CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

SEVENTH EDITION

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7th Edition

Cultural Anthropology

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Preface

For us, the challenges of research and of textbook-writing are similar. Both build on current knowledge, and both generate new questions to be investigated: What do we think we know, and what do we need to know? In addition, our research and the textbook sometimes stimulate each other. So, for example, when we realized that theories about why human societies universally have marriage had not been tested, we thought of research we could do ourselves. We decided to do a cross-species study (described in the chapter on marriage and the family), in which we could test theories by examining variation across birds and mammals, some of which have the functional equivalent of marriage.

Our recent cross-cultural research on war and peace has led us to think about how our knowledge of possible causes of war and peace may suggest policies that would minimize the risk of war. Our experience with war and peace issues also prompted us to look at research on other global social problems. Do the results in these other areas also imply possible solutions? We think the answer is yes, and we therefore decided to include an extensive discussion of these issues in our textbook.

We do so in the last chapter, titled "Explaining and Solving Social Problems," which is almost entirely new to this edition. We focus on AIDS, disasters, homelessness, crime, family violence, and war.

This is not the first time we have added a new chapter. For the 3rd edition we added a chapter on "Sex and Culture," and in the 4th edition we added a chapter on "Explanation and Evidence." Just as in this edition, we did so because we thought that a new chapter was warranted by the level of interest in the discipline or the amount of research available.

This edition also has a great deal of additional new material; most of the chapters have been considerably revised in the light of recent research. We hope our readers will like what we have added; we welcome comments and suggestions. One measure of how much we have added is the fact that more than 120 references are new to this edition. In the next section, we briefly describe the various chapters and the major changes in them.

As always, the book goes beyond description. We are not only interested in *what* humans are like. We are also interested in *why* humans are the

way they are, why they got to be that way and why they vary. When there are alternative explanations, we try to communicate the necessity to evaluate them both on logical grounds and on the basis of the available evidence. The chapter on "Explanation and Evidence" is designed to help students distinguish between theory and evidence and to see how explanations can be and have been tested. In the substantive chapters, we note when the available evidence is not clear or is still lacking. We will be pleased if we succeed in helping students understand that no idea, including those put forward in textbooks, should be accepted simply on authority.

Throughout the book, we try to encourage appreciation of other peoples and their cultures. We think the best way to do so is to examine how characteristic traits may be adaptations to different life conditions. If people understood why others are different, they might be more tolerant.

Overview of the Seventh Edition

In what follows below, we briefly indicate what is covered in each chapter and what are the major changes in this edition.

Chapter 1, which is Part One, introduces the student to anthropology. We discuss what we think is special and distinctive about anthropology in general, and about each of its subfields in particular, and how each of the subfields is related to other disciplines such as biology, psychology, and sociology. We also discuss the usefulness of anthropology in the modern world.

Chapter 2, which begins Part Two ("Cultural Variation"), discusses the concept of culture. We first try to convey a feeling for what culture is, before dealing more explicitly with the concept and some assumptions about it. We discuss the fact that individual behavior varies in all societies and how such variation may be the beginning of new cultural patterns.

Chapter 3 discusses the various kinds of theoretical orientation or approach in cultural anthropology, in more or less historical sequence. This chapter now includes a section on interpretive approaches.

Chapter 4 discusses explanation and evidence in cultural anthropology, but we like to think it

provides a general introduction to all kinds of scientific research in anthropology. We consider how all knowledge is tentative, and how explanations are evaluated on the basis of evidence. We discuss why theories cannot be proven in any absolute sense and how we try to test them by collecting objective evidence that could possibly falsify their implications. We discuss what it means to evaluate test results statistically and why relationships or associations that are probably true may always have exceptions. Finally, we discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the various research strategies in cultural anthropology.

In most of the chapters in Part Two, we try to convey the range of cultural variation in the domain discussed with ethnographic examples from all over the world. Wherever we can, we discuss possible explanations of why societies may be similar or different in regard to some aspect of culture. If anthropologists have no explanation as yet for some kind of variation, we say so. But if we have some idea of the kinds of conditions that may be related to a particular kind of variation, even if we do not know yet why they are related, we discuss that too. If we are to train students to go beyond what we know now, we have to tell them what we do not know, as well as what we think we know.

Chapter 5 deals with language and culture. We discuss how linguists discover the unconscious rules of a language, how they determine that different languages may have a common ancestry, and how other aspects of culture may influence language and thought. There is a revised and updated discussion of child language, and we now discuss the implications of the symbolic as well as vocal ability of parrots.

Chapter 6 discusses how societies vary in getting their food, and how such variation seems to affect other kinds of cultural variation discussed later in the book—including variation in economic systems, social stratification, and political life. The discussion of environmental restraints on food-getting has been considerably revised.

Chapter 7 on economic systems discusses how societies vary in the ways they allocate resources (what is "property" and what ownership may mean), convert or transform resources through labor into usable goods, and distribute and perhaps exchange goods and services. There is a revised

discussion of the possible effects of risk and uncertainty on the degree and kinds of sharing.

Chapter 8 discusses variation in degree of social stratification and how the various forms of social inequality (rank, class, caste, slavery) may develop.

Chapter 9 discusses how and why sex differences and sexual behavior, and attitudes about them, vary cross-culturally. The chapter now discusses the concept of gender, and variation in what has been called gender stratification. In the section on division of labor by gender, we now discuss how traditional calculations of contribution to subsistence did not pay sufficient attention to the activities necessary to prepare food for eating.

Chapter 10 discusses variation in marriage and family. There is now an extended and revised discussion of economic transactions at marriage; and we have updated the sections on incest taboos and polyandry in the light of recent research.

Chapter 11, on marital residence and kinship, now reverses the descriptions of kinship terminology, dealing first with the type of system most students are familiar with, the Inuit (Eskimo) system. We also now discuss how people in a society with descent groups may be named in a way that does not depend upon which descent group they belong to.

Chapter 12, on associations (nonkin and nonterritorial groups), now has an extended and revised discussion of "secret societies," which includes material on the women's society called Sande in West Africa.

Chapter 13, on political life, now includes an extended discussion of the sphere of life we call politics (how political decisions are made). We particularly focus on cross-cultural variation in degree of participation in the political process. We also discuss the latest cross-cultural findings on the possible causes of war and peace.

Chapter 14 discusses psychological differences between and within societies, and psychological similarities across societies. We now discuss the findings of recent cross-cultural research on adolescence.

Chapter 15, on religion and magic, now discusses how humans may create religions in response to certain needs or conditions, including the need for intellectual understanding, guilt and projection, anxiety and uncertainty, and the need for community. There are new discussions of

trances, shamanism, ergot poisoning and hallucinations; and we have shortened the section on ways of dealing with the supernatural.

Chapter 16, on the arts, incorporates a revised definition of what constitutes the arts. The chapter also has a new introduction.

Chapter 17, on culture change, has a new discussion of how culture change may be adaptive. We have also updated the discussion of the Mundurucú.

Chapter 18 ("Explaining and Solving Social Problems") is almost entirely new. We begin with an updated discussion of applied anthropology, but we mostly discuss the study of global social problems, and how understanding their possible causes may suggest possible solutions. As noted above, we focus on AIDS, disasters, homelessness, crime, family violence, and war.

The book concludes with an Epilogue that we hope students will read, because it deals with the effects of the modern world on anthropology and the continuing and new challenges for anthropological research.

Features of the Book

Readability.   We derive a lot of pleasure from trying to describe research findings, especially complicated ones, in ways that introductory students can understand. Thus, we try to minimize technical jargon, using only those terms students must know to appreciate the achievements of anthropology and to take advanced courses. We think readability is important not only because it may enhance the reader's understanding of what we write, but also because it should make learning about anthropology more enjoyable! When new terms are introduced, which of course must happen sometimes, they are set off in boldface type and defined right away. A glossary at the back of the book serves as a convenient reference for the student.

References.   Because we believe firmly in the importance of evidence, we think it essential to tell our readers, both professional and student, what our conclusions are based on. Usually the basis is published research. References to the relevant studies are provided in complete footnotes, and a complete bibliography is also provided at the end of the book.

Summaries and Suggested Readings. In addition to the overview provided at the beginning of each chapter, there is a detailed summary at the end of the chapter that will help the student review the major concepts and findings discussed. Suggested readings are included to provide general or more extensive references on the subject matter of the chapter.

Supplements

An instructor's edition, a study guide for students, and a test item file are available for this edition. The instructor's edition, prepared by Alex Cohen and Dennis Werner, includes suggested discussion topics and ideas for students' essays or projects. The study guide and test item file were written by James Matlock and Dennis Werner. The study guide is designed to help students review the important points of the text and test themselves for understanding. A test item file of multiple-choice and fill-in questions is also available to the instructor, either on floppy disks—available for IBM computers—or through a Telephone Test Preparation Service, which the instructor can call toll free to have Prentice Hall prepare tests.

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of that festival's paraphernalia and ritual. A festival is not exclusive to one clan, for all the Hopi clans participate. This clan responsibility for ceremonies is accepted as part of the will of the spirits or deities, and each clan is believed to have been assigned its ritual role before the emergence of the Hopi people from the underworld.[24]

Development of Unilineal Systems. Unilineal kin groups play very important roles in the organization of many societies. But not all societies have such groups. In societies that have complex systems of political organization, officials and agencies take over many of the functions that might be performed by kin groups, such as the organization of work and warfare and the allocation of land. However, not all societies that lack complex political organization have unilineal descent systems. Why, then, do some societies have unilineal descent systems but not others?

It is generally assumed that unilocal residence (patrilocal or matrilocal) is necessary for the development of unilineal descent. Patrilocal residence, if practiced for some time in a society, will generate a set of patrilineally related males who live in the same territory. Matrilocal residence over time will similarly generate a localized set of matrilineally related females. It is no wonder, then, that matrilocal and patrilocal residence are cross-culturally associated with matrilineal and patrilineal descent, respectively.[25]

But although unilocal residence might be necessary for the formation of unilineal descent groups, it is apparently not the only condition required. For one thing, many societies with unilocal residence lack unilineal descent groups. For another, merely because related males or related females live together by virtue of a patrilocal or matrilocal rule of residence, it does not necessarily follow that the related people will actually view themselves as a descent group and function as such. Thus, it appears that other conditions are needed to supply the impetus for the formation of unilineal descent groups.

There is some evidence that unilocal societies that engage in warfare are more apt to have unilineal descent groups than unilocal societies without

warfare.[26] It may be, then, that the presence of fighting in societies lacking complex systems of political organization provides an impetus to the formation of unilineal descent groups. This may be because unilineal descent groups provide individuals with unambiguous groups of persons who can fight or form alliances as discrete units.[27] As we have seen, one distinguishing feature of unilineal descent groups is that there is no ambiguity about an individual's membership. It is perfectly clear whether someone belongs to a particular clan, phratry, or moiety. It is this feature of unilineal descent groups that enables them to act as separate and distinct units— mostly, perhaps, in warfare.

Bilateral systems, in contrast, are ego-centered, and every person, other than siblings, has a slightly different set of kin to rely on. Consequently, in bilateral societies it is often not clear whom one can turn to and which person has responsibility for aiding another. Such ambiguity, however, might not be a liability in societies without warfare, or in societies with political systems that organize fighting in behalf of large populations.

Whether the presence of warfare is, in fact, the major condition responsible for transforming a unilocal society into a society with unilineal descent groups is still not certain. But however unilineal descent groups come into being, we know that they often fulfill many important functions in addition to their role in offense and defense.

Ambilineal Systems

Societies with ambilineal descent groups are far less numerous than unilineal or even bilateral societies. However, ambilineal societies resemble unilineal ones in many ways. For instance, the members of an ambilineal descent group believe they are descended from a common ancestor, though frequently they cannot specify all the genealogical links. The descent group is commonly named and may have an identifying emblem or even a totem; land and other productive resources

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[24]Fred Eggan, *The Social Organization of the Western Pueblos* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).

[25]Data from Textor, comp., *A Cross-Cultural Summary.*

[26]Ember, Ember, and Pasternak, "On the Development of Unilineal Descent."

[27]The importance of warfare and competition as factors in the formation of unilineal descent groups is also suggested by Service, *Primitive Social Organization;* and Marshall D. Sahlins, "The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion," *American Anthropologist,* 63 (1961): 332–45.

may be owned by the descent group; and myths and religious practices are often associated with the group. Marriage is often regulated by group membership, just as in unilineal systems, though kingroup exogamy is not nearly as common as in unilineal systems. Moreover, ambilineal societies resemble unilineal ones in having various levels or types of descent groups. They may have lineages and higher orders of descent groups, distinguished (as in unilineal systems) by whether or not all the genealogical links to the supposed common ancestors are specified.[28]

The Samoans of the South Pacific are an example of an ambilineal society.[29] There are two types of ambilineal descent groups in Samoa, corresponding to what would be called clans and subclans in a unilineal society. Both groups are exogamous. Associated with each ambilineal clan are one or more chiefs. A group takes its name from the senior chief; subclans, of which there are always at least two, may take their names from junior chiefs.

The distinctiveness of the Samoan ambilineal system, compared with unilineal systems, is that because an individual may be affiliated with an ambilineal group through his or her father or mother (and his or her parents, in turn, could be affiliated with any of their parents' groups), there are a number of ambilineal groups to which that individual could belong. Affiliation with a Samoan descent group is optional, and a person may theoretically affiliate with any or all of the ambilineal groups to which he or she is related. In practice, however, a person is primarily associated with one group—the ambilineal group whose land he or she actually lives on and cultivates—although he or she may participate in the activities (housebuilding, for example) of several groups. Since a person may belong to more than one ambilineal group, the society is not divided into separate kin groups, in contrast with unilineal societies. Consequently, the core members of each ambilineal group cannot all live together (as they could in unilineal societies),

since each person belongs to more than one group and cannot live in several places at once.

Not all ambilineal societies have the multiple descent-group membership that occurs in Samoa. In some ambilineal societies, a person may belong (at any one time) to only one group. In such cases, the society can be divided into separate, nonoverlapping groups of kin.

Why do some societies have ambilineal descent groups? Although the evidence is not clear-cut on this point, it may be that societies with unilineal descent groups are transformed into ambilineal ones under special conditions—particularly in the presence of depopulation. We have already noted that depopulation may transform a previously unilocal society into a bilocal society. If that previously unilocal society also had unilineal descent groups, the descent groups may become transformed into ambilineal groups. If a society used to be patrilocal and patrilineal, for example, but some couples begin to live matrilocally, then their children may be associated with a previously patrilineal descent group (on whose land they may be living) through their mother. Once this happens regularly, the unilineal principle may become transformed into an ambilineal principle.[30] Thus, ambilineal descent systems may have developed recently as a result of depopulation caused by the introduction of European diseases.

Kinship Terminology

Our society, like all others, refers to a number of different kin by the same **classificatory term.** Most of us probably never stop to think about why we name relatives the way we do. For example, we call our mother's brother and father's brother (and often mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband) by the same term—*uncle*. It is not that we are unable to distinguish between our mother's or father's brother or that we do not know the difference between **consanguineal kin** (blood kin) and **affinal kin** (kin by marriage, or what we call *in-laws*). Instead, it seems that in our society we do not usually find it necessary to distinguish between various types of uncles.

[28]William Davenport, "Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups," *American Anthropologist*, 61 (1959): 557–72.

[29]The description of the Samoan descent system is based upon Melvin Ember's 1955–1956 fieldwork. See also his "The Nonunilinear Descent Groups of Samoa," *American Anthropologist*, 61 (1959): 573–77; and Davenport, "Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups."

[30]Ember and Ember, "The Conditions Favoring Multilocal Residence."

However natural our system of classification may seem to us, countless field studies by anthropologists have revealed that societies differ markedly in how they group or distinguish relatives. The kinship terminology used in a society may reflect its prevailing kind of family, its rule of residence and its rule of descent, and other aspects of its social organization. Kin terms may also give clues to prior features of the society's social system, if, as many anthropologists believe,[31] the kin terms of a society are very resistant to change. The major systems of kinship terminology are the Omaha system, the Crow system, the Iroquois system, the Sudanese system, the Hawaiian system, and the Inuit (Eskimo) system.

Since it is the most familiar to us, let us first consider the kinship terminology system employed in our own and many other commercial societies. But it is by no means confined to commercial societies—in fact, this system is found in many Inuit (Eskimo) societies.

Inuit System

The distinguishing features of the Inuit system (see Figure 11–5) are that all cousins are lumped together under the same term but are distinguished from brothers and sisters, and all aunts and uncles are generally lumped under the same terms but are distinguished from mother and father. In Figure 11–5 and in subsequent figures, the kin types that are referred to by the same term are colored and marked in the same way; for example, in the Inuit system, kin types 2 (father's brother) and 6 (mother's brother) are referred to by the same term ("uncle" in English). Note that in this system, in contrast to the others we examine below, no other relatives are generally referred to by the same terms used for members of the nuclear family—mother, father, brother, and sister.

The Inuit type of kinship terminology is not generally found where there are unilineal or ambilineal descent groups; the only kin group that appears to be present is the bilateral kindred.[32] Remember that the kindred in a bilateral kinship sys-
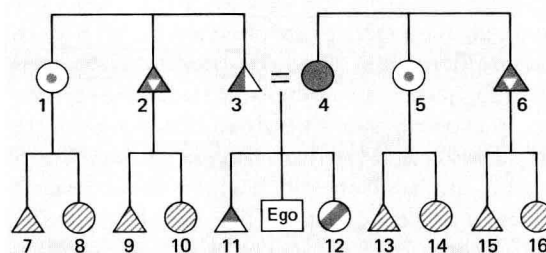
Note: In some Eskimo systems the cousin term may vary according to sex.

FIGURE 11–5 Inuit Kinship Terminology System

tem is an ego-centered group. Although relatives on both my mother's and my father's sides are equally important, my most important relatives are generally those closest to me. This is particularly true in our society, where the nuclear family generally lives alone, separated from and not particularly involved with other relatives except on ceremonial occasions. Since the nuclear family is most important, we would expect to find that the kin types in the nuclear family are distinguished terminologically from all other relatives. And since the mother's and father's sides are equally important (or unimportant), it makes sense that we use the same terms ("aunt," "uncle," and "cousin") for both sides of the family.
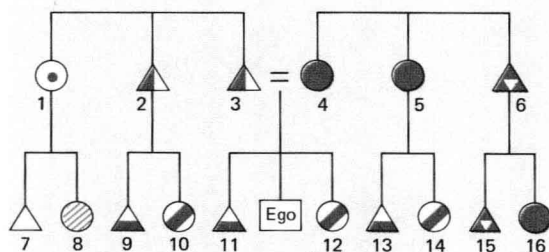
Omaha System

The Omaha system of kin terminology is named after the Omaha tribe of North America, but the system is found in many societies around the world, usually those with patrilineal descent.[33]

Referring to Figure 11–6, we can see immediately which types of kin are lumped together in an Omaha system. First, father and father's brother (numbers 2 and 3) are both referred to by the same term. This contrasts markedly with our way of classifying relatives, in which no term that applies to a member of the nuclear family (father, mother, brother, sister) is applied to any other relative.

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[31]See, for example, Murdock, *Social Structure*, pp. 199–222.

[32]Reported in Textor, comp., *A Cross-Cultural Summary*.

[33]The association between the Omaha system and patrilineality is reported in Textor, comp., *A Cross-Cultural Summary*.

FIGURE 11–6 Omaha Kinship Terminology System

Note: Kin types referred to by the same term are marked in the same way.

What could account for the Omaha system of lumping? One interpretation is that father and father's brother are lumped in this system because most societies in which this system is found have patrilineal kin groups. Both father and father's brother are in the parental generation of my patrilineal kin group and may behave toward me similarly. My father's brother also probably lives near me, since patrilineal societies usually have patrilocal residence. The term for father and father's brother, then, might be translated "male member of my patrilineal kin group in my father's generation."

A second lumping (which at first glance appears similar to the lumping of father and father's brother) is that of mother and mother's sister (4 and 5), both of whom are called by the same term. But more surprisingly, mother's brother's daughter (16) is also referred to by this term. Why should this be? If we think of the term as meaning "female member of my mother's patrilineage of *any* generation," then the term makes more sense. Consistent with this view, all the male members of my mother's patrilineage of any generation (mother's brother, 6; mother's brother's son, 15) are also referred to by one term.

It is apparent, then, that relatives on the father's and the mother's sides are grouped differently in this system. For members of my mother's patrilineal kin group, I lump all male members together and all female members together regardless of their generation. Yet, for members of my father's patrilineal kin group, I have different terms for the male and female members of different gen-

erations. Murdock has suggested that a society lumps kin types when there are more similarities than differences among them.[34]

Using this principle, and recognizing that societies with an Omaha system usually are patrilineal, I realize that my father's patrilineal kin group is the one to which I belong and in which I have a great many rights and obligations. Consequently, persons of my father's generation are likely to behave quite differently toward me than are persons of my own generation. Members of my patrilineal group in my father's generation are likely to exercise authority over me, and I am required to show them respect. Members of my patrilineal group in my own generation are those I am likely to play with as a child and to be friends with. Thus, in a patrilineal system, persons on my father's side belonging to different generations are likely to be distinguished. On the other hand, my mother's patrilineage is relatively unimportant to me (since I take my descent from my father). And because my residence is probably patrilocal, my mother's relatives will probably not even live near me. Thus, inasmuch as my mother's patrilineal relatives are comparatively unimportant in such a system, they become similar enough to be lumped together.

Finally, in the Omaha system, I refer to my male parallel cousins (my father's brother's son, 9, and my mother's sister's son, 13) in the same way I refer to my brother (number 11). I refer to my female parallel cousins (my father's brother's daughter, 10, and my mother's sister's daughter, 14) in the same way I refer to my sister (12). Considering that my father's brother and mother's sister are referred to by the same terms I use for my father and mother, this lumping of parallel cousins with **siblings** (brothers and sisters) is not surprising. If I call my own mother's and father's children (other than myself) "Brother" and "Sister," then the children of anyone whom I also call "Mother" and "Father" ought to be called "Brother" and "Sister" as well.

Crow System

The Crow system, named after another North American tribe, has been called the mirror image of the Omaha system. The same principles of

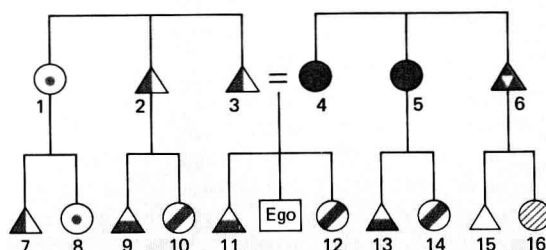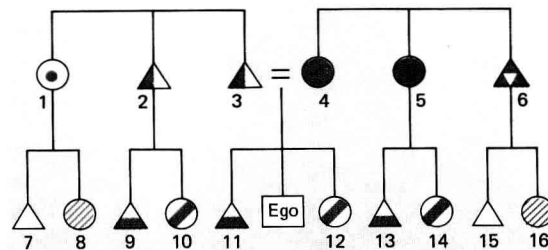[34]Murdock, *Social Structure*, p. 125.

FIGURE 11–7 Crow Kinship Terminology System

FIGURE 11–8 Iroquois Kinship Terminology System

lumping kin types are employed, except that since the Crow system is associated with matrilineal descent,[35] the individuals in my mother's matrilineal group (which is my own) are not lumped across generations, whereas the individuals in my father's matrilineal group are. By comparing Figure 11–7 with Figure 11–6, we find that the lumping and separating of kin types are much the same in both, except that the lumping across generations in the Crow system appears on the father's side rather than on the mother's side. In other words, I call both my mother and my mother's sister by the same term (since both are female members of my matrilineal descent group in my mother's generation). I call my father, my father's brother, and my father's sister's son by the same term (all male members of my father's matrilineal group in any generation). I call my father's sister and my father's sister's daughter by the same term (both female members of my father's matrilineal group). And I refer to my parallel cousins in the same way I refer to my brother and sister.

Iroquois System

The Iroquois system, named after the Iroquois tribe of North America, is similar to both the Omaha and Crow systems in the way in which I refer to relatives in my parents' generation (see Figure 11–8). That is, my father and my father's brother (2 and 3) are referred to by the same term,

and my mother and my mother's sister (4 and 5) are referred to by the same term. However, the Iroquois system differs from the Omaha and Crow systems regarding my own generation. In the Omaha and Crow systems, one set of cross-cousins was lumped in the kinship terminology with the generation above. This is not true in the Iroquois system, where both sets of cross-cousins (mother's brother's children, 15 and 16, and father's sister's children, 7 and 8) are referred to by the same terms, distinguished by sex. That is, mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's daughter are both referred to by the same term. Also, mother's brother's son and father's sister's son are referred to by the same term. Parallel cousins always have terms different from those for cross-cousins and are sometimes, but not always, referred to by the same terms as one's brother and sister.

Like the Omaha and Crow systems, the Iroquois system has different terms for relatives on the father's and mother's sides. Such differentiation tends to be associated with unilineal descent, which is not surprising since unilineal descent involves affiliation with either mother's or father's kin. Why Iroquois, rather than Omaha or Crow, terminology occurs in a unilineal society requires explanation. One possible explanation is that Omaha or Crow is likely to occur in a developed, as opposed to a developing or decaying, unilineal system.[36] Another possible explanation is that Iro-

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[35]The association between the Crow system and matrilineality is reported in Textor, comp., A Cross-Cultural Summary.

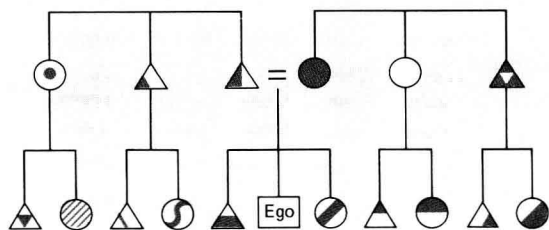[36]See Leslie A. White, "A Problem in Kinship Terminology," American Anthropologist, 41 (1939): 569–70.

FIGURE 11–9 Sudanese Kinship Terminology System

FIGURE 11–10 Hawaiian Kinship Terminology System

quois terminology emerges in societies that prefer marriage with both cross-cousins,[37] who are differentiated from other relatives in an Iroquois system.

Sudanese System

One other system of kinship terminology is associated with unilineal descent—the Sudanese system. But unlike the Omaha, Crow and Iroquois systems we have examined so far, the Sudanese system usually does not lump any relatives in the parents' and ego's generations. That is, the Sudanese system is usually a **descriptive** system in which a different term is used for *each* of the relatives shown in Figure 11–9. What kinds of societies are likely to have such a system? Although societies with Sudanese terminology are likely to be patrilineal, they probably are different from most patrilineal societies that have Omaha or Iroquois terms. Sudanese terminology is associated with relatively great political complexity, class stratification, and occupational specialization. It has been suggested that under such conditions, a kinship system may reflect the need to make fine distinctions among members of descent groups who have different opportunities and privileges in the occupational or class system.[38]

The Omaha, Crow, Iroquois, and Sudanese systems, although different from one another and associated with somewhat different predictors, share one important feature: the terms used for the mother's and father's side of the family are not the
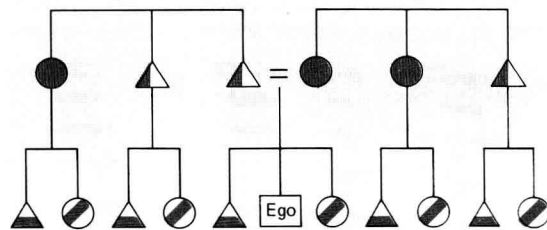
same. If you imagine folding the kinship terminology diagrams in half, the two sides would not be the same. As we have seen, in the Inuit system, the terms on the mother's and father's side of the family are *exactly* the same. This suggests that both sides of the family are equally important, or equally unimportant. The next system—Hawaiian—also has the same terms on both sides, but kinship outside the nuclear family is more important.

Hawaiian System

The Hawaiian system of kinship terminology is the least complex in that it uses the smallest number of terms. In this system, all relatives of the same sex in the same generation are referred to by the same term. Thus, all my female cousins are referred to by the same term as my sister; all male cousins are referred to by the same term as my brother. Everyone known to be related to me in my parents' generation is referred to by one term if female (including my mother) and by another term if male (including my father). (See Figure 11–10.)

Societies with Hawaiian kin terminology tend not to have unilineal descent groups,[39] which helps explain why kinship terms are the same on both sides of the family. Why are the terms for mother, father, sister, and brother used for other relatives? Perhaps because societies with Hawaiian terminology are likely to have large extended families[40] to which every type of relative in Figure 11–10 may belong because of alternative residence

[37]Jack Goody, "Cousin Terms," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* 26 (1970): 125–42.
[38]Burton Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship and Social Organization* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976), p. 142.

[39]Reported in Textor, comp., *A Cross-Cultural Summary.*
[40]Ibid.