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COUSIN MARRIAGE IN JAPAN

by

KAZUE KODA

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—Kadonyu, Tokuyama, Gifu—

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I

Tokuyama-mura is located along the upper course of the Ibi River in Gifu-ken. One can get to Kadonyu Buraku going up the west valley of the river farther about 16 kilometers from the main village Tokuyama. Two researches which were taken up in quite different approach have ever been carried out independently about this Tokuyama-mura: one by Mr. Katsunori Sakurada¹⁾ in ethnology and the other by Prof. Kenichi Kishimoto²⁾ in human genetics. Kadonyu is still discussed as “a very isolated hamlet”³⁾. The author was interested in Kadonyu, Tokuyama-mura through the data of human genetics by Prof. Kishimoto.

One of the results which sociology has obtained, taking up the marriage connection as its theme, is the issue of intermarry-circle. But there are still left many problems about what the intermarry-circle⁴⁾ interprets. For example, how is it connected with the isolate? It is not so long ago that Dr. Kizaemon Ariga presented one hypothesis, that is “‘cousin’ means originally kinship relation between the same generations which is made by marriage”⁵⁾. An approach was made only recently, where consanguineous and endogamous marriage are taken note of, connected with kinship.⁶⁾ However, even in the case of a village in Okinawa where cousin

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- 1) Sakurada, K., ‘Mino Tokuyama-mura minzokushi (Ethnography of Mino Tokuyama-mura)’, 1951.
 - 2) Kishimoto, K., ‘Seishin hakujaku no iden kenkyu chiken hoi (A Supplement for Study and View of Heredity of Low Intelligence), in: Jidō Seishinigaku to Sono Chokusetsu Ryōiki (Japanese Journal of Child Psychiatry), vol. 4, No. 2, 3, pp. 87-125, 1963 or ‘Preliminary Report of Activities of the Consanguinity Study Group of the Science Council of Japan’, Eugenics Quarterly, vol. 9, pp. 5-13, 1962.
 - 3) Gifu Shigakukai (Gifu Association of Historical Sciences), ‘Tokuyama-mura Kadonyu o chōsashite (After Research about Kadonyu in Tokuyama-mura), in: Gifu Shigaku (Gifu Historical Sciences), No. 38, 1963.
 - 4) Koyama, T. ‘Tsūkonken no imisurumono (The Sociological Meaning of Marriage Circle), in: Shakaigaku no Shomondai (Problems in Sociology), Essays Contributed in Celebration of the Seventieth Birthday of Professor Takada, p. 399, 1954. Therein intermarry-circle is emphasized as a method to approach.
 - 5) Ariga, K., ‘Dōzoku to shinzoku (Ie Federations and Relatives), in: Nihon Minzokugaku no tameni (In Behalf of the Study of Japanese Folklore), Essays Contributed in Celebration of the Seventieth Birthday of Yanagida, K., p. 58, 1947 or ‘Ariga Kizaemon chosakushu (Ariga Kizaemon’s Works)’, vol. X, 1971.

marriages comprise 16% of the total number of marriages contracted, it is not mentioned as what factor they operate on the kinship system of Okinawa.⁷⁾ Apart from a recent controversy about whether cousin marriage is preferential or prescriptive,⁸⁾ the simulation model about cross cousin marriage by Kunstadter and others⁹⁾ proved that such a low cousin-marriage rate as 25–30% of the total population told the result of members' preference to cousin marriage. This proof is right though this model involves still many assumptions and demographic conditions which are yet left unsolved.¹⁰⁾

Most sociologists, in fact, can hardly make a direct use of the data of population genetics on inbreeding, because many inbreeding cases are put into such data together without distinguishing between patrilineal and matrilineal kinship. But it has been confirmed to a certain extent that in Japan the rate occupied by cousin marriages with MZD and MBD is much higher than that occupied by marriages with FZD and FBD.¹¹⁾ Nevertheless, the cases of FBD, MBD and FZD are more frequent at Suemura,¹²⁾ Kemuriyama¹³⁾ and Niike¹⁴⁾ respectively. That is to say, in Japanese cousin marriages there is no rule such as “up the hill” or “reverting”¹⁵⁾. Moreover a high rate of 1st cousin once-removed marriage and also a high rate of marriage with FFBSD out of 2nd cousins which was indicated for the first time by¹⁶⁾

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- 6) Gamō, M., 'Ningenkankei no shosō (Some Aspects of Human Relations)', in: Toshi to Sonrakuno Shakaiagakuteki Kenkyū (Sociological Study of Urban Areas and Village), p. 132, 1956 or 'Nihon no kon-in taikai ni kansuru shiron (An Essay on Japanese Marriage System)', in: Shakai-Jinruigaku (Social Anthropology), vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 1–11, 1958 or moreover 'Shinzoku (Kinship)', in: Nihon Minzokugaku Taikai (Outline of Japanese Folklore Studies), 3, p. 252, 1958.
 - 7) Takemura, T., 'Kunigami-son Uka o chūshin tosuru shinzoku taikai to saishi-soshiki (The Kinship System and Ritual Organization Focused on Uka, Kunigami-son)', in: Okinawa no Shakai to Shūkyō (Society and Religion in Okinawa), ed. Tokyo Toritsu Daigaku Nansei Shoto Kenkyū Iinkai (Study Committee of South West Islands, Tokyo Metropolitan University), p. 63, 1965. Out of the total number of 531 marriages, cousin marriages are 48 cases which can be assured and those which are almost assured are 38 cases. The sum of them amounts to 16% of the whole.
 - 8) Typical one is controversy of Homans and Schneider against Levi-Strauss. Koda, K., 'Sociological Analysis—Statistical Method and Cross Cousin Marriage—', in: Osaka Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō (Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters Osaka University), vol. XI, pp. 60–67, 1965.
 - 9) P. Kunstadter, et al., 'Demographic Variability and Preferential Marriage', American Journal of Physical Anthropology, vol. 21, pp. 511–19, 1963.
 - 10) C. Levi-Strauss, 'The Future of Kinship Studies', Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute, p. 16, 1965.
 - 11) op. cit., Kishimoto, p. 12.
 - 12) W.T. Schull and J.V. Neel, 'The Effects of Inbreeding on Japanese Children', Table 2. 2, 1965.
 - 13) J. Embree, Suye-mura, n. ed., p. 67, 1946.
 - 14) 'Tsugeno chiku (Tsugeno Area)', in: Nara-ken Sogo Bunka Chosa Hokoku-sho (The Cultural Research Report of Nara Prefecture), p. 343, 1952.
 - 15) R.K. Beardsley, et al., 'Village Japan', pp. 323–4, 1959.
 - 16) H.T. Fei, 'Peasant Life in China', pp. 50–52, 1939, trans. Senba, Y. and Shioya, Y., pp. 73–4, However, as known generally in China, there are contracted not only MBD and FZD marriage but MZD marriage. Refer to D.H. Kulp, 'Country Life in South China', p. 168, 1925, trans. Seichi, K. and Oikawa, H., pp. 220–222. The author also found MZD marriage in Chinese society in Kota Bharu, Malaysia.

17) Schull and others, are discovered in Japan. As any explanation about the characteristics of marriage with 1st cousin once-removed was not made satisfactorily, can it be said that the high rate of marriage with FFBSD reflects “some underling, but to us unknown, cultural phenomenon”¹⁸⁾? A model of marriage with FFBSD can be seen rather in Islamic society.¹⁹⁾ Whether is there any common connection between the relationship among titled families in Islamic society and *honkebunke* relationship (stem-branch families relationship) in Japan when considering both from the point of cousin marriage?

As of July, 1966 the number of households in Kadonyu was 40. As a great fire had burnt out the *buraku* (village) on July 17, 1956, there can be found no document before the Meiji (1868—1912) era. According to “Ninbetsu-aratame”²⁰⁾ (a document recording the census of the population) in Bunei 11 (1828),²¹⁾ which was found by Mr. Sakurada, the number of them was 30, and according to “Kosekibo” (the book of family register) in Meiji 29 (1896) which has preserved by the *buraku*, it was 33. The number has been almost more or less 36 until today, meanwhile many people in the *buraku* emigrated to Hokkaido at the peak in the early years of Taisho. (1912—1925). When an arrangement of the owned mountains was made in Meiji 43 (1910), the number of households was 36. The numeral 36 depends upon that the decision in which mountains owned by the villagers in common was worth 72 ‘*kabu*’s (portion) has been surviving still now, the *kabus* were shared among the 36 households and two *kabus* were allotted to each household as its portion.²²⁾

These 36 households compose six ‘*rokuningumi*’s (a cooperative group of six neighbouring households), at the latest in the middle years of Taisho, each of them consisting of six households. This arrangement can be examined in ‘Ooaza-Kadonyu-Sanrin-Gijiroku’ (Ooaza-Kadonyu Official Record about Forests). In the book there was such an article as “In Kadonyu there are thirty-six households being divided into six groups each of which shall consists of six households and shall choose one representative within it.”²³⁾ Traces of these six *rokuningumis* can be left still now, as shown in Figure 1. After the great fire in 1956, concerning the sale of wood owned by the *buraku* to O-paper-manufacturing company, this *buraku* had been disunited into two factions during about the following ten years until its settlement was arrived at in 1965. Figure 3 shows these two factions.

17) op. cit., Schull and Neel, Table 2.2.

18) op. cit., Schull and Neel, p. 16.

19) Koda, K., ‘Cousin marriage in Muslim Village’, in: The Sociological Review Monograph No. 10, pp. 151—164, 1966.

——— ‘Muslim Community in Gujarat’, in: Marriage Regulation in India II, Osaka Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō (Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters Osaka University) vol. XVI, pp. 85—109, 1972.

20) Sakurada, op. cit., p. 13.

21) The book owned by the present head of the *buraku* Izumi, K.,

22) At the present, they are 76 *kabus* including four *kabus* shared by O-paper manufacturing office.

23) ‘Ooaza Kadonyu sanrin gijiroku (Ooaza Kadonyu Official Record about Forests), the 14th article, Mar. 2, 1926.

II

In Kadonyu 283 marriages have been totally contracted among all the households, the number of which was 33 in 1896 and 40 in July, 1966, except for about 39 households in which all members of the family emigrated to Hokkaido since 1902. After out of 283 marriage connections we exclude 53 cases of unknown relationship and arrange 230 cases, Table 1 is given. Endogamous marriages are seen in 135 cases, or 58.7% of the whole. All the consanguineous marriages out of 230 cases are 66, or 28.7%. In the cases of endogamous

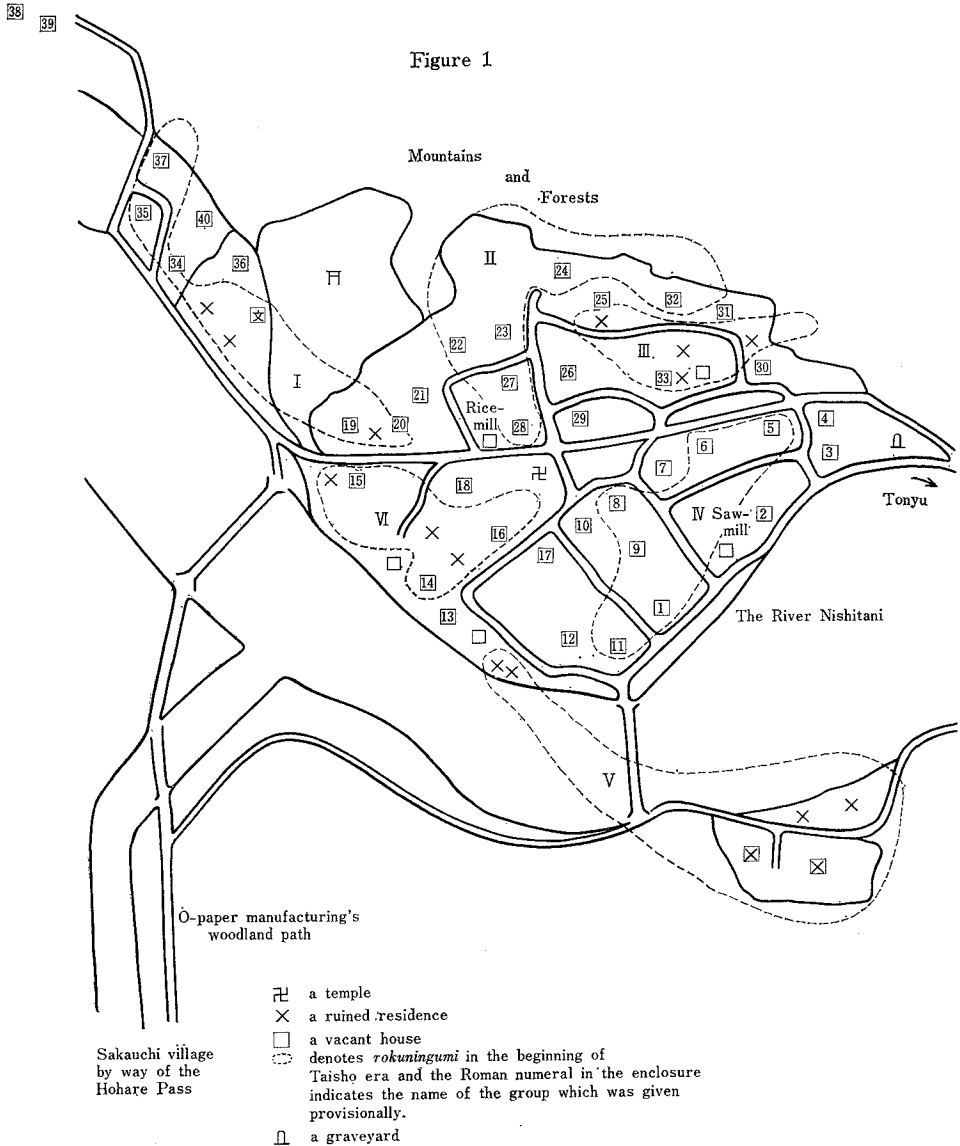


Table 1













	No. of Marriage Connection	No. of Consanguineous Marriage
Endogamous Marriage	135	64
Exogamous	Incoming	33
	Outgoing	62
total	230	66
Unknown	53	
total	283	

Table 2

	Endogamous Marriage	Exogamous Marriage Incoming Outgoing	Total
1st C	29	1	30
2nd C	16		16
etc.	19	1	20
	64	2	66

marriage the consanguineous marriages comprise 47.4%. Now considering the content of the consanguineous marriages, as can be seen in Table 2, 1st cousin marriages amount to about a half of them. Table 3 shows the content of 1st and 2nd cousin marriages, and Table 4 shows the content of "etc." (In Table 3, of the ten cases of 1st cousin once-removed marriages one case of FMBD is counted in addition to 2nd cousin marriages as one case of them, MFBSD. Therefore remaining nine cases of 1st cousin once-removed marriage and eleven cases in Table 4 make twenty, "etc." in Table 2.) Although one cannot derive a statistical conclusion from Table 3 because of the small number of cases, one can say that the 1st cousin marriages in Table 3 are not biased toward any type of cousin marriage. But three cases of marriages with MZD and two cases of marriages with MBD are simultaneously regarded as 2nd cousin marriages. Out of these five cases three resulted from repetition of 1st cousin marriage in any generations. Now examining one of the three, one has Figure 2 which shows marriage connections in the S'Family where 1st cousin marriages are repeated over three generations. As a result of contracting marriages with MBD, MBD and MZD in succession, this last MZD is identified with FMBDD and also FFMBSDD. Another one is the result from repeating a

Table 3

					Total
$\triangle = \circ$	8	5 ¹⁾	8 ²⁾	9 ³⁾	30
	1			1 ⁴⁾	
	1				
		2 ⁵⁾			
		2	1 ⁶⁾	2	10
	1			4 ⁸⁾	
				2	
	2 ⁷⁾	2		2	
				3	16

Note :

- 1)(i) MZD contains one case which is counted as FBD at the same time.
- (ii) Out of five cases four cases are MZD and at the same time FFBS, FFBD, FMBDD or FMBDDD.
- (iii) MZD=FFBS indicates that husband's grandfather and wife's grandfather are brother. MZD=FFBD indicates that there were cousin marriages as FBD and MZD over two generations. Furthermore MZD=FMBDD=FFMBSDD indicates that there were repeated cousin marriages as MBD, MBD and MZD over three generations.
- 2)(i) FZD contains one case which is counted as MBD at the same time.
- (ii) Out of eight cases four are all FZD and each of them are MFBDD, FFBSD, MMFZSD and MMBD at the same time.
- 3) Out of nine cases of MBD two are MBD and at the same time FFBD, that is one case where husband's grandfather and wife's mother's father are brothers and the other where MBD marriages as MBD and FMBSD were repeated over two generations.
- 4) This FMBD is MFBS at the same time.
- 5) This MZSD contains one case which is FMBSD at the same time.
- 6) FZDD is at the same time MFZSD and also FMFZSD.
- 7) One in Note 4) and one of two in 7) are MFBS and at the same time FMFBS.
- 8) Three of four are FMBSD and two of the three are MMBDD and one of them MMBSD at the same time.

Figure 2

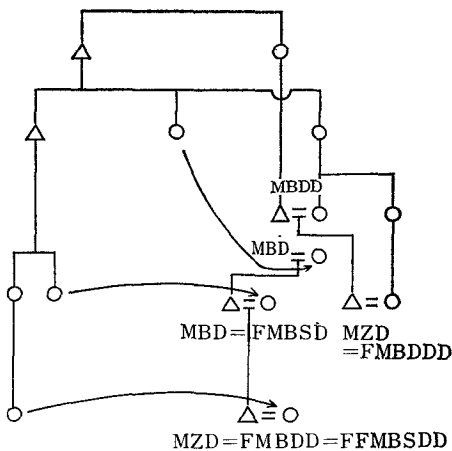


Table 4

FMFZD	1
MFMBD	1
FBDDD	1
FZDDD	1
FFBDDD or FFZSD	1
FFZSD or MFZSD	1
FMBSSD	1
FMZDDD or FFZSD or FFZSD	1
MFZSD (from the outside of the village)	1
FBDDD	1
FFBDDSD	1
Total	11

marriage with MBD over two generations. In this case the second MBD is at the same time FMBS²⁴⁾D. The other is the result from contracting marriages with FBD and MZD in succession; this MZD is also FFBD²⁴⁾D. These cases are too small in number, and therefore do not give any evidence to prove that "a daughter who was born of an consanguineous marriage tends to contract a consanguineous marriage."

The author mentioned earlier that 1st cousin marriages were not biased toward any type of cousin marriage. Now one can say the same about 2nd cousin marriage. As is clear from Table 3, marriages with FMBS²⁴⁾D, FMBDD, MMBS²⁴⁾D and MMBDD are contracted rather frequently while one can see only one case of FFBS²⁴⁾D marriage. MMBS²⁴⁾D marriage and FMBDD marriage are not general in the regulations of cousin marriage. Cousin marriages in Kadonyu, whether parallel or cross, are biased toward neither patrilineal nor matrilineal and the rate is high as a whole, including a considerable number of cousin once-twice removed marriages. It is the theme of this paper how can be explained this lack of any cousin-marriage-regulation, that is to say, a loose *laissez-faire*.

III

It is said that in Kadonyu there were five *honkes* (stem families), Imai, Seryu, Hirose, Izumi and Yamamoto. One may as well find in the paper of Mr. Keiichiro Ando the references about what descent groups these five families have been separated into. Let us here take notice of the fact that there are unexpectedly many new *bunkes* (branch families), compared with the total number of households in Kadonyu, as shown in Figure 3. Excluding two emigrant households to Hokkaido, one now missing household, one of a school teacher who moved in (No. 36 in Figure 1), and one of a laborer in forest (No. 39), out of the total number of remaining households(38), there are nine *bunkes* which were established in the present generation and nine those which were done in one generation ago; the both *bunkes* amount to about a half of the total. According to the Interim Agricultural census, 1964, the number of agricultural households was 32 in Kadonyu where there were 12 *chos* (about 30 acre, ten times of *tan*) and 5 *tans* of paddy fields and only 4 *chos* of fields; nine households had 3 *tans* and below, sixteen from 3 *tans* to 5 *tans*, seven from 5 *tans* to 1 *cho*, respectively. Before looking over the Census, it has been clear that the establishment of these *bunkes* could be made giving them not arable land but only *kabu* of the common mountain because in Kadonyu there

24) Munekata, T., 'Fukushima-ken—sanson buraku no ketsuzoku kekkon ni tsuite (Studies on the Consanguineous Marriage in Rural Area in Fukushima Prefecture, Japan)', in: Fukushima Igaku Zasshi (Fukushima Medical College Magazine), vol. 5, No. 2, p. 135, 1955.

25) Sakurada, op. cit. p. 5.

26) Ando, K., 'Sonraku to shinzoku soshiki—Gifu-ken Tokuyama-mura Kadonyu no shakai minzoku shiryō—(Village and Kinship System—Society and Folk Material in Gifu Prefecture, Tokuyama-mura, Kadonyu), in: Kenkyu-ron-shu (Papers of Study), Aichi Joshi Daigaku (Aichi Women University), pp. 33–48, 1967.

Figure 3

Family No. in Figure 1	Name of <i>rokuningumi</i>	<i>kabu</i> of Forest	Faction	0, Title of <i>keito</i>				
				-4	-3	-2	-1	
10	V	2	X					Mohei (Imai)
	III		Y					Chohachi
22	II	2	X					Zenzo
15	III	2	X					Sanzaemon (Izumi)
26	II	2	X					Rokuemon
24		2	Y					
20		2	Y					
27	II	2	Y					
23	II	2	Y					
5	IV	2	Y					Taniemon
35	I	1	Y					
31		1	X					
34		1	Y					
33	III	2	X					Jindayu
7	IV	1	Y					Jinpei
8		1	Y					
25	III	2	X					Kogoro (Ootaki)
2		1	Y					
	III		X					Kitayu (Hirose)
1	IV	2	X					
16	VI	3	Y					Jiemon
17		3	Y					
29	V	2	Y					
11	IV	2	X					Jinzaemon
13	III	1	X					Juemon
28	II	2	X					
40	VI	1	Y					Genemon (Kawaguchi)
9	IV	1	X					Hikoza (Nakajima)
3		1	X					
4		1	X					
21	I	3	unmarried					Denzaburo (Seryu)
19		3	X					
12	V	4	Y					
30	V	5	X					
32	II	1	Y					Jiroemon
18	I	2	Y					
6	IV	2	X					Jinshiro (Yamaguchi)
								Minataro
37	I	2	Y					Sajiemon
38		1	X					
								Sukeemon
								Keinoshin (Yamamoto)
								Sukezaemon
14	V		X					
	VI	2	X					

Notes: 1) As *rokuningumi* was grouped mainly in the end of Taisho and that almost households is grouped in the present head of household's generation, the group zone does not always equal to the number of group in Figure 1.

2) The title of *Keito* depends upon the name of the family head in the book of family register in Meiji 29 (1896). Accordingly there are a few households whose *Keito* does not always equal to that which villagers indicated.

is not any particular farm product but the rice crop and almost all agricultural households tend noticeably to follow forestry or construction labor as a side job.

In Kadonyu there are mountains of about 8000 *chos* by actual measurement, the village owns 30% of them and the *buraku* does so 20%. A trouble which will be mentioned later happened concerning the sale of about 1500 *chos* of the *buraku*-owned mountains. The remains or 50% were owned by the several villagers formerly as *katares* (portion) for 18 households and 28 households in 1885, Meiji 18. After then those were divided into 72 *kabus* for 36 households and each household had two *kabus* in 1910, Meiji 43, as mentioned before, through the matter of an allotted charge for excavation of roads so that since then they have been the same as what they were. It is owing to this *kabu* that "strangers can not live in Kadonyu" unlike in the other *buraku* Tonyu and Yamate in Tokuyama-mura. Figure 3 shows how many *kabus* each household has at the present time. Except for six households which have more than three *kabus*, nineteen have two *kabus*, or one portion and thirteen have one *kabu*, or half a portion. Latest changes of their holdings are as follows. Either both No. 16 and No. 17, or both No. 21 and No. 19 shared one portion respectively, as the couples are brothers. No. 34 and No. 38 bought half a portion from No. 12 and No. 40 respectively. No. 30 that had possessed two portions bought half a portion from No. 40 and the total becomes two and a half portions. No. 40 that had possessed three portions out of which two had been "brought in", now has only half a portion, because it sold half a portion to No. 38 and No. 30 respectively, and one and a half portions to No. 12. Now if one examine thirteen households which have half a portion, one can find that out of them four are *bunkes* established apart from the *honke* at predecessor time and four are those established from that under the present head of household. In Kadonyu the people establishes new *bunkes* with some *kabus*. This makes a regulation not to let strangers live in the *buraku* and at the same time a practice that "the head of a family gives *kabus* only to younger brothers who will be able to pay *nengu* (a kind of land tax) in the future"²⁷⁾ habitual, whereas they established *bunkes* in order to adhere to *kabus* which were no more than "pocket money given to children"²⁸⁾.

Kabu is certainly connected with *honke-bunke* relationship. That can be made clear through a legal case caused in a sale of mountains with woods owned by the *buraku* to O paper-manufacturing company. The *buraku* had been divided into two sections for ten years. Omitting details at all, the two sections are named X and Y, as seen in Figure 3. Except for No. 21 who is a physically handicapped person, though involved in neither of the two, the remaining forty were partitioned into X (twenty one) and Y (nineteen). Here it becomes clear how greatly the *honke-bunke* relationship affected an affair which had split the *buraku*. However the *honke-bunke* relationship reveals itself through whose hands *kabus* pass in, it can never be said that *kabus* themselves are the household property. They are rather nothing but a condition of their retaining the right to live in the *buraku*.

27) Imai Mitsunori talked.

28) Izumi Takeo talked.

There is no possibility for the people in Kadonyu to accumulate the household property, by either arable lands or mountains with woods. When they perceived a crisis that the balance of their property consisting of limited arable lands and given *kabus* might be upset by a rise in population, they held the condition constant by means of emigration to Hokkaido. One will be able to affirm that the rise in population offered a great natural experiment about the *honke-bunke* relationship because under the circumstances where there is no possibility to accumulate the household property for ever. It becomes a question what meaning the *honke-bunke* relationship has still under such conditions.

IV

Ippas (an unit similar to *dozoku*) are constructed in Kadonyu because of both the *honke-bunke* relationship and a high rate of endogamous marriage crossing them. Mr. Ando gives five types of *ippas* in his paper.²⁹⁾ Here type indicates one which is made up by the *honke-bunke* relationship that is called *keito* (a patronymic descent group) in Kadonyu and marriage connections joining one upon another. In this *buraku* there is a saying that "consanguinity is cut off after three generations", in connection with the high rate of endogamous marriages within or between *keito*. One can infer from this saying that the people have learned from experience, as a result, the difficulty of recognizing a structure of "a complex genealogical space"³⁰⁾ beyond "secondary relatives".³¹⁾ One may be able to say that the recognition which consanguinity becomes lost after three generations make it possible "to prescribe cousin marriages"³²⁾ in Kadonyu.

If one arranges *keito* which the villagers themselves admitted and *keito* which are traced in "Kosekibo", (the book of family register) of 1896, one can find 23 *keitos* as shown in Figure 3. Excluding 33 cases of incoming exogamous marriage and 62 cases of outgoing exogamous marriage, marriage connections within and between *keitos* are 135 in total, including 64 cases of consanguineous marriage. All the above connections including exogamous marriages, arranged by the 23 *keitos* are shown in Table 5. About *ippa* that is here *keito*, each informant gives his own opinion.³³⁾ We could collect the informations from them and summarize them roughly as follows: i) Sukezaemon Yamamoto's *keito* tends to isolate; ii) Chohachi Imai's *keito* takes a intervening role among *keitos*; iii) Jirobei Seryu's *keito* is losing its unity (Jirobei's *keito* is the name which the people call Denzaburo *keito* and Jiroemon *keito* in Figure 3). Marriage connections between *keitos* are frequent in the following seven cases: (here omitted the term of *keito*) i) between Rokuemon Izumi and Juemon Hirose, ii)

29) Ando, op. cit. p. 39.

30) G.P. Murdock, 'Social Structure', pp. 94-5, 1949.

31) A.D. Coult, 'Computer Methods for Analyzing Genealogical Space', American Anthropologist, vol. 67, p. 24, 1965.

32) Seryu Tamotsu talked.

33) Needless to say, the matter is on a delicate situation, so here is not mentioned the names who gave the following information.

between Taniemon Izumi and Jiroemon Seryu, iii) between Jiroemon Seryu and Chojachi Imai, Denzaburo Seryu and Kogoro Ootaki, iv) between Chohachi Imai and Taniemon Izumi, v) Denzaburo Seryu and Kogoro Ootaki.

In Table 5 one can find eleven *keitos* that have in total more than ten cases of endogamous marriage. Examining all the marriage connections within and between each of these eleven *keitos*, the total number of them is 84, including 50 cases of consanguineous marriages. The subject of consanguineous marriage will be treated later. Let us now consider the villager's informations about *keitos* or *ippas*, which the villagers gave us. Some of them are right and some are wrong. I) The tendency of isolation of the Sukezaemon's *keito* means that it never took root as a *honke* within the village, because out of the two households belonging to this group one is missing and then there is now only one household of *honke* in the *buraku*. II) The Chohachi's *keito* performs a intervening role between *keitos*. That is, the group intermarries with any of Rokuemon, Kogoro, Kitayu, Jiemon, Jinzaemon and Jiroemon *keitos*. III) The Jirobei *keito*'s losing its own unity depends upon two conditions. One is as mentioned above, that is has been divided into two sub-groups such as Denzaburo and Jiroemon, and the other that the probability of exogamous marriages is highest in the Jiroemon's *keito*; this means, in other words, that a large *keito* contracts rather a few endogamous marriages and would like to contract exogamous marriages.

When one examines Table 5, one can notice it wrong that there is pointed much frequency of affinal relationship in at least two cases between Chohachi and Taniemon *keito*, between Denzaburo and Kogoro *keito* out of the seven cases indicated by the villagers which have that. Why it is so contains some questions together which must be taken into account: there are so many cases as 50 consanguineous marriages in 84 cases, some *keitos* like Chohachi have more marriage connections with other *keitos* and some like Mohei, Rokuemon, Jiemon, Jinzaemon and Denzaburo have more within each of *keitos*. Therefore one has to analyze Table 6. According to the method of the sociometric analysis of Ayoub,³⁴⁾ it is possible to calculate an "index of preference" in such endogamous marriages within and between *keitos*. But in this case, as can be seen in Table 6, there are too many *keitos* compared with the number of cases of endogamous marriage so that this data can not be dealt with statistically.

The *buraku* Kadonyu is divided into two parts, Kamiyori (upper-side), and Shimoyori (down-side) by a road which runs through from the east to the west. Out of the *rokuningumis* which had established at the latest in the middle of Taisho, I, II and III are situated in Kamiyori and IV, V and VI are in Shimoyori as shown in Figure 1. Now if one arranges these *rokuningumis*' all the endogamous marriage contracted during the period from the middle years of Taisho to Meiji 29(1890), backward which were checked up in "Kosekibo", one can gain Table 7. Out of the total number of cases 97, there are 46 cases of consanguineous marriage. It also seems meaningless to indicate from the above data that there were marriage

34) M.R. Ayoub, 'Parallel Cousin Marriage and Endogamy: A Study in Sociometry', South-western Journal of Anthropology, vol. 15, pp. 266-275, 1967.

Table 5

	Mohei	Cho-hachi	ZenZo	Sanza-emon	Roku-emon	Tani-emon	Jin-dayu	Jin-pei	Kogoro	Kitayu	emon	Jinza-emon	Jyu-emon
Mohei	1(1)	1(1)			1			3(1)		1		2(1)	
Chohachi					3(2)				1(1)	1	5(3)	1(1)	
Zenyo							2						
Sanzaemon											1		
Rokuemon		1(1)	1		1(1)	2	1	2(2)		1(1)	3(2)	1(1)	2(2)
Taniemon		1			2(2)			4(2)			1(1)		
Jindayu		1				1		1(1)					
Jinpei												2(1)	
Kogoro		1			2(2)					2(2)		1(1)	
Kitayu		1(1)						2(1)			1(1)	1	
Jinzaemon	1	2(1)		1				1			2(2)	1(1)	
Jyuemon	1	1									1	1(1)	
Gen-emon	1				1								
Hikezo					1(1)	1					1(1)		
Denzaburo			1		1		2			1	1(1)		
Jiroemon		1(1)			3(2)	1		1(1)					1(1)
Jinshiro								1					
Minataro		1										1	
Sajtemon													
Suke-emon													
Keinoshin													
Sukezaemon					1(1)	1						1	
Total	4(1)	11(5)	2	2	17(11)	6	5	6(5)	7(4)	6(3)	15(10)	14(8)	3(8)
Outgoing to the extra-village	5	4	2	--	6	6	3	--	2	5	9	--	1

Note : The number in parentheses indicates the consanguineous marriage.

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	Gen-emon	Hikozo	Den-zaburo	Jiro-emon	Jin-shiro	Minataro	Saji-emon	Suke-emon	Keinoshin	Suke-zaemon	Total	Incoming from the extra-village
Mohei							1				10(4)	—
Chohachi				1(1)							12(8)	4
Zenzo											2	—
Sanzaemon										1	1	3
Rokuemon	1									1	17(10)	—
Taniemon	1(1)			1(1)					1		12(8)	2
Jindayu				1							4(1)	—
Jinpei			1								3(1)	—
Kogoro	1		1								9(5)	4(2)
Kitayu	1			3(2)	1						9(5)	—
				2							12(5)	2
Jinyaemon										1(1)	3(1)	—
Jyuemon			1			1(1)					5(1)	1
Genemon	1(1)										4(1)	—
Hikozo						1				1(1)	5(3)	1
Denzaburo		1					1				10(3)	14
Jiroemon			2(2)	1(1)							7(5)	—
Jinshiro											1	1
Minataro								1			3(1)	—
Sajiemon							1(1)				2(1)	1
Suke-emon											—	—
Keinoshin											—	—
Sukezaemon		1									4(1)	—
Total	5(2)	2	4(2)	10(5)	1	2(1)	4(2)	1	1	3(2)	135(64)	33
Outgoing to the extra-village	1	3	12	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	62	230

Table 6

	Mohei	Cho-hachi	Roku- emon	Tani-emon	Jin-pei	Kogoro	Kitayu	Jiu-emon	Jinza-emon	Den-zaburo	Jiro-emon	Total
Mohei	1(1)	1(1)	1		3(1)		1		2(1)			9(4)
Chohachi			3(2)			1(1)	1	5(3)	1(1)		1(1)	12(8)
Rokuemon		1(1)	1(1)	2	2(2)		1(1)	3(2)	1(1)			11(8)
Taniemon		1	2(2)		4(2)			1(1)			1(1)	9(6)
Jinpei									2(1)	1		3(1)
Kogoro		1	2(2)				2(2)		1(1)	1	1	8(5)
Kitayu		1(1)				2(1)		1(1)	1		3(2)	8(5)
Jiuemon	1	2(1)				1		2(2)	1(1)		2	9(4)
Jinzaemon	1	1							1(1)			3(1)
Denzaburo			1				1			2(2)	1(1)	5(3)
Jiroemon		1(1)	3(2)	1		1(1)			1(1)			7(5)
Total	3(1)	9(5)	13(9)	3	9(5)	5(3)	6(3)	12(9)	11(8)	4(2)	9(5)	84(50)

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Table 7

m	f	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
I	2(2) FZD =MMM/BD MMBSD	3(1) MBD =FMBSD	1(1) MZD =FMBDD =FFMBSDD	1	1	1(1) FFZSDD =FMZDDD =FFZSSD	9(5)	
II	2	3(3)MBD MBDD FFBSD	1	3(2) MZD =FMBDDD FZDDD	2(1) FFBDDSD	5(4) FMBSD =MMBDDD FMBSD =MMBDDD =MMBDSDD FFBDDD =FFZSDD	16(10)	
III	1	4(2) MFBSD =FMFMBSD MFMBD	10(5) FBD FZD FZD =MMFZSD MMBDD MMBDD	6(5) MZD =FFBSD FMBSD =MMZSD FBDDD FFFBSD	1	4(2) FBD FFZSD =MFZDSD	26(14)	
IV	2	3(3)FZD MBD FMBSSD	1	5(1)MBD	4(2)FBD MMBDD	2(1) MZD =FFBDD	17(7)	
V	3(1)MMBSD		2	7(3)FZD =MBD MBD MBDD	1	1	14(4)	
VI	3	2(1)FZD	4(2)FBD MBD =FFBDD	1	1	4(3) FBD FBD FMBDD	15(6)	
Total	12(3)	15(10)	18(8)	23(11)	10(3)	17(11)	97(46)	

Note: The number in parentheses indicates consanguineous marriage.

connections within and between each of these *rokuningumis* or as a result there were exchanges (of women) between Kamiyori and Shimoyori. That is to say, marriage and consanguineous marriage in Kadonyu have any particular function neither in *keitos* nor in the *rokuningumis*.

V

Next one puts a focused light on the cases of 1st cousin, 1st cousin once-removed and 2nd cousin marriages which were shown in Table 3. There are 30 cases in total of which 29 cases are 1st cousin marriages excluding an FZD case of incoming exogamous marriage into Kogoro's *keito*, 9 cases are 1st cousin once-removed marriages excluding an FMBD case that is counted as MFBSD (2nd cousin), 16 cases are 2nd cousin marriages and in addition to those 5 cases are 1st cousin marriages that are at the same time 2nd cousin marriages. As one has no older data than "Kosekibo" of 1896, as mentioned before, out of 135 cases of endogamous marriage in Table 5 one could find only 28 cases which had existed before 1885, including just only two cases of consanguineous marriage, MFBD and MBDD which are 1st cousin once-removed marriages. We tried to arrange each case of these consanguineous marriages at intervals every twenty years, but we could not. Then we divided them into four groups of period. The 1st cousin marriages are concentrated at the first period (before 1905) and especially at the second period (1906–1925). 2nd cousin marriages are concentrated at the second period and the fourth period (after 1945). In addition to these tendencies one notices that 2nd cousin marriages show a tendency to decrease at the third period (1924–1944), when one look over the distribution of the whole cousin marriages. It can not be made clear that this is due to either the limits of this data or the influence of emigration to Hokkaido.

First let us take up 1st cousin marriage within a *keito*. Out of six cases within *keitos* four cases are FBD, one is FZD and the other is MBD. Out of the four cases of FBD within *keitos* one within Mohei *keito* (hereinafter *keito* will be omitted) is simultaneously MZD. There are eight FBD marriages in total. The other four FBD marriages are contracted between *keitos* as follows: One is from Sukezaemon to Hikoza and another one from Kogoro to Kitayu. These two FBD marriages were adopted sons-in-law; (Hikoza's grandson-in-law is Sukezaemon's second son and Kogoro is a younger brother of a Kitayu's eldest son). Therefore afterwards Kogoro takes a marriage with MZD=FFBSD from Kitayu. The other two cases of FBD exchange marriage between *keitos* are contracted between Minataro and Juemon. These two were adopted sons-in-law; a Juemon's son-in-law is a Minataro's younger son. The details of these two are unknown because Minataro left the *buraku* in Taisho era besides for lack of data before 1896. This makes the function of *keito* very ambiguous. Nevertheless, we can say that FBD marriage is no less popular than MBD marriage at least as the marriage within a *keito* though containing a problem of adoptive relationship. It is not clear at all events in the case of Kadonyu, however, what significance FBD marriage within the *keito* has, in forming and preserving our called *honke-bunke* relationship. Here it can be pointed

out just only that FBD marriage is found as a kind of 'prescribed cousin marriage' in the *honke-bunke* relationship within *keito*, even though under the condition of no possibility to accumulate the household property. This is because the system of *honke* and *bunke* has not the same function as that of family titles in Muslim society which is formed and preserved through FBD and FFBSD marriages as 'encouraged cousin marriage'.

Apart from the FBD marriages concentrated only at the 1st and 2nd periods MBD, FZD and MZD marriages of which almost all are contracted between *keitos* are considered as follows. Now looking at Figure 2, Jiroemon contracted an MBDD marriage with Chohachi, an MBD marriage and also an MBD=FMBSB marriage with Rokuemon, an MZD=FMBSDD marriage with Jinzaemon and an MZD=FMBSDD=FFMBSDD marriage with Kogoro. Out of four cases of incoming 1st cousin marriage to Jiroemon two are MBD and two are MZD. As for Mohei, out of three cases of incoming marriage two are MBD including one MBD=FZD from Jinzaemon which is a case of sister exchange, and other is MZD from Chohachi. And all of three cases of incoming 1st cousin marriage to Rokuemon are FZD from Chohachi and Juemon. Thus in 1st cousin marriages contracted between *keitos* one can find both MBD cases and FZD cases.

It is not clear whether cousin marriages contracted between *keitos* are biased towards MBD marriage or FZD marriage. Out of nine cases of MBD marriage, three cases are ones where MBD stands in another genealogical connection at the same time; one in FZD (this is the case of sister exchange mentioned above), another one in FMBSB (this is the result of the repetition of MBD marriage over two generations in Jiroemon as also mentioned above) and the other one in FMBDD (because in this case of the Jiemon group the husband's grandfather is the wife's mother's father's brother). On the other hand, out of seven cases of FZD marriage it is in four cases that the FZD stands at the same time in another genealogical connection; one in FZD=MMMBD (this is found in the Sajiemon group), and the others in 2nd cousin once-removed, MFBDDD in Chohachi, FFBSD and MMFZSD in Rokuemon. It is impossible to consider that these 2nd cousin once-removed were selected as the spouse prior to FZD.

But MZD marriage is under a little different circumstances. There are five cases where MZD stands in another genealogical connection at the same time. In a case of Mohei the MZD stands in the connection of FBD at the same time, in a case of Jiroemon with a 2nd cousin once-removed, FMBDDD and except for these two in all the other three cases it stands at the same time in the connection of a 2nd cousin marriage. The MZD=FMBSDD marriage in Jiroemon depends upon MBD, MBD and MZD marriages contracted over three generations. One MZD=FFBDD in Hikojo depends upon FBD and MZD marriages contracted over two generations. In the MZD=FFBSB case in Kogoro the husband's grandfather is the wife's grandfather's brother. As can be seen above, it has been said that FFBSB marriages as 2nd cousin marriage are frequent in Japan. But one can find only one more case of FFBSB marriage that is in Rokuemon. It is impossible to consider that in the MZD

case of Kogoro the FFBSD was preferred ahead to the MZD as the spouse. One can conclude that in Kadonyu MZD marriages are not prescribed but only accepted as a result of other cousin marriage.

2nd cousin marriages are concentrated most frequently in Chohachi and Taniemon. This reminds us of marriage connections between *keitos*. It is not clear whether or not 2nd cousin marriages appear as a result of marriage connections between them. FFBSD marriages, however, are unexpectedly small in number, as mentioned above. Examining an MFBSD case from Rokuemon to Kogoro, an MMBSD case from Kogoro to Jiroemon, an FMBSD case from Rokuemon to Jiroemon, for example, it is not possible to conclude that they follow 2nd cousin marriage rule. The consanguineous marriages indicated in "etc." of Table 4 are undoubtedly a result, and do not follow a rule.

VI

In spite of a high rate of consanguineous marriages, a statistical arrangement can not be performed on account of the limits of data in which there are not many cases of cousin marriage. But one can say as follows: a natural condition which made it impossible actually to have exogamous marriage connections, certainly prescribed cousin marriages...thus 'prescribed cousin marriages' existed together with all 1st cousin marriages contracted within and between each of *keitos*. Now let us calculate probabilities of FBD marriage and MBD marriage, only from the point of territorial endogamy, according to the formula derived from the simulation model by Gilbert and Hammel.³⁵⁾

$$P(\text{FBD}) = \frac{.4p}{R-1} = .010$$

$$P(\text{MBD}) = .4 \frac{p^2}{R-1} + \frac{(1-p)^2}{R(v-1)} = .007$$

All the marriage connections in 1896-1925 during the 2nd period mentioned before, are 66; out of them 44 are endogamous marriage including FBD 6, MBD 5, FZD 4, MZD 1.

p: the rate of endogamous marriages; .67

.4: correction factor calculated from the model

R: the number of married couples with children; 26

v: the number of villages with which exogamous marriages are contracted; 5

These estimates are meaningless to be compared with observed values, .09 of FBD marriage and .07 of MBD marriage, because the limits of data is too great so that one can not calculate about correction factor, .4 as Goldberg did.³⁶⁾ It is practically almost impossible, as

35) J.P. Gilbert and E.A. Hammel, 'Computer Simulation and Analysis of Problems in Kinship and Social Structure', *American Anthropologist*, vol. 68 pp. 71-93, 1966.

36) H. Goldberg, 'FBD Marriage and Demography among Tripolitanian Jews in Israel', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 23, pp. 176-191, 1967.

is generally known, to cut off a particular period out of the data derived from "Jyosekibo" (a struck-off-family-register book). It is pretty doubtful whether there is a field in Japan where cousin marriages are found and moreover one can get data to calculate a rate of marriage by age, an actual spouse pool according to the formula by Goldberg or not. There is need for another model.

Table 8

Period	Age-Difference	Age at First Marriage		No. of cases
		Male	Female	
1	5.9 (4.0)	29.0 (26.0)	21.6 (21.0)	26 (7)
2	4.8 (6.3)	23.6 (28.2)	22.5 (20.1)	39 (15)
3, 4	7.1 (6.2)	27.6 (28.8)	28.8 (20.8)	61 (23)

Note: The consanguineous marriages during 1st and 2nd period which are shown in parentheses are 1st cousin marriages. During 3rd and 4th period all 1st cousin marriages are only five cases, so that the number in parentheses was counted in total of both periods including all consanguineous marriages.

Table 8 shows tentatively the husband-wife age-difference and age at first marriage in 1st cousin marriages and the other consanguineous marriages and non-consanguineous marriages in Kadonyu. As for age-difference one can see the age-difference of 1st cousin marriages are small compared with those of the whole marriages except in the second period. As for the age at first marriage, it can be seen that the age of women in 1st cousin marriages and the other consanguineous marriages is younger than non-consanguineous marriage in all periods. This means at least that in Kadonyu cousin marriages and the other consanguineous marriages have been accepted. But it is not clear which cousin marriage is preferred to, FBD marriage, MBD marriage or FZD marriage.³⁷⁾ The future research in the field where they have the possibility to accumulate the household property and settled the *honke-bunke* relationship will explain the function of FBD and MBD marriage in Japan. Hereafter it should be expected to be made clear in the future research whether cousin marriage in Japan is prescribed marriage without the rule of marriage regulation or nothing but an epiphenomenon.

37) Gamo, op. cit. 'Nihon no kon-in taikai ni kansuru shiron (An essay on Japanese Marriage System)', p. 4, It is too early yet for us to generalize that if there are cousin marriages they are MBD marriages and if a few FBD marriage is forbidden.

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