Taiwan Journal of Anthropology 臺灣人類學刊 17（1）：65–92, 2019

The Reproduction and Inter-Generational Aspects of *Jia*:

Case Studies from a Hoklo Village in Southwestern Taiwan*

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Recent trends in kinship studies emphasize the importance of human interaction in the reproduction of kinship relations. This article considers the reproduction of Hoklo Taiwanese kin groups (*jia*) in a contemporary Taiwanese village, focusing on relations impacted by multiple human and non-human factors. The research was conducted in a Hoklo village in Chianan plain area. Six examples were analyzed for their reproduction of *jia* through the inheritance of houses. People reproduced kinship relations through co-residence in traditional-styled compounds before the 1960s. Co-residence has gradually fallen out of favor. However, people reinterpret and reorganize "incoherent" relations that emerged from past co-residences. Decision-chains between or across multiple generations link *jia* and their relations vertically. As houses and kinship ideals bridge these inter-generational decision-chains, we see how both human and non-human factors create the dynamics of the *jia*'s reproduction.

Keywords: kinship, house society, out-migration, dwelling, Han Chinese

* This study was supported both by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP16J06753 and NCTU Taiwan Elite Internship Program 2015. I also appreciate helpful and thoughtful comments from Yohei Suzuki, Terre Fisher, and the three anonymous reviewers of Taiwan Journal of Anthropology.

Introduction

This paper explores how Hoklo Taiwanese kin groups（家 *jia*[1]）and their relations are reproduced through the inheritance of houses in contemporary Taiwan. In recent years, researchers have had to reconsider kinship concepts by focusing on their reproduction through human interactions (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, eds. 1995; Carsten, ed. 2000; Carsten 2003). Some sinologists are also reconsidering their understanding of kinship relations among Han Chinese, including Hoklo Taiwanese (Stafford 2000a, 2000b; Lin 2001, 2002; Dos Santos 2006). In this article, I would like to take a fresh look at the reproduction of Hoklo Taiwanese kinship relations by focusing on material and abstract factors, namely, houses and kinship ideals.

The Han Chinese concept, *jia*, has long worried many foreign researchers. It differs from the modern and Western (Anglo-American) family or kinship since it can describe groups of varied size and diverse membership (Chen 1985: 128-142; Wang 1986: 152-155). Nonetheless, researchers have tried to interpret *jia* through Western lenses. It was Maurice Freedman who proposed the dominant scheme for Han Chinese kinship relations in his review of sinological work that had preceded him. Freedman ignored the ambiguity of *jia* and classified two types of relations: the descent group (lineage) and the family. In this scheme, the descent group was a formal and political unit in local society. Its members shared patrilineal genealogy and common estates to integrate themselves.[2] By contrast, the family was defined simply as an informal and non-political unit. Although families have common budgets and estates, they undergo cycles of growth and fission through property divisions (Freedman 1958, 1966, 1979). Fieldworkers in Hong Kong followed Freedman's lead (Potter 1968), but those in Taiwan tended to disagree. In Taiwan, researchers claimed, descent groups did not play strong roles. It was not until the later stage of Han Chinese immigration that significant descent groups formed in local society (Pasternak 1972; Chen 1987).

In fact, Freedman's scheme has more fundamental problems. It cannot explain *jia* formed on a non-patrilineal or "non-ideal" basis. As James Watson explained, not all people conformed to patrilineal norms of Han Chinese society (Watson 1986: 284). There were various non-patrilineal relationships such as uxorilocal marriage,

1 About the term *jia* or "*jia* group"（家集團）, see Wang (1986).

2 Freedman pointed out two extremes among descent groups, type A and type Z. Type A had ambiguous genealogies and little common property, whereas type Z had distinct genealogies and sufficient property to integrate themselves (Freedman 1958: 131-133). Nevertheless, he and his followers' discussions of Han Chinese kinship groups were mainly based on type Z characteristics.

widow remarriage, and adoption. Freedman's scheme does not account for these and regards them only as "deviations" or irregular cases. But in fact, people in those relationships are not excluded from their communities, especially in Taiwan (Wolf and Huang 1980; Chuang 1994).

Charles Stafford challenged Freedman's scheme, which had dominated postwar Chinese studies, by focusing on kinship reproduction. His approach was based on recent trends in kinship studies. (Stafford 2000a, 2000b). David Schneider originated the new approach with criticism of the traditional focus on formal attributes (Schneider 1984). Janet Carsten reiterated Schneider's criticism and proposed looking at kinship or "relatedness" from the perspective of regular and informal interactions (Carsten 1995, 2003; Carsten, ed. 2003). Stafford went on to propose that kinship relations in Han Chinese society should be considered like those in other societies, specifically, he argued that Han Chinese kinship relations are organized both by vertical reciprocity（養 *yang*）between parents and children and by horizontal reciprocity（來往 *laiwang*）among kin and non-kin people (Stafford 2000a: 37-54, 2000b: 105-109). Of course, some scholars had previously noted the importance of parent-child relationships (Chen 1985; Wang 1986), while others turned to the interactive relations (*guanxi*) produced by reciprocity (Kipnis 1997). The important thing is, Stafford changed the field by pointing to understanding various forms of Han Chinese kinship through the study of regular and informal human interactions.

However, Stafford's discussion had its own shortcoming. It turns out that the terms of Han Chinese kinship are not limited to regular and informal interactions among living people. A typical example is the principle of the equal division of property among male heirs. This principle applies to parent-child inheritance as well as things inherited over several generations, such as houses and land. People believe that this principle should be applied across generations. In other words, "pure genealogical relations" (Chen 1985: 142-146, 177-180) can influence inheritance outside regular and informal interactions among living people.

If Stafford's discussion cannot account for non-interactive aspects of Han Chinese kinship, Lin Wei-bin's discussion (Lin 2001, 2002) seems to make up for this shortcoming by focusing on non-human factors. She follows Carsten's discussion of interactions as well as Staffords, but bases her analysis especially after Carsten and her colleagues' adaptation of Lévi-Strauss' idea of a kinship system ("société à maison" or house society) into reproductive kinship models.[3] They argue that so-

3 Lévi-Strauss claimed that some societies maintained different descent systems simultaneously via the inheritance of "maison" (houses and their titles) (Lévi-Strauss 1979, 1984).

called kinship relations were reproduced by people interacting in each house (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, eds. 1995; Carsten, ed. 2000). Lin, for her part, has turned to material factors that Stafford did not mention.

Of special import here is the fact that people in southeastern China traditionally preferred to live together with their agnates. Freedman described a set of houses occupied by agnates and called them compounds (Freedman 1958: 34-35). Some researchers found similar co-residence arrangements in Taiwanese villages (Ahern 1973; Cohen 1976; Suenari 1978; Ueno 2000). Myron Cohen, who conducted fieldwork in a Hakka village in Kaohsiung County, argued that there was a linkage between the sociological and architectural cycles—specifically, family development and compound reconstruction at his fieldsite (Cohen 1976: 21-26). Michio Suenari researched large compounds in a Hoklo village in Changhua County occupied by people sharing a patrilineal genealogy.[4] These people were segmented into several branches in local society, and some branches had their own compounds (Suenari 1978: 7-50). In the late 1980s, researchers began to report that such traditional arrangements (co-residence in compounds) were disappearing (Hu 1984; Kiuchi 1988; Ueno 2000; Cohen 2005). However, few studies have discussed the dynamics of this transformation. Lin was the first researcher to discuss the relationship between house transformations and kinship relations in Taiwan's Hoklo villages.[5] She noted that traditional house structures had a metaphorical symbolism related to kinship concepts. In her fieldsites, people adapted the symbolism of traditional houses to new-styled houses and tried to maintain their kinship concepts in this transformation (Lin 2001: 24-32; 2002: 93-113, 137-143). Lin's work suggests the relevance of houses to kinship ideals and actual interactions among villagers. The aim of this paper is to describe just how kinship relations are reproduced via such human and non-human factors.

Research Methods

My research focuses on the inheritance（繼承 *jicheng*）of houses. What does the word "inheritance" mean? I use the term here to describe the transference of property rights from older to younger generations.[6] Hoklo Taiwanese *jia* and their

4 Actually, large-scaled co-residence is quite rare in Taiwan, as Suenari himself noted.

5 Lin was particularly influenced by Carsten's work on the Langkawi reproduction of kinship relations via the symbolism of sharing foods and bloods (Carsten 1995).

6 The term "family division"（分家 *fenjia*）is often used in a similar context, but it does not just mean property transference. It is a gradual and continual process of division of hearths, budgets, properties,

relations are reproduced through inheritance, where the multiple factors—the houses, kinship ideals, and human interactions—interplay.

Hoklo people do not necessarily sort out inheritance when their parents die. Some estates continue to be owned jointly by the descendants. These common estates demonstrate the strong integration of the *jia*. However, common holdings also mean that each descendant cannot exploit his or her share independently. The ambivalent ideals of *jia* mean that property should be left commonly to facilitate kin integration, but it should also be divided equally to fulfill the rights of each descendant. This internal contradiction gives rise to different solutions. Some families completely divide their inheritance when the transfer is made, whereas others leave it undivided for later negotiation. And of course, there are some people who choose an intermediate option. Contemporary inheritance practices can be divided into three patterns: (1) those partially preserving a common estate, (2) those dividing the whole estate, and (3) abandoning inheritance or maintaining an estate held in common.

These patterns can be examined from other perspectives. People may want to follow the ideal inheritance model. Ideally, inheritances should be participated in or at least agreed upon by all of the patrilineal male heirs. But real life does not always allow them to achieve the ideal, since the *jia* may include non-agnatic marriages such as uxorilocal marriage or widow remarriage (Watson 1986; Wolf and Huang 1980; Chuang 1994).[7] These relationships produce complicated, non-ideal forms of *jia*. The members of non-ideal *jia* share lived experiences in their common estates (houses), and they reproduce their kin-like relationships, but when it comes to inheritance, they must adjust their actual relationships to patrilineal ideals or interpret those ideals in line with their relationships. Some adjustment or interpretation also holds for relatively "ideal" *jia*, that is, those formed via agnatic marriages. Today, large-scale co-residences have become rare even in rural Hoklo villages. Members of *jia* live more widely scattered than in the past. And some *jia* must draw from a broader set of descendants beyond those they regularly interact with to fulfill the patrilineal ideals of inheritance. Nevertheless, the timing and strategy of inheritance are still heavily determined by relatives who regularly interact. This paper analyzes six cases

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and rituals (Wang 1986: 155-156). This is not necessarily the same as in the civil law of the Republic of China (ROC). Civil law provides for equal inheritance for spouses and male and female children.

7 Parents who did not have male successors convinced the prospective bridegroom to agree to this kind of marriage（招贅婚 *zhaozhuihun*）. He then made a contract with his parents-in-law and his children might succeed to either their paternal or maternal surnames. The father-in-law could preserve his patrilineal descent line through this kind of marriage.

of inheritance to better understand both the ideal and non-ideal forms of *jia* and the three patterns of inheritance outlined above.

Field Setting

My research site, D village, sits in the center of the Chianan plain, which spreads over the Yunlin, Chiayi, and Tainan regions of western Taiwan. The village is an administrative unit of Houbi District in Tainan municipality. The village includes six "settlements," O, K, W, C, T, and G, surrounded by double-cropped rice paddies. My field research was conducted for approximately eleven months in total, between December 2012 and March 2017. Data was collected through participant observations and open-ended interviews of the descendants of each *jia* and key informants in the village. Pseudonyms are used to protect the informants' privacy.

D village is not an especially old or new community in the Chianan plain. We can find the names of K, C, W, and T settlements in a historical text edited around 1860 (Anonymous 1963: 181). Though formally a part of Tainan, its remote location—approximately one hour from city—makes D village more like Chianan's agricultural villages than Tainan's urban communities. Most villagers identify as Hoklo（福佬）.[8] Early settlers farmed sweet potatoes, upland rice, and peanuts because of the unreliable water supply in the area (Tainanshu 1922: 1). Although the construction of the Chianan canal in 1930 improved the water situation, most inhabitants only grew sugarcane as a cash crop through the Japanese colonial period. In fact, stable irrigation that permitted the production of double-cropped rice was not achieved until the 1960s. The government agricultural bureau soon began to encourage livestock breeding to improve rural livelihoods (Houbixiang gongsuo 1986: 229-232). Many villagers raised pigs in the 1970s, but a few corporate pig farmers had crowded out these small-scale breeders by the 1990s.

The 1960s were years of "economic take-off" in Taiwan. The Chianan agrarian areas became a pool of potential labor for industry. The area supplied thousands of young people to major urban areas such as Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung. Once economic growth reached rural society, factories established in D village and the nearby townships employed local people from the 1960s to the 1990s. After 2000, Taiwanese industries began to transfer their production to mainland China in search of cheaper labor. Rural factories closed or collapsed one after another. The local

8 Hoklo people originated in southern Fujian Province（閩南 *Minnan*）in mainland China and eventually became the majority population in Taiwanese society.

laborers consequently out-migrated to urban industrial areas. Younger villagers still tend to leave home to seek urban employment or higher education today.

These developments brought another wave of change to Chianan. Some suburban villages were transformed into commuter towns, but given its remote location, D village did not attract housing developers. Farming had already become a second job for most villagers. Some full-time farmers rented uncultivated fields, which were then used to grow high-value products such as lotus, wax apples, or dragon fruit. The mechanization of paddy rice cultivation in the 1970s (Houbixiang gongsuo 1986: 200-201) reduced the need for labor exchange among villagers (Tsai 2011: 129-131). Nowadays, full-time farmers employ part-time workers when they cannot find enough laborers within their households.[9]

Table 1 Registered Population in Houbi District

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015
Households	471	474	488	507	510
Population	1,674	1,651	1,601	1,546	1,499
Persons per household	3.55	3.48	3.28	3.05	2.94

Note: The specific statistics for D village were not released.
Source: Author (Houbi family registration office)

Table 2 Population Estimates from the Local Phone Book

	Settlement						Total	Registered households
	C	K	O	W	T	G		
2002	261	63	45	45	42	12	468	n/a
2007	239	60	48	50	44	12	453	471
2013	190	50	35	27	39	8	349	507

Source: Author (Phone books for Houbi District in 2002, 2007 and 2013)

Tables 1 and 2 summarize recent demographic changes in D village. The tables show that out-migration is currently occurring at a faster rate than natural decreases. Table 1 was made using data from the family registration office. There were 510 households and 1,499 people in D village according to the 2015 statistics.[10] Officially, each household is required to register their resident cards with their home district,

9 Full-time farmers in D village produce various kinds of crops (e.g., cabbage, lotus, banana, okra or wax apple).

10 According to a Japanese colonial survey, in 1922 there were 840 people living in D village (Tainanshu 1922: 3).

but some households fail to comply. Hence, the official numbers do not represent the actual population. We prepared Table 2 from local phone listings. This provides a relatively accurate estimate of the population because today each household has telephones.

Table 3 Major Surnames in D Village

	Settlement					
	C	K	O	W	T	G
No. of households	Sun (60)	Liu (33)	Niu (11)	Xu (9)	Zhuang (8)	Qiao (8)
	Jiang (19)		Ding (7)	Liu (7)	Gan (6)	
	Xu (14)		Zhuang (6)			
	Ding (12)					
	Zhuang (12)					
	Qian (12)					
	Yu (11)					

Note: Only surnames over six households are shown.
Source: Author (Phone book of Houbi District, 2013)

Table 4 *Jia* Groups that Recognize Common Descent

	Genealogical book (*zu-pu*)	Corporate rituals for ancestors	Participation in ancestral rituals outside the village
Old Sun	-	Existed	-
New Sun	-	Existed	-
Xu	Existing	Existing	Existed
Jiang	-	Existing	-
Liu	-	Existed	-
Niu	-	Existed	-

Source: Author

Table 3 lists the most common surnames recorded in the 2012 phone book. The Sun, Jiang, Xu, and Niu residents developed relatively integrated groups under these surnames. Each group conducted corporate rituals for their ancestors in their ancestral halls or shrines.[11] Because the Suns descended from several different ancestors, the two major lines, called Old Sun and New Sun, formed two different

11 Foreign researchers tend to call a place for ancestral rituals an "ancestral hall." This paper distinguishes between an independent building for rituals（ancestral shrine, 祖厝 *zucuo*）and a room for rituals（ancestral hall, 公媽廳 *gongmating*）in a house.

groups and conducted rituals independently. The Lius predominantly reside in K settlement (along with a few Yan, Ye, and Xu households). Their kinship ties are weak compared with those of the other major surnames. At present, the Sun groups and Niu people no longer conduct corporate rituals for their ancestors. Only the Jiang and Xu *jia* retain their ancestral halls (see Table 4).

Some groups previously played political roles in D village. Five persons surnamed Sun, Jiang, and Niu rotated in the post of village chief from 1945 to 1986. Villagers remember the major groups asking their ancestors which candidates they should vote for. In the 1986 election, the people elected a village chief named Xu, a minor surname in the village. At present, village chiefs are elected according to their personal wealth and connections with politicians outside the village, so the old groups have gradually lost their roles as village leaders since the 1990s. Compared with their involvement in village leadership, the old groups played only a modest economic role in D village. Most of them had no common budgets, nor did they rent their common lands to tenants, especially since land reform.

The Adoption of New-Styled Houses

As I noted above, dwellings have changed in recent decades in Taiwanese villages. D village now has two major types of houses: the traditional single-story house and a newer multi-story house, also known as a "tower house" (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 A traditional single-story house and a tower house
Source: Author

The single-story type was a common form of architecture in many Taiwanese villages. Some scholars call them "U-shaped houses" (Cohen 1976). In fact, the U-shape reflects the process of their enlargement. As the number of children increased, new rooms were added to the existing houses. The additional rooms were

arranged in front of the existing structure, changing its shape from an I to an L, and ultimately a U. The materials used to expand the houses depended on the wealth of the inhabitants. Usually mud, brick, or concrete was used for the walls, and bamboo or wood for the beams. Since these houses are topped by gable roofs, it is not easy to add upper floors to their structures. This classic rural house has a hall in the center of its structure where ancestral tablets（公媽牌 *gongmapai*）are displayed and the ancestors are worshiped. It is important that traditional houses have common space within the U-structure (I- and L-shaped houses also have broad front yards). This courtyard is called *tiann*（埕）in the Hoklo language. Households in the compound can use the space equally. Older inhabitants still hold tea ceremonies there, exchange the news of the day, and use the space for various farming-related activities.

The tower house became popular in D village in the 1960s.[12] Local people call them *loufang*（樓房）or *toutiancuo*（透天厝）in Mandarin, and they are made of reinforced concrete. Conjugal or stem families tend to reside in these homes. Unlike traditional houses, they are rarely enlarged horizontally for human habitation. People can easily add upper floors to the flat roof as their children grow up. Although some tower houses are built adjacent, their internal structures are completely separated. Currently, when D villagers worship their ancestors in tower houses, they prepare special rooms on the upper floor for the ancestral tablets. Tower houses ordinarily have front yards that residents use for mid-autumn barbecues or simple agricultural works such as drying vegetables. However, these spaces do not provide as many opportunities for daily interaction as did the courtyards of traditional houses.

Table 5　Basic dwelling types in D village

	Settlement							
	C	K	O	W	T	G	Total	percentage
Traditional house	79	33	7	21	16	6	162	30.7
Tower house	179	37	38	10	22	3	289	54.7
Other	56	6	3	2	10	0	77	14.6

Note: There were 528 houses counted in D village. This number is more than that of registered households (510 households in 2015). I counted some empty structures and temporarily occupied houses in the village.

Source: Author

12　Lin (2002: 137-140) says tower houses appeared in the 1990s in her fieldsite (Yanshui District). There was a transitional style called *gailiangshi*（改良式）or *hong-a-tsu*. In my research site, D village, tower houses appeared earlier—the first ones were constructed in the 1960s .

Table 5 summarizes the number of houses in D village (including vacant or temporarily empty ones). More than half are tower houses, but traditional houses still represent 34 percent of all house structures. Up to the 1950s, people preferred the traditional single-story houses and they believed that expanded houses demonstrated prosperity. But since traditional houses have fallen out of favor some are occupied temporarily and many are left vacant,

Jia Groups Formed via Agnatic Marriage
Case 1. Xu *Jia*: Inheritance Partly Preserving a Common Estate

The early ancestors of Xu people came to Taiwan from Zhangzhou（漳州）in mainland China. At the end of the nineteenth century, the founder (Xu YG) purchased land and moved into D village. He built the first simple house and cultivated land with his five sons (Xu QC, QL, WY, QP, and QQ). The third brother (Xu WY) and his descendants moved out of the village to do business in Taipei. The other descendants expanded the original house into a complex U-shaped compound. They lived in these houses, dug a common well, and cultivated nearby fields. They continued to live in the compound until the 1960s. The descendants of Xu YG's sons formed five descent lines（房 *fang*）: Xu QC (the eldest *fang*), Xu QL (the second *fang*), Xu WY (the third *fang*), Xu QP (the fourth *fang*), and Xu QQ (the fifth *fang*). The Xus also maintained close ties through mutual adoption across descent lines in this period. Both the fourth (Xu QP) and fifth brothers (Xu QQ) had no male heirs. Therefore, Xu QP adopted the eldest brother Xu QC's son (Xu DC), and Xu QQ adopted the second brother Xu QL's son (Xu DB). These children inherited their adoptive father's descent lines (the fourth and the fifth *fang*).

In the 1960s, the number of Xu descendants had increased to six male grandchildren (the first cousins) and sixteen great-grandchildren (the second cousins). Although not formally divided, Xu of the four sub-lines who remained local worked their allocated fields. They regarded the house compound and fields as the "common estate that the ancestor (Xu YG) purchased." Each sub-line conducted "household farming" in their assigned fields, which were originally allocated to the five sons of Xu YG. Their children (the four sub-lines) took over those allocations. The adopted children (Xu DC and DB) cultivated the allocations of their adoptive fathers (Xu QP and QQ). As the generation of second cousins grew up, co-residence in the original compound became difficult. The house could no longer accommodate the new members. The second cousins then built tower houses in the fields of their

sub-lines when they got married. These young generations purchased new fields removed from the compound and conducted farming independently. The scattered locations of these newly purchased fields made it difficult for the Xus to cooperate at cultivation and harvest times, and the spread of agricultural machines reduced the need for such cooperation.[13]

The Xu descendants maintained a hall in the original compound for their ancestral tablets, and the inhabitants of the compound conducted corporate rituals for their founder (Xu YG). Moreover, some descendants participated in rituals held outside D village. The earliest Xu ancestors from continental China settled in SQ village in Houbi District, where they continue to live at present. Some Xus from D village participated in corporate rituals for those early ancestors until the 2000s.[14] Some Xu descendants who moved to new houses prepared spaces where they could conduct domestic rituals for ancestors. Nevertheless, the Xus continued to perform corporate rituals in the original hall in D village.

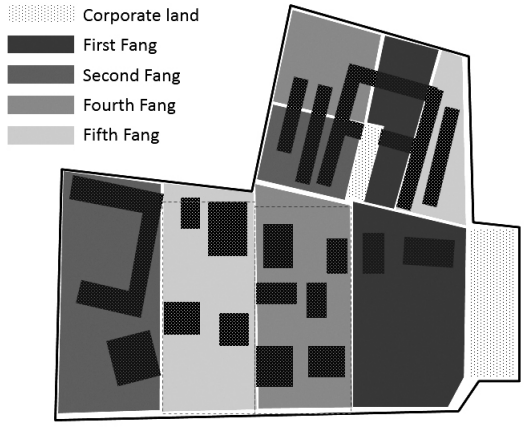

Figure 2 Xu *jia*'s property (with buildings indicated)
Source: Author

In the 1980s and 1990s the next generation of the Xus, the third cousins, began to leave D village to seek employment and higher education. The first cousins had lived in the old houses of the compound, but most of them had passed away in the 2000s. Their children, the second cousins, began to discuss the future management of the compound (they had transitioned to houses outside the original compound).

13 One of the Xu grandsons purchased three combine-harvesters and carried on a leasing business.

14 They even compiled a genealogical book with all the descendants in the 1980s.

The third sub-line, the descendants of Xu WY, lived in Taipei. The Xus of D village had to contact these descendants to divide the common estate, since they had potential heirship to one-fifth of the property. The four sub-lines in D village purchased the inheritance of the third sub-line and divided the original compound into four sections. The lots of the tower houses were also divided equally among the heirs because these previously cultivated lands were regarded as an expansion of the original compound. However, the Xus did not divide the entire lot of the compound. They reserved a part of it as a small common estate on which to build a new ancestral shrine and set out a stone panel that displays the family genealogy from the founder (Xu YG).

Case 2. The New Sun *Jia*: Inheritance Dividing the Whole Estate

Sun people in D village had two predominant descent lines called New Sun and Old Sun. Despite their prominence in the village, it is unclear when these lines settled there. Some descendants say their ancestors arrived from Zhangzhou and became sworn brothers in D village. Old Sun members divided their lands before World War II. They continued corporate rituals in a small shrine after the division. However, in the 1970s the Old Suns stopped performing those rituals and dismantled the shrine. Their descendants interact little today.

The New Sun line maintained their common holding of property until relatively recently. The first I-shaped house was built in the early 20th century, and the founder and his four sons soon expanded it to a U-shape. Their descendants continued to add new houses to the compound as the number of descendants increased, including a second I-shaped house (built in the 1940s) and four tower houses (built in the 1960s). The hall for ancestral tablets is part of the original house. The New Sun line descended into four sub-lines, and they continued to conduct corporate rituals for the founder in that hall. However, they began to leave the compound in the 1970s. The original compound became surrounded by additional compounds located in the center of the settlement. The younger generations needed to purchase new fields outside the settlement when they wanted to expand their farms. Rural factories in the village and nearby townships also beckoned the younger people. As a result, newly married descendants moved out to new tower houses built on the edge of the settlement or in the nearby townships. The out-migrating descendants prepared space in their tower houses in which to separately conduct ancestral rituals. The New Sun descendants gradually gathered less frequently to perform the corporate rituals,

and in the 1980s those rituals were completely abandoned.[15]

By the 2000s, the New Sun descendants seldom interacted and shared no corporate rituals. Their genealogical data was lost as their contacts decreased. They could identify the sub-lines to which they belonged, but no one remembered how the four sub-lines had been ordered. Furthermore, one of the sub-lines lost contact with villagers after they moved away (hereafter I will call them *fang* A). Based on patrilineal principles, every male descendant who belonged to the same generation had equal potential heirship to the original property. The increasing number of New Sun descendants meant future difficulties regarding inheritance. The three sub-lines excluding *fang* A decided to divide the property as soon as they could identify all their relations. As the three sub-lines (I will call them *fangs* B, C, and D) could not ask *fang* A for their input, they applied to the local court to present their intention. The court agreed to entrust one-fourth of their property to the state, and the other lines inherited the remaining three-fourths. *Fang* B took the southern portion because two male heirs resided in the U-shaped house there. *Fangs* C and D inherited the northern portion. *Fang* C had six male cousins who were heirs of the sub-line. They had hoped to divide their portion equally, but their portion was not sufficiently large to divide it into six pieces. *Fang* C purchased half of the *Fang* D portion, which to the original lot would ensure a viable equal division.

Case 3. Jiang *Jia*: Abandoned Inheritance, or Maintaining an Estate Held in Common

The Jiangs believe that their ancestors arrived from SJ village in Baihe District, which adjoins Houbi District. Jiang descendants still live in SJ village but have no contact with their relatives in D village. In the late 19th century, two brothers named Jiang YS and H moved to D village. They built a U-shaped house and cultivated fields near a reservoir. The first of the Xus (Xu YG) lived in the area south of the Jiangs' house.[16] As the number of descendants increased, the Jiangs continued to build new houses and form a compound. Two new U-shaped houses were built in front of the first house. Before too long, two long I-shaped houses were added on the northern side of the lot. However, these expansions could go only so far. When descendants

15 One of the descendants, Sun KY, took in the original ancestral tablet used in the hall and moved it into his tower house outside the compound.

16 A Xu informant told me that Jiang people once asked Xu YG and his family to protect their compound from bandits.

moved from the compound in the 1970s, they built new tower houses on the edge of the settlement or moved to neighboring towns.

The overall genealogy of the Jiang line has already become clouded. According to my interviews, there are two major lines, one is descended from the elder brother Jiang YS, and the second from the younger brother Jiang H. These two lines have several sub-lines (e.g., the four sons of Jiang H formed four sub-lines). The descendants of Jiang YS resided in the western half of the compound, and those of Jiang H in the eastern half. The Jiang descendants over 40 years old still reckon birth order（排行 *pai-hang*）among the "cousins," but their knowledge is quite limited. People of one major line can identify their own order in that line, but they do not know the accurate order of descendants in the other line.[17] At present, some parts of the original compound are in ruins. The lot and houses are registered under the names of Jiang YS and H, but descendants need to clarify their precise relationships to ensure equal inheritance and proper division of the compound. Because the relationships are unclear, the Jiangs can neither repair nor clear away the crumbling buildings.

The early Jiang settlers appeared to perform ancestral rituals together, but these corporate rituals gradually ceased. The descendants of Jiang YS continued their ancestral rituals separately in a hall in the compound. In the 1960s many descendants of Jiang YS moved away. Some went to a nearby village to take on service or industrial work. Several of the local Jiangs disagreed with the elimination of corporate rituals held for their ancestors. The out-migrated descendants acquiesced and together they built a new shrine near the compound and moved the oldest ancestral tablet there to continue the ceremonies. The descendants of Jiang H, on the other hand, just separately conducted domestic rituals in their houses after leaving the compound. They were reluctant to participate in ceremonies held by "people who had been descended from a different ancestor" (the descendants of Jiang YS). At present, Jiang GJ, a descendant of Jiang H, lives with his wife and four unmarried siblings in the original compound.[18] They practice ancestral rites and feast together during the holidays. GJ's out-migrated children still return to the compound to participate in the ceremonies. Some other descendants of Jiang H live in D village, but they have few occasions to come together.

17 The Jiangs' situation—two founders and an obscure genealogy—is like that of the Ong kin group in the northern Taiwan studied by Ahern (1973).

18 Their father died in his thirties in the 1970s.

Jia Groups Formed via Non-agnatic Marriage
Case 4. Zhuang *Jia*: Inheritance Partly Preserving a Common Estate

This case involves a *jia* formed via widow remarriage. A man named Zhuang X built an I-shaped house in D village in the early 1920s. He lived with his wife, and they had a son named Zhuang CS. However, Zhuang X died soon after his son's birth. His widow later remarried, and the couple raised her child together. The new husband (Jiang S) entered into a contract agreeing that Zhuang CS would inherit Zhuang X's entire legacy. Jiang S had three sons (Jiang DY, ZH, and MZ) with his wife, but his children were not heirs to Zhuang X's legacy, according to the contract.

Zhuang CS and his stepbrothers were raised together in the same I-shaped house. When the brothers got married and had children in the 1950s, they all built new houses in which to raise their children on Zhuang X's land. Zhuang CS built a U-shaped house, the third stepbrother (Jiang ZH) built two I-shaped houses, and the fourth stepbrother (Jiang MZ) built an L-shaped house. Only the second stepbrother (Jiang DY) purchased adjacent land, where he built a U-shaped house; the other three stepbrothers and their children lived together in the same lot. Their living situation was a co-existence of two different surnames and patrilineal descent lines in a single compound.

Zhuang CS had four sons (Zhuang JH, DT, QX, and ST). The third (Zhuang QX) migrated to SQ village, where he opened a caterer's shop. The other three sons stayed in the village to help their father cultivate his fields. The sons continued this cooperative farming after they got married. In the 1990s, Zhuang JH and ST removed the old I-shaped house built by Zhuang X and built new tower houses in its place. Zhuang DT also built a new tower house on his remote field in the 2000s.

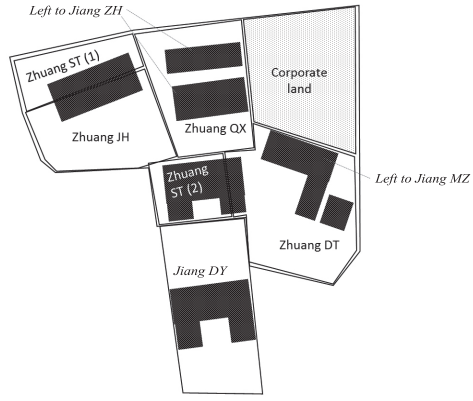

Figure 3. Zhuang *jia*'s compound
Source: Author

Soon after the sons built their own houses, Zhuang CS died in a traffic accident. His sons and the Jiang stepbrothers did not divide the compound because the inheritance was just too complicated. With the considerable expansion of structures, the compound was no longer solely the legacy of Zhuang X. In fact, the Jiang stepbrothers believed the lot should be inherited by Zhuang CS's sons, but claimed they had equal rights to the buildings on the Zhuang land.

In the 2010s, the Zhuangs and the Jiangs reached an agreement regarding the inheritance of the compound (see Figure 3). Jiang ZH and MZ received their own houses. Jiang DY continued to own both his U-shaped house and its lot because he had purchased the land himself. The lot of the compound was divided independently from the buildings. Zhuang CS's sons divided the land equally. The U-shaped house was divided with its lot between Zhuang DT and ST. The sons had already divided their ancestral tablets and rituals, but they thought it would be regrettable if the "Zhuang *jia*'s" relationships were forgotten by their descendants. Therefore, they left a portion of the lot as "corporate land" on which to build an arbor to memorialize their father Zhuang CS and their own fraternal relationships.

Case 5. Wen *Jia*: Inheritance Dividing the Whole Estate

The founder of the Wen *jia* (Wen Y) was born in Baihe District in the 1910s. Because his wife (Sun T) had no brothers, her parents asked Wen Y to enter into an uxorilocal marriage. Wen Y had three sons (Wen BS, Sun BX, and Wen MD) and six daughters with his wife. The second son was given the Sun surname, permitting him to inherit in the descent line of the Suns. In the 1950s, Wen Y purchased land and built a U-shaped house on the western edge of the settlement. These people lived together in that house and cultivated nearby fields.

Their lifestyle changed when the three sons became adults. The third son (Wen MD) migrated to Kaohsiung City and became an industrial laborer. The second son (Sun BX) initially resided with his wife in a room in the U-shaped house. However, they needed more room after they had children (two sons and five daughters). Sun BX purchased some fields in SQ village and lived in a small cabin there while farming with his children. Only the first son (Wen BS) lived with his parents, but his own children left the village to seek urban employment as had his brother, Wen MD. Wen Y placed ancestral tablets for both surnames (Sun and Wen) in the hall in his own house and worshiped both of them there. His sons returned regularly to participate in the ancestral rituals conducted by their father.

When Wen Y died in 2013 the sons proceeded with the division of the *jia*. Initially, Wen Y's children agreed that the inheritance should be divided only among

the three brothers. The third brother (Wen MD) told his brothers that he and his children would not return to D village in the future, so the two other brothers purchased the rights to Wen MD's portion, and they divided the house equally. Wen BS took the eastern side, and Sun BX took the western side. The ancestral rituals were also divided. Wen BS and MD worshiped Wen's ancestral tablet, and Sun BX worshiped Sun's tablet. They ceased the corporate rituals for their bilateral ancestors. The ancestral hall in the U-shaped house was left vacant after the brothers removed the tablets.

Currently, the second stage of inheritance is in process. The first son (Sun JC) of Sun BX returned to live in the U-shaped house, and he returned the Sun ancestral tablet to its hall. Sun JC and his wife want their children to experience rural life and consider D village their "home village." Sun JC had lived in a flat in Chiayi City with his wife and children, but since his father had inherited rooms from Wen Y, he decided to sell the flat and return to the village. Returning to traditional houses is rare in D village, because most people prefer to live in tower houses, even after retirement. Sun BX and his second son (Sun SH) reside in their own separate houses.[19] Sun BX is satisfied that one of his sons returned to the old "Sun *jia*" house to perform rituals for their ancestors. The Wens (including Sun BX's brothers) supported Sun JC's return to the vacant rooms, but they had little interest in "Sun *jia*" ancestral rituals. They believe that the Sun and Wen lines had already formed different *jia* in the ritual.

Case 6. Ye *Jia*: Abandoned Inheritance, or Maintaining an Estate Held in Common

The Yes are newcomers to D village. In the 1970s Ye C and his children migrated from their compound in KZ village in Baihe District.

Ye C's grandfather entered an uxorilocal marriage with a daughter of the Zhangs in KZ village in the 19th century. The couple had two sons (Zhang Y and Ye G). One was given the Zhang surname to allow him to inherit from the descent line of his mother. The other son received the Ye surname from his father. The two brothers built three I-shaped houses on the same lot. Ye G had four sons (Ye D, C, Q, and K). The sons lived with their parents after marriage, and their rooms were initially in

19 Wen BS, Sun JC, and Sun SH are all engaged in agriculture, but they have few opportunities to cooperate because their crops are totally different: Wen BS (paddy rice), Sun JC (wax apples and bananas), and Sun SH (areca nuts).

the I-shaped houses. But space became cramped as their children grew up. Only the third brother (Ye Q) stayed in the village with his father; the other brothers left the compound to find their own living spaces.

Ye C had two sons and one daughter. He purchased and moved into a tower house in D village to raise his children. His first son (Ye CJ) became an artisan who farmed and lived with his father. The second son (Ye WZ) migrated to Tainan to work in industry. In the early 2000s, Ye WZ told Ye C that he hoped to return to D village. Ye C and Ye CJ transferred their house to Ye WZ, and they built a new tower house in their field outside the settlement.

At present, the original compound remains in KZ village even though the descendants have moved. Both the lot and houses are registered under the names of Zhang Y and Ye D. Zhang Y only had two daughters, and according to patrilineal ideals of inheritance, daughters have no right to inherit because women are not part of the patrilineal descent line. At the same time, the two brothers (Zhang Y and Ye G) had equal rights to the compound. Future inheritance would be complicated if they denied the rights of Zhang Y's daughters. The daughters might have selected an uxorilocal marriage to pass down Zhang Y's descent line in the past, but people no longer favor such solutions. Therefore, Ye G directed his sons to consider their female cousins blood brothers in the inheritance. Such treatment was quite unusual, but Ye C's sons respected his decision to transfer partial rights to Zhang Y's daughters. The six cousins, namely, Zhang Y's daughters and Ye C's sons, promised to divide the compound equally in the future.

However, the Ye descendants considered the participation of Zhang Y's daughters in the inheritance a special circumstance. Such treatment would not necessarily be extended to the next generation of female descendants. Ye C died in 2016, and the two sons inherited their father's property except for the original compound.[20] Ye CJ inherited the new tower house, and Ye WZ inherited the previously purchased house. Their sister (Ye RQ) was not included in the process.

Unstable Chains of Inheritance

These six cases involved actual separations or dissolutions of co-residence. They follow the pattern of contemporary residence in D village (see Table 5), where traditional houses have become an inheritance from the older generation rather

20 Ye WZ and his children already had their ancestral tablets, but he celebrates major rituals and feasts with Ye CJ "because their mother is living."

than places where their descendants reside. Before the 1960s, relatives had frequent interaction living in the compounds of traditional houses. People shared various kinds of farm-related work, tea ceremonies, daily greetings, and conversation in their courtyards. But such co-residence also generated quarrels as well as positive contact (Freedman, 1958: 22-3; Cohen, 1976: 184-95). For example, in Case 5, Sun BX left the compound not just to care for his children but also so his wife could avoid disputes with Wen BS's wife and her sisters-in-law who were not married at the time. Their son (Sun JC) returned to the compound in 2016, but his mother still refuses to go back and continues to reside in SQ village. The quarrels that erupted were not merely emotional ones. The courtyard space, used for various jobs such as the drying and threshing of rice, was in principle open to common use by all members of the compound, but in practice it was not easy to manage competition for the space among household members. During the 1970s boom in pig farming, each village household early on raised a few pigs to sell to brokers. Xu descendants still remember how the issue of raising pigs led to conflicts around the "private use" of this common space.

The merits of co-residence gradually declined in other respects, too. When the Baihe reservoir was constructed in 1966 and improved the water supply in Houbi District, low international sugar prices encouraged D villagers convert from sugarcane farming to paddy cultivation.[21] Agricultural mechanization (tractors and combine-harvesters) further promoted that transition. All these factors reduced the need for labor exchanges among villagers (Houbixiang gongsuo 1986: 200-201; Tsai 2011: 129-131). Today there are still a few full-time farmers in D village, but they prefer to employ part-time labor rather than work out labor exchanges, because their products are too diverse and needs too varied. Also, as industrialization increased job opportunities, the younger population turned away from agriculture. Diversified occupations further reduced agricultural co-operation in the village. Moreover, the old compound could no longer accomodate an increasing number of younger villagers. One respondent said, "Tower houses are separate from each other. They lack mutual communication. Don't you think so? But many household members（家人 *jiaren*）can live in them." Living in tower houses became attractive to many younger villagers since they provided intimate and relaxed living spaces for them and their unmarried children, and they provided a way to avoid the annoying conflicts

21 According to the survey in 1961, sugarcane farming needed 231.9 workdays and NT$11,348 per hectare a year, while double-cropping (Ponlai rice) took only 204.3 workdays and NT$16,222 per hectare a year (Cohen 1976: 48-49).

associated with life in the old compounds.

Actual co-residence diminished, but existing kinship relations did not immediately disappear. The six cases here show the various approaches different *jia* took in actual situations. It is a matter of curiosity, for example, that the Xus and the Jiangs built ancestral shines but the New Sun descendants did not. In fact, the descendants themselves were not necessarily convinced that they had managed the inheritance process "properly". These decisions were not definitive but tentative. The Xus and the Jiangs keep their distinct ancestral tablets in their shrines and in each residence in their tower houses. However, people extended daily attention to their domestic tablets rather than the ones in the shrines. The shrines are symbolic and do not offer concrete economic benefits, such as rent. In other words, they do not function as economic bases for strong lineage organization as conceived by Freedman's model. They are merely memorials to the integration that existed in the past. People pray together there on New Year's Day, and perhaps some other holidays, but they do not organize feasts after the prayers are held. The descendants place their offerings in the shrine and take them back to share with their close relatives. They interact more intimately in the tower houses than in shrines during corporate rituals.

The absence of ancestral shrines does not necessarily mean that people are convinced of their decisions in the inheritance process. In Case 4, the Zhuang brothers (the sons of Zhuang CS) have already divided their ancestral tablets and properties. Nevertheless, they hope to maintain their kinship ties into the future and built a small arbor that they have named "CS's Arbor" to memorialize their late father and their own relationships. Their feelings of discomfort in not holding corporate rituals for their ancestors made them come up with an alternative memorial.

D villagers over age 40 have experienced the shift from traditional compound living to life in the tower houses. In their youth, they had daily interactions with siblings and cousins. Today some of them still maintain personal communications based on the "special feelings of intimacy"（感情 *ganqing*）that were fostered during that co-residence. For instance, cousins often hold feasts and tea ceremonies in Ye CJ's tower house.[22] One of Ye CJ's cousins even travels from Kaosiung to participate in ancestral rituals and feasts with Ye CJ's household. He (Ye CR) spent his adolescence with Ye CJ in D village after leaving their compound. He says they used to live "like a large household（大家族 *dajiazu*）" and thus they cultivated

22 Four cousins are regular members of the gathering: Ye CJ and WZ (sons of Ye C), Ye JH (the first son of Ye Q), and Ye CR (living in Kaosiung, the second son of Ye D).

special feelings for each other. Shared experiences of the past can sustain such "irregular" relationships. In other words, close cousins can become closer through these personal communications; alienated cousins become more alienated without regular contact.

D villagers think later generations will not experience these special feelings of intimacy. Therefore, Zhuang DT (the second son of Zhuang CS) regards the decision to tidy their kinship relations "a good thing." In his opinion, clarity is preferable to confusing future generations about their genealogy. The New Suns' case is like the Zhuang case. Both opted for irreversible separation so that their descendants do not suffer as they did from trying to manage complicated kinship relations. In actuality, the current generation does feel the incoherence of decisions made by their elders. The Yes accorded a special position for Zhang's "female heirs," but even that did not completely resolve their kinship issues. The Ye descendants continue to "take care of" Zhang's ancestral tablets in the absence of any male heirs, a predicament they feel has been left to them because their elders did not take suitable action to untangle the kinship problem. These reproductions of *jia* result from chains of imperfect decisions that try to make the best of the incoherent relations emerging from the ongoing interplay of property, kinship ideals, and actual interactions.

Conclusion

The reproduction of Hoklo Taiwanese *jia* and their relations through the inheritance of houses in contemporary Taiwan reveals a particular dynamism in Han Chinese society. As noted in the introduction, Stafford (2000a, 2000b) effected a turning point in kinship studies of the Han Chinese by acknowledging that dynamism. He did not attempt to explore why "deviations" existed in patrilineal society, but instead tried to explain how kinship relations themselves are maintained by the society. His interactivist approach drew on the work of Janet Carsten and her colleagues (e.g. Carsten and Hugh-Jones, ed. 1995; Carsten, ed. 2000), who criticized Lévi-Strauss's diachronic "house society" concept for presenting a static social type like a classic lineage model (Lévi-Strauss 1979: 188-191; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 11). By emphasizing the interactivist and symbolic functions of houses in the reproduction of kinship relations, Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995: 18, 42-46) have developed a strong synchronic character for their model. Nonetheless, the diachronic perspective has not disappeared from the contentions of Carsten and her followers, including Stafford.

The emphasis on the reciprocity between parents and children through care is a distinctive feature of Stafford's arguments. Of course, the parent-child

relationship is acknowledged to be sufficient for the reproduction of *jia* and their relations. However, so-called vertical relations were not found to be grounded only in such care-based associations. There are decision-chains that reach between or across multiple generations. The death of parents often makes people reconsider their wider relations (especially among siblings and their children). The current generation interprets the ways in which the *jia* was maintained by older generations and makes decisions based in expectations of how the *jia* should be maintained by future generations. These inter-generational chains are also supported by the inheritance of material houses. The way the older generation dealt with issues around the houses (compound) has influenced how contemporary generations deal with this legacy. They do so by adjusting between the prescribed ideals and the actual circumstances of interactions around them. Human and non-human factors together are part of these inter-generational chains of imperfect or uncertain decisions. The chains, in turn, create the dynamics of *jia*'s reproduction. Whereas recent studies have challenged the static model of Han Chinese kinship, the newer perspective of communication between or across multiple generations may deepen and develop arguments around their dynamic "relatedness" (Carsten, ed. 2000).

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「家」之再生產與跨世代性：
臺灣西南部福佬農村的個案研究

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本文探討臺灣福佬人的「親屬」集團——「家」——通過繼承被再生產的過程。近年來，親屬研究開始重新思考「親屬」的概念。漢人研究也受到親屬研究的新趨勢、逐步形成重新分析漢人的「親屬」關係的潮流。這些新的研究主要關注人與人的互動、進而分析「親屬」的再生產。但筆者認為需要進一步關注人與非人因素之間的互動。本文從多元因素之間互動的角度出發、重新探討漢人（包括臺灣福佬人）的「親屬」集團及其關係的再生產機制。

筆者在臺灣西南部嘉南平原的一個福佬農村進行田野調查。首先，筆者分別繼承「家」的3個類型：（1）部分維持共有財產、（2）完全分割共有財產、（3）放棄繼承或維持財產共有的狀態。其次，關於這3個類型還區別不同成立緣起的「家」：（a）符合父系理念的「家」、（b）不符合父系理念的「家」，並根據上述的6個類型筆者在田野抽出6個案例進行分析。

在1960年代以前的調查村，村民一般居住傳統式的宅院（compound，三合院）。「家」的成員一般在宅院共享他們的生活經驗。1960年代台灣經濟的起飛提高農村的經濟水平，村民家計較有餘裕。並且，上揚的生育率使得增加各個「家」的成員數。結果，曾經人們共同居住的宅院容納不了新出生的子女、人們開始離開傳統式的宅院，並為扶育自己的子女蓋獨立棟的多層住宅（tower house，樓房）。同時，農業機械化不僅減少人力勞動與換工的機會，也降低通過共同居住籌措農業勞動力的需求。

本文所探討的6個案例都經歷過共同居住的分解。居住在傳統式宅院的時期，不管是否符合父系理念的「家」，「家」的成員在宅院共享生活上的互動。人們離開宅院以後，他們主要在新的住宅開展互動，此時依據宅院的傳統互動方式已不存在或很少展現的。然而，在繼承宅院的場面人們依然要

考慮過去在宅院存在的互動關係。因此人們對現在、過去的關係與「家」的理念做詮釋，同時把三者關係整合起來，試圖整理他們對當今「家」的關係。臺灣福佬人的「家」的再生產過程顯然體現著對過去的詮釋活動。而且這種可謂跨世代的互動是與非人因素（住宅與「親屬」理念）結合起來的。跨世代的非人因素的存在為現代與過去之間牽線搭橋。我們把分析「親屬」的視角從人與人的互動擴大到人與非人因素的互動，會更深刻地理解所謂「親屬」的關係及其內涵。

關鍵詞：親屬，家屋社會，人口外流，住宅，漢人研究