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A FORMAL CONCEPT OF CULTURE IN THE CLASSIFICATION OF ALFRED L. KROEBER AND CLYDE KLUCKHOHN*

1. Introduction

In 1952, Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn published the book entitled *Culture. A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*¹ which plays a significant part in the research on culture. In the mentioned book, Kroeber and Kluckhohn, together with their team², attempted to systematize the meanings of the notion of “culture” in anthropological English literature between 1871 and 1950/1951. The team managed by Kroeber and Kluckhohn gathered approximately 300 anthropological works which attempted to explain this notion. On the basis of the gathered material, Kroeber and Kluckhohn offered classification composed of 164 definition contexts and divided into groups and subgroups, which will be discussed in section 2.

Despite the fact that it has been almost 70 years since the publication of *Culture. A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, the work is worth re-analysing for a number of reasons:

1. KKCC structures the discourse on culture between 1871 and 1951 on anthropology in English;
2. KKCC has become the basis for theoretical discussions concerning the possibilities of defining the notion of „culture”³;
3. New analytical methods used for the KKCC analysis, as graph theory (hereinafter referred to as GT), Formal Concept Analysis, (hereinafter referred to as FCA) and componential analysis, enable one to develop a semantic and conceptual visualisation, e.g. a graph.

A possibility of introducing a semantic and conceptual visualisation of the notion of “culture” (section 4) in a form of “frame-graph” is significant mainly because it

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makes it possible to: (a) limit the role of linguistic representation to the minimum – **marginalisation of a sentence language**; (b) a graph has got the properties of an algebraic model, which facilitates indication and understanding of structural relations (resp. semantic and conceptual ones) between particular objects – **iconicity**; (c) on the basis of a graph, one can establish a definition through indicating connections between elements of a graph – **definitionality**; (d) it is possible to use a computational technique in reference to a graph – **computability**; (e) on the basis of a graph, one can formulate a theorem – **theoretical nature**⁴.

The properties of “frame-graph” mentioned in (a)–(e) will be used to construct a formal concept of culture.

2. Introductory remarks

2.1. Chronological division

Kroeber and Kluckhohn distinguish three chronological periods of the development of the theoretical thought of cultural anthropology: (1) 1871–1900; (2) 1900–1919 (more precisely, between 1903 and 1916); (3) 1920–1950 (more precisely: 1951). The division offered by Kroeber and Kluckhohn actually covers the years given in brackets and this corresponds with the dates of publication of the mentioned works. Period (1) is called by the researchers “the period of classical anthropology” which was developed under the influence of Edward Tylor’s works; periods (2) and (3) are called “the period of modern anthropology”⁵.

2.2. Definitions

Kroeber and Kluckhohn use the term “definition” in relation to the gathered material; still, KKCC is not a set of definitions in a logical sense, but a lexicon presenting different ways of understanding the notion of “culture” and, in this sense, KKCC presents **apparent definitions** (resp. pseudo-definitions)⁶.

2.3. The analysed material

Kroeber and Kluckhohn declared that the subject of their analysis would be definitions of culture formulated only in English; however, KKCC also includes definitions formulated in French (B18 Dietschy, C1–20 Maquet) and German (F1–6 Menghin, F2–3 Schmidt), and the authors did not provide any justification for that; therefore, the issue will be omitted.

3. Presentation of the material

The team of Kroeber and Kluckhohn gathered approximately 300 definitions of culture⁷; the construction of the KKCC typology used 164⁸. On the basis of contextual analysis of “culture” word’s instances, Kroeber and Kluckhohn distinguished seven definition groups: [1] descriptive, [2] historical, [3] normative, [4] psychological, [5] structural, [6] genetic, [7] incomplete definitions. Within

the groups, there were subgroups introduced providing more details. The definitions were put in chronological order according to the years of particular issues; the first KKSC definition is the offer of Edward B. Tylor from 1871 mentioned in *Primitive Culture* by Edward B. Tylor; the last one is the work of Kluckhohn from 1951, *The Concept of Culture*.

3.1. Denotations

The version of KKCC of Kroeber and Kluckhohn uses Roman numerals to denote the groups; ordinal numbers are Arabic numerals, and the subgroups were denoted by Latin numbers. This publication introduces modifications to provide the text with more clarity and modernity. Types of groups were denoted with capital Latin letters: A, B, C etc. Ordinal numbering was introduced within the groups in the following form: A1, A2, A3, etc. In case of subgroups, the denotation in a form of Arabic numbers with a space: A1–1, A1–2, A1–3, etc., was used. The chronology according to the years of publications was maintained. The offered terminology may seem hermetic to those who do not know Kroeber's and Kluckhohn's book *Culture. A Critical Review...*; therefore, an author's surname was additionally introduced, e.g. definition A1–1 Tylor.

3.2. Methodology

3.2.1. Contextual analysis

The groups (and subgroups), established within KKCC, were created on the basis of the analysis of contexts satisfying the following conditions: (1) lexical and frequential; and (2) thematic. Criterion (1) refers to the instances of specific lexical units in the determined context, while criterion (2) refers to the subject of the context, which is determined on the basis of instances of lexical units from the so-called "auxiliary conceptual network". The detailed criteria adopted for particular groups and subgroups are presented in Table 1. Column I includes names of groups and subgroups as well as their symbolic designations; Column II includes lexical and frequential criteria classifying the particular definitions of "culture" to a relevant group.

Table 1: The criteria organising definition groups distinguished by Kroeber and Kluckhohn

Column I	Column II
Group name	Classifying criteria
Group A: descriptive definitions	
Group A: descriptive definitions	a) culture as a "complex whole", b) listing the features of culture, c) in the definitions of this group there are the following expressions: <i>complex whole, whole, total, everything</i> .
Group B: historical definitions	

Group B historical definitions	a) social heritage, b) social tradition, c) non-biological heritage and intergenerational transmission.
Group C: normative definitions	
Subgroup C1 – rules are emphasized	a) pressure exerted by a group on an individual, b) model nature of life understood as imitation.
Subgroup C2 – values and ideas plus behaviour are emphasized	a) behaviours, b) open actions, c) ideas, d) values.
Group D: psychological definitions	
Subgroup D1 – emphasizing modification of culture as a “tool” solving problems	The influence of Sumner’s theoretical thought in the following categories: a) <i>folkways</i> , b) <i>mores</i> .
Subgroup D2 – learning is emphasized	a) learning of people, b) non-genetic transmission of knowledge and skills.
Subgroup D3 – habits are emphasized	a) custom/tradition as a factor referring to a group, b) habits as a factor referring to an individual.
Subgroup D4 – fully psychological definitions	a) general psychology, b) psychoanalysis, c) social psychology.
Group E: structural definitions	
Group E: structural definitions – emphasizing a model nature and organisation of culture	a) way of organisation of culture, b) components making up the structure of culture, which are specifically system-related.
Group F: genetic definitions	
Subgroup F1 – emphasizing culture as a product or artefact	a) things which become culture, b) factors determining the existence of culture, c) components of culture: material artefact.
Subgroup F2 – ideas are emphasized	a) ideas – immanence, b) ideas – communicability.
Subgroup F3 – symbols are emphasized	a) usage of a symbol in culture, b) definitions of this subgroup use the following words: <i>symbol</i> , <i>project</i> (or equivalents).
Subgroup F4 – other genetic definitions	a) origin of culture, b) listing what culture is not.
Group G: incomplete definitions	
Group G: incomplete definitions	a) all the definitions which could not be classified to other types, b) were formulated between 1900–1950 (1951).

Table 1 presents the method of classification of the particular definitions to

specific groups and subgroups used in KKCC; e.g. group of definitions A – Tylor refers to those definitions of culture in which one can find, in reference to the notion of “culture”, the following expressions: a) complex, whole; b) whole; c) total; d) everything, etc., and which are treated as “auxiliary notions”.

3.2.2. Frequential analysis of KKCC

KKCC was subject to frequential analysis according to the following procedure: the main categories were established (below, items a–q, capital letters), which were expanded in a form of the network of “auxiliary notions” (normal font); subsequently, KKCC was indexed with regard to quantity of instances of “auxiliary notions”, which enabled one to determine a specific value of instances and introduce a generalization in a form of the main notion, which was called a category (see: Diagram 1).

- a) SOCIAL: socially;
- b) BEHAVIOR/behavior: behaviors, behavior–families, behavior–patterns;
- c) PATTERNS: pattern, pattern–creating order, patterning, patterned customs, patterned totality of group, patterned ways of behavior, patterned ways of thinking and acting;
- d) HABITS/habit: habiting, habitual attitudes, habitual behavior, habitual patterns, habitual ways of life, social habituation;
- e) ACTING: interacting, reacting, activity, activities;
- f) HERITAGE: heredity, inherit/inherited, inherits, inheritance;
- g) BELIEFS/belief;
- h) CUSTOMS/custom;
- i) SYMBOL: symbolic action, symbolic behavior, symbolic systems, non–symbolic counterparts [of symbolic systems], symbolic transmission, symbolically communicable, symboling;
- j) SYSTEM/systems;
- k) ATTITUDES: attitudinal relationship, non–attitudinal relationship;
- l) ADJUSTMENTS/adjustment;
- m) KNOWLEDGE;
- n) LANGUAGE;
- o) TRANSMISSION: transmissible results;
- p) INDUSTRIES/industry;
- q) DOING.

Table 2 presents frequential analysis within the frameworks of the offered categories.

Table 2: Frequential analysis of KKCC classification

Categories	Number of uses	Group						
		Gr. A	Gr. B	Gr. C	Gr. D	Gr. E	Gr. F	Gr. G
SOCIAL	58	A2 A3 A7 A8 A13 A16 A17 A18 A20 ———— 9	B1 B1 B4 B6 B8 B9 B9 B9 B11 B12 B13 B14 B15 B16 B20 B22 B22 ———— 17	C1-1 C1-2 C1-4 C1-6 C2-2 C2-3 C2-4 C2-6 ———— 8	D1-1 D1-5 D1-15 D1-16 D1-17 C2-2 D2-3 D2-4 D2-5 D2-6 ———— D3-3 ———— 10	E2 E3 E8 ———— 3	F1-5 F1-7 F1-7 F1-7 F1-9 F1-13 F1-14 F1-1 F2-1 F2-1 F2-8 ———— 11	
Socially	10	A8 A17 ———— 2	B2 B3 B18 ———— 3		D2-2 D2-2 D2-14 D2-16 ———— 4		F1-20 ———— 1	
TOTAL USES IN SOCIAL CATEGORY: 68								
Behaving	NONE							
BEHAVIOR/—our	54	A8 A9 A10 A16 A17 A18 A19 ———— 7	B5 B7 B10 B10 B13 B14 B19 ———— 7	C1-5 C1-6 C1-6 C 1 - 1 1 C1-16 C1-16 C1-18 C2-2 C2-3 C2-4 C2-5 ———— 11	D1-5 D1-6 D1-8 D1-16 D2-6 D2-6 D2-6 D2-9 D 2 - 1 1 D 2 - 1 2 D 2 - 1 4 D2-16 ———— D3-2 ———— 13	E6 E6 ———— 2	F1-5 F1-5 F1-8 F 1 - 1 3 F 1 - 1 6 F1-20 F1-20 F2-7 F2-9 F3-1 F3-5 ———— 11	G4 G5 G7 ———— 3
Behaviors	1					E9		
Behavior—families	1				D1-13			

Behavior-patterns	3				D2-2 D2-2 D2-10			
TOTAL USES IN BEHAVIOR CATEGORY: 59								
PAT-TERNS	22	A9 A10 —— 2	B14 B19 —— 2	C1-6 C1-6 C1-16 C2-4 —— 4	D1-5 D1-16 D2-2 D2-2 D2-7 D2-10 D2-11 D2-12 D3-3 —— 9	E1 —— 1	F1-5 F1-5 F1-7 —— 3	G7 —— 1
Pattern	4			C1-16 C1-16	D1-14	E3		
Pattern-creating order	1				D1-7			
Patterning	1						F1-7	
Patterned customs	1					E8		
Patterned totality of group	1					E10		
Patterned ways of behavior	1		B7					
Patterned ways of thinking and acting	1			C1-17				
TOTAL USES IN PATTERNS CATEGORY: 32								
Habit	2				D3-1		F1-15	

HABITS	19	A1 A4 A7 A7 A7 A10 A14 A14 A17 <hr/> 9	B6 B8 <hr/> 2	C1-4 C1-8 <hr/> 2	D1-6 D1-11 D2-7 D2-13 D3-3 <hr/> 5		F1-3 <hr/> 1	
Habiting	1			C1-5a				
Habitual attitudes	1	A6						
Habitual behaviour	2	A10			D3-2			
Habitual patterns	2					E1	F1-5	
Habitual ways of life	1		B12					
Social habituation	1						F1-7	
TOTAL USES IN HABITS CATEGORY: 29								
ACTING	4	A8		C1-3 C1-17			F4-6	
Interact- ing	3			C2-6	D1-14		F1-8	
Reacting	1				D1-12			
Activity	4	A10a A14			D2-1		F1-8	
Activities	13	A2 A3 A3 A5 A6 A7 A8	B18 B18		D2-1 D2-8	E10	F1-4	
TOTAL USES IN ACTING CATEGORY: 25								
HERIT- AGE	7		B1 B6 B7 B11 B12 B13 B16					

Heredity	4		B9 B9 B9 B15					
Inherit/ inherited	5		B2 B3 B4 B6 B19					
Inherits	1		B13					
Inheritance	4		B14 B16		D2-10		F3-5	
TOTAL USES IN HERITAGE CATEGORY: 21								
Belief	3	A1 A19	B11					
BELIEFS	17	A3 A3 A8 A10a A13 A14 _____ 6	B2 B22 _____ 2	C1-1 C1-2 C1-17 _____ 3	D2-12 _____ 1		F1-4 F1-9 F 2 - 1 0 F3-3 F3-4 _____ 5	
TOTAL USES IN BELIEFS CATEGORY: 20								
Custom	1	A20						
CUS- TOMS	19	A1 A3 A3 A8 A10a A12 A13 A15 _____ 8	B13 _____ 1	C1-2 C1-6 C2-2 _____ 3	D2-5 D2-15 D2-15 D2-15 _____ 4	E2 E8 _____ 2	F3-3 _____ 1	
TOTAL USES IN CUSTOMS CATEGORY: 20								
SYMBOL	10	A6		C1-5a C1-6	D1-6		F1-4 F2-4 F2-5 F3-1 F3-2 F3-3	
Symbolic action	1						F2-11	
Symbolic behavior	1						F1-13	

Symbolic systems	1				D1-6			
Non-symbolic counterparts [of symbolic systems]	1				D1-6			
Symbolic transmission	1						F3-5	
Symbolically communicable	1						F2-4	
Symboling	2						F3-4 F3-4	
TOTAL USES IN SYMBOL CATEGORY: 18								
SYSTEM	6	A2 A11				E1 E3 E7	F2-10	
Systems	9	A8 A15	B21 B21	C2-6	D1-6 D1-7 D2-12		F1-20	
TOTAL USES IN SYSTEM CATEGORY: 15								
ATTITUDES	10	A6		C1-6 C1-18 C2-2	D1-11 D2-7		F1-4 F1-9 F2-10 F3-4	
Attitudinal relationship	1				D4-2			
Non-attitudinal relationships	1				D4-2			
TOTAL USES IN ATTITUDES CATEGORY: 12								

Adjustment	5				D1-6 D1-9		F1-5 F1-10 F4-3	
ADJUSTMENTS	5	A20			D1-2 D1-2 D1-3 D1-4			
TOTAL USES IN ADJUSTMENTS CATEGORY: 10								
KNOWLEDGE	8	A1 A15 A19	B11 B13 B22		D2-12		F2-10	
TOTAL USES IN KNOWLEDGE CATEGORY: 8								
LANGUAGE	7	A2 A9 A15	B22		D2-12		F3-3	G2
TOTAL USES IN LANGUAGE CATEGORY: 7								
TRANSMISSION	3		B5		D1-2		F3-5	
Transmissible results	1						F1-16	
TOTAL USES IN TRANSMISSION CATEGORY: 4								
Industry	BRAK							
INDUSTRIES	3	A2 A5 A12						
TOTAL USES IN INDUSTRIES CATEGORY: 3								
DOING	1			C1-2				
TOTAL USES IN DOING CATEGORY: 1								

Results of the analysis:

68 – SOCIAL; 59 – BEHAVIOR; 32 – PATTERNS; 29 – HABITS; 25 – ACTING; 21 – HERITAGE; 20 – BELIEFS; 20 – CUSTOMS; 18 – SYMBOL; 15 – SYSTEM; 12 – ATTITUDES; 10 – ADJUSTMENTS; 8 – KNOWLEDGE; 7 – LANGUAGE; 4 – TRANSMISSION; 3 – INDUSTRIES; 1 – DOING.

Diagram 1 constitutes a summary of the frequential analysis from Table 1.

Diagram 1: The results of the frequential analysis of KKCC organised according to categories.



Diagram 1 is a curve on which there are numbers of instances of “auxiliary notions” in the particular category; the names of categories were written in capital letters on diagram 1.

4. Interpretation of Diagram 1

Diagram 1 presents the result of the frequential analysis in a form of downward trend from the value of 68 to the value of 1. Categories found in 68–20 range, in the studies of culture, would be called sociological and ethnographic (resp. anthropological); while categories found in 18–1 range, would be called structural and semiotic. Nevertheless, one cannot say that this is the case of two different representations of the notion of “culture”. Among the categories distinguished in KKCC, there are: (1) normative cohesion – KKCC is a set of definitions; (2) thematic cohesion – KKCC is a set of definitions of culture; (3) paradigmatic and syntagmatic coherence – categories distinguished within KKCC are interrelated paradigmatically and syntagmatically.

Therefore, the following assumptions are made:

- (1) KKCC is a coherent conceptual structure – subject unity;
- (2) KKCC is *de facto* a conceptual representation of one theory of culture;
- (3) Within KKCC, the notion of “culture” is definable;

5. Discussion

In order to improve the text, the following denotations were introduced:

- a) Conceptual structure – \mathfrak{B} ;
- b) Paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations within structure $\mathfrak{B} - \mathbb{R}$;

5.1. Coherence of \mathfrak{B}

Coherence of \mathfrak{B} is determined by a possibility of detecting regularity. In this sense, coherence of \mathfrak{B} is equivalent to the notion of “paradigm” (Thomas Khun) or “type of discourse” (Michel Foucault). Searching for regularities is relations \mathbb{R} , which create a conceptual framework of \mathfrak{B} . One of the ways of showing coherence

of \mathfrak{B} is developing a material repository, e.g. in a form of text corpus or other database which can be used for contextual and frequential analyses in order to identify structural regularities and develop a category on this basis. Indexing the repository, as the result of contextual and frequential analyses, transforms it into knowledge representation⁹ which can be formally presented in a form of “category framework” united with relations \mathbb{R} . Only \mathfrak{B} developed in that way can be further analysed with the use of Formal Concept Analysis (hereinafter referred to as FCA).

5.2. Formal Concept Analysis – FCA

FCA method was broadly discussed by Rudolf Wille in his work *Restructuring Lattice Theory*¹⁰. The advantage of FCA concept analysis is the fact that one can use this method in relational structuring of a large amount of data and present the results of this relational structuring graphically, which is called a framework. The advantages resulting from the possibility of visual presentation of conceptual structure were mentioned in section 1.

5.2.1. FCA terminology

FCA terminology goes as follows¹¹:

- a) elements of one type are called objects;
- b) elements of different types which can be connected by means of relation \mathbb{R} with an object in some way are called attributes;
- c) a closed set of objects creates a formal object if and only if adding new attributes to it is impossible or if the process of adding new attributes is finished;
- d) all the identified attributes of an object are called formal attributes;
- e) a system of formal objects and formal attributes together with relations \mathbb{R} make up a formal context (see: Table 4);
- f) formal object and formal attribute make up a formal concept if and only if they are a closed class;
- g) a pair of formal objects makes up an extension of a formal concept and this concerns a semantic range;
- h) a pair of formal objects of an attribute makes up an intension of a formal concept and this concerns qualitative properties.

5.2.2. “Conceptual defining”

“Conceptual defining” means proceedings leading to showing or establishing relation \mathbb{R} between objects and attributes in order to “construct” a formal concept. Relations \mathbb{R} can be either actually existing or hypostatic, which in part explains their “semantic dynamism”. The ontological status of relation \mathbb{R} will be discussed in other study.

5.3. KKCC formal concept of culture

Table 3 presents relation space within KKCC categories. Referring to FCA terminology, categories distinguished within KKCC are objects (column I); while “auxiliary notions” are attributes (Column II). “X” marking stands for relations of objects and their attributes.

Table 3: Relations of categories in the classification of culture by Kroeber and Kluckhohn

I	II						
	ATTRIBUTES						
OBJECTS	Social	Behavior	Patterns	Acting	Customs	System	Attitudes
BEHAVIOR			X				
PATTERNS		X		X	X		
HABITS	X	X	X				X
SYMBOL		X				X	

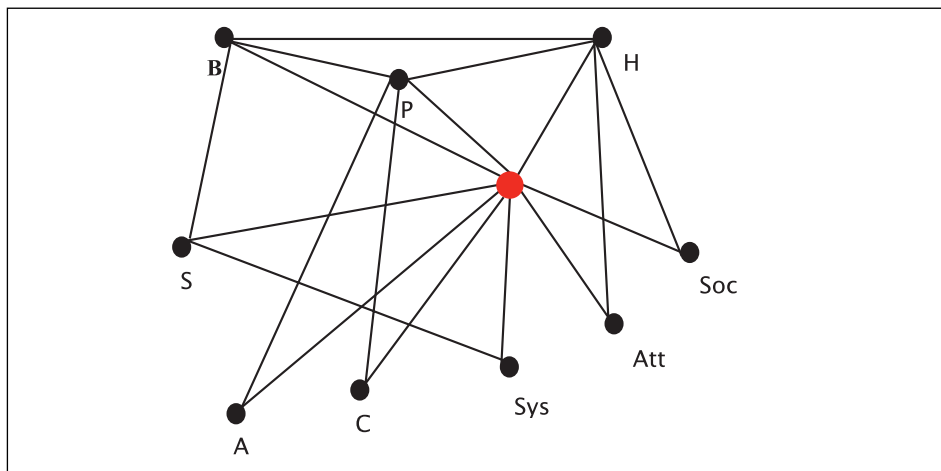
Table 3 presents relations between objects and their attributes which determines the relation space of the formal concept of culture in KKCC. There are formal objects in the relation space. A pair of formal objects, e.g. BEHAVIOR and HABITS and their attributes make up a formal context of the particular pair. The formal context of BEHAVIOR and HABITS pair is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: The formal context of BEHAVIOR and HABITS pair in KKCC

Concept A		Concept B	
			Social
BEHAVIOR	Patterns	HABITS	Behavior
			Patterns
			Attitudes

The formal context which is presented in Table 4 can be the subject of further analyses. However, these analyses are confined to a framework. Figure 1, created on the basis of Table 3, presents visualisation of this kind of framework.

Figure 1: Framework of the notion of “culture” in the classification of KKCC



Abbreviations: **B** – Behavior; **S** – Symbol; **A** – Acting; **C** – Custom; **Sys** – System; **Att** – Attitudes; **Soc** – Social; **H** – Habits; **P** – Patterns

All the normative and philosophical or sociological and ethnographic (resp. anthropological) analyses of culture which point of departure is the classification of KKCC will not go beyond the framework presented in Figure 1.

6. Summary

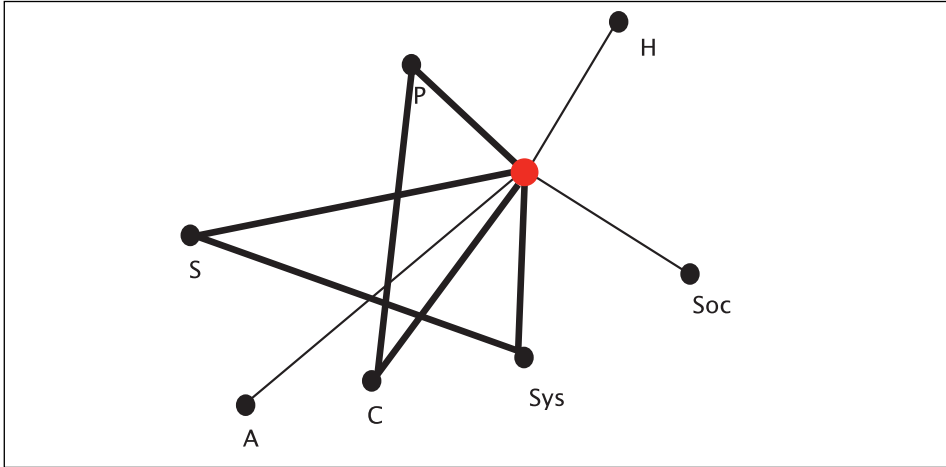
Definitions gathered by the team of Kroeber and Kluckhohn can be structured and presented in a form of KKCC formal concept of culture. Thanks to using contextual, frequential and FCA analyses it was possible to develop the visualisation of this concept in a form of framework (Figure 1).

Furthermore, the used methods enabled one to formulate the following conclusions: (1) the notion of “culture” is definable only in a coherent conceptual and theoretical paradigm; (2) visualisation of the framework of KKCC concept of culture reveals the direction of analyses and paradigmatic and syntagmatic changes; (3) any deliberations based epistemologically and ontologically on KKCC will not go beyond the framework presented in Figure 1.

The previous attempts of defining the notion of “culture” did not consider the way the notion of “culture” is constructed in discourse, and its actual explanatory power; they were not of holistic nature which results from a lack of relevant analytical methods. This issue is presented by the visualisation of the framework of the notion of “culture” in Figure 2. This framework was constructed according to the method described in the article. The analysis only used the definitions of culture by Kluckhohn. This issue is more visible when the visualisation of the

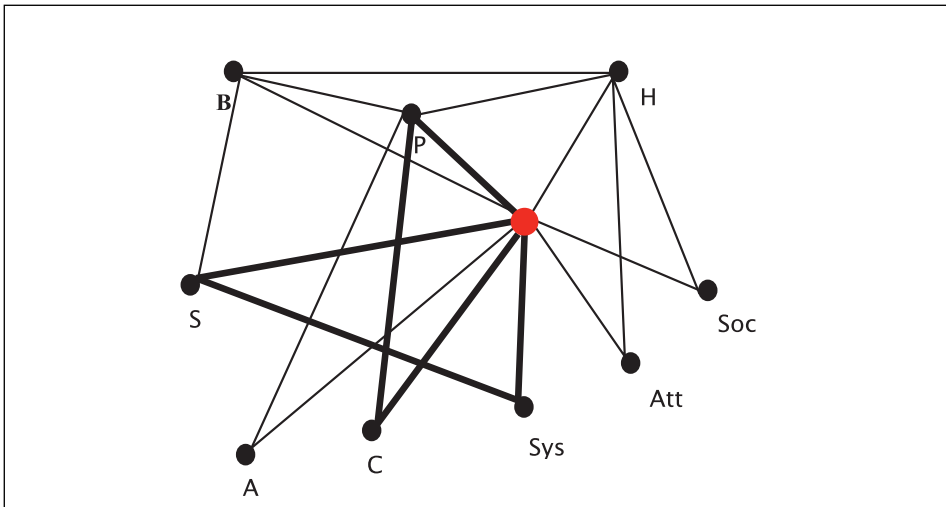
framework of the notion of “culture” from Figure 2 and the framework from Figure 1 are superimposed on each other.

Figure 2: The framework of the notion of “culture” by Kluckhohn



Abbreviations: S – Symbol; A – Acting; C – Custom; Sys – System; Soc – Social; H – Habits; P – Patterns

Figure 3: The framework of the notion of “culture” by Kluckhohn and the framework of the notion of “culture” in the classification of KKCC overlapping each other



Abbreviations: B – Behavior; S – Symbol; A – Acting; C – Custom; Sys – System; Att – Attitudes; Soc – Social; H – Habits; P – Patterns

The visualisations presented in Figures 2 and 3 show limitations of the definition of culture, which were not assumed by Kluckhohn purposefully. These limitations result *implicite* from the coherence of the conceptual and theoretical paradigm within the specific discourse.

Integration of the methods of analysing the classification of KKCC, presented in this article, shows another perspective of Kroeber-Kluckhohn lexicon. It seems that re-opening of the discussion on the possibilities of defining the notion of “culture” is possible, still, first, it should be planned methodologically by developing preliminary conditions.

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Supplement¹²

Group A Descriptive definitions

Table 1: Descriptive Definitions – Group A

A1 Tylor, 1871: 1	Culture, or civilization, [...] is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.
A2 Wissler, 1920: 3	[...] all social activities in the broadest sense, such as language, marriage, property system, etiquette, industries, art, etc.
A3 Dixon, 1928: 3	(a) The sum of all [a people's] activities, customs, and beliefs.
A4 Dixon, 1928: 3	(b) That totality of a people's products and activities, social and religious order, customs and beliefs which [...] we have been accustomed to call their civilization.
A5 Benedict, (1929) ¹³ , 1931: 806	[...] the complex whole which includes all the habits acquired by man as a member of society.
A6 Burkitt, 1929: 237	[...] the sum of the activities of a people as shown by their industries and other discoverable characteristics.
A7 Bose, 1929: 23	We can now define Culture as the crystallized phase of man's life activities. It includes certain forms of action closely associated with particular objects and institutions; habitual attitudes of mind transferable from one person to another with the aid of mental images conveyed by speech-symbols. [...] Culture also includes certain material objects and techniques [...].
A8 Boas, 1930: 79	Culture embraces all the manifestations of social habits of a community, the reactions of the individual as affected by the habits of the group in which he lives, and the products of human activities as determined by these habits.
A9 Hiller, 1933: 3	The beliefs, systems of thought, practical arts, manner of living, customs, traditions, and all socially regularized ways of acting are also called culture. So defined, culture includes all the activities which develop in the association between persons or which are learned from a social group, but excludes those specific forms of behavior which are predetermined by inherited nature.
A10 Winston, 1933: 25	Culture may be considered as the totality of material and non-material traits, together with their associated behavior patterns, plus the language uses which a society possesses.
A11 Linton, 1936: 288	[...] the sum total of ideas, conditioned emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behavior which the members of that society have acquired through instruction or imitation and which they share to a greater or less degree.

A12 Lowie, 1937: 3	By culture we understand the sum total of what an individual acquires from his society – those beliefs, customs, artistic norms, food habits, and crafts which come to him not by his own creative activity but as a legacy from the past, conveyed by formal or informal education.
A13 Panunzio, 1939: 106; or D1	It [culture] is the complex whole of the system of concepts and usages, organizations, skills, and instruments by means of which mankind deals with physical, biological, and human nature in satisfaction of its needs.
A14 Murray, 1943: 346	The various industries of a people, as well as art, burial customs, etc., which throw light upon their life and thought.
A15 Malinowski, 1944: 36	It [culture] obviously is the integral whole consisting of implements and consumers' goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs.
A16 Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a: 82	Culture is that complex whole which includes artifacts, beliefs, art, all the other habits acquired by man as a member of society and all products of human activity as determined by these habits.
A17 Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a: 96	[...] culture in general as a descriptive concept means the accumulated treasury of human creation: books, paintings, buildings, and the like; the knowledge of ways of adjusting to our surroundings, both human and physical; language, customs, and systems of etiquette, ethics, religion, and morals that have been built up through the ages.
A18 Bidney, 1947: 376	[...] functionally and secondarily, culture refers to the acquired forms of technique, behavior, feeling and thought of individuals within society and to the social institutions in which they cooperate for the attainment of common ends.
A19 Kroeber, 1948a: 8–9	[...] the mass of learned and transmitted motor reactions, habits, techniques, ideas, and values – and the behavior they induce – is what constitutes culture. Culture is the special and exclusive product of men, and is their distinctive quality in the cosmos [...]. Culture [...] is at one and the same time the totality of products of social men, and a tremendous force affecting all human beings, socially and individually.
A20 Herskovits, 1948: 154	Culture [...] refers to that part of the total setting [of human existence] which includes the material objects of human manufacture, techniques, social orientations, points of view, and sanctioned ends that are the immediate conditioning factors underlying behavior.
A21 Herskovits, 1948: 625	[...] culture is essentially a construct that describes the total body of belief, behavior, knowledge, sanctions, values, and goals that mark the way of life of any people. That is, though a culture may be treated by the student as capable of objective description, in the final analysis it comprises the things that people have, the things they do, and what they think.

A22 Thurnwald, 1950: 104	[Culture:] The totality of usages and adjustments which relate to family, political formation, economy, labor, morality, custom, law, and ways of thought. These are bound to the life of the social entities in which they are practiced and perish with these; whereas civilizational horizons are not lost.
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Group B Historical Definitions

Table 2: Historical Definitions – Group B

B1 Park and Burgess 1921: 72	The culture of a group is the sum total and organization of the social heritages which have acquired a social meaning because of racial temperament and of the historical life of the group.
B2 Sapir, 1921: 221	[...] culture, that is, [...] the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our lives [...].
B3 Sapir, 1924a: 402 (1949: 308–309)	[Culture is technically used by the ethnologist and culture historian to embody] any socially inherited element in the life of man, material and spiritual.
B4 Tozzer, 1925: 6	[...] the cultural, that which we inherit by social contact. [...]
B5 Myres, 1927: 16	[...] „culture” is not a state or condition only, but a process; as in agriculture or horticulture we mean not the condition of the land but the whole round of the farmer’s year, and all that he does in it; „culture”, then, is what remains of men’s past, working on their present, to shape their future.
B6 Bose, 1929: 14	[...] we may describe culture as including such behaviour as is common among a group of men and which is capable of transmission from generation to generation or from one country to another.
B7 Malinowski, 1931: 621	This social heritage is the key concept of cultural anthropology. It is usually called culture [...] Culture comprises inherited artifacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits, and values.
B8 Winston, 1933: 4	[...] we may regard culture as the sum total of the possessions and the patterned ways of behavior which have become part of the heritage of a group.
B9 Lowie, 1934: 3	The whole of social tradition. It includes, as [...] Tylor put it, „capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” [...].
B10 Linton, 1936: 78	[...] the social heredity is called culture. As a general term, <i>culture</i> means the total social heredity of mankind, while as a specific term <i>a culture</i> means a particular strain of social heredity.
B11 Mead, 1937: 17	Culture means the whole complex of traditional behavior which has been developed by the human race and is successively learned by each generation. A culture is less precise. It can mean the forms of traditional behavior which are characteristic of a given society, or of a group of societies, or of a certain race, or of a certain area, or of a certain period of time.

B12 Sutherland and Woodward, 1940: 19	Culture includes everything that can be communicated from one generation to another. The culture of a people is their social heritage, a „complex whole” which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, techniques of tool fabrication and use, and method of communication.
B13 Davis and Dollard, 1940: 4	[...] the difference between groups is in their cultures, their social heritage. Men behave differently as adults because their cultures are different; they are born into different habitual ways of life, and these they must follow because they have no choice.
B14 Groves and Moore, 1940: 14	Culture is thus the social heritage, the fund of accumulated knowledge and customs through which the person „inherits” most of his behavior and ideas.
B15 Angyal, 1941: 187	Culture can be defined as an organized body of behavior patterns which is transmitted by social inheritance, that is, by tradition, and which is characteristic of a given area or group of people.
B16 Kluckhohn, 1942: 2	Culture consists in those abstracted elements of action and reaction which may be traced to the influence of one or more strains of social heredity.
B17 Jacobs and Stern, 1947: 2	Humans, as distinct from other animals have a culture – that is, a social heritage – transmitted not biologically through the germ cells but independently of genetic inheritance.
B18 Dietschy, 1947: 121	C'est cette perpétuation des données de l'histoire qui nous sont transmises d'abord par la génération qui nous précède que nous nommons civilisation.
B19 Kroeber, 1948a: 253	[...] culture might be defined as all the activities and non-physiological products of human personalities that are not automatically reflex or instinctive. That in turn means, in biological and physiological parlance, that culture consists of conditioned or learned activities (plus the manufactured results of these); and the idea of learning brings us back again to what is socially transmitted, what is received from tradition, what „is acquired by man as a member of societies”. So perhaps how it comes to be is really more distinctive of culture than what it is.
B20 Parsons, 1949: 8	Culture [...] consists in those patterns relative to behavior and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes.
B21 Kluckhohn, 1949a: 17	By „culture” anthropology means the total life way of a people, the social legacy the individual acquires from his group.
B22 Henry, 1949: 218	I would define culture as the individual's or group's acquired response systems. [...] the conception of culture as response systems acquired through the process of domestication [...].
B23 Radcliffe-Brown, 1949: 510–511	As a sociologist the reality to which I regard the word <i>culture</i> as applying is the process of cultural tradition, the process by which in a given social group or social class language, beliefs, ideas, aesthetic tastes, knowledge, skills and usages of many kinds are handed on („tradition” means „handing on”) from person to person and from one generation to another.

Group C Normative Definitions

Tabela 3: Normative Definitions – Subgroup C1: Emphasis on rule or way

C1-1 Wissler, 1929: 15, 341	The mode of life followed by the community or the tribe is regarded as a culture [...] [It] includes all standardized social procedures [...] a tribal culture is [...] the aggregate of standardized beliefs and procedures followed by the tribe.
C1-2 Bogardus, 1930: 336 or gr. B (1. sentence)	Culture is the sum total of the ways of doing and thinking, past and present, of a social group. It is the sum of the traditions, or handed-down beliefs, and of customs, or handed-down procedures.
C1-3 Young, 1934: xiii or gr. F1 (1. sentence) or gr. B (3. sentence)	The general term for these common and accepted ways of thinking and acting is <i>culture</i> . This term covers all the folkways which men have developed from living together in groups. Furthermore, culture comes down to us from the past.
C1-4 Klineberg, 1935: 255 or gr. A (2. sentence)	[Culture] applies to that whole „way of life” which is determined by the social environment. To paraphrase Tylor it includes all the capabilities and habits acquired by an individual as a member of a particular society.
C1-5 Firth, 1939: 18	They [anthropologists] consider the acts of individuals not in isolation but as members of society and call the sum total of these modes of behavior „culture”.
C1-6 Lynd, 1940: 19	[...] all the things that a group of people inhabiting a common geographical area do, the ways they do things and the ways they think and feel about things, their material tools and their values and symbols.
C1-7 Gillin and Gillin, 1942: 20	The customs, traditions, attitudes, ideas, and symbols which govern social behavior show a wide variety. Each group, each society has a set of behavior patterns (overt and covert) which are more or less common to the members, which are passed down from generation to generation, and taught to the children, and which are constantly liable to change. These common patterns we call the culture [...].
C1-8 Simmons, 1942: 387	[...] the culture or the commonly recognized mores [...].
C1-9 Linton, 1945b: 203	The culture of a society is the way of life of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share, and transmit from generation to generation.
C1-10 Linton, 1945a: 30	[Culture] refers to the total way of life of any society [...].

C1-11 Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a: 84	[...] those historically created selective processes which channel men's reactions both to internal and to external stimuli.
C1-12 Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a: 97	By culture we mean all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and nonrational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men.
C1-13 Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a: 91	Culture is [...] a set of ready-made definitions of the situation which each participant only slightly retailors in his own idiomatic way.
C1-14 Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946: xviii	A culture is any given people's way of life, as distinct from the life-ways of other peoples.
C1-15 Herskovits, 1948: 29	A culture is the way of life of a people; while a society is the organized aggregate of individuals who follow a given way of life. In still simpler terms a society is composed of people; the way they behave is their culture.
C1-16 Lasswell, 1948: 203	<i>Culture</i> is the term used to refer to the way that the members of a group act in relation to one another and to other groups.
C1-17 Bennett and Tumin, 1949: 209	Culture: the behavior patterns of all groups, called the „way of life“: an observable feature of all human groups; the fact of „culture“ is common to all; the particular pattern of culture differs among all. „A culture“: the specific pattern of behavior which distinguishes any society from all others.
C1-18 Frank, 1948: 171	[...] a term or concept for the totality of these patterned ways or thinking and acting which are specific modes and acts of conduct of discrete individuals who, under the guidance of parents and teachers and the associations of their fellows, have developed a way of life expressing those beliefs and those actions.
C1-19 Titiev, 1949: 45	[...] the term includes those objects or tools, attitudes, and forms of behavior whose use is sanctioned under given conditions by the members of a particular society.
C1-20 Maquet, 1949: 324	La culture, c'est la manière de vivre du groupe.
C1-21 Kluckhohn, 1951a: 86	„A culture“ refers to the distinctive way of life of a group of people, their complete „design for living“.
C1-22 Sears, 1939: 78-79	The way in which the people in any group do things, make and use tools, get along with one another and with other groups, the words they use and the way they use them to express thoughts, and the thoughts they think – all of these we call the group's culture.

Tabela 4: Normative Definitions – Subgroup C2: Emphasis on ideas or values plus behavior

C2-1 Carver, 1935: 283	Culture is the dissipation of surplus human energy in the exuberant exercise or the higher human faculties.
C2-2 Thomas, 1937: 8	[Culture is] the material and social values of any group of people, whether savage or civilized (their institutions, customs, attitudes, behavior reactions) [...].
C2-3 Bidney, 1942: 452	A culture consists of the acquired or cultivated behavior and thought of individuals within a society, as well as of the intellectual, artistic, and social ideals which the members of the society profess and to which they strive to conform.
C2-4 Bidney, 1946: 535	An integral or holistic concept of culture comprises the acquired or cultivated behavior, feeling, and thought of individuals within a society as well as the patterns or forms of intellectual, social, and artistic ideals which human societies have professed historically.
C2-5 Bidney, 1947: 376	[...] genetically, integral culture refers to the education or cultivation of the whole man considered as an organism and not merely to the mental aspect of his nature or behavior.
C2-6 Sorokin, 1947: 313	[The social aspect of the superorganic universe is made up of the interacting individuals, of the forms of interaction, of unorganized and organized groups, and of the interindividual and intergroup relationships [...]]. The cultural aspect of the superorganic universe consists of meanings, values, norms, their interaction and relationships, their integrated and unintegrated groups (systems and congeries) as they are objectified through overt actions and other vehicles in the empirical sociocultural universe.

Group D Psychological Definitions

Table 5: Psychological Definitions – Subgroup D1: Emphasis on adjustment, on culture as a problem-solving device

D1-1 Small, 1905: 344–345	„Culture” [...] is the total equipment of technique, mechanical, mental, and moral, by use of which the people of a given period try to attain their ends [...] „culture” consists of the means by which men promote their individual or social ends.
D1-2 Sumner and Keller, 1927: 46–47	The sum of men’s adjustments to their life conditions is their culture, or civilization. These adjustments [...] are attained only through the combined action of variation, selection, and transmission.
D1-3 Dawson, 1928: xiii–xiv or C1.	A culture is a common way of life – a particular adjustment of man to his natural surroundings and his economic needs.

D1-4 Keller, 1931: 26	No civilization (sum or synthesis of mental adjustments) of any importance can be developed by the individual or by the limited group in isolation. [...] Culture is developed when the pressure of numbers on land reaches a degree at which life exerts stress on man.
D1-5 Young, 1934: 18-19	These folkways, these continuous methods of handling problems and social situations, we call culture. Culture consists of the whole mass of learned behavior or patterns of any group as they are received from a previous group or generation and as they are added to by this group, and then passed on to other groups or to the next generation.
D1-6 Lundberg, 1939: 179	Through this process of inventing and transmitting symbols and symbolic systems and technologies as well as their non-symbolic counterparts in concrete tools and instruments, man's experience and his adjustment technique become cumulative. This societal behavior, together with its man-made products, in their interaction with other aspects of human environment, creates a constantly changing series of phenomena and situations to which man must continually adjust through the development of further habits achieved by the same process. The concrete manifestations of these processes are usually described by the vague word <i>culture</i> .
D1-7 Panunzio, 1939: 106	[...] culture is a man-made or superorganic order, self-generating and dynamic in its operation, a pattern-creating order, objective, humanly useful, cumulative, and self-perpetuating. It is the complex whole of the systems of concepts and usages, organizations, skills, and instruments by means of which mankind deals with physical, biological, and human nature in the satisfaction of its needs.
D1-8 Ford, 1939: 137 or C1.	Culture, in the form of regulations governing human behavior, provides solutions to societal problems.
D1-9 Blumenthal, 1941: 9	Culture consists of all results (products) of human learned effort at adjustment.
D1-10 Ford, 1942: 555, 557	Culture consists of traditional ways of solving problems [...]. Culture [...] is composed of responses which have been accepted because they have met with success; in brief, culture consists of learned problem-solutions.
D1-11 Young, 1942: 35	Culture consists of common and more or less standardized ideas, attitudes, and habits which have developed with respect to man's recurrent and continuous needs.
D1-12 Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946: xviii-xix	There are certain recurrent and inevitable human problems, and the ways in which man can meet them are limited by his biological equipment and by certain facts of the external world. But to most problems there are a variety of possible solutions. Any culture consists of the set of habitual and traditional ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting that are characteristic of the ways a particular society meets its problems at a particular point in time.

D1–13 Morris, 1946: 205	The culture of a society may be said to consist of the characteristic ways in which basic needs of individuals are satisfied in that society (that is, to consist of the particular response sequences of various behavior–families which occur in the society) [...].
D1–14 Morris, 1948: 43	A culture is a scheme for living by which a number of interacting persons favor certain motivations more than others and favor certain ways rather than others for satisfying these motivations. The word to be underlined is <i>favor</i> . For preference is an essential of living things. [...] To live at all is to act preferentially – to prefer some goals rather than others and some ways of reaching preferred goals rather than other ways. A culture is such a pattern of preferences held by a group of persons and transmitted in time.
D1–15 Turney–High, 1949: 5	In its broadest sense, culture is coterminous with everything that is artificial, useful, and social employed by man to maintain his equilibrium as a biopsychological organism.
D1–16 Gorer, 1949: 2	[...] a culture, in the anthropological sense of the word: that is to say, shared patterns of learned behaviour by means of which their fundamental biological drives are transformed into social needs and gratified through the appropriate institutions, which also define the permitted and the forbidden.
D1–17 Piddington, 1950: 3–4	The culture of a people may be defined as the sum total of the material and intellectual equipment whereby they satisfy their biological and social needs and adapt themselves to their environment.

Table 6: Psychological Definitions – Subgroup D2: Emphasis on learning

D2–1 Wissler, 1916: 195	Cultural phenomena are conceived of as including all the activities of man acquired by learning[...]. Cultural phenomena may, therefore, be defined as the acquired activity complexes of human groups.
D2–2 Hart and Pantzer, 1925: 703, 705	Culture consists in behavior patterns transmitted by imitation or tuition. [...] Culture includes all behavior patterns socially acquired and socially transmitted.
D2–3 Miller and Dollard, 1941: 5 or C1	Culture, as conceived by social scientists, is a statement of the design of the human maze, of the type of reward involved, and of what responses are to be rewarded.
D2–4 Kluckhohn, 1942: 2	Culture consists in all transmitted social learning.
D2–5 LaPiere, 1946: 68	A culture is the embodiment in customs, traditions, institutions, etc., of the learning of a social group over the generations. It is the sum of what the group has learned about living together under the particular circumstances, physical and biological, in which it has found itself.
D2–6 Benedict, 1947: 13	[...] <i>culture</i> is the sociological term for learned behavior, behavior which in man is not given at birth, which is not determined by his germ cells as is the behavior of wasps or the social ants, but must be learned anew from grown people by each new generation.

D2-7 Young, 1947: 7	The term refers to the more or less organized and persistent patterns of habits, ideas, attitudes, and values which are passed on to the newborn child from his elders or by others as he grows up.
D2-8 Opler, 1947: 8 or D1	A culture can be thought of as the sum total of learned techniques, ideas, and activities which a group uses in the business of living.
D2-9 A. Davis, 1948: 59	[...] culture [...] may be defined as all behavior learned by the individual in conformity with a group [...].
D2-10 Hoebel, 1949: 3, 4	Culture is the sum total of learned behavior patterns which are characteristic of the members of a society and which are, therefore, not the result of biological inheritance.
D2-11 Haring, 1949: 29	Cultural behavior denotes all human functioning that conforms to patterns learned from other persons.
D2-12 Wilson i Kolb, 1949: 57	Culture consists of the patterns and products of learned behavior – etiquette, language, food habits, religious beliefs, the use of artifacts, systems of knowledge, and so on.
D2-13 Hockett, 1950: 113	Culture is those habits which humans have because they have been learned (not necessarily without modification) from other humans.
D2-14 Steward, 1950: 98	Culture is generally understood to mean learned modes of behavior which are socially transmitted from one generation to another within particular societies and which may be diffused from one society to another.
D2-15 Slotkin, 1950: 76	By definition, customs are categories of actions learned from others. [...] A culture is the body of customs found in a society and anyone who acts according to these customs is a participant in the culture. From a biological viewpoint, its culture is the means by which a society adjusts to its environment. [...] Artifacts are not included in culture.
D2-16 Aberle and others, 1950: 102	Culture is socially transmitted behavior conceived as an abstraction from concrete social groups.

Table 7: Psychological Definitions – Subgroup D3: Emphasis on habit

D3-1 Tozzer, data missing (before 1930)	Culture is the rationalization of habit.
D3-2 Young, 1934: 592 (Glossary)	Culture: forms of habitual behavior common to a group, community, or society. It is made up of material and non-aterial traits.
D3-3 Murdock, 1941: 141	[...] culture, the traditional patterns of action which constitute a major portion of the established habits with which an individual enters any social situation.

Table 8: Psychological Definitions – Subgroup D4: Purely psychological definitions

D4-1 Roheim, 1934: 216	By culture we shall understand the sum of all sublimations, all substitutes, or reaction formations, in short, everything in society that inhibits impulses or permits their distorted satisfaction.
D4-2 Katz i Schanck, 1938: 551	Society refers to the common objective relationships (non-attitudinal) between man and man and between men and their material world. It is often confused with culture, the attitudinal relationship between men [...]. Culture is to society what personality is to the organism. Culture sums up the particular institutional content of a society. Culture is what happens to individuals within the context of a particular society, and [...] these happenings are personal changes.

Group E Structural Definitions

Table 9: Structural Definitions – Group E:

E1 Willey, 1929: 207	A culture is a system of interrelated and interdependent habit patterns of response.
E2 Dollard, 1939: 50	<i>Culture</i> is the name given to [the] abstracted [from men] inter-correlated customs of a social group.
E3 Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1940: 63	A culture consists of inventions, or culture traits, integrated into a system, with varying degrees of correlation between the parts. [...] Both material and non-material traits, organized around the satisfaction of the basic human needs, give us our social institutions, which are the heart of culture. The institutions of a culture are interlinked to form a pattern which is unique for each society.
E4 Redfield, 1940 After: Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1940: 25	An organization of conventional understandings manifest in act and artifact, which, persisting through tradition, characterizes a human group.
E5 Linton, 1945a: 5	a) [...] and cultures are, in the last analysis, nothing more than the organized repetitive responses of a society's members.
E6 Linton, 1945a: 32	b) A culture is the configuration of learned behavior and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.
E7 Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a: 98	A culture is a historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs for living, which tends to be shared by all or specially designated members of a group.
E8 Gillin, 1948: 191	Culture consists of patterned and functionally interrelated customs common to specifiable human beings composing specifiable social groups or categories.

E9 Coutu, 1949: 358	Culture is one of the most inclusive of all the configurations we call interactional fields – the way of life of a whole people like that of China, western Europe, and the United States. Culture is to a population aggregate what personality is to the individual; and the ethos is to the culture what self is to a personality, the core of most probable behaviors.
E10 Turney–High, 1949: 5	Culture is the working and integrated summation of the non–instinctive activities of human beings. It is the functioning, patterned totality of group–accepted and –transmitted inventions, material and non–material.

Group F Genetic Definitions

Table 10: Genetic Definitions – Subgroup F1: Emphasis on culture as a product or artifact

F1–1 Groves, 1928: 23	A product of human association.
F1–2 Willey, 1927b: 500	[...] that part of the environment which man has himself created and to which he must adjust himself.
F1–3 Folsom, 1928: 15	Culture is the sum total of all that is artificial. It is the complete outfit of tools, and habits of living, which are invented by man and then passed on from one generation to another.
F1–4 Folsom, 1931: 476–477	Culture is not any part of man or his inborn equipment. It is the sum total of all that man has produced: tools, symbols, most organizations, common activities, attitudes, and beliefs. It includes both physical products and immaterial products. It is everything of a relatively permanent character that we call artificial, everything which is passed down from one generation to the next rather than acquired by each generation for itself: it is, in short, civilization.
F1–5 Winston, 1933: 209	Culture in a vital sense is the product of social interaction. [...] Human behavior is cultural behavior to the degree that individual habit patterns are built up in adjustment to patterns already existing as an integral part of the culture into which the individual is born.
F1–6 Menghin, 1934: 68	Kultur ist das Ergebnis der geistigen Betätigung des Menschen, objectivierter, stoffgebundener Geist.
F1–7 Warden, 1936: 22–23	Those patterns of group life which exist only by virtue of the operation of the threefold mechanism – invention, communication, and social habituation – belong to the cultural order [...]. The cultural order is superorganic and possesses its own modes of operation and its own types of patterning. It cannot be reduced to bodily mechanisms or to the biosocial complex upon which it rests. The conception of culture as a unique type of social organization seems to be most readily explicable in terms of the current doctrine of emergent evolution.

F1-8 Sorokin, 1937: I: 3	In the broadest sense [culture] may mean the sum total of everything which is created or modified by the conscious or unconscious activity of two or more individuals interacting with one another or conditioning one another's behavior.
F1-9 Reuter, 1939: 191	The term <i>culture</i> is used to signify the sumtotal of human creations, the organized result of human experience up to the present time. Culture includes all that man has made in the form of tools, weapons, shelter, and other material goods and processes, all that he has elaborated in the way of attitudes and beliefs, ideas and judgments, codes, and institutions, arts and sciences, philosophy and social organization. Culture also includes the interrelations among these and other aspects of human as distinct from animal life. Everything, material and immaterial, created by man, in the process of living, comes within the concept of culture.
F1-10 Bernard, 1941: 8	Culture consists of all products (results) of organismic nongenetic efforts at adjustment.
F1-11 Dodd, 1941: 8 or D2	Culture consists of all products (results) of interhuman learning.
F1-12 Hart, 1941: 6	Culture consists of all phenomena that have been directly or indirectly caused (produced) by both nongenetic and nonmechanical communication of phenomena from one individual to other.
F1-13 Bernard, 1942: 699	The term <i>culture</i> is employed in this book in the sociological sense, signifying anything that is man-made, whether a material object, overt behavior, symbolic behavior, or social organization.
F1-14 Young, 1942: 36	A precipitate of man's social life.
F1-15 Huntington, 1945: 7-8	By culture we mean every object, habit, idea, institution, and mode of thought or action which man produces or creates and then passes on to others, especially to the next generation.
F1-16 Carr, 1945: 137	The accumulated transmissible results of past behavior in association.
F1-17 Bidney, 1947: 387	[...] human culture in general may be understood as the dynamic process and product of the self-cultivation of human nature as well as of the natural environment, and involves the development of selected potentialities of nature for the attainment of individual and social ends of living.
F1-18 Herskovits, 1948: 17	A short and useful definition is: „Culture is the man-made part of the environment”.
F1-19 Kluckhohn, 1949a: 17	[...] culture may be regarded as that part of the environment that is the creation of man.

F1–20 Murdock, 1949a: 378	The interaction of learning and society thus produces in every human group a body of socially transmitted adaptive behavior which appears super-individual because it is shared, because it is perpetuated beyond the individual life span, and because its quantity and quality so vastly exceeds the capacity of any single person to achieve by his own unaided effort. The term <i>culture</i> is applied to such systems of acquired and transmitted behavior.
F1–21 Kluckhohn, 1951a: 86	Culture designates those aspects of the total human environment, tangible and intangible, that have been created by men.

Table 11: Genetic Definitions – Subgroup F2: Emphasis on ideas

F2–1 Ward, 1903: 235	A culture is a social structure, a social organism, if any one prefers, and ideas are its germs.
F2–2 Wissler, 1916: 197	[...] a culture is a definite association complex of ideas.
F2–3 Schmidt, 1937: 131	Die Kultur besteht ihrem tiefsten Wesen nach in der inneren Formung des menschlichen Geistes; in der äussern Formung des Körpers and der Natur insofern, als diese durch den Geist gelenkt ist. Somit ist Kultur, wie alles Geistige, etwas Immanentes, etwas durchaus Innerliches und als soches der äussern Beobachtung direkt nicht zugänglich.
F2–4 Blumenthal, 1937: 3	a) Culture is the world sum-total of past and present cultural ideas. Note: As cultural ideas are said to be „those whose possessors are able to communicate them by means of symbols”, symbolically-communicable should be substituted for cultural above.
F2–5 Blumenthal, 1937: 12	b) Culture consists of the entire stream of inactive and active cultural ideas from the first in the cosmos to the last. Note: This includes ideas once resident in human minds, but now no longer held by living minds, though their former existence is ascertainable from surviving material symbols.
F2–6 Osgood, 1940: 25	Culture consists of all ideas concerning human beings which have been communicated to one's mind and of which one is conscious.
F2–7 Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a: 97	[...] a summation of all the ideas for standardized types of behavior.
F2–8 Feibleman, 1946: 75	Tentative definition: Culture may be said to be the common use and application of complex objective ideas by the members of a social group.
F2–9 Feibleman, 1946: 76	Final definition: A culture is the actual selection of some part of the whole of human behavior considered in its effect upon materials, made according to the demands of an implicit dominant ontology and modified by the total environment. [Implicit dominant ontology is elsewhere said to be the common sense of a cultural group, or the eidos of a culture].

F2–10 Taylor, 1948: 109–110	By [holistic] culture as a descriptive concept, I mean all those mental constructs or ideas which have been learned or created after birth by an individual. [...] The term <i>idea</i> includes such categories as attitudes, meanings, sentiments, feelings, values, goals, purposes, interests, knowledge, beliefs, relationships, associations, [but] not [...] Kluckhohn's and Kelly's factor of „designs". By [holistic] culture as an explanatory concept, I mean all those mental constructs which are used to understand, and to react to, the experiential world of internal and external stimuli. [...] Culture itself consists of ideas, not processes. By a culture, i.e., by culture as a partitive concept, I mean a historically derived system of culture traits which is a more or less separable and cohesive segment of the whole—that-is—culture and whose separate traits tend to be shared by all or by specially designated individuals of a group or „society”.
F2–11 Ford, 1949: 38	[...] culture may be briefly defined as a stream of ideas that passes from individual to individual by means of symbolic action, verbal instruction, or imitation.
F2–12 Becker, 1950: 251	A culture is the relatively constant nonmaterial content transmitted in a society by means of processes of sociation.

Table 12: Genetic Definitions – Subgroup F3: Emphasis on symbols

F3–1 Bain, 1942: 87	Culture is all behavior mediated by symbols.
F3–2 White, 1943: 335	Culture is an organization of phenomena – material objects, bodily acts, ideas, and sentiments – which consists of or is dependent upon the use of symbols.
F3–3 White, 1949b: 15	The cultural category, or order, of phenomena is made up of events that are dependent upon a faculty peculiar to the human species, namely, the ability to use symbols. These events are the ideas, beliefs, languages, tools, utensils, customs, sentiments, and institutions that make up the civilization – or culture, to use the anthropological term – of any people regardless of time, place, or degree of development.
F3–4 White, 1949a: 363	[...] <i>culture</i> is the name of a distinct order, or class, of phenomena, namely, those things and events that are dependent upon the exercise of a mental ability, peculiar to the human species, that we have termed <i>symboling</i> . To be more specific, culture consists of material objects – tools, utensils, ornaments, amulets, etc. – acts, beliefs, and attitudes that function in contexts characterized by symboling. It is an elaborate mechanism, an organization of exosomatic ways and means employed by a particular animal species, man, in the struggle for existence or survival.
F3–5 K. Davis, 1949: 3–4 or D2.	[...] it [culture] embraces all modes of thought and behavior that are handed down by communicative interaction – i.e., by symbolic transmission – rather than by genetic inheritance.

Table 13: Genetic Definitions – Subgroup F4: Residual category definitions

F4-1 Ostwald, 1907: 510	That which distinguishes men from animals we call culture.
F4-2 Ostwald, 1915: 192	These specifically human peculiarities which differentiate the race of the <i>Homo sapiens</i> from all other species of animals is comprehended in the name culture [...].
F4-3 Blumenthal, 1941: 9	Culture consists of all nongenetically produced means of adjustment.
F4-4 Roheim, 1943: v	Civilization or culture should be understood here in the sense of a possible minimum definition, that is, it includes whatever is above the animal level in mankind.
F4-5 Kluckhohn i Kelly, 1945a: 87	[...] culture includes all those ways of feeling, thinking, and acting which are not inevitable as a result of human biological equipment and process and (or) objective external situations.

Group G Incomplete definitions

Table 14: Incomplete Definitions – Group G

G1 Sapir, 1921: 233	Culture may be defined as what a society does and thinks.
G2 Marett, 1928: 54	Culture [...] is communicable intelligence. [...] In its material no less than in its oral form culture is, then, as it were, the language of social life, the sole medium for expressing the consciousness of our common humanity.
G3 Benedict, 1934: 16	What really binds men together is their culture – the ideas and the standards they have in common.
G4 Rouse, 1939: 17 (chart)	Elements of culture or standards of behavior.
G5 Osgood, 1942: 22	Culture will be conceived of as comprising the actual artifacts, plus any ideas or behavior of the people who made them which can be inferred from these specimens.
G6 Morris, 1946: 207	Culture is largely a sign configuration [...].
G7 Bryson, 1947: 74	[...] culture is human energy organized in patterns of repetitive behavior.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Alfred L. Kroeber, Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture. A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, assistance of Wayne Untereiner, appendices by Alfred G. Meyer, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. XLVII, no. 1, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1952.
- ² Members of Kroeber's and Kluckhohn's team: a) collecting reference materials, preparing the manuscript, proof-reading, technical assistance: Hermia Kaplan, Mildred Geiger, Lois Walk,

- Muriel Levin, Kathryn Gore, Carol Trosch; b) substantive editing: Wayne Untereiner, Alfred G. Meyer and Clifford Geertz, Jr., Charles Griffith, Ralph Patric.
- ³ See: Robert Borocho, *Kultura w systematyce Alfreda L. Kroebera i Clyde Kluckhohna*, Warsaw 2013, pp. 120–125.
- ⁴ Items (a)–(e) on the basis of: P. Hage, F. Harary, *Structural Models in Anthropology*. Cambridge 1983, p. 9.
- ⁵ The above-mentioned chronology is for reference only.
- ⁶ This article uses „definition” term meaning „apparent definition”.
- ⁷ „Actually, if additional definitions in Part III, in footnotes, and in quotations throughout the monograph are counted, there are probably close to three hundred «definitions» in these pages”, *ibidem*, p. 149, footnote 42.
- ⁸ „In Part II we have cited one hundred sixty four definitions of culture”. *Culture...*, p. 149.
- ⁹ See: Robert Borocho, *Formalna Analiza Konceptualna – Reprezentacja Wiedzy – Przekład*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne. Studia Translatoryczne”, Volume LX, z. 6, 2013, pp. 121–154.
- ¹⁰ Rudolf Wille, *Restructuring Lattice Theory...* K. E. Wolff, *A First Course in Formal Concept Analysis. How to Understand Line Diagrams*, [w:] *SoftStat’93*, t. 4: *Advances in Statistical Software*, red. F. Faulbaum, Stuttgart 1994, pp. 429–438.
- ¹¹ Based on: Uta Priss, *Formal Concept Analysis in Information Science*, [in:] *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, ed. B. Cronin, Volume 40, 2006, pp. 521–543.
- ¹² All quotations after Alfred L. Kroeber, Clyde Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*
- ¹³ „The year in parentheses represents date of first publication, the second year the date of source cited”, *ibidem*, s. 43, footnote 3.
- ¹⁴ No bibliographical address in Alfred L. Kroeber, Clyde Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*

Robert Borocho

A Formal Concept of Culture in the Classification of Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn

STRESZCZENIE

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest poddanie analizie zgromadzonych przez Alfred L. Kroeber i Clyde Kluckhohn definicji kultury opublikowanych w pracy *Culture. A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* w roku 1952. W artykule zwracam uwagę na możliwości nowej analizy zgromadzonego przez tych badaczy materiału (Kroeber–Kluckhohn Culture Classification, dalej KKCC). W artykule wykazuję, że materiał KKCC stanowi spójny paradygmat pojęciowo-teoretyczny. Paradygmat ten został poddany analizie kontekstowej, frekwencyjnej oraz konceptualnej (Formalna Analiza Konceptualna, dalej FCA). Otrzymane wyniki badań pozwoliły na opracowanie formalnego konceptu kultury KKCC, który może być wykorzystany jako model do dalszych analiz. Wnioski końcowe są następujące: (1) pojęcie „kultury” jest definiowalne tylko w granicach spójnego pojęciowo paradygmatu; (2) do określenia paradygmatu niezbędne jest repozytorium materiałowe (resp. korpus tekstowy); (3) analiza kontekstowa i frekwencyjna pozwalają na indek-

sowanie takiego repozytorium w celu określenia kategorii ramowych, które zostaną użyte do opracowania formalnego konceptu; (4) formalny koncept kultury KKCC wyznacza ramę wszelkich potencjalnych analiz teoretycznych odnośnie do znaczenia pojęcia „kultura” w antropologii; (5) KKCC stanowi reprezentację jednej teorii kultury.

Słowa kluczowe: Antropologia kultury, antropologia teoretyczna, teoria kultury, strukturalne modele w antropologii