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Glossary

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Glossary

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The explanations and definitions of terms given below are not always the common or academically accepted ones. We would have needed more space than possible here were we to have examined the various common usages of each term or to have considered the technical definitions given by scholars. The glossary is intended simply to give preliminary definitions to terms which seem difficult to translate or which lead to misunderstanding.

Ane-katoku: Succession by the husband of the eldest daughter.

Bunke: An *ie* founded by an actual or fictitious member (or its male spouse) of an *ie* which thus was regarded as its *honke*. In this sense all newly established *ie* might be categorized as *bunke*, but there was often a social distinction implied by the formation of a *bunke*. For example, those *ie* established by persons who had left their home village or who had not been given property (especially a house or building lot) by their original *ie*, did not have clear ties with a *honke* and were not always considered to be *bunke*. Even so, there were regional differences in the definition of this social distinction. As a matter of fact, in the answers to our questionnaire we could not distinguish whether the *ie* under the name of *bunke* were actually recognized ones or merely genealogical branches. This is due partly to defects in the questionnaire and partly to the vague nature of *bunke* itself. There seems to be no fundamental mistake in defining *bunke* for analytical purposes so long as the concept *ie* existed in Japan. (*Bun* means division or segment; *ke* means *ie*. There were various local terms for *bunke*.) (See *Ie, Honke-bunke* group (HBG), *Shinrui*)

A *bunke* was classified by villagers usually in two ways: according to the social distance from its *honke* and according to the status of the founder.

(1) Classification by the social distance from its *honke*
(Direct *bunke* and *mago-bunke* or indirect *bunke*)

1 Direct *bunke* is one established by a former member of its *honke*.

2 *Mago-bunke* is the *bunke* of a direct *bunke* and is also regarded as a *bunke* of the latter's *honke*.

A——A *honke* of B and *sō-honke* of C
└—B direct *bunke*
└—C direct *bunke* of B and *mago-bunke* of A
(*mago*: grandchild or grandchildren)

(2) Classification by the status of the founder
(Blood-related and non-blood-related)
(We fully recognize that terms like "blood-related" are inaccurate, but we were obliged to use it in order to communicate with the respondents, since the term was more familiar to them than other related terms.)

3 Blood-related *bunke*: A *bunke* established by a person who was listed, at least conceptually, in the genealogy of its *honke* either as being blood-related or adopted.

3–1 *Bunke* by younger sons: This type was most common in Japan.

3–2 There were three types of occasions when this kind of *bunke* could be established.

i) When the principle of primogeniture was not very strong in the region.

ii) When some conflict in the family, often that with a second mother, forced the would-be successor to give up his right.

iii) When, because of the confusion of the *honke-bunke* relation caused by his father's *inkyo*, the eldest son's *ie* (which he succeeded to from his father) had become, socially, a *bunke* of his father's new *ie*. (See also *Inkyo*)

3–3 *Bunke* by a daughter: This means that a married daughter established a *bunke* of her father's *ie* under the headship of her husband. There were two sub-types for it:

i) *Muko-yōshi bunke*: When a man entered an *ie* by marrying the eldest daughter of its head, in cases when she was also older than the *ie*'s eldest son, he temporarily succeeded his father-in-law and changed his former surname. Then, the couple was aided in the establishment of a *bunke* after the eldest son reached the age of succession. (See also *Yōshi*)

ii) Non-*muko-yōshi bunke*

3–4 *Inkyo-bunke* (See *Inkyo*)

4 Non-blood-related *bunke*: A *bunke* established by a person who had sociologically no genealogical relation to the *honke* itself. It can be classified by the following two sub-types:

4–1 *Hōkō-nin bunke* (or *nago-bunke*): A *hōkō-nin* was a servant or a tenant. He belonged to the *ie* of his landlord and had a duty to offer service. Occasionally some of the *hōkō-nin* were permitted to establish their own *ie* as *bunke*, often with the financial aid of their masters. This kind of *bunke* was connected with strong HBG or *dōzoku* groups.

4–2 Fictitious *bunke* by immigrants: A village's customary acceptance of an immigrant who became a fictitious member of an *ie* and establishes his own *ie* as a *bunke* of that *ie*. (See *Honke-bunke*)

Buraku: Although there are several commonly accepted usages of this term, we define it as a relatively autonomous unit within an *ō-aza*. We used it as a secondary research unit in the hope that it might correspond to the traditionally formed autonomous village. We found that this was not always true, however, and this resulted in inaccuracies in our data. (See *Ko-aza*)

Danka: An *ie* attached to a Buddhist temple through registration. *Danka* of a temple usually formed a group.

Danka-sōdai: A representative of a *danka* group.

Dō: (See *To-dō-fu-ken*)

Dōzoku: (See *Honke-bunke* group)

Fu: (See *To-dō-fu-ken*)

Hōkō-nin: A servant, either male or female, who was regarded as a (quasi-) member of the *ie* where he or she served. A farmer or tenant who was attached to an *ie* might be included in this category.

Honke: An *ie* from which socially-recognized *bunke* gradually segmented. Thus *honke* was a relative concept which could not exist without a *bunke*. (See *Bunke, Ie*)

Honke-bunke relation: Whenever an *ie* established a *bunke* and there was a mutual recognition between them as *honke* and *bunke*, we call this situation the *honke-bunke* relation. The nature of this relation varied according to the particular area investigated. One of the most common features, however, was joint participation in the rituals of the *honke*'s ancestors. (See also *Bunke*)

Honke-bunke group (HBG): A socially recognized group of *ie* in a village which consists of a *honke* and one or more *bunke* from this *honke*. There was usually some local term for it, though the group called by the term did not always consist of a *honke* and its *bunke*. This was one of the difficulties we confronted in conceptualizing the HBG. Also, the structural principles and activities of HBG were not always the same in all regions. Furthermore, in some areas, an *ie* belonged to more than one group of *ie*. Consequently, the groups overlapped in their membership. We defined the groups in terms of HBG. Thus, it is almost impossible to characterize the nature of the various groups given in the answers to the questionnaire. More intensive study in each village or group is required before generalization is possible.

Dōzoku: This term may be familiar to American anthropologists, because it was often used both by American and Japanese specialists to indicate a type of HBG. In its narrower sense the term *dōzoku* was used to designate a hierarchically structured HBG in which a centralized socio-political, religious, economic and jural authority of a *honke* over its *bunke* was regarded as its essential characteristic. On the other hand, in its wider definition, it may be coterminous with HBG (as we have defined it) in which the hierarchical structure and social dominance of the *honke* over the *bunke* were not taken as the main criteria. The reason why we had not adopted the term *dōzoku* was partly because of this con-

fusion in its definition. A HBG is not a descent group at all, because its component unit is not an individual person but an *ie*.

Ie: A basic social unit of Japanese society. It essentially consisted of a family at any period but it was continuous over generations in spite of changes in the family. *Ie*, kinship, and family crosscut one another, though structurally the *ie* was the most dominant.

Ie literally means "house", but at the same time it indicated the social unit which was institutionalized by the Meiji Government and abolished by the new constitution after the Second World War. It had several symbols with which to represent itself. House name beside family name was common. There were also two kinds of insignia, one of which was often painted on the house wall, and also used to mark tools. The other was used on official clothing, utensils, and anything of importance. Family name was succeeded to, in principle, through the male line (in the case of *muko-yōshi*, a daughter's husband was adopted in to the family and listed in the male genealogical line, i.e., the couple took the family name of the wife's father). This may be interpreted as transmission of the family name through the male line since the wife could not become the head of an *ie* as long as her husband was living. On the other hand, a house name (*yagō*) often was given to the *bunke*. There was no definite rule.

Generally, the membership of an *ie* consisted of, in principle, one couple of each generation and their unmarried children. The actual residents at the house were counted as the members of the *ie*. Thus, the *ie* took the form of a stem family. That is, as long as the parent(s) was(were) living, the successor and his wife lived with them. (For exceptions, see *Inkyo*.) Sometimes three couples of different generations lived together with the unmarried members of the *ie*.

Hōkō-nin who lived in the same house might be regarded as members but their status was not stable, as they were seldom accepted as legitimate members who were to be listed in the genealogy of the *ie*.

Those who left an *ie* accordingly lost their membership; they gained new membership in another *ie* either by establishing a *bunke* or by marrying into another *ie*. Thus a woman who married into an *ie* lost the membership of her original *ie* and gained that of her husband's *ie*.

The *ie* was a kind of religious, juridical, political and economic corporate group. As a religious group, the *ie* members worshipped the ancestors who were listed in its genealogical line. In this context, membership in an *ie* might mean that one was entitled to be registered as an ancestor of it. Thus, the transference of a person between two *ie* through the establishment of a *bunke*, marriage, and adoption could be understood as the transfer of this right of the person. The nature of the *honke-bunke* relationship was often expressed as the genealogical relation of the *bunke*'s founder to the line of his *honke*. Normally, the founder of an *ie* had special significance among all ancestors of the line.

In local political affairs, any member of an *ie* could represent the entire membership of the *ie*. Property and income were generally under the control of

the head of the *ie* even if some members were not engaged in the same occupation as the other members of the *ie*. However, it is not adequate to define the *ie* as a corporate group as such. We assume that the essential organizing principle of the *ie* was genealogical continuity. Corporate aspects as shown in the *ie*'s political and economic activities were secondary, although we do not deny that these activities had the function of reinforcing the continuity and permanence of the *ie*. (See *Bunke, Honke, Shinrui*)

Ihai: A mortuary tablet on which the posthumous Buddhist name of the dead person is written. There were hierarchical ranks of posthumous names which were given by a Buddhist priest of the temple to which the *ie* of the dead belonged (e.g., *danka*).

Inkyo: The social retirement of a head of an *ie* accompanied by the succession to the position of the head by his successor. Also it means simply retired parents.

Inzoku: Affines (See also *Shinrui*)

Jikka: A term of reference by which a wife indicates her original *ie* (*-ka=ie*) from which she married out. (See also *Shinrui*)

Jinushi: A landowner, part of whose land was lent to tenants.

Jisaku: An owner of cultivated land, which was not usually lent to tenants.

Katoku: A complex notion concerning the headship and property of an *ie*. Succession to the headship of an *ie* was accompanied by inheritance (*Katoku-sōzoku*).

Ken: (See *To-dō-fu-ken*)

Kō: Usually, a kind of social association. Sometimes it was a territorial group. This term originated from religious groups. Many associations more or less had the nature of religious groups, though some did not. Activities varied according to the purposes of each association.

Ko-aza: Minor *aza*, a minimum territorial unit. It often corresponded to the *buraku*.

Konka: A term of reference by which an *ie* into which a woman has married (*kon*=marriage) is indicated. (See *Shinrui*)

Kosaku: Tenancy.

Kumi: A territorial group within, or coterminous with, a *buraku*.

Mago-bunke: (See *Bunke*)

Miyaza: A special kind of *ujiko* group, membership of which was strictly limited to some *ie* groups in the village. (See also *Ujiko*)

Mura: 1) A traditionally established autonomous village. We expected it to correspond to the *ō-aza* but in actuality this was not always the case.

Mura: 2) A unit of the administrative system in the Meiji period, a division of the *gun* or the *shi*.

Mura-hachibu: A sanction by which a villager and his family were excluded from ordinary social intercourse among villagers, with the exception of two kinds of social assistance: in the event of death or fire.

Nakōdo: One, or a pair of, matchmaker(s).

Neyado: A house where unmarried youths slept.

Ō-aza: A major *aza*. A sub-unit of a *machi* (town) or a *mura* in its second meaning. This is the sample unit of our investigations.

Samurai: A warrior of the Edo period.

Sato: The same meaning as *jikka*.

Shinrui (*shinseki*): A category of persons who were regarded as "related" to a particular person.

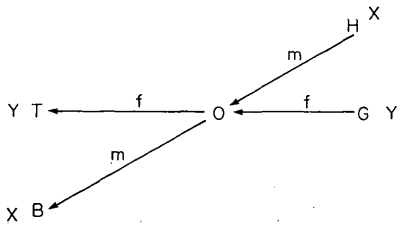
This category of persons was framed by the *ie* which were related to the person's *ie* and every member of which was regarded as "related". The occasion which related two *ie* resulted from an exchange or a transfer of a person between them in either direction through segmentation (establishment of a *bunke*), marriage or adoption. Thus, the *ie* relation established by transfers of persons and personal relations through kinship and affinity were interwoven with each other and the former played a dominant role. In other words, *shinrui* had a dual meaning. On the one hand, it meant a category of related persons and on the other hand, it meant a category of related *ie*. Few Japanese knew clearly which category they meant by the term. It should be noted that the boundary of this category was vague and differed to some extent from person to person and generation to generation. It was common to distinguish near *shinrui* and remote *shinrui*. The boundary of the latter was rarely noticed. Therefore, we shall first deal with the category of near *shinrui* which was more or less based upon the directness of *ie* relations; that is, the near *shinrui* were members of an *ie* and united directly within one generation through the transfer of persons between Ego's *ie* and other *ie*.

If we exclude adoption for simplicity's sake, there were two kinds of transferance of persons. Transference of a man from an *ie* to his new *ie* created the *honke-bunke* relation. We call this phenomenon "segmentation". The transference of a woman by marriage created the wife-taker and wife-giver relation. To Ego's *ie*, therefore, four kinds of relationship with other *ie* could be established. (Figure 1)

While there was only one *honke* to Ego's *ie*, there could be many *bunke* (B in the Figure stands for plural *bunke*). There was one wife-giver in each genealogical level, while there could be many wife-takers in one level.

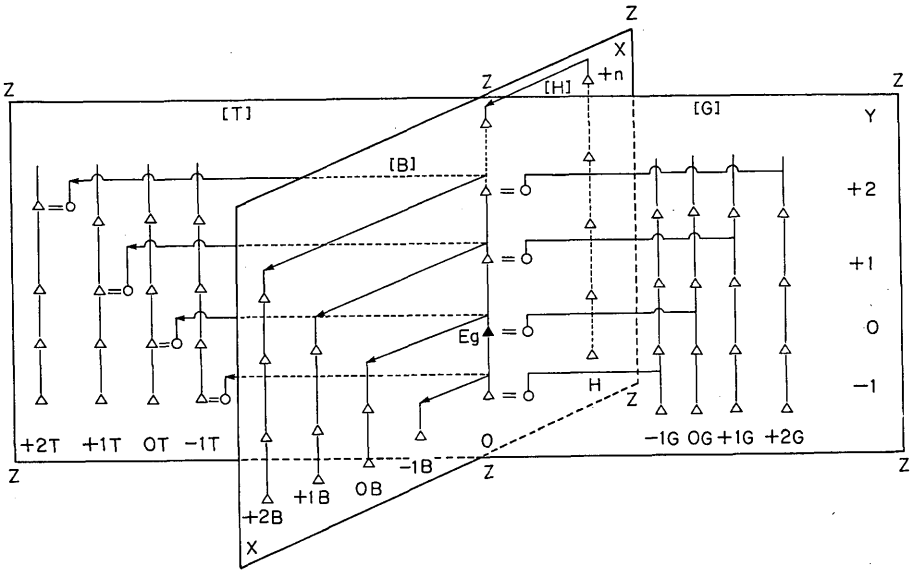
The directness of the *ie* relationship through the transference of persons was one of the main criteria by which near *shinrui* were categorized. There was, however, another significant criterion, that is, generation. The third generation above Ego's was the usual border. *Honke* from which Ego's *ie* segmented more than three generations ago must be considered separately. We will discuss this later. Except for remote *honke*, the possible range of directly related *ie* is shown in Figure 2. The distinction between the X plane and the Y plane is significant when we consider that the so-called *dōzoku* (or *honke-bunke* group) has often been contrasted with affinal relations.

Z-axis stands for the genealogical line of the *ie*, which contains one couple in each generation and which is represented by the male irrespective of the blood



key
O Ego's *ie*: new *bunke* to *honke*
H *Honke* of O
B *Bunke* of O: new *mago-bunke* to H
G *Ie* of wife-giver to O
T *Ie* of wife-taker from O
m Transfer of male
f Transfer of female
← Direction of transfer
X Axis of male transference
Y Axis of female transference

Figure 1



+n
+2
+1
0
−1
} Genealogical level

X: Plane of male transference
Y: Plane of female transference
Z: Axis of genealogical line

[H]
[B]
[G]
[T]
} Quadrants

Figure 2

relation between succeeding generations. Thus, the male principle dominated the Z-axis.

Sometimes, those *ie* which were related beyond level 2 were included in the category of near *shinrui*. Here, a criterion other than that of generation existed. There was a common conception that the *ie* relations established by the transfer of a person terminated when a certain period had passed after the death of the person. The event indicating this termination of relationship was the final aggre-

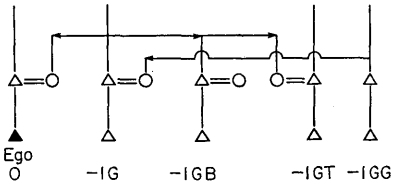
gation ritual of the dead with the ancestors of the genealogical line to which he or she was transferred. This ritual, following several intervening rituals, was held thirty-three or fifty years after the person's death (the period differed regionally).

For example, the relationship between O and 3G continued until the final aggregation ritual (*tomurai-age*) of Ego's FFM was held. It should be noticed that the time of the termination of the *ie* relationship did not actually differ regardless of whether generation or the final aggregation ritual of the transferred person was taken as the criterion, since a change of generation usually took about thirty years.

In the Y plane, the number of T was much more than that of G; but to O, the relationship to the latter was more significant. Children, especially the eldest child, were given gifts on various occasions (particularly at rites of passage) by their mother's original *ie*. As shown in item 70, the first child was sometimes born at the *jikka*, i.e. its mother's original *ie*, or the wife-giver's *ie*. It seems reasonable to assume from the evidence available that the wife-taker was regarded as superior to the wife-giver (O is superior to G and T is superior to O). This does not imply the preference of marriage-up in terms of social stratification. Thus, in the Y plane G quadrant and T quadrant divided by O line are asymmetric not only in numbers but also in the nature of their relationships to O. To add one feature to this asymmetric structure in G quadrant, some *ie*, which were indirectly related to O through nG (n=1–3) as a junction, might be included in the category of near *shinrui*. For example, in the 1 level, 1B and 1T of 1G (1GB and 1GT in Figure 3) were possibly included, while 1G of 1G was probably excluded.

In this example, it is clear that the notion of kin ties transformed the principle of direction in the *ie* relationship into a criterion of near *shinrui*. Mother's sisters belonged to 1GT; and mother's brothers, having established their own *bunke*, belonged to 1GB. No kin tie was found between O and 1GG. O itself was merely one of 1GT. In other words, without adoption, those *ie* to which persons were transferred still had kin ties with the transferring *ie*. In spite of the indirectness of these ties, they may have been regarded as near *shinrui*. (Figure 4)

This did not happen in the T quadrant in level one because O held a position as 1G to 1T. Father's sisters were included in 1T, while his brothers in B in the X plane.



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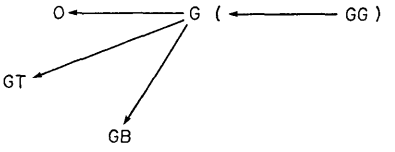

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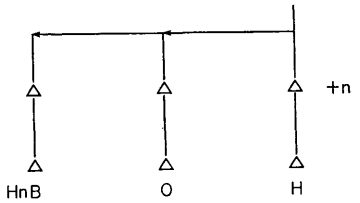

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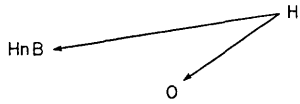


Figure 6

The nature of the *ie* relationship in the X plane was quite different from that in the Y plane. Asymmetry between H and B quadrants was more radical. There was only one *ie* in H quadrant. That was the *honke*. In the founding generation of O, there could be another *bunke* of O's *honke*, but there could be no direct transfer of persons between O and HnB. (Figure 5) Therefore the relation between O and HnB (n=1–3) was the same as that between O and GT and GB in the Y plane. They were directly related in kinship, but in terms of *ie* indirectly. Their junction was their shared *honke*. (Figure 6)

Another and more significant difference between X and Y involves a principle of relation other than that of *shinrui*; the *honke-bunke* relation. The permanence of the *honke-bunke* was essentially different from the temporary nature of the *shinrui*. This was the reason we have used the indication n in the founding genealogical level of O. (It may be confusing to discuss this relationship again. See also *honke* in the analysis of the *shinrui* category.) We hope that distinguishing these two basic structural principles of Japanese society will save our readers from many of the misunderstandings that have arisen in kinship studies of Japan, conducted both by Japanese and American scholars.

After the final aggregation ritual of O's founder, members of O's *honke*, from which O was segmented, were not necessarily included in the category of near *shinrui*. Yet the *honke-bunke* relation may still have existed and members of both *ie* were united by this tie. In the case that the segmentation of O from H occurred within three generations (or before the founder's final aggregation ritual), the relation between O and H was both one of *honke-bunke* and of *shinrui*.

The same thing can be said of the B quadrant in X plane. Members of O's older *bunke* segmented beyond three generations were not included in the *shinrui* category but were bound to O in terms of the *honke-bunke* relationship.

The nature of the *honke-bunke* relationship was quite different from that of the *shinrui* in two ways: first, the notion of permanent relationship and second, status differentiation among *bunke*. All *bunke* in a limited genealogical level were *shinrui* but not all of them had a *honke-bunke* relationship to their *honke*. Residence in the same village with their *honke* and circumstances of *bunke* establishment intervened here as differentiating criteria which distinguished some *bunke* as "true *bunke*". Those *bunke* which were given houses, home lots, and often tools or means of production by their *honke* and which were located in the same village as the *honke*, were usually distinguished from those which were founded in

other regions (often in urban regions) or which were founded independently with the founder's own resources. The former formed the category of true *bunke*, on which the HBG was based. In short, *bunke* of the latter kind were included in the category of *shinrui* but might not be in the HBG (See *Honke*).

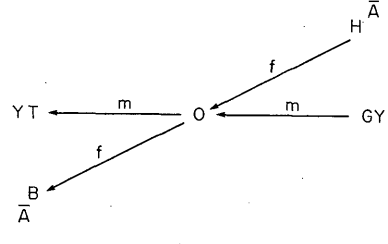
Where there was no clear notion that the *honke-bunke* should be permanent, it was probable that the relationship between O and B was taken as that of *shinrui*. Consequently, there were few HBG in such regions. When these groups were present, we can assume that they were organized more upon territorial principles than the *honke-bunke* relationship.

Generally, a *honke* was considered superior to its *bunke*. In other words, male givers in the X plane were superior. On the other hand, as we have already mentioned, female givers in the Y plane were inferior. These contrasting characteristics in *ie* relations are significant to an understanding of Japanese social structure. We shall not, however, further discuss this problem here.

To sum up, members of those categories of *ie* shown in Figure 2, (with the possible addition of BG, GT, HB, and HT so long as they were within limited generations) composed the category of near *shinrui* to Ego. It is erroneous to say that patrilateral relatives were kinsmen, as is sometimes claimed. Nor is it adequate to reduce them to members of a *dōzoku* or an HBG even where there was a strong *dōzoku*. Few studies so far have succeeded in demonstrating the different nature of the *ie* relation between O-T and O-B. In fact, studies of the relationship between O and G have been scarce. A detailed study with clear analytical distinctions is needed but it is not our concern here. We have tried to give only a basic structural model.

We must next consider adoption. In the context of our discussion, adoption can be understood as the transfer of persons whose sex are opposite in both X and Y axis in Figure 1. That is, adoption was nothing exceptional structurally but simply a convenient way to maintain this structure.

Before going into further discussion it is necessary to know that there were two kinds of so-called adoption, that is, bridegroom adoption (*muko-yōshi*) and child adoption. The latter has little to do with this topic and is excluded. In ordinary marriage (wife-taking marriage) the family name of the couple was taken from the bridegroom's side; but in the case of *muko-yōshi*, it was taken from the bride' side. There were two possible fates for an adopted husband. To succeed



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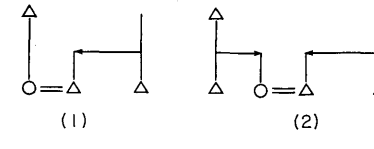

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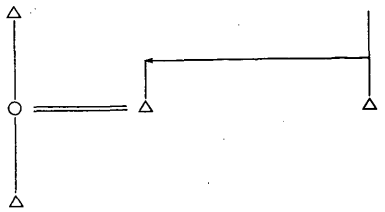

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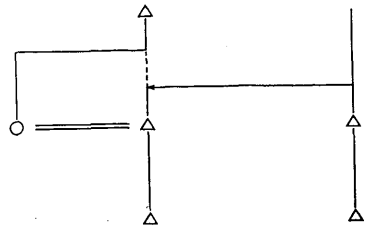

Figure 10

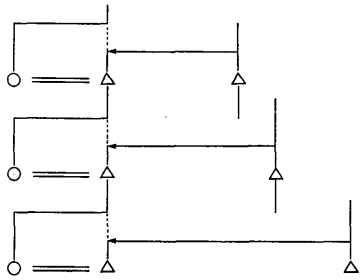

Figure 11

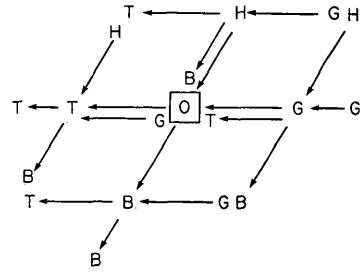

Figure 12

to his wife's fathers', position, which was more frequently the case, or to establish his own *bunke* of which the *honke* was his wife's father's line. (Figure 8) The first type can be regarded as male transfer in the Y axis while the second type can be said to be a female transfer in the X axis. (Figure 7) This is nothing but a change of sex in Figure 1. No structural change can be expected. It is simply that the male giver became inferior and the female giver superior in bridegroom adoption. The frequency of *muko-yōshi* was considerable. Its main purpose was to maintain the continuity of an *ie*. *Muko-yōshi* did not affect the male dominance of the genealogical line as he, not his wife, became the head and kept the male genealogical line in his newly adopted *ie*. It is important to bear in mind that the genealogical line was not biological, but sociological. Therefore, such a diagram as Figure 8(1) or 9 can be misleading. They should be rewritten as in Figure 10.

In an extreme situation such a case as shown in Figure 11 could happen; the *muko-yōshi* succeeded in every generation. Even in this extreme case, the genealogical line of the *ie* was represented by the male line irrespective of the blood line. Again, the genealogical line was sociological, not biological. Members of the bridegroom giver's *ie* were, of course, included in the category of near *shinrui*. Finally, we must conclude that it is almost impossible to give a clear border to the category of *shinrui*. Beyond the directly related *ie* there could be many *ie*, some of which might be regarded as related, others not. (Figure 12)

To-dō-fu-ken: The maximum units of the administrative system in Japan. There is one *to* (*Tokyo-to*, capital), one *dō* (*Hokkai-dō*), two *fu* (*Kyōto-fu* and *Ōsaka-fu*) and forty-two *ken* (prefecture).

Tsunahiki: A tug of war. Its significance lies in cosmological dualism and its relation to social organization.

Ujiko: Adherents of a *Shinto* shrine. Usually the *ujiko* was formed at the local level and the *ie* was its component unit.

Wakamono-gumi: An age group of youths. The entry of boys was usually at age fifteen.

Yobai: To steal into a house in order to have sexual relations with a girl.

Yōshi: Adoption. There were two kinds of adoption: child adoption and bridegroom adoption, called *muko-yōshi*. (See the last part of *Shinrui*)