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原始社会结构与功能

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

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出版说明

在西方学术思想的发展流变中,出现过很多影响深远的经典著作,这些著作穿越时空,为人们长久研读,有的甚至影响了整个人类文明的发展进程。这套《西方学术经典文库》(英汉对照本),精选了其中最具有代表性的一些名著,计划达到一百部,将陆续分批出版直至全部完成。

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为加以区别,原文中的英文注释,注释号用①、②……形式表示;中文译者注释则以〔1〕、〔2〕……形式表示。至于英译本中出现的原文页码和特殊索引等问题,中文译者在“译者后记”中将予以解释、说明。另外,在英文原著中,有一些表示着重意义的斜体或大写等字体,考虑到读者可以在对照英文阅读中看到,因此在中译文中,没有照样标出,还望读者理解。

九州出版社

Structure And Function In Primitive Society
By *A. R. Radcliffe-Brown*

本书根据 The Free Press 1968 年版本译出

INTRODUCTION

The papers reprinted here are occasional papers in the fullest sense of the term; each of them was written for a particular occasion. They do, however, have some measure of unity as being written from a particular theoretical point of view.

What is meant by a theory is a scheme of interpretation which is applied, or is thought to be applicable, to the understanding of phenomena of a certain class. A theory consists of a set of analytical concepts, which should be clearly defined in their reference to concrete reality, and which should be logically connected. I propose, therefore, by way of introduction to these miscellaneous papers, to give definitions of certain concepts of which I make use for purposes of analysis of social phenomena. It must be remembered that there is very little agreement amongst anthropologists in the concepts and terms they use, so that this Introduction and the papers that follow are to be taken as an exposition of one particular theory, not of a commonly accepted theory.

History And Theory

The difference between the historical study of social institutions and the theoretical study can be easily seen by comparing economic history and theoretical economics, or by comparing the history of law with theoretical jurisprudence. In anthropology, however, there has been and still is a great deal of confusion which is maintained by discussions in which terms such as 'history' and 'science' or 'theory' are used by disputants in very different meanings. These confusions

导 论

这些重新出版的论文都是我在不同时期,根据特定的不同场合而写的。由于它们之间内在理论观点的统一性,所以可以把这些文章作为一个整体来看待。理论就是指人们可以用它,或认为可以用它来理解某种现象的表述。它包括一整套的分析概念,这套分析概念既要有现实意义,同时又要有内在的逻辑关联性。因此,通过给这些文章写导论的方式,我会给一些概念加以定义,应用这些概念分析社会现象。需要记住的是,在人类学家使用概念和术语时,他们几乎很少达成共识,因此,此篇导论以及后面的文章所给出的解释仅仅是对某种理论的解释,还不能看做是一种被普遍接受的理论解释。

历史和理论

社会制度史研究和社会理论研究之间有明显的区别,这一点可以通过比较经济史和理论经济学,或比较法律史和理论法学而得出。然而,人类学领域却始终没有弄清楚这种区别的真正含义。这种混乱的存在,主要是由于在学术交流中,人们对他们使用的基本术语,如“历史”、“科学”或“理论”的含义没有达成一

could be to a considerable extent avoided by using the recognised terms of logic and methodology and distinguishing between *idiographic* and *nomothetic* enquiries.

In an idiographic enquiry the purpose is to establish as acceptable certain particular or factual propositions or statements. A nomothetic enquiry, on the contrary, has for its purpose to arrive at acceptable general propositions. We define the nature of an enquiry by the kind of conclusions that are aimed at.

History, as usually understood, is the study of records and monuments for the purpose of providing knowledge about conditions and events of the past, including those investigations that are concerned with the quite recent past. It is clear that history consists primarily of idiographic enquiries. In the last century there was a dispute, the famous *Methodenstreit*, as to whether historians should admit theoretical considerations in their work or deal in generalisations. A great many historians have taken the view that nomothetic enquiries should not be included in historical studies, which should be confined to telling us what happened and how it happened. Theoretical or nomothetic enquiries should be left to sociology. But there are some writers who think that a historian may, or even should, include theoretical interpretations in his account of the past. Controversy on this subject, and on the relation between history and sociology, still continues after sixty years. Certainly there are writings by historians which are to be valued not solely as idiographic accounts of the facts of the past but as containing theoretical (nomothetic) interpretations of those facts. The tradition in French historical studies of Fustel de Coulanges and his followers, such as Gustave Glotz, illustrates this kind of combination. Some modern writers refer to it as sociological history or historical sociology.

In anthropology, meaning by that the study of what are called the primitive or backward peoples, the term ethnography applies to what

致。但是,在大家一致接受的逻辑和方法论术语的基础上,通过区分个案研究和法则研究,可以有效地避免这种混乱情况。

个案研究和法则研究的目的是有区别的,前者是希望建立相对于具体和实际情况的可被接受的理论,而后者着眼于范围更广的一般理论。我们的研究究竟属于哪种性质,要看我们希望从中得出什么样的结论。

历史学在一般人眼里就是通过对文献和遗物的研究,得到对于发生在过去的事情的判断和描述,这里面也包括对最近才发生的事情的调查研究。显然,可以认为历史学主要是以个案研究为基础的。而发生在 20 世纪的著名的“方法论之争”的核心问题就是,是否应该把理论思考引入历史学家的工作之中,他们是否应该总结出历史的基本规律。许多历史学家们认为历史研究的主要作用是记录过去发生的事件,以及这些事件是如何发生的。所以,通则研究不应当包含在其中,而应把它们归入社会学研究领域。但是,也有一些学者认为,历史学家在描述过去的事件时,甚至是应该进行理论性阐释。对这一问题的争论以及对历史学与社会学之间关系的争论,60 年后的今天仍在继续着。当然,有一些历史学家们的著作在这两方面的结合上做得很好,例如以菲斯泰尔·德·库朗热及其追随者古斯塔夫·格洛茨为代表的法国历史研究传统。他们的著作不仅仅是在对历史事件的个案描述上得到了重视,而且在对这些事件做出理论(通则)解释方面也得到了重视。因此,这种结合也被一些现代的学者们称为社会历史学或历史社会学。

人类学的研究对象是所谓的原始民族或落后民族,在研究中

is specifically a mode of idiographic enquiry, the aim of which is to give acceptable accounts of such peoples and their social life. Ethnography differs from history in that the ethnographer derives his knowledge, or some major part of it, from direct observation of or contact with the people about whom he writes, and not, like the historian, from written records. Prehistoric archaeology, which is another branch of anthropology, is clearly an idiographic study, aimed at giving us factual knowledge about the prehistoric past.

The theoretical study of social institutions in general is usually referred to as sociology, but as this name can be loosely used for many different kinds of writings about society we can speak more specifically of theoretical or comparative sociology. When Frazer gave his Inaugural Lecture as the first Professor of Social Anthropology in 1908 he defined social anthropology as that branch of sociology that deals with primitive societies.

Certain confusions amongst anthropologists result from the failure to distinguish between *historical explanation of institutions* and *theoretical understanding*. If we ask why it is that a certain institution exists in a particular society the appropriate answer is a historical statement as to its origin. To explain why the United States has a political constitution with a President, two Houses of Congress, a Cabinet, a Supreme Court, we refer to the history of North America. This is historical explanation in the proper sense of the term. The existence of an institution is explained by reference to a complex sequence of events forming a causal chain of which it is a result.

The acceptability of a historical explanation depends on the fullness and reliability of the historical record. In the primitive societies that are studied by social anthropology there are no historical records. We have no knowledge of the development of social institutions among the Australian aborigines for example. Anthropologists, thinking of their study as a kind of historical study, fall back on conjecture and imagination, and invent 'pseudo-historical' or 'pseudo-causal' explanations. We have had, for example, innumerable and sometimes

通常采用的个案研究的特定模式是民族志,它清楚地记录了所研究的民族及其社会生活。与历史学家不同的是,民族志学者是通过直接观察和亲身体验的方式获得他们对于研究对象的全部或大部分的知识,而历史学家是从文献记录中获得相关知识。史前考古学是人类学的另一个分支,它明显也是属于个案研究,为我们提供了史前的知识。

社会学一般是指对总体社会制度的理论研究,有时它的范畴还可以扩展到包括许多与社会有关的不同种类的著作,因此,我们最好把这种理论研究更加具体地称为理论社会学或比较社会学。弗雷泽可以说是第一个社会人类学教授,在 1908 年发表就职演说时,他对社会人类学做了如下定义:社会人类学是社会学的一个分支,它的研究对象是原始社会。

存在于人类学家中的确定的混乱,主要来源于不能够区分理论的认识和对于制度的历史的解释。回答诸如为什么某社会存在其特定的制度时,适当的方法就是从对这个制度起源的历史陈述中寻找答案。要解释为什么美国的政治构造是由一个总统、两个议院、一个内阁和一个最高法院构成,就需要我们对北美历史进行考察。因此对历史解释的恰当的理解就是,它是通过一系列复杂事件所形成的因果关系解释某一制度的存在,并把它作为这个因果关系的要素之一。

历史记载的完整性及可靠性对历史解释是否能被大家接受具有决定性的作用。可是,社会人类学家所研究的原始社会并无历史记载。例如,我们对澳大利亚土著的社会制度发展过程就没有任何了解。如果要把他们的研究归于历史研究的范畴,人类学家们只能在推测和猜想的基础上,对研究臆测出一些“伪历史”和“伪

conflicting pseudo-historical accounts of the origin and development of the totemic institutions of the Australian aborigines. In the papers of this volume mention is made of certain pseudo-historical speculations. The view taken here is that such speculations are not merely useless but are worse than useless. This does not in any way imply the rejection of historical explanation but quite the contrary.

Comparative sociology, of which social anthropology is a branch, is here conceived as a theoretical or nomothetic study of which the aim is to provide acceptable generalisations. The theoretical understanding of a particular institution is its interpretation in the light of such generalisations.

Social Process

A first question that must be asked if we are to formulate a systematic theory of comparative sociology is: What is the concrete, observable, phenomenal reality with which the theory is to be concerned? Some anthropologists would say that the reality consists of 'societies' conceived as being in some sense or other discrete real entities. Others, however, describe the reality that has to be studied as consisting of 'cultures', each of which is again conceived as some kind of discrete entity. Still others seem to think of the subject as concerned with both kinds of entities, 'societies' and 'cultures', so that the relation of these then presents a problem.

My own view is that the concrete reality with which the social anthropologist is concerned in observation, description, comparison and classification, is not any sort of entity but a process, the process of social life. The unit of investigation is the social life of some particular region of the earth during a certain period of time. The process

因果”解释。例如,这种现象曾经出现在对澳大利亚土著图腾制度的起源和发展研究中,各种解释多种多样,有时它们之间甚至是相互冲突的。在这本书中,我也在一些文章中谈论到一些伪历史猜测,在我看来,这种猜测不但毫无用处,而且甚至起到反面的作用。但这并不是说对历史解释持拒绝的态度,恰恰相反,我们应该接受它。

我们这里所说的社会人类学包含在比较社会学之中,而比较社会学以理论研究或通则研究为其研究方法,就是为了能够得出可接受的,并且能够用来解释特定制度的一般理论。

社会过程

如果我们要形成一个系统的比较社会学理论,首先要回答下述问题:这个理论最关心的具体的、可以观察到的明显事实是什么?一些人类学家会说,组成这个事实的要素是不同的“社会”,而在某种意义上,这些社会的本质实际上又可以被看作是一种存在,或是其他个别的客观实体。然而,还有一些人类学家认为,组成这种事实的要素其实是“文化”,他们也把每一种文化看作是某种独立的、抽象的实体。此外,还有一些人似乎认为,这个事实涵盖了“社会”和“文化”两种实体,因而,我们还要研究这两者之间的关系问题。

在我看来,社会人类学家们对之考察、描述、对比及分类的具体事实其实并不是任何实体,而是一种过程,一种社会生活的过程。社会生活作为我们调查研究的对象,总是存在于某个特定阶段和某一地区。过程本身是由人类的各种行为及其之间的交往

itself consists of an immense multitude of actions and interactions of human beings, acting as individuals or in combinations or groups. Amidst the diversity of the particular events there are discoverable regularities, so that it is possible to give statements or descriptions of certain general features of the social life of a selected region. A statement of such significant general features of the process of social life constitutes a description of what may be called a *form of social life*. My conception of social anthropology is as the comparative theoretical study of forms of social life amongst primitive peoples.

A form of social life amongst a certain collection of human beings may remain approximately the same over a certain period. But over a sufficient length of time the form of social life itself undergoes change or modification. Therefore, while we can regard the events of social life as constituting a process, there is over and above this the process of change in the form of social life. In a synchronic description we give an account of a form of social life as it exists at a certain time, abstracting as far as possible from changes that may be taking place in its features. A diachronic account, on the other hand, is an account of such changes over a period. In comparative sociology we have to deal theoretically with the continuity of, and with changes in, forms of social life.

Culture

Anthropologists use the word 'culture' in a number of different senses. It seems to me that some of them use it as equivalent to what I call a form of social life. In its ordinary use in English 'culture', which is much the same idea as cultivation, refers to a process, and we can define it as the process by which a person acquires, from contact with other persons or from such things as books or works of art, knowledge, skill, ideas, beliefs, tastes, sentiments. In a particular society we can discover certain processes of *cultural tradition*, using the word tradition in its literal meaning of handing on or handing

构成,而这种行为的表现方式或是通过个人,或是通过集体显现出来。由于我们可以发现某种所谓的规律性的东西存在于不同种类的具体事件中,所以,基于此我们就可能把某一特定地区的社会生活的某种普遍特征描述出来。而这种对社会生活过程的一个普遍特征的描述过程,也就构成了对我们所说的社会生活形式的描述。我认为,社会人类学实际上是一种比较理论研究,它的研究对象是不同原始民族的社会生活方式。

一定群体的人们社会生活方式在一定时期内会具有一定的稳定性,社会生活方式本身的发展与变迁需要经历一个相当长的时期。因此,我们所说的社会生活的过程不仅仅包括社会生活中的各种事件,而且,还包括社会生活方式的演变过程。通过共时性描述,我们刻画了存在于某一特定时期的社会生活方式,并尽可能地排除掉那些对其特征施加影响的变化。相反,历时性描述却主要用来反映一段时间以来发生的社会生活方式的变化。在比较社会学中,我们需要对社会生活方式的延续和变化给以理论上的说明。

文化

人类学家基于许多不同的含义使用“文化”一词。而且,我似乎觉得其中一些人类学家把文化的意义等同于社会生活方式。“文化”一词在英文中的普通用法与“教养”一词极为相似,它是指一个过程,含义就是指一个人通过与其他人接触或从书籍、艺术作品这类东西中获得知识、技巧、思想、信仰、品味及情感。在所研究的特定社会中,我们可以发现某种文化传统的过程,这里传

down. The understanding and use of a language is passed on by a process of cultural tradition in this sense. An Englishman learns by such a process to understand and use the English language, but in some sections of the society he may also learn Latin, or Greek, or French, or Welsh. In complex modern societies there are a great number of separate cultural traditions. By one a person may learn to be a doctor or surgeon, by another he may learn to be an engineer or an architect. In the simplest forms of social life the number of separate cultural traditions may be reduced to two, one for men and the other for women.

If we treat the social reality that we are investigating as being not an entity but a process, then culture and cultural tradition are names for certain recognisable aspects of that process, but not, of course, the whole process. The terms are convenient ways of referring to certain aspects of human social life. It is by reason of the existence of culture and cultural traditions that human social life differs very markedly from the social life of other animal species. The transmission of learnt ways of thinking, feeling and acting constitutes the cultural process, which is a specific feature of human social life. It is, of course, part of that process of interaction amongst persons which is here defined as the social process thought of as the social reality. Continuity and change in the forms of social life being the subjects of investigation of comparative sociology, the continuity of cultural traditions and changes in those traditions are amongst the things that have to be taken into account.

Social System

It was Montesquieu who, in the middle of the eighteenth century, laid the foundations of comparative sociology, and in doing so formulated and used a conception that has been and can be referred to by the use of the term *social system*. His theory, which constituted

统的字面意思是传承。从这个意义上说,正是通过对文化传统过程的传承,才使得我们对语言的理解及使用得以持续。一位英国人在这个过程中,可以学会掌握并使用英语,不过在社会的其他领域里,他也可以学会拉丁语、希腊语、法语或威尔士语。许多独立文化传统存在于复杂的现代社会中,例如,在某种传统之下,某人可能成为医生或外科医生,而另一种传统却可能将他塑造为一名工程师或建筑师。在最简单的社会生活形式中,可能只需要把这许多不同种类的文化传统分为两类,一类专为男人而设,相应地女人就需要遵循另外一类。

如果我们把正在研究的社会事实看做是一个过程而不是实体的话,那么我们就只能把文化及文化传统看做是这一过程中可知部分的名称而已,而并不能认为文化和文化传统代表整个过程。采用这些术语的原因只是在于,使我们在研究人类社会生活的某些方面时论述起来方便罢了。而人类社会生活与其他动物种类的社会生活之间,只是由于文化及文化传统的作用,才会显得区别是如此之大。这里所说的文化过程由诸如思考、情感和行为习惯方式的传递组成,它们构成了人类社会生活的独有特征。当然,这只是人与人之间作为社会事实的互动过程的一部分。由于比较社会学的研究对象包括社会生活形式的延续及改变,所以,它也要必须考虑文化传统的延续及这些传统的变化。

社会体系

在18世纪中叶,正是孟德斯鸠为比较社会学奠定了基础,与此同时,他还形成并使用了一个可以表述为“社会体系”的概念。