INTRODUCTION TO STRUCTURALISM
IN ANTHROPOLOGY: A WORKING PAPER

PATRICIA MATUSKY

Jabatan Pengajian Melayu
Universiti Malaya

1. Introduction

All science, from the physical to the social sciences, deals with structure, that is, an examination of how the parts of a system relate to each other. There are many interpretations of the meaning of "structure" and "structuralism" depending upon one's perspective and field of inquiry, and even within a given field the use and meaning of "structure" can very widely.

In a very broad sense the idea of structure and structuralism embodies three main facets, that is, the notions of wholeness, transformation and self-regulation(Piaget 1973:6). The notion of wholeness refers to something which is made up of specific parts to form a complete entity or whole. In this way other outside parts are not necessary, for the entity is self-sufficient in itself. The idea of transformation is inherent in the notion of structure whereby certain changes may take place in the structure according to and following certain laws. Because the transformations occur according to certain laws, it can be said that the idea of "system" is important in the structure. Thus the structure as a system is a dynamic entity because of the constant interplay of the transformations or changes taking place within it. In his work on structuralism Piaget (1973:12) notes that,

"Were it not for the idea of transformation, structures would lose

24

all explanatory import, since they would collapse into static forms.''

Finally, the structure in self-regulatory, and here we see that any changes or transformations in the structure always involve the elements or parts in the system itself (and do not go beyond those parts). In addition, the transformations do not affect the laws which are important in the structure. The laws are retained and the system can be thought of as closed or self-regulating. Thus, Piaget tells us that structures in the social sciences involve social groups which are complete entities, and in which transformations occur. These social groups impose norms and constraints (that is, the rules) and are therefore self-regulating entities. Structure and structuralism can be thought of in these very general or "global" terms.

However, there are distinct differences between what has been described as "global" structuralism and the kind referred to as "analytic" structuralism. (Piaget 1973:97-98) Structuralism in the "global" sense places emphasis on the totality or entity in which the whole appears from the union of its aggregate parts, and where observable relations are stressed within the entity. On the other hand, "analytic" structuralism places emphasis on the "laws of composition" (or the details of transformations) and on "deep" structures (logical, mathematical models) which explain the empirical and observable interactions within a given entity.

The leading proponent of what has been noted here as "analytic" structuralism in anthropology is Claude Lévi-Strauss. In fact, contemporary structuralism in anthropology is practically synonymous with the structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss who offers an approach to analysis which has stimulated considerable controversy among anthropologists themselves. Because he is such an important figure in the contemporary structuralist method it may be instructive to briefly look at the man and his background. Claude Levi-Strauss was born in Belgium in 1908, but was raised and educated in France. He was a student at the University of Paris where his studies encompassed law, philo-

25

sophy and readings in the French school of sociology (emphasizing works by Durkheim and Mauss). From 1934 to 1938 Lévi-Strauss held the post of Professor of Sociology at the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil, during which time he also made short trips to the interior areas of the country to carry out ethnographic work on specific groups of South American Indians. By the year 1936 his first anthropological article was published on the social organization of the Bororo Indians of Brazil. More extensive field research was completed during six months in 1939 in Central Brazil. The next several years entailed military service in France during World War II, and a short teaching post at the New School for Social Research in New York City (USA). Other short field research trips followed along with a return to France to take up the Chair of Social Anthropology at the College de France in 1959. From the mid 1930s we also see the beginnings of Lévi-Strauss' vast output of publications, continuing until 1973 with the publication of the second volume of his *Structural Anthropology.* Contemporary structuralism in anthropology is tightly bound up with French structuralism and with the work of Lévi-Strauss in particular. He has been called the "founder of structuralism" on a par with Sartre, the founder of existentialism (Leach 1968: 541) That is not to say, however, that Lévi-Strauss thinking and works have gone without criticism. In a critique on the works of Lévi-Strauss, the social anthropologist Edmund Leach has commented that

"By Malinowski standards Lévi-Strauss' field research is of only moderate quality. The outstanding characteristic of his writing, whether in French or in English, is that it is difficult to understand; his sociological theories combine baffling complexity with overwhelming erudition. Some readers even suspect that they are being treated to a confidence trick. Even now, despite his immense prestige, the critics among his professional colleagues still out-number the disciples. Yet his academic importance is unquestioned. Lévi-Strauss is admired not so much for the novelty of his ideas as for the bold originality with which he seeks to apply them. He has suggested new ways of looking at familiar facts; it is the method that is interesting . . ." (Leach 1976:3)

It is indeed the method that is interesting, and an understanding of some of the basic concepts in Lévi-Strauss' works is crucial to an understanding of the method.

2. Roots

It has been said that the roots of structuralist thought lie in Russian formalism, a literary and aesthetic theory of the 1920s (Broekman 1974: 37). In effect, early Russian formalism proposed that an analysis of a literary work could only be validly carried out on strictly literary theoretical grounds, excluding the biographical, political, philosophical or sociological aspects of the writer's world. This train of thought, seen in the works of the linguist Roman Jacobson in Moscow (and later in Prague), had strong connections with the school of linguistics developing in Geneva, Switzerland in the 1920s though the works of Ferdinand de Saussure and others. For the first time in the 1920s the analyses of poetry and other literary works were based on phonological analyses stressing the relationship between sound and meaning. Within the early Russian formalist and structuralist movement certain linguists were predominant including Roman Jacobson and N. Troubetzkoy. It is through the work of Troubetzkoy that Lévi-Strauss gives us some insight into the foundation of his brand of structuralism. In his article entitled "Structural Analysis in Linguistics and in Anthropology" Lévi-Strauss acknowledges the influence of Troubetzkoy and some of the basic principles in structural linguistics which ultimately had a great impact on his thinking and on the structuralist method in anthropological analysis. These basic principles are concisely summarized by Lévi-Strauss in his article whereby

"First, structural linguistics shifts from the study of *conscious* linguistic phenomena to [the] study of their *unconscious* infrastructure;

second, it does not treat *terms* as independent entities, taking instead as its basis of analysis the *relations* between terms;

27

third, it introduces the concept of *system* ...;

and finally, structural linguistics aims at discovering *general laws*
either by induction 'or by logical deduction, which would give
them an absolute character." (1963: 31-54).

Keeping these basic principles in mind, we can now turn to
some basic characteristics of the thinking of Lévi-Strauss who,
in effect, has adopted these principles of structural linguistics
and applied them to anthropological analysis.

3. Basic Concepts and Method

3.1. *Concepts.*

Based on his writings of some thirty or more years, certain
concepts and characteristics emerge from the thinking of Lévi-
Strauss. Some understanding of these concepts can help in com-
prehending the ways in which a Lévi-Straussian structuralist
approach can be applied to analysis in given situations and
circumstances.

First, the idea of the "universal" is basic to Lévi-Strauss'
thinking. He tells us that anthropology should be a science
involving general principles, and that the theories generated
from anthropological analysis should be applicable to all socie-
ties throughout the world. He believes that anthropological
investigation should involve social and mental processes because
it is basically the social and mental processes which produce
cultural institutions. This emphasis on mental processes as
universal phenomena points to a distinction in French structu-
ralism from other forms of social structure analysis. In his work
on Lévi-Strauss, the anthropologist Edmund Leach notes this
difference when he states that for the social anthropologist
social structure exists at the observable, objective level much
like

"the interdependence of the different organs in the human ana-
tomy. In contrast, Lévi-Strauss ... is concerned with nothing less

than the structure of the human mind, meaning by "structure" not an articulation which can be directly observed but rather a logical ordering, a set of mathematical equations which can be demonstrated as functionally equivalent (as in a model) to the phenomenon under discussion." (Leach 1968: 542).

Another important characteristic of Lévi-Strauss work is his reliance on the developments in the field of structural linguistics which, as noted above, serve as a model or foundation for much of his theoretical approach. Very briefly, structural linguistics tells us that any language is essentially a symbolic system of sounds, the basic units of which are phenomes. The phonemes in any given language are defined and classed according to distinctive features which contrast in specific ways. As the basic constituent units of language, the phonemes standing alone have no meaning. However, when they are combined into larger linguistic units (such as words, phrases and sentences) according to certain morphological and grammatical rules, meaning and communication are possible. In addition, a native speaker of a language is unaware of the morphological and grammatical rules which govern his speech patterns. Therefore, it is argued that these governing rules lie in the subconscious of the individual. The structural linguist, then, attempts to look into the subconscious ——— that is, to look beyond the surface level patterns of sound ——— in order to discover the underlying structural principles which govern and generate the speech patterns of language.

The developments in structural linguistics also serve as the basis for Lévi-Strauss idea that the anthropologist must search for the underlying structural principles in culture. The analogy here is that the phonological and grammatical rules which exist in the unconscious of the native speaker are the structural rules which generate the overt patterns of speech sound. In anthropology Lévi-Strauss believes that the unconscious activity of the human mind creates formal structural rules which then produce cultural events. His writings reiterate that the anthropologist analyzes the unconscious elements of human social activity.

In his article on "History and Anthropology" Lévi-Strauss states

> "If, as we believe to be the case, the unconscious activity of the mind consists in imposing forms upon content, and if these forms are fundamentally the same for all minds ——— ancient and modern, primitive and civilized . . . it is necessary and sufficient to grasp the unconscious structure underlying each institution and each custom, in order to obtain a principle of interpretation valid for other institutions and customs, provided of course that the analysis is carried far enough." (Lévi-Strauss 1963)

For the linguist, to know the underlying structural principles in language is to explain language. For Lévi-Strauss, to know the underlying structural principles or "deep structure" of a culture is to explain the culture.[1]

Another important concept of Lévi-Strauss' structuralism is that culture is a symbolic system or a number of symbolic systems which combine to form a whole or complete culture. Here the key words "symbolic" and "system" are important. "Symbolic" or "symbol" carries the basic meaning of a thing which represents or recalls something else (perhaps another thing, an idea or a quality); this representation exists through the association of analogous qualities or by fact or thought, and through agreement by a given social group or culture. The idea of "system" refers to a complex whole or set of connected things (or parts) which are organized in some way. This meaning was alluded to in the introductory comments on structure. Lévi-Strauss thinks of culture as a systemic whole in which symbols are used. The various symbols which exist in a given culture combine with each other in logical ways in order to form a given cultural system. Here Lévi-Strauss is not primarily concerned with the meaning of the symbols themselves; instead, he is mainly interested in the ways in which the symbols logically relate to each other. He is concerned with the formal patterns (or relationships) among the symbols. These ideas can be seen in his article on kinship systems in which he states that

30

"A kinship system does not consist in the objective ties of descent or consanguinity between individuals. It exists only in human consciousness; it [kinship system] is an arbitrary system of representations, . . . The essence of human kinship is to require the establishment of relations among what Radcliffe-Brown calls "elementary families." Thus, it is not the families (isolated terms) which are trully "elementary," but, rather, the relations between those terms."

"Because they are symbolic systems, kinship systems offer the anthropologist a rich field, where his efforts can almost . . . converge with those of the most highly developed of the social sciences, namely, linguistics . . . we must never lose sight of the fact that, in both anthropological and linguistic research, we are dealing strictly with symbolism."[2]

Finally, it is important to return to the opening topic of this essay concerning the meaning of "structure" and "structuralism," but this time we should look at the way in which Lévi-Strauss defines "structure." A clear idea of this concept can be found in his article entitled "Social Structure" in which we read that a *structure consists of a model* which meets a number of criteria.

"First, the structure exhibits the characteristics of a system. It is made up of several elements, none of which can undergo a change without effecting changes in all the other elements.

Second, for any given model there should be a possibility of ordering a series of transformations resulting in a group of models of the same type.

Third, the above properties make it possible to predict how the model will react if one or more of its elements are submitted to certain modifications.

Finally, the model should be constituted so as to make immediately intelligible all the observed facts." (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 279-280).

31

Lévi-Strauss, then, gives us insight into his conception of structure (or formal model) which is distinct from the observable relations and facts of social life. To Lévi-Strauss the elementary or basic structures in a given culture are formal and therefore they are fixed and unchanging. Thus, the formal models based on those elementary structures are important as an aid in explaining cultural phenomena or for comparison on an intra- or cross-cultural basis.[3]

3.2. *Method*

Up to this point we have noted a number of characteristics which are evident in the works of Lévi-Strauss and which are subsequently important in his methodological approach. It still remains to see, however, just how one would use the basic ideas of Lévi-Strauss' structuralism in anthropological analysis. In this respect we must look at the specific analytical devices and procedures used.

As a first step in the analysis of a given cultural item or event it is the anthropologist's job to define the basic parts of that cultural item or event. All the given parts of a cultural event are defined in order to arrive at the fundamental constituent units of that event. Once the basic constituent units have been identified and defined, it is necessary to find the important relationships which exist among those units. In order to define the relationships among those units certain analytic devices can be used, and these are:

(1) the relationship of *binary opposition* in which two related things (ideas or qualities) stand in direct contrast and antithesis; (Simple examples can be seen in the following oppositions: light/dark, man/woman, young/old, raw/cooked.)

(2) the relationship of *correlation,* that is, a mutual relation between two or more things or parts showing a specific interdependence of the parts; (This type of rela-

tionship is often expressed as a mathematical formula in which, for example, $a : b :: c : d$, or $a : b :: b : c$, where a b c and d represent specific constituent units of the cultural event under analysis.)

(3) the relationship of *permutation*, that is, the variation or change in the order of a set of related things; (In very simple terms a given set of units in a given cultural event can be symbolized as A B C D, and one possible permutation of this set of units might be expressed as A B C D.)

(4) the relationship of *transformation*, that is, a change in the form or outward appearance of a given cultural event, but without a change in the basic "structure" of that event; (Essentially we find sets of equivalence, for example, $a \simeq b$ (a is equivalent to b) where a and b represent two entities with different outward appearances but with similar structures).

At this point it might be useful to give some concrete examples of the possible application of some of these analytic devices.

(a) *Transformation*

First, concerning the relationship of transformation we can turn to an example devised by Edmund Leach in his critique of Lévi-Strauss works. Here the natural colour spectrum and the common traffic lights are used to show how relations which exist in nature are understood by the human mind and then used to produce cultural entities which retain the same basic relations. (Leach 1976: 16-21)

The natural colour spectrum ranges from the colour violet at one end, through various other colours, and ending with the colour red.

Colour Spectrum
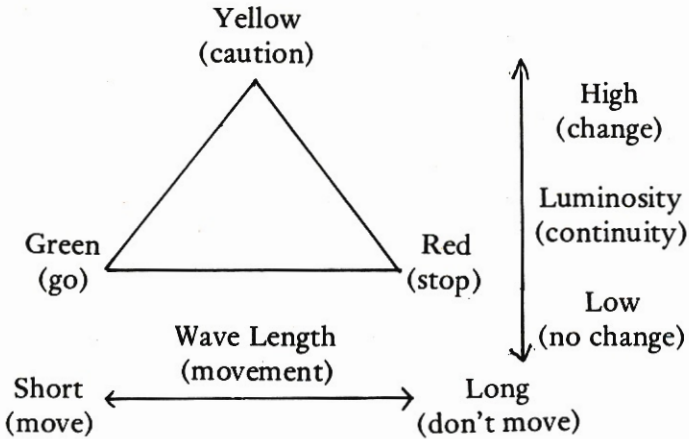
| Violet | Blue | Green | Yellow | Red |
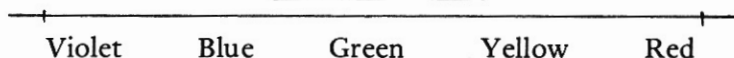
In simple terms, the human mind perceives specific colour because of luminosity (light or dark) and wave length (long or short light wave length). Based on the technical aspects of how the brain perceives colour, we make distinctions between violet, green, yellow and so on, and certain of these colours (namely, green, yellow and red) are considered "basic" colours in the natural colour spectrum because of their physical properties. The basic colour green can be seen as the opposite of the basic colour red (in the spectrum itself), and we are taught that the green/red opposition is similar to dark and light or plus and minus. The red colour is usually treated as a sign of danger (we can note hot water taps, live electric wires, stop signs). On the roadway the green traffic light means go (or "no danger"), while the red light means stop (or "danger"). In addition, we utilize a third light on the roadway which means caution ――― an intermediate meaning between "stop" and "go" (that is, a colour which does not mean "stop" and "go") and for this we select yellow, the colour that lies half way between green and red on the natural colour spectrum. Here, then, the ordering of the colours green-yellow-red (natural colour system) corresponds to the similar ordering of instructions go-caution-stop (cultural signal system). In this case the two systems (colour and signal) maintain the same structure, but one is a transformation of the other (signal system $\simeq$ colour system).

As Leach notes,

"The final cultural product ――― the three-colour traffic signal ――― is a simplified imitation [transformation] of a phenomenon of nature ――― the colour spectrum ――― as apprehended by the human brain."

34

Traffic-Signal Colour Triangle. (Leach 1976: 18).

Yellow
(caution)

Green
(go)

Red
(stop)

High
(change)

Luminosity
(continuity)

Low
(no change)

Wave Length
(movement)

Short
(move)

Long
(don't move)

(b) *Correlation*

The relationship of correlation can be shown in an example from traditional theater in Malay culture. The *wayang kulit,* particularly the type known as *Wayang Kulit Siam* or *Wayang Kelantan,* is a highly complex folk theater form involving music, puppet movement and drama.[4]

In order to illustrate the idea and use of the correlation we will focus on only one small opening section of a given performance which is known as the *Dalang Muda.* The Dalang Muda is one of the several opening rituals of this type of shadow theater, and it is always performed in the same form and content as an opening to every performance. Musically and dramatically the Dalang Muda can be divided into nine basic parts, each with its own musical piece *(lagu)* and dramatic episode *(adegan).* Both the musical pieces and dramatic episodes are known by the same name, and in Table 1 below the content of the Dalang Muda is outlined along with the dramatic function of each part.

Table 1

Dalang Muda Section in the Wayang Kulit Siam

Lagu/Adegan | *Function*

Sub-section 1:

1) Lagu *Maharisi*

1) Maharisi appears, walks, and then recites incantations to call two demi-gods armed with bows & arrows.

2) Lagu *Dewa Panah Turun*

2) The two demi-gods descend from the heavens; Maharisi recites more incantations inviting the demi-gods to fight.

3) Lagu *Dewa Panah Perang*

3) The two demi-gods do battle.

4) Lagu *Dewa Panah Berjalan*

4) The two demi-gods ascend back to the heavens.

Sub-section 2:

5) Lagu *Seri Rama Keluar* (and *bilangan Seri Rama*)

5) The main characters Seri Rama and Laksamana appear, walk and leave the screen, while the Tuk Dalang sings the *bilangan Seri Rama*.

6) Lagu *Hulubalang Seri Rama*

6) The major warriors of Seri Rama's court make their first appearance in the performance, and then leave the screen.

7) Lagu *Menyembah*

7) All the major warriors assemble before the palace, Seri Rama and Laksamana appear again and all warriors do obeisance to Seri Rama.

8) Lagu *Tanya Kabar* (or *Berkabar*)

8) Seri Rama and his ministers relate news of the state of the land.

9) Lagu *Seri Rama Masuk Istana*

9) Seri Rama and Laksamana enter the palace and all warriors leave the screen.

36

Utilizing the information given in the table above, we can begin to specify and define some of the fundamental units in the Dalang Muda section of the wayang kulit. First, the Dalang Muda is divided into two sub-sections: the first sub-section deals with the old sage (Maharisi) who calls two demi-gods (Dewa Panah) armed with bows and arrows to do battle, and finally the demi-gods return to their other-worldly origins; the second sub-section is essentially an introduction to the major characters used in the Wayang Kulit Siam. Other fundamental units are the characters themselves (also incorporating the notion of the physical puppet). These characters constitute one possible category of elements. Other possible categories of fundamental elements are based on space and event. These categories, along with some of their basic units or parts, are summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Summary of some constituent units in the Dalang Muda

Characters	*Space*	*Events*
a) Maharisi	a) seen world (earth)	a) Maharisi appears
b) Dewa Panah	b) unseen world (heavens)	b) incantations
c) Seri Rama & Laksamana	c) wayang kulit	c) descent of demi-gods
d) Hulubalang	1) Dalang Muda	d) battle of demi-gods
1) Mah Babu Saman	2) main story	e) ascent of demi-gods
2) Anila	d) screen	f) arrival of Seri Rama
3) Anggada	e) musical instruments	g) arrival of warriors
4) Sagariwa	f) audience area	h) obeisance
5) Hanuman	g) and so on . . .	i) asking for news
6) and others . . .		j) musical pieces
		k) and so on . . .

All of the above units or elements summarized in Table 2 can be thought of as existing in two different spheres of time ——— that is, diachronic time (existing through time, as a sequence) and synchronic time (existing at one and the same time).

Lévi-Strauss tells us that the examination of elements in diachronic time is necessary for some aspects of social life (especially for an understanding of history). However, analysis of elements synchronically can reveal the "deep" underlying structures which are basic to our understanding of a given cultural event. If we examine certain units of the Dalang Muda in a synchronic way, way can state a number of relationships of correlation which should, in the final analysis, tell us how the Dalang Muda (and perhaps even the complete wayang kulit) is put together. In the context of this introductory essay we can only present a few examples of basic correlations which are possible in the Dalang Muda. These correlations may be stated using the mathematical formulae as follows:

(1) $a : c :: c : b$ (see *Table 2: Space*)

(The seen world [earth] is related to the wayang because the wayang takes place (is contained) in the physical world. This relationship is valid, *just as [::]* the wayang's relationship to the unseen world whereby the wayang serves as a vehicle or recepticle for elements of the unseen world.)

(2) $c_1 : b :: c_2 : a$ (see *Table 2: Space*)

(The Dalang Muda reveals a relationship to the unseen world [the place where demi-gods come from], *as [::]* the main story of the wayang reveals a relationship to the seen world [where the events in the main story might actually happen]).

(3) $a : b :: c : d$ (see *Table 2: Characters*)

(The Maharisi character is an agent in bringing the demi-gods down from heaven, *as [::]* the characters Seri Rama and Laksamana serve as the reason for the appearance of the warriors).

38

(4) $e : a :: a : b$ (see *Table 2: Characters*)

(The Tuk Dalang controls the Maharisi [who acts as a substitution for the dalang], *as [::]* the Maharisi exerts some controlling influence over the demi-gods [here there is no substitution]).

(5) $b : c :: b : d$ (see *Table 2: Events*)

(The incantations by the Maharisi are related to the descent of the demi-gods, *as [::]* the incantations also are related to [or invoke] the battle of the demi-gods).

Continuing from the correlations noted above we would have to find *all other* possible correlations within each category (and among categories if necessary) in order to begin to find patterns of relationship which seem to be dominant. Only then would it be possible to carry the analysis further to possibly discover the types of relationships which define structure in the Dalang Muda.

(c) *Opposition*

The final analytic device to be illustrated here is the relationship of opposition. This relationship is perhaps the easiest to see (if it does indeed exist) in a given cultural event. The idea of opposition relates two or more things or ideas or qualities within a given cultural event under analysis, and the example to be used in the context of this essay is the fishing boats of the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia.

The fishing boats of the east coast are usually highly decorated in specific ways which reflect the aesthetic norms and creative genius of the people who build and own the boats. The types of boats which are most widely found are known as the *kolek* and the *sekoci*, each of which carries particular features in the basic shape as seen below.[5]

39

Kolek   Sekoci
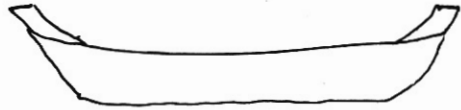
In addition to the basic shape, these boats have additional decorated parts with specific functions. Among these additional parts are the stern *(koyang)* which supports the rudder *(kemudi)* to steer the boat, the "head" and "tail" *(kepala* and *ekor)* which basically decorate the boat, the *bangau* and *okok* which are located at the front (or bow) of the boat, and the *caping* which is also located at the bow of the boat. In order to illustrate the use of oppositional relationships we will focus here on the front (or bow) of the boat which contains the three parts: bangau, okok and caping.

These three decorated parts ——— bangau, okok and caping ——— constitute the basic section of the boat for analysis and are shown in the drawing below.
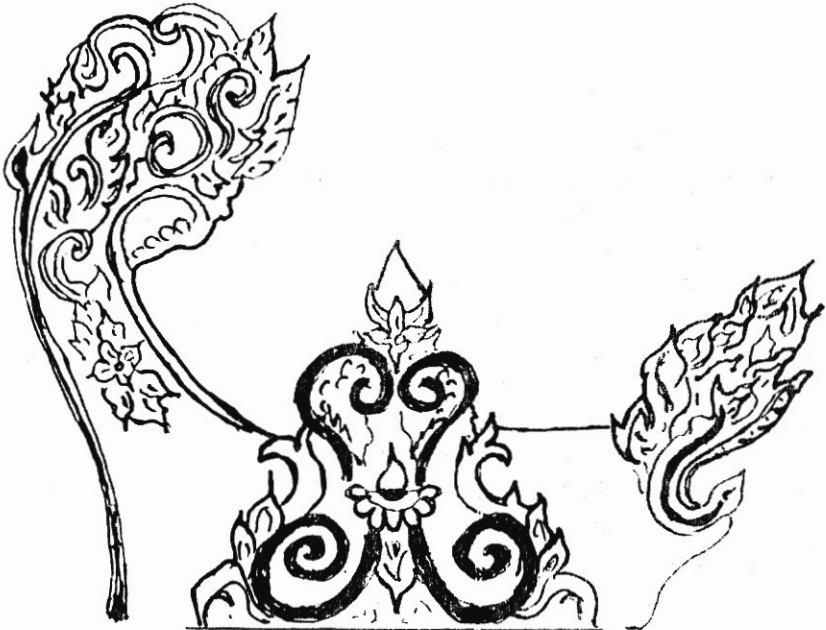
The bangau and okok are made of one piece of wood which is intricately carved and painted on both sides. This piece of wood is attached to the front of the boat and can be removed if desired. The left side of the piece of wood is called the bangau and serves to hold the mast when it is not in use. In connection with this function, we can note that the bangau is related to an important device (the mast) located at the top side of the boat, in the direction of the air or wind, and to the device (the mast and sail) which makes the boat go.
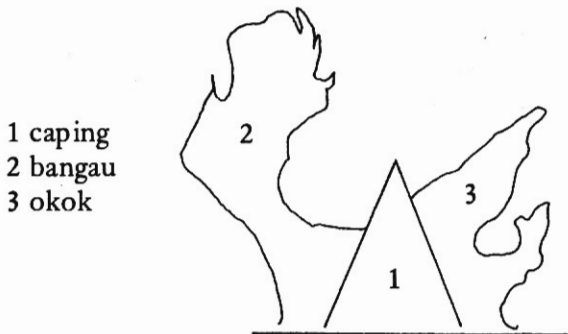
The section of the wooden board known as the okok is located on the right side of the boat. This part holds the anchor. We can say, then, that the okok is related to an important device (the anchor) associated with the bottom of the boat, to the sea and water, and to the device (the anchor) which causes the boat to stop. From this brief description a number of oppositions can be formulated about the bangau and okok which are listed in the chart below.

Bangau	Okok
• left side	• right side
• direction upward (top)	• direction downward (bottom)
• air or wind	• sea or water
• dry	• wet
• sail mast	• anchor
• go	• stop
• large	• small

These oppositional relationships, then, would be important for developing an analysis of a major decorated part of the boat.

Another decorated part, which also is found at the front of the boat in connection with the bangau and okok, is called the caping. In fact, the bangau-okok is attached to the caping by rope or nails. The caping consists of one piece of wooden board

41

in the shape of a *sirih* leaf or the *pokok beringin* of the wayang kulit, with its tip pointed upwards. It is important in the construction and shape of the boat, for it is attached to the keel and helps support the right and left walls of the boat. Oftentimes offerings such as betel nut, lime and flowers are hung from this part. Although the caping is a separate piece of wood from the bangau-okok, it is always found at the front of the boat in connection with the bangau-okok. Therefore, if these three parts are taken as a given whole located at the bow of the boat (see the line drawing below), then additional oppositions can be stated between the caping and bangau-okok. The oppositions which are evident here are summarized in the chart below.

1 caping
2 bangau
3 okok

Caping	Bangau-Okok
• one part	• two parts
• symmetrical shape	• asymmetrical shape
• non-removable	• removable
• carved & painted on one side only	• carved & painted on both sides
• main function is associated with construction	• main function is associated with travelling

The above examples have attempted to show the ways in which the analytic devices of Lévi-Strauss' structuralism can be applied in a variety of situations. These illustrations in no way intend to suggest complete (nor even near-complete) analyses in themselves or in relation to the larger cultural items or events of which they are a part. The examples given here are intended to help illustrate how one can get at the various kinds of relationships as defined in a structural analysis. The above examples, however, give some insight to the beginning procedures of the structural method in which cultural events are broken down into fundamental units or into clusters of fundamental units which make sense within the topic under analysis. It is then the task of the anthropologist to find the necessary relationships among those clusters of fundamental units (the "necessary" relationships might include all types of the possible relationships noted above ――― that is, opposition, correlation, transformation and permutation ――― or only one or two of these types of relationships). In any case, all the pertinent relationships must be formulated in order to develop the formal models which ultimately are intended to explain the structure of a given cultural event.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See also his article "The Structural Study of Myth" where the underlying structural core is the focus of the analysis, in his *Structural Anthropology*, pp. 206–231.

[2] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51. See also further passages in his article "Structural Analysis in Linguistics and Anthropology," pp. 31–54.

[3] Models, in effect, do not explain (theories explain) unless the models are subjected to an impirical content. However, models may be seen as heuristic devices, that is, they are entities which help us understand or to arrive at explanations.

[4] Data in this illustration is taken from P.L. Amin Sweeney, *The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow-Play* (Kuala Lumpur, Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1972), and from Patricia Matusky, "Music in the Malay Shadow Puppet Theater," PhD. Dissertation, (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1980).

[5] Data in this illustration is taken from Paul J. Coatalen, *The Decorated Boats of Kelantan*,(Pulau Pinang, Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia, 1982).

Select Bibliography

Structuralism

Boon, James A. 1972. *From Symbolism to Structuralism: Lévi-Strauss in a Literary Tradition.* Oxford.

Boudon, Raymond. 1971. *The Uses of Structuralism.* London: Heinemann.

Dyson-Hudson, Neville. 1972. "Structure and Infrastructure in primitive Society: Lévi-Strauss and Radcliffe-Brown," in *The Structuralist Controversy, The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man,* Richard Macksey and Eugenio Donato, eds., Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins Press.

Ehrmann, J. (ed.) 1971. *Structuralism,* a double issue of *Yale French Studies,* Nos. 36—37 (Oct., 1966); Issued in paperback, New York.

Hawkes, Terrence. 1976. *Structuralism and Semiotics.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hayes, E. Nelson and Tanya, (eds.) 1970. *Claude Lévi-Strauss: The Anthropologist as Hero.* Cambridge, Massachusetts (USA) and London: M.I.T. Press.

Lane, M. (ed.) 1970. *Structuralism: A Reader.* London.

Leach, Edmund. 1976. *Claude Lévi-Strauss.* Revised Ed., New York: Penguin.

————. 1968. "Claude Levi-Strauss —— Anthropologist and Philosopher," in *Theory in Anthropology,* Robert A. Manners and David Kaplan, (eds.) Chicago: Aldine.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1958. *Anthropologie structure.* Paris. English version, *Structural Anthropology,* Vol. I, New York, 1963; and Vol. II, 1973.

————. 1964. *Mythologiques I: Le cru et le cuit.* Paris. English version translated by John and Doreen Weightman, *The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology,* Vol. I, New York, 1969.

————. 1966. *Mythologiques II: Du miel aux cendres.* Paris. English version translated by John and Doreen Weightman,

From Honey to Ashes. New York, 1971.

—————. 1968. *Mythologiques III: L'origine des manieres de table*. Paris.

—————. 1972. *Mythologiques IV: L'homme nu.* Paris.

—————. 1966. *Le Pensee sauvage.* Paris 1962. English version, *The Savage Mind.* Chicago.

—————. 1969. *Les Structures elementaires de la parente.* Paris. 1949 and Revised, 1967. English version of revised edition, *Elementary Structures of Kinship.* Boston.

—————. 1962. *Le totemisme aujourd'hui.* Paris. English version, *Totemism.* Boston, 1962.

—————. 1955. *Triste Tropiques.* Paris. English version translated by John and Doreen Weightman, *Tristes Tropiques,* London, 1973.

Maranda, P. and E.K., (eds.) 1971. *Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition.* Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (USA).

Marc-Lipiansky, M. 1973. *Le Structuralism de Levi-Strauss.* Paris.

Piaget, Jean. 1971. *Structuralism.* Translated by Chaninah Maschler. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Robey, D. (ed.) 1973. *Structuralism: An Introduction.* Oxford.

Shalvey, Thomas. 1978. *Claude Levi-Strauss Social Psychotherapy and the Collective Unconscious,* Sussex: The Harvester Press.

Other References

Coatalen, Paul J. 1982. *The Decorated Boats of Kelantan.* P. Pinang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia.

Matusky, Patricia. 1980. "Music in the Malay Shadow Puppet Theater," PhD. Dissertation, Ann Arbor (USA), University of Michigan.

Sweeney, P.L. Amin. 1972. *The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow-Play.* Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.