



procity, organic solidarity, and dualistic structures.

All human societies survive through exchanges in the form of language, economic obligations and females. In populations where females are selectively allotted to males in terms of kinship sets, one generally will find a numerical discrepancy among the sexes. Among small societies that possess highly formalized rules of marriage, this discrepancy results in female exchange as the most vital form of reciprocity. In order that each social unit (i.e., lineage) may obtain its share of females, a group must exchange sisters and daughters with other social units to acquire wives who will produce future daughters. There are numerous ways in which wives are obtained, but Lévi-Strauss argues that certain forms are more effective.

Lévi-Strauss's conception of these relationships is always on the formal ideal level of analysis where primitive elements, parsimony and abstraction are stressed as models that are amenable to transformations. Functional properties of marriage systems or how the structure operates are not important to his analysis. He ignores demographic, ecological and economic determinants of marriage relationships.

Reciprocity as a human universal cements ties between groups and people in such a way that the effective operation of each social unit depends on a network of exchange in goods, services, women and ideas that provides integrating mechanisms for human structures. Yet reciprocity is linked to dualism where binary oppositions exist in mental activities, social forms, mythological creations, art, etc.

Dualism and reciprocity are conceptual schemes that are in men's minds and provide a model of what real things should be like. These logical, ideal, mental constraints are occasionally verbalized but in many cases they are unconscious. People

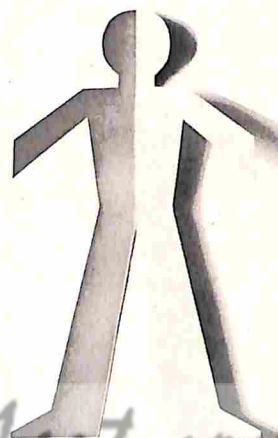
frequently are not aware of the models that are covered up and/or distorted by reality and cultural phenomena. Logical structures cannot be determined through empirical analysis, but they exist behind the empirical and provide meaning to the manifestation of the empirical.

The analogy for this means of analysis comes from linguistics, where grammar provides the rules in which sounds and other utterances are expressed in a socially meaningful way. Lévi-Strauss's debt goes initially to Roman Jakobson, but in terms of his more recent works one could argue that there is an affinity with Noam Chomsky, for both stress a universal structure that exists in all children and gradually unfolds as language and speech. Thus language may not be completely learned behavior but the opening up of the cerebral "black box," which possesses all the necessary properties and codes for full and complete linguistic articulation.

Lévi-Strauss pays homage to Freud and Marx, but one could argue that his debt should be to Jung and Hegel. His argument for a generalized human mind through which universal channels of thought exist has affinities with Jung's collective unconscious. The dialectical analysis is Hegelian, though Lévi-Strauss explicitly states that he is not dealing in the realm of ideas but with real structures. These structures are things in the Durkheimian sense: a part of the science of the concrete.

One of the major themes in this book and in his more recent ones is Lévi-Strauss's concern for order and logic. Structures as determinants of behavior classify all phenomena and action into meaningful, orderly and logical constructions. Order and logic are universal since all mankind seeks and needs systemization. Again he utilizes the parallels between nature and culture. Biological processes create logic and order in nature, and the human brain seeks similar conditions to explain man in his surroundings.

Passion for order and logic has been a dominant concern in French



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