

Barnard, Alan, 2000: *History and Theory in Anthropology*. Cambridge Univ. Press

11 Conclusions

This book has dealt with the 'content' of anthropological theory. Yet anthropological theory is not a vessel to be emptied of old ideas and filled with new ones, or stuffed with more virulent paradigms to strangle the weak ones. Anthropological theory undoubtedly has 'form' as well as content, and in this final chapter we shall focus initially on the question of what form this might be, then return to the issue of the relation between form and content, first with some reflections on the future of anthropological ideas and then with a concluding summary.

National traditions and the future of anthropological theory

It is commonplace to think of anthropology in terms of national traditions, and often useful to do so. I think it is especially useful when trying to envisage the roots of and relations between the Boasian and Malinowskian/Radcliffe-Brownian traditions, and also the relation between anthropology and sociology (which at least had the potential to become part of our discipline, or ours part of theirs). Each new development is partly the product of individual thinking, of course, but also very much the product of the circumstances in which these thinkers found themselves. Some of these circumstances were, in fact, single events or clusters of events occurring at around the same time. Among dates to remember, I would pick out 1748 (which marks the publication of Montesquieu's highly influential book, *The Spirit of the Laws*), 1871 (the date of publication of numerous important works, and that of the founding of the Anthropological Institute), 1896 (when Boas established anthropology at Columbia University), and 1922 (Rivers' death, the publication of important works by Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, and the approximate date each of them began teaching in earnest their functional theories). Figure 11.1 illustrates this vision of the history of anthropology, together with the development of sociology and the false start of the mainly German philological tradition.

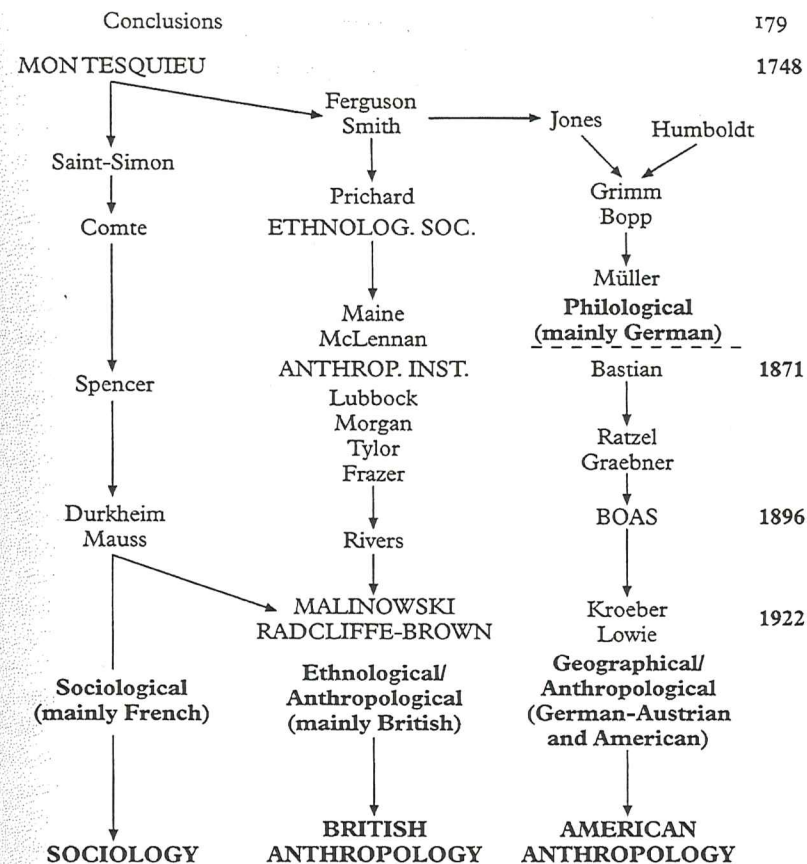


Figure 11.1 Three traditions

That said, it is not always easy to define traditions in anthropology along national lines. Fortes more than once remarked that modern social anthropology contains 'two distinct lines of descent':

I see one as going back through Radcliffe-Brown, Lowie, and Rivers, to Morgan and Maine in particular, and the other as going back through Kroeber, Malinowski, and Frazer, to Tylor and to some extent Boas. I see the first line as the source of our structural concepts and theories, the second as the source of our speciality in the study of facts of custom, or culture. (Fortes 1969: 14)

This confounds the notion that American anthropology is the tradition concerned with culture, while British anthropology is the tradition concerned with society (Radcliffe-Brown, Rivers, Maine, Malinowski,

Frazer, and Tylor were British; and Lowie, Morgan, Kroeber, and Boas were American). Fortes went on to say that in the metaphorically 'double descent system' which makes up anthropology, each anthropologist belongs to both descent groups and takes from each according to the task at hand.

Integration of all theoretical approaches is one logical possibility. However, it is not likely that a single agreed paradigm will emerge, at least in the short term. What is likely is that there will be an integration of ideas on the part of individuals. This has been in practice for many years, beginning with people such as Edmund Leach (with his blend of structuralist and action-oriented ideas). Nowadays many anthropologists fall, at times, within the scope of more than one paradigm, and some blend two or more. Very broadly three contemporary approaches or emphases may be noted: interpretation, action, and structure. The relation between paradigms associated with such approaches has already been noted (in chapter 10), but others may be possibilities. For example, another set sometimes discussed is that of structure, event, and history (see Augé 1982 [1979]). In their different ways, regional comparison and Marxism may be said to have elements of both structure and history, whereas other approaches could potentially mix event with either of these two (see Holy and Stuchlik 1983).

Today there are a great number of theoretical perspectives for anthropologists to choose from, and these are each made up of many lines of influence. The possibilities for combining them are enormous. This is a positive and truly postmodern tendency. The danger is that the narrower postmodernist project might hold sway, with non-postmodernly correct positions being rejected simply because they make explicit their pre-postmodern origins. However, the acceptance of a diversity of approaches – with the utilization of theoretical ideas according to topic of concern – is at least as old as the early relativism of Franz Boas. Indeed, even before that, anthropologists were free to accept other influences and combine perspectives. For example, Morgan and Tylor happily incorporated diffusionist elements into their specific unilinear-evolutionist schemes.

Anthropologists also operate at different levels of theory: in grand theory, in middle range theory, and increasingly in specific theoretical debates. Anthropology as a whole (including biological as well as cultural anthropology) retains a long-standing concern with two quite different problems: the understanding of human nature and the study of cultural diversity. In the eighteenth-century Enlightenment the former was the main interest. With the development of anthropology proper, in the nineteenth century, cultural diversity became prominent in the hands of the polygenists. Later it came to be what unilinear evolutionism was

trying to explain. With Boas and the early relativists, diversity was extolled as a wonder of humanity, and it has seen some resurgence in recent years. Since the 1970s, relativism has come back and swamped both the old functionalist interests in social laws and the structuralist (including structural-Marxist) interests in cultural universals.

Further thoughts on histories of anthropology

Can there ever be a true history of a discipline? Or, the converse, is all history 'Whig history'? I think there are good grounds for favouring the latter, inherently relativistic, view, or at least for admitting that whenever anthropologists put pen to paper they will come out with a somewhat Whiggish version of events. 'Whig history' is a phrase coined by Sir Herbert Butterfield around 1931, when he said that historians have all too often seen history as a conflict between progressives and reactionaries, where the progressives (Whigs) eventually win and bring about changes effecting the present situation. Whig history is thus subjective and 'presentist', and that is why true historians do not like it (see, e.g., Stocking 1968 [1965]: 1-12). Good history, they say, is 'historicist', in a very precise sense of that word.

Yet much of the history of anthropology, especially that written by practising anthropologists, is presentist because that history is relevant to today's concerns. It is also, in the hands of several practitioners, *mythical* in the sense that Malinowski (1948 [1925]: 79, 120) used the word. By this I mean that history gives anthropologists a 'mythical charter' by which to view their own place in the discipline. I would not deny that my own history of the discipline is somewhat 'mythical', 'presentist', and 'Whiggish'. Such a heretical view is acceptable to me because in this book I do not claim to be presenting *the history* of anthropology, but only one possible history among many. More accurately, I am presenting snippets of history chosen and juxtaposed to show the complex connections among the different ideas which make up, not the history of anthropology, but anthropological theory.

There are other possible histories, and there can be more complex uses of history to illustrate ideas. The simple 'great man' view is found in many books, for example, in Adam Kuper's *Anthropology and Anthropologists* (1996 [1973]) or Jerry Moore's *Visions of Culture* (1997). In contrast, L. R. Hiatt chooses a unique method of historical portrayal in *Arguments about Aborigines* (Hiatt 1996). He focuses on aspects of Aboriginal society (gender relations, conception beliefs, political organization, land issues, etc.) and the ways in which each has been interpreted by successive generations of anthropologists.

In *A Century of Controversy* Elman Service (1985) focuses on the speci-

tics of anthropological debate, with issues like the status of kinship terminologies or the nature of culture coming to the forefront. Murray Leaf, in *Man, Mind, and Science* (1979), virtually sets aside anthropological debate in favour of a history of anthropology seen in terms of philosophical questions. Robert Layton's recent book, *An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology* (1997), lies in-between. Layton touches on both debates and philosophical questions (as well as questions of ethnographic interpretation), but largely ignores pre-functionalist anthropology and downplays national traditions. Jack Goody's *The Expansive Moment* (1995) and Henrika Kuklick's *The Savage Within* (1991) present social histories of British anthropology, but they differ profoundly in method and the interpretation of that history. James Urry, in *Before Social Anthropology* (1993), blends several approaches, as his is a collection of his own diverse essays on the history of British anthropology.

This list is certainly not exhaustive, but it gives some idea of the range of possibilities that have, to date, been realized. I hope also that it confirms my feeling that there is no such thing as *the* history of anthropology, any more than an ethnographer today could claim to be writing *the* ethnography of his or her 'people'.

Concluding summary

I do not accept that old anthropological theories die with their proponents. Rather, I hold that in general they are either incorporated into new theoretical trends, or they return in some later generation in a different guise. The foundations of our discipline were there in the Enlightenment, especially in the notion of the social contract (the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century basis of all social science), but the discipline itself emerged in the nineteenth century. The arguments of early theorists remain worthy of close scrutiny, partly because they illustrate so well the character of incipient and past anthropology. They are important equally because anthropologists of later times, and even today, define their own positions in relation to those of earlier writers – either in opposition to them or, not uncommonly, in the augmentation and transformation of their theoretical notions.

Evolutionism is often thought of as a nineteenth-century theory. But then, what about the preconceptions of the late twentieth century? Evolution is not entirely unrelated to the commonplace idea of progress or to the notion of social development. 'Progress', in fact, was a very nineteenth-century concept, and it is retained in our thinking today. The word 'development', with its present-day meaning of helping out people in poorer countries to be economically, at least, more like people in richer

countries, is only about forty or fifty years old. Yet in some respects, this concept represents a re-invention of Victorian evolutionary theory. It suggests similar ways of thinking about relations between technology, economics, and society to those pursued by nineteenth-century reformers and social theorists. What many nineteenth- and late twentieth-century anthropologists have in common is a desire to understand causal relationships within a framework of 'progress' or 'advancement'. Some late twentieth-century anthropologists have even taken up the search for human cultural origins, and this represents a promising development – given especially the much greater sophistication of relevant cognate disciplines, such as archaeology, linguistics, and human genetics.

Diffusionism in its pure and extreme forms is long dead, but ideas which grew from diffusionist schools, such as an interest in historical particularities and the notion of the culture area, have, if anything, increased in importance in the last few decades. Regional studies within various theoretical traditions are also increasing in prominence, as anthropological studies focus more on similarities and differences between closely related cultures. The increase in regional focus stems directly from the sheer number of ethnographic studies done by modern anthropologists.

Relativism has been a prominent feature of anthropological traditions, especially in North America, since Boas. In a sense, all anthropology is relativistic, as by its very nature the study of variety in human culture does, or at least should, lead to an appreciation of cultures in their own terms. This does not mean that all anthropologists are relativists in any pure sense. On the contrary, both 'pro' and 'anti' positions on relativism are prominent today, and the new relativism of reflexivity and discourse analysis stems not only from a renewal of interest in Boasian ideas, but equally from the influence of interdisciplinary postmodernist foci.

Functionalism, like diffusionism, is a word few anthropologists would be associated with today. However, functionalist methodology remains the basis of anthropological fieldwork. As Edmund Leach used to say, all anthropologists are functionalists when in the field, because they need to see how social institutions are related and how individuals interact with one another. When anthropologists return from the field to their respective universities, he claimed, they reformulate their ideas in frameworks which go beyond functionalism. In Leach's own case, this resulted in a mixture of structuralism and processualism. For others, it results in different mixes, but the functionalist basis of anthropology itself, like its relativist basis, is still there.

Structuralism achieved great notoriety, thanks especially to the work of Lévi-Strauss, which was influential well beyond the boundaries of

anthropology. Within anthropology, Marxist thought frequently had a strong structuralist element. Regional comparison as a theoretical paradigm took much from Lévi-Straussian structuralism and from the Dutch school which preceded it. To some extent too, interpretivist and post-modern perspectives build on structuralism and functionalism precisely by making explicit their rejection of the tenets of these earlier paradigms. They depend, at least in anthropology (perhaps less so in literary criticism, for example), on their own structural opposition to structuralism itself.

Processual and interactive approaches had their heyday in the immediate post-functionalist era, but they too have strengthened with each challenge to the conservatism of static approaches of all kinds. Probably they will never die, as all anthropologists now realize that they must take account of the nuances of social interaction and social change. Processual approaches offered a good antidote to overly formal ideas within functionalism and structuralism. They also enabled function-minded and structurally inclined anthropologists to look more closely at the nuances of social life through their studies of relations between different social or symbolic structures.

Early British interpretive approaches, such as the diverse ones of Evans-Pritchard, Needham, and Ardener at Oxford, built upon functionalism and structuralism while rejecting the analogies on which they are based. They sought structures which are intuitive, and encouraged scepticism of formal approaches and universalistic comparisons. Postmodernist, poststructuralist, feminist, and Marxist approaches all amplify this through their emphasis on the relation between the culture of the anthropologist and the culture of the informant, and more particularly on the relationship between anthropologist and informant as people, each with their own understanding of the other. An added dimension is that the anthropologist, knowing this, must reinterpret his or her own actions and consciousness of purpose in the very process of engagement with the 'other'.

Finally, it is worth reiterating the fact that anthropology is a discipline very conscious of its past. Anthropological theory has a complex history, but its structure can be seen through the influences of individuals, the interplay within and between national traditions, and the development of new foci of interest, new ideas from within and from beyond anthropology itself, and (every few decades) new grand perspectives. Yet there are many ways in which to envisage that history and these relationships. I have put them together in the way that I read them. Others may read, interpret, construct, or deconstruct them differently.

Antmen : einordnen können
* Konzepte / Forschung kennen

Appendix 1 Dates of birth and death of individuals mentioned in the text

- Albert, Prince (Franz Albrecht, Prinz von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha), 1819–61
 Althusser, Louis, 1918–90
 Ardener, Edwin, 1927–87
 Aristotle, 384–322 BC
 Asad, Talal, 1927–
 Atran, Scott, 1952–
 Avebury, Lord, see Lubbock, Sir John, Bt.
- Bachofen, J. J., 1815–77
 Bailey, F. G., 1924–
 Barnes, J. A., 1918–
 * Barth, Fredrik, 1928–
 Bastian, Adolph, 1826–1905
 Bateson, Gregory, 1904–80
 Bateson, William, 1861–1926
 * Benedict, Ruth Fulton, 1887–1948
 Bentham, Jeremy, 1748–1832
 Binford, Lewis R., 1930–
 * Boas, Franz, 1858–1942
 Boissevain, Jeremy, 1928–
 Bopp, Franz, 1791–1867
 * Bourdieu, Pierre, 1930–2002
 Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de, 1707–88
 Bunzel, Ruth, 1898–1990
 Burke, William, 1792–1829
 Burnett (Burnet), James, see Monboddo, Lord
 Butterfield, Sir Herbert, 1900–79
 Buxton, Sir Thomas Fowell, Bt., 1786–1845
- Caplan, Pat, 1942–
 Carrier, James G., 1947–

Ingold, Tim, 1948-

Jakobson, Roman Osipovich, 1896-1982

Jones, Sir William, 1746-94

Josselin de Jong, J. P. B. de, 1886-1964

Kaberry, Phyllis M., 1910-77

Kames, Lord (Henry Home), 1696-1782

Kapferer, Bruce, 1940-

Kardiner, Abram, 1891-1981

Kenyatta, Jomo (Johnstone Kema), 1889-1978

Kluckhohn, Clyde, 1905-60

Knauff, Bruce M., 1954-

Knight, Chris, 1942-

Knox, Robert, 1791-1862

Krige, Eileen Jensen, 1904-95

Kroeber, Alfred Louis, 1876-1960

Kropotkin, Peter, 1842-1921

Kuhn, Thomas, 1922-96

Kuper, Adam, 1941-

Kuper, Hilda Beemer, 1911-92

Lacan, Jacques, 1901-83

Lamarck, Jean-Baptiste de Monet, chevalier de, 1744-1829

Lang, Andrew, 1844-1912

Layton, Robert, 1944-

Le Blanc, Marie-Angélique ('Wild Girl of Champagne'),
b. c. 1721

Leach, Sir Edmund R., 1910-89

Leacock, Eleanor, 1922-88

Lee, Richard B., 1937-

Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 1908-

Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien, 1857-1939

Lewis, Oscar, 1914-70

Leyton, Elliott, 1939-

Lienhardt, Godfrey, 1921-93

Linnaeus, Carolus (Carl von Linné), 1707-78

Locke, John, 1632-1704

Long, Norman, 1936-

Lowie, Robert H., 1883-1957

Lubbock, Sir John, Bt. (Lord Avebury), 1834-1913

Lytard, Jean-François, 1924-

Maine, Sir Henry Sumner, 1822-88

* Malinowski, Bronislaw, 1884-1942

Marx, Karl, 1818-83

* Mauss, Marcel, 1872-1950

Max Müller, F., see Müller, Friedrich Max

McLennan, John Ferguson, 1827-1881

* Mead, Margaret, 1901-78

Mendelssohn, Felix, 1809-47

Mitchell, J. Clyde, 1918-

Monboddo, Lord (James Burnett), 1714-99

Montelius, Oscar, 1843-1921

Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de la Brède et de,
1689-1755

Moore, Henrietta L., 1957-

Morgan, Lewis Henry, 1818-81

Müller, Friedrich Max, 1823-1900

Murdock, George Peter, 1897-1985

Nadel, S. F., 1903-54

Needham, Rodney, 1923-

Newton, Sir Isaac, 1642-1727

Nietzsche, Friedrich, 1844-1900

Nilsson, Sven, 1787-1883

Obeyesekere, Gananath, 1930-

Okely, Judith, 1941-

Ortner, Sherry B., 1941-

Pasquinelli, Carla, 1939-

Perry, Commodore Matthew, 1794-1858

Perry, William James, 1887-1949

Peter ('Wild Peter of Hanover'), c. 1710-85

Piaget, Jean, 1896-1980

Pike, Kenneth L., 1912-

Prichard, James Cowles, 1786-1848

Pufendorf (Puffendorf), Samuel, Freiherr von, 1632-94

* Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 1881-1955

Ratzel, Friedrich, 1844-1904

Redfield, Robert, 1897-1958

Rivers, W. H. R., 1864-1922

Rosaldo, Michelle Z., 1944-81

Chagnon, Napoleon A., 1938-
 Childe, V. Gordon, 1892-1957
 Chomsky, Noam, 1928-
 Clifford, James, 1945-
 Cohen, Anthony P., 1946-
 Colson, Elizabeth, 1917-
 Comaroff, Jean, 1946-
 Comaroff, John, 1945-
 Comte, Auguste, 1798-1857
 Cook, Captain James, 1728-79
 Crapanzano, Vincent, 1939-
 Cushing, Frank, 1857-1900

Darwin, Charles, 1809-82
 De Groot, Huig, see Grotius, Hugo
 De Heusch, Luc, 1927-
 De Saussure, Ferdinand, see Saussure, Ferdinand de
 Denzin, Norman K., 1941-
 Derrida, Jacques, 1930-
 Douglas, Mary, 1921-2007
 Dryden, John, 1631-1700
 Dumont, Louis, 1911-98
 * Durkheim, Emile, 1858-1917

Eggan, Fred, 1906-91
 Einstein, Albert, 1879-1955
 Elkin, A. P., 1891-1979
 Elliot Smith, Sir Grafton, 1871-1937
 Engels, Friedrich, 1820-95
 Epstein, A. L. (Bill), 1924-
 Epstein, T. S. (Scarlett), 1922-
 * Evans-Pritchard, Sir Edward E., 1902-73

Fardon, Richard, 1952-
 Ferguson, Adam, 1723-1816
 Fernandez, James W., 1930-
 Firth, Sir Raymond, 1902-2002
 Fischer, Michael M. J., 1946-
 Fortes, Meyer, 1906-83
 Fortune, Reo F., 1903-79
 Foucault, Michel, 1926-84
 Fox, Robin, 1934-

Frake, Charles O., 1930-
 Frank, Andre Gunder, 1929-
 Frazer, Sir James, 1854-1941
 Freeman, J. Derek, 1916-
 Freud, Sigmund, 1856-1939
 Friedman, Jonathan, 1946-
 Frobenius, Leo, 1873-1938

Geertz, Clifford, 1926-2006
 Gellner, Ernest, 1925-95
 George I, King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover,
 1660-1727
 Gluckman, Max, 1911-75
 Godelier, Maurice, 1934-
 Goodenough, Ward H., 1919-
 Goody, Jack, 1919-
 Graebner, Fritz, 1877-1934
 Granet, Marcel, 1884-1940
 Grimm, Jacob, 1785-1863
 Grimm, Wilhelm, 1786-1859
 Grotius, Hugo (Huig de Groot), 1583-1645

Hare, William, d. 1860
 Harris, Marvin, 1929-
 Hastrup, Kirsten, 1948-
 Helman, Cecil, 1944-
 Herder, Johann Gottfried von, 1744-1803
 Herskovits, Melville J., 1895-1963
 Hertz, Robert, 1881-1915
 Herzfeld, Michael, 1947-
 Heyerdahl, Thor, 1914-
 Hiatt, L. R., 1931-
 Hjelmslev, Louis, 1899-1965
 Hobbes, Thomas, 1588-1679
 Hodgkin, Thomas, 1798-1866
 Holy, Ladislav, 1933-97
 Home, Henry, see Kames, Lord
 Humboldt, Alexander von, 1769-1859
 Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 1767-1835
 Hume, David, 1711-76
 Hunt, James, 1833-69
 Hunter, Monica, see Wilson, Monica

- Rosaldo, Renato, 1941-
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 1712-78
 Sahlins, Marshall, 1930-
 Said, Edward W., 1935-
 Saint-Simon, Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, comte de, 1760-1825
 Sapir, Edward, 1884-1939
 Saussure, Ferdinand de, 1857-1913
 Schapera, I., 1905-
 * Schmidt, Pater Wilhelm, 1868-1954
 Schneider, David M., 1918-95
 Seligman, C. G., 1873-1940
 Service, Elman R., 1915-96
 Simmel, Georg, 1858-1918
 Smith, Adam, 1723-90
 Smith, William Robertson, 1846-94
 Spencer, Herbert, 1820-1903
 Spencer, Jonathan, 1954-
 Spiro, Melford, 1926-
 Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, 1942-
 Srinivas, M. N., 1916-
 Steward, Julian H., 1902-72
 Stewart, Dugald, 1753-1828
 Stocking, George W., Jr, 1928-
 Strathern, Andrew, 1939-
 Strathern, Marilyn, 1941-
 Stuchlik, Milan, 1932-80
 Tax, Sol, 1907-95
 Thomsen, Christian Jürgensen, 1788-1865
 Trubetzkoy, Nikolai Sergeevich, 1890-1938
 * Turner, Victor W., 1920-83
 Tyler, Stephen A., 1932-
 * Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett, 1832-1917
 Urry, James, 1949-
 * Van Gennep, Arnold, 1873-1957
 Vico, Giambattista, 1668-1744
 Victor ('Wild Boy of Aveyron'), b. c. 1788
 Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom and Empress of India, 1819-1901

- Wallace, Alfred Russel, 1823-1913
 Wallerstein, Immanuel, 1930-
 * Weber, Max, 1864-1920
 Werbner, Richard P., 1937-
 Westermarck, Edward, 1862-1939
 White, Leslie A., 1900-75
 Whorf, Benjamin Lee, 1897-1941
 Willis, Roy G., 1927-
 Wilmsen, Edwin N., 1932-
 Wilson, Edward O., 1929-
 Wilson, Godfrey, 1908-1944
 Wilson, Monica (Monica Hunter), 1908-82
 Wissler, Clark, 1870-1947
 Worsley, Peter, 1924-

Appendix 2

Glossary

- ablinal relative** A blood relative (e.g., a cousin) who is neither in ego's line of descent nor the brother or sister of one who is (cf. **co-lineal relative**, **collateral relative**).
- action-centred approaches** Approaches which emphasize social action over social structure, such as transactionalism.
- affine, affinal relative** A relative by marriage.
- age-area hypothesis** Wissler's notion that older culture traits tend to be those on the periphery of a culture area, rather than in the centre. His hypothesis is based on the idea that things are invented in the centre and diffuse outwards.
- age set** A category of people united by common age, often those initiated into adulthood at the same time.
- agenda hopping** D'Andrade's notion of researchers changing their interests when old paradigms yield fewer and fewer insights (cf. **Kuhnian**).
- androcentric** Male-centred.
- animism** A belief in a spiritual presence within things such as rocks and trees.
- anthropogeography** The nineteenth-century German university subject, roughly equivalent to human geography. It gave birth to diffusionism.
- anthropology** In its widest sense, the subject which includes social or cultural anthropology, anthropological linguistics, prehistoric archaeology, and biological or physical anthropology (cf. **four fields**). In a narrower sense, a short name for social anthropology.
- Apollonian** An aspect of drama or culture characterized by measure, restraint, and harmony (cf. **Dionysian**). → R. Benedict
- articulation of modes of production** Interaction between different modes of production, for example as when colonial capitalist and lineage-based societies come into contact.
- associative** Saussure's term for what are now usually called paradigmatic relations in a language or symbolic system.

- avunculate** The relationship between a child and his or her mother's brother. More specifically, the term usually refers to accepted informal behaviour between a boy and his mother's brother, contrasted to formality between the boy and his father.
- avunculocal** Another word for viri-avunculocal (residing with the husband's mother's brother).
- barbarism** In evolutionist theory, the stage of society which lies between savagery and civilization. It is characterized by the possession of things such as pottery, livestock, etc. (cf. **savagery**, **civilization**).
- base** The material aspect of society, believed by Marxists to be determinant of the superstructure or ideological aspect of society (cf. **infrastructure**, **superstructure**).
- basic needs** In Malinowskian theory, the seven biological needs (e.g., safety) which are served by seven corresponding cultural responses (e.g., protection).
- Boasian** Referring to the ideas of Franz Boas, especially with reference to his cultural relativism.
- bridewealth** Marriage gifts or payments made from the family of the groom to the family of the bride.
- British structuralism** Originally a synonym for structural-functionalism (in the 1950s), but later used to refer to the work of British anthropologists who had taken up French structuralist ideas (from the 1960s). British structuralists (in the latter sense) tended to be interested in structural elements of one culture at a time (cf. **Dutch structuralism**, **French structuralism**).
- centre** In opposition to periphery, the economically dominant place. Its centrality does not have to be geographical. For example, in world-systems theory a colonial power may be defined as the 'centre' and its colonies the 'periphery'.
- civil society** In the eighteenth century, generally a synonym for government or the state. (More recently the term has been used to refer to anti-state groupings or occasionally to 'society' in contrast to 'the state'.)
- civilization** In evolutionist theory, the highest level of society, characterized by urbanization, social hierarchy, and complex social structure (cf. **savagery**, **barbarism**).
- cognitive anthropology** The branch of anthropology or perspective within anthropology which emphasizes the relation between cultural categories and structures or processes of thought.
- cognitive relativism** The form of relativism which holds that all state-

- ments about the world are culturally contingent (cf. **moral relativism**).
- cognitive science** A somewhat broader term for cognitive anthropology, or any field which emphasizes the relation between cultural categories and structures or processes of thought.
- 'cold' societies** Lévi-Strauss' term for societies he believed to be essentially static. 'Cold' societies have a concern with myth rather than history (cf. **'hot' societies**).
- co-lineal relative** Ego's brother or sister or the brother or sister of someone who is in ego's line of descent (e.g., an uncle or nephew) (cf. **ablineal relative**, **collateral relative**).
- collateral relative** A blood relative who is not in ego's line of descent (e.g., a cousin). Sometimes brothers and sisters are included and sometimes not (cf. **lineal relative**, **direct relative**).
- collective conscience, collective consciousness** Durkheim's term for the collective understandings which people within a given society share (French, *conscience collective*).
- collective representation** Any of the collective understandings which people in a given society share (cf. **collective conscience**).
- communitas** Turner's term for an unstructured realm of 'social structure', where often the normal ranking of individuals is reversed or the symbols of rank inverted. This sense of 'community', he said, characterizes rites of passage.
- community** A group of people who share common values. The term has come to be regarded as safer than 'society', whose existence has been challenged by some postmodernist thinkers (as well as some politicians).
- comparative philology** An older term for the study of historical or structural relations between languages.
- comparative sociology** A term occasionally used by Radcliffe-Brown to mean 'social anthropology'.
- competence** In linguistics, the ability or knowledge required by a native speaker to tell intuitively whether a construction is grammatical or not (cf. **performance**).
- complex structures** According to Lévi-Strauss, those kinship systems based on rules about whom one may not marry (e.g., that marriage between close relatives is forbidden) (cf. **elementary structures**).
- component** In componential analysis, a synonym for 'significatum'.
- componential analysis** A method or theoretical perspective which examines the relation between cultural categories as parts of a system of such categories, for example the system of colour terms in a given language.

- conjectural history** Originally an eighteenth-century term for the methods of historical reconstruction favoured by thinkers such as Adam Smith and much later by evolutionists and diffusionists.
- connotatum** An element in componential analysis which implies connotation rather than signification (e.g., 'uncle-like behaviour' as opposed to a more formal defining feature of the category 'uncle') (cf. **significatum**).
- consanguine, consanguineal relative** A relative by blood.
- conscience collective** Durkheim's term for the collective understandings which people within a given society share (in English, 'collective conscience' or more commonly 'collective consciousness').
- consonant triangle** Jakobson's term for the structural relations between *p*, *t*, and *k* as representing a system defined according to relative loudness and pitch (cf. **vowel triangle**).
- controlled comparison** Any form of comparison which involves limiting the range of variables, such as by confining comparisons to those within a region.
- couvade** A custom whereby a man feels or pretends to be pregnant when his wife is about to give birth, often to draw malevolent forces away from his wife and child.
- cross-cousins** The children of a brother and those of a sister. In many societies, cross-cousins are marriageable whereas parallel cousins are not (cf. **parallel cousins**).
- 'Crow' terminology** A type of kinship terminology in which the father's sister's daughter is called by the same term as the father's sister, or more generally one in which ego calls several members of his or her father's matrilineal kin group by the same term (cf. **'Omaha' terminology**).
- Crow-Omaha systems** Lévi-Strauss' term for systems lying in-between elementary and complex ones: systems with 'Crow' or 'Omaha' terminologies in which all those called by kin terms are forbidden as possible spouses.
- culinary triangle** A structural model proposed by Lévi-Strauss in which roast, smoked, and boiled foods are seen as analogous to raw, cooked, and rotted foods.
- cultural anthropology** The branch of anthropology or the academic discipline which is concerned with the study of cultural diversity. The term is typically used in the North American traditions, whereas in other traditions 'ethnology' or 'social anthropology' are the more common terms, often with slightly different subject matter (cf. **ethnology**, **social anthropology**, **four fields**).
- cultural core, culture core** In Steward's cultural ecology, the aspects

- of culture most susceptible to ecological influence (e.g., subsistence, patterns of migration) (cf. **total culture**).
- cultural determinism** The notion that culture, rather than biology, regulates the ways in which humans perceive the world.
- cultural ecology** The study of relations between culture and the natural world, especially in the theoretical perspective of Julian Steward.
- cultural materialism** The theoretical perspective of Marvin Harris, who argues that there is a direct causal relation between material forces and aspects of culture (cf. **vulgar materialism**).
- cultural relativism** Any of several theoretical perspectives in anthropology, including descriptive relativism, epistemological relativism, and normative relativism.
- cultural responses** In Malinowskian theory, the seven basic aspects of culture (e.g., protection) each of which serves a biological need (in this case, safety).
- cultural studies** The discipline concerned with the study of mass culture, popular culture, etc. Although it touches on anthropological interests, it has its origins in and its most direct links with literary criticism and sociology.
- culture** In anthropology, usually taken as the totality of ideas, skills, and objects shared by a community or society. In other contexts, it is sometimes useful to distinguish the 'high culture' of the elite or the (often transient) 'popular culture' of the majority.
- 'culture and personality'** The perspective of Ruth Benedict and her followers which emphasizes the 'personality' of whole cultures rather than individuals.
- culture area** A cluster of related cultures, normally those occupying a geographical region.
- culture circle** A cluster of related culture traits, or the geographical area where these are found. The idea is fundamental to German-Austrian diffusionists, who saw these circles as spreading progressively over earlier culture circles (German, *Kulturkreis*).
- culture trait** Any individual item of culture, either material or non-material.
- culturo-genesis** The origin of culture, or more usually, of symbolic culture.
- Darwinian** Referring to the ideas of Charles Darwin, for example in his opposition to Lamarckian ideas (cf. **Darwinism**).
- Darwinism** Any of several related perspectives derived from the evolutionist theory of Charles Darwin, and especially the idea of evolution through natural selection.

- deconstruction** Derrida's term for a method of literary analysis which seeks to expose the underlying assumptions of a text.
- deductivism, deductivist** Any approach which proceeds from general assumptions to specific conclusions (cf. **inductivism**).
- degeneration theory, degenerativist theory** The anti-evolutionist notion that organisms or societies decline in physical or moral quality.
- delayed direct exchange** Lévi-Strauss' term for a type of marital exchange between kin groups where women move in one direction in one generation, and in the opposite direction in the next. It is a logical consequence of men marrying fathers' sisters' daughters (cf. **direct exchange, generalized exchange**).
- denotatum** In componential analysis, a member of a given category.
- descriptive relativism** The form of relativism which holds that culture regulates the ways in which humans perceive the world, and therefore that cultural variability will produce different social and psychological understandings among different peoples (cf. **epistemological relativism, normative relativism**).
- designatum** In componential analysis, the term for a given category.
- diachronic perspective** A perspective through time (e.g., evolutionism), rather than one in the same time frame (cf. **synchronic perspective**).
- différance** Derrida's term implying roughly 'a delay in difference', in that the differences which define something in opposition to what it is not, cannot, in his view, be fully conceptualized. There is always, he argues, something beyond such differences.
- diffusion** The movement of culture traits from one people to another.
- diffusionism, diffusionist** A perspective which emphasizes diffusion (or sometimes migration) over evolution as the greater cause of cultural change in the world.
- Dionysian** An aspect of drama or culture characterized by emotion, passion, and excess (cf. **Apollonian**).
- direct exchange** Lévi-Strauss' term for a type of marital exchange between kin groups where exchanges of women may go in either direction. It is a logical consequence of men exchanging sisters with each other or marrying women of a category which includes both mothers' brothers' daughters and fathers' sisters' daughters (cf. **delayed direct exchange, generalized exchange**).
- direct relative** A lineal relative or the brother or sister of a lineal relative (cf. **collateral relative**).
- discourse** A complex concept involving the way people talk or write about something, the body of knowledge implied, or the use of that knowledge, such as in structures of power (e.g., in the work of

Foucault). The term can also have the meaning (as in linguistics) of units of speech longer than a sentence.

dispositions In Bourdieu's terminology, tendencies or choices individuals have within the habitus (see also **habitus**).

distinctive features Those features whose presence or absence defines a given phenomenon. For example, in phonology the feature of voicing defines the difference between a *p* (voiceless) and a *b* (voiced).

Durkheimian Referring to the ideas of Emile Durkheim, especially his emphasis on social structure as a determinant of belief and ideology.

Dutch structuralism Structuralism in The Netherlands, arguably as early as the 1920s, which emphasized regional structures such as that of the cultures of the Malay Archipelago taken as a whole (cf. **British structuralism**, **French structuralism**).

ecosystem In ecology and ecological anthropology, the system which includes both social and natural environments.

ego In discussions of kinship, the person from whose point of view a relationship is traced (meaning 'I' or 'self').

eidos According to Bateson, the form or structure of culture or cultural phenomena (cf. **ethos**).

Elementargedanken 'Elementary thoughts', those beliefs and aspects of culture held by Bastian to be common to all humankind (cf. **psychic identity**, **Völkergedanken**).

elementary structures According to Lévi-Strauss, those kinship systems based on categories between which marriage is prescribed (e.g., the category of the cross-cousin) (cf. **complex structures**).

embodiment The notion that social or cultural categories are inseparable from the bodies of the individuals who possess them.

emic Relating to a culture-specific system of thought based on indigenous definitions (cf. **etic**).

empiricism, empiricist The doctrine which holds that knowledge is derived from experience rather than from prior reasoning (cf. **rationalism**).

enculturation The process by which people, especially children, acquire culture (cf. **socialization**).

Enlightenment The mainly eighteenth-century movement which stressed the importance of reason for the critical understanding of nature and society.

epistemological relativism The form of relativism which holds that human nature and the human mind are culturally variable, and therefore that all general theories of culture are fallacious (cf. **descriptive relativism**, **normative relativism**).

epistemology In philosophy, the theory of knowledge.

esprit general Montesquieu's term (meaning 'general spirit') for the fundamental essence of a given culture.

esprit humain Lévi-Strauss' term (meaning 'human spirit') for the psychic unity or collective unconsciousness of humanity as a whole. In his usage it implies a structure of thought universal among humanity.

ethnography Literally, 'writing about peoples', the term also implies the practice of anthropological fieldwork.

ethnology The study of ethnic groups, broadly a synonym for social or cultural anthropology. The term was in general use in Britain prior to the 1870s, but since then has been more common on the Continent and to some extent in North America (cf. **cultural anthropology**, **social anthropology**).

ethnoscience Most literally, the scientific notions of indigenous peoples. More commonly the term implies methods such as componential analysis, designed to elucidate such knowledge.

ethos According to Bateson, the distinctive character or spirit of an event or a culture (cf. **eidos**).

etic Relating to categories held to be universal or based on an outside observer's objective understanding (cf. **emic**).

evolution A change or development, such as from simple to complex. Usually this change is regarded as gradual (cf. **revolutionist**).

evolutionism, evolutionist Any perspective which stresses change for the better or advancement from simple to complex. In contrast to diffusionism, a perspective which emphasizes evolution over diffusion or migration as the greater cause of cultural change in the world. In contrast to a revolutionist perspective, one which argues for gradual over revolutionary change.

extended case study A case study presented in detail within an ethnographic article or book, in order to illustrate a more general point. The idea came into anthropology from legal studies and is characteristic of the Manchester School.

feminism, feminist The movement which developed to counteract male-dominant representations and male dominance generally.

feral child A child existing in a 'natural' state, unsocialized by humans but sometimes believed to have been reared by wild animals.

fetishism The belief in fetishes, or objects believed to have supernatural power.

fetishization The act of treating something as a fetish or as being like a fetish. It is used especially in the latter, metaphorical sense (e.g., Marxist references to the 'fetishization of commodities').

forces of production In Marxist theory, things such as raw materials and technology which form the material as opposed to the social aspect of the economic base; or the interaction of these elements of the means of production with labour (cf. **base, mode of production, relations of production**).

Foucauldian, Foucaultian Referring to the ideas of Michel Foucault (cf. **discourse**).

four fields The classic division of American and Canadian anthropology: cultural anthropology, anthropological linguistics, prehistoric archaeology, and biological or physical anthropology. In other countries these 'four fields' tend to be treated as separate disciplines rather than as branches of the same subject.

French structuralism In its widest sense, the ideas of Claude Lévi-Strauss and his admirers. In a narrower sense, the perspective within anthropology which emphasizes structures of the human mind rather than structures in the minds of members of particular cultures or people from particular culture areas (cf. **British structuralism, Dutch structuralism**).

function A term variously used to denote the purpose of a custom or social institution in the abstract, or its relation to other customs or social institutions within a social system.

functionalism, functionalist Any perspective which emphasizes the functions of customs or social institutions. In anthropology it refers especially to the perspectives of either B. Malinowski (regarded as a 'purer' functionalist) or A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (a structural-functionalist).

Geertzian Referring to the ideas of Clifford Geertz (cf. **interpretivism**).

Geist Literally, the 'ghost' or 'spirit' of a society.

genealogical grid The set of statuses believed to lie at the foundation of all kinship systems, no matter how relatives are classified in any given culture or society.

general spirit Montesquieu's term (*esprit general*) for the fundamental essence of a given culture.

generalized exchange Lévi-Strauss' term for a type of marital exchange between kin groups where 'exchanges' of women are in one direction only, for example where a son may marry into the same kin group as his father but a daughter may not. It is a logical consequence of men marrying mothers' brothers' daughters (cf. **delayed direct exchange, direct exchange**).

genotype The genetic makeup of an organism (cf. **phenotype**).

global comparison, global-sample comparison Comparison on a world-wide basis in the search for universal cross-cultural generalizations or predictions.

globalization The process of increasing contact between societies, especially in the economic sphere, across the globe (cf. **localization, re-localization**).

'God's truth' In linguistics and cognitive anthropology, the view that a good analysis of a set of emic categories will represent the true psychological reality of informants (cf. **'hocus-pocus'**).

Great Chain of Being The view of the world as consisting of a hierarchy of entities from God to humanity to animals to plants, etc. It was prevalent in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries and, in contrast to the theory of evolution, based on a notion of the fixity of species.

grid Mary Douglas' term for the 'dimension' of constraint through individual isolation (cf. **group, grid/group analysis**).

grid/group analysis The analysis of 'grid' and 'group' constraints in the style of Mary Douglas.

group Mary Douglas' term for the 'dimension' of constraint on individuals as members of groups (cf. **grid, grid/group analysis**).

gumlao, gumsa Among the Kachin of Burma, the two social formations, *gumlao* being egalitarian and *gumsa* being hierarchical.

habitus In Bourdieu's terminology, the culturally defined system of knowledge and social action made up of 'dispositions' or choices available to individuals (see also **dispositions**).

heliocentrism, heliocentric Literally 'with the sun at the centre', the extreme diffusionist perspective of the early twentieth century which held that the sun-worshipping ancient Egyptians were the source of greatest invention in human culture.

historicist Any approach which emphasizes historical or diachronic aspects of culture or society.

'hocus pocus' In linguistics and cognitive anthropology, the view that a good analysis of a set of emic categories will be one which correctly accounts for the data but which will not necessarily represent the (elusive) 'true' psychological reality of informants (cf. **'God's truth'**).

'hot' societies Lévi-Strauss' term for societies he believed to be essentially dynamic. 'Hot' societies have a concern with history rather than myth (cf. **'cold' societies**).

hypergamous Involving marriage where the man is of higher status than his wife (cf. **hypogamous**).

hypogamous Involving marriage where a woman is of higher status than her husband (cf. **hypergamous**).

ideal types Weber's notion of the basic forms of social phenomena, simplified from observed cases. For example, his studies of Protestantism assume an ideal type which is not necessarily an accurate representation of *all* Protestant societies.

ideographic Referring to the specific rather than the general (e.g., the description of exact instances rather than generalizations on social processes) (cf. **nomothetic**).

ideology Literally, the study of ideas. It generally carries the meaning of a system of values, such as those Marxists and some postmodernists argue give power to one group over another.

illustrative comparison Comparison of specific ethnographic cases, for example to highlight some feature of culture or social structure which may be unusual.

inductive computation Malinowski's term for the process of discovery of the 'invisible facts' which govern the interconnection of facets of social organization.

inductivism, inductivist Any approach which proceeds from specific examples to general conclusions (cf. **deductivism**).

infrastructure Another word for the 'base' or material aspect of society (cf. **base, superstructure**).

interactive perspective Any perspective in anthropology which emphasizes action over structure.

interpretation Intuitive understanding, or more precisely the understanding of culture as being like a language, to be 'translated'.

interpretive An approach or method based on interpretation.

interpretivism, interpretivist A perspective which emphasizes the interpretation of culture over the quest for formal structures. Geertz's anthropology is the most commonly cited example.

intersubjective Referring to methods which privilege equally the ethnographer and his or her informants.

intertextual, intertextuality Referring to relations between texts, where each represents a commentary on another.

irony A verbal construction, often humorous, in which words are used to mean the opposite of what they normally mean.

'Iroquois' terminology A type of kinship terminology in which cross-cousins are distinguished from parallel cousins. Often parallel cousins are classed together with siblings.

Kuhnian Referring to the ideas of Thomas Kuhn, especially his notion of science as a sequential series of paradigms.

kula In the Trobriand Islands and surrounding areas, the formalized system of exchange of bracelets for armshells.

Kulturkreis A cluster of related culture traits, or the geographical area where these are found. The idea is fundamental to German-Austrian diffusionists, who saw these circles as spreading progressively over earlier culture circles (English, 'culture circle').

Lamarckian Referring to the ideas of Jean-Baptiste de Lamarck, especially that learned traits can be passed from parent to child.

langue Saussure's term for language in the sense of linguistic structure or grammar; by analogy, this can be the grammar of culture as well as of language as such (cf. **parole**).

Lévi-Straussian Referring to the ideas of Claude Lévi-Strauss (cf. **structuralism**).

lineal relative A relative who is in ego's line of descent (e.g., a grandmother or granddaughter).

localization The interplay between local forms of knowledge and external pressures (cf. **re-localization, globalization**).

Malinowskian Referring to the ideas of Bronislaw Malinowski, either as a fieldwork methodologist or a functionalist theorist.

Manchester School The school of thought centred around Max Gluckman at Manchester in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.

manitoo In Ojibwa belief, the guardian spirit of an individual (cf. **totem**).

Marxism, Marxist Referring to the ideas of Karl Marx. In anthropology, the term implies a theoretical interest in the connections between material forces and relations of power but not necessarily adherence to Marx's political ideology.

matrilineal descent, matrilineality Descent through women, from mother to child, etc. (cf. **patrilineal descent**).

means of production In Marxist theory, the organized arrangement of raw materials, tools, and know-how; the technological system of a society, especially in relation to subsistence (cf. **mode of production**).

metanarrative Lyotard's term for grand theory.

metaphor An analogy, or relation of similarity across different levels of analysis (e.g., a red traffic light means 'stop').

metonymy A relation between objects in the same level of analysis (e.g., a red traffic light in relation to a green traffic light).

mode of production In Marxist theory, the combination of either the

means of production or the forces of production (mode of subsistence plus the social capability to exploit the environment), coupled with the relations of production (the ways in which production is organized) (cf. **means of production, relations of production**).

modern In contrast to postmodern, emphasizing a holistic, coherent view of the world.

moiety Literally 'half' a society, defined by membership in one or the other of two unilineal descent groups.

monogenesis One origin for all human 'races' (cf. **polygenesis**).

monogenist A person who believes in monogenesis (also the adjectival form of 'monogenesis').

monotheism Belief in only one deity (cf. **polytheism**).

moral relativism The form of relativism which holds that aesthetic and ethical judgements must be assessed in terms of specific cultural values (cf. **cognitive relativism**).

morpheme The smallest meaningful unit of language (e.g., the English word *cars* consists of two morphemes: 'car' and 'plural').

morphological In linguistics, referring to the level of the morpheme.

multilineal evolutionism The theory of social evolution which emphasizes cross-cultural diversity and the influence of the environment in the process.

mytheme In Lévi-Strauss' terminology, a unit within a mythological corpus which may be combined with similar units to make up a given myth.

Mythologiques Literally, 'mytho-logics', Lévi-Strauss' four volumes on mythology.

naissant society Rousseau's notion of an idyllic, egalitarian society before the emergence of 'artificial' inequalities.

natural law The theory of law or the essence of law in that theory, as embedded in human nature. It was characteristic of Enlightenment legal theory, but opposed by later conceptions of law as a set of rules.

natural selection The Darwinian notion (also called sexual selection) that individuals with superior characteristics will tend to breed more often than other individuals, thus giving rise to better-adapted individuals in later generations.

naturism Not to be confused with nudism, F. Max Müller's notion of early religion as nature-worship.

naven Ceremonies of the Iatmul of Papua New Guinea involving transvestism and other ritual reversals of ordinary behaviour.

neo-Darwinism In its most usual meaning today, the perspective in human biology which combines Darwinian theory with modern gen-

etics in seeking biological explanations of human social behaviour.

neo-evolutionism A broad concept embracing late twentieth-century evolutionist ideas in anthropology, including especially those of Julian Steward.

network analysis A methodological tool which emerged as part of the Manchester School. It seeks an understanding of social relations through chains or networks of individual associations.

new archaeology In the 1960s, a perspective in archaeology which emphasizes ethnographic analogy.

new ethnography In the 1960s, a perspective essentially synonymous with the cognitive anthropology of the time. In the 1980s, a rather different perspective essentially synonymous with the approach or approaches typified by Clifford and Marcus' edited volume, *Writing Culture*.

noble savage A seventeenth- and eighteenth-century notion of the goodness of natural humanity or primitive social humanity embodied in 'savages'. Typically, these were identified with the populations of Native North America.

nomothetic Referring to the general rather than the specific, e.g., the search for regularities or general laws rather than the description of specific instances (cf. **ideographic**).

normative relativism The form of relativism which holds that because cultures judge each other according to their own internal standards, there are no universal standards to judge between cultures. There are two positions within normative relativism: cognitive relativism and moral relativism (cf. **descriptive relativism, epistemological relativism**).

normative rules Idealized descriptions of correct social behaviour, as distinct from actual social behaviour.

occidentalism A relatively recent term for the stereotyping of the West by oriental or other non-Western peoples (cf. **orientalism**).

Oedipus complex In psychiatry, the complex of emotions of desire for the parent of the opposite sex (especially a boy for his mother).

Oedipus myth The Greek myth in which, by a strange sequence of events, Oedipus kills his father and marries his mother.

'Omaha' terminology A type of kinship terminology in which the mother's brother's son is called by the same term as the mother's brother, or more generally one in which ego calls several members of his or her mother's patrilineal kin group by the same term (cf. **'Crow' terminology**).

Orang Outang In the eighteenth century, a term roughly equivalent to

the modern generic concept of the 'ape', but often believed to be human or nearly human. Not to be confused with the orang-utan of Southeast Asia as known to science today.

organic analogy The notion that society is 'like an organism' in being composed of evolving or interrelated parts or systems.

orientalism In anthropology, the stereotyping of the East by Western peoples, especially as described by Edward Said (cf. **occidentalism**).

Paideuma Greek for 'education', though in Frobenius' German usage it identifies the 'soul' of a culture (cf. **Volkgeist**).

paradigm Thomas Kuhn's term for a set of suppositions common to practitioners of a given science at a given time. It constitutes a large theory or perspective (e.g., Newtonian physics, Einsteinian physics). In the social sciences, the term bears much the same meaning (e.g., evolutionism and functionalism are anthropological paradigms).

paradigmatic In structuralist usage, the relation between elements which might occupy the same position in a syntagmatic chain (e.g., Mary and Sally, in the sentences 'John loves Mary' and 'John loves Sally'). In the anthropology of symbolism, paradigmatic relations are those of metaphor as opposed to metonymy.

parallel cousins The children of two brothers or two sisters. In many societies parallel cousins are treated as brothers and sisters and sharply distinguished from cross-cousins (cf. **cross-cousins**).

parole Saussure's term for speech in the sense of actual utterances; by analogy, it refers also to the social action as opposed to social structure (cf. **langue**).

participant observation The fieldwork methodology in which the ethnographer learns through both observation and participation in the social life of the people under study.

patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage Marriage of a man to his father's brother's daughter (or a woman to her father's brother's son).

patrilineal descent, patrilineality Descent through men, from father to child, etc. (cf. **matrilineal descent**).

performance In linguistics, the actual utterances which make up language (cf. **competence**).

periphery An economically weak or dependent place or region, in contrast to the 'centre'. The concept is important in Marxist anthropological theory (cf. **centre, world system**).

phenotype The physical makeup of an organism, as produced by both genetic and environmental factors (cf. **genotype**).

phone A sound. In phonetics, the smallest unit of speech.

phoneme The smallest meaningful unit of sound, more specifically

one which exists within a language-specific system of sounds.

phonemics The study of systematic relations between sounds (as phonemes).

phonetics The study of speech sounds (phones) in their fundamental essence.

phonological Relating to sounds as part of a system of phonemes.

phonology The systematic relations between sounds (as phonemes), or the study of these (in the latter sense, synonymous with phonemics).

phratry A large unilineal descent group, usually a cluster of smaller groups such as clans.

pinalua In Hawaii, a relationship of intimacy or of common sexual possession.

polygenesis Multiple and separate origins for the different human 'races' (cf. **monogenesis**).

polygenist A person who believes in polygenesis (also the adjectival form of 'polygenesis').

polytheism Belief in more than one deity (cf. **monotheism**).

postmodern A term originally employed in architecture and the arts to denote a reaction against 'modernism' (e.g., modern architecture) and a revival of classical traditions, often mixed indiscriminately (cf. **post-modern condition, postmodernism**).

postmodern condition Jean-François Lyotard's term for the state of society characterized by, among other things, globalization and a complexity of social groupings.

postmodernism, postmodernist Any perspective which emphasizes a breakdown of Enlightenment ideals. In anthropology and other social sciences, the term implies the rejection of the validity of purported objective categories or scientific methods (cf. **postmodern, post-modern condition**).

poststructuralism, poststructuralist Any perspective based on a rejection of structuralist methodology or classic structuralist distinctions such as *langue/parole* or synchronic/diachronic.

potlatch A ceremony performed by peoples of the North West Coast of North America involving feasting and the giving away (or sometimes the destruction of) their own movable property, thereby redistributing goods and gaining prestige for themselves.

practice theory Any perspective which emphasizes practice (or individual action) over social structure.

Prague School In linguistics, the school of thought whose analysis was based on the identification of distinctive features, especially in phonology. It originated in Central Europe and was transplanted to New York during the Second World War.

- praxis** Especially in Marxist theory, practice or action related to the furtherance of social good.
- pre-logical mentality** Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's term for the supposed thought processes of peoples who are culturally not equipped to distinguish cause from effect.
- presentist** In the study of the history of anthropology, the position which sees the past through the concerns of the present. The term is usually used disparagingly.
- processualism, processualist** Any perspective which emphasizes social process over social structure, or which sees social or symbolic structures in terms of their propensity for transformation.
- psychic identity, psychic unity** The idea that all humankind shares the same mentality (cf. **logical mentality, pre-logical mentality**).
- Radcliffe-Brownian** Referring to the ideas of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (cf. **structural-functionalism**).
- rationalism, rationalist** The doctrine which holds that knowledge can be derived from reason without the necessity of prior experience (cf. **empiricism**).
- rationality debate** A debate among philosophers and anthropologists, roughly from the 1960s to the 1980s, over the degree to which 'primitive peoples' were culturally capable of rational thought.
- reciprocal altruism** In sociobiological theory, the notion of performing acts for others with the expectation of a return gain.
- reflexivism, reflexivist** A perspective which holds reflexivity as central to anthropological method and theory.
- reflexivity** The reflection on the place of one's self (the ethnographer) in ethnographic practice.
- regional comparison** A form of controlled comparison which confines comparisons to those within a region (e.g., Aboriginal Australia, Great Plains North America, etc.).
- relations of production** The social relations around which production is organized; more technically, the appropriation of surplus labour on the basis of control over the forces of production and especially the means of production (cf. **mode of production**).
- relativism, relativist** A view of the world which opposes the assumption of cultural universals or universal values. In anthropology, broadly a synonym for 'cultural relativism'. In other words, any of several theoretical perspectives which include descriptive relativism, epistemological relativism, and normative relativism.
- re-localization** The assertion, rediscovery or invention of locally based knowledge, especially knowledge which can be used in agrarian

- economic and social development (cf. **localization, globalization**).
- representations collectives** French for 'collective representations'.
- reproduction** In Marxist theory, not merely reproducing children but reproducing existing aspects of culture or society through the generations.
- restricted exchange** A synonym for 'direct exchange' (as opposed to 'delayed direct' or 'generalized'). Lévi-Strauss and his followers use the terms interchangeably.
- revolutionist** The view that social evolutionary change is the result of revolutionary events such as a literal 'social contract' or the invention of symbolism.
- rites of passage** Rituals to mark the transition from one stage of life to another (such as adolescence to adulthood).
- role** What an individual does, or more technically the dynamic aspect of a social status (cf. **status**).
- Sapir-Whorf hypothesis** The hypothesis that the structure of the language people speak has an unconscious determining effect on their worldview. It was formulated by Benjamin Lee Whorf on the basis of his own research and that of his mentor, Edward Sapir, on Native North American languages. Also known as the Whorfian hypothesis.
- Saussurian** Referring to the ideas of Ferdinand de Saussure (e.g., his distinction between *langue* and *parole*).
- savage** In earlier times and to some extent in Lévi-Strauss' usage, 'wild' or 'natural'. In the eighteenth century the term often had positive overtones (in opposition to 'polished' or 'civil' society, believed to exhibit less of human nature). In the nineteenth century, it was a term identifying the earliest and lowest level of society (cf. **savagery**).
- savagery** In evolutionary theory the earliest and lowest level of society, characterized by egalitarianism and a low level of material culture (cf. **barbarism, civilization**).
- semantics** In linguistics, the study of meaning; the highest level of linguistic analysis (above phonetics, phonology, and syntax).
- semi-complex systems** A synonym for 'Crow-Omaha systems', so-called because in Lévi-Strauss' theory of kinship they contain attributes of both 'elementary structures' and 'complex structures' (cf. **Crow-Omaha systems**).
- semiology, semiotics** The study of 'signs', which include signifiers and the objects signified (cf. **signifier, signified**).
- shamanism** The practice of mediation between the ordinary world and the spirit world by a ritual specialist (a shaman). The term is from Tungus, a Siberian language, and refers especially to such practices as

trance, out-of-body travel, etc., as practised by Siberian, Arctic, and Amerindian shamans.

sign In Saussurian linguistics, the combination of the signifier (a word) and what is signified by it. By extension, any similar pairing in the study of symbolism.

significatum An element of componential analysis which, along with other significata, defines a given category (cf. **connotatum**).

signified An object or concept which is represented by a signifier (cf. **sign**).

signifier The word or symbol which stands for something (the object 'signified'; cf. **sign**).

sociability An eighteenth-century concept implying both sociality and conviviality (cf. **sociality**).

social action In opposition to social structure, what people actually do, i.e., the roles they play as opposed to the social statuses they occupy.

social anthropology The branch of anthropology or the academic discipline which is concerned with the study of society in cross-cultural perspective. The term is typically used in British and certain other traditions, whereas in North America 'cultural anthropology' is the more common term (cf. **cultural anthropology**, **ethnology**).

social drama Turner's characterization of a ritual process, such as a pilgrimage or a rite of passage, with pre-crisis and post-crisis phases.

social fact Durkheim's term for the smallest unit of social structure: a custom, institution, or any aspect of society.

social institution An element of a social system (e.g., marriage is an aspect of the kinship system).

social organization The dynamic aspect of social structure, i.e., the activities people engage in as part of the social structure.

social processes A general term employed for cyclical changes in society or changes in society over time.

social structure The relations between elements of society, either with reference to specific individuals (Radcliffe-Brown's usage) or to the statuses they occupy (cf. **structural form**).

social system A term variously referring to specific systems within society (economics, politics, kinship, religion) or to the society as a whole in its systematic aspects.

social theory The branch of sociology which deals with grand theoretical problems, or any area of the social sciences concerned with similar phenomena.

social values The values people acquire by virtue of membership in a community or society.

sociality The capacity for living in a society, a concept of importance in theoretical perspectives as diverse as seventeenth-century political philosophy and late twentieth-century sociobiology.

socialization The process by which people, especially children, acquire a knowledge of how to live in society (cf. **enculturation**).

society A social unit equivalent variously to a language group, a cultural isolate, or a nation state. Also the social relations which exist between members of such a unit.

sociobiology The study of social relations in a biological framework. More specifically, a discipline or theoretical position which treats human culture and society as adjuncts of humankind's animal nature.

sound shift A systematic change in a language, such as where one set of sounds is transformed into another set (e.g., voiced stops *b, d, g* become the equivalent voiceless stops *p, t, k*).

state of nature The notion of humanity without society, an idea prevalent in the eighteenth-century European social theory.

status The position an individual occupies within a social structure (cf. **role**).

Stewardian Referring to the ideas of Julian H. Steward (cf. **cultural ecology**).

stratigraphy In archaeology, the relation of layers of earth in a site. From these the relative age of artefacts, the remains of dwellings, etc. can be inferred.

structural form Radcliffe-Brown's term for generalities based on observations of the social structure. As his notion of 'social structure' was more concrete than that of others (referring to individuals), his term 'structural form' thus carried the more generic meaning which others ascribed to the term 'social structure'.

structural-functionalism, structural-functionalist Referring to the ideas of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who emphasized functional relations between social institutions (cf. **functionalism**).

structural opposition In structuralist theory, the relation between two elements of a structure according to the presence or absence of some distinctive feature.

structuralism, structuralist Any perspective which emphasizes structural relations as a key to understanding. For structuralists, things acquire meaning through their place in a structure or system. In anthropology, it is the perspective identified most closely with Claude Lévi-Strauss.

subaltern studies A perspective in history and literary criticism, and prominent in South Asia, which emphasizes the position of the subor-

minate rather than the dominant group. It has been of influence in feminist anthropology.

superstructure The ideological aspect of society, which in Marxist theory is determined by the base or infrastructure (cf. **base**).

surface reading For Althusser, a reading (of Marx) which focuses on the actual words rather than the deeper meaning of the text (cf. **symptomatic reading**).

symbolic culture The domain of culture concerned with symbols and symbolism, as opposed to material objects, social relations, etc.

symptomatic reading For Althusser, a reading (of Marx) which focuses on the deeper meaning of the text rather than the actual words (cf. **surface reading**).

synchronic perspective A perspective in the same time frame (e.g., functionalism), rather than one through time (cf. **diachronic perspective**).

synecdoche A figure of speech in which a part represents a whole, or vice versa.

syntactic In linguistics, either the level concerned with the structure of the sentence or more broadly the domain which lies between the phonological and semantic levels. By extension, any analogous aspect of the structure of culture.

syntagmatic In structuralist usage, the relation between sequential elements such as words in a sentence. In the anthropology of symbolism, syntagmatic relations are those of metonymy as opposed to metaphor (cf. **associative, paradigmatic**).

theism Belief in one or more deities (cf. **monotheism, polytheism**).

theory In science or social science, any discourse, perspective or statement which leads to some conclusion about the world. Anthropological theory is centrally concerned with making sense of ethnography and with generalizations about culture or society.

theory of the gift Mauss' notion that gifts are given because of social obligations and not simply voluntarily. These social obligations entail relations of reciprocity which are fundamental to society, though perhaps in some parts of the world (e.g., Polynesia, Melanesia, the North West Coast of North America) more than in others.

thick description Geertz's notion of good ethnography as consisting of a multiplicity of detailed and varied interpretations (both the ethnographer's and those of the people under study).

three-age theory In archaeology, the idea of human prehistory as consisting of three ages, namely the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age.

total culture In Steward's cultural ecology, the general aspects of culture, especially those least susceptible to ecological influence (e.g., language, religious belief) (cf. **cultural core**).

totem In Ojibwa belief, the spirit of a patrilineal clan, represented by an animal (cf. **manitoo**). By extension, a similar spirit among any people (cf. **totemism**).

totemism Any belief system which entails the symbolic representation of the social (e.g., clan membership) by the natural (e.g., animal species and their characteristics). As phenomena described as 'totemism' are so varied across the world, some anthropologists have questioned the utility of calling them all by this one term (cf. **totem**).

transactionalism, transactionalist A perspective which emphasizes transactions between individuals as the basis for social analysis.

trope A figure of speech, such as metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, or irony.

unilinear evolutionism The theory of social evolution which holds that all humankind passes through the same stages of evolution irrespective of environment or specific historical influences.

universal evolutionism The theory of social evolution which emphasizes broad, general stages rather than specific unilinear sequences of evolution.

uxorilocal Residing with the wife's group (cf. **virilocal**). Uxorilocal residence repeated through the generations creates localized matrilineal kin groups centred on women.

Verstehen German for 'understanding' or 'interpretation', the basis of Max Weber's sociology.

virilocal Residing with the husband's group (cf. **uxorilocal, virilocal**). Virilocal residence repeated through the generations creates localized patrilineal kin groups centred on men.

virilocal Residing with the husband's group (cf. **uxorilocal, virilocal**). Virilocal residence repeated through the generations creates localized patrilineal kin groups centred on men.

vital sequences Malinowski's notion of the biological foundations of all cultures.

Völkergedanken 'Peoples' thoughts', those beliefs and aspects of culture held by Bastian to be specific to given cultures and not common to all humankind (cf. **Elementargedanken**).

Völkerkunde The study of peoples, a German synonym for 'ethnology' but distinguished sharply from *Volkskunde*.

- Volksgeist** The spirit or soul of a people or culture.
- Volkskunde** In Germany and some other countries, the study of folklore and local customs, including handicrafts, of one's own country (cf. **Völkerkunde**).
- vowel system** The set of vowels found in a particular language and the structural relations which define them.
- vowel triangle** Jakobson's term for the structural relations between *u*, *i*, and *a* as representing a system defined according to relative loudness and pitch (cf. **consonant triangle**).
- vulgar materialism** Jonathan Friedman's disparaging term for what Marvin Harris calls 'cultural materialism'. It is 'vulgar' in the sense that it does not distinguish base from superstructure (cf. **cultural materialism**).
- Weberian** Referring to the ideas of Max Weber, especially his emphasis on action over social structure (cf. **Durkheimian**).
- Wechselwirkung** Simmel's notion of 'reciprocal effect', i.e., that the social exists when two or more people engage in interaction with each other, and when the behaviour of one is seen as a response to the behaviour of the other.
- Weltanschauung** German for 'worldview'.
- Whorfian hypothesis** Another name for the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.
- world system** Wallerstein's idea of a system which links the economies of the smallest societies to the powerful capitalist economies of the West and the Far East.
- worldview** A loan translation of German *Weltanschauung*, the term used especially by Boasian anthropologists for the broad perspective on the world maintained by a people through their culture.

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