

Was haben alle Kulturen gemeinsam? Diese Frage versuchen Universalienforscher zu beantworten. Sie stellen Listen auf, in denen Dutzende Gemeinsamkeiten verzeichnet sind – und streiten dann über die Details. Wir dokumentieren im folgenden einige bekannte Universalienlisten. (Quelle: Christoph Antweiler, „Was ist den Menschen gemeinsam“, WBG)

George Peter Murdock's Universalienliste von 1945
(mit Kommentaren von Christoph Antweiler)

(S = sehr spezifisch, HS = Bezug zur biologischen Definition des *Homo sapiens*,
hist. = historisch nicht universal; vgl. # x = Überschneidungen mit anderen
Universalien)

Murdocks Bezeichnung und alphabetische Ordnung	Kommen tar	Deutsche Entsprechung
1. Age grading	S	Altersgruppendifferenzierung
2. Athletic sports		Sport
3. Bodily adornment		Körperschmuck
4. Calendar	S, hist.	Kalender, Zeitrechnung
5. Cleanliness training		Sauberkeitserziehung
6. Community organization	HS	Gemeinschaftliche Organisation
7. Cooking		Kochen
8. Cooperative labor	vgl. # 14	Kooperative Arbeit
9. Cosmology	hist.	Kosmologie
10. Courtship	HS	Liebeswerben
11. Dancing	S	Tanzen
12. Decorative art	hist.	Bildende Kunst
13. Divination	S	Wahrsagerei
14. Division of labor	vgl. # 8	Arbeitsteilung
15. Dream interpretation	S	Traumdeutung
16. Education	HS	Erziehung
17. Eschatology	S	Eschatologie
18. Ethics	A	Ethik
19. Ethnobotany		Ethnobotanik, emische Botanik
20. Etiquette		Etikette
21. Faith healing	S	Wunderheilglaube
22. Family	HS	Familie
23. Feasting		Feiern, Feste
24. Fire making	hist.	Feuergebrauch
25. Folklore		Bräuche
26. Food taboos		Nahrungstabus
27. Funeral rites	hist.	Beerdigungsrituale
28. Games	HS	Spiele
29. Gestures	HS	Gesten
30. Gift giving		Geschenke
31. Government	hist.	Politische Führung
32. Greetings		Begrüßungsformen, Grußsitten
33. Hair styles		Haartrachten
34. Hospitality		Gastfreundschaft
35. Housing	HS	Behausungen
36. Hygiene		Hygiene
37. Incest taboos	Meidung HS	Inzesttabus
38. Inheritance rules		Erbschaftsregeln
39. Joking		Witze, Späße
40. Kingroups	A	Verwandtschaftsgruppierungen
41. Kinship nomenclature		Verwandtschaftstermini
42. Language	HS	Sprache
43. Law		Gesetze (bzw. Normen und Gesetze)
44. Luck superstitions	S	Glücksvorstellungen

45.	Magic	hist.	Magie
46.	Marriage	vgl. #40, 41	Heirat
47.	Mealtimes		Essenszeiten
48.	Medicine	Hist.	Medizin
49.	Modesty concerning natural functions		Schamgefühl
50.	Mourning	HS?	Trauern
51.	Music	hist.	Musik
52.	Mythology		Mythologie
53.	Numerals	hist.	Zahlwörter, numerische Ordnung
54.	Obstetrics	vgl. # 58	Geburtshilfe
55.	Penal sanctions		Sanktionen bei Fehlverhalten
56.	Personal names		Eigennamen
57.	Population policy		Fruchtbarkeitsbegrenzung/-steuerung
58.	Postnatal care	HS	Geburtsnachsorge
59.	Pregnancy usages		Schwangerschaftssitten
60.	Property rights		Besitzrechte
61.	Propitiation of supernatural beings	Hist.	Glaube an bzw. Besänftigung übernatürlicher Wesen
62.	Puberty customs		Pubertätssitten
63.	Religious ritual	A	Religiöse Rituale
64.	Residence rules		Wohnfolgeordnung
65.	Sexual restrictions	HS	Sexuelle Einschränkungen
66.	Soul concepts	S	Seelenvorstellungen
67.	Status differentiation	HS	Standesunterschiede
68.	Surgery	S	Chirurgie
69.	Tool making	HS	Werkzeugherstellung
70.	Trade	hist.	Handel
71.	Visiting		Besuche machen
72.	Weaning		Entwöhnung, Abstillen
73.	Weather control		Wetterbeeinflussung

Charles Hocketts Universalienkatalog von 1973

Hocketts Liste	universal in ethnograph Gegenwart	Teil der "human historical baseline"	geteilt mit einigen Tieren
1. Primary tools	X	X	X
2. Derived tools	X	X	
3. Clothing (or harness)	X	X	
4. Grooming (of body and hair)	X	X	X
5. Prepared shelter	X	X	X
6. Toilet training	X	X	?
7. Fire keeping	X	X	
8. Fire making	almost	widesp.	
9. Cooking	X	widespread	
10. Scheduled mealtimes	X	?	
11. Food preferences and prejudices	X	X	X
12. Language	X	X	
13. Personal names	X	?	
14. Kinship terminologies based (at most) on the criteria listed on p. 200	X	?	
15. Counting with number words	X	widespread	
16. Favored numbers	widespread	?	
17. Some way of keeping track of the passage of time	X	?	
18. Sociality and social structure	X	X	X
19. Sex and age relevant in social structure	X	X	X
20. Age Grading	X	X	X
21. Rites of passage	widespread	?	?
22. Physical strength relevant in social structure	often	X	X
23. accumulated information and other factors relevant in social structure	X	X	rare
24. Leadership	X	X	X

25. Male dominance	widespread	X	X
26. males as chief hunters, fem. as chief gatherers		X	
27. Collective decision making	X	X	X
28. Consultation in collective decision making (dependent on language and its derivatives)	X	X	
29. Informal vs. formal consultation	X	X	
30. Moderator as type of leader	X	X	
31. Band (or its derivatives) distinct from family	X	X	
32. functional social groupings (i.e. clans) not dependent on constant or frequent physical proximity	X	X	
33. Loose groupings of bands into "tribes"		widespread	
34. war	widespread	widespread	
35. Intimate property vs. nonproperty	X	X	X
36. Loose property	X	X	
37. Inheritance rules	X	?	
38. Social maternity = physiological maternity	X	X	X
39. Social paternity = physiological paternity	usually	usually	
40. Marriage	almost	X	? (how defined?)
41. Prohibition of mother-son incest	X	X	X
42. Further incest prohibitions, yielding exogamous groups	X	X	
43. Tertiary sexual characteristics devised and exploited	widespread	?	
44. A single dominant dyad in the household	widespread	?	
45. One member of dominant dyad male (if not both)	widespread	?	
46. One member of dominant dyad adult (if not both)	X	probably	
47. Dyadic conflicts	X	X	?
48. Transactions in more remote (and larger) social groupings derived analogically, by similarity or contrast, from those in intimate (small) social groupings	X		
49. Personality apart from social role	X	X	?
50. Personality and social role influence each other	X	X	
51. Masking of personality (or personal identity) in crucial public occasions	widespread	?	
52. Ascribed vs. achieved status	X	?	
53. State parameters (degrees of uncertainty, freedom of choice, urgency, pleasantness, anxiety (and seriosity), that characterize or govern the actors in a dyad	X	X	probably
54. Quandary (Verlegenheit)	X	X	X
55. Boredom	X	X	?
56. Sleep	X	X	X
57. Dreaming	X	X	X(?)
58. Ritual	X	X	?
59. Play	X	X	X
60. Games	X	X	?
61. Joking	X	?	
62. Adventure	widespread	?	?
63. Affection	X	X	X
64. Submissiveness	X	X	X
65. Hostility	X	X	X
66. World view	X	X	
67. Systematic talking about world view	rare		
68. World view involving entities not directly observed or observable	X	probably	
69. Curiosity about one's own nature (not every individual, but some in every society)	X	X	
70. Doing something positive about death	X	?	
71. Knowledge of relationship of sickness and death	X	X	
72. Cherish the elderly	widespread	widespread	
73. Care of the ill or injured	X	X	
74. A soul theory	widespread	?	
75. Sporadic cannibalism	widespread	?	X
76. Culture heroes	widespread	?	
77. creativity	X	X	?
78. Pride of craftsmanship	almost u.	probably	
79. Creative arts of various sorts, always including literature	X	X	

Donald Browns Universalienliste (1995)

1. Change through time
2. Use metaphors
3. Regulate sex
4. Have a system of status and roles
5. Share cognitive organization
6. Regulate the expression of affect
7. Control disruptive behaviors
8. Dream
9. Mark time
10. Use space
11. Record numbers
12. Conceive of success and failure
13. Have standards by which beauty and ugliness are measured
14. Are ethnocentric
15. Choose pragmatically
16. Have followers of leaders who are apathetic, regimented, "mature," and autarkic
17. Believe in the supernatural
18. Have a range of temperaments
19. Categorize color
20. Empathize
21. Dominate
22. Foster inequality
23. Hold similar attitudes toward: supernatural occurrences, fear, hope, love, hate, good, bad, beautiful, ugly, murder, theft, lying, and rape
24. Experience ambivalence (due to competing tendencies in human nature)
25. Use symmetry
26. Use polite expressions
27. Dance
28. Sing
29. Tell tales
30. Create literary art
31. Create verse that uses beats and lines
32. Symbolize
33. Recognize signs
34. Marry
35. Create and use tools
36. Groom each other
37. Solve problems using trial and error, insight, and reasoning
38. Establish rules and leaders to govern the allocation of important resources
39. Lose their tempers
40. Trade and transport goods
41. Conduct activities by dyads and groups
42. Supervise
43. Lead
44. Adjust joint activities to personalities
45. Regulate individual action by the group
46. Kill for retribution
47. Establish morals
48. Set expectations of responsibility
49. Create a sense of duty and indebtedness
50. Experience male sexual jealousy
51. Develop similar cognitive functions
52. Consider some aspects of sexuality private
53. Convey erotic, reproductive, and gender meanings using objects, actions, symbols, signals, and sayings
54. Hold a conception of reproduction
55. Practice abortion
56. Think about social relations between other individuals: triangular awareness
57. Establish etiquette
58. Need novelty
59. Experience approach-avoid ambivalence
60. Express surprise
61. Name objects
62. Are curious
63. Raise their tonal frequency when talking to children (especially mothers)
64. Express emotion with their faces
65. Smile
66. Communicate contempt with the same facial expression
67. Interpret rather than merely observe human behavior

68. Transform and elaborate the human body
69. Impose order on the universe
70. Reciprocate (in both positive and negative [tit-for-tat] ways)
71. Give gifts
72. Establish identity
73. Understand concepts of the same and opposite
74. Establish cause
75. Categorize shapes
76. Relate cues to consequences in avoidance learning
77. Create a religion that holds serious moral "oughts" grounded in conceptions of the way the world is
78. Associate music with ritual
79. Perceive pitch and musical contour
80. Are consciously aware of memory, emotions, experience of acting on the world, and making decisions
81. Experience being in control as opposed to under control
82. Consult in collective decision making
83. Follow rules about inheritance
84. Equate social and physiological maternity
85. Display personality apart from social role
86. Recognize ascribed versus achieved status
87. Get bored
88. Feel hostility, altruism, pride, shame, sorrow, and need
89. Prohibit murder and untruth (under certain circumstances)
90. Offer restitution
91. Suffer from greater male violence and homicide than female
92. Believe in spiritual entities such as the soul
93. Experience dissatisfaction with individual culture
94. Deny unwelcome facts
95. Prefer faces that are average in their dimensions
96. Give hair symbolic value
97. Use language with a universal underlying structure
98. Overestimate the objectivity of our thought
99. Provide for the poor and unfortunate
100. Demand truth in certain conditions
101. Are unable to transcend guilt
102. Need to explain the world
103. Sacrifice one's self for one's group
104. Consume substances to partake of their properties
105. Expect women to care for children more than men do
106. Recognize a male need for achievement
107. Think men and women are different in more than only procreative ways
108. Intend
109. Promise
110. Experience inner states
111. Anthropomorphize
112. Employ capital punishment
113. Rape (and disapprove of it)
114. Wish to allure
115. Feel pride, shame, amusement, and shock
116. Forego present pleasure for a deferred good
117. Evidence negative effects on the personalities of children who have been rejected by their parents
118. Use same basic color categories
119. Identify the same geometric forms
120. Confront the issue of the haves versus the have -nots
121. Consider the relationship of nature to culture
122. Acquire as children linguistic features in similar order
123. Think rationally
124. Consider morally right and wrong methods of satisfying needs
125. Form a personality structure that integrates needs (id), values (superego), and executive- response processes (ego)
126. Establish psychological self-defense mechanisms
127. Attach meaning to what is essentially meaningless
128. Play games of skill and chance
129. Include homosexuals
130. Have juvenile delinquents
131. Hold male activities that exclude females
132. Express loyalty
133. Include people who attempt to cure the ill
134. Deceive themselves
135. Associate poetry with ritual

136. Predict
137. Use red, white, and black to symbolize the same things
138. Use words whose meanings are transparent and opaque
139. Employ 13 semantic primes in language: I, you, someone, something, world, this, want, not want, think of, way, imagine, be apart of, become
140. Form personalities based on solidarity versus conflict and dominance versus submission

Wulf Schiefenhövels Inventar „transkultureller Universalien“ von 1999

kursiv = Zusätze von Schiefenhövel zur Murdock-Liste	
1. <i>Abstillen</i>	
2. <i>Aggressivität, Aggressionskontrolle</i>	
1. Altersklassen	
2. Arbeitsteilung	
3. Athletischer Sport	
4. Behausung	
5. Bescheidenheit in Bezug auf natürliche Funktionen	
6. Beschränkungen der Sexualität, z.B. <i>Werbung um Partner, Eifersucht, genitale Scham, kein Coitus coram publico, Inzesttabus</i>	
7. Bestrafung von Fehlverhalten	
8. Besuche	
9. Bevölkerungssteuerung	
10. Dekorative Kunst	
11. Eigennamen	
12. Eigentumsrechte	
13. <i>Empathie</i>	
14. Erziehung	
15. Essenszeiten	
16. Ethik	
17. Etikette	
18. Familie	
19. <i>Fasten</i>	
20. Feste, Festtage	
21. Feuermachen	
22. <i>Flüche aus dem sakralen und sexuellen Bereich</i>	
23. Folklore	
24. Gastlichkeit	
25. Geben von Geschenken	
26. Geburtshilfe	
27. Gemeinschaftliche Arbeit	
28. <i>Geschlechtstypische Rollen</i>	
29. Gesten, <i>Mimik</i> , Grußsitten	
30. Handel	
31. <i>Heirat, Ehe als Einheit der Reproduktion und Produktion durch Normen geschützt</i>	
32. Hygiene	
33. Kochen, <i>beziehungsweise Garen</i>	
34. Körperschmuck	
35. <i>Kontrastierende Konzeptualisierung/ binäre Unterscheidungen: schwarz-weiß, männlich-weiblich, Natur-Kultur</i>	
36. Konzept des Glück-Habens	
37. Kosmologie	
38. Liebeswerben	
39. Medizin; <i>Betreuung von Kranken, Medikamente, chirurgische Maßnahmen; siehe auch Religion</i>	
40. Musik, Tanz	
41. Nahrungstabus	
42. <i>Naturwissenschaft: z.B. Ethnobotanik, Ethnozologie, Ethnomedizin</i>	

43. Normen und Gesetze	
44. Organisation der Gemeinschaft	
45. Postpartale Fürsorge, <i>aktive Sozialisation der Kinder, Sauberkeitserziehung</i>	
46. Pubertätsriten	
47. „Regierung“	
48. Religion: „Aberglauben“, Besänftigung außermenschlicher Wesen, Eschatologie, „Magie“, Mythologie, religiöse Riten, religiöse Therapie, Wahrsagung, Wetterzauber	
49. Residenzregeln	
50. <i>Schamverhalten bezüglich der Körperausscheidungen</i>	
51. Schwangerschaftsgebräuche	
52. Seelenkonzept	
53. Spiele	
54. Sprache	
55. Statusdifferenzierung, <i>Ranghierarchien</i>	
56. Trauerriten <i>nach dem Tode einer nahestehenden Person, Bestattungsriten</i>	
57. Traumdeutung	
58. <i>Unterscheidung zwischen eigener und fremder Gruppe: Frisuren, Kleidung, Schmuck, Dialekt, willkürliche Körperveränderungen usw.</i>	
59. Vererbungsregeln für materielle Güter	
60. Verwandtschaftsgruppen	
61. Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen	
62. Weberei	
63. Werkzeugherstellung	
64. Witz	
65. Zählen	
66. <i>Zeitrechnung, Kalender</i>	

(Quelle: Christoph Antweiler: Was ist den Menschen gemeinsam? ²2009)