

Claude Lévi-Strauss, an ethnologist who has spent more than half his 59 years studying the behavior of North and South American Indian tribes. The method he uses to study the social organization of these tribes, which he calls structuralism, has flowered into a movement with many exotic blossoms. It is being applied indiscriminately to areas for which Lévi-Strauss never intended it... Structuralism, as Lévi-Strauss has used it in his ethnological research is essentially a way of answering the question, how do you play this game? (imagine someone who has never seen a playing card watching a game of bridge. By observing the way the cards are played, he should be able to reconstruct, not only the rules (or structure) of bridge, but the ~~xxxxxxx~~ composition (or structure) of a deck of cards...

"Structuralism," says Lévi-Strauss, "is the search for unsuspected harmonies. It is the discovery of a system of relations latent in a series of objects...."

The variety of experience in the life of a social group seems to defy analysis. Precisely for this reason, Lévi-Strauss chooses to study primitive societies because they are more static than our own. And within these societies, he picks what he calls "Crystallized" social activities like myths, kinship laws, and cooking practices. Aside from being unchanging activities of unchanging societies, they are activities at the brink of consciousness -- a member of a some Brazilian tribe never stops to wonder why he cooks his meat in a certain way, or believes a myth about a man turning into a jaguar. This is the type of subconscious, taken-for-granted, mental process which Lévi-Strauss believes lends itself best to scientific investigation.

For instance, he studied gift-giving in Polynesia, of which there so many forms that most ethnologists had written them off as haphazard. He found that gift giving could be broken down into four cycles with 35 subcycles. Thus the structure of Polynesian gift-giving is the sum of all those cycles and subcycles -- the law to which every known example conforms. The structure is the hidden order of human behavior.

Lévi-Strauss derived structuralism from a school of linguistics whose principal exponent at the present time is Roman Jakobson. Very simply, these linguists study the relations ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ among words rather than the relation of each word to the object it designates. It is not the meaning of the word which concerns them,

but the patterns the words form. The structure of a language is its grammar, and through this kind of analysis, a linguist should be able to discover the grammar of a language he cannot speak, in much the same manner that a cryptographer is able to decipher a code thanks to ~~the~~ recurring patterns of digits.

In addition, the modern linguists agree that there is a "ground plan" for all the languages in the world. Every language in every society has the same fundamental properties. Thus, Lévi-Strauss says, "just as the discovery of DNA and the genetic code led biologists to use a linguistic model to explain a natural phenomenon, I use a linguistic model to explain cultural phenomena other than language. I try to show that the basic structure of language, observed the linguists in a great many other activities."

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Meaning in social activities as well / as in language, is thus not to be found in the designated activity but in the way it differs from other activities. He is not concerned with the story a myth tells, but in the way the symbols used in one myth become converted into another set of symbols telling the same story. This is the grammar or the code of myths. Once he has unraveled hundreds of South American myths using different symbols and sensory codes (one deals with what is heard, another with what is seen) and finds that they all can be reduced to a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ central idea, the discovery of fire by man, he is also able to reduce the mechanism of the primitive mind to a certain number of recurring types of mental operations. In the way, the laws governing social organization, which he discovers, whether they have to do with gift giving or marrying off one's daughter, also illustrate the workings of ~~the~~ the human spirit. . . .

.. Just as there is a ground plan for language, there must be ground plans for other forms of collective behavior.

He sees the ground plan for kinship, for instance, as a problem in the communication of women inside a primitive society, just as an economist considers supply and demand a problem in the communication of goods and services.. Instead of studying marriage and kinship in a tribe as a series of personal dramas, each the result of subjective psychological and personal factors, he studies the objective and limited number of ways a woman can pass, thanks to marriage customs, from her own family into another family.

- 1 Sanche de Gramont, "Says Levi-Straus, the Father of structuralism,  
THERE ARE NO SUPERIOR SOCIETIES"  
The New York Times Magazine, January 28, 1968, pp. 26 ff.
- 2 Carmine di Biase, "Lo ~~xx~~ strutturalismo come ricerca del divino"  
Osservatore Romano, Anno cxvii no. 33; 10 febr ~~xxx~~ '77
- 3 Christopher Lehmann-Haupt~~x~~, "What structuralism is about,"  
New York Times, Tuesday, January 10, 1973.
- 4 Tanneguy de Quenetaïn, Interview with Raymond Aron
- 5 Lawrence Gaylord Jones, "Grammatical ~~P~~atterns in English and  
Russian Verse," Offprint from To Honor Raman Jakobson, The  
Hague--Paris: Mouton, 1967.
- 6 fr. Maurice Corvez, OP, "Le structuralisme de Michel Foucault,"  
Revue Thomiste (after 1966, pp. 101-124.
- 7 Levi-Strauss - Jakobson, "Les chats' de Charles Baudelaire,"  
Homme
- 8 Louis Millet, "L'anthropologie moderne,"  
Etudes 1967 pp. 163-69
- 9 Jean-Marie Le Blond, "Structuralisme et sciences humaines,"  
Etudes, 1967, pp. 147-162
- 10 Roman Jakobson, "Une microscopie du dernier spleen dans les  
Fleurs ~~du~~ mal,"
- 11 Delfino Gauthier, Private notes for lecture course.

- 12 Robert Goedecke, "Lévi-Strauss out of his langue," Philosophy Today,  
Spring 1978, pp 73-88.

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G. begins from PRELIMINARY CONFUSIONS (73)

".. out of the blue, Lévi-Strauss has declared it (structuralism) is the science of the knowable transcendent: it is the arché not only of our knowledge of culture in relation to nature, but of the very ontos (sic!) of culture and nature itself. It is the very presumption of the claim that the most intimate veils of the real Logos has been lifted, if only slightly, that has aroused the most fury."

".. starting with the most sympathetic and ending with the anthropologists," G. indicates the opinions of:

- 13 Howard Gardner 1973, The Quest for Mind, NY: Knopf.
- 14 Octavio Paz, Levi-Strauss: An Introduction, (Translated by J. S. and Maxine Bernstein, Ithaca 1970, Cornell U. P.)
- 15 Richard and Fernande de George, ed., From Marx to Lévi-Strauss (Anchor Books, Doubleday, Garden City NY 1972)
- 16 George Steiner, "Orpheus and his Myths," Language and Silence (Athneum, N Y, 1967); *Beyond Babel*, D.P.
- 17 Leonard Bernstein, The Unanswered Questions (Harvard U. P., 1975)
- 18 Bob Scholte, "Epistemic Paradigms," American Anthropologist vol. 68 (1966); Reprinted in Nelson and Tanya Hayes, The Anthropologist as Hero (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970)
- 19 Edmund Leach, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Modern Masters Series, Viking Press, 1971
- 20 Edmund Leach, "Lévi-Strauss in the Garden of Eden," in the Anthropologist as Hero, Hayes and Hayes op cit, and "The Legitimacy of Solomon," in Michael Lane, ed. Structuralism: a Reader (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970).
- 21 Rodney Needham, Structure and Sentiment, (Univ of Chicago P. 19-2)
- 22 "Introduction and Remarks", Rethinking Kinship and Marriage, London Tavistock, 1971.
- 24 Stanley Diamond, In Search of the Primitive (New Brunswick NJ: Dutton, 1974).

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- 15 Stanley Diamond, "The Myth of Structuralism," The Unconscious in Culture (Ino Rossi, ed., Dutton, New York 1974).
- 20 Philip Pettit, The Concept of Structuralism: A Critical Analysis, Berkley: U of California P., 1975
- 21 Edward Said. "Abecedarium Culturæ," Beginnings. NY: Basic Books, 1975
- 22 Hillis Miller, Introduction to Yale French Studies 1966
- 23 Northrop Frye, "The Instruments of Mental Production," The Stubborn Structure, Ithica NY: Cornell U P, 1970
- 30 Paul Ricoeur, "Structure et Hermeneutique", Esprit vol 31, 1963.

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- 21 Michael Lane, Structuralism, A Reader, op cit

77 Immanuel Kant and Paul Ricoeur have a rational view of the nature of mind, in which the categories do not come from experience but are [78] given a radical a priori fashion (Chomsky can be squeezed into this position also). From this point of view, it is Lévi-Strauss who appears to be the wild relativistic empiricist attempting to find classification and identification and rationality in an empirical domain, when they are necessarily transcendent and defintory of all experience. The concept of Bricoleur, so crucial in the introduction of From Honey to Ashes, is meant to be the French or intermediate answer to the basic problems of knowledge stated by Hume and Kant. Lévi-Strauss is not an idealist, a Kantian, a Cartesian, nor an Hegelian... He is closer to Montesquieu than to Kant or Hegel: rational norms exist, but they are different in different cultures, and only investigation can reveal the forms actually developed and the symbolisms really in effect... .. when Lévi-Strauss does his empirical anthropology on the basis of a plurality of linguistic methods, the a priori's become linguistic and observable, no longer rational and necessary, but obtainable only by analytic deduction... Kant despite his reflective rationalism, shares with the English empiricists the aphasic problem of accepting only metonymic utterance as valid in social experience and natural reality. But at least Ricoeur and the rationalists understand the questions about categories, taxonomy, identification, differentiation posed and answered by Lévi-Strauss, even if the two have different answers.

Univ of Chicago Press 1960 ff.

Current Anthropology, Sept 1977, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ vol. 18, no. 3

Robert A. Rubenstein & Charles D. Lauchlin Jr.

Bridging Levels in Systemic Organization, 459-463

Opens from recent attempts to relate the split-brain phenomenon in man to cognitive-behavioral features of interest to anthropologists (cf. discussions of bicameral mind in Time and elsewhere)

Proceeds to a more general issue which, given the increasing move-towards the integration of traditional anthropological approaches with neuroscientific data, is of profound importance. This is the issue of how to bridge levels of systemic organization.

Comments pp 463-479 References 479-481.

James J. Boggs, 463-4.

R. & L. see the problem of bridging systemic levels as one of cognitive structure and employ cognitive theory to reach their first conclusion.

I see the problem of bridging systemic levels not only as one of cognitive structure but rather as one of the relationship between theory (which is cognitive) and systemic organization....

.. In other words, the argument is that theories are a kind of cognition, cognition is organized hierarchically. Theoretical levels are therefore a function of cognitional structure. The process of bridging levels is explained by subsuming it under the rules of cognitive developmental process.

My approach, on the other hand, is that systemic levels and levels of analysis (theories referring to systemic levels) originate in systemic organization, not in cognitive organization. General systems theory affords the most sophisticated formulation of systemic structure and therefore may be drawn upon for an initial definition of the problem.

Systemic levels are often called hierarchies. Hierarchical organization exists because the laws governing the behavior of a system at one level are different from the laws governing the behavior of its constituent units. (E.g. the laws governing the aggregation of protons and neutrons to form atomic nuclei are different from the laws governing the aggregation of atoms into molecules)....

... although different systemic levels are clearly functionally related (because the units of ~~an~~ one level form the constituents

Cultural Anthropology, Sept 1977, p. 463, Boggs con'd.

of the next higher level, and so on), the theories that refer to adjacent levels are abstractions from these levels and are not necessarily connected... This then is why theoretical bridge principles are needed.

Paredes J. & M. Hepburn, 1976. The Split-brain and the culture-and-cognition paradox  
Current Anthropology 17: 121-27.

Split-brain: experiments on epileptics in whom the corpus callosum, common to the two hemispheres, has been cut.

Eg ask them to reproduce shapes that they can see or that they cannot see but can feel