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AAA. See AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Aboriginal. The earliest known occupant (or feature) of a region; often (capitalized) specifying INDIGENOUS peoples of Australia. “Aborigine” is often considered offensive. Early anthropologists and sociologists such as RADCLIFFE-BROWN and DURKHEIM were greatly interested in Australian Aboriginal societies. These have been examined by specialists such as B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen; and, more recently, by such writers as Howard Morphy and Ian Keen.

Abu Sunbul (Egypt). See BURCKHARDT.

acculturation. A process by which one group of people’s IDENTITY is modified by meeting another: one CULTURE introduces elements that are accepted or resisted by the other, leading to the weaker group remaining partially autonomous, the ASSIMILATION of the weaker group into the stronger unit, or occasionally a merged culture. Members of the dominant culture may be physically present or act on the other remotely. Even when acculturated, the weaker group may not totally assimilate. In general use, acculturation and assimilation may be used synonymously. See also SYNCRETISM, the adoption of elements of one religion into another.

acephalous. Having no head; of a STATE or people, having no formal leader (as in foraging cultures—see HUNTER-GATHERER).

achievement/ascription. A distinction made by PARSONS, one of five such PATTERN VARIABLES, or sets of alternative social strategies. Achieved STATUS derives from competition with one’s peers; ascribed status comes through

2 *acquisition*

one's birth. While it may be claimed that "traditional" (see TRADITION) societies ascribe status and "MODERN" societies favor achievement, certain areas (e.g. GENDER roles) may be more complicated.

acquisition. See LANGUAGE ACQUISITION.

act. To perform a deed, or the deed itself. The definition of an "act" has been much discussed in SOCIOLOGY. See also AGENCY (the ability to act), BROKER, COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE, ROLE, SPEECH ACT. In common use, of course, "acting" often implies theatrical ROLE-playing.

Further reading: Hastrup (2004).

action anthropology. A form of APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY in which the anthropologist works for the interests of a minority CULTURE that is in difficulty of some kind, facilitating that culture's decisions. Pioneered by Sol TAX from the 1930s onward.

actor/network theory (ANT). A sociological approach associated with Bruno Latour, John Law, Michel Callon, and others that has influenced several SOCIAL SCIENCES. It stresses the *performative* nature of networks, and, controversially, can be said to ascribe AGENCY, the ability to act, to non-human elements of a network—people and the things they use interact to perpetuate the network. Critics have argued that ANT underplays the real political and POWER relations involved in its area of study. ANT is a branch of SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY STUDIES.

Further reading: Latour (2005).

adaptation. In biology and anthropology, the response of a population or INDIVIDUAL to new environmental (see ENVIRONMENT) factors. Individuals develop physically in differing ways according to local conditions; over a longer period populations evolve (see EVOLUTION). Adaptation also operates at various cultural levels, through behavior and SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

adat. Customary law in Islamic (see ISLAM) South-East Asia, as distinct from religious law, or SHARI'A.

Further reading: Davidson & Henley (2007).

address terms. Relationship terms used directly with their subject, to talk *to* them. May be employed more loosely than REFERENCE TERMS (terms used to talk *about* others), as when calling an older COUSIN "uncle."

adelphic polyandry. A form of POLYANDRY—marriage to multiple husbands—in which the husbands are brothers (or are regarded as such). From Greek, *adelphi* ("brothers").

adivasi. A member of the ABORIGINAL tribal peoples of India. From Sanskrit, "original inhabitant."

adolescence. See YOUTH.

adoption. The voluntary extension of KINSHIP ties to people outside one's immediate biological FAMILY, most often involving adults adopting children. It may be mainly understood as a legal commitment, a more permanent step than fostering.

Legal adoption derives from ancient Rome; the Romans distinguished between beneficial "changes" of parent and cases in which birth parents had died. In NON-WESTERN societies the anthropologist may find such distinctions less useful, as a fluid range of practices and attitudes may present themselves. One area of interest is transnational adoption (see TRANSNATIONALISM), with issues such as questions of ETHNICITY and IDENTITY.

Further reading: Bowie (2004).

Adorno, Theodor (1903–69). German philosopher, influenced by MARX; member of the Frankfurt School (see CRITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY). He adopted a critical stance toward the mass MEDIA and POSITIVISM, attacking the "culture industry" on the grounds that it twisted art to its own repressive ends, and toward spurious rationalism. His works include *Minima moralia* (1974 [German 1951]), *Prisms* (1967 [German 1955]), and *Negative dialectics* (1973 [1966]). See also HABERMAS.

advocacy. The PRACTICE of speaking for another (the Latin root means "called to [support]"). The notion of advocacy in the SOCIAL SCIENCES and the ethical questions surrounding it have become issues in areas such as APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY, DEVELOPMENT, HUMAN RIGHTS, and particularly ACTION ANTHROPOLOGY.

aesthetics. A term originally taken from the Greek for "things perceptible," the precise meaning of which was contested by Alexander Baumgarten and Immanuel Kant in the eighteenth century. Its English use encompasses both the THEORY of sense PERCEPTION and the investigation of the principles of beauty in the arts (see ART). For anthropologists, key questions include what criteria are valid in the study of art of NON-WESTERN cultures (see CULTURE), what the function of art is, and what it may mean.

Further reading: Weiner (1994).

affect. Generally used as a verb; as a noun, "affect" refers in psychology to emotional response to stimuli or thoughts. Its consideration is an issue in anthropology of the BODY.

affiliation. Used generally to describe ADOPTION (literally or metaphorically), affiliation also has two meanings in anthropology. It describes the relationship of a child to its parents, and hence to lines of DESCENT

(the relationship to the parent *alone* being known as **FILIATION**), and also covers voluntary social **ASSOCIATION** between wider groups.

affine. See **AFFINITY**.

affinity. **KINSHIP** held through **MARRIAGE** (e.g. “in-laws”) as opposed to **BIRTH** (**CONSANGUINITY**). Those connected by affinity are termed “affines.”

affluent society. See **ORIGINAL AFFLUENT SOCIETY**.

afterology. A term adopted by Marshall D. **SAHLINS** (from a phrase by Jacqueline Mraz) to describe disparagingly **POST-MODERNISM**, **POST-STRUCTURALISM**, and similar phenomena.

Further reading: Sahlins (1999).

Agamben, Giorgio (1942–). See **SOVEREIGNTY**.

agamy. A **MARRIAGE CUSTOM** whereby people are free to marry members of their own group as well as members of another group. Compare the narrower expectations involved in **ENDOGAMY** and **EXOGAMY**.

age-class system or **age system.** A means of organizing men (seldom **WOMEN**) into groups based on common age and **ROLE** (“age sets” passing through the same “age grades” together), typically in East Africa or the Americas. The most common distinction is the separation of young men from their **ELDERS**.

ageing. The last stages of physical maturity; later adulthood. A folksy image of the kinds of peoples studied by anthropologists would involve revered **ELDERS** dispensing wisdom to the young, but this is not necessarily accurate. In some ways people are just as constrained by societal expectations (and factors such as **GENDER**) in old age as in **YOUTH**. It is certainly true, however, that in industrialized societies people quite often regard the elderly as a burden, requiring expensive medical and personal care. A further aspect of ageing is the occasional emergence of a **GERONTOCRACY**.

Further reading: Myerhoff (1978).

agency. The ability of an **INDIVIDUAL** (“agent”) or group to **ACT** of their own volition, without constraint by **STRUCTURE**. Certain schools of social thought stress agency (see **POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY**). Contrast **CULTURAL DETERMINISM**.

Further reading: Wisniewski (2008).

aggression. Of particular interest in psychology (see **PSYCHOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY**). Anthropologists have uncovered a wide range of aggressive practice, including conventions regarding who is likely to be a victim, and under what circumstances. Aggression may result in full-blown **VIOLENCE** or

the capitulation (or flight) of the target. It is often studied in relation to young males (see **YOUTH**), in relation to children, and in relation to situations that provoke aggression.

A lot of work has been done on aggressive behavior among other **ANIMALS**, for instance **PRIMATES**. The theories of the Austrian ethologist Konrad Lorenz, who regarded aggression as inbuilt, were popular in the 1960s but have latterly been rejected in favor of more culturally nuanced explanations.

agnate. See **AGNATIC**.

agnatic. In **KINSHIP**, a term for relation by **DESCENT** from the father's side of the family; a person so related is an "agnate." The mother's-side equivalent terms are **ENATE** and **UTERINE**; see also **COGNATIC**, **PATRILINEALITY**.

agricultural involution. See **INVOLUTION**.

agriculture. Literally, the cultivation of the soil (for **FOOD** and so on), but usually understood to include wider **PRACTICES** such as raising livestock. Studied particularly by anthropologists interested in **DEVELOPMENT** issues (e.g. **RURAL** politics and economics) but issues also include large-scale land use in technologically sophisticated ways.

agronomy. The study of land management, **RURAL** economy and related areas.

AIDS. Acquired immune deficiency syndrome, which develops from the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) to allow infection, was first identified around 1982 and has had major impacts around the world, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, where mortality rates remain high. As the **PANDEMIC** developed, judgmental attitudes toward some early victims hampered efforts to treat and prevent it. See also **DISEASE**, **RISK**, **SEX**.

Further reading: ten Brummelhuis & Herdt (1995); Fassin (2007).

alcheringa. See **DREAMING**.

alcohol. The general name for a number of chemical compounds with assorted uses (for example ethanol) produced naturally or artificially. Ethanol is the basis of "alcoholic" **DRINKS**. Naturally fermented drinks have a long history of recreational use, use in **RITUAL**, and use other contexts, in many **CULTURES**, although not everywhere: for instance, they are forbidden according to Islamic (see **ISLAM**) and Sikh **CUSTOM**. Even in the US, Prohibition in the 1920s criminalized alcohol.

Alcohol works on the **BRAIN** to alter mood and lower inhibitions, which can create social problems (such as **CRIME** and **VIOLENCE**), **ILLNESS**, and long-term dependency. Many social scientists have investigated methods of treatment and rehabilitation for alcohol abusers.

Further reading: Wilson (2005).



Figure 1 Alcohol. Anthropologist Nadine Beckmann tasting *pombe*, a local beer, Ulugura mountains, Tanzania. Photo copyright: N. Beckmann.

Ali ibn Abi Talib, Caliph (c. 600–661). See SHIA.

alliance. A relationship created by MARRIAGE, not just between the spouses but encompassing “in-laws.” From the French scholarly TRADITION as elaborated in LÉVI-STRAUSS’ classic work on ELEMENTARY STRUCTURES. “Alliance systems” may involve SYMMETRICAL ALLIANCE or ASYMMETRICAL ALLIANCE (that is, differing forms of MARRIAGE exchange); “alliance theory” stresses these connections and their social importance rather than, as in some anthropological writings, viewing connections of DESCENT as being central to social cohesion (see DESCENT THEORY). As with much THEORY, alliance theory tends to describe ARCHETYPES that do not always appear so neatly in reality. See also CROSS-COUSIN.

Further reading: Lévi-Strauss (1969[b]); Héritier-Augé & Copet-Rougier (1990–4).

alliance systems. See ALLIANCE.

alliance theory. See ALLIANCE.

allograph. In LINGUISTICS, either a particular written form of a given letter-SYMBOL (GRAPHEME) or one of a number of letters or combined letters representing a PHONEME.

allometry. In biology, the study of relative growth rates among parts of a BODY, human or otherwise, especially where one feature appears out of proportion with what may be expected (e.g. where a human baby’s head develops faster than other parts). From Greek, “other” and “measure.”

allopathy. A term used in homeopathy to describe conventional medical approaches (compare BIOMEDICINE). It refers to treatment inducing a reaction in the sufferer which *counters* their symptoms; “homeopathy,” by contrast, specifies treatment that would, if given in sufficient amounts, *induce* these symptoms.

allophone. In LINGUISTICS, a variant form of the same sound (compare PHONE); for example, “p” in “span” and “p” in “pan” are regarded as distinct allophones since “p” is only aspirated (produced with a breath) in the second case.

Al-Qaida. See TERRORISM.

alter. (noun) A term used when discussing relationships: a person to whom EGO stands in some relationship. From Latin, “another”.

alterity. The state of “otherness,” difference; a PROPERTY of what one group conceives of as the “OTHER.” For example, a migrant group of South Asians living in London may be conceived of as marked by alterity.

Althusser, Louis (1918–90). French structuralist (see STRUCTURALISM) philosopher (born in Algeria), influenced by GRAMSCI and a critical disciple of MARX. Althusser popularized the idea of the “ideological STATE apparatus”: social elements (e.g. the MEDIA) that promulgate the dominant IDEOLOGY. A sufferer of bipolar disorder, he strangled his wife in 1980 and died in an institution. Major works include *For Marx* (1969 [French 1965]) and *Lenin and philosophy* (2nd ed. 1977 [French 1969]).

altruism. Concern for the wellbeing of others rather than oneself. Coined (in French) by COMTE in the nineteenth century. Altruism is an issue in such areas as GAME THEORY, and numerous explanations for its development and forms (e.g. KIN SELECTION ALTRUISM, RECIPROCAL ALTRUISM) have been advanced.

Further reading: Ridley (1996).

Amazonia. The region around the Amazon river, home to outstanding resources in terms of RAINFOREST, PLANTS, and ANIMALS, and a shrinking and diverse number of INDIGENOUS peoples. About half of Amazonia is in Brazil, and much interest has been generated by the struggle of local peoples with its GOVERNMENT.

Amazonia has been investigated by LÉVI-STRAUSS and by specialists such as John Hemming, David Maybury-Lewis, and Peter Rivière. It continues to exert a powerful fascination for the ordinary reader as much as the expert.

Further reading: Lévi-Strauss (1961); Nugent (2007).

ambilineal. A term first used by Edmund LEACH to denote a KINSHIP system in which one may claim membership of the matrilineal (see MATRILINEALITY) or patrilineal (see PATRILINEALITY) group (the mother’s

or father's side of the FAMILY), though not both. FIRTH and others have occasionally discussed "ambilateral" relations (the prefix "ambi" comes from Latin, "of both sides").

ambilocality. In POST-MARITAL RESIDENCE, the CUSTOM of a married couple residing with, or near to, *either* the husband or wife's relatives, as opposed to, for example, NEOLOCAL residence (setting up home in a new place).

American anthropology. The North American tradition in anthropology is characterized historically by a division into FOUR FIELDS, including CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY, itself distinct from the British tradition of SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

An age of gifted amateurs and evolutionary theorists, such as MORGAN, in the mid-nineteenth century led, in both the US and in Britain, to the birth of an academic discipline under the guidance of figures such as FRANZ BOAS. The AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION formed to represent the new profession, which eventually gained popular attention through the writings of BENEDICT, Margaret MEAD and others. Theorists such as SAPIR developed new insights into the cultural dimension of LINGUISTICS. Many of this generation had been taught directly by BOAS.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, the influence of LÉVI-STRAUSS and STRUCTURALISM was felt, as well as a concern with REFLEXIVITY, as anthropologists began to take full account of their own cultural backgrounds and biases. American anthropology has also absorbed POST-MODERNISM (see WRITING CULTURE), a development now old enough to inspire retrospective analysis and lead to a plethora of new theoretical avenues.

Further reading: Boas (1974); Stocking & Handler (1983–2010).

American Anthropological Association. A major anthropological organization, with over 10,000 members. Founded in 1902, it has numerous sections and runs an annual meeting. Its many publications include *American anthropologist*, *American ethnologist*, and *Anthropology news*, and its titles are accessible via the AnthroSource online portal (<http://www.aaanet.org>).

American Indian. An inaccurate (see INDIAN) but not generally offensive term that has been steadily replaced in American English by NATIVE AMERICAN.

American Museum of Natural History. The AMNH (<http://www.amnh.org>) houses a vast collection that includes a substantial anthropology section, formed in 1873. Several major figures, principally BOAS and Margaret MEAD, have worked here.

Amerindian. INDIGENOUS (person, group, or LANGUAGE) to North, South, or Central America; NATIVE AMERICAN. See also INDIAN.

amitalocality. See AVUNCULOCAL RESIDENCE.

AMNH. See AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

amoral familism. A term coined by Edward Banfield to describe a supposed prioritizing among MEDITERRANEAN societies of the material, short-term interests of one's family over those of the COMMUNITY. The concept has since been challenged. Compare LIMITED GOOD.

Further reading: Banfield (1958).

Amritsar (India). See SIKHISM.

Anansi. See TRICKSTER.

ancestor. One from whom a person or group claims DESCENT. The ancestor usually pre-dates the descendant's grandparents or may be a mythical person or creature. There is a wide variety of attitudes and PRACTICES relating to ancestors, for example concerning who is considered important, how they are remembered, and for what. Anthropologists such as Maurice BLOCH have studied these practices. See also ANCESTOR WORSHIP, DESCENT GROUP.

ancestor worship. In several parts of the world, groups of people of the same lineage, CLAN, or other relationship group venerate ANCESTORS, and perform rites to them. This can be seen as an exercise in POWER, strengthening the FAMILY against outsiders; it is also tied up with the belief that ancestors influence the lives of their descendants. The phrase "ancestor worship" is itself contentious owing to its origins in a nineteenth-century view of human development, and to the diversity of practices that it covers.

Further reading: Weber (1951).

Andamanese. See NEGRITO.

Andes. The largest mountain range in the world, running along the western coast of South America through countries such as Colombia, Peru, and Chile.

androcentrism. A viewpoint placing men at the centre; early anthropologists have been criticized for what are now perceived as androcentric assumptions (e.g. that men are "naturally" superior to WOMEN).

androgyny. The condition of possessing both male and female sexual characteristics; being a HERMAPHRODITE. From the Greek for both "man" and "woman."

anglophone. English-speaking (person, country, or other community).

animal. Animals can be studied in at least three main ways. They may be viewed as physical resources to be exploited: for FOOD in such areas as AGRICULTURE; entertainment (as in fox hunting, cock fighting, horse racing, and other SPORTS); for scientific and medical research; or for RITUAL

purposes (see also SACRIFICE). On a more abstract level, animals are SYMBOLS or METAPHORS by which to classify the world (see e.g. TOTEMISM). In a third way, people can be insulted if they are compared to certain animals.

Some animals develop significance (e.g. in TABOOS regarding FOOD) in particular cultures—as in those that abstain from eating pigs, and those that ascribe special STATUS to cattle (see CATTLE COMPLEX, HINDUISM). Such processes involve an element of CLASSIFICATION.

See also AGGRESSION, ANTHROPOMORPHISM, DARWINISM, ETHNOBIOLOGY, ETHNOZOOLOGY, ETHOLOGY, EVOLUTIONARY ANTHROPOLOGY, FOLK CLASSIFICATION, HUNTING, NATURE AND CULTURE, PASTORALISM, PRIMATE, PROPERTY, SHAMAN, SOCIOBIOLOGY, TERRITORIALITY, TRANSHUMANCE.

Further reading: Leach (1964); Morris (1998); Kalof & Fitzgerald (2007).

animism. The belief that inanimate objects and natural phenomena have SOULS. Animism was viewed by nineteenth-century religious theorists as part of a PRIMITIVE outlook that might be supplanted by RATIONALISM.

anisogamy. MARRIAGE between partners of unequal STATUS—either HYPERGAMY (“marrying up” to a higher group) or HYPOGAMY (“marrying down”). Marriage between social equals is ISOGAMY.

Année sociologique. A pioneering journal founded by DURKHEIM and associated with his influential school of SOCIOLOGY.

anomie. A sociological term to describe a condition characterized by breakdown or disregard of NORMS. First used in this way by DURKHEIM in *Suicide* (1897): societies regulate desires by setting frameworks for goals; when such frameworks are broken, goals become unobtainable and anomic conditions result, with rising instances of suicide.

A social system may also become anomic when norms are applied unevenly or unclearly, or during WARS (for example), when norms may be waived. See also URBANISM.

ANT. See ACTOR/NETWORK THEORY.

anthropocentrism. The assumption that mankind is the centre of existence. Compare ETHNOCENTRISM.

anthropogeography. A type of HUMAN GEOGRAPHY principally associated with Ratzel in the late nineteenth century. Ratzel regarded geography not simply as a natural science but as one also partly concerned with cultural and political elements. Compare GEOGRAPHICAL DETERMINISM, GERMAN ANTHROPOLOGY.

anthropological linguistics. Anthropologists have had an interest in LANGUAGE from the earliest beginnings of the discipline, for example Sir

William Jones' work on Sanskrit in the eighteenth century. Many writers compiled dictionaries and GRAMMARS of colonies in which they worked, and key early twentieth-century figures such as BOAS and MALINOWSKI began to develop insights into how language reveals the underlying outlook of a society.

A little later, the WHORFIAN HYPOTHESIS—loosely, the argument that a particular WORLDVIEW is closely tied to the linguistic means available for its expression—allied language to a cultural understanding of the world. By the 1960s, ETHNOSCIENCE or the “new ethnography” had led to a greater interest in FOLK CLASSIFICATION.

Following the work of CHOMSKY, anthropologists and linguists have diverged: while linguists (mostly) view language as a discrete system capable of independent study, anthropologists are keen to see it as something that operates primarily in a *social* setting.

Areas such as SOCIOLINGUISTICS, the ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING, and DISCOURSE theory (see THEORY) have been fertile ground for Dell Hymes, John Gumperz, and many others, and for sympathetic linguists such as Deborah Tannen. Recent work also encompasses METAPHOR, and the expression of relations of POWER, GENDER differences, linguistic minorities, and so on. Since the turn of the millennium the Internet has begun to emerge as a field of interest.

Further reading: Ottenheimer (2009).

Anthropological Survey of India. See INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY.

anthropology. The scientific study of humankind, including human origins, institutions, beliefs, and social and cultural forms. The word comes from Greek, “speaking of man,” and seems to be late sixteenth century, though a growing interest among western writers concerning the peoples encountered by travelers, traders, and explorers is evident much earlier (and goes back at least to HERODOTUS).

Anthropology emerged as a distinct field in the later nineteenth century, at which point it began to grow from a by-way of earlier disciplines (HISTORY, philosophy, and later LINGUISTICS and especially SOCIOLOGY), or the pursuit of amateurs (see ARMCHAIR ANTHROPOLOGY), into a recognized academic endeavor as practiced by TYLOR, BOAS, and other leading scholars.

During the twentieth century, figures such as MALINOWSKI, EVANS-PRITCHARD, and RADCLIFFE-BROWN in Britain; Margaret MEAD, BENEDICT, and KROEBER in the US; and numerous others advanced the standing and scope of anthropology. The subject developed different concerns in different countries, from American CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY, with its FOUR FIELDS orientation, to British SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, German VÖLKERKUNDE, and so on (see also CHINESE ANTHROPOLOGY, DUTCH ANTHROPOLOGY, FRENCH

ANTHROPOLOGY). In the same way, the theoretical leanings of early anthropologists (such as EVOLUTIONISM and DIFFUSIONISM) yielded over time to a more nuanced understanding of what had been called PRIMITIVE peoples. Influences from related areas such as the SOCIOLOGY of DURKHEIM or WEBER, or the LINGUISTICS of SAUSSURE and SAPIR, opened new and radical perspectives.

As the twentieth century progressed, European anthropologists became more aware of their own ties with COLONIALISM; the multidisciplinary influence of STRUCTURALISM spread, as did political currents such as MARXIST anthropology.

With the advent of POST-MODERNISM and REFLEXIVITY, the subject entered a period of introspection (see also *WRITING CULTURE*). Today new branches continue to emerge, from MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGY to the investigation of new technologies. See also ETHNOGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY.

Further reading: Harris (1990); Eriksen (2004); Rosman et al. (2009); Strang (2009[b]).

anthropology at home. The ethnographic study of one's own SOCIETY. Of particular interest to European anthropologists in the 1980s, as funding for travel became tighter and as a way of circumventing access difficulties. See also AUTOETHNOGRAPHY.

Further reading: Jackson (1987).

anthropometry. Comparative measurement of the BODY to determine average dimensions in different ages, groups, and so on. Measurements might include height, weight, and ratios. Generally more studied in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, anthropometry is now often associated with outmoded theories on RACE and physical difference, but is still used with fossil records and in public health.

Further reading: Ulijaszek & Komlos (2010).

anthropomorphism. The attribution of human-like feelings or motivations to non-human entities: most obviously ANIMALS but also God.

apartheid. In politics, the policy in twentieth-century South Africa (from Afrikaans and Dutch, "apartness") of "separate development" for non-white ethnic groups. Enshrined in law following the election of the National Party in 1948, it was vociferously opposed in the wider world and most of its laws were repealed in 1991.

apical ancestor. An ANCESTOR (real or supposed) shared by members of a SEGMENTARY SOCIETY; the one who sits at the apex (top) of any GENEALOGY.

Apinayé. See PARALLEL DESCENT.

Appadurai, Arjun (1949–). Indian anthropologist long resident in the US; a leading writer on GLOBALIZATION. Born in Bombay (Mumbai) and educated at Brandeis University and Chicago, he has held professorships at Yale, Chicago, and Pennsylvania and is currently with the New School, New York. He co-founded the leading journal *Public culture* in 1988 and his own writings include *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective* (ed., 1986), *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization* (1996), *Globalization* (ed., 2001), and *Fear of small numbers: an essay on the geography of anger* (2006).

applied anthropology. A field in which the anthropologist deals with a practical issue concerning a population or region, either by informing social policy or by direct action. This often takes place outside academia. Many US anthropologists have preferred the term “practicing anthropologist.” See for example the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (<http://practicinganthropology.org>). Compare (in their various implications concerning the anthropologist’s involvement or detachment) ACTION ANTHROPOLOGY, ADVOCACY, DEVELOPMENT.

Further reading: *Anthropology in action* [journal].

appropriate technology. TECHNOLOGY suited to the cultural and ecological context in which it will be used. Typically thought of as simple, cheap tools and machines that can be employed in DEVELOPMENT. Compare INTERMEDIATE TECHNOLOGY.

Arabia Felix. The old Roman name for the Arabian peninsula; “Arabia the fortunate.”

archaeology. The scientific study of the remains and ARTEFACTS left by the cultures of the past, from comparatively recently to as far back as PREHISTORY. Inasmuch as it frequently concerns ancient (rather than modern) societies, it is a sister discipline to anthropology. For terms relating to archaeology see ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALOGY, FOUR FIELDS, LITHIC, MATERIAL CULTURE, PROCESSUAL, QUATERNARY, SALVAGE ETHNOGRAPHY, SERIATION.

archaeology of knowledge. A particular approach to the HISTORY of thought developed by FOUCAULT: the products of differing disciplines in a particular age are compared, to give a picture of the kind of understanding available *at that time*. Knowledge is linked to POWER structures. Compare HISTORY OF IDEAS.

Further reading: Foucault (2002).

archetype. A first model, a prototype. Archetypes may appear as stock characters in stories or NARRATIVES (“heroes,” “villains,” and so on), or may

otherwise represent particular things or situations. Often associated with the psychologist Carl Jung.

archipelago. A group of (often volcanic) islands, or the sea area enclosing them; for example, the Malay Archipelago.

architecture. The ART and science of designing and constructing buildings, as well as other edifices, such as bridges and ships. One aspect of MATERIAL CULTURE. The cultural significance of *house* design is one area studied: as well as the practical aspects of architecture, which will be modified according to purpose (for dwelling, for storage, as places for particular activities), built forms make symbolic statements about the conception of SPACE (see SYMBOLIC ANTHROPOLOGY).

Further reading: Carsten & Hugh-Jones (1995).

Ardener, Edwin (1927–87). British social anthropologist and linguist; born London. Educated at the London School of Economics (1945, under FIRTH, LEACH, and Audrey Richards), he did fieldwork in Cameroon(s). Ardener lectured in social anthropology at Oxford from 1963 to 1987. He co-founded the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*. He edited the collection *Social anthropology and language* in 1971; his own articles are collected in *The voice of prophecy* (ed. M. Chapman, 2007 [1989]).

Further reading: *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* (1987), special issue.

Argonaut. A legendary Greek hero; the Argonauts accompanied Jason in their ship, the *Argo*. MALINOWSKI alludes to them in the title *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*.

Aristotle (384–322 BCE). See BINARY OPPOSITION, CATEGORY, COMMODITY, MIMESIS, OLIGARCHY.

armchair anthropology. The “armchair” PREFIX in general use refers to critics who air views based on reading or speculation rather than first-hand knowledge of a subject (hence “armchair general,” one who theorizes about the conduct of a war). Pioneers such as FRAZER, who did not do their own FIELDWORK, were sometimes later dismissed as “armchair anthropologists.”

arranged marriage. MARRIAGE between partners who are chosen by other people, typically parents. In British DISCOURSE, often regarded as a “problem” to do with families with origins in South Asia.

art. The skill or technique required to produce aesthetically meaningful WORK using objects, spaces, and/or bodies; and the products of this work. In Western TRADITIONS, art typically encompasses literature, painting, sculpture, DANCE, DRAMA, and film. In anthropology, art is particularly the province of MATERIAL CULTURE. Art can aid understanding of a culture’s



Figure 2 Art. A wooden mask from the Fang people of West Africa shown at an American exhibition, 1960. Photo: US Information Agency; National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution NAA INV 0600 3500.

conventions and concerns, and writers such as LEACH and LÉVI-STRAUSS have discussed its symbolic significance (see SYMBOLIC ANTHROPOLOGY). See also LITERARY ANTHROPOLOGY, SCRIMSHAW, VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

Further reading: Coote & Shelton (1992); Morphy & Perkins (2006).

artefact or **artifact**. Anything produced by people, as opposed to naturally occurring: utensils, TOOLS, weapons, ART, and crafts. Often used in the context of historical or archaeological finds. From Latin, “made by skill.” See also MATERIAL CULTURE, MUSEUM, TECHNOLOGY.

artisan. A skilled manual worker or craftsperson (e.g. a carpenter, ceramicist, or plumber), sometimes regarded as socially intermediate between the professional and laboring classes.

Aryan (languages). See INDO-EUROPEAN.

ASA. See ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS.

Asad, Talal (1932–). Saudi Arabian anthropologist, raised in Pakistan and educated at Oxford, where he gained a doctorate in 1968. As of 2011 he teaches at the City University of New York. An early critic of COLONIALISM in anthropology, he has since concentrated on issues of RELIGION and

secularism in the context of notions of modernity (see MODERN), with a focus on the MIDDLE EAST. His works include *Anthropology and the colonial encounter* (ed., 1998 [1973]), *Genealogies of religion: discipline and reasons of power in Christianity and Islam* (1993), and *Formations of the secular: Christianity, Islam, modernity* (2003).

ascendant. A KINSHIP term for those *preceding* EGO: father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on going backwards, including COLLATERAL relatives such as uncles. Compare DESCENDANT.

ascription. See ACHIEVEMENT/ASCRPTION.

ashram. An Indian religious retreat, associated with self-denial and austerity. A famous example was Gandhi's ashram near Nagpur. From Sanskrit, "toward religious exertion."

Asia, southeastern. See SOUTHEAST ASIA.

Asiatic mode of production. A type of economic system characterized by MARX as one in which villagers possessing no private PROPERTY co-exist with non-productive "parasitic" cities and a "despotic" STATE. The villagers have no CLASS relationship with these groups. The THEORY has been criticized for its Eurocentric (see EUROCENTRICISM) viewpoint. See also MODE OF PRODUCTION.

assimilation. A term to describe how immigrant communities adapt to, or are absorbed into, the host CULTURE. Originally conceived as a simple matter of the newcomer adopting majority ways, it is now viewed as a two-way process by which both parties are modified. See also ACCULTURATION, CULTURAL PLURALISM.

assisted reproduction. See REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES.

association. A group of people with a common IDENTITY, purpose, or cause. Associations are usually characterized by having some degree of organization, for instance rules and set procedures, and by exclusivity (an association for WOMEN will not be open to men). They may be drawn together by a common TRADE or profession (e.g. the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION); ETHNICITY or RACE (e.g. the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People); GENDER (e.g. the Women's Rights Project); or a combination of factors. MAINE famously observed that associations based on STATUS—usually of FAMILY—have gradually given way to those based on CONTRACT—that is, one chooses to belong to them. One popular form is the "voluntary association." See also RELATIONS OF RELATIONS.

A more abstract meaning of association (as introduced by the philosopher Locke) refers to "association of ideas" and similar meanings.

Further reading: Ardener & Burman (1995).

Association of Social Anthropologists (ASA). British organization for professional anthropologists (<http://www.theasa.org>), founded by EVANS-PRITCHARD and others in 1946. It publishes the conference series *ASA monographs*.

asylum seeker. A person desiring permission to live in a country to which they have no prior ties, on the basis that they would face danger or persecution at home. The term is often used in contemporary British political DISCOURSE, frequently with a pejorative or emotive implication.

asymmetrical alliance or exchange. MARRIAGE exchange in which indirect or GENERALIZED EXCHANGE takes place—that is, between two or more groups, as opposed to DIRECT EXCHANGE between two groups. Asymmetrical exchange is associated with HYPERGAMY and HYPOGAMY. See ALLIANCE.

atheism. Lack of belief in God, or a god. In western thought, atheism grew during the ENLIGHTENMENT; the scientific advances of the nineteenth century were further held to weigh against traditional (see TRADITION) theistic views. Twentieth-century states such as the Soviet Union entrenched MARXIST IDEOLOGY by espousing atheism. Care should be exercised in deciding whether, for example, some eastern religions are “atheist” or actually operate from a separate PARADIGM. Compare HUMANISM.

atom of kinship. LÉVI-STRAUSS’ term for the simplest possible relationship structure, including not just the NUCLEAR FAMILY but also a representative of the group giving the woman in MARRIAGE, for example the maternal uncle (MB in KINSHIP terms).

Further reading: Lévi-Strauss (1977[a]).

atomism. In its social sense (as opposed to the scientific THEORY), the idea that SOCIETY is constituted of INDIVIDUALS, whose actions are more significant and worthy of scrutiny than the whole society: the opposite of HOLISM.

augury. The PRACTICE of divining the outcome of future events from observing natural phenomena, such as the behavior of birds (such a sign can itself be described as an augury). The term comes from the Romans, but the ancient Greeks, and many other cultures since, have practiced augury. See also DIVINATION.

Austin, J. L. (1911–60). See LOCUTION, PERFORMANCE, PERLOCUTION, SPEECH ACT.

Australasia. An imprecise term for Australia and some of its neighbors, usually including New Zealand and Papua New Guinea; compare OCEANIA.

Australian anthropology. A good deal of study in Australia has focused on ABORIGINAL peoples: from the early works of Baldwin Spencer and

F. J. Gillen, which helped engender an evolutionist (see **EVOLUTIONISM**) vision of supposedly **PRIMITIVE** mankind, to **FIELDWORK** by **RADCLIFFE-BROWN**, W. L. Warner (see **YOLNGU**), and on to work by academics such as Ian Keen and Howard Morphy. Much interest has accrued around local **KINSHIP** systems and religious practice. It is worth noting that many ethnologists, especially early on, were born outside Australia—for example, Spencer and Radcliffe-Brown were British; Warner was American.

As Aboriginal peoples have asserted rights in law, anthropologists have been involved as advisors; anthropology itself has not escaped critical attention (nor ethical questions for self-reflection) and writers of Aboriginal **DESCENT** are beginning to make themselves heard in the academy.

Further reading: *Oceania* [journal].

Austronesian. A **LANGUAGE** group (and the peoples who use the relevant languages) of the South Pacific—Indonesia, Malaysia, **MELANESIA**, New Zealand, and elsewhere (including, owing to **MIGRATION**, Madagascar).

authority. The **POWER** to have one's will or viewpoint prevail, either in terms of politics, **LAW**, **RELIGION**, or in such areas as expertise ("he is a world authority on the subject"). **WEBER** distinguished between several kinds of authority: traditional (see **TRADITION**), legal, and charismatic (see also **CHARISMA**, the capacity to exert personal authority). Authority may derive from **SOVEREIGNTY**.

autarchy. In politics, self-government without constraint from outside, or absolute rule of a **STATE** by a leader or faction.

autochthonous. Native to a **PLACE**, **INDIGENOUS**. From Greek, "sprung from that land." Thus, an "autochthon" was an **ABORIGINAL** person. The same idea can extend to **PLANTS**, diseases, and so on.

autoethnography. A form of **ETHNOGRAPHY** in which the author is a member of a particular group who is writing about that group or about themselves as part of it, or is an external anthropologist writing about their personal experience of doing research. Allied to **POST-MODERNISM**, autoethnography develops such concerns as **REFLEXIVITY** and **ANTHROPOLOGY AT HOME**. It has been criticized for its lack of objectivity. Autoethnography has been used in **SOCIOLOGY** and literature as well as anthropology.

Further reading: Reed-Danahay (1997).

auxology. In fields such as human biology and paediatrics, the study of growth and development. From Greek, "increase." See also **BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY**.

avoidance relationship. A **KINSHIP** practice by which a family member will attempt not to meet or address another family member. Most commonly

this applies between a son-in-law and mother-in-law. Often compared with the JOKING RELATIONSHIP and theorized as similarly reducing CONFLICT.

Further reading: Radcliffe-Brown (1952: chapters 4 & 5).

avunculate. A feature often associated with matrilineal (see MATRILINEALITY) societies in which the mother's brother (in KINSHIP terms, MB) exercises the parental control over her son that other groups assign to the father. The son also inherits from the MB. When the son marries, the couple may live with the uncle (AVUNCULOCAL RESIDENCE). The son/MB may also have a JOKING RELATIONSHIP.

avunculocal residence. The POST-MARITAL RESIDENCE practice of a couple living with, or close to, an uncle, usually the husband's maternal uncle (MB in RELATIONSHIP TERMINOLOGY). See also AVUNCULATE. The opposite, amitalocality, involving the paternal aunt, is little heard of.

axiom of (kinship) amity. A convention of altruistic behavior (see ALTRUISM), working in favor of one's relatives and close neighbors, in a TRADITIONAL SOCIETY.

Further reading: Fortes (1969).

ayahuasca. A hallucinogenic (see HALLUCINOGEN) DRINK made from *Banisteriopsis caapi* (or other PLANTS), sometimes known as "yagé." Widely used in healing and shamanic activities (see SHAMAN) in the Amazon and Orinoco basins.

Further reading: Luna & White (2000).

ayllu. A social and political unit among Andean peoples (see ANDES) based around KINSHIP or other factors, dating back to Inca times (circa thirteenth century onward).

ayurveda. An Indian MEDICAL SYSTEM dating back to 5000 BCE and derived from the *Vedas* (see VEDA): its aim is to restore bodily balance by means of regulated DIET, massage, aromatherapy, meditation, and medicines. From Sanskrit, "life knowledge." Compare UNANI.

Azande. See ZANDE.