is found in every society. And every society says the same thing about other people's music.

OPINIONATED

Call that music! It's just a lot of noise.

THERE

Not just about other people's music! People say that about their own music. Archeology has yet to discover the oldest inscription ever set down by the hand of man; but when it turns up we can make a pretty good guess what it will say.

OLDEST INSCRIPTION

Set down, by Me, in the Year Dot, the following, namely: What in the world is the modern generation coming to, and as for all this new music; so-called—it's nothing but a lot of noise.

THERE

Age cannot wither it, nor custom stale the same old story. What we say about Stravinsky, people said about Mozart.

HERE

But it all comes to the same thing. In music, as in all arts, there are many different styles. Here, for example, is some of the vigorous, highly ornamented music of Arabia, basically unchanged through the 1400 years since Mohammed, except to add fresh subtleties to its buoyant, exuberant expression.

[MUSIC]

(Arabian folksong.)

THERE

The Arabians have a style of music quite different from ours, but—

HERE

But questions of musical taste are something else again. Different societies have different kinds of music (some of which we'll be hearing), and even the same society has different kinds of music. But what we're after is music as a part of society—the way we use music without really paying attention to questions of musical taste. Consider these two fellows. (We find ourselves in the midst of revelry.)

They're at a New Year's party. One of them is wearing an admiral's hat made of green crepe paper; the other one is holding a thing that unwinds when you blow into it and tickles someone's nose with a feather. They are discussing fundamental questions of musical taste.

WILSON

Look, Jack! These days, who cares about Bach? He's dead.

JACK

He's dead; but his stuff isn't. As long as music exists, you've got Johann Sebastian Bach.



WILSON

That stuff sounds like a sewing machine.

JACK

What! (He is inarticulate with indignation.)

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ing out bananas, both the fruit and the skin, into a paste for cooking; it's a great delicacy. This song is a typical African work song, with the soloist improvising on the delights of beaten-out banana, while the chorus never changes.

HERE

Work songs are another example of the social use of music. In almost every society nearly any kind of ceremony has appropriate music—from a funeral to a wedding. In our society, in fact, wedding music is so firmly established and rigidly dictated that a girl can get some horrible surprises.

DAPHNE

But, mother! If your great-grandmother died before Mendelssohn was even born, there wasn't even a Wedding March! We've got an ancestor who wasn't properly married!

[MUSIC]

(*The Wedding March.*)

HERE

To say nothing of *Lohengrin*, and "I Love You Truly," and "Because." Music at weddings is rigidly prescribed; in our society, it has an important social use.

THERE

And in other societies. Music, for example, is often connected with religion. Religious songs are common. Religious dances are less common in societies familiar to our own—though King David is reported as dancing before the Ark of the Covenant; and in the Greek Orthodox Church part of the wedding

ceremony consists of a highly formalized and very stately religious dance.

HERE

In our society, music and church are so closely connected that Alexander Pope could say:

POPE

Some to church repair

Not for the doctrine but the music there.

HERE

And music in church is perhaps only an extension of the feeling of our society that, of all the arts, it is music that properly belongs in heaven. We all hope that painters, sculptors and poets may be there, and in quantity. But we all know that when they get there, they'll be singing in the heavenly choirs. For we regard music as above all the heavenly art. In our view music is not only an important part of life in this world, but an important part of life in the next. Dryden, for instance, fittingly concludes his great song for Saint Cecilia's Day with the triumphal declaration of what music will do on the day of judgment.

[MUSIC: *from The Messiah.*]

DRYDEN

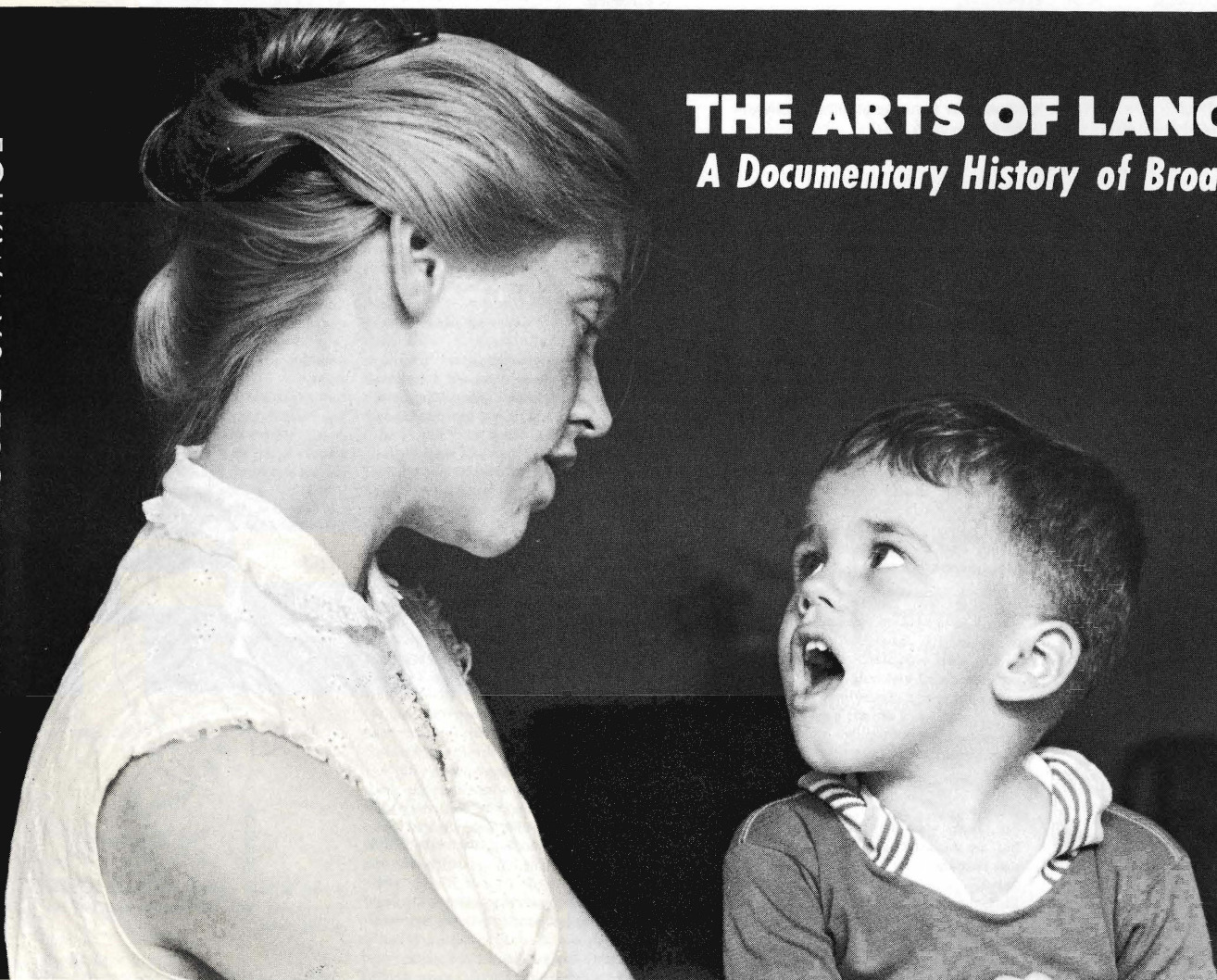
As from the Pow'r of Sacred Lays  
The Spheres began to move,  
And sung the great Creator's Praise  
To all the Bless'd above;  
So, when the last and dreadful Hour  
This crumbling Pageant shall devour,  
The Trumpet shall be heard on high,  
The dead shall live, the living die,  
And Music shall untune the Sky!

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## THE ARTS OF LANGUAGE

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