

pattern among the Southern Athapaskans. However, the number of kinship classifications that can be reconstructed with confidence is limited to cousin and aunt-uncle terminology.

5. Future reconstructions of kinship systems for any linguistic stock or substock might profit by utilizing a combination of social data with a linguistic and comparative-historical analysis rather than emphasizing one approach to the exclusion of others.

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Land Use and the Extended Family in Moala, Fiji

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THE hypothesis of this paper is that the traditional extended family organization of Moala Island, Fiji, depends for its continued existence on particular customs of land tenure and land use; that when these customs change, the familial form tends to change. An analysis of the family in two contemporary villages will show that in one, Keteira, the traditional family structure has been largely maintained, while in the second, Naroi, it barely survives. It is submitted that exploitation of scattered land resources in Keteira is responsible for the continuance of the extended family there, while dependence on land only in the environs of the village has contributed to the emergence of the independent nuclear family in Naroi. It is concluded that the patterns of land use are necessary determining conditions of familial structure in Moala.

To demonstrate the proposition, I will first describe the composition and operation of the traditional Moalan extended family. The familial forms present in Keteira and Naroi will then be analyzed. Finally, the relationship between family types and land usage will be described, and conclusions drawn.

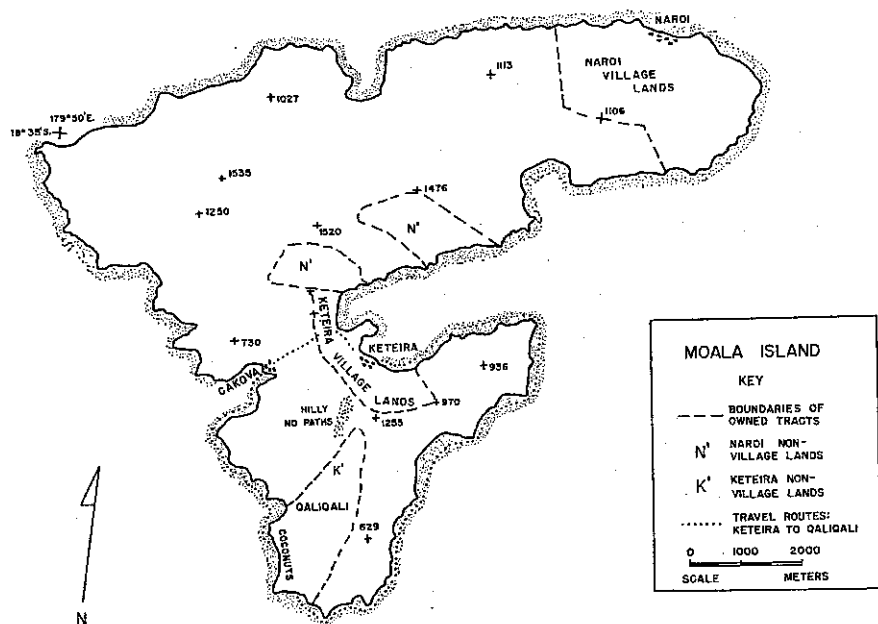
Moala is an island of volcanic origin, some 24 square miles in area. It is quite hilly; the highest peak is 1535 feet. The hills descend sharply to rocky or mangrove-bordered coasts, leaving relatively little flat land on the island. The population, numbering approximately 1200 (all Fijian with the exception of three Chinese shop-keepers), is settled in eight coastal villages. Basic subsistence activities are the growing of root crops, taro, yams, sweet potato, and sweet manioc, by slash and burn techniques. Some wet taro is also grown. Copra and money have become increasingly important in the local economy, especially since the beginning of World War II. The two villages considered here, Naroi and Keteira, are located at the extreme northeastern end and on the eastern side of the island, respectively (see map). Naroi is the largest Moalan village and the home of the paramount chief of the island, Roko Tui Moala. Keteira is about one-third as large and boasts no important chief. However, neither differences in population nor the relative political standing of the two villages has any particular bearing on the present analysis.

THE TRADITIONAL MOALAN FAMILY

This description of the traditional Moalan family is built from observation and from informants' opinions, ideas, and ideals. The term "traditional" does not necessarily denote "aboriginal." Moala has been subject to European influences for over a century, and to Tongan influences for an even longer period. In its essentials, the family pattern described here is almost certainly of great antiquity, but there have been minor changes in house and hearth arrangements over the past two or three centuries.

In the local dialect the traditional family may be designated *vuvale*² or *vale* ("house"). It is of the patrilocal extended variety, usually composed of a man, his wife, his unmarried daughters and sons, and married sons with their wives and children. Occasionally a man will reside with his wife's family after marriage. This arrangement, which can continue for life, most often occurs when the wife has no brother to carry on her family. If a man comes from another island or is orphaned, he might also live with his wife's family.

The extended family occupies a compound of closely grouped living houses sharing a single cook house. Each living house holds one of the nuclear



family constituents of the extended family. Informants state that in the "old times" more than one married pair often lived in a house, but this practice was made illegal by an early (1877) British regulation. While there is no evidence that the regulation was ever rigorously enforced—and it was later rescinded (Roth 1953:22)—nowadays each married pair and their offspring almost invariably occupy a separate living house. A single, common hearth has always been a feature of the extended family, although in pre-British times it may have been located in one of the living houses rather than in a distinct cook house. The Government also legislated that each living house should have a separate cook house, but despite prosecutions under the regulation, this has never become a customary practice in Moala. Not only does an entire extended family share a common cook house, but the group takes its meals in common, either in the cook house or in one of the living houses.

The extended family is firmly organized by a system of internal ranking

based on generation and birth order. The father is leader of the family, followed by his children in order of birth. In pre-Christian times, polygyny was practiced (especially by chiefs), in which case children took precedence first by the order of marriage of their mothers and then, between full siblings, by birth order. The principles of ranking regulate succession to family headship. Here we can focus our attention on the males of the family, since females rarely

TABLE 1. KIN TERMS FOR MALES IN THE EXTENDED FAMILY;
MAN SPEAKING

Relation to Ego	Terms of Address		Terms of Reference	
	Naroi	Keteira	Naroi	Keteira
Father	Ratu ¹	Tata	Tamaqu	Tamaqu
Father's older brother	Ratu levu ("Big father") or Roko ² name	Ratu	Tamaqu levu ("Big father")	Tamaqu levu ("Big father")
Father's younger brother	as father	as father	Tamaqu lailai ("Little father")	Tamaqu lailai ("Little father")
Older brother and father's older brothers' sons	Roko name	tekonomy, ³ "Father of so and so"	Tuakaqu	Tuakaqu or tekonomy, "Father of so and so"
Younger brother and father's younger brothers' sons	by name	by name	Taciqu	Taciqu

¹ "Ratu" is also a title used in addressing people of high rank, especially in the Bauan dialect of Fijian.

² "Roko" is another status term, reputedly ancient in the Moalan dialect.

³ It is improper to address a superior by name only, hence tekonomy is used here as an indication of respect. Note the distinction thereby made between older and younger brothers and between father's older brothers' sons and father's younger brothers' sons.

become family heads and moreover, daughters can be expected to leave the group upon marriage. The oldest son will accede to family leadership at his father's death, and indeed gradually usurps the prerogatives of headship during his father's old age. Should the oldest son die or be disqualified from succession by personality defects, his younger brothers become eligible in the order of their birth. This ranking system and succession pattern is reflected in the kin terminology appropriate between males of an extended family as described in Table 1.

As the table indicates, distinctions of seniority (based on birth order) are consistently made in the kin terminologies of reference and address among

males of the extended family. This is true everywhere in Moala, despite the fact that the words used for kin designations may vary from village to village. Status titles such as *Roko* or *Ratu*, qualifying terms such as *levu* and *lailai* ("big" and "little"), and the use of teknomony as a sign of respect all help to express the relative rank of any pair of males in the family. I should stress that the older-younger terminological distinctions which indicate relative rank do not as consistently apply to more distant classificatory brothers and fathers than are listed in the table.

The wives of brothers of the extended family should address each other as sisters,³ but they usually make no rank distinctions in terminology since they are almost invariably of different natal groups. The relations among women married into a family reflect their husbands' rank, but aside from the wife of the family head, who leads the women's affairs, this ranking is not of great significance. A father treats his daughters-in-law as of approximately equal status. A man considers both older and younger brothers' wives as "secondary" wives, able to perform all the household duties of his own wife in her absence. However, sexual intercourse with brothers' wives is expressly forbidden, nor is there any leviritic marriage. If a man dies, his widow and children may simply remain with his extended family, but she may also return to her natal group or remarry. If she leaves, she takes her immature children with her, the father's family keeping older children and later reclaiming the children taken by their mother.⁴

Ranking within the extended family is not simply a matter of kin terminology. Also involved is a complex system of etiquette which governs behavior of people of different status in the system. The behavior of senior and junior members of the family toward each other parallels in specific detail that appropriate between chiefs and people of inferior status. Chiefly etiquette is in many respects an elaborate version of familial etiquette. In fact, the genealogical position of the chief, as scion of the main line of a common descent which embraces his people, is identical in principle to the genealogical position of the head of the family relative to the junior members. The similarity goes further: a younger brother may be described as the *kaisi* of an older brother, and the older is *turaga* to him—the more common referents of the terms "kaisi" and "turaga" being "people of low status" and "chiefs" respectively. Relative status in the family is symbolized by many customary rules of every-day behavior. For example, in their common meals, father and sons are seated at the "upper" end of the eating mat according to rank; the higher the rank, the closer to the position of high status toward the rear of the house. They are served in rank order by the women, who, with the immature children, eat afterwards. So also in any gathering of men of a family under one roof, the higher one's status, the nearer he may sit toward the rear of the house. Like the relationships between Fijian chiefs and commoners, there is a distinct atmosphere of reserve between a man and his younger brothers (although less so between fathers and sons). In a family gathering, especially one involving a serious discussion, a younger brother or young son will not venture an opinion until he is asked; he generally speaks only when spoken to. This is not to say

that family gatherings are drab affairs, but they are not often very gay. It is common for the reserve between brothers to amount to what is practically an avoidance relationship. The Moalans say, and I have observed it to be true, that it is "easier" to be with cross-cousins (terminologically and behaviorially distinct from brothers) or distant brothers than with full siblings.

Nevertheless, the traditional extended family is a unit of considerable solidarity. In village affairs it frequently acts as a collectivity. Before the firm establishment of British law, the family as a whole bore the responsibility of making amends if one of its members committed a wrong against another person of the community. By the same token, a man's extended family was his first line of retaliation if a wrong were committed against him. Until quite recently, it was difficult to limit a fist fight to just two opponents.

The fundamental activities of the extended family are economic: the members form a labor pool; property and produce are pooled in providing for the common hearth; and the internal ranking scheme is primarily a means of organizing production and distribution. The women contribute a great deal to extended family living. They care for the children, keep the houses in order, prepare meals (which sometimes involves gathering firewood and vegetable greens), make mats, do most of the fishing, and collect shellfish, sea slugs, and the like. The women are organized as a co-operating labor unit, each contributing her part to the day's work. It is the role of the wife of the senior male to decide the daily work, and to delegate and apportion the labor accordingly. The most strenuous jobs, such as net fishing, generally go to the younger women, but the particular activities of any woman may vary from day to day.

The men also form a labor pool. The men's primary tasks are gardening, housebuilding, and some fishing. In earlier times, the men of an extended family often formed a work unit for house-building, clearing land and firing it, digging irrigated taro patches, and planting and weeding gardens of yams, sweet potato, taro, and other crops. Nowadays, some of these tasks are done by suprafamilial organizations such as the village, although it is still common for members of an extended family to work together as a single labor group. When working as a unit the men are directed by the family head—father or eldest brother. But even when not working together, they act as members of a single production group since all their economic activities are directed toward providing for the entire family. On a given day any number of tasks might be apportioned among the men, such as planting, weeding, or harvesting certain gardens, bringing in food for the next day's meals or for a feast contribution, attending to business in the village or in another village, and so forth. The regulation and co-ordination of the men's daily activities is the most important function of the family head. At the morning meal, or perhaps the night before, he divides the day's work. Again, the heaviest burdens usually fall to the youngest. The younger sons and brothers are conceived of as the strong arms of the family; their primary duties are to serve and provide for their elders. The working sphere of the elders is generally confined to the village and its environs. Ideally, the head of a large extended family should do little other than supervise the division of labor, drink kava, and sleep. Actually he will

often work in the gardens, since a knowledge of familial resources is required of him in order to co-ordinate the men's work properly and efficiently. When the family head is too enfeebled by age to work in the "bush," he must abdicate his position of leadership in favor of his oldest son.

The traditional extended family pools its property resources as well as its labor resources. Each mature man has a yam garden, taro patches, and plots of other plants which he calls his own, but the products are not his to dispose of. All gardens of family members are subject to the control (*lewa*) of the family head. He determines where and (formerly) when gardens are to be planted, when they are to be weeded, and when crops are to be harvested. Since the food produced is for a common hearth, and since control of the plots is centralized, the various gardens are in effect joint property. As one informant puts it, "We are planting for one pot. The gardens are separate, but they are as one garden. Any one of us can and does take without permission from any of these gardens." Very often the gardens of the extended family are quite close to each other. Extended families tend to plant gardens of each of the major crops in distinct areas, with no other family's gardens intervening in these areas.

The houses that make up the family compound are similarly owned. The husband of the married pair occupying each house is considered the house owner, but all houses in the compound are subject to the decisions of the family head as to who is to live in them, the rearrangement of occupants, and the like. Household animals, pigs and chickens, are today owned in the same way; they are considered the property of a man and his wife, but control over them can be exercised by the leader of the extended family. Nowadays, the extended family head and his wife occasionally have full possession and control of all domestic animals, and other married pairs in the group have none. I cannot say with certainty which of these usages is older. Productive property such as canoes or fishing nets may be considered personal goods, but use is shared throughout the family.

While simple pooling of goods is the major form of distribution within the family, there is also a type of distribution which operates specifically between individuals. Here rank considerations are important. Any goods or services needed by seniors may be demanded from juniors or, in the case of goods, taken from juniors without permission. By the same token, the great responsibility of seniority is to give aid to younger relatives when they are in need. However, such aid cannot be taken by a junior without permission, but must be humbly requested (*kerekere*). Goods and services thus flow both up and down the hierarchy. But the milieu in which goods are given by an elder to a junior is one which emphasizes the "weakness" and inferiority of the younger, whereas the transfer of goods from younger to elder emphasizes the latter's inherent rights of control. In neither case, however, is any return of goods expected.

As a solid social and economic unit, the extended family does not go on forever. When a man's sons start to raise families of their own, the extended family gradually begins to segment. When the family head becomes too old to

visit the gardens, control over them passes to his eldest son, or in the immaturity of the son, to the head's younger brother. The old man and his wife will usually move out of their large house into a smaller one, and his successor takes over his house. By slow process, the family head is thus divested of former status and power. "His time is up," Moalans say, and he is literally waiting to die. By modern, missionary-influenced ethics, an old father or family head should be properly fed and cared for by his brothers and sons. Actually he sinks into a pitiable position; aboriginally, his family might have killed him (Williams and Calvert 1859:144). Today he is barely kept alive; his counsel is never sought, and he is more often considered silly (even when not senile) than wise. He has no place or contribution to make in the family or in the community. When the head of a large family dies, the segmentation of the group is imminent. If the family is small, the division will be delayed until some of the men have grown children, preferably married sons, so that the new families will have the necessary labor forces. The break-up of an extended family is signalled by the division of control over houses, division of coconuts (only a recent practice), and division of control over productive property. When the family splits, each married male comes into full possession of the house which he and his family have been occupying. The successor of the former leader, usually the eldest surviving son, will divide among the mature males the coconuts formerly used by the family as a whole. The principle governing the allotment of coconuts is that an equitable division be made according to need. The older brother is here still guided by the ethic that senior members of the group are responsible for the well-being of juniors. Occasionally, however, the prerogative of coconut allotment is abused by an older brother in his own favor, and hostility breaks out among the segmenting groups. Land as such is not divided, for the traditional extended family does not hold land privately. (Rather, land is held communally by larger social units of which families are constituent elements. Families and individuals hold usufructory rights in any land which they have cleared. Such rights cease when cultivation ceases, and the land is left to regain its fertility.) But while lands are not divided, the leader's unified control of family gardens is divided. Each of the heads of the segmenting components of the family takes over full control of the gardens which any member of his household cultivates. This decentralization of control produces the ultimate sign of segmentation, the building of new cook houses for each house group—the division of the common hearth. Each house group is now an independent unit. In each, the formation of an extended family begins anew. The various extended families so formed become bound in a larger social unit, *tokatoka*, united by common descent and led by the genealogically senior male. Eventually a *tokatoka* grows large, segments, and thus gives rise to a still larger descent group, *mataqali*. *Tokatoka* and *mataqali* are land-owning groups, and are of great social and political significance in the local community. However, a precise description of the nature and functioning of these groups would be outside the scope of this paper.

It should be kept in mind that this description of the traditional extended family is a generalized one. Exigencies of death, different ratios of daughters

and sons, residence of a man in his wife's father's family, and other circumstances, may produce differences in the composition of family groups. But wherever the extended family occurs, it operates in the manner I have described.

FAMILY ORGANIZATION IN KETEIRA AND NAROI

Family organization has undergone considerable modification during the past century in Moala. However, the traditional extended family still predominates in one village in particular, Keteira. In other villages, such as Naroï, it is in the minority, having been largely replaced by independent nuclear forms of family. In this section, family composition in these two villages, Keteira and Naroï, is described in detail.

In analyzing Moalan family types, I shall use the term *nuclear family* to denote a group consisting of a married pair, with or without offspring, living in one house and exclusively using a nearby cook house. The exclusive use of a cook house is indicative of the economic and social independence of the nuclear family. *Nuclear core family* will be used for groups composed of a married pair, with or without offspring, and additional single relatives (of any kin category) of either spouse, exclusively occupying one living house and one cook house. *Extended family* will stand for the traditional extended family described in the last section. Extended families have nuclear constituents, but these share a common cook house and hence are not economically and socially independent. Table 2 summarizes the pertinent data on family composition in Naroï and Keteira.

TABLE 2. A COMPARISON OF FAMILY FORMS IN NAROI AND KETEIRA (1954-1955)

	Naroï	Keteira
1. Number of People	340	115
2. Number of Independent Nuclear Families	11	1
3. Number of Independent Nuclear Core Families	18	2
4. Number of Extended Families	6	6
5. Total Number of Families	35	9
6. Average Number of People per Family	9.7	12.8
7. Percentage of People in Independent Nuclear and Nuclear Core Families	71.2	19.1
8. Percentage of People in Extended Families	28.8	80.9

The data indicate clearly that the traditional extended family remains dominant in Keteira, while in Naroï it has been superceded by nuclear and nuclear core families. The distribution of each type of family and the percentages of people living in extended families in the two villages offer the most striking evidence of this fact. Six of the nine Keteira families are extended, compared to six extended families of the 35 in Naroï. Over 80 percent of the Keteira population lives in extended families, compared to less than 30 percent so residing in Naroï. The extended family is the major form in Keteira and the minor form in Naroï.

Moreover, some of the extended families in Naroï are markedly unstable, which is not true of any in Keteira. For example, the large family of the paramount chief of Moala, composed of six nuclear families, has several times broken into small house groups for eating purposes. There has been considerable reshuffling of the nuclear components of these eating groups. Although food is still cooked in the cook house which serves the entire extended family, fish and other additions (*i coi*) to the basic vegetable diet are usually cooked separately by the women of each eating house group. Segmentation of this family into independent nuclear families has been discussed several times and seems imminent. In general, extended family life in Naroï is less serene than in Keteira. In Naroï, quarrels between women over proprietorship of cooking utensils and over the burdens of food preparation are common. These quarrels are quickly communicated to the men, who are often hard pressed to smooth things over.

The differential survival of the traditional extended family in these two villages gives an excellent opportunity to study not only the causes of its decay but also the factors which are necessary to its continued existence. I will undertake to do this in the following section.

LAND USE AND THE FAMILY IN KETEIRA AND NAROI

It is frequently noted that primitive forms of extended family do not survive the process of acculturation to civilization. In many cases the emergence of independent nuclear families is a result of contact with European culture. Entrance into a money economy in particular has the effect of breaking down extended family customs of pooling goods and services. But this is not a sufficient explanation of what has occurred in Moala.

Naroï and Keteira are both subject to heavy influences from European culture, and are both becoming involved in the money economy of the Colony to a substantial extent. Naroï has two Chinese storekeepers and it is the main port of Moala, connecting by boat to European centers in Suva, Viti Levu, and Levuka, Ovalau. Keteira uses a Chinese-operated store in the village of Cakova, twenty minutes walk from Keteira. In some ways, Keteira has felt more European influence than Naroï. At any given time a greater proportion of Keteira people are visiting or working in Suva or Levuka than are Naroians. (The figures run roughly 20 to 30 percent of the married males of Keteira absent from the village as compared to five to 15 percent married Naroï men absent.) The Keteira school is better staffed than that of Naroï; more people of Keteira learn at least a smattering of English, as well as more of other tidbits of European culture. As copra is the main source of money for Moalans, an indication of the degree to which participation in a money economy has influenced production can be had by comparing the average number of coconuts planted per man per year in each village. In Naroï the average number of coconuts planted among 29 of the approximately 75 able-bodied men in 1954 was 114; in Keteira, the average among 17 of the approximately 25 able-bodied men was 181 coconuts. To the degree that these figures represent involvement with things monetary, Keteira cannot be said to be

backward. Keteira is no less acculturated than Naroï and perhaps is more so, yet the traditional extended family has survived in Keteira. It can be concluded at this point that culture contact with Europeans per se does not cause the breakdown of the old family form.

Why has Keteira maintained the traditional extended family? The answer appears to be that Keteira continues to follow an old practice of exploiting land resources both near and at some distance from the village, and that the extended family is adapted to such a pattern of land use. In recent years, Naroï and most other Moalan villages have abandoned the practice of using distant lands and have confined agricultural activities to the village environs. It is in these villages that independent nuclear families have developed at the expense of extended families. (Quantitative evaluation of this trend can only be given for Naroï, but I have noted the same phenomenon in other villages which use only nearby land.)

To support this hypothesis, it is necessary to examine the traditional patterns of land use. Since prehistoric times the lands held by Moalan villages have not merely been concentrated around the settlement sites. Until quite recently, every village laid claim to and worked land so far away that farming necessitated the periodic and sometimes prolonged absence of the cultivators. Yam gardens, wet and dry taro gardens, and plots of other food plants were made in these distant lands. Huts were erected near the fields for shelter during the periods of clearing, planting, weeding, and harvest. Meanwhile, similar occupations were taking place in gardens near the village.

Villages obtained lands far from the settlement site by various means. The most common method was the retention of claims to land near former habitation sites. Moalan villages did not move frequently, but within a few centuries a village might occupy several sites. In time, it would come to be situated far from its old location, perhaps on another coast or side of the island. If, as was usually the custom, claims to land used in ancient times were maintained by periodic cultivation, a village came to hold widely dispersed areas of land. Traditions sometimes assign defeats in war as the cause of village shifts, but even in this case a defeated village maintained land rights around the old settlement. Very rarely, victorious villages appropriated some land of conquered villages, giving them lands in distant areas.

Although Moala is small, land more than a mile or two from any village is apt to be relatively inaccessible. The interior of the island is hilly, the gradients are often quite steep, and the "bush" cover is thick; hence, a journey of even two miles inland is quite arduous and time consuming. Travel along the coast is also limited, for the rocky shore permits walking only at low tide, and only at high tide can a boat be poled along the fringing reef. Nor are the winds favorable for daily round trips from a village to distant points by sailing canoe. Due to these difficulties, land more than one or two miles from a village can be most effectively exploited if the producers remain near it overnight.

There are a number of reasons why Moalans frequently found it worthwhile to continue to exercise claims to land far from their villages. In some cases where villages have remained in situ for long periods, slash and burn

agriculture resulted in deforestation of surrounding lands and replacement by a thick cover of reed (*gasau*), which lowers the soil fertility. The forest has a better chance of regaining its former density—and the soil has a better chance of being replenished with organic materials—around abandoned habitation sites. Claims to old village lands, therefore, are valuable.

A second reason for retaining distant lands is that they may be suitable for growing types of crops that cannot be as successfully cultivated in the vicinity of the village. As a result of differences in soils, topography, and rainfall, given parts of the island have variable potentials for the growth of different plants. For example, some villages today produce more than twice the poundage per capita of taro than do others because of superior facilities (water and topography) for irrigation. Yam yields vary in different villages because of differences of rainfall. Food gathering possibilities are different in various parts of the island. The lowly mussel, *Arca culcullaea concomerata* (*kai koso*, Fijian) is so abundant in the bay off Keteira that it is daily food in almost all seasons, whereas it is extremely rare in other villages. Fish, edible sea slugs, crabs, and prawns are abundant only in particular locales. It is to the advantage of a village to hold lands in different areas of the island, thereby gaining access to soils of high potential for a number of crops and to a number of natural food resources.

The traditional Moalan extended family is well constituted for the tasks of production in different areas and for the uniform distribution of the diverse produce. The size of the family made it possible to release some members for work on distant fields without hardship for those left in the village. A man might take his wife with him to a distant garden, leaving his children to be cared for by others in the group. A common cook house and common meals, and centralized supervision of gardens ensure that the different foods will be shared among all members, regardless of their particular contribution to production. The family authority system permits the division and co-ordination of labor which is necessary for its multifarious and spatially separated activities. Even the usual provision that the hardest work goes to the younger members of the family is adaptive. Cultivation of distant gardens is thus undertaken by the youngest and strongest, while those older and weaker may carry out lighter tasks near the settlement—the elder men perhaps do no more than pull up crops for the daily meals. This type of family group is an ideal unit for working scattered resources without sacrificing any of the usual familial functions of child care, socialization, and the production of capable, mature members of the society. Proof of this contention is the fact that the traditional extended family has been maintained in Keteira, where the pattern of using distant lands still obtains, whereas it has broken down in Naroï, where only land around the village is used.

Naroï also continues to hold tenure to land far from its present site, not because cultivation is maintained there, but because the Government-sponsored Lands Commission in the 1930's confirmed Naroïan ownership in conformity with traditional custom. But only Keteira, in contrast to Naroï and most other Moalan villages, still uses its distant lands. A large tract in the

southeast of the island, called Qaliquali (area K', map), is extensively worked by all Keteira families. The area is claimed because of its proximity to an ancient village site of the major patrilineal descent group (*matagali*) of Keteira. However, the use to which the land is presently put and the reasons for its continued exploitation are not traditional. Keteira retains an interest in Qaliquali because of the abundance of coconuts there, in contrast to the scarcity of these "money trees" around the village proper. The area in which Keteira is located has been a center of population concentration since prehistoric times, and as a result the environs of the village have been largely deforested by slash and burn agriculture. Although food plants can be grown with moderate success in this reed-covered area, coconuts do not thrive. For the all-important copra trade, Keteira continues to use Qaliquali. Due to excessive rainfall in Keteira Bay, many men (about one-third) also make their yam gardens in Qaliquali, and several have manioc plots there as well. The men of Keteira frequently go to Qaliquali for days or even weeks on end (especially during the customary May-June period of intensive copra preparation) to plant coconuts, make copra, or cultivate their gardens.

Naroi is situated in an area which has not been extensively occupied for a long period of time and which has not been so heavily deforested. The Naroi region, both near the coast and extending far upland, is planted with sufficient coconuts to take care of the villagers' needs. Because of this local supply, the Naroi people only infrequently visit their old village sites (areas N' on map). In fact, Naroians have not extensively cultivated the old sites for at least 30 to 40 years, despite coconuts growing there. Time which would otherwise be available for work in the vicinity of the ancient villages is nowadays largely consumed by copra production in Naroi. And food purchased from stores with copra money substitutes for any advantage that could be gained by growing certain crops, such as taro, in the old sites. Rarely do Naroians exercise their ancient land claims, and then only to augment the supply of copra in an emergency. Conditions in most other Moalan villages (beside Keteira) approximate those in Naroi, and hence there has been a general abandonment of the traditional land use pattern.

A calendar of the activities of the Keteira population during several weeks in May and June, 1955, will give some indication of their dependence on Qaliquali. These were weeks of intensive copra production. A tabu placed on the nuts had been lifted so that the men could earn money to pay the head tax required of all Fijians. The calendar may also indicate some of the advantages of extended family life in light of this pattern of land use.

1. Week beginning Monday, May 16, 1955.

Monday was the first exodus to Qaliquali for copra preparation. Most of those leaving traveled overland to Cakova and along the western shore (see map). Others poled around the southern part of the island. By Monday night, about one-half of the married men and their mature sons were at Qaliquali. A few women accompanied their husbands, but most remained in the village to care for their children and to make mats in preparation for an interisland trade scheduled for August. By Wednesday the village was even more deserted, as more of the men, after bringing in several days' food supply for

the women, joined their fellows in Qaliquali. On Thursday night, only seven men remained in the village, one a school teacher and two who were too old for extensive travel. On Saturday most of the men returned from Qaliquali to provide food for the weekend and to attend Sunday church.

2. Week of Monday, May 23.

The pattern of movements this week was the same. Most of the able-bodied men left for Qaliquali Monday morning. Some were accompanied by their wives, but most of the women and children remained behind. A few married couples stayed at Qaliquali into the next week, but the rest of the people returned to Keteira on Saturday.

3. Week of Monday, May 30.

The same pattern as the previous two weeks.

4. Week of Monday, June 6.

This week most of the men delayed their departure in order to clean up the village in preparation for inspection by the Government chief (*Buli*) of the island. (These inspections are supposed to take place monthly, but they are frequently neglected.) Only a few men and boys could be spared for copra making during the early part of the week. The inspection was completed Thursday morning and most of the workers left immediately for the coconut area, returning on Saturday.

5. Week of Monday, June 13.

The same as weeks 1 and 2. By the end of this week the period of intensive copra preparation was over.

No movement of this type occurs in Naroi during these weeks. A few families (nuclear and nuclear core), whose coconuts are a mile or so from the village, do stay on their lands during this period. However, most remain in the village.

CONCLUSIONS

Comparison of family organization and patterns of land utilization in Keteira and Naroi reveals that the maintenance of the traditional extended family is dependent on strategic exploitation of productive lands distant from the village site. The Keteira extended family is adjusted to working spatially separated resources. The large size of the group, the internal ranking system and authority hierarchy, the centralized control of resources, the provisions for distribution of work on the basis of capability, and the sharing of property and food, all make it possible for the group to extend its productive operations over a large area and to distribute equitably the fruits of such production. Considered in this light, the fragmentation of the extended family after three or four generations is also understandable. Given sufficient time and patrilocal residence, each nuclear constituent of an extended family would normally expand to the point where the full complement of members necessary for carrying out extended family activities is present. By this time also, the burdens of food preparation and administration of the resources of an extended family composed of such large segments have become unwieldy. Thus there is no reason for an extended family to continue beyond three or four

generations of common descent, and there is good reason for segmentation into a number of discrete families.

In Naroï, where only land in the environs of the village is productively utilized, the traditional extended family has no longer any *raison d'être*. Nuclear families can effectively undertake all necessary exploitative and distributive activities. With a land use pattern of this type, the influences of acculturation, especially involvement in a money economy, can be expected to hasten the disappearance of the extended family. Such indeed is the most plausible explanation of the demise of the traditional family system in Naroï. In Keteira the extended family maintains itself in the face of the encroaching money economy because the traditional land use customs have not been changed. On the contrary, the greater dependence upon money in the economy has confirmed adherence to the old practices of land tenure, since land near the village cannot support sufficient coconut growth.

That the Moalan extended family is adapted to the exploitation of scattered resources is a conclusion of great interest and possibly of more widespread application. The extended family does not characterize primitive society in every ecological situation or at every level of development. Differences in family forms are not only of themselves significant, but in view of their importance as determinants of kinship structure (Murdock 1949: 153-154) the study of differences in family type assumes critical proportions in the field of social organization. It is hoped that this examination of the Moalan data provides an hypothesis that can be more generally applied in explanation of crucial variations in the family systems of the primitive world.

NOTES

¹ The ethnographic materials presented here were collected by the author from October, 1954, to August, 1955. The field trip was made possible by a fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council of Washington, D. C. Preparation of the field data for publication is being aided by a grant from Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences.

² The Standard Fijian orthography now in general use in the Colony is adopted here. For English speakers the most unusual aspects of this orthography are: c, English *the*; g, *singer*; and q, *finger*.

³ Ideally they would be classificatory "sisters" to each other. Since the preferred marriage is between classificatory cross-cousins and since parallel cousins are terminologically merged with siblings and distinguished from cross-cousins, wives of brothers would be sisters. Very rarely, however, would they be "true" sisters, i.e., offspring of the same married pair. Even if cross-cousin marriage is not practiced, wives of brothers should use "sister" terminology with each other.

⁴ If a woman separates from or divorces her husband, she returns to her natal group, taking immature children with her. The father will later reclaim these children. (A man will similarly "reclaim" illegitimate children.) Occasionally, a woman separating from or divorcing her husband will leave behind even immature children; they would be raised by the father's brothers' wives.

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Community Interrelations with the Outside World: The Case of a Japanese Agricultural Community¹

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ANTHROPOLOGISTS whose interests lie in community studies apparently are becoming increasingly concerned with the rationale for such research and have commented on the paucity of reports which attempt to deal with the interrelations of the community with its social-cultural environment (Steward 1950; Arensberg 1954; Redfield 1956). There are, of course, a number of researchers who have recognized the problem, and some community studies which do consider it (Embree 1939; Lewis 1951; Sanders 1949), but for the most part community interrelations have been neglected or dealt with summarily.

In a recent paper, Morris Edward Opler (1956) has pointed out that for India, at least, the mistaken tendency to view the traditional village as a self-sufficient and isolated entity leads naturally to the erroneous conclusion that a major feature of modernization has been the breakdown of this alleged isolation by a flood of outside influences and values. In support of this contention, he outlines the ways in which a village in north central India has been in complex and intensive contact with the outside world for at least the past two hundred years, and suggests that it is "the pattern of outside contact rather than the fact of outside contact which is altered" (1956:9). In concluding his argument, he writes, "An attempt has been made in this paper to see an Indian village in terms of its extensions, and as a part of larger units organized on social organizational, political, caste, or religious grounds. The involvement of Senapur villagers with organizations, places, and events outside the village is considerable and it seems that this has been the case for a very long time. Yet it has not interfered with the separate identity and cohesiveness of the community, which in some respects is more marked than before. Like any unit in a segmentary social system, the Indian village has to be examined to determine in what respects it stands alone and parallels for its members the advantages and purposes of similar units, and in what respects it combines in various ways with other units to serve wider purposes" (1956:10).

It is true, of course, that the reluctance of the lone anthropologist in the field to undertake any serious study of the regional or national context of his community is not necessarily due to any lack of interest in the problem, but rather to a recognition of the inadequacy of his techniques for such an investigation and the demands of such research on his time. Regional studies, such as those called for by Redfield (1956:37), are probably beyond one man's capacities, but it should be possible to focus on a single community while tracing out its crucial interconnections with the outside world.