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THE THAI—LAO FAMILY SYSTEM AND DOMESTIC CYCLE  
OF NORTHEASTERN THAILAND

ระบบครอบครัวและวงจรชีวิต  
ของชาวไทยตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ

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Abstract

*In the case of Northeast Thailand, apparently more men than not achieve the goal of headship of an independent nuclear family household, for it is subsidized in large measure by the operation of the traditional family system, which creates a succession of types of domestic group co-residing in a given household. There is an initial phase in which the household is occupied by a nuclear family. This is followed by a phase of aggregation and fission, in which daughters successively introduce spouses into the household and successively leave to establish their own households nearby as the next youngest daughter\* is ready to marry. During this phase, the household constitutes a stem family, although membership is not stable. Finally, there is a phase of decline and dissolution. During this phase, the household is occupied by a stem family, which again becomes a nuclear family for a time following the death of the last original parent. It is during the phase of aggregation and fission that the typical family experiences its greatest prosperity and its greatest expenditures. During this period the family labor force is at its greatest, which permits an increase in production given an adequate land base or the availability of additional land; but it is also during this period that the family estate begins to be subdivided among the heirs. Most families attempt to put off complete fragmentation of the estate by not transmitting legal title to land at this time, but simply usufructuary rights, and by establishing a matrilocal extended family living in separate dwellings (but usually in a single compound) and functioning as a single economic unit.\*\* It is during this period of fission that new "neolocal" households are established, largely subsidized by the parental generation preceeding them.*

\* Although the domestic cycle and extended family group ideally and normally takes a matrilineal form, this is not invariable. Households without daughters or where the daughters are sufficiently older than their younger brothers may pass through a patrilineal or ambilineal domestic cycle, with the household and the residue of the estate being left to the youngest son. It is because of such variance according to circumstances that the various Thai speaking groups, including the Thai and Lao, are generally regarded as having an ambilineal form of social organization.

\*\* For the existence of the extended family unit, I am indebted to Charles Keyes of Cornell University, recently returned from Mahasarakam Province, where he studied the integration of the village into the national society.

## เรื่องย่อ

บทความเรื่อง “ระบบครอบครัวและวงจรชีวิตเรื้อรังของชาวไทคะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ” ของ ธรอมัส อี. ลุกซ์ นักศึกษาปริญญาเอกของมหาวิทยาลัยชิคาโก ซึ่งได้เข้ามาศึกษาอยู่ในเมืองไทย เป็นรายงานเบื้องต้นเกี่ยวกับระบบครอบครัวและวงจรชีวิตเรื้อรังของชาวไทคะวันออกเฉียงเหนือที่ใช้เวลาเดือนเศษศึกษาระหว่างที่เป็นครูสอนอยู่ที่วิทยาลัยครูแห่งหนึ่งในจังหวัดอุตรธานี เมื่อเข้ามาเมืองไทยครั้งแรกเมื่อปี ๑๙๖๑ รายงานนี้เป็นผลของการศึกษาหมู่บ้านหนึ่งในจังหวัดอุตรธานี ข้อมูลที่ใช้ประกอบบทความนี้เป็นข้อมูลทางสถิติส่วนใหญ่ ไม่ได้ใช้การศึกษาประวัติชีวิตหรือการสังเกตตลอดจนบันทึกถ้อยคำต่าง ๆ ของผู้ให้ข้อมูลตามแบบการศึกษาทางมานุษยวิทยาที่ใช้กันอยู่โดยทั่วไป อย่างไรก็ตาม ภายใต้อำนาจของข้อมูลดังกล่าว ข้อความที่ปรากฏในบทความนี้คงจะพอทำให้มองเห็นลักษณะสำคัญของระบบครอบครัวชาวไทคะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ ซึ่งได้พิจารณาในแง่ของการขยายตัวของวงจรรอบครัว อันจะเป็นทางให้เห็นภาพเด่นชัดมากยิ่งขึ้น จากผลการศึกษาระบบครอบครัวและวงจรชีวิตเรื้อรัง (ของ ธรอมัส อี. ลุกซ์) สรุปได้ว่า หน่วยที่อาจจะถือได้ว่าเป็นรากฐานของครอบครัวชาวไทคะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ ได้แก่ครอบครัวดั้งเดิมอันเป็นที่อยู่อาศัยร่วมกันของญาติฝ่ายหญิง ซึ่งประกอบด้วย พ่อ แม่ ลูกสาว (หรือลูกชาย) ที่แต่งงานแล้วกับคู่สมรส (สามีหรือภรรยา) ของตนพร้อมด้วยลูก ๆ ที่ยังไม่ได้แต่งงานของคู่สมรสดังกล่าว ครอบครัวแบบที่กล่าวนี้ไม่จำเป็นต้องมีลักษณะดังกล่าวเสมอไป และตามปกติก็ไม่ได้เป็นเช่นนั้นเหมือนกันหมด ครอบครัวที่มักมีลักษณะดังกล่าวจะต้องเป็นครอบครัวที่มีทรัพย์สินที่จะถ่ายทอดให้แก่ลูกหลานรุ่นต่อมา อันเป็นสิ่งที่เกิดขึ้นในระยะเวลาที่เรียกว่า วงจรชีวิตเรื้อรัง (Domestic cycles) ซึ่งเป็นระยะที่ลูก ๆ มีอายุถึงวัยที่จะแต่งงาน และขณะเดียวกันพ่อแม่ก็มีอายุย่างเข้าสู่วัยชราแล้ว ระบบชีวิตเรื้อรังเป็นหลักประกันในสิ่งที่จำเป็นต่อการเริ่มต้นชีวิตครอบครัวอันเป็นอิสระของหนุ่มสาว และพร้อมกันนั้นก็ให้หลักประกันแก่พ่อแม่เมื่อถึงวาระเข้าสู่วัยชรา และไม่สามารถจะเลี้ยงชีวิตด้วยกำลังแรงของตนเองได้อีกต่อไปแล้ว ลักษณะการออกไปตั้งบ้านเรือนใหม่นั้น คู่สมรสที่ออกจากครอบครัวเดิม ปกติก็มักจะไปตั้งบ้านเรือนอยู่ใกล้ ๆ กับพ่อแม่ของภรรยา เมื่อเป็นดังนี้จึงเกิดกลุ่มซึ่งปกติประกอบด้วยครอบครัวต่าง ๆ ที่มีสายสัมพันธ์ผ่านทางฝ่ายหญิง เป็นกลุ่มเพื่อนบ้านใกล้ชิด กลุ่มครอบครัวนี้มักจะร่วมมือกันทางเศรษฐกิจ อาจใช้ยุงฉางหรือสัตว์ในการทำนาร่วมกัน จึงถือได้ว่าเป็นกลุ่มครอบครัวขยายที่มีที่อยู่อาศัยร่วมกับฝ่ายหญิง กลุ่มดังกล่าวนี้มักจะกลายสภาพมาเป็นกลุ่มที่มีการสืบสายทางฝ่ายหญิง (Matrilineal Descent Group) หากว่าไม่มีระบบการสมรส (การเลือกที่อยู่อาศัยภายหลังการสมรส) และการสืบ

มรดกอันเป็นอีกแบบหนึ่ง ซึ่งเปิดโอกาสให้มีการเลือกปฏิบัติได้อีกทางหนึ่งมาเป็นเครื่องขัดขวาง ในกรณีที่ครอบครัวหนึ่งไม่มีลูกสาว ลูกชายคนเล็กจะได้รับบ้านสืบต่อจากพ่อแม่รอบ ๆ บ้านของพ่อแม่ นั้นจะแวดล้อมไปด้วยบ้านของพวกพี่ชายที่แต่งงานแล้ว เมื่อเป็นดังนั้นการสืบสายทางฝ่ายหญิงจึงไม่อาจเป็นสถาบันขึ้นได้อย่างแท้จริง ยิ่งไปกว่านั้นครอบครัวขยายที่มีที่อยู่อาศัยร่วมกับฝ่ายหญิง จะดำรงเป็นหน่วยของความร่วมมือน้อยได้เฉพาะแต่ในระหว่างที่พ่อแม่ยังมีชีวิตอยู่เท่านั้น เมื่อพ่อแม่สิ้นชีวิตลง กลุ่มครอบครัวขยายดังกล่าวจะสลายตัวออกเป็นกลุ่มครอบครัวแรกเริ่มต่าง ๆ แต่ละครอบครัวต่างก็ได้รับสิทธิ์ในทรัพย์สินของพ่อแม่ของตน ต่อจากนั้นครอบครัวแรกเริ่มแต่ละครอบครัวก็เริ่มวางจรรยาวัตรอันใหม่ของตนเองต่อไป.

### Introduction

The publication entitled "Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia"<sup>1</sup> draws together the scattered anthropological data on, among other matters, the Lao family. Providing a good capsule description, it somehow manages to avoid stating the obvious interpretation of the Lao family system, which is also that of the Thai-Lao of Northeast Thailand. The authors clearly avoided going beyond the data provided them by the field reports, and seem to suggest, without quite committing themselves to it, the interpretation I will set forth in this paper. As I am not attempting to compile a standard reference work, I can perhaps afford to be somewhat less cautious than they. With the exception of statement on the inheritance of land favoring sons, their description seems accurate for the village I studied briefly in early 1961. They write:

"A high percentage of marriages are of the romantic love type and occur within the same village. Village endogamy is estimated at about 80 percent by both Kaufman and Ayabe. Bilateral cousin marriage is allowed, particularly in the case of second cousins, according to Kaufman ..."

"Residence after marriage is ideally matrilocal for a time (about two years) and then neolocal. A daughter normally inherits the family homestead, in which case she may, if married, reside matrilocally and never progress to neolocality."

"The nuclear family normally constitutes the household unit, which averages slightly over 5 persons: stem families (most often a married daughter living matrilocally) constitute a minority of cases".

"The family household and the land it stands on is inherited matrilineally—often by the youngest daughter, since she is normally the last to marry. Paddy lands are in theory divided by mutual consultation among all the surviving children; in practice, however, sons seem to be favored in the inheritance of agricultural lands".

"Divorce is possible for either partner, and no particular stigma is attached. Female children go with the mother; older male children with the father."

It seems to me that the bias for synchronic analysis present in the source materials has resulted in the over-looking of a clear-cut domestic cycle, through which under normal conditions all families pass in either a "matrilineal" or "patrilineal" form, depending upon circumstances. The fact that stem families are in the minority, and that at any given time, nuclear family households strongly outnumber extended (including stem) family households, reflects nothing more than the differing stages of the domestic cycle in which the households are found and the accidents of demography. Thailand (and undoubtedly Laos) has an expanding population and young age structure. Under these circumstances, given the nature of the domestic cycle and the high value placed on independent households, which in the nature of things must begin as nuclear family households, it is only to be expected that most households will hold only nuclear families.

Murdock<sup>2</sup> notes in discussing the Nakanai and Ashanti that:

"In societies ... where goals and behavior shift with age statutes in such a way as to complicate the structuring of social groups, the basic patterns may often be better revealed by the life histories of reasonably successful individuals than by demographic analysis. ... The life goal toward which every Ashanti male strives (that is, headship of an avunculocal extended family) ... is in fact achieved with sufficient frequency to maintain goal-directed behavior at all levels. The fact that only a minority of men have actually attained this goal at any given moment, or even ever attain it, seems less important than that the great majority accept the goal and direct their behavior accordingly."

It is possible that the picture outlined above and described in more detail further on is a product of my sampling method, for I simply went from one house to the next in collecting interviews until the time available for research ran out. Nevertheless, even if my accidental sample of the village should be found in future investigation to be biased in favor of the more prosperous families, due to the tendency of married daughters to live near their parents, it may well be that basic patterns here too are better revealed by the reasonably successful than by wide-ranging but indiscriminate demographic analysis. Nevertheless, properly handled, demographic—or at least statistical—data can reveal structure. My own research data are statistical, rather than of the nature of life histories, supplemented by observational data and the statements of informants. Unfortunately, my stay in the village was too brief to permit me to collect sufficient data to answer all or perhaps even most questions. Nevertheless, the characterization of the Thai-Lao family of Northeast Thailand given in this paper illustrates the structural purposes to which even a limited range of statistical data may be put when looked at in terms of the developmental cycle of the household.

Because of the short time available for my research, slightly over a month in all at the close of my teaching duties at the Udonthani Teachers College in early 1961, I had to depend more on interviews than on the characteristic method of anthropology, participant observation. Besides interviewing an accidental sample on 43 households—one of which yielded very scant information owing to the absence of the female head of household at the time I called. I was able to make a photographic census of 93 of the 150 households in the village. These households held 535 of the 817 persons officially enumerated

some 6 months earlier by government officials. The photographs permitted some tentative analysis of household composition for the greater part of the village. Nevertheless, I regard my data as provisional and requiring further verification—as providing hypotheses for future investigation rather than as final statements of assured conclusions.

### Place of Study and General Information

The village studied, Mango Village, is located in one of the districts in the province of Udonthani in northeastern Thailand, and belongs to the same commune as the district seat. It is a nucleated settlement standing some two kilometers off the royal highway from Udonthani to Sakolnakon, separated from it by a screen of forest. It contains the central primary school for several neighboring villages and a monastery (**wat**), which however is not complete, lacking a temple (**vihara**) and a full chapter of monks. There is a dormitory, which in 1961 housed one monk and a few young novices, and a monastic study hall (**sala kan parian**) which served as a temple for the village. For its religious functions, Mango Village depends on the monks in the monastery in neighboring Yang Tree Village, some three kilometers distant across the rice fields. One of the monasteries in the district capital has jurisdiction over both villages, among others, and also supplies monks whenever necessary for the religious services of either village.

In mid-1960, the village households, by official count, owned 1,640 rai (647.8 acres) of paddy land, and an additional 197 rai (77.8 acres) of "forest-gardens" in which were grown various vegetable and fruit crops. There were 17 wells, all of which were considered unsatisfactory by provincial officials, both because the wells were simply open pits covered with planking and because they often failed, due to their shallowness, in the dry season. Among the 150 households, there were 10 water-trap toilets, which had been recently introduced. Eight households owned tanks or ponds for fishing, laundering, watering stock and such purposes. These ponds were not used for drinking water. According to the provincial survey, all of the households owned cattle of some sort, although this was not the case at the time I was in the village. Everyone I interviewed, however, did have access to a water-buffalo at planting time, even if they did not own one. Although in mid-1960, when the official survey was made there were no screened food-cabinets in use in the village. In early 1961, when I visited the village, one of the village carpenters was constructing these cabinets, mostly for sale outside the village.

The central primary school, which contained 380 children taught by 7 permanent teachers, most of whom lived in these two villages, also received about 10 cadet teachers each semester from the Teachers College in Udonthani, some 30 kilometers to the west. I was introduced to the village, when I was the teacher of these cadet teachers.

In this community, the headmaster of the primary school (who resides in Yang Tree Village) is a person of some importance, and appears to share leadership with the headman, who also commands considerable respect. Village meetings, attended by the heads or representatives of all the village households, have somewhat of the flavor ascribed to New England town meetings. Everyone has a right to voice his opinion on any com-

munal matter, although the opinions of the middle-aged more prosperous men (in their 40's and 50's) appear to carry more weight than those of the younger men, who are found on the edges of the assembly rather than at its center.

The picture of the domestic cycle which will be presented developed directly from the nature of the questions asked in interviews with the various household. As might be expected, the interviews differed in the quality and quantity of information supplied, varying both from family to family and with the age of the respondent. One young male head of household, for example, remarked that since he had just gotten married, he did not have the slightest idea how large a cash income he and his wife would need in the course of a year. Some wives seemed quite knowledgeable about family finances and other matters, while other wives disclaimed much knowledge about money matters or of anything else that might be considered to be in the male sphere of activities. This difference between wives seemed to correlate roughly with the age of the wife, and is probably also related to the Thai male's myth of masculine superiority and dominance—a myth fondly held by men in many cultures. Younger wives tended to defer to their husbands even in their absence, whereas older women seemed surer of themselves and their position in the family and were quite capable of discussing the family's economic affairs. That this ability was not simply a function of experience, although that is surely a factor, is suggested by the fact that several young widows or wives whose husbands were working outside the village at some distance were running the family farms apparently quite efficiently. One such woman and her husband had contracted with a sugar refinery some little distance away, obtaining cuttings from the refinery which would be paid for from the proceeds of the crop. After the cuttings were planted, the husband went to Bangkok in search of employment to earn money with which to purchase farm land, since their holdings were quite small. In his absence, the wife would have to hire laborers to cut the sugar cane and ox-carts to haul it to the refinery. She seemed to anticipate no difficulty in this regard. Moreover she was quite conversant with the number of helpers and ox-carts that would be needed, and with the required expenses and the profits that could be reasonably expected, as well as with other aspects of family finances. Neither she nor her husband were native to the village, although her mother may have been; and so they had not been able to inherit farmland other than a "garden" of one rai, which her mother had given them. Her mother was then living in a village across the highway from Mango Village.

In Mango Village, and among the Thai-Lao generally, marriage is traditionally and normally begun by a period of matrilocal residence, which may be considered as a period of bride-service and of what might be called trial marriage, at least in its early stages (see Tables 1 and 3). The length of such residence varies widely, but is usually terminated when the next daughter is ready to marry, or when the couple have their first child. At this time, they normally move to a new house, built by the husband on land provided by the wife's parents. Ideally, the husband's family should assist with the construction of the new house, but in Mango Village, most men indicated they did not receive assistance from their parents. The youngest daughter, or failing daughters the youngest son, inherits the family home and the land on which it stands, plus the residue of the estate in farmland remaining after older sisters of the youngest daughter have received their share of the family lands (see Table 2). In endogamous marriages, village men sometimes also receive

land from their parents—particularly when there are no sisters—but this is not always done, and when done, may be garden land rather than paddy land. When a man marries outside the village, he effectively forfeits his share of his parents' land.

On establishing their new household, the daughter receives her share of the parental estate in land, although legal title may not be immediately transferred in all cases, but may wait upon the death of the parents. A son sometimes receives property in buffalo or other moveable valuables from his parents on setting up his own household, but this appears to depend upon the arrangements made at the time of marriage negotiations between the two families. As the villagers commented, a man does not need to obtain land from his parents as he can get it from his wife. I lack data on the inheritance of gold and silver jewelry, cash and other valuables owned by the parents, but failing specific testamentary disposition in a will—probably a rare occurrence—it seems likely that these are divided equally among the surviving sons and daughters. It is also possible, however, since each daughter has received or had expended on her wedding such valuables when she married, that the residue of this too is inherited by the youngest daughter and her husband who have been responsible for supporting the aged parents after their retirement from active life. Because of the tendency of elderly people to devote as much as possible of their resources to meritmaking in order to ensure for themselves a better reincarnation and eventual liberation, it may be that little remains of such hoarded valuables once the parents die. It could also be spent on the funeral. Inheritance patterns are one of the major points I hope to investigate in the future, but it is clear that the most important property, paddy land, is inherited matrilineally whenever possible. Deviation from this pattern occurs only in case of demographic accident (as when a family lacks daughters), or when the girl's share of the estate is of less value than her husband's potential share, or her husband follows some occupation which prevents his residence in her natal village, as for example, school-teaching.

This matrilineal pattern of inheritance is clearly reflected in the high status of village women, in the fact that women as well as men can initiate divorce (usually not legally registered any more than the marriages), and in the women's important role in the production of economic goods. Village women, when necessary, also may represent their husbands in the village meetings, and when widowed or divorced, may function as head of household during the minority of their sons. They also have an equal voice with men in the selection of village headmen. In communal rituals, an older woman will usually be selected to supervise the arrangements for the feast which accompanies all ceremonies. She has authority over the young people of both sexes designated to assist her. In marital disputes, older persons of both sexes that participated in the marriage negotiations will attempt to mediate the dispute and if possible, save the marriage from dissolution. The advice of an older woman, according to one informant, is considered as valuable as that of an older man, allowing for differences in experience and knowledge, and depending upon the nature of the matter for which advice is sought.

More often than not, a spouse is selected from within the village, but when an exogamous marriage is conducted, it is usually the man who changes his village (see Tables 2, 10 and 11). Because of the strong tendency toward endogamous marriages, the village

households tend to be intricately related by blood and marriage, and to constitute what Murdock terms an endogamous deme (see Tables 10 and 15). There is, however, a significant degree of exogamous marriage, which introduces new patronyms into the village, and thus creates families and households which have fewer links with the longer-settled families than these have with each other. Nevertheless, the village tends to regard itself as a unity, reinforced by kinship, common interests and close association, within which harmonious and friendly personal relationships should prevail, and mutual helpfulness or neighborliness should be the rule. At present, however, the nature and character of village unity is better considered an hypothesis than a proven fact, since considerably more work needs to be done in charting the linkages between households and in investigating the actual character of interpersonal relationships existing within the village; for as is well-known, behavior does not always correspond very closely to ideals and norms.

The basic structural unit of Mango Village then, is the household, which most often contains a simple nuclear family (see Table 6). This family is complexly but weakly integrated with the loosely defined bilateral kindred. The nuclear principle, however, is systematically compromised at certain stages of the domestic cycle, that is, when the children of the household begin to marry. Any given nuclear family of husband and wife begins its existence in a household; its presence makes extended, progresses to independent status and in its turn becomes extended when its children, particularly its daughters, marry and introduce spouses into it, each in their turn. It closes its domestic cycle as a "stem family", composed of one or both aged parents, a daughter, her husband and their children, the grandchildren of the original couple (see Figure 1). The other daughters, normally living in the same village, have their families living not far away, often in neighboring houses. Rarely, if ever, will more than two complete nuclear families occupy the same household, although the small extended family may also shelter a widowed or divorced daughter and her children, as well as adopted children, an unmarried sibling of the parents, or other kinsmen unable through circumstances to live independently. It may also be swelled temporarily by visiting relatives or friends, who are extended hospitality for as long as they wish to stay (see Table 12).

### Conclusion

The domestic cycle thus balances the need for dependency and the desire for independence that characterizes the Thai, as it does most if not all other peoples. Although a young couple might conceivably prefer to begin independent life immediately after marriage, it would be neither in their own economic interests in the vast majority of cases, nor in that of the parents from whom they receive their "grubstake", the property in land and animals, which permit the founding of a new household. The parental household which admits a son-in-law into its midst gains the labor services of that man for a number of years. In the economy of Thai village, prosperity is essentially a product of the effective labor force possessed by a household. Many of the villagers indicated that they did not farm all the land they owned, the reason they gave being lack of sufficient labor either to clear the land of forest or to plow, plant and harvest land already cleared. Occasionally, some farmers might hire help, or receive help from kinsmen, but more often cultivation was

restricted to the land the household could handle without outside help. It is my belief that despite the expenses involved in helping to establish households for successive daughters and their husbands, this period of the domestic cycle is also one in which the addition of an adult to the labor force permits the householder to continue to accumulate property and to become relatively prosperous, given good harvests and no serious misfortune (see Tables 9 and 9a). Many men who had remained living matrilocally longer than the average two or three years indicated they had done so because their father-in-law had no one to help him yet. Besides the labor of a son-in-law, the householder's own sons during this period have become able to do adult work. Since sons normally marry somewhat later than girls, they are able to give substantial help in the capital accumulation needed to maintain the traditional patterns of residence, inheritance and marriage (see Tables 13 and 14).

The basic family unit in northeastern Thailand, then, is the matrilocal stem family, composed of the parents, a married daughter (or son) and spouse, with the unmarried children of both couples. At any given time, this type of family is not necessarily or even usually the most common type of residential unit, but it is the form which all families with property to transmit to younger generations will take during the phase of the domestic cycle when its children are of an age to marry and the parents nearing retirement age. The workings of the domestic cycle ensure each child with the necessary start on independent family life and provide for the security of the parents in their old age, when they are no longer able to support themselves. Since each newly married couple, on leaving the natal home of the wife to establish a separate household, usually settles nearby the parental home, a cluster of families related through women usually constitutes the immediate neighborhood. As these families usually continue to cooperate in certain economic activities, often sharing the same granary and work animals, it may be characterized as a matrilocal extended family. The existence of alternate patterns of marriage, residence and inheritance—as when the youngest son in a family without daughters eventually inherits the parental home surrounded by the families of his older brothers—prevents the institutionalization of genuine matrilineal descent groups or strict matrilineal inheritance.\* Furthermore, the matrilocal extended family continues as a corporate unit only during the life-times of the parents and breaks up into its constituent nuclear families when the parents die and title to their portions of the estate formally passes to them. Each of these nuclear families then begins the whole cycle anew.

### References

1. LeBar, F.M., Hickey, G.C. and Musgrave, J.K. Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia. Human Relations Area Files Press, New Haven, 1964, 217-218.
2. Murdock, G.P. *Southwest J. Anthropol.*, 1955, 2, No. 4, 361-369.

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\* It also establishes the ambilineal character of the Thai-Lao type of family structure and social organization.

**Table 1**  
**Types of Residence Expressed As Percentages**  
**of All (40) Married\* Heads of Households**

Initial Residence	Subsequent Residence**
Matrilocal 77.5%	1. matrilocal 15.0 % 2. uxoriocal 45.0 % 3. neolocal 10.0 % 4. virilocal 7.5 %
Patrilocal 10.0%	5. patrilocal 2.5 % 6. virilocal 2.5 % 7. neolocal 5.0 %
Virilocal 2.5%	8. virilocal 2.5%
Unknown 10.0%	9. unknown 10.0%

\* Five percent of the household heads were unmarried at the time the study was conducted. Since completion of the survey, I have learned that both have married matrilocally.

\*\* In this column, the terms indicate the following types of residence:

1. matrilocal—the wife is the youngest daughter and inherited the parental home.
2. uxoriocal—a separate house site was provided by the wife's parents.
3. neolocal —a separate house site was purchased by the husband without parental aid.
4. virilocal —the wife moved into a pre-established separate household, i.e., she was the husband's second wife.
5. patrilocal—the son was the youngest male child, and lacking sisters, inherited the parental home.
6. virilocal —the husband's parents provided the separate house site.
7. neolocal —the husband purchased the separate house site without parental aid.
8. virilocal —the wife moved to a pre-established household as a second wife.

**Table 2**  
Sources of Land, Endogamy, Exogamy and Immigration, by Households

Source of land	House site	Farm* land	Garden* land	Exogamous marriages	Endogamous marriages	Immigrant households
Wife's parents	24	25	10	4**	26	—
Husband's parents	5	10	1	10***	—	—
Self purchased	7	12	6	—	—	4
Unknown	4	—	—	—	—	—
Total households	40	—	—	—	—	—

\* Since sources of land are not mutually exclusive, some households obtained land, either garden or farm, from several of the sources.

\*\* By local men

\*\*\* By local women

**Table 3**  
Length of Parenti-Local Residence Following Marriage

Interval in years	Matrilocal	Patrilocal	Total
none	0	1	1
1-4	6	1	7
5-9	6	1	7
10-14	4	0	4
15-20	1	0	1
Inheritance of house	6	1	7
Total of each type	52	4	29

**Table 4**  
Difference Between Age of Husband and Wife

Year	Number of husbands	Year	Number of husbands
- 3*	1	5	4
- 2	1	6	1
- 1	2	7	2
0	5	8	2
+ 1**	5	9	1
+ 2	2	10	3
+ 3	4	14	1
+ 4	2	19	1

\* - designates that husband is younger.

\*\* + designates that husband is older.

**Table 5**  
**Age of Men at Marriage**

Age interval	Frequency
17-19	6
20-24	24
25-29	9
30-34	1
Total	40

**Table 6**  
**Household Compositions**

Type of family	Frequency
Simple nuclear	30
Fragmented nuclear	5
Extended	4 (stem families)
Fragmented extended	3
Total	42

**Table 7**  
**Number of Live Births  
Per Household**

Number of live births	Frequency of households
0	5
1	3
2	3
3	4
4	11
5	6
7	3
10	2
11	1
12	1
13	1
15	2
21	1
Total	43

**Table 8**  
**Number of Deaths of Children  
Born to The Households**

Number of deaths*	Frequency of households
0	12
1	6
2	3
3	0
4	2
5	2
6	1
14	1
Total	27

\* Sixteen families did not report infant or child deaths, but judging from periodicity of births, the wives may have experienced miscarriages or abortions.

**Table 9**  
**Land Holdings and Age of Household Head**

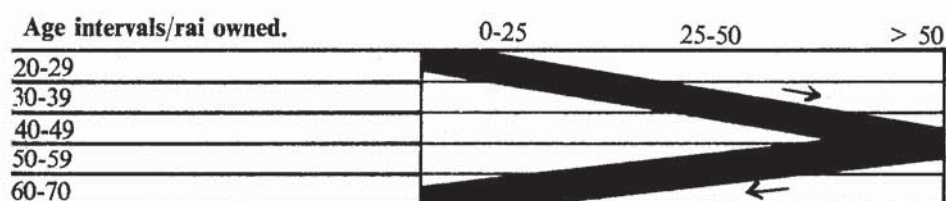
Land holdings (in rai)						Age intervals			
	19-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	65-70
5-9	1		1	1	1*				
10-14			1	1		2			1*
15-19		2	1	1	1				
20-24		3	4	1		1			1*
25-29				2		1			
30-34	1								
35-39								1	
40-44							1		
50-54						1	1	1	
55-59								1	
60-64				1					
> 65						2**			
none***		2	1	1			1		

\* Male head of household was dead at the time of study

\*\* Of the two households, only one had a surviving male head of household.

\*\*\* Of the five men currently owning no land, two expect to inherit from their fathers, with whom they are now sharecropping; one expects to purchase land and of the remaining two, who own small power-driven rice-mills in the village, one also operates a small store selling sundries and tailors clothes to order.

**Table 9a**  
**Projected Ideal Distribution of Land Holdings By Age\***



\* It should be noted that all farmers over 44 years and under 60 years of age own more than 35 rai and that only one man under 45 years (except for one household composed of an orphaned brother and sister) owns more than 35 rai. With those exceptions, no one under 35 years owns more than 24 rai, and no one over 60 years owns more than 20 rai.

**Table 10**  
**Endogamy and Exogamy As Revealed by Genealogies**

Type	Frequency of marriages
Endogamy	79
Exogamy	56
Unknown	72
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>

**Table 11**  
**Type of Residence As Revealed In Genealogies**

Type	Frequency
Matri-virilocal	26
Matri-uxorilocal	78
Patri-virilocal	6
Viri-uxorilocal	1
Unidentifiable	96
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>

**Table 12**  
**Size of Households and Frequency of Households**  
**with Resident Non-Nuclear Kinsmen Based on Photographic Census**

Household size	Number of households	Number of households with non-nuclear kin	Number of persons in all households
1	2		2
2	7		14
3	7	1	21
4	14	1	56
5	15	2	75
6	19	1	114
7	9	2	63
8	6	3	48
9	6	1	54
10	3	1	30
11	2	1	22
12	3	3	36
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>535</b>

**Table 13**  
**Average Cash Expenditures and Average Income Based on Sale**  
**of Rice by Age Intervals (in Baht, at ca. 20 Baht to \$1.00)**

Age interval (years)	Frequency	Average expenditures (baht)	Average income (baht)	Range of expenditures (baht)	Range of income (baht)	Number of men with other income sources
19-29	9	566	710	300-1,000	0-1700	4
30-39	16	771	727	300-1,800	0-1,700	6
40-49	9	1250	1492	500-3,600	0-3,600	2
50-59	6	1340	404	500-4,000	0-510	4
70	2	300	—	300-300	0-0	—

**Table 14**  
**Regression Line for Land Holdings and Reported Rice Yields**  
**for the 1960 Harvest**

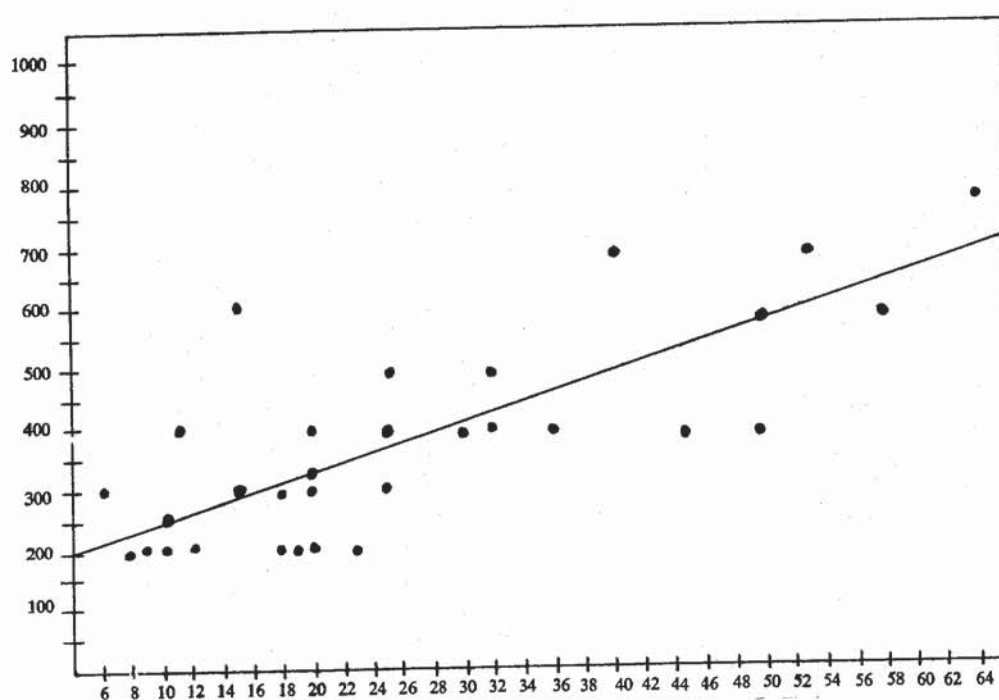
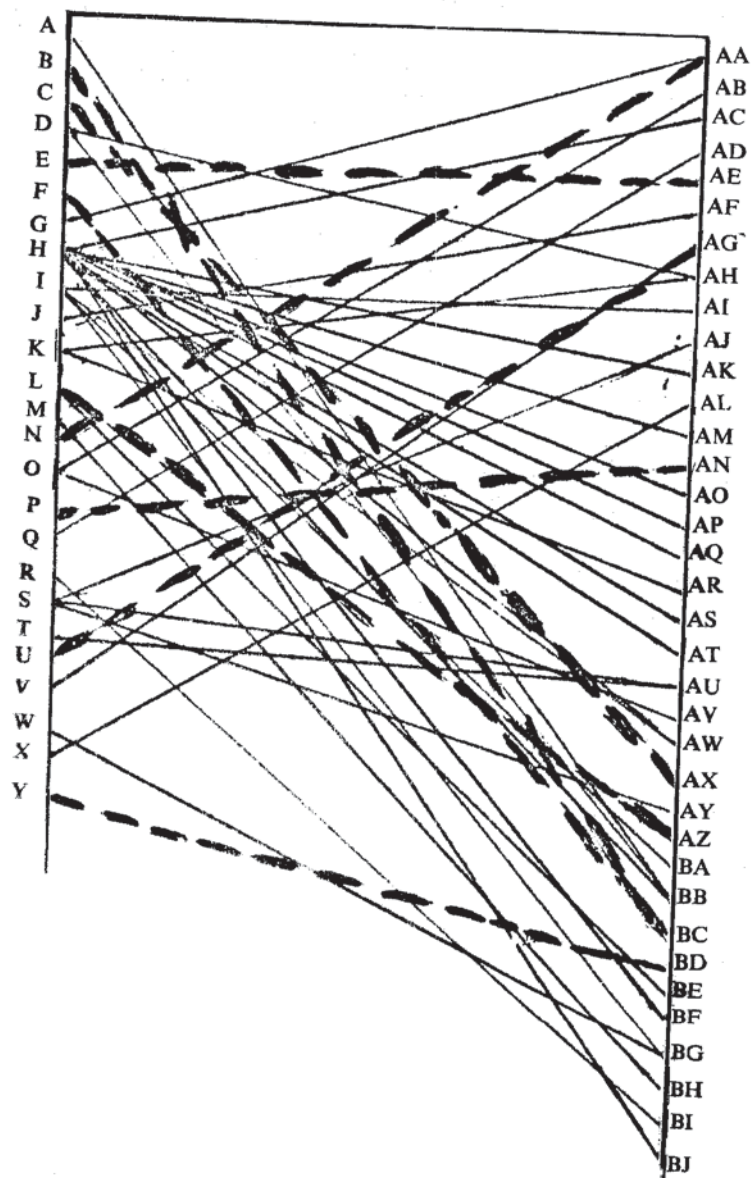


Table 15  
 Chart of Marital Links of Surnames of Wives with Those  
 of Husbands as Found in Sample of 44 Marriages



Each line indicates one marriage. Broken lines indicate marriages in which the wife was born in another village. It will be noted that surname H is allied by marriage with 11 other surname groups: AC, AK, AM, AO, AP, AQ, AS, AT, BB, BF, and BJ, suggesting that it is one of the core families of the village.

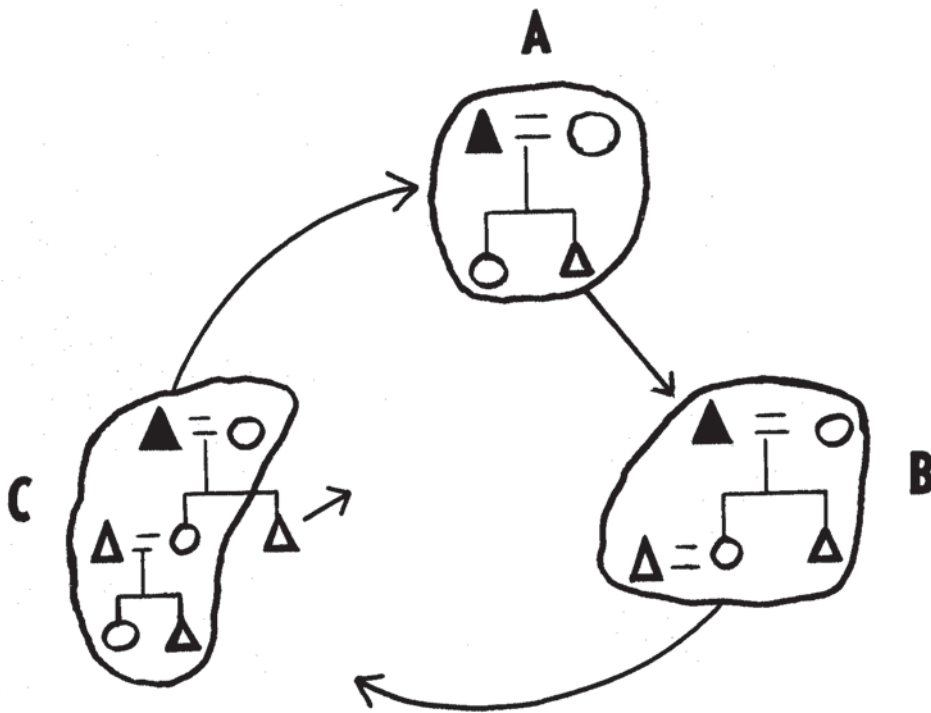


Diagram of Domestic Cycle for Household with One Daughter