Hypothesis on the Origins of the Communal Family System

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This article is the result of collaboration between a linguist and an anthropologist. In La Troisième planète. Structures familiales et systèmes idéologiques (The Third Planet: Family Structures and Ideologies) (Todd, 1983), anthropologist Emmanuel Todd provided a world map of family types, which he used to explain the distribution of major political philosophies around the world. However, this did not explain the distribution of the family types themselves. Indeed, a concluding chapter entitled "Le Hazard" (The Effects of Chance) stated that the distribution of family types did not seem to be the result of any particular economic or ecological factor and was therefore a prime example of the uncertainty principle at work. However, Laurent Sagart, a linguist specializing in Chinese dialects, noticed that this map of family types exhibited a structure well known to experts in historical linguistics and dialectology, contrasting a large, continuous zone in the center with a number of small, independent zones located around the periphery of the central zone or in isolated enclaves within it. When such maps appear in linguistic atlases, dialectologists usually conclude that the central zone was the innovative area while the peripheral and isolated zones conserved the original features. The same analysis, if applied to the map of family types, would lead to the conclusion that the communal family system in the center of the map represented a more recent innovation than the systems around the periphery.

The map in *La Troisième planète* was intended to explain the modern political philosophies that developed after the breakup of the great agricultural civilizations. In the entire Old World it distinguished only about 60 different human groups, excluding numerically small peoples and nomadic populations. Since this map was intended to reflect a hypothesis about the history of family systems in the Old World (that is, the entire world as we understand it

Diogenes, No. 160, Winter 1992

Map 1: The Map of The Third Planet (simplified version)

minus the Americas, black Africa, and Oceania), we have focused our analysis on this same area, taking a sample of 207 human groups that have been described in twentieth-century ethnographic literature.

Composition of the Sample

The ideal approach would have been to catalogue all human groups in the area under study; however, this was impossible to achieve because the information is not available. We aimed, therefore, to cover the area as exhaustively as possible, without holes or voids. We also avoided ranking the various groups in any hierarchies based on criteria such as size, development level, and so forth. You will therefore find *Russians* (of whom there are more than 150 million) merrily rubbing shoulders with Yukaghirs (of whom there were only a few hundred at the time when they were studied), Swedes with Lapps, Tamils with Murias, Chinese with Miaos, Japanese with Ainus, Burmese with Kachins, Englishmen with Irishmen, and finally Frenchmen from the Paris region with Occitans from the south. The lack of any hierarchy helps to avoid overrepresentation of more developed peoples, which is characteristic of La Troisième planète, as well as overrepresentation of small, "primitive" peoples, which is characteristic of classical anthropology in general and of the best inventory that has appeared so far, G.P. Murdock's World Ethnographic Atlas (1967). Murdock was not at all opposed to including "developed" peoples in his world sample of ways of life, but in actual practice, given the "primitivist" origins of anthropology, he did not delve very deeply into the developed world, especially when it was European. We have certainly made extensive use, whenever possible, of the results obtained by Murdock and his team. The latest edition of the World Ethnographic Atlas (1967) contains 63 percent of the groups in our "Far East" area, 53 percent of the groups in our "Soviet" area, 50 percent of those in our "Indian Subcontinent" area, and 45 percent of those in our "Arab-Moslem" area, but only 27 percent of those in our "European" area (see the List of Peoples in the Appendix).

A particular feature of our sample is therefore that it breaks with the Eurocentrism of classical anthropology, which found it difficult to approach Europeans and other humans in the same way. This we have done without any partiality.

The Four Family Cycles

The easiest way to gain a basic understanding of family types is to use the concept of development cycles (Fortes, 1969). We have therefore distinguished five basic development cycles in the Old World. The first three types – communal, stem, and nuclear – enable us to describe 86 percent of the populations in our sample and are in fact quite close to the types described by Frédéric Le Play in the nineteenth century: patriarchal, stem, and unstable families (Le Play, 1870). The fourth type – the matrilineal cycle – applies to only five peoples. A fifth type enables us to capture an intermediate form between the communal and nuclear types.

1. The Main Communal Cycle (Patrilineal)

A couple has children. When they become adults, all the sons marry, and their wives come to live with them in the parental home. The daughters leave the family, marry outside, and are excluded from the inheritance. When the father dies, or shortly thereafter, the sons separate, dividing the family property equally. Then the cycle begins anew, with each son aspiring to become the patriarch of an extended group. In conventional anthropological terms, the fundamental characteristics of this family type are patrilocal marriage and patrilineal inheritance because the daughters are excluded. This development cycle produces the largest family groups, combining father-son vertical extensions with brother-brother horizontal extensions. For the purposes of this exploratory article, we do not distinguish between exogamous communal forms (which exclude marriages between cousins) and endogamous communal forms (which encourage marriages between close relatives). On the whole, the endogamous model is typical in the Moslem world, though it is weaker along the fringes among the Kirghiz, Turkmen and northeastern Turks, and disappears entirely among the Kazaks who were only superficially Islamized. Farther north and to the east, all the communal cycles are exogamous, from the Baltic peoples to China.

2. The Stem Cycle

A couple has children. When they become adults, *only one child* is selected to inherit the family property. In the most common cycle, the oldest boy is chosen as the successor. This is the standard European or Japanese type of male primogeniture. However, in some cases we also find absolute primogeniture in which the oldest child,

whether male or female, is the successor, for instance in the western Pyrenees or in many villages in northeastern Japan. Ultimogeniture (succession by the last born) also exists, for instance in some villages in southeastern Japan or northern Germany, as does free selection of the successor by the parents, as in the French department of Lozère. In southern Asia, the stem family cycle is matrilineal. Under the *khasi* system, the youngest daughter inherits; under the *garo* system, it is any one of the daughters. Under the Moslem Tamil system in Ceylon, the oldest daughter inherits.

Some stem cycles maintain the fiction that all sons are equal, for instance the *Sikh*, *Gurung*, and *Rhenan* systems. To understand the spirit of these systems, it is necessary to observe family groups and see that their structure is always lineal, usually involving a father and one of his married sons, but never a father and several married sons, or several married brothers. Those to be excluded from the inheritance are removed in various ways. It could be remembered, for instance, that throughout the world both openly acknowledged and latent stem families have produced large numbers of mercenary soldiers, from *Gurungs* and *Sikhs*, who flocked into the armies of British India and then of independent India, to *Germans* and *Scots*, many of whom served as professional soldiers in British and French armies between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

The most striking example of the stem cycle is the Tibetan variety (Central Tibetans, Ladakis, Nyinbas). These groups strictly uphold the principle that only one son in each generation may marry, but they recoil before the inhumanity of the European stem family, which in practice condemns many younger sons not only to remain unmarried but also sexually abstinent. Although only the oldest son marries under the Tibetan system, his younger brothers have sexual rights to his wife. This fraternal polyandry is now recognized by anthropologists as a variant of the stem family, which aims to preserve the integrity of the household (see, in particular, Goldstein, 1978, and Levine, 1988). Although the stem family was clearly described by Le Play as early as the mid-nineteenth century, anthropologists have only begun quite recently employing this category. The stem cycle can be patrilineal, matrilineal, or bilateral in terms of inheritance, and patrilocal, matrilocal, or ambilocal in terms of place of residence after the marriage. However, these traditional ethnological concepts do not get to the essence of the stem family cycle, which is a single successor or a single marriage per generation.

3. The Nuclear Cycle

A couple has children. When they become adults, they all leave the family group, both sons and daughters, in order to form their own individual households. The purest form, perhaps, involves an immediate separation of the generations upon marriage, while other forms include a temporary phase during which the young couple resides with the parents of either party. This temporary co-residence is typical of "nuclear" families across all of southeast Asia, and is common among advanced peasant peoples such as the Burmese, Thais, Khmers, and Javanese, as well as among smaller peoples practicing slash and burn agriculture, such as the Karens, Marmas, and Lawas. Very often, the event that prompts a young couple finally to leave the parental home is the marriage of a sibling who also takes up temporary residence with his or her spouse in the parental home. This process logically leaves the last born and married child with the responsibility of caring for the aging parents. As a result, there is a period of extended co-residence at the end of the cycle, which may look similar to a stem family arrangement. However, this type is still called nuclear because the general goal is the independence of young couples and because the last-born children are no longer really under the authority of their parents. Nevertheless, the nuclear type with temporary co-residence and responsibility for caring for the aging parents incumbent upon the youngest children looks very close in some respects to the ultimogeniture stem type.

There are all sorts of intermediate forms between the pure nuclear cycles seen in England or northern France and the highly formalized temporary co-residence cycles seen in southeast Asia. Among Paleo-Siberian peoples such as the *Chuchuk* and *Yukaghirs*, there is frequently a phase during which sons-in-law render service to their fathers-in-law, which corresponds in practice to a type of temporary co-residency. Young couples spend several years with the wife's family before striking out on their own. A very loose type of temporary co-residence can be observed in some parts of Europe, among the Walloons, for example. All these nuclear cycles have in common an ideal of independence for young couples - which is more or less rapidly attained. They may incorporate a patrilocal or matrilocal tilt concerning the place of residence, and a patrilineal or matrilineal tilt concerning inheritances, but the basic spirit of these systems is bilateral: the prime importance of young couples and conjugal families brings about a psychological parity among relatives, whether on the male or female sides.

4. The Matrilineal Communal Cycle

Five of the groups in the sample exhibit a matrilineal communal cycle, which is generally the inverse of the main patrilineal communal cycle. The matrilineal communal cycle cannot be described on the basis of an initial couple because the mother and father of the children do not always live in the same family unit. We therefore begin with a particular woman rather than a particular couple, in view of the tenuousness of the marriage ties and in order to capture the features common to the various matrilineal communal systems. This initial woman, then, has children. When they become adults, the daughters remain with their mother and have more children. The sons are excluded from the family inheritance, which is passed down through women. In the archetypal kind of matrilineal system practiced by the Nayars of Kerala (which can be associated with the type practiced by the Minangkabaus of Sumatra), couples do not form married units, and women remain under the authority of their brothers. However, the matrilineal communal family cycle does not, a priori, prevent more standard marriages. Take for instance the family cycle among the *Chams*, in which the husbands come to live with the families of their wives. The communal groups formed in this way never seem to be as compact as their patrilineal counterparts, which contrast sharply with the Nayar form, in particular. The ethnographic literature speaks in general of the gathering of couples in compounds rather than the formation of indivisible units in individual homes. It is possible in fact to move, with all possible intermediary variations, from strict matrilineal communal systems (with the disinheritance of men and co-residence of couples) to matrilocal nuclear systems (in which men are not disinherited but couples related through the wives live in close proximity). An intermediary type, for instance, might be that represented by the Jorais, with nuclear families and the disinheritance of males. Many peoples in southeast Asia, including the Thais and Javanese, provide an example of the extreme nuclear end of the spectrum with bilateral inheritance and an ideal of independence for the young couple, but with a strong matrilocal bent which finds expression in temporary co-residence after marriage.

5. An Important Intermediate Type: Nuclear Families with Disinheritance of Women (Patrilineal Nuclear Type)

There are very few matrilineal communal systems, and the problems posed by intermediate forms are negligible. However, inter-

mediate forms assume greater importance in relation to the main patrilineal communal type. In general, the patrilineal communal cycle combines disinheritance of women and co-residence of married couples related through the males: fathers and married sons, or married brothers. In some cases, the patrilineal principle results in the disinheritance of women but not the co-residence of young couples in single family units. In practice, this results in a situation in which conjugal families related through the males remain close together without coming together in single households or single businesses. This patrilineal model is the exact counterpart of the flexible matrilineal model mentioned in the previous paragraph. Twenty-three percent of the groups in our sample fall into this intermediate form. It is not especially typical of any particular region in the world or way of life, pertaining to sedentary peasants (Romanians, Nuristanis, Gujuratis, Tamils), head-hunting groups that practiced slash and burn agriculture until recently (Nagas, Bataks), as well as nomadic herdsmen (Bedouin Arabs, Basseris, Baloushs, and Pashtoons).

Our description of the families of nomadic groups follows the categories developed by anthropologists working in the field. Accordingly, most of the nomadic groups in the Arab-Persian area are classified as having patrilineal nuclear families, while most of those in the Turco-Mongol area are classified as having communal families (mostly a patrilineal cycle). However, this distinction is not very strict. Nomadic communal families are always flexible in one sense. The group constituted by the father and his married sons jointly manage their herds and form a functioning economic unit. However, each married couple has its own tent. The separation of patrilineal relatives who do not get along is always theoretically possible. The only clear exception to this flexibility principle in our sample was the Shashevans, a nomadic group speaking the Azeri language (Turkish, therefore, in the broad sense), who erect very large tents containing more than one married couple. Among patrilineal nomads in general, it is possible to conclude either that their families are nuclear (by emphasizing the people in each individual tent) or that their families are communal (by emphasizing that the tents are grouped together). Different researchers have reached different conclusions. However, there is a definite tendency to portray northern nomads of the Turco-Mongol group as having communal families and southern nomads of the Arab-Persian group as having nuclear families. There are reasons for this tendency. The patrilineal

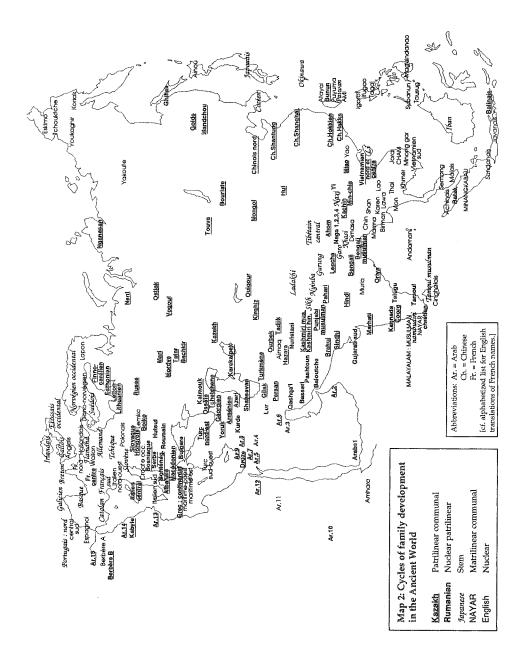
families in the north are exogamous and the practice of expelling women from the family group reinforces the impression of communal families organized around male relatives. The patrilineal families in the south are generally endogamous, and the preferred marriage partners, especially the children of brothers, obscures within each camp the patrilineal inheritance principle and, as a result, the communal structure.

Now that this very simplified classification of family types has been completed, the general distribution of these types can be shown on a map. Additional, more precise details about the results will be provided in later publications. There were 90 patrilineal communal cycles (43 percent of the total); 23 patrilineal nuclear cycles (11 percent); 58 nuclear cycles (28 percent); 31 stem cycles (15 percent); and 5 matrilineal communal cycles (2 percent).

The absolute numbers reveal the relatively large size of the main communal type. The real core of this research lies, however, in the structure of the resulting map (Map 2). In order to interpret it, we must recall some of the insights gained through linguistic geography.

The Contribution of Linguistics to Map Interpretation: The Principle of Peripheral Conservatism

The rise of studies in the nineteenth century into how Indo-European languages are related and the first attempts to reconstruct their common ancestor led (under the influence of Darwin's theory of the evolution of species) to the theory of the genealogy of languages expounded by A. Schleicher: the Stammbaumtheorie. According to this theory, when the speakers of a particular language split into two separate groups, as a result of migration or some other phenomenon, their language is likely to evolve differently in the two groups, although it was identical at the outset. Eventually each group is no longer able to understand the language of the other, and two distinct "daughter" languages are born. When this process repeats itself a number of times, the various scissions can be shown on a genealogical tree indicating the degree to which the various daughter languages are related to each other. Languages that are more closely related on the genealogical tree have more in common (more shared innovations) than languages that are less closely related. In other words, the number of features that two languages have in common is an indication of how closely related they are, at least

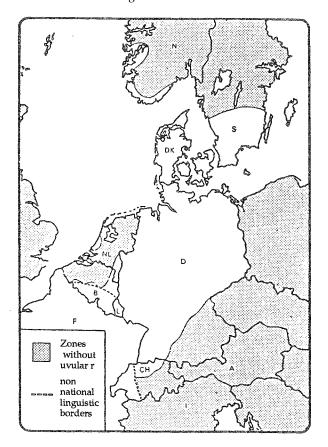


according to a purely genealogical theory of the evolution of languages.

This purely genealogical theory of the evolution of languages fails to take geographic proximity into consideration and treats languages as hermetic, impermeable to outside influences. In a work on the extent to which various Indo-European languages are related, J. Schmidt (1872) showed that languages which are related only distantly but are geographically quite close frequently share traits which they cannot possibly have inherited from their common ancestor. In order to explain this phenomenon, Schmidt introduced the idea that innovations can spread by ripple-effect from dialect to dialect or even from language to language, moving like the ripples produced by a stone thrown into water.

A particularly striking example of the spread of a particular pronunciation through ripple-effect can be seen in Map 3, which shows the extent to which the uvular "r" has rolled across northwestern Europe. The zone where this relatively rare pronunciation among world languages appears is a continuous zone including France, Luxembourg, parts of Switzerland, Belgium, and the Netherlands, most of Germany (but not Bavaria or Austria), Denmark, southern Sweden, and coastal areas of southern Norway. This common pronunciation is clearly not the result of simple retention of a shared, relatively old pronunciation. It is generally believed that the letter "r" was trilled in all European languages until the uvular pronunciation appeared among the upper classes in Paris in the seventeenth century. The present distribution of the uvular "r" is the result of three hundred years of dissemination of this innovation within individual languages and between different languages. The impulse behind this dissemination is clearly the prestige of the classes employing this innovation. The openness of languages to innovations from other languages at first appears rather curious but can be explained by the existence of people, mainly along the border, who speak both languages.

For contemporary linguists, Schleicher's principle of genealogical continuity and Schmidt's spatial dissemination are both aspects of the evolution of languages. However, it is Schmidt's principles for interpreting linguistic maps that are primarily of interest to us. These principles were first employed to explain the distribution of dialects in atlases, particularly the *Atlas linguistique de la France* (Gilliéron and Roques, 1912; Gilliéron, 1918). The principles were then explicitly formulated by such linguists as Dauzat (1922, 1928),



Map 3: Distribution of the Uvular "r" in Northwestern Europe Source: Trudgill (1974), p. 162

Millardet (1923), and Bartoli and Bertoni (1925). A particularly clear presentation can be found in Guiraud (1968). The most important of these principles is the conservatism of isolated and peripheral zones.

Suppose that there are two mutually exclusive linguistic features, A and B. A distribution of these features such as that in Figure 1 tells us nothing about previous distributions. The distribution of A and B may have been stable, or either A or B may have encroached on territory previously occupied by the other. However, in a distribution such as that shown in Figure 2, it is more likely that B encroached on territory previously occupied by A than that two

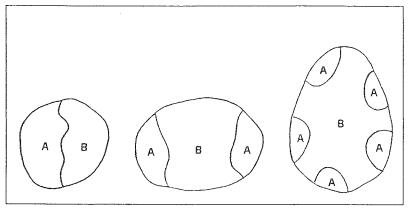


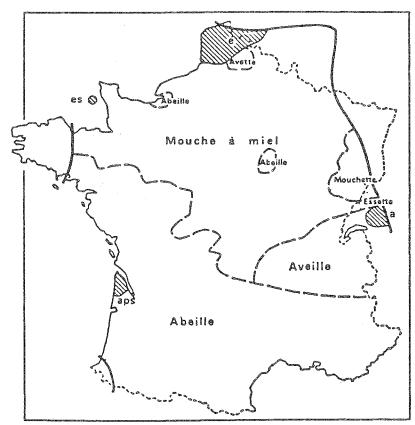
Figure 1 Figure 2 Figure 3

identical but independent A innovations emerged simultaneously on either side of the central zone occupied entirely by B. The probability that B encroached on A increases as the number of isolated A zones on the periphery of B increases. In contrast to most grammarians until the nineteenth century, who believed that central varieties of a language were "purer" and therefore older than peripheral varieties, linguistic geography has concluded that central varieties tend to be more innovative while peripheral varieties are more likely to conserve older features.

A good illustration of the conservatism of peripheral areas can be found in the distribution of the word for "bee" in French dialects (Gilliéron, 1918, cited in Guiraud, 1968). In most dialects, the Latin word for "bee," namely *apis*, which the Roman conquest introduced into Gaul, was displaced by other words (*abeille*, *aveille*, *avette*, *mouche* à *miel*, etc.). Only in four zones on the periphery of the area where French is spoken are words retained that have descended directly from Latin: \acute{e} in Artois, a in Switzerland, aps in Médoc, and es in Guernesey (see Map 4).

Another example of the conservation of older features in the periphery is the distribution of various pronunciations of "r" in the British Isles. A few centuries ago, speakers in southern England stopped pronouncing "r" after vowels (post-vocalic "r") in such words as "bar" or "bark." Today this pronunciation is standard in

^{1.} It is not known whether this phenomenon is related to the spread of the uvular "r."

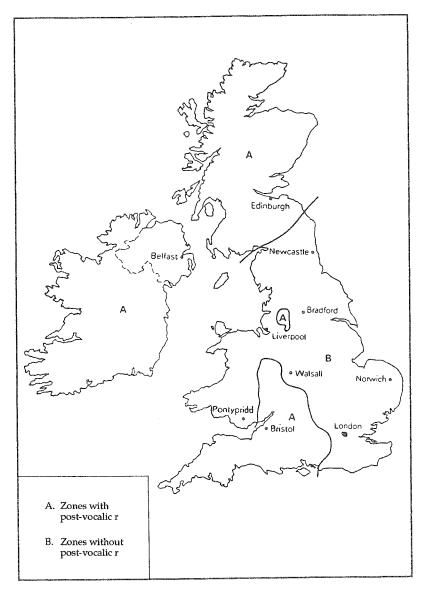


Map 4: Words for "Bee" in Various French Dialects According to Gilliéron

Source: Guiraud (1968), p. 84

the British Isles, but the post-vocalic "r" persists in some regional accents in Britain and, of course, throughout most of North America (Hughes and Trudgill, 1979). The preservation of the post-vocalic "r" in the British Isles (urban areas only) is illustrated in Map 5.

In Maps 4 and 5, the peripheral distribution of trait A indicates that it is the traditional form while B is the innovation. Maps 4 and 5 also illustrate in some instances the conservatism of *isolated areas*, that is, areas where communications with the outside are difficult for geographic reasons (such as the natural obstacles created by valleys, mountains, islands, peninsulas, deep forests, deserts, etc.). On



Map 5: Distribution of the Post-Vocalic "r" in English Dialects in the British Isles (Urban Areas)

Source: Hughes and Trudgill (1979), p. 33

Map 5 there is a conservative enclave between Liverpool and Bradford, a sort of linguistic butte bearing witness to an earlier era when the linguistic innovation was less extensive. This enclave marks a number of dialects spoken in a mountainous region of the southern Pennines. Similarly on Map 4, the preservation of words directly descended from the Latin *apis* in Switzerland, Médoc, and Guernesey was probably due to the isolated nature of these areas (respectively a mountainous region, a peninsula, and an island).

Although we cannot provide any maps, the conservatism of isolated or peripheral zones can also be seen in features common to several languages. Some languages in the Indo-European family have preserved the "k" sound from the original language from which they are all descended, while others have shifted to "s." The languages that underwent a sound shift to "s" cover a continuous area, comprising the Indo-Iranian languages, Armenian, the Slavic languages, the Baltic languages, and Albanian; the languages that preserved the old "k" pronunciation can be found on either side of the "s" zone, including, on one side, western Europe (Latin, Germanic, and Celtic, along with a Greek enclave at the bottom of the Balkans) and, on the other side, Tokarian, a language spoken in Chinese Turkestan during the first millennium A.D. (Martinet, 1986).

In East Asia early in the first millennium A.D., all languages, from the Altaic languages (Tungus, Mongol, Turkish languages) in the north to the Thai languages (Thai, Lao, etc.) and Mon-Khmer languages (Vietnamese, Khmer, etc.) in the south by way of Chinese in the center and the Tibeto-Burman languages in the west, possessed two types of consonants: voiced consonants like "b," "d," and "g" and unvoiced consonants like "p," "t," and "k." During the first millennium, the voiced consonants became unvoiced and were pronounced like the corresponding unvoiced consonants in a northern Chinese dialect, probably that of the capital. This innovation, developed in a regionally prestigious language, was transmitted to other Chinese dialects and then to neighboring languages. By now it has spread across an immense continuous territory, including most Chinese dialects and most Thai, Mon-Khmer, and Tibeto-Burmese languages. The languages that have not been affected are located either on the periphery (coastal Chinese dialects from Shanghai to Wenzhou, the Malayo-Polynesian and Mon-Khmer languages, and the languages of the Malaysian peninsula) or in isolated areas (Chinese

^{2.} Linguistic maps have been developed mainly for individual languages. There are no systematic maps showing the continent-wide development of languages.

dialects of southern Hunan), or in areas that are both isolated and peripheral (Mon-Khmer languages of the Annam cordillera).

Literary languages with ancient writing systems can provide us with information about when innovations penetrated various regions. Written Burmese, which reflects actual pronunciations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, shows these consonants were already unvoiced. On the other hand written Tibetan, which reflects seventh-century pronunciations, shows these consonants were still voiced.

Although the Altaic languages of the north and west were not affected by the "unvoicing" of consonants, Chinese-speaking populations spread across areas previously occupied by speakers of Altaic languages in Heilongjiang, Inner Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan. These population shifts extended to the north and west the area affected by unvoiced consonants. Today, an area covering nearly five thousand kilometers from north to south and from east to west has been affected by the unvoicing of previously voiced consonants (even though voiced consonants reappeared here and there). A detailed study of the border between languages with voiced consonants and languages in which they have been unvoiced shows that this innovation is still spreading today, fifteen hundred years after it first appeared in a city in the Yellow River valley.

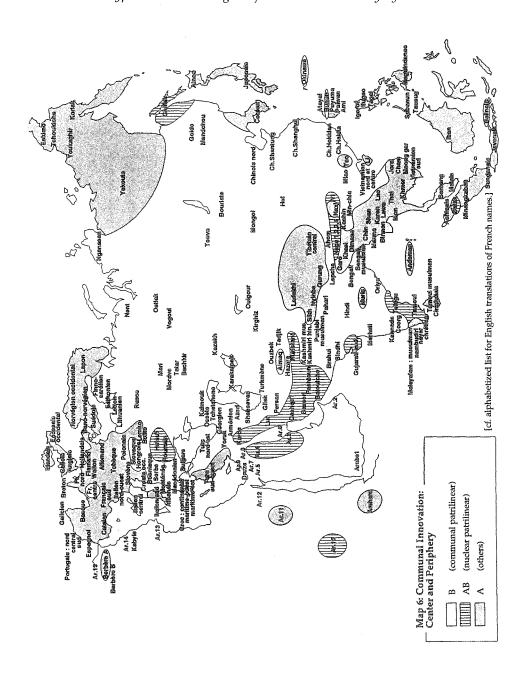
The Emergence of Communal Families

Linguistics therefore provides us with a well-developed technique for reading maps. The map of family types (Map 2) can be simplified, divided, and reduced to the analytical model of the preceding linguistic examples, designating the main communal type as B, the intermediate "patrilineal nuclear" type as AB, and all other types (nuclear, stem, and matrilineal communal as A). Simplified Map 6 (A, B, AB) exhibits an especially clear center/periphery structure. The B communal type occupies a vast central area running from the Baltic states to Vietnam, from northern Siberia to Arabia, and from India to the Maghreb. This continuous zone includes eighty-seven of the ninety human groups exhibiting this main communal cycle. Only three pockets of communal family systems exist outside this zone. The first in central Italy is not clearly different from the communal zone in the Balkans (Serbs, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Albanians), from which it is separated only by the Adriatic. The communal

type in the northwestern part of the Massif central in France is weak and only partial because it is mixed, in the local area, with nuclear and stem types. Even Bali does not provide a clear counterexample. First, the family type here is not absolutely clear because, although classical monographs describe families as communal, patrilineal, and patrilocal, the Indonesian census for 1971 revealed that 16 percent of the complex families had extensions through female relatives (i.e., the couple resided with the wife's parents rather than with the husband's). Second, Bali civilization is Hindu and clearly an extension of the civilization in southern India. The patrilineality of its families could simply be a reflection of Tamil practices.

The peripheral distribution of A (which comprises nuclear, stem, and matrilineal communal families) is striking. Around zone B are scattered approximately ten A zones, consisting primarily, from left to right, of western Europe, northeastern Siberia, the Japan-Korea group, a very large area in southeast Asia (extending from the Philippines to Burma), Ceylon and Kerala in southern India, Gujarat in northern India, the Christian Amharas of Ethiopia, the upper Nile in Egypt, southwestern Turkey and maritime Greece, and certain minority Berber tribes in Morocco. Furthermore, the A enclaves in B territory correspond to mountain populations that have been very isolated until recent times: groups in the Himalayas or sub-Himalayas (central Tibetans, Nyinbas, Ladakhis, Gurungs, and Sikhs) as well as the Aimaq group in Afghanistan. If in interpreting this map we apply the principle that peripheral zones are conservative in nature, feature B (communal, patrilineal families) seems to be the innovation that spread across much of the Old World, though without reaching its periphery. The fact that all noncommunal A zones are located in peripheral or isolated areas increases the likelihood of this proposition. Any other interpretation would have to ascribe simply to chance the absence of noncommunal areas in the central zone and their exclusive appearance in peripheral or isolated regions.

The nuclear, patrilineal AB group does not lend itself to any all-inclusive analysis. The sedentary peasant populations that exhibit these characteristics – *Romanians*, *Hutzuls*, *Nuristanis*, southern *Gujuratis*, *Tamils*, *Telugus*, *Kerela Christians*, and Chinese *Yis* – occupy a geographically intermediate position. They are on the periphery of communal zone B but still in contact with B type families, in contrast to many A peoples who are far removed from the A/B border. The peasant AB peoples exhibit only partial communalization:



the introduction of patrilineality did not lead to the formation of compact family units including several married couples.

The nomadic AB herdsmen in the Arab-Persian zone are a different case. Although their geographic location could well be described as peripheral, they are actually quite close to all the centers of gravity in the great B zone. In addition, the nomadic way of life of these people, which continued until very recently, excludes any interpretation based on isolation. Because of their mobility, groups such as the *Bedouin Arabs* and *Pashtoons* have frequently interacted with other groups throughout their history. The incompleteness of the communal family type among these nomadic peoples is therefore not a reflection of arrested development but a specific characteristic of these people that can probably be related to the flexible communal families of the nomadic peoples in the Turco-Mongol area.

Significance and Carriers of the Communal Family System

As we reach the conclusion of this study of family cycles and their geographic distribution, the main patrilineal communal type emerges as likely an innovation of one or more groups located somewhere near the middle of the Eurasian land mass. This innovation was eventually adopted by what could by called a little less than half of the Old World, based on the total number of human groups in existence (90 out of 207), or by more than half of the Old World, based on the total population of all these groups (the communal family block includes, in particular, the large Chinese, northern Indian, and Russian populations). Only a very limited number of communal pockets exist outside the central zone, none of which exhibits both a pure and independent example of the communal type. Although it is not totally impossible that the communal family system emerged independently in various locations (e.g., the isolated communal cycles in Bali, Rome, etc.), such a development would, on the whole, be rare. All the features of communal families – the co-residence of fathers and their married sons, the departure of girls from their original families, and the absolute primacy of males in defining the social group – produce, in the end, a highly complex social structure that seems artificial in a way and not likely to have flowed naturally and spontaneously from human nature. It seems unlikely, therefore, that this family structure was invented independently by large numbers of peoples. The success of the patrilineal communal family (a success that is clearly demonstrated by its expansion across much of the Old World) can perhaps be ascribed to the military superiority that this type of family structure, in a way both egalitarian and authoritarian, conferred upon those who adopted it. A "father-sons-brothers" family group, with its inevitable genealogical extensions to patrilineal cousins, gives rise to clans, which can function as embryonic military organizations. The patrilineal emphasis of these families engenders a martial, masculine order suited to conquest. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that communal, patrilineal families spread without military conquest.

It is hard to avoid being impressed by the central position occupied by nomadic herdsmen, whether groups on the Eurasian steppes such as the *Mongols, Buryats, Tuvas, Kazaks, Kirghiz, Bashkirs, Kalmuks, Turkmen,* and *Yoruks* or groups from the Arabo-Persian family such as *Bedouin Arabs, Lurs, Qashqa'is, Besseris, Baloush,* and *Pashtoons.* Very mobile populations, they must have played a major role in the dissemination of the communal family model. While these nomadic groups apply the communal principle rather flexibly, patrilineality represents the very core of their social organization.

The Heterogeneous Initial Situation

In accordance with the principle of the basic conservatism of peripheral and isolated areas, when innovations begin to spread from particular centers, the situation on the periphery reflects the situation in the centers before the innovations occurred. We can therefore deduce what the basic family system at the center of the Old World was before patrilineal, communal families began to emerge by observing the present situation on the periphery. The coexistence on the periphery of various family cycles (stem, nuclear, etc.) indicates that before the advent of communal families at its core, the Old World did not have any uniform family structure. In identifying the emergence of communal families, we have not, therefore, discovered the wellspring from which all the history of families has flowed. The distribution of the most important family cycles, nuclear and stem, along the periphery does not reflect any obvious rule. While to the east in Asia, stem families tend to be located in an intermediate zone between the communal and nuclear zones, thereby constituting a sort of buffer between these two types,

the situation to the west in Europe is quite different. Here nuclear and stem families seemed to be distributed randomly, with the nuclear cycles in Poland, Greece, western Croatia, and southwestern Turkey constituting much of the border where contact is made with the communal zone.

Dating the Emergence of Communal Families: Some Historical Notes

If our hypothesis is correct, the border between the patrilineal, communal systems and the other systems must have shifted gradually outward over time toward the periphery of the Old World. This deduction can, in fact, be tested historically because we know something about the family systems in ancient Egypt, China, and Mesopotamia, regions that are now firmly within the communal orbit.

In China, the communal and patrilineal principles seem to have spread from the kingdom of Qin in the extreme northwest (the present provinces of Shaanxi and Gansu), after the unification of the Chinese principalities into a centralized empire by Qin Shi Huang, the ruler of Qin between 255 and 221 B.C. The accession of Quin Shi Huang to the throne was marked by the implementation of a new "legalistic" political ideology, which was both egalitarian and authoritarian, and by the prohibition of matrilocal customs.³ The existence of stem systems in northern China before Qin Shi Huang is attested to, or at least strongly suggested, by Confucianism. This philosophy (which seems associated with Lu, the homeland of Confucius in the southern part of the present province of Shandong on the Pacific coast) required the subordination of younger children to older, of children to their fathers, and of wives to their husbands. A clear distinction between older and younger sons has indeed been firmly established in the Chinese language since the most ancient times. Chinese does not in fact have any generic term corresponding to "brother." Confucianism was vigorously combatted by Qin Shi Huang, who burned all Confucian literature. When Confucianism re-emerged later as the official ideology of the state bureaucracy, it was largely void of the nonegalitarian aspects of its concept of the family.

3. Qin Shi Huang caused men who married matrilocally to be deported to the new colonies in the south. See the biography of Qin Shi Huang in *Les Mémoires historiques de Sse-ma Ts'ien* (Chavannes, 1895–1905).

If we move back to Egypt, in the western part of the zone where communal families are the norm, it is not difficult throughout the history of ancient Egypt to find evidence of nuclear families (Erman and Ranke, 1963; Forgeau, 1986) and a balance between paternal and maternal relatives, with apparently a slight tilt to the matrilineal side during the Middle Kingdom. The existence, throughout all of ancient Egyptian civilization until the end of the Roman empire, of numerous marriages between brothers and sisters excludes any possible patrilineal family structure. In Egypt, it seems that communal families and patrilineality can be associated with the process of Arabization.

However, if we revert from Egypt toward the center of the present communal family zone around the Tigris and Euphrates, the oldest surviving documents already reveal signs of a transformation. Hammurabi's Babylonian Code (1792–1750 B.C.) affirms the equality of brothers and the omission of daughters from the inheritance, but, according to some commentators, mentions the need for young couples to establish their own households (Finet, 1973). Taken together, these two principles would produce a patrilineal, nuclear cycle. However, this very fragmentary information needs to be approached with considerable caution. A little farther north in Assyria, and considerably later toward the end of the twelfth century B.C., surviving records of law intimate the possible existence of true communal families through their frequent allusions to coheirship among brothers. However, considerable rights of primogeniture remained, with the double share granted to first-born sons (Cardascia, 1969). Accordingly, whether in China or in the Near East, the border between the communal, patrilineal system and other systems seems clearly to have shifted outward toward the periphery between antiquity and the present day.

Communal Families and Classical Ethnology

Before concluding, we wish to show how the emergence and dissemination of the communal system relates to classical ethnology. The major communal system is patrilineal and supposes, therefore, a reduction in the status of women. The communalization of the family therefore also implied patrilinealization, the emergence of absolute male predominance. However, contrary to some appearances, Bachofen's description of the transition to patriarchy does not have much in common with our analysis, because his descrip-

tion is based on ancient myths, particularly Greek, recorded in a region which is relatively unimportant from the point of view of our model. Many ethnologists had a feeling, however, that the patrilineal principle in these myths seemed affected, unnatural, and exogenous. The clearest example seems to be that of Robert Lowie, who, while studying central and eastern Asia, perceived the existence of a zone from which anti-feminism, the idea of female inferiority, was propagated. These ideas existed clearly among the Kirghiz but weakened as one moved toward the Paleo-Siberians in the northeast (Lowie, 1936). Lowie had thus seized upon a fragment of the center/periphery phenomenon, without realizing that this model could apply to the entire Old World.

The extension of research to the entire world would make it possible to determine exactly how difficult it is for communal family systems to emerge. In the Americas and Australia, nuclear family cycles overwhelmingly predominated among the aboriginal populations before the European conquest. However, only a very detailed study of hundreds of groups could demonstrate that pure communal systems never emerged spontaneously here, free from diffusion or any outside influences. The extension of such a study to Africa south of the Sahara would pose some problems because of the frequency of polygyny, which modifies the very idea of the family cycle. However, the large number of patrilineal inheritance systems, and, to an even larger extent, patrilocal systems, suggests the existence of communal families, a continuation, perhaps, of the communal systems in the Arab countries. The northern part of black Africa has, of course, also been largely Islamized. Such a study would probably conclude that dissemination of the communal system continued, and perhaps that Africa, at least insofar as the history of the family is concerned, is part of the Old World.

Why did such a simple phenomenon escape observers for so long? One answer probably lies in the fact that the various family cycles do not correspond very well to particular levels of cultural or economic development. Nuclear and stem cycles, in particular, appear among both very developed and very primitive groups. In order to understand the type of dissemination that occurred, all Eurocentrism has to be set aside in order to consider Englishmen and Chuchuck, Adamanese and Castillians, Germans and Garos, and Frenchmen and Igorots on the same level from a purely geographic point of view.

Another likely answer is that the methods developed by linguists

and dialectologists for interpreting maps have not been adopted by other disciplines, possibly because of early anthropology's suspicion of "diffusionist" models. However, a priori rejection of all interpretations based on diffusion is untenable. The basic conservatism of peripheral and isolated areas is a general principle that can be applied to many fields other than linguistics.

Translated from the French by Bruce Little

Appendix

List of Peoples

The following list gives for each of the 207 peoples considered one or two sources providing a short description of family structures. Whenever possible, we avoided using basic monographs as sources and confined ourselves to the descriptions given in more comprehensive works such as L'Invention de l'Europe (Todd), which deals with all of western Europe, Moslem Peoples (Weekes), which describes the Moslem world, and Peoples of Central Asia (Krader), which analyzes the central Asian groups in the Soviet sphere. The most important of these comprehensive works is, of course, Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas, which was used in the form of the codified summary published in Ethnology in 1967. A schematic description of family structure was derived from columns 14 (family organization), 16 (marital residence), 74 (inheritance of real property), and 76 (inheritance of movable property). When the description given in the Ethnographic Atlas did not seem to jibe with the facts, we indicated this by giving a basic monograph as the source. The authors' names refer to the Bibliography that follows the List of Peoples.

EUROPEAN AREA

1. ALBANIAN: Murdock, Weekes. 2. GERMAN: Todd. 3. ENGLISH: Todd. 4. BASQUE: Murdock, Todd. 5. BOYKO: Bonkalo. 6. MOSLEM BOSNIAN: Weekes, Mosely. 7. BRETON: Todd. 8. BULGARIAN: Murdock, Ilieva and Oshavkova. 9. CATALAN: Todd. 10. WESTERN CROATION: Gossiaux, Erlich. 11. DANO-NORWEGIAN: Todd. 12. WESTERN SCOTTISH: Todd. 13. SPANISH: Todd, Murdock. 14. FINNO-KARELIAN: Todd, Gaunt. 15. FLEMISH, Todd. 16. NORTHERN FRENCH: Todd. 17. SOUTHERN FRENCH (OCCITAN): Todd. 18. WEST CENTRAL FRENCH: Todd. 19. GALICIAN: Todd. 20. WELSH: Todd. 21. CONTINENTAL GREEK

(SARAKATSANI): Campbell. 22. EASTERN MARITIME GREEK: Piault, Murdock. 23. WESTERN MARITIME GREEK: Piault, Murdock. Murdock's Atlas analyzes Du Boulay's conclusions about the village of Eubee, located in the east but with a patrilocal tilt and therefore more typical of the western model. The eastern model tends to be matrilocal. The two maritime Greek types are nuclear and pertain to all coasts, not just the islands. 24. DUTCH: Todd. The data presented in Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas pertain to Drenthe, where the dominant family type is not nuclear, as in Holland, but stem, as in the entire interior, nonmaritime part of the Netherlands. The description given in the Atlas is incomprehensible because it combines extended families, primarily ambilocal marriages, and egalitarian bilateral inheritance. 25. HUNGARIAN: Murdock. 26. HUTZUL: Murdock, Bonkalo. 27. IRISH: Todd, Murdock. 28. CENTRAL ITALIAN: Todd. 29. NORTH-WESTERN ITALIAN: Todd. 30. SOUTHERN ITALIAN: Todd, Murdock. 31. LEMKO: Bonkalo. 32. MACEDONIAN: Mosely. 33. MONTENEGRIN: Mosely. 34. WESTERN NORWEGIAN: Todd. 35. POLISH: Thomas and Znaniecki. 36. CENTRAL PORTUGUESE: Todd. 37. NORTHERN POR-TUGUESE: Todd. 38. SOUTHERN PORTUGUESE: Todd. 39. RUMANIAN: Stahl. 40. SERBIAN: Murdock, Mosely, Gossiaux. 41. SLOVAK: Stein, Le Play. 42. SLOVENIAN: Gossiaux, Winner. 43. SWEDISH: Todd. 44. CZECH: Murdock; Salzmann and Scheufler for the nonegalitarian transfer of inheritance. 45. WALLOON: Todd.

SOVIET AREA

1. ARMENIAN: Murdock. 2. BASHKIR: Le Play, Weekes. 3. BURYAT: Humphrey. As in most Mongol systems, traces of a simple family structure are always visible in the communal family structure, especially in the tendency for the youngest sons to remain with their parents and inherit from their aunts. 4. ESKIMO: Murdock, Eskimo Nunivaks. However, this very flexible family cycle cannot be understood without going back to the source: Lantis. 5. ESTONIAN: Palli, Kakh and Palli, Plakans. 6. GEOR-GIAN: Dragadze. 7. GHILIAK: Murdock. 8. GOLDE: Murdock. 9. KALMUK: Murdock. 10. KARAKALPAK: Weekes, Krader. 11. KAZAK: Murdock, Weekes, Krader. 12. KIRGHIZ: Krader, Weekes. 13. KORIAK: Murdock. 14. LAPP: Murdock. 15. LETT: Plakans. 16. LITHUANIAN: Murdock. 17. MARI: Smirnov. Here we do not follow the Ethnographic Atlas, which describes these families as nuclear. However, we are perhaps in a border area here. 18. MORDVIN: Smirnov. 19. NENT: Murdock. 20. NYGANASAN: Popov. 21. OSSET: Murdock. 22. OSTIAK: Raun. Here we do not follow the Ethnographic Atlas, which describes families as nuclear. However, we are clearly in a border region here. 23. UZBEK: Weekes, Krader. 24. RUSSIAN: Le Play, 1897, Benet, Czap. 25. TADJIK: Weekes, Krader. 26. TARTAR: Weekes, 27. CHETCHEN: Murdock, 28. CHUCHUK: Murdock. 29. TUVA: Vainshtein. 30. VOGUL: Raun. 31. YAKUT: Murdock. 32. YUKAGHIR: Murdock.

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INDIAN AREA

1. AHOM: Barua. 2. ANDAMAN: Murdock. 3. CINGALESE: Murdock. 4. COORG: Murdock. 5. DIMASA: Danda. 6. GURUNG: Pignède, Macfarlane. 7. BENGALI (HINDU): Sarma. 8. BENGALI (MOSLEM): Weekes. 9. GARO: Murdock, but Nakane for a good description of the stem structure. 10. GUJURATI (SOUTHERN, SAURASHASTRA): Murdock, Trautman. 11. HINDU: Singh. 12. KANNADA: Ishwaran. 13. KASHMIRI (HINDU): Madan. 14. KASHMIRI (MOSLEM): Murdock. 15. KHASI: Murdock, but Nakane for a good description of the stem structure. 16. LADAKHI: Kaplanian. 17. LEPCHA: Murdock. The original monograph by Gorer reveals a characteristic "stem tilt" with a particular role for the oldest son. 18. MALAYALAM-NAMBUDIRI: Puthenkalam; Mencher and Goldberg. 19. MALAYALAM-NAYAR: Murdock. 20. MALAYALAM (CHRISTIAN): Krishnan. 21. MALAYALAM (MOSLEM): D'Souza. 22. MARHATI: Orenstein. 23. MURIA: Elwin. 24. NAGA (ANGAMI): Murdock. 25. NAGA (AO): Murdock. 26. NAGA (LHOTA): Murdock. 27. NAGA (SEMA): Murdock. 28. NYINBA: Levine (N.E.). 29. ORIYA: Behura. The groups speaking Oriya with a nuclear family structure are considered under the Telugu type. 30. PAHARI: Murdock. 31. SIKH: Leaf. 32. TAMIL: Dumont, Beck. Here we do not follow the Ethnographic Atlas, which describes Tamil families as extended, in conformity with the Indian ethnographic tradition. Dumont and then Beck noted the nuclear structure of families outside the Brahman caste. Their conclusion is confirmed by the Indian census of 1961 (on this point, see Todd, 1988). 33. TAMIL (MOSLEM, from CEYLON): Yalman. 34. TELUGU: Behura. Here we do not follow the Ethnographic Atlas, which describes Telugu families as extended (same problem as with the Tamils). Behura's study shows very well the contrast between the communal family type of most populations speaking Oriya and the nuclear type of the groups speaking Telugu. See as well the analysis of the 1961 Indian census in Todd, 1988.

FAR EASTERN AREA

1. ACHINAIS: Siegel. 2. AINU: Sugiura and Befu. Here we do not follow the *Ethnographic Atlas*, which describes the family structure as extended. 3. AMI: Murdock. 4. ATAYAL: Murdock, Pecoraro. The G form of the family structure, as defined by the *Ethnographic Atlas* ("minimal extended or 'stem' family"), probably does not refer here to a stem-type cycle. The co-residence of two married couples corresponds here to an incomplete nuclear type including temporary co-residence after the marriage and long-lasting co-residence of youngest sons. However, here we are surely dealing with an extreme that is, in fact, not much different from the stem family system of the neighboring Paiwan. In general, Murdock's coded classification system often results in the confusion of nuclear families with temporary co-residence and stem families. (Other examples: Thais and Javanese.)

residence and stem families. (Other examples: Thais and Javanese.) 5. BALINESE: Murdock. 6. BATAK: Vergouwen. Here we do not follow the Ethnographic Atlas, which fails to capture the temporary co-residence system and describes the family type as extended. 7. BURMESE: Murdock. 8. BUNUN: Murdock. 9. CHAM: Labar, et al. Here we do not follow the Ethnographic Atlas which is not exactly wrong but whose categories fail to capture the logic of the family cycle. 10. CHIN: Murdock, Lehman. Despite the classical type of temporary co-residence, we are very close at times to stem cycles, especially among some aristocratic families in the north. 11. HAKKA CHINESE: Pasternak. 12. HOKKIEN CHINESE: Murdock, Pasternak. 13. NORTHERN CHINESE: Gamble. 14. SHANGHAI CHINESE: Fei. 15. SHANTUNG CHINESE: Yang. 16. KOREAN: Murdock. 17. HUI: Weekes. 18. IBAN: Murdock, but Freeman as well to capture the typically lineal transmission of stem families. 19. IFUGAO: Murdock. 20. IGOROT: Murdock. 21. JAPANESE: Murdock. 22. JAVANESE: Koentjaraningrat, Murdock. Insofar as the presentation in the Ethnographic Atlas is concerned, the same comment applies as for the Atayal. 23. JORAI: Dournes. 24. KACHIN: Murdock, Leach. However, the communal system seems quite weak with the appearance of some nuclear families with temporary co-residence. 25. KAREN: Murdock. 26. KHMER: Murdock, Lebar, et al. 27. LAOTIAN: Lebar, et al. 28. LAWA: Kunstadter, Lebar, Murdock. 29. LI: Murdock, Lebar, et al. 30. MAGUINDANAO: Weekes. 31. MALAYSIAN: Lebar, et al. Here we do not follow the Ethnographic Atlas, which speaks of a complex structure. 32. MANCHU: Murdock. Some evidence of inheritance by youngest sons, as among the Mongols. 33. MARMA: Murdock, Bernot. 34. MIAO: Murdock. 35. MINANGKABAU: Murdock. 36. MINCHIA: Murdock. 37. MNONG GAR: Murdock. 38. MON: Lebar. 39. MONGOL: Vreeland, Murdock. Depending on the Mongol type (Khalka, Chahar, Monguor), the Ethnographic Atlas captures the overall communal family structure or the subgroups of nuclear tents with a special role for youngest sons. 40. NAXI: Lebar. 41. OKINAWA: Murdock. 42. OUIGOUR: Krader. 43. PAIWAN: Murdock. 44. PUYUMA: Murdock. 45. SEMANG: Murdock. 46. SHAN: Lebar, et al. Some trace of primogeniture. 47. SUBANUN: Murdock. 48. SUNDANESE: Weekes. 49. TAGAL: Takanashi. 50. TAUSUG: Kiefer. 51. THAI: Murdock, Embree. Insofar as the presentation in the Ethnographic Atlas is concerned, the same comment applies as for Atayal. 52. CENTRAL TIBETAN: Murdock, but especially Goldstein for the theory of the polyandrous stem family. 53. NORTH AND CENTRAL VIET-NAMESE: Lebar, et al. 54. SOUTH VIETNAMESE: Lebar, et al., Murdock. 55. YAO, Lebar, et al. 56. YI, Murdock, Lebar, et al.

MOSLEM ARAB AREA

1. AMHARA: Hoben, Levine (D.N.). We must reject the description in the *Ethnographic Atlas*, which describes the Amhara family as extended with patrilineal inheritance. 2. AIMAQ: De Benoist de Gentissart, Weekes. 3.

Murdock. 6. MUTAIR ARAB: Murdock. 7. TIYARA ARAB: Chelhod, 1965. 8. SHIITE IRAQUI ARAB: Murdock. 9. PALESTINIAN ARAB: Ata. 10. SYRIAN ARAB: Murdock. 11. CHRISTIAN LEBANESE ARAB: Germanos-Ghazaly. 12. BAGGARA ARAB: Murdock, Cunnison. 13. UPPER EGYPT-IAN ARAB: Barclay notes a model of temporary co-residence with the wife's family until the birth of the first child. The 1960 census showed that households are clearly more nuclear throughout Upper Egypt. (See as well Murdock: Silva.) 14. LOWER EGYPTIAN ARAB: Barclay. See Upper Egyptian Arab. 15. TUNISIAN ARAB: Cuisenier. 16. ALGERIAN ARAB: Murdock. 17. MOROCCAN ARAB: Seddon. 18. AZERI: Weekes. 19. MOROC-CAN BERBER A (AIT HADDIDU): Hart. 20. MOROCCAN BERBER B: Hart for the Ait Murghad, Murdock for the Riffians. 21. BALOUSH: Pehrson, De Benoist de Gentissart. 22. BASSERI: Murdock. 23. BRAHUI: Weekes. Families are more communal among the sedentary Brahui and more nuclear among the nomadic. 24. DRUSE: Murdock. 25. GILAK: Mir-Hosseini. 26. HAZARA: Murdock, but with a trace of primogeniture, according to Bacon. 27. KABYLE: Murdock. 28. KURDISH: Murdock. 29. LUR: Weekes. 30. NURISTANI: Jones. The Ethnographic Atlas does not capture the neolocal marriages and therefore presents families as extended. 31. PASHTOON: Murdock. 32. PERSIAN: Murdock. 33. MOSLEM PUNJABI: Weekes. 34. QASHQA'I: Weekes. 35. SHAH-SEVAN: Tapper. The only nomadic group in our sample in which tents contain extended families. 36. SINDHI: Murdock. 37. NORTHEASTERN TURKISH: Stirling. 38. SOUTH-WESTERN TURKISH: Benedict. The 1985 Turkish census reveals the existence of two very different zones: very complex households in the north and east, and much more nuclear families in the south and west. 39. TURK-MEN: Weekes. 40. YORUK: Weekes.

English translations of French names (when necessary), alphabetized by area.

European Area

Albanais: Albanian Allemand: German Anglais: English Basque Boiko: Boyko

Bosnian Musulman: Moslem Bosnian

Breton

Bulgare: Bulgarian

Catalan

Croate Occidental: Western Croatian Dano-Norvegien: Dano-Norwegian Ecossais Occidental: Western Scottish

Espanol: Spanish

Finno-Carelien: Finno-Karelian

Flamand: Flemish

Français du nord: Northern French Français du Sud (Occitan): Southern

French (Occitanian)

Français du Centre-ouest: Central West-

ern French Galicien: Galician Gallois: Welsh

Grec Continental (Sarakatsani): Continental Greek (Sarakatsani)

Grec Maritime-est: Eastern Maritime

Greek

Grec-Maritime-ouest: Western Mar-

itime Greek Hollandais: Dutch Hongrois: Hungarian Hutsul: Hutzul Irlandais: Irish

Italien Central: Central Italian Italian Nord-Ouest: Northwestern Italian

Italian Sud: Southern Italian

Lemko

Macédonian: Macedonian Monténegrin: Montenegrin

Norvégien Occidental: Western Norwe-

gian

Polonais: Polish

Portugal Central: Central Portuguese

Portugal Nord: Northern Portuguese Portugal Sud: Southern Portuguese

Roumain: Rumanian Serbe: Serbian Slovaque: Slovak Slovène: Slovenian Suédois: Swedish Tchèque: Czech Wallon: Walloon

Sovietic area

Arménien: Armenian Bachkir: Bashkir Bouriate: Buryat

Eskimo

Esthonien: Estonian Géorgien: Georgian Ghiliak: Gilyak Golde: Goldi Kalmouk: Kalmuk Karakalpak Kazakh Kirghiz Koriak Lapon: Lapp Letton: Lett

Lithuanien: Lithuanian

Mari

Mordve: Mordvin Nent: Nentsi Nyganasan Ossète: Osset Ostiak Ouzbek: Uzbek Russe: Russian Tadjik Tatar: Tartar Tchétchène: Chetchen Tchouktche: Chuchuck

Touva: Tuva Vogoul: Vogul Yakoute: Yakut Youkaghir: Yukaghir

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Hypothesis on the Origins of the Communal Family System

Indian Area Bunun
Ahom Cham
Chin

Andaman
Cinghalais: Cingalese
Coorg
Dimasa
Gurung
Congalise
Courg
Chinois-Hakka: Hakka Chinese
Chinois-Hokkien: Hokkien Chinese
Chinois-Nord: Northern Chinese
Chinois-Shanghai: Shanghai chinese
Chinois-Shantung: Shantung Chinese

Bengali (Hindouiste): Bengali (Hindu)
Coréen: Korean

Bengali (Musulman): Bengali (Moslem)

Corre

Garo Iban
Gujurati (Southern, Saurashastra) Ifugao
Hindu

Kannada Igorot
Kashmiri (Hindouiste): Kashmiri Japanese

(Hindu)
Kashmiri (Musulman): Kashmiri
(Moslem)
Khasi
Kadakhi
Kashmiri (Kashmiri
Kachin
Khasi
Khasi
Khasi

Ladakhi Lao: Laotian
Lepcha Lawa
Malayalam-Nambudiri Li
Malayalam-Nayar

Malayalam (Christian)

Malayalam (Christian)

Maguindanao

Malais: Malaysian

Mandchou: Manchu

Malayalam (Musulman): Malayalam Marma (Moslem) Miao Marhati Minangkabau Muria Minchia Naga (Angami) Mnong Gar Naga (Ao) Mon Naga (Lhota) Mongol Naga (Sema) Naxi Nyinba Okinawa Oriya Ouigour Pahari Paiwan Sikh Puyuma Tamoul: Tamil

Tamoul (Musulman de Ceylan): Tamil
(Moslem, from Ceylan)

Semang
Shan
Subanun

Telugu Sundanais: Sundanese

Far Eastern Area Tagal
Tausug
Achinais Thai

Ainou: Ainu Tibetain Central: Central Tibetan
Ami Vietnamien Nord et Centre: North and

Atayal Central Vietnamese

Balinais: Balinese Vietnamien Sud: South Vietnamese

Batak Yao Birman: Burmese Yi

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Arab Moslem Area

Amhara Aimaq

Arabe-Yemen: Yemen Arab Arabe-Oman: Oman Arab Arabe-Rwala: Rwala Arab Arabe-Mutair: Mutair Arab Arabe-Tiyaha: Tiyaha Arab

Arabe-Chite d'Irak: Shiite Iraqui Arab Arabe-Palestine: Palestinian Arab

Arabe-Syrie: Syrian Arab

Arabe-Chrétien du Liban: Christian

Lebanese Arab

Arabe-Baggara: Baggara Arab Arabe-Haute Egypte: Upper Egyptian

Arab

Arabe-Basse Egypte: Lower Egyptian

Arab

Arabe-Tunisie: Tunisian Arab Arabe-Algerie: Algerian Arab Arabe-Maroc: Moroccan Arab

Azeri

Berbere Marocain (Ait Haddidu): Moroccan Berber (Ait Haddidu) Berbere Marocain: Moroccan Berber

Baloutche: Baloush

Basseri Brahui Druze: Druse Gilak Hazara Kabyle Kurde: Kurdish

Lur Nuristani

Pashtoun: Pashtoon Persan: Persian

Punjabi Musulman: Moslem Punjabi

Qashqa'i Shah-Sevan Sindhi

Turc-Nord-est: Northeastern Turkish Turc Sud-ouest: Southwestern Turkish

Turkmene: Turkmen

Yoruk

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