

people, so that two people play out the same dynamic whenever they are together.

Though it is a scene of considerable sadness, it has a streak of sly humor, as we watch these pathetic souls forgo their chance to savor a moment of rare good fortune and slip instead into petty quarreling. And Singer's biggest joke is on us. Dramatic conventions, and a belief in cosmic justice, lead us to expect that suffering has ennobled these characters and that we are about to witness a scene of great drama and pathos. Instead we are shown what we ought to have expected all along: real human beings with all their follies. Nor is the episode a display of cynicism or misanthropy: we are not surprised when later in the story Herman and Tamara share moments of tenderness, or that a wise Tamara will offer him his only chance at redemption. It is a scene that has the voice of the species in it: that infuriating, endearing, mysterious, predictable, and eternally fascinating thing we call human nature.

APPENDIX

Donald E. Brown's List of Human Universals

THIS LIST, COMPILED in 1989 and published in 1991, consists primarily of "surface" universals of behavior and overt language noted by ethnographers. It does not list deeper universals of mental structure that are revealed by theory and experiments. It also omits near-universals (traits that most, but not all, cultures show) and conditional universals ("If a culture has trait A, it always has trait B"). A list of items added since 1989 is provided at the end. For discussion and references, see Brown's *Human Universals* (1991) and his entry for "Human Universals" in *The MIT Encyclopedia of the Cognitive Sciences* (Wilson & Keil, 1999).

abstraction in speech and thought	beliefs about disease	classification
actions under self-control distinguished from those not under control	beliefs about fortune and misfortune	classification of age
aesthetics	binary cognitive distinctions	classification of behavioral propensities
affection expressed and felt	biological mother and social mother normally the same person	classification of body parts
age grades	black (color term)	classification of colors
age statuses	body adornment	classification of fauna
age terms	childbirth customs	classification of flora
ambivalence	childcare	classification of inner states
anthropomorphization	childhood fears	classification of kin
antonyms	childhood fear of loud noises	classification of sex
baby talk	childhood fear of strangers	classification of space
belief in supernatural/religion	choice making (choosing alternatives)	classification of tools
beliefs, false		classification of weather conditions
beliefs about death		coalitions
		collective identities
		conflict

conflict, consultation to deal with
 conflict, means of dealing with
 conflict, mediation of
 conjectural reasoning
 containers
 continua (ordering as cognitive pattern)
 contrasting marked and nonmarked sememes (meaningful elements in language)
 cooking
 cooperation
 cooperative labor
 copulation normally conducted in privacy
 corporate (perpetual) statuses
 coyness display
 crying
 cultural variability
 culture
 culture/nature distinction
 customary greetings
 daily routines
 dance
 death rituals
 decision making
 decision making, collective
 directions, giving of
 discrepancies between speech, thought, and action
 dispersed groups
 distinguishing right and wrong
 diurnality
 divination
 division of labor
 division of labor by age
 division of labor by sex
 dreams
 dream interpretation
 economic inequalities
 economic inequalities, consciousness of
 emotions
 empathy
 entification (treating partners and relations as things)
 environment, adjustments to
 envy
 envy, symbolic means of coping with
 ethnocentrism
 etiquette
 explanation
 face (word for)
 facial communication
 facial expression of anger
 facial expression of contempt
 facial expression of disgust
 facial expression of fear
 facial expression of happiness
 facial expression of sadness
 facial expression of surprise
 facial expressions, masking/modifying of family (or household)
 father and mother, separate kin terms for
 fears
 fears, ability to overcome some
 feasting
 females do more direct childcare
 figurative speech
 fire
 folklore
 food preferences
 food sharing
 future, attempts to predict
 generosity admired
 gestures
 gift giving
 good and bad distinguished
 gossip
 government
 grammar
 group living
 groups that are not based on family
 hairstyles
 hand (word for)
 healing the sick (or attempting to)
 hospitality
 hygienic care
 identity, collective
 incest between mother and son unthinkable or tabooed
 incest, prevention or avoidance
 in-group distinguished from out-group(s)
 in-group, biases in favor of
 inheritance rules
 insulting
 intention
 interest in bioforms (living things or things that resemble them)
 interpreting behavior
 intertwining (e.g., weaving)
 jokes
 kin, close distinguished from distant
 kin groups
 kin terms translatable by basic relations of procreation
 kinship statuses
 language

language employed to manipulate others
 language employed to misinform or mislead
 language is translatable
 language not a simple reflection of reality
 language, prestige from proficient use of
 law (rights and obligations)
 law (rules of membership)
 leaders
 lever
 linguistic redundancy
 logical notions
 logical notion of "and"
 logical notion of "equivalent"
 logical notion of "general/particular"
 logical notion of "not"
 logical notion of "opposite"
 logical notion of "part/whole"
 logical notion of "same"
 magic
 magic to increase life
 magic to sustain life
 magic to win love
 male and female and adult and child seen as having different natures
 males dominate public/political realm
 males more aggressive
 males more prone to lethal violence
 males more prone to theft
 manipulate social relations
 marking at phonemic, syntactic, and lexical levels
 marriage
 materialism
 meal times
 meaning, most units of are non-universal
 measuring
 medicine
 melody
 memory
 metaphor
 metonym
 mood- or consciousness-altering techniques and/or substances
 morphemes
 mother normally has consort during child-rearing years
 mourning
 murder proscribed
 music
 music, children's
 music related in part to dance
 music related in part to religious activity
 music seen as art (a creation)
 music, vocal
 music, vocal, includes speech forms
 musical redundancy
 musical repetition
 musical variation
 myths
 narrative
 nomenclature (perhaps the same as classification)
 nonbodily decorative art
 normal distinguished from abnormal states
 nouns
 numerals (counting)
 Oedipus complex
 oligarchy (de facto)
 one (numeral)
 onomatopoeia
 overestimating objectivity of thought
 pain
 past/present/future
 person, concept of
 personal names
 phonemes
 phonemes defined by sets of minimally contrasting features
 phonemes, merging of
 phonemes, range from 10 to 70 in number
 phonemic change, inevitability of
 phonemic change, rules of phonemic system
 planning
 planning for future
 play
 play to perfect skills
 poetry/rhetoric
 poetic line, uniform length range
 poetic lines characterized by repetition and variation
 poetic lines demarcated by pauses
 polysemy (one word has several related meanings)
 possessive, intimate
 possessive, loose
 practice to improve skills
 preference for own children and close kin (nepotism)
 prestige inequalities
 private inner life
 promise
 pronouns
 pronouns, minimum two numbers
 pronouns, minimum three persons

proper names	semantic category of location	statuses, ascribed and achieved
property	semantic category of motion	statuses distinguished from individuals
psychological defense mechanisms	semantic category of speed	statuses on other than sex, age, or kinship bases
rape	semantic category of other physical properties	stop/nonstop contrasts (in speech sounds)
rape proscribed	semantic components	succession
reciprocal exchanges (of labor, goods, or services)	semantic components, generation	sweets preferred
reciprocity, negative (revenge, retaliation)	semantic components, sex	symbolism
reciprocity, positive	sememes, commonly used ones are short, infrequently used ones are longer	symbolic speech
recognition of individuals by face	senses unified	synonyms
redress of wrongs	sex (gender) terminology is fundamentally binary	taboos
rhythm	sex statuses	tabooed foods
right-handedness as population norm	sexual attraction	tabooed utterances
rites of passage	sexual attractiveness	taxonomy
rituals	sexual jealousy	territoriality
role and personality seen in dynamic interrelationship (i.e., departures from role can be explained in terms of individual personality)	sexual modesty	time
sanctions	sexual regulation	time, cyclicity of
sanctions for crimes against the collectivity	sexual regulation includes incest prevention	tools
sanctions include removal from the social unit	sexuality as focus of interest	tool dependency
self distinguished from other	shelter	tool making
self as neither wholly passive nor wholly autonomous	sickness and death seen as related	tools for cutting
self as subject and object	snakes, wariness around	tools to make tools
self is responsible	social structure	tools patterned culturally
semantics	socialization	tools, permanent
semantic category of affecting things and people	socialization expected from senior kin	tools for pounding
semantic category of dimension	socialization includes toilet training	trade
semantic category of giving	spear	triangular awareness (assessing relationships among the self and two other people)
	special speech for special occasions	(assessing relationships among the self and two other people)
	statuses and roles	turn-taking
		two (numeral)
		tying material (i.e., something like string)
		units of time
		verbs
		violence, some forms of proscribed
		visiting

vocalic/nonvocalic contrasts in phonemes
vowel contrasts

weaning
weapons
weather control (attempts to)

white (color term)
world view

Additions Since 1989

anticipation
attachment
critical learning periods
differential valuations
dominance/submission
fairness (equity), concept of
fear of death
habituation
hope
husband older than wife on average
imagery
institutions (organized co-activities)
intention
interpolation
judging others
likes and dislikes
making comparisons

males, on average, travel greater distances over lifetime
males engage in more coalitional violence
mental maps
mentalese
moral sentiments
moral sentiments, limited effective range of
precedence, concept of (that's how the leopard got its spots)
pretend play
pride
proverbs, sayings
proverbs, sayings—in mutually contradictory forms

resistance to abuse of power, to dominance
risk taking
self-control
self-image, awareness of (concern for what others think)
self-image, manipulation of
self-image, wanted to be positive
sex differences in spatial cognition and behavior
shame
stinginess, disapproval of
sucking wounds
synesthetic metaphors
thumb sucking
tickling
toys, playthings