

- minimal membership, nonminimal membership; inclusion of speaker, exclusion of hearer; and inclusion of hearer, exclusion of speaker. The application of these distinctions generates all and only the eight pronouns found in the language, and the resulting analysis is therefore more elegant and economical than the one employing the etic categories traditionally used by linguists. Yet the emic criteria he identified are distinctions which are not named or even consciously employed by the Hanunoo themselves. They are only implicit in indigenous usage.

As this example shows, an emic model is not necessarily a model held consciously by indigenous thinkers. Here it is clearly an analyst's model, but one which is built up from principles derived from, rather than forced upon, the data. This is equally true of behavioural, semantic or phonological data. Just as no native speaker, simply as a native speaker, can coherently describe the phonological system of his or her language, similarly no indigenous thinker can usually present a complete emic analysis of his actions or of a culturally-significant semantic field of his language. Analysis, even emic analysis, is the job of the observer.

Critiques of emic and etic

Although the emic and etic levels of *culture are intended to correspond analogously to phonemic and phonetic levels in language, there are nevertheless crucial differences between culture and language which make the correspondence problematic. Most obviously, culture is much more variable than language, and cultural behaviour is much more difficult to assign to a single structure than speech is.

†Marvin Harris (1976) has objected to the notion that culture is made of sets of rules or 'grammar', in effect denying the possibility of emic models at all. He argued, especially against †Goodenough (1956), that the methods of linguistics are a poor example for anthropologists to follow, since there is no anthropological equivalent to a native-speaker or one possessing absolute 'cultural competence' in any sense analogous to linguistic competence. Goodenough's view was that the native 'authorities' should be sought and that their ideas should be used in the construction of emic models. In Harris's view, several problematic questions remain. Is there any such thing as a cultural authority? If so, how can such a person be identified? What about the ideas of those

who are not considered authorities, but merely average members, of their own culture?

Others have questioned the existential status of etic models. What guarantee is there that the observer's supposedly objective, etic model is not in fact his or her own emic one? Since the 1980s, under the influence of *postmodernism and *reflexivity, critics have challenged the notion of objectivity upon which etic grids depend. These approaches imply instead that an interplay between what might be considered the emic models of the observer and the observed are as close as we can get to an etic level of analysis.

The future of emic and etic

As *Levi-Strauss (1985: 115-20) has pointed out, the emic level is the level of perception. People do not understand sounds as sounds, but through the phonological structure of their language. Likewise, people understand actions or words only through the culture they possess. Thus, in Levi-Strauss's view, the materialist objection to the emic as merely culture-specific and not based on objective principles does not hold. The †poststructuralist objection to the etic is more difficult to counter on a philosophical level. However, the simple answer to this apparent dilemma is to seek objectivity, while realizing that it is elusive. Clearly, etic models can exist as heuristic devices, but they are as problematic as emic ones to define precisely.

The concepts 'emic' and 'etic', although less often discussed today than in the past, are implicit in more recent anthropological approaches, even postmodernist and reflexive ones, where they exist as exemplars of the contradictions in anthropology itself. They are also taking on new significance in *regional analysis and regional comparison. A defining feature of the classic emic approach is that ideology or behaviour is studied from 'within' the cultural system. This implies that only one cultural system can be studied at a time, and in the past the cultural system was often taken as equivalent to one culture or society. Yet, for those who define cultural systems more broadly, i.e., who draw their boundaries around a wider geographical area, renewed interest in a more elaborate version of the emic/etic distinction shows promise.

ALAN BARNARD
See also: language and linguistics, psychological anthropology

Further reading

- Conklin, H.C. ([1962] 1969) 'Lexical Treatment of Folk Taxonomies' in S.A. Tyler (ed.) *Cognitive Anthropology*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston
- Frake, C.O. (1980) *Language and Cultural Description: Essays by Charles O. Frake (Selected and Introduced by Anwar S. Dil)*, Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Goodenough, W.H. (1956) 'Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning', *Language* 32 (1): 195-216
- Harris, M. (1976) 'History and Significance of the Emic-Etic Distinction', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 5: 329-50
- Headland, T., K.L. Pike and M. Harris (eds) (1990) *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications
- Jorion, P. (1983) 'Emic and Etic: Two Anthropological Ways of Spilling Ink', *Cambridge Anthropology* 8 (3): 41-68
- Levi-Strauss, C. (1985) *The View from Afar* (trans. J. Neugroschel and P. Hoss), New York: Basic Books
- Pike, K.L. ([1954] 1967) *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* (2nd edn), The Hague and Paris: Mouton & Co.
- Tyler, S.A. (ed.) (1969) *Cognitive Anthropology*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston

Enlightenment anthropology

The period of European intellectual history known as the Enlightenment (roughly corresponding to the eighteenth century) has been frequently acknowledged as central to the emergence of social and cultural anthropology. †Durkheim included †Montesquieu among his scholarly forebears: *Levi-Strauss adopted †Rousseau (and Chateaubriand); *Radcliffe-Brown and †Evans-Pritchard acknowledged the philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment as their intellectual ancestors; while *Boas suggested †Herder; and †Edmund Leach, more recently, reclaimed †Vico as the founding father of cultural or social anthropology. More recently still, militant *postmodernists often claim to be attacking a loose entity called 'the Enlightenment project' which has allegedly dominated Western social thought since the eighteenth century. In fact, the anthropology that emerged during the period of the Enlightenment was diverse, with distinct developments occurring in France, in German scholarship, and in Scotland.

What united these distinct developments was the central idea of Enlightenment thought, that humanity as we encounter it is not something

simply given by God, but is something unfolding through time, a product, above all, of history. Within this new historical perspective the *development of human *society became a problem worthy of investigation, with particular emphasis on exotic 'others' and their relevance to European identity. In the early eighteenth century it was still considered important to compare indigenous American peoples with the peoples of antiquity (†Lafitau's *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times* 1724), and similar comparisons were extended to peoples from the East Indies (Krauss 1978; Moravia 1970).

'Savages' ('noble or otherwise') occupied a prominent place in theories on the progression of human society, particularly the four-stage theory of the history of humanity. This theory (often misrepresented as three-stage theory) held that humanity progressed from hunting through animal husbandry and agriculture to commerce. The four-stage theory was first put forward by A.R.J. (Baron) Turgot in 1750 and adopted by J.-J. Rousseau in his *Discourse on the Origins and Foundations of Inequality among Men* (1755). In Scotland †Adam Smith, Dairymple and Lord Kames presented their own versions in the 1750s (Meek 1976).

French philosophers concentrated on investigating the 'spirit' of laws and nations. Montesquieu set the tone by publishing *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748) which had as its object 'the laws, customs and diverse practices of all the peoples of the world'. Voltaire published his *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756), to which he later added an introduction to philosophy of history. Duchet (1971) has surveyed the anthropology of Voltaire, Buffon, Rousseau, Helvétius and Diderot.

Whereas these French writers connected developments in the mode of subsistence to intellectual developments (in Turgot's case, from the theological through the metaphysical to the empirical stage), the philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment concentrated on the connection between stages of economic development and social-political organization. Scottish Enlightenment thought centred on the moral status of 'man'. The concept of morals was important for the transition to 'social principles' and gave the movement its name. The 'moral philosophers' David Hume, Adam Smith, †Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames, William Robertson and †Lord Monboddo concentrated on social and political issues, arguing that man has an innate 'moral sense'. Primitive peoples

figured extensively in their theories since, as Ferguson put it in his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), 'it is in their present condition, that we are to behold, as in a mirror, the features of our own progenitors'. Ferguson's *Essay* contained ethnographic information, particularly in a section entitled 'The History of Rude Nations'; the same holds for Kame's *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774). William Robertson produced two volumes of *The History of America* dealing with the Spanish territories (1777), while two volumes on Native Americans in Virginia and Massachusetts were published posthumously (1793–4). In the historical works of Ferguson, Kames, Robertson and others, ethnographic data on the peoples of the world served to illustrate the presumed development of human society.

The study of universal history was also of great importance in the German Enlightenment. Here a new area of study came to the fore: †*Völkerkunde*, or the science of peoples (in contrast to †*Volkskunde* or the science of the people). In Germany the 'philosophy of history' (developed by Voltaire and others) divided into two branches. One studied the actual history of humankind and its diversity and customs in what could be called a 'culture-conscious' manner; the other branch was more interested in principles of history at the level of humanity, instead of peoples, and worked with the concept of 'spirit' (*Geist*) instead of 'culture' (*Kultur*). †Kroeber and †Kluckhohn claim that the first of these branches resulted in a 'somewhat diffuse ethnographic interest' (1952: 19), but in fact it produced a genuine *Völkerkunde* that was not 'diffuse' but descriptive, historical and universal.

From the 1760s to the 1780s various authors in the German-speaking countries and in Russia formulated, classified and practised a discipline called *ethnographia* (1767) or *Ethnographie* (1771). These terms appeared as neo-Greek synonyms of *Völkerkunde* (1771), in the works of German historians working mainly at the University of Göttingen. The term *ethnologia* came later, in the work of the Austrian scholar A.F. Kollar (1783), followed by *ethnologie* in the work of A.-C. Chavannes (1787). From the 1770s onwards, *Völkerkunde* (ethnography and ethnology) grew into a discipline that developed in relation to history, geography, natural history, anthropology, linguistics and statistics. In 1781 the first issue of the 27-volume journal *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde* appeared in Leipzig. In 1787 a young scholar-translator, T.F. Ehrmann, published the

adopted ideas developed in Germany, but was inspired by ideas of the *Iddéologues* (Cabanis, Volney, Jauffret, Degérando) that already belonged to a later age (Copans and Jamin 1978; Moravia 1970).

Anthropology during the Enlightenment was diverse and diffuse; the early-twentieth-century idea of anthropology as a 'unified science of man' does not apply to the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, steps were taken in a number of fields towards the formation of anthropology as the general study of humankind, its history and diversity, to the extent that the Swiss theologian Alexandre-César Chavannes hailed it in 1787 as *la science nouvelle*. Among these fields were natural philosophy, †comparative religion, †historical linguistics, geography, universal history, natural history, †ethnology, and †proto-sociology.

HAN F. VERMEULEN

See also: history of anthropology, French anthropology, German and Austrian anthropology, society, culture

Further reading

- Barnard, Alan (1995) 'Mombodo's *Orang Outang* and the Definition of Man', in Raymond Corbey and Bert Theunissen (eds) *Ape, Man, Apeman: Changing Views Since 1600*, Leiden: Department of Prehistory
- Berlin, Isaiah (1976) *Vico and Herder. Two Studies in the History of Ideas*, London: Hogarth
- Copans, Jean and Jean Jamin (eds) (1978) *Aux Origines de l'anthropologie française*, Paris: Le Sycomore
- Duchet, Michèle (1971) *Anthropologie et Histoire au siècle des Lumières: Buffon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvétius, Diderot*, Paris: Maspero
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1981) *A History of Anthropological Thought*, (ed. by André Singer), London: Faber and Faber
- Krauss, Werner (1978) *Zur Anthropologie des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag
- Kroeber, A.L. and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952) *Culture. A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University 47 (1)
- Marshall, P.J. and Glyndwr Williams (1982) *The Great Map of Mankind. British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment*, London: J.M. Dent
- Meek, Ronald L. (1976) *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Moravia, Sergio (1970) *La scienza dell'uomo nel Settecento*, Bari: Laterza
- Muhlmann, Wilhelm E. (1948 [2nd edn, 1968]) *Geschichte der Anthropologie*, Bonn: Universitäts-Verlag
- Rousseau, G.S. and Roy Porter (eds) (1990) *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, Manchester: Manchester University Press

Vermeulen, Han F. (1995) 'Origins and Institutionalization of Ethnography and Ethnology in Europe and the USA, 1771–1845', in Han F. Vermeulen and Arturo Alvarez Roldán (eds) *Fieldwork and Footnotes. Studies in the History of European Anthropology*, London: Routledge

Wokler, Robert (1988) 'Ape and Races in the Scottish Enlightenment: Mombodo and Kames on the Nature of Man', in Peter Jones (ed.) *Philosophy and Science in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh: John Donald

— (1993) 'From *L'homme physique* to *L'homme moral* and Back: Towards a History of Enlightenment Anthropology', *History of the Human Sciences* 6 (1): 121–38

environment

Meanings

In common usage, 'environment' refers to non-human influences on humanity. Like 'nature', it is shorthand for the biophysical context, the 'natural world' in which we live. Less obviously it is linked with *nature/culture dualism, and is intrinsically anthropocentric in its cosmological image of humanity surrounded by relevant biophysical factors. Environment refers not just to biophysical context, but to human interaction with, and interpretation of, that context. When environment is used in its etymological sense of 'surroundings', the term 'environmental anthropology' is tautologous, since all anthropology is worthless if it fails to provide a holistic analysis of context.

Environment is one of the broadest concepts in the social sciences. Ultimately it is a category residual to the self, and can be extended to include every aspect of context from the body to the limitless cosmos. It has little explanatory use, but may serve as a general rubric for reminders of the different kinds and levels of context which social analysis must heed.

Biophysical factors

Anthropologists have generally followed the common usage of 'environment' to refer to biophysical factors rather than to context in a broader sense. Unmarked, the term refers to nonhuman things so that 'environmental' analysis in anthropology really means biophysical analysis. Marked, as in terms like 'social environment' and 'learning environment' there is usually a strong sense of metaphorical transference from the biophysical to the social domain, as there is in

The Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology provides a unique guide to the ideas, arguments and history of the discipline which discusses human, social and cultural life in all its diversity and difference.

Theory, ethnography and history are combined in over 200 substantial entries on topics as wide ranging as race and postmodernism, witchcraft and essentialism, magic and methodology.

Structure of entries

Authoritative entries have been commissioned from among the world's leading specialists. Alphabetically organized, the main entries contain clear, concise and provocative explanations of key anthropological themes and ideas, as well as surveys of the most important regional traditions of ethnographic research. Each entry contains cross-references and a bibliographic guide to further reading. The encyclopedia also contains a biographical appendix, with details of the lives and works of over 200 important figures in the history of anthropology and a glossary with short explanations of over 500 terms and concepts.

Areas covered

- history of anthropology, national traditions of anthropological research, colonialism, orientalism and occidentalism, theories of culture and societies
- kinship, gender and family, marriage, the body
- politics and economics, money and exchange, nationalism and the state, ethnicity
- ritual and religion, mythology, belief, cognition, rationality
- language and linguistics, poetics, literacy, aesthetics, film, museums
- relations with other disciplines (e.g. archaeology, sociology)

Anthropology/Reference

11 New Fetter Lane
London EC4P 4HE
29 West 35th Street
New York, NY 10001
Printed in Great Britain


ROUTLEDGE

Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology

Edited by Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer

ENCYCLOPEDIA of Social and Cultural Anthropology

Edited by
Alan Barnard
and
Jonathan Spencer

1996